ONOMASTIC ASPECTS OF ZULU NICKNAMES
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOURCE
AND FUNCTIONALITY

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Declaration

I declare that ONOMASTIC ASPECTS OF ZULU NICKNAMES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOURCE AND FUNCTIONALITY is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed................................
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Nicknames have been analysed, recorded and processed in many diverse ways by different languages, scholars and communities. In Zulu, many works of similar type have all been the size of an article up until 1999. This research on the subject is one of the first done in this depth.

Nicknames form part of a Zulu person's daily life. They identify him/her more than the real or legal name. They shape him/her more than any other mode of address. They influence behaviour, personality, interaction based activities and the general welfare of an individual. They discipline, they praise, they mock too.

Surprisingly, they are regarded as play items. They are even termed playnames (izidlaliso). But they are as serious as any item that makes an individual to be a significant figure in the community.

They are unique in the sense that they stick more obstinately on the victim should he/she try to get rid of them. They are capable of staying for life. They only vanish to give others a chance to feature on the same individual.

They are so poetic. A talented onomastician can tell a full story about an individual without him grabbing what is being said about him just because the story is spiced with just a single figurative nickname.

They haunt the whole arena of the parts of speech in a language, especially the Zulu language. They modify the well known meaning of words into special references that paint in bright colours the character of an individual.
Zulu nicknames processes visit all possible languages and adapt items from into Zuluised special terms that are capable of inheriting an onomastic status. They originate even from the most sensitive sources like people's private lives.

The only challenging area about nicknames is that bearers do not want to expose them to people who are not known to them, even if they do not fall into a category of nicknames for ridicule.

Finally, nicknames have been exposed here as linguistic items that organise the community into makers and bearers, and then users of nicknames.

KEYWORDS

Post-naming process
Primary functions
Secondary functions
Nicknaming triangle
Situational nicknames
Bearer
Giver
Achronymic nicknaming
Linear structure
Buttocks cover
1

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background

This chapter aims at, first of all, defining and identifying the concept "nickname". Definitions will be offered in terms of one instance where nicknames occur commonly, which is: nicknames given to people. It is equally important to start with a clear understanding of what is a name then a nickname.

A proper name is a word or a specialised term or a linguistic speech sound that is bestowed upon an individual for everybody to identify him/her with. It remains a label for that particular person until such time that circumstances create a change of it.

Raper's (1987a:78) definition of a name reads:

A proper name, like any other linguistic sign, consists of a sound sequence, which may be represented graphemically, and a "sense" or "meaning". It also has the function of referring to, or designating, an extra-linguistic entity.

Names can be categorised into classes such as first names, as in Jabu and Sipho. In some countries, like Spain where people are very name-conscious, this is called a legal name (Mcdowell 1981:2). The middle name may follow after the first name has been given.
There are "home names" which originate as children are born into the family. Mothers and fathers choose these names. This is what Koopman (1979a:67) regards as a home name as he summarises:

Igama, igama lasekhaya "name, home-name": a personal traditional name...

There are "Christian" names too. In Zulu societies these come after family names. In most cases, bestowers of these names tend to use words from other languages. English has been popular for quite a long time and still is. Koopman (1979a:67) points out the use of European languages in the making of second names:

Igama lesilungu, igama lasedolobheni 'European-name, town-name' a name for reference in the outside world...

Few Zulu nicknames come from Afrikaans and they seldom come from other South African indigenous languages. Some people, though very few, end up having three names. One could be from the Zulu language, and two, from English. Or two from Zulu (or from other languages) and one from English. All these precede nicknames.

Other names may come from anywhere and from any activities that individuals tend to engage in. Zulus have what we call 'ukugiya' (cavorting) which is a type of prancing dance. A name can be made out of the praises that an individual might chant during it. Koopman (1979a:67) lists this type in his definition:

Isithapho "personal praise-name, nickname", also known as the giya "dancing" name...

After all the names that are discussed above (family names, Christian names, etc.) comes a nickname, then a
surname. It is organisationally convenient now to target surnames and leave the rest of the argument on nicknames for later. For the latter is the main theme of this whole study.

A surname is, according to the World Book Encyclopedia (1982:7), explained as follows:

Many people took surnames from their father’s given name. ... Many surnames came from terms that described an ancestor.

A surname is also explained in terms of the Zulu context by Koopman (1979a:67) as: "Isibongo 'clan-name': the name of the clan into which one is born. Equivalent to a surname..."

Africans also use the term "clan names" for surnames. In a chain of ancestors a name of one of them can be used as a clan name. This means that the generations that come after that ancestor will all name themselves after him/her. The notion that all of them are born of that individual transforms the name of the ancestor in question into a surname, thus known in Zulu as isithakazelo.

Looking at the nicknames at issue, one would define them as extra names (hence nickname) added onto registered first names (which usually appear in legal documents). It happens, though rarely, that a person receives only one nickname throughout a life time. Of course, this depends on circumstances and kinds of people interacted with. Morgan (1979:16) offers a short and concise definition of a nickname when he says:

A nickname is an eke-name, derived from the Old English verb ecan, meaning "to add to or augment". Thus, an eke-name was one given over and above the legal or baptismal name.
Another outstanding definition which further explains the term 'eke' in nicknaming is by Leslie Dunkling (1993:136) who says:

The word derives from the expression 'an eke name', which later became 'a nekename'. This is the 'eke' we use when we say that we must 'eke out our supplies'.

He says that the term can be traced back to the Latin word *augere* which gave us the English word 'augment'.

Ashley (1989:47) defines nicknames by saying:

Today our nicknames are eke (extra) names given in derision....or out of affection ...
Sometimes they are informal versions of forenames....or of surnames....and they can replace either forenames or surnames....

Leslie and Skipper (1990:273) define a nickname as:

"... a term of familiarity which substitutes for a proper name...", meaning, the nickname may or may not totally black out the proper name depending on the type and current background of influence.

Fowler & Fowler (1938:764) also define a nickname as a "Name added to or substituted for a person's, place's, or thing's proper name..." Although, as stated, they include places and things, this study will concentrate on the nicknames of people only.

All the above definitions concur in concluding that a nickname is an extra name superimposed over and above the legal one. We observe also that a person may be given more than one nickname in a life time. This means that, in most cases a person receives an official name or names first. Then at a later stage extra names are acquired whether
wanted or not by the person. When coining people's nicknames the common practice is that the composer will endow extra names by using either an endonym or an exonym from an object or a place name. By the way, endonym is a documented place name while an exonym is undocumented.

We will elaborate on nicknames for people as our main theme by giving examples of many cases. In nicknaming them we must bear in mind that people usually bear two first names which are registered in their identity documents. Children who have not yet acquired identity documents, bear standard names which are always reserved for the eventual identity document. It's rare that an individual allows a nickname to go into legal documentation.

Sometimes events may yield an extra name, coined or chosen either by the person or other people due to circumstances. A few of those are mentioned by Morgan (1979:37) as they say:

Rhymes, contractions, verbal analogues and suffix addition seem to be the commonest ways of forming a nickname by internal methods: "Colley" yields "Dolly", "Patricia" goes to "Trish" and "Ramow" to "Cow".

Potentially any term can be used for human nicknames in reference to things animate or inanimate. We have also mentioned that, nicknames for people can be made out of nicknames of anything as elaborated by Ashley (1989:50-51) who says:

Why mention nicknames that are not of persons? Merely to show that all nicknames arise from similar circumstances and perform similar functions, whether attached to persons, places, or things.
1.2 Aim and Scope of Study

This study is aimed at analysing different kinds of people's nicknames starting from definitions, nature, types, composers, origin, utilisation, through to linguistic and literary properties, with special reference to the Zulu context.

Chapter 1 is an introduction comprising a summary of the layout. Chapter 2 will deal with the nature of people's nicknames. Chapter 3 presents an account of nickname makers and their victims. Chapter 4 focuses on the origin of these, but deals mainly with those that originate from parts of the body, and lastly, from other elements such as initials that have to do with individuals and their way of life but with special emphasis on praises. Chapter 5 is centred on the utilisation of nicknames, their role in society and their effects on the victims. Chapter 6 looks at the literary qualities of nicknames while Chapter 7 analyses the linguistic formation of nicknames. Chapter 8 sums up the entire work.

1.3 Method of Collecting Data

Areas where research was done are scattered between the Provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. In KwaZulu-Natal, it was conducted in the strip stretching from the Pietermaritzburg vicinity to the Western parts of the district. The areas to be noted in the Western parts of Pietermaritzburg are Howick, Impendle, Nottingham Road, Underberg and Bulwer. Areas around Durban were incorporated as well, namely, Clermont in Pinetown and Umlazi.

In KwaZulu-Natal, the richest tradition of all is Loteni,
my home area. More nicknames found in this area were a combination of people's, places', animals' and objects' nicknames than anywhere else. Besides data obtained from informants, are those I know merely because I was a local boy there in my youth.

In Gauteng, research was conducted in areas like Soweto, Pretoria and Germiston. Other provinces were drawn in. For instance, when it comes to the manner in which nicknames were collected from a Radio Ukhozi programme called "Isigungu". The listeners phone in to greet one another from 12h00 midnight to 04h00 in the morning. They are a syndicate with an enrolment policy which requires that one has to use a nickname as a pre-requisite for acceptance into the syndicate. This research collected about 3000 nicknames from this remarkable programme.

Questionnaires (Appendix 2) were sent to the above-mentioned provinces and some penetrated into other provinces not mentioned above, such as Mpumalanga, Free State, etc. Other questionnaires were handed over to university students from Durban and Madadeni in KwaZulu-Natal. No less than 98 nicknames were collected from only 60 student respondents whose ages ranged from 22 to 44.

1.4 Review of Literature

There exist a few books mainly English nicknames and there are even less works available on Zulu ones. The World Book Encyclopaedia (1982) offers a good description of a nickname with a full background of where naming begins. It takes one from a personal, given, first, family, last, middle through to ancestor names. Types of names like Greek, English and others are offered. Then it proceeds to nicknames, mentioning pseudonyms, stage names and others.
Although many analysts tend to start with a definition of a nickname, the Encyclopaedia offers deeper definition than the others. Our research has often relied for reference on the Encyclopaedia, especially for nicknames, their types, their origin, their poetic nature, translated cases, etc. Only a pithy account is offered but it is the richest when it comes to range of coverage.

We can mention here scholars like Morgan who discuss the subject of nicknaming in depth. The book referred to in this case is entitled "Nicknames". Morgan only concentrate on social aspects of nicknaming and they use extensively children as their subjects. They offer good definitions of nicknames which is a significant foundation in the analysis of both names and nicknames. Their assumption on shortened forms of names creates a satisfactory reason for the existence of a separate term "pet-names" for them. They also take their exploration of nicknames further from nicknames as descriptive of physical appearance to markers of a person's experience (ibid:6).

The study benefits from Morgan deeply from the fact that they discuss the subject of nicknaming in depth. Nicknames are attended to here at great length. The involvement of children in Morgan's account of nicknames plays the most significant role in the social aspects of the Zulu nicknames. Children, especially school kids, are the main givers who, in turn, become victims as they do this. They do it as if it is a game though a serious one. From their way of defining a nickname, our discussion benefits by way of finding a confirmation of the way a nickname should be defined. The shortened forms which they observe in the making of nicknames is seen by this analysis as being unimportant, since it leaves an observer with a clue to the personal name. A proper nickname becomes a new entity
altogether. But as regards the personality and physical appearance of a bearer these analysts present excellent accounts that strengthen the observations needed by this discussion.

A fair amount of supportive material has been acquired from dictionaries of names and nicknames. But some, e.g. Franklyn (1962) are limited as they give lists of possible names and/or nicknames without substantial discussion and analysis. These have not been used extensively because they are a bit out of date now. The sources that will be used in this study have been cited in this section of the introduction. Beyond those there is a wide range of useful sources that analyse names and nicknames. Ashley (1989:51) presents a long list of books that discuss onomastics, names and nicknames from which I have profited.

The prominent figure nowadays in the study of names is Adrian Koopman, who has published many good articles on the subject of names. A significant contribution towards nicknames is found in his article "Zulu Names and other Modes of Address" (1987:154). He makes a breakdown of nicknames by analysing other terms that refer to them. He refers to 'izidlaliso', 'izifekehethiso' and 'izifengo' - all meaning playnames which are actually extra names. He sometimes refers to them as hypochorisms or even pet-names. A collection of some of his articles appears in the Zulu Onomastics Course Book (1992) which was prepared for Honours students in the University of Natal in the Pietermaritzburg campus. Others can be found in volumes of Nomina Africana.

His research has helped this study as strengthening since he analyses names and nicknames that occur among the Zulus. The main focus here though is on Zulu nicknames and
material that Koopman has provided allows this discussion to either develop from it or find extracts that substantiate some of the observations arrived at in the analysis. One very important part of this research is terminology used in most nicknaming systems, such as 'izidlaliso', 'izifekethiso' and 'izifengo'. Throughout the game of coining nicknames these terms fit in and clarify even the most vague cases like meaningless nicknames, etc.

Leone Hendry published a book of peoples' names entitled, *Names for your baby* in 1987. Hendry merely gives a list of names and some superficial background notes rather than analysing them. The aim of this book is to help people who give birth to children to be able to look in this book for a possible name.

Among those critics who have made considerable studies on names, is Raper (1987). His article is entitled "Research Possibilities in Onomastics". Raper suggests ways in which one can approach the study of onomastics. He brings forth strong points as well as weaknesses that onomastic analysts encounter when researching names. His is a general look at onomastics which involve diverse methods of handling naming and its varieties. It is a general account not focussed on the study of nicknames. Another important article by him is "Aspects of Onomastic Theory". He refers to Sørensen who proposes three aspects of a name. The first is where the name is used as a speech sound that is designed to refer to a human being and this aspect is the designator. The second aspect is the interpretation of what the word used as a name refers to, and this aspect is given the term designatum. The last phase in the process of naming is the denotatum where the name becomes a referral. This is typical of names and
nicknames. Their principal function is that of having to label individuals in order that the community will be able to identify them. Raper (ibid:80) also mentions the use of "lexically meaningless" names like Durban. Furthermore, a name does not necessarily stand ready to be used in plural form. But still, according to Raper, one name contains more meanings than an ordinary noun. He says that the biggest task of a name is to stand for a specific item although there might be others like it. The Drakensberg is a name for a specific range of mountains, although there are other ranges of mountains that may have the looks of the Drakensberg.

In nicknames this designator is the original function of the cases that we are going to analyse. The designator is going to be discussed in chapter 5 which is dealing with functionality and response. Nicknames depend solely also on the second aspect, the designatum, i.e. the interpretation, in order to fulfill their primary task of exposing important qualities of the bearer. The last phase in the process of naming, the denotatum, fits in nicknames in the sense that they also are referrals whose principal function is that of having to label individuals in order that the community will be able to identify them. On Raper's meaninglessness of names, we also see the same in nicknames in the examples that are going to be provided later in the discussion. However, it is still worth mentioning while at this stage that one will always find reasons for the giving of the meaningless nickname. Raper contributes greatly in the analysis of the existence of nicknames, since all circumstances mentioned in this evaluation about a name function in a similar way in nicknames.

Alford, in his work, Naming and Identity (1988:82-84)
offers a short definition of nicknames where he says (ibid:82) that they are given to individuals on top of official names. He then proceeds to discuss their derivation. On the reasons for the making of nicknames he emphasises that they come to express exclusive behaviour or development of an individual. He further visits the types of nicknames that exist, for example, abusive nicknames. According to him nicknames are descriptive, especially of the physical body. His statistics reveal that two thirds of any society will be given nicknames. He concludes by saying that nicknames are coined by people who are close to the victim (ibid:83).

His contribution to the definition of a nickname cannot be overlooked, especially where he says that they are given to individuals on top of official names. This supports definitions in the introductory section of this chapter. Chapter 4 deals in depth with the way nicknames originate and benefits much from his observations. As he offers reasons for the existence of nicknames in general, Zulu ones serve the same purposes as others. Behaviour is one of these. Types of nicknames that exist in Zulu societies are dealt with in depth in chapter 2 of this study. As he also has a portion on descriptive functions of nicknames, he adds to the discussion in chapter 4 of this study.

Leslie Dunkling in the book entitled The Guinness Book of Names (1993:136) calls the nicknaming process "The eking out of names". This is a good explanation of the manner in which nicknames are given and introduces the term 'eke' names. He further regards them as "additional" names that emerge when the individual reveals his true colours. This study uses the term 'extra' which is an equivalent of 'additional'. He offers a wide range of examples of Welsh nicknames (ibid:137). In almost all of them he mentions
reasons for the giving of a particular nickname. Most of them reflect human behaviour. He goes on to analyse royal nicknames saying that nicknames become preferable where names fail to convey individuals accurately enough. Nicknames in this study carry with them all these assumed characteristics and behaviour. His analysis also covers nicknames at school. He has a section that deals with incident nicknames where emphasis is hinting on the importance of nicknames in keeping memories of past experiences. Finally, he offers numerous nickname types. Each item among the ones mentioned above has a bearing on the discussion of nicknames that are created for the Zulu people. Incidents that shape an individual's life call for the creation of nicknames to encompass those incidents. An interviewee by the name of Cosmas fulfills this nickname behaviour. (His case will be discussed more fully later on).

In her article in *Nomina Africana* entitled *Nicknaming Across Cultures* (1998:1-14) Vivian De Klerk looks at the general reasons for the occurrence of nicknames taking Xhosa as a case in point. She assumes that they are informally acquired and will rarely follow linguistic rules in their formation, except for their sound system (ibid:1;4). She generalises that nicknames reflect a relaxed atmosphere between makers and victims. Her research is based on nicknames coined by employees for their employers. When these nicknames are meant to comment negatively against the employer they are used secretly to avoid risking the employer's discipline. But De Klerk is justified to conclude it is a relaxed atmosphere even though she is looking at a work situation. The employee cannot jeopardise his/her position by creating a tense atmosphere through openly calling the boss "cheeky" names.
Chapter 7 looks at these linguistic constructions as featuring in nicknames. De Klerk's assumptions are at par with those in Zulu nicknames. Our argument here adds more to this as it explores all corners of circumstances under which nicknames are given. All of her examples in the linguistic analysis of nicknames are Xhosa ones. But they are an apt comparison for this study for Xhosa constructions show common properties with Zulu. In her final analysis she says that nicknames contribute significantly to intercultural trends and the incorporation of her work into this study bears her contention out fittingly.

Bosch (1994a:27-39) contributed an article Bynaamnavorsing: 'n Bestekopname that analyses the section of onomastics which she refers to as an inadequately explored field. This is true, even in the Afrikaans communities it is the same and that is why her work is done in Afrikaans. It should contribute directly to the communities that speak the language. The interesting part of her focus is that she researched nicknames both locally and internationally. Putting together material collected from such a broad spectrum sponsors variety. She also assumes nicknames are additional names (ibid:28) which is emphasised acutely by this study. Under the sub-heading "Die gebruik van byname" (The use of nicknames) she hints about geographic nicknames where a place is given an extra name which describes better than the original one. She regards nicknames as labels that make an individual easily identified. They act as socio-linguistic items that mark the manner in which people interact. She understands them as psycho-linguistic items that expose a person's personality (ibid:33). Finally, she suggests ways of researching nicknames in South Africa in order to enlarge on the issues as mentioned above.
Her observations hold good for the few studies of nicknames made especially in the Zulu societies. Lack of detailed studies on this subject has given our discussion greater indispensability in terms of contributing to the meagre offering so far. Chapter 4 offers more evidence as it discusses nicknames that come out of praises. Our discussion of that does not extend to nickname making for places because of scope which would have become too wide. Zulu nicknames carry the same features in terms of psychological influences. It will not figure prominently in this portion of analysis, but a large number of nicknames has been collected using the hints she offered.

Turner (1997:50-66) in Onomastic Caricatures takes a look at nicknames as used by workers for both employers and co-workers. She observes that these are sorts of labels that function at three levels i.e. lexical, associative and onomastic. The lexical level denotes the semantic meaning of a word chosen to make a nickname, while the associative offers a reason for the choice of that word. Lastly, at the onomastic level, the nickname becomes independent and tends to lose the original meaning of the words, instead touching on the setting in which it has been applied to the individual as an additional label. She refers to diverse functions of nicknames but puts much emphasis on them as a descriptive classification. Our chapter 2 deals directly with nicknames as such. The physical appearance of a human being is for her the most enticing aspect to a nickname maker. Here she is anticipating a deep discussion in chapter 5 about this being a key source of nicknames. She also makes an account of a linguistic analysis of Zulu nicknames starting from simple nouns to compound ones. Chapter 7 of this study also adopts this procedure as it starts with simple nouns and goes on to look at complex
ones. But this study proceeds further to the other parts of speech. In her conclusion she mentions that most nicknames are kept secret from the employer while this study adds other practices like publicising some of the nicknames.

In 1990 Phillips, in the article *Nicknames and Sex Role Stereotypes* analysed nicknames in terms of gender. She mentions that there are more female nicknames than male in the American English societies. This is contrary to the Zulu where male nicknames outnumber those given to females. But still it is the males that make more nicknames than females in her analysis. She observed that these extra names have a potential to stay until the bearer completes his/her life cycle. Yet others come and go in a moment. Our research reveals the same facts about Zulu nicknames. Hence all over the study the duration of certain nicknames is touched upon. She collected 380 nicknames and reflected numerous behaviour patterns among nickname makers, methods of nickname construction, elements used to make nicknames, etc. This study has collected more nicknames due to being a more ambitious project. They total up to 3 098. Her belief is that nicknames can be formed from surnames, which is true of Zulu as well. According to her, some of the English nicknames denote gender. In Zulu, according to the findings of my research, they don't. Phillips's article has, nevertheless, been helpful.

Mcdowell (1981), on the other hand, looks at the semiotics of names. His article has the title: *Towards a Semiotics of Nicknaming*. He concentrates on humorous and derogatory names. This type is discussed in chapter 5 where we have nicknames targeted to ridicule. The only difference here is that Mcdowell looks at real names while we are focussed
on nicknames. He also explains a nickname as an 'eke name', concurrently postulating that this means 'another name' (ibid:1). Here he is confirming assumptions of other onomasticians like Morgan (1979), Dunkling (1993) and Ashley (1989), to mention a few. He discovered that in the Colombian naming systems there are names widely known as legal names which are equal to those treated as real names entered in an individual's identity book. This strengthens the status of a nickname. However, they fare poorly compared to what Mcdowell (1981:2) calls 'a legal name'.

Other forms of naming come before a nickname and those are kinship terms. The interesting cases are "ugly names" which are deployed like the nicknames not used in the presence of the bearer. The significance of Mcdowell's analysis is that his observation has a bearing on nicknames. Ugly ones are equivalent to nicknames that are not mentioned in the hearing of the person maligned. This is discussed in chapter 5 under the section that deals with response from bearers. Mcdowell thinks that the ugly name's behaviour is typical of that of the nickname (ibid:11). This study finds substantiation from his observations.

Brandes (1975) presents nicknames as ways to render an individual to the public. This appears in the article The Structural and Demographic Implications of Nicknames in Navarra, Spain. He looks at the use of nicknames and the function they render. Finally, he looks at how the community at large influences the giving of nicknames. He also contributes to the section in chapter 5 that analyses the functionality of nicknames. His emphasis is on the fact that nicknames overshadow all forms of names that an individual may have inherited in his/her life. They dominate even over surnames (ibid:140). Zulu nicknames
tend to overdo this, especially the self-generated nicknames and those mushrooming from praises. One characteristic that is unusual with Spanish nicknames is that their origin cannot be traced as they are attached to ancestors. This is unlike South African Black nicknames, which are rarely inherited from ancestors. Even those that do come from ancestors, can be traced back to the reasons for their existence then. But for Spanish people nicknames help create a relaxed atmosphere among intimates. Our observation in this regard is that nicknames facilitate all sorts of social interaction between societies and between races. They can annoy, entertain, ridicule and even be neutral. It seems that Mcdowell's communities depend on males for the formation of nicknames. Our research shows that both sexes have the potential to give nicknames. His final contention is that nicknames in smaller Spanish communities spread wider and deeper than in big communities. In the case of Zulu communities the spreading of nicknames depends on regional dispersion. The nickname spreads to regions where an individual has intimacies.

Koopman (1986) deals with social and literary connotations of personal names. He starts his research from personal names as forms of address. His approach is to survey forms of address in Zulu societies. He then looks at praises as the common ground that gives rise to names. He offers different types of praises and then extracts names out of those cases. Some animal names (dogs' and oxen's) also come into the same study. Zulu names originate from culture, their forms of address and identification of individuals which stem from social traditions among the Zulu. Within this account he analyses ways of identifying gender in names. His discussion relies on Ruth Finnegan's *Oral Literature in Africa*. Some functions of names are
laid out in the chapter that deals with Zulu names and other forms of address. Also, a formative -ma- is analysed and the observation is made that it is used to reveal the maiden clan-name of a female.

Koopman's study contributes much input into the study of nicknames especially on expressing indications of gender in nicknames. Since nicknames do not always differentiate between male and female, Koopman's account in this regard helps this study to observe nicknames that are supposed to be belonging to males, but can go to anybody regardless. Furthermore, the extraction of names from praises occurs the same way in nicknames too. People compile praises first and then choose any term in the praises to coin a nickname. The linguistic analysis offers common characteristics between names and nicknames. In nicknames the construction -ma- will sometimes appear and offer an analyst a chance to compare its occurrence in these two forms of address, names and nicknames.

Among analysts, Poulos and Msimang (1998) made an analysis of all parts of speech in Zulu. Theirs is a linguistic analysis of items from a noun to the interrogative. That involves, among other elements, nouns, verbs, qualificatives, verbs, copulatives, adverbs, ideophones, conjunctions and interrogatives. The work adds even the sound system in Zulu. It is based on morphophonemic representation of Zulu linguistic items. Analysis is made starting with words through to sentences. Morphology and phonetics, including phonology are handled with much care and are accompanied by carefully chosen examples. Rightly, the study of Zulu semantics forms part of the discussion.

Although the book is not aimed at looking at names and nicknames directly, there is sufficient material to
substantiate the chapter (7) on morphology and phonology in nicknames. Prefixes and other formatives, including noun classes in nicknames, has been handled with support from relevant elements based on this analysis.

Buthelezi (1997), in her honours dissertation offers a well presented Aetio-morphological account of personal names among the Zulus. She makes a straight forward analysis of personal names starting with derivation processes, names with complex stems (where several noun classes are looked at), names that use constructions like -ma-, -no-, -so- and -se-. She also visits construction such as the interrogative suffixes -ni and -phi. Then she analyses the arrangement of parts of speech in some of her collected material. Finally, she looks at what names refer to in the lives of all stakeholders, starting from the giver to the bearer and through to the user. Analysis is not that deep, theories are not applied profoundly, but many examples are given.

The same chapter 7 deals with the morphophonemic elements in nicknames. Aetio-morphological elements have also made a contribution to the progress of the discussion on nicknames.

Neethling (1994:88-92) analyses Xhosa nicknames and their different categories. He starts with names just to give a background within the process of naming. He offers a different way of defining a nickname where he incorporates other critics' observations. He says they assume that a nickname is a name that develops to take the place of a personal name. He brings forth German nicknames and analyses them at a tangent in order to open a way for Xhosa iziteketiso. He focuses on nicknames that are formed from legal names through contraction. Koopman (1987:154)
calls them either hypochorisms or pet-names. The morphological structure of nicknames in Xhosa use a noun class 1a prefix u- and a noun class 2a prefix oo-. Interestingly, female nicknames are formed by dropping the female markers no- and ma- from personal names. Concerning lexical meaning in names, these lose status when nicknames are coined using personal names. Xhosa will also go to the extent of borrowing from other languages like English in order to fulfill the requirements of nickname coining. It is clear that the passive formative -w is common in female nicknames and never in male ones. Lastly, it appears that nicknames in Xhosa societies are used by close relatives and other intimates.

Neethling analyses Xhosa nicknames which seem to have many common qualities with Zulu nicknames. We should not forget that differences occur also and examples below will substantiate these observations. For instance, he starts by analysing names which are very important in our argument as data that lay a foundation for the coining of nicknames. Some say that a nickname must come after the name. A very interesting deviation found by Neethling is where he defines the nickname as an address that obliterates the personal name. Among the Zulus we notice that when the nickname is prominent, the name is relegated to secondary position. Yet it is true that nicknames may be formed from legal names through shortening. Another aspect that brings Xhosa and Zulu close to each other is their morphological structure where Xhosa uses a noun class 1a prefix u- and a noun class 2a prefix oo-. The only slight difference is that Zulu uses only o- in the latter. Interestingly again, female nicknames among the Zulus do not need any additions, neither do they need any dropping of formatives. All that happens is that the no- and ma- which are female and male markers respectively,
will never channel the nickname wrongly to either a male or a female. No lexical meaning will be lost when nicknames are made from names. Moreover, borrowing from other languages like English, whether with adaptation or not this, will still be correct among the Zulus. Lastly, nicknames among the Zulus will be taken up by anybody. Chapter 3 deals with givers and bearers and will give a full account of who nicknames who, when and how.

Collier and Bricker (1970:289-302) offer different ways of analysing nicknames in Zinacantan social systems. Here nicknames attract the attention of anthropologists who look at their nicknames in terms of cultural norms. Somewhere they involve economic situations in the formation and coining of nicknames. It is emphasised that nicknames in these societies reflect individual behaviour and characteristics. They also develop around striking events and keep a record of them. These analysts also look at the function of nicknames where they identify, among other things, the emphasis made by a nickname in pointing at a person's residential place. Another system followed in coining nicknames in these societies is where the lineage becomes the main tool in that each nickname, in most cases, has to keep a track of the members falling within a certain lineage. This brings their nicknames close to surnames. It is because their surnames are also attached to lineage. Nicknames play a very significant role in typing family groups to help males in that group not to marry girls from there. Spanish and Indian people interact in these societies and understandably share the same norms in the coining of nicknames. Furthermore nicknames can be used to mock certain individuals, especially deviants. What these types of nicknames involve commonly are two characteristics, i.e. the personality of an individual and some particular behaviour features. In
this way most mild criticism is carried out by way of coining humorous nicknames for some identified individuals. The two critics offer profound statistics of the existing nicknames parallel to first names. Lineage is the most important phenomenon in the society. Due to that, the statistics reflect that nicknames are used for the aim of creating a strong lineage in each group.

Collier and Bricker (1970:289-302) do not offer much as they analyse nicknames in Mexican Zinacantan social systems. The difference is that with them nicknames attract the attention of anthropologists above all others for it is open territory. While their findings reveal that their nicknames deal more with cultural aspects, our study has discovered that Zulu nicknames touch upon all spheres of life. They dwell more on the physical body and personality. Perhaps they coincide with Spanish Americans here as Collier and Bricker emphasise that nicknames in their societies reflect individual behaviour and characteristics. Another parallel is where Zulu nicknames arise from striking events and keep memoirs of them. Also on the part of the function of nicknames which emphasises that they identify, and as well, point at a person's residential place, these societies seem to be on common ground. Another system that chimes in with some of the functions of our nicknames is where the lineage becomes the main area for them to dwell. Zulus will commonly use nicknames to keep record of their genealogy.

Many of the sources used to substantiate observations in nicknames and their behaviour have to do with names. Not all of them have been summarised because wider emphasis was placed on those sources that deal directly with nicknames. In cases where sources combined names and nicknames, only those portions that touched on nicknames
were used to avoid repetition, or giving an impression that nicknames only behave like names in the end.

1.5 On the Theory of Nicknames

We have referred to the article about the analysis of names in par. 1.4 above, as written by Raper (1987). A study of nicknames may take off from this theory and add specific information that inspire these extra names. Many of the theoretical assumptions that appear below reveal similarities and differences here and there between names and nicknames.

In brief, this study employs the theory as expounded by Leslie and Skipper (1990) under the title "Toward a Theory of Nicknames: a case for Socio-onomastics" (which forms part of articles in the Journal of the American Names Society).

They analyse the whole process of nicknaming and suggest ways of dealing with new research on the subject. First they regard nicknames as part of names. The whole analysis will have the assumptions discussed slightly in par. 1.1 above as its pillar, which means that in each example and each argument there will be something said about the significance of the nickname being discussed. The theorists in question also regard nicknames as labels that require composers (1990:275). This contributes to part of our chapter 3. They mention 'behaviour' as one source of nicknames. Our chapter 3 deals in depth with this part of nickname development. Their theory also emphasises 'meaning' (1990:276) in nicknames and their development. Almost all aspects dealt with in this study carry with them the meaning of each nickname offered and analysed. Leslie and Skipper (1990:279) emphasise the significance
of culture and tradition as a motivational environment. This study also regards the same environmental background as a crucial reservoir of nicknames. The same theorists suggest (ibid 279) that nicknames have to be interpreted as they say: "In using nicknames we follow everyday rules that leave latitude for interpretation."

The overall assumption is that nicknames are those that are used to make each individual feel confident to be within the community. This means that a person who cannot be nicknamed is probably not an active figure in his/her society but an outcast.

1.6 Semantics in Nicknames

Since nicknames are made out of linguistic terms, and the main objective of a language is to convey a message, one of the objectives of nicknames is to offer to the public certain characteristics of the bearer.

Names do take on plural forms. This is also true in the case of nicknames. People who belong to one area can share one nickname, but this will be a very rare case. We have referred to cases of plural in nicknames above and in other chapters for the sake of identifying and illustrating noun classes and other items, to emphasise the assumption that plurality exists although it is uncommon in nicknaming systems.

Since most nicknames have a meaning and are therefore translatable, they act as words in a language and thus retain their original status of carrying linguistic meaning. Most of the nicknames we will deal with come from the Zulu language thus offering meaning as Zulu people would use and perceive them.
Some of the nicknames we will come across do not have a meaning. There is one process in the making of meaningless nicknames. The giver will just coin a word that does not appear in any dictionary of a language. 'UBhetshetshe, uBapitshase' are both meaningless nicknames (they have been taken at random from different chapters). The motive behind the making of these nicknames is known to givers only. Usually these givers are truly creative. They do not wait for a meaningful item to give somebody a nickname.

Finally, some nicknames have vague meaning. Nicknames such as 'uKhulu-zo' (untranslatable) do not carry clear meanings. The first part '-khulu-' might mean 'big', but '-zo' is again meaningless, thus making the whole nickname construction to be untranslatable.

1.7 Conclusion

With regard to the American nicknames, Leslie and Skipper (1990:274) say:

Compared to other studies of names, the systematic study of nicknames has attracted little attention. Regardless of academic discipline, only a small amount of empirical research exists, even though H.L. Mencken in 1919 argued that nicknames are an important and deeply embedded cultural element in American society.

This topic has been chosen to further contribute to the meagre studies already existing since quite few scholars so far have analysed Zulu people's nicknames at length. Among the few is Bosch (1994) and Turner (1997).

It is therefore hoped that the observations will create fascination to those scholars who find interest in the
subject. It is also hoped that the analysis will cover as much scope as possible on the subject of people's nicknames.

I finally observe that nicknames should be regarded as more functional than main names as they always appear after real names for a reason that is usually stronger than that of the real name. Furthermore, they regularly tend to overshadow real names, otherwise there would be no need for the nickname to be given at all. To add to all this they have a tendency to multiply, extend, move from individual to individual, accumulate or vanish only to re-appear.
CHAPTER TWO

Nature of People’s Nicknames

2.1 Introduction

Nicknaming, is a post-naming process as mentioned in chapter one. This means that a person receives a real or legal name prior to a nickname. The main difference therefore, is that, the real name is used to register the individual in official records or the "book of life" together with his/her surname. A nickname is by no means an official name. This does not mean though that a nickname cannot change status. In a few cases nicknames lose their informal status and end up in identity books.

The World Book Encyclopaedia (1982:8) says that nicknames:

...may be either descriptive terms or pet names. Descriptive terms...usually express a person's prominent characteristics.

In this study we shall refer to victims of nicknaming as bearers, and givers of nicknames as composers or makers. The term "nicknamers" will also be occasionally used.

It is important to note that in certain instances people modify, adapt or stylize real names by shortening or lengthening, or by false pronunciation, (deliberately or otherwise). But such names cannot qualify to be nicknames for the reason that they do not conform to the acceptable
process of true post-naming. It is a mere adaptation of the real name and in a way out of the scope of nicknaming. Nicknaming actualizes an extra name without restructuring existing ones.

While it is true that the shortening of a legal name cannot be regarded as true onomastic art, it still depends on how creative a giver was in spicing the legal name. Sometimes givers become so artistic that the one who hears the nickname for the first time would not realize it was made out of a legal name. In such a case, the product is a pure nickname.

2.2 People's Nicknames

This section analyses, among other qualities of nicknames, the nature of people's nicknames in terms of three categories, namely, pure Zulu nicknames, adopted nicknames and other various kinds of nicknames. Each of the three categories cited will comprise a brief analysis of the origin of these nicknames although the subject of origin is dealt with in depth in chapter 4 of this study. Some reference will also be made to the function of people's nicknames, but this is dealt with in depth in chapter 6. In most cases real names of people will accompany nicknames. In some cases only nicknames will be given.

When nicknames are composed any word is used. Normally the prefix 'u-' for noun class 1a is used, as in 'uMzwempi' (House of War). Sometimes composers use the prefix 'i(N)-' for noun classes 5 and 9, as in 'iNgola' (The Wagon). A fuller analysis of morphological components in nicknames will be presented in chapter 7.

The process of nicknaming people can be regarded as art.
It calls for a composing talent with motivation and reason. It involves creativity because a composer wants to see the nickname functioning to his/her satisfaction. For instance, a diviner who is nicknamed 'uMajamela' (One who simply stares at you) is expected to fulfil the motivation for the name by being able to simply look at the patient and be capable of diagnosing concisely what his (patient's) future health is like. In that way the nickname will be highly appropriate.

In this section we will be looking at components that make up Zulu ones. Included here will be the use of language as the basic instrument in composing as well as other different languages involved in the same process. Yet the linguistic discussion will not be based on morphology and superficial semantics since there is a chapter (7) which deals with these directly.

Differences and similarities in names and nicknames will be mentioned as the discussion proceeds. This is because, theories used in analysing names do apply in nicknames as well. Behaviour of nicknames also forms a major part in the breaking down of items that contribute to the nature of people's nicknames. The latter will have a section that discusses it directly as one of the sub-headings below.

2.2.1 Pure Zulu Nicknames

The first category refers to nicknames made purely from the Zulu language, for example 'uZimbizinto' (Things-are-bad). The form of composition is understood well among Zulus as the nicknames are constructed from the Zulu language.

Nicknames like 'uBhungezi' (Beetle), 'uMfazodlisayo'
(Woman who poisons other people), 'uSihlahla' (Tree) would suffice to be classified under pure Zulu nickname since they are crafted with linguistic constructions that come from Zulu and are well understood by the speakers of the language.

Nicknames in this category are easy to interpret. They also receive quick response from victims if they are not meant to be hidden away from them.

My research rates exclusive Zulu nicknames highest in ratio when compared to other categories. Out of 3000 nicknames from the Ukhozi FM (Appendix 1) 2200 are pure Zulu nicknames. The traditionally-minded older generations among the Zulus who are expected to compose and give exclusive Zulu nicknames, have been so influenced by foreign practices that their nicknames are not derived from Zulu only.

2.2.2 Nicknames from Other Languages

Some Zulu nicknames are unchanged names borrowed from other indigenous languages and are used unadapted in many Zulu situations. These nicknames can derive from anything. They may come from English during interaction between speakers of the language and the Zulus, and learned people to whom English has become familiar. They may come from Afrikaans which is one of this country's official languages. In most cases, however, nicknames are names taken from other indigenous languages. This section portrays a few of those.

2.2.2.1 Nicknames from SeSotho

The area of Loteni is inhabited by both Zulus and Southern
Sothos. This results in mutual borrowing of certain linguistic notions inclusive of nicknames. The Sotho word 'koko' means any fearsome animal. When Zulu mothers tease their babies they call them 'kokoanas' (small fearsome animals). These become nicknames very easily. Otherwise they address them as 'motho-je' (just a person). A baby may retain either of the two nicknames, i.e. 'Kokoana' and 'Motho-je' until old age since these adoptions occur in all age groups. Similarly, Sotho people adopt Zulu nicknames from the speakers.

Again we spot item adoption occurring within different ethnic groups which live either near or among each other. It must be emphasised that linguistic borrowing between two or more ethnic groups implies strong social ties.

2.2.2.2 Nicknames from English

An example of a nickname from English, is one of a certain headmaster of a school who was given the nickname 'uRabha' (The Rubber) by students. Students adapt English spelling (although pronunciation is almost the same) to Zulu not because they are unable to write in English the word 'rubber' like the speakers of the English language. The pupils of that school mean that the headmaster is so placid, one would associate him with the flexibility of the rubber. The origin of the nickname here comes mainly from the behaviour of the headmaster. Other students associate the same nickname with the principal's talent in solving problems. He removes problems almost the same way as one erases a mistake on paper using a rubber.

A huge, tough-looking woman was nicknamed by her fellow citizens as 'uStation-wagon' comparing her to the spacious body of a station-wagon car. This is one proof that body
mass and structure can be a prompting factor for the development of most nicknames.

A man who used to introduce himself by saying "Hello there" to listeners when addressing them over the air (on Radio Zulu) was consequently nicknamed 'uHello there' by listeners. This example follows Schimmel's (1989:52) observation that:

A common way of distinguishing people is to call them by one of their favourite expressions.

2.2.2.3 Nicknames from Afrikaans

One of the effects of communication between Zulus and Afrikaners is the giving of Afrikaans orientated nicknames to Zulus by Zulus themselves. A certain father gave his son the nickname 'uBoer' (A Boer) because, firstly, the son had such a light complexion. Secondly, he was born during the scandal involving the ex-Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, Mr B.J. Vorster who allegedly misused government monies.

At most schools students of literature pick up names from Afrikaans set books and use them as nicknames for themselves. Somebody was nicknamed 'uTweeling' the name originating from a book entitled Maliesel en die tweeling by W.A. Hickey.

In these nicknames we see reflections of social life resulting from interaction between diverse peoples of this country. This means an ability to share languages by giving individuals nicknames and names that are taken from other languages.
2.2.2.4 Nicknames that Mix Languages

Some nicknames combine two or more languages in one coining. Usually it is Zulu and English that are mixed. Givers have a tendency of avoiding pure Zulu and pure English combinations. Observation reveals that Zulu tends to mix adoptives with pure English words. About 30% (900 out of 3000) of the collected nicknames behave like this.

It is essential in this case to define the phrase 'adopted nickname' before one embarks on a discussion. An adopted word is one that is assimilated from another language and adapted phonologically, and even morphologically, into another language. Nickname givers also use adoptives to make nicknames.

'UGogowaseCalvary' (Grandmother of Calvary) is also a nickname that alludes to a place that features in the Bible. It is a good example of a nickname which mixes languages. This time it incorporates a possessive made out of a Hebrew name of a place in Palestine.

The nickname 'uJacaranda-juqu' (Jacaranda breaking) is a nickname that mixes an English noun with a Zulu ideophone. The nickname reveals qualities of having been extracted from praises. Even when pronounced it calls for a pitch reminiscent of praising. It is used in circumstances where a bearer is to be appreciated for good work.

An interesting case is when the first half is English and the second an English adoptive as in 'uTwo-sheleni' (Two-shillings). The nickname reflects the introduction of British coinage into South Africa.

'USisi-Joyce' (Sister-Joyce - Zulu adoptive from English +
English). This nickname portrays the domination of English over Zulu as there is an equivalent of the word "sister" (udade) in Zulu but the nickname uses the adoptive "uSisi". Since the introduction of European beer types in shebeens, names that are given to shebeen queens have adoptive traces. This system can also be used where the term "sisi" is attached to a real name as in 'Sisi-Beauty' or 'Sisi-Grace'.

From one of the callers in the programme "iSigungu" which is featured by uKhozi FM, there is one nickname which seems to be the longest of all this study has come across. It goes 'u-Amenamakholwaqedukuthandaza' (Amen-believers who have finished praying). Instead of mixing two different linguistic terms, it mixes a Greek term 'Amen' with a Zulu sentence.

We detect the effect of international languages in the Zulu societies since the arrival of people of European descent and others in this country. In actual fact the nickname in the paragraph above tells the community of the evangelisation of Christianity among the population of the country.

2.3 Behaviour of Nicknames

This section discusses henceforth the nickname directly, the way it adheres itself onto the bearer and the manner of classifying it. Here we will be looking at the time it takes while being used actively by whoever is involved (as mentioned above). We will be looking at the behaviour of nicknames have to do with distance which makes them acquire a status of being called distant nicknames. We will look at situational nicknames where we find types that exist only as long as the duration of the situation
that encouraged their origination. We will analyse also
status changing nicknames, public, secretive, shared,
double status as well as reversible nicknames.

2.3.1 Temporary Nicknames

By temporary nicknames I mean those nicknames that are
used for a relatively short period. For instance, being in
a high school for only two years may influence the
duration of the nickname. Being in an employment area for
as little as a month may mean the nickname to be in use
for only that period. A teacher who taught history at a
high school was nicknamed 'uMadman' (made out of an Irish
surname O'Madigan). He taught for only two months and left
the country. For sure he did not carry the nickname away
with him. This must have happened more particularly
because as Zulu speaking pupils were astounded by the
strange surname, they came out with this nickname. Where
he went they may not find the surname strange at all hence
there will not be any need for such a particular nickname.
But it is still a nickname because, should he return to
this country and meet one of his ex-history students, the
nickname will be revived.

A bus driver, Mr Ngubane, worked for seven months in my
home area when he acquired the nickname 'uMbhobhuyatsheka'
(The tilting exhaust pipe). He was transferred to another
area where he was given another nickname 'uNgubanojahayo'
(The Ngubane who drives fast).

There are nicknames that stay only when somebody still has
a certain status in his/her profession. When the status
changes the nickname disappears to make room for a new
one. A certain Mr Sikhakhane of Bulwer was given a
nickname 'uMncane' (The junior) because of his status as a
junior teacher. When he was transferred to another school to act as a headmaster, he got a new one 'uMaghude' (Roosters). This simply means that all the teachers of his new school were ordinary "fowls", he had now become a "rooster".

A nickname will sometimes have a tendency of disappearing when the bearer is removed from his peers, only to find that after a long while, when the bearer returns to the same group of people, it resurfaces.

2.3.2 Nicknames for Public Figures

Some nicknames stay with a person for his/her entire life. These are especially nicknames that are given to people who work for the public. The community will always refer to the person using his/her nickname even when he/she has left their company.

The nickname 'uKansas City' stayed with the radio announcer by the name of Bongani Mchunu until he died. He was the one responsible for keeping it alive everytime because he used all his names including this nickname when he introduced himself to his listeners everytime he featured in a programme.

Staying with the same group of people in the whole of a person's life is the main factor that contributes to the ever current status of a nickname.

Public figures such as those who work for the media, because of the nature of their profession - being in the limelight - are the best example of people who keep a nickname for life. Even when they retire, whoever meets them anywhere will address them using their nicknames.
Nicknames belonging to public figures can be described as active also since every possible user handles them without fear. This type of nicknames is used almost everywhere when the bearer is being addressed.

2.3.3 Situational Nicknames

These nicknames behave more like names of characters in a one act play who exist only when the play is on. When the curtain closes actors go back to their official names.

Sometimes when bosom friends tease each other they use situational nicknames. Let us say A is reading a novel about uNtombazi and B starts disturbing A jocularly. Zulus have a tendency of uttering a playful disciplinary statement that might go: "Ake uyeke ukungiphazamisa, lo Ntombazi lo!" (Stop disturbing me, you Ntombazi!) The name of the character now becomes a temporary extra name for B. When the novel reading situation is over, the two may resort to doing something else which will make them forget about the nickname.

This research has even discovered a case where the name of the former State President of South Africa Mr PW Botha was temporarily given to a naughty girl. The stepmother was shouting at a young girl who was mischievous while the husband was telling her about something he was reading in the newspaper concerning the state president. The nickname 'uBotha' was used but it did not mean that the former state president had anything to do with the mischief that the girl was committing. The giver in this type of nicknaming makes a nickname without premeditation.

In a very important meeting an induna, by the name of
uSikhindi, was addressing people when a certain drunkard decided to make a noise. One elderly man shouted at him calling him with the name of the induna (uSikhindi). A man who worked closely with the induna heard him and told the induna that the man was disciplining the drunkard by nicknaming him with the name of the induna. A lot of havoc erupted. The accused mentioned that he did not mean to despise the induna but it just happened that he used the name like that.

2.3.4 Status Changing Nicknames

These are nicknames that develop as nicknames and finally become official names. The best example is the former Premier of Gauteng, Tokyo Sexwale, whose legal first name is Gabriel but when he rose to high office he had to change his identity document to include the nickname in it. He inherited it from his knowledge of karate which is associated with Japan similar to kung fu elsewhere in Asia. He himself says that people would not know who he really was if he did not use his nickname. In that way he discarded the legal name and publicised his nickname as an official one.

If this happens we assume that the nickname has been promoted into a legal name to stay with an individual for the rest of his/her life. Otherwise if the elected provincial premier was going to take office and change back to Gabriel, he would have lost the popularity brought by his karate prowess.

It is not easy though for a legal name to turn into a nickname due to the fact that once it is known as an official name, it is regarded that way for good. The same case of Sexwale's legal name, Gabriel, has made a
different picture altogether. He does not even mention it when introducing himself to people. So, instead of being demoted a rank his baptised name simply disappeared.

2.3.5 Secret Nicknames

Among nicknames there are those that may not reach the ears of bearers because of many reasons. They might be derogatory, as in nicknames that comment on admired parts of the body. 'Umpandlana' (Small bald) is not easily accepted by the bearer, so the nickname cannot be used publicly.

Other secret nicknames refer to unpalatable incidents in the life of an individual. A man nicknamed his young boy 'uNkobongela' (untranslatable) as soon as he discovered his wife had an extra-marital affair during his absence as he was working very far away. The man doubted if he really fathered the boy. The boy's real name was uNdumiso. A lot of havoc would result if the origin of the nickname was not kept secret because the wife habitually used to use the term 'inkobongela' to refer to the presence of the husband when the secret lover made signs that he was hanging around to see her. Now the wife thought that the husband simply chose the nickname coincidentally. The young boy himself would make a lot of noise if he finally came to understand the father's message as contained by the nickname.

These nicknames could also be regarded as dormant. They can be as dormant as if they are never in existence. They are active only after users have checked on the presence of the bearer. Once the bearers are absent, the nickname is active. Once they appear, it goes to sleep.
2.3.6 Transferable Nicknames

Some nicknames are shared by more than one bearer if those bearers do not belong to one area. The commonest ones are 'uMpwdlana' (Small bald), 'uSidudla' (The plump one), 'uSndlana' (Small-handed). These nicknames are self-explanatory and people with the qualities best described by them will share these nicknames. But it is always unlikely that two individuals sharing a nickname are in the same environment. If this was to be the case the assumption that nicknames refer to rather than address a person would be invalidated. In addition, the fact that a nickname identifies a person better than a name, would be confounded if two people in the same area were to share a nickname.

2.3.7 Nicknames with Double status

A nickname that enjoys two ranks is one which operates as a real name for one person and at the same time as a nickname for the other.

An interesting process can take place where somebody's surname becomes somebody else's nickname. A football player Marks Maponyane (the latter being a surname) perhaps does not know that at Loteni somebody whose nickname is 'Go' (equivalent to walk) and his surname is Duma inherited the nickname 'uMaponyane'. This is because the praises of this player are 'uGo-man-go'. Now people took it from the nickname 'uGo' and likened it to a part of the player's praises, thus qualifying Mr Duma to be called 'uMaponyane'. Yet the surname is not totally obliterated by this new one.
A similar case occurred to a boy whose name was Ronny, who inherited a nickname 'uMasilela' just because he was given by parents a name of one of the well known uKhozi FM announcers, Ronny Masilela.

Another young man in one of the Pholela Circuit schools belonged to a Dladla clan. Now that he was a star in soccer, pupils nicknamed him 'uTeenage'. Teenage Dladla was once a famous Kaizer Chiefs player. The surname in this case is the one that influences a giver to opt for this nickname.

2.4 Conclusion

The observation here is that the nature of people's nicknames brings with it the idea that it is not only the Zulu language that is utilised to make nicknames, but other South African and foreign languages. Many of the nicknames collected reveal that speakers of Zulu are comfortable to use their mother tongue to make nicknames. On the other hand nicknames that incorporate foreign borrowings like other languages are not outnumbered by nicknames made in Zulu. What it shows is that the process of making nicknames finds a lot of interest in using outlandish aspects like applying other languages.

We have seen nicknames that come from English, Afrikaans, Sotho, Hebrew, etc. There are even those nicknames that mix languages in one nickname. Language is such a dynamic tool in making nicknames, it does not matter whether it is the giver's mother-tongue or not.

Out of all the categories mentioned in this section that deals with categories of nicknames, we have seen nicknames coming to settle, then starting to behave. A point this
study has attempted to prove is that nicknames either behave in a certain way, or they cause the giver, bearer or user to make them behave in a certain way.
CHAPTER THREE

Givers and Bearers

3.1 Introduction

Human beings are nickname-bearers as well as givers. Anybody can be subjected to nicknaming, especially prominent and distinguished figures. Once somebody has something worth remembering and noticeable to the public, they promptly become victims of nicknaming. Ashley (1989:49) has the following to say about the choice of people for nicknaming:

Those nicknames are readily accepted, but no one is safe from nicknaming, and the more public the person is, the more susceptible and inviting is the target.

Some people are so highly intent on making nicknames that they go around nicknaming anyone for very slight reasons. This section analyses givers and bearers as active agents in the process of nicknaming.

3.2 Actual Givers and Bearers

There are many categories of givers and bearers in this regard. In the event where a giver assigns a nickname to somebody else, the victim may fight back in the same way.

Given the above assumption, it is difficult to discuss givers apart from bearers. The arrangement in the following discussion will, therefore, try to answer the
question 'Which members of the community nickname whom?' At the end of the discussion we will look at the life experience of an individual who goes through the experience of being both a giver and a bearer.

3.2.1 Young Men and Women

Traditional countryside young men and women nickname one another using extracts from praises as we will see in chapter 4. Other examples involving this category of nickname givers are scattered all over the study.

3.2.2 Families

Parents give nicknames to their children. Children on their side nickname their parents. For example, children in a family may nickname their vicious father, 'uMaqhude' (Rooster) because of his bossy attitude. And they choose to use a rooster because it is a fowl that they know better for its "attitude" and behaviour. Sometime they nickname him 'uMabhovu' (meaningless). Though the name is a bit obscure it has signs that reveal onomatopoeic qualities for somebody who roars like a lion. The nickname may come from the word 'ukubhavumula' (to roar). Grandparents are no exception; a grandmother is usually nicknamed 'uMagriza' (the Granny). The same goes for a grandfather, he may be nicknamed 'uMabhakhini' - a nickname made from Tsotsitaal.

A last-born child is habitually named 'uThunjana' (Last-born). This name can also be a nickname depending on the manner of origin. If the last-born inherited a different name, the fact that people will want to refer to him/her as the last-born, finally becomes his/her nickname. But it is easy to eradicate such nicknames because once another
child is born, it vanishes very quickly. The same applies when there are a group of last-born children from different families, the term is used for its common purpose.

Another case is that of a naughty child who is nicknamed 'uKhandalimtshelokwakhe' (the Naughty one - literally translated as: Head tells him all about him). But one must be careful in this case not to make a mistake between this term when applied as a nickname and when applied as a term. It works well when the victim is the only one out of line. But once there are more than one, the nickname shifts a little to become a term used to refer to all those who are naughty. Commonly a plural 'oKhandalimtshelokwakhe' will indicate its general use as a linguistic term.

Among families anybody can nickname any member of the family. Parents will even nickname their infants. Some children only discover their legal names when they are grown-ups, ready to apply for legal documents.

3.2.3 Individuals with Idiosyncrasies

A person who likes walking around is nicknamed 'uNdleleni' (always on the road). If another individual develops a habit of walking around like the one nicknamed 'uNdleleni' givers will habitually look for another term that best describes the personality. A favourable one is 'uSingekasikho' (Has no bum), meaning that the bearer never sits down.

One who is fond of talking frequently can be nicknamed 'uGecezile' (The talkative one). This nickname is taken from a term which linguistically means that, it is a bad
habit. Otherwise should one be addressed as 'uKhulumile' (same meaning) it might be her legal name. It is more polite than the former. People involved in the nicknaming of such people are usually members of the family.

3.2.4 Media Workers

Radio listeners and television viewers nickname their announcers as well. A popular former Radio Zulu announcer, Dr V.V.O. Mkhize is known by the nickname 'uBoogy-funky-man' originating from his tremendous love of funky music. When interviewed he revealed that he nicknamed himself inspired by the way his listeners admired his choice of funky music. The self nicknaming fashion supports Madubuike's assumption that "Sometimes nicknames are self-imposed." (1976:20)

3.2.5 Musicians

Musical groups receive nicknames from admirers. A certain Maskandi, named Khoza, is nicknamed 'iNkunziyembongolokayibekwa' (Donkey stallion should not be reared). He chose to nickname himself thus because he regards other fellow Maskandi singers as junior to him regarding experience and quality of the music he offers. His other nickname is 'iNkosiyomaskandi' (King of the Maskandis), also for the same reason.

Another Zulu traditional music artist, the late Mahlathini Nkabinde, used to be nicknamed 'iMbolomane' (One with a very deep voice). This nickname comes from the type of

1. Performer of music in which the instrumentalist sings and recites poetry.
A lady musician who used to compose the sort of music which was popular in the 1990's, Mercy Pakela, was called 'u-Ayashisamateki' (Hot shoes). This nickname alluded to the way she danced. She performed so fast that people likened it to somebody wearing hot dancing shoes.

The general trend here is that of using whatever is striking in the way the singer sings, the way they dance or the way they name their groups.

3.2.6 Authors

Writers nickname themselves too, and they have a tendency of offering both their legal and pen-names (nicknames). The writer of a popular Zulu drama book "Mageba Lazihlonza" has his full name, Bethuel Blose Ndelu on the book, but he accompanies it with the nickname 'uNonkamfela' (untranslatable). He obviously does not aim at hiding his actual name. But for those writers who do not own exclusive Zulu surnames, hiding their actual names and surnames counts a lot for market and protection against prejudice. The only controversial phenomenon in pen names, if one were to weigh them against nicknames, is that the former needs both a false name and a false surname, whereas nicknames are just extra names. But in Zulu we do come across nicknames that are other people's names and surnames. For example, the author C.L. Xulu in the book Ezawokhokho (1990) is, in fact, L.C. Posthumus.

When writers hide under assumed names we call the names pseudonyms or noms de plume (pen names). In some cases they successfully replace the real name... and even become so entrenched (and sound so natural) that we do not
realize that they are pseudonyms at all.

Zulu writers rarely use pen names. My research has not found any sound and solid example here.

3.2.7 Teachers and Pupils

Teachers use nicknames routinely. Even today nicknaming continues very strongly in schools. What is striking about school nicknames is that both the groups do not use nicknames in the hearing of bearers. This can be attributed to the fact that teachers tell secrets among themselves about students and vice versa.

As Morgan (1979:146) puts it:

Since the nicknames which children use for teachers often virtually define the 'us and them' nature of schools, teachers are rarely called by their nickname to their faces and similarly children often strongly resent a teacher using their nicknames.

Mr Silondeni Mahlaba of Impendle used to teach English at one of the Natal schools named Siminza Secondary School and was nicknamed 'uMagpie' by his students. The nickname came from the title of an English setbook which he used to teach. As one of his students, I was also impressed by the way he pronounced the word 'magpie' with an American accent and that was enough to make him qualify for the nickname. In the same school we nicknamed one hyperactive pupil 'uGalajana' (Active one) testifying to his untiring activity.

A certain boy from the Zondi clan called Robson was nicknamed by his best friend as 'uMabheqeza' (Flaps) because he (the bearer) was very fond of wearing a double-
Another principal had the surname of Mkhabela. He also taught English as a second language to his pupils. He then developed a tendency of anglicising everything he handled, including his surname. Instead of turning it into Macbell which is a common assumption, he called himself 'Mr Cups and Saucers' (Understandable). Children did not use it as a surname but as a nickname. They did this by simply removing the title "Mr" in the beginning and just mentioned it as it is.

A caretaker was nicknamed by pupils 'uNjengenja' (Like a dog) just because he had a long nose ridge reminiscent of a dog's. Although it is not the whole body that resembles the dog's, the term dog is used in full to make a nickname.

The game of nicknaming in schools does not take a one-sided lane, but it is a two-way path. Teachers enjoy making themselves into givers of nicknames. While they are aware that pupils nickname them and use these either in or out of their hearing, they make nicknames for pupils too. But it is rare that teachers make nicknames and use them in privacy. They prefer to let the bearers know they have been given certain nicknames.

This process becomes a social tool that strengthens a playful relationship between them and their pupils. Alford (1988:82) says in his account of nicknames that: "...the use of nicknames may serve a variety of social functions." In the case of school environments nicknaming strengthens communication between pupils and teachers. But you do find cases where a pupil truly detests a nickname but cannot run away from it because it is used by his/her
authorities.

It also happens that teachers use those nicknames that have been made by pupils in their interaction between themselves. This is where things can go wrong, because teachers may overlook the circumstances where a particular nickname is meant to be utilised. If it was supposed to be kept away from the ears of the bearer, teachers may use their discretion of being authorities, but still the bearer may be totally hurt.

The nickname 'uBhantshi' (Jacket) suggests that his school jacket is either under or oversized. If not so, he has a jacket that has a slightly different colour from the one prescribed in the prospectus of the school. Teachers do use a nickname like this although they must first study the economic standing of the parents. If the cause of the defect is due to lack of funds to purchase the right uniform, the nickname will not be made. But if the child says that he chose to be different, then teachers can fantasize about it through making a nickname.

Pupils do comment about what they like and what they do not like at school. It is so common that boys hate putting a tie on, especially that they want to be simple and informal, but the tie changes the whole outlook. The main cause of hating a tie is that pupils are sometimes late to school, and the tie worsens the situation as it takes time to make a knot. A student who has made it public even to the teachers that he hates a tie will be nicknamed 'uNTanjana' (Little rope). It is to tell everybody that the student has hang-ups with the school tie so he regards it as tying a rope around a neck as if one were committing suicide.
A lot of business takes place in the nicknaming that happens among pupils themselves. Givers in this process attempt and fail at times. The failure to secure a nickname for an individual might perhaps be caused by the coming in of two nicknames simultaneously. So one succeeds while another loses the battle. A nickname can never be attributed to the bearer for being bossy and nobody dare start trouble with him, because in such a case, a nickname is used secretly. Some stay for a short while and go. Others are overtaken by new ones that have more substantiation than the original nicknames. But children do all sorts of things with nicknames.

3.2.8 Soccer Heroes and Fans

The nickname 'uVu' (Untranslatable) comes from the name uVuma, but it is given to a person who is a good soccer player. Givers and users, who are ordinarily pupils, are impressed by the way this nickname sounds when being shouted in a chorus when they are together watching a soccer match. They shout it especially when the bearer kicks a ball that makes a rainbow arch where they start in a lower tone when the ball is still gaining momentum up into the air. When it makes an arch on its way back they shout louder and when it comes down they shout as if they are singing in a descending order.

The nickname 'uRhee' (untranslatable) comes from the name Richard. It behaves exactly like the example given above. But the nickname 'uBhotsotso' (narrow-bottomed trousers) will always go to a player who has thin legs. Fans shout this nickname to the player when the ball goes into the net because of the space created by thin legs.
We observe in these nicknames that players, as well as fans, give one another nicknames using striking features that surround their career. Mainly, their names offer opportunities used to make nicknames. We notice also that fans borrow nicknames from players. But we are confident to assume that nicknames come more from fans to players.

3.2.9 Professional People

Moving away from schools, one finds that citizens nickname anyone in their vicinity, especially professional people like pastors, policemen, shopkeepers and teachers. A Roman Catholic German Minister by the name of Father Pius who had a habit of wearing a beret was nicknamed 'uMabhalede' (Beret).

3.2.10 Tavern Owners and Customers

The shebeen-queen would be nicknamed by her customers because they do not want to use her real name. Usually they call the shebeen-queens 'uMamuneshuwa' (Mother-has-all-the-truth), 'uMamunencecence' (Mother-has-a-long-breast), 'uManDovela' (Who-is-born-of-Ndovela), 'uManSindane' (Who-is-born-of-Nsindane), 'uSidudla' (The-fat-one), 'uMaMtswetswe' (untranslatable). Development of all these nicknames is motivated by the high degree of talkativeness among the customers.

There are so many different givers of nicknames, one cannot mention them all. Every person is capable of giving nicknames. Mostly, friends, enemies and admirers give nicknames. The fact is substantiated by Madubuike (1976:20) who says:

Nicknames are sometimes bestowed by friends,
sometimes by enemies, and sometimes by admirers in appreciation of a feat performed, in derision, or even in anger.

One has to add fans, relatives, unknown people, intimate friends, the audience, and whoever else is in the position of being attracted by something in the bearer.

To summarise this account on nickname givers one would also look at Alford (1988:84) where he emphasises that:

...The assumption of name-giving power (i.e., the power to bestow nicknames) by age-mates or peers may concurrently indicate the retreating importance of the original name givers (usually the child's parents) in shaping the individual's identity.

The term age-mates is very important in the whole scenario of nicknames. Whether people are older or younger than the bearer, they must still be his/her contemporaries. In other words it is unlikely for a person to be given a nickname by people who do not interact with him/her. They may be far from one another but so long as there is a trend that keeps interaction going, nicknames are likely to mushroom from that interaction. Television presenters, radio announcers and other people whose communication bonds with the public are of distance nature will also form part of the nicknaming.

3.3 An Individual as a Bearer and a Giver

This section looks at the levels of being a giver and a bearer of numerous nicknames in the life of an individual from childhood to adulthood. We are scrutinising in this section even the finest of experiential benefits that nicknaming can supply in this regard. We will specifically focus on an individual then decentralise the focus onto
all entities that will be affected by the impact to be caused by the nicknaming of this individual.

We are looking mainly at the state of being a bearer during infancy and growing to become a giver at adult age.

The name of one interviewee was Cosmas Makuku Zuma of Lotheni near Himeville in KwaZulu-Natal. He was a hotel waiter. He had a very good talent for composing praises, hence his involvement in nicknaming art. He was interviewed several times in the years stretching from 1993 to 1998. His memory was more effective when drunk than when sober.

He says that his mother MaMbhense used to call him by numerous nicknames when playing with him. It appears that he inherited his onomastic talent from the mother. One nickname from his own mother was 'iNanki' (breed of pig) which he got because he used to eat anything as an infant, even the soil when nobody was looking. His mother even classified him playfully under omnivores. Members of the family would be entertained much when his stomach protruded due to over-eating and further nicknamed him 'uMapaklakla' (from ideophone of something bulging like a balloon). The ideophone represents the noise we can expect if one punched a balloon. It is a noise that can be expected by anybody from a stomach if punched that has the shape of a balloon.

Another of his nicknames was 'uMakhamisa' (always open-mouthed). It came from the idea that sometimes he would cry as if he enjoyed it. Some Lotheni citizens would say that he cried for fun.

The three nicknames 'iNanki', 'uMapaklakla' and
'uMakhamisa' mark the time of infancy when he still could not differentiate between the good and the bad. This is the time when he could not respond to nicknames. He was a real bearer. Being nicknamed out of an item that has to do with a pig would anger a grown up, but not an infant. The nicknames helped the mother (giver) to remember certain things that occurred when Cosmas was still nicknamed that way.

Cosmas used to be sickly at other times so the parents gave him the nickname 'uGuliguli' (One who is known to be sickly). The construction 'guliguli' has an idea of not being seriously sick, which means that he would be slightly sick but specialised in being sick time and again hence the nickname. The repetition that occurs on the part of this word 'guli' (sickly) also hints at the idea of a repeated condition. These nicknames were used until he was four years old. Unlike these days when most of the individuals have family doctors who keep records of their clients' medical history, in Cosmas's boyhood, nicknames like 'uGuliguli' would remind parents that he was allergic to many things.

When he began to practice speaking everyone discovered he had a hoarse voice. Relatives who visited the homestead began to comment on this. They complimented by nicknaming him 'IsihoshosikaMaMbhense' (MaMbhense's hoarse voiced one). There is so much in this nickname. At a go, one would perceive it as alluding to MaMbhense's hoarse voice while in fact 'hoarse' poses, in this case, as a metaphor representing Cosmas's crying habit. At the same time this nickname sounds more like an extract from izibongo. But in actual fact it was a nickname. In simple terms this nickname's effect was to announce to people that Cosmas had a voice that was unlike everybody else's. If a person
with a hoarse voice could be needed anywhere, like in acting radio dramas, Cosmas's nickname would serve as the best advertisement for him. And then it was relatives who posed as givers.

At the age of six he joined the herdboys whose daily task was to look after cattle. He and his friends would play all sorts of games and get up to all kinds of mischief. When they played the racing game, he proved to be a clever trickster full of effective well-thought out common sense. So they nicknamed him 'uNqashana' (He who has an active mind). Unfortunately this is not a term known in the Zulu language. He is the one who says they coined and understood it to have this meaning during the time of their youth. Here, the nickname exposes his talent. Boys become givers in this case, and Cosmas remains a bearer.

He says that among all other nicknames he bore, he was mainly known to his contemporaries as 'uMshutheko' (One who pushes anything inside) because he had a tendency of scolding any misbehaving beast by saying that he will push a fighting stick up its anus. This would teach other boys that one has to strive for excellence all the time and not to be mischievous like most boys are. When Cosmas remembers this nickname he feels proud that he was an example of one who would oppose any misbehaviour, even that of an animal.

When he was seven he entered school. There were no preschools at that time. He went straight to primary school by the name of Malunga Community School. On the very first day he was ill-treated by older pupils. He could not help crying. So they nicknamed him 'uMphihlikasawoti' (The collapsing pillar of salt) which is derived from the ideophone "phihli" that alludes to the crushing of a heap
of soil. When he cried he looked as if his face was getting dismantled hence the idea of an ideophone of being crushed. The nickname functions to describe a personality. School-mates become his nickname givers now.

Regarding his physique, he had thin legs. During athletics teachers noticed his legs and he was nicknamed 'uMconduyacasula' (Thin leg annoys). He did not like all these nicknames but he would not protest. The trend in nicknaming is that if you try to reject the nickname, you make it stick stronger than before. People like it most when you feel there is some change it brings in you.

He passed his standard three and he had to go to a higher primary school at Mahlutshini, still in the same locality. It started in the class when they were asked to make their own Zulu sentences that he uttered one that had 'uSponono' (A Darling) as its subject. When they went out for recess his fellow pupils called him 'uSponono'. They were just impressed by his decision to make a sentence that had such a term in it. They weren't used to this word. The service rendered here is keeping amusement going.

At this stage he had started nicknaming back. He nicknamed teachers, friends, football colleagues, etc.

He passed his standard six and proceeded to Siminza Secondary school at the district of Impendle. Their English set-book was entitled Emil and the Detectives by Erich Kastner. The main character was Mr Grundeis. He was a big and tough crook. Cosmas's English teacher gave him the name of this character as his nickname. It was a great contrast because he had a tiny body himself. He tried to make students call him Little Tuesday which was another of the characters in the same book, but that failed. We
notice now that the nickname is 'founded on grounds of poetics. It is satiric, contrasting and anachronistic to the true physique of the bearer.

Schimmel mentions that nicknames can be used as satiric tools, so he says: "Such algab offered excellent opportunities for satirists..." (1989:51)

Cosmas proceeded to Pholela High School in Bulwer after doing standard eight. Senior students asked him where he was born. When hearing about Lotheni which no one of them knew they started to call him 'uLotheni'. This was a prevailing habit among senior students. They would nickname in the same fashion anyone who came from an area they did not know. Such nicknames would also come from students who came from places with funny pronunciation e.g. 'KwaXosheyakhe' (Where you dismiss your own) - the student would be named after this placename and those whose interpretation they considered ridiculous as in 'eMcengezi'.

He finished his Matric and went to work at Georgedale in a clothing factory. He worked as a machine mechanic. They nicknamed him 'uSipanela' (Spanner). He used to carry a tool-box around assisting the chief mechanic. This nickname is also used for good and famous car mechanics. It only becomes a nickname if one individual is addressed using it and is not among other mechanics. He nicknamed his boss 'uZongithuma' (He will send me around).

We are convinced now that nicknaming an individual may commence from childhood and continue throughout life. Ashley (1989:48) agrees with us on this point when she says:
Many of those nicknames were bestowed in later life when the bearers leaped to prominence, but most nicknames probably can be traced to childhood.

Now he was a grown up. When he visited home from work, he joined young men whose main interest was proposing love to girls. He started composing his own praises. Two lines out of his praises go thus (I will confine myself to one example so as to avoid monopolising the section that deals solely with nicknames that spring out of praises):

Ubufohlofohlo ubantwana bedl' amaNicknacks,
Untw' ezincane amabhand' ezingane.

(Rustling of papers when children eat snacks,
The small thing which is the size of children belts.)

From these praises he was nicknamed 'uManicknacks'. This nickname means that there was nothing more to influence the nickname giver than simply to choose any impressive word from the praises. But still in this way the line that has this nickname is easily remembered even by a person who is not good at memorising other people's praises.

He says he nicknamed young men and women according to what he heard them say about themselves when reciting their praises.

He was a victim of staff retrenchment in the factory and came back to Lotheni to work for the Natal Parks Board Hotel where he became a cook. According to other cooks he displays diligence and good expertise when cooking, such that he would never sit down to rest. He would move around until meal serving was over. They nicknamed him 'uMyaluza' (One who moves around always). Other creative users of
nicknames stylised his nickname as 'uYaluyalu'. However, some people associated the nickname with his failure to stay with the same employer. They say "Uyayaluza." (He does not stay in one place).

Then he bought himself a car a Chevrolet and he composed praises for it. The praises went thus:

UChev kaMaShabalala,
Umfaz' uyashikiza.

(Chevrolet belonging to MaShabalala,
The woman who has looks of arrogance.

From these praises the community gave him, not the car, the nickname 'uMaShabalala' which resulted from the phrase '...belonging to MaShabalala'. The clause '...belonging to...' made them regard him as the owner of the Chevrolet who is, as interpreted from the praises, MaShabalala. We will note here that the gender category of the nickname does not make any difference. Furthermore, it becomes the most interesting nickname as it is funny for everybody to hear of a man who has a name that is suitable for women.

In the interview I conducted with him he indicated that until now (1998) he is being addressed as 'iVondwe' (Guinea-pig). This derives from the fact that he is becoming fatter and fatter so that if he was a mouse he would be the size of a guinea-pig.

This is one of the rare cases of somebody who could remember almost all the nicknames he went through in his life. One significant point here is that as a giver, he remembered whom he nicknamed and why. In that way he remembered even who nicknamed him and why.
3.4 Conclusion

Givers vary from individuals making nicknames for themselves, family members, school-mates, work colleagues to ordinary men in the street who may nickname even people they do not know. We can confidently assert that anybody is vulnerable to a nickname depending on how conducive circumstances are.

In summary one can sketch givers, bearers and users of nicknames by way of saying that first there must be an individual to be nicknamed. This victim will have something striking that will arouse an impulse to nickname in the giver. The nickname is first used by the giver when circumstances permit. This means that the giver assesses the nature of the nickname to see if the bearer will accept it. If she/he is sure of the acceptability, commonly the person will just apply it on the bearer by calling him/her that way. If the bearer does not necessarily have to know he/she is given that nickname, the giver refers to the bearer by using the nickname privately. The members of the society around the two will then use the nickname in the same way as the giver uses it. In other words if it is private, they use it privately, if it is public they use it publicly.

In the end we have a giver, a bearer and a user. In another similar case where the giver is the bearer, we have a giver/bearer and users. In the case of media people like radio announcers, the giver is usually the bearer who finally uses the nickname to refer to him/herself. Even if listeners as users use the nickname, the bearer does not participate actively in coining nickname.
CHAPTER FOUR

Origin

4.1 Introduction

Origin as a term here refers to any type of area, manner and reason from which nicknames can be derived. This chapter will sketch areas of origin as suggested by Dunkling (1993:38-147) and then analyse these areas further.

In the sub-heading "Other reasons for nicknames", she speaks of: incident nicknames, traditional nicknames, clan nicknames, criminal nicknames, political nicknames, self generated nicknames and lastly, literary nicknames. This account does not mean that this analysis is necessarily going to follow strictly this structure of sources of nicknames, but items in this list will be utilised to substantiate some of the assumptions.

This chapter will discuss some of the above-mentioned nickname sources in their capacity as areas of origin. Another section scrutinises the physical features of human beings as being instrumental in offering items to make nicknames. It proceeds to the role played by the parts of the human body in the creation of nicknames. Then it goes on to explore diseases which affect individuals and thus make them vulnerable to being nicknamed.

Furthermore the chapter will discuss as well the adaptation of initials into nicknames in a detailed
manner. This is another form of nicknaming which has not yet enjoyed an opportunity to be scrutinised by onomasticians. Very little material was found to arm the discussion. But one useful source is the World Book Encyclopaedia (1982:8).

4.2 Factors that Influence Origin

Pertaining to factors that lead to the development of nicknames Alford (1988:82) says that there are:

...those describing appearance or physical abnormalities...

This section henceforth analyses factors which influence the origin of nicknames which specifically refers to the reasons that lead to composing processes. Nickname givers are artistic people like poets and writers. They use any language to create extra names for people. They compose nicknames for other people and for themselves too. In all cases they are guided by certain conditions and manners of origin.

Madubuike (1976:20) mentions once more a few of the motivating trends stemming from human body features. He says:

Nicknames are spontaneous names given to an individual and relate to an aspect of his character, physique or quality.

Out of all possible sources of origin the following discussion is based on the manner in which nicknames originate from the human body and its parts. It seems logical to start with the whole body and see if there are any nicknames encouraged by the size, structure and abnormalities observed.
4.2.1 Size of Body

We will discuss the origin of nicknames and give examples in each case. The section will look at those nicknames that originate from and allude to the size of the body.

4.2.1.1 Big Size

The size of the body of an individual may invite the cropping up of one or more nicknames. The composer (a friend, another citizen or whoever the case may be) looks at the bearer's build and shape of the body and then works out an image. If the bearer has a name (real one) that does not conform to the observations of the composer, he/she gives his/her bearer the nickname which is thought to explain his/her physique in the best way.

This research discovered that a younger man than Loteni resident Mr Xaba mentioned below who is as big as him has acquired the nickname 'uZime' (A beauty queen). The term refers to a big well shaped female who is a participant in a beauty contest. Here, though it is a nickname of a male.

Another case of a big body is suggested by the nickname 'uSigwebedla' (Big badly built body). This nickname was given to a girl. To people who know the Zulu language, it is a term suitable to describe a male body. Once the body is big and badly shaped, even if it is a female body, the nickname just sticks to the individual regardless of the gender. The term, before it is turned into a nickname, explains the body as big, roundish and bending. The owner will walk like a duck.
4.2.1.2 Height

Height is one of the human characteristics that attract nickname givers. Even in cases of self-generated nicknames, tall people always find ways of appreciating their height by giving themselves nicknames that hint around it.

A nickname 'uLothwishi' (A part of the idiom 'uthwazi lothwishi' which refers to a tall person) was given to Mr Xaba who is tall and strong.

A certain Mrs Mtshali of a region called Nhlambamasoka says that she was nicknamed 'uMgxisha' (meaningless) because of her height. The nickname is not in use now that she is married. Once a person changes status, usually from being single to being married, some nicknames fall away. This is as a result of colleagues not addressing her by her name now but by her status ('uMasibani' - she of such and such a clan name).

A nickname of somebody who was extraordinarily tall was 'uDudube' (He surpasses the idea of being tall). The interesting phenomenon here is the way the nickname explains the tallness of the man. It says he goes beyond normal conceptions of being tall. It simply means that the public is overwhelmed by having in their midst a man of this physique.

But when students create nicknames for each other, they use them in the hearing of the victims, except where the nickname is too disgusting or when the bearer is a belligerent type. At Pholela High school in 1978 the head-prefect in the boys' dormitories was nicknamed 'uSigola' (the gigantic one). The nickname alluded to his fearsome
physique and nature. He was not a gentle giant.

4.2.1.3 Thinness

One young man is nicknamed 'uCikishane' (The small finger) because of his small physique. The choice of the smallest finger out of all the fingers is preferred by the nicknamer for its thinness. His other nickname is 'uSinge' (Buttock). If this term is used in singular, as is the case here, it suggests a small physique. The man must be so thin, he seems to be having half the normal bum. Unlike 'uZinge' (Buttocks) which would mean big buttocks, and it becomes obvious that the body is likely to be huge.

A woman who looked bony all over the body, who actually looked like a skeleton, was nicknamed 'uMathambokaJoni' (Johny's bones). Relatives gave this woman this nickname. They were trying to comfort her by telling her she is not the only one in the homestead who is bony, even Johny, a relative was just as bony too.

A thin man was nicknamed 'uNgangozipho' (He is the size of a finger nail). The nickname implies that it would be better if he was the size of a finger. But he is worse off, he is the size of a part of the finger, merely the nail.

An abnormally thin person can easily be nicknamed 'uMbamboziyabalwa' (Countable ribs). Although this nickname uses just one part of the body of the bearer, it refers to the whole thin body. The giver shows that ribs are an indication of anything that is not thin by nature, but by a lack of necessary nourishment.
4.2.1.4 Fatness

A nickname like 'u-Akuntombinyakanyaka' (It's no ordinary girl but a mixture of everything) suggests a physically huge woman. The giver is trying to say that the girl is made of everything that makes up a human body. This nickname means that her body is not well shaped. The term 'inyakanyaka' hints at a haphazard mixture of any juicy substances whether they belong together or not. But in this case they are put together.

But 'uBig-mama' (Big-mother) was a nickname given to a certain Ngcobo woman at Bulwer who was fat and huge. The nickname had to contain the term 'mother' in order to differentiate between her and whoever else that could inherit the same nickname because of sharing the same physical characteristics.

A masculine nickname for somebody who is fat, who wears outsize clothes or ibheshu - traditional attire (can be triple extra-large size) may be 'uNkuxa' (Over-weight man). The term tells the audience that his big physique gives him a problem, for instance, when it comes to clothing.

A girl who would seem to beat all other girls in anything, usually by having a plump physique, or by dancing smartly, can be nicknamed 'uNtombiziphelele' (The best of all women). Even when it comes to beauty, she must be the best.

The type of body here plays a very important role in inspiring keen nicknamers to resort to their talents as soon as any of the features discussed above is seen.
4.2.1.5 Complexion

A certain woman who had been away from home for a long time, came back bringing a husband-to-be who was typically dark in complexion. He happened to be from Central Africa. People in the area nicknamed him 'iGreen Skin' (self explanatory). They were Zulu and had the idea of the nickname taken from the idiom 'ukuba luhlaza' (to be green) actually meaning a deep dark complexion.

'USiphalaphala' (Beautiful person) is a nickname given to a beautiful female. Although there is no reference to skin colour, speakers of the Zulu language specifically refer to the type of beauty created by light complexion. When they explain it further, it means the person "looks transparent".

4.2.2 Parts of Body

Most nicknames come from images of certain tangible features of some of the parts of the body. Here nicknames can allude indirectly to the parts of the body that have striking features while others point directly at the deformed parts whether by disease or by any other cause.

Many nicknames in this category refer to the head. This can be ascribed to the fact that the head is always vulnerable, thus revealing whatever tangible item a nickname giver may use.

Nicknames in this category are arranged in such a way that they start from the head down the body to the toes.
4.2.2.1 The Head and its Parts

Starting from the head then, a common nickname given to people with big heads is 'uKhandakhulu' (Big-headed). A certain Sikhosana boy used to be addressed this way in the late 1960's when we were in a lower primary school. His actual name was uGwayi. A girl named Mable was nicknamed 'uMagguma' (hillocks) because of a head that had a hill-like shape. Girls who have big heads are mostly nicknamed 'uSiqhezema' (meaningless). Although this term is meaningless, people around Pietermaritzburg use it as a standard epithet for a woman with a big head. 'UKhandambili' (Double-headed) was a nickname given to a boy who had such a big head, people likened it to two in one. The boy excelled at school and the nickname was sustained to survive even stronger. If a person with this nickname turns out to be clever, users of the nickname imply that he has two brains.

Another case of a nickname given to somebody who has an abnormally big head is 'uMakhandakhanda' (Hydra-headed). These variations are useful to differentiate in cases where there are many people with big heads in an area.

Praises for the Ngcobo clan are 'amashiy' amahle sengathi azoshumayela' (Eyebrows that are so beautiful, they look ready to give a sermon). A giver is likewise tempted to use the nickname 'uMashiyanahle' for anybody with big eyebrows. A certain Conrad Xaba was given this nickname by his colleagues for the same reason. Although his clan name is different he does not mind being given a nickname made out of another clan's praise name. Even when he proposes love to a Ngcobo girl he spices his eloquence by saying that the girl must be positive because he even has a nickname that is part of her clan praises.
The area just around each eye on a human face is termed in Zulu 'ingoxo' (eye cavity). Some people have large cavities here, and that easily attracts nickname givers. A person with this characteristic was nicknamed 'uMpoco' (Eye cavity). In fact this is not a standard Zulu term. Nevertheless, it derives from the well known term 'isikhophoco' (same translation). Users call him 'uMpoco' thus creating an elision of the part /sikho-/.  

A girl named uSibongile from the Nzuza family at Impendle was nicknamed 'uMbombo' (Nose ridge). When traced down to its real motivation it was discovered that in fact the nickname was shortened from 'uMbombomkhulu' (Big nose ridge).

Diminutives are used to nickname people with both big and small parts of body. 'UMehlwana' (Tiny eyes) definitely has small eyes.

The examples that follow below are chosen for their relevance as they use animals in conjunction with parts of the human body as tools for making nicknames.

A certain man nicknamed three children of the same family using one nickname, 'uMehlwana' (Small eyes). The nickname explains the size of their eyes, which are small. They were two girls and one boy. Each time he met one, he would use this nickname. When they were all together, he would greet them one by one addressing them with this nickname. He made this nickname from the term he used to refer to a bird species, the Cape White-eye. Interestingly, the nickname does not have anything to do with the size of the body of the bird, as it is such a small type, but has to do with the eyes only.
On the other hand the owl is named by using the size of its eyes as 'uMehlomakhulu' (Big eyes) by the people of Western KwaZulu-Natal. This is obviously a descriptive name. The owl's real (or species) name is 'isikhova'. This name has a bearing on both naming and nicknaming of people with big eyes. The criterion used when exchanging nicknames in this fashion is that they shift from eyes to the whole bird. For instance, calling an individual 'uSikhova' (owl) means that the person has some of the characteristics of this bird - commonly big eyes. It means he looks lonesome even when it is not the case.

A girl with a hideous face is called 'uMabihli' (Deformed face). She must have a "weeping face". This must show even when she tries to smile. Some people drop the vowel /a/ and call her 'uMbihli' (same meaning). We must remember that claiming this as a female nickname simply means that in most cases it is like that. Otherwise all nicknames apply the same in both genders.

'USiphongwana' (Small-forehead) has a pointed forehead. A good contrasting background is always laid by this nickname since it will habitually be given to somebody with a big protruding forehead. 'uNweleziyahlehla' (Receding hair) is somebody who is in the process of going bald. Usually for a man who has a long pointed beard a nickname 'uNtshebe' (Beard) can be made. But if another man with the same characteristics appears, a term 'intshebe' (the beard) can be used. This is not a nickname as it describes the facial appearance of anybody with this characteristic. 'UMadlebe' (Ears) usually has large protruding ears.

One of the Loteni citizens had big holes on the spots
where girls pierce ears for ear-rings. One nickname giver decided to call him 'uMagwagwa' (Big ear flaps). The bearer disliked this nickname. The researcher was told that one day somebody addressed him with the nickname while they were drinking beer at one of the kraals and he left the party there and then. But people continued to use the nickname. They even referred to the bearer's house saying 'eGwagweni' (At the house of the big ear flaps). This confirms the assumption that should a bearer try to revolt against the existence of a nickname, they are making it stick to them worse than before.

'UZiqhoma' (Protruding cheeks) has cheeks that are pointed like corners of a suitcase. Earlier fashions of suitcases, especially ones that were once used to carry primary school books, had their corners covered by plastic caps to prevent damage. This is the type of suitcases that comes into the giver's mind when he/she decides to nickname the bearer this way. He says that although the nickname gives the impression that the bearer is the only one with cheeks, which is not true, it simply means they attract observant nickname givers.

Certain male twins who were 39 years old at the time of this research were named Paulus and Paul. When they grew up they were given the nicknames 'uMahluthu' (Longish hair) and 'uMbungculu' (Shaven head). The former had a lot of hair on the head while it was the opposite with the latter. Although their real names, Paulus and Paul, were overshadowed by nicknames, their identity books still contained their real names.

One of the informants once worked for a factory named Furpile at Hammersdale and his English boss (Mr Hobbs) was
nicknamed 'uKhalelide' (Long nose). He seemed to have the longest nose as compared to all other English people in the work-place.

Another man from a Mjwara clan has long moustache-ends on both sides of the mouth. He is very fond of rolling the ends so that they look like moustaches of the old British Settlers who came to South Africa in the olden days. For this habit they nickname him 'uMjwarawezinsasa' (Mjwara of the pointed moustache). Onomasticians are impressed by the tactful use of the possessive here. These nickname users handle the possessive in a twisted fashion so that the nickname might be understood as being the one possessing the owner.

In most cases a person who does not shorten his moustache is very easily nicknamed 'uMadevu' (Moustache). It means he has a normal fully grown moustache.

4.2.2.2 Upper Limbs

Limbs that that are involved here start from shoulders to all the other parts of the arm.

'UNxele' (Left-handed) is always given to a person whose left hand is more active than the right one.

'USandlana' (Small-hand) is a nickname of a man who lost an arm or has a small one if not a paralysed one.

'UNDololwane' (Elbow) is the person who has something that attracts people's eyes to one or both elbows. Usually it is somebody with an affected elbow.

A certain man had a hump on the wrist and was nicknamed
'uSihlakala' (The wrist).

There must always be something noticeable with a limb, then a nickname is made out of the term used to refer to the affected limb.

4.2.2.3 The Stomach

The common way of telling people that there is something unusual with an individual's stomach also calls for the making and the usage of nicknames that allude to the stomach.

'uSiswanasophuthu' (Pap-stomach) had a stomach that revealed signs of suffering from kwashiokor. On the other hand 'uMapaklaza' (Bulging stomach) must be a child who has a stomach that protrudes, perhaps because he/she has eaten too much or has drunk a lot of liquid. But a nickname that has qualities of belonging to an old man with a protruding stomach because of drinking too much beer, is 'uMguzuwesisu' (Stomach reminiscent of a beer clay-container). His stomach has qualities of a beer container that is already full of beer.

An experience one interviewee had was when he travelled in a train. He witnessed a quarrel between a fat ticket examiner and a few young boys. He threatened to thrash these young boys for having tried to dodge paying for their journey. Once the ticket examiner had disappeared, the boys nicknamed him 'uSisusesele' (Frog Stomach).

4.2.2.4 Lower Body Limbs

This portion of our analysis will take the parts of the human body below the stomach, or from the waist to the
'UMadolodolo' (Countless knees) is a very thin person who seems to be having a knee in every joint. A person with bent legs will be nicknamed 'uMagwegwe' (Bandy legs).

A confusing nickname 'uMfanakaQukulu' (A son of the big toe) was given to a boy by his friends after he had kicked a bundle of grass instead of a ball. By this nickname they did not mean he was a son of a man called uQukulu, but they were saying he kicked a bundle of grass with his big toe. In fact the big toe became swollen. The nickname has to be interpreted as saying, 'you will see him by the swollen big toe'.

4.2.3 Summary

It has been observed that a person's body is an easy target in the habit of nickname making. It is easy to nickname a person from what he/she looks like. The head alone gives rise to so many nicknames. But any striking features anywhere on the body will prompt a creative nickname maker to resort to using his/her talents.

It has also been observed that people who make nicknames do not bother to use any euphemism because according to them a nickname must tell a naked truth. They would rather hide the nickname from its bearer than hide its meaning.

Nicknames with positive interpretations tend to be self-made. Those that criticise individuals come from the general public.

4.3 Abnormalities
Certain nicknames develop from diseases that may be either uncommon or common in the area. What prompts these nicknames is that some of these diseases make their victims behave strangely. Since diseases affect parts of the human body. Here too, the analysis will start from the head and proceed down the body.

A very sensitive nickname was made for a man called uMzungezwa. He seemed to be slightly mentally retarded. He was slow in everything he did. He took a long time to come up with decisions and resolutions. When he was among young men he would not be very active. Young men had nicknames and praises and they had dancing groups as well. He did not participate in all this. One of the leaders of these small groups decided to nickname him 'uMdumakhanda' (Insanity). Nobody appreciated this nickname, but young men were daring enough to use it publicly and without any sympathy.

An old woman from one of the districts of Impendle, Mrs Khumalo, has no teeth. They were infected and extracted. She mentioned that she would not be comfortable with false-teeth. For that reason, when she laughs one only sees her red gums. These remind people of the colour of tomatoes. She is therefore nicknamed 'uMfaziwotamatisi' (Woman of tomatoes). She disapproves of it but cannot do anything to phase it out. Anyway Weekley (1928:191) makes it clear that:

'It may seem strange that the nickname, conferred essentially on the individual, and often of a very offensive character, should have persisted and become hereditary. But schoolboys know that, in the case of an unpleasant nickname, the more you try to pull it off, the more it sticks faster.

'uZisini' (Gums) has no teeth at all. It is unlikely that
a nickname that develops from tooth diseases is welcomed. Mr Peddlar, a white shopkeeper who used to own the Lotheni Trading Store, was called 'uMaggagqa' (Big gaps) because he had teeth positioned far apart. Some of the gaps had been caused by teeth which decayed and had to be extracted.

A certain Mr Ndlovu from a very small region called Okhasini at Impendle, wobbles when he walks. His feet were infected by a deep eating ulcer (Doke and Vilakazi 1972:652). This disease is known as "impehlwa" in Zulu. People, when backbiting him, refer to him as 'uMpehlwabeyidua' (deep eating ulcer being unattended to). One characteristic of this nickname is it points directly to the disease which makes a listener soon realize that the bearer is a victim of it.

A woman who suffered from a leg and foot disease that made her legs swollen was given a nickname 'uMqakakala' (Ankles). This was meant to tell people that she had swollen ankles. This nickname was also given to a young boy who had sharp bony ankles. 'Umbadawozi' (Big feet) is someone who has very large feet, who tends to walk slowly as if they are too heavy for him/her.

One woman named uMaThintani nicknamed an induna as 'uNquge' (The Limping one) mocking him because he had one leg shorter than the other. His official name was Skhindi. The giver and the bearer had once quarrelled over his cattle that damaged her crops. Since the woman was a talkative type, the induna gave her his own nickname 'uMlomunomopho' (Bleeding mouth), meaning that she did not care he had a status higher than hers, but she dared rebuke him for the damage. The nickname is behaving as a platform both for mocking and admonishing here. The two
people involved share the status of being bearers and givers as they exchange talents by giving each other nicknames. It is so interesting to see nicknames becoming "fighting sticks". While the woman is entertained by seeing the induna struggling with his deformed leg, the victim himself hits back by commenting on the woman's habit of talking too much.

The last example is taken from a disease that affected the whole body. One such interesting case is in the nickname 'uGulaphi' (unidentified sickness). This nickname was given to a young man in the district of Impendle who has a naturally hideous face with awkward neck and shoulders. His stomach is reminiscent of a drunkard's tummy. His pelvic girdle is as flexible as that of a monkey. He walks as if he has cricket gear on. Moreover, he is inexplicably fat with very thin lips. The nickname best describes him as a man who is sickly yet nobody can identify his sickness.

At Pholela High, Mr Smithen, the English teacher, had a head that would not stay stable, thus affecting the whole body. We did not know what was the cause. As this was strange, and we could not dare ask him whether it was from old age or from some other causes, we decided to nickname him 'uQhaqhazela' (one who shivers). Anybody with funny behaviour gets a nickname related to that. But in the school environment no nickname given to teachers is used publicly.

We deduce from this fashion of nicknaming that composers are not choosy. They are not restrained by situations. They use even those parts of life that everyone regards as pathetic as in cases of forming nicknames from sicknesses and scandals. Here one would remember the license enjoyed
by a king's poet in the old KwaZulu. He would discipline all including the king himself, but would not be punished for it.

4.4 Nicknames from Praises

This section is devoted to nicknames of people, especially those that mushroom out of praises and initials. Praises, to start with, offer an individual a long range of nicknames.

This is a common arena for the development of nicknames. Usually more than one nickname can develop from one set of praises of an individual. Praises are an old cultural practice among the Zulu people. Nicknames developed from them in the past until today. Both males and females have praises, though less so in the case of females.

There are certain rare cases where somebody compiles praises for other reasons. Yet from the fame he gets out of this creativity, nickname givers take points from those praises and make a nickname out of them. This is a rare case but it is worth analysing.

A type of sport that provides a wide chance for the development and use of praises is football. Out of praises that are given to players, or that players give themselves, come countless nicknames. In this case spectators use them either to cheer the players during a match or to refer to each player for identification in an ordinary discourse. Sometimes radio sport announcers refer to professional players by using nicknames from praises. Even newspapers and sport magazines use players' nicknames for unmistakeable communication to readers.
Other nicknames come from praises that maskandi singers give themselves if not given by their followers. We will see more of these praises and nicknames in the discussion that follows.

Types of nicknames that originate from praises can vary from one simple nickname to a few complex ones. Others can even amount to phrases or clauses. A few can amount to sentences with full ideas.

The discussion that follows will take the sequence of nicknames that are given to kings and people of royal houses. Then we will look at those that come from praises of any man in the street. It will proceed to nicknames that come from praises that are given to something else but give rise to nicknames imposed on the praise-maker. Following that will be a discussion of nicknames that develop for football players from their praises. Types of nicknames of this nature, as explained in the previous paragraph, will be spread in a sequence of simple nicknames first, complex ones, phrase and clause structured and lastly sentence type, where applicable.

4.4.1 From Ordinary Praises

In royal houses there are nicknames that commonly develop from praises. In this practice subjects nickname either the chief or king himself or people who are serving him. Mostly we rely on the old history of our kings and chiefs in this part of nicknaming. We will start from the era of King Shaka and see how nicknames functioned. We will cite a few instances.

Nicknames were there long ago among the Zulus. Kings had their own nicknames usually from praises.
King Shaka was either nicknamed 'iLembe' (An axe) or 'uNodumehlezi' (He who is famous while idling), deriving from the part of his praises that read thus:

'iLemb' eleq' amany' amaLembe ngokukhalipha'
UNodumehlezi kaMenzi... (Cope 1968:88-89)

(Axe that surpasses other axes in sharpness,
The famous who is idling, the son of Menzi...

'Indlovenesihlonti' (Elephant with a grass burning light) a nickname composed from praises of somebody born of a king (Mbuyazi, son of King Mpande). One would interpret this as meaning that Mbuyazi had a powerful and wise personality. His father saw him as a future light of the Zulu Nation, hence the grass burning light. Unfortunately for him, Cetshwayo, his brother, won the war and took over Mpande's kingdom in spite of the expectations of King Mpande which are reflected in the nickname. I have interpreted the nickname in question with a backing from Leslie and Skipper (1990:279) where they say:

We already know that nicknames convey meaning and indicate a wide range of possible interpretations understood within a set of contextual properties.

These days we have amakhosi in regions as per decrees of the Western government style in South Africa. These amakhosi earn almost the same respect from the inkosi's subjects as compared to the same respect given to the king. Nicknames develop within the amakhosi's kraals. At a region called eMangwaneni, near Bulwer in KwaZulu-Natal, the inkosi by the name of Mzobe Hlongwane, was nicknamed by local primary school children as 'uLevenirandí' (Eleven-rands). The nickname came from the penalty the
inkosi would impose upon any driver who drove past his house and threw dust on him while resting in the yard. All his subjects knew the nickname and would refer to him secretly with it. This nickname also forms part of the inkosi's praises that are recited as follows: (Only the relevant stanza will be shown here)

*Ithole lamaNgwane*

*Elidl' ukudla kwabasemsamo*

*Lahlafun' umqedandlala,*

*Laphimis' undlebekazizwa*

*Labaneka laduma lasakazeka,*

*Lakhoth' uleveni-randi.*

(The calf of the amaNgwane tribe
Who ate the food of the ancestors,
Who munched the killer of hunger,
Who had to spit the notorious,
Lightning came when it thundered heavily,
And licked eleven rand.)

A lot of Zulu people, academics and ordinary people have praises. This practice is an old habit where people used praises as a mode of keeping a record of their lives by compiling praises for themselves. Out of these praises came nicknames. Even today people use whatever available nicknames for individuals to make nicknames. We are looking at ordinary praises, among other types as mentioned above, to see how nicknames develop.

Traditional countryside young men and women nickname one another using extracts from praises. A dignified young girl would be nicknamed 'uGalaza' from the idea of the size of a 3-legged pot which is the largest used. When she is performing Zulu dance she would be praised thus:
Yinde le ntombi wupholokondlo,
Nsizw' uzodlel' ogageni,
Hlel' uziwcwal' uziphise,
Ucwewc' ulimi uluroothise,
Ukhulum' ukhumbu' ukuthi
Ingangogalaza.

(This lady is the tallest of them all
Young man you might not make it,
Be ready and be confident,
Shape and sharpen your tongue,
Speak and remember that
She is the size of a big pot)

Another talented male Zulu dancer known in the area as
Mphikelele was nicknamed 'uZoloza' (One who wobbles when
dancing) after the warbling he would display when dancing.
As he danced they praised him thus:

Bazoloz' abazolozi,
Iy' ingoma yezintombi nezinsizwa,
Yinhle emagagwini,
Yimpox' ezigwadini nasemadlweni,
Ifun oZolo' abazolozi,
OZolo' ayidubule.

(There the wobbler is wobbling
To the song of young men and women,
It is good for talented dancers,
It is a shame to the failing dancers,
It fits only Zoloza the wobbler,
He wobbles while dancing)

One young man named Mubi would always praise himself while
drinking Zulu beer by saying:

Phuz' ubashiyicle
Fqofo-foqo Bhulobeli,
Mfuqi wophuthu naphalishi,
Magalel' okhambeni kukhal' izidakwa,
Yinhle le nto,
Ayiding' ukoniwa.

(Drink and leave some for others
Bend and bend Bhulobeli,
You who over-eats stiff pap and porridge,
Attacker of beer containers so that drinkers complain,
What a thing to do,
It need not be spoilt.)

The 'bend-bend' part of the praises is an indication that when you drink Zulu beer you don't just stand and do it, but you bend or sit down then drink. The nickname becomes 'uBhulobeli' if not 'uFoqobhulobeli'. Other friends will tend to take the initial part of the praises and make it into his nickname saying: 'uFoqofogo' (Bend-bend).

Another middle-aged man by the name of Hertzog would win any girl whether she already had her own boyfriend at the time or not. After winning her he would be praised by one of his best friends in an excited manner:

Mfimfitha Nomfimfitha
Omfimfithe zonk' izintombi zesigodi,
Bathi bewela amabhuloho
Abe ezibiza ngokhamba;
Nomfimfitha!

(Squeeze them all out Nomfimfitha,
You who took all girls of the district;  
When they crossed bridges  
He used a beer container to attract them;  
Nomfimfitha!

Out of these praises that allude to Hertzog's womanising prowess comes a nickname 'uNomfimfitha', (He who eats all). This nickname is appreciated by the bearer but loathed by his two women because it encourages him to talk to more girls thus advertising himself for more wives than the two he already has.

One of the young men near Nottingham Road has a legal name uTukelo and is nicknamed 'uBapitshase' (meaningless), taken from the praises he inherited out of using both leg and arm actively whenever he does something. It is believed that as a special regional term, the coiner of the praises "Duz' uBapitshase", (Push them Bapitshase) wanted to say something about the peculiarity of a person who uses his left part of the body actively.

Another young man by the name of Bheki Makhoba got praises from being talented in luring birds into his ambush where he would use a sling to shoot stones at them. He would whistle like one of the birds in the forest. Many birds would accumulate there thinking one of its members was in trouble. He would henceforth shoot at them at close range. Other fellow bird hunters, struck by this, first praised him in the following manner:

*Basho nxa kuvel' ubutshilotshilo  
Kutshiloz' uNomtshilwane.  
Bathi iyamphamba ini nani,  
Kepha imigudu nemikhendle,  
Uyithath' okwenja yomkhondo.*
(They say this when the whistler is showing up
While Nontshilwane is whistling.
They said such and such will confuse him,
But footprints and mouse pathways,
He followed them like a hunting dog.)

After these praises he got the nickname 'uNontshilwane'
(meaningless). But in terms of the giver of the nickname
the term 'uNontshilwane' means a bird that sings.

One Zulu soloist known as Gqakaza Dlamini at an area
called Mpofana in KwaZulu-Natal was nicknamed
'uSupersonic' (name of a South African radio company).
Only his nickname was known but not his praises. One dark
night he walked through somebody's yard and there were
items left lying at random, of which he thought one might
be a dog. As he hit it with his stick he uttered the
following praises:

NginguSupersonic mina,
UGqakaza-petu ithanga letshitshi.
Ngipheth' uJojibhoshi,
Kulala simaku kulale ngcanga,
Kulale sikhova kulale mthakathi,
Uzongizw' ungetshe.

(I am Supersonic myself,
Gqakaza-petu the teenager's thigh.
I am carrying Jojibhoshi,
It flattens both puppy and dog,
It flattens both owl and witch,
You will feel it because you are no stone.)

John Bunting, a Coloured who regards himself as a Zulu
from the way he speaks the language, is nicknamed 'uMachwane' (Chickens) from the praises he gave himself. As a humorous person the nickname suits him best especially from the interpretation one would get out of the exaggeration of an act of carrying a hoe to remove weeds which is done by chickens in the praises. John is also talkative, which resembles the noise that chicks make while jumping around the mother hen. Praises from which the nickname is extracted have the following lines:

UNkukhuziyalima
Amachwan' ayahlakula.
Ukukhala kwezinyoni akufani,
Ugege ziyamgegela,
Yingob' ezalw' ekhakhazo.

(Fowls are ploughing
Chickens are eradicating weeds.
Birds' songs do not sound alike,
He who slants and they slant for him,
It is because he is born of their in-laws.)

Another resident in the same area known as Mr Bunting got praises that had certain items in common showing that the composer had been fascinated by Mr Bunting. The praises make the following stanza:

UNGilazonwabu,
UNGilazezinkukhu zakwaBhandeni,
Zifukeme, zichamsele,
Zihlatshiwe ziqothile,
Woza nepuleti ngize nomlomo.

(Gizzards of the chameleon,
Also gizzards of fowls belonging to Mr Bunting,
They have been brooding, they have hatched,
Bring a plate I'll bring a mouth.)

From the above praises come three related nicknames with three different levels of approach. The first is 'uNgila' (Gizzard). The second is 'uNgilazonwabu' (Gizzards of the chameleon). The third is 'uNgilazezinkukhuzaBhandeni' (Gizzards of fowls belonging to Mr Bunting). It depends on who is addressing the actor. If it is somebody who does not want the actor to know that he has called him that way, he uses the shortest. If it is somebody who does not care to challenge this man, he uses the second one. If it is somebody who may mention the nickname in the hearing of the actor, he uses the longest one. Of course the victim of this nickname detests it and all its variation. He has his own official name uJerome Dlamini.

The nickname 'uMfushane' (Shorty) is self-imposed since the praises it comes from are self-imposed too. The actor likes it better than being called 'uMfushane-phum-ejazini' (Short-man-out-of-the-overcoat) because it sounds more like praising him than simply calling him. The nickname/praises mean that he cannot be captured because even people who may use their overcoats to try and trap him, may be surprised to discover that he will escape. It means that he is a man of tough experience, especially that he is a legendary stick-fighter.

_Babemphuthaza ngapha_
_Aphume ngapha_
_Bengamaz' ukuba yisigqiqqi,_
_NguMfushanephumejazini._

(They were fumbling for him here,
He would escape there,)
They did not know he was short,
They did not know he was a Mr Short-man-out-of-the-overcoat.

An announcer in the Ukhozi radio station is known officially as Mr Thokozani Nene and nicknamed 'uGxabalembadada' (The old sandal) from the praises he regularly recites for himself which are:

Ugxabalembadada uManyathela,
Untombi zimcel' ukhisi nom' ejahile.
(The old sandal which steps on anything,
Girls plead for his kiss even when he is in a hurry.)

It comes easily that these praises result in a nickname. When mentioned you would not tell whether Thokozani is being addressed or praised. He himself tends to mention the whole nickname 'uGxabalembadada uManyathela' (translated above). A listener has to take it either way. By the praises or the nickname the actor means that he fears nothing, he takes any challenge, especially if he has to argue about Zulu traditions and history. You put any argument or question on the table for him and he handles it with confidence.

The late Mr K.E. Masinga of Durban had an outstanding achievement of pioneering a dream contribution to the Zulu Nation - Radio Zulu. He negotiated with the S.A.B.C. to establish that station. Instead of Black people composing a nickname for the popular man, he nicknamed himself 'uBhukudakwesinezingwenya' (He who swims in the crocodile infested deep pool). The nickname alludes to the tough time Mr Masinga had when he was working for the S.A.B.C between the years 1940 and 1960. White authorities were extremely hard on Blacks when he began his career at the
Another giant young man of the Makhaye clan in an area known as Emvundlweni near Impendle is a stickfighting legend. One day he encountered an opponent and had to prove the point. Their fight lasted for quite a long time. In the end the giant's fighting sticks were broken. He used the shield only to protect himself and he was miraculously successful. The onlookers nicknamed him 'uNdukuzePhukile' (Sticks are broken) to commemorate the incident. In this case the nickname carries an heroic label each time it is uttered. Even if one mentioned it to people who had never heard about it, it prompts them to want to enquire further about how it went. Then comes the whole account of praises to tell the whole story thus:

*Kwakusuk' uthuli lwezinkunzi,*  
*Igadla kugadl' enye kunuka*  
*Uthuvi lwenyoni yegceke;*  
*Kubamben' inkunzi kaMakhaye*  
*Nenxahi lasemambukeni,*  
*Zaya zephuk' ezikaMakhaye,*  
*Kwavalw' amehlo kuz' imbuka.*

*(Bull caused dust to blow up,  
One blowing and another revenging yielding a smell  
From a bird of the yard's excretion;  
The Makhaye's bull was engaged in a fight  
With a castrated bull from foreign parts,  
The Makhaye's weapons broke,  
Eyes were closed when the foreigner threatened.)*

In my home area there is a man who had a sister who hid her boyfriend's food in his room. The brother found the food with a delicious meat flavour so he removed it and
hid it somewhere else. When the sister asked him about the food, he first lied saying it had been eaten by the cat, at the same time giving the cat the praises:

_UKatiliyangisolisa,
Isisu simapakazana,
Lihamba liyanyalaza,
Inyama yami bengiyibeke lapha,
Seyimil' izinyawo._

(Katiliyangisolisa,
Its stomach is protruding,
It is struggling to walk,
I had my meat kept here
It has developed feet and gone.)

When the sister started sobbing, he brought the food out and demanded a portion for himself otherwise he would divulge to the parents about the boyfriend. Though the sister gave him a portion, the praises which were given to the cat were imposed by the composer upon himself. A nickname 'uKatiliyangisolisa' (I suspect the cat) was extracted from these later.

Just as praises are a valuable traditional practice, they are equally a valuable source of nicknames. An individual inherits a lot of nicknames in this way. When nicknamers decide to switch from one nickname to the other, they simply use praises to achieve that.

Almost all citizens in the society are capable of compiling praises, thus offering themselves vulnerable to becoming victims of nickname givers.

It is highly likely that nicknames that come out of
praises are warmly acceptable, unlike those that come out of distortions and irregular body parts. Praises are meant to glorify somebody, nicknames from them tend to convey that, thus winning the victim's appreciation.

4.4.2 Football Nicknames

In a case of a nickname that comes out of praises given to players we come across two types, which are, nicknames given to players, and those that are given to fans who favour certain teams. In the latter case fans are given nicknames from praises that were framed for the team as a whole.

Soccer followers give nicknames to football-players. For example, a player nicknamed 'uComputer', whose official name is Zakaria Lamola, earned the nickname from being faultless on the field. The name came from the praises which his fans recited when he controlled the ball. They would say: "Yabhal' icomputer!" (The computer begins to write!). The manner in which computers write was unbelievable at the time when they were still newly-introduced in the country. The way 'uComputer' used to control the ball while in full speed was similarly mysterious to the fans.

It is observed here that these praises are rather short. This is preferred especially because there is rarely time to recite a long account. This is because the ball does not stay long with an individual player, thus shortening acutely the time to be spent by onlookers while praising the player. One line is enough to pass the message and to cheer the player on.

Nicknames are made even out of those single line praises.
And they serve a great in saying something to and about the player who is in possession of the ball.

4.4.3 Nicknames from Musicians' Praises

Singers as a group of artists are nicknamed according to the kind of music they play. In most of these cases nicknaming is self-imposed. Male vocalists nickname themselves while female ones are often nicknamed by their fans. Though a nickname may have characteristics of an individual singer it should be taken as representing the whole group or band. However, the nickname is invariably borne by the lead musician.

The late vocalist by the name of Phuzushukela is addressed today as 'iDlozilomaskandi' (Ancestor of the Maskandi singers) because he used to be the pioneer of this kind of music. Now that he is dead he qualifies to have the status of an ancestor of the 'maskandis' bestowed upon him. Welcome Nzimande, the radio Zulu announcer who is knowledgeable about this kind of music describes uPhuzushukela as the most traditionally oriented in the talent of playing this type of music. According to him, he is unlike the modern artists who do not satisfactorily conform to the traditional requirements and characteristics of the music. The nickname 'iDlozilomaskandi' carries this whole inference.

Another example is taken from the vehicles of the Nongoma district of KwaZulu-Natal which are allocated the letters NND. Whether love is the real purpose of the journey or not, observers of that registration plate may be aroused by its suggestion of 'Nami-Nawe-Dali' (You and I, Darling). Even Maskandi musicians and their audiences draw upon NND to devise praises. One called Mgqashiyo Ndlovu
was given the nickname 'uNami-Nawe-Dali' by his fans, following a performance in which he alluded to such plates and their acquired secondary meaning. (A deeper account of acronymic nicknames is dealt with in par. 4.5 below).

Nicknames given to these artists, when being mentioned, make followers feel more impressed. They bring a feeling of oneness between the artist and his work. If they were to use their official names, it would be as though they were being divorced from their talents. Furthermore, a nickname should make the fan feel everybody is certain that he/she knows the artist well.

4.4.5 Summary

To mention a few points on the observation yielded in the above types of nicknames one arrives at the conclusion that praises are the easiest and the most popular source of nicknames. More than seventy percent of the actors here appreciate being nicknamed from their praises. It means that praises are a special tool used to show appreciation of an individual. Once praised the actor feels more accepted by the society. Nicknaming them from their praises is seldom objectionable to most people especially the young. We have learnt also that an individual may be known by many nicknames so long as they come from praises. Similarly, nicknames from praises do not close gates for derivation of other nicknames from other sources, making the actor more vulnerable in the process.

Nicknames that develop this way make an individual feel more important in the community. What praises tell the public is strengthened further by the extraction of a nickname to carry it further and foster its expression even in informal situations. This is because praises need
to be recited in formal gatherings only. Nicknames operate even in very casual environments. In this way the message transmitted by the praises that provided the arena for the birth of the nickname appeals to the public even more.

4.5 Nicknames from Initials

Initials are "...first letters of person's name & surname..." as Fowler & Fowler (1938:588) explain. Usually it must be legal names that constitute initials. But people's initials are nevertheless not exempt from being used to coin nicknames.

The World Book Encyclopaedia (1982:8) states that:

In many other cases, a nickname may consist of the initials of a person's name, such as P.D.R. for Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

We could, in fact, discuss this section of nickname making under praises because when one calls a person by his/her initials, there is a sense of praising. The process involved means leaving aside the full name/names and opting for initials of the name/names one knows. This is a way of exercising creativity by using a deliberate defamiliarisation especially of the name/names one knows. It is more like a poet who is determined to use as short and concise references as possible.

We refer here to nicknames that use letters of the alphabet. There are different ways of making these nicknames. The easiest is where people simply use a person's official initials to make a nickname. Another is where people take either one or two letters from a name and make them into what one would think are initials while in fact it is a nickname.
There are other minor reasons around the cropping up of these acronymic nicknames. We will see these when we analyse other types of acronymic nicknames.

The discussion below reveals different ways of coining nicknames from initials.

4.5.1 Initials with One Letter

Here too, it is the first letter of either the name or the surname that becomes the only initial.

A certain young man had the name Penuel which was difficult for those people who had never had a chance to pronounce European names and they nicknamed him 'u-P'. Somebody who did not know where the nickname was derived spelt it P-e-e as in the name Pee. But the composer of the nickname had an aim of using the first 'P' of the name Penuel.

The same goes for Daniel who becomes 'u-D'. A woman called Dorothy felt the name was too long and so shortened it by going to the same nickname as above. This often happens in long names like uDidabadidiyeli. 'UTHuleboma' (He who watches quietly) prefers to use the nickname 'u-T' to shorten this long name.

The formula here is a simple one where only the first letter of the name is used to create an extra name.

4.5.2 Initials with Two Letters

There are easy initial type nicknames where the actual initials of a famous individual turn into his/her
nickname.

People who know Professor Christian Themba Msimang call him 'u-C.T.' as if this is just his name. The advantage here lies on the fact that very few people share initials. People's initials stick to them as if nobody else can inherit the same initials.

Teachers are fond of this nicknaming technique. Among other advantages, initials help in differentiating between teachers who share a surname.

An interesting nickname is 'u-T.V.' made out of the initials of a woman teacher named Thulisile Virginia. When colleagues mention it they have at the back of their minds the idea of a television set rather than the actual source of the nickname. It is thus used playfully.

The word that becomes a tool for the maker simply identifies random letters that ultimately make a beautiful construction and creates a nickname out of them.

The researcher discovered in a farm area that a man officially called uSijumbane (a small bag) was nicknamed acronymically 'u-S.J.' as if they were his initials but only resulted from one name. The same goes with the name 'ubhatata' (Sweet Potatoes) being an official one but turned into the nickname '-B.T.' A man whose name was uThabiso had a nickname 'u-T.B.'

Secondary school pupils nicknamed Mr Cekwana, the school chairman of Siminza, 'u-H.B.' using the name of the Prophet Habakuk in the Bible. He read a verse out of this Book in the Bible when he introduced us as the first pupils to open the school and it seemed we were not used
to it. Being taken by the surprise that there was a book of that name in the Bible, we first nicknamed him ‘uHabakkuk’ then later ‘u-H.B.’

Nicknamers in these cases pick any two letters from a name and make them into a nickname. In other cases they are driven by circumstances into taking the initial letter followed by any other one within the name. Another artistic device is that in which the chosen two letters must make an impressive combination.

It has been discovered that in many cases letters come from the first two syllables of the name.

A habit that is common among urban residents who speak Zulu is that the name Jabulani becomes shortened by taking only two letters 'J.B' from it. It then becomes an acronymic nickname that substitutes the name completely when this young man is among friends. This is by no means a common way of constructing initials. But the use of a few letters from one name sounds like initials. It usually occurs if the group is that of scoundrels who do not want to use official names but still do not have the capability to formulate totally new nicknames or aliases. This is what Leslie Dunkling (1993:141) calls criminal nicknames. She goes further to confirm that in this case:

... a more practical reason for the use of nicknames is to conceal one's identity, especially from officials such as the police.

The World Book Encyclopaedia (1982:8) calls these types of nicknames either "alias" or "incognito" in the section where he discusses nicknames. He says:

An alias usually refers to the name taken by a criminal to disguise his or her identity...
Incognito means the use of a fictitious name by a person, usually a celebrity, to avoid being recognised.

These are so common that in the beginning of this section on acronymic nicknames we opened with nicknames that contain two letters. This is caused by the fact that habitually people are given two names. From those, two initials are extracted.

In names like Bheki John followed by a surname we find nicknames like 'u-B.J.'. In Juliet Zibuyile the nickname becomes 'u-J.Z.

The nickname giver simply uses the first letter of each name. What turns this into a nickname rather than simple initials is the way users use it. They use initials as if they were a name.

The common procedure in the examples below is the extraction of each first letter as in the making of ordinary initials.

A confusing nickname is that of 'T.G.' Gasa (Themba Gasa). This is a former Radio Zulu announcer who pretended to be creating initials from a name (being the first T) and from the surname, Gasa, as the second initial. His other nickname was Germiston which is the gold store town near Johannesburg. You would think that 'T.G.' is an acronymic nickname made out of an official name 'Themba' and a nickname 'Germiston' though it is not the case. Of course, the reality is that Mr Gasa has two nicknames 'Germiston' and 'T.G.'.

This study came across a nickname 'uMaZ.Z.' (Zanele Mbokazi) revealing that she decorated it by picking the
first /z/ in the name and coupled it with the last /z/ of the surname. This is a flexible self-imposed nickname. Dunkling (1993:146) talks about these types of nicknames.

A certain man called umjasfidi by parents and other people where-ever he was, was nicknamed by all 'uM-j' (untranslatable). The way this nickname sounds one would think that the name has to begin with capital J and the nickname should have a capital /j/ as in 'um-J' whereas it is not the case. This is because the /m/ sounds like a part of a prefix.

There are quite many ways that a nickname giver can use to extract letters from a name and/or surname to make a nickname. He/she can use ordinary initials, usually from two names and turn them into a nickname. Or he/she may use any other unusual manner, but still end up in two letters.

4.5.3 Initials with Three Letters

Sometimes three letters from the alphabet are chosen for one reason or another. Real initials also form part of the process of nickname making here.

One gay academic whose name was Angel when he decided to be a man and Angeline when he decided to become a woman, who would readily have an answer for anything was given a nickname 'u-A.B.C.' They took the nickname from the saying 'as easy as abc'. For him any question was as easy as abc.

A circuit inspector, Mr C.C.C. Mbozazi, in the area of Hlanganani in KwaZulu-Natal, had his initials turned into a nickname. Teachers and pupils were fascinated by a person who had all three names starting with the same
letter.

This research discovered that usually the third name is inherited from the father as in the example below.

"U-D.B.Z." is known to all his intimate friends and colleagues by this nickname. These initials stand for his full name Deuteronomy Bhekinkosi Zeblon Ntuli. The third name is his father's name. It means that the individual will generally have two names.

It also happens that the individual has three names. Though it is not common. The Zulu author L.B.Z. Buthelezi is known to many by his initials only. His full name is Lizwi Bonginkosi Zakaria. This being uncommon, makes it easy for nickname givers to use the three names to create initials. These initials will then be turned into a nickname. The main aim is to represent all the names when addressing the person.

With regard to the number of initials used to form a nickname our observation is that three or more initials have a more individualising effect than one or two initials. This is mainly because few people are likely to share up to three or more initials in the same order.

We will not overlook those with four initials though. They are the fewest of them all. But we have an example of 'O.E.H.M.' Nxumalo whose full name is Otty Ezrom Howard Mandla.

4.5.4 Initials from Car Registration Numbers

Granted a bit of poetic talent, even the prosaically-intended tracers can stimulate creative nicknaming. One
criterion which the nicknaming artists employ is that of turning the letter part of the registration number of a vehicle into an acronym. From that they build a nickname for first the car and finally for its driver. The fascinating thing here is the way the nickname is superimposed onto the victim.

A certain university lecturer, whose real name need not be mentioned as both he and his car are known interchangeably as 'iPrinter' (printing machine), has a PRN registration plate. To shorten this nickname, people address him as 'u-PRN'.

Another registration number begins with PSY. PSY may also stand for 'Psychology', which is actually the abbreviation itself becoming the nickname rather than signifying something like "Please Study Yourself!". The target is finally addressed as 'u-PSY'.

Initials have become so popular, they adhere onto individuals as if they are their real names. But the way users pronounce them, one might think wrongly that the intention is that of praising.

When a person who has a nickname that is made out of initials is introduced to people who do not know him, his/her legal names may be mentioned first followed by the nickname. When mentioned it calls for a special way of expression. Or when the discourse is between the bearer and the addressee, the nickname comes directly as in the case of saying: "Oh! It is you, PRN!". Or in greeting, one would say: "PRN!".
4.6 Conclusion

The body alone is a very important source of nicknames. It appears that givers will consider the body first to make a nickname for an individual before they proceed to other possible sources. Onomasticians like those in the *The World Book Encyclopaedia* (1982:8) confirm the vulnerability of the body to nicknaming when they say that "Physical characteristics account for the largest group of nicknames."

One may wonder if there is anything the bearer should do to correct whatever the nickname is pointing out on their bodies, because many of these nicknames mention something about deformity. Deformity is one problem one cannot fight successfully to erase.

It is therefore noticeable that mostly these nicknames describe distorted parts of the body more than they describe the well-shaped. Although nickname givers know that commenting about a person's flawed physique does not remedy any errors, they use this tool as a means to let everyone who will fall victim to nicknaming know that they are just concerned about the individual's state.

A sizeable number of nicknames come from praises. Besides acting in a way as praises themselves they help in keeping people known to members of a community for a long time. Apparently the section on nicknames from praises could make a study on its own since this traditional practice is still prevalent in the Zulu community.

What has been most interesting here is the amount of nicknames created and they differ tremendously. Nicknames also originate from singing. You sing and nickname
yourself or you sing and be nicknamed, revealing an interplay of appreciating talent in the community.

Nicknames of this sort, once mentioned, remind the bearer of his/her praises and will arouse the cavorting mood. On the other hand, reciting the piece of praises that have his/her nickname in them, bolsters the person up.

Football once again is another mixture of urban and countryside arena for nicknaming interest, also governed by praises and other circumstances common at matches. The difference here is that nicknames from football praises spread quickly into the community of fans.

The acronymic nicknaming art is one that is unique and has varieties, decorations, styles and challenges. It is interesting to watch names changing to nicknames by losing more properties so that what remains loses a bit of the traces of the original name thus becoming a new item that allows itself to fit in the boots of a nickname.

It seems that nicknames can be generated from anything, so long as it will allow the nickname to do its job, which is to expose, hide, recommend, reject or accept, depending on what influences are exerting themselves. I think that the best of them all are those nicknames cropping out of praises.
CHAPTER FIVE

Functionality and Response

5.1 Introduction

This section analyses two items: first, the role played by a nickname in the life of a person (functionality), and secondly, the manner in which bearers of nicknames respond when discovering their nicknames.

Functionality is divided into two sections, viz. primary functions and secondary functions. Primary functions involve labelling while secondary functions involve other reasons for the making of nicknames.

Ashley (1989:51) commented on the manner in which the society makes nicknames function. She says about nicknames:

They can denote titles but deflate them somewhat... They can be ironic, as when an obese person is called Tiny... They can express society's disapproval of anything from your physical appearance (Two Ton, Four Eyes, Shorty) to your ideas.

Nicknames have to be believed as more functional than main names since they can overshadow main names. It is very rare that composers create nicknames merely for the sake of creating them. On the contrary, most of the main names appear merely for the reason that any human being has to
have a name. Macnamara (1982:1) mentions that naming started from the era of Adam who felt obliged to name his wife 'Eve'. The assumption that those nicknames which do not have an overt meaning should not be taken seriously. Some nicknames are symbolic. We won't go deep into that here as there is a chapter (6) that discusses specifically poetics in nicknames.

5.2 Primary Functions

The primary function of nicknames is to identify an individual. This is carried out by intimate friends and relatives and people who know each other. Identification in this regard is to be taken as a way of hinting to anyone as to who specifically is the figure being referred to when the nickname is uttered. Secondly, nicknames are used in various ways of marking the different phases in the life of a bearer. Like names, nicknames are functional in the following manner (Madubuike 1976:21):

As with personal names, there can be several nicknames for an individual. The nickname a person is called at a particular time is dictated by circumstances. A friend can greet or salute another friend by simply calling him his nickname. During burial ceremonies of great warriors, individuals will be identified by their war names when they re-enact a battle.

Just as names are used to label an individual as well as a group of people, nicknames are used for the same purpose too. By way of label we mean the system in which a speaker identifies an individual or a group of people by using the nickname. In this case we deduce that the nickname functions the same way as the main name, the same way as Ashley (1989:48-9) postulates that nicknames convey "identity" to the audience which is the general public. Identity marking necessitates labelling.
Even if there is one person with a particular name, it has become a habit for a person who knows both the name and the nickname to mention both. At Pholela High School a bosom friend of a boy whose name was Peterson, would call him "Peterson, 'uBhosi'" (the boss).

This labelling concept is the primary function of a nickname.

5.2.1 Description

Many of the nicknames have power to indicate the personality of a person. They may start from describing the physique and proceed to the behaviour.

Chapter 4 of this study is based upon the way nicknames originate from the physical body. Most of them describe what type of physique a bearer has.

Below is a short list of nicknames that describe a person's physical features:

5.2.1.1 Physique

About 70% (2100 out of 3000) of nicknames collected describe a person's physique.

'UKhandakhulu' (Big head) has a big head
'UKhalalengisi' (English Nose) has long pointed nose
'USandlana' (Small hand) has a short arm

In the nickname 'UMakotomuhle' (Beautiful bride) there is reference to somebody who is boastful about her beauty. It is always a self-awarded nickname.
Sometimes items are used to suggest the physical size as in the case of a certain man of the Sithole clan who was nicknamed 'uSijumbane' (Small bag of potatoes). He was short and big. The physique influenced onomastics to nickname him this way. He could not be nicknamed 'uMtsholwane' (a bag of potatoes) merely because of being short.

Many of the nicknames describe the behaviour of an individual pupil, especially those behavioral trends that are unusual.

5.2.1.2 Personality

Statistics reveal that about 30% of collected nicknames describe personality.

In cases like 'uMaqinase' (The hectic one), one notices that in most of the schools there is a child nicknamed this way because some youngsters are hectic. If there are more than two in one school the nickname will go to the one who seems to surpass the others. Usually this nickname comes from teachers. Pupils do not normally judge themselves on the degrees of being hectic. They are not all like that.

This is to mention a few cases, otherwise experts on descriptive nicknames still have a lot of soil to till.

Below is a discussion about secondary functions of nicknames. Here we will be looking at: nicknames that are used to praise, to discipline and to elevate status.
5.3 Secondary Functions

Under this sub-section we are looking at other levels of secondary functioning, namely, nicknames that appear on grounds of approval, those that censure, a few contribute in shaping status, those that become items of ridicule and finally a combination of all the above functions in the revelation of an individual's experience through nicknames.

5.3.1 Approval

This type of nickname mushroom out of good reasons. The maker of a particular nickname attaches it to an individual with the aim of telling the bearer, and the public as a whole, about the person's redeeming features. Wherever the nickname of this type is used, it makes the atmosphere comfortable.

Nor does it end there. Mr Phikaphu, the traditional doctor, was nicknamed 'uVusabafileyo' (He who makes the dead live). Nobody believed an ordinary traditional doctor could do such an excellent job. This became history in the life of the traditional doctor himself.

'UNtombiziphelele' (Best of all girls) is one girl who will beat all girls around her in beauty or in figure.

Usually nicknames like this are appreciated by bearers, givers and the community as a whole. Any nickname that exposes good qualities in an individual are accepted without hesitation.
5.3.2 Censure

Some nicknames issue disciplinary orders usually to a bearer. Sometimes discipline reaches the public through somebody's nickname. There are cases where a giver makes a nickname for somebody with the aim of disciplining somebody else. Some nicknames contain information about how the person was once disciplined in his/her life.

A middle-aged man of the Memela clan at Loteni is nicknamed 'uMaXulu' (He who is born of the Xulu clan). This nickname comes from the manner used to address a woman by her maiden surname. Men are never named this way. This is a fascinating nickname containing an account of an historical episode involving this man. He was a young boy when he was given this nickname. He used to be the head of his peer group and when his gang of boys set out to steal fruit from one orchard, he was captured and given a severe hiding by the woman who owned it. Her name was uMaXulu. Henceforth he was nicknamed 'uMaXulu'. He allows people to address him with this nickname in order to keep this incident in memory. Zulu people enjoy keeping facts of their experiences in memory whether they are happy or otherwise. This is against the behaviour of the Western scholars' opinions. Morgan et al (1979:5) has a different assertion to make about the essentialities of a nickname:

... nicknames very often home in on just those characteristics he would prefer to forget. This is well understood by the victims. As one child put it, 'I dislike nicknames - people use them to imply your character...'

Yet Schimmel supports the idea of people appreciating reference to their past experiences in his discussion of nicknames among Arabs. He says "Sometimes poets are named as a consequence of some adventure..." (1989:55)
A young man who discovered late that he was the only one fathered by another man in the family of 4 children nicknamed himself 'Umphahleni' (Name of the actual man who fathered him), just to tell his parents he was not fathered by the legitimate head of the family. This is rare among well disciplined children who would try by all means to hide such degrading backgrounds, but the young man we are talking about was an extremely ill-mannered person.

A notorious "sugar daddy" who escaped a dangerous venereal disease was nicknamed by colleagues 'uVukeMtshezi' (Rising in Estcourt). He was in bed for a very long time having been contaminated by a disease believed to be caused by sleeping with married men's wives. In Estcourt there is a medicine man who had a concoction that was used by migrant workers who stayed away at their workplaces for a very long time before coming back to rejoin their wives. There is belief even to this day, that there is a way of injecting their women, but unknown to them, with this concoction. If the wife committed adultery, the man involved will develop a big hole on his penis. It is a well known belief within the area that a man who is infected with that does not survive. Yet this particular Makhoba man did survive rather miraculously even though everybody had written him off as a dead man. As a result, men in the area nicknamed him as above and he became a living legend in the whole region.

'UBenyani' (What were they excreting) was given that nickname by the leader of a group of young men just because he made a noise during a wedding ceremony. And there is nothing that hints at the noise of passing wind in the nickname. The aim was to entertain the audience by
artfully identifying the culprit.

A whole pack of nicknames appear and disappear. Some people have a funny style of nicknaming whoever is in front of them according to whatever is being done by the so-called bearer of nicknaming. The aim is especially for discipline.

A child who laughed aloud while the former premier of the Free State, Mr Terror Lekota, was talking over the television was quickly nicknamed 'uTerror'. This happened when somebody was calling the child to order. The kid was not actually laughing at Mr Lekota. The interviewee says that it happened spontaneously when he said "Thula wena! Lo Terror lo!" (Keep quiet, you Terror).

This seems to be a very severe way of imposing discipline. But it will only have a bad effect on the bearer if he/she is not the one who is guilty of indiscipline.

5.3.3 Ridicule

For the word ridicule the Thesaurus gives synonyms such as: derision, mockery, sarcasm and scorn. There are nicknames that accomplish these ends. Their function is to expose people's weaknesses but will do nothing to openly counsel those people on how to improve. In finer terms these nicknames tell the world that so-and-so is just like this (usually bad) and nobody can do anything about it.

It is a common practice that juniors confide among themselves about superiors in work places. Sometimes the situation forces confiders to backbite seniors in their presence. Nicknames play a significant role in concealing the subject of discourse. This happens regularly in
schools. Students always have negative points to discuss about their teachers, especially vicious ones. They use nicknames to make unfavourable remarks to each other about their teachers. It gives them pleasure when their objective of backbiting their teachers in their earshot is accomplished under the cover of nicknames.

In a Natal school students nicknamed their principal 'uMathileyi' (Trays) because of a very minor story he once told them about himself. He recalled that he had once been so good a waiter in a hotel he would carry a big stack of cups and saucers on one tray holding it with one hand and never dropped them on the floor. He was a jocular man and students guessed he was making the story up. Eventually he forgot all about the story of those cups and saucers. But they would talk about him even in his presence, with confidence that he would not recognize the person nicknamed 'Cups and Saucers' or 'uMathileyi'.

Two garden boys would talk about their white employer in his presence despite his good command of the Zulu language because they would use his nickname 'uJombentshebeni' (He who disregards the beard). This was meant to criticise him for being ready to fight a man older than him, whereas Zulu culture demands the younger person to respect the older one.

Mr Cosmas nicknamed one man 'uMbhalakandlaweselele' (The large-stomached frog) and Mbhalakandlawesele nicknamed back in retaliation and called Cosmas 'uMaqumbane' (The wife of a White). These nicknames operated only between the two of them. Sometimes these kinds of nicknames run to more than four for a single person. All that we learn from them is that they are used with the purpose of ridicule.
A certain woman nicknamed her first born 'uStan' even after the father had given him official names. The father did not suspect anything at the time, but later he worked out the implication himself and realized it was the name of his wife's ex-lover, Stanley. In the ensuing quarrel about this the wife revealed that she was trying to act against the custom. In fact, a girl who is reluctant to accept the suitor can be bullied into marriage with a man she does not love, which her husband had actually done. This is storing a pathetic message.

5.3.4 Status Creation

Nicknames have a way of imposing either a true or a false status on a bearer. Self-imposed nicknames always exaggerate the status of the person concerned. One example here is taken from some people who are so notorious that they will not dare use their real names when introducing themselves to others. This happens basically to young men who want to lure girls into faked love. Nicknames normally used in this regard are names of famous people or any other names that sound good.

A certain keyboard player visited a typical rural area in the western parts of Pietermaritzburg. Since people there had not physically met Black Mose, the keyboard player of the famous Soul Brothers, he called himself 'uBlack Mose'. He knew there was not a single television set there where the girls might have had a glance of this man. They fell for him in numbers. When he left he had more than four in a matter of a weekend.

Thugs frame up nicknames quickly when introducing themselves to people who figure next on their hit-lists. Such namings do not last long.
5.3.6 Recapitulation

This section has been focussing on the general use of nicknames where givers, bearers and the audience demonstrate both the advantageous and the disadvantageous results yielded by nicknames.

It can be assumed, in brief, that nicknames do solve some mysteries while they are also capable of mystifying certain concepts. We have seen also that the person who benefits most is the giver who knows exactly what the reason is for him/her to make a nickname before the bearer is made aware.

Givers may opt to nickname people just to display their artistic creativity. The satisfaction of having achieved the opportunity to use their nicknaming prowess becomes a gratifying factor.

Above all, we have witnessed the functionality of nicknames even though nicknames are regarded as playnames (Koopman 1987a:147). It means that even when we play, we do it to gain. If we lose, we learn by trial and error.

5.4 Reaction from Bearers

The concern here is with the acceptance and rejection of nicknames by bearers. Nicknaming can turn out to be very serious sometimes. It can create everlasting bitterness between the nickname giver and the bearer. Only about 8% of bearers in the study were found to be neutral in responding to the effect of nicknames on them (see par. 5.4.3). I fully agree with Alford (1987:82) who assumes that:
In general, it appears that abusive or derogatory nicknames are more common than neutral or positive nicknames.

This section looks at different kinds of reaction expected from bearers of nicknaming e.g. positive, negative and conditional. In order to reveal positive or negative reaction, the bearer has to hear, know and understand his/her nickname. In most cases where the bearer has remained neutral, it is either because they never mind being nicknamed in a certain way, or they have never known they have been nicknamed at all. We should not overlook a mixed reaction where the bearer first misunderstands the nickname, therefore reacts in a positive or a neutral way, so that at a later stage he/she learns what it actually transmits is an insult then reacts with anger. In a nutshell, it may be that it depends on the understanding of the bearer as to how he/she has to react to a nickname.

Moreover, there are cases where an individual does not want to be nicknamed at all. It does not matter how good the nickname sounds, but if the person is downright opposed to being nicknamed, there is always a problem the minute they hear they have been given nicknames.

A certain girl could not say no to a man proposing to her. People nicknamed her 'uMadodonke' (All men belong to her). She knew well she was that type of a girl, but would fight any individual who was heard calling her by that nickname.

The superintendent of Pholela High School and his assistant, the boarding master were nicknamed by students 'uMabhakede' (Buckets) and 'uSigebengu' (The Thug) respectively. They punished severely any student who was reported to have used any of these nicknames.
An ex-prisoner nicknamed by the community as 'uMabhantinti' (Prisoners) went furious when he heard somebody mention that nickname.

But still, among the same group of people who have hang-ups with nicknames as listed above, if the nickname was so positive, they would accept it. A man who once stole cattle and was rejected by everybody in the surrounding, accepted the nickname 'uMakhuluskobho' (Big head) which was taken out of his praises the first time he attended a wedding ceremony since he had been accused and charged for collaborating with people from Lesotho who stole cattle in the Mqatsheni area near the Drakensberg Mountains. But if people had used the nickname 'uMantshontshimfuyo' (The Stock-thief) they had used during his time of thieving, he would take an unpalatable decision either about them or about himself.

Finally, rejecting a nickname has strange consequences. Every nickname you reject sticks on you like glue. From all people interviewed the answer to the question "What happens if you try to stop people from using a nickname?" is: "They use it more seriously than before."

Therefore the best way to let a nickname sleep is to merely ignore it.

Statistics from research made in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in 1999 reveal that out of 98 interviewees, 51 don't approve nicknames that were imposed on them.

5.4.1 Positive Reaction

40% (39 out of 98) of bearers of nicknames among the
student interviewees accept nicknames on condition that they conform to their objectives according to their (bearers') understanding. In most cases nicknames that are well-received are firstly the ones that are self-imposed. Obviously the composer in this regard chooses the best nickname to suit his/her aims. Some of the nicknames by other composers are rejected.

Nicknames that come from praises are always self-imposed or chosen by spectators but because they already form part of the account (praises) that best describes the individual, they are accepted unconditionally. In this case even if the praises have been composed by somebody else, just because the term 'praises' has an element of praising in it, nicknames that emanate from this art are often accepted.

Nicknames that are accepted must really appeal to the bearer. In Zulu society statistics from research reveal a low percentage of nicknames that comment on a person's good works. Most of them are derogatory. Many are accepted but not appreciated. Usually it is those bearers who know what normally happens when they reject nicknames.

Sometimes the bearer appreciates the way the nickname sounds as in 'uKatiliyangisolisa' (I suspect this cat). When interviewed, Memela, a middle-aged man said that the words 'ikatiliyangisolisa' sound like a sweet poetic line in his ears, even before one comes to the meaning of the phrase. The fact that he made this nickname for himself understandably makes it appeal to him even more. We observe here that people who appreciate poetry will not mind the message in the nickname but will be concerned with the sound made by pronouncing the nickname.
A handsome man nicknamed 'uSimatsatsa' (the beautiful one), highly appreciated the nickname because it announced to the people that the giver was aware of his attractive face.

A man whose official name was Monimoni highly valued his nickname 'uPelepele' (Hot pepper), mentioning that it made people fear him. During his days of stick-fighting, he used to beat his peers. His wives respected him for this. Both his and other people's children would never be mischievous because the community would request him to punish them on their behalf. In meetings, they would let him speak especially when things went wrong. He was good at disciplining the culprit. Apart from welcoming the nickname wholeheartedly, he was encouraged to live up to it.

In short, it is assumed that bearers depend on the degree of appellation offered by the nickname in order for them to receive the nickname well. The only sign that confirms appreciation of a nickname is one of being silent about it, responding normally when being addressed by it and mentioning it when the bearer introduces him/herself to strangers, etc.

5.4.2 Negative Reaction

Among all bearers of nicknames, 52% reject their nicknames because of certain reasons. This is denoted by the 51% of the student interviewees who clearly don't accept nicknames already given to them. Even the interviewees who offered to the researcher nicknames that expose these statistics were reluctant to offer their names at the time of the interview. This happened even with those that admitted that they accepted the nicknames given to them.
They only offered their student numbers to ensure that it is the researcher alone who got to know which nickname belonged to whom. After answering the questionnaire they sealed the forms and returned them to the researcher without their classmates seeing what they had written.

Some reject nicknames because they like their original names more. Since there are strong reasons in nicknaming, the bearer may not like the motivation for the nickname. For instance, a girl named 'uNomusa' (Mercy) would not approve of a nickname 'uBhanana' (Banana) which still refers to her placid behaviour. The official name itself means a soft person, but it expresses this rather less harshly. The nickname giver adds to the description of this personality by turning a term for a soft fruit into a nickname. The bearer objects to the nickname because it exaggerates her personality.

A boy named uMandla (Power) rejected the nickname 'uBhubesi' (Lion) even though it alluded to the powerful physique he had. Some people may misinterpret this nickname for a brutal murderer.

In other cases people who happen to be given the nickname 'uGoliyathi' (Goliath) refuse to accept the nickname just because they are against being associated with the Bible, although they know Goliath was a feared giant. Sometimes the reason would be that the bearer is a dedicated Christian who does not want to be associated with someone who was eventually defeated. The bearer hates the nickname associating him with Goliath who was ridiculed by a small boy, David.

While on nicknames from the Bible, one is attracted to the nickname 'uLazaru' (Lazarus) which alludes to a bad
economic background of the bearer, thus making him loathe the nickname. In Luke 16:19-31 Lazarus is referred to as a somebody who dies poor, thus making the name carry a stigma of poverty. Anybody who is given a nickname such as this name detests it.

Other people who normally reject nicknames are those whose nicknames refer to their physical deformity. A man nicknamed 'uMagwegwe' (Bracketed-legs) would not like to know that other citizens are aware of his crooked legs. A man with one arm would not like to be nicknamed 'uSandlana' (Little-hand) because he does not approve of his paralysis. Not everybody likes baldness. Any nickname, such as 'uMpendlana' (Small bald), is not accepted. There is one disease which Zulu people hate - impehlwa (deep eating ulcer). The nickname from this disease is usually 'uMpehlwabeyiduda' (Deep eating ulcer). The bearer hates such a nickname.

Ordinarily givers can guess whether the bearer will like a nickname or not. But there are a few nicknames which are known to be outright loathsome. The nickname 'uNjengenja' (Dog physique) can never be acceptable. It is a tradition that Zulus when they want to belittle one another they use anything to do with dogs. Saying one is a dog alone is an insult. It goes without saying also that a nickname made out of a part of the body of a dog like the nickname above will never be accommodated by the bearer.

Teachers do not like being nicknamed because it is always easy for students to confide criticism about their teachers even in their hearing. A weak looking teacher who had a small physique did not like his students addressing him as 'uThisha u-One-cylinder' insinuating that if he were a vehicle, he would be a mini-car, a motor-bike or
anything with a one-cylinder engine.'

A category of nicknames where bearers seem to be accepting them while in actual fact they resent them, are employment nicknames. The example of the nickname 'HNomagoli' (Likes Johannesburg too much) was accepted unconditionally by the bearer in the beginning because of ignorance about its motivation. Once the girl learned of the factors that influenced its origination - that it is for somebody who likes urban areas too much - it was rejected and an uphill struggle of erasing it was ahead of her.

We should not leave out the influence of other parties in the rejection of a nickname. People like members of the family, peers, colleagues, friends, the public, may themselves support the victim in rejecting an unwanted nickname. These would be sympathisers very close to him or her. Such sympathy could influence even a neutral bearer to oppose the nickname. Nevertheless, a nickname is a persistent label. Once imposed it is very adhesive. The rejecting group must take a strong line to get it dropped. What happens is that the objectionable nickname survives but is used secretly. The quickest way in which a nickname disappears is when it is not used by anybody. As long a few continue, it will always retain some currency.

5.4.3 Conditional Reaction

These are nicknames that either appeal to the bearer or arouse negativity. It all depends on the bearer whether he/she can entertain or reject it. Thus some nicknames remain neutral. Another factor that puts them under this category is when they remain unknown to the bearer. At that stage nobody can guess whether they may be welcomed or not.
There are 8% examples of nicknames that are conditionally accepted and those that are conditionally rejected, based on the research mentioned earlier in par. 5.4. Out of the 8% of nicknames referred to above, their bearers are regarded as undecided because of accepting a nickname initially, then rejecting it later. This depends on who is calling a bearer by a particular nickname. If it is somebody junior, he/she may not be welcome to use the nickname. If it is somebody to whom the bearer must submit, he/she may be allowed to use the nickname.

Mr Mfeka who was best known as 'uShumilopondo' (Ten pounds) on Radio Zulu, actually has three different nicknames each of which is used in an appropriate situation. The first one can be used at random and at any time. The second one is 'uMagayazidlele' (He who brews and serves himself). This one is accepted by Mr Mfeka during the course of the week only and not on a Sunday. It has more association with drinking beer which is against most church doctrines. The third one is uttered on Sunday only, and that is 'uSolomoni' (Solomon), a name that comes from the Bible. All these three nicknames are accepted as fitting at certain times and not others. They are thereby rendered unstable.

The nickname 'uKhalathi' (Coloured person) belonged to somebody who allowed only members of her family to use because she understood that they were sensitive in its use. She took other people as being malicious and sarcastic so did not accept it from them at all.

At school some nicknames are used by teachers only. The condition here is that the teacher should not be opposed to whatever they do to pupils. It should be different
today as the bill of rights is in place. But before 1994
teachers could address pupils with nicknames which bearers
did not appreciate, worse that they spread in use to other
pupils and outsiders. A tough young man of the Dlamini
clan who was in the same Standard 8 class with us at
Siminza Secondary School allowed teachers and her sister
Prysinah only to call him 'uKwayitosi' (meaningless). He
was from Johannesburg a city with a high status and was
bossy by nature. He was the oldest and the most gigantic
boy in the class. Very few fellow pupils would dare be
cheeky when talking to him.

Some people have nicknames current in taverns only. A man
called Bongani can be nicknamed and addressed as
'uDibongs' (Stylisation of the name Bongani) when he is
among friends drinking. You call him Dibongs in the
street, he calls you aside to reprimand you severely.

Another young man at Stepmore had a nickname 'uSimatsatsa'
(Mr handsome) which should not be used by males, but only
by young girls. It came about because he was a womaniser.

A thief will not be comfortable to hear somebody who is
not an accomplice to use the nickname which they use when
on the 'job'. Nicknames like 'uSpike' (self-explanatory)
and 'uStrike' (self-explanatory) belong to this type of
individuals.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to highlight purposes of
nicknames where we see how people use them for addressing
each other. Where the bearer has no problem with the
nickname, it is used just like a legal name rather than a
nickname. Bearers themselves, in such cases, use nicknames
to identify themselves.

It is clear that nicknames have the same function that names offer, that of labelling. They label even better because they always arise at the appropriate time. A name which a child must get even if parents do not have a clue what he/she is going to become when growing up may prove inapt in the long run.

Nicknames always have both the primary and the secondary significance, in that they label first and then go on to refer to other functions.

We have also seen that givers rely on guessing by the force of a nickname whether the bearer is going to accept it or not and so they take a relevant decision towards hiding it away from him or to expose it. Sometimes it depends on the status of the bearer. If it is low the nickname will always be forced on them. But a fair amount of nicknames work according to certain conditions.

On receptivity, the result is three-fold: nicknames can be accepted, rejected, or the bearer can choose the former or the latter depending on how conducive circumstances are.
CHAPTER SIX

Poetics in Nicknames

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at analysing artistic literary creativity found in nicknames. The presence of poetic licence in secondary naming practices is hinted at by the fact that nicknames are created for the purpose of fulfilling a representative or a labelling function. Most nicknames, except meaningless or straight-forward ones, are a superior way of assessing the bearer. If this is partly the reason for nicknaming, then there is poetics in the process. The fact that a nickname stands for a certain behaviour of a human being means that it can be believed, for instance, to feature as a metaphor.

The fact that a nickname has deep meaning too, applicable to the subject being nicknamed, means that there is a distinct figurative function in the nickname itself. Some are constructed in such a way that certain letters are repeated thus conforming to qualities of the external structure of a poem. These are plain features of poetics.

We can justifiably assume that there is interaction between onomastic and poetic theories, which this chapter is meant to unveil. We discussed in depth the applicability of onomastic and nicknaming theories in the previous chapters of this study. This one is henceforth relatedly intended to go deep into the applicability of
literary theories in nicknaming systems.

Coming to linguistic construction, a fuller account of the linguistic analysis appears after a poetic discussion of nicknames in the chapter that follows this one. The feeling is that some account, however superficial, be offered of a morphological structure as well as a gleaning of the meaning borne by each nickname.

It is unnecessary for this section to prove the status of nicknames to be used as examples, since they are taken from previous chapters, where they have already been weighed and approved as true nicknames by virtue of their origin and application.

There are parallels between onomastic theories and poetic ones in nicknames, hence the necessity to discuss mainly the latter here. Morgan (1979: 36) supports the assumption by saying that:

A fundamental distinction in all naming systems is between internal methods of formation whereby a name is generated by some feature of language such as alliteration or rhyming, and external methods of formation where matters of history, appearance, family relationships, local culture and so on are involved in the genesis of the name.

6.2 Figurative Meaning

Since the term "figurative meaning" almost envelops all poetic features, it is essential to account for it before one embarks on the main discussion.

Most nicknames act as figurative structures, requiring a mind that will read between the lines to find their significance. Figurative meaning is explained by Brooks and Warren (1960:555) as represented by imagery. They say:
The representation in poetry of any sense experience is called imagery. Imagery does not consist merely of "mental pictures," but may make an appeal to any of the senses. Poetry characteristically appeals continually to the sense. This is another way of imagery where in an obviously descriptive fashion the poet characteristically makes his statements and conveys his ideas through comparisons, that is, through what is called figurative language. The most common types of figurative language are simile and metaphor.

Claiming that nicknames can function as poetic components is to say that they also consist of "mental pictures". In that way nicknames, as they label somebody or something, allude to some behaviour or body structure of that particular person or object. Some refer directly to that characteristic while others beat about the bush. The art of putting a label on somebody by way of indirectly using a nickname justifies the claim postulated above.

Cope (1968:38) agrees to the above assumptions as he comments shortly by saying that poetry has a greater richness and a greater concentration. And according to him it is also more to the point, more revealing and can revive memories better than some other forms of art.

It is imperative too at this stage to confirm the assumption that not all nicknames are poetic. There are those that simply present a mere description of an individual, as in 'UMaqinase' (The hype-active). This nickname simply means that the bearer is always busy. The above mentioned example should suffice to strengthen the claim that while most nicknames are poetic, there are exceptions.

As for a short breakdown of the current section, it is
worth saying that it will look at both the presence of literary qualities as well as the poetic function of nicknames with regard to imagery, hyperbole, ambiguity, irony, paradox and idioms.

Refrain is part and parcel of poems but does not occur in nicknames, the reason being that it relies entirely on stanzas.

Each aspect of both the internal and the external features will be discussed with the aid of an example or two.

6.3 Imagery

Nicknames use imagery in the sense that they figuratively make a picture in the mind of a user once the subject is addressed by his/her nickname. Nicknames offer manifestations of imagery such as metaphor, simile and personification. Heese and Lawton (1975: 62) say of these components of imagery that they employ the word image as a term that generalises while simile, personification, metaphor and symbol directly are referring to various types of images.

Following here is a breakdown of the sub-heading "imagery" into sub-sections of its four components as listed above.

6.3.1 Metaphor

A big number of nicknames can be regarded as metaphor since they are made out of linguistic elements that refer to certain items originally, but then finally adhere to human beings. Very few nicknames contain the idea of a human being in them, thus weakening the status of a good metaphor.
Metaphor is regarded by Untermeyer (1978:179) as basically more effective than a simile because it tends to make a quick comparison and a mental image combination of two concepts in the absence of any further explanation.

A survey of nicknames in this regard discovers that metaphor functions as a word standing in the place of another to reflect the image that the entity being described by the nickname has similar behaviour or characteristics with the phenomenon from which the nickname is derived. There are two cases in which a nickname is used as a metaphor: one is a simple metaphor which means that a nickname may be given or used metaphorically to describe the behaviour of the bearer. But traces of calling the bearer by the entity represented in the nickname must be there. The other is where a nickname of a certain phenomenon is given to another entity or person on top of its or his/her name. The latter is two fold in terms of origin and poetic function. It identifies itself with two people (if not object etc.) Examples that follow explain further both cases of the aforementioned metaphorical nicknames.

To analyse the simple metaphor one can observe the composition of the nickname 'iBuzi' (mouse) which is supposed to hint that the bearer is bigger and tougher than other people of his own age group. This is because this kind of a mouse, known in Zulu as 'iBuzi', is large among mice species. The nickname reveals in use that the bearer is not likened with 'ibuzi' but is identified as one. A listener may even misunderstand the speaker when talking about 'iBuzi' because he/she will not be addressed as 'uBuzi' (with u-as in noun class 1a commonly associated with proper names) but 'iBuzi' (with i(li)- as in noun class 5 whose list includes species of animals). A certain Mr Khanyile of KwaZulu-Natal, when interviewed,
said that he gave himself the same nickname to publicise himself as one who will never decline a stickfight challenge from young men of his age group. He believes he is more formidable than the rest of them on the grounds that a big mouse is, of course, stronger than smaller species of mice.

Other people are called 'uTshelomfula' (River stone). It goes to somebody who wins most arguments. Givers figuratively explain this person as 'slippery'.

'USitambunenyama' (Samp and meat) tends to go to traditionally-minded people. It is the samp particularly that denotes the idea of being traditional from being a typical African food.

'UBhotela' (Butter) is tender and caring. If it is a female she is attractive, but is a type who cries easily when things turn hot. Butter melts readily in heat.

We notice here that a poetic giver will simply choose a feature and highlight it on the bearer. In that way all the qualities displayed by the feature will explain metaphorically the human behaviour of the bearer.

6.3.2 Simile

I may as well go back to Brooks and Warren (1960:555) for the definition of a simile. In the definition of both simile and metaphor their claim is that this device presents a comparison by the use of terms such as "like", "as" and others.

In Zulu the equivalents of "like" or "as" are okwa- (okwa+izintaba = 'u-Okwezintaba' - Belonging to mountains) and njenga- (njenga+isela = 'uNjengesela' - Like a thief)
respectively. And a nickname can be used in the sense in which a simile is used. A nickname can have the morphemes of a simile like 'njenga-' (such as).

'UNjengenja' (He who looks like a dog) already has morphemes of simile which are strengthening its poetic stance by indicating the likelihood of traces of canine behaviour if not physical resemblance to the dog in the body parts of the bearer.

A hideous looking man at a place called Stoffelton near Impendle in KwaZulu-Natal is nicknamed 'uNJengenjomane' (He is like a horse). His face is characterised by long jaw-bones and people are likely to imagine a horse's face when he comes into sight. From that they nickname him 'uNjengenjomane'. This is, in terms of our definition of simile, a clear one.

However, there are very few cases of these nicknames. A person that I encountered at Loteni is nicknamed 'uNjengentshela' (He who looks like remnants of burnt food). My interest in this nickname is grounded on the idea that the nickname is shortened from 'uNjengentshela-yophuthu' (remnants of burnt stiff porridge). It still suggests that the bearer is indescribably dark-faced. What would fascinate a poet in this nickname is that it runs to an extended simile. The bearer is supposed to be light complexioned like ordinary porridge. But the term 'intshela' refers to the remnants that stick on the bottom of the pot which always burn and change colour.

One nickname that uses the construction "okwa-" is 'Okwezalukazi' (Like old women). It is one of those interesting cases where the prefix 'u-' is left out totally. It derives from a phrase "Ukunyakaza kwezalukazi" (Old women's gait). It is clearly given to a daft somebody
who is young, with no excuse for being slow.

It appears that nicknames of this poetic nature are not many. The problem with them is the peculiarity in uttering them. As they overlook the orthodox prefix u- (class 1a), it sounds unusual to call an individual by a nickname which normally has such a prefix.

This type of nicknames is not usually known by bearers unless they really liken them with acceptable concepts or have been self-imposed. Otherwise they do not have the ability to hide the actual meaning from the bearer concerned.

6.3.3 Personification

We can define personification as a poetic construction where an inanimate or non-human object is credited with actions of a human being if not parts of a human body. In the case of animalisation, an inanimate object is given actions of an animal or part of the animal body. Heese and Lawton (1975: 63) offer a definition of personification which, among other things, postulates that it is an image in the form of a solid concept that represents a human being.

A certain Coloured person by the surname of Mr Bunting of KwaZulu-Natal has a portion in his personal praises that goes "Unkukhu ziyalim' amachwan' ayahlakula" (Fowls are ploughing while chickens eradicate weeds). From them arose the nickname 'uMachwanayahlakula' (Chickens eradicate weeds). The nickname postulates that chickens are engaged in an activity normally associated with human beings - hoeing. It makes an excellent personification.

It is even more literary that Mr Bunting is not identified
as a single chicken while he is one individual, but a group of them. Furthermore, he is an adult, but is likened to chickens, let alone fowls. This is not unusual in the language of a poet. It is pure poetic licence.

The final distillation in this sub-section tackles the claim that a poetic nickname can also exhibit overt symptoms of figurative impact while at the same time it is bottling others away (as in the case of this very example being a kind of personification while there are a metaphor and an exaggeration hidden in it). We can then confidently assume that most nicknames carry within them, as single as they are, a strikingly big load of poetic devices.

Such nicknames have power to recreate a human being by making him into an animal or object first, then restore him/her imaginatively to his/her original form of a human being. This is such a fascinating mental process in the thinking ability of somebody who has both an artistic and a poetic mind.

6.4 Hyperbole

Hyperbole simply refers to poetic constructions that bear a form of exaggeration in meaning. A number of nicknames may have qualities of being too much for what they are supposed to mean. We touched slightly on this idea (exaggeration) at par. 6.1.2 above.

A dictionary definition of hyperbole is to be found in Macdonald and Kirkpatrick (1975:350) who explain the concept as a figure of speech that explains an idea in a distinctly magnified fashion.

Msimang (1988:19) explains hyperbole by saying that:

Imbongi iyeqisa ekuchazeni kwayo.
Kungenzeka ukuthi abantu babebaningi, kokunye yikhulu noma kweve. Imbongi isizothe bangangoZulu eya emakheni. Awu Sekuyihaba lelo.

(The poet will give an exaggeration in his explanation. It may happen that people were quite many. They might be a hundred or above. The poet will then say they were as many as Zulus going to Emakheni. Wow! That is a hyperbole.)

Given the above definitions, let us consider the following example of a nickname with qualities of a hyperbole. A tough looking young man who looked good enough to join the wrestling championships was nicknamed 'uSigwinyamakesi' (Swallower of crates). The nickname suggested that he was so big, one might think he had already swallowed, not bottles of beer only, but the whole crate with its bottles. While this is impossible, the nickname serves well the explanation of the man's physical build. It is a clearly magnified observation. The nickname bears a connotation of a repeated common act by the person being nicknamed. This is the best found hyperbole in nicknames that has all dimensions (e.g. swallowing done repeatedly, commonly, including both crate and bottles contained) fitting satisfactorily in the definition.

The nickname, 'uSikhunujojilanga' (Firewood piercing the sun) is another example of an exaggeration in the original meaning of the construction. The earth is too far from the sun for any figure to even think of attempting the act of piercing the sun with an item like a piece of firewood. The bearer of this nickname is known for sending his legs even higher than his height when performing Zulu dance. This made the giver liken the talent to somebody who ventures to try and reach out for the sun, hence the idea in the nickname.
6.5 Irony

According to Shaw (1972:208), irony is also a figure of speech in which the surface meaning of a construction is the reverse of what is really meant. In general terms this device is a way of decorating a refuting impression of reality in a situation.

Given the above definition, we can extract and analyse first, in its scope, two nicknames from chapter one, namely 'uJikanelanga' (Sunflower) and 'uSingesendlovu' (Elephant-buttock). A certain man is nicknamed 'uJikanelanga'. In the first hearing, the nickname has an impressive connotation since it derives from a flowering plant. Poetic nickname givers will habitually use nicknames composed from flower names to indicate redeeming features conspicuous in somebody to whom the nickname is being given. This time, 'uJikanelanga' is meant to allude to atrocious behaviour - a lazy person. The irony now lies in contrasting labels.

A girl nicknamed 'uSingesendlovu' (Elephant buttock) may think the reason for getting this nickname is that she has big plump buttocks, usually appreciated by young men. But in real fact an elephant has a huge behind which is also very flat. In the Zulu society a girl with flat buttocks is less fancied by prospective suitors. The buttocks should rather be protruding and more roundish than flat. Here too, the bearer would slightly miss the correct side of the irony.

A young man with big ears is usually nicknamed 'uMadletshana' (Tiny ears). It is used to mean the opposite of the size of his ears. The objective in using a diminutive here is only to mock the subject. Unlike in 'uMehlomakhulu' (Big eyes) which is invariably given to a person with big eyes thus offering a literal message.
Coming to Abrams who says that a paradox, though absurd, makes sense; we learn that 'umadletshana' was biologically not supposed to have such large ears. When the nickname is mentioned listeners will quickly understand that the bearer has the size of ears undoubtedly out of proportion with his/her body. Sense in this case is carried in the message.

All the above cases, if I may further expand, are ironic cases since each does not convey the true picture in the first postulation, but the opposite. A victim of these kinds of nicknames may accept them only to learn at a later stage that they did not mean what he/she had in mind.

6.6 Paradox

This device in literary terms is a surface reverse of what is intended by a statement. Instead of being a hidden opposite meaning, it becomes overt. I choose to say 'statement' though I am dealing with one-word cases (nicknames). We certainly can accept that a nickname is a statement in itself as it can contain all facts required to label the bearer.

But for a definition we can visit Abrams (1981:127) who defined this concept as a discourse that literally reveals a contrary interpretation, but when analysed closely furnishes a commendable message.

A nickname, when applied to the context of a paradox means the opposite of its interpretation in terms of the person to whom it is given.

'UKhehlamfana' (Old man-boy) might not quickly realize the giver is being sarcastic by adding the words "old man" in
the nickname whereas he is still a boy. While the gist of the message in this nickname is that the boy should not indulge in adult activities, like drinking beer, it is also mocking him for looking like a worn out man instead of being young and fresh.

Now to move away from a paradoxical application of nicknames, let us look at some that have paradoxical components in their making.

A traditional doctor in one of the KwaZulu-Natal regions is nicknamed 'uMaqandeqhude' (Eggs laid by a rooster). This has no implication for the doctor's behavior, physique or anything else. Really it is not easy to work out the meaning or objective for composition. He himself when interviewed was perplexed why citizens nicknamed him that way. No guess-work can be applied to attempt disclosure of any reason towards giving him the nickname. And it is so unlikely, though it happens sometimes, that a rooster can lay eggs. The composer of the nickname was reported to be dead at the time of research. No trace of reason for derivation could be made. All that it means is that the traditional doctor could cure even the incurable.

Yet we cannot leave this nickname dumped in the rubbish pit as if it is totally unworthy of weighing on poetic scales. As Abrams (1993) postulates that there is richness in paradox, I accept the challenge in connection with this nickname. Nicknaming a traditional doctor this way means that he/she (traditional doctor who may turn out to be a witch-doctor at times) can be a witch-doctor in the true sense of the word if he/she chose to become one. A witch doctor is believed by many to be both good and bad. On the part of being a witch he/she bewitches when required to, while being capable of and willing to cure too. The witch part is represented by a rooster's egg which, if it could
be laid, could not be appreciated even by gluttons of eggs. In real fact most people would virtually doubt it as poison or a disease-carrier. The part of a doctor carries in itself green lights in terms of the lives of everyone else, that is why there is a rooster in the nickname. We know without hesitation that the rooster's meat is edible. Eating it means both healthy bodies and better life afterwards, no different from what we expect of the witch-doctor from the second half of his professional status. Furthermore, being a rooster means possessing leadership and dictatorship powers within the crowd of fowls and being a traditional doctor means being in the position to head the healing faculty within a community.

It should most probably interest the poet that the two (Mqandeqhude and witch-doctor) exist in parallel in terms of good and bad (now taking some nicknames to parallelism). This part of our analysis is not aimed at discussing repetition. It is mentioned in passing. The analysis as a whole will not leave such poetic devices unattended to where they crop up.

6.7 Proverbs

Some nicknames are extracted directly from proverbs and idioms. This research has focussed on nicknames that have currency only as Zulu proverbs and idioms. Other languages have not been featured in this study.

Starting with proverbs, a nickname such as 'uThokolathemba' comes from the proverb "Thokola themba amathunzi ayewukela" which is equivalent to "Hold onto your hopes, what you were expecting is about to happen." Another is 'uMkhumlansika' which comes from the proverb "Umendo ngumkhumlansika" meaning that 'marriage tends to pacify even the most vicious ladies'. 'UKhotheyikothayo'
is a shortened form of the proverb "Ikhotha eyikhothayo, engayikhothi iyayikhabalela" which simply means that help will usually come from the person you have always helped. It shows that since proverbs are part of a language, they also form an arena of nickname making mostly used by mother-tongue speakers of a language.

6.8 Assonance and Alliteration

Since nicknames are either simple or compound words, unlikely to make up stanzas, many of the external poetic features are absent. A few can be traced, such as, repetition of consonants and vowels, linking and parallelism.

Alliteration stands for a repetition of either consonants or vowels in a line or a stanza. Cohen (1973:173) confirms this assumption by saying that it is a device that calls for a repetition of the initial sounds of words and it particularises consonants. This becomes a sound enhancement painting in poetry and elsewhere where it may be applicable.

In nicknames this occurs within the nickname irrespective of its length. Same consonants can vary in number from 3 to 7 in one nickname.

In 'uXo~elizig~umelayo' (Frog that jumps for itself) and 'uNgaxoxelixoki' we notice 3 x's occurring in one nickname in each case. In 'uMaswid'ezintombizaseMtshezi' we have 3 occurrences of the consonant z. But in 'uNgokongokokakhiye' we have 4 cases of the letter k. In 'uCwecwelwezintaba' (a landscape of mountains) and 'uMhlwehlweweziwilwane' we count 3 and 4 semi-vowels (w) in each case respectively. The longest assonance so far exhibits 6 vowels, in 'uSigemegemamasese' (An ordeal
with frogs).

Nicknames will even go further to present repetition of syllables where there is a combination of consonants and vowels i.e. syllables with same vowels. This research discovered one construction with this poetic art.

'UBhadazabhadabhada' (Wobble Mr Wobble) the repetition is created by an initial verb 'Bhadaza' followed by 'bhadabhada' which is a doubled ideophone of warbling. We must not overlook the assonance of 'a' and the alliteration of 'bha' and 'da' in this impressive repetition. The nickname does not have a figurative meaning, all it means is that the bearer walks in a rambling fashion.

6.9 Summary

We have observed that nicknames, though they are only words, do have a poetic structure especially in their internal structure.

Their power to stand as a link between the original meaning carried by their semantic significance is the process that contributes much to their poetic function.

We have also seen that, since poetic aspects are there to beautify known phrases and words, nicknames have the same licence too. They adhere to bearers and go further to expose another avenue towards perceiving the bearer.

Some nicknames bear a clear prosaic meaning, conforming to the avenue of poetry where critics say that there is an obvious or surface structure too.

It goes without saying that different users of nicknames
may not interpret meaning at the same level. Some appreciate only the poetic level of the nickname while others stop only at the mundane or literal plane.

But even nicknames' external structure has a few of the items that characterise a poem. It does not matter that nicknames are usually one word or very short phrases and clauses. The fact that Zulu is a language that is capable of having one word making a satisfactory sentence facilitates the applicability of poetic items in some of the nicknames.

6.10 Conclusion

We have seen that nicknames are rich in poetics. They are not only there to substitute main or real names but also share a hidden meaning with the audience. They are economical in the sense that a wide meaning can be contained in a single word (nickname). They are carefully chosen in order to be satisfactorily functional.

They represent most of the figures of speech we know. They create pictures in the minds of both the outsiders and targeted persons. They are in most cases to the point. They fear no secrets, meaning that they have a similar license to that of an 'imbongi' (poet). We can agree that they pose as epic, ode and eulogy in that they expose a person's history, describe his physique and comment on his progress in life respectively.

This appears sufficient to make us justify the creativity of composers as having a literary power good enough to crown them as poets. Thus we do not have to be afraid of welcoming their contribution into literature.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Some Linguistic Features

7.1 Introduction

Involved here will be the analysis of morphemes that make each nickname. Nicknames will be chosen at random but will follow a sequence of nouns, qualificatives, verbs, conjunctives and interjectives.

Morphology can be defined as the part of grammar that examines the internal formatives of words and linguistic constructions.

This means that this chapter will be looking at units of elements that make up nicknames. It is also significant to witness the behaviour of nicknames by looking at the units that make them up.

It is important at this point to look at what other morphologists have to say about the morphological constructions of nicknames.

Poulos and Msimang (1998:32-45) discuss the different ways of using prefixes of noun classes 1(a) and 2(a) in the formulation of proper nouns. Nicknames fall under the category which the two linguists regard as belonging to classes 1(a) and 2(a). And they use exactly the same prefixes u- (class 1a) and o- (class 2a). The difference is that nicknames are rarely found in plural forms. The reason is that it happens only in very rare instances that there will be more than one individual identified by a
single nickname.

Neethling (1994:89) confirms the above observation by saying that in Xhosa it is the same noun classes in both singular and plural, the difference is only that Xhosa uses oo- in its plural.

Buthelezi (1997:3) also confirms the use of noun class 1(a) and 2(a) prefixes by offering examples where he also makes a breakdown of these prefixes u- and o-.

From nouns there will be an analysis of nicknames that have been made out of both nouns and pronouns. Nouns alone will have sub-headings such as noun class morphemes, proper nouns, diminutives, plurals and collective nouns.

Under qualificatives there will be nicknames made by using relatives, possessives, adjectives and enumeratives. Under verbs nicknames stemming from different types of verbs, verbal extentions, combinations of verbs and other parts of speech will be looked at.

It seems best to analyse nicknames with combinations of morphological items to make quickly a survey of different parts of speech in the analysis of this section. Otherwise the scope will be too wide to control. The simple procedure adopted is to regard nouns and verbs as main items and thereafter give an account of combinations that go hand in hand with both.

7.2 Nouns in Nicknames

A large number of nicknames derive from nominal stems. Even if they were made out of any other items of language, somehow they call for the use of morphemes that bring them close to nouns.
This section analyses modification of nouns into nicknames. We will see here simple nouns, compound nouns, nouns mixed with other parts of speech and still other categories of nouns as specified under the introduction above.

7.2.1 Noun Classes

Turner (1997:56) discusses prefixal morphemes that are used in the making of nicknames (izifekethiso as she calls them) by paraphrasing Koopman (1979) in saying that:

A large number of these izifekethiso are derived from nouns with initial elision which are prefixed with the class 1a prefix u-thereby reflecting the fact that noun class now is in its secondary function, i.e. expressing a personal name.

In all those cases of nicknames the prefix /u/ for noun class 1a is used, as in 'uMzwempi' (House of War). The plural, which occurs under special circumstances, will be 'oMzwempi' where a vowel /o/ marks the plurality in noun class 2a. Morphologically this nickname is made out of the noun 'umuzi', the possessive construction 'wa + i = we' and another noun 'impi'.

Poulos and Msimang (1998:33) postulate that names (including nicknames) which are proper nouns in linguistic terms have the morphological structure similar to the above. Further they come to the following explanation about noun class 1(a) and 2(a):

These two classes may be regarded as sub-classes of classes 1 and 2 respectively. The main reason for this is that they use the same concords as classes 1 and 2.

Mr Madondo, an ex-announcer of the-then Radio Bantu had a
nickname 'U(lu)khuni' (Firewood) from his praises. The prefix /u/ is not to be mistaken for the prefix /u/ of class 1(a). This one is marking nouns in class 11. Its plural would be /iziN/ as in class 10.

If we have to go back to prefixes of noun class 11, our examples thereof are 'uGubhu' (u[lu]Gubhu - Organ) and 'uBisi' (Milk) just to mention a couple. Class 14 is represented by 'uBuhlunGu' (Pain), 'uBukhehle' (Rattling noise) and 'uTshwala' (u[bu]Tshwala - Beer). Class 15 also allows users to use prefixes as they stand as in 'uKufa' (Death - Fearsome person).

The above examples look more like ordinary nouns, but we must remember that they may be shortened forms of compound nicknames. One example is the nickname 'uBisi' which, in full form, is 'uBisinebhotela' (Milk and butter). The two nouns are bound together by a connective 'na' which combines with the prefix (i)bhotela and finally result in "na + i = ne".

One striking concept about the use of the morpheme /u/ in these nicknames is that it is not easy to tell at a glance whether the nickname has inherited the prefix in class 1a or from classes 3, 11, 14 and 15. Most bearers interviewed prefer it to be in class 10. In other words, it is more fun for bearers to be called by the item itself than to adapt the nickname by prefixing it with the class 1a morpheme.

The use of prefixes as in a class 10 nickname, allows us to assume that nicknames can use all types of prefixes that occur in nouns. There are nicknames that are so flexible that they allow the user to choose between applying the orthodox prefix /u/ or the one that always goes with the noun. One of such examples is 'uNtshebe'
Some people will decide to use /i/ for 'iNtshebe' while others will use the former case. It does not make any difference which prefix is used.

Sometimes composers use the prefix /i/ for noun classes 5 and 9, as in 'iNsimbi' (The iron). This still substantiates the point that almost all prefixes of nouns can be used to formulate nicknames. If we look at the nickname 'iSihosho' (The Hoarse Voiced one), we notice that it is a noun in class 7 in its normal form, even when it is a nickname.

Even in discourse when the bearer is the third person class concords will tell you that the nickname is being used as it is. For instance an individual nicknamed 'iTshe' (Stone - class 4) when being referred to would be called 'iTshe'. Even when he approaches he would be identified as "Naliya 'iTshe' liza" meaning "There is 'iTshe' coming." Otherwise the proper form of a nickname where a prefix of nouns in class 1a could have been utilised, would be 'uTshe'. The sentence would thus be "Nanguya 'uTshe' eza." "There is 'uTshe' coming." In full, this nickname is 'iTshelomfula' (River stone). Finally we have 'itshe la + (u)mfula = lo' (possessive construction).

Noun classes that begin with the initial vowel /i/ also have a tendency to be used without adaptation as in the following example: 'iZinto' (Items). Here the prefix iziN-belongs to class 10. This research found several examples of this usage in the Radio Ukhozi programme "Isigungu" where people who phone-in to greet other members do not use their legitimate names but self-given nicknames. Below are examples of those nicknames:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NICKNAME</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
<th>NOUN CLASS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i(li)Wisa</td>
<td>(Knobkerrie)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iSiggiki</td>
<td>(Wooden chair)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lastly, a very interesting case is where the prefix /i/ is used excluding the plural marker /zi/ (IntabazoKhahlamba) whereas the nickname is in the plural as in the nickname 'IzintabazoKhahlamba' (The Drakensberg Mountains) which is a noun in class 10. What gives us an indication that the nickname is in plural form is the possessive formative /zo/. The Zulu language here deliberately elides the plural morpheme /zi/ for 'iziN-' but the possessive mentioned above unveils the hidden plural.

7.2.1.1 Simple nouns

By simple nouns we mean nicknames that are made out of one noun only as in 'uSikhuni' (Firewood), 'uSithombe' (Photograph).

The word "inkomo" (beast - class 9) can easily be turned into 'uNkomo'. This is the easiest way of compiling nicknames. Many of these types of nicknames have been discussed in many parts of this study. The recipe is one that is discussed in par. 7.1 above where the prefix u- for the singular is applied while o- is applied in the plural.

These are contrary to complex nicknames which are discussed in the section that follows below.

7.2.1.2 Compound nouns

By compound nicknames we mean those that are made out of nouns that combine more than one lexical items. And ones that attach other nouns are counted in as well. Nouns that
encompass other parts of speech also form part of our discussion here. Below we will look at nouns and nouns, nouns and pronouns, nouns and verbs, nouns and adverbs, nouns and qualificatives, nouns and conjunctions and nouns and interjectives. Finally we will look at nouns and other alien items like digits, etc. We will also look at both phrase structured and sentence-like ones. Anything that becomes a part of the complexity of nicknames made of nouns will form part of the discussion.

a) Noun + noun

In this process two nouns are joined to each other. The first one publicises the external appearance of the bearer while the second noun exposes the hidden actual nature of the individual. In other cases the two nouns stand for two features of an individual.

In the nickname 'uNyanga(u)mthakathi' (Witch-doctor) the victim is known by the public as a traditional deviner 'inyanga', but other people who know more than the public do have confidence to label him a witch 'umthakathi'.

Also in the nickname of a certain shopkeeper 'uSitolo(i)moto' (Car-shop) the bearer's service to the community is through owning a shop, but he also takes his service to the community. In this example the two behavioral concepts are equal.

Some nicknames have to give an impression that the item they have been extracted from is in its multiples. 'UMajusijusi' (Juices and juices). It probably means that the bearer had a lot of juices to drink when he was nicknamed, hence the reduplication of the stem '-jusi'. This is common to a person who partakes of both soft and hot drinks.
We observe two methods of creating nicknames in the above examples. The first is where two different nouns are put together. The last example in the discussion offers another method in which the noun stem is repeated.

In each construction of the above nicknames the first vowel of the initial noun is replaced by u- while the first vowel of the second noun is elided.

b) Noun + relative

Most givers make it a point that when they make a nickname out of a noun they must qualify the latter. If it was just a noun it would not, according to them, carry enough weight as an extra label above the name. This also helps to explain the reason for nicknaming an individual. The nickname 'uSangomesiqotho' (sangom(a)esiqotho – Honest diviner) means that the bearer is not only a traditional healer but also does his work honestly. 'UBabolungile' (Bab(a)olungile – Kind-father) reveals to us the type of a father this man is.

'UBhavelimboqo' (Bhav(u)elimboqo – Bent bathing basin) means the bearer is an experienced veteran. He has encountered most ups and down in life, and has the scars to show it.

'UFishonamasando' (Fish(i)onamasando – Fish with wheels) means that he does things that other people cannot do. He is like a fish that can run on a road. He does odd things similar to a fish that can leave water to come and experience life in the dry world.

Our observation of morphological processes in the formation of relatives here reveals that the final vowel
of the noun is elided while the relative is written in full. And we notice a general substitution of normal class prefixes with u- on all initial nouns.

c) Noun + possessive

With reference to nicknames that combine a noun and a possessive, this research came out with several striking cases.

The nickname 'uMagamenkehli' (words of the engaged girl) has employed a noun in class 6 (amagama - words) and another in class 9 (inkehli - engaged girl) which has a possessive construction 'a' which combines with the prefix 'i' to result in 'e-'. When one traces the origin of this nickname what emerges is that it is a portion of the saying: "Ukuya ngamagama enkehli" (Events follow the words of the senior girl) meaning that things are taking the course that was targeted.

'UBuhlebesigungu' (The beauty of Isigungu) is a nickname of one of the members of this organisation who seems to be impressed by the way his organisation functions. This has made him coin a nickname for himself this way to let every other listener of the programme be tempted into registering as a member. The second noun isigungu has a possessive construction in the prefix ba + i- = be-.

'USigqikisothando' (Chair of love - sa + u- = so-) means that any lady who falls in love with this man will find that he does not only show tender care, but he is tender care itself. 'UZintozokugcina' (The last items - za + u- = zo ) is given to a person who is charming. Zulus believe that anything that comes last is more interesting than what came first. If it is a person now he must be very interesting. A well-behaved woman would nickname herself
'uMamawokuthula' (Mother of peace - wa + u- = wo). The process where a vowel is combined with another to produce a new one (a + u = o) is known as vowel coalescence.

A peculiar nickname that will always be attached to a male is 'iKhayalikababa (Father's home). It is not usually easy to realise quickly that this is a nickname as it tends to discard the familiar properties like the initial prefix, /u/ and /o/. A nickname like this is commonly extracted from praises and it is often used as a metaphor in them. There are few cases of this type of nickname, but one of its occurrences is 'iWisalikababa' (Father's knobkerrie). But some people will go back to the normal manner and call the bearers 'uKhayalikababa' or 'uWisalikababa'.

Except in the last example, all the initial cases bring with them a noun that employs u- in the beginning and a possessive construction /a/ which combines with the initial vowel of the second noun.

d) Noun + verb

A combination of a noun and a verb contributes much in the coining of nicknames.

'UBheshuliyasha' (Burning buttock covering - noun + verb with 'li' as a subject concord) can be a common nickname given to anybody for some reason or other. In a combination of a noun and a verb, only the common prefix u- is applied on the noun. The verb simply joins the noun without reflecting a tangible linguistic change.

But it is a common trend for nicknamers to use a verb in its continuous tense. Another nickname is 'uSobholiyabila' (The soup is boiling). Another is 'uBhasiliyabaleka' (The bus is leaving).
One man has a different construction in his nickname 'uKatilizele' (The cat has given birth). The verb is in the stative mood in this case.

In the last three examples the construction 'li' which is a subject concord prevails commonly.

e) Noun + foreign items

People who accept the type of nicknames that incorporate items that are not common to the Zulu communities are regarded by their colleagues as having some high status.

'USele-X2' (Frog times two - noun + mathematical equation) does not stand for two frogs but is telling the audience that the last two syllables of the word /sele/ must be doubled. Another version of the word 'isele' (frog) is 'iselelele'.

A woman who always serves people with tea bearing the name Five Roses will be nicknamed 'uMama-Five-Roses' (Mother-Five-Roses - noun + English-noun).

Some nicknames do not have clear traces of origin as in 'uJacaranda-juqu' (Breaking jacaranda - noun + ideophone). We could assume an incident where a jacaranda tree broke and somebody wanted to record the incident in their memory by creating the nickname for somebody.

First, once you put together two constructions that come from different languages, the Zulu word stands out and never mixes with the foreign element.
7.2.1.3 Diminutives

Many of the nicknames tend to use the diminutive morpheme -ana. As a playname, the nickname will tend to make a victim feel a bit small. Commonly nicknames carry in them an element of belittling a bearer. Others simply use the suffix without any tangible label towards a bearer.

Poulos and Msimang (1998:103) offer an account of what actually happens when the diminutive suffix -ana is applied on nouns in order to produce a diminutive. In nicknames nouns and diminutives adhere to these analysts theories. They observe that:

When diminutive suffix -ana is added to a noun stem certain phonological changes occur. These vary according to the final syllable of the noun stem, that is both the final consonant and the final vowel.

On words that originally end with vowels a e i, the last vowel is elided as the suffix /ana/ is attached. For example:

'USandlana' ← isandla + ana (small hand)
'uMatiyana' ← amatiye + ana (small teas)
'UMapulazana' ← amapulazi + ana (small farms)
'uWonkana' ← uwonke + ana (all of them)
'uMpandlana' ← impandla + ana (small bald)

Those that have either a vowel /o/ or /u/ at the end will combine the vowel in question with the initial vowel from the diminutive construction -ana, and the result is the semi-vowel /w/. For example:

'USiphongwana' ← isiphongo + ana (small forehead)
'uZibukwana' ← izibuko + ana (small spectacles)
'uMehlwana' ← amehlo + ana (small eyes)
An odd case is where users of nicknames decide to utilise a semi-vowel /y/ instead of the consonant /l/ as in the nickname 'uQhaqhaveyana' (qhaqhavela + ana - small physique). The process of substituting /l/ with /y/ is known in the Zulu communities as 'ukuthefuya'.

Some instances involve palatalisation as in the following example:

'uMakhanjana' < amakhanda + ana (Small heads)

Some of the nicknames seem to have diminutive suffixes that call for palatalisation. They are simply natural constructions that co-incide with diminutives. The term 'untanjana' (small rope) is shifted to refer to a tie. From that meaning a nickname maker uses it to coin one for a certain individual. And we finally arrive at 'uNtanjana' (which is, in fact, from intambo + ana).

Most of them are meaningless (see examples below). Others are placenames. Most have meanings but they have no origin that shows how they adopted diminutive suffixes (see example number 2 below). A few are either coined by nickname givers or are regional terms. Some of those examples are:

1. 'uMathebethebana' < (kestrel)    regional
2. 'uNgqashana' < (skipping rope)  adapted

7.3 Verbs in Nicknames

Verbs are also as popular as nouns in the game of making nicknames. With them are a number of combinations that result from the interaction with other parts of speech, including nouns.
Tense morphemes will not be analysed in profound depth in order to keep to reasonable length.

7.3.1 Simple Forms

Many nicknames are made out of simple verbs, di-syllabic, tri-syllabic, etc. From the verb 'jika' (turn) the nickname becomes 'uJika' (One who Turns). From the same verb we get the nickname 'UZojika' (He will turn). The -zo- is a tense (future) marker. This is a straight forward verb. Even the mood is an indicative one.

Others come from other languages such as English, Afrikaans and other ethnic ones. 'UGiven' is a nickname that comes from the English language. Afrikaans offers nicknames like 'uKyk' (see), 'uTik' (Type). These are common verbs in the indicative mood.

This section constitutes a big portion of this study. Examples that appear here have been extracted from other chapters where they are discussed under numerous headings, excluding their nature as linguistic items.

Verbs that are coupled with nouns will be excluded since they are discussed under nouns + verbs above.

7.3.2 Compound Verbs

a) Verb + verb

Here we can start with simple combinations where we have an occurrence of a verb and another verb.

A case that has such behaviour is in the following example: 'uHlal(a)ehleka' (He laughs endlessly - verb +
verb with the last vowel of the initial verb dropping out). It can also be 'UMahlalehleka' (same translation).

'UBuzelukwenzani' (Why are you asking - verb + verb, a neuter and a passive with constructions such as: u- + buza + ela + uku + (w) enzani). 'UCel(a)uzophiwa' (Ask and you will be given - verb + verb) comes from the expression in the Bible where it says "Ask and it will be given unto you." (Luke 11:9). The first construction 'cela' which loses the last vowel is an imperative while the second 'uzophiwa' is a passive.

Other examples with two verbs are:

'UHLalabemnyakazisa' (They are always shaking him - an indicative and a situative). The object concord /m/ directs the action to the nickname holder.

'ULakhizalakhemeza' (It drizzles and drizzles - an indicative and an indicative).

'UMadlulakuvaliwe' (He goes through closed doors - indicative and situative).

'UMjik(e)evika' (Twist him as he shields himself - an imperative and a situative). The last vowel of the first verb gives way to the initial vowel of the second verb.

'UNgen(a)ebhadazela' (Warbling in - an indicative and situative). The last /a/ of the first verb is elided leaving the initial vowel of the second verb taking its place.

Verbs bring any type of mood in a combination of two. Some moods are can be repeated.
b) verb + verb + verb

In some cases nicknames can include three verbs as in the following example: 'UPhakubukacashe' (He hides away when spotted dishing out the food - an indicative, a situative, and a subjunctive). The above example may be shortened to 'uPheka'.

These nicknames have a tendency of making users shorten them by excluding the last verb, otherwise it sounds clumsy to utter the whole nickname in a conversation.

c) Verb + other parts of speech

Verbs tend to allow other parts of speech to accompany them in the process of making nicknames. A few examples are:

'UMahanjelwayintombi' (A lady will always visit him - a passive verb, a copulative marker (y) and a noun) has a construction 'ma' which suggests a name attached to a person. The same nickname can be used without the construction 'ma' in the fashion of 'uHanjelwayintombi' (same translation). Also this nickname can have another meaning as in 'he who lost a girlfriend' in both 'uMahanjelwayintombi' and 'uHanjelwayintombi'. The former is more common in the two versions of this nickname.

In nicknames, as we have seen above, this verb comprises a passive form (mahanjelwa), a copulative construction (y-) and a noun (intombi).

Buthelezi (1997:16) regards the infix -MA- as a noun formative which name (and nickname) givers use commonly to coin names for both males and females. He also agrees with Koopman (1987:44) that the infix is used to indicate a
maiden name.

The morphological structure of nicknames that crop out of verbs needs a closer look at the mood and the vowel elision. The stative mood, because of its tendency to begin with a vowel, will always force out the last vowel of the initial verb and retain its own. Common moods that appear in the use of the combination of verbs are: the indicative (which is very common), the applicative, the subjunctive and the passive. The neuter is not so commonly used. As many as three different verbs can be used to make one nickname.

7.4 Conjunctions

Even a conjunction can be used to make a nickname. This means that almost all parts of speech are fit as linguistic properties to be used in the compilation of nicknames. 'UNoma' (Nevertheless) is one of our typical examples. Nicknames that use conjunctions as their properties sound too short. This shows that they are abbreviated forms. The above example comes from the full name 'uNomasekunjalo' (Despite those conditions - conjunction + adverb of manner).

'UNgoba' (Because) from 'UNgobabayakholwa' (Because they are believers) is another example of a nickname that initialises a conjunction before the second item in its crafting.

Sometimes a conjunction comes after another item although in its use only the conjunction will feature. In 'uFuthi' (Furthermore) the conjunction comes after the noun 'umkhokha' (a piece of bad luck). In full the nickname goes 'uMkhokhafuthi' (Another bad luck).
In the final analysis nicknames that use the conjunction 'futhi' tend to start with another item and end with the conjunction. In this case it is a circumstance that has once taken place in the experience of the nickname victim. Since the conjunction does not begin with a vowel, there is no possibility of vowel processing.

This study did not come across conjunctive nicknames that do not have items that accompany these conjunctions. In general terms, conjunctives are used in compound nicknames.

7.5 Gender morphemes

Nicknames are not constructed to refer to a specific gender.

Infixed such as /ma/ and /no/ which are commonly associated with the feminine gender don't have this status in nicknames. 'UMaDlamini' (daughter of Mr Dlamini) for example can refer to a man and nobody will question this.

So in practice you get a lot of nicknames like 'uMaXulu' (Daughter of Mr Xulu) going to men thus continuing the expedition of weakening the already feeble stand of the infixed /ma/.

At Impendle a man is nicknamed 'uNobhakela' (One who kicks). Though it is not a cut and dried formula that the construction -no- is perceived to denote femininity (as in uNzola - the pacified girl - see Buthelezi 1997:18), it is mostly associated with females. But in nicknames it be applied to either.

'USosekethe' (Circuit Inspector) is a nickname pinned on a lady teacher who always had a dominant attitude to all
teachers (male and female) in one of the schools in KwaZulu-Natal. Teachers regarded a circuit inspector as their big boss and not one of them. In this case the victim acted like a circuit inspector. The construction /so/ is used to mark a masculine behaviour in this female.

These examples justify us in regarding nicknames as having no gender boundaries although Buthelezi's (1997:20) observation maintains that the infix -so- is normally used in male names.

7.6 Interrogative Formatives

Some nicknames use interrogative formatives. When such ones are transcribed, we omit question marks. In this way nicknames of this sort behave like some of book titles which do not need the use of a question mark.

'Uhandwawubani' (Who loves this person - a passive, a copulative constructive (w) and a pronoun) is self explanatory. Another similar construction is 'uNcinzwangubani' (Who is pinching him/her - a passive, copulative (ng) a pronoun and an interrogative terminative). 'Upho-indabakaba(ni)' (Then whose story is it - an enclitic, noun and a pronoun) makes up a full interrogative sentence.

When analysed closely, these nicknames reveal qualities of being self-made. Most of them mushroom from praises. They bear a tone of pride and self-confidence, especially one that uses a "why" which is translated as why are you asking and the nickname itself is: 'uBuzelukwenzani' (a neuter, a verb and an interrogative terminative.)
7.7 Ideophones in Nicknames

Some nicknames comprise ideophones only and here are a few examples of such nicknames:

'uKhushukhushu' (Sound of train or a shaking object)
'uMancamncamu' (Crunchy sound)
'uBhubhubhu' (Flying sound)

Use of ideophones in the coining of nicknames necessitates the use of the prefix u- which we are used to, as in the nickname 'uKhushukhushu' above. Sometimes the proper noun construction /ma/ is used following the vowel u- as in the second example. The normal form of an ideophone is where the stem is not in a duplicated form. But when a nickname is being coined, the stem will tend to be duplicated as in 'uKhushukhushu'. On the ideophone 'bhu' the nicknamer will usually triplicate the stem.

7.8 Constructions from other Languages

Other languages contributing to the making of nicknames, are especially those that interact with Zulu and its speakers. Most nicknames with foreign input mushroom in workplaces and also use the morpheme u- of noun class 1a as is the case with Zulu nicknames discussed earlier.

In the nicknames that follow a few linguistic items will be discussed. No particular order will be followed since these nicknames are to be regarded as foreign in themselves.

Nicknames made out of another language such as 'u-Always-right' and 'o-Always-right' also need the prefixes /u/ and /o/ as discussed above. The striking construction here is the juxtaposition of the two initial vowels which is a
rare case in Zulu constructions.

It is easy for the semi-literate to nickname a person who is fond of speaking English using uncommon terminology by using some of the words he/she usually uses. One individual was nicknamed 'uBecause' (a conjunction) because of the frequent use of this term in his speech.

A certain Afrikaans teacher (Zulu by origin) once taught a lesson under the topic "Voegwoorde" (conjunctions). Among other Afrikaans conjunctions was one pronounced as "nogtans" (Nevertheless). Somehow the kids were so impressed by it that as soon as they went out for recess, they had the term attached to the teacher as a nickname that came up as 'uNogtans).

Conclusively it can be assumed with confidence that Zulu speakers will sometimes be attracted to features of foreign languages and be lured to use them to coin nicknames.

7.9 Conclusion

Our observation conforms to De Klerk (1998:1) who says that nicknames:

...offer an opportunity to speakers to display a touch of linguistic invention, to break the rules of language and get away with it.

It is true that nicknames are taken from all types of parts of speech. Even sentences offer themselves as a reservoir of nicknames.

Generally, nouns employ the class prefixes -u and o- of classes 1(a) and 2(a). This happens even in combinations of nouns and other parts of speech, so long as the noun preceeds all other constructions.
The verb seems to present itself as equally significant in the making of nicknames. It comes with a considerable amount of combinations with other parts of speech. Several moods are observable in the process.

On top of nouns and verbs, other parts of speech also play a role in the formation of these proper nouns. Even conjunctions are a significant way of constructing nicknames.

Finally, foreign linguistic terms words from other languages do come in to become parts of some nicknames. They are of supreme interest and enrich Zulu constructions in a way that will always attract an analyst.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In order to portray a full picture of the observations that result from the whole research and the argument, some peculiar and striking features will be highlighted. In that way there will be an account of the nicknames and the way they circulate in the society where final conclusions will be reached of the atmosphere they create. This should paint the picture of the value of nicknames in the society, especially among the Zulu people.

There will be a discussion of the conclusion of the way these nicknames present themselves. Comprehensive coverage will be attempted and it is hoped that all possible avenues explored will be laid out clearly.

Conversely, the most important partakers in nickname practices are senders and receivers (makers and bearers respectively). A summary on some nitty gritties about them will be made.

Since placenames and other matters that have to do with places do offer nickname givers another opportunity for a reservoir of nicknames, all that placenames and places contribute to nicknaming will be revisited.

Praises, as a unique tradition in black communities, is
expected to bring a fascinating summary of what resulted from them. Initials as a way of praising also make a contribution to the making of nicknames, and the summing up of this section will identify tangible features of it.

Nicknames have a unique role to play in the life of an individual. The conclusive comments of it will highlight the main points that have been revealed. Bearers do not simply accept nicknames. A final look at the way they respond to nicknames will form part of this conclusion.

Both literary and linguistic analysis have revealed an artistic talent in the creation of nicknames. This marks any language used as the most important tool used in the making of nicknames. They, as part of linguistic sounds, have had their own structure which was looked at to make input to the conclusion. Peculiar behaviour and patterns in general presented by nicknames will be pointed out clearly. It is hoped that after this treatment, a nickname will be better understood and appreciated.

8.2 The Nicknaming Triangle

We noted in this study that not only the vernacular forces people to make nicknames. Any language a nickname giver has come across becomes a tool. Local languages (ethnic ones and European ones that occur in the country) play a part in this art. Nevertheless, the mother-tongue will dominate the stage. Even when other languages are brought into the scene, terms that are employed in the process tend to be adapted. The final result is a nickname that has qualities of an adoptive. The most interesting observation reveals that foreign languages keep a number of nicknames lower but close to the total number of nicknames made using the mother tongue. Again we will find
evidence in the statistics offered by the research on Ukhozi FM listeners. Out of about 3000 nicknames collected representing almost the whole of KwaZulu-Natal, about 50% are mother-tongue, while those in the region of 25% come from foreign, including Indian, languages. Close to 15% come from uncategorisable items and 10% come from other South African indigenous languages.

As languages are crucial in the making of nicknames, in some cases these languages are mixed. You may even witness a combination of up to three languages at least in one nickname. This convinces us that nicknames, like all other names, are language based but can be from anywhere.

It can be postulated that nicknames will go to the extent of developing from linguistic items that do not mean anything. They do not sound foreign, they are just words that can be pronounced but do not betray their linguistic origin. This proves remarkable creativity strength whereby even meaningless sounds might formulate nicknames.

Names behave the same way as nicknames, it is just that theirs is to come before nicknames and so enjoy a status of being official. That is why nicknames are said to be linguistic labels of individuals (whether young or old) which help further identify a person over and above what his/her names do.

There is nothing strange in the people who coin nicknames. In fact anybody can make a nickname. Ours is only to group those people that make nicknames and call them givers while those that receive nicknames are called bearers. These involve family members, school-mates, famous people, media workers, musicians, authors, soccer players, professional people, tavern owners and work colleagues.
Above all the categories of community members listed above, we can confidently agree that anybody is eligible both to making and to earning a nickname, depending on how conducive circumstances are for him/her to experience.

The process of nicknaming starts when Zulu people nickname one another. After that they nickname other races, while they also get nicknamed back. This study concentrated on the Zulus nicknaming, but mainly left out nicknames from other races.

In a nutshell, one can make a list of important figures in this study by saying that the cycle will not be complete unless there is a victim (the bearer) and the artist, who will give a nickname.

To add to the above two (to the giver and the bearer) there must be a user. This one will wait until the giver and the bearer finish the job and then she/he steps in. His/her responsibility is to use the nickname. It becomes an additional privilege to interpret the nickname if he/she is that much interested in it. This one is responsible for spreading the nickname to the other members of the community. When the nickname is well-advertised and in full use, the cycle is complete.

Nicknames entertain the idea of using distorted parts of the body more than they describe the well-shaped. These nicknames comment on anything from the size of the body, the shape, the complexion, diseases, etc. Nicknames know no embarrassment when it comes to describing what type of a body the bearer has. They explain even the obvious, one would believe nicknames assume everybody is blind. For a nickname, everybody is a stranger, they must be
enlightened about the community and the types of bodies they have.

Names seem unable to explore the body like this. The reason is that names come before parts of the body of an individual are properly developed. This is where a nickname has an advantage. It comes later when a person has shown the public what his/her true colours are.

Praises are a tradition in the Zulu society that make a tremendous contribution to the making of nicknames. Basically praises have in them three main functions, i.e. describing the physical body, accounting for the historical experience of an individual and lastly, criticising or commending a person for his/her deeds. Nicknames made out of praises tend to carry out the same type of functions.

The advantage of praises and nicknames is that one can choose any word in the praises and make a nickname out of it. That is why Zulu young men and women have many nicknames. Wherever an individual finds time to recite his/her praises, people of the area are likely to pick up one term in them and make that into a nickname. That person becomes known with one nickname here and another elsewhere. It is hoped that this chapter has reviewed all these aspects. Kings and chiefs receive nicknames from praises as well. And in the 1990s praises contain terminology from many languages. Nicknames originate from all these matters to make an interesting variety.

We learnt also that people compose praises for themselves and also choose nicknames for themselves from those praises. Zulu culture is well demonstrated in the nicknames that come from praises. Habits and
idiosyncracies become exposed to the public at large. Most of these nicknames carry in them a figurative meaning since praises themselves behave like poetry. There are also praises used in football stadiums. Football players substitute their real names with nicknames they earn from these praises. When these nicknames are used, they behave more like praises. Fans shout these during a match and a listener will hardly differentiate between praises and nicknames during this occasion.

The acronymic nicknaming art goes hand in hand with nicknames from praises. The reason is that they sound like praising when in use. And they deviate from actual names by abbreviation, thus rendering themselves as passages of economical poetry.

Scanty as it may sound, this type of nicknaming has varieties. Some nicknames bring one of the names and an initial. Others use one initial. In some cases two or three initials. Sometimes initials from names include the initials from surnames. Both females and males experience this type of nicknaming.

From what was said in both chapter 4 and 5, it seems that nicknames can be generated from anything, so long as it will allow the nickname to do its job. That is to expose, hide, praise, disapprove or welcome, depending on what influential state of affairs there is.

Some nicknames are so acceptable to bearers, they are used at the same level as one would use a real name. If bearers have nicknames they value more than official names, they put them first.

It is clear that nicknames have the same function that
names offer, that of labelling. They are judged better labels because of featuring accurately at the time when they are apt. Bearers or nickname makers need them most at that particular time.

A first glance at the actual argument in the study reveals that there are primary and secondary roles played nicknames. First, they label and then go on to discipline, ridicule, describe, etc. The study has discovered that there are no less than three types of responses expected from the community of bearers. Those are affirmative, negative and neutral receptivity. If a nickname is welcomed without a problem, it is either a self-given or a praising one. If negatively received, the nickname is derogatory. If the bearer is neutral, he/she does not know about the nickname or he/she is watching who is using it. If it is somebody of higher rank than the bearer, it will be reluctantly accepted. If it is someone in the lower rank, he/she has to use another respectful name or title.

In a nutshell, among the Zulus, there are more nicknames that are accepted than those that are rejected. The group that contributes to this considerable discrepancy is a syndicate called "Isigungu" (refer to chapter 1 par. 1.3). Out of the number of nicknames obtained from this programme, which total up to 3000, a 100% accept their nicknames without any hesitation.

But this does not reflect a true picture of a positive attitude towards nicknames because every member has to abide by the policy that says every member should have a nickname. Finally, in this syndicate we have people who are wholly interested in having a nickname. Therefore, all these who are negative to nicknames do not even come to the fore. Throughout the world, many people never have a
nickname.

Put the true reflection came from the statistics where 98 nicknames were collected and reflected that 52% of those were positive to nicknamers. This simply means that the majority of nicknames are welcomed by bearers.

Furthermore, we have seen that nicknames do not only exist to label, but will do this with a hidden message which gives users a challenge one can describe as literary. Nicknames create images in the minds of both the affected individuals and the targeted persons (bearers). They land on anybody, regardless of status, gender or age, or whatever the case may be. This means that they have a similar license to that of a poet. The analysis on poetics in nicknames unveils a degree of literary creativity among composers. This further describes them as having a literary power good enough to crown them as poets. Thus, we do not have to separate nicknames from literature.

Nicknames are linguistic items as well. They are words that come from a language. In that way they are justified to be regarded as having a morphological structure. For that same reason they can be analysed in the same way as other words in the language.

Nicknames do carry ordinary morphemes. This means that they function as ordinary linguistic terms. The slight difference in onomastics is that nicknames lose their meaning for a while when they are used as labels to identify and refer to people. But that very same frozen meaning comes back when analyst put a nickname into scrutiny.

The study has also revealed that morphologically nicknames
appear as ordinary terms in the language except where prefixes of class 1a and 2a are employed to make them qualify to be given the status of proper names.

The study displays nicknames made out of all parts of speech that this study could discover. We saw nicknames from nouns, verbs, qualificatives, ideophones, copulatives and combinations of a few of these in one single nickname.

The most important of all aspects of this analysis, is the nickname itself. That is what made this study become what it is. All other items would not have been able to come to the fore were it not for the presence of the idea of giving a person an extra name, the nickname. They have been analysed, collected and recorded from quite many countries and about quite a number of languages and communities. But not those that prevail among the Zulu people of South Africa.

Names and surnames and their varieties have been analysed academically and otherwise. Koopman seems to be the leader so far (1999) who has taken a serious interest in these labelling words among the Zulu people.

8.3 Conclusion

It is believed that this account makes clear the picture created by the study as a whole. It should be possible now to identify Zulu nicknames and understand the way they behave by considering their origination, their functions and their influence on the Zulu communities.

While the name is official and has to be used at all times to refer to an individual in both formal and informal situations, the nickname is loose, friendly and informal
in many cases. But it has a queer power to overtake all official names.

From origination as an extra name made out of linguistic elements, to the meaning it carries, the nickname sticks to an individual in order to explain further his/her developments in life, if not his/her physical body. Poets would attach qualities of an epic and an eulogy in one nickname once it comes into existence.

The final linear structure that we arrive at after going through the whole study can be shaped as follows:

Giver → Language → Nickname → Bearer → User.
# APPENDIX 1

## List of Nicknames from ISIGUNGU and other informers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-percent</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-0-12</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-0-2</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-dozen</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-comma-5</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32000</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-0-7</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iBuzi</td>
<td>Mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iDlozilomaskandi</td>
<td>Ancestor of the Maskandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iGreen Skin</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iKhayalikababa</td>
<td>Father's home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iLembe</td>
<td>An axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iMbodlomane</td>
<td>One with a very deep voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNanki</td>
<td>Breed of pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNdawiyehlela</td>
<td>Slopy place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNdlovenesihlonti</td>
<td>Elephant with a grass burning light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNgulube</td>
<td>Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNkosiyomaskandi</td>
<td>King of the Maskandis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNkunziyembongolokayibekwa</td>
<td>Donkey stallion should not be reared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNqokonqoko</td>
<td>The bossy one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNqola</td>
<td>The Wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNsimbi</td>
<td>The iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iTshehe</td>
<td>The beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iPrinter</td>
<td>Self explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iSihoshosikaMbhense</td>
<td>MaMbhense's hoarse voiced one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iSihosho</td>
<td>The Hoarse Voiced one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iTshe</td>
<td>Stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iVondwe</td>
<td>Guinea-pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iWalisikababa</td>
<td>Father's knobkerrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iZintabazoKhahlamba</td>
<td>The Drakensberg Mountains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iZinto</td>
<td>Items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IZintozokucina</td>
<td>Last bits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
u-A.B.  
nickname from initials
Self explanatory
u-Always-right  
Words of the engaged girl
u-Amagamenkehli  
Juices and juices
u-Amajusijusi  
Amen believers who have finished praying
u-Amenamakholwaqedukuthandaza  
Hot shoes
u-Ayashisamateki  
nickname from initials
u-B.T.  
nickname from initials
u-C.C.C.  
nickname from initials
u-C.T.  
nickname from initials
u-D.  
nickname from initial
u-D.B.Z.  
nickname from initials
u-Engine-fire  
nickname from initials
u-H.B.  
nickname from initials
u-J.B.  
nickname from initials
u-J.Z.  
nickname from initials
u-L.B.Z  
nickname from initials
u-O.E.H.M.  
nickname from initials
u-Okwezalukazi  
nickname from initials
u-Okwezintaba  
nickname from initials
u-Oshkosh  
nickname from initials
u-P.  
nickname from initials
u-PRN  
nickname from car registration letters
u-PSY  
nickname from car registration letters
u-S.J.  
nickname from initials
u-T.  
nickname from initial
u-T.B.  
nickname from initials
u-T.G.  
nickname from initials
u-T.V.  
nickname from initials
uBabolungile  
Kind father
uBadidekabantu  
People are confused
uBahlabantu  
People are beautiful
uBamhlekisile  
They laughed with her
uBapitshase  
Meaningless
uBecause  
Self explanatory
uBenyani  
What were they excreting
uBhada zabhabadhada  
Warble Mr Warble
uBhamama  
Free of charge
uBhanama  
Banana
uBhanana  
Jacket
uBhantshi  
Child’s coat
uBhantshilengane  
The bus is leaving
uBhasiliyableka  
Bent bathing basin
uBhavelimboqo  
Mind me alone
uBhekaminangedwa  
Burning buttock covering
uBheshuliyaasha  
The boss
uBhosi  
Butter
uBhotela  
Narrow-bottomed trousers
uBhotsotso  
Lion
uBhubesi  
Flying sound
uBhubhubhu  
He who swims in the crocodile infested deep pool
uBhukudakwesinezingwenyay
Run down all ducks
Unidentified sickness
One who is known to be sickly
The old sandal
Prophet in the Bible
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
They always shake him
He laughs endlessly
Reverse father
Laughing shoe
Programme without a chance
Jacaranda breaking off
Overcoat that is never put down
Self explanatory
Golden traditional bread
One who Turns
Sunflower
Jump frog-X2
He who disregards the beard
Name of football player
City in America
I suspect the cat
The cat has given birth
Self explanatory
English nose
Coloured person
Long nose
Baboon’s clay pot
Big head
Head caught fire
The Naughty one
Double-headed
Syndicate’s councillor
Father’s home
Old man-boy
Old man does not return home
It licks one that licks back
Big-zo
The talkative one
Take off shorts
Wood with millipede
Shaky noise
Self explanatory
Small fearsome animals
Infant food
Death
Sunshine
Peace to prevail
Meaningless
See
It drizzles and drizzles
Type of vehicle
Eleven-rands
Name of place
Belonging to a tall person
Loafer who feeds on peanuts
Nickname from initials
Buckets
Among the fathers
Beret
Belts
Prisoners
Flaps
Meaningless
Deformed face
Chickens eradicate weeds
Chickens
Moustache
Daughter of Mr Dlamini
Ears
Tiny ears
He goes through closed doors
Self explanatory
All Men belong to her
Countless knees
Ocean waves
Words of the engaged girl
He who brews and serves himself
Self explanatory
Type of bird
Big gaps
Hillocks
The Granny
Big ear flaps
Bandy legs
He leaves with a flag
Always has a lady visitor
He laughs endlessly
Longish hair
One who simply stares at you
He makes a u-turn on a freeway
Juices and juices
Cats that play organ
Always open-mouthed
Hydra-headed
Small heads
Big head
Beautiful bride
Malebomvu
Mama-five-roses
Mamasekunjalo
MamawaseChiawelo
Mamaweselele
Mamawokuthula
Mamawokuthula
Mamothonandukubonwa
MaMtswetswe
Mamunence
Mamuneshuwa
Man-707
Mancamncamu
MaNdovela
Mangenakuhanjwa
Manicknacks
MaNsindane
Mantshontshimfuyo
Mapaklaza
Maponyane
Maqakala
Maqandeqhude
Maqhaqhaveyana
Maqhude
Maqinase
Maqumbane
MaShabalala
Mashiyamahle
Masilela
MaswidezintombizaseMtshezi
MathambokaJoni
Mathebethebana
Mathileyi
Matiyana
Maveje
MaXulu
MaZ.Z.
Mbadawozi
Mbalawonwabu
Mbamboziyabalwa
Mbhalakandlawesele
Mbhophuatsheka
Mbihli
Mbombo
Mbombomkhulu
Mbungculu
Mcamelokuthula
Mcondowegusha
Mconduyacasula
Mdumakhanda
Red money
Mother-five-roses
Mother it is then so
Mother of Chiawelo
Frog’s mother
Mother of peace
Mother of silence
Mother who likes being seen
Untranslatable
Mother-has-a-long-breast
Mother-has-all-the-truth
Self explanatory
Crunchy sound
Who-is-born-of-Ndovela
He comes in when they leave
Product name
Who-is-born-of-Nsindane
The Stock-thief
Bulging stomach
Name of person
Ankles
Eggs laid by a rooster
The thin one
Roosters
The hyper active one
The wife of a White
She born of Mr Shabalala
Beautiful eyebrows
Zulu clan name
Sweets of the ladies of Estcourt
Johny's bones
Kestrel
Trays
Small teas
Vegetables
He who is born of the Xulu clan
Nickname from initials
Big feet
Colour of the chameleon
Countable ribs
The large-stomached frog
Tilting exhaust pipe
Crying type
Nose ridge
Big nose ridge
Shaven head
Pillow of silence
Sheep’s thin leg
Thin leg annoys
Insanity
uMzwempi
uMzwilili
uNami-Nawe-Dali
uNcinzwangubani
uNdabazafikakuqala
uNdalayanyakenye
uNdleleni
uNdolowlane
uDongazibomvu
uNdukuzezphiKile
uNever-give-up
uNew-age
uNgxoxelixoki
uNgcedonezigi
uNgempelakunjalo
uNgenebhadazela
uNgila
uNgila-zezinkukhu-zakwaBhandeni
uNgilazonwabu
uNgoba
uNgobabayakholwa
uNgomuyayona
uNgqashana
uNgobanqajayo
uNgulubeziyawonukhisi
uNgjenjenja
uNgjenjenjomane
uNgjentshele
uNgjesela
uNkanyambayaseSwazini
uNkingazomhlaba
uNkobongela
uNkomedlanekepisi
uNkomeshayibhizinisi
uNkomeyehlangesitebhisi
uNkomo
uNkosazanayokuthula
uNkosiyokuthula
uNkosiyolova
uNkuza
uNo-action
uNobhakela
uNodumelezi
uNogtans
uNoma
uNomagoli
uNomahostela
uNomascunjalo
uNomfimfitha
uNomsibhube
uNomsilwane

House of War
Canary
You and I Darling
Who is pinching him/her
News arrived first
Last year’s famine
Always on the road
Elbow
Red walls
Sticks are broken
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
I told a talkative one
Warbler with footsteps
Yes it is like that
Warbling in
Gizzard
Gizzards of fowls belonging to Mr Bunting
Gizzards of the chameleon
Because
Because they are believers
You spoil the song
He who has an active mind
The Ngubane who drives fast
Pigs spoil the kiss
Like a dog
He is like a horse
He who looks like remnants of food
Like a thief
Swaziland tornado
Wordly problems
Untranslatable
Beast that grazes with a cap on
Beast that is on business
Beast that comes down the stairs
Beast
Lady of peace
King of peace
Leader of loafers
Over-weight man
Self explanatory
One who kicks
He who is famous while idling
Nevertheless
Nevertheless
Likes Johannesburg too much
Hostel dweller
Nevertheless
He who eats all
meaningless
uNonkamfela
uNqokonqokokakhiye
uNquge
uNsizwaziyamfonela
uNtabazaseDanacol
uNtabazosizi
uNtanjana
uNtolithi-bhantsi-nebhantshilakhona
uNtombazi
uNtombedlimaliyayo
uNtombehambiyodwa
uNtombendekunazzonke
uNtombezangcumundendo
uNtombiyaseMtubatuba
uNtombiziphlele
uNtshebe
uNtsheshiyohlula
uNtuthwanezimbizaphansi
uNweseyihlelelha
uNxle
uNyakanyaka
uNyanganthakathi
uPapaap
uPelepele
uPelepelodlwazinyanga
uPhakubukacashe
uPhambukuicashe
uPhindayone
uPhwayinkosi
uPho-indabakaba
uPower-of-love
uPunishment
uQatheliziqobayo
uQhaqhavyeyana
uQhaqazela
uQhulonkalo
uQolocelekewu
uRabha
uRhee
uSagilasomthakathi
uSagilasothando
uSakalamabele
uSakazane
uSandlana
uSangomesincane
uSangomesiqotho
uSelimakhaza
uShakadu
uShethiliyelo
uShindindi
Untranslatable
Master key
The Limping
Young men phone her always
Danacol mountains
Mountains of gloom
Little rope
Jacket and its wastecoat
Name of woman
Lady who squanders only her money
Lady walking alone
Tallest lady
Lady who does not beg for marriage
Mtubatuba lady
The best of all women
Beard
Beard losing the battle
Ants invite him downstairs
Receding hair
Left-handed
Pandemonium
witchdoctor
Sound of hooter
Hot pepper
Pepper specially for traditional healers
He hides away when spotted dishing out the food
Turn off and hide
Damage her again
God given
So who cares
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
Piece of meat that cuts itself
Tiny man
One who shivers
Rooster that belongs to his wife
Duck’s vertebral column
The Rubber
Untranslatable
Witch’s knobkerrie
Knobkerrie of love
Bag of corn
Small bag
Small-handed
Small diviner
Honest diviner
It is now cold
Untranslatable
Yellow shirt
Untranslatable
Change for a shilling
Ten pounds
Donkey kraal
Lady drunkard
Loafer
The plump one
Fat lady of Nkandla
The Thug
Durban incident
Fowl incident
The gigantic one
Wooden chair of love
Love addict
Container of wine
Big badly built body
Swallower of crates
Tree
The wrist
Small bag of potatoes
Boat belonging to a bird
Baboon’s shorts
Owl
Firewood
Firewood piercing the sun
Mr handsome
Bum
Has no bum
Elephant-buttock
Spanner
Beautiful person
Small-forehead
Meaningless
Hyper active
Sister-Joyce
We are all suffering
Frog Stomach
Pap-stomach
Samp and meat
Photograph
Photo of a bird
Photo of love
Train
We are putting on clothes
Help big aunt
Self explanatory
Type of sweets
The soup is boiling
Boyfriend with no hassles
Solomon
Circuit Inspector
uSpeak-and-touch
uSpeedometer
uSpike
uSponono
uStation-wagon
uStrike
uSupersonic
uTake-it-easy
uTea-after-dinner
uTelephone-exchange
uTerror
uThandeluthando
uThandwawubani
uThathushiye
uThembaliyagculisa
uThembi-my-darling
uThulilewezitimela
uThululele
uThuluzophiwa
uThunjana
uTik
uTroublefree
uTshelomfula
uTshwala
uThwalakwabuphuzayo
uTweeling
uTwo-sheleni
uTypwriter
uVery nice
uVu
uVukaMtshezi
uVusabafileyo
uWamgana-ngamgana
uWisalikababa
uWondergirl
uWonkana
uXamakavinjelwa
uXosheyakhe
uXoxelizigxumelayo
uYebo-gogo
uZandlaziyahlababa
uZimbizinto
uZime
uZinjazibulawelani
uZinqe
uZintonzokucina
uZiqhoma
uZishayinkinsela
uZisini
uZojika

Self explanatory
A Darling
Self explanatory
Name of company
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
Self explanatory
Loving for the sake of love
Who loves this person
Take and leave
Satisfactory hope
Train dust
Keep quiet and listen
Keep quiet they will give it to you
Last-born
Type
Self explanatory
River stone
Beer
Beer to drunkards
Twin
Two-shillings
Self explanatory
Untranslatable
Rising in Estcourt
He who makes the dead live
You married him and I did
Father’s knobkerrie
Self explanatory
All of them
Leguana cannot be blocked
Dismiss your own
Frog that jumps for itself
Yes grandmother
Hands that pierce
Things-are-bad
A beauty queen
Why are dogs being killed
Bums
The last items
Protruding cheeks
Artificial esquire
Gums
He will turn
uZoloza
uZongithuma
uZonoziyahlanzwa

One who wobbles when dancing
He will send me around
Sins are being cleansed
I am doing a study on nicknames. I would like you to please, fill in as many nicknames as you can remember that you were given or that you gave yourself from the early age until now. I assumed the areas you have been at and would ask you to supply nicknames that appeared as you went through your education levels. Under "reason", tell me why the nickname was given. Under "giver" I need to know what kind of a person gave the nickname. Do you approve or disapprove of the nickname? Why? Include nicknames that are based on your initials as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and surname</th>
<th>Year of Birth</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Male/Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### INFANCY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Giver</th>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Approved?</th>
<th>Why?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PRIMARY SCHOOL

|          |       |        |           |      |
|          |       |        |           |      |

### SECONDARY/HIGH SCHOOL/TERTIARY

|          |       |        |           |      |
|          |       |        |           |      |

### WORK-PLACE

|          |       |        |           |      |
|          |       |        |           |      |

### OTHER ACTIVITIES (such as when playing football, singing, acting, doing hobbies, etc.)

ACTIVITY ...........................................................................................................(specify)

|          |       |        |           |      |
|          |       |        |           |      |
|          |       |        |           |      |
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