

**A STUDY OF ZULU CONCEPTS, TERMS AND
EXPRESSIONS ASSOCIATED**

WITH *UMUTHI*

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that: **A STUDY OF ZULU CONCEPTS, TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS ASSOCIATED WITH UMUTHI** is my own work, that all the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this dissertation was not previously submitted by me for a degree at another university.

Signed at this
day of 1996.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents **Mdweyane** and **Zifose**. My parents **Mqhutshwa** and the late **Sindisiwe** for keeping my feet firmly on the ground.

SUMMARY

This dissertation explores the significance of the terms, and expressions associated with traditional medical practitioners towards the enrichment of the Zulu language. The term *umuthi* was chosen because it envelops semantically more than its English equivalency 'medicine'. Nkabinde (1988:38) states that *umuthi* can mean a 'tree' OR 'medicine'.

Abathakathi 'sorcerers'; izangoma 'diviners'; iziguli 'patients' and izinyanga 'traditional healers' use the language in such a way that new terms are coined for example ukweqa 'to walk/step over' > umeqo 'disease caught after stepping over medicine'. Some of the terms pertaining to diseases, medicines and the practice of medicine are borrowed from other languages and have contributed to the expansion of the Zulu vocabulary. Compare for instance the following examples:

imfiva < 'fever'

imfuluwenza < 'influenza'

Certain terms are compounds such as umdumakhanda < ukuduma + ikhanda 'insanity'; umankabeni < ubuhlungu obuzungeze inkaba 'sharp pains'.

The shrubs and trees used by the makers, users and abusers of medicines when mixing, all have names. Each and every mixture of medicine has its own name, for example:

intando 'love charm'

udukanezwe 'medicine to cause a person to wander away'.

Although the above medicines have a variety of ingredients they are nevertheless referred to as intando or udukanezwe. These terms, *inter alia*, contribute to the expansion and the enrichment of the Zulu language.

Semantics plays a vital role in this study, since the labels used to refer to *umuthi* and the practice thereof are organised in semantic networks of synonymy, antonymy, homonymy and the like. The use of 'hlonipha' (the warp and woof of Zulu anthropology) in the

practice of umuthi is also investigated in this study, however, this is done with the emphasis on the linguistic aspects of this phenomenon.

The expressions used by the makers, users and abusers of medicines are investigated. This includes a study of idioms and proverbs which refer to medicine and the practice thereof.

The study is organized as follows. Chapter 1 contains the introduction, which includes the purpose of the study, the scope of the study, the methodology, the organization of the study, and the definitions of key terms. Chapter 2 contains the literature review, which includes a discussion of the concept of umuthi, the role of the traditional healer, the use of plants and animals in traditional medicine, and the use of minerals in traditional medicine. Chapter 3 contains the methodology, which includes a discussion of the research design, the data collection methods, and the data analysis methods. Chapter 4 contains the results and discussion, which includes a discussion of the findings of the study and their implications. Chapter 5 contains the conclusion, which includes a summary of the findings and a discussion of the limitations of the study.

1.2 Aims of the study

The aim of this study is to investigate the linguistic forms and expressions used in the practice of umuthi.

1.3 Scope of the study

The study is limited to the linguistic forms and expressions used in the practice of umuthi. It does not include a discussion of the medical aspects of umuthi or the role of the traditional healer.

1.3.1 Umuthi: Medicine

The Zulu word umuthi (medicine) is derived from the root -muthi, which means 'to cure' or 'to heal'. The word is used to refer to the practice of traditional medicine, which involves the use of plants, animals, and minerals to cure illness and promote health. The art of healing is passed on from one generation to the next through oral tradition.

1.3.2 Linguistic forms and expressions

The study focuses on the linguistic forms and expressions used in the practice of umuthi. This includes a discussion of the following:

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although various scientific disciplines are concerned with the study of the relationship between diseases, medicines, medical practitioners and the psyche; no study has yet been conducted to investigate the relationship between aspects of medicine and the Zulu language. The traditional practice of medicine has contributed and still contributes a great deal to the enrichment of the Zulu language and it is therefore essential to investigate the concepts, terms and expressions used in the practice of *umuthi*.

1.2 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to investigate the concepts, terms and expressions used in Zulu in the practice of *umuthi*.

1.3 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Some of the terms used in a less conventional way in this dissertation are explained.

1.3.1 UMUTHI 'MEDICINE'

The Zulu term *umuthi* encompasses semantically more than its English equivalent 'medicine'. The term *umuthi* includes a tree and its constituent parts (with its plural form *imithi*), substances to restore health and the art of healing diseases. The following examples illustrate the different applications of the term '*umuthi*'.

1. Umthombothi wumuthi onobuthi.

'Thombothi is a poisonous tree.'

2. Inembe wumuthi osizayo ukuze inkosikazi ibelethe kalula.
'Inembe medicine helps a pregnant woman to deliver easily.'
3. Inyanga uSiwaluwalu uyawazi umuthi.
'The healing doctor Siwaluwalu knows medicine.'

Nkabinde (1988:38) explains the Proto-Bantu form of the word 'umuthi'. He says:

Semantic changes may also be seen in such examples deriving from Proto-Bantu /*TE/ with its gloss as 'tree' or 'medicine', and which realised semantically as such in Xhosa and Zulu reflexes as **umuthi** and **imithi** respectively. However, this Proto Bantu form is only marginally 'tree' in Tswana and Northern Sotho where the form for 'tree' is **setlare/sehlare**. The reconstructed form for this would be ***kcathi**. This proto form is realised in Xhosa and Zulu as **ihlathi**, meaning a forest

Various parts of the trees such as the roots, stems, leaves, bark and flowers can be used to make medicines. The use of leaves to cure diseases is even mentioned in the Bible. Ezekiel 47:12 refers to the use of leaves to cure diseases when he says:

amaqabunga ayo abe ngawokuphilisa.
'the leaves thereof are those to cure.'

A synonym for the term ukuphilisa 'to heal', namely ukuphulukisa is found in Revelations 22:2:

Amaqabunga omuthi angawokuphulukisa izizwe.
'The leaves of the tree are to save the nations.'

The synonym for ukuphilisa 'to heal' is thus ukuphulukisa 'to save'. Ngubane (1977:22) subdivides umuthi into two categories namely, umuthi wokuphilisa 'medicine for healing' and umuthi wokubulala 'medicine for killing'. He states:

While some imithi are always used for healing and others used for causing harm, still others can either heal or harm, depending on the motive for which they were used.

Callaway (1872:417) differentiates between umuthi wamakhosi 'medicines for the kings' and umuthi wabantu phaqa 'medicines for ordinary people'. The term used by novelists such as Dube (1985), Mofolo (1920) and Vilakazi (1939) for medicines for the kings is imithi emikhulu 'great medicines'.

Terms used to subdivide *imithi* according to functions are:

- amakhubalo 'dried medicines'
- imikhando 'medicines to do harm'
- imibhulelo 'spell'
- iziphoso 'medicines to bewitch people who are far away'
- izibango 'medicines used to bewitch people'

Another set of terminology is used to subdivide *imithi* according to colours:

- imithi emnyama 'black medicines which cause bad luck'
- imithi emhlophe 'white medicines which cause good luck'
- imithi ebomvu 'red medicines to destroy black medicines'
- imithi eluhlaza 'green medicines better known as *amakhambi* (herbs)'.

The following terms are used to distinguish between *imithi* according to their mixture and storage:

- insizi 'powdered medicines'
- izinyamazane 'powder made out of the parts of dead animals'
- isichonco 'medicine mixed with cold water'
- imfudumezelo 'medicine mixed with hot water'
- isigqabo 'mixture of fats of animals'
- isitaputapu 'powder mixed with fats of animals'
- isitoxoyi 'black powder mixed with fats of animals'
- incweba 'medicine hanging on a child's neck'

1.3.2 UMTHAKATHI 'SORCERER'

The sorcerer is someone who bewitches the members of the society. The synonyms for umthakathi are umsokoco and umkhunkuli. The veteran in sorcery is called ugagada or uhodoba. Sorcerers can be subdivided into 3 sub-categories namely: umthakathi wasebusuku, 'night sorcerer', umthakathi wasemini 'day sorcerer' and umthakathi wozalo 'lineage sorcerer'.

1.3.2.1 UMTHAKATHI WASEBUSUKU 'NIGHT SORCERER'

He is the one owabunjwa ngenhliziyo embi 'who was moulded with an evil heart'. He keeps baboons and is said to ride them at night facing backwards with his thumb in the baboon's anus. He digs up corpses, resurrects them to become imikhovu 'zombies'. He keeps izimpaka and izinyoka zabathakathi which he uses to trouble the community at large. He places umbhulelo and umeqo at the gates and doors of the people's houses. He always works during the night under the cover of darkness. It is generally the male sorcerers who are engaged in this practice.

1.3.2.2 UMTHAKATHI WASEMINI 'DAY SORCERER'

The day sorcerer operates during daytime and not at night. He/she acts against his/her enemies only. He/she uses ukudlisa 'pouring poison on the victim's food' and ukuthela ngentelo 'using medicine to endanger the eyes'. Msimang (1975) maintains that izesheli 'courting boys' who use iziphoso 'medicines thrown at the people by the sorcerer' obtainable from the day sorcerers to make the girls come out of their homes, are also sorcerers.

1.3.2.3 UMTHAKATHI WOZALO 'LINEAGE SORCERER'

This person bewitches the members of his own family. uphenla amanzi amnyama 'He churns black medicines'; aphenidule idlozi 'he causes the ancestral spirits to trouble the members of the family'. He sends utokoloshe 'hairy dwarf' to sleep with the members of the family in order to cause impotence among them. He knows that impotency will

deprive them of children and since they will have no heirs he will be entitled to collect their possessions after their deaths.

1.3.2.4 INYANGA 'TRADITIONAL HEALING DOCTOR'

The *inyanga* is a doctor who is able to cure diseases caused by sorcery as well as those caused by biological and ecological factors. Ritter (1955:388) regards the *inyanga* to be a specialist. He asserts:

Every class of Zulu doctor is referred to as an *inyanga*, which merely means a specialist, this name may be given to any person qualified in some specific occupation or trade.

His education starts *ekwaluseni* 'while still herding' where he is taught *imithi yokuhlanza imizimba* 'medicines for vomiting' and *imithi yemikhuhlane* 'medicines to cure fevers'. When an *inyanga* is old, he is controlled by his own ancestral spirits. Msimang (1975:317) stresses this point saying:

Kwabe kungesiye noma wubani nje owayengase athwale izikhwama elaphe abantu, kepha kuphela lowo ongenwe yidlozi.

'It was not every Tom, Dick and Harry who could carry the bags and cure the patients but only those who were controlled by ancestral spirits.'

1.3.3 ISANGOMA 'DIVINER'

A diviner is someone who has received the gift from the ancestral spirits to know and reveal the causes of diseases. Diviners are divided into three types or sub-categories:

1.3.3.1 ISANGOMA SEKHANDA 'HEAD DIVINER'

When this type of diviner divines the devotees lead him to the correct answer by admitting loudly when he is close to the truth

but softly when he is far away from the truth. Ritter (1955:390) sees this method of divining as mere guess work:

Chanting his questions, the diviner will require his audience to reply, everyone of them, *siyavuma* - we agree. This emphasis or lack of emphasis would then guide him to give his answer or divination, which was always clothed in self-evident ambiguity like the Oracle of Delphi.

1.3.3.2 ISANGOMA ESICHITHA AMATHAMBO 'BONE THROWER'

This is a learnt art. The configuration of the bones tells him the unknown secrets of the diseases.

1.3.3.3 UMLOZI 'WHISTLING DIVINER'

The spirits communicate directly with the client in a whistling style. Ritter (1955:391) elaborates on this type of diviner in the following way:

This type is a ventriloquist, and usually only divines in a hut filled with acrid smoke. Different 'spirit' voices will come from the roof and sides of the hut and from the very ground itself.

The term *umlozi* means 'a whistle'. *Umlozi* is also known as *ikhwela*. This type of diviner uses *ikhwela* to answer the spirits if needed.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The first step was the systematic study of the available sources in this field and related fields in order to collect language data.

The second step was the collection of language data from *izangoma*, *izinyanga* and other knowledgeable informants.

The final step was the systematisation of the language data, comparing the traditional terms and expressions with that of

contemporary Zulu to determine the extent of semantic shift that has taken place in especially the case of expressions, idioms and proverbs.

CHAPTER 2

2. TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO DISEASES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A patient is someone who is ill (umuntu **ogulayo**). Isaiah 53:3-4 explains the relationship between ukugula (to be ill) and ubuhlungu (pain) when he says:

- 3) "Yayideliwe yashiywa ngabantu, **umuntu wobuhlungu** owazi **ukugula**; yeyiswa injengosithezelwa ubuso ngabantu, asiyishayanga-nto yalutho.
- 4) Kepha yazithwala **izifo** zethu, yabetshatha **ubuhlungu** bethu, kodwa thina sathi ijezisiwe, ishaywe nguNkulunkulu, ihlushiwe"
- 3) (He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.
- 4) Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem stricken, smitten by God and afflicted.)

The place of sorrow caused by illnesses is called **Bethsaida** (indawo yosizi). Bethsaida is an equivalent to the hospitals where many diseases are cured. Minor ailments are characterised by ubuthaka and ubuthakathaka (weakness).

In this dissertation diseases caused by biological and ecological factors as well as those caused by sorcery will be discussed.

The Zulu vocabulary has been greatly enriched by terms which refer to different kinds of diseases.

2.2 TERMS DEPICTING DEATH AND DISEASE

Disease is a serious derangement of health, a disordered state of an organism or an organ or any particular form of illness with special

symptoms and names. Each of the terms *isifo* and *ukufa* (death and disease) can be used for illness and death. In (1) and (2) *ukufa* and *isifo* refers to a disease or illness.

(1) **Ukufa** kokuwa kubhilitile.
'Epilepsy is common.'

(2) **Isifo** sokuwa sibhilitile.
'Epilepsy is common.'

In examples (3) and (4) *ukufa* and *isifo* are used to refer to death.

(3) **Ukufa** kumenele uThokozile.
'Thokozile is dead.'

(4) **Isifo** simenele uThokozile.
'Thokozile is dead.'

A disease based on Zulu cosmology and its causality based on African culture is called '*ukufa kwabantu*'. This includes *inter alia* *umeqo* 'illness caught after walking over umbhulelo medicine', *ugcusulu* 'disease of the kidneys caught after illicit sexual intercourse with a treated partner'.

Diseases and death among young people is caused by misfortunes and witchcraft (*amashwa nobuthakathi*) while the aged people are believed to be going home (*bayagoduka*).

When the terms '*ukufa*' and '*isifo*' are isolated they can be used as synonyms but they can change their semantic value in certain contexts such as in examples (1) and (2) as well as (3) and (4) above. The selection of the term *bayagoduka* rather than *bayafa* falls under *hlonipha*. *Hlonipha* also enriches the Zulu language.

2.3 TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS RELATING TO THE ORIGINS AND CAUSES OF DISEASES

2.3.1 DISEASES CAUSED BY BIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The term used for general diseases is *ukufa okuvamile* 'illnesses which are frequent'. See for instance Msimang (1975:139):

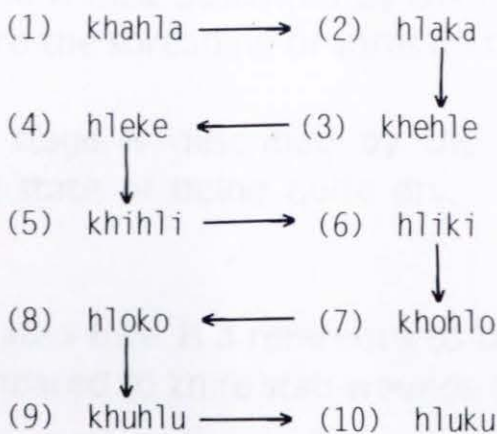
Kukhona futhi ukufa okuvamile, noma kungejwayelekile. Ukufa ngokugula. Abantu baye babhucaze baye ngapha nangapha, baye nakwabamanga, kothi lapho sebezame konke, bathi-ke 'sekusele umndondo'.

'There is a general dying, though it is seldom. To die after illness. People try all their best to help the patient, they even consult a diviner, after all their endeavours they say 'he is about to die'.

Ngubane (1977) categorises all the diseases under one generic term imikhuhlane 'diseases that happen without a particular cause' SUCH AS:

umbandama 'ringworm'
 utwayi 'scab'
 isimungumungwana 'measles'
 isihudo 'diarrhoea'
 upokisi 'small pox'

The term umkhuhlane probably has a highly developed semantic network as reflected in the figure on the next page.



The above pattern is composed of ideophones. Ideophones have a tendency to vivify speech. The above pattern tells us about the different stages of the illness that is the starting, developing and eventual calamity (death) caused by the disease.

The first stage is expressed by the ideophone *khahla* 'to hurl down'. This shows the hurling down of germs in great numbers onto the patient.

The second stage is stated by the ideophone *hlaka* 'to be distributed'. This shows the distribution of germs in the patient's body.

The next stage is explained by the use of the ideophone *khehle* 'rattling or jingling'. This depicts the patients weakness and drowsiness. He now feels like lying down.

The following stage is clarified by the ideophone *hieke* 'spreading or falling apart'. This is caused by a symptom of the disease such as a headache.

The *hieke* stage is followed by the stage which will be best explained by the ideophone *khihli* which refers to *ukukhihliza amagwebu* 'appearing of foam from the mouth'; *ukukhihliza izinyembezi* 'shedding of tears'; *ukukhihliza kweso* 'discharge from the eye'.

The next phase is best described by the use of the ideophone *hiki* which refers to the spreading of sores on the patient's body.

The seventh stage is described by the ideophone *khohlo* which refers to the state of being quite dry. This leads to *ukukhwehlela* 'coughing'.

hloko 'stabbing like a knife' is a reference to the next stage. The sharp pains are compared to knife stab wounds on the patients body.

The penultimate stage is that reflected by the use of the ideophone *khuhlu* which refers to *ukukhuhla* 'to rub with one another' this is a reflection of the patient rubbing against the disease (*ukukhuhlana nesifo*).

The final phase in the development of the illness is that depicted by the ideophone *hluku* which refers to *isihluku* 'cruelty'. This happens

when the disease takes control of the body of the patient and he dies.

Besides the use of the ideophones in the above semantic network a morphological analysis of the term *umkhuhlane* reveals further aspects of the meaning of this word:

- um-** the class 3 prefix is indicative of the deverbative noun depicting the term for a disease (an inanimate entity).
- khuhl-** is the root referring to friction. (See the discussion above.)
- an-** shows reciprocity (confrontation/opposition).
- e** is a deverbative final morpheme, normally used for the derivation of impersonal deverbatives.

2.3.2 HEREDITARY DISEASES

These diseases are called *izifo zofuzo*. They are believed to run in certain families.

- ufuba 'chest complaints'
- isithuthwane 'epilepsy'
- umchoboko 'scrofula'
- iqhotho 'mild madness'

The above terms have their equivalent terms in English. This shows that these diseases are common.

2.3.3 DISEASE CAUSED BY SORCERY

The following diseases are not caused by misfortune but by witchcraft.

2.3.3.1 URINARY DISEASES

The two common terms used for the same disease in this category are: *izembe* OR *ujovela*.

The names of these diseases are self explanatory. An izembe 'axe' is used to chop a tree. This disease chops the life of a male person, hence the term izembe.

Ujovela is derived from the term ukujova 'to inject'. The penis is compared to an umjovo 'injection'. The germs are seen as having entered the body of a female and when a male sleeps with her (injects her) his life is chopped.

Bryant (1983:55) alleges that izembe/ujovela is caused by sorcery:

To be afflicted with this complaint, whatever form it may take, is somewhat a disgrace, for it is held to be the result of illicit intercourse with the wife of another man who has previously 'treated' her in such a way that, although she be in no way inconvenienced herself, she shall nevertheless be capable of conveying this disease to her paramour.

2.3.3.2 DISEASES OF THE EVIL SPIRITS

We can subdivide this disease into 3 categories namely: *izizwe*, *izipoliyane* and *amafufunyane*.

The term *izizwe* 'medicine to create evil spirits' is related to the term *imimoyayezwe* 'evil spirits'. *izizwe* is the name used for the medicine taken to the graves of unknown people by *umthakathi* in order to create *imimoyayezwe* which will in turn be used to bewitch people. If *inyanga* has to treat a patient who has been bewitched by *imimoyayezwe* he will also use *izizwe*. The same medicine is thus used to the detriment or the benefit of a person depending on whether the *umthakathi* or *inyanga* uses it.

izipoliyane is a disease of the girls caused by the so-called *iziphoso* 'medicines thrown at the people by the sorcerers'.

Amafufunyane occurred in Zululand in the late 1930's. It was supposedly introduced into South Africa by people who lived to

the North of our borders. This term may have been adopted from Southern Sotho: *Ho fofa hanyane* 'to fly a little', which describes the behaviour of the patient who acts as if he/she is flying.

2.3.3.4 UKUHLANYA 'INSANITY'

Umdumakhanda is a compound noun derived from *ukuduma* + *ikhanda* as already indicated earlier.

2.3.4 TERMS REFERRING TO GENERAL DISEASES

These are diseases which are not caused by sorcery. These are common diseases known to every Tom, Dick and Harry. These terms form an integral part of the everyday Zulu vocabulary.

2.3.4.1 DISEASES OF THE SKIN

The following terms were coined for the skin diseases.

uchoko 'dreaded skin disease'

umbandama 'ringworm'

izinduna 'acne vulgaris'

isimungumungwana 'measles'

izinsumpa 'warts'

2.3.4.2 DISEASES OF THE HEAD

There are a variety of diseases of the head, however, only those that contribute to the enrichment of the language as such will be discussed here.

impumputhe 'someone who is blind'

This term is derived from the de-ideophone *ukuphuphutheka* then we get the noun *impumputhe*.

isithulu 'someone who is quiet (a deaf person)'

This term is derived from the verb ukuthula. One who cannot hear is unable to speak and is therefore quiet, hence the deverbative isithulu < ukuthula.

isimungulu 'someone who cannot speak'

This term is a coinage for people who cannot speak.

2.3.4.3 DISEASES OF THE NECK

umphimbo 'to be unable to swallow'

This is a polysemous word because umphimbo is the part of the body but at the same time umphimbo becomes a disease.

amajikantamo 'twisted neck'

Intamo 'neck' is the referent and ukujika 'twisting' refers to what is actually happening to the referent thus amajikantamo is a disease.

2.3.4.4 DISEASES OF THE STOMACH

isisu 'stomach complaint' is a generic term for a variety of stomach ailments.

Over-eating can cause ukuqumba (constipation). This is not serious as the constipated individual drinks ingisawoti (abson salt), then ahlambulule (excretes) and he/ she is relieved.

If one is poisoned, he complains about a painful stomach (ukhala ngesisu esibuhlungu). He asks for water now and then. The inyanga then mixes fresh cow dung, the leaves of sweet potatoes, aloe leaves, the callilepsis laureola herb (impila OR amafutha omhlaba) and the pemanganet of potash (udabulibhayi). This mixture will be mixed with cold water and the patient should drink a large quantity. He will vomit and repeat drinking.

If a male sleeps with someone else's wife who has previously been treated (ecushiwe) with ilumbo lenyoka (snake wizardry) he will complain about stomach ache for two weeks. It is said that the snake moves

from his stomach to the cartilage below his breast-bone. The stomach expands and shines. He complains about a painful stomach and if an inyanga is not available to treat him during the first week, he dies and the snake comes out of his intestines.

Isihudo < ukuhuda (diarrhoea)

Inyongo (bile) can cause a running stomach. The hlonipha term for **inyongo** is **umthakathi**. To drink dirty water can cause cholera, also referred to as (**isihudo**).

Imbi (green diarrhoea) among children is caused by inyoni (a children's disease). Since the child can have diarrhoea on his/her mother's thighs a Zulu expression has been coined for this, namely: Ngihudelwe yihubulu 'My child has disappointed me'.

Isihudo (diarrhoea)

Uhudo (faces of diarrhoea)

Isihudo is a deverbative. (See 6.5)

One who has diarrhoea is said to uyapepeza Or unobupepepe which is a de-ideophone derived from pe-pe-pe the sound of diarrhoea.

If intelezi yempi comprise umnyisi 'medicine to cause diarrhoea' the enemy is said to be plagued by diarrhoea. The treated regiments will then sing the following song:

Wanya wethu!
Wanya singakafiki?
Wanya wethu!
Wany' inqwab engaka wethu.

(Excrete, brother!
Excrete while we have not yet arrived!
Excrete, brother!
You excrete such a big heap, brother.)

Diarrhoea caused by fear is called **usheko** originally referring to '**the diarrhoea of a bird or bull about to fight**' derived from the verb stem **-sheka**.

2.3.4.5 DISEASES OF THE FEET

inzenzane 'itching on the feet'

In areas around Mandini, Enembe, Ngudwini, etc. this disease is called inzikizane.

impehlwa 'deep eating ulcer'

This term is derived from ukuphehla + iwa > impehlwa. The hlonipha term for impehlwa is amakhosi.

2.3.4.6 DISEASES OF THE HANDS

Isitwapamnwana Or isifesane 'sores on the fingers'

The term isitwapamnwana is a compound formed from the words: ukutapa 'to scoop with fingers' and umunwana 'small fingers'.

USandlana 'someone with one hand'

2.3.5 DISEASES NAMED AFTER THE PART OF THE BODY AFFECTED

The patient reports when he/she feels pain. The part of the body affected is named as a disease. These diseases have been called 'diseases with agent markers' in this study, since it is believed that the particular body part acts as an agent to cause the illness. Some of these illnesses are listed below:

ngiguliswa/ngibulawa/ngiphethewe/ngikhwelwe - 'I am being made ill/killed ... by':

- yikhanda 'head ache'
- yiso 'eye-ache'
- yindlebe 'ear ache'
- yisisu 'stomach ache'
- wumqala 'neck troubles'
- yisifuba 'chest ache'

This aspect has been treated in more detail in (1.2.4.3) but it is important to note that these diseases are referred to in terms of the parts of the body affected.

In some cases the illness/disease may be indicated by using an associative copulative construction such as in the following:

nginekhanda ' < ngi + na + ikhanda'
 ngineso ' < ngi + na + iso'
 nginendlebe ' < ngi + na + indlebe'
 nginamazinyo ' < ngi + na + amazinyo'
 nginomqala ' < ngi + na + umqala'

2.4 DISEASES ACCORDING TO THE AGE OF THE AFFECTED

Apart from terms referring to general diseases, terms referring to diseases of children, adults and aged are to be found in Zulu.

2.4.1 DISEASES OF CHILDREN

The following diseases affect children. Amaxhwele 'villagers' and omamezala 'mothers in law' are said to be able to cure these diseases easily. The following is a list of some of these easily curable diseases:

inyoni 'bird' (the name for this disease)
 umankabeni 'sores in the placenta'
 amahlaba 'sharp pains'
 imbi 'green diarrhoea'
 isimungumungwana 'measles'
 ugonqogonqo 'hooping cough'
 uzagiga 'mumps'

2.4.2 DISEASES OF THE ADULTS

Urinary diseases affect adults only. Children and the aged are said not to contract these diseases. The following are generally known urinary diseases:

ujovela (internal haemorrhage in men)

izembe (disease of the bladder)

The medicine for cleansing after one has killed in battle is called izembe. The one who has killed in battle is entitled to sleep with any unmarried maiden. They sleep on the regiment's shield after using this medicine. This ritual is called ukwesula izembe 'to wipe the axe'.

iqondo (venereal disease characterised by the stone in the bladder)

isipatsholo 'venereal disease'

2.4.3 DISEASES OF AGED PEOPLE

These diseases overlap with the diseases mentioned in (1.2.5). Certain body parts tend to be 'attacked' more easily by illness as the person grows older.

yiqolo 'small of the back'

ngamadolo 'knees'

ngamaqakala 'ankles'

yizinyawo 'feet'

ngamehlo 'eyes'

yizindlebe 'ears'

2.5 NAMES OF DISEASES ADOPTED FROM ENGLISH

Words adopted from English adopt the Zulu syllabic structure which is an open syllabic structure. They all affix a class prefix as is evident in the following examples.

imfiva 'fever'

imfuluwenza 'influenza'

iflu 'flu'

istrokhi 'stroke'

umalaleveva 'malaria fever'

ikholera 'cholera'

isifilisi 'syphilis'

igonoriya 'gonorrhoea'

ikhensa 'cancer'
 ushukela 'sugar diabetis'
 ibheribheri 'beriberi'.

Some of the terms for diseases taken from English start with a vowel. To avoid a /V V/ structure a hyphen is used between the prefix and the initial vowel of the root of the word, compare for instance:

i-asma 'asthma'
 i-alsa 'ulcer'

The adoption of these terms in Zulu enriches the language and extends the vocabulary.

2.6 SYNONYMS FOR DISEASES

The synonyms tabled here can be subcategorised into groups depending on whether the speaker is using a positive, neutral or negative register.

2.6.1 SYNONYMS CATEGORISED IN TERMS OF REGISTERS

POSITIVE	NEUTRAL	NEGATIVE
	utwayi 'scab'	
imbuzibeyishuka		ukhwekhwe
umam' ungithumile		umjolide
isigingci esingenantambo	ingqwayimane	
isifo sengqondo	ukuhlanya	
ikhambi	ukuhlanya	
umdumakhanda	ukuhlanya	
ibhungane	ukuhlanya	
ukuphambana		ukugcwaneka
iqhotho		ukuchwayitheka
umalukobho¹		umsangano

1. **umalukobo** is a term derived from the Afrikaans word '**malkop**'

The choice between the above synonyms is made according to the emotions of the speaker. If the speaker's mood is good he chooses the term in the positive register but if he/she is angry he/she uses the term in the negative register. This type of meaning is referred to as emotive meaning.

2.6.2 DISEASES WITH SYNONYMS BORROWED FROM ENGLISH

In these cases, Zulu terms and terms borrowed from English, coexist.

ubulephero/uchoko 'cutting of toes and feet'

icholera/isihudo 'diarrhoea'

upokisi/ingxibongo 'small pox'

ikhensa/umdlavuza 'cancer'

2.6.2.1 DESCRIPTIVE SYNONYMS

The synonyms are defined in terms of bilateral implication or equivalency. These synonyms depend solely on the context within a syntactical structure, for their interpretation, for example *idliso* and *ixhwala*.

ixhwala is the chest-ache caught after eating poisoned food. This is first described as *isifuba sexhwala* > *ixhwala*.

idliso on the other hand, does not mean *isifuba sexhwala* when used in a neutral context. It means:

- medicine to cause a person to eat -dlisa.
- chest-ache caught after been given poisoned food.

The following terms referring to illnesses have descriptive synonyms.

idliso/ixhwala 'chest ache'

isipoliyane/ufufunyane 'hysteria'

impandla/ubab' ebuya 'bald head/father coming back'

isitwapamnwana/isifesane 'sores on the fingers'
 izibhobo/amanxeba 'sharp pains'

2.7 HOMONYMS PERTAINING TO DISEASES

Homonyms refer to words with the same orthographical form and pronunciation, but with different meanings. The semantic difference becomes clear when these words are used in different contexts. The context plays a vital role in this semantic interpretation.

- (1) **Isifo** sofuba siyelapheka.
 'Chest-ache is curable.'
- (2) Uma umfazi engekho umbhede ubanda **isifo**.
 'If the wife is away, the bed is very/severely cold.'

The term **isifo** in the second sentence means 'very/severely' while in the first sentence it refers to 'an illness'.

Let us consider some homonyms:

▪ **ikhanda** 'head'

Ukuphathwa **yikhanda**.
 'To suffer from headache.'

Ukuba **nekhanda**.
 'To be rude.'

Ukuba **nekhanjana**.
 'To be partly insane.'

Ukudlala **ikhanda**.
 'To dodge.'

▪ **iso** 'eye'

Ukuphathwa **yiso**.
 'To suffer from eye disease.'

Ukuba **neso**.
 'To be able to see a good thing.'

- **umkhuhlane 'fever'**

Ukuphathwa **wumkhuklane**.
'To suffer from flu.'

Ukuba **wumkhuhlane**.
'To be a failure.'

- **utwayi**

Ukuphathwa **wutwayi**.
'To suffer from scab.'

Wutwayi lwakho lolo.
'That is your problem.'

- **ukucinana 'blockage of nostrils or chest'**

Waya kwadokotela **ecinene**.
'He went to the doctor because of flu.'

Wacinana kabi ezwa le ndaba.
'He became very angry after hearing the matter.'

- **izembe 'urinary disease'**

UBongani uphethwe **yizembe**.
'Bongani has a urinary disease.'

Ngizowugawula **ngezembe** umuthi.
'I'm going to chop the tree with an axe.'

- **umdlavuzwa 'cancer'**

UTHoko uphethwe **wumdlavuzwa**.
'Thoko has cancer.'

Ngifuna izimpande **zomdlavuzwa**.
'I want the roots of the cancer tree.'

2.8 SEMANTIC SHIFT IN THE CASE OF EXPRESSIONS PERTAINING TO DISEASES

The patients take diseases as their enemies, i.e. they fight them. Patients can win or lose the battle. This argument is found in the following expressions:

ukuhlathiswa wukufa 'to be stabbed by the disease'

ukudutshulwa wukufa 'to be shot by the disease'

ukuhlaselwa yisifo 'to be attacked by the disease'

ukunqotshwa wukufa 'to be defeated by the disease'

ukunqoba ukufa 'to defeat the disease'

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'To suffer from flu.'

Ukuba **wumkhuhlane**.
'To be a failure.'

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ukunqotshwa wukufa 'to be defeated by the disease'

ukunqoba ukufa 'to defeat the disease'

2.9 CONNOTATIVE MEANING IN THE TERM *INYONI* 'BIRD'

The frequent use of the word *inyoni* in one range of contexts rather than another tends to create a set of associations between *inyoni* 'bird' and children's disease, foolishness, or to be afraid. On the other hand the association is also drawn between *inyoni* and *impundulu* 'the sorcerer's bird'. The following exemplifies this:

Le ngane iphethwe yinyoni.
'This child suffers from a bird/child's disease.'

UThemba yinyoni.
'Themba is a fool.'

UThoko unenyoni.
'Thoko is afraid.'

Ukukhahlelwa yinyoni.
'To be kicked by the sorcerer's bird.'

The diseases discussed in this chapter are caused by biological or ecological factors or are due to sorcery. It is believed that certain diseases are sent by God. These diseases are also healed by God, hence the terms to God as Healer in 4.8.

2 Chronicles 7:13-14 pronounce that God can send trouble and diseases but He can also cure them:

13. Uma ngivala izulu ukuba kungabiko mvula,
noma ngiyaleza isikhonyane ukuba sidle izwe,
noma ngithuma isifo phakathi kwabantu bami,

14. bazithobe abantu bami ababizwa ngegama lami,
bakhuleke bafune ubuso bami, baphenduke
ezindleleni zabo ezimbi, ngiyakuzwa ezulwini,
ngithethelele isono sabo, ngiphilise izwe labo.

(Underlining by GND.)

(13. If I shut up heaven that there be no rain,
or if I command the locusts to devour the land,
or if I send pestilence among my people; if my people,
which are called by my name,

14. shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.)

2.10 CONCLUSION

In a nutshell it is clear that according to the scripture diseases multiply because of our sins. Genesis 3:3 warns that if we eat the fruits of a tree which is in the middle of the garden we shall die. That tree symbolises sin, while the tree of life symbolises the Holy Cross.

In water we can get isichenene (Bilharzia). The actual term for isichenene is chistosomaesis. There is chistosoma haematobium which is characterised by blood after the urine i.e. haem > blood, and chistosoma mansonae which affects the large intestines. The term 'Bilharzia' came into being because Dr. Bilharz discovered how chistosomaesis is caused.

We inhale the air with germs of diseases. Diseases are even carried by animals and even by humans and are contacted from other people, hence izifo ezithathelanayo 'contagious diseases'.

CHAPTER 3

3. TERMS DEPICTING MAKERS, USERS AND ABUSERS OF MEDICINE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the diviners, patients and the healing doctors. It will become clear that these personalities expand Zulu terminology and expressions when they use *imithi*.

There is a cold war between *izinyanga* and *abathakathi*. The healing doctors want the patients to live, whereas the sorcerers want them to die. If an *inyanga* strengthens his patient he cuts incisions, rubs the powdered medicine into the bleeding incision and tells the patient to memorise these lines:

Dlula nomadlula
 Dlulela phambili,
 Uyozungez' omzungezanyo
 Ungazungezi yena.
 Uzungez' umuzi wakhe
 Kuze kufe konke nedlozi lakhe.
 Isililo asikhalwe kwamthakathi.

(Pass sorcerers medicine!
 Pass forward!
 To surround the one who surrounds me,
 Do not surround him alone.
 Surround his homestead
 Until everything dies, including his ancestral spirits
 Tears should be shed at the sorcerer's homestead.)

Inyanga can even command the client to say:

Oth' akufe mina akufe yena!
 Ombela min' ithuna akuphoseke yena.

(The one who says I must die, he must die!
 He who digs a grave for me must fall in it.)

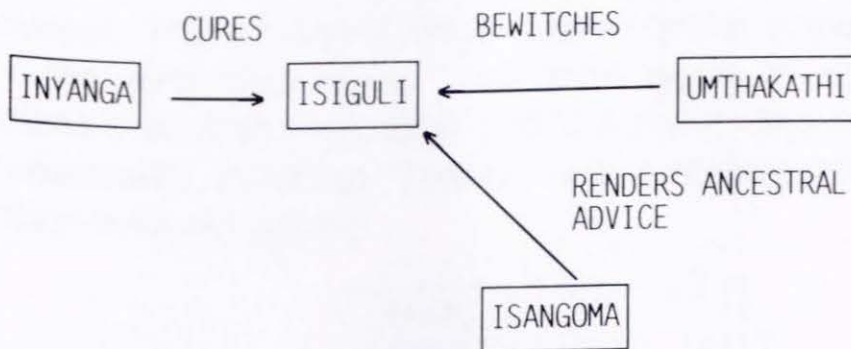
The first poem is Malokotha Shandu's composition, however, all izinyanga's know the last one.

Mhlane Ntuli of Ensingweni, which is close to Gingindlovu, urges people to practice sorcery if the sorcerers bewitch them. He sings the following song in this regard:

Ngihlushwa yindod' endala
Izungelez' umuzi wami,
Nami ngizoyitheng' imfene.

(I'm troubled by an old man
Surrounding my homestead,
I shall also buy a baboon.)

The izangoma (diviners) reveal the secrets of the causes of the diseases of the sick people.



If one is troublesome he/she is often known by a variety of names. That is why the sorcerer is referred to by using an assortment of names. The term *umbulali* 'killer' is used in common language and did not develop from the use of *umuthi*. This word is, however, borrowed from ordinary discourse for the use in the context of *umuthi*. The girls sing about the sorcerer in the *isigekle* dance when they say:

Kodwa ngizongena kanjani kwambulali?
Hhayi kwambulali!

Hhayi kwambulal' ubab' usezulwini.

(How can I dare enter at the killer's homestead?

Oh, at the killer's homestead!

Oh, at the killer's homestead!

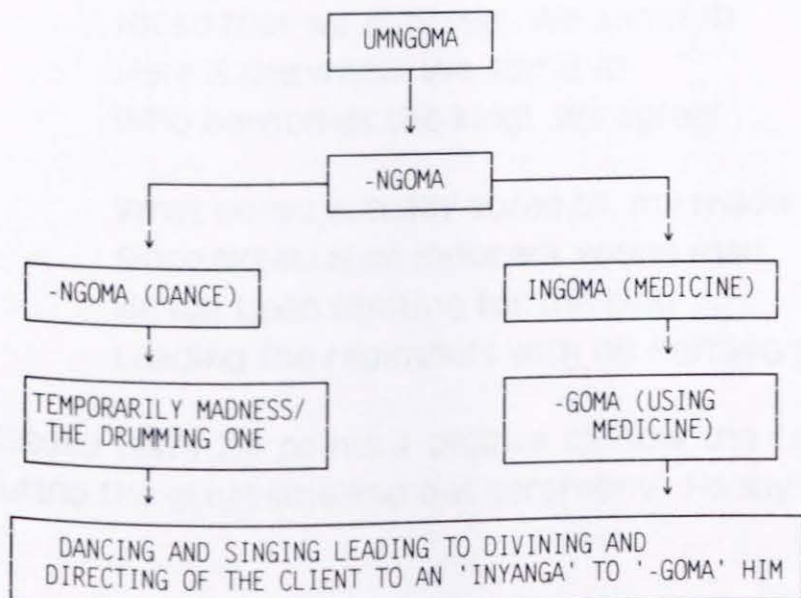
My father is in heaven.)

Medicine for killing is called umuthi wokubulala. If a person has been bewitched he is said 'to be killed'- ubulewe. This endorses the fact that umthakathi is a killer - umbulali.

In this chapter the names of the different kinds of diviners, terms pertaining to their attire, the spirits that control them and their actions are discussed.

3.1 IZANGOMA 'DIVINERS'

In Swahili and Ganda the word umngoma denotes 'the drumming one'. In Kikuyu the stem -ngoma means 'temporarily madness'. The -ngoma of Kikuyu coincides with -ngoma 'dance' and ingoma 'a song' sung by izangoma 'the diviners'. There is also a sense related to the administering of medicine in the verb stem -goma. The noun ingoma is also used for 'medicine'. There is thus an indication that the terms denoting 'medicine, dance, temporarily madness, diviner' and 'administering of medicine' are diachronically related.



izanusu on the other hand, smell out the sorcerers. izanusu exercised their powers during ingomboco enkulu 'the great smelling out ceremony' which was administered by the well known king Shaka when testing the efficiency of izanusu in their divining. He discovered that only two were proper izanusu. All those who had failed, were killed. Ritter (1955:270) reports on this incident as follows:

In the whole land there are but two witch-doctors - two young men - and the rest are false.

Certain people do not trust izangoma, they regard them as people who tell lies - abaqamba amanga. The izanusu are condemned by Masuku (1971:21):

Shayani Sibone! Siyavuma!
 Shayani Sibone! Siyavuma!
 Nangu umthakathi! Siyavuma!
 Othakatha iNkosi! Siyavuma!

Sivuma, sivumani, bakithi.
 Lokhu uNdlela uyinsizwa emsulwa,
 Futh' inkosi kade eyilwela,
 Ehol' amabutho ngobungcweti!

(Hit so that we may see! We admit it!
 Hit so that we may see! We admit it!
 Here is the witch! We admit it!
 Who bewitches the king! We agree!

What do we actually agree to, my fellow men,
 Since Ndlela is an innocent young man,
 He has been fighting for the king
 Leading the regiments with his fighting skills!

Masuku (1971:29) paints a picture of how the false diviners were killed during the great smelling out ceremony. He says:

Ngasinye, ngasinye, zaphobozwa,
 Zaphobozwa impela izangoma!
 Ngasinye, ngasinye zaphihlizwa,
 Zaphihlizw' amakhand' izangoma!
 Ngasinye, ngasinye, zabhoklozwa,
 Kwafacak' amathamb' ezangoma!
 Ngasinye, ngasinye zamukluzwa,
 Kwaqhash' ubuchopho bezangoma!
 Ngasinye, ngasinye zaqhambuzwa
 Kwatshaz' igazi lezangoma!

(One by one they were clubbed,
 The diviners were really clubbed,
 One by one they were smashed,
 One by one they were hit,
 The diviner's bones were crushed.
 One by one they were heavily clubbed,
 The brain of the diviners came out,
 One by one they were stabbed
 There was blood of the diviners all over!)

Msimang (s.a.:154) refers to consulting a diviner as 'a hunt for truth'. He says:

Phela njengoba ngishilo akusiyo inqina yokuzingela
 izinyamazane kepha eyokufuna iqiniso.

(As I have said it is not a hunt for game, but we are going to
 hunt for the truth.)

The expressions: 'shayani sizwe!' or 'shayani sibone!' are indicative of the association the practice of divining ukubhula has with ukubhula amabele 'to hit a bag of sorghum (in the process of harvesting the corn)'. In this act sticks are used to hit the sack. After the hitting of the sack, corn is obtained and amakhoba 'the husks of the grain' are thrown away. When divining the 'devotees' come with sticks to the head diviner. The expression ukuthatha izinduku 'to consult the diviner' is thus associated with ukubhula amabele. When the diviner is divining, the 'devotees' hit with the sticks on the ground. The truth is to be 'sifted' from the lies. The expression:

amakhoba ayahlwa kuthathwe amabele 'the husks are thrown away and the corn is taken' is associated with the establishment of the truth and the rejection of lies.

Senzangakhona's praises as recorded by Nyembezi (1984:13) associates the telling of the truth with ukubhula, compare:

Ungezwa bethi valela njalo Solunjalose,
Kanti abasho kuwe
Babhul' unyoko uMbulazikazi,
Yen' ovalel' ingonyam' endlini.
(*Underlining by GND.*)

(You could hear them saying keep it in Solunjalose,
But they were not talking to you,
They point at your mother, Mbulazikazi,
She who closed a lion in her house.)

Ukukhuluma izinjula 'to talk about difficult things' is known as ukuvumisa 'to cause to agree'. The one who talks with the aim of convincing another person to agree, is doing exactly what the head diviner, such as for instance the one in Nyembezi's recorded praises of Mpande:

UMnguni wahlala phansi
Wavumisa izindaba ezilukhuni,
Ezikhulunywa kubo kwaMalandela.

(Mnguni sat down,
He delivered serious matters,
Which were spoken about at Mandela.)

The head diviners use a medicine called uvuma 'medicine to cause one to agree' in order to convince the audience or 'devotees' to agree. The bard refers to this medicine in Nyembezi (1984:45) when he says:

UVemvane lukaPhunga noMageba,
uVemvan' olumabal' ozibhadu,
Ngibe ngiyaluthinta lwahwaqabala,
LunjengoPhunga waseBulawini,
Lunjengovuma kubangoma.
(*Underlining by GND.*)

Instead of using the uvuma medicine, used by the diviner or using the expression:

Shay' uvume!

'Hit and agree!'

followed by the appropriate response:

Siyavuma!

'We agree!'

the bard uses:

Lunjengovuma kubangoma.

'It is like the agreement among the diviners.'

In 1.3.3 a definition of izangoma was given and a distinction was made between three different types of izangoma, namely: the head diviner, the bone thrower and whistling diviner. We may even add a fourth type of diviner, namely the diviner who uses a mirror.

3.1.1 ISANGOMA SEKHANDA 'HEAD DIVINER'

This is the type of diviner who talks to his audience, Msimang (s.a.:163) refers to this dialogue between the diviner and his audience when he says:

Bakhuleke abomhlahlo: "Ngendaba zakho mngoma!"

"Makhosi! Yi...thi! Yi...thi!" Imhluthule imimoya uSimbo.

'The devotees saluted: "Over to you diviner!"

"Spirits! It is...us! It is...us!" The spirits took control of Simbo.'

When the head diviner is divining, the audience agrees by using the expression:

Siyavuma 'We admit/we agree'

The devotees lead the head diviner to the correct answer by admitting loudly when he is close to the truth but softly when he is far from the truth. Ritter (1955:390) sees this method as a mere guessing:

This emphasis or lack of emphasis would then guide him to give his answer or definition, which was always clothed in self-evident ambiguity like the Oracle of Delphi.

The devotees encourage the head diviner to listen to the spirits with both ears. They repeat the rhetoric phrase:

Yizwa, yizwa, mngoma!

'Listen, listen, diviner!'

By listening carefully he will tell the audience the truth.

3.1.2 ISANGOMA ESICHITHA AMATHAMBO 'BONE THROWER'

This form of divining is a learnt art. The configuration of the bones tells the diviner the unknown secrets of the diseases and problems of the clients. Another term for amathambo 'bones' is izinhlola 'the unravellers'.

The act of divining is also known as ukuhlola or ukuhlahluba 'to examine'. Ho hlahloba is a Southern Sotho term meaning 'to examine' while the deverbative noun is hlahlobo.

3.1.3 UMLOZI 'WHISTLING DIVINER'

The term umlozi means 'a whistle'. A synonym for umlozi is ikhwela. The whistling diviner uses a whistle to communicate with the spirits. Ritter (1955:391) states that the whistling diviners are uncommon.

3.1.4 TYPES OF IZANGOMA ACCORDING TO THEIR SPIRITS

There is a spectrum of different types of spirits which control the diviner. The diviner need not be controlled by one type of spirit only. The colour of the cloth or beads worn by the diviner refers to the type

of spirit found in the diviner. A combination of colours refers to the fact that a number of spirits control that specific diviner.

Idlozi 'The ancestral spirit'

A synonym for idlozi is umnguni. Idlozi is symbolised by black and white colours. Yellow and green are the symbolic colours of umnguni. Idlozi is a spirit of people who died after an illness - a spirit of a paternal relative or a maternal relative. An idlozi is saluted as: Amakhosi amakhulu 'The great kings'.

The following expressions relate to the ancestral spirits:

Ukubhekwa yidlozi 'To be lucky'.

Idlozi liyabhekwa 'An ancestral spirit is looked after'.

Ukwala idlozi 'To refuse the ancestral spirits'.

Ukubuyisa idlozi 'To bring the ancestral spirits back'.

Ukucasula idlozi 'To annoy the ancestral spirits'.

Ukufulathelwa yidlozi 'To be unlucky'.

Ukulahlwa yidlozi 'To have bad luck'.

Ukuthetha idlozi 'To speak to the ancestral spirits'.

The following proverbs reveal that idlozi is the spirit of our relatives:

Akudlozi lingayi ekhaya 'No spirit fails to go home'.

Akudlozi lingayi kwabo 'No spirit fails to go home'.

Akudlozi laya endlini layeka kwabo 'A good spirit goes home'.

Idlozi liyabekwa 'Something is reserved for the spirit'.

Ngize ngikhulunyelwe nje ngiyidlozi yini? 'Am I a spirit that someone should speak on my behalf?'

Umdawe 'Ancestral spirit'

This is the spirit of one of the following persons:

- a person who died in war,
- a child who died in his mother's womb, or
- a friend or lover who died in danger.

An umdawe's colours are red, maroon and white. The maroon and white cloth worn by the umdawe controlled diviner is known as injiti.

The symptom of the diviner controlled by umndawe is red diarrhoea 'ukuhuda igazi' because these people died while in danger.

Izangoma eziqhwakelwe wumndawe 'Diviners under the control of umndawe' use traditional Zulu weapons such as: umkhonto 'assegai', iwisa 'knobkierie' and isihlangu 'shield'. Their eyes are shiny and reflect anger.

Umndiki 'The spirit of aged people'

The colours of these spirits are blue and green. Umndiki is the spirit of izalukazi namakhehla 'the grandmothers and grandfathers' - either the paternal or maternal grandparents who died when they were very old. Diviners controlled by umndiki have the following symptoms:

- Their feet become painful,
 - They kneel, shake and shiver.
- Even if they dance they do not stand up straight, they dance on their knees.
- They wear the bones of black goats around their necks in order to prevent umndiki from wringing their necks.

Umndiki and umndawe are closely related since the old people worship amaqhawe 'heroes'. There is a song associating umndiki with umndawe:

Uyingwe **mndiki!**
 Uyingonyama!
 Sikhuphul' **amandawe**

'You are a tiger mndiki!
 You are a lion!
 We uplift amandawe.'

Umlozi 'Whistling spirits'

These are the spirits of our relatives from the 4th to the 6th generation.

They are represented by the colour white.

3.1.5 NAMES FOR *IZANGOMA* REFERRING TO THEIR ROLES AND DUTIES

Umngoma 'One who dances as if he is temporarily mad'

The form of address 'umngoma' is used when the devotees give the diviner the green light to take over. They actually say: zindaba zakho mngoma. 'These are your affairs, diviner'. This monologue is called 'uklanya'.

Isanusi 'One who smells out the sorcerers'

The isanusi smells out the sorcerers during ingomboco 'the great smelling out ceremony'. The one smelled out is killed. The sorcerer's head is smashed with a knobkierie. Msimang (1982:132) alludes to this ritual when he says:

Nokho nginesicelo sinye nje enkosini yami.
Ngicela ukuba ngingafi ngokushaywa ngezagila
sengathi **ngingumthakathi**...

'I have one request to my Lord.
I request not to die by being smashed with
knobkieries as if I am a sorcerer...'

Abamanga 'Diviners who lie'

The alternative term for izangoma, namely abamanga is now generally accepted. This alternative name for the diviners came into being after ingomboco enkulu 'the great smelling out ceremony' during Shaka's reign. The mob who had been participating in the smelling out ceremony became the slayers of abamanga 'those of lies'. Ritter (1955:272) discloses the fate of the abamanga. He relates:

With true unthinking mob-violence, they now started on an orgy of skull-smashing, which extended even to those diviners who had not been skewered.

The following terms refer to different kinds of diviners:

Ithwasa 'Student diviner'

Uhezu 'A good diviner'

Ukhokhovula 'A good diviner'

Umangothobane 'One who has the authority to call out the names'

3.1.6 TERMS REFERRING TO ISANGOMA'S ATTIRE

Iminqwambo 'Draped garments made out of skins of goats'

Once the student diviner is controlled by the spirits a ritual called ukubhama is held. This ritual is also called ukuvuma idlozi. Three fowls are slaughtered and their gall is poured into umtombo 'medicines used by the diviner'. A black goat is also slaughtered and its gall is poured into the izikhwembe (a synonym for umtombo). A garment is made out of the goat's skin. This garment is called: umnqwambo. The act of wearing this draped garment is ukunqwamba. The gall bladder is filled with air and hung unto the garment umnqwambo.

Izinyongo 'Gall bladders'

Some gall bladders of goats are tied to the head and some to the garment of the diviner (as explained in the preceding discussion). There is even a proverb which refers primarily to these gall bladders as part of the diviner's attire: isangoma sibonwa ngezinyongo 'the diviner is recognised by the gall bladders'. The more gall bladders there are attached to the diviners attire the more successful he/she is.

Iziphandla 'War decorations'

Ishoba lenkonkoni 'Bushy tail of the brindled gnu'

The gnu's tail is used to hit the smelled out sorcerer. The song of izangoma hails the fact that the bushy tail of a brindled gnu is associated with the spirits. This song contains the following reference to this reality:

Weshoba!

Weshoba lenkonkoni.

Ishoba lokuhamba nezithutha.

'Oh Tail!

Oh Tail of the gnu.

The tail that goes with the ancestral spirits'.

3.1.6.1 ATTIRE MADE OF CLOTH

Ihiya lengwe elimhlophe 'White dress made out of the cloth that resembles the skin of a leopard'

Ihiya elizulu licwathile 'Blue dress'

Ihiya eliluhlaza neliphuzi 'Green and yellow dress'

Ihiya elibomvu nokumhlophe 'Maroon and white dress'

The latter dress is also called injiti.

amaphohlo 'bangles' and iminqwambo 'draped garments'

The colours of the beads symbolise the types of spirits found in that specific diviner as we have seen above.

3.1.6.2 ARRANGEMENT OF HAIR

Umyeko/umphotho 'hanging fringe of hair'

- If the isangoma is controlled by umndawe his umyeko will be smeared with ibomvu 'red ochre'
- one who is controlled by umlozi's umyeko will be white
- one who is controlled by idlozi's umyeko will be black

Umyeko wobuhlalu 'Hanging fringe of hair made of beads'

The terms umyeko and umphotho are self explanatory. Ukuyeka izinwele is the act of not cutting the hair. Ukuphotha izinwele is the act of plaiting the hair. These terms are deverbative nouns since they have been derived from the verbs ukuyeka and ukuphotha respectively.

3.1.6.3 WEAPONS USED BY IZANGOMA

The izangoma who are controlled by umnguni and umlozi carry the following weapons:

induku emfishane yephahla 'a short stick of brackylaena discolour tree'

The izangoma controlled by umndiki carry a *club* made out of iphahla 'brackylaena discolour tree'.

The izangoma controlled by umndawe carry a spear, club and a shield already indicated in the preceding discussion. The shield and spear are not different from those used by ordinary people, this attire does, however, symbolise that the diviners are at war with the sorcerers.

3.1.7 UKUTHWASA 'STUDENT DIVINER'

The person learning to divine is called *ithwasa*. The potential diviner is initially overpowered by a disease. Cele (1973:66) stresses this point when he says:

Ngaba wumhlobo wokhukho iminyaka emithathu. Kwathi ngelinye ilanga, kungasazi muntu nasu elingenziwa, babona ngivuka nje sengathi engizange ngibe nalutho. Lapho ngangingasabhekeki, sengifana nomkhovu uqobo. Ngase ngiluthwethwe, izinwele sekungamadlodlombiya, izinzipho sekuyimiklwebesha, isilevu sekuyinkunkuma, imikhonywana nemilenzana sekungangothi lokuvungula.

'I slept on a mat for three years. One day when everybody had lost hope, I got up as if nothing had happened. I was as ugly as a zombie. I was thin with uncombed hair, long finger nails and thin legs.'

An *ithwasa* starts using *izikhwembe* 'medicines for the diviners' after this experience. *Izangoma ziyalinqwambisa ithwasa* 'The diviners give the student diviner a draped skin garment'. It is at this time that: *ithwasa lichwayelwa imichwayo yamathwasa* 'The student diviner sings the songs of the student diviners'. The student diviner will feel like roaring and screaming. It is during this period that the student diviner sees his ancestral spirits in his dreams. Ngubane (1977:102) explains that *ithwasa* is chosen by the ancestral spirits. He notes:

'A person does not choose to become a diviner "isangoma" but is chosen by her ancestors, who bestow upon her clairvoyant powers.'

The student diviner starts to abstain from eating certain types of food such as *inyama yemvu* 'mutton', *imbumba* 'vigna sinensis', *izindlumbu* 'vaondzeia subterranea', *ibhece* 'a specimen of pumpkin' etc. Sexual abstinence *ukuzila* is important in order to achieve the unpolluted sacred status of the diviner to succeed as medium to communicate with the ancestral spirits.

Umnguni or idlozi sends ithwasa into a deep pool to fetch a python. The student diviner is given this command in a dream. Cele (1973:70) illuminates this point when he says:

Ngakhonjiswa phansi kwatotololo, lapho kwahlasimula
umzimba, ngibona ubucwebecwebe namafikifiki
emfumbalaleni yemfundama.

Ibuye ingiguqulele ubuso nekhanda, kube sengathi umuntu
wakithi osewafa. Khona kalokho kwafika okuthi: "Vuka, hamba
uyibambe uze nayo lapha".

'I was shown down in a deep pool. I shivered in fear when
looking at the shining python in the deep water.

It turned its face and head to me and it was as if I was looked
at by my dead relative. I then heard a voice saying: "Rise, go
and catch it and bring it here."

After all the training and crises are over the student diviner is tested ukucela ifihla. This testing entails the hiding of an object which the diviner then has to identify and find the hidden object. Passing the test will mean that the student diviner becomes an isangoma sempela 'a real diviner'. After this a ritual takes place ithwasa liyaphothulwa 'the student diviner is made aware of the fact that his training is over'. He then receives his OWN ishoba lenkonkoni 'tail of the brindled gnu' to be used when divining'.

3.1.8 TERMS REFERRING TO ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

Dead people are not called abafileyo 'those who are dead' because the Zulus believe in life after death. Izinyanga and izangoma believe that medicines they use, come from God *via* the ancestral spirits (amadlozi) consequently they regard amadlozi as a link between people and God. That is why the Zulus coined the following terms to refer to amadlozi:

Abadala 'Old people'

Abakithi 'Those belonging to us'

Abalele 'The sleeping ones'

Abangasekho 'Those who are no longer with us'

Abaphansi 'Those who are underneath'
 Amathongo 'Those who are in the deepest sleep'
 Izithutha 'The conveyors/silly ones'
 Izinyanya 'The spirits which are against evil'
 Izinyandezulu 'The sprits appearing in the form of snakes'
 Izidalwa 'Those who were created'
 Okhulukhulwana 'The great, great ones'

Some of these terms referring to the ancestral spirits need further elucidation. Let us explain the coining of some of these terms.

Abadala 'The old ones'

All dead people are regarded as being old. This causes even a child to reach 'adulthood' if he dies young.

Abalele 'The sleeping ones'

Izinyanga and izangoma receive information from the ancestral spirits when they are asleep. It is believed that they receive information on mixtures and methods from the ancestral spirits in their dreams.

Abaphansi 'Those who are in the graves'

The grave does not separate the deceased from the living. The ancestral spirits are still with the living. Contact with them is maintained in the sense that abaphansi are 'down there' with the living. Whereas the Western societies regard the evil (satan) to be 'down there' the Zulus regard the ancestral spirits (the good spirits) to be 'down there'.

King Dinuzulu's bard confirms the association of the dead with the living (abaphansi and abaphezulu). Nyembezi (1984:103) says:

USihawuhawu siyinkondlo
 Sivunywe abamhlophe
 Savunywa ngabaphansi nabaphezulu
 (Underlining by GND.)

'Sihawuhawu is a poem
 It was endorsed by the whites
 It was endorsed by the ancestral spirits'

Izithutha 'The conveyors'

The Zulu people do not regard the ancestral spirits as being silly. The use of the term *izithutha* to refer to the ancestral spirits is most probably a derivation from the verb stem *-thutha* 'to transport'. The associative meaning is thus that of indicating that ancestral spirits 'transport' our request to God and *vice versa*. They thus serve as a link, a conveyor between God and the living.

King Senzangakhona's bard maintains that ancestral spirits sometimes fail to do something that is done by the living. This praise is recorded in Nyembezi (1984:14):

Owaphoth' intambo ende,
 Umntaka Jama,
 Wayiphatha yafik' ezulwini,
Lapho nezithutha zakoMageba
Zingayikufikela;
Ziyawukuthi ziyakhwela,
Zaphuk' amazwanyana.
 (Underlining by GND.)

'He who plaited a long rope,
 Son of Jama,
 Who plaited a rope and climbed up to heaven,
 There where even ancestral spirits of Mageba
 Could not come,
 When they tried to climb,
 They broke their little toes.'

3.1.9 TERMS REFERRING TO GOD

The indigenous religion of the Zulu people is based on a supernatural power called *uNkulunkulu* 'the Great-great one' and ancestral spirits (which have already been referred to). Krige (1957) observes that *uMvelinqangi* or *uNkulunkulu* is the same supernatural being whom Christianity refers to as God or the Creator. The Zulu believe that *uNkulunkulu* can never be approached directly. They believe that *uMvelinqangi* 'God' told them to communicate with Him *via* their *amadlozi* 'ancestral spirits'. The name

iThongo elikhulu 'the great spirit' proves that God is above all the ancestral spirits.

Ngubane (1977:113) differentiates between two types of medicines; (as discussed in Chapter 1) viz. umuthi wokubulala 'medicine to kill' and umuthi wokuphilisa 'medicine to cure'. It should be taken into consideration that God is the one who created the plants used to make medicines. In Genesis 3:3 we read:

Kepha ngezithelo zomuthi ophakathi nensimu uNkulunkulu ushilo ukuthi: Ningazidli, ningazithinti ukuba ningafi.

This verse refers to medicines which kill. Genesis 3:22 tells us about **the** fruits of the tree of life which could let people live for ever. This may be seen as the healing medicine which was created by UMdali 'the Creator':

UJehova uNkulunkulu wathi: Bheka, uAdam usenjengomunye wethu, uyakwazi okuhle nokubi; kepha manje makangeluli isandla sakhe, athathe nakuwo **umuthi wokuphila, adle, aphile kuze kube phakade.**

Because of the above reasons many names referring to God, which are used by everybody including the makers and users of medicines refer to God as the greatest of all spirits; the Almighty.

UNkulunkulu 'The Big-big One'

UHLanga 'The Stalk'

UMveli 'The One who appeared to His will'

UNgqangi 'The First One'

UMvelingqangi 'The One Who appeared first'

UMdabuki 'The One Who originated Himself'

UMdali 'Creator'

UQobo 'The Reality'

UQotho 'The Genuine One'

UQili 'The Most Cunning One'

USandasezulu 'The Creator of heavens'

USimakade 'He who will live forever'

USomandla 'The Father of Strength and Power'

USokulunga 'The Father of Good'

USakhayedwa 'The One Who stays above'

UMnini mandla 'The Owner of power'

UThongo elikhulu 'The Great Ancestor'

UGuqabadele 'All will kneel in front of Him'

USonkanise 'The Father of Force'

USonyaniso 'The Father of Truth'

UChibilinomnqwazi 'The Crowned One'

UNKosi yaphezulu 'The King of above'

UMlenzemunye 'The One-legged One'

UNyawolunye 'The One-footed one'

USandla sembethe umhlaba nezulu 'The Hand Who covers both earth and heaven'

USandla sinemisebe yelanga 'Hand Who has rays of the sun'

3.2 IZINYANGA 'TRADITIONAL HEALERS'

As is the case with the diviners, there is a great number of different types of healers as well.

Four types of izinyanga can be distinguished, namely amaxhwele 'villagers', ochitha 'herbal vendors', izingedla 'traditional healers' and izinyanga ezixube nolwazi lwabelungu 'homeopathic herbalists'.

3.2.1 AMAXHWELE 'VILLAGERS'

These are the members of the community who themselves gather and administer certain herbal remedies for common ailments. Included in this group are omamezala and ogogo who take charge of their daughters-in-law's babies from birth, gathering herbs, preparing and administering purges deemed necessary for the cleansing of the newly born child from impurities passed on by the mother.

3.2.2 OCHITHA 'HERBAL VENDORS'

These healers gather and sell herbs and bark for various ailments but do not diagnose illnesses. Their children frequently gather herbs with them and grow up well informed about the plant lore of the community.

3.2.3 *IZINGEDLA* 'TRADITIONAL HEALERS'

These doctors heal and provide protective charms against evil such as ukubethela and ukucupha. They treat diseases with various herbal remedies including izinyamazane 'dried and powdered parts of animals'.

3.2.4 *IZINYANGA EZIXUBE NOLWAZI LWABELUNGU* 'HOMEOPATHIC HERBALISTS'

These doctors undergo training. They do not consult the ancestors. They use various learned methods of homeopathic diagnosis and homeopathic medicines. They use traditional medicines as well as patented medicines. The fact that not anyone could become a homeopath is highlighted by Msimang (1975: 317) when he says:

... kwabe kungesiye noma wubani nje owayengase athwale izikhwama elaphe abantu, kepha kuphela lowo ongenwe yidlozi.

'It was not up to every Tom, Dick and Harry to carry the bags and cure the diseases, but only those who are controlled by the ancestral spirits.'

3.2.5 VOCABULARY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO THE ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF *IZINYANGA*

Izinyanga are not only concerned with healing of people they have a number of other functions as well. They are then named in accordance with the particular function they fulfill. The following list of names reveals the functions that the izinyanga may have:

- inyanga yokwelapha 'healing doctor'
- inyanga yokubhula 'divining doctor'
- inyanga yezulu 'rain-making doctor'
- inyanga yokubethela 'doctor who strengthens the home'
- inyanga yokucupha 'doctor who traps the sorcerer'
- inyanga yomhlabelo 'one who cures fractured bones'
- inyanga yentando 'one who handles love charms'
- inyanga yempi 'doctor of war'

inyanga yamaphupho 'doctor of dreams'

umthonga 'doctor of hunting'

inyanga yokumisela 'one who doctors a woman to become fertile'

Izinyanga can be named after their efficiency in doing their work, compare the following terms:

ugedla 'strong medicine man'

ugegeba 'well known healing doctor'

undlela zinuk' imiswani 'one who uses meat'

The best explanation of undlela zinuk' imiswani is given by Nxumalo (1977: 29). He says:

Ngenxa yokuthi izinyanga zivamise ukuba zifike zifune izimbuzi zihlabe, ukuze zithole inyongo yokuthelwa emithini yazo, abaningi sebezibiza ngokuthi ngondlela zinuk' imiswani.

(Underlining by GND.)

'Due to the fact that healing doctors often ask for goats to be slaughtered in order to get gall to be mixed with their medicines, many people call them ways that smell the chyme of beasts.'

3.2.5.1 TERMS REFERRING TO THE INYANGA'S ATTIRE

The inyanga wears distinctive attire. Some of the attire that is worn by the traditional healer is listed below:

izimpaphe 'feathers waved above his head-ring'

izidladla zebhubesi 'circle of lion-claws around his neck'

amashoba ezinkomo 'cow tails'

isikhumba sengwe 'leopard-skin'

imisila yezinsimba 'genet-tails'

3.2.5.2 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO THE EQUIPMENT USED BY IZINYANGA

The following are the names of some of the equipment used by the traditional healer:

- izimpondo zezinyamazane 'horns of wild buck'
- izikhwama 'bags'
- udengezi 'pot-shred'
- inungu 'quill of a porcupine'
- umhlanti 'small skin bags'
- umandawane 'haversack'
- insingo 'razor blade'
- isimbo 'instrument used to dig'
- ucelemba 'bush knife'
- isigqulo 'instrument used to crush medicines'
- itshe 'big stone to crush medicines'
- imbokode 'a small grinding stone to crush medicines'

3.2.5.3 TERMS REFERRING TO THE ROUTINE WORK OF IZINYANGA

The traditional healer has certain routine work he has to do. These revolve around getting and preparing medicines as can be seen from the list of terms below referring to his routine work.

- ukuxebula imithi 'to peel of the bark of trees'
- ukunqampuna amakhambi 'to pluck off the leaves'
- ukusiphula amakhambi 'to pull off leaves'
- ukumba imithi 'to dig the roots'
- ukukhobovula 'to dig on a big scale'
- ukuqoba imithi 'to cut medicines'
- ukukhendla 'to buy medicines from other healing doctors'
- ukucobelela abanye 'to give other doctors of your medicines'
- ukugqula imithi 'crushing fresh medicines'
- ukuqoqoqo imithi 'to crunch dry medicines'
- ukuxhanxatha amakhambi 'to crush the herbs'
- ukugaya imithi 'to grind medicines'
- ukuthaka imithi 'to mix medicines'
- ukuhlanganisa imithi 'to mix medicines'

- ukupheka imithi 'to cook medicines'
- ukucwenga imithi 'to filter medicines'
- ukusefa imithi 'to sift medicines'
- ukuhlukanisa imithi 'to divide medicines'
- ukugoma isiguli 'to cure a patient'
- ukwelapha iziguli 'to heal the patients'

3.2.5.4 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO THE PAYMENT MADE TO THE INYANGA

The initial payment made to the traditional healer is normally a goat whereas the final payment is often a head of cattle.

- invulasikhwama 'first payment/bag opener'
- ugxa 'first goat paid to an inyanga'
- inkomo 'the final payment'

3.3 ABATHAKATHI 'SORCERERS'

A sorcerer is one who uses medicine and other means to harm or kill his fellow man. (See the definition of a sorcerer given in 1.3.2.)

3.3.1 TYPES OF SORCERERS

The sorcerers are subcategorised according to types and their functions.

3.3.1.1 TYPES OF SORCERERS ACCORDING TO THEIR FUNCTIONS

There are three basic types of sorcerers, namely:

- umthakathi wasemini 'day sorcerer'
- umthakathi wasebusuku 'night sorcerer'
- umthakathi wozalo 'lineage sorcerer'

3.3.1.2 OTHER TERMS USED FOR THE SORCERER

isalakwanda 'one who denies the multiplication (of people)'

umkhunkuli 'sorcerer'

umsokoco 'sorcerer'

umloyi 'sorcerer'

uhodoba 'great sorcerer'

ugagada 'great sorcerer'

umbulali 'killer'

umlumbi 'wizard'

indò::da 'sorcerer'

The term indoda (pronounced with very long length and a low tone on the penultimate syllable) is used to refer to a well known sorcerer.

The southern Sotho term for sorcerer is moloi which is etymologically related to the umloyi and ukuloya of Zulu.

3.3.2 VOCABULARY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO THE PRACTICES OF THE SORCERERS

Sorcerers have various actions they do in the act of practising their medicines. The list below reflects some of these acts.

ukuthakatha 'to bewitch'

ukukholisa 'to trouble people'

ukulutha 'to hypnotise'

ukulumba 'to indulge in occult practices'

ukudwebela 'to draw a line with medicine'

ukubekela 'to cast a spell on someone'

ukweqisa 'to cause someone to walk over the spell'

ukudlisa 'to pour poison in the victim's food'

ukuhlanyisa 'to cause insanity'

ukugunya 'to kill in order to remove a bodypart'

ukucwiya 'to remove a bodypart'

ukukhafula 'to squirt from the mouth'

3.3.3 TERMS REFERRING TO THE SORCERER'S ATTIRE

The night sorcerers walk around naked. Ritter (1955) refers to the naked person as someone who is doing umhlola 'evil omen'. The following terms are used for being naked:

ukuba nqunu 'to be naked'

ukuba mbhuncu 'to be naked'

ukuba nhluzwa 'to be naked'

ukuhambaze 'to walk without clothing'

ukungacabeki lutho 'not to clothe yourself in anything'

ukushaya ngesudu yesele 'to wear a frog's suit'

It is generally accepted that a frog is naked. The English term 'suit' in the last example indicates that this idiom is of fairly recent origin.

A naked person can smear his body with ash. This is known as:

ukuziqhola ngomlotha 'to sprinkle one's body with ash'

3.3.4 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO THE MEDICINES AND ANIMALS USED BY THE SORCERERS

The sorcerers use various medicines and animals to perform their duties. The medicines are sub-categorised in terms of their colours or their ingredients

3.3.4.1 TYPES OF MEDICINES

imithi emnyama 'black medicines'

iziphoso 'medicines to cause harm'

izibango 'medicines to cause harm'

imibhulelo 'spell medicines'

isitshopi 'medicines mixed with body dirt'

ilumbo 'wizardry'

ubuthi/ushevu 'poison'

The second term for poison in the list above, has most probably been derived from the Dutch word for poison namely 'schev'.

3.3.4.2 ANIMALS USED BY SORCERERS

The following animals are not known by the members of the society but they know the names which refer to them. It is believed that these terms were coined by the people and not by the sorcerers:

umkhovu 'goblin/zomby'

impaka 'sorcerer's cat'

impundulu 'sorcerer's bird'

utokoloshe 'hairy dwarf'

umamtsotsi 'female created by the sorcerers'

3.3.5 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO THE ROUTINE WORK DONE BY THE SORCERERS

The sorcerer does all the work done by an inyanga as discussed in 2.2.5 but with the motive of killing. In addition to the work mentioned above the sorcerer also has the following functions:

ukufundisa izilwane 'to teach his/her animals'

ukondla izilwane zakhe 'to feed his/her animals'

ukugcaba izingane izinhlanga zokuthakatha emididi 'to cut the sorcerer's incisions on the back of a child'

ukuzonda 'to hate'

ukuba nomona 'to be jealous'

ukufundisa umkakhe ukubamba insika 'to teach his wife to hold a pillar/to guard while the husband is away'

When the sorcerer is away on a mission, the wife must not sleep, she should hold the pillar of the house to prevent her husband from being caught.

3.4 THE PATIENT

A patient is often named in terms of the disease which he/she has.

3.4.1 TERMS REFERRING TO THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PATIENTS

Zulu has a rich vocabulary of terms referring to patients who are either handicapped or who have a body part missing.

3.4.1.1 ABAKHUBAZEKILE 'HANDICAPPED PEOPLE'

The following are terms which depict handicapped people:

- uhlanya 'mad person'
- izimpendu 'one with twisted eyes'
- impumputhe 'blind person'
- isithulu 'deaf person'
- isimungulu 'a dumb person'
- amajikantamo 'one with twisted neck'
- isifumbu 'one with a hunch'
- unyonga 'paralysed person'
- isishosha 'one who cannot walk'

3.4.1.2 PATIENTS WHO DO NOT HAVE ALL THEIR BODY PARTS

Terms referring to people who do not have all their body parts are taken from ordinary Zulu language as a person can be injured in a car accident or he may be attacked by robbers. **Ubhadeka/uchoko/ubulephero** (leprosy) can also cause a patient to lose a body part. The following terms refer to people who do not have certain body parts:

- isihunu 'one ear missing'
- indlobho 'one eye missing'
- ingini 'one arm missing'
- usandlana 'one hand missing'
- indiki 'leper'

3.4.2 VOCABULARY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO THE PATIENT

Terms are coined relating to the patients expressions, actions and movements.

3.4.2.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF ILLNESSES

The interjection used by a patient when he is hurt **Hii!** 'Ouch!' is possibly derived from the terms **ubuhlungu** and **izihlungu** 'pains' which contain the sound **hl**. The interjection **Hii!** is pronounced as an ingressive sound.

Ubuhlungu/izihlungu 'pains'

In Isaiah 53: 3-4 **ukugula** 'to be ill' is associated with **ubuhlungu** 'pain':

3. "Yayideliwe, yashiywa ngabantu, **umuntu wobuhlungu owazi ukugula**; yeyiswa injengosithazelwa ubuso ngabantu, asiyishayanganto yalutho.
4. Kepha **yazithwala izifo zethu**, yabetshatha **ubuhlungu bethu**, kodwa thina sathi ijezisiwe, ishaywe nguNkulunkulu, ihlushiwe."

3.4.2.2 STEPS TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE PATIENT

The various phases a patient goes through in the process of becoming ill and healed, can be listed chronologically as follows:

- ukuhlathwa yisifo 'to catch a disease'
- ukuhamba nakho 'to go with it'
- ukulala phansi 'to lie down'
- ukuthatha izinduku 'to consult a diviner'
- ukwelashwa 'to be cured'

3.4.2.3 STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY THE RELATIVES

If the patient lies down he is helpless. People around him and his relatives consult a diviner who directs them to a relevant healing doctor. They do the following:

bathwala isiguli ngohlaka 'they carry the patient with the reed-mat'
 bachazela inyanga ngesifo 'they report to the healer about the disease'
 bakhokha imvulasikhwama 'they pay the bag opener'
 bakhokha ugxa 'they pay the first payment (in the form of a goat)'

3.4.3 THE PATIENT AND THE SALUTATION

Even the way patients greet, tell that they fear death. They try to make friends with death. The expression *ngihamba nakho* 'I go with it' suggests that the patient cannot be killed by his friend - death as 'they go together'.

3.4.4 THE PATIENT AND THE DOCTOR

The function of the doctor is to *ukwelapha isiguli* 'cure the patient'. The term *ukwelapha* may demonstrate the relationship between the patient and the doctor. This term is possibly derived from two words viz. *E...!* and *lapha* 'here'. *E...!* stands for a painful feeling. Afrikaans uses the term *Eina!* for this same purpose. *Lapha* 'here' implies that the patient tells the doctor the actual part of his body affected as suggested in the following dialogue:

INYANGA: Uguliswa yini?
 DOCTOR: What troubles you?

ISIGULI: Yisisu.
 PATIENT: Stomach-ache.'

INYANGA: Kuphi? ngitshengise!
 DOCTOR: Where about? Show me!

ISIGULI: Lapha.
 PATIENT: Here.

INYANGA: Ake ngithinte ngizenelise.
 DOCTOR: Let me touch so as to satisfy myself.

ISIGULI: E...! E...! E...! lapha.
 PATIENT: E...! E...! E...! here.

It is said that:

Inyanga yelapha lapho kubuhlungu khona.

'The doctor cures where it hurts.'

3.4.5 TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS REVEALING THE ATTACK OF THE DISEASE

The following terms indicate the development and intensification of a disease.

ukuhlabeka 'start of disease'

ukubholokoqwa wukufa 'to be seriously attacked'

ukudutshulwa wukufa 'to be seriously attacked'

ukucindezelwa wukufa 'to be pinned down by the disease'

ubucishicishi 'serious control of the disease'

kubonwa ngokusa 'people do not sleep'

ukudliwa wukufa 'to be eaten by the disease'

ukunqotshwa wukufa 'to be conquered by the disease'

3.4.5.1 TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS USED TO DESCRIBE THE REACTION OF THE PATIENT

When the patient is attacked by a disease he/she reacts by making certain sounds.

3.4.5.1.1 SOUNDS MADE BY THE PATIENT

When someone is standing next to a patient he/she must take particular note of the sounds made by the patient. The following sounds have a bearing on the seriousness of the disease.

ukugquma 'to groan'

ukugqiha 'to breath heavily'

ukuhefuzela 'to breath with difficulty'

ukunswininiza kwesifuba 'to breath with an asthmatic sound'

ukuklukuza kwesisu 'roaring sound made by the stomach'

ukukliwula 'to scream'

3.4.5.1.2 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO EXPERIENCING PAIN

Terms pertaining to pains felt at the different parts of the body are listed below:

ukuqhekezeka kwekhanda 'headache'
 ukudabuka kokhakhayi 'headache'
 ukushaywa yikhanda 'headache'
 ukugwazwa yiso 'painful eye'
 ukunkenketha kwezinyo 'tooth ache'
 ukugwazwa yisibhobo 'sharp pain'
 ukuvimbana 'blockage of the nose'
 ukucinana kwesifuba 'blockage of the chest'
 ukuluma kwesikhumba 'itching of the skin'
 ukusawuzela kwamehlo 'painful eyes'
 ukunhlonhlozela kukazagiga 'pains caused by mumps'.

3.4.5.1.3 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO FEELING LIKE VOMITING

Vomiting is said to be triggered by the heart, hence the following expressions:

ukucasuzela kwenhliziyo 'to have nausea of the heart/to feel like vomiting'
 ukunyunguzela kwenhliziyo 'the protruding of the heart/to be to feel like vomiting'

3.4.5.1.4 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO VOMITING

Vomiting is regarded as a natural way of cleansing the intestines, hence the practice of drinking various medicines to vomit. The following terms all refer to vomiting:

ukuhlanza 'to vomit'
 ukugonyuluka 'to vomit'
 ukubuyisa 'to vomit'
 ukuphalaza 'to vomit'
 ukusho ngaphezulu 'to vomit'

3.4.5.1.5 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO INJURIES TO THE BODY

Injuries sustained by the patient may be named in terms of their seriousness:

umcothu 'light injury'

- umyocu 'light injury'
- isidubulu 'swelling part on the body'
- iphuphusi 'swelling part on the head'
- isibashu 'patch'
- umvimbo 'weal'
- isilonda 'sore'
- ingozi 'severe wound'
- inxeba 'deep wound'

3.4.5.1.6 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO THE TYPES OF WOUNDS

The following terms all refer to severe wounds.

- udume lwengozi 'big wound'
- ingozi ema amanzi 'big wound'
- ingozi engeqiwa ntwala 'big wound'
- inkamba beyibuza 'big wound'

3.4.5.1.7 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO SWELLING

The following terms all refer to swelling:

- ukuvuvuka 'to swell'
- ukukhukhumala 'to swell'
- amampinyiza 'swelling on the body'
- amabokonya 'swelling of the hands and feet'

3.4.5.1.8 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO NOT BEING SERIOUSLY ILL

The terms listed below pertain to not being seriously ill:

- amahlalakhona 'continuous ailments'
- abakhongi 'pains telling the aged people that they are about to go home i.e. to die'
- umkhuhlane 'fever'
- imiquzama 'minor ailments caused by sorcery'
- ubuyawuyawu 'continuous minor ailments'

3.4.6 TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO HEALING AND THE RECOVERING OF THE PATIENT

The healing of a patient is sub-divided into the following: the administration of doses; recovering of the patient and terms and expressions referring to being well again.

3.4.6.1 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO THE MEANS AND THE QUANTITY OF MEDICINE ADMINISTERED

The following expressions explain how medicine is administered by the patient. If the patient doesn't know Zulu medicines, the directions for the administering of the medicine may be written on a piece of paper, for instance: kotha, ncinda, phalaza, gcaba, chatha, etc.

- ukuphuza umuthi 'to drink medicine'
- ukukhotha umuthi 'to lick powdered medicines'
- ukuncinda 'to sip from the fingers'
- ukukhuma umuthi 'to swallow powdered medicine'
- ukuxaka ngomuthi 'to force someone to drink medicine'
- ukuphalaza 'to vomit'
- ukuchatha 'to give an enema'
- ukugcaba 'to cut incision on the skin'
- ukulumeka 'to draw blood by cupping'
- ukutshopa 'to use the quill of a porcupine'
- ukushunqisela 'to use smoke'
- ukugquma 'to steam'
- ukugeza ngomuthi 'to bath with medicine'
- ukuchela ngomuthi 'to sprinkle with medicine'
- ukuphuphutha 'to give an enema with powdered medicine'

3.4.6.2 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO THE RECOVERING OF THE PATIENT

If the patient recovers after using medicines the following expression are used:

- ukuswabuluka 'to feel better'

- ukuba ngcono 'to be better'
- ukuvuka 'to sit up'
- ukulala 'to feel better and sleep'
- ukusanguluka 'to feel better mentally'
- ukululama 'to recover'
- ukuqwebuka 'to recover'
- ukutotoba 'to recover'
- ukuphosa umbalane 'to escape from death'

3.4.6.3 TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO RECUPERATING

The expressions in the list below refer to a patient who is properly healed by the healer.

- ukuba wumqemane 'to be healthy'
- ukuba yisiqabadiya 'to be healthy and strong'
- ukusinda qingqo 'to have recovered completely'
- ukuphila saka 'to be well'
- ukuphila njengosheleni 'to be healthy and strong'

3.4.7 TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO THE DETERIORATION OF THE PATIENT'S CONDITION

The following terms and expressions refer to the patient being overpowered by the disease, the movements of a seriously ill patient, death and the funeral of the patient.

3.4.7.1 TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO THE DISEASE OVERPOWERING THE PATIENT

The following expressions are used when the patient is overpowered by a disease.

- kubi 'it is bad'
- kwembulwa kwembeswa 'it is serious'
- kwembulwa ingubo kwembeswe ingubo 'it is serious'
- kubonwa ngokusa 'it is serious'
- sekusele isikhwehlela 'he/she is about to die'

sekusele umndondo 'he/she is about to die'

sekusele usuku 'he/she is about to die'

3.4.7.2 TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO THE MOVEMENTS OF A SERIOUSLY ILL PATIENT

When the patient lies down because of the serious attack of the disease people close to him can judge the seriousness by his movements. If the patient is not moving but is still breathing the following terms are used:

ubhaca 'to sleep motionless every day'

umfunzana 'to sleep without rolling'

umlwelwe 'to sleep on the back without moving.'

If the patient starts moving after being motionless, people close to him/her wait for him/her to utter the last words (*ukulayela*) before he/she dies. Here are some of the terms which refer to the movements of a seriously ill patient:

ukuziginqaginqa 'to roll over and over'

ukuzibhonqa 'to sleep on the stomach, backwards and rolling'

ukuyobayoba 'rolling and pressing the painful part'

ukuzibinya 'to roll like a snake'

ukugoqana/ukugoqongana 'to roll up'

ukujilayileka 'moving from side to side'

ukuzithaqaza 'moving side to side and crying'

ukuhwisha 'movement of hands and feet while the patient is lying'

ukwenaba 'to sprawl' and ukufinyela 'to be drawn together means that the patient is about to die.'

ukuziginqaginqa 'to roll over and over'

ukuzibhonqa 'to sleep on the stomach, backwards and rolling'

ukuyobayoba 'rolling and pressing the painful part'

ukuzibinya 'to roll like a snake'

ubhaca 'to sleep motionless every day'

umfunzana 'to sleep without rolling'

ukugoqana 'to roll up'

ukweluleka 'to be straightened'

ukufinyela 'to be drawn together'

- ukwenaba 'to sprawl'
- ukujilajileka 'moving from side to side'
- ukuzithaqaza 'to fall side to side'
- ukuqhusha 'moving hands and feet'
- ukulayela 'to utter the last word or sentence before dying'

3.4.7.3 TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO THE DEATH OF A PATIENT

The following expressions refer to the death of a patient.

- ukuya kwankatha 'to die'
- ukuya kwagoqanyawo 'to die'
- ukuya kwansinekana 'to die'
- ukuya kwelamathongo 'to die'
- ukushaya uqhohliyane 'to die'
- ukufa 'to die'
- ukugudluka 'to die'
- ukuthula 'to die'
- ukulala 'to die'
- ukuphumula 'to rest'
- ukudlula 'to pass away'
- ukukhothama 'the death of an important person'
- ukugoduka 'the death an old person'
- ukushona 'to go down'
- ukwenyuka 'to go up'
- ukuhamba 'to go'
- ukuya koyisemkhulu 'to go to one's ancestors'
- ukudla umhlabathi ngomlomo 'to eat earth'

3.4.7.4 TERMINOLOGY REFERRING TO THE FUNERAL

The terms which follow, refer to the burial of people. Obviously it is not only patients who die and who are then buried, all people who die are buried. Note that even the term ukulahla means 'to bury'.

- ukungcwaba 'to burry'
- ukufihla 'to hide the corpse'

ukutshala 'to plant the corpse'

ukumbela 'to dig a grave'

ukulahla 'to throw the corpse away'

3.4.8 IDEOPHONES REFERRING TO THE SOUNDS MADE IN THE PRACTISING OF MEDICINE

The ideophones given here refer to the movements of germs, the bone thrower, arrangement of medicines, the actual application of medicines and the actions of the patient.

3.4.8.1 IDEOPHONES REFERRING TO THE MOVEMENT OF GERMS IN THE TERM 'UMKHUHLANE'

A discussion of the variant forms of the term umkhuhlane was given in 1.2.1. Eight ideophones are associated with the term umkhuhlane, namely:

khahla 'hurling down of germs'

hlaka 'multiplication and scattering of germs'

khehle 'feelings of pain in the joints'

hleke 'serious headache'

khili 'foam from the mouth'

hliki 'distribution of germs and sores in the body'

khohlo 'to lie down because of illness'

hloko 'sharp pains that stab like spears'

3.4.8.2 IDEOPHONES ASSOCIATED WITH DISEASES

The ideophones given under this heading refer to diseases and sounds associated with the disease attacking the patient.

ukuthi bhedu kwesifo 'same disease all over'

ukuthi vembu kwezintwala 'appearance of lice'

ukuthi pa-pa-pa 'diarrhoea'

ukuthi pe-pe-pe 'diarrhoea'

ukuthi nswi-nswi-nswi 'chest ache'

ukuthi buku ubovu 'coming of pus'

- ukuthi bholokoqo igazi 'to vomit blood'
- ukuthi khuhle kwamehlo 'to be blind'
- ukuthi thaqa kwezindlebe 'to be deaf'
- ukuthi nke kwezinyo 'toothache'
- ukuthi klo-klo-klo kwesisu 'sound of the stomach'

3.4.8.3 IDEOPHONES REFERRING TO THE BONE THROWER

The ideophones listed here vivify the actions of the bone thrower and his way of divining.

- ukuthi yabu isikhwama 'to take the bag'
- ukuthi thasi isikhwama 'to take the bag'
- ukuthi khuxu amathambo 'to take the bones out'
- ukuthi saka amathambo 'to throw the bones'
- ukuthi gakla igama 'to smell out the name'
- ukuthi mbo-mbo-mbo indaba 'to tell the story'

3.4.8.4 IDEOPHONES REFERRING TO THE ARRANGEMENT OF MEDICINES

These ideophones tell us more about the actions of traditional medical practitioners.

- ukuthi ngampu ikhambi 'to pick up a herb'
- ukuthi thwishi ixolo 'to peel the bark'
- ukuthi xha-xha-xha umuthi 'to crush medicines'
- ukuthi fu umuthi 'to pour powdered medicine'
- ukuthi fuku komuthi 'medicine starts to boil'
- ukuthi fa-fa-fa umuthi 'to sprinkle medicine'
- ukuthi wulukuhlu umuthi 'to pour all medicine'
- ukuthi nathu umuthi 'to take small quantity'
- ukuthi twapu umuthi 'to take small quantity of fatty medicine'
- ukuthi kwapu umuthi 'to take small quantity of fatty medicine'

3.4.8.5 IDEOPHONES REFERRING TO THE ACTUAL APPLICATION OF MEDICINES

The following ideophones vivify the speech describing the way in which medicine is used. This list describes the application of medicine by the sorcerer.

- ukuthi fu umbhulelo 'to cast the spell'
- ukuthi klwi umeqo 'to draw a line with medicine'
- ukuthi qgumbu ushevu 'to pour poison in liquid substance'
- ukuthi fu ushevu 'to pour poison in food'
- ukuthi saka ngomphezulu 'to hit with lightning'
- ukuthi shinikezi umuthi 'to smear medicines'

3.4.8.6 IDEOPHONES REFERRING TO THE ACTION OF THE PATIENT

The actions of the patient are described in detail by the following ideophones.

- ukuthi casu-casu kwenhliziyo 'to feel like vomiting'
- ukuthi nyungu-nyungu kwenhliziyo 'to feel like vomiting'
- ukuthi fu umuthi emlonyeni 'to take a handful of powdered medicine'
- ukuthi nyali umuthi ngolimi 'to lick medicine'
- ukuthi ghabu ithamo 'to take a mouthful'
- ukuthi xhoko-xhoko ngesitshopo 'to use the quill of a porcupine'
- ukuthiwa tece ngensingo 'to be cut with a razor blade'
- ukuyithi bholokoqo inyongo 'to vomit the bile'

3.5 SEMANTIC ASPECTS WITHIN THE PRACTICE OF UMUTHI

The names of the users, makers and abusers of medicines suggest a semantic network of related terminology.

3.5.1 SEMANTIC SHIFT RELATING TO THE PRACTICE OF UMUTHI

The makers, users and abusers of medicines use certain terms with new semantic applicability as can be seen from the discussion below.

3.5.1.1 ISANGOMA 'DIVINER'

The term *mngoma* is found in Ganda and Swahili, meaning 'the drumming one'. The root *ngoma* is also found in the word *isangoma* in Kikuyu meaning temporarily madness. *Mngoma* and *ngoma* has a bearing in Zulu. *Isangoma* uses *isigubhu* 'tambourine', he sings and dances as if he is temporarily mad. The Zulu term *uhlanya* proves that the diviner is not in his proper senses when he or she is divining. There is also a sense of using medicine in the term *-goma*. The tone can help us to distinguish between *ingoma* 'song'; *ingoma* 'ngoma dance' and *ingómà* 'medicine'. These words are closely related. (A table of contents is also known as *izangoma* because that foretells exactly what can be expected in the book, dissertation or thesis.)

3.5.1.2 UKUBHULA 'TO DIVINE'

Ukubhula amabele 'to hit a bag of sorghum (with sticks)'. In this exercise sticks are used to hit the sack. After the hitting of the sack, corn is obtained and *amakhoba* 'husks of grain' are thrown away. When divining, the devotees come with the sticks to the head diviner. *Ukuthatha izinduku* 'to take the sticks' is associated with *ukubhula amabele*. When the diviner is divining, the devotees hit the sticks on the ground. The truth will be sifted from the lies. *Amakhoba ayahlwa kuthathwe amabele* is an expression associated with using of the truth and the rejection of lies.

3.5.1.3 INYANGA 'HEALING DOCTOR'

inyàngà 'healing doctor'

inyàngá 'moon/month'

Inyanga is associated with the moon that brings light at night. The power of darkness exercised by sorcerers is associated with death. *Inyanga* is the sign of life while the sorcerer is the symbol of death. Life is light and death is darkness. It is thus said:

Inyanga ikhanyisela isiguli ukuze singangeni ebumnyameni obuyiliba.

'*Inyanga* lights the way so that the patient does not get into the dark grave.'

Inyanga and umthakathi are thus antipoles which both fight over the individual.

3.5.1.4 UGEDLA 'COCK'S COMB'

Ugedla is found on the head of the cock. The cock is the prominent figure among the fowls. Ugedla then is the symbol of power and dignity among the fowls. The healing doctor well-known for his efficiency in healing is called ugedla.

If a cock swallows a piece of plastic paper and part of it hangs out of its mouth, its comb will turn black. If one helps the cock by removing the plastic paper, the comb will become red again. This is seen in relation to the inability of even a well known healing doctor to succeed. People will then say:

Kugqunqa ugedla 'the cock's comb is becoming dark'. This expression is also used by the students if the examination question paper is difficult.

3.5.1.5 ISIFUBA 'CHEST ACHE'

If one is suffering from isifuba somoya 'asthma' Or ingxibongo 'small pox' he cannot rest or sleep. Similarly, one with secrets cannot sleep or rest. Secrets burn in his chest until he coughs them out. Coughing goes hand in hand with chest ache. The following expressions are used for the one who cannot keep a secret:

- **akanasifuba** 'he has no chest'
- **wakhahlelwa yihhashi esifubeni** 'he/she was kicked by a horse on his/her chest'

3.6. EXPRESSIONS USED IN THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE

There are many expressions used by the traditional healer, the diviner and the sorcerer while practising their craft. These expressions will be discussed under the appropriate headings in the discussion below.

3.6.1 EXPRESSIONS PERTAINING TO MEDICINES USED AS *IZINDUKU* 'STICKS'

The term *izinduku* can be used to refer to a stick, medicine or women.

Induku yakho ngeke uyivike

'You cannot dodge your own stick'

This expression tells the healing doctors to keep their medicines as secretly as possible because if the sorcerers can get hold of their mixtures they will fail to cure the diseases.

Induku ishaya imviki 'even those who know medicine can be bewitched'

Induku ayinamngani 'anyone can be bewitched'

Induku enhle igawulwa ezizweni 'a good medicine is cut in other countries'

The last example discloses the fact that good medicine is often to be found in far away places. The applicability of this expression has shifted again to refer to girls. A girl from another place can be a good wife.

3.6.2 EXPRESSIONS USING THE TERM *UMUTHI* 'MEDICINE'

When a person wants to hit his enemy he says:

Ngizokunika lo muthi. 'I shall give you this medicine.'

He says this while showing him a stick. After giving him the stick, a person will be cured from being contemptuous. A person can also be taken as medicine. If someone is your relative you cannot fall in love with her. When reporting this to your peer group you say:

Usobanibani uwumuthi kimi. 'So and so is bad medicine to me'.

If one rebukes someone not to do a thing he says:

Uma uke wakwenza lokho uyobe uwudlile umuthi.

'If you do that you would have eaten it (the medicine).'

3.6.3 EXPRESSIONS USING THE TERM IVA 'THORN'

Illness can be compared to a thorn. An incurable disease is known as *Iva enyameni* 'a thorn in the flesh'. Both medicines for healing and those for killing are known as thorns. The expressions such as *Iva libangulwa ngelinye/Ameva ayabangulana* 'A thorn is extracted by another thorn' indicate that medicines causing the disease are also used to cure it.

3.6.4 EXPRESSIONS USING THE TERM ABAFANA 'THE BOYS'

Abafana can be used as *imikhovu* 'zombies'. Goblins are also referred to as *abafana boqunga*. *Abafana* also refer to the sticks planted on the four corners of the home in order to protect it from being struck by lightning. *Ukuhloma abafana* 'to plant the boys' illuminates about the planting of *abafana*. If one says: *uzothola laba bafana* 'you are going to get these boys' it is a warning that you are going to get a stick. The person utters these words showing you a stick.

3.7 SYNONYMS

A great number of synonymous words are to be found in the practice of *umuthi*. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

3.7.1 SYNONYMS PERTAINING TO PATIENTS

The following is a list of a few synonyms pertaining to the action of the patients.

ukuqinisela/ukukhuthanisela 'to resist pain'

ukugcaba/ukuchaza/ukusika/ukulokotha 'to cut incision on the skin'

ukucasuzela/ukunyanguzela 'to feel like vomiting'

ukuphalaza/ukugabha 'to vomit'

ukukhotha/ukunyala 'to lick'

ukugquma/ukuzipheka 'to steam'

ukugqiha/ukugquma 'to groan'

isilima/isithutha/isiphukuphuku/isiyiko/isiyingayinga/isiphoxo/isiphusha/isilikiliki/

isandumbazane/inkumamungu 'idiot'

ukuchela/ukufafaza 'to sprinkle'

3.7.2 SYNONYMS INDICATIVE OF DIVINING

The following list tabulates the synonyms pertaining to the diviner and divining.

isangoma/umngoma 'diviner'

umtombo/izikhwembe 'first medicines'

amathambo/izinhloli 'divining bones'

ukubhula/ukushaya/ukuhlola/ukuzwa/ukuvumisa/ukuphenya/ukufemba/

ukukhanyisa/ukufuna/ukucinga/ukuhlaluba 'to divine'

ukugida/ukusina 'to dance'

3.7.3 SYNONYMS INDICATING SORCERY

The following list comprises synonyms pertaining to the sorcerers, sorcery as well as the actions of the sorcerers.

umthakathi/isalakwa/umkhunkuli/umsokoco/uhodoba/ugagada/isazi/umbulali/

umlumbi/indò::dà 'sorcerer'

ukuba nqunu/ukuba mbhuncu/nhluzwa/ze 'to be naked'

umbhulelo/umeqo 'spell'

imfene/unohha/indangala/imbuzimawa/insingamawa/usikhophocwana/

ukhophokanethi 'baboon'

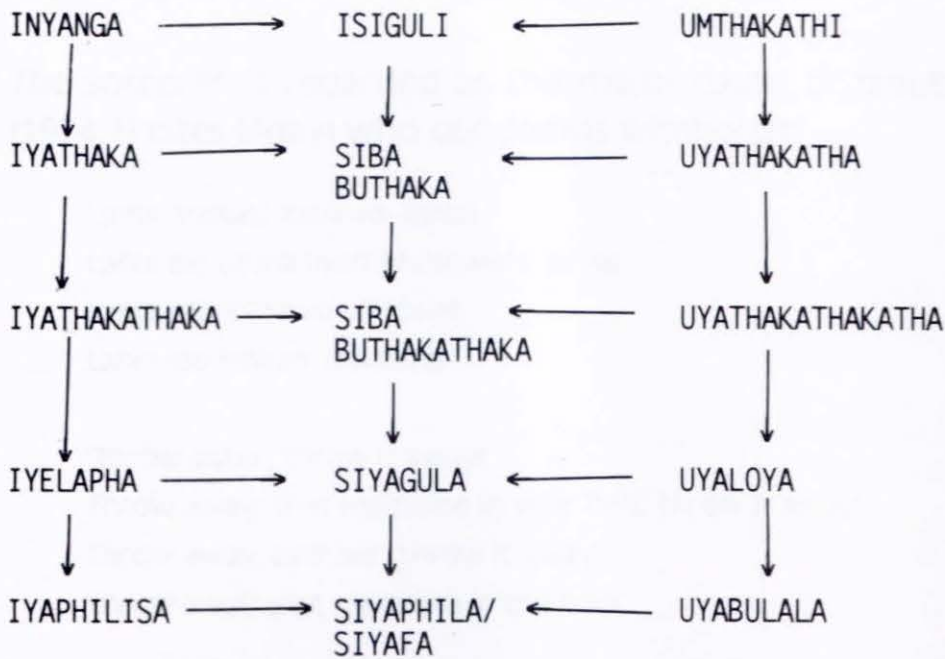
imikhovu/izingane/omantindane/izimfakabili/abafana boqunga 'goblins'

3.8 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PATIENT, THE SORCERER AND THE TRADITIONAL HEALER

This research has verified that the work of the izinyanga and abathakathi is patient centered. The patients do not know the sorcerers but they do know their doctors, e.g. inyanga iyathaka 'the healing doctor mixes' and isiguli siba buthaka 'the patient becomes weak'.

Umthakathi uyathakatha but the patient does not become *buthakatha. If the sorcerer bewitches lightly ethakathakatha the healing doctor will mix lightly uzothakathaka and the patient will become weak sizoba buthakathaka but not *buthakathakatha. This argument is shown by means of the

following diagram. The diagram also demonstrates the healing doctor and the sorcerer as antonyms.



From the above diagram it is clear that all the horizontal arrows are pointing at the patient. Let us draw our attention to the arrow which joins *uyabulala* and *siyaphila/siyafa*. This arrow is horizontal and indicates that if the patient is bewitched he can either recover or he can die.

The term *uyaloya* needs a thorough investigation as well. The sorcerer may point at the victim saying:

UThemba lo ngiyomkhumisa inhlabathi.

'I shall kill this Themba.'

The sorcerer will then cast the spell with the motive of bewitching a certain identified individual. Lo oqondiwe 'the one aimed at' will die if he walks over the spell. Lowo oyolandela 'the one who will follow' will also be affected. Everyone who will walk over the spell will suffer, hence: Loya, naloya kanye naloya oyokweqa umbhulelo uyofa 'that one and that one and that one who will step over this medicine will die'. This proves that a sorcerer was moulded with an evil heart because he harms a lot of people without reason. Msimang (1975) calls a sorcerer *umuntu onobulukhuni* 'someone with a hard heart'.

Ukuloya is a verb in the infinitive mood derived from the demonstrative pronoun *lowaya* shortened as *loya*. This indicates that after the pointing of a sorcerer action takes place. The term *ukuloya* might be etymologically related to the Southern Sotho term *ho loa* 'to bewitch'.

The sorcerer is regarded as the major cause of trouble. Ngcongwane (1974:7) cites Mqayi who condemns witchcraft:

Lahla ntokazi kabawo, lahla!
 Lahla elo qhina lisebhinqweni, lahla!
 Lahla nto kabawo yininale!
 Lahla loo ntwan' isetasini!

'Throw sister, throw it away!
 Throw away, that medicine in your belt, throw it away!
 Throw away, brother, throw it away!
 Throw away that medicine in the bag!'

CS Ntuli in Ntuli (1975:56) reveals the judgement of all types of sorcerers by their fellow men:

Kubo ngingowokuchathwa ngebhayi,
 ngingowokujojwa ngolumabhaxa;
 Kubo ngingowokuphoswa phezulu,
 ngize ngibuye amabel' ebomvu.

'To them I should be poisoned,
 I am the one who should be punished severely;
 To them I should be thrown up,
 to return only when the corn is red.'

3.9 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the discussion in this chapter that new terms for different kinds of diviners have been coined in accordance with the spirits, hence the names *umndiki* and *umndawe*. The song of *izangoma* makes mention of these two spirits:

Uyingwe **mdiki!**
 Uyingonyama!
 Sikhuphul' **amandawe.**

The term *umangothobane* 'the one who has authority to call out the names of the sorcerers' has been coined for a particular type of diviner. Although the word *igobongo* 'calabash' was not coined for the storage container of the diviner's medicines, this word's meaning underwent change; its meaning was broadened to mean *izikhwembe* or *umtombo* as well, since these medicines were stored in calabashes. (The *izikhwembe* used by the diviners of today are, however, often stored in five litre tins.)

The alternative term for diviners, namely *abamanga* 'those of lies' stems from a general term which has gained a very specific meaning. As some of the *izangoma* tell lies, the term *abamanga* has become a general term to refer to diviners.

Izinyanga 'healing doctors' contribute in the expansion of the Zulu vocabulary in the form of coinages such as *ochitha* 'herbal vendors'. This term is derived from the verb *ukuchitha* 'to throw out' hence the term *uchitha* 'the one who "throws out" his medicines to be sold'. The plural form of this word is *ochitha*; a word in class 2a thus.

Terms like *imvulasikhwama* 'the bag opener' and *ugxa* refer to the payment made to the healing doctor. It is interesting to note that the great poet Vilakazi (1980:13-14) associate the healing doctor with the moon.

It is striking that the great healers and great sorcerers have parallel names, compare:

GREAT HEALER



ugedla



ugegeba

GREAT SORCERER



uhodoba



ugagada

These terms are used for the above personalities only. Terms like umkhunkuli, umsokoco and umsokoci are also used for reference to sorcerers. In a song for isigekle 'ngoma dance' people are strongly warned that the sorcerer has no mercy. Here is an abstract from this song:

Kancengi, Kancengi!
 Nom' esuth' umthakathi
 Wen' uzwe ngoban'
 ukuth' umthakath' uyancenga?

'He has no mercy, he has no mercy!
 Even when he is satisfied
 Who told you
 that the sorcerer has mercy?'

The makers of medicines, that is the sorcerers and healing doctors, use umuthi and in the process of using the medicine the following terms have been coined for the various methods of administering them:

Ukukhafula 'Blowing of medicine'

Ukuphalaza 'Emisis'

Ukugcaba 'Ethno-vaccination'

The inyanga blows to heal while umthakathi blows with the motive to kill. In the process of practising the art of medicine the terms and expressions used by the healers, the diviners and the sorcerers enrich the Zulu language.

CHAPTER 4

TERMINOLOGY AND EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO MEDICINES AND MIXTURES AND THEIR RELEVANCE TO THE EXPANSION OF THE ZULU VOCABULARY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces us to the different types of *imithi*. Examples of the mixtures to cure certain diseases will be cited.

4.1 KINDS OF MEDICINE

Entering the doctor's hut you may find dried or baked insects, the dung of lions in powder form, fat mixed with water kept in bottles, hardened menses of a baboon, skins and bones of every conceivable animal, bark, roots, berries and leaves. Choosing from the array of medicine the *inyanga* can make different types of mixtures. The following are terms for a number of the major categories of these mixtures:

imithi yemilingo/imilutho 'magical medicines'

imithi ewusizo 'useful medicines'

imithi eyingozi 'harmful medicines'

4.1.1 TYPES OF *IMITHI* ACCORDING TO THEIR FUNCTIONS

The following terms depict the names of medicines according to their functions.

amakhubalo 'to be eaten for self-fortification against evil'

imikhando 'to be set for destroying the power in others'

imibhulelo 'to be laid on the enemy's path so that, if he passes, a fatal disease may befall him'

izintelezi 'used for sprinkling purposes'

izimpundu 'for confusing the sorcerer'

izingqunda 'for "taking the edge off" the act when accomplished'

intando 'love charm'

4.1.2 TYPES OF *IMITHI* ACCORDING TO COLOURS

Colour is of great significance for the medicines mixed by the inyanga. The colour lends a particular connotative meaning to the medicine.

imithi emnyama 'black medicines'

ukuphehla amanzi amnyama 'to churn black medicines'

To churn black medicines came into being because of the presence of imithi emnyama.

imithi emhlophe 'white medicines'

This medicine is used for good luck.

imithi ebomvu 'red medicines'

This medicine is used instead of black medicine or together with black medicine.

imithi eluhlaza 'green medicines or herbs'

These are always good medicines.

Ngubane (1977:113) elaborates on colour symbolism and the value of the terms mnyama 'black', bomvu 'red' and mhlophe 'white'. He concludes:

The important symbolic colours are black 'mnyama', red 'bomvu' and white 'mhlophe'. they are used serially in that order. The sequence is rigid and is never reversed. Black and red are said to be equivocal, in that they stand for both goodness and badness; white represents only what is good.

The above quotation includes herbs or green medicines. We believe it is because fresh bark, roots and leaves lose the colour when the medicines are not fresh.

4.1.3 TYPES OF *IMITHI* ACCORDING TO PREPARATION OR STORAGE

The following terms pertain to the preparation and storage of medicines.

isichonco 'cold infusion'

imfudumezelo 'hot infusion'

impeko 'thoroughly boiled medicines'

insizi 'powder'

isigqabo/isimonyo 'fats of animals mixed and kept in a bottle'

4.2 NAMES OF MEDICINES AND MIXTURES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE EXPANSION OF ZULU VOCABULARY

The names of trees, shrubs, herbs and *izinyamazane* 'fats and parts of dead animals' play a dominant role in the preparation of each and every mixture. The behaviour of animals is also important for the mixture. We are going to use three examples in this dissertation.

4.2.1 *INTELEZI YEMPI* 'SPRINKLING MEDICINE FOR THE ARMY'

From the 16th century the Nguni people started the use of medicine to sprinkle the army. Expression such as those listed below are well known among the Zulus.

ukuqinisa impi 'to make the army strong'

ukudla intelezi 'to use war curative medicines'

Mqalana Nzuzwa of Mfule doctored Shaka's regiments in 1816 during the Battle of the Gqokli Hills. Manembe doctored Cetshwayo's regiments during the Ndondakusuka battle. Jericco Mhlongo who is the chairman of the Inyanga's Association, Khekhekhe Mthethwa of Ngudwini, Malokotha Shandu of Dokodweni, and Ndwandwe of Mtubatuba agree that the following ingredients are used to make *intelezi yempi*. The names of the herbs and bark of trees were named in such a way that even a lay-man could prepare *intelezi yempi* by

merely following the directions. The naming of these ingredients expands the Zulu vocabulary.

The ingredients used, show that the terms used were selected wisely by izinyanga.

umviyo '*vangueria infausta*' The term iviyorefers to a crowd of people. This medicine is called umviyo because the regiment would be fighting 'a crowd of people' - iviyo labantu.

isidikili '*certain herbaceous spec. of themelaeaceae*' Ukudikila is to ignore something. This medicine is said to cause the enemy to ignore the regiment sprinkled by this medicine.

umabopha 'used to tie the enemy'. ukubopha is to tie down. This medicine is used to reduce the enemy's speed and hence tie them down - babopheke.

umathithibala '*harwothia limifolia*' This medicine is said to cause the enemies to be without power bathithibale. Ukuthithibala is synonymous with ukuthothobala which means to sit down shivering. The enemy will thus be overpowered while sitting down shivering.

umvuthuza '*bryophyllum crenatum herb*' Ukuvuthuza is to cause something to fall. This herb is also used to cause the lice in the private parts of the body to 'fall away'. The same herb is used by the war doctor to cause the enemy's weapons to fall down - zivuthuke.

isikhonko 'species of coarse grass' This medicine goes hand in hand with umabopha, since it causes the enemy's bodies to become stiff and hence minimise their speed - bakhonkeke.

insindamakoti '*olea laurifolia tree*' A Zulu bride carries a tied-up bundle of heavy fire wood or 25 litres of water on her head without complaining. Insindamakoti suggests that even the bride, umakoti, will complain saying: Kuyasinda 'It is heavy'. The enemy's bodies become heavy and stiff. The doctored regiments slaughter the enemy easily - basindane.

umpikayiboni 'medicine to render themselves invulnerable' This implies that the enemy doesn't recognise their enemy. The enemy can then even kill their comrades. Their eye-sight is disturbed completely - bangaboni kahle.

indlulabehlezi 'the one who passes while they are sitting down' The healing doctors praise this bark as follows:

Indlula behlezi,
Abafazi namadoda.

(The one who passes while they are sitting down
men and woman.)

It is believed that this bark, when it is mixed with fat of the South African weasel, *inyengelezi*, it has the magic of causing the one who is doctored to become invisible.

The above ingredients are mixed in the form of *isichonco* 'cold infusion'. The regiments bath with the medicine and wash their weapons in it.

Intelezi ngeke iphile izinyamazane zingekho. 'Medicine to sprinkle the army is fatal without the dried parts and fats of animals'.

Phase two of the above mixture is the smelling of *izinyamazane*, usually the head of a newly born cat and dog killed before it opened its eyes, the fat of *uxamu* 'monitor lizard' and *imbulu* 'tree iguana'.

4.2.2 INGREDIENTS USED TO CURE IMPOTENCE

Impotence is regarded as a serious disease which causes males not to be cocked - *bangaqhanyelwa*. This can be caused by a wrong diet or sorcery. The bark, roots and herbs used to cure impotence are determined by the terms such as:

impindisa '*rubia cordifolia*' Used to restore the sexual drive. Derived from the verb *-phinda* 'repeat',

uqonsi '*eriosema cordatum*' so that the penis is strong and erect.

Uvuka kwabafileyo 'rise from the dead people' If the penis cannot become erect it is assumed that it is dead. This ingredient resurrects the penis. There are a number of ingredients which are used for this mixture, but the izinyanga select them according to the behaviour of the plant:

Ugagane 'hooke-thorn mimosa tree'. The root of this tree is very strong consequently the penis becomes strong too.

The ingredients are crushed, dried and cooked in milk. Just before the milk boils, water is poured until the mixture boils. The moving up and down of milk resembles the movement of a strong and erect penis.

Khekhekhe Mthethwa of Ngudwini and Mhlahlo Mlotshwa of Ulundi insist that medicine cannot be perfect if dried parts of animals are not included. A few dried parts of animals are needed in this mixture such as:

Amasende eqhude 'the testicles of a cock'. This will enable the treated male male to utter a variety of sounds during sexual intercourse.

Ugqubu lwempala 'the penis of an impala': This helps the patient not to be lazy to have intercourse.

umahloloza 'causing to penetrate' This mixture enables the penis to penetrate.

ubangalala 'they can sleep' This medicine is said to enable the couple to sleep and enjoy sex again.

4.2.3 MEDICINES TO CALL THE GIRLS OUT OF THEIR HOMES

Msimang (1975: 329) paints the picture with words when he gives four medicines used by isesheli 'the suitor' to call the girl out of her home when he says:

Imithi lena njengoba ngiyilandelisa nje isebenza ukuthi ummemezi uzoyimemeza intombi. Iyothi isalele izwe sengathi kukhona ongqongqozayo. Ukuphuma kwayo-ke lapho ingane yabantu, iphuma ngengqondo yasephusheni, yokusangana. Ingaphuma sengathi imile izimpiko 'abaphaphi'. Isizothi ngqe ngendlela iqonde kwamphosi wayo.

'The listed medicines work as follows ummemezi will call the girl. She will feel as if someone is knocking while she is asleep. She will wake up and go out as if she is temporarily mad. When she is outside her bedroom she will feel as if she has developed wings. She will then go straight to someone who has been calling her.'

These four types of medicine are as follows:

ummemezi 'medicine used to call'

abangqongqozi 'medicine used to knock at the door'

abaphaphi 'medicine causing the development of wings'

ungqengendlela 'medicine causing to go'.

The examples above reveal a relationship between the medicine and their names (terminology). Bryant (1983) in his book '**Zulu medicine and medicine men**' gives 111 names of trees, shrubs and herbs with their botanical names. Msimang (1975) in '**Kusadiwa ngoludala**' gives the names of 24 medicines; 16 herbs and 7 medicines to cure animal diseases. All these names are known by izinyanga, izangoma and abathakathi. They select from these plants in order to make medicines.

We have many diseases and izinyanga use the terminology as we have seen in the above examples to mix medicines which are effective to cure those diseases. The names of ingredients were given to us by our ancestral spirits *via* izinyanga.

4.3 TERMS REFERRING TO THE INGREDIENTS OF MEDICINES OBTAINED FROM ANIMALS

The Zulu proverb: Umuthi ngeke uphele zingekho izinyamazane 'Medicines cannot exist without animals.' hints at the importance of medicine ingredients taken from animals. Snakes and antidotes for snake bites play a prominent role in this regard.

4.3.1 IZIHLUNGU 'ANTIDOTES FOR SNAKE-BITES'

The head, bile, liver, heart and lungs of the snake are ground into powder in order to make izihlungu or izibiba and these are administered by the mouth on demand. Others have saturated their blood with izihlungu by frequent small doses to become at length absolutely immune to any kind of snake bite. Bryant (1983) recommends that izihlungu should be injected into the blood rather than administering it by an enema. Nxumalo and Nyembezi (1966) mention 37 names of snakes. In this study we are going to subdivide them according to poisonous and non poisonous snakes.

4.3.1.1 POISONOUS SNAKES

The following poisonous snakes are used to prepare antidotes for snake bites.

- ubhulube 'brownish yellow snake'
- ibululu 'puff adder'
- imamba 'mamba'
- umaqandalingophi 'spec. of lethal snake'
- ubonya 'python sebae'
- indlondlo 'an old mamba with a horn'
- inhlanguwane 'night adder'
- insuze 'spec. of snake'
- ivezimanzi 'spec. of a water snake'

4.3.1.2 SNAKES WITH POISONOUS SALIVA

The following species of snakes are known to have poisonous saliva.

ukhothikhothi 'snake that pokes its tongue about everywhere'

umulwane 'type of a cobra'

imfezi 'spitting cobra'

unobibi/unobiya 'speciman of venomous cobra'

unophempethwana 'black necked cobra/ringkhals'

insakalubisi 'speciman of a small cobra'

4.3.1.3 NON-POISONOUS SNAKES

Non-poisonous snakes should be known to the inyanga and/or the patient in order to know whether he/she should use a snake bite antidote or not if bitten by such a snake.

iciwu 'small green bush snake'

ifulwa 'dispholidus typus snake'

umhlangwe 'a big snake matching its surrounding'

umhlwazimamba 'a big snake feeding on chickens'

inungu 'spec. of spotted snake'

usungulo 'blind snake found under the ground'

umdlambila 'rock cobra'

4.3.1.4 SNAKES RELATED TO ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

The snakes listed here are said to relate to the ancestral spirits. If they have entered the house, spiritual rituals have to be performed.

umabibini 'small harmless snake'

umsenene 'spec. of snake'

inyandezulu 'spec. of green snake'

4.3.1.5 SNAKES USED IN WITCHCRAFT

In Ugqozi 2, Ntuli (1975:55) says: Ngabajuqa ngosinga lwemamba. This citation refers to the bewitching of a woman who will not bear children but who will enjoy her husband's love in a polygamous marriage.

umamlambo 'women's snake'
 usinga 'snake used in witchcraft'
 uhoqoba 'snake used in witchcraft'

The above names of snakes enrich our language by expanding the Zulu terminology.

4.3.2 INGREDIENTS USED TOGETHER WITH IZIHLUNGU AS AN ANTIDOTE FOR SNAKE-BITES

isithumana 'solanum capense'
 umhlala 'strychnos spinosa'
 isimunyane 'leonotis leonurus'
 umnungwane 'xanthoxylon capense'
 umembesa 'shrub'
 isidikili 'lasiosiphon spec.'
 umqaqongo 'clerodendron grabrum'
 umayime 'clivia miniata'

Ritter (1955:389) commends umthuma OR isitunyana when he says:

Poultices or aqueous solutions made from umtuma fruit 'solanum incanum' were amazingly effective in removing external benign tumours.

Bryant (1983:60) tells us that the Indians of Brazil make *izihlungu* like the Zulus.

4.4 SYNONYMS IN MEDICINES

The traditional practitioners of medicines coined their own terms to refer to plants which they used as ingredients in their medicines.

4.4.1 SYNONYMS OF PLANTS

Izinyanga and abathakathi have their own terminology which is used instead of general terms. The first word is the general term while the second term is the term used by izinyanga and abathakathi:

insiphane : umkhiphampethe 'calpurnia lasiogyne'
 iklolo : ilalanyathi 'grewia occidentalis'
 ungqobagqoba : umaguqu 'maesa spec.'
 umphafa : umlahlankosi 'zizyphus mucronata'
 impila : amafutha omhlaba 'callilepis laureola'
 usolo : umhlahlandlela 'albizzia fastigiata'
 umsuzwane : umpishimpishi 'lippia asperifolia'
 umansangwana : insangu yezipoki 'tephrosia kraussiana'
 umvuthwamini : amanzi amnyama 'plectronia ventosa'
 unhliziyonkulu : amanzi abomvu 'for heart complaints'
 umkhiwane : iphahluka 'fig tree'

4.4.2 SYNONYMS IN MEDICINES

There are a number of connotative meanings in certain synonyms of umuthi. Umshanguzo is used to curb a disease or a problem. Isishinikezana is the medicine used as isigqabo or isimonyo. Educated users of medicine call it umkhemisi from chemist. Inkoloba or inkwayiba is a slang synonym of umuthi. Another flaa-taal synonym for umuthi is umankwayi or inkwayithithi.

4.4.2.1 UMUTHI USED BY IZANGOMA

The student diviner uses amagobongo in order to purify his spirits through bathing and vomiting. Izikhwembe is a synonym for amagobongo.

igobongo/izikhwembe 'medicine used by izangoma'

4.4.2.2 UMUTHI USED BY IZINYANGA

The term umuthi 'medicine' has two synonyms.

umuthi/ikhubalo/imbokode 'medicine'

ikhubalo refers to dried medicines but imbokode refers to the knowledge of medicine. There is a contextual meaning as in the following sentences:

1. UThemba uyalazi ikhubalo.
'Themba knows medicine.'
2. UBonga ugaye ikhubalo laba yimpuphu.
'Bonga crushed dried medicine into powder.'
3. UBonga uyayazi imbokode yikho engafi nje.
'Bonga knows medicine that is why he is not dying.'

The inyanga does not use his medicines to cause harm. In an interview with Mr. H Mthiyane, an inyanga, he said:

Uma izinyanga zikhunkula, buyophela ubunyanga bazo nokuphilisa zingabe zisakwazi.

'If the traditional healing doctors bewitch, their skills as doctors will cease to exist and their healing powers will vanish.'

4.5 CONCLUSION

Not all trees were named by the izinyanga, however, the richness of the names of trees helps them. The mixtures used to cure the diseases are prepared by izinyanga. It is a pity that the izinyanga do not like to inform people about the mixing of medicines, hence the expression - Inyanga ifa nezikhwama zayo 'The doctor dies with his knowledge'. This may be the reason why studies on traditional medicines and traditional medical practitioners is so difficult to conduct.

The izinyanga do not trust their own medicines, hence the expression - Inyanga ayizelaphi 'The inyanga does not cure himself'.

CHAPTER 5

5. IDIOMS AND PROVERBS REFERRING TO THE PRACTICE OF *UMUTHI*

This chapter is a discussion of idioms and proverbs referring to the practice of *umuthi*. A distinction is drawn between idioms and a proverbs whereafter examples of these figures of speech relating to the practice of *umuthi* are discussed. Both the literal and free translation of proverbs and idioms are given in order to give a clear picture of the relevance of these expressions to the topic of this dissertation.

5.1 IDIOMS

Vilakazi (1945:253) uses the Zulu term *izisho* 'sayings' to refer to idioms. He points out that idioms may be used in the whole spectrum of language usage. He says:

Sayings (*izisho*) are found in plain prose usages, some of which fall under purely descriptive forms and idiomatic phrases, while others may be quotations from eulogistic poetry, but most of them have become standardised and commonly idiomatic usages of prose speech.

This holds true since numerous examples of idioms are found in literary texts, other texts and everyday speech.

The expression: *ukuhanjiswa yisisu* 'to be made to go/walk by the stomach', is an euphemistic expression meaning to have to go to the toilet every now and then due to stomach-ache. This is a plain prose usage and a purely descriptive form of speech. An idiom such as *ukusho ngaphansi nangaphezulu* 'to say below and above' means to be suffering from diarrhoea and vomiting. This idiom is found in the poetry of Ntuli (1978:55):

Yebo ngabakhahlelisa ngempundulu,
Ngabajuqa ngosinga lwemamba,
Ngabadlisa ngotshwala nenyama,
Basho ngaphansi nangaphezulu.
(*Underlining by GND.*)

'Yes, I sent a witchcraft bird to kick them,
I trapped them with the spell,
I made them to drink poisoned beer
And I made them eat poisoned meat,
They said below and above.'

Guma (1983:68) points out that most of the idioms are composed of a key word in the infinitive form. He says:

In their basic forms, idioms are based on the infinitive form of particular verb stem, which is the key word in the whole construction. This verb may appear in its simple form or in one of its derivative forms.

When the idiom is in the infinitive form it is non-tense distinguishing e.g. *ukudlisa umuntu* 'to cause one to eat' (*to poison a person*). When the idiom is used in the basic/simple form (the indicative mood) it becomes tense distinguishing as is evident in the examples below:

Udlisa umuntu 'He poisons a person'

Udlise umuntu 'He poisoned a person'

Wadlisa umuntu 'He poisoned a person (long ago)'

Uzodlisa umuntu 'He will poison a person'

Uyodlisa umuntu 'He will poison a person (some time in the future)'

The examples above are in the present, past, remote past, near future and remote future tense forms respectively.

5.2 PROVERBS

Proverbs can be described as pithy sentences with a general bearing on life. They have a tendency to teach, in other words they are didactic in character. Guma (1983:65) comments:

It serves to 'express some homely truths' or moral lesson in such an appropriate manner as to make one

feel that no better words could have been used to describe a particular situation.

Unlike idioms proverbs are not used in different tense forms, compare the proverb:

Isangoma sibonwa ngezinyongo 'A diviner is recognised by the gall bladders.'

Msimang (1975) refers to proverbs as amazwi obuciko 'words of accomplishment/artistry'. Proverbs cover a very wide scope because they extend over all areas of the community's beliefs and daily activities, hence they refer to the activities pertaining to diviners, sorcerers, traditional healers, patients, diseases and medicine as well.

Guma (1983:65-66) includes plants and animals in his discussion of proverbs. He maintains:

They reflect its attitude to other people, as well as its sense of justice; its physical environment, as well as its plants and animals, including their characteristics.
(*Underlining by GND.*)

Traditional medicines are primarily obtained from the roots, bark, stem and leaves of trees and shrubs. Parts of animals are used to make izinyamazane and izigqabo, as has already been pointed out in chapter 1.

5.3 IDIOMS AND PROVERBS PERTAINING TO DISEASES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Diseases and the effects they have on man has resulted in a variety of idioms and proverbs.

5.3.1 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO DISEASES

The idioms listed below all pertain to diseases and illnesses.

Ukuphathwa yikhanda 'To be controlled by the head/to suffer from head-ache'.

Ukukhwelwa yikhanda 'To be ridden by the head/to suffer from head-ache'.

Ukulunywa yisisu 'To be bitten by the stomach/to suffer from stomach-ache'.

Ukuthunywa/ukuhanjiswa yisisu 'To be sent by the stomach/to be caused by the stomach to go'.

Ukuthunywa OR ukuhanjiswa yisisu can be used interchangeably because their basic meaning is the same. A running stomach sends or causes the patient to go to the toilet. Both idioms mean to have diarrhoea.

Ukuhlathwa yisifo 'to be stabbed by the disease'. This expression refers to the first attack of the disease.

Ukuhlaselwa yisifo 'to be attacked by the disease' This idiom refers to a state where the disease has full control of the body of a patient.

Ukukhohlozwa yisifo 'to be seriously hit by the disease'. This refers to the state of becoming very thin because of the illness.

Ukudicelwa phansi yisifo 'to be pinned down by the illness'. When a person dies it is said that umuntu udicekile 'the person has been destroyed'. This idiom then refers to the state of the patient when he is pinned down helplessly.

5.3.2 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO VOMITING

The verbs ukuhlanza, ukuphalaza, ukugonyuluka, ukugabha all refer to vomiting:

The above terms are used in idiomatic expressions such as those listed below.

Ukugabha inyongo 'To vomit bile'.

This expression figures prominently with emesis; that is the drinking of umuthi and then regurgitating.

Ukugonyuluka inyongo 'To vomit bile'.

Ukuhlanza inyongo 'To vomit bile'.

This refers to vomit without drinking umuthi. Something expelled from the body by vomiting is called umhlanzo.

Ukusho ngaphezulu 'To say above/to vomit'.

This euphemistic expression is used in literary texts to refer to the action of vomiting, as has already been indicated by the quotation from Ntuli (1975). The idiom *ukubuyisa ngaphezulu* can be used instead of *ukusho ngaphezulu*.

5.3.3 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO SERIOUS ILLNESS

There is a large number of idioms pertaining to serious illness and the recovery or non-recovery of the patient. These idioms are listed below:

Kubonwa ngokusa 'It is seen by the dawn/the patient is seriously ill'.

This idiom is used if people do not believe that the patient will see the dawn of the next day.

Ukwenatshiswa wukufa 'To be drunk by the disease/to be seriously ill'.

Ukufa kubelethene 'One disease is carrying the other on its back/the patient has contracted multiple diseases'.

This idiom reports the seriousness of the disease(s).

Ukubangwa nethuma 'To be in competition with the grave/the patient is seriously ill'.

This indicates that the healing doctors are working very hard to curb the disease but the disease is resisting the medication. *Ukubangwa nethuna* then refers to the doctor's competing with the grave.

Ukubangwa nokhukho 'To compete with the sleeping mat/the patient is seriously ill'.

This refers to the competition between the doctor and the sleeping mat. The seriously ill patient is forced to lie down on the sleeping mat. The doctor, however, wants him to get better and get up from his sleeping mat, hence the reference to struggle between the doctor and the sleeping mat.

Ukukhafulwa yithuna 'To be spit out by the grave'.

This idiom refers to the patient who is now better but who may still be very weak.

Ukubangwa nezibi 'To be confused with rubbish'.

Rubbish is something to be thrown away. To bury a corpse is literally to -lahla umuntu. It is believed that while healers want people to recover, the sorcerers want them to die and to be thrown away.

5.3.4 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE GENERAL SPREAD OF A DISEASE

There are especially three verbs which are used in idioms to refer to the spreading of a disease. These three verbs are: -bheduka 'swarm out', -chitheka 'get spilled out', -embatha 'to be clothed' and -sabalala 'get dispersed'.

Contagious diseases and infectious diseases can cause the whole of the country to be covered by the disease. This includes *inter alia* diseases such as ingculaza 'aids', ingxibongo 'small pox', ixhwala 'tuberculosis' etc. When such a catastrophe occurs the idiom: Izwe ukwembatha ukufa 'the country is clothed in the disease' is used to refer to the situation. The examples below illustrate the use of idioms to refer to the spreading of a disease.

Ukubheduka kwesifo 'The swarming out of a disease/the disease is spreading from a certain place'.

Ukuchitheka kwesifo 'The spilling out of the disease/the spreading of the disease'.

Ukusabalala kwesifo 'The dispersement of the disease/the spreading of the disease'.

5.3.5 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE POWER OF A DISEASE

Ukulandula umuntu 'To report a person's death or impending death'.

This idiom discloses that the patient is seriously ill and that he can die at any time.

Inyanda yemuka nesibopho 'The tied-up bundle is taken away with the string (made of grass)'.

This expression refer to the death of a pregnant woman. She dies and consequently the child in her womb dies with her.

Ukhukho lumuka nomoya 'The sleeping mat is blown away by the wind'.

This implies that all the endeavours of helping the patient are in vain.

Selicima iso, umhlophe usuwandile 'The eye is now closing; the pupil vanishes and the white part is expanding'.

This idiom refers to the fact that a person is dying.

Kwembulwa kwembeswe 'He/she is opened and covered with the blanket (the patient)'.

A variant of this idiom is: kwembulwa ingubo kwembeswe ingubo. This idiom denotes a serious situation and where the patient is about to die.

Izinhlanga zimuka nomoya 'The stalks are blown away by wind'.

(See **ukhukho lumuka nomoya** above.)

Sekusele usuku 'There is only one day left'.

If one is seriously ill more especially if he can no more speak it becomes evident that he will not survive. Only a miracle can save him from death. People use this idiom if they know that he can die at any time.

Sekusele umndondo 'There is only hard breathing left'.

This idiom refers to the hard breathing that occurs when the patient is about to die. An alternative of this expression is: sekusele isikhwehlela 'only the sputum is left'.

5.4 IDIOMS AND PROVERBS PERTAINING TO *IZANGOMA*

Idioms and proverbs which have a bearing on diviners and divining are discussed under this heading.

5.4.1 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE ACT OF GOING TO *ISANGOMA*

To consult a diviner is not regarded as being extra-ordinary. The expressions below pertain to this act.

Ukuthatha izinduku 'To take the sticks'.

This refers to the act of going to consult a diviner.

Ukuya emhlahlweni 'To go to the smelling-out/consulting a diviner'.

This refers to the action taken by the family members to go to the diviner. The family members consult a diviner in order to know the *lineage sorcerer* who bewitched the member(s) of the family.

Ukuya kwabamanga 'To go to those of lies'.

It is true that some of the diviners do not tell the truth but the clients visit them hoping to receive help if they are fortunate enough. Uma kuqondene 'if this go their way'. Hence the expression: ithemba liyaphilisa 'hope is life'. When the clients do what the diviner instructs them to do they say: senza izaba 'we are merely trying'.

5.4.2 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE ACT OF DIVINING

The idioms listed below pertain to the act of divining and the client's reactions.

Zindaba zakho mngoma 'Those are your stories, diviner'.

This expression is used by those who have come to consult the diviner (abazobhula/abazohlola/abazohlaluba). The diviner is greeted in a special way, they salute her/him as an ancestral spirit (bayakhuleka emakhosini).

The diviner can reveal the secrets and say exactly what happened. There are general expressions used for the revealing of the truth. These expressions can also be used by the clients when the diviner has spoken the truth.

The expressions discussed in 5.4.2 and 5.4.3 are not true idioms. These expressions are used in common language and did not develop from the use of umuthi. These were then borrowed from ordinary discourse for use in the context of umuthi. Young Zulu speakers regard them as idioms while they are not.

Ukudalula imfihlo 'To reveal the secrets'.

Ukwambula imfihlo 'To unveil the secrets'.

Ukuhluba udlubu ekhasini 'To peel the ground nut from its pod/to speak the truth in a convincing way'.

Ukushaya emhlolweni 'To say exactly what was expected'.

Ukugeqa amagula 'To give all the information'.

Ukusho amadanda esele 'To reveal the lumbar portion of the spine of the frog/to give the positive and negative information'.

Ukuphiqiza amanyala 'To squeeze out all the dirt/to give all the negative information'.

Besides the above general sayings, idioms may be used by the clients when the diviner has given them what they regard as correct information. Certain expressions are used when a diviner tells the sorcerer face to face that he is the one who bewitches people. The idioms used for this purpose are:

Ukushaya ngeshoba 'To hit or point with the tail' OR Ukuphamba ngenkonkoni 'To hit or point at the guilty party with the tail of a gnu'.

The gnu's tail is part of the diviner's attire. This is a clear indication that a sorcerer has been smelled out '*unukiwe*'. After this action the diviner will say: Nang' umthakathi 'here is a sorcerer'.

The expressions used to denote this straight talk are:

Ukutshela egwagweni 'To talk straight'.

Ukusho kwezikabhogo 'To say straight'.

Ukutshela embonjeni 'To say at the fountain/To talk straight'.

There are instances where the diviner does not tell the plain truth, for instance when the father is not present. He then tells his clients to call the father as the head of the homestead but he may give the clients a few vague clues in the interim. The expressions used to refer to this practice of giving unimportant clues, are the following:

Ukukha phezulu 'To pick at the top'/not to say everything'.

Ukwengula 'To skim off/not to say everything'.

In Zulu there is an expression: Isangoma esidla imbumba sibhula amanga, 'the diviner who eats cow-peas, divine lies'. Consequently diviners are strictly prohibited from eating cow-peas (*vigna sinensis*). The following expressions are suited to refer to the telling of lies generally, but they can also refer to a diviner telling lies:

Ukuqamba amanga 'To coin lies'.

Ukuhubhuza amanga 'To tell lies'.

Ukuphatha ilumbo 'To tell a lie'.

This latter expression is relevant to sorcery. Ukulumba is to bewitch. To tell lies is to bewitch a person i.e. ukuthakatha ngolimi 'to bewitch with the tongue/to cause people to quarrel'. To betray a person is also associated with sorcery. Nyembezi (1984:21) remarks:

Ozihlandlo kaGcwabe
Ngibasolile, abasokoco
Inkosi kabayitshelang' izibuko,
Bayiweze ngelisoco amathe.

'The people of Zihlandlo son of Gcwabe,
 I criticized them, they are the sorcerers,
 They did not tell the king the ford,
 They made him cross by the bloody one.'

Telling lies can be reported euphemistically avoiding the use of strong expressions as we have seen above. The following expressions are euphemistic forms for telling lies:

Ukuzisholo nje 'To simply say for oneself'.

Ukuzikhulumela nje 'To simply talk by oneself'.

5.4.3 IDIOMS COMPARING DIVINING TO READING FROM A BOOK

It is interesting that although divining has nothing to do with books, a number of idioms associate the act of divining with books. Perhaps this is because books are associated with sacred knowledge and divining is also regarded as sacred knowledge. These are obviously idioms which have developed more recently.

Ukubhula sengathi ufunda encwadini 'To divine as if he/she is reading from a book'.

Ukufundela umuntu 'To read for someone/to divine vividly'.

Ukuvula kwesangoma izahluko 'To divine as if you (the diviner) are opening chapters'.

The above expressions tell us that the diviner depends on the spirits in the divination. The diviner receives the information from the ancestral spirits and then passes that information to the client as if he is reading for an 'illiterate person'.

5.4.4 PROVERBS PERTAINING TO THE DIVINER

The gall-bladders in the diviners hair, which form part of the diviner's attire, result in the proverb:

Isangoma sibonwa ngezinyongo 'The diviner is recognised by the gall-bladders'.

This expression is also used to refer to the recognition of any worker who wears a distinctive uniform.

5.5 IDIOMS AND PROVERBS PERTAINING TO HEALERS 'IZINYANGA'

The actions and duties of the traditional healing doctors are painted in words in the idioms and proverbs listed below.

5.5.1 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE DUTIES OF IZINYANGA

The expression *ukuthwala izikhwama* 'to carry the bags' is used to refer to the inyanga's willingness to treat the patient. The carrying of the bags is generally delegates to the *uhlaka lwenyanga* 'the traditional healer's bag carrier'. The *uhlaka lwenyanga* 'the doctor's bag carrier' is, however, not mentioned in the idiom. Msimang (1975:317) indicates that the one who carries the bags and practice healing should be controlled by the ancestral spirits. Msimang in his novel *Akuyiwe emhlahlweni* 'Let us consult the diviner' distinguishes between two types of practices of *izinyanga*, namely those that practice their trade 'in the light' and those who practice their trade 'in the darkness'.

The expression: *ukwelaphela ebumnyameni* 'to attend to/cure the patient in the darkness' implies that the healing doctor tries to cure the patient when the cause of a disease is unknown.

The opposite of the above is: ukwelaphela ekukhanyeni 'to attend to/cure the patient in the light'. This type of healing doctor works better because the cause of the disease is known and the treatment will be befitting.

Idioms pertaining to the conquering of the illness and the patient's recovery and strengthening are the following:

Ukushaya isifo 'to hit a disease'. Since the ingredients used in the mixture to conquer the disease is called izinduku 'sticks' the association of the illness being 'hit' is logic because sticks are used for hitting or fighting. The idioms ukwehlula isifo 'to defeat an illness' and ukuxosha isifo 'to chase the illness away' should be interpreted in the same sense.

When an illness is overpowered the idiom: ukuphengula isifo 'to ward off the disease' is used.

The focus of the traditional healer may be diverted from the patient to the homestead as such. The practice of strengthening the homestead has resulted in the following idiomatic expressions:

Ukuqinisa umuzi 'To strengthen the homestead'.

This includes ukumbelwa kwezikhonkwane 'to plant medicines at the foundations'. The latter expression may also refer to the burial of medicines to protect the house from lightning. This process of strengthening the homestead may also include ukucupha abathakathi 'to trap the sorcerers'.

5.5.2 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE ART OF ADMINISTERING UMUTHI

There are several methods which are adopted to treat illnesses. These methods resulted in the coining of idiomatic expressions. In the following discussion the method of administering the medicine is explained, followed by the idiomatic expression.

Ukuchatha/ukwetha 'To give an enema'.

Ukwetha ilunga 'To administer an enema equal to a node'.

There are strong mixtures which should be used with great care. The inyanga informs a patient to use the node of his own third finger to measure the amount of medicine to be administered in this instance.

Ukwetha isisu 'To administer an enema'.

Ukwetha isisu 'To administer an enema equal to a stomach full'.

Mixtures which are not very strong are not measured. One administers the mixture until the stomach is full.

Ukuphuphutha umuntu 'to administer powdered medicine'.

Ukuphuphutha umuntu 'to administer powdered medicine per rectum'.

The *graderia scalera* herb is used in this manner to cure isilonda 'a sore (believed to be inside the rectum)'. A very small amount of the drug is to be administered, as this herb is poisonous.

Ukuhogelisa 'intro-nasal treatment'. The expression: ukuhogelisa/ukubhemisa umuntu 'to let someone take medicine intra-nasally' refers to a practice of taking a drug intro-nasally. Powdered medicine is always used for this purpose. A few seconds after inhaling the drug, the patient sneezes. When the same method of administering is used for a dog the expression used is ukuhlakahlisainja. The medicine being administered to a dog is the *exlepiadacea* plant which is supposed to turn the dog into good hunting dog.

Ukugcaba 'ethno-vaccination'. The expression used for ethno-vaccination is ukushaya uhlanga. This entails the cutting of an incision on the skin and rubbing medicines into it.

There are also expressions pertaining to imbiza 'a drug which will cause dirt to come out of the body'. It can be administered per rectum or orally. There is one expression for taking the drug - ukufaka imbiza. Young children use imbiza as well. This is known as imbiza yomzimba omubi 'drug for a bad body'. This drug is put on their heads and then when it is cold the mother-in-law injects it per rectum. The expression used is ukwethwesa imbiza 'to cause the child to carry the drug of the bad body'.

There are idioms pertaining to the administering of izintelezi 'protective medicines' such as:

Ukudla intelezi 'To eat protective medicines'.

This expression refers to emesis and bathing as well as the sprinkling of the body with protective medicines.

5.5.3 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO TRYING

It is true that people try to do certain things in all the spheres of life. When inyanga tries his best to cure the illness the expression ukwenza izaba 'to try the very best' is used. The idiom used for the act of going to the healing doctor or diviner and ukubhucaza 'to do everything necessary' is ukushayeka ngapha nangapha 'to be hit this side and that side'. Another term for this expression is ukungqubuleka. When the patient persists going everywhere for assistance an expression used, is ukubamba uyeka 'to hold and leave'. Patients are at war with diseases hence the expression ukuhlathwa yisifo 'to be stabbed by the disease'. During the attack of the disease the expression used in warfare is used such as ukuphunga impi ngezithebe 'to drive away the war with the eating mat'. In this context this expression refers to the taking of all types of medicines to curb the disease.

5.5.4 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE FAILURE OF INYANGA

If the traditional healer has failed the patient dies. The daring sorcerer walks tall and says: Inyanga ibhuntshe nezikhwama zayo 'The healing doctor failed with all his bags'. When the traditional healer discovers that he has failed he says: sengehlulekile OR sesingehlule isifo 'I've been defeated by the disease'. Msimang (s.a.:11) uses this expression:

Uma kwehlule leyo mithi kwehlule ngane zakwethu.
Yedlulelani phambili; wehlulekile uMakhathini.
(*Underlining by GND.*)

'If those drugs have failed it means that the disease has conquered our brothers and sisters. Go to another doctor; Makhathini has failed.'

5.5.5 PROVERBS PERTAINING TO THE TRADITIONAL HEALER

There is a Zulu expression for rebuking izinyanga from hiding their knowledge of medicines. This expression is: inyanga ifa nezikhwama zayo 'the traditional healer dies with his bags'. The knowledge should be passed from generation to generation but the izinyanga do not pass on their knowledge. The expression: inyanga ayizelaphi 'the healer does not cure himself' implies that when ill the inyanga needs the help of other healers/doctors. To express the fact that someone is confused in the very field of his expertise the expression: umuthi uphamba inyanga 'the medicine has tricked the healer' is used. The expression zigaye ndawonye 'they have ground (their medicines) at the same place' implies that superior knowledge has been gained by the healers sharing their knowledge. This sharing of knowledge is essential in order to to curb diseases which could otherwise cause many deaths.

5.6 IDIOMS AND PROVERBS PERTAINING TO SORCERERS 'ABATHAKATHI'

Sorcery has resulted in a variety of idioms and proverbs which highlight the reality of this practice. Certain idioms deal with night sorcery and day sorcery, while others deal with lineage sorcery and yet others deal with sorcery in general.

5.6.1 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE ACT OF SORCERY

The sorcerers call their medicine induku yokushaya 'a stick to hit'. They 'hit' their victims and in this process they endanger the community at large. The following expressions are used for doing someone harm through medicines.

Ukushaya ngomuthi 'To hit with medicine' (that is to bewitch a person).

Ukukhohloza ngomuthi 'To rattle with medicine'.

Ukuphosa ngomuthi 'To throw with medicine'.

Ukujikijela ngomuthi 'To throw with medicine'.

Ukujikijela and ukuphosa ngomuthi is when a sorcerer bewitches a victim at a distance. This includes ukuphephetha, ukukhafula or ukukhwifa.

ukuphephetha is to put the powdered medicine on the palm of the hand and blow it while calling the name of a victim.

Ukukhafula or **ukukhwifa** is to hold the medicine in the mouth and then spit it out, facing the sun if it is in the morning or the moon if it is at night. The names of the victims should be called when spitting.

Msimang (s.a.:45) also refers to medicine as a stick. He says:

Umqaphele uSigonyagonya lowo. Hi-hi! Yinduku yami yokugcina leyo. Awuyukuzwa ngami ukuthi iyasebenza, yimina esengizozwa ngawe, ...

(Underlining by GND.)

'Be careful of Sigonyagonya. Yes! This is my last stick. You won't hear from me that it works, instead I will hear it from you, ...'

It is alleged that sorcerers control thunderstorms. The following expressions pertain to the sending of lightning to kill or injure victims:

Ukuthumelela umuntu ngomphezulu 'To send to someone the above'.

Ukusakaza ngomphezulu 'To strike with the above'.

There are also expressions about the casting of a spell - ukubhulela umuntu. These expressions are the following:

Ukudwebela umuntu 'To draw a line for someone with medicine/to cast a spell'.

Ukukiwebhela umuntu 'To scratch a line for someone with medicine/to cast a spell'.

Ukujuqa ngosinga lwemamba 'To fell with the sinew of a mamba/to cast a spell'.

ukweqisa umuntu 'To cause a person to jump over the spell/to cast a spell'.

Ukubekela umuntu 'To put medicine down for someone/to cast a spell'.

The five idioms above refer to the work of the night sorcerers of trapping innocent people with umbhulelo 'spell medicine'.

There are also idiomatic expressions pertaining to the day sorcerers under this category such as those listed below.

Ukuphehla amanzi amnyama 'To churn the black water/to churn black medicines'. This is emesis by the member of the family using black medicines. He stirs the mixture for emesis with a spear. He does this in order to cause umnyama/amashwa/amashangusha 'hard luck' to the members of the family.

Ukuphendula idlozi 'To cause the ancestral spirit to turn away'.

Ukulumba inhlabathi yamathuna 'To bewitch the soil of the graves'.

The latter two idioms are related. If the soil of the graves is bewitched the ancestral spirits will turn against the members of the family.

Ukudlisa umuntu 'to cause a person to eat medicine/poison'.

To let someone drink a poison mixture is the work of a day sorcerer. He knows that poison is very dangerous to the extent that it is nicknamed ukalishoni 'The sun does not set while the victim is still alive'.

The above expressions indicate that abathakathi bafaka abantu bomphakathi enkingeni 'Sorcerers endanger the community'. Other general terms used for inkinga 'a problem' are umngxashu or utavatava.

5.6.2 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO BEING ILL BECAUSE OF WITCHCRAFT

The idioms listed under this heading suggest that a disease has been contracted through witchcraft.

Ukutapa ukufa 'To gather death/ to contract a disease'. Ukutapa means to take from something which is in abundance.

Ukubutha ilumbo 'To pick up a disease of unknown origin'.

If someone sleeps with a umuntu ocushiwe 'treated partner' he contracts this disease, hence it is said:

Ungenwa yilumbo 'He is entered by the disease'.

Udliwa yilumbo 'He is eaten by the disease'.

5.6.3 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO BEING THIN

To be thin is associated with a dying person, hence the idioms which suggest that a thin person is bewitched.

Ukushayeka emzimbeni 'To be vulnerable on the body/to be thin'.

Ukuncencetheka emzimbeni 'To be tinkling on the body/to be thin'.

Ukuba ngangabasemehlweni 'To be as small as the people in the eyes (the reflection)/to be thin'.

Ukuba mikhonywana yephela 'To be the fore-arms of a cockroach/to be thin'.

Ukuba ngangothi lokuvungula 'To be as thin as a toothpick/to be thin'.

Ukuba wubhaqa lokubakhanyisela 'To be as thin as stick used for illumination/to be thin'.

It is not true that a thin person is always bewitched. It can happen that he becomes thin because of a general disease or because of mental instability which is caused by nurturing a lot of problems. Even though the problems mean that a thin person is not ill it may be said that: akaphilile kahle 'he/she is not complete'.

5.6.4 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE THREAT OF A SORCERER

Some bold sorcerers will go to the extent of sending a threat to their victims. To disclose this state of affairs, people will say: imfene iyogijima emini 'The baboon will run during the day'. It is generally accepted that baboons are used by the sorcerers at night. This expression suggests that the night sorcerer will bewitch the victim openly.

Some of the other expressions used by the sorcerer to tell his victim that he is going to bewitch him during the day, are:

Kokhala izikhova emini 'The owls will hoot during the day' and intombi iyogana abanye 'The maiden will marry others'. The latter expression informs the victim that he is going to die soon and that his darling or sweetheart will marry some other man.

With the expression: Uzodla umhlabathi ngomlomo 'you will eat earth with your mouth' the sorcerer means that the victim will be buried soon.

The warning Uzofa ungagulanga 'You will die without being ill' suggests that the sorcerer will use umthwebulo, the medicine used by the sorcerers to half-kill the victim so as to resurrect him in order to convert him into an umkhovu 'a zombie'.

The following statements are used by the sorcerer as a form of harassment to scare the victim:

Uzofa ushunqa 'You will die in a column of smoke/You will die straight away'.

Uzoqhuma njengesele 'You will burst like a frog'.

It is common practice among the sorcerers to annoy a person first before bewitching him. They believe that their medicines enter easily into an angry person. When the victim is angry they may say: Uyokhukhumala, ukhukhumale, ukhukhumale aze uqhume njengesele 'You will expand, expand and expand till you burst like a frog.'

5.6.5 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO PEOPLE'S ACTION AGAINST THE SORCERERS

Sorcerers are regarded as the enemies of the community. They must be 'smelt out' and caught. In the event of being caught they are severely punished, hence the following idioms:

Ukujoja umthakathi 'To impale the sorcerer (with sharp sticks)'. This implies that izinkwengco 'sharp sticks' are impaled per rectum with boiling water. The sorcerer may also be: ukuchathwa ngebhayi 'to be administered poison per rectum'.

When the sorcerer bewitches people he becomes happy. The members of the society adopt an eye for eye attitude and they may cupha umthakathi 'trap the sorcerer'. This implies the use of various methods to catch the sorcerer red handed. This includes *inter alia* the use of intelezi made out of umayime. The exposure of the sorcerer is referred to as: ukudalula umthakathi 'to expose the sorcerer'. This implies the smelling out of the sorcerer by the diviner during ingomboco enkulu/ukunuka umthakathi 'the great smelling out of the sorcerer'. The sorcerer is henceforth expelled from his community if smelt out: ukudingisa umthakathi 'to expel the sorcerer'. This

may even include: ukukuphila uhlanga 'to scoop out the incision of sorcery'. Certain sorcerers cut incisions on their children which will force them to become future sorcerers.

This ukutshikiza kohlanga 'the movement of the incision' will make the child to bewitch the nearby people. If it is discovered that the child has an incision for sorcery, the incision is scooped out. This will brake the spell of genealogical sorcery. Eventually the sorcerer may be killed with his own poison.

5.6.6 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE POISONING OF A PERSON

Amongst the duties of the day sorcerer is that of pouring poison in the victim's food. The idiom listed below refer to this act:

Ukudlisa umuntu 'To cause a person to eat'. This refers to the act of pouring poison into the victim's food.

Ukuvuthuzela ekudleni 'To sprinkle powdered medicine into the food'.

Ukugwaza ngomkhonto wangaphakathi 'To stab a person with an inside spear'.

This refers to the pouring of poison onto the victim's food.

Ukufaka ubuthi 'To put in/pour poison'.

Ukuthatha ubuthi 'To take one's poison'.

This refers to the custom of drinking or eating of the drink or food before presenting it to another person. This is done in order to demonstrate that the drink or food is not poisoned.

5.6.7 IDIOMS WHICH INCLUDE THE TERM 'UMTHAKATHI'

Of someone who is very good at making people to laugh people may say: uhlekisa umthakathi ecashile 'he/she is causing the sorcerer to laugh where he is hiding'. When everybody is laughing it is assumed that the one who cracked the joke could make even the night sorcerer with his evil heart to laugh where he is hiding.

Ukuncishana 'To be stingy' is a sign of an evil heart; this is associated with the heart of a witch, hence the idiom: ubopha umthakathi nezinkuni 'you tie the sorcerer with fire wood'.

5.6.8 PROVERBS PERTAINING TO SORCERERS AND SORCERY

The proverbs to be discussed below employ the term umthakathi 'sorcerer' OR ukuthakatha 'to bewitch'.

Intombi igana kwamthakathi 'A maiden marries even the son of a sorcerer'.

This proverb is used to express the truth that lovers will marry regardless of the circumstances. Even if their parent's financial backgrounds are not the same they may still marry i.e. a very poor girl may marry the son of a well to do family.

Ukwanda kwaliwa wumthakathi 'The multiplication of the family members is avoided by the sorcerer'. This proverb is used to express sincere gratitude and is synonymous with: ngiyabonga 'thank you'.

Ukwesutha kwakhumbuza uNoshinga ukuthakatha 'Being satisfied reminded Noshinga to bewitch others'. This refers to someone who is rejected due to his wealth.

Impunzi iyathakatha ngokukhamela icimbi ethuvini beqhina 'The duiker is a wizard by squeezing the caterpillar onto the droppings of the steenbok'. This refers to the evil-doers. All those who do evil are sorcerers.

5.6.9 PROVERBS REMINDING YOUNG MEN NOT TO MARRY THE DAUGHTERS OF SORCERERS

To marry the child of a sorcerer is rebuked by the following proverbs:

Ilumbo livuka esidwabeni 'The spell will come under the skin skirt of a woman'. This reveals the truth that the child of a sorcerer will bewitch the members of her own family.

Amanyala avela endlini 'Disgusting acts manifest at home'. If an innocent gentleman looks at his darling he will not know that she is a daughter of a sorcerer. Once she is married to him her true colours will be revealed. She will bewitch the members of the family.

Umswani wembabala awungeniswa ekhaya 'The chyme of the bush-buck should not be taken home'. This reminds a young man not to marry the child of a sorcerer because his family members may die. It is said that this will result in: Abantu babhonge emswanini 'People will roar in the chyme/people will mourn the dead'.

5.6.10 PROVERBS DISCLOSING THAT THE SORCERER IS BEING CAUGHT BY HIS OWN MEDICINE

Yeka ukufa kokuzenza 'Alas, you have killed yourself'.

Ilumbo lidla umninilo 'An unknown disease eats its originator'.

The above two proverbs refer to the happiness of the victim when the sorcerer feels pain after being trapped by the healing doctor's medicines. The proverb: isikhuni sesibuya nomkhwezeli 'now the burning wood returns with the invigorator/the sorcerer feels the taste of his own medicines' communicates the satisfaction of the erstwhile victim now conquerer.

5.6.11 PROVERBS PERTAINING TO A CAUGHT SORCERER

Proverbs relating to a sorcerer who is caught, may also be applied to refer to any villain who is caught, hence umqungo weqili uphalele 'the mixed concoction made by the cunning man has soared ahead' may appart from having direct relevance to a sorcerer may also apply to any villain. This proverb is used exchangeably with umqambo weqili uphalele 'the invention of the cunning one has soared ahead/the villain is caught'.

5.7 IDIOMS AND PROVERBS PERTAINING TO THE PATIENTS

All medical endeavours are patient centred. It is therefore logical that a great number of idioms and proverbs will relate to the relationship between the patient and the disease.

5.7.1 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE INCEPTION OF THE ILLNESS

The following proverbs relate to the inception of an illness.

Ukuhaqa kwengane 'A crawling of the child/the child is catching a disease'.

Ukuhlabeka komuntu 'The being stabbed of a person/the commencement of the illness/disease'.

Ukuhamba nakho 'To go with it (the disease)'.

5.7.2 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE SENSES OF THE PATIENT

Expressions reflecting the way the patient is experiencing the illness are given below:

Ukuqaqanjelwa yizinhlungu 'To be ripped apart by the pain'.

Ukugwazwa yisibhobo 'To be stabbed by the wound/muscle pain/to feel sharp pains'.

Ukunhlonhlozela kukazagiga 'To feel the swelling of mumps'.

Ukunkenketha kwezinyo 'To feel the throb of a tooth/to have tooth-ache'.

5.7.3 IDIOMS CONTAINING THE NAMES OF ANIMALS USED BY THE SORCERERS

Animals used by the sorcerer in the process of sorcery are *inter alia* the African ant-bear, the zombie and the wild cat. These vehicles of sorcery feature in the idioms listed below.

Ukubhekwa yisambane 'To be looked at by the African ant-bear/to be unfortunate'.

Ukufa kabili njengomkhovu 'To die twice like a zombie/to experience bad luck'.

Ukudlela emkhombeni wezimpaka 'To eat while on the path of the sorcerer's cats/to be naughty'.

5.8 IDIOMS AND PROVERBS PERTAINING TO MEDICINES AND MIXTURES

The idioms and proverbs listed below relate to medicinal plants and medicine mixtures.

5.8.1 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO MEDICINAL PLANTS

Ukusengelana ilala 'To milk the fan palm for one another'

If the members of the family are not on speaking terms 'bexabene'; it is believed that the amadlozi ayabafulathela 'ancestral spirits turn their backs against them'. This results to izifo zangabomu 'disease caused by ancestral spirits'. To cure these diseases the members of the family should jointly milk the fan palm. One holds the fan palm while another member puts his hands in water and then milks the fan palm. During this ceremony and confession all amathumba 'rubbish in the hearts' should be mentioned. If certain points are not mentioned the fan palm will make a noise when milked but if everything has been said the fan palm will make no noise. That is why ilala is also known as isangoma somuzi 'the diviner of the homestead'. After ukusengelana ilala the family members will lick the ash 'ukukhumelana umlotha' and bite the bark of the *sclerocarya caffra* tree 'umganu' and spit it in water and then the family declares that all the family members are clean. The family is then healed.

Ukudlelana amakhubalo 'To eat curative medicines for one another'. This refers to medicines eaten to unite the family members. The opposite of this is: ukudlelana izihlungu.

Ukotha ukhuni lwedungamzi 'To warm yourself by fire made of the wood of the *euclea daphnoides*'.

This idiom refers to misunderstanding and conflict among members of the same family. The wood of idungamuzi OR isibangamlotha 'the one causing ash' is not allowed into the homestead because it is believed that as its name explains lidunga umuzi 'it upsets the homestead/causes conflict'.

Ukungazi ngisho umsuzwane wodwa lo 'not knowing even the *lippia asperifolia* shrub'. This refers to a person who does not know anything about medicine at all. It is believed that everyone should know umpishimpishi OR umsuzwane

because it is used for a variety of purposes such as curing sharp pains, washing a corpse, cleansing people after the funeral, steaming 'iphungulo', etc.

5.8.2 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO MIXTURES

The idiom: ukugxoba ikhambi 'to grind a herb' is an expression referring to an effort to solve a problem, even a political problem. In this regard Msimang (1972:197) remarks:

Ngiyazi ukuthi babebheke kimi ukuba ngiveze ikhambi, kodwa izandla zami bese zingcolile, bezingeke zisaligxoba ikhambi elingelapha isizwe.

(Underlining by GND.)

'I know that they looked at me to come with a solution, but my hands were dirty to grind the herb which could cure the nation.'

Ukuthungatha ikhambi 'To search for a herb'. This expression refers to the search for a problem-solving strategy. Msimang uses this idiom in his novel *Akuyiwe emhlahlweni* (1982:89):

Kuphela ngaqala ukufuna ikhambi elizokwelapha isizwe sikaNdaba engasibona sesigulela ukufa. Phela asikho isifo esedlula ukungakhothani phakathi kwenkosi nabantu bayo.

'I only searched for the herb to heal the nation of Ndaba who was seriously ill. There is no disease which surpasses the misunderstanding between the king and his people.'

The verbs ukufuna, ukuthungatha and ukuthundlaza (ikhambi) 'to search for a herb' are used synonymously for searching for herbs.

Mixtures are also used to either instill or destroy love. Expressions used in this regard are:

Ukuphehla ubulawu 'To prepare a love charm' and Ukuqulela isichitho 'To pour medicines to destroy love'.

This ritual of eating war medicines ukudla intelezi 'to eat war medicines' goes hand in hand with steaming, bathing and ethno-vaccination. Jumping over a fire known as ukushaya amasingozi is the order of the day.

Ukudla igobongo 'To vomit with a wide-mouthed calabash'.

This refers to the using of the medicines of the diviners by a diviner or by those who are controlled by an ancestral spirit. This generally includes vomiting and bathing.

5.8.3 PROVERBS PERTAINING TO MEDICINES AND TREES

The proverb: isihlahla asinyelwa 'do not move the bowels under a tree', pertains to medicine in the sense that it has a bearing on the traditional healer. Excreting under a tree will dirtify the tree and therefore the healing doctor coming to dig out the roots or peel the bark of that tree will be upset. The applicability of this expression has shifted and it now refers to people instead of trees. It means that one must treat other people with respect. If one mishandles another person it will cause problems.

One may doubt whether this proverb really originated from the practice of umuthi. It is clear that if one excretes under the tree he/she dirtifies that tree. What will happen when the inyanga wants to dig out the roots or peel the bark of that tree for the purpose of making medicine? One would also not be able to utilize the shade of such a tree on hot days if it is dirty under the tree. As far as the shade is concerned there are many trees which have a shade, but for the purpose of getting medicine, the species used for medicinal purposes are limited, consequently we believe that this proverb originated from the practice of umuthi.

Wogawula ubheke 'Be careful when you fell a tree'.

This expression is a warning to take care when chopping down a tree. Like the previous example the meaning of this proverb now also include people and may imply that one should be careful when dealing with humans.

Induku enhle igawulwa ezizweni 'Good medicine is found in far away places'. Induku is the branch of a tree. When one wants to hit someone else with a stick he says: "Ngizokunika lo muthi". Even in Afrikaans we have the expression: 'Ek gaan jou van hierdie medisyne gee'. That does not necessarily mean the name of a tree of the stick heals a cheeky individual. Let us take an example of a stick made out of umqalothi (strychnos henningsii tree). The bark of that stick can cure a painful stomach. Coming back to our argument, the forests are everywhere but medicinal mixtures are wherever there are strong healing doctors. Izinduku, as the doctors call their ingredients, are not found in one area only, hence the proverb: induku enhle igawulwa ezizweni.

In the preceding discussion it was pointed out that umuthi is also referred to as izinduku 'sticks'. This proverb is also used to refer to the fact that anything worth while is difficult to come by. This proverb is most frequently used in this sense to refer to a wife.

Good medicine should be mixed well and the ingredients should be obtained from different places, hence the expression: awumbiwa ndawonye 'good medicine is not dug in one place only'.

When a soccer official is accused by another that he is employing medicines to influence the outcome of a match, the appropriate answer is often: hamba uyothenga owakho 'go and buy your own (medicine)'.

Uyowukhiphela irandi mina ngiwukhiphele uthurandi 'You will take out one Rand and I'll take out two rand (for the medicine)'.

This expression may be used by one of two people who get their medicine from the same healing doctor. When they quarrel the richer one will inform his rival that he will pay more and get stronger medicine and a better service.

Ngaphuma nawo esiswini kumame 'I got out from my mother's womb with it (the medicine)'.

This expression refers to innocent people who are always accused of using medicine. They then answer suitably using this proverb.

5.9 IDIOMS GOING HAND IN HAND WITH FIGURES OF SPEECH

Some idioms and proverbs pertaining to 'umuthi' go hand in hand with figures of speech.

5.9.1 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO SIMILE

Ukuphuza iboza 'To drink *moschosma riparia*'.

Iboza or ibozane is bitter consequently one looks downcast ukubipha or shows signs of tears after drinking it. The face of a person who has been drinking iboza looks like that of an angry person, hence the saying: wayenyukubele sengathi kade ephuza iboza 'he was angry as if he had been drinking iboza (*moschosma riparia*)'.

Ukubuka isihlahla somdlebe 'to look at sthe poisonous euphorbia'. The umdlebe tree is also called *synadenium arboresces*. This is a beautiful tree, but it is said that it is blood thirsty. The bones of wild animals and birds are found under it. Abathakathi bezigodo 'great sorcerers' use the umdlebe to make umbhulelo 'spell medicine'.

UNDaba ngimbuka kwehle izinyembezi sengathi ngibuka isihlahla somdlebe.

'When I give a stealth look at Ndaba tears run down my eyes as though at a tabooed plant I've looked.'

Ukukhala ngaso linye njengomthakathi 'To cry with one eye like a sorcerer'.

This refers to the sorcerers bewitching their own children. To qualify as umthakathi wezigodo the sorcerer must kill his first born. During the funeral when people cry the sorcerer, because of his double agenda cries and laughs at the same time. He cries because his child is no more but he is also happy because he knows that he will has reached the ultimate. No member of the community will be safe henceforth. To cry with one eye is thus 'to shed crocodile tears'. In Zulu this is also referred to as ukucimba.

5.9.2 IDIOMS EMPLOYING PERSONIFICATION

Ukuza komuthi 'The coming of the medicine'.

This expression refers to the threat sent to a victim to notify him that umuthi to be used on him is on its way. This expression is also found in a wedding song which tells the bridegroom that the umandangaphakathi 'inside spread' OR igomondela 'medicine which makes the partners to hold each other tightly', is on its way, compare:

Gomondela!
Ngibambe ungisondeze.
Uyeza! Usendleleni!
Umuthi wangaphakathi.

'Gomondela!
Hold me, draw me closer.
It is coming! It is on its way.
The medicine of the inside.'

This medicine is known as intando 'love charm'.

Ukusebenza komuthi 'Medicine is working'.

If the results of the medicine are noticeable it is said that 'umuthi uyasebenza' but the results are not seen the medicine is condemned and people say 'umuthi awusebenzi'.

5.9.3 METAPHORIC IDIOMS

It is generally accepted that most of the idioms start with an infinitive morpheme **uku-** e.g. **ukudlisa** umuntu 'to poison a person'.

The metaphoric idiom constitutes a complete sentence while many other idioms are incomplete sentences, e.g.

ukubeka izandla 'to put hands on/in ...'

ukuthandazela 'to pray for a person with hands on his head'.

This has been chosen because prayer can be used to cure the diseases, since God is the greatest healer.

The metaphoric idiom then has a sentence which is composed of a nominal phrase and a copulative construction which identifies the subject e.g.

Lo muthi wumquba

Lo muthi - is the subject of the sentence

wumquba - is a copulative construction which identifies useless medicine as dung.

The expression: lo muthi wumquba 'this medicine is cow dung' denotes that that particular medicine is not working. There is some irony in this idiom because of the following reasons:

- cow dung is used to cure a person who has eaten inkonkowane 'a poisonous mushroom'.
- kraal manure is used to fertilise the soil i.e. the soil is healed.
- Umquba 'dung' is also used for ukuthoba 'to heat the swelling part of the body with hot water'. During an imbo 'a great illness' people heat their bodies with water mixed with cow dung.
- Izinkomo zamabheka 'beasts for lobola' are all hit with umquba so that they do not fight with the members of the host herd. Cow dung then unifies the cattle and brings about peace. No 'umuthi' can heal all illnesses, neither can dung then heal all types of illnesses, hence people then tend to say: lo muthi wumquba nje 'this medicine is simply dung' meaning the medicine is not working.

5.10 IDIOMS AND PROVERBS PERTAINING TO THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

5.10.1 IDIOMS PERTAINING TO THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

Idioms pertaining to the ancestral spirits are used in common language and did not develop from the use of *umuthi*. Everyone can have the problem of:

ukufulathelwa yidlozi 'to have the ancestral spirit turn his back on you'
 ukulahlwa ngelakubo (idlozi) 'to be left abandoned by the ancestral spirit'

These expressions were borrowed from ordinary discourse for use by the healing doctors and diviners.

Some of the idioms have a close tie with the healing doctors and diviners such as ukuqhwakelwa yidlozi 'to be controlled by the ancestral spirits'. Here are a few idioms pertaining to the ancestral spirits:

Ukubhekwa yidlozi 'To be looked after by the ancestral spirit'.

This expression allude to good luck. A variant form of this idiom is: ukubukwa ngeso elihle ngabaphansi 'To be looked at by the good eye of those underneath/to be looked after by the ancestors'.

Ukubuyisa idlozi 'To bring back the ancestral spirits'.

If the family members, becasula idlozi 'annoy the spirit' the ancestral spirits will turn their back on them, bazofulathelwa yidlozi and finally they may even be abandoned by the spirits, balahlwe yidlozi. People abandoned by the ancestral spirits misfortune will befall them, bayoba yisisulu samashwa namashangusha. To restore the tranquility it will be imperative for the family to partake in the custom of bringing back the ancestral spirits.

The narrator in Msimang (1982:3) rebukes those who want to use the expression: ukushwatshulelwa ngabaphansi 'to be punished by the ancestral spirits'. He says:

Wayefuna ukuthi: "Abaphansi bangishwabulele ngamawele."
 Nokho ayemesinda lawo mazwi. Abaphansi kabajeziswa. Pho angabahlambalaza kanjani athi bamqalekisile na? Kungembangele imiswazi emibi kwakhona lokho? Kodwa iqiniso elimsulwa kwakuyilo lona lelo lokuthi umuzi wakwaNobamba wabe uhaqwe ngamashwa namashawangusha.

(Underlining by GND.)

'He wanted to say: "The ancestral spirits have punished me by giving me twins." But those words were too heavy to be

mentioned. Ancestral spirits may not be reprimanded. How could he disappoint them by saying that they have cursed him? Can that not cause him misfortune? But the truth was that the homestead of Nobamba was befallen by misfortune.'

In the above quotation Msimang used an idiom related to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, namely: *abaphansi abajeziswa* 'the ancestral spirits are not scolded'.

5.10.2 PROVERBS PERTAINING TO THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

Akudlozi lingayi kwabo 'No spirit fails to go home'.

This refers to the belief that every spirit returns to his own homestead. The alternative form of this idiom is: *akudlozi lingayi ekhaya*. Another variant of this idiom is, *akudlozi lay' endlini layeka kwabo* 'no spirit has ever gone to another house abandoning its own house'.

Idlozi liyabhekelwa 'A spirit is taken care of'.

The relevance of this expression is that ancestral spirits should be cared for.

Ngizoze ngikhulunyelwe nje ngiyidlozi yini? 'Am I a spirit that someone should speak on my behalf?'

This expression is used when someone takes the liberty to talk on behalf of another person.

5.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter a number of idioms and proverbs related to medicine, traditional healers, patients, diviners and sorcerers have been discussed. The fitting and artistic nature of idioms and proverbs is aptly referred to as *amazwi obuciko* 'words of accomplishment/artistry' by Msimang (1975).

Although many idioms and proverbs have originated from the practice of *'umuthi'* most of them have gained a far wider relevance.

CHAPTER 6

6. DEVERBATIVES IN THE VOCABULARY PERTAINING TO THE PRACTICE OF *UMUTHI*

6.1 DEFINING DEVERBATIVES

Many of the names referring to personalities involved in the practice of *umuthi* are deverbatives e.g.

ukunyanga > inyanga

ukuthakatha > umthakathi

ukugula > isiguli

This is the reason for singling out the deverbatives for morphological analysis.

Ziervogel and Mabuza (1985:28) describe deverbatives as follows:

The term deverbative is generally used for such nouns as are derived from roots or extended roots from which the verb stems are also derived. Deverbatives are derived by prefixing the required class prefix and suffixing the required ending which is mainly -i, -o or -a to the root.

The above quotation is an unsatisfactory explanation of deverbatives since it excludes the deverbative endings -e and -u. It is assumed in this study that all the vowels of Zulu can serve as deverbative final morphemes.

The basic structure of the verb is as follows:

subject morpheme +	ROOT	+	categorical morpheme	-a
↓	↓		↓	
si	+ bon	+ a		
	↓			
	Sibona			

In terms of the definition given by Ziervogel and Mabuza of deverbatives, deverbatives are derived from **verb roots and extended roots** by prefixing a prefix and suffixing a deverbative final morpheme e.g.

-hamb- > isihambi

-dlal- > umdlalo

According to this view the required class prefix is prefixed while the required deverbative final morpheme is suffixed to the root.

There is a contradiction in this view in that it is believed that the root is the base for the derivation of deverbatives yet it is believed that the deverbative nouns are derived from **verb** roots. The question is whether a root such as -hamb- can be regarded as being verbal or nominal? Surely, a noun and a verb are characterised by the presence of their distinctive morphemes. Since the root -hamb- has no nominal or verbal characteristics it cannot be regarded as either a noun or a verb.

If this is true then it must be accepted that the term 'deverbative' is a misnomer. There is thus an inconsistency in the application of morphological principles. One has to follow either a word-based morphology or a root-based morphology, but one cannot follow both these approaches at the same time.

In this research a word-based morphological approach is followed. It is thus assumed that words are derived from words, thus ukuhamba > isihambi. The morphological process involved is substitution, i.e.

- (a) *the appropriate class prefix is substituted for uku-*
- (b) *the required deverbative final morpheme is substituted for the categorial ending -a.*

Compare the following deverbatives:

ukuthakatha > umthakathi

ukuthakatha > abathakathi

ukuthakatha > ubuthakathi

The substituted morphemes (the class prefix substituted for the infinitive prefix and the substitution of the categorial morpheme -a with the appropriate deverbative morpheme) are concomitant morphemes (the use of the one necessitates the use of the other).

The final vowel of a deverbative, contrary to other nouns, constitutes a morpheme - the deverbative final morpheme is a morpheme, since it serves a grammatical function.

6.2 THE DEVERBATIVE FINAL MORPHEME -a

The following is a list of deverbatives pertaining to umuthi with a final deverbative morpheme -a:

ukuhlola > umhlola 'evil omen'

ukuhlanya > uhlanya/uluhlanya 'mad one'

ukukhohlwa > isikhohlwa 'one who forgets'

ukunqonda > inqonda 'medicine to disturb the army'

ukufa > ifa/ilifa 'property of a dead person'

ukufa > ufa/ulufa 'crack'

ukugoma > ingoma 'medicine'

ukunyanga > inyanga 'healing doctor'

ukugoga > isigoga 'one who is crippled'

ukugoga > umgoga 'the trap'

ukushosha > isishosha 'paralysed one'

The above examples reveal two important aspects, namely:

- (a) Morphological processes are word-based in the African languages. ukuhlanya is a verb in the infinitive mood which serves as the base form from which the deverbative uhlanya 'the madman' has been derived. uku- is an infinitive morpheme and -a is a categorial final morpheme.

uluhlanya is a noun derived by substituting ulu- in place of uku- in the verb ukuhlanya.

- (b) The categorial verbal morpheme *-a* and the deverbative final morpheme *-a* are two different morphemes. Even in *uluhlanya* two morphemes are substituted, namely the class prefix *ulu-* for the infinitive prefix *uku-* and the deverbative morpheme *-a* for the categorial morpheme *-a*.

6.2.1 PERSONAL DEVERBATIVE NOUNS ENDING IN *-a*

The following are all personal deverbative nouns derived from verbs by substituting the appropriate prefix for the infinitive prefix *uku-* and the deverbative morpheme *-a* in place of the categorial morpheme *-a*.

isithutha 'transporter/idiot'

isilima 'idiot'

isikhohlwa 'one who forgets'

isigoga 'one who is crippled'

isishosha 'one who is paralysed'

isiyingayinga 'one who is ashamed'

isangoma 'diviner'

inyanga 'healing doctor'

uhlanya 'one who is insane'

The stem of the verb *ukuyinga* 'to be ashamed' is reduplicated in the formation of the deverbative *isiyingayinga* 'someone who acts as if he is mad'.

6.2.2 IMPERSONAL DEVERBATIVE NOUNS ENDING IN *-a*

The following are impersonal deverbative nouns derived from verbs by substituting the appropriate prefix for the infinitive prefix *uku-* and the deverbative morpheme *-a* in place of the categorial morpheme *-a*.

umhlola 'evil omen'

inqunda 'medicine to disturb the army'

ifa 'property of a dead person'

ufa 'a crack'

6.3 THE DEVERBATIVE FINAL MORPHEME -e

The word *imfumbe* is a deverbative noun containing the deverbative final morpheme -e.

ukufumba > *imfumbe* 'riddle'

The Bible book of Judges (Abehluleli 14:14) tells us about *imfumbe*.

It is assumed that the guidance received by the head diviner from his clients figures prominently with riddling.

The words listed below all contain the deverbative final morpheme -e:

ukugebha > *ingebhe* 'to be afraid'

ukuthola > *umthole* 'cat-thorn-tree'

ukufeba > *isifebe* 'prostitute'

ukugega > *isigege* 'girl's beadwork frontal covering'

ukugega > *ingege* 'anus'

ukuhlula > *ihlule* 'clotting blood'

ukuqhuma > *uqhume/uluqhume* '*hippobromus alatus*'

ukusenga > *umsenge* '*cussonia spicata*'

All the above deverbatives are impersonal nouns with the exception of *isifebe* 'prostitute', which is a personal deverbative noun.

6.4 THE DEVERBATIVE FINAL MORPHEME -i

The words listed below are deverbatives containing the deverbative final morpheme -i:

ukulumba > *umlumbi* 'witch'

ukuhungula > *umhunguli* 'hipnotiser'

ukubulala > *umbulali* 'killer'

ukuthakatha > *umthakathi* 'sorcerer'

ukukhunkula > *umkhunkuli* 'sorcerer'

ukuloya > *umloyi* 'sorcerer'

The last personal deverbative noun in the list above is possibly etimologically related to the Southern Sotho term *moloi* 'sorcerer'.

All the above terms are personal deverbative nouns. The term *umsebenzi* is, however, dualistic. The deverbative final morpheme *-i* does not distinguish between personal and impersonal deverbative nouns. Louw in his article argues that it is not the ending only that determines whether a deverbative is personal or impersonal. The prefix obviously also has an impact. The word *umsebenzi* can be personal or impersonal, thus:

Umsebenzi 'worker' is class 1.

Umsebenzi 'work' is class 3.

Class 1 is the human class while class 3 is the non-human class. This distinction is marked by certain agreement forms as can be seen from the table below:

Noun	Class 1 agreement	Class 3 agreement
<i>umsebenzi</i>	<i>yena</i>	<i>wona</i>
<i>umsebenzi</i>	<i>ngiyam<u>bona</u></i>	<i>ngiyaw<u>ubona</u></i>

There is apart from the difference in the agreement string between the personal and impersonal form a suprasegmental (tonal) difference between the personal and impersonal deverbative nouns in this case. Compare the tone markings below:

umsèbènzì 'work'

umsébénzì 'worker'.

Inyangá (Zulu) and *inyangì* (Xhosa) need a thorough investigation. Both terms are derived from the Proto form **xanga* meaning 'to heal'. *Inyangá* has a deverbative final morpheme *-a* while *inyangì* has a deverbative final morpheme *-i*.

6.5 DEVERBATIVES WITH THE DEVERBATIVE FINAL MORPHEME -O

The following examples are examples with a deverbative final morpheme -o:

ukuhlola > umhlolo 'evil omen'

ukulutha > umlutho 'hypnotism'

ukuhlahla > umhlahlo 'divination'

ukubhula > umbhulo 'divination'

ukuthanda > intando 'love charm'

ukuphuphutha > umphuphutho 'powder administered per rectum'

ukukhakhatha > isikhakhatho 'bitter medicine'

ukusokoca > umsokoco 'sorcerer'

Most of the deverbatives with the deverbative final morpheme -o are impersonal nouns. Umsokoco 'sorcerer' is an exception, since it is a personal noun. It is possible that umsokoco is a poetic term. This term is found in Nyembezi's collection of praise poems (1984:21):

OZihlandlo kaGcwabe ngibasolile,
Abasokoco,
 Inkosi kabayitshelang' izibuko,
 Bayiweze ngelisacons' amathe.

(Underlining by G.N. Donda)

'Zihlandlo of Gcwabe I blamed them,
 They are the sorcerers,
 They did not tell the king the ford,
 They made him to cross through the bloody one.'

6.6 DEVERBATIVES WITH THE DEVERBATIVE FINAL MORPHEME -U

The following are deverbatives with final morpheme -u:

ukufumba > isifumbu 'one with a hunch'

ukuthula > isithulu 'one who is deaf'

6.7 CONCLUSION

In conclusion it is necessary to stress that *umuthi per se* does not contribute to the enhancement of the language but the expressions, idioms and proverbs used by *izinyanga*, *izangoma*, *iziguli* and *abathakathi* contribute to the enrichment of the Zulu language. *umuthi* is a very prominent topic in the daily lives of the Zulu people.

When people talk they coin new terms such as *umthakathi* 'sorcerer' from *ukuthaka* 'to mix'. *Umthaki* 'one who mixes' can have two motives e.g. that of healing and that of killing but *umthakathi* mixes his medicines with the motive of killing.

Certain terms are etymologically related to the Proto forms such as:

*/TE/ FOR *umuthi*

*/KICATHI/ FOR *ihlathi*

*/XANGA/ FOR *inyanga*.

Some of the terms are borrowed from other languages such as:

ushevu < 'schev' (Dutch)

imfiva < 'fever' (English)

udokotela < 'doctor' (English)

i-alsa < 'ulcer' (English)

The process of internalising nouns as loan words, entails a number of changes which take place when words are imported from the Indo-European languages into Zulu. These changes are:

- (a) The changing of the syllabic structure from a closed to an open syllabic structure e.g. 'fever' > *i/mfi/va/*.
- (b) Providing a suitable class prefix e.g. 'doctor' > *udokotela*.
- (c) The avoidance of the structure /N V/ as in: ulcer > *i-alsa* and asthma > *i-asma*

It is clear that these borrowings expand the Zulu terminology and vocabulary.

The users and abusers of umuthi use expressions, idioms and proverbs as well which enrich the Zulu language. These have been discussed in chapter 5.

An idiom:

Ukukhala ngaso linye.

'To cry with one eye only./To shed crocodile tears.'

has been extended by Zulu native speakers in the following way:

Ukukhala ngaso linye njengomthakathi.

'To cry with one eye only like a sorcerer./To shed crocodile tears.'

A recommended area for future research is that of reference to umuthi in literary texts. The significance of traditional medicines and traditional medical practitioners should be researched in all the genres. It would be worthwhile investigating the functionality of the inclusion of makers, users and abusers of medicine in literary texts.

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