

UCHIBIDOLO: THE ABUNDANT HERDS

**A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE SANGA-NGUNI CATTLE
OF THE ZULU PEOPLE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO COLOUR-PATTERN
TERMINOLOGY AND NAMING-PRACTICE.**

by

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THIS DISSERTATION IS DEDICATED
WITH LOVE AND RESPECT TO

BERT SCHROEDER

WHOSE DEVOTION TO THE STUDY
OF THE SANGA-NGUNI CATTLE
OF THE ZULU PEOPLE
HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF CONSTANT INSPIRATION

*'...the mysterious word of mankind,
that frail yet wonderful echo of
the eternal Creative Word.'*

[Marcel Jousse, 1990: 229.]

ABSTRACT

Sanga-Nguni cattle have been present in Southern Africa for more than seven hundred years. They are the cattle traditionally owned by the Zulu people and have always been of great cultural and economic significance. They are distinguished by their hardiness and adaptability and are characterised by the great variety of their colours and patterns. This dissertation is a study of Sanga-Nguni cattle with special reference to colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice in Zulu.

More than three hundred terms in Zulu denote colour-pattern, horn-shape and type of beast. There are also a great number of terms for animals used for ritual purposes, especially those connected with the practice of *ukulobola*, in which cattle are exchanged during marriage negotiations. Many of these names, particularly those which refer to colour-pattern, are richly metaphorical, using imagery and analogy which connect the cattle with the birds, animals and plants that share their environment.

Both archival and field sources have been employed to document as many of these names as possible and to classify them according to cultural significance, type, colour-pattern configuration and metaphorical content.

Cattle names cannot be appreciated in isolation and in order to understand the complexity of the Zulu terminology, the significance of cattle in the cultural and economic life of the Zulu people as well as their biology and history has also been described.

'Cattle lore' concerning beliefs about cattle and perceptions of them in the cosmology of the Zulu people are recorded. The role of cattle in the oral tradition and cattle imagery in proverbs, poetry and tales as well as the praises of cattle themselves, have been explored in overview and provide insight into how the Zulu people perceive their herds.

The dissertation is divided into four sections:

- i) Research setting
- ii) Pastoralism in Zulu society
- iii) Colour-pattern terminology and related naming-practice
- iv) Perceptions of cattle and the role of cattle in the oral tradition.

Although this is a primarily a language study, the subject of which is the documenting and analysis of the vast range of cattle terms found in Zulu, it is also a study of the role of cattle in Zulu society and their significance in the thought-patterns of the people who own them and with whom they have lived in such close contact for so many centuries.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS
SECTION ONE: RESEARCH SETTING

	Page
<u>Chapter 1: Subject and Structure</u>	1
1.1 Introduction	
1.2 Methodology	12
1.3 Structure: Sections and Chapter Divisions	19
1.4 Sources	30
1.4.1 Archival Sources	
1.4.2 Field Sources	
1.5 Conclusion	37
<u>Chapter 2: Theoretical Approaches</u>	44
2.1 Introduction	44
2.2 Basic Colour Terms	47
2.3 Symbolism	57
2.4 Metaphor and Meaning	62
2.4.1 Defining a Metaphor	
2.4.2 Understanding Metaphor: Some Theoretical Approaches	
2.4.2.1 Interactive Theory of Metaphor	
2.4.3 Aspects and Features of Metaphor	
2.4.4 Context	
2.4.5 Imagery	
2.5 The Oral Tradition	85
2.6 Conclusion	89

SECTION TWO
PASTORALISM IN ZULU SOCIETY

<u>INTRODUCTION: Pastoralism in Africa</u>	91
<u>Chapter 3: The Cattle of the Zulu People: their Biology, History and Economic Importance</u>	96
3.1 Introduction	96
3.2 Sanga-Nguni Cattle: A Biological Profile.	103
3.2.1 Physical Features	
3.2.2 Adaptability	
3.2.3 Fertility	
3.2.4 Performance	
3.2.4.1 Calving	
3.2.4.2 Growth	
3.2.4.3 Carcase Quality and Beef Production	
3.2.5 Temperament	

3.3	The History of the Cattle of the Zulu People	107
3.3.1	Introduction	
3.3.2	Cattle of the Zulu Kings	
3.3.3	Cattle and the Zulu Military Regime	
3.3.3.1	Shields	
3.4	The Economic Importance of Cattle	116
3.4.1	The Herd	
3.4.2	Herding and Milking	
3.4.3	Cattle Products	
3.4.3.1	Milk, Meat and Fat	
3.4.3.2	Hides and Skins	
3.4.3.3	Bone, Horn and Dung	
3.4.3.3.1	Bone	
3.4.3.3.2	Horn	
3.4.3.3.3	Dung	
3.4.4	Health, Disease and Medication	
3.5	The Decline of the Cattle Culture	134
 <u>Chapter 4: The Cultural Significance of Cattle</u>		138
4.1	Introduction	138
4.2	Cattle and the Ancestral Shades	142
4.2.1	The Cattle Byre	
4.2.2	<i>Izinkomo Zamadlozi</i> : Cattle of the Ancestors	
4.2.3	<i>Izinkomo Zemzimu</i> : Cattle of the Shades of the Nation	
4.3	The Role of Cattle in Rites of Passage: Birth, Puberty, Marriage and Death	154
4.3.1	Cattle and Birth	154
4.3.2	Cattle and Puberty	157
4.3.2.1	The Role of Cattle-Herding in the Education of the Child	
4.3.3	Cattle and Marriage	162 ✓
4.3.3.1	<i>Ukwendisa</i> or <i>Imbeka</i> Cattle of the Bride	
4.3.3.2	<i>Lobolo</i> Cattle	
4.3.3.3	Other Cattle Connected with Marriage Ceremonies	
4.3.3.3.1	Other Cattle given by the Bride's Family	
4.3.3.3.2	Other Cattle given by the Groom's Family	
4.3.3.4	Cattle Slaughtered during Marriage Ceremonies	
4.3.3.5	Goats	
4.3.4	The Significance of Milk	
4.3.5	The Role of Cattle in Ceremonies Connected with Death and Burial	178
4.4	National Ceremonies	181
4.4.1	First Fruits Ceremony	
4.4.2	Asking the Kings for Rain	
4.4.3	<i>Nomkhubulwana</i> Ceremonies	
4.5	Ritual Killing and Sacrifice	189
4.6	Discussion	195

SECTION THREE

AMABALA EZINKOMO: CATTLE MARKINGS A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF COLOUR-PATTERN TERMINOLOGY AND RELATED NAMING-PRACTICE

<u>1. INTRODUCTION:</u>	197
2. Naming-Practice	202
2.1 Morphology of Cattle Terms	
2.2 Order of Naming	
3. Classification of Terms	210
4. Conclusion	212
<u>Chapter 5: Uhlobo Lwenkomo: Cattle Names</u>	218
<u>Associated with Type of Beast and Customary</u>	
<u>and Ritual Practice</u>	
5.1 Introduction	218
5.2 Type of Beast	220
5.2.1 General Cattle terms Denoting Gender and Type	
5.2.1.1 Cows and Heifers	
5.2.1.2 Bulls	
5.2.1.3 Oxen (Steers and Bullocks)	
5.2.1.4 Calves	
5.2.2 Physical Features Regardless of Gender	
5.2.3 Miscellaneous Terms Regarding Function	
5.3 Ritual Names	239 ✓
5.3.1 <i>Lobolo</i> Cattle	
5.3.2 Other Ritual Beasts	
5.4 Discussion	259
<u>Chapter 6: Physical Colour Features in the Patterns</u>	261
<u>of the Sanga-Nguni Cattle of the Zulu People:</u>	
<u>Solid Colours and Colour Combinations</u>	
6.1 Introduction:	261
6.2 Solid Colours	267
6.2.1 White	
6.2.2 Black	
6.2.3 Red	
6.2.4 Brown	
6.2.5 Dun	
6.2.6 Yellow	
6.3 Discussion	293
6.4 Colour Combinations	294
6.4.1 Bicolour Combinations	295

6.4.1.1 The <i>Inkone</i> Pattern	296
6.4.1.2 Roan	
6.4.1.2.1 Red Roan	
6.4.1.2.2 Grey Roan	
6.4.1.3 General Bicolour Combinations	302
6.4.1.3.1 White and Black: Black and White	
6.4.1.3.2 White and Red: Red and White	
6.4.1.3.3 White and Brown: Brown and White	
6.4.1.3.4 White and Dun: Dun and White	
6.4.1.3.5 White and Yellow: Yellow and White	
6.4.1.3.6 Black and Red	
6.4.1.3.7 Black and Brown	
6.4.2 Tricolour Combinations	320
6.5 Discussion	322
<u>Chapter 7: Distributional and Descriptive Terms for Cattle Markings and Colour-Patterns</u>	324
7.1 Introduction	324
7.2 Distributional Terms for Patterns	326
7.2.1 Mottled and Variegated Patterns	
7.2.2 Spotted Patterns	
7.2.3 Striped Patterns	
7.2.4 Miscellaneous Distributional Patterns	
7.2.5 Quality and Intensity of Colour	
7.3 Discussion	340
<u>Chapter 8: Colour-Patterns with Metaphorical Associations</u>	343
8.1 Introduction	343
8.2 Names Associated with Birds	348
8.3 Names Associated with Animals, Reptiles and Insects	365
8.4 Names Associated with Plants	372
8.5 Names Associated with Other Natural Phenomena	377
8.6 Discussion	386
<u>Chapter 9: Naming-Practice in Zulu: Horn-Shapes</u>	389
9.1 Introduction	389
9.2 Terms for Horn-Shapes	391
9.2.1 Plain Descriptive Terms for Horn-Shapes	
9.2.2 Terms for Horn-Shapes with Metaphorical Associations	
9.3 Discussion	407

SECTION FOUR
UCHIBIDOLO: THE ABUNDANT HERDS
PERCEPTIONS OF CATTLE

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	410
<u>Chapter 10: Cattle Lore and the Role of Cattle in the Oral Tradition</u>	415
10.1 Introduction	415
10.2 Cattle Lore	417
10.2.1 Cattle and Birds	
10.2.1.1 Cattle and Forktailed Drongos	
10.2.1.2 Cattle and Wagtails	
10.2.1.3 Cattle and Blackeyed Bulbuls	
10.2.1.4 Cattle and the Crested Eagle	
10.2.1.5 Cattle and Other Associations with Birds	
10.2.2 Cattle and Animals and Plants	
10.2.3 Cattle and Concepts of the Sky	
10.2.4 Cattle and Rain	
10.2.5 Cattle and Locusts	
10.2.6 Cattle and the Shadow of the Chief	
10.2.7 To Bewitch a Beast	
10.2.8 Cattle and Omens	
10.2.9 Sacred Cattle	
10.3 The Role of Cattle in the Oral Tradition	431
10.3.1 Cattle Imagery in Proverbs	
10.3.2 Cattle and Oral Poetry	
10.3.2.1 Praises of Cattle	
10.3.2.2 Praise Names of Cattle	
10.3.3 Cattle in Oral Prose	
10.3.3.1 Cattle as Characters in Tales	
10.3.3.2 Cattle in History and Legend	
10.4 Discussion	463
<u>Chapter 11: Conclusion:</u>	464

VOLUME II: APPENDICES

I. Dictionary of Cattle Terms	1
II. Illustrated and Annotated Figures of Selected Sanga-Nguni Cattle.	85

<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	133
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SECTION ONE

RESEARCH SETTING

CHAPTER ONE: SUBJECT AND STRUCTURE

*He came from Him-who-owns-the-stars, Father-of-beauty;
He was born with the star of morning;
When the red light of dawn appeared,
He stretched himself to his full height, this
wonderful bovine.'*¹

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The cattle of the Zulu people - *uchibidolo*, the abundant herds - are deeply significant to those who own them and have, for centuries, been indissolubly part of Zulu life and cosmology, essential both economically and spiritually to the well-being of the people:

'The cow is ... our great means of support (*sondlo*). It is our traditional server out of food which we brought with us from the place whence we came as people. The creation by God is a great miracle here on earth. It is said that "one hand washes the other", so it is with the cow and man.'²

It is these cattle that are the subject of this dissertation. The focus of the work is a descriptive study of colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice. However, in order

¹. Kunene, D.P. 1971. 'Praises of Animals and Objects'. Heroic Poetry of the Basotho. p.139, quoting J.J. Machobane, 1947. Mphatlalatsane. Morija. p. 66.

². Stuart, James. 1938. PAPERS, 'The Cow - I', translated by E. Dahle. MS File 88: p 1. Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban.

to understand this aspect of the Zulu 'cattle-culture' it is necessary to place it in context. Therefore, the role of cattle in Zulu society and the way in which they are perceived by the people - their biological, historical, economic and cultural significance - is described in order to provide a background against which the colour-pattern terminology and related naming-practice can be explored. Without an understanding of this context, it would be difficult to appreciate why the colour-pattern terminology is both so complex and sophisticated and to comprehend the need for such an extensive vocabulary in such a specific and circumscribed area of interest. However, due to constraints imposed by the nature of academic research and the need to concentrate on certain aspects of the topic, an in-depth analysis of every facet and feature of the cattle-culture of the Zulu people, including the necessary in-depth anthropological insights, is beyond the scope of a language and literature study. Consequently, a descriptive **overview** of the role of cattle in the society to set the subject of naming-practice within an appropriate framework, is all that is possible.

Although the significance of cattle and their economic and ritual role are well-documented in all the monographs and related writing on the Zulu people, particularly in connection with marriage and the custom of *ukulobola*, by means of which cattle are transferred between the families of the groom and bride, very little research has been undertaken on the extensive and complex terminology used to describe these cattle³. Although cattle terms

³ Adam Kuper's pioneering work *Wives for Cattle* (1982) is the most comprehensive analysis to date of the *lobolo* system as it applies in Southern Africa.

are found in many of the anthropological works, in most of the existing dictionaries, and especially in works such as Nyembezi and Nxumalo's seminal Inqolobane Yesizwe (1966), an analysis of these names, including a full description of terms and their provenance has not, to my knowledge, been attempted before. The role of cattle in the oral tradition, both as subject or in terms of pertinent imagery, has also been overlooked and a comprehensive analysis has been tackled by very few⁴. Such studies would add to a fuller understanding and appreciation of the significance of cattle in Zulu society.

Of consideration too, are the changing perceptions of cattle. Dramatic changes within Zulu society, especially in the closing decades of this century - in imposing an increasingly western-based economy - have altered attitudes, resources and lifestyle. Despite this, cattle still maintain much of their symbolic and economic importance, especially in rural areas.

This dissertation, therefore, is a *descriptive study* of these names, for although analysis of the metaphorical and symbolic content of the terms is an important aspect of it, it seemed necessary to document all the known terms to provide a data-base from which an attempt at some form of classification could be made and from which other - possibly more analytical - studies might emanate. This was necessary as such an inventory, drawn from the variety of sources described above, did not exist before. From the starting point of this inventory - this primary

⁴ The praises of domestic animals, which include a number related to cattle, have been recorded among the Zulu by Lawrence Molefe in his unpublished M.A. dissertation The Praises of Domestic Animals (1992. University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg), which is a significant contribution in this area.

data-base - an analysis of the material could be undertaken. The terms have been compiled from both archival and field sources and, it is acknowledged, can never be complete nor entirely comprehensive: regional differences in naming-practice account for a greater variety and range of names than might, at first, be imagined. Furthermore, terminology changes and adapts over time and on-going research will reveal that the acquisition of new names and the disappearance of others, is part of the dynamic of the naming-tradition which will make a study such as this something which can be frequently reviewed and updated. Despite these changes, however, there is, at the core of the tradition, a remarkable consistency in the conception of these terms, which stretches back over hundreds of years: the similarity in naming-practice found among many different pastoral people throughout Africa seems to attest to the ancient lineage of many of these names and of naming-practice in general.

The cattle which provide the subject of this study are of the distinctive breed popularly known as 'Nguni' (*Bos taurus africanus*) (Scholtz & Lombard, nd:1). They are a sub-type of the African Sanga cattle. I have augmented the popular name 'Nguni' in favour of the more comprehensive 'Sanga-Nguni', a term proposed by both Armstrong and Bachmann, who believe that 'Nguni', as a term, is somewhat misleading, relating - and consequently restricting - the cattle to association with a particular ethnic group. Armstrong (1984: 2) states:

'..ethnic differences preclude the choice of a universal name such as Nguni for Southern African Sanga cattle generally.'

Sanga cattle are found all over Africa and many subtypes exist. Both Anderson and Bachmann propose terminology such as Sanga-Nguni, Sanga-Pedi, Sanga-Ovambo etc. in order to distinguish between the various distinctive ecotypes of Sanga cattle (personal communication, Bachmann to MPO, March 1996). The animals which are the subject of this study are, therefore, the Sanga-Nguni of Kwazulu-Natal.

The Sanga-Nguni are, according to Bachmann, a mixture of *Bos taurus* and *Bos indicus* and physiologically have characteristics of both. They are small, compact and hardy beasts. The present day Sanga-Nguni are the descendants of the cattle which came into Southern Africa during the first millennium AD and which evolved out of a mixture of the various types that were present in East and Northern Africa in ancient times.

In his publication Cattle of the Swazi (1947: 17), Faulkner writes:

'According to Epstein and Curzon the Zulu and Swazi cattle are a sub-type of the Sanga which was originally evolved as an intermixture between the Hamitic Longhorn (the first domesticated cattle in Africa) and the Long-horned Zebu (Asiatic in origin). Toward the end of the third pre-Christian millennium Semetic tribes, together with their long-horned Zebu cattle, invaded Africa by way of Abyssinia and Somaliland and since the invasion was a general one interbreeding was able to take place between the cattle brought by the invaders and the local Hamitic Longhorn cattle.'

Considerable research on the origins of African cattle has been conducted since Faulkner's pioneering study on Swazi cattle was published and, more recently, J.A.B. Hundleby, discussing the origin and progress of the breed, has added a further perspective. Quoting both Felius (1985) and Epstein (1971) in his paper The Nguni Breed - Origin and Progress, Hundleby (June 1986:

1) states:

'"The first Sanga cattle may have arisen about 1600 BC in the region that is now Ethiopia and Somalia as a result of interbreeding between the resident Hamitic longhorn and Zebu cattle that are thought to have arrived in Africa 400 years earlier" (Felius 1985). Most authors subscribe to this thinking, including Epstein, who, in 1971, suggested that Sanga Cattle "are neither of pure or nearly pure humpless longhorn type nor of pure or nearly pure zebu type, but represent a variable mixture of pure parent stock". Recent research however indicates that the Sanga's origins may be entirely African. Rock paintings discovered in Libya and the Sahara desert depict Sanga-like longhorned cattle. These paintings are estimated to be nearly 8000 years old which places a new perspective on the question of origin as the arrival on the African continent of the European humpless longhorn has, until now, been set around 5000 BC.'

The great migration of people originating in north-eastern Africa which moved down the continent with their Sanga cattle, divided into Western and Southern streams. The western nomads passed through the southern part of the Sudan, turning westwards until they reached Lake Chad, where Sanga-type cattle are still found today. The southern stream, went the way the Khoi had gone before them, journeying down eastern Africa, following the Great Lakes until they came to the Zambezi River. Hereafter they broke into various groups - some going westwards into the present-day Botswana and Namibia, others travelling down through Mozambique, Swaziland and eventually into Zululand.

Bachmann states (Notes on Nguni Cattle, nd: 1)

'Isochronal maps of cattle remains on which dating has been done clearly illustrate the wave-like movements of the cattle and their owners from the Sahara via East Africa to Southern Africa. The languages of the pastoral Negro/Bantu people have numerous words associated with their cattle culture which link the people from Chad through East Africa to Southern Africa.'

According to Hundleby (1986: 1), when the nomadic owners of these cattle migrated south through Africa, they eventually

arrived in Southern Africa via three routes:

- 'i) - South-Westerly to Ovamboland and Botswana
- ii) - Southerly to Zimbabwe, Northern and Eastern Transvaal
- iii) - South-easterly to Mozambique, Zululand and Swaziland.'

Ina Plug (1994: 30) in an article on archeozoology states:

'By 300 BC settled communities with cattle were living in Southern Africa, in Eastern Botswana, the Transvaal, as far south as the Hartebeestpoortdam area, the Eastern Lowveld and the coastal region of Natal'.

This long history - 1700 years - has given the Sanga-Nguni an extended period during which to adapt both to the region and the husbandry practices of the people who own them.

Bachmann admits that the origins of Nguni cattle are not altogether certain due to the fact that their owners left no written records and because cattle remains do not persist for long in the environment. He asks the question (*Notes on Nguni Cattle*. nd: 1):

'Are Sanga cattle basically a very ancient African type or are they a mixture of the two distinct types from Asia Minor and India? Protein analysis indicate that they have characteristics of both *Bos taurus* and *Bos indicus* cattle. Physiologically they have characteristics that place them apart from both types. What is certain is that they have been shaped by the natural selection in the African environment for many thousands of years.'

The colours of these cattle were and still are widely varied in combination and pattern: in common with the other people who have owned and lived in close association with them, the Zulu have given their beasts names which are rich in imagery, symbolism and allusion and which reflect, by their choice, the keenest sense of observation and association.

Since the advent of Europeans in Southern Africa, livestock from Europe has been systematically introduced and the indigenous breed has, in many instances, given way to new strains.

Sophisticated breeding practices and a preference for imported stock have, until recently, diminished the importance of the Sanga-Nguni. However, in the last decades there has been an upsurge of interest in these animals and a new appreciation of their hardihood, their adaptability and their resistance to disease. Furthermore, their ability to share the environment with game, in a way undamaging to both, has made them able to adjust to environments where less robust cattle would be unable to thrive. Bachmann (Notes on Nguni Cattle. nd: 3), assessing the positive traits of indigenous cattle, states:

'Indeed when one recognises all these positive traits and realises how financially important they are collectively and when one endeavors to look into the future of Africa one cannot but decide that indigenous cattle such as Ngunis have a future role to play which exotic cattle can hardly fulfil.'

Although much is written of the cattle-culture of many African peoples and of the Zulu themselves, only perfunctory attention has been paid to the naming of their beasts. The names of the colour-patterns which distinguish them is a subject on which it is difficult to find detailed information except from the men who care for existing herds and who have been interviewed in the field. As stated earlier, the terms for colour-patterns appear in dictionaries but, more often than not, the lexicographer notes the colour without comment on the allusion so strikingly contained in it and without connecting it to other meanings which the word denotes. For example, an entry in Doke and Vilakazi's Zulu-English Dictionary (1948: 469), *-lunga*, contains the following information:

'*-lunga* (*i(li)lunga*, 2,6,3-8.9, *amalunga*) n.
[>*-lunga*.]

1. Black or brown beast with white stripes across stomach and legs. [cf. *i(li)waba*.]
2. Species of shrike.
3. Old person (term not complimentary).'

No mention is made of the connection between meanings 1 and 2, or the fact that the beast is named '*ilunga*' because the colours of its hide and the conformation of its stripes resemble, very closely, the plumage of the Fiscal shrike (*Lanius collaris*). It is, perhaps, not within the scope of the lexicographer's task to explain that this black and white beast has features which distinguish it from other black and white beasts and that '*ilunga*' can only apply to a specifically constituted colour-pattern. However, this oversight is understandable if the beast in question has never been seen in the flesh or if the lexicographer has little knowledge of the birds or wild game that share the pastures with the cattle. It is only when the beast is juxtaposed with the bird, animal, plant or object with which it shares a name, that the visual link is immediately obvious. It is only then that the varied and extraordinarily apt analogy between the two can be appreciated.

Although the names for colour and patterning are the most evocative in the 'cattle vocabulary' and are the aspect of naming on which this study focuses, there is also a wide range of words in the Zulu language which refer to the shape, position and structure of the horns of these animals. There is a significant number of words ascribed to beasts used for different purposes, referring, for example, to the intricate *lobolo* system in which cattle are transferred between families on marriage. Another category of names exists for cattle used for customary practices

other than those connected with marriage. Other names describe types of beast, referring to age, gender, status. For example, there are numerous names for cows denoting fertility, stages of milk-production and calving. Several terms refer to bulls, describing size or some other relevant feature, e.g. *u(lu)swempe* (lone, cast-out bull); *i(li)theku* (one-testicled bull).

There are a number of primary sources which were used for this study, significant among them being the Nguni Cattle Register, a work in which the photographs of 200 beasts and the Zulu names referring to the colour-patterns, have been recorded. This compilation is the work of Berthold Schroeder of Estcourt whose lifelong interest in Nguni cattle led him to record meticulously the names of as many different beasts as he could from a number of herds, especially those belonging to the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture's herd at Bartlow Combine at Hluhluwe, which is now administered by Cedara Agricultural College. The name of the colour-pattern recorded with each example was obtained through discussion with the herders themselves and, in the cases where a connection with bird or animal was evident, an illustration provided to exemplify the visual connection. The photographs in the Nguni Cattle Register were taken by Roger de la Harpe of the Natal Parks Board and, more recently, have been augmented by a collection by Robert Papini of the Local History Museum, Durban. For the purposes of this study, Schroeder, de la Harpe and Papini, with great generosity, made available various pictures and reference material in the hope that a study would be undertaken which would explore, in some detail, the intricacies and mysteries of naming, aware that not only would

such an investigation contribute to the more general study of the Sanga-Nguni breed of cattle but that it might have some value in linguistic, literary and anthropological terms.

The primary title of this dissertation Uchibidolo: The Abundant Herds was suggested by Mr M. Hlengwa (personal communication, June 1996) to indicate the variety and abundance traditionally associated with the herds of the Zulu people. Abundance in numbers is not only suggested by the term, *uchibidolo*, abundance in the variety, subtlety, nuance and metaphorical associations linked with cattle names and colour-pattern, are central to the concept.

Starting from the image of the abundant herds, *uchibidolo*, the range of names, both individual and collective, used to describe type of beast, colour varieties, horns and patterns is enormously varied, embracing associations with plants, animals and everyday objects which reflect both something of the environment in which the cattle live and something of the worldview of the people who own them.

Because cattle play such an important part in the economic and ritual lives of the Zulu, the way that the Zulu people perceive them and the lore with which they are associated is also crucial to an understanding of the role of cattle in Zulu society. Furthermore, imagery and metaphor associated with cattle is abundant in the oral tradition - in stories, poetry, proverbs and riddles. Imagery, metaphor and symbolism in that tradition often revolves around this much-celebrated beast and the ways in which these images are employed in the different genres is a field of study in its own right, one which would augment

significantly an understanding of the Sanga-Nguni cattle of the Zulu and sadly, due to the constraints imposed by the need to focus on certain aspects of the subject, acknowledged but only peripherally explored in this dissertation.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

A dissertation of this nature, though primarily a language study and falling within the ambit of Zulu language and literature, embraces more than one discipline. It is as relevant, for example, as a study in Oral Documentation and much theoretical and methodological guidance has emanated, in co-supervision, from the Centre for Oral Studies. The naming of cattle, though part of a more-or-less fixed and specialised vocabulary, is of interest to anyone concerned with the oral tradition and oral art: the names, which could be classified as 'abbreviated poems', are rich in imagery and metaphorical association. Important as the documentation and classification of these categories is, and, as illuminating as literary considerations may prove to be, these aspects of the subject cannot be divorced from the beast as a whole or its function and significance to members of the society in the context of which it is examined. Consequently, Social Anthropology is another discipline in terms of which the material has had to be assessed. Zulu symbolism, especially in regard to colours and the perception of these, is crucial to understanding why certain colour-patterns are viewed as more significant or desirable than others and Symbolic Anthropology has afforded insights which otherwise might have been overlooked. How language uses images

and why such language is appropriate, can only be understood if the cultural context is taken into account.

With regard to the metaphorical content of the names, the interdisciplinary debate becomes more intense. This is not a dissertation about metaphor but the metaphorical content of the names is of primary interest: suffice it to say that the question 'What is metaphor?' is - since Aristotle first examined the issue thousands of years ago - as yet unresolved. Metaphor can be approached from the perspective of philosophy, epistemology, linguistics, anthropology, sociology, to name a few, and has been studied intensively and controversially from every angle. In scrutinizing the metaphor inherent in Zulu cattle names some of these questions - what is metaphor for? - have been addressed and will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two.

As colour-patterns and their terminology have not been analysed in any detail before, I am treading into unknown and unexplored territory. It appears, however, that what Evans-Pritchard (1940: 41) wrote in relation to the cattle terms used by the pastoral Nuer people of the Sudan, could as well apply to the Zulus:

'These terms are more than a linguistic technique which enable Nuer to speak of cattle with precision in situations of practical husbandry and in the many social contexts in which they figure, for they establish associations on the one hand between wild creatures and cattle and on the other hand between cattle and their masters; they furnish certain ritual categories; and they greatly enrich the language of poetry.'

It is these aspects of the study of cattle and this relationship between cattle and the world, described by Evans-Pritchard, which are central to an attempt to understand Zulu cattle terminology and naming-practice in this dissertation.

In this study I have adopted an approach that, I hope, will enable me to present a well-constructed classification of colour-patterns which may, in turn, contribute to an understanding of this terminology, set within the context of a descriptive assessment of the cattle-culture of the Zulu people as a whole. Consequently, the data is divided into three sections, each consisting of a number of chapters:

Section One: Research Setting.

- i) Subject and Structure.
- ii) Methodology.

Section Two: Pastoralism in Zulu Society.

- i) The Cattle of the Zulu People: Biology, History and Cultural Significance.

Section Three: Amabala Ezinkomo: Cattle Markings

- i) A Descriptive Study of Colour-Pattern Terminology and Related Naming-Practice.

Section Four: Uchibidolo: The Abundant Herds

- i) Perceptions of Cattle.

Besides introducing the subject, the first section, of which this chapter is part, sets out the form of the dissertation and the methodology used to present and analyse the data. Metaphor and symbolism pertinent to the study of cattle names will be examined in the light of various current theories informed by both literary criticism, and anthropology.

The second section describes the Sanga-Nguni cattle and their role in Zulu society from a biological, historical and cultural perspective. This is the backdrop against which the extensive and complex naming-practice of cattle is viewed.

In the third section, the colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice is presented and classified. The content of these categories, besides being documented as fully as possible, will be analysed in terms of imagery and metaphorical content and any

useful insights in relation to symbolic significance which may apply.

The fourth section deals with the way in which the Zulu people perceive their cattle. What could be described as 'cattle-lore' will be examined as well as the extent to which both cattle (as the primary subject) and cattle-imagery (in metaphorical terms - as, for example, applied to men) are found in the various genres of the oral tradition. Naming and naming-practice are, of course, part of the oral tradition and can be seen as a genre in their own right. It is this aspect of the oral art which will be intensively investigated in the course of this dissertation. It is felt, however, that if a comprehensive picture of the cattle of the Zulu people is to be achieved, the role of cattle in other branches of the oral tradition needs to be investigated. The amount of material in this regard is too extensive to be analysed in depth in this study but could provide a subject for another specialised investigation. Thus, this aspect can only be touched on in general terms, to place the colour-pattern and related terminology within a broader context and to view the beast as a whole - as part of a society, an environment and as an instrument through which the perceptions of the Zulu people can be explored from a particular perspective.

There have been many approaches to the study of oral art and differing schools of thought regarding a methodology to be followed in examining material. In determining an approach, Ruth Finnegan's seminal study Oral Literature in Africa (1970) provided insights which were central in developing an idea of how

to proceed⁵.

Finnegan poses many questions, which, in terms of the present study, need to be addressed. The first set of questions involve the material and its interpretation and the second a 'checklist' which covers the ambiguities which confront anyone engaged in the study of some aspect of the 'oral tradition' or 'oral art':

- i) If men describe their world - how do they do it?
- ii) What words do they use?
- iii) What images do they perceive and what metaphorical associations do they favour?
- iv) How are these images figuratively expressed?
- v) What is the system of symbols to which they subscribe and how do these influence choices in terms of metaphor?
- vi) How is Nature perceived?

Much debate has centred recently on the term 'tradition' in general and 'oral tradition' in particular. Assumptions inherent in the usual interpretation of these terms may be ambiguous. Finnegan (1992: 7-8) says:

'It is tempting to dub any verbalisation captured in research as "oral tradition", and proceed to assume a series of consequential - and perhaps false - properties. Statements about "oral tradition" tend to be buttressed by a series of politically and personally entrenched values, often intertwined with questions of national or group identity, so it can be particularly difficult to examine these critically or investigate how far each meaning is really supported by ethnographic evidence.'

In order to consider how far the various associations of the oral tradition apply to a particular item or process under study, Finnegan proposes a checklist, which, in essence, covers the

⁵. Finnegan, Ruth. Various works, cited in the bibliography have been consulted, particularly Oral Literature in Africa (1970), Oxford: The Clarendon Press; Oral Poetry (1992), Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts (1992), London: Routledge.

following considerations:

- i) Is the tradition 'old'? If so, in what sense?
- ii) Is it shared by everyone in the society or group and if not, who controls or uses it and in what situations?
- iii) Is the term 'tradition' an evaluative one for all the people being studied?
- iv) Is the tradition process or product?
- v) Is the tradition passed on? If it is, by whom? For how long? And is it invented in any sense? If so, by whom?
- vi) How far is the tradition crystallised or explicit in the perceptions or practice of the people being studied?
- vii) Is the tradition in question differentiated into different media, versions etc.?

Certainly, cattle names belong to a long and time-honoured tradition. However, despite the basic ideas on which the terms are built, the terminology is neither static nor in any way anachronistic: they are fluid and open to novel combination, which give rise to interpretations that are individualistic and dynamic. To the older terms - which could be described as 'traditional' - are added new ones which sustain - in spirit and choice - an underlying pattern, linked to analogy drawn from the immediate world, from which herdsmen have taken inspiration for generations. Knowledge of these terms can be generally acquired by any members of the society but remains, because of its speciality, the preserve of boys and men involved in animal husbandry.

In answer to Finnegan's question - 'is naming a product or a process' - the conclusion that can be drawn, is that it is both: the need to identify animals accurately is a product of this complex tradition; the means by which names evolve over time in an ongoing process which will continue to develop as long as pastoralism is important to the Zulu people. A cryptic means of identification is the result of this tradition, the language in

which it is experienced is both memorable and aesthetically rewarding.

Besides these questions of perception and the place of cattle terminology in the oral tradition, the question of the interpretation of metaphor is central to an understanding of naming-practice and terminology. Taking direction from Ortony (1979: 16), the following aspects of the study of metaphor require examination:

- i) what are metaphors?
- ii) what are metaphors for?
- iii) how can metaphorical language be distinguished from literal language?
- vi) can metaphors be reduced to comparisons - especially in terms of the subject under scrutiny?
- v) is the reduction of metaphors to comparisons a fruitful approach to understanding the nature of metaphor or not?

According to Sienaert (personal communication), the question that needs to be asked in terms of understanding the question of colour-pattern terminology and naming, is whether those terms are, in fact, truly metaphorical or simply comparisons or analogies? Perhaps they are transsubstantiations - having been transformed from one thing into another and taking on the quality and substance of the thing with which they are associated?

A discussion of symbolism and metaphor in relation to the topic will be examined more fully in Chapter Two and in the context of each section of this dissertation, as the need arises.

A remark - or a challenge - offered by Finnegan in Oral Literature in Africa (1970: 47) in regard to the directions both taken and neglected by students of African oral art, was a spur to the inception of this study. She states:

'The poetic, the topical, and the literary - all these, then, are aspects which still tend to be overlooked. It is

indeed hard for those steeped in some of the earlier theories to take full account of them.'

It is hoped that this 'oversight' will be addressed in this study with regard to the naming of cattle in Zulu and the role they play in the cosmology of the people.

1.3 STRUCTURE: SECTIONS AND CHAPTER DIVISIONS

As described in 1.2 above, this dissertation is divided into *four* sections, each consisting of a number of chapters which address the topic introduced by each section. The chapters are numbered sequentially from Chapter One (in Section One) to Chapter 13 (in Section Four). In other words, there is only one 'CHAPTER ONE' and each section does not number its chapters independently of the section before or after. Although the division into sections may appear unnecessary, the decision to do so was made because four distinct areas of interest are under examination and, practically, it has been useful to arrange the material in this way. The chapters contained in these sections, however, follow in a sequence which, it is hoped, is both logical and acceptable. Accordingly, they are numbered sequentially.

With regard to the four sections, Section One is the Introduction to the study, Section Two the context within the frame of which Section Three, the focus, is examined. Section Four deals with perceptions of cattle and includes the overall analysis of the material which is contained in the Conclusion.

In summary therefore, the dissertation, is constituted in the following manner:

SECTION ONE: RESEARCH SETTING

Chapter 1: Subject and Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Methodology
- 1.3 Structure: Sections and Chapter Divisions
- 1.4 Sources
 - 1.4.1 Archival Sources
 - 1.4.2 Field Sources
- 1.5 Conclusion

In Section One, Chapter One the topic, the method by which it is to be analysed and the context within which that analysis will proceed, is discussed. The aim and intention of the dissertation is outlined. The organisation of material and the sources of the data and all the relevant literature which has been consulted, is recorded.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Approaches

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Basic Colour Terms
- 2.3 Symbolism
- 2.4 Metaphor and Meaning
 - 2.4.1 Defining a Metaphor
 - 2.4.2 Understanding Metaphor: Some Theoretical Approaches
 - 2.4.2.1 Interactive Theory of Metaphor
 - 2.4.3 Aspects and Features of Metaphor
 - 2.4.4 Context
 - 2.4.5 Imagery
- 2.5 The Oral Tradition
- 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlines, initially, the theory of the provenance of basic colour terms in any society, according to the analysis of Berlin and Kay whose Basic Color Terms (1969) has been influential in the understanding of colour terminology in societies throughout the world. Briefly, they propose that colour terms arise in a particular set sequence, no matter what society is being investigated and that this sequence is the base from

which far more sophisticated systems of colour terminology develop.

Besides the actual recording and classification of the material into categories, studies on symbolic anthropology have been investigated in order to give fresh perspective to an understanding of naming-practice and symbolism in relation to cattle. The complex subject of metaphor has been investigated and colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice explored in the light of various theories proposed for its comprehension.

SECTION TWO

PASTORALISM IN ZULU SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION: Pastoralism in Africa.

Chapter 3: The Cattle of the Zulu People: their Biology, History and Economic Importance

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Sanga-Nguni Cattle: A Biological Profile.
 - 3.2.1 Physical Features
 - 3.2.2 Adaptability
 - 3.2.3 Fertility
 - 3.2.4 Performance
 - 3.2.4.1 Calving
 - 3.2.4.2 Growth
 - 3.2.4.3 Carcase Quality and Beef Production
 - 3.2.5 Temperament
- 3.3 The History of the Cattle of the Zulu People
 - 3.3.1 Introduction
 - 3.3.2 Cattle of the Zulu Kings
 - 3.3.3 Cattle and the Zulu Military Regime
 - 3.3.3.1 Shields
- 3.4 The Economic Importance of Cattle
 - 3.4.1 The Herd
 - 3.4.2 Herding and Milking
 - 3.4.3 Cattle Products
 - 3.4.3.1 Milk, Meat and Fat
 - 3.4.3.2 Hides and Skins
 - 3.4.3.3 Bone, Horn and Dung
 - 3.4.4 Health Disease and Medication
- 3.5 The Decline of the Cattle Culture

In order to understand the importance of the Sanga-Nguni

cattle in Zulu society, it is relevant to document something of their biology, their history and economic value, especially in the light of their adaptability to different environments. Their future status as a beef breed and one most suited to the varying and often harsh conditions of the sub-continent is an issue which is currently engaging the attention of scientists, breeders and economists and the upsurge in interest in this breed has been significant in the last decade. However, the Sanga-Nguni's reinstatement in terms of economic importance should be accompanied by the due recognition of its cultural and historical background. All too often, during fieldwork, especially at commercial cattle-sales, it was evident that this aspect of the Sanga-Nguni life-history was neglected, diminished or disregarded.

Chapter 4: The Cultural Significance of Cattle

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Cattle and the Ancestral Shades

4.2.1 The Cattle Byre

4.2.2 *Izinkomo Zamadlozi*: Cattle of the Ancestors

4.2.3 *Izinkomo Zemzimu*: Cattle of the Shades of the Nation

4.3 The Role of Cattle in Rites of Passage: Birth, Puberty, Marriage and Death

4.3.1 Cattle and Birth

4.3.2 Cattle and Puberty

4.3.2.1 The Role of Cattle-Herding in the Education of the Child

4.3.3 Cattle and Marriage

4.3.3.1 *Ukwendisa* or *Imbeka* Cattle of the Bride

4.3.3.2 *Lobolo* Cattle

4.3.3.3 Other Cattle Connected with Marriage Ceremonies

4.3.3.3.1 Other Cattle given by the Bride's Family

4.3.3.3.2 Other Cattle given by the Groom's Family

4.3.3.4 Cattle Slaughtered during Marriage Ceremonies

4.3.3.5 Goats

- 4.3.4 The Significance of Milk
- 4.3.5 The Role of Cattle in Ceremonies Connected with Death and Burial
- 4.4 National Ceremonies
 - 4.4.1 First Fruits Ceremony
 - 4.4.2 Asking the Kings for Rain
 - 4.4.3 *Nomkhubulwana* Ceremonies
- 4.5 Ritual Killing and Sacrifice
- 4.6 Discussion

This chapter attempts an overview of the historical and cultural importance of cattle. The topics included above, each in their own right, would provide material for a number of studies. As stated in the Introduction (1.1), much has been written in all the major works on Zulu society about the role of cattle in the social and cultural life of the people. This aspect of the topic is the realm of the anthropologist and in a study of this nature can be explored only in a generally descriptive sense to provide the context in which the complexity of naming-practice can be assessed. In dealing with these various aspects of the subject, however, I have attempted to present the material from a perspective in which the role of cattle rather than that of the people is the focus of attention in the cultural activities, rites-de-passage and rituals described.

SECTION THREE: AMABALA EZINKOMO: CATTLE MARKINGS

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF COLOUR-PATTERN TERMINOLOGY AND RELATED NAMING-PRACTICE

1. INTRODUCTION:

2. Naming-Practice

2.1 Morphology of Cattle Terms

2.2 Order of Naming

3. Classification of Terms

4. Conclusion

This section, which constitutes the primary subject of this dissertation, is a descriptive study of colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice. A general overview outlining the broad categories proposed for the classification of these terms is discussed in the Introduction to this section and pursued in detail in the chapters comprising it. Broadly speaking, this section covers two general aspects:

- i) **General Naming-Practice**
- ii) **Classification of Names into Categories**

These are divided into many subsections which constitute a broad framework within the boundaries of which the terminology can be assessed:

In the chapters which follow this introduction to Section Three, the categories listed above are described in detail, documenting all relevant data, describing the terms and examining - where applicable - the imagery, metaphor and symbolism inherent in each. This section should also be used in conjunction with Appendix II in which a selection of beasts of the varying colour-patterns are documented. Not every colour-pattern described in this dissertation can be illustrated for reasons of space and bulk, but, it is hoped, an adequate cross-section is represented.

Listed below is a more detailed description of the chapters in this section and the aspects of the topic which are described in each.

Chapter 5: *Uhlobo Lwenkomo*: Cattle Names Associated with Type of Beast and Customary and Ritual Practice

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Type of Beast

- 5.2.1 General Cattle Terms Denoting Gender and Type
 - 5.2.1.1 Cows and Heifers
 - 5.2.1.2 Bulls
 - 5.2.1.3 Oxen (Steers and Bullocks)
 - 5.2.1.4 Calves
- 5.2.2 Physical Features Regardless of Gender
- 5.2.3 Miscellaneous Terms Regarding Function
- 5.3 Ritual Names
 - 5.3.1 *Lobolo* Cattle
 - 5.3.2 Other Ritual Beasts
- 5.4 Discussion

Chapter 6: Physical Colour Features in the Patterns of the Sanga-Nguni Cattle of the Zulu People: Solid Colours and Colour Combinations

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Solid Colours
 - 6.2.1 White
 - 6.2.2 Black
 - 6.2.3 Red
 - 6.2.4 Brown
 - 6.2.5 Dun
 - 6.2.6 Yellow
- 6.3 Discussion
- 6.4 Colour Combinations
 - 6.4.1 Bicolour Combinations
 - 6.4.1.1 The *Inkone* Pattern
 - 6.4.1.2 Roan
 - 6.4.1.3 General Bicolour Combinations
 - 6.4.2 Tricolour Combinations
- 6.5 Discussion

Each colour and colour combination is listed according to the categories above and the various shades, their tones and how these are differentiated are recorded and discussed in terms of imagery, metaphor, and, if appropriate, symbolic features.

There are so many permutations of colour combination that they are almost as numerous as the cattle they describe. However, a colour combination does fall into two broad categories a) bicolour and b) tricolour. Most cattle of combined colours have names with specifically metaphorical associations and consequently, many of the names discussed in this chapter will

be duplicated in chapter 8 in which metaphorical associations are described. For consistency's sake, however, it seemed appropriate to list as comprehensively as possible, from a physical point of view, the extent to which colour combination exists and thus, the duplication does not seem unnecessary.

Chapter 7: Distributional and Descriptive Terms for Cattle

Markings and Colour-Patterns

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Distributional Terms for Patterns

7.2.1 Mottled and Variegated Patterns

7.2.2 Spotted Patterns

7.2.3 Striped Patterns

7.2.4 Miscellaneous Distributional Patterns

7.2.5 Quality and Intensity of Colour

7.3 Discussion

There are a number of terms which are descriptive in the sense of indicating spottiness, gaudiness, stripes, variegated patterns etc. but which are not necessarily metaphorical in reference. The vast number of terms, however, are of interest in their variety and construction. Linguistic features such as the intensification of the relative stem is common e.g.

-manangananga, -mahwalahwala, -mahaqahaqa. Distributional terms are rich in imagery, e.g. *-fukufuku*, which indicates colour concentrated round the neck of a beast, resembling - in distribution - the way in which soil is thrust up by a mole.

Chapter 8: Colour-Patterns with Metaphorical Associations

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Names Associated with Birds

8.3 Names Associated with Animals, Reptiles and Insects

8.4 Names Associated with Plants

8.5 Names Associated with Other Natural Phenomena

8.6 Discussion

The most evocative names in colour-pattern terminology are those with metaphorical associations and these can be clearly classified into categories connected with various referents e.g. birds, animals etc. These names are fully described and annotated and their metaphorical content examined. This chapter is extensively illustrated with material recorded in Appendix II.

Chapter 9: Naming-Practice in Zulu: Horn-Shapes

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Terms for Horn-Shapes

9.2.1 Plain Descriptive Terms for Horn-Shapes

9.2.2 Terms for Horn-Shapes with Metaphorical Associations

9.3 Discussion

The terminology for horn-shape is documented and classified in terms of plain descriptive features and those with particular metaphorical associations. Unfortunately, due to the common practice among breeders of these cattle of polling their beasts, few photographic examples of horn-shape have been available to use as illustration. Voigt's illustrative figures (between pages 389 and 390), give an indication of the variety of shapes that exist in unpolled beasts.

SECTION FOUR

UCHIBIDOLO: THE ABUNDANT HERDS: PERCEPTIONS OF CATTLE

INTRODUCTION

This section deals with the Zulu peoples' perceptions of cattle, linked more specifically with what could be termed 'lore'

and with the different genres of which the 'oral tradition' or 'oral art' is composed. The subject of this section could provide material for a large and independent study and therefore can only be dealt with in general terms here due to the constraints imposed by the need to concentrate on one aspect of 'cattle-culture' for the purposes of this dissertation. Briefly, therefore, the following aspects are explored:

i) **Cattle-Lore:**

ii) **The Role of Cattle in the Oral Tradition:**

What can be described as 'cattle lore', covering beliefs about cattle and their nature, is documented in much of the literature and records the links between cattle and the birds, animals and plants which share the environment with them. A study of this aspect of the cattle-culture provides insight into the way in which the Zulu people perceive both their animals and nature.

Cattle imagery is also extensively found in the different genres of the oral tradition, in the praises of the kings and ordinary people, in proverbs and riddles, idioms and aphorisms. Cattle themselves are the subject of elaborate praises and the possessors of individual praise-names. Cattle feature in many folktales and particular beasts, known to have existed historically, have passed into the realms of myth and legend.

Colour-pattern terminology and related naming-practice are considered to be part of the 'oral art' or 'oral tradition' : they belong to a specific genre of generic names and the manner in which oral 'texts' are viewed by those interested in the literary aspects of the oral tradition, apply as pertinently to cattle naming and terminology as to any other branch of this

tradition.

Chapter 10: Cattle Lore and the Role of Cattle in the Oral Tradition

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Cattle Lore

10.2.1 Cattle and Birds

10.2.2 Cattle and Animals and Plants

10.2.3 Cattle and Concepts of the Sky

10.2.4 Cattle and Rain

10.2.5 Cattle and Locusts

10.2.6 Cattle and the Shadow of the Chief

10.2.7 To Bewitch a Beast

10.2.8 Cattle and Omens

10.2.9 Sacred Cattle

10.3 The Role of Cattle in the Oral Tradition

10.3.1 Cattle Imagery in Proverbs

10.3.2 Cattle and Oral Poetry

10.3.2.1 Praises of Cattle

10.3.2.2 Praise Names of Cattle

10.3.3 Cattle in Oral Prose

10.3.3.1 Cattle as Characters in Tales

10.3.3.2 Cattle in History and Legend

10.4 Discussion

Chapter 11: Conclusion:

The section on 'Research Setting' excluded, the content and concerns of each of the following three major sections into which this dissertation is divided are summarised in this chapter. Insights gained from the exploration of aspects of the cattle-culture are discussed, especially in terms of the questions posed in Chapter 1 regarding the nature of naming-practice, its provenance, content and the metaphorical and symbolic significance. The conclusion is divided into the following areas of discussion:

11.1 The Significance of Cattle in Zulu Society

11.2 Colour-Pattern Terminology and Related Naming-Practice

11.3 Perceptions of Cattle: Past, Present and Future

The conclusion, it is hoped, will bring together, in

comprehensive overview, the concerns of each of the sections described above.

APPENDICES

I. Dictionary of Cattle Terms

II. Illustrated and Annotated Figures of Selected Sanga-Nguni Cattle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1.4 SOURCES

Sources used for this study were both archive and field-based. Archival sources covered a wide variety of publications in a number of disciplines. As the dissertation is divided into four sections, each dealing with a specific area of interest, the major sources relevant to each section are recorded below:

1.4.1 ARCHIVAL SOURCES

1.4.1.1 Section One: Research Setting: Theoretical and Methodological Sources:

As will be evident from the bibliography to this dissertation a wide variety of sources were consulted. In theoretical and methodological terms the sources are too numerous to mention except in summary, and only the primary source or sources are included here:

i) Symbolic Anthropology:

Dolgin, Kemnitzer and Schneider's anthology **Symbolic**

Anthropology (1977) and particularly Marshall Sahlins' 'Colors and Cultures' was a major source of information. Berlin and Kay's Basic Color Terms (1969) provided insights on the perception of colour by members of different societies and various papers based on Berlin and Kay's findings were examined. Numerous books and papers were consulted on the subject of symbolism in general, Hammond-Tooke's insights into Xhosa cosmology (1975) among other sources by the same author, being particularly illuminating.

ii) Metaphor and Related Topics:

In terms of this dissertation the work chiefly consulted was Ortony's Metaphor and Thought (1979), a compilation of papers covering writing on the subject from the perspectives of practitioners in various disciplines, the insights of Black, Searle, Fraser and Cohen being of particular relevance.

iii) Research Practices and Literary Criticism:

Finnegan's various publications are invaluable to any student engaged in the study of aspects of the oral tradition in Africa. Her pioneering Oral Literature in Africa (1970) and all subsequent works have provided new insights into the recording and interpretation of oral 'texts'. Oral Tradition and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices (1992) is a thorough and invaluable contemporary guide for fieldworkers.

Okpewho's 'study from the inside' of the African tradition, Myth in Africa (1983) and African Oral Literature (1992) provide crucial information to assist in the interpretation of material.

1.4.1.2 Section Two: Pastoralism in Zulu Society

Sources which covered the biological, historical and cultural aspects of the study of the Sanga-Nguni cattle were not numerous. Again, the extent of the bibliography will indicate the archival material available in this regard.

i) Pastoralism in Africa:

In order to understand Zulu pastoralism within the context of Africa and for historical purposes, sources documenting the pastoral activities in other African societies were consulted. Of these, the most useful and comprehensive were The Dinka and their Songs (Deng, 1973), The Nuer (Evans-Pritchard, 1940), Divinity and Experience (Lienhardt, 1961) and Pastoralism in Africa: Origins and Development Ecology (Smith, 1992).

ii) Biological Sources:

The chief source of information with regard to this topic was personal communication with Dr Max Bachmann, State Veterinary Department, as well as various articles written by him. Papers by Bonsma *et al* (1950), Bisschop (1937), Faulkner (1947), Hundleby (1986), Nobbs (1927), Ramsay (1985), Reilly (1988) and others were informative.

iii) Historical and Cultural Sources

The standard works on the Zulu people have provided the most insight into this aspect of the subject. In terms of the history of the Zulu people, The Zulu People (Bryant 1967), Guy in Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (Atmore and Marks, 1980), The Social System of the Zulus (Krige, 1936 [1988]) among others, were extensively consulted.

For the cultural perspective, all of the above were a source of information as well as Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism (Berglund, 1976), the most comprehensive analysis of Zulu symbolism to date. A seminal work relating to the *lobolo* system of cattle exchange at the time of marriage is Kuper's Wives for Cattle (1982).

1.4.1.3 Section Three: Cattle Markings. A Descriptive Study of Colour-Pattern Terminology and Naming-Practice

Three major sources of information in terms of naming-practice and colour-pattern terminology were available:

i) Nguni Cattle Register:

The inspiration for this study, the introduction to which determined its course, is Schroeder and de la Harpe's Nguni Cattle Register, an unpublished but continually updated compendium of annotated photographs, the majority of which are used in Appendix II to illustrate this text. This is the work of Berthold Schroeder, whose interest in Sanga-Nguni cattle led him to compile the register of colour-pattern terminology in the field and in consultation with

various herdsmen responsible for the care of the best and most extensive Sanga-Nguni herds in KwaZulu-Natal. Each example of terminology which he recorded has been illustrated by a photograph taken by Roger de la Harpe of the Natal Parks Board or Robert Papini of the Local History Museum (Durban). This register was used by me as reference in the field in order to ascertain the accuracy of the names and their distribution.

ii) Published Sources and Archive Material:

Two comprehensive lists of colour-pattern and other terminology relating to cattle were extensively used. The first was Doke and Vilakazi's Zulu-English Dictionary (1948) which records upwards of 300 terms. The second source was Nyembezi and Nxumalo's Inqolobane Yesizwe (1966 [1994]) in which terminology relating to colour, horns and ritual use are documented. Besides these, all Zulu Dictionaries known to exist, e.g. Bryant (1905), Colenso (1884), Davis (1872), Samuelson (1923) as well as an extensive search through unpublished material and sources such as the James Stuart Archive (Webb and Wright, 1976-1886), produced much data. Bryant's The Zulu People (1949 [1967]) and Krige's Social System of the Zulus (1936 [1988]) were also a source of terminology, especially with regard to beasts used for *lobolo* and ritual purposes. Material dealing with naming-practice among the Khoi (Argyle, 1986, 1988) and Xhosa (Anders, 1934; Ayliff, 1846; Kropf and Godfrey, 1915 and Biggs [personal communication,

1995]) as well as other African people, were consulted for comparative purposes.

1.4.1.4 Section Four: The Perception of Cattle by the Zulu People

Preparation of this section required the perusal of a wide variety of sources, both anthropological and connected with the oral tradition and Zulu literature. The amount of material available on the subject of the oral tradition was fairly extensive. This section covers both 'cattle-lore' or beliefs connected with cattle and the role of cattle in the oral tradition. In connection with these two areas, the following major sources were consulted:

i) Cattle-Lore:

The most prominent Zulu monographs were the source of much of this material as well as articles and papers, mostly published before 1950. Of the monographs (all recent editions of older work, with the exception of Berglund), the chief sources were Berglund (1976), Bryant (1967), Krige (1988), Samuelson (1923) and, especially, Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1976-1986). Callaway's The Religious System of the AmaZulu (1870) was also consulted.

ii) The Role of Cattle in the Oral Tradition:

Sources relevant to this aspect of the study are particularly numerous. Besides the more general work of Finnegan (1970), Jousse (1990), Okpewho (1983) and others, sources specific to Zulu oral art which were consulted were Izibongo: Zulu Praise Poems (Cope, 1968); Dhlomo's numerous

papers in the Dhlomo Manuscript Collection (approx. 1948 - 1950); Izibongo of the Zulu Chiefs (Grant, 1929); Musho, Zulu Popular Praises (Gunner and Gwala, 1994) and Msimang's Imagery in Zulu Praise-Poetry (1976). Various articles in Sienaert and Whitaker (eds.) (1991 and 1994) cast light on the study of the oral tradition and the oral tradition debate.

The praises of domestic animals were difficult to find until Molefe's pioneering but unpublished MA thesis Praises of Domestic Animals appeared in 1992. Kunene's Heroic Poetry of the Basotho (1971) is a good source of comparative material as is Rubusana's Yemk' Inkomo Magwala Ndini (1906: virtually unobtainable).

Proverbs are recorded in numerous sources, the most important being Nyembezi's Zulu Proverbs (1990.) Folktale sources are also numerous, significant among them being Canonici's The Inganekwane Tradition (1987).

Doke's Bantu Wisdom Lore (1947) and Dhlomo's numerous articles on Zulu poetry in various editions of the Native Teachers' Journal (1947-1948) have been informative.

A fair amount of comparative material has also been read in connection with cattle terminology among the Ndebele, Shona and Xhosa. A great deal of comparative work in this field needs to be done and would make a rewarding study.

1.4.2 FIELD SOURCES

Schroeder and de la Harpe's Nguni Cattle Register is based on extensive fieldwork and is, essentially, a field-source to

which I was extremely fortunate to have access and which obviated a great deal of difficulty for me. The information recorded in it was obtained from herdsmen employed on five large estates. The chief informants were Messrs. Nyawo and Machafaza, elderly men of considerable knowledge and experience. They were also interviewed by me. Field research was conducted and herdsmen consulted at various cattle sales in KwaZulu-Natal where men from different districts were available. Interviews were also conducted at Bartlow Combine (Hluhluwe), IPhiva (Hluhluwe), on the property of Dr H. Schutte in the Hluhluwe district and Mrs S. Vorster of the Mkuze district. A further interview was conducted near Ubombo on the Makathini Flats and among people living in areas closer to Durban such as Nyuswa in the Valley of a Thousand Hills. The individuals are acknowledged in the 'Acknowledgements' section of this dissertation. Mr E. Simelane of the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and a well-known authority on colour-pattern terminology, supplied extensive data by means of a questionnaire. Mr M. Mngomezulu of the Veterinary Department at Hluhluwe also supplied comprehensive information on naming-practice during an extended interview.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Before a study of this kind can be undertaken with any confidence, the nature of the 'text' (i.e. colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice) with which one is dealing requires some form of assessment. Finnegan, in describing

techniques in approaching research procedure and the analysis of data, poses many sets of questions for the consideration of the researcher. Those which relate to how the various associations of the oral tradition might be applied in assessing whether a text belongs in the tradition or to a particular genre, are listed on page 17. With regard to the nature of the text itself, however, its stability and the extent to which it may be considered 'fixed', another set of questions requires consideration. Among them the following need to be answered from the outset so that the nature of the material under review can be understood clearly. The analysis of 'text' as a cultural icon divorced from its creators is no longer acceptable and in the light of this the 'tradition' as a living and growing entity must be appreciated. Thus, in relation to the concept of 'text' Finnegan (1992: 21) says that the once-unquestioned and overarching concept of text as something 'fixed' and established in tradition can no longer be accepted without asking:

'1. In what *sense(s)* if at all can the particular verbal formulations in question be regarded as texts, and how is this related to local concepts and/or practice?'

With regard to cattle terminology, I believe the terms can be seen as 'texts' for they are established in the tradition, taking certain accepted forms both linguistically and through the characteristic choice of metaphorical content. They are (or were) widely known - even if in slightly varying form - to a variety of people, especially to those who own cattle. The body of cattle terminology can be seen as relatively 'fixed' although open to variation and addition.

The second question Finnegan (1992: 21) asks is:

'2 How 'stable' is what is being presented as text? is it as fixed and final in local practice as it looks when recorded on the page?'

Experience in the field in the course of this study showed clearly that though the terminology is stable in the sense that certain terms or elements exist and are the 'fixed' part of the tradition, the fluid and individual way in which they can be *combined* to form unique descriptions created to suit an individual animal indicates that, in writing the names down, or in affixing labels to illustrations, something of the dynamic characteristics of the tradition may be impaired. The vigorous argument in which herders engaged in describing a beast for my benefit was testimony to this.

Finnegan (1992: 22) poses a further question:

'3 Was it [the text] frequently (or ever) delivered or recognised as a crystallised or coherent text prior to the researcher's request?'

Cattle terms are certainly crystallised and are easily recognised by those familiar with the naming-practice related to cattle. Out of context, a phrase such as '*ebafazibewela*' - 'the women cross over' is, if understandable as a relative construction of some sort, without real meaning. In the context of cattle, however, its implication is entirely specific.

Finnegan (1992: 22) asks:

'4 Are some genres more textually fixed than others?'

The elements in the genre - the basic and traditional 'units' or concepts of which the cattle terms are composed - are, to a great degree, textually fixed. They are more fixed, for example, than the 'texts' of praise poetry. Their application,

however, is open to the influence of individual perception and, as such, is more fluid than the 'fixity' of the body of texts might suggest.

Finnegan (1992: 22) poses a penultimate question:

'5 Is there any sense in which, whether or not explicitly recognised in the culture, we can sensibly speak of some kind of permanent text existing over and beyond specific performances or variants?'

The text does exist beyond and before variants. Many of the terms for cattle are very old and resemble the terminology used in other parts of Africa where Sanga cattle are kept, which suggests common antecedents in naming-practice. The idea of the colour-patterns being linked to natural phenomena in the environment seems to be a common African theme. Variations on that theme, updated and contemporary as many of them are, nevertheless draw on analogy and metaphor derived from or inspired by an acute and accurate observation of the African environment. It is this source which makes the language of cattle naming both poetic and apt.

Finnegan's final question (1992: 22) deals with presentation and publication. She says:

'6 Since written texts are the commonly accepted currency in our culture final reports are likely to be primarily made up of the words, which will then probably be understood by readers as *the* definitive and comprehensive reality. How limited a view will this be?'

The writing of this dissertation poses just such a problem. The labels affixed to the illustrations in Appendix II may give the impression that those names are irrefutably those which belong to the examples illustrated. The dictionary of cattle terms in Appendix I may be perceived as some form of definitive

list. From both archival research and field experience, it is clear that confusion exists in many cases in regard to cattle terminology. It is also clear that lexicographers were not always familiar with the intricacies of naming - and how could they be? Krige (1988: 393) herself states that the names of *lobolo* beasts are a subject which causes great confusion, terms often being regional and changing customs making some obsolete. The danger of annotating illustrations of cattle is that these might be seen as examples 'cast in stone'. However, the greater danger lies in not recording them at all - for cattle terminology is a 'text' of ancient provenance which is known to fewer and fewer people. As the environment changes and the cattle-culture declines and as the birds and beasts which once so abundantly shared the cattle's pasture diminish, so a full understanding of the names, their metaphorical associations and the poetry in their form, is irretrievably lost.

Cattle names, especially colour-pattern terminology, belong to the body of the oral tradition of the Zulu people as a small but specific genre. In character and form they fulfil admirably and comprehensively the criteria required by definition of the nature of Oral Literature. Proposing this definition, Okpewho states (1992: 4):

'Oral Literature may be defined as those utterances, whether spoken, recited or sung, whose composition and performance exhibit to an appreciable degree the artistic characteristics of accurate observation, vivid imagination and ingenious expression.'

Okpewho (1992: 5), writing of African oral literature in general says that the motivation for the study of this literature has been governed by three major areas of interest:

- i) an interest in Culture
- ii) an interest in Society
- iii) an interest in Literature

The first two, current earlier this century, concentrated on the collection of texts and the interpretation of them in terms of their history and then, more recently, their function within the society. He points out that it is only in the last two or three decades that an interest in the aesthetic and the literary has finally taken its rightful place in the assessment of these texts. Since the appearance of Oral Literature in Africa in 1970, Finnegan has reiterated the urgent need for such a reassessment and lamented the manner in which it has been neglected. Okpewho rightly points out that one of the reasons for this lack of literary analysis is the fact that much of the oral literature of Africa which has been presented to the world at large, has been collected by outsiders, foreign to the culture of the people being studied and more especially to their language. Okpewho gives Kunene as an example of one of the first scholars to write about the oral literature of his *own* people in his Heroic Poetry of the Basotho which Okpewho calls 'a landmark in the study of oral poetry because of its analysis from the inside' (1992: 13).

Okpewho's concerns are noted: the subject of this dissertation is approached with due recognition of the fact that it can neither be entirely comprehensive nor the work of an 'insider'. It is hoped however, that it may lead to a renewed interest in this branch of the oral art and just as Sanga-Nguni cattle are suddenly being given recognition for their irrefutably fine qualities and advantages in economic terms, their naming and

the aesthetic connected with it might be appreciated as a creative and vibrant part of the oral tradition.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

*'In the eye we have on one hand light falling on this wonderful structure, and on the other we have the sensation of sight. We cannot compare these two things. The whole of metaphysics lies like a great gulf between them.'*¹

2.1 INTRODUCTION

What is colour? It is a physical phenomenon by means of which we can distinguish, initially, between light and dark and then between different hues. Those hues have certain intensities or levels of saturation which account for differing shades of each hue. The nature of colour has been extensively studied by scientists for its physical properties and for the way the human eye receives and processes it. But it is far more than a mere physical phenomenon.

Man's perception of colour and the way he has *named* colours in order to draw distinction between them has also been studied by scholars in a variety of disciplines. Perhaps the most prominent of these studies in recent times has been the work of Berlin and Kay who have proposed a theory of the 'evolution' of colour which they presented in their work Basic Color Terms (1969). This study is of particular interest to anthropologists and those concerned with the way in which man perceives colour. Their theory will be discussed in 2.2 below and it is of

¹ Maxwell, J. Clark. 1970 [1872] 'On Color Vision' in D.L. MacAdam (ed.), Sources of Color Science. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press. p. 82.

it is of significance in terms of how, given the 'universal' of colour evolution common to all societies, the members of each society then perceive and interpret those colours. Besides the naming of colours distinguished by each society, the more complex interpretation of those colours is of concern. What do these colours mean to the people of a particular society? What do they symbolize?

But before this question can be answered, it is important to understand what a symbol is and what it signifies. This concept too, like that of colour interpretation, is highly complex and has been examined by proponents of a great variety of disciplines. Metaphor and imagery in colour-pattern terminology among cattle is the focus of this study, but cattle as symbols themselves as well as the symbolism inherent in the preference for certain colour-patterns or the choice of specifically coloured cattle for different ritual purposes, is of great significance to an understanding of the cattle-culture as a whole. The symbolic importance of cattle is comprehensively explored by Berglund in Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism (1976) and the symbolic significance of certain colours, particularly black and white, examined in the light of traditional perception and ritual importance.

It is the 'content' of the terminology used to describe cattle that constitutes the core of this study. What then are the meanings of the terms for colour-patterns, horn-shapes, ritual and typological names? What is their metaphorical content? How can these metaphors and the imagery implicit in them be interpreted? Current theory on metaphors, their meaning and

interpretation, is both vast and confusing and the 'problem' of what metaphors really are has engaged the practitioners in many disciplines for centuries. Ortony (1977), in a book devoted to the interpretation of metaphor, poses a number of questions:

- i) What are metaphors?
- ii) What are they for?
- iii) How can metaphorical language be distinguished from literal language?
- iv) Can metaphors be reduced to comparison?
- v) Is the reduction of metaphors to comparisons a fruitful approach to understanding the nature of metaphors?

In terms of Zulu cattle and the interpretation of their colour-patterns, these are some of the questions which will have to be addressed and answered in the course of this study.

In this chapter, therefore, basic colour terms will be examined in the light of Berlin and Kay's findings of a universal 'evolution' of colour precepts. Current thought on the interpretation of symbols and metaphor in general terms, and in relation to colour-pattern terminology in particular, will be the focus of interest.

And finally, a further question arises: if cattle terminology in general and colour-pattern naming in particular are a genre of the oral tradition or oral art of the Zulu people - a type of generic praise - then what, in terms of the discipline of literary criticism, is their literary and aesthetic importance? Gathering the data from the various field and archival sources and documenting and describing it, it is hoped, will provide a 'text' from which literary insights may emanate

and which may also provide a data-base from which further studies in the field of oral documentation might develop.

2.2 BASIC COLOUR TERMS

Despite the ability of people to distinguish between thousands of percepts of colour, natural languages manifest only a small number of what Berlin and Kay called 'basic colour terms'². The number of these so-called 'basic colours' ranges from two to eleven corresponding, roughly, to the English 'white', 'black', 'red', 'green', 'yellow', 'blue', 'brown', 'grey', 'purple', 'orange' and 'pink'.

These colours display a regular cumulative sequence of appearance and can be arranged in progressive order. Accordingly, the progressive sequence of basic colour in natural languages, extracted by Sahlins from Berlin and Kay and explained in his article Colors and Cultures (1977: 165-179) appears, diagrammatically, as follows:

Stage:	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	White		Green - Yellow	Blue	Brown	Purple	Grey
Basic		Red	or			Pink	
Terms	Black		Yellow - Green			Orange	

With regard to this structure through which the sequence of basic colours has been devised by Berlin and Kay in their Basic Color Terms (1969), in which they have proposed a set of universals for all natural languages, Sahlins says (1977: 166):

'...the decisive issue for relativism becomes synonymous

² Berlin and Kay, 1969. Basic Color Terms: their universality and evolution. Berkeley: University of California Press.

with the autonomy of cultural activity as a symbolic valuation of natural fact. At stake is the understanding that each social group orders the objectivity of its experience, as the precipitate of a differential and meaningful logic, and so makes the human perception a historic conception.'

Sahlins (1977: 167) points out, however, that colours are semiotic codes and that the way they are represented depends very much on cultural factors:

'Everywhere, both as terms and concrete properties, colors are engaged as signs in vast schemes of social relations: meaningful structures by which persons and groups, objects and occasions, are differentiated and combined in cultural orders.'

Sahlins (1977: 167) concludes that *because* colours subserve this cultural significance:

'... only certain color percepts are appropriately singled out as "basic," namely those that by their distinctive features and relations can function as signifiers in informational systems.'

The reason that white and black are the first and most basic of these colours is the fact that they represent lightness and darkness and, even to the person who is colour-blind, the human eye is able to perceive this difference. Thus, sensitivity to light is older in 'the history of life' (Sahlins, 1977: 168) than hue discrimination. In Stage I above, the lightness / darkness factor is most crucial whereas in Stage II 'red' which, according to scientists is the most salient of colour experiences to the human eye, is the dominant 'colour'.

'At normal light levels, red stands out in relation to all other hues by virtue of a reciprocal heightening effect between saturation and brightness' (Sahlins, 1977: 168).

In Stages III to IV, red is followed by green, yellow and blue. These colours i.e. red, green, yellow, blue (and black and

white) have long been judged as 'primitives' although I would challenge Berlin and Kay's assertion that green, which in physical terms is a mixture of blue and yellow, could be considered basic. These colours are seen as unique, 'the percepts unalloyed with any other hue' (Sahlins, 1977: 170) while other colours are usually seen as combinations of two or more non-complimentary 'primitives'. Thus, purple is a mixture of blue and red, orange a combination of red and yellow etc.

Brown occupies a unique place in the scale devised by Berlin and Kay. Even though, in reality, it could be construed as a mixture of black, red, yellow etc., experientially it is seen as separate:

'brown occupies a special position in the BCT sequence, marking Stage VI, which comes after the four elementary hues but before the several compound colours of Stage VII' (Sahlins, 1977: 170).

The mixed colours, pink, purple and orange emerge in no fixed order. Grey, like brown, has a special significance however. In attempting to assess its status in terms of cattle colours, it has been difficult to ascertain whether it should be classified as a basic colour in Nguni cattle colouration or as a combination colour. In terms of the Basic Colour Terms of Berlin and Kay, it occupies a similarly uncertain position. Although they have placed it at Stage VII with pink, purple and orange, it may well have emerged at an earlier stage. Sahlins says (1977: 170):

'on the evidence cited, its position seems uncertain ethnographically, and it may evolve earlier.'

Explaining this, Sahlins states (1977: 170):

'But then, as an intermediate of the "black" and "white"

already present in Stage I, gray is not under the same ordering constraint (from simple to mixed) as the other hues of Stage VII, which would have to wait until Stage V before their own constituents are available.'

Berlin and Kay's findings on colour terms, in essence, concludes that the emergence of basic colour terms in natural languages follows a kind of natural-perceptual logic which displays several broad evolutionary trends:

- i) from general to specific - i.e. lightness/ darkness to discriminations of hue;
- ii) from more to less salient e.g. salient red before other hues;
- iii) from simple to complex (from unique to mixed hues).

Sahlins (1977: 171) adds to this conclusion:

'Now given also the common anthropological opinion that whatever is universal in human culture must find explanation in human nature, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the basic colour categories are basically natural categories.'

However, he warns that discussion on colour terms both before and after the appearance of the BCT has tended to relegate the true ethnographic existence of colour terms and percepts to a secondary place of connotation and that understanding of the basic colour terms has been reduced to an 'empirical test of spectral referents' (1977: 171) which determines the essential meaning of colour words. In examining colour-terminology in cattle among the Zulu it is clear that cultural aspects are crucial to an understanding of these precepts. As Sahlins (1977:171) concludes:

'*A priori* we have understood the classification of color as the representation of experience, supposing the terms to intend and denote in the first instance the immanent properties of sensation. It then became inevitable that Saussurean notions of the arbitrariness of the sign would

be compromised by the results of the research - inasmuch as they had already been compromised in the premises. And Saussure himself foresaw, when language is thus taken for a mere nomenclature rather than a system of meaningful values, then cognition will be reduced to recognition, concept to precept, sign to signal - and in the end, culture to nature.'

With regard to the confusion which could arise in terms of 'basic' from 'secondary' colour terms, 'basic', in the light of Berlin and Kay's definitions, are defined as those which are free from specific objective reference. But are these basic terms independent of the object, unlinked to 'experience' and 'referent' as the secondary terms are? Indeed, in Zulu, it could be argued that only *-mhlophe* (white), *-mnyama* (black), *-mbonvu* (red) are basic, the other terms all having referents e.g. *-mdubu*, *-mdaka*, *-nsundu* (shades of brown linked to mushrooms, mud etc.), *-liphuzi* (yellow as a pumpkin).

Basic colour terms amount to the abstraction of perceptible features 'according to an arbitrary criterion of significance' (Sahlins 1977:172) which:

'...is then capable of achieving for society such miracles unknown to arithmetic as the conjoining of two apples, three cherries, and a pint of blood.'

It is this process of relating - not of recognizing - which makes colour, in cultural terms, understandable and also unique in terms of description, in each culture. It is a shared colour - an attribute chosen from a possible range of many similarities or properties - which establishes the relationship between two objects. This relationship is explained by Links (1952: 119):

'...the terms stand in meaningful relations with other terms, and it is by the relations between terms within the global system that the character of objective reference is sedimented.'

The relationship between the two referents in terms of a

colour term need not even be necessarily clearly understood by the mother-tongue speaker, illustrated by the fact that many Zulu speakers today may know a number of colour terms for cattle but, on examination, are unaware of the referents of some of them e.g. 'iqola', a word which refers to a black and white beast with white stripes down its flanks, is also the name for the Fiscal shrike, a bird which is coloured in the same way. During fieldwork, many mother-tongue speakers were unaware that the word referred to both beast and bird and that the resemblance in colouration of the two was very striking. In regard to this phenomenon Linksz (1952: 119) comments:

'...it is not even necessary that those who participate in a given cultural order have the same substantive experience of the object, so long as they are capable of making some kind of sensory distinction at the semiotically pertinent boundaries.'

The 'BCT' theory proposes a scientific paradigm of colour term evolution which, it has been reasonably proved, exists in all natural languages. But, even if this 'evolution' is constant, there are a myriad ways in which these colours are interpreted by people of different cultures and the BCT, as such, cannot take into account the consciousness of the symbolic as explored and interpreted anthropologically.

Thus, given the universals of the BCT theory, Sahlins concludes (1977: 173):

'the physical effect seems extendable now to cognition and culture, which apparently can do no more than translate into their own modalities the imperatives of a natural order.' (Sahlins, 1977: 173).

Certain cultures possess an extensive variety of colour-terms to describe phenomena which are important to them (hence the vast number of cattle terms in Zulu). Sahlins (1977: 174)

claims that it is the present situation and circumstances and past experience of a person as well as historic perception and collective tradition 'which transforms perception into apperception'.

The dualism of 'mind' and 'matter' and then - as adjunct - 'culture' is significant in comprehending the question of how one reconciles these two undeniable and yet opposed understandings i.e. that colour distinctions are naturally based and that natural distinctions are culturally constituted.

Sahlins' answer to this dilemma appears the most logical: in viewing colour, one cannot escape the mediation of the culture from which the terms or their significance derives. He states (1977: 174):

'The dilemma can only be solved ... by reading from the cultural meaning of color to the empirical test of discrimination, rather than the other way round. We must give just due to this third term, culture, existing alongside subject and object, stimulus and response, and mediating between them by the construction of objectivity as significance.'

He adds that it is their significance to a particular society that is important: colour, after all, 'does not mean Munsell chips' (1977: 174). One does not need to ignore - one cannot - the biological facts of colour-naming, the universals of their advent in human perception, but that colours signify other things (purity and defilement, nobility and lowliness etc.) and that they are used symbolically in all societies is seminal to an understanding of them and their importance in human perception. Both aspects have their part to play in this understanding: taking semantic characteristics into account does not mean that the biological facts of colour naming are ignored,

but that the biological characteristics are kept in perspective and assigned to their proper theoretical place.

'No less than any other code, a system of color meanings must be grounded in a corresponding set of distinctive perceptual properties. Hence the natural correlates of color words: they comprise the minimal distinctive features on the object plane - of lightness / darkness, hue / neutrality, uniqueness / admixture, and the like - by which differences in meaning are signalled' (Sahlins, 1977: 174).

Hues are also most socially relevant in their most distinctive perceptible form. The semiotic significance in the way colours are named permit a reading of the BCT sequence as something more than a progressive cumulation of individual elements. In the BCT, Berlin and Kay set out an 'evolutionary sequence' which moves from simple to complex, each stage distinguished by the addition of a new basic term and percept.

'Seen in the semiotic vantage, however, what actually develops at each stage is not a new term or perceptual substance but a new perceptual relation. The units of evolutionary differentiation are not terms but relations between terms' (Sahlins 1977: 175).

Another feature of the debate which needs to be noted is that the elementary or first stage is distinguished by two rather than one colour - white and black (light and dark). This perception of light and dark appears to be primary and universal in human perception. It is possibly universally significant and is often used symbolically to signify fundamental oppositions: pure / impure, sacred / profane etc.

Sahlins (1977: 177), using a Levi-Straussian turn of phrase says:

'It seems to me that the BCT opens up very exciting prospects for an ethnography of color whose general aim, quite beyond the determination of the empirical correlates of semantic categories, might consist especially in the correlation of the semiotic and perceptual structures of

color. For colors too are good to think (with).'

It is these colours 'good to think with' which form a code which must be accessible to the members of a society or group. And this code must be understandable to its members.

'Objectifying itself then in a system of colors, a human group accomplishes the essential cultural act of making a conceptual order out of a natural order.' (Sahlins, 1977: 177).

Further, for any society, the choice of meanings for any given colour will be conditioned or motivated from within the cultural context, the choice will seem determined by analogy between colour sensations and cultural relations which may well have a common metaphoric base. Lienhardt's (1961: 13) observations among the Dinka people illustrates this point:

'The Dinkas very perception of colour, light, and shade in the world around them is ... inextricably connected with their recognition of colour configurations in their cattle. If their cattle-colour vocabulary were taken away, they would have scarcely any way of describing visual experience in terms of light, colour and darkness.'

Changing times and the decline of the importance of cattle among the Zulus may have led to a decline in the significance of the cattle-vocabulary, but there is no doubt at all that Lienhardt's statement about the Dinka would have applied as easily to the Zulu people. Dhlomo (nd (b): 2) remarks that cattle colours have greatly influenced the Zulu decorative art, particularly beadwork. And although his remarks may be too sweeping, they are not altogether inaccurate:

'No language in the world has a greater wealth of names for colour combinations than Zulu.'

Cultural influences inevitably have an impact on how colours are perceived and described. If this observation is true in terms

of cultures in general, it is certainly true in connection with the Zulu people and their system of colour-pattern terminology as applied to cattle and other domestic animals. Thus, *umvubomabele*, which refers to a red roan beast, likens the red roan of the beast's hide (composed of red and white hairs finely and evenly intermingled) to a stew or mixture of millet, which, when ground up, is very similar in colour to the beast described in this way.

The content of these cattle names are culturally determined and the way in which these meanings are systematically related rather than the specific meanings themselves, is of greatest interest. It is pertinent to this study to examine the intrinsic properties of certain types of orders and the mode of interconnection which governs them. In this regard, the arbitrariness with which I may have classified the different categories of colour-terminology is my own attempt to apprehend that mode of interconnection and to abstract a general pattern.

If, in basic terms, colour categorization is - to quote Conklin (1973: 938) - 'the cultural classification of certain physical stimuli following their sensory reception and physical processing', then one must acknowledge the existence of the BCT theory. With that as theoretical basis for understanding the advent of colour perception and classification in terms of human society, an exploration of the symbolism, metaphor and imagery evident in colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice in regard to cattle can be undertaken and appreciated as a system of naming, culturally informed, rich in allusive, descriptive, analogical and metaphoric qualities.

2.3 SYMBOLISM

An understanding of symbols, and the meaningful translation of them - from the point of view of the people who use them - is crucial to the understanding of a society's perception of its institutions. Symbols, in terms of ritual, are not only a means of communication, but are logical and intelligible to the people who use them.

The most important work on this subject with regard to the Zulu people is Berglund's Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism (1976). Countering the argument that the extensive use of symbols in a society presupposes that these societies are inferior in regard to both rational and scientific thinking, he states (1976: 18):

'To express concepts by way of symbols is simply another way of expression. The symbols are vehicles whereby it is possible to voice thoughts, experiences and concepts, and to do so intelligibly. When, therefore, the study describes and analyses Zulu thought-patterns and symbols, it does not presuppose that these are inferior to rational and scientific approaches to life. The point of departure is that there is more than one way of expressing life and its circumstances of living.'

What is a symbol? It is that which represents or typifies another thing. But it is more than a sign for it involves associations. Berglund explains (1976: 28):

'When men use symbols they operate with articles, acts, colours and sounds in a given setting/context which are meant to be associated with that which they represent and/or typify, thereby becoming meaningful to those who feel, see, hear and/or act in the ritual containing the symbol.'

Acknowledging that the reactions to individuals are different, a system of symbols within a society, nevertheless, used within prescribed contexts, are 'systematized sufficiently

to make symbols intelligible and pregnant' (Berglund, 1976: 28). He also points out that context is crucial in interpreting symbols and that a particular object may mean something quite different in two differing circumstances.

Victor Turner, in studying symbols in African ritual, has been at the forefront of their interpretation. A central issue in Turner's work is an analysis of

'...the multivocal or polysemic nature of symbols, their capacity to unify apparently disparate significata and their capacity to condense - many ideas, relations between things, and so forth are represented simultaneously by the symbolic vehicle and the polarization of the referents assigned by custom to a major ritual symbol. Along with these aspects of the semantic structure of the symbol is the fact that certain symbols tend to be dominant; that the symbol's position is of crucial importance, and that actors experience symbols as power and as meanings' (1977: 183).

In terms of the Zulu peoples' interpretation of symbols, the symbolic role of cattle is crucial to an understanding of Zulu culture and society and although this study concentrates on metaphor and imagery in colour-pattern names and other terminology related to cattle, these cannot be seen apart from the perception of the beast as a whole.

'The *inkomo* was the pivot of Zulu tribal life. Zulu life was the life of the *inkomo*, and the *inkomo* was Zulu life. It has been said that the whole tribal machinery revolves around the king or chief. That is true. But it is also true to say that the *inkomo* was the mainspring of that life. The king was the symbol of the authority, glory and essence of that life: the *inkomo* was more than that...it was life itself' (Dhlomo 1945: 77).

Cattle in the worldview of the people and in ritual practice is discussed in Chapter 4 in which their role in relation to the ancestral shades and to ceremonies of both personal and national importance, is explored. The importance of cattle pervades every aspect of traditional Zulu life and

consciousness and an examination of the colour-patterns - from whatever aspect - cannot be assessed entirely apart from this ritual and symbolic significance. Further, certain colour-patterns and certain beasts - specifically the white cattle of the Zulu monarchs and the black bulls used for ritual slaughter in the most solemn of national ceremonies - have particular symbolic significance.

A simple vehicle, exhibiting some colour, shape, texture or contrast commonly found in one's experience, can literally or metaphorically connect a great range of phenomena and ideas. The same objects are used both as powers and symbols, metonymically and metaphorically: it is the context that distinguishes them. Cattle, and their status in many pastoral societies in Africa, are a vehicle through which such a range of interconnected phenomena and ideas can be explored within a circumscribed context. The similarity in the perception of cattle and in naming-practices, the metaphorical content of names and the symbolic importance of the beasts is not only a field for comparative analysis but gives insight into systems of thought, belief and cosmology in general.

Victor Turner writes in his paper on Symbols in African Ritual (1977: 189-190):

'This weaving of symbols and themes serves as a rich store of information, not only about the natural environment as perceived and evaluated by the ritual actors, but also about their ethical, esthetic, political, legal and ludic (the domain of play, sport, and so forth in the culture) ideas, ideals, and rules. Each symbol is a store of information, both for actors and investigators ... The advantages of communication by means of rituals in nonliterate societies is clearly great, for the individual symbols and the patterned relations between them have a mnemonic function. The symbolic vocabulary and grammar to some extent make up for the lack of written records.'

Speaking of the complex cosmologies found in many parts of Africa, Turner cites the practice, among the Dogon of West Africa, of metaphorically comparing natural phenomena to the human body. For example, the Dogon liken different types of red clay to blood, white river pebbles to the bones of the toes etc. He concludes (1977: 192-193):

'In fact, it is only science that has emancipated man from the complex weave of correspondences based on analogy, metaphor and mystical participation, and that enables him to regard all relations as problematical, not pre-ordained, until they have been experimentally tested or systematically compared.'

Viewing the systems of symbols found in Africa generally, and acknowledging the particular sophistication of some West African cosmologies in comparison with simpler systems associated with peoples who, over the centuries have (by virtue of their nomadic lifestyle), been in contact with numerous groups and environments which has resulted in a more fluid and easily-influenced cosmological systems, Turner (1977: 194) concludes:

'...from the comparative viewpoint, there are remarkable similarities among symbols used in ritual throughout sub-Saharan Africa, in spite of differences in cosmological sophistication. The same ideas, analogies, and modes of association underlie symbol formation and manipulation from the Senegal River to the Cape of Good Hope.'

With regard to the Zulu people and the symbolic importance of cattle, it must be emphasized that cattle and man are inextricably linked. In the words of one of Berglund's informants (1976: 110):

' "The thing is this. A woman conceives and gives birth in the tenth month. So does a cow. It conceives and calves in the tenth month. So a cow is like a human".'

Other similarities between cattle and men are the fact that both live in *imizi* (homesteads). Cattle, of course, belong to the

lineage shades as well. For this reason the strictest behaviour and propriety is observed in regard to milking, milk taboos, rearing of cattle and slaughter.

'Interference with a household's cattle is not merely an interference with the animals of the father of the homestead. It is an interference with the whole male population of the lineage, including the shades' (Berglund, 1976: 110).

The symbolic importance of cattle and the perception of their role in Zulu society is described by Tuynsma (1980: 76):

'Next to people, cattle rank in importance as the basis of society. They are not only the economic centre, but also the symbol of life in that they yield milk and food. The cow's economic value lies in its importance both as a status symbol and as the main commodity in matrimonial negotiations. Furthermore, bulls are symbols of virility, strength and endurance. Cows are significant for their femininity, for the fact that they are the givers of life...'

Understanding this symbolic importance of cattle to the Zulu people explains, to some extent, the reason for the varied and complex system of terms for cattle. So preoccupied have people in traditional sectors of the society been with their cattle, that it is not surprising that such an extensive vocabulary should have arisen or that the slightest nuance of difference between beasts should be so minutely distinguished. Louwrens (1993: 123), in examining Northern Sotho colour terms, says in regard to their cattle - an observation which could apply as aptly to the Zulu:

'...the highly complex system, of colour terms pertaining to domestic animals such as cattle in Northern Sotho suggests, in turn, that this system developed due to the cultural need to distinguish cattle unambiguously from one another on the basis of their colour patterns.'

The system of naming and the metaphorical content of those

names among the Northern Sotho - and indeed among many cattle-keeping people in Africa - are very similar to those found in Zulu, the numerous references to birds, animals and plants etc. perceptually and historically related to the Zulu vocabulary.

2.4 METAPHOR AND MEANING

In the Introduction to this chapter, certain questions regarding metaphors were posed. What are they? What are they for? How can they be understood within a wider theoretical framework? In what way can these insights be applied to an understanding of terminology related to Sanga-Nguni cattle?

2.4.1 DEFINING A METAPHOR

Traditionally, metaphor has been analysed in terms of perceptual imagery for it provides evidence of our abstractive seeing and of 'the power of the human mind to use presentational symbols' (Langer, 1948: 14).

The symbolic function of images is revealed in their tendency to become metaphorical:

'... [they are] our readiest instruments for abstracting concepts from the tumbling stream of impressions' (Langer, 1948: 118).

However, how does one make sense of metaphors or classify in some manageable way this 'tumbling stream of impressions?' Black (1979: 25) has contended, somewhat wryly:

'... a student of the subject would find some generally accepted classification helpful in making even the simplest distinctions: But at present, he is in an even worse situation than a biologist before Linnaeus.'

This need to make order out of chaos and to create paradigms

by means of which that order can be managed, is described by Jousse (1990: 183):

'...man creates stable, manageable frameworks whereby to preserve, in living form, and to transmit to his descendants, his past experiences.'

This need to systemize knowledge in order 'to put together' the world, has resulted in the emergence of a number of theories on the subject and a number of definitions regarding the nature of the metaphor.

We perceive and define reality by examining objects and seeing their differences and similarities. Metaphor is functional in identifying analogous things and is both local and contextual in the choice of subjects which constitute such analogies. It is man's relationship with the environment which gives rise to such metaphors and which provides insight as to why metaphorical names such as those given to the various colour-patterns of Sanga-Nguni cattle form such a specific and interrelated system of classification (Sienaert 1996: personal communication).

Now that the paradigm of how colours systematically evolve is understood, a departure from this theoretical baseline into the complexities of meaning can be explored. Metaphor and imagery are abundant in Zulu cattle-terminology. The descriptive and allusive quality of the Zulu language contributes to this and gives these names their particular resonance, binding them within a peculiarly cohesive system of reference. The words used to constitute these names can be similarly described as those Algonkin words on which Edward Sapir commented seventy years ago (1921: 244):

'The structure of language often forces an assemblage of

concepts that impresses us as a stylistic discovery. Single Algonkin words are like tiny imagist poems'.

The same perception could apply to Zulu - particularly the compound nouns and noun + relative phrases which constitute many terms for cattle-colours and other related vocabulary. It is this quality of 'imagist poem', the analogy, the metaphor and imagery - apart from any anthropological considerations - which delights and which makes these names such a rich and interesting field of study.

In order to evaluate the metaphorical content of cattle terms in Zulu, a study of metaphor, its meaning, significance and application must be explored first. Fraser's (1979: 184) remark on the nature of metaphors underlines the enormity of the task of trying both to define absolutely or describe fully the nature of the metaphor. He says:

'Metaphors are black holes in the universe of language. We know that they are there; many prominent people have examined them; they have had enormous amounts of energy poured into them and, sadly, no one yet knows very much about them.'

Despite this, the analysis continues, beginning from the most basic understanding of metaphor which postulates, as Aristotle did, that metaphors are implicit comparisons, based on the principles of analogy - a view which generally translates into the comparison theory of metaphor:

'Indeed, a metaphor is often defined as a type of analogy, as an implicit comparison.' (Fraser 1979: 176)

However, metaphor is more than just an analogy, or a purely linguistic phenomenon - it is a communication phenomenon operating on a much larger scale. Evaluating the various

definitions of metaphor, Fraser (1979: 173) has addressed the issue by extrapolating the following points from an analysis of the subject stretching from Aristotle to Richards. He (1979: 176) defines metaphor as:

'An instance of the non-literal use of language in which the intended propositional content must be determined by the construction of an analogy. '

He postulates that:

1. Metaphor involves the use of language.
2. It is not accounted for within the grammar of a language for grammar presupposes rules and relationships between strings of sounds and their meanings and not '... how such sentences might be used in context to communicate intentions' (1979: 173).

Metaphor is, in fact, based within a theory of language use, not a theory of grammar. Intention, context, all these must be taken into account in the analysis and comprehension of metaphor. In this regard, the speaker's intention is paramount.

Nowotny (1962: 89) defines metaphor as:

'...a peephole on the nature of transcendental reality, a prime means by which the imagination can see into the life of things.'

Alan Paivio (1979: 150) defines metaphor in strong metaphorical terms:

'For the student of language and thought, metaphor is a solar eclipse. It hides the object of study and at the same time reveals some of its most salient and interesting characteristics when viewed through the right telescope. The object is linguistic meaning. Metaphor obscures its literal and commonplace aspects while permitting a new and subtle understanding to emerge. Thus, metaphor highlights the phenomenon of semantic creativity, the capacity of language users to create and understand novel linguistic combinations that make literal nonsense.'

2.4.2 UNDERSTANDING METAPHOR: SOME THEORETICAL APPROACHES

In terms of general theories for the understanding and

interpretation of metaphors, Max Black, has proposed the *interactive* theory which seems the most appropriate way of comprehending the significance of metaphor and imagery in cattle colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice in Zulu.

However, several theories by means of which metaphor might be interpreted, have been proposed by exponents drawn from many disciplines. Three of these, including the 'interactive theory' mentioned already, have gained prominence:

- i) substitution theory
- ii) comparative theory
- iii) interactive theory

In the analysis of terminology pertaining to cattle, it is Black's interactive theory which is the most useful in analysis for this theory creates similarities, rather than records them as simple analogy. Black says (1962: 37):

'It would be more illuminating ... to say that the metaphor creates the similarity than to say that it formulates some similarity antecedently existing.'

If, indeed, metaphor creates similarities, then metaphor:

'...could provide the bridge between a student's earlier conceptual and representational schemes and the later scheme of the totally unfamiliar subject to be learned by the student.' (Petrie, 1977: 442)

Consequently, interactive metaphors allow for truly new forms of knowledge and understanding to be acquired by the student, acting almost as building blocks in the acquisition of that knowledge.

The theories of substitution (in which one concept is substituted for another, e.g. 'Man is a Wolf'), comparison (closely related to substitution) and interaction (a more complex, cognitive approach), are not mutually exclusive. Petrie

proposes that a metaphor can be both interactive and comparative, depending on context. Using the example 'the atom is a miniature solar system', Petrie explains that both the atom and the solar system are concepts which a teacher of science, for example, would understand fully. In this sense, such a metaphorical statement would be - for the teacher - comparative. For the student, hearing this comment for the first time, however, the metaphor will appear interactive in the sense that the student is learning about both of the concepts 'atom' and 'solar system' for the first time and making from that new information an integrated concept.

In summary, comparing the comparative and interactive theory, Searle (1979: 104) says:

'...we might say that the comparison view tries to explain metaphor as a relation between references, and the interactive view tries to explain it as a relation between senses and beliefs associated with references.'

It is this more complex belief and sense-related approach to the interpretation of metaphor which seems the most appropriate in the analysis of the metaphorical content of cattle colour-pattern terminology and related naming-practice.

2.4.2.1 INTERACTIVE THEORY OF METAPHOR:

The interactive theory devised for the interpretation of metaphor is the most useful theoretical framework within which to view cattle terminology. Substitution and Comparative theories, although simple in concept and useful in application, do not allow for a more in-depth understanding of either the resonance or the contextual aspects of the metaphors in question and are therefore only mentioned as existing theories applicable

to the analysis of metaphor.

What is the interactive theory? Black states that through the interactive theory one may arrive at an understanding of how strong metaphorical statements work. This is a functional analysis. In regard to the theory he writes (1979: 27-18):

'The merits of the interaction view,... should be weighted against those of its only available alternatives - the traditional "substitution view" and "comparison view" (a special case of the former). Briefly stated, the substitution view regards "the entire sentence that is the locus of the metaphor as replacing some set of literal sentences"; while the comparison view takes the imputed literal paraphrase to be a statement of some similarity or analogy, and so takes every metaphor to be a condensed or elliptic simile.'

The interactive view, on the other hand - and, in summary - is formulated by Black (1979: 28) as follows:

i) A metaphorical statement has two distinct subjects. Black calls them 'primary' and 'secondary' subjects.

ii) While the primary subject is regarded as an individual thing, the secondary subject is to be regarded as a system rather than as an individual thing.

iii) The metaphorical utterance works by "projecting upon" the primary subject a set of "associated implications" comprised in what Black calls the "implicative complex", that are predictable of the secondary subject.

iv) The creator of a metaphorical statement selects, emphasizes, suppresses or organises features of the primary subject by applying to it the implicative complex of the secondary subject.

v) In the context of a metaphorical statement, the two subjects interact in the following way. Black explains (1977: 29):

'a) The presence of the primary subject incites the hearer to select some of the secondary subjects' properties; and

b) invites him to construct a parallel implication-complex that can fit the primary subject; and

c) reciprocally induces parallel changes in the secondary subject.'

With regard to the above, a fuller explanation is required,

especially if applied to colour-pattern terminology and naming-practice. The implication in i) is self-evident as well as that implied by ii). The way in which the primary and secondary subjects relate to each other, however, needs clarification. The secondary subject, which is usually complex, depends on the *context* of metaphorical use in order to be comprehended and 'determines a set of what Aristotle called *endoxa*, current opinions shared by members of a certain speech community' (Black 1979: 29). The 'secondary subjects' comprising the metaphorical content of cattle terms could, in fact, be interpreted as a set of *endoxa* for they are fairly specifically prescribed and are shared by many members of the Zulu speech community, especially those concerned with the care of cattle.

The term 'implication-complex' in point iii), which is a feature of the 'secondary subject' and which is associated with the *endoxa* described above, can, however, also be a novel and nonplatitudinous innovation. But in regard to cattle terminology the implication-complex is circumscribed by the system of naming which is informed by both strong cultural and historical factors.

Point iv) of the interactive theory does not apply fully to the understanding of metaphor in cattle names. This is simply because the features of the primary subject in the case of cattle terminology always applies to *inkomo* - beast - or any word which indicates a type of beast (cow, bull, ox etc.) and is therefore to some extent fixed and needs no 'selection, emphasis, suppression or organization of features'.

With regard to point v) in respect of cattle terminology, primary and secondary subjects 'interact' in the three ways

described by Black: an implication-complex brought to bear by the secondary subject can fit the primary subject. This implication-complex, in a sense, induces changes in the secondary subject too - for the primary subject of 'beast' and whatever secondary subject is related to it, are closely linked by association and interact in the perception of those concerned with cattle terminology in a way which inextricably conjoins them.

In summary, and paying tribute to Richards for the concept of 'interanimation of words', Black (1979: 29) says of the interactive theory:

'I think of a metaphorical statement (even a weak one) as a verbal action essentially demanding *uptake*, a creative response from a competent reader.'

In terms of the interactive theory, the mental processes and semantic processes involved in understanding metaphorical utterances relate to levels of belief, meaning and association which interact between the literal frame (i.e. the beast) and metaphorical focus (the metaphorical reference which relates to the naming of the beast). Further, for a realistic understanding of metaphor, similarity and context both play a role which determine the difference between metaphor and literal utterance.

There has also been much debate about the similarities and differences between metaphor and simile and that metaphor is simply a 'truncated simile'. But, as Black (1979: 32) points out:

'In discursively comparing one subject with another, we sacrifice the distinctive power and effectiveness of a good metaphor. The literal comparison lacks the ambience and suggestiveness, and the imposed "view" of the primary subject, upon which a metaphor's power to illuminate depends.'

No simple answer can be found for why we use metaphors. But,

as Sienaert says (pc to MPO, 1996):

'...we could not live in a "cut-up" world. We need cohesion, pattern, cosmos. We need order, for in chaos we are at a loss for meaning. We are lost.'

Our sense of correspondence, interrelations, analogy of domains conventionally separated, need words and concepts beyond the ordinary use of language to express insights which would be inexpressible in any other way.

The use of metaphor is essentially creative. The creation of novel metaphors can be seen, as stated earlier, as small 'imagist poems' or 'fragments of poems'. In terms of something as systematic as the range of terminology for cattle, the metaphorical content acts as it might in freer and less circumscribed situations, for like these metaphors, which give us 'a new way of seeing', cattle terminology and the metaphor generated by the great variety of names gives us unique insights and tells us something new about the world.

Black (1977: 37) supports the idea that a metaphorical statement can sometimes generate new knowledge and insight by changing relationships between the things designated (the primary and secondary subjects) and in doing so defends what others might judge an implausible contention. The contention does not seem so implausible in terms of an analysis of cattle terminology though: the metaphorical statement implicit in these cattle terms do generate an entirely new way of perceiving Sanga-Nguni animals and this is achieved by insight into the relationship between the primary subject (the animal) and the secondary (that by means of which it is metaphorically described). And, it is contended, this connection between the two, together, constitutes a new entity.

As Black (1979: 37) says:

'It would be more illuminating in some of these cases [i.e. of metaphors imputing similarities difficult to discern otherwise] to say that the metaphor creates the similarity than to say that it formulates some similarity antecedently existing.'

This contention of Black's has been criticised but he argues strongly that metaphors enable us to see some aspects of reality that the metaphor's production helps to constitute. This perception might well apply to the understanding of cattle terminology: for example, metaphors such as those implicit in the colour-pattern terminology, are what might be called "cognitive instruments", indispensable for perceiving connections that, once perceived, are then present and existing.

Black concludes his argument on the creative aspects of metaphor in this way (1979: 39-40):

'I still wish to contend that some metaphors enable us to see aspects of reality that the metaphor's production helps to constitute. But that is no longer surprising if one believes that the world is necessarily a world under a certain description - or a world seen from a certain perspective. Some metaphors can create such a perspective.'

New knowledge is assimilated apperceptively by being related to old knowledge. Norrman and Haarberg (1980: 166) state:

'The interpretability of new metaphors depends on the kinds of relations that exist between the elements in the two systems that are being bisociated, and on the audience's knowledge of these. If these relations are very clear the metaphor will also be clearly expressive.'

One of the easiest ways to impart new knowledge is to relate it to something already known. Miller (1979: 217) explains this concept of directionality thus:

'I will call the concept that is being talked about the "referent" and the concept to which the referent is being

related the "relatum".'

In the following example '*inkomo engamaqanda kacilo*' - 'the beast which is the eggs of the lark' - *inkomo* (beast), is the 'referent' and '*engamaqanda kacilo*' ('which is the eggs of the lark'), is the relatum or the thing to which the comparison is being made.

Miller (1979: 217) says:

'It is always the referent [in this case, *inkomo*, 'beast'], enriched by the relatum [*engamaqanda kacilo* 'the eggs of the lark'], that should be added to the image; the relatum is either already part of the image or is part of general knowledge.'

Further, metaphorical expression such as that found in cattle terminology in Zulu is not merely some aesthetic device but shows us how things are in reality.

'Such recognition of what might be called the representational aspect of a strong metaphor can be accommodated by recalling other familiar devices for representing "how things are".' (Black 1979: 41)

It is this interaction between elements which constitute the ingredients which enable an apperception of the concept or thing under examination - in this case the horned and patterned Sanga-Nguni beast. And, it is hoped, from the argument presented above, it will be evident that an understanding of the metaphor and imagery in colour-pattern and related terminology is not a matter of straightforward analogy. Simple comparison of the animal with some natural object would fall short of a full understanding of this complex and allusive naming-practice.

2.4.3 ASPECTS AND FEATURES OF METAPHOR

Having found a theoretical framework within which to examine the metaphor inherent in colour-pattern and related terminology,

it is essential to look at the nature of the metaphors themselves in more detail, not just in definition as described in 2.4.1 above, but in more specific detail in terms of how they 'act' or are 'constituted'.

Black comments that the entrenched classification of metaphor as being 'alive' or 'dead' is unsatisfactory, claiming that a 'dead' metaphor, having been deprived of metaphorical power can no longer be called a metaphor at all. He prefers the concept of 'extinct', 'dormant' and 'vital' to describe metaphors in various stages of existence.

However, in dealing with 'vital' metaphors, there are two aspects which need consideration:

- i) Emphasis
- ii) Resonance

Emphatic metaphors obtain their metaphorical force from the 'focus' or salient word or expression which is essential to their meaning. Black (1979: 26) defines them in this way:

'Emphatic metaphors are intended to be dwelt upon for the sake of their unstated implications: Their producers need the receiver's cooperation in perceiving what lies behind the words used.

With regard to **resonance** in a metaphor, Black says that certain metaphorical expressions are richer or more resonant in background implications than others. Zulu cattle names could be considered particularly resonant metaphors with, in some cases, background implication of some complexity, dependant on a thorough knowledge, for example, of the natural environment in which the cattle are kept and of the animals, birds, plants etc. that are connected to them through shared names.

Such emphatic or resonant metaphors, are called '**strong**

metaphors' by Black (1979: 27). Besides being 'strong metaphors' much cattle terminology contains aspects of generative metaphors because they can function as cognitive instruments through which a new view of a domain of reference can be achieved. Cattle, in this case, are the 'domain of reference'. Recognition of what might be called the 'representational aspect' of a strong metaphor is illustrated, for example, by our interpretation of maps, paintings, charts, which are 'cognitive devices' for showing '"how things are"' (Black 1979: 41).

In order to understand metaphorical use, according to Miller (1979: 221), three steps must be taken:

- i) The metaphor must be recognized.
- ii) Reconstruction must be made so that the implied comparison is clear.
- iii) An interpretation in terms of context, previous knowledge etc. must be made.

These three steps in recognizing and understanding metaphor link closely with what Paivio (1979: 152) refers to as the functions of metaphor. These imply cognitive processes which explain, to some extent, why metaphors are used in communication at all:

1. '...metaphor provides a compact way of representing the subset of cognitive and perceptual features that are salient to it. A metaphor allows large 'chunks' of information to be converted or transferred from the vehicle to the topic.'
2. Metaphor '... enables us to talk about experiences which cannot be literally described.'
3. Metaphor, through imagery, 'provides a vivid and, therefore memorable and emotion-arousing representation of perceived experience.'

Taking these three functions into account, and assuming that the understanding of metaphor is a cognitive process, the fact that the creator of the metaphor can make an entity out of two

disparate parts must be examined. If a beast with a white and brown hide marked with large brown spots, each outlined in white, is called *inkomo engamatshe oNgoye* - 'the beast which is the stones of the Ngoye' - what sense does that make either to the speaker or the receiver of this information? In order to understand the term, the following concepts need consideration:

- i) *Similarity*
- ii) *Relation*
- iii) *Integration*

Similarity is involved because the two terms in a metaphor share attributes. Relation exists because metaphor may take advantage of common relations. Integration occurs because of the emergence of something new which is a result of the integration of certain aspects of the constituents. Therefore, 'beast' on one hand, and 'stones of the Ngoye' on the other which are similar in appearance and related by this visual association, are integrated in the term which refers, very exclusively, to a particular colour-pattern. This exists as a fixed and integrated entity applicable to certain cattle. In regard to this type of metaphorical concept, Boyd (1979: 358) says:

'...the use of metaphor is one of the many devices available ... to accomplish the task of accommodation of language to the causal structure of the world. By this I mean the task of introducing terminology, and modifying usage of existing terminology, so that linguistic categories are available which describe the causally and explanatory significant features of the world.'

The concepts of similarity and relation are inherent in any understanding of metaphor. The basis of similarity may lie in attributes which are shared. Metaphors have implicit comparative properties (while the comparative properties of similes are explicit) and Black (1962: 37) explains it in this way:

'It would be more illuminating in some of these cases to say that the metaphor creates the similarity than to say that it formulates some similarity antecedently existing.'

With regard to relational similarity, Paivio (1979: 152) gives an illustration which exemplifies the principle of 'proportional metaphor':

'...the injunction to, "Put a tiger in your tank", which a well-known gasoline company used a few years ago, could be analyzed as a proportionate metaphor which implies that a certain gasoline is to a car as power is to a tiger.'

The concepts of similarity and relation have caused much debate: in terms of a more formal idea of similarity, it can be defined in terms of 'the number of identical elements shared by two stimuli' (Paivio, 1979: 153). However, similarity of meaning cannot be taken at face value for interpretation of similarity poses another thorny problem. What, after all, are the nature of common elements? Three types of similarity have been identified as useful tools for classification. These are "functional equivalence", "response similarity" and "mediated similarity". However, even if such categories do exist, against which the 'form' of similarity can be tested, metaphor, in many instances, remains elusive: the variety, subtlety and nuance of semantic similarity is not something easily grasped and is open to interpretation dependent on context.

Ortony (1979:187) states that his perception is that the aspect of similarity is the most important in reference to understanding metaphor:

'Typically, similarity metaphors have two terms - the first term often called the topic; the second term often called the vehicle.'

Ortony gives the example "the man is a sheep" implying that

there is something in common between the man (topic) and the sheep (vehicle). It is a proportional metaphor because it refers to relations rather than objects as such. With regard to the matter of similarity, it is claimed on a fairly simplistic level that metaphors are merely implicit comparisons to be contrasted with similes, which are explicit ones. Such a view is surely too simplistic for though metaphors are often used to make comparisons it does not mean that they are comparisons. Indeed metaphor can be construed as:

'a kind of use of language, where a comparison is a kind of psychological process which, while quite possibly as essential a component of certain kinds of language use, is not the same thing as such a use' (Ortony 1979: 188).

In the interpretation of metaphors, selected features of the referent (vehicle) are applied to the subject (topic). The assessment of the similarity in the interpretation of the metaphor assumes a particular frame of reference by means of which the quality of the match may be examined.

In terms of this, Miller concludes that the relatum is the 'old information', the referent the current topic and the relation of similarity the new information.

In the interpretation of similes one simply assumes a resemblance. How may one, therefore, arrive at a coherent interpretation of a nonliteral comparison? One must assume a resemblance and find the frame of reference in terms of which the aptness or quality of that resemblance is maximized.

The comprehension of metaphor requires a special kind of relational perception or response and leads into 'integration'. With regard to relations, they are as important to the understanding of metaphors as are the juxtaposition of objects.

But both objects and relations between them 'tie language to reality' (Ortony, 1979: 187).

Integration itself involves the perception of a new entity which is distinct from the related elements considered separately. This perception of a new entity has direct relevance to the understanding of metaphor. Billow (1977: 82) says:

'The two (or more) ideas of the metaphor work together to produce a new concept for which there may be no other expression.'

Most writers on the subject of metaphor propound that something new is created when metaphor is understood. One is exposed to new relationships which were not evident before. This concept of 'something new' is pivotal in the understanding of the interactive theory of metaphor. Besides creating something new, metaphors also give rise to a different way of perceiving.

In terms of this, the earlier example *inkomo engamatshe oNgoye*, 'the beast which is (like) the stones of the Ngoye', indicates a coloured and white animal on the hide of which coloured patches seem outlined in a dense white rim (Appendix II: fig. 40). The analogy between the pattern of the hide and the stones of the Ngoye forest lies in the fact that at Ngoye, an area of KwaZulu-Natal, where extensive indigenous forest is found, there are certain rocks which are a feature of the landscape. Around the bases of these a particular type of vegetation forms a perimeter ring. The large rounded spots outlined in denser white on the hide of a beast named *engamatshe oNgoye*, suggest the visual appearance of these large rounded stones, rimmed with vegetation.

All comprehension of metaphor involves what Paivio (1979:

154) calls, 'mediational approaches' which are concerned with the similarity, relational and integrative reactions already mentioned and which make the comprehension of them possible. With regard to these mediating structures Paivio states (1979: 155):

'Different theories assume different mediating structures. Traditional verbal associative theory assumes that the relation is mediated by the structure of verbal associations. Imagery-based theories might stress the structural similarities in perceptual memories.'

Clearly, understanding of metaphor in cattle names is very much associated with the latter, for it is only in observing the beasts concerned, that the aptness of the metaphor can be appreciated, and indeed, understood.

Besides the two theories given above, there are others which overlap in abstract semantic representations, but, whatever the theory embraced, each theory assumes that the understanding of that metaphor depends on some form of structural match in regard to the information inherent in the linguistic metaphor, or the shaping of a new, relational entity from that information. Thus, beast and some other natural phenomenon - whether bird, animal, plant or domestic object - are brought into a relationship dependent on visual similarity and integrated in a new form i.e. a colour-pattern which exists in its own right and which, despite the elements that compose it, is an integrated entity.

2.4.4 CONTEXT

Another important feature of the understanding of metaphor is, as has been stated already, the situation or context in which the metaphor is used. Sometimes, metaphorical expression is circumscribed and related specifically to a situation or to the

understanding of some category of things. In this regard, all terminology in Zulu relating to cattle, is a good example. This is different from spontaneously composed metaphors, from the fluid, poetic expression, for example, used (with some notions of exclusivity) by creative writers etc. and, as stated above, although metaphorical expression is inherent in cattle names, they belong to a specific class of linguistic expression and therefore are more or less fixed.

Comprehension of metaphors involves what Tulving (1972) calls 'episodic memory'. In terms of this, Paivio (1979: 155) comments:

'In the case of metaphor comprehension, one's episodic memory for the metaphorical expression, and the linguistic context in which it is uttered, must be taken into account along with extralinguistic factors. The linguistic context includes the ongoing topic of conversation. The extralinguistic context includes the general communicational setting and the persons involved in the exchange. All of these situational stimuli will determine precisely what semantic memory information is relevant to the interpretation of the metaphor.'

Clearly, 'context' is crucial to the understanding of metaphor in colour-pattern terminology. Taken out of context *engamavukuthu*, *ebafazi bewela*, *engamatsh'ehlathi* i.e. 'that which is the rock pigeon', 'which is the women cross over', 'which is the stones of the forest' are, if not altogether semantically incomprehensible, certainly contextually incomprehensible. Even if '*inkomo*', 'beast', preceded each term (a word assumed as prefix by those who know cattle colour-pattern terminology), the impact of the metaphor is not fully grasped until the visual manifestation of the beast's physical colour is seen and apprehended. Paivio (1979: 162) states:

'...metaphor processing involves the recognition of an

abstract resemblance, or abstract relation, between the vehicle and topic domains, which is more than the sum of the attributes of each constituent.'

With regard to context the following questions also need to be answered.

i) If a metaphorical utterance is given out of context do speakers agree on the most likely interpretation?

ii) When speakers do differ, can these differences be accounted for in terms of age, sex, cultural background?

iii) Where there is agreement, can the properties of the metaphor which give rise to that consensus be construed as part of the purely linguistic description?

With regard to the three questions related to context posed above, it is clear that in the case of i), context would be essential if speakers were to agree on a likely interpretation. Colour-pattern terminology, if divorced from the context of cattle, would be mystifying. In terms of ii), sex, age and cultural background would have a bearing on interpretations of colour-pattern terminology and related terms: a cattle vocabulary is specialist and the difference of cultural background and age and sex would be significant in accounting for these differences. With regard to iii), where consensus is assumed, it would arise out of both linguistic description and direct visual association.

With regard to context and metaphor, Cohen (1979: 64) points out how crucial it is to note speaker-intention and to be aware of contextual clues.

There is also a difference in what Morgan (1979: 136) calls 'sentence meaning' and 'utterance meaning'. 'Utterance meaning' has to do with intention in the speaker and interpretation in the listener and is dependent on context which can change, by the smallest of nuance, the meaning and its reception. Consequently,

Morgan believes that the study of metaphor is a matter of pragmatics, not semantics: metaphor is not a 'property' of a sentence 'but a matter of what one does in saying the sentence' (1979: 139-140).

2.4.5 IMAGERY:

Imagery plays an important part in the recall of metaphors - more so than sequential criteria. Certainly, this pertains in terms of colour-pattern terminology for it is the visual similarities between beast and the phenomenon implicit in the metaphorical term which make each colour-pattern easy to recall. A semantic term alone will convey to anyone familiar with Zulu and with Sanga-Nguni cattle, an immediate visual picture of a beast of that particular colour and pattern. Conversely, when presented with a living beast, the colour and conformation of its pattern can easily trigger recall of the term that describes it. The image implicit in the metaphor - the analogy between the beast and some other phenomenon - make such terms as '*isomi*' (redwinged starling), '*engamasi avutshiwe*' (sour milk which is ripe), '*engamaphuphu ezikhova*' (fledglings of the owl), '*imfezi*' (rinkhals or spitting cobra), immediately recognizable and translatable into a visual interpretation of colour-pattern.

Of course, a 'specialist' aspect does exist in regard to cattle terminology for many of these names derive from analogy between the beasts' colour and pattern and some phenomenon in nature. If the person examining colour-pattern terminology is not familiar with the other natural phenomena to which the terms relate, their full comprehension of the terms and their

metaphorical content will be deficient. For example, the term '*umngqithi*' is used to describe a light brown and white beast, the colour resembling that of the plumage of the large ground bird known as the Kori bustard. This name for the colour-pattern still exists although Kori bustards are no longer found in the Zulu-speaking area and would be entirely unfamiliar to the average Zulu cattle owner today. Hence, understanding of the association would be lost on many. Only those very well-versed in cattle-lore would be likely to know the term and its full associations. Knowledge of cattle terminology is a skill which was widespread and commonplace until recent times. With the decline in the cattle-culture and rapidly changing social conditions, this knowledge is being eroded at an alarming rate. Its decline runs parallel with the diminishing knowledge of veld-lore which was so great a part of Zulu experience and which played so integral a role in Zulu cosmology. It was the Zulu herdsman's intimate knowledge of plant, animal, bird and other phenomena in nature which gave rise to the creation of this metaphorical terminology relating to cattle and which is based in a discerning observation of nature.

The role of imagery in metaphor is crucial: the interacting visual and verbal modes are vehicles for the acquisition of knowledge. Nothing could be more true in the case of the names for colour-patterns. However, no understanding of this imagery can be achieved without an understanding of the language and culture from which they come. Speaking of imagery in Zulu praise-poetry (remarks which would as aptly apply to cattle terminology) Msimang (1976: 75) states:

'Imagery in Zulu praise-poetry is bound up with the Zulu culture without knowledge of which, it might be difficult to understand and correctly interpret the images used.'

It is in the light of this remark that pains have been taken to set this terminology in the context of the cattle-culture as a whole, for the naming of beasts and the interpretation of those names loses both meaning and resonance if divorced from the context of the role of cattle in Zulu society as a whole.

2.5 THE ORAL TRADITION

Cattle terminology, especially colour-pattern terminology with which this dissertation is principally concerned, belongs to the oral tradition of the Zulu people and is, I believe, a genre in its own right. The terms for colour-patterns are not praise names in the sense of laudatory epithets for their primary function is for purposes of identification. However, in their composition, the fluidity with which they can be combined to form 'new images' which are applicable to individual beasts in a variety of combinations, make them utterances characterised by aesthetic and metaphorical elements which justify their definition as 'oral art' and thus inclusion in the oral tradition as a genre of generic praises. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the acceptance of this terminology as a branch of that tradition and will encourage an appreciation of its aesthetic and literary importance.

Criticising the 'functionalist' stance of anthropologists in their approach to African art (a statement which could apply to the literary arts as much as the plastic arts), Okpewho (1979: 1) says:

'They seldom tried to get to the roots of the aesthetic principles on which the art was executed...'

Indeed, in regard to the study of the role of cattle in various societies - for obvious reasons - anthropologists have concentrated on their economic and ritual role and the extent of their contribution to human society. An appreciation of the cattle themselves - albeit in terms of the society to which they belong - in which **they** are central to the study, has been attempted by few³.

Okpewho's remarks on how African art in general is informed, is illuminating in terms of the oral tradition. His assertion that the physical and metaphysical environment are a presence in its expression, is relevant to the perceptions and ideas that are central to both cattle terminology and the other genres of the oral tradition in which cattle imagery plays a part. Okpewho (1979: 27) says:

'We have tried to identify the traditional African artist as a man with a very pressing sense of real and concrete presences, enjoying the closest intimacy with the physical and metaphysical environment. By means of his dynamic sense of form, he tries in all sorts of combinations, with linguistic as well as plastic resources, to give tangible meaning to those visible and spiritual presences that give context to his daily life and thought.'

With regard to metaphorical names, of which cattle colour-pattern terminology is a very good example, Finnegan (1970: 23) states that they are only 'marginal' to the oral literature if

³ Deng's The Dinka and their Songs (1973) is a pioneering work in which Dinka ox songs of great beauty have been recorded and analysed. Kunene's Heroic Poetry of the Basotho (1971) is equally valuable as an appreciation of the aesthetics of praise-poetry both of men and animals. Molefe's Praises of Domestic Animals (1992) is a new and valuable contribution to the field.

we are to assess that literature from a Eurocentric standpoint. Seen from the perspective of the people to whom the tradition belongs, however, a different assessment might arise. How they define their words and their world is what counts and is the most important criterion for deciding how to treat them.

Okpewho (1992: 366) agrees, urging that we make our analysis in literary criticism in terms of how people themselves classify the various forms. He says (1992: 366):

'...people make judgements about their own art and culture, [and] we may be certain that some amount of thought has gone into their formulation, and we can at least try to probe the basis of such formulation.'

Okpewho's reservations regarding the quality of scholarship in the documentation of the oral literature in Africa have been noted in Chapter 1. His chief concern is that 'outsiders' rather than people belonging to the society under scrutiny are evaluating the material. He also laments the fact that literary criticism - as a discipline - has tended to by-pass material drawn from the oral tradition. He is not alone in his concern. Vail and White (1991: 322) write:

'... literary criticism has been the Cinderella of African Studies producing little scholarship that can match the commitment and intellectual vigor of debates in related disciplines.'

As has been stated, cattle terminology is seen by the Zulu people as names - a means of identification - rather than praises. However, the metaphorical content, the combination in which these terms can be interwoven to form new and unique names and the specialist aspect of their transmission, presuppose that they are **not** marginal to the oral tradition but are part of it

and are viewed by the people as something significant, belonging to a special category of language. Cattle imagery is used extensively in panegyric and other forms of oral art. Imagery related to colour-pattern terminology gives specific resonance to these praises and refines the meaning inherent in them. Yet, this aspect has often been overlooked in studies of praise poetry etc. and translations of the vernacular often give rise to inaccuracies, due to a lack of appreciation of the significance of cattle terminology. For example, in the praises of Zihlandlo (Cope, 1968: 160-161) three individual *lobolo* cows are mentioned. The Zulu version recorded by Cope is rendered as:

**'Wathi zihambe nelungakazi zihambe nencokazi,
Wathi zihambe newasakazi;'**

which is translated as:

'He said they should go with a black and white cow, they should go with a red and white cow,
He said they should go with a black cow with a white flank;'

There is far more meaning to the terms than offered in such a translation: *ilungakazi* is indeed a black and white cow as is *iwasakazi* - but there are many different types of black and white configuration. *Ilungakazi* refers to the pattern which resembles the plumage of the Fiscal shrike and describes a cow which is black with two converging white stripes along back and flanks. *Iwasakazi* refers to a pattern similar to that of a whitenecked raven, in that a broad white band runs up the flank, visually similar to the thick white collar of the bird. *Incokazi* is a red and white spotted beast but there are more than a dozen ways of referring to spots: *incokazi* implies a beast with large vibrant red spots quite different, for example, from fine, scattered

spots which a term like *inala* might describe.

It is only through a close study of the literary and aesthetic characteristics of these cattle names that an assessment of their value and their role in the wider oral tradition of the Zulu people can be evaluated.

2.6 CONCLUSION:

Whatever the processes are that enable people to comprehend metaphors, these processes result in the coherent interpretation of something that, if it were taken literally, would mean nothing. A cow, for example, cannot 'be' the 'stones of the Ngoye' and offering '*ingamatshe oNgoye*' is not intended to convey such a notion. The concept is relational more than anything and has arisen from a close visual association between primary and secondary subjects.

'Whether the implicit comparison involves relations or objects seems to be a relatively unimportant question; some analogies are literal analogies and some are not. In either case they involve alleged similarities - similarities between relations between objects, rather than between objects themselves' (Ortony 1979: 188).

It emerges most strongly from the argument with regard to the interactive theory of metaphor analysis, that a study of cattle terminology can best be undertaken in terms of this theory, for though similarity and analogy are crucial parts of comprehending these terms, an integrative aspect - part of cognitive processes - informs an understanding of cattle terminology beyond mere comparison. These terms, in the light of the findings of Black particularly, are that metaphor in cattle terminology belongs to the class of what he calls 'strong' or

'emphatic' metaphor, characterized by resonance. Even if the metaphor in cattle terminology is no longer vital in terms of being new, but more or less fixed, it cannot be construed as dormant: new names for colour-patterns and other terminology arise regularly.

Understanding cattle terminology - particularly that used to convey the meanings of colour-patterns - involves the recognition of strong metaphors which can be held to convey

'...in indispensable fashion, insight into the systems to which they refer. In this way, they can, and sometimes do, generate "how things are" in reality' (Black 1977: 41).

It is in the light of the recognition of these strong metaphors that the cattle names will be analysed in the chapters following and the imagery inherent in those names will be described, recorded, listed and classified into categories in order to achieve, as far as is possible, a data-base from which the terminology and naming-practice among the Zulu people in relation to their Sanga-Nguni cattle can be assessed and by means of which their importance to the oral tradition can be described and evaluated.

The richness with which the Zulu language is endowed in this sphere is an instrument by means of which speakers may enhance their understanding and delivery of that language and are the raw materials from which the oral art is composed: the over 300 cattle terms recorded in Zulu are a unique part of that material and their allusive quality and metaphorical content, contribute significantly to the complexity and beauty of the oral tradition.

SECTION TWO

PASTORALISM IN ZULU SOCIETY

*'O Creator,
Creator who created me
in my mother's womb...
Show me the place of cattle,
so that I may grow my crops
And keep my herd.'*

[Deng (1973: 126).]

INTRODUCTION

Cattle-cultures exist throughout Africa and among the people of these societies the animal sacrifice is the central religious act. The strong spiritual and economic connections between man and beast are highlighted in the extensive vocabularies referring to cattle found in the languages of these people. Zulu is no exception.

Although people traditionally connected with cattle in Africa may cultivate crops, as do the Zulus, they are, at heart, pastoralists and the labour in which they particularly delight and which has a significance far beyond the purely economic, is the care of cattle.

In many of these societies the relationship between men and cattle is truly symbiotic. Referring to the Nuer of the Sudan, their ethnographer, Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard (1940: 36), writes:

'...cattle and men sustain life by their reciprocal services to one another. In this intimate symbiotic relationship men and beasts form a single community of the closest kind.'

Much has been written of the cattle-cultures of Africa, including that of the Zulus, and it is useful, in assessing the extent to which cattle play a role in Zulu society, to examine briefly the significance of cattle among other African people. Of most interest is the similarity in naming practice found in these societies. The regard in which cattle are held and their importance to the people may differ from group to group but the names of the colour-patterns show, in many instances, a remarkable similarity and a comparison of 'cattle vocabularies' stretching from the Sudan to Southern Africa bears this out. For example, among the Dinka of the Sudan, many colour-patterns are named for birds, just as they are among the Zulu. 'Crowned Crane' and 'Fish Eagle' are but two which are found in the cattle nomenclature of both people, separated though they are by hundreds of years of history.

Among all pastoralists, including the Zulus, population distribution is closely related to distribution of natural resources and disputes over land-ownership and grazing rights are invariably connected with cattle. Cattle too, are paid in compensation for loss in such disputes and important conflicts are settled by the payment of cattle from the offending to the offended. In terms of political activity, cattle are employed to connect different groups. For example, the *ukusisa* custom among the Zulu, by means of which a man may accommodate a number of cattle in another man's herd, creates a network of interdependence for grazing and binds men through obligation in a way that would not have been likely otherwise. Keeping one's herds separated also ensures that, in the case of theft,

pestilence or rapine, a man has beasts in reserve and is not in danger of losing all his assets at once. The Zulu kings of the nineteenth century '*sisad*' their cattle over vast stretches of territory, thus linking clans and ensuring their loyalty in times of war or other tribulation. Such an arrangement, in the military era, meant a reliable source of food for the army as well as loyalty to and dependence on the sovereign.

In this regard, the transfer of cattle and the role they play in the society was, and still is, far more complicated than a simple payment of livestock in legal transactions or the economic uses of the herds.

Cattle are economic units, providers of food and products useful and necessary to the members of the society, but, apart from this, they are intimately connected with the spiritual lives of the people as well. Cattle and consciousness of cattle pervade every aspect of their daily activity. The network of kinship which interlinks communities is brought about by the operation of exogamous rules, often stated in terms of cattle. Marriage is achieved through the transfer of cattle, ritual is marked by the slaughter of beasts and, in a great variety of instances - birth, initiation, death, supplication for rain or prosperity, good crops and a myriad others - cattle are the medium through which communication is made in spiritual terms.

The legal status of wives and children may be defined by cattle-rights and obligations and the saying '*cattle beget children*' (Kuper, 1982: 21) underscores the importance of cattle in the whole fabric of society itself. The communication of the living with the dead, in whose presence the well-being of a

people depends, is also defined by the role of cattle in sacrifice and ritual for, among the Zulus, as among many Southern African people and those from similar societies elsewhere in Africa, relationships between human beings and the ancestral shades are regulated by the offertory of cattle through sacrifice. Cattle however, are not the objects of religious attention. They are a means through which religious salvation is achieved, for the sanctification of social undertakings and for overcoming sickness and whatever is perceived as 'sin'.

In life, those who are now the ancestral shades, once owned cattle and are still perceived to do so and cattle which are killed for sacrificial purposes are believed to come to life in the spirit world and to live among them. Thus, the shades of the cattle are as connected with their descendants as are the shades of men. The *inkomo yamadlozi* or 'beast of the ancestors' occupies a special place in the family herd and is the particular possession of the lineage shades. It is almost always a cow, symbolising fertility and plenty and, according to Berglund (1976: 203), is a specific link between the living and the dead.

The position of specially chosen animals has been documented among other people as well. Among the Shona, for example, Fortune (1949: 21) recorded that the spirit of a person who had died is believed to occupy the body of a beast which is cared for with the greatest solicitude. Early travellers among the Xhosa-speaking peoples of the Eastern Cape wrote much of the large herds of indigenous population. Thurnwald (1932: 82-83), drawing his information from the eminent missionary, Godfrey Kropf, living on the eastern frontier in the mid-nineteenth century,

reports:

'The care of the cattle, which was exclusively a man's occupation, has something of a religious character, and special relations between ox and the man are assumed to exist. The bull was in earlier times the property of the chief alone and a symbol of his power, while the cow symbolized wealth, happiness, and generosity. Every tribe has a tribal ox from which it takes its name; besides every prominent man also has such an ox as a pet to which he gives all sorts of titles and honours, and which must be spared in war and never killed, but returned to the owner because of its magical associations. The sickness and death of a favourite ox often causes mourning and lamentation expressed in these words: "Death has broken into our midst with much greater power than if he only wished to carry off a man. Our great ox is ill, and if he who is stronger than all should die, what will become of us? It will be the end of us all!" '

Thus it is, that the moral and imaginative significance of cattle complement their utilitarian importance. Their value is not arbitrary in economic terms. In many African societies, like the Dinka and the Nuer, for example, where cattle are of particular significance, their lives have become almost interchangeable with those of the humans which own them.

In the past, when the care of herds occupied the largest proportion of man's daily activity, a herdsman spent so much time alone with his beasts that it is understandable that he should have identified himself so closely with them. However, the bond of affection between man and beast is not sentimentalized and the animals are not endowed by their owners with anthropomorphic characteristics as they so often are in Western societies.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CATTLE OF THE ZULU PEOPLE: THEIR BIOLOGY, HISTORY AND ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE

'*Inkomo* is the last stronghold, the merciful
and faithful saviour'¹

3.1 INTRODUCTION:

Historically, Sanga-type cattle have inhabited Africa for millennia and are considered indigenous to the continent. There are various 'breeds', each being an ecotype of Sanga and each having developed over time, influenced by the differences of environment, habitat and other factors which determine gene diversity and the characteristics of the various populations.

Cattle feature in rock paintings and engravings dating from prehistoric times in north Africa and although evidence in such engravings is scarce, it is known that cattle were used as pack and riding animals and that the decline in use of such animals as beasts of burden has much to do with the drying up of the Sahara desert and the introduction of the camel and the horse.

Cattle cultures exist throughout Africa and the similarity between them and those of the people of Southern Africa is in need of further study and research. Not only are the cattle related in terms of origin and type but many of the names for

¹ Dhlomo, H.I.E. 1945. 'Zulu Life and Thought'. Unpublished manuscript, File 1. Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban. p. 80.

colour-pattern and horn-shape as well as the ritual use to which such animals are put and their significance to the people of those societies, show a significant interconnection.

According to Plug and de Wet (1994: 30), there is evidence that the Sanga cattle in Southern Africa have been kept and slaughtered by the indigenous people since the first millennium AD and that by 300 AD settled communities which owned cattle were living in South Africa and in eastern Botswana, the eastern Lowveld, the Northern Province and the coastal region of KwaZulu-Natal. Archeological records (Maggs et al 1980: 1-15) prove the presence of cattle in the Tugela Basin in 550 AD while it is believed that pastoralists moved into the grassland areas of KwaZulu-Natal on a permanent basis in about 1300 AD.

Elizabeth Voigt (1983: 57) raises the question of the origin of these cattle:

'The Bantu-speaking peoples who moved into southern Africa either brought with them or acquired cattle of the Sanga type. The Khoikhoi people who preceded them possessed cattle which are believed to have been ancestral to the present day Afrikaner (Epstein, 1971, Vol.1: 482, 587). The critical question is whether these two types of cattle, i.e. Sanga and Afrikaner, are identifiable in the archeological record.'

She goes on to describe the skeletal remains of both Sanga and Afrikaner cattle found at Mapungubwe in the north-eastern part of the Northern Province, demonstrating conclusively the presence of both in that area before 1290 when the Mapungubwe site was finally abandoned by the Iron Age people that lived there.

The Afrikaner-type cattle mentioned above, which were large and well-horned and which were favoured by the Khoi, were used not only for meat and milk but also served as pack animals and

for riding. They were described by Vasco da Gama in his recollections as both wonderfully fat and tame. According to Lindblom (1931) the Sanga-type cattle, which were smaller than those of the Khoi and of which the herds of the Xhosa were composed, were also used for riding and as pack-animals. The Xhosas liked to race their oxen, a practice which is described by Soga (1931: 371-376) as occupying 'in the estimation of the people, much the same position as horse racing does in England' and notes that several races, half a century after they took place, were still held in the remembrance of the people, describing two of them in some detail. Soga laments that these great occasions were largely stopped by the cattle-dipping regulations introduced in the late nineteenth century. Political upheaval, drought and - perhaps more tellingly - the Great Cattle Killing of 1856-57, as well as the rinderpest of 1897 decimated the original stock of the Xhosa people. The provenance of the Xhosa cattle is dealt with briefly by Peires (1981: 24):

'The long-horned Sanga cattle of the Nguni are distinct in type from the "Afrikaner" cattle of the Khoi. The usage of the two societies regarding cattle were radically different; Xhosa women were rigorously excluded from the pastoral sphere, while Khoi women did the milking.'²

Like the Xhosa, the Zulu, Swazi and other South African people kept Sanga-type cattle and linguistic evidence reveals an extremely close association in cattle names in the Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi languages, colour patterns being described with the

². It should be noted that biologists believe that the Afrikaner cattle of the Khoi and the Sanga-Nguni are from the same ancestral stock. Selective breeding practices over a very long period of time have caused the sub-type Afrikaner to arise as we know it today (personal communication Bachmann to MPO, 1996).

same metaphorical allusion to bird, wild animal, plant or other natural phenomenon.

An evocative description of Zulu cattle was recorded by Captain Alfred Drayson of the Royal Artillery during a tour of duty in South Africa in the 1850's, which encapsulates admirably both the physical attributes of the animals and their peculiarly inquisitive temperament (Drayson 1858: 252):

'While riding about near some kraals....I saw a very fine herd of Zulu cattle; they are beautiful little creatures, looking more as though they were a cross between an antelope and a cow than merely common cattle. I approached them to have a nearer look, when they seemed equally disposed to stare at me. We stood thus for about a minute, when two or three young bulls came forward quite close to me; others followed, the first advanced, more came in front of them, and I found that I was getting regularly hemmed in by these curious gentlemen.'

Writers on the subject seem to differ regarding the names of the specific populations of Sanga-type breeds in the subcontinent. Archeologists, Ina Plug and Elizabeth de Wet, state (1994: 30):

'Over the centuries people of the different regions and with different cultural traditions selected their animals for certain features. As a result a variety of "breeds" arose. Animals were, amongst other features, often selected for horn shapes and skin colour.'

They record 'some' of the cattle breeds, citing Tswana, Damara, Ovambo, Nama, Nguni, Bapedi, Basotho and Bolowana - the sacred cattle of the Transkei, now believed to be extinct.

Armstrong (1984) records the Sanga-type breeds differently, stating that those which have evolved in Southern Africa are the Afrikaner, Nguni, Pedi, Ladim (Mozambique), Nkone (Zimbabwe), Ovambo, Venda, Kavango, Botswana and cattle of the Caprivi area.

With regard to the naming of the breed, Armstrong contends

that no Sanga-type cattle are sufficiently different from the others to be described as a separate breed, despite regional names, and he points out (Armstrong 1984: 2):

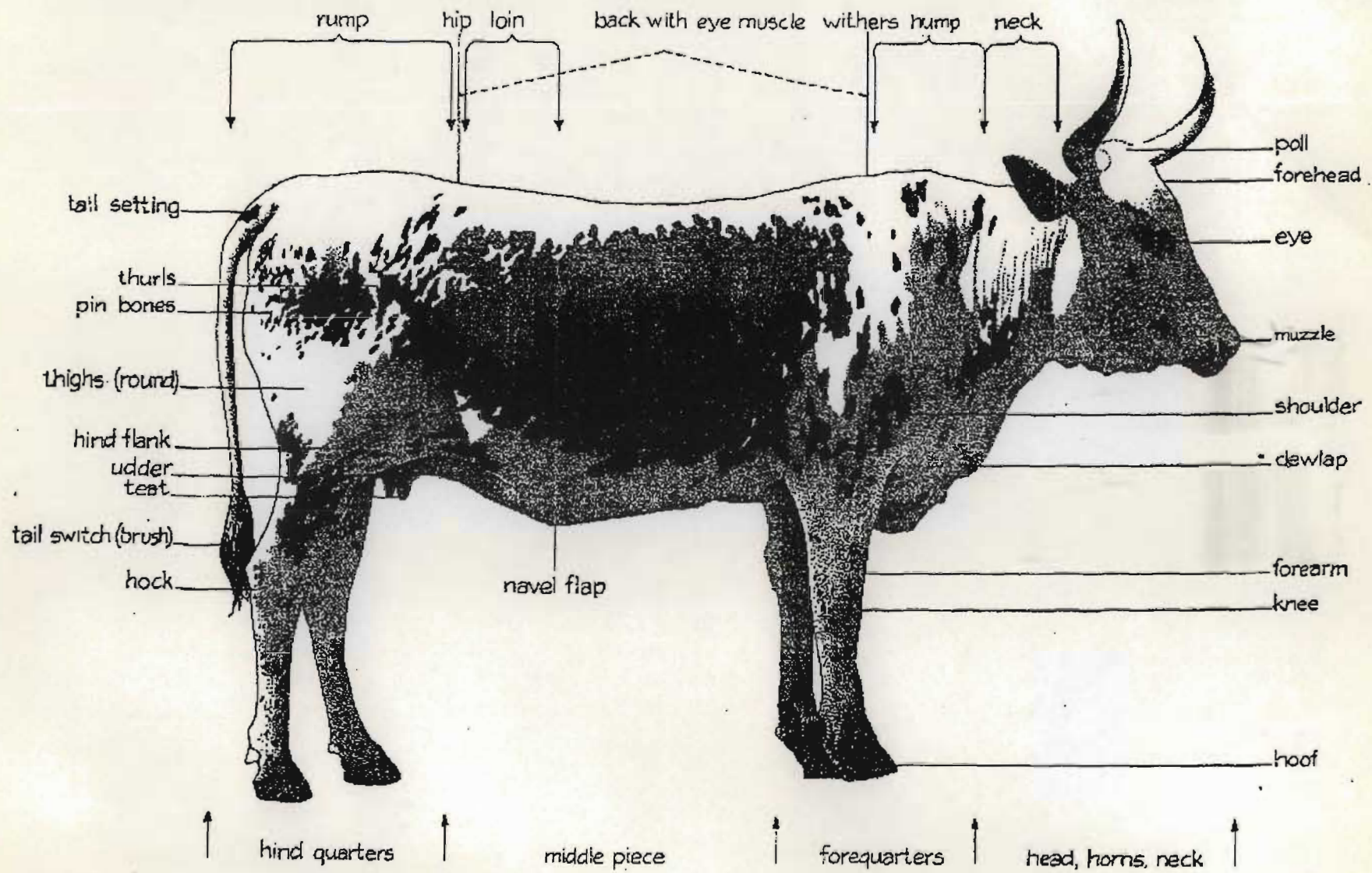
'...ethnic differences preclude the choice of a universal name such as Nguni for Southern African Sanga cattle generally.'

Armstrong (1984: 2-3) proposes that, in order to obviate the confusion with names adopted for the breed, these cattle should be named 'Sanga' with an additional word to denote the local ecotype:

'In this way the breed could accommodate national preferences and minor variations in colour, body size, functional purpose and length of extremities.'

The natural habitat and range of 'pure' Sanga-Nguni cattle, as it is accepted today, extends roughly from the Komati River in the north of Swaziland, to the Tugela River in KwaZulu-Natal in the south. In Swaziland, the western and eastern boundaries of their territory are formed by the Drakensberg and Lebombo mountain ranges respectively. In Zululand, the western boundary of their range stretches from slightly east of Vryheid through Babanango to Mapumulo in the south. The coast forms the eastern boundary. Along the western boundary there is considerable infusion from European stock.

Despite this currently small and specific habitat, the close relationship between Sanga-Nguni cattle and the other indigenous cattle of Southern Africa, as well as with cattle throughout the rest of Africa, is not in doubt. In 1950 a scientific survey of the indigenous breeds of cattle was undertaken in South Africa by members of the Department of Agriculture. In the opening words



3.2 SANGA-NGUNI CATTLE: A BIOLOGICAL PROFILE

In recent times, Sanga-Nguni cattle have become a breed which has caught the attention of the farming fraternity and an Nguni Cattle Breeders Society exists which takes care of the interests of the breed and is ensuring, with every passing year, that stock is both improved and kept as pure as possible. The most rigorous standards are being introduced and the Sanga-Nguni has, at last, taken its rightful place in the national herd.

3.2.1 PHYSICAL FEATURES:

Sanga-Nguni cattle are generally small although adult bulls can reach a substantial mass and height: with their thick horns, pronounced humps and long backs, they are magnificent and imposing animals. Adult cows weigh up to 320 kgs and adult bulls as much as 550 kgs but, in comparison with other breeds, the Sanga-Nguni are fine-boned and angular. Unpolled cows are characterised by slim, dark horns which, when fully-developed, often assume a lyre shape. Sanga-Ngunis tend to have sloping rumps and thin necks. The hump is not pronounced in the cow and udders are small with well-placed teats. Sanga-Nguni cows do not produce large quantities of milk but the quality is good and the milk is relatively rich and creamy. There is a dewlap, navel fold and the head is of medium length with a wide dished forehead, a level poll and pronounced arches above the eyes. The ears are small and slightly pointed, the hooves wide-spread, the pasterns particularly well-developed and strong.

The hide is thick and loose and the pigment under the hair generally dark. The most remarkable feature of Sanga-Nguni cattle

is the diversity of colour-pattern which covers a wide range of colours, combinations and configurations, the variety of which gives rise to the names which are central to this study. A particularly interesting feature of the breed is the *inkone* pattern, characterised by a white stripe along the back and in which the colour markings on the right and left hand sides of the body, mirror one another in colour and form exactly.

3.2.2 ADAPTABILITY:

The Sanga-Nguni is admirably adapted to harsh environmental conditions and is resistant to drought, heat and tickborne diseases. For centuries they have survived in areas where other cattle have a high mortality rate. They live harmoniously with game and their ability to complement wild game is being investigated by scientists and breeders with the view to managing both in a shared environment on ranches and farms.

Tick-related diseases cause over fifty percent of total deaths among cattle in general but Sanga-Ngunis show a remarkable resistance to tick-borne diseases. According to Bachmann (1984: 13), this characteristic is 'a very valuable attribute, more specially if such resistance is genetically linked'.

Sanga-Nguni cattle are also heat resistant and light tolerant, a significant advantage in an environment where temperatures soar in summer. Their hides are able to dissipate heat and can reflect infra-red light without stress or injury. They can perform at all levels in the hottest conditions and, due to the dark pigmentation in sensitive areas like the eyes, are not susceptible to skin cancer.

These cattle grow well even in the poorest conditions. They are selective browsers and grazers and can obtain optimal nutritional value from the available natural vegetation.

Although scientific considerations are now taken into account in the selection of breeding bulls, in traditional society herd sires tend to be chosen on the strength of their virility and their prowess as fighters or on the grounds that the dam is a good milker. Another significant criterion for the selection of a bull is for colour-pattern, especially as some colours are more favoured than others at particular times, e.g. during the Zulu military campaigns of the nineteenth century there was a burgeoning demand for shields, the colours of which were chosen specifically by the king. Cattle used to supply the hides for shield-making were bred with these preferences in mind.

3.2.3 FERTILITY:

Fertility is deemed by Bachmann and other biologists, to be the most outstanding attribute of Sanga-Nguni cattle. Ramsay (1985: 5) states:

'An unadapted animal is subject to a variety of environmental stresses which play havoc with the female animal's reproductive cycle thereby effectively impairing its reproductive rate. The Nguni is one of the most fertile breeds in Southern Africa and has the lowest calving interval of all the beef cattle breeds in the region.'

3.2.4 PERFORMANCE:

Long-standing prejudice amongst more sophisticated cattle-breeders has contributed to the perception that indigenous cattle are inferior. However, scientific study and research, as well as significantly changing attitudes, have contributed towards a more objective view of the performance achieved by Sanga-Nguni cattle

in recent years and an appreciation of their qualities of hardiness and potential as a leading breed.

3.2.4.1 CALVING:

Despite adverse conditions in which Sanga-Nguni cattle so often live, cows are fertile and calve with ease. Calves are small, the average birth weight being approximately 27 kgs. Calving problems are rare and calves are born strong and vigorous. Cows may produce ten to twelve calves in a lifetime. This high production rate is important when assessing the potential of a young bull and the dam's performance is a key factor in the selection of bulls in modern breeding practice. Heredity is traced through the dam's line.

3.2.4.2 GROWTH:

Calves tend to grow well and, at weaning, a calf is approximately half its mother's mass. Bulls are capable of achieving a weight of 550 kgs in two years. Heifers mature early and are ready to mate at their second season. When grazing is good, Sanga-Ngunis are able to build up body strength and reserves rapidly, which helps them through periods of hardship.

3.2.4.3 CARCASS QUALITY AND BEEF PRODUCTION:

The Sanga-Nguni is a good beef producer although the carcasses are relatively small. Ramsay states (1985:8):

'The fertility and survival-rate of the Nguni ... enables it to produce more beef per breeding cow or per unit area in its environment and, as the Sanga's environment covers a sizeable area in Southern Africa, it should play an increasingly important role in commercial beef production on the subcontinent.'

3.2.5 TEMPERAMENT:

Sanga-Ngunis have lived in the closest association with their owners for hundreds of years. Man and beast interact daily and animals are individually known and cared for. They have a trait of exceptional tameness. Bachmann is of the opinion that they behave quite differently from other cattle - bulls, cows and oxen being both tractible and docile and inherently at ease in human company (pc Bachmann to MPO, March 1996).

3.3 THE HISTORY OF THE CATTLE OF THE ZULU PEOPLE:

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION:

The impact and influence of cattle in Southern Africa has reached beyond those societies traditionally engaged in pastoral activity in Southern Africa like the Khoi and the Bantu-speaking populations: cattle are represented in the rock art of the San and numerous cattle paintings are found in Zimbabwe, the North-West Province, Eastern Cape, Lesotho and KwaZulu-Natal. They record the first impact of agropastoralists and pastoralists on the communities of hunter-gatherers. Manhire *et al* (1986: 22) state:

'Paintings of domestic animals have long been recognized as an interesting, albeit enigmatic, feature of the rock art of southern Africa. Although widely distributed from Zimbabwe to the southern Cape, domestic animals are by no means common and are heavily outnumbered by paintings of wild animals. Their importance lies not in their actual numbers but in the pattern of their distribution and in the fact that they undeniably mark the presence of pastoralist peoples in southern Africa.'

The San, who had lived in the foothills of the Drakensberg for hundreds of years, were quick to notice the herds of the Zulu

people who had settled in the lands between the Drakensberg and the eastern seaboard and, in this area, numerous cattle paintings feature in their art. There appears to be an interesting variation in age between the paintings of cattle in the northern Drakensberg, which are thought to have been executed as early as 1300 AD or before, and the cattle paintings in the southern Drakensberg which are of more recent origin. These date from sometime between 1830 and the end of the nineteenth century and depict scenes of stress and conflict between the San and black pastoralists or European colonists, a feature absent from the cattle paintings of the northern region. The northern cattle are mostly black although some white and grey beasts are also featured and they are characterized by horns in a neatly twisted perspective. The more recent paintings in the Southern Drakensberg 'often display patterned hides, typical of the Sanga group of cattle...' (Manhire *et al*, 1986: 27).

In Zululand itself, the varied vegetation types encountered by the pastoralists were ideally suited for cattle breeding. In an article on the ecology of the Zulu kingdom in pre-colonial times, historian Jeff Guy (1980: 104-105) writes:

'The forest and scrub forest which dominated Zululand had been reduced drastically leaving forest relics on high wet ridges, and scrub in areas protected from fire, along watercourses and on the coast. In those places where it had been removed, it had been replaced by sour grass. The savanna vegetation types had spread from the depths of the river valleys, and the wooded elements had been reduced by regular burning which favoured the grass understorey. The pronounced deflection of patterns of plant succession was the result of farming activity over a prolonged period of time. We have little detailed information about the manner in which this took place; however, archaeologists have shown that this process had been going on for well over a thousand years before Shaka...'

The human activity which had brought about this variety of vegetation was - and still is - of value to the stock-keeper. In Zululand two basic varieties of grazing-type are found: sweetveld and sourveld. There are transitional areas of mixed veld between the two which can be grazed for most of the year and on which Sanga-Nguni cattle flourish.

Being a high-relief area, with a great variation of rainfall and veld types found over short distances, Zululand is ideally suited to animal-husbandry. The concentrated grazing of domestic stock over an extended period, however, begins to reduce the carrying capacity of the pastures. Just prior to the reign of Shaka, this pressure for pasture was becoming critical and Guy (1980: 113) believes:

'...that a study of the military system in the context of the production processes within the kingdom gives further evidence that the struggle for resources was a major factor in social changes taking place at this time.'

Although the turbulent history of the Zulu people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries caused upheaval within the society, Guy (1980: 113) states:

'... one element remained substantially unchanged up to the time that the Zulu were forced to become part of the South African capitalist system. This was the patrilineal lineage system, and the basic reason for its longevity and resilience was that it was an expression of productive processes which themselves were not altered substantially over this period. Kinship relations were expressions of production relations and they must be considered together.'

Each Zulu homestead or *umuzi*, was a unit made up of a number of segments according to the number of wives a man had. On his marriage, a man would move from his father's home and set up an *umuzi* of his own. Each subsequent wife that he married would have

her hut within that *umuzi*. She would have her own cows, her garden and her grain storage area. She and her children would be a production unit on their own, contributing to the larger unit of the *umuzi* and the subsistence of her husband with a portion of the surplus that she produced.

There was a strict division of labour, women being involved in agriculture, men with stock-keeping. The cattle were kept in the central cattle-byre, a place of the greatest spiritual and cultural importance and the centre of the homestead.

Despite its capacity to function self-sufficiently however, there was one aspect of economic life in which the *umuzi* was not able to sustain itself unaided (Guy, 1980: 114):

'...the homestead did not reproduce wives. These had to be obtained by exchanging cattle for women from other lineages, while cattle could be obtained from other lineages for daughters of the homestead. In this manner, through the exchange of surplus from the process of reproduction and production (daughters and cattle), the process of reproduction and production was continued. The ultimate materialisation, or actualisation, of labour-power in cattle is an obvious consequence in the economic formation with new forms of storeable or alienable wealth.'

Thus, the movement of cattle marked the major relationships of the Zulu people and were related not only to material power but to political power as well. The accumulation of cattle, through exchange, ensured the stability and the size of a lineage. Intermarriage bound clans together: cattle were evidence of those links and connections.

Writing of the Nguni people in general, Hammond-Tooke (1993: 53) says of cattle and their importance both materially and culturally:

'They were the principal medium of exchange, especially in contracting a marriage; their passage from the groom's family legitimised the children, and possession of many

cattle allowed a man to acquire many wives (and thus fields), thus increasing his wealth and ensuring him the resources to dispense all-important hospitality.'

During the height of the power and influence of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century, centralised control ensured more effective use of pastures. Jeff Guy (1980: 114) writes:

'... part of the reason for the strength and resilience of the kingdom must have been the physical conditions which allowed a direct transformation of human productivity into cattle and cattle into labour and further productivity.'

3.3.2 CATTLE OF THE ZULU KINGS:

Cattle have been intimately connected with the history of the Zulus for centuries. Tradition tells that sometime in the seventeenth century Qwabe and Zulu, sons of Mandela, the great father of the Zulu and Qwabe tribes, quarrelled and separated on account of a certain white cow which had been given to the younger brother, Zulu, by his mother.

Although white is still a colour associated with Zulu monarchs, cattle with other colour patterns have also been sought after by different kings and, according to Stuart (nd (a): 21), cattle are historically known as *izinkomo zamarole*, meaning 'the alluring herds'.

During the nineteenth century, the cattle culture among the Zulus was at its height and the reigning monarchs owned vast numbers of beasts, forays into neighbouring regions adding to the supply. These cattle, though owned by the king, were placed - according to the custom of *ukusisa* - throughout the kingdom. Those that cared for them on his behalf were responsible for their safe-keeping and, in payment for caring for them and for supplying grazing, were allowed to use the milk.

Shaka's successor, Dingane, owned a large number of *-mdubu* and *-mpofu* coloured beasts obtained from the amaMpondo. These were dun and fawn respectively. He also owned oxen known as the *imitshezi* which were a deep reddish-brown and were considered a burden to people for they were apportioned out according to the *ukusisa* custom but, being oxen, did not yield milk for their caretakers and therefore gave them less benefit than cows (Webb and Wright, 1976. Vol I: 325).

Mpande, who succeeded Dingane, had an extraordinary number of cattle and divided his beasts into various herds, each herd consisting of beasts of a particular colour-pattern. The hides of these animals served the Zulu army well for shield-making and other military insignia. Cetshwayo, until just before the Zulu War ended, had a large herd of white oxen which he kept near the Ngoye forest and of which he was justly proud. These *inyonikayipumuli*, the white cattle known as 'the bird that never rests', were especially associated with Cetshwayo and their fate intimately linked to his. When he was exiled, his cattle were confiscated and dispersed and the power and autonomy of the Zulu nation came to an end.

3.3.3 CATTLE AND THE ZULU MILITARY REGIME

All Zulu men were members of the army. From the time they reached puberty until they were given permission to marry, men gave service to the king, not only in military matters, but in agriculture and in the herding of the royal cattle. All men, therefore, dedicated a substantial proportion of their productive lives to the king and the care of his herds. Cattle were central

to their activity and the object of much campaigning was the acquisition of the stock of neighbouring people. Cattle accompanied them on campaign to feed them and the shields which were so significant a part of regimental regalia were supplied by the skins acquired from the national herd. Of these shields H.I.E. Dhlomo writes (nd (c): 3):

'Clearly he [the Zulu] chose ox-hide because cattle play an important part in tribal religion. So valuable an article as the shield must be made from equally valuable raw material. We have seen that he believed in sympathetic magic which teaches that like produces like. The qualities and properties of the *inkomo* would naturally be transferred to the shield according to this theory. This is true even if we know that this choice was dictated partly by the rich and valued colour-patterns of the *inkomo*.'

Shields, therefore, were more than personal articles - they were a spiritual article as well and were always kept at the royal place from where they were distributed in times of need.

3.3.3.1 SHIELDS

3.3.3.1.1 MILITARY USES

Just prior to the Zulu War of 1879, the Zulu army stood at 40,000 - 50,000 strong. At the time there were approximately 33 regiments of which 18 were made up of married men and 15 of unmarried men. The older regiments, whose members had been given permission to marry by the King and who were entitled to wear the headring, usually carried white shields made from the hides of *inyonikayipumuli* cattle while the younger, bachelor 'black' regiments carried predominantly black or patterned shields made from the hides of a variety of cattle.

The Zulu shield, always made of cattle-hide, was not just an accoutrement of war but, more importantly, a symbolic object

of great significance. In his article, 'The Shield in Tribal Life' (nd (b): 2), Dhlomo emphasizes the importance of the shield beyond its use as a defensive weapon:

'The shield played an important part in Zulu tribal life. Most people think of it as a fighting weapon only. Yet in this respect it was but a defensive and not an offensive instrument. For this reason the Zulu did not attach much importance to it in this connection ... First it was a kind of flag or coat of arms of the tribe. We know that Shaka punished severely those warriors who did not return with their flags, the shields, after a battle....your duty was to bring back your shield and not to lose it. It was a matter of honour, of patriotism, of ideals, of the significance of the shield in the tribal life. Flags must not remain in enemy hands or on foreign soil.'

When a great warrior or prominent person died or a military leader was killed in battle, the shields of his comrades were 'lowered'. The saying, 'Let us lay low our shields' either at the death of such a person or in military defeat, signified the lowering of the standards and, in the case of death, embodied tribute in the same way as flying a flag half-mast does in Western societies.

Shields were also treated with protective medicines to enhance their efficacy. Such doctored shields should never fall into enemy hands for their medicinal power could be turned against the owner with devastating results.

After battle, the king was purified and in this ceremony the shield also played a significant role. The shield was used ritually to cleanse him from any pollution caused by contact with the enemy and to strengthen him in time to come.

Each Zulu regiment had its particular dress or 'uniform' and, for each, the shield was undoubtedly the most important component and provided the most obvious mark of distinction

between them. Each reigning monarch reorganised his army and designated the colour of the shields to be carried by each regiment according to his own taste but, in general, the older regiments carried white shields while men of the younger regiments were provided with predominantly black or variously patterned shields. In this way, shields also acted as insignia of age. Such regiments as the royal Tulwana of Mpande, veterans of many campaigns, carried completely white shields. Indeed, the best hides for shield-making and the cattle considered to be the handsomest came from Jobe's country in the Nkandla district near Mzinyati. From these beasts were made the shields used by Shaka.

Shields were also used strategically in other ways. If the shields of opponents fell into the hands of the Zulu army they would be used to disguise soldiers, confusing and causing havoc in enemy ranks.

Dhlomo (nd (b): 2) tells the story of an ingenious way in which shields were used tactically by Bongoza, a Zulu general, in a campaign against the Boers:

'He instructed the warriors to take cover under their shields and then move about like cattle. He then went and told the enemy that the Zulus had run away leaving their cattle in the gorge. The strategem worked.'

3.3.3.1.2 OTHER USES

Besides use in connection with military activities, the shield was used for a number of other purposes. They were employed ritually to ensure success in the hunt and the safety of the hunters. Ailing cattle were medicinally treated and shields beaten in order to drive out the disease.

During courting, young men carried small decorative shields to enhance their dignity and manliness.

Women do not carry shields except at the time of the Nomkhubulwana ceremonies (see Ch 4: 4.4.3) when young girls, in role reversal, carry sticks and shields, herd cattle and take on - for a short time - the guise of 'ambassadors of the realm' on whom 'the power of authority and manhood vested in or symbolised by the shield' is briefly conferred (Dhlomo, nd (b): 2).

The over-riding function of the shield, however, is as an emblem of power and of law and justice. When a king rested in public, his shield was held over his head, both to protect him from the sun and to demonstrate that, as the shield protects the head of the king, so he and his shield protect the realm. It was enough for the king to simply raise his shield to start or call off an attack or to command the immediate attention of a gathering.⁴

3.4 THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF CATTLE

The cattle of the Zulu people have been their most important economic asset for generations. Traditionally they were not only the chief unit of exchange but they provided milk, meat, and a large variety of commodities essential to the well-being of the people. Their significance was tied not just to the ancestral shades but to the whole cosmology of the people, linked with Creation itself:

'The head-of-cattle is an animal of the buffalo kind but it

⁴ A full list of the names of the various shields will be found in 3.4.3.2 (Hides and Skins) in this chapter.

was distributed among men by God so that it might assist them by its labours and carry for them the burden of their shoulders and their arms' (Fortune 1949: 25).

The traditional Zulu homestead consists of houses grouped around the cattle-kraal or byre (see ch. 4: 4.2.1) which is considered to be the spiritual and ritual centre of the home. The cattle of the homestead are cared for by the men and boys and the daily lives of the members of the family are intimately connected to those of their herd. Certain tasks related to animal-husbandry are allocated to particular family members but the welfare of livestock in general is a matter of interest and concern to all.

3.4.1 THE HERD

The herd of the *umnumzana* or head of a household, is immensely important to him and varies considerably in size, depending on the affluence of the man concerned. He may own a number of cows and their offspring, a number of oxen used for ploughing and related tasks and a bull or two. Pressure for grazing, urban-drift and various complex factors have led to the decline in the number of families who own cattle. However, in ideal circumstances in traditional society, as has already been stated, the family herd is an integral and highly significant component of the household. H.I.E. Dhlomo (1945: 81), states:

'...it is well nigh impossible to conceive of any aspect of tribal social activity without the shadow, the spirit or the person of the *inkomo*.'

In the early dawn, which is the time known as *izimpondozankomo*, 'the horns of the cattle' - because the silhouettes of the heads of the beasts are just visible against the lightening sky - the *umnumzana*, *bonus pater familias*, goes

out of his house to pass water. This must happen before the bull performs the same function, to ensure that the *umnumzana's* power and authority remains intact.

Along with the men, the boys of the homestead, from the time they are very young, have the care of the cattle and calves. The bond between the young child and the calves was explained to James Stuart (1938: 2) by an informant who transcribed the information in the following words:

'The cow begins while it is still a small calf to take a boy out of the hut to the cattle-kraal where there are other boys and where he learns about the life of a boy. The Zulu boy is drawn by the calf which puts him into its local school, the cattle-kraal, where he is taught to run errands and obey.'

3.4.2 HERDING AND MILKING

From as early as the age of four or five, a young Zulu boy is involved in the care of livestock. At this age boys assist in herding the goats and calves and, when just a little older, will help in the byre by holding a restless cow while father or elder brother milks. Later, when a boy has been through the ceremony of having his ears pierced - *ukuqhumbuza* - he will go out with the older boys to herd cattle all day (see Ch 4: 4.3.2).

From the ages of about eight to eighteen, boys are in charge of the cattle. It is their task to drive them to pasture in the early morning, once the dew has dried on the grass. They return to the homestead with the herds a little before noon, at which time the cows are milked and their calves are allowed to suckle. Only after this duty is completed can the herders partake of the midday meal. They go back to the pastures with the cattle in the early afternoon and return again at evening for the second

milking, to allow the calves to drink and to secure the herd in the byre for the night.

Long, narrow, wooden pails which are held between the knees of the milker, are used to collect the milk which is then stored in large calabashes where the milk quickly thickens and sours and forms *amasi*, one of the staples of the Zulu diet. As milking is always done by men, the milker sits on the right hand side of the cow. The right is traditionally associated with the male, who occupies the right hand side of the hut, has his right ear pierced first during the *ukuqhubuza* ceremony etc. (Berglund, 1976: 363).

During the great military era, when boys were old enough to be formed into regiments in young adulthood, they did service for the king at his military kraals and much of their time was occupied with tending the king's herds. So little food was provided for them, that they had to seek sustenance for themselves, an often precarious occupation. However, without restriction, they were allowed to '*kleza*' or squat down and drink directly from the teats of the royal cows, a consideration which no doubt contributed significantly to the maintenance of their health and well-being. To herd for the king and to be allowed to '*kleza*' was a sign that a boy qualified as a young warrior (Webb and Wright 1979: Vol. II. p. xx).

Although calves are separated from their dams, they are allowed free access once the cattle have returned to the byre for milking. It is common practice for the calves to drink before the household milk is drawn. It is believed that a cow will not let down her milk without first suckling her calf and a cow that

readily does so - an *isigudo* - is seen as abnormal (Bryant, 1967: 335). After the calf has sucked for some time, a small boy chases it away, keeping it from its dam while the business of milking is in progress. The calf is generally allowed another suckling before a second milking commences and when this is over, may drink undisturbed (Krige, 1988: 48). If a cow has lost its calf, medicines are blown onto another calf, selected as a substitute. The cow is similarly treated and an incantation recited (Bryant, 1967: 335-336):

'Mvume. Nangu umntwana wakho.'
'Accept it. Here is your child.'

The cow is expected to start licking the calf to encourage it to suckle, thus ensuring that the milk comes down.

The 'cattle vocabulary' is extensive among the Zulus and, just as there are a great number of names for colour-patterns, for horn-shapes and for beasts used for particular ritual purposes, terms which describe the activity of milking are numerous as well. Bryant lists those used at the turn of the century in his monograph The Zulu People (1967) and many of these terms are still in current use:

- i) *amambila* - [plural only] first milking of a cow (Bryant 1967:335).
- beatings, yolk of an egg, species of shrub, species of yellow maize, [cf. *umthubi*]. (Doke & Vilakazi, 1948: 492).
- ii) *umphehlu* - [*phehla*, ideo. constant friction or rubbing.]
- second milking after suckling of the calf (Bryant 1967: 335).
- a second milking after calf has been to cow (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 652).
- iii) *umncunze* - [singular only]
- the third milking (Bryant 1967: 335).
- The milking of a cow more than the regular

- twice daily. The last drop of anything.
[cf. *umncinzo*] (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 535).
- iv) *umgqobiya* / *imigqobiya* - [*gqobi*, ideo. of falling in small drops, dealing out in small quantities.]
- the fourth milking (Bryant, 1967: 335).
- milking to the last drop, excessive milking (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 265).
- v) *iHubuhubu* - a cow that yields abundant milk (Bryant 1967: 335).
- not found in Doke & Vilakazi, 1948.
- vi) *isigqala* / *izigqala* - a cow with little milk (Bryant 1967: 335).
- cow that gives little milk (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 261).
- vii) *isiqoqoqo* / *iziqoqoqo* - cow that gives no milk (Bryant 1967: 335).
- species of shrub, *portulacaria afra*, used as a winter fodder for cattle (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 712).
- viii) *ukuhwaba* - to milk just a splash, as from a single teat (Bryant 1967: 335).
- milk slightly, leaving the bulk for the calf (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 351).
- ix) *ukugcoba* - to milk slightly, as from a cow yielding little milk (Bryant 1967: 335).
- milk in small drops, as a cow almost dry (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 237).
- x) *ukuhawuza* - milk hastily, taking advantage of the moment (Bryant 1967: 335).
- milk quickly (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 298).
- xi) *ukuhubuza* - to milk abundantly (Bryant 1967: 335).
- give milk abundantly ([Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 347]).
- xii) *ukuguda* - to milk altogether without the calf (Bryant 1967: 335).
- milk a cow without first giving the calf suck (European method), milk dry (Doke & Vilakazi 1948: 272).

There is always competition for grazing and the finest pastures are vied for by the herders, the older and stronger usually prevailing over the younger boys and driving their cows, daily, to the richest grazing. Amongst a group of herders, there

is also conflict about who will look for lost cattle and lots are usually drawn. One of the main concerns of the herders is to keep the cattle out of the maize fields and vegetable gardens. However, boys are often occupied with more congenial pursuits such as hunting, fighting or playing games and their cattle frequently stray, doing considerable damage to the property of others. As sharp discipline is usually applied when the mishap is discovered, young herders search the veld for *isamuyisane* (*spermacoce natalensis*) and eat it on the way home. This plant is thought to induce forgetfulness in the minds of adults and can avert the possibility of a beating. Likewise, if they have been dilatory in milking the cows and the animals are reluctant to let down their milk at the next milking, the excuse offered is that the cattle walked over *hypoxis* plants (*inkomfe*) which are believed to inhibit milk production (Bryant 1967: 239).

3.4.3 CATTLE PRODUCTS

Every part of a slaughtered beast is used and, traditionally, most articles of clothing and objects made for household use are fashioned from the *inkomo*. Skin, flesh, horn, bone, hoof - all have their purpose and the meat of the beast is divided according to custom and distributed among family members, relatives and friends.

3.4.3.1 MILK, MEAT AND FAT

The most important by-products of cattle are milk and meat. Milk is consumed on a daily basis by family members in the form of *amasi*, or sour milk and is of great nutritional and ritual

significance (see Ch. 4:4.6.2). Traditionally, this is stored in large calabash containers (*igula/ amagula*) into which it is poured after milking and from which the soured product is extracted through a hole (*umungwe*) in the bottom of the vessel which is closed with a plug (*isivinbo*).

Strict rules and taboos are enforced in regard to the drinking and distribution of milk. A family's milk belongs to them alone and may not be consumed by people who do not belong to the lineage or the clan. It is unheard of for people to drink the milk or eat the *amasi* of those to whom he or she is not related.

Amasi is associated with rites-of-passage and with the changing status of a person within the family or community and plays a role in ceremonies of aggregation at different crucial stages in the life of an individual.

Milk is also seen as a symbol of fertility. Berglund (1976: 339-340) was told by informants that herdboys were encouraged to suck the teats of the cows to stimulate milk production. This should only be done by a boy of the lineage to which the cows belong. Each teat is milked into the mouth and then the milk is spat out. This practice is very similar to one performed by lactating mothers who squirt out a small amount of breast milk onto the hearth of the hut to ensure a plenteous supply for their babies. If a mother leaves her baby to sleep at the edge of a field in which she is working, she will make a ring of milk around the child, ensuring, by means of this magic circle, the child's safety and well-being while she is busy. Included in this idea is the notion that a woman with abundant milk influences the

yield of the field or garden.

Meat is available when a slaughtering has taken place - usually as a result of ritual or sacrificial killing which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4: 4.5. Meat is not a daily article of diet and, when it is available in traditional society, is universally enjoyed and highly prized. The flesh of sacrificial beasts has especial significance and the offertory of meat to the shades, for their equal participation in its consumption, is a crucial part of any ritual killing.

Fat is of enormous value. Milk and meat are never bartered but fat may be sold or exchanged and, in traditional society, was avidly sought. An ox is said to yield a few calabashes full of fat. This fat is not only used to rub the body after washing but to keep articles of clothing supple and clean. Clothing and blankets, sticks and numerous household objects, are rubbed with fat to preserve them and any fat left over was once used for barter. One large calabash of fat was deemed to be worth a heifer while a large beerpot full of fat would purchase a cow (Stuart, nd (b): 15).

3.4.3.2 HIDES AND SKINS

Most articles of clothing were made of the skins of cattle in traditional society - the *isidwaba* or skirt of the married woman, the *ibheshu* or skin buttock-covering of the man which forms the rear part of the *umutsha*, the most important article of male attire. Of course, in the days of great military activity, thousands of cattle hides were used for the manufacture of shields, an art pursued by specialists conversant in the

colours assigned to the different regiments. There were both fighting shields and ornamental shields. A war shield took most of an ox-hide to make, the remnants of which were used to fashion ornamental shields.

A pleated *isidwaba* or skirt, worn by a married woman, which was kept supple with applications of fat and ash, was usually made from ox hide, each hide yielding about two garments. The skin was attended to by men expert in handling it and the inside vigorously worked into a state of fluffiness known as *umsendo*. The hide was then tanned and cut and sewn with sinew.

Before the advent of blankets obtained from traders, the Zulu people used cattle hide to warm themselves at night. The softer hides of calves were mostly given to women and besides using these as coverings, they were employed to secure a baby to the back, being pliant enough to be tied.

Sinew or *usinga* is employed for sewing, especially in the art of dressing the head and fashioning headrings, the *isicoco*. It is used to thread beadwork and was carefully manufactured, being rolled or plaited into regular lengths. Riems and sandals are all made of hide.

The variety of useful articles of clothing and other objects fashioned out of hide are listed by Krige (1988: 371-372; 376-377; 379; 381). These include:

- i) *isambo* - quiver for spears to be carried on back
- ii) *isicathulo* - sandal
- iii) *umchilo* - rope of twisted calf skin entwined round body when in full dress (cf. *intsonto*)
- iv) *isidiya* - see *ingcayi*

- v) *isidwaba* - married woman's pleated skirt made of cattle hide (cf. *isikhakha*)
- vi) *ingcayi* - skin worn by women during the first year of marriage and during pregnancy over breasts and abdomen, tied under the armpits (cf. *isidiya*)
- vii) *ingege* - brush end of ox tail worn suspended from the wrist by married men
- viii) *isihlangu* - war shield
- ix) *injadu* - snuff-holder, specially prepared from the skin of the paunch of an ox and used by old women (cf. *ivithi*)
- x) *isikhakha* - see *isidwaba*
- xi) *ikhikhi* - see *isikhwama* and *ikhukhu*
- xii) *ikhukhu* - see *isikhwama* and *ikhikhi*
- xiii) *isikhwama* - pouch made of cow's bladder for carrying snuff box in (cf. *ikhikhi* and *ikhukhu*)
- xiv) *umklezo* - brush end of tail of any animal suspended from legs and shoulders
- xv) *amambatha* - see *incweba*
- xvi) *incweba* - tiny skin bag containing medicines of charms, worn round the neck and usually by a man who has killed someone in battle (cf. *umambatha*)
- xvii) *ingubo* - large leathern petticoat descending, according to the status of the wearer, as far as the feet
- xviii) *umnxuma* - sucking bottle made of a little bag of skin with a small hole at the bottom. Used to feed babies and to suckle calves and goats
- xvix) *isiphandeko* - short reim for tying the hind legs of the cattle during milking

- xx) *isiphuku* - blanket or cloak of cow skin
- xxi) *uqotho* - leather thong without hair, cut from the ragged edges of a dressed hide
- xxii) *intsonto* - see *umchilo*
- xxiii) *ivithi* - see *injadu*
- xiv) *uvuthuvuthu* - very large blanket which could cover two or three people at once (cf. *uwambalala*)
- xv) *uwambalala* - see *uvuthuvuthu*

With regard to shields, there are a number of names for the different varieties (Krige 1988:403).

- i) *umbumbuluso* - war shield, made in 1856 for Cetshwayo's followers in their campaign against Mbulazi. More sturdy than the great *isihlangu* or major war shield
- ii) *igqoka* - small, neat shield for courting
- iii) *igabelomunye* - smallest decorative shield
- iv) *ihawu* - small to medium sized shield used at dances
- v) *isihlangu* - large war shield
- vi) *ihubelo* - large shield used for hunting, smaller than *isihlangu* but larger than *ihawu*

3.4.3.3 BONE, HORN AND DUNG

Many articles were made from the bones and horns of cattle as well as those of wild animals killed in the hunt. Although the ancient craft of bone and horn-working have more or less died out, examples can still be found.

3.4.3.3.1 Bones

Musical instruments, ornaments and charms, pipes, snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons, sweat-scrappers, awls and needles are all made of bone (Davison 1976: 131).

Musical instruments such as flutes and whistles are more often made from the bones of smaller and more delicate animals than cattle. However, clappers, which provide rhythmical accompaniment to singing at any celebration, are made from the rib-bones of cattle.

In writing of Zulu crafts, Davison describes necklets made from bone although the bones of cattle are not specifically mentioned. Ear-studs (*ishaza* and *isiviliba*) are made from bone, and pins (*isikhipha*) usually carved from rib-bones and used for cleaning the nails and decorating the hair.

As snuff-taking was something of a universal pastime among the Zulus in the old days, snuff-boxes were a common article and were made from many different materials, notably small, decorated calabashes. Although snuff-boxes made of bone are rare, snuff was measured out with snuff-spoons (*intshengula*, *intshasa* or *umbhaxa*) carved from bone and often intricately decorated. When not in use, these are used to adorn the hair.

Bone sweat-scrappers (*uphephela* or *ubambo*) were once a common personal accessory. They were made from slivers taken from the rib-bones of oxen which were particularly suitable for the purpose because they were curved, long and thin. Awls (*usungulo*), are also made of bone.

Davison (1976: 137) sums up her field and archive findings:

'Bone-carving is no longer an active craft among the Natal Nguni. Bone objects, however, are referred to in the

literature and some examples are preserved in museum collections. These include bone ear-studs, hair-pins, beads, sweat-scrappers and a variety of snuff-spoons. Only one bone snuff-box was seen but it is a very fine example of bone-carving.

Musical instruments were made from the tibias of small animals.... Clappers were made from the rib-bones of cattle.

Bone pipes, although mentioned, do not appear to have been characteristic of the Natal Nguni.'

3.4.3.3.2 Horn

The horns of cattle and other animals were, and are, used extensively for the manufacture of articles of personal and household use. Cupping horns (*isilumeko*) were instruments used by doctors to take blood from a patient and were generally made from the top of an ox's horn. Enemas (*ubojo* or *uphondo lokuchatha*), used for adults, were also made of horn.

Medicines containers manufactured from horn are still a common accoutrement of diviners and herbalists.

Musical instruments such as the *icilongo* and *uphondo*, both trumpets, are made from ox-horn. The *impalampala* horn, which was used to pass on signals and to summon men to battle and while out hunting, were once made from the horn of a sable antelope or a kudu but, as game became more rare, the horn of an ox was substituted. It is seldom used nowadays, although it can be sounded to call people to a beer-drink or a celebration (Davison, 1976: 101).

The *icilongo*, which is constructed from horn and a reed pipe, is used by herdboys and by young men when they go out courting and is a completely different instrument from the *impalampala*.

Necklets and ear-studs, similar to those made from bone, are

also manufactured from horn. An *umgexo wezimpondo* is a necklace made of ox-horn worn only by headmen and doctors, the tips serving as receptacles for medicines (Krige, 1988:375).

Snuff-boxes have a variety of names: *ishungu*, *iguza* and *isigqobhela* (a cigar-shaped box worn through the lobe of the ear). Horn snuff-boxes can either be manufactured from the solid end-section of the horn or made from the naturally hollow section and stoppered with wood or horn sections. Some are beaded. Nowadays tins bought commercially have largely replaced the older snuff-boxes (Davison 1976: 112). Old-fashioned snuff-boxes were either worn in the lobe, on a necklet or girdle or carried in a bag. The carving of horn snuff-boxes was a specialist craft observed by both Bryant and Grout (Davison 1976:105-106).

Snuff-spoons (*intshengula* and *intshasa*) made of horn were beautifully decorated and delicately carved. They served many purposes - to dispense snuff, as a sweat and a snuff-box scraper, nose cleaner and hair-ornament. A horn carver was observed by Davison as late as 1971 in the Nongoma district, still engaged in this ancient craft (Davison 1976: 113).

A horn spoon, known as *ukhezo*, is a rarity. The nozzles of bellows used by iron workers were once made of ox-horn. Needles, especially for the sewing of a man's headring, were also frequently made of horn and a tool used as a sort of last on which metal wire is rolled around a core of tail hair from a beast, is employed in the manufacture of bangles.

Perhaps the most common use for a horn in traditional Zulu society is for making a smoking horn (*igudu*). The horn has a reed inserted into a hole drilled in its side. A bowl made of stone

serves as a receptacle for the wild hemp and the horn is filled with water. The smoke is drawn into the mouth, through the water, from the edge of the wide end of the horn. Tyler (1891: 123) states:

'Gregarious by nature, Zulus love to assemble for a grand smoke...'

3.4.3.3.3 Dung

The dung of the herd also has its uses and is employed as fuel and as fertilizer for the fields and gardens. It is widely employed for the preparation and preservation of the floors of huts. Dung is also an ingredient of poultices and ointments and in the tanning of skins. Hide intended for the manufacture of shields was covered with a layer of manure and left buried in the byre for a time to soften it (Krige 1988: 402).

A certain beast associated with *ukulobola* is known as *eyokucela izinkomo* - 'that which asks for cattle'. It is a beast sent by a bride's father to the man's homestead to imply politely that the *lobola* cattle are awaited and that the final formalities should begin. The bride would use the dung of this beast to smear the floor of her hut after the wedding, for she is not supposed to touch anything belonging to the byre of her husband's home (Krige 1988: 391).

Besides the production of the above products, oxen are used for ploughing and to draw wagons and sledges. The presence of the herd pervaded every aspect of economic life for the family in traditional times and although the production of the fields kept the family supplied with its most staple foodstuffs, life without

the products of the cattle of the homestead was untenable.

3.4.4 HEALTH, DISEASE AND MEDICATION

As cattle are traditionally the most valued possession and economic asset of a Zulu family, the greatest pains are taken to ensure the health and well-being of the herd. The loss of a beast from disease is seen as the greatest calamity and when sickness breaks out a doctor is immediately summoned to 'smoke' the cattle. Charms are burnt in the *isibaya*, the smoke from which fumigates the animals. The beasts are then sprinkled with medicines and some of the fat of an animal which has died of disease is taken into the doctor's mouth and then squirted onto a burning brand which is held before the face of one of the herd. The consequent spluttering of hot fat sends the beasts into a frenzy and they mill about the byre in the greatest agitation while the performance is repeated again and again. At length, the byre gate is opened and the animals rush out followed by the members of the homestead beating shields, shaking calabashes and shouting to drive the evil away (Krige 1988: 185-186). Both man and beast are treated against the powerful and potentially harmful effects of newly-harvested crops and medicines are burnt in the byre, in the same way as they are employed to drive out disease, to treat cattle before they are let in to eat the stubble of freshly-reaped fields.

Before the advent of Europeans in Zululand, serious afflictions such as anthrax (*uMbendeni*), quarter-evil (*uNqasha*) and tsetse-fly disease (*uNakane*), were known and feared by stockmen but after their arrival, red-water fever (*uBosiki*),

tuberculosis (*umMbila*) and lung-sickness (*uMahagane*) were introduced when traders rode transport wagons into the interior. Lung-sickness reached epidemic proportions during the time of King Mpande in about 1861 and thousands of animals died. Other diseases, like the devastating rinderpest, which decimated the herds of Africa in 1896-7, were unknown before that time and the name '*uLendipesi*', adapted as it is from the European term, is evidence of the disease's recent arrival among the Zulus and is estimated to have killed three-quarters of the Zulu cattle⁵.

Bryant (1967: 336) lists the diseases familiar to the Zulu people in early times before Europeans were known in their territory:

'Among the earlier diseases were anthrax (*umBendeni*), quarter-evil (*uNqasha*), tsetse-fly disease (*uNakane*), the *umMunca* (another "wasting" disease of the coastal bushveld), and the *umGobo* (a complaint causing curvature of the spine).'

Besides these diseases, there were other hazards for the herdsman which could cause sickness or death to his cattle. Certain plants which the cattle might inadvertently eat in the veld were highly poisonous, such as the *indloloti*, a species of yellow tulip (*Moraea spathacea* and *Homeria pallida*). The larva of the psychid moth, a 'bagworm' which is enclosed in a small case of twigs, known as *unkulunkundleni*, could prove fatal if ingested by accident. A hair-ball or *isikhatha*, could cause acute distress.

There are numerous vegetable remedies for every sort of

⁵ Note: It is interesting to consider that most of the serious cattle diseases have names derived from English and Afrikaans, an indication of their hasty and late addition to the Zulu language.

complaint and protective medicines to shield cattle both from disease and from the nefarious doings of witches, wizards and other *abathakathi*.

A powerful remedy for kidney disease was made from the burnt hair and skin of a hyena. Cows that had lost their calves were treated with the root of the red-berried *Withania somnifera* or *ubuvimba* plant mixed with crab flesh and the fat of a hippo. This decoction was also rubbed on the back of a substitute calf to entice the cow to lick it. The medicine was also put into the vagina of the cow, a procedure which was believed to be very efficacious in ensuring that the cow would adopt the new calf.

Cattle have a special association with *impepho*, the 'plant of the shades' (*Helichrysum miconiaefolium*) and *impepho* is used to rub the back of the beast being presented to the shades as the choice of *inkomo yamadlozi* 'the beast of the ancestors' because of the particular association of this plant with both cattle and the ancestors. Berglund (1976: 114) reports that informants agree that cattle will not eat *impepho* plants:

[This fact] 'is taken as a strong indication of the close relationship between the plants on the one hand, and the cattle on the other. It is clear "that the things of the shades do not eat each other".'

A diviner prepares *impepho* for the use of the herdsman and the mixture is rubbed high on the back of the beast near the shoulders while the ancestral shades are addressed.

3.5 THE DECLINE OF THE CATTLE CULTURE

Over the last hundred years a number of cattle diseases have contributed to the diminishing number of animals owned by the

Zulu people. However, it is was not just disease, recently introduced or otherwise, that heralded the end of the great herds of nineteenth century Zululand. In 1879, on the defeat of King Cetshwayo's *impi* at the battle of Ulundi, at which the Zulu nation was finally subjugated by the British Imperial forces, the cattle of the king and the herds of Zululand were scattered or destroyed.

On the 3rd of April 1918, James Stuart recorded the following account of the event from Mtshapi, a member of the senior '*Kandempemvu*' regiment of King Cetshwayo (Webb and Wright 1986, Vol.4: 72-73):

'He [Cetshwayo] then came into the semi-circle of men and said, "O, Zulu people, I see the white people have indeed come. I see that though you blunted them at Sandhlwana, the next day they came on again. Then you came and told me that their army had driven you back and had done you harm. I say now that these oxen (referring to the *inyonikaipumuli* [sic] oxen, exceedingly numerous) must go as a peace offering to the white people." Then Matatshile ka Masipula of the Emgazini said, "No, Nkosi. Is the king beginning to speak thus even though we Kandempemvu are far from finished?" The king replied. "Matatshile, what do you mean by 'far from finished'? Where is Zikode ka Masipula (the chief son of Masipula)? Where is Mhlazana ka Ngoza ka Ludaba of the place of the Butelezi people? Where is Mtshodo ka Ntshingwayo ka Marole? Where is Mahu? Where is Somcuba ka Mapita? So, you are far from finished?

....if you look up, the sky will be far off; if you prod the ground with your stick, the earth will be hard. If the white men keep advancing when so many of them have been killed, and when so many of us have been killed, what is there to stop them?"

That was all.

The cattle were taken off.'

Fifty years from that date, a small herd of Sanga-Nguni cattle were purchased in Maputaland and transferred to the Veterinary Research Institute at Onderstepoort. In 1942 the herd was sent to Vuma farm at Eshowe and then in 1950 to the Hluhluwe district, to Bartlow Combine. There, the herd was closed to any

outside influence until 1983 when unrelated breeding material was purchased.

At the denouement of the Zulu War in 1879, in which the power of the Zulu Kingdom was broken, Lord Wolseley ensured the end of the Zulu royal herds by confiscating and slaughtering what remained. In 1995, a pure and impeccably pedigreed Nguni bull was presented by His Majesty, King Goodwill Zwelithini, to Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain : a deeply symbolic gesture of reconciliation more than a hundred years after the last battle of the Zulu War had been fought.

The history of the Zulu people during the twentieth century is part of the history of South Africa as a whole. The dissolution of communities, the redistribution of land, the demands of the labour market and, most importantly, the political duress under which the Zulu people have suffered for the last hundred and seventeen years since the demolition of the Zulu Empire, have all contributed to the decline and near demise of the traditional cattle-culture.

And though cattle still have significance in economic and cultural terms, the extent to which the welfare of the herds and the welfare of the people were interwoven, has become fragmented. With this fragmentation, much of the lore has been lost and the complexity of naming and knowledge of this resonant tradition, become the preserve of fewer and fewer specialists.

Before the defeat of Cetshwayo at Ulundi in 1879, there was a praise, called out triumphtly on particular occasions, such as when a beast was stabbed for ritual purposes. It was addressed to the shades and to the living herds (Stuart, nd (b): 18).

'Khala inkomo yakwaZulu, ongasozewayandawo'

'Low on, beast of Zululand, whose hoof shall tread no alien soil.'

According to Mpatshana, interviewed by Stuart in 1904 (Webb and Wright 1982: vol. III: 318), this praise -

'is said because the country is at peace....Nothing will ever go wrong; nor will the cattle ever go off anywhere.'

More than any other praise associated with cattle, this shout of triumph from the time of the great kings, lauding and affirming the cattle of the kingdom, has become a lament for the dissolution of *uchibidolo*, the abundant herds.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CATTLE

'...it is well-nigh impossible to conceive of any aspect of tribal social activity without the shadow, the spirit or the person of the inkomo.'¹

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The significance of cattle in the cultural, spiritual and ritual life of the Zulu people cannot be underestimated and though, in recent times, the cattle-culture has given way to a more Western-based lifestyle, the role of cattle, especially in ritual terms, remains significant. The role of cattle has been extensively documented in the literature from the earliest written records on the Zulu people to the most recent monographs such as Adam Kuper's Wives for Cattle (1982). The subject of the significance of cattle and their role in the various societies in Southern Africa has engaged anthropologists for well over a century. Consequently, only an overview of this aspect of the cattle-culture need be dealt with in this dissertation, as a background against which the elaborate naming system can be appreciated.

The most significant aspect of any study of the cultural importance of cattle must be their function *vis-a-vis* the ancestral shades (*amadlozi*) and in *lobolo* exchange at the time

¹ DHLOMO, H.I.E. 1945 (?). Zulu Life and Thought. Unpublished manuscript, Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban. p 81.

of a woman's marriage. Thus, in every area of traditional life, the cattle of a homestead, a clan and the nation take their place alongside their owners as integral to the functioning of the society as a whole. With regard to the shades, cattle are the most important commodity that they can provide for the succour and welfare of their people.

Dhlomo (1945: 77) states that in traditional terms 'the *inkomo* was life itself' and it was cattle that ensured cohesion between groups:

'Unlike modern man, the tribal man maintained these cattle-made connections even when the original parties to the contract had perished because cattle continue to breed and perpetuate the link' (Dhlomo, 1945: 82).

He concludes that cattle perpetuate nerve-like connections between people and groups and these groups include the dead with the living.

The moral and imaginative significance of cattle complements their utilitarian importance. They are central role-players in all events most significant in the lives of men. Speaking of the role of cattle in what he terms the African 'cattle-complex' i.e. those pastoral societies of eastern and southern Africa, Herskovits (1930: 70) states:

'...they are utilized in ceremonials having to do with the great events in the life of the human being, birth, marriage, puberty and death, and their care is the privilege of their owner...'

Herskovits (1930: 70) claims that this cattle-complex may have been superimposed on an older agricultural culture and concludes that:

'Cattle, except for their milk, do not furnish food; they afford social position, and only as a ceremonial offering or through the death of the animals are they eaten. Food is

obtained from the produce of the fields. And this, it should be noted, is obtained in the main by the work of the women, to whom in most of the area the care of cattle is forbidden.'

Although agriculture may be the chief source of food, pastoralism is the more prestigious and ceremonially important activity and is the domain of men. Kuper (1982: 11) states:

'Indeed, among the Southern and Eastern Bantu, women were traditionally regarded as a constant source of danger to cattle.'

Kuper (1982: 11), taking the cattle cultures of Southern Africa as a whole, says:

'... the association of men with cattle-keeping and of women with horticulture, corn and cooking ... is a central theme of the culture - so pervasive, indeed, as almost to defy apt illustration.'

It must be noted, of course, that, since the cultural and social changes which have so rapidly overtaken the traditional societies of Southern Africa in the last century, it has been imperative for women to be involved to some extent in the care of cattle in homesteads where the men are away as migrant workers. But the deviation is known and felt by the people and cattle remain, essentially, the preserve of men.

The role of cattle in Zulu society and their connection with the ancestral shades, is a subject of primary importance. Without an understanding of this connection, the role of ritual and sacrifice cannot be appreciated. This connection leads into the significance of cattle as a medium of exchange in marriage transactions and the place of cattle in rites of passage and in ceremonies connected not only with marriage but with birth, puberty and death. Not only do cattle have an intermediary role between the shades of a particular family but cattle are

participant in rituals of national importance at which, like the First Fruits Ceremony or Great *umKhosi* or the *ukubuyisa kwamakhosi*, they are offered to the shades of the departed kings. In terms of cohesion within the society, moreover, cattle are the means through which bonds are forged and interrelationships of mutual dependence maintained.

The principal of exchange which lies at the heart of *lobolo* transactions and which will be discussed in 4.4.3 below is not the only instance of this principle although it is the most significant social exchange in Zulu society. Hierarchical exchanges also exist between ancestors and their descendants, rulers and subjects, household heads and their families etc. and, ideally, like *lobolo*, these are also realised in terms of cattle exchanges (Kuper, 1982: 14-15). Central to this is the concept that cattle are handed down to men by the ancestors and a man's herd is regarded as the property of his family shades.

There are also political links both within and between groups, cemented by the exchange of cattle which ensure other bonds of mutual dependence and shared responsibilities. Grants and gifts of cattle, as well as the custom of *ukusisa*, by means of which a man's cattle are lent out to neighbours or relations to the benefit of both donor and recipient, is another way in which cattle afford the strengthening of relations between families and groups. *Ukusisa* was a powerful instrument in keeping clans loyal to the monarch in the era of Zulu military activity in the last century.

Ritual killing has been dealt with extensively by Berglund (1976), Krige (1936 [1988 ed.]), Bryant (1967) and others. The

slaughter of the black bull at the *umKhosi* or First Fruits Ceremony - the most important national sacrifice - when the crops are harvested, medicated and released for consumption, is discussed in 4.4.1 below.

The role of cattle in the ceremony of *ukubuyisa kwamakhosi* when the great kings of the Zulu nation are approached in times of stress, particularly during drought, was also of significance in the last century, for, in this ceremony, the cattle were central participants in facilitating access to the national shades. The cattle which were used to make supplication to the departed kings came from the royal herds and Berglund (1976: 209), quoting an informant, recorded that many older people still believe that the demise of the Zulu kingdom was in part due to the fact that cattle not belonging to the royal lineage were substituted for the *izinkomo zemzimu* or cattle of the kings, with disastrous results:

' "These cattle from the enclosures of our kings was the greatest sign of communion between them and us. So when we on our side did not give them their food and they did not find their food at their places (the royal burial places), then they forgot us. That is why the whites killed (i.e. conquered) us totally." '

The significance of cattle in each of these areas of cultural and spiritual life and in the rituals through which this significance is symbolically externalized, will be explored in the following sections.

4.2 CATTLE AND THE ANCESTRAL SHADES

The living members of Zulu society and their cattle are linked by the deepest spiritual bonds with the departed. The

ancestral shades (*amadlozi*) and their ancestral beasts are out of sight, but constantly present, aware of and involved in the lives of the living. Berglund (1976: 78) states:

'The existence and presence of the shades is not doubted. They are a reality which is so strongly interwoven into kinship relations that a world without them is not possible.'

Just as a world without the presence of the shades is not possible, so is the concept of the shades without cattle. Berglund (1976: 199) states:

'Communion with the shades is maintained through the medium of cattle. In some homesteads there is *inkomo yamadlozi* (the beast of the shades) while in traditional marriage in which old customs are upheld and honoured, *ukwendisa* animals play a significant role. In former national rituals *izinkomo zemzimo* were of importance.'

The function of the ancestors is to ensure the health and well-being of the family, the clan, and, ultimately, the nation. It is they who are responsible for the crops, the rain, the procreation of children. Fertility cannot be guaranteed without their co-operation or blessing, be it in connection with crops, cattle or men.

As has been stated before, the similarities between man and cattle are a result of a number of connecting factors. They live in harmony and close community with each other. Both have *imizi* to which they retire. The gall of beasts is connected to the liking of the shades for darkness and bitterness and the resemblance of the gall with the womb and the traditional hut underline the Zulu sentiments attached to fertility and prosperity. The cow and the woman have a similar gestation and are inextricably bound through *lobolo* transactions which are not only a contract between the bride's people and those of her

husband but of the lineage shades of both families as well.

The sacrifice of animals, in propitiation of the ancestral shades or as offering to assuage their 'hunger', is another crucial role which cattle play in the ritual and spiritual life of the Zulu people. Cattle, therefore, are the medium through which the ancestral shades are approached to appease, thank or to whom a commitment is made at different times for a variety of reasons. Berglund (1976: 197) states:

'Zulu society is a community of the survivors and the shades. There is no existence of the survivors separated from that of the shades, nor a realm of the shades separate from the living. The two are closely and very intimately tied together in kinship bonds which make the individuals and shades of a lineage interdependant on each other.'

Besides the primary exchange function in Zulu society - of cattle for wives - the hierarchical exchange between men and the ancestors is explained by Kuper (1982: 14-15):

'There are also crucial hierarchical exchanges, between ancestors and descendants, rulers and subjects, and household heads and their dependants; exchanges which are again bound up with marriage and bridewealth. In particular, these exchanges are the source of fertility. The superiors (ancestors, chiefs, fathers and husbands) provide cattle and fields, and make them fertile. The living, followers, children and wives give labour, meat and corn in return to the superiors.'

There are a number of cattle which have particular ritual significance, but those most connected with the ancestral shades are the *izinkomo zamadlozi*, or the cattle of the ancestors.

But before these beasts can be considered, the cattle-byre must be described. This stockade in which the family beasts are kept, is the centre of the homestead and the place where the ancestral shades are known to congregate. The only other place of specific importance in connection with the shades is the

umsamo, an area found at the back and in the darkest part of a traditional house where offerings of meat and beer are left for them to share.

4.2.1 ISIBAYA: THE CATTLE BYRE

The *isibaya*, or cattle-kraal, is, almost universally, a space enclosed by a circular construction made from wooden stakes, bush or stones, the choice of material depending on the locality in which the *umuzi*, or homestead, is situated. The cattle are driven into the fold every night to protect them from predators, theft or loss. In olden times and particularly in localities where predators were common, a platform was sometimes constructed in the centre of the fold on which a fire, laid on a thick layer of sand, was kept alight at night to repel intruders (Bryant, 1967: 194). The byre has an entrance which faces away from the homestead and is the nucleus of that habitation. Indeed, in the establishment of a homestead, the first task is to lay out the cattle-kraal and decide on its proportions. It must also be remembered that an *umuzi* was never considered - especially in times gone by - as a permanent abode. After a number of years the family would relocate to another site within the prescribed territory when factors such as death, degeneration of the site etc. made such a move prudent. It was also well-known that old kraal sites, because of the rich deposits of manure left behind, became ideal places at which to cultivate crops (Stuart, nd (a): 2).

Within the cattle byre, there are three areas with which the shades are especially associated: the gateway, the centre where

the grain pits (*imigodi*) were situated - although these are very rarely found today - and the back end of the kraal interior. In Zulu thought-patterns, the *isibaya*, or byre, is likened to a hut: the entrance resembles the door; the centre the hearth; the far interior, opposite the gate, the *umsamo*.

Berglund (1976: 112), in questioning informants, was amazed to find that there was no word in the language for the far interior of the byre, connected, as it is, with the *umsamo*, the most important and sacred area of a house. His informants explained the phenomenon in this way:

"...this place needs no name because it is too well known. When we speak of *umsebenzi* (ritual celebration) we know that it is this place where the animal will be slaughtered. So we need no name for it."

One informant told him however, that this particular part of the byre was known as *ematholeni* - 'the place of the calves'.

Ritual slaughtering is also undertaken in this upper section of the kraal. Under no circumstances may anyone outside of the homestead lineage simply enter this precinct for this is where the presence of the shades is most acutely felt and it is the exclusive preserve of members of the family. In this instance, this area is perceived to be like the *umsamo*, which is also strictly avoided by people unconnected with the family.

In writing of the *isibaya*, Stuart (nd (b): 10ff) comments that the top end of the enclosure is frequented by snakes which are shade manifestations. He adds that the favoured end of the kraal is nearest the principal hut and therefore a more likely habitation of the spirits. The praises of the departed are chanted at the time of the ritual killing.

It is also in the *isibaya* that the 'beast of the ancestors'

or *inkomo yamadlozi* is chosen. The function of this animal will be discussed in 4.2.2, but suffice it to say, that when an *inkomo yamadlozi* dies - for it is never killed - a successor is chosen from the same herd and usually from among the calves of the dead beast. The announcement of the choice is always made to the ancestral shades in the byre.

In the Ulundi kraal of Cetshwayo, a certain portion of the great *isibaya* was reserved for the sacred cattle, *izinkomo zamadlozi* or *zomlomo* i.e. by means of which the spirits are spoken to (Stuart, 1925: 16).

Although marriage customs vary from place to place and have certainly changed over time, wedding ritual at the turn of the century was minutely documented by Bryant in his monograph, The Zulu People. He gives a detailed description of wedding celebrations and the role of the cattle byre on these occasions. Although *ukulobola* - customs connected with bridewealth - will be discussed in more detail below, it is worth mentioning certain ritual activities with regard to the cattle-kraal in the immediate context.

In describing these celebrations, Bryant writes that, during festivities in times gone by, the bride, and - more especially - her attendants, were allowed into the byre for carefully-prescribed ceremonies. When the *umqholiso* beast was slaughtered for the bride's female attendants in order that they might feast, it was driven into the byre where the girls watched its demise, singing, '*Inkomo kadade ayivuke*', 'may the beast of our sister get up'. The bride herself was secluded in a hut on this occasion. After slaughtering, the carcass was taken into the veld

and divided while the girls remained in the byre, awaiting their share. The dung obtained from the intestine was buried in the kraal so that no *umthakathi* - witch or wizard - might secure it to harm the bride and her ability to bear children in the future.

The meat presented to the bride's female attendants by the groom, known as '*iGqumu leziNtombi*', 'the long strip of the girls', was eaten by them after which a dance was held in the byre. The gall of the *umqholiso* beast was sprinkled on the bride in her seclusion and was the most solemn moment of the wedding ceremony, by means of which she was incorporated into the family of her husband.

The bride entered the byre on the third day of festivities to present gifts to her groom and members of his family. The distribution of these gifts is still known as '*ukuhlambisa ngempahla*' - 'to wash clean with presents'.

For many months after her marriage, the *isibaya* of the newly-married woman's husband and his family, is taboo to the young bride and it would be a great profanity to tread there. However, at the discretion of her father-in-law, a ceremony known as '*ukungenisa esibayeni*', 'to cause to enter the cattle kraal', is performed. On this occasion, beer is brewed and taken into the fold by the women who proceed up the right hand side of the enclosure and deposit it at the top end. There it is drunk by the family and a beast is slaughtered in celebration. At this point, the bride's mother, bearing a gift of beer, made at her own homestead, invades the cattle-kraal and demands a beast for herself. This animal is known as *umumba* and is usually kept as inheritance for a younger son. More beer is made for the groom's

family *owokubonga umumba* signifying 'to thank for the beast'.

The names and functions of *lobolo* beasts as well as the various ceremonies central to the Zulu wedding, differ from district to district and evolve new practices and meanings which evolve and change all the time. Trying to reach consensus on both the names and function of *lobolo* beasts is impossible. Suffice it to say, that the notion of exchange and of the aggregation of the bride into the groom's family through a series of rites and ceremonies in which cattle play a crucial role, is universal. At the centre of these ceremonies is the *isibaya* or cattle byre.

Bryant (1967: 236) records that the byre is even used by the *umnumzana* as a place in which to have his bath, when, in his later years, the journey to the river becomes too tedious. A washing basin or *umcengezi*, is brought and there, assisted by a boy or by his wife, he performs his ablutions in happy contemplation of his herd.

4.2.2 IZINKOMO ZAMADLOZI: CATTLE OF THE ANCESTORS:

Although the practice may be rare except in the most traditional homesteads nowadays, the practice of keeping a beast especially for the shades, known as the *inkomo yamadlozi* or *eyamadlozi*, was once widespread. This animal is especially connected with the lineage shades.

Although there does not seem to be consensus as to what type of beast this is, it is generally agreed that it should be a cow (and therefore able to procreate) and not an ox, which is destined for hard work.

A cow which has produced a number of offspring and proven

its fertility, is ideal as a choice of *eyamadlozi*. In appearance, it should be handsome and fat. The horns and colour-pattern should be pleasing although no specific colour is favoured. The brush of the tail is never cut and the symbolic connection is clear: diviners do not cut their hair, marking them out as those in communion with the shades. The switch of a cow is also one of the important accoutrements of a diviner.

The milk of this beast may be mixed with other milk but if a calf of an *eyamadlozi* cow should be chosen as one of the household's daughters' *ukwendisa* cattle on her marriage, the milk of this beast will always be kept separate from the milk of the animals of the husband's homestead and reserved for the bride for her exclusive use.

The *inkomo yamadlozi* is never killed except in exceptional circumstances and, when it dies, either of old age or disease, it is replaced, if possible, by one of its own calves.

At the time of the death of this beast, the head of the *umuzi* goes to the byre and reports the death to the *amadlozi*, informing them that, 'Your thing is no more. It's dying is known to you' (Berglund, 1976: 200). After this, it is hoped that the shades will reveal in a dream which of the offspring is to succeed its dam. If the shades are slow to reveal their choice, the *umnumzana* may point out a beast which he thinks most suitable and try to persuade the shades to concur.

Once the beast is agreed upon, its back is rubbed with a preparation of *imphepho*, the *helichrysum* plant which is so specifically connected with both cattle and the shades. Berglund, (1976: 201) during fieldwork, asked community members if the

beast of the ancestors could be slaughtered. This elicited strenuous objection:

' "No, they (the shades) being the owners must say if it must be slaughtered. No man can slaughter an animal which is not his.'

And although it is clear that all beasts belong to the shades, there are those among them which have certain duties to perform and which are specially chosen to do what Berglund describes as *umsebenzi othile* (1976: 201).

Further, the beast of the shades should not be sold. In choosing the beast, a cow descended from old clan stock should be selected so that continuity is ensured: the shades themselves have cattle and these are the progenitors of the living herds. Although purchase outside the clan is known, the ideal choice for *eyamadlozi* is a cow that is beautiful, docile, fertile and of a lineage connected for a length of time with the family of the owner. There is no sanction on the calves of this beast being sold, but the more conservative believe that this should be avoided.

Only one *inkomo yamadlozi* is found in a homestead at any one time and Berglund's informants were emphatic that a goat or other animal could never be substituted. Goats may indeed be the most commonly sacrificed animal but only cattle have the status to belong to the shades in this way.

The function of this animal is to represent or stand for the shades in a homestead. Berglund, quoting a field source (1976: 203), states:

'It [*inkomo yamadlozi*] stands for the presence of them in a personified manner in a particular homestead. "It is their (the shades') animal. When he (the senior) reports to

them saying that this is their animal, he is giving it to them".'

However, it must be made clear that this beast is simply property - a possession of the shades. It is not a personification in the sense of being possessed itself by the spirits of the shades. Berglund (1976: 203) says:

'"Shades do not live in animals as they live in men. Shades and men go together. But shades do not go together with animals. They simply own the animals as men do".'

If the *eyamadlozi* becomes ill, it is a sign that the shades are disturbed. At this point a diviner is called and the reason for the illness must be determined (Berglund, 1976: 204). Moreover, the beast can act as an emissary. Berglund reports a case in which the *eyamadlozi* behaved in a peculiar way, standing implacably next to a particular house and refusing to move. The occupant, a young woman, became seriously ill, the cause of which was determined as a call to become a diviner. The *eyamadlozi* cow had anticipated the event and given an indication of what was to happen.

The offspring of these cattle are considered to be particularly suitable for ritual sacrifice. A beast which enters the cattle byre in the evening in closest proximity to the *eyamadlozi*, is also favoured for this purpose.

In times of trouble too, when a person needs to make supplication to the shades privately, he may go to the byre and, in close proximity to the *eyamadlozi*, unburden his anxieties. If the beast stands quietly, it is sensed that the shades have heard the words. Events important to the people of the homestead, both great and small, are reported to it. Hammond-Tooke (1993:

53) writes:

'There is indeed a very definite mystical relationship between the family herd in its central cattle byre, and the human family itself, and their fortunes are interlinked.'

4.2.3 IZINKOMO ZEMZIMU: CATTLE OF THE SHADES OF THE NATION

These cattle, which represent the 'weight' of the shades of the royal clan, are important in all rituals connected with the great ancestral shades of the nation. Their importance has waned over time but they once played a central role in the *ukubuyisa kwamakhosi*, 'the return of the kings' rituals which were connected with both the First Fruits Ceremony and with supplication for rain, described in 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 respectively. It was essential that the *izinkomo zemzimu* be drawn from old stock that belonged to the royal clans or their influence with the shades would be diminished. According to Berglund (1976: 209) no beast which came from stock other than the old lineages would be acceptable.

These animals were used for two purposes. These were outlined to Stuart by Mtshayankomo in the early part of this century (Webb and Wright, 1986, Vol.IV : 146):

'There were two distinct ceremonies: (a) when the king's spirits were taken and brought back home to Nobamba and Siklebeni; (b) when rain was wanted badly, and oxen (black) were sent to the royal graves, where *ukuketa* dancing took place, and the kings were invited to come, and give the rain.'

In connection with the ceremony of *ukubuyisa kwamakhosi*, the ancestral shades were 'brought back' to the ancestral burial place so that they might be informed that the Great *umKhosi* was to commence. Other supplications might also be made at this time. For example, during the Zulu War in 1879 the cattle were

sent to intercede with the shades of Mageba, Senzangakhona, Ndaba, Jama to ask them to accompany the troops.

4.3 THE ROLE OF CATTLE IN RITES OF PASSAGE: BIRTH, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE AND DEATH

At every important milestone in an individual life in traditional Zulu society, cattle have a role to play: in birth, at puberty, in marriage and - ultimately - in death. Even after death, when the departed has become a shade, cattle are used as a means through which the living seniors of the family maintain contact and communion with the former member.

4.3.1 CATTLE AND BIRTH:

It is said that 'cattle beget children' (Kuper, 1982: 21) and play a crucial role in events leading up to the birth of a child for they are the means by which children are legitimized when they are exchanged on the marriage of a woman. The ancestral shades of the lineages of the woman and the man work together within the body of a woman at the time of conception to ensure that it takes place.

The shades are associated with 'whiteness' and thus with a desirable state of 'coolness' which is also inherent in the whiteness of the semen of the father and the milk of the mother and which contributes to equilibrium which is essential for health and fertility. Associated with this whiteness and coolness are all cattle products which are perceived to be 'cool' and which are specifically linked with female fertility. Cattle may,

in times of need, be able to intervene directly between the people of the lineage and the ancestral shades at the time of birth. Although citing an Mpondo example taken from Hunter (1936: 151), Kuper (1982: 20-21) describes the part played by a cow during a difficult delivery in which its role was seen as crucial:

'...the homestead head drives up his cattle to the hut in which she [the woman] is lying. Then he calls on the ancestral spirits, "How is it that this child is like this?" ... "Then he calls the names of his ancestors, as at a ritual killing. Then if one of the cattle passes water the child will be born, unless the mother is being killed by a witch or sorcerer." "Sometimes a beast goes up and licks the mother, and then a child is born".'

Krige writes (1988: 65) that when a woman is about to give birth a small snake often makes its appearance. This is a shade manifestation, usually that of an old woman. However, if the birth takes a long time and difficulties are encountered, it may be necessary to slaughter a beast in order to facilitate the procedure. In such a case a beast is sent from the woman's home as the displeasure of the ancestors which have caused her distress, will be her own and can only be appeased with a beast from her father's herd.

In the first few days of life, even before being put to the mother's breast, the child is fed *amasi* made from the milk of the father's cows.

The mother is secluded after the birth of a baby and observes many taboos, among them milk and *amasi* taboos which she abstains from for at least two months after giving birth. At the end of this isolation, the woman must be purified so that she may resume her normal household activities. The house in which the child was born will be cleansed and the floor smeared with dung.

A thanks offering will be made and a beast slaughtered, especially on the occasion of the birth of a first son.

There is also a special relationship between the woman's family and the new child and gifts are brought soon after birth. Should the baby die, it is the woman's father who will kill a beast for her and sprinkle gall on her in order to purify her and restore her to health. Although the birth of twins no longer has the negative connotations it once had in traditional society, a beast is generally slaughtered, as this 'misfortune' is seen to be the work of angry shades who must be propitiated.

The connection between cattle and successful child-bearing resulting from the relationship between cattle and women established because of bridewealth exchange, is explained by Kuper (1982: 22):

'...cattle are "cool", health-giving, and associated positively with female child-bearing.'

The payment of *lobolo* gives the man rights over his children and are a crucial part of the legitimizing of those children:

'...the transfer of bridewealth cattle is necessary to the birth of a legitimate person. A person for whose mother no *lobolo* has been paid is not a full member of the community. Cattle transfers are therefore essential both to natural female fertility and to legitimate female fertility.'

The birth of a child is therefore intimately tied to the cattle of the families from which he or she comes: cattle are linked to female fertility and to the shades through whom that fertility is ensured. An equitable relationship between the living members of a family and their shades is maintained through the intervention of cattle - both by their presence in the byre of the homestead or as sacrificial beasts through which the

shades are thanked for favours, appealed to or propitiated. At the time of the birth of a family member, cattle have a role - in celebration of the new arrival, as intermediaries when labour has been difficult or sacrificially when the child has died.

4.3.2 CATTLE AND PUBERTY:

Each stage in the life of the individual in Zulu society is marked by certain ceremonies which assist in the transition from one stage to the next. After birth, the next important transitional stage is the onset of puberty.

Krige states (1988: 81):

'Every Zulu child before reaching puberty must have its ears pierced (*Qhumbuza, klekla* or *ukudabula izindlebe*), and this operation takes place amidst feasting and merry-making in celebration of the increased status of the child.'

Often, a collective ceremony is held. Strict avoidance of anyone 'unclean' is observed to obviate the possibility of the wounds becoming septic. Those who are considered 'unclean' and therefore a danger to initiates are menstruating or pregnant women, nursing mothers and people who have had sexual intercourse recently.

Although the ceremony is not of great significance, it is connected with cattle. It is believed that a child who has been through the '*ukuqhumbuza*' ceremony has progressed to a new status in which he or she is more responsible. In the case of boys, a youngster who had had his ears pierced is fit to herd cattle rather than small stock and to take charge of younger children who have not been through the procedure. Krige states (1988: 85) that in times gone by, only boys who had '*qhumbuza'd*' could herd cattle although necessity has made it impossible to enforce this

rule with so many young men away at work and the burden of herding falling on younger and younger children.

After a collective *ukuqhumbuza* ceremony, a beast is killed on behalf of all the children and the district headman appeals to his ancestors to look kindly on all those who have participated. In this case, his shades are assumed to have the same status over the shades of other members of the community as he has over the living members of his ward or district.

A more significant stage is reached when a boy experiences his first nocturnal emission. This event (*ukuthomba*) heralds his entry into manhood and cattle are closely connected with all subsequent ceremonies in which he participates. The boy must rise early and take his father's cattle from the byre. He will take them to some secret place and there bathe in the river and stay with the herd. According to Krige (1988: 88), when the members of the homestead see that the cattle have gone, they will say:

'Izinkomo zemukile - the cattle have gone away, not that someone has taken them away.'

The disappearance of the cattle is a cue for the young men of the same age as the youngster to go in search of them. The more difficulty the boys have in finding the cattle and their herder, the more status the young man will acquire.

Once the boy is found, the cattle are driven home with him in their midst and this is called *zibuye izinkomo*. Krige states that on this occasion the boy is symbolically identified as one of the herd. He goes to the veld with the animals and is herded back with them to the byre. After certain rituals have been performed in the byre in which milk plays a significant role he enters a period of seclusion during which he is attended by his

friends. All contact with women is avoided. During this seclusion, the boys learn to deal with meat and its distribution. At the end of the period of seclusion, a beast is slaughtered. Meat is distributed among members of the family, relations and friends, and an offering to the ancestral shades is left in the *umsamo* of the great hut. There, the father of the boy presents his son to the *amadlozi*, praising them and asking their assistance in directing his life. The feasting which accompanies the *ukuthomba* ceremony can last a number of days. At the end of the ceremonies however, the young man is taken to the river to bathe. He immerses himself fully and once he emerges from the water, it is considered that he has become a man. On his return home he is given new clothes and takes his place as an adult of the homestead. The *ukuthomba* ceremonies end with a dance and the *ukudlakudla*, a ceremony during which the boy is given a taste of all parts of the sacrificial beast. By means of this, all the food taboos are lifted. He is given *amasi*, which automatically means that other food taboos are at an end (Krige, 1988: 99).

The role of the cattle in this transition from boyhood to manhood is clear. Symbolically the boy accompanied them to the veld as one of them, returned from pasture as one them and then, through sacrifice, was reborn into the world of men with the attendant status and privilege. The sacrificial beast acts as intermediary, through ritual killing, between the boy, the living lineage head and the ancestral shades. The *ukuthomba* ceremony, like all transitional ceremonies is characterized by separation rites, a period of seclusion followed by aggregation into the new group (Krige, 1988: 100).

The girls *ukuthomba*, or initiation into a marriageable state is similar to that experienced by the boys with rites of separation, seclusion and aggregation being central to the procedure. A beast, known as *inkomo yodwa*, is slaughtered on her behalf. The meat from this beast is divided and distributed by the girl's peers. The feast which follows is part of the aggregation rites which change her status from that of child to a person of marriageable age.

After the feast which marks her first menstruation, the next step in a girl's life is the *ukwomula* or public recognition of her marriageable state. This takes place after the *ukuthomba* ceremonies. Krige (1988: 103-104) states:

'When a girl desires her marriageable state to be formally recognized by her father she will, on the advice of the mother or on her own initiative, cease eating *amasi* in order to draw his attention to the fact. He thereupon slaughters for her a beast whereby he acknowledges her marriageable state and liberates her from her abstinence. This *ukwomula* may be regarded as her father's tacit permission to her to look about for a husband.'

It is the cattle of the homestead that enable the senior to contact his ancestral shades, to communicate with them, to let them know the changing fortunes and the status of the family members. At the times when the transitions from one stage to the next occur, it is the cattle which accompany them and which make the communion between the living and the dead both possible and real.

4.3.2.1 The Role of Cattle-Herding in the Education of the Child.

Historically, and in traditional society, the activity of herding cattle was central to the general education of the boy and young adult. While engaged in herding and other tasks related

to the care of cattle, boys learn respect for their elders and how to conform to the strict code of behaviour which is expected of them with regard to seniority. Youngsters are obliged to obey those older than themselves, no matter how small the difference in age. Stuart (1938: 3) writes:

'That kind of respect grew up with them, the little ones respecting the older ones until they became men. They all respected that kind of rule with which they had been brought up'.

According to the information recorded by Stuart (1938: 3-4), it is the task of the calf - then the young heifer or bullock - to 'keep pulling at the boy', taking him away from his mother and homestead and out into the veld where another education awaits him. Here he 'will learn manhood during the process of herding cattle'.

Of vital importance is the young boy's initiation into the mysteries of veld-lore, for, Stuart (1938: 4) records:

'the cow entices him to the forest and the gorge where he sees birds and wild animals, and learns their names'.

Besides this he learns to hunt and run, to fight and swim. His body becomes tough and he, stoical and hardy, is able to endure any weather and long hours without food. Bryant (1967: 186-187) comments that the extent of knowledge gained and passed on from generation to generation of herders is complex and wide-ranging:

'Out on the veld, the boys were busy studying the nature of every plant and tree, the habits of every insect, the peculiarities of every rock, and ere long could interpret the meaning of the winds, the clouds, the mists; could give one the names of all the grasses, and the medicinal uses of many herbs and trees; could describe to you the qualities of different kinds of wood, the shapes of different kinds of tree-leaf, and explain to you the internal bodily

structure of every bird and fowl, and wild and domestic animal within their little world. Thus, through the ages, this admirable system of forming character and imparting knowledge continued,....'.

It is, no doubt, from this exposure to the animals, birds, plants, winds and weather - indeed the whole of the natural world, day after day, year after year - which gives the Zulu herder such an intimate knowledge of the environment and out of which has grown a rich and varied veld-lore. The extensive vocabulary in Zulu related to natural phenomena is an indication of the depth of this knowledge and of the preoccupation of the people with acquiring it. Cattle are part of this world and the words used to describe the colour-patterns are drawn from and are closely connected with its creatures and vegetation. The beauty in the imagery in cattle names and the aptness with which they are applied, is testimony to this acute and intimate observation.

Krige (1988: 86) records that the primary dictum, taught to young boys in traditional society at the time of the *ukuqhumbuza* ceremony, when their ears are pierced and they become true herders, is:

'Love cattle, for no man is without them'.

4.3.3 CATTLE AND MARRIAGE:

[Among the Zulu, cattle and marriage are inextricably interwoven. As Kuper states (1982: 14):

'The exchange of women for cattle is unquestionably seen as the central social exchange...'

The hierarchical exchanges between the living and the ancestral shades have already been discussed in 4.2 but these cannot be separated from the marriage exchanges either, for

marriage is the intimate concern of the ancestors and the beasts given in exchange for wives, are theirs. During the *lobolo* exchanges all concerned with the transactions are in the closest communication with their respective shades.

Kuper (1982: 16) states:

'Bridewealth payments of cattle must be set also in the context of this structure of transactions. Cattle and fertility (rain/seminal fluid) come ultimately from the ancestors and directly from the rulers and household heads who stand between the ancestors and their dependants.'

In acquiring a wife, a man is also exchanging pastoral for agricultural products:

'... indeed, their exchange forms an integral feature of traditional ideas of social and economic organization! (Kuper, 1982: 14)

Although women for cattle are seen as the primary social exchange, the other important exchange is cattle products for agricultural products: the woman is the means by which agricultural products are produced and it is her labour which provides the crops that are harvested and the beer that is brewed for both enjoyment and for ritual use.

Kuper (1982: 14) sums up the nexus of exchanges thus:

<u>'WIFE'S PARENTS</u>	<u>DAUGHTER'S HUSBAND</u>
Grain	Meat
Beer	Labour
Women and children	Cattle

Central to this is the idea that 'cattle beget children' by means of which the family, the clan and the society are perpetuated. Furthermore, people often speak as if the shades themselves had paid the bridewealth. Thus, bridewealth is closely connected to fertility and the begetting of children and it is believed that the shades may withhold fertility if the *lobolo*

payments have been unsatisfactory. Hunter (1936: 192) says:

'Cattle received as the *ikhazi* of a daughter are of special ritual importance ... being given "in exchange for the blood of the family" ... and conversely the passage of cattle put the girl received in exchange ... in closer relationship with the ancestral spirits of the family from which the cattle came.'

The general relationship between male pastoralism and female agriculture is connected very strongly with the exchange of cattle for women. Kuper (1982: 21) says:

'...the direct exchange of women and children for cattle is one of a series of exchanges of products from these two domains.'

The nature of gifts given between the two families of newly-weds underscores the existence of these separate domains. The bride's mother makes beer for the family of the groom, the groom provides meat for the bride's family. In times of need, the bride's father can and will approach his daughter's husband for help in furnishing *lobolo* cattle for his sons (i.e. the brothers of the bride) and the debt which a brother owes to his cattle-linked sister is deeply significant in the whole system of bridewealth in Zulu society (Hammond-Tooke, 1993: 18). These obligations are complex and ensure the establishment of the strongest bonds of friendship and loyalty between families who might have been unconnected before. The fact that this loyalty is something forged by marriage transactions is emphasized by Krige (1988: 122) who writes of the ritualised antagonism and insult, mock fights etc. which take place during marriage ceremonies and negotiations to highlight the fact that natural antagonisms are being ritually buried and replaced with bonds of mutual dependance and trust.

Marriage, writes Krige (1988: 120):

'is a gradual rapprochement of the two sibs, that of the boy and that of the girl, and we therefore find actions and reactions between the two groups in order to produce a feeling of friendship and stability. The loss of a member disturbs the equilibrium between the two groups, and this has to be set right by the giving in return of something else of great value in the lives of the people.'

Cattle are therefore exchanged to 'soften the blow' of losing a daughter and to smooth the complicated reactions between the two sibs attempting to create bonds where none might have existed and to dissolve any antagonisms which might prove an obstacle in the marriage negotiations. Hammond-Tooke (1993: 123-124) explains:

'...the passing of bridewealth in the form of cattle ... was the essential act in legalising a new union. It had the effect of transposing certain rights over a girl, up to now vested in her father or guardian, to her husband and his family. The emphasis was on the linking of two groups, rather than of the two individuals concerned...'

Marriage ceremonies themselves are extremely complicated in Zulu society and the intricacies, symbolism and social function of each, does not fall within the scope of this dissertation. The significance of cattle exchanges in general has been explained but the more complex rituals and procedures are well-documented by Bryant (1967), Krige (1988) and Kuper (1982), whose Wives for Cattle is an in-depth analysis of the whole system of *lobolo* exchange in Southern Africa and is a pioneering work in the field.

Although the names of the different *lobolo* beasts are recorded in Chapter 5: 5.3.1 and the metaphorical or symbolic content of the terminology is explained, a short examination of the types of animals connected with marriage ceremonies and classified according to function, is appropriate.

There are a) certain 'preliminary' beasts which are donated before the *lobolo* cattle proper are exchanged, b) animals which are sacrificed during marriage ceremonies by the families of both bride and groom and c) cattle given by the bride's father to his daughter which have a special connection with the ancestral shades of her lineage. Krige states (1988: 391) that there is a great deal of difference in opinion with regard to the names of the different animals. Customs vary from region to region and it is impossible to propose a classification of any sort which might meet with universal agreement in Zulu society.

Using Bryant (1967), Doke and Vilakazi (1948), Krige (1988) and Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994) as reference, animals used in marriage ceremonies can be grouped according to function in the following way:

- i) *Ukwendisa* or *Imbeka (umbeko)* Cattle of the Bride
- ii) Cattle used for *Lobolo*
- iii) Cattle Slaughtered during the Marriage Ceremony
- iv) Other Cattle
- v) Other Sacrificial Animals (goats)

4.3.3.1 UKWENDISA OR IMBEKA (UMBeko) CATTLE OF THE BRIDE

The *ukwendisa* or *imbeka* cattle which accompany the bride to the homestead of her husband's people, are especially connected with the ancestral shades of the woman, being, in some sense, their 'representatives'. Berglund (1976: 206) records:

'A bride, on leaving her paternal home and settling in the homestead of her husband, maintains communion with the shades on her lineage through *ukwendisa* (or *imbeka*) cattle which of necessity must accompany her from her paternal home if old traditional approaches are to be upheld.'

The number of *ukwendisa* or *umbeka* cattle is usually three and it is essential that they come from the bride's father's herd. One is likely to be the calf of the *eyamadlozi*. Berglund

(1976: 206-209) records three:

- i) *Isigodo* (tree-stump).
- ii) *Isikhumba* (skin) beast.
- iii) *Eyokukhulekela ukuzala* (to request giving birth).

All these beasts are for the use of the woman and her children. Briefly, the functions of these beasts is as follows:

i) *isigodo* (also *isigodo*): the *isigodo* cow is never slaughtered as it is so strongly connected with the bride's paternal shades and supplies milk which is kept in a separate vessel. The brush of the *isigodo* beast is not trimmed or cut either. As in the case of the *inkomo yamadlozi*, this untended brush indicates the connection of the beast with the ancestors. The hairs from the brush are used by the woman to make ornaments. The beast also supplies companionship and reminds the new bride of her home and, in this capacity, acts as a comfort. Berglund states (1976: 208):

'The animal stands, further, for generosity and thoughtfulness on the part of the bride's father.'

ii) *isikhumba* (sometimes confused with *isigodo*): according to Berglund (1976: 206-207), the *isikhumba* beast is slaughtered at the wedding. Krige states that it is one of the *lobolo* beasts which is returned with the bridal party for this purpose (1988: 392) but Berglund says that it comes from the herd of the bride's father. Both are in agreement, however, that it is slaughtered at the wedding feast. Berglund (1976: 117-118) states:

'...*isikhumba*, is slaughtered together with *inkomo yokucola*, the latter furnished by the bridegroom's father or a senior guardian. The symbol underlying the simultaneous slaughter of the animals is the mutual acceptance of bride and bridegroom by the shades of the two parties.'

Krige calls the *isikhumba* beast a 'sort of counterpart of the *inGquthu*' (1988: 392) (the beast given to the bride's mother acknowledging her role in looking after her daughter and protecting her virginity) and distinguishes between the *inkomo yokucola* and the *umqholisa*². Mrs T.C. Mkhize says the *isikhumba* is slaughtered with the *inhlabisamthimba* (a general name for a beast slaughtered at a wedding ceremony) and the carcasses divided in two and reconstituted with half of the *isikhumba* joined to half of the other ritual beast to form a whole, representing the sacrifice of both families and the uniting of the shades (pc to MPO, Feb., 1996).

iii) *eyokukhulekela ukuzala* (Berglund, 1976: 206-207): the third beast, the *eyokukhulekela ukuzala*, which is recorded by Berglund (1976: 207) and Bryant (1967: 549) is slaughtered ritually for the bride once she has settled down in her new home. The shades are asked to look favourably on her so that she might produce children without 'disturbance' (Berglund, 1976: 207).

iv) *udondolo*: Krige (1988: 392) records that the *udondolo* beast is an ox which accompanies the girl on her journey to the homestead of the groom. It is 'the stick by which the girl will support herself on the journey' (Krige, 1988: 392) and is killed at the groom's home. The bride does not eat its meat.

² Berglund (1976: 117) states that the *inkomo yokucola* is supplied by the groom. Krige (1988: 391 and 393) states, however, that the *inkomo yokucola* is slaughtered at the bride's home and the *umqholiso* at the groom's. The gall of the *umqholiso* beast is sprinkled on the bride to incorporate her into her new family.

v) izimbuzi ('goats'): these are inconsequential cattle which may accompany the ukwendisa beasts of a large bridal party and provide extra meat. They are referred to, rather disparagingly, as 'goats'.

vi) isiboma or umphoso: the isibhoma or umphoso beast is killed and cut up into chunks which are thrown over the fence of the groom's homestead as an inducement to them to open the gate for the bridal party to enter (Krige, 1988: 392). It appears that this beast is not known in some areas. There is some debate as to the name and function of this animal, Malcolm (in a letter to Krige) (Krige, 188: 392) says that the bride's father visits the groom's father before the wedding and arranges which of the lobolo cattle should be the isiboma beast. However, many Zulus disagreed with this claim. Another name for this beast is umphoso or umphonso.]

vii) umthothonga: the umthothongo beast (Krige (1988: 394), Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 65) and Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 803), is given by a father to his newly married daughter to appease her own shades and to make friendly overtures to the shades of her husband's family.

The ukwendisa cattle are not the same as the lobolo cattle which are given by the man's family for his bride during marriage negotiations. Nevertheless, they are an important constituent in the system of exchange which takes place when a woman marries. Cattle are not given without reciprocation and the ukwendisa

cattle, though they accompany the bride for her benefit, are nevertheless of value to the family into which she marries. They are provided by a father for his daughter's support and comfort. They supply her with milk and *amasi* while she is still precluded from partaking of these things in her husband's home and are a vital link with her own family and her ancestral shades.

4.3.3.2 LOBOLO CATTLE

As with the *ukwendisa* or *imbeka* beasts, many of the names given to *lobolo* cattle are confusing and vary from district to district. Over time some names have changed and become obsolete. The patterns of these changes and the extent to which they have arisen is not within the scope of this dissertation. The names given below are those recorded by Bryant (1967), Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994) and Krige (1988), whose compilation covers most written and many field sources.

It appears that not every beast chosen for *lobolo* exchange has a particular name. Those cited have special functions which account for the descriptive terms which apply.

i) *eyokumemeza*: 'the one to call out by' (Krige, 1988: 389). This beast is the first of the *lobolo* cattle to be taken by the negotiator or *umkhongi* to the father of the prospective bride. The name 'the one to call out by' opens negotiations. It is essential that when the *umkhongi* reaches the homestead of the girl he should call out the colour of the beast that he is bringing or intends to bring (Krige, 1988: 389). If negotiations should fail the *eyokumemeza* beast is left with the girl's father.

If the negotiations should succeed, however, this animal is considered to be one of the *lobolo* cattle.

ii) *imvulamlomo, imvula, ingqagamazinyo, isivumelwana*: 'that which opens the mouth', 'that which loosens the teeth'. This beast is presented after the *eyokumemeza*.

After a number of cattle have been brought, or the full *lobolo* has been paid, the girl's father may kill a beast known as the *umcolisa* in order to 'smooth the way' for negotiations.

iii) *inkomo yenhloko*: 'the beast by which to put up her hair'. This is one of the *lobolo* cattle which must be pointed out to the girl before she will agree to put up her hair and begin preparations for her marriage (Krige, 1988: 390-391). If this is not done an extra beast will have to be given.

iv) *umumba* or *unozengeza*: this is generally a cow and calf given as part of the *lobolo* to the bride's mother who may use its milk. This beast is never slaughtered and its offspring are supposed to supply cattle for the *lobolo* of the bride's brothers. This beast is especially attached to the house in which the bride was reared and is a prized beast (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948: 588).

v) *ubikibiki*: this beast is given by the son-in-law to his mother-in-law and is considered part of the *lobolo* (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 64).

4.3.3.3 OTHER CATTLE CONNECTED WITH MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

Besides the *lobolo* cattle proper and the *ukwendisa* or *imbeka* beasts which accompany the bride, a number of other beasts change hands during the period in which a woman marries. Of these beasts, there are those which are not *lobolo* cattle but which have a special significance and those which are slaughtered during wedding ceremonies which have ritual significance and which also feed the guests which gather in large numbers on such occasions.

4.3.3.3.1. OTHER CATTLE GIVEN BY THE BRIDE'S FAMILY

Apart from the *ukwendisa* cattle, the following animals are given by the bride's family:

i) *inkomo yokucola* or *incamisisa*: this beast is slaughtered at a bride's home by her father just prior to her departure for her marriage. The gall - the special preserve of the ancestral shades - is poured over the girl and her family's ancestors are called on to bless her. This ceremony of the sprinkling of the gall is replicated during the wedding ceremonies at the groom's home when the *isikhumba* and *umqholiso* beasts are slaughtered and the gall of the latter sprinkled on the bride, thus incorporating her into the family of her husband. The sprinkling of the gall is a most solemn moment in the proceedings.

ii) *eyokucela izinkomo*: the beast known as *eyokucela izinkomo*, which is rarely mentioned today, is usually a large ox and is sent with the bride and her *ukwendisa* cattle by her father as a hint to the father of the groom that more *lobolo* cattle would be

acceptable. This beast may also be sent to a son-in-law when his father-in-law needs help with *lobolo* for one of his daughter's brothers. This ox may also be sent by the bride's father before any *lobolo* has been paid to indicate that he is ready to accept the *lobolo* cattle. The dung of this beast is used to smear the floor of the new bride's house as cattle products from the herd of her husband's homestead are taboo until she has been fully incorporated into the family.

iii) *uswazi* or *ishoba*: the *uswazi* or *ishoba* beast is not known to many, but Krige (1988: 391) records that this was a small beast called the 'tail' (*ishoba* or *swazi*) of the *inkomo eyokucela izinkomo*. The *uswazi* or *ishoba* accompanies the ox sent by the father of the prospective bride to herald the start of formalities in regard to the exchange of the *lobolo* cattle.

iv) *ukubaneka izinkomo*: this beast no longer forms part of *lobolo* negotiations. In past times, however, it was sent by the bride's father to the groom's father 'to light up' the *lobolo* cattle with which the groom's father had had to part (Krige, 1988: 394). The groom sends a similar beast called *ubhaqa* to the bride's father to 'light up the path' for the *lobolo* cattle being sent to her family (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 64).

4.3.3.3.2 OTHER CATTLE GIVEN BY THE GROOM'S FAMILY

The following cattle are given by the man's family apart from the *lobolo* beasts:

i) *ingquthu*: the *ingquthu* beast is not part of the *lobolo* and need not be given at any particular time. It is sent by the groom

to his bride's mother in recognition of her care for her daughter and of her daughter's virginity. This beast must be paid if a young man seduces a girl. It remains the property of the bride's mother and may be slaughtered for the people of her homestead.

ii) imvuma: the *imvuma* beast signifies 'acceptance' and is slaughtered by a young man at his home to indicate that he agrees to marry the girl who has run or *baleka'd* to him. This action on the girl's part is somewhat binding on him and the slaughter of the beast is a prelude to *lobolo* negotiations beginning in earnest.

iii) ubhaqa: the *ubhaqa* beast is sent by the young man's family to the bride's father to 'light up the path' for the *lobolo* cattle (see *ukubaneka izinkomo* above).

4.3.3.4 CATTLE SLAUGHTERED DURING MARRIAGE CEREMONIES:

Beasts which were slaughtered have been mentioned if they are part of the *lobolo* or *ukwendisa* cattle but other beasts, which do not fall into either category and which are slaughtered at the wedding, are listed below:

i) izinkobe or imvulasango: 'mealie grains' and 'gate opener' beasts are slaughtered for the bride's party on its arrival at the groom's home. The beast or goat known as *isiwukula* is another possible name for this animal. Krige confirms (1988: 393) that these names are confusing and that they may vary from district to district.

ii) umqholiso: the slaughter of the *umqoliso* beast, supplied by the groom's father, is the point in the wedding celebrations at which the bride is incorporated into the groom's family. The gall of this beast is ceremonially sprinkled over her. (Krige, 1988: 393). *Ukuqholisa* means 'to anoint' or 'to honour'.

iii) uthuli : this beast (or goat) is given to the bridal party by the groom's family for the journey home (Krige, 1988: 394).

iv) isinkwa : this beast, named 'bread' is slaughtered by the bride's father to feed the bridal party on the journey to the groom's home (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 66).

v) isipheko: this beast is given to the bridal party to eat in the veld before the wedding. Neither Nyembezi and Nxumalo or Doke and Vilakazi state who gives the goat but it is assumed it is given by the groom's people for the use of their guests.

4.3.3.5 GOATS

i) umngenisandlini: this goat is slaughtered for a girl when she goes to visit her sweetheart before they are married. She will not enter his home until this beast has been killed (Krige, 1988: 389). This beast may also be given to the young man's party when it comes to the girl's home with the *lobolo* cattle (Bryant Dictionary, 1905). This goat may also be called *indlakudla* or *umhlaliso* (Krige, 1988: 389) or *imbuzi yelongwe* (Krige, 1988: 390).

ii) *isiwukula*: goat (or beast) slaughtered for the bride's female attendants on arrival at the groom's home (see also *izinkobe* and *imvulasango* above). *iCobantswani* is an old term, which is not widely known, but which is applied to a goat which may be presented to the male attendants in the bridal party at the same time as the *isiwukula* is given to the females. It is eaten by them on their arrival at the groom's home (Krige, 1988: 393).

iii) *umeke*: after the consummation of the marriage has taken place the girls of the bridal party demand a goat, known as *umeke* (from *ukumekezisa*, to deflower) which is eaten by them alone (Krige, 1988: 65).

iv) *imbuzi yokhezo*: this goat ('goat of the spoon') is given by the new family of the bride after a little time, in order that she might eat the *amasi* of the homestead. With the goat she receives a spoon. These she takes to her father and he reciprocates by sending her husband a goat which is also known as *imbuzi yokhezo*. This becomes the property of the bride's first son.

iv) *imbeleko*: this goat is slaughtered for the woman by her father soon after the birth of her first child. The skin of this goat is used to make the carrying-skin, *imbeleko*, in which she carries her baby. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 65) state that this is a beast. According to them it is slaughtered at the wedding feast for the bride's party.

4.3.4 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MILK

All through the period associated with various rites of passage, *amasi* and milk taboos play a significant role. No Zulu eats the *amasi* or drinks the milk of another lineage and the bride is only released from milk and *amasi* taboos once she has been incorporated into the family of her new husband. The violation of any of the milk taboos is believed to bring weakness and disaster upon the cattle. At each point of transition too, *amasi* may not be eaten until the new member has been fully incorporated into the new stage of existence (Krige, 1988: 189).

The extent to which *amasi* plays a role in these rites of passage is detailed by Krige (1988: 383) who describes in some detail the *amasi* abstentions required in Zulu society. The only places where a man may eat *amasi* freely is at any homestead belonging to people of the same *isibongo* as his father, his mother, his father's mother and his mother's mother.

Girls and women abstain from *amasi* for seven days during the menstrual period and women do not eat *amasi* for two months after the birth of a child. A widow will not touch *amasi* for a year after her husband's death or before she is 'cleansed' by her own people.

At puberty, a girl abstains from *amasi* until her father has slaughtered for her. If she wishes to get married, she advertises this state, by refraining from eating *amasi*. No girl would touch *amasi* at her sweetheart's home before marriage.

Boys neither eat *amasi* when they are going through puberty ceremonies, nor when they are first enrolled in a regiment.

Homicide and slaying an enemy in battle preclude someone from eating *amasi* until they have been purified of the pollution caused by the deed.

In regard to milk and marriage and the perception that the ancestral shades work in the body and blood of the woman when a child is conceived, Kuper states (1982: 18):

' ... new brides are subject to various taboos at first, and in particular they may not drink milk from the cows of their husbands' herds until a special ceremony has been performed. It is as though the cool, 'white' milk of the family cows were equivalent to the semen of the 'white' ancestors which forms part of the bodily substance of their descendants.'

The milk is therefore linked with the substance of people, with the ancestors and with the cattle. The presence of cattle in the family byre connects the living with the dead in a tangible relationship, not just through their physical closeness or their flesh when one is killed for sacrificial purposes, but through their milk as well.

4.3.5 THE ROLE OF CATTLE IN CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH DEATH AND BURIAL

As in birth, puberty and marriage rites, cattle also play a significant part in rites and rituals connected with death. Cattle assist in the passage of the individual into the afterlife. In 1902 James Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1982, Vol. 3: 75) interviewed Mlota kaMangcengeza who described a near-death experience in which he saw a beautiful country with white cattle and numerous homesteads, stating that the ancestral herds live with the *amadlozi* just as their descendants live with men.

When someone dies a period of mourning ensues. The members

of the family of the deceased are subject to many taboos and observances until a beast is slaughtered in order to cleanse them of the pollution of death. The deceased is marginal to the community of ancestors up to a year after death when the shade is 'brought home' by the living relatives so that it may be incorporated during the *ukubuyisa* ceremony.

On the day of death the members of the family are given strengthening medicines. These are administered when the burial has taken place and the cattle of the homestead are 'smoked' with medicines to protect them from harm. Soft foods are forbidden and *amasi* is taboo to the different members of the family for varying lengths of time, lasting a year in the case of widows.

Once equilibrium has been restored among the living and the period of mourning is over, a similar equilibrium must be sought for the deceased. At this point the *ukubuyisa* ceremony is crucial for the aggregation of the recently departed into the world of the ancestors. For the purposes of the *ukubuyisa* ceremony a large ox is killed. The beast is sacrificed to the ancestors and special cuts are placed in the *umsamo* of the house as an offering to the shades. Krige (1988: 169) states:

'On this occasion the name of the deceased is included in the praises of the ancestors for the first time after his death, and he is specially asked, when the meat is placed at the *umsamo*, to come back to the village and look after his people.'

A branch of the *umphafa* tree is used to draw the spirit of the departed from the grave to the house and the gall of the sacrificial beast is sprinkled on the feet of the sons of the homestead to ensure that the shade stays with them. The gall, which is greatly loved by the ancestral shades, is not sprinkled

on the feet of the daughters in this instance, in case the spirit should accompany them to the homes of their husbands.

The meat of the sacrificial beast is cooked in the cattle byre by the men of the family and none of it may leave the homestead lest the deceased's spirit depart with it.

The return of the spirit to its former home, the sacrifice of a beast, and the fact that the gall and the meat do not leave the precincts of the homestead, are symbolically important events in the aggregation of the deceased into the community of the family shades. It is only after the spirit has been restored to its place that the living members of the family may move the site of the homestead. This is never done until the incorporation of the spirit, for *abathakathi* (witches or wizards) might disturb the corpse if the grave site is not watched over by family members during this marginal period.

The death of a chief or king is an event which concerns far more than just one family or lineage. The ceremonies for the *ukubuyisa* of the national shades in which cattle play a part are discussed in 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 below.

In traditional times the corpse was wrapped in cowhide before burial. The king was always buried wrapped in the hide of a black bull slaughtered especially for the occasion. The hides of other beasts were also wrapped about this shroud. Hundreds of cattle were sacrificially killed when a king died in order to cleanse with gall all those who had participated in the burial.

After the death of a king, the new king may not sew on his headring with the sinews taken from his own cattle. These must be obtained from foreign cattle (Krige, 1988: 173-174).

The beast slaughtered on the death of a person, whether commoner or king, is killed in the cattle byre where the shades are known to gather. The meat which is offered to them during certain ritual killings is generally presented in the *umsamo* of the main house. Through the means of these various ceremonies, the deceased rejoins the community.

4.4 NATIONAL CEREMONIES:

There are certain national ceremonies in which cattle play a significant role. The most important is the Great *umKhosi* or First Fruits Ceremony in which the harvest is presented to the shades and in which the king, as the chief representative of the people, is the first to taste the new produce. At this time, he is strengthened through various ceremonies and rituals, the most important of which is the slaughtering - without any blood-letting - of a black bull for the national shades. In the early part of this century, before this ceremony took place, the graves of the departed kings were visited. This was known as *ukubuyisa kwamakhosi*, the 'bringing back of the kings' in order to make them aware that the *umKhosi* was to take place. Other events in which the *izinkomo zemzimu* took part were the supplication for rain in times of severe drought which were also held in the vicinity of the graves of the kings.

4.4.1 FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY:

In the heyday of the Zulu Empire, the Great *umKhosi* was at the height of its splendour and ritual significance. Then the regiments would gather at the great place of the king. Not only

was the occasion an opportunity to present the first harvest of the year to the shades and honour the agricultural essence of the Great *umKhosi*, but it was also a chance for the king to inspect his troops. A great show of power and pageantry was evident at these times.

The strengthening of the king has importance for all subjects for he is their representative to the national shades: in strengthening him, they themselves are strengthened. The ancestral cattle of the nation, *izinkomo zemzimu* have a part to play in this most significant ceremony.

Although the practice has died out, at the time in which Stuart and Bryant were working at the turn of the century, it was common practice for a herd of specially selected black cattle from the most ancient lineages of the Zulu people to be taken, prior to the Great *umKhosi*, to round up the shades of the departed kings. Bryant (1967: 514) states that the word '*umkhosi*' is related to the idea of the ancestral shades rather than '*inkosi*' (chief). He observes that their presence was essential if the First Fruits Ceremony was to succeed.

It is believed that the shades of the ancestral kings manifest themselves in the form of green snakes known as *iNyandezulu*. If the assistance of these are to be obtained during the First Fruits Ceremony, they must be rounded up and brought back to the graves of the kings in order to ensure that they hear the supplications of the people and so that they might be aware that the Great *umKhosi* is about to take place. Bryant describes the procedure (1967: 514):

'the Chief of the Zulu 'clan' proper, despatched a party of the higher members of his family, together with some

regiments of warriors and a herd of bullocks, called the *iziNkomo zemZimu* (the-cattle-of-the-tribal-gods), to circumambulate the ancient home-land and, by savoury sacrifice, to entice the divers scattered ancestral snakes back each to its own sepulchral bush.'

These cattle were always drawn from the old stock of the original families of the area. The shades would be greeted with the salute '*Bayede!*' The *ihubo* or clan anthem would be solemnly sung. The beasts were returned to the kraals from which they came, there to be slaughtered along with other cattle (Bryant, 1967: 525).

Two ceremonies are held, the first being known as the Little *umKhosi* which takes place at the king's home, followed a few weeks later by the Great *umKhosi*. The occasion gives the regiments an opportunity to tend the king's fields and cattle. At this time the diviners and *inyangas* take the opportunity to prepare the strengthening of 'black' medicines which are essential if both the king and the crops are to be fortified.

The climax of the *umKhosi* is the slaughter of the great black bull. The bull used in this ceremony is always black and must be strong and fierce and have sharply pointed horns. Bryant (1967: 518) says that it was not uncommon for a great bullfight to be staged just before the ceremony. The sacrificial beast itself, just prior to its slaughter, was harried by the unarmed soldiers until, eventually, it was forced down and killed. The strength of the bull is said to become the strength of the king and, symbolically, they are very closely linked.

Krige (1988: 254) says:

'The strength of the bull is supposed to enter the king and prolong his health and strength. Only boys under puberty were allowed to cut pieces of the flesh and roast and eat

them, but if they did so, they had to sleep in the cattle kraal the next night. No bone was to be broken nor was any of the flesh ever to be boiled. All the remains of the bull were gathered and placed on a large pile of wood that had previously been collected, any spilt blood was collected up with the soil, and the whole was burnt to ashes.'

The medicine made from these ashes was used by the doctor to make other strengthening medicines.

During the ceremonies, as he enters the gate of the byre, the king spits the medicines with which he has been doctored towards the sun. Although the meaning has been lost, the association with cattle is clear in the words of the people who call out:

'Hurrah! The bull with the red tail has gored it!'(Krige, 1988: 256).

The ceremonial gourd or *iselwa* is then dashed to pieces and fragments chewed and then spat out all over the byre. It is essential that cattle should be present during this phase of the ceremony.

Not only the king was strengthened at the ceremony but the army was doctored as well. This was accompanied by more ritual killing. The animals killed were eaten by the army who tossed pieces of meat to one another after taking a bite each. This ritual feast was to make them strong and fierce. Some of the blood of the sacrificial beast was mixed with the seed which was put aside for the sowing of the new crops, symbolically linking elements of the two main activities of the people - pastoralism and agriculture.

The celebration of the *umKhosi* also brings the rain. Krige (1988: 260) records that a song is sung on this occasion which

likens the king to the calf:

'The calf (chief) celebrates the *Umkhosi*,
Ye, ye, and the sky becomes overcast. '(Krige 1988: 260)

4.4.2 ASKING THE KINGS FOR RAIN:

Drought, and the threat of drought, is a constant source of concern to both pastoralist and agriculturalist in Southern Africa. The absence of rain results in great suffering, the failure of crops and the depletion of pasturage. Consequently, the Zulu people have many and varied ways of making supplication for rain and, in some of these activities, cattle play an important role.

Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1986, Vol. 4: 115) documented informants' accounts of black cattle being used in ceremonies performed for the relief of drought. Mtshayankomo, speaking to Stuart in the first decade of this century, told him that entreaties for rain were made at the 'place of the kings' (*emakhosini*) and that Senzangakhona, Ndaba, Phunga and Mageba were called upon to help the people in their distress³. The cattle used on this occasion were always black and were driven along without being touched. The men who drove them were dressed as though attending the *umkhosi* Ceremony, except that they did not don their ox-tail decorations as they were confident that the

³ As has been noted, there are two distinct ceremonies performed at the graves of the departed kings: a) when the spirits of the kings were brought back to the Nobamba and Siklebeni royal kraals and were asked to be "at home" for the *umkhosi* or first fruits ceremony (Krige, 1988 impression: 252). Further, it was considered an 'impious act' for the reigning king to perform the ceremony without their presence (Bryant, 1967 edition: 514); b) when rain was needed and black oxen were taken to the royal graves and the kings begged to intercede (Webb and Wright, 1986. Vol.4: 146).

rain would fall and their finery would be spoiled if they wore them. The cattle were driven by regiments to the graves of the great kings where they halted while the national *ihubo* (sacred song) was chanted. This was followed by the praises of the kings and, after some time, the rain was expected to fall. The regiments would dance the *ukukhetha* dance in thanks. Mtshayankomo told Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1986, Vol. 4: 117):

'There was no king whose praises were omitted when the cattle of the spirits were sacrificed. Even a king who had been buried in a foreign country would have cattle of the spirits sacrificed to him, and be addressed with praises. Nzibe too had praises addressed to him. The ruling king was not praised' ⁴ .

The spirits of the departed kings had more weight and influence than the shades of ordinary men and were called *imizimu*. This appellation was always used in conjunction with *izinkomo* (cattle). *Izinkomo zemzimu* (or *zemizimu*), the cattle of the great tribal spirits, were always appealed to together.

Ukucela imvula emakhosini - to beg rain from the kings - required black cattle, the colour associated with rain, storms and thunderclouds. Each of the graves of the kings were visited by groups of men and cattle, after which the cattle were taken to the old royal kraals, Nobamba and esiKlebeni, at each of which two beasts were slaughtered. Stuart's informant, Mtshayankomo, disagrees with Bryant, saying that the cattle used to ask for rain were brought to Nodwengu and slaughtered there.

The intimate connection between the kings and rain is evident in the idea that drought can be caused by the death of

⁴ Stuart in Webb and Wright, 1986. Vol.4: 117. Nzibe was a chief, the senior son of Senzangakhona. When angry, Cetshwayo used to exclaim, "By the bones of Nzibe in Soshangana's country!"

a monarch and is most likely to occur between this event and the accession of the new king. Krige (1988: 248) states:

'...it is believed that there is particular danger of drought in the period between the death of one king and the accession of another. Sometimes it even becomes necessary to hold a special gathering at which beasts are slaughtered, and the deceased king is called upon and scolded for being so hard-hearted.'

On the occasion of *ukucela imvula* from a recently-deceased king, the senior men of the people gathered at the Great Place of the heir. Six pitch black oxen were killed, at least one of which came from the herd of the departed monarch. The others were obtained from the herds of his councillors. The meat was boiled and served on the wet hides of the slaughtered animals. The praises of the dead king were recited and all present stood for the ceremony. It was believed that rain, sent by the shade of the king, would follow immediately these rites had been performed (Krige 1988: 248)⁵.

Stuart (nd (b): 13-14) records that not only were cattle driven to the Makhosini district where the kings' graves are found, to ask for rain but, in times of extreme distress, ten or more fat black oxen might be sent to the King of the Swazis to make similar entreaty. The Swazis have always been credited with the ability to break a drought, even in places as distant as Zululand.

⁵ Bryant, A.T. 1967 edition. The Zulu People. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter. p. 527: It is of interest to note that when a monarch dies his spears are buried in a secret place lest his spirit turn against his former friends, foes or even the cattle he has left behind. Such wounds or *amanxeba* do not manifest themselves externally but are believed to be present internally.

4.4.3 NOMKHUBULWANA CEREMONIES

During spring, Nomkhubulwana, the Princess-of-the-Sky, is said to appear. She is connected with the fertility of the crops and is especially honoured by young girls. Although ceremonies in this regard have become obsolete, a feast known as *uNomdede* was held for her in times gone by. On this occasion requests were made to her, mostly connected with the granting of abundant harvest. Special ceremonies are performed while a field is planted with seed for her benefit. It is also important on these occasions to entreat the Princess to send rain or to do away with any epidemics. Thus, ceremonies which might have taken place at other times are incorporated into Nomkhubulwana ceremonies, such as the chasing away of disease in which young girls participate. Although ceremonies held in honour of Nomkhubulwana have more or less died out, their previous practice throws an interesting light on the relationship between young girls and the cattle of their fathers. If there is severe drought, it is especially important that, on one occasion, the young girls of the district should herd the cattle, carrying sticks and shields just as their brothers normally do. Although the emphasis during Nomkhubulwana ceremonies is by no means focused on rain, it is

'...customary to make use of this opportunity to entreat the Princess of Heaven to relieve the people of hardships or difficulties, such as drought...' (Krige, 1988: 198).

Consequently, at such times, the young girls will dress themselves in their brothers' clothes and drive the cattle into the veld. According to Dhlomo (nd (c): 2), female animals were usually chosen for this excursion for they were associated with fertility, fecundity and plenty. The heifers were representative

of the young girls, as yet childless, and the cows evoked the idea of calabashes full of milk. There was a last resort if this herding of the cattle by the young women was unsuccessful. Krige (1988: 199) states:

'If the *ukwalusa izinkomo* was unsuccessful in breaking the drought, women would bury their children in sand, leaving only the arms and head free.'

The sight of the childrens' distress was designed to make the heavens melt and rain fall.

Besides being appealed to for the relief of drought, Nomkhulwana is also expected to assist in times of epidemic or other pestilence and the young girls, in herding the cattle, help in driving disease away. This unusual inversion of the customary avoidance of cattle by women is explained by Krige (1988: 72):

'At ordinary times it would be improper, if not sacrilegious, for any woman to herd cattle, and there seems in this custom to be some idea of compelling assistance of the unseen powers by some flagrant outrage on decency.'

The link between fertility, abundance, cattle and the shades are all evident in these ceremonies: a nexus of interrelationship which has been steadily eroded since the depletion of the abundant herds and the decline in the cattle-culture of the Zulu people.

4.5 RITUAL KILLING AND SACRIFICE

Ritual killing and sacrifice are the most important and effective way of communicating with the shades. A ritual killing generally takes place in the cattle byre and the beast is stabbed with a special ritual spear belonging to the head of the

household. The operation is performed either by the senior or someone with expertise in the matter. By means of the killing, the *amadlozi* are alerted and called to the occasion by the praises of the people and the anguished bellow of the beast. Berglund (1976: 216), reporting on a ritual killing, describes the death of a beast slaughtered in thanks for the recovery of a son:

'The cow groaned terribly and fell to its knees. Immediately the host cried out: "*Kala, nkomo yamadlozi! Kala!*" (Cry, beast of the shades! Cry)'

Each step in the ritual slaughter is reverent and the shades are addressed throughout the proceedings. Their presence is clearly felt and the animal slaughtered for them is treated in a circumscribed way, each step in its butchering and distribution dictated by custom. Berglund quotes one of the participants in the ritual killing (1976: 219):

'"If they [the shades] are not present, then we are only playing. They must be there. From whom would the blessings come if they are not present?"'

Ritual slaughtering is referred to as 'work' (*umsebenzi*) or *ukuhlabela amadlozi* (lit. slaughter for the shades) and a great number of occasions give rise to its practice. Krige distinguishes between two sorts, which Berglund feels might be too restrictive a classification. Generally however, ritual slaughter takes place in conditions where gratitude or supplication are the motivation:

- i) to thank (*ukubonga*) for favours and blessings;
- ii) to ask, scold (*ukuthetha*) or remind the shades of their obligations and to lay before them the misfortunes of their descendants in times of distress or trouble.

Besides these, of course, there are the sacrifices that take

place with each rite of passage discussed above and which mark transitions from one stage in life to the next. Slaughter is also a means of cleansing an individual from ritual pollution and when a changed state needs to be acknowledged such as when a person is called to be a diviner. Ritual killing may also be a means by which relationships are restored. Berglund says (1976: 221):

'Ritual killings which form a part of the restoration of normal relationships within a lineage (in the wide understanding which also includes the shades) is referred to as *ukucacambisa amadlozi* (lit. to put into good condition the shades).'

Nowadays goats are mostly used for ritual killing because cattle have become such an expensive commodity. When people have no stock or in areas where stock-keeping is impossible, goats have been substituted for cattle. Necessity, rather than inclination, has dictated this change.

Where cattle are available for slaughter, the choice of animal is determined in certain ways:

- i) The animal may have been dreamt of by the person intending to slaughter.
- ii) The beast which enters the byre gate closest to the *inkomo yamadlozi* may be selected.
- ii) The herd may be driven around the hut of the person for whom the slaughter is intended and the first beast to raise its head and sniff the thatch near the doorway is regarded as the beast chosen by the shades.
- iv) The herd may be kept in the yard in front of the homestead. The first beast to bellow or to pass water is often regarded as first choice.

Whatever beast is chosen, it should be a beautiful animal which would please the shades. Before the beast is slaughtered it may be rubbed with *imphepho*, a plant especially associated with the shades, so that they know that it belongs to them. After

this treatment, the beast is slaughtered in the upper end of the byre. Great emphasis is placed on the fact that the beast should bellow or groan as it falls, for it is insulting to the shades not to hear the voice of the animal chosen in their honour. Goats are especially vociferous during slaughter and are believed to communicate very efficiently.

The killing is usually performed with a ritual spear which has been handed down through the generations from father to son and which is reserved solely for the purpose of ritual killing. It is known as *umkhonto wasekhaya* (the homestead spear) and although important in contributing to the success of the slaughter, is no longer considered essential to its execution.

The communion with the shades is very strongly emphasized at two or three specific moments during ritual killing. Berglund states (1976: 230):

'No ritual killing would be valid without the invocation of the shades in the presence of the victim and patient on one hand, and the burning of *isiko* (choice parts of the slaughtered animal) in *indlunkulu* on the other. Sometimes, when the meat has been eaten and prior to the relatives' and visitors' departure, closing devotions may be conducted by the officiant.'

The invocation is performed in the byre prior to the killing and the shades are praised by the officiant while he *giya's* or dances and brandishes the ancestral spear. *Ukugiya* - to dance - in this manner is to 'awaken the shades' and to make them aware that a killing is about to take place. An informant of Berglund's (1976: 237) said that to *ukugiya*:

' "is a calling of them [the shades] that they must come and attend to their children (*ukubuka abantwana babo*)."'

The matter in hand must also be reported in clear detail so

that there should be no misunderstanding between the shades and the living: the purpose of the killing is to restore or maintain harmonious relations between the living and the dead.

Besides the invocation, the second significant part of the killing is the burning of meat and fat in the *umsamo* in the main house of the homestead. This is done for the benefit of the shades who are associated with the *umsamo*, an area found in the darkest part at the back of the house where ritual objects are kept and where the shades are said to congregate. Special pieces are chosen which always include fat and the *insomnyama* or meat found on the outer side of the ribs on the right hand side of the beast.

The offering is burnt rather than cooked. Berglund (1976: 237), quoting a diviner knowledgeable in the subject, states that the offering is burnt because fire must be allowed to 'eat' the offering. Fire is a gift of the *amadlozi* given to the living and consequently, their fire must be allowed to consume what is offered to them on ritual occasions. According to Berglund, the offering is left for the shades to lick (*ukukhotha*), for this is how they consume food. This idiom is closely associated with cattle and is exemplified in the Zulu expression '*ikhoth' eyikhothayo*' (the beast that licks the one that licks it, i.e. reciprocal action of friendly people). The action of licking is explained by Berglund:

'The shades' licking the meat deserves further attention. The technical term for the shades' licking is *ukukhotha*, an idiom that is closely associated with cattle ... Friends agree that "when I hear the word *ukukhotha* I think foremost of cattle. Then I think of licking food from a pot." '

The close relationship between the shades and cattle and the

communion afforded between man and his ancestros through the sacrificial beast, is seminal to the idea of *ukukhotha* as well. Berglund says (1976: 238):

'We have seen the close relationship between cattle and shades. The licking of the flesh placed in umsamo of the hut is therefore not merely a question of a physical, licking by the shades due to their inability to eat (physically) the meat. Licking is a symbol which stands for the affection of the shades towards lineage members who are to participate with them in the eating of this particular meat ... and also it is the sign of fertility and well-being, these, in turn, being symbols of the shades' goodwill towards their kinsmen.'

In all ritual killing the gall of the beast also has specific significance and is used to purify the members who are conducting proceedings. The empty gall bladder is used as an ornament to indicate that a sacrifice has been made for a specific person. At the end of the proceedings, when the meat has been eaten, the closing devotion or *ukusonga umsebenzi* (a winding up of all the work) is conducted. According to Berglund (1976: 235), field informants said that this ceremony was more common in recent times and seemed to have been influenced by Christian practice.

After a ritual killing the horns of the slaughtered beast are usually set above the doorway of the *indlunkulu* or chief house, a place which is particularly frequented by the shades. Sometimes they are tied to the fence of the byre. In the case of the initiation of a diviner, the horns are often inverted, such inversions being especially associated with those called by the shades to officiate in their work among the living.

4.6 DISCUSSION

It is not possible, within the scope of a dissertation dealing more specifically with the metaphorical content of cattle-names, to interpret or explore comprehensively every aspect of the role of cattle in the cultural life of the Zulu people. From the overview presented above, however, it will be evident, that the *inkomo* is a central player in every ritual and rite connected with man's passage through life. Through cattle and their role as mediums of communion or intervention, cohesion with the ancestral lineages is maintained. They are also the means by which generations are legitimised and fertility assured. Man, shades and beast cannot be separated if a true understanding of Zulu culture is to be achieved. Not only is the herd of a particular family crucial to the well-being and health of its members, but the national herd too was guardian of the welfare of the people as a whole. As lamented by the old people interviewed by Berglund (1976: 209):

' These cattle from the enclosures of our kings were the greatest sign of communion between them and us. So when we on our side did not give them their food and they did not find their food at their places (the royal burial places), then they forgot us. That is why the whites killed (i.e. conquered) us totally.'

In order to live a full and integrated life, each individual must pass through different stages, each transition marked by ceremonies of separation and then aggregation. In this connection, Berglund (1976: 381) writes:

'... foetus becomes the born child, the childless one becomes the parent, the unmarried becomes the married, the child becomes the maturing youth... [these] are occasions of no small significance, both to the individual and his/her lineage as well as the society as a whole.'

In the achievement of this individual integration within the community of the living and the dead which together constitute Zulu society as a whole, cattle are mediators, facilitators and companions along the way. As Dlomo (1945: 77) says:

'The *Inkomo* was the pivot of Zulu tribal life. Zulu life was the life of the *inkomo*, and the *inkomo* was Zulu life...It has been said that the whole tribal machinery revolves round the king or chief. That is true. But it is also true to say that the *inkomo* was the mainspring of that life ... it was more than that ... it was life itself.'

SECTION THREE

AMABALA EZINKOMO: CATTLE MARKINGS.

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF COLOUR-PATTERN

TERMINOLOGY AND RELATED NAMING-PRACTICE

*'Puck-like, a root may assume diverse shapes and forms, leading us through bush and briar, now in the likeness of a beast or a deer, now as a bird...'*¹

1. INTRODUCTION

Acquaintance with the herds of the Zulu people shows immediately the great diversity in the colour of their animals - indeed, the often spectacular range of markings and patterns and investigation of the Zulu language reveals a complex and metaphorically-rich range of terms for these colours and patterns.

Finnegan (1970: 470) comments that naming-practice throughout Africa is of the greatest literary interest:

'In fact it would be true to say that names often play an indispensable part in oral literature in Africa...[and]... can add a depth even to ordinary talk or a richly figurative intensity to poetry that can be achieved in no more economical way.'

The names for the colour-patterns of cattle and the imagery and metaphor evident in the choice of these, are the central focus of this study. Although the language being examined in this work is Zulu, it is evident, from comparative material, that a great diversity of names for colour-patterns exists in the

¹ Anders, Dr H. August 1934. 'Foreign Elements in the Xhosa Language', The Blythwood Review, Vol. II, no. 128, p.60.

languages of other pastoral people in Southern Africa as well as in many other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Evans-Pritchard (1940: 41) remarks that the volume and variety of the Nuer cattle vocabulary is enormous and that among them, colour is the feature by which they are most commonly described:

'These terms are more than just a linguistic technique which enables Nuer to speak of cattle with precision in situations of practical husbandry and in the many social contexts in which they figure, for they establish associations on the one hand between wild creatures and cattle and on the other hand between cattle and their masters; they furnish certain ritual categories; and they greatly enrich the language of poetry.'

This observation could apply as easily to the cattle of the Zulu. It is surprising that though the attention of scholars was drawn to the diversity of these names by Evans-Pritchard and others all of sixty years ago, they have remained relatively unexplored. Anders (1934: 60), writing at the same time as Evans-Pritchard, describes Xhosa colour terminology and refers to the connection with natural phenomena or everyday objects:

'The colours in the Xhosa language make a singularly fascinating subject of inquiry. In dealing with them, it will be more necessary than ever to pay attention to objects, particularly to animals, with which they are associated. For it will be seen that Bantu adjectives to designate colours are few and far between. Even such a highly developed language as Swaheli [*sic*] uses only three simple adjectives: red, white and black; others are supplied by reference to typical objects. The position is similar in the Xhosa language, where notions of colour and size and shape are often firmly welded to words about objects and do not exist as independent names of attributes'.

Further, the complexity of the names used to describe the colour-patterns of cattle and the elusiveness of some of their origins, is aptly described by Anders (1934: 60):

'Puck-like, a root may assume diverse shapes and forms,

leading us through bush and briar, now in the likeness of a beast or a deer, now as a bird, sometimes as a tree, sometimes as an ivory ornament in the ear of a girl, or as an eagle or a lark. Often, when we think we have him in our grasp, Puck escapes with a laugh'.

The origins of many of the names is the subject of a current debate. It is generally accepted that the percentage of words borrowed from Khoisan in Zulu, and particularly in Xhosa, is high and that click words come from that source although Argyle challenges this (1986: 68), stating that adopting this assumption can lead to misconceptions:

'to take the mere presence of clicks as an indication of KS [Khoisan] sources for the items which contain them [is misleading]. The appropriate procedure is to treat each item with a click, initial or medial, on its own merits and to investigate thoroughly the possibility that it may be of other origins.'

He adds that research into the influence of Khoisan on Zulu is a subject which still needs to be addressed more fully, although Bourquin (1951) has made a valuable contribution. It is also assumed that most livestock terms are associated with Khoisan. It has further been assumed that the Khoi languages borrowed their terms from elsewhere. The thrust of Argyle's argument however, is that one should not assume such wide-scale borrowing as is generally held to be the case and that one should look to the innovation within the society to understand the terms they use and to be aware of the society's need for autonomy. The origins of these words and a comparative assessment of livestock terms in different pastoral societies is a study in itself and one which should uncover most valuable insights into the linguistic and ethnographic history of the societies concerned. It is, however, beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Without taking up the debate, it must be acknowledged,

however, that borrowings have occurred and certain terms common, for example, to Xhosa, Zulu and Korana are evidence of this. Maingard (1934: 132) lists a number of colour-pattern terms in Xhosa and Korana which are clearly related. I have added the Zulu equivalent for comparative purposes:

Xhosa : *umthuqwa* - tawny coloured ox
Korana: *tho* 'red-coloured' and *!oa* 'brown'
Zulu: *umthuqwa* - dust coloured beast.

Xhosa: *irwanqa* - 'red with a white belly'
Korana: *xoa!na* - ox, red with a white belly
Zulu: *i(li)hwaqa* - mottled beast

Xhosa: *intusikazi* 'a red and light-coloured cow' with white flanks and belly
Korana: *thuse* - red and white belly cow
Zulu: *intusi* red beast with a white mark

Other names for colour-patterns found in Zulu such as *umnqithi* (Kori Bustard) are probably derived from Xhosa and/or Khoisan: Kori Bustards do not live in KwaZulu-Natal and would not be part of the experience of the Zulu people. The term, however, is well-known to Zulu-speaking herders and is unequivocally associated with 'a large bird'.

There is no doubt either, that the way that cattle colour-patterns are perceived throughout the cattle-keeping societies of Africa have strong resemblances and though the range of names employed might vary in complexity and number from society to society, the consistent feature of linking colour-patterns with objects and phenomena in the natural environment is a striking theme throughout. All bear witness to the importance which people attach to their cattle and the significant role they play in their daily lives and in their worldview.

Evans-Pritchard (1940: 45), remarking on the complicated system of reference among the Nuer to their cattle, observes that

there are permutations reaching several thousand, to describe this stock:

'an imposing and complicated system of ramifications which bear eloquent witness to the social value of cattle.'

The Zulu language is highly figurative, like other Bantu languages. Speaking in general of this group, Finnegan (1970: 58) says:

'Vocabulary ... is not just a matter of the number of words. It also concerns the way in which they are used. In this respect, the picturesque and imaginative forms of expression of many Bantu languages are particularly noticeable. These are often applied even to the commonest actions, objects and descriptions....figurative expression is also commonly used to convey abstract ideas in a vivid and imaginative way.'

It was Finnegan's remark in Oral Literature in Africa (1970: 478-479) that was seminal in the decision to undertake this research:

'...another frequent object for evocative and metaphorical naming is cattle....cattle names are more often used in a laudatory and honorific sense, as, for example, the 'ox-names' given to human beings in many East African areas.' The exact literary value of these names cannot be fully assessed without further research, particularly on their actual contexts of use and on the relationship between these forms and their literary genres in a given culture. But we can certainly find some literary significance in the occurrence of these condensed, evocative, and often proverbial or figurative forms of words which appear as personal names in African languages - sometimes appearing as elements in large-scale creations, sometimes affording scope for imagery, depth, personal expressiveness, succinct comment, or imaginative overtones in otherwise non-literary modes of speech.'

Except for Schroeder's consistent and wide-ranging collection of names and photographic examples of colour-patterns in the field, no comprehensive or in-depth study of colour-patterns or naming of Sanga-Nguni cattle has been undertaken to my knowledge although considerable research by biologists has

been conducted over a number of years. The cultural aspects, of which naming is a part, have been left largely neglected. Although it would be appropriate to concentrate on the metaphorical and figurative aspects of cattle names alone, it has been decided to document, as fully as possible, all nomenclature (whether metaphorical associations are evident or not) and attempt some form of classification which will be useful as a general record. From this base, names with particular metaphorical associations will be extracted and re-grouped in appropriate categories e.g. colour-patterns associated with bird names; animal names; plant names etc.

2. NAMING-PRACTICE

Finnegan (1970: 59) comments on the flexibility of the vocabulary in Bantu languages in general, stating:

'The flexible way in which this vocabulary can be deployed can only be explained with some reference to the characteristics of Bantu morphology. One of the most striking features of its structure is the wealth of derivative forms which it is possible to build up on a few roots.... by means of these derivatives it is feasible to express the finest distinctions and most delicate shades of meaning.'

The nouns of which the cattle terms are comprised are both simple and compound. Other terms consist, quite characteristically, of a relative which refers to a noun (usually *inkomo*), e.g. *eyokumemeza* - 'that which calls out' for one of the beasts paid preliminary to *lobolo* negotiations beginning. Many colour-pattern names are also composed in the same way, the noun *inkomo*, to which the relative refers being assumed and giving the concord to the term, but often left out in speech. Therefore

inkomo ebafazibewela umfula - 'the beast which is the women cross the stream' is generally referred to as *ebafazibewela*, omitting both *inkomo* and *umfula* on the assumption that, because the name is so long-standing in the tradition, they will be understood to be present: the relative concord /e-/ is in concordial agreement with *inkomo* whether it is spoken or not. Before a range of examples can be given to illustrate the morphology of cattle terms, it is important to examine the elements of which these words and phrases consist.

2.1 MORPHOLOGY OF CATTLE TERMS

i) Nouns:

With regard to the system of nouns, Zulu shows an infinite capacity for the formation of compound nouns, examples of which are particularly evident in cattle names: *inhlazimhlophe* (white reeds) for a black beast with white horns; *inhlabisamthimba* (what is slaughtered for the bridal party) for one of the *lobolo* cattle; *i(li)hlabazulu* (what stabs the sky) for an animal with horns that grow very straight and upright; *inyonikayiphumuli* (the bird that never rests) for the white 'royal Zulu'; *insingizisuka* (the hornbill takes to flight) for the black beast with a white patch under its rear flank.

The formation of compound nouns demonstrate the great variety of expression that is open to the speaker of the Zulu. Finnegan (1970: 63) remarks that the Bantu languages have 'a subtle and variable means of expression on which the eloquent speaker and composer can draw at will.'

Many cattle terms are simple nouns: *isikhumba* (skin) for one

of the *lobolo* cattle; *umnqwansi* (sole beast one possesses); *inkwazi* (fish eagle), black and white beast with markings similar to the bird's; *isiqanda* speckled beast with markings shaped like eggs.

ii) Verbs:

It is not only the complexity of nouns but of verbs that make Zulu a language that lends itself to figurative and metaphorical usage. The Zulu verb has a wealth of derivative verbal forms which provide a source of possibilities for expressing nuance and mood. Many of the terms applicable to cattle are based on verbal forms: *i(li)gamanxa* (<*gamanxa* (v), act incompletely, do by halves) for a beast which is heavily coloured on the head and neck and white on the rest of the body; *umfusi* (<*fusa* (v.), to fumigate, discolour), for a dark brown beast ; *isiguqa* (<*guqa* (v), kneel, go down on one knee) for an old bull which is being ousted from the herd; *imvulamlomo* (<*vula* (v) open + *umlomo* (mouth): what opens the mouth) for a beast sent to the father of a girl to persuade him to begin *lobolo* negotiations.

Doke (1948: 285) states:

'Bantu languages are capable of remarkable fluency... They provide a vehicle for wonderful handling by the expert speaker or writer.'

iii) Ideophones:

Many cattle terms are also associated with ideophones. An ideophone is, as Finnegan (1970: 64) expresses it, 'an idea-in-sound' and is commonly used to add vividness to expression. She states (1970: 66):

'In the ideophone...speakers of Bantu languages have a rhetorical and emotive tool whose effectiveness cannot be

overemphasized. '

Commenting on the power of the ideophone in Bantu languages in general, Finnegan says that they can convey aspects of sound, taste, smell, action, silence, condition, texture and gait. This capacity is well illustrated in some of the cattle terminology e.g. *inkomo enakhwifikhwifi* (a speckled beast), derived from 'khwifi', 'of being speckled'; *umh(h)eh(h)he* (<*hhe* (ideo.), of gashing, of splitting) for a beast with large uneven 'gashes' of colour on a white base; *i(li)gampu* (<*gampu* (ideo.), of striking across the body) for a beast with a white patch on the side which stretches up over part of the back; *ingudulu* (<*gudu* (ideo.), of groping one's way) for a young bullock whose horns are just appearing; *i(li)hwalahwala* (<*hwala* (ideo.), of haziness, faintness) for a mottled beast.

Okpewho (1992: 92) says of the ideophone:

'Simply defined, it [ideophone] means 'idea-in-sound' in the sense that from the sound of the word one can get an idea of the nature of the event or the object referred to. Ideophones are not like normal words to which meanings are readily assigned. They are simply sounds used in conveying vivid impression.'

iv) Relatives:

Many of the words in the cattle vocabulary, especially those for colour-pattern in which a metaphorical concept must be conveyed, are formed from relatives, usually preceded by a noun from which the relative takes its concord. It is these constructions which make colour-pattern terminology in particular small 'imagist poems'. The following terms were collected in the field at a cattle auction. Each beast was appraised by a number of herders as it went into the auction ring and descriptions

assigned - often with disagreement and debate - for each individual². The following are some of the more interesting patterns and combinations which were observed: *inkonekazi emvubomabele engamasavutshiwe* (cow of the *inkone* pattern which is millet dregs and ripe *amasi*) for a cow of the *inkone* pattern but with red roan side panels³; *umhlophekazi oyimthimbakazana* (white cow which is the White helmetsrike); *intulokazi emacimbi omganu* (cow which is the lizard and the caterpillars on the marula tree) for a cow of the mottled *-hwanqa* variety which had white speckles on rump and head characteristic of the *intulo* pattern but the body of which was finely speckled in black and brown resembling the caterpillars on the marula tree; *intenjane emngquphane* (Crowned plover which is the Blackcrowned Tchagra) for a dun and white beast (like the plover) with particularly white eyebrow markings (like the tchagra); *inzimakazi eyobul'umunga* (black cow which is the bark of the mimosa peeled back) for a black cow with a vertical white mark down her throat.

The relative often incorporates a copulative:

iqola eliyihlabazulu = *iqola* (noun) + *eli* (rel. concord) + *y* (copulative prefix) + *i* (noun prefix) + *hlabazulu* (noun stem): the Fiscal shrike which is that which stabs the sky (black and white beast with upright horns).

inkunzi elivukuthu = *inkunzi* (noun) + *e* (rel. concord) + *li* (cop. prefix) + *vukuthu* (noun stem): bull which is the Rock pigeon.

² Nguni cattle sale, Hluhluwe, May, 1995. The chief source of information was Mr M.N. Mngomezulu of the KwaZulu Veterinary Department.

³ Bonsma et al (1950: 21) state emphatically that a red-roan could not be an *inkone* as well. Evidence gathered in the field suggests that this perception has changed and terms such as *inkonekazi emavovo* (*inkone*-patterned cow which is the dregs) were encountered often.

With the use of the relative as a descriptive device, any number of terms can be added to combine as many descriptions as may be appropriate to an individual beast. Commenting on this flexibility in naming among the Ndebele of Zimbabwe, Elliott (1911: 478) states:

'These names can be combined to any extent to meet the variety of colouring met with in cattle.'

v) Intensifications:

A common feature of cattle terminology, especially in terms of descriptive or distributional patterns is the feature of reduplication or intensification. A word, such as *-makhwififi* (rel.) may be repeated as *-makhwifikhwififi*, thus acquiring a particular intensity. *Inkomo emakhwifikhwififi* is an extremely speckled beast; *inkomazi emahwalahwala* an especially mottled cow. Many relatives exist which in their intensified form are used to describe cattle: *-mahwanqahwanqa* (very mottled);

-magqabagqaba (very spotted); *-mabhadubhadu* (spotted very prominently); *-makhwangukhwangu* (gaudy).

vi) Synonyms:

Most cattle terms have a number of synonyms and the great number and variety of these can be appreciated by consulting Appendix I. A synonym is perceived to be a word having exactly the same meaning as another in the same language or a word denoting the same object or concept as another but having different connotations or implications. Many words listed in the cattle dictionary in Appendix I are synonymous with any particular entry but the implications often differ considerably.

Other words denote a similarity between words but are certainly not identical. Therefore under an entry such as *-hwanqa* (*i(li)/ama*), a number of words will be listed as synonyms which have the characteristic of being 'mottled' in common with *-hwanqa*. The type of mottling will not be identical but both words fall within the concept of 'being mottled'. Regional differences in naming-practice adds to the confusion regarding what terms are synonymous and what are not. Synonyms are therefore added to the dictionary with some caution.

Concepts for which there are a number of words are 'spotted', 'mottled', 'variegated' 'striped' etc. Variations on common colours e.g. grey (*-mpunqa*, *-ngwevu*, *-ngamunwe*); brown (*-nsundu*; *-lufipha*; *-mfusi*) etc. may be listed as synonyms and are synonymous in that they refer to some shade of grey or brown but are not identical in tone or shade and may be used descriptively in very different ways. These will be dealt with where appropriate in the following chapters. The wide-ranging nature of the colour-vocabulary in Zulu and the complexity of that naming in which the finest shades of meaning need to be conveyed, necessitates a vocabulary in which words are closely linked and, if not identical in meaning, are similar in reference or concept.

2.2. ORDER OF NAMING:

In naming a beast one has to notice the colour, the pattern and the way it is distributed on the hide. When the colour is not solid but is patterned, its distribution on the skin determines how the beast is named. In describing the beast the number and

combination of colours and the form in which they are distributed must be taken into account.

But before the vast vocabulary of colour and pattern terms is deployed, the type of beast must be established. The gender, age, status etc. is usually indicated first e.g.:

inkomazi ebomvu : red cow (cow which is red)
inkonekazi emnyama : black cow of the inkone pattern
inkunzi ebomvu : red bull (bull which is red)
inkabi elubhelu : yellow ox (ox which is yellow)
ithole elimhlophe : white calf (calf which is white)
isomikazi : (cow which is the Redwinged starling)
inyumbakazi elihwanqa : barren cow which is mottled
isiguqa esibomvu : red bull (cast out bull which is red).

Besides indicating type and colour, a beast can also be described by the configuration of its horns. Simelane (letter, Sept., 1996) insists that colour is the most important feature and that the type of beast followed by the colour - or the colour incorporating the type (e.g. *isomikazi*, *umhlophekazi*) - comes before the description of the horns. Thus, *iqolakazi eliyihlabazulu* would describe a cow (gender) of the Fiscal shrike pattern (black and white in colour and of the Fiscal shrike configuration) which has horns which grow straight up (*hlabazulu*: stab the sky).

This order of naming is the most common but it is not incorrect to designate horn-shape first if the horns happen to be a particularly distinctive feature or something to which the speaker especially wants to refer.

In terms of the range of shade or pattern which might be described by a single term may be very wide in reference. Evans-Pritchard (1940: 45) notes that among the Dinka a particular term may need to cover a range of combinations :

'...they are never exact descriptions of colour dispositions but represent ideal distributions, to one or other of which any actual disposition approximates.'

A term such as *umzondo*, which generally refers to a dark beast of the garden-bug pattern, may display a wide range of features (compare figs. 37 and 73). Such variations will be noticed between illustrations in Appendix II where two quite different beasts share a name or parts of a name.

3. CLASSIFICATION OF TERMS

The cattle terms discussed in the following chapter are classified into various categories. This classification may be seen as somewhat arbitrary but it is proposed as a means of imposing some order on the vast amount of data available.

Both a physical classification and one that deals with the literary aspects of naming are required. A two-fold classification of terms is therefore adopted:

- i) a classification according to type, colour, colour-combination, the distribution of pattern and horn-shape: the physical characteristics.
- ii) a classification according to the metaphorical content of terms and figurative speech used in naming-practice: the 'literary' content.

These aspects of naming-practice will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters, which are listed in brief summary below to indicate the categories into which the information has been divided:

- Chapter 5: *Uhlobo Lwenkomo*: Cattle Names Associated with Type of Beast and with Customary and Ritual Practice**
 - 5.2 Type of beast
 - 5.3 Names connected with custom and ritual

Chapter 6: Physical Colour Features: Solid Colours and Colour Combinations

6.2 Solid colours

6.3 Colour combinations

Chapter 7: Distributional and descriptive terms for cattle markings and patterns

7.2 Distributional terms

7.3 Descriptive terms

Chapter 8: Colour-Patterns with Metaphorical Associations

8.2 Names associated with birds

8.3 Names associated with animals

8.4 Names associated with plants

8.5 Names associated with other natural phenomena

Chapter 9: Naming-Practice in Zulu : Horn-Shapes

9.2 Descriptive terms

9.3 Names with metaphorical associations

This attempt at classification raises the question of one's right to subscribe to such categorisation. During the survey conducted in the 1940's on the status of Sanga-Nguni cattle, the results of which were first published in 1950, Bonsma *et al*, acknowledge the same problem. However, a need for some way in which to order the results of the survey was necessary and Bonsma *et al* found it desirable to devise a form of classification in terms of colour-pattern and other physical features. He states that he and his team of biologists realised that a Eurocentric system of classification did not always meet with the approval of the Swazi and Zulu people themselves for factors over-riding the merely physical were sometimes central to their understanding of their cattle and their naming. For example, in discussing the pattern known as '*amasavutshiwe*' (a roan, in which red hair is mixed in with white), Bonsma *et al* (1950: 21) write:

'In principle the *masavutshiwe* and *nkone* patterns are identical and it appears logical to group them together as *nkones* and to refer to the former as flecked or roan *nkones*. *This the natives will not hear of.*' [My italics.]

In a short footnote, Bonsma *et al* record that the classification given in the report is an attempt to 'formulate a logical system of describing the colours of the breed' (Bonsma, 1950: 21) and that both the Zulus and Swazis have many more names for describing the colour-patterns of their cattle than those listed. From this statement it is clear that the classification in the Department of Agriculture's report is Bonsma's and his colleagues, rather than that offered by the people concerned and the true significance of naming, is left mostly unexplored. In fairness, the report focuses on the status and viability of Sanga-Ngunis as a breed and is not intended to be a study of their nomenclature. It is, nevertheless, a very valuable document, one of the few which deals with the breed in any comprehensive way.

In this attempt to classify Sanga-Nguni colour-patterns, I have followed the categories set out by Schroeder in The Nguni Cattle Register, which is field-based, contemporary and which is continually updated. I have made some adaptations and created categories of my own, especially in terms of a classification based on metaphoric association. I have attempted to take cognisance of the opinions of those Zulu cattle-herds and owners in the field whose assistance was sought.

4. CONCLUSION

Naming-practice with regard to cattle among the Zulu people is similar to that found elsewhere in Africa and the form seems remarkably consistent. Writing of the Nuer, Evans-Pritchard (1940: 44) says:

'Some colours and combinations of colours are associated with animals, birds, reptiles, and fish, and this association is often indicated by secondary terms of reference and by ritual usages.'

Among the Nuer a colour-pattern may be elaborated upon e.g. 'mouse-coloured' to which is added 'shady gloom of forests'. To these names are added the ritual name, the horn shape, the individual name. Any number of the abundant permutations can be added at the discretion of the speaker.

Among the Zulu, observation in the field confirms that herdsmen debate keenly and at length the colour-patterns of their cattle, especially where one or more terms could apply to an individual and Evans-Pritchard's remark that 'an imposing and complicated system of ramifications which bears eloquent witness to the social value of cattle' could as aptly apply to the Zulu as it does to the Nuer. In litigation, ability to describe beasts accurately has often been crucial in deciding the outcome of a case. The colour-pattern is the 'thumb-print' which is known intimately to the owner of the beast.

With regard to the names for colour-pattern, it appears, from historical records and from comparison with the cattle names found in the languages of other pastoral peoples, that many are of ancient origin and knowledge of them and the plants, animals, birds or other natural phenomena to which they refer, was probably common to the majority of Zulu-speakers until recent times. Field investigation, however, has revealed that acquaintance with these names, especially the more unusual, is becoming rare, particularly among the younger generation and in urban areas. Often the term for a colour-pattern will be recognised e.g. '*iqola*' for a black beast with white stripes

along its flanks, but the fact that this is also the name of a bird may not be realised. New names are also coined which have more contemporary reference. Victor Biggs, a breeder of Sanga-Nguni cattle in the Kei Road district of the Eastern Cape, says that his younger Xhosa-speaking herders refer to a red beast with a white face as '*uBullybeef*' because the pattern resembles the Hereford-type pattern of the beast illustrated on a can of a certain brand of tinned meat. A white-faced animal, in traditional parlance, would be known as '*impemvu*', associated with the name for the White Helmetshrike.

In areas such as the former Transkei, where a consistent breeding programme designed to introduce supposedly 'improved' strains into the indigenous herds was followed for many years, Sanga-Nguni cattle, with their associated patterns, are no longer common. Consequently, many of the traditional names have fallen into disuse. The influence of other languages, particularly Afrikaans, have also eroded this aspect of cattle nomenclature. Mzamane (1962: 227-228), discussing the influence other languages, especially Afrikaans, have had on dialects of Southern Nguni writes:

'This influence [Afrikaans] has extended into cattle and horses [names]. It is no exaggeration to say that more than seventy percent of cattle in Southern Nguni bear names derived from Afrikaans stems. Animals are named according to their colours.'

While evidence from Zulu and Swazi areas would lead one to challenge Mzamane's assumption that 70% of names derive from Afrikaans stems, it is possible that its influence is found in areas such as the Cape and Orange Free State where Afrikaans is spoken and where farm workers, particularly, may have adopted

these names, especially those applicable to oxen. The imagery in Afrikaans cattle names themselves is highly figurative, e.g. *Rooiman, Ou Doringbult, Appelkoos, Swartland* etc.

Mzamane (1962: 228), whose emphasis in his comparative phonetic and morphological study of Southern Nguni dialects appears to be on Xhosa, lists a number of names such as 'bantom' (*bantam*: white and black patches), 'vetpensi' (*witpens*: white-bellied cow), 'romejisi' (*rooimuis*: red cow) etc. as typical of the trend and adds:

'These names are not only common but in many places have entirely ousted the old ones...'

Although Mzamane is writing of 'Southern Nguni dialects', evidence suggests that neither Zulu nor Swazi cattle names are extensively influenced by Afrikaans. In areas of Swaziland and Zululand where a more conservative way of life still exists, many of the traditional names for colour-patterns are preserved.

It is a source of amazement that these names have never been the subject of any in-depth study before and are glossed over in both the important monographs and the histories written on the Zulu people. The only consistent collection of names and photographic evidence, which is of inestimable value, has been undertaken by Schroeder and de la Harpe (*Nguni Cattle Register*) with less-exhaustive contributions from others. Dictionary lists, notably that found in Doke and Vilakazi's *Zulu-English Dictionary* (1948), have been useful for comparative purposes and for additional information.

'Function' rather than 'meaning' have tended to preoccupy anthropologists working in the field of the oral tradition in

Africa. Scholars like Finnegan, Scheub and Okpewho have turned this trend around in recent times however and the aesthetic qualities of the different genres and not just their content and its function, are being examined. This new and timely direction has helped to heighten the visibility of verbal formulations. Finnegan (1992: 1) says:

'...there is also now keen anthropological discussion of theoretical ideas relating to performance and to the ethnography of speaking.'

She adds that artistry and emotion are no longer neglected at the expense of function, an opinion which Okpewho (1992: 365) endorses:

'There is a lot of art locked in these brief statements and we might derive from them further insights on the relationship between art and specific experience which art invariably endeavours to reflect and refract.'

Although cattle and their role in Zulu society are prominent in most anthropological or historical works, very little has been written in which cattle themselves are the focus of attention. Stuart and Dhlomo have not ignored them, but few others have written in any depth about their characteristics. Collections of *izibongo* or praises rarely include the praises of cattle and the only comprehensive work dealing with the subject is Lawrence Molefe's fine and pioneering MA thesis, The Praises of Domestic Animals in which he laments the dearth of published information (1992: 10):

'No books discuss praises of domestic animals in depth. We do not have a single written work that is based on these praises.'

His own work makes good the lack of recorded *izibongo* of domestic animals and though his field was restricted to one area

of Kwazulu-Natal, it should act as an inducement to other researchers to investigate this lively and vigorous form of praising in other parts of the Zulu-speaking region and beyond.

In viewing an individual beast, therefore, one may assume that it will have several names or terms to describe it: by colour-pattern, horn-shape, age, sex or status in relation to other cattle, and by a name which denotes the customary use for which it might have been chosen. It may also have an individual name which refers to some other characteristic specific to that beast or its history and which may find expression in more elaborate praises addressed to it by herder or owner. Most importantly, especially if one undertakes such a study as an 'outsider' to the culture, one needs to be aware, at all times, of Winifred Hoernle's dictum, expressed though it was, seventy-one years ago (1925: 482):

'We can never hope to understand the real and original function of such customs as *lobola* transfer of cattle for a bride, or the sacrifices to the dead, until we realize that we are in contact with ideas of cattle radically different from our own.'

The cattle traditionally owned by the Zulu people were, and to some extent still are, integral to their lives and belief system. Their names, expressed in metaphorical and figurative language, add a depth and succinctness to our appreciation of the Zulu language and offer a circumscribed but fascinating field of study within the broader context of Zulu oral art.

CHAPTER FIVE

UHLOBO LWENKOMO CATTLE NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH TYPE OF BEAST AND WITH CUSTOMARY AND RITUAL PRACTICE.

*'I could have wept and howled
seeing the bridal cattle pass;
Not for me, but for the beautiful ones,
For Thathalasi and suchlike,
Lovely with a high-bridged nose.'*
[recorded by Azariele Sekese].¹

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Not only are cattle known by names which describe their colour-pattern and horn-shape but also by various terms which concern the type of beast, its age, physical features etc. For example, *inyumbakazi* denotes a barren cow, *ibhonga* a young male animal ready to make the call associated with adult bulls, *ihinikazi*, a cow which is milked often. There are names for animals which have been castrated, those which have recently calved, old bulls, rogues and hump-backed cattle: any number of appellations which facilitate the identification of individual beasts.

The system of *ukulobola*, by means of which cattle are exchanged at the time of a woman's marriage, necessitate a great number of names which denote particular animals used in the different marriage rituals, transactions or given for specific purposes.

Cattle are used in sacrifice to the ancestral shades by

¹ Anon. 'Song of the Unloved' (recorded by Azariele Sekese) in Cope, J. and Krige, U. 1968. Penguin Book of South African Verse. Harmondsworth: Penguin Publishers. p. 257.

families and during national ceremonies, notably the First Fruits Ceremony or Great *Umkhosi* at which time a black bull is offered by the King in the hope of prosperity and fine harvests. The bull is killed without blood-letting and the power of the bull is supposed to enter the king and prolong his health and strength (Krige, 1988: 254). Cattle are used on other national occasions such as the *ukubuyisa kwamakhosi* ceremony when, in times of drought, war or national distress, appeal is made to the spirits of departed kings at their gravesides.

A number of milking terms also exist by means of which the finer distinctions between qualities of milk and the frequency and times at which milk is let down, are defined.

These terms and names are listed below, classified according to:

- i) Type of beast (16.2)
- ii) Ritual Names (16.3)
 - a) Cattle terms connected with *ukulobola* ceremonies.
 - b) Cattle terms connected with other rituals and customary use.

As pointed out in the Introduction to Section III, the 'type' of beast is often the first description used to denote a particular individual. One might therefore describe an animal in the following way:

- i) *umalukazi obomvu* (type + colour): an old cow which is red.
- ii) *itheku elingumhlakuva enqudulu* (type + colour-pattern + horn-shape): a one-testicled bull the colour of the

castor oil bean, which is polled.

iii) *insizwakazi* (type + colour): a pitch black hornless cow.

iv) *inkabi emdaka oluphelekehle* (type + colour + horn-shape): a dun ox with long horns bent backwards.

5.2. TYPE OF BEAST

In excess of sixty terms for different types of beasts have been collected and are listed together **alphabetically** with other items of the cattle vocabulary in Addendix I. These names have various meanings which denote characteristics such as age, fertility, physical features etc. and the following categories have been devised as a broad framework by means of which this range of names and their related meaning can be organised and understood. Some of these words are purely descriptive, others have metaphorical connotations which make them of particular interest. The following categories for denoting these names are proposed below:

i) General Terms Denoting Gender, Type (including age and status where applicable) (e.g. *inkomazi* - cow; *inkunzi* - bull; *umalukazi* - old bullock, old cow; *impusela* - weaned calf) listed under the headings: Cows and Heifers (5.2.1.1); Bulls (5.2.1.2); Oxen (5.2.1.3); Calves (5.2.1.4).

ii) Terms Denoting Physical Features Regardless of Gender e.g. *umalunda* - hump-backed beast; *umqhwu* - beast with a split ear.

iii) Terms Denoting Other Breeds e.g. *u(lu)bhelu*, Afrikaner

cattle.

These categories and the different terms of which each is comprised, are examined for characteristics with metaphorical connections.

5.2.1 GENERAL CATTLE TERMS DENOTING GENDER AND TYPE (INCLUDING AGE AND STATUS, WHERE APPLICABLE)

The word *inkomo* (*izinkomo*) denotes a beast (or beasts) of either sex. It is the generic name for cattle. Besides this generic name, there are several words to denote cows, bulls, calves, young animals of either sex and castrated males, including bullocks and oxen.

5.2.1.1 COWS AND HEIFERS

The Zulu people greatly value their cows and a number of names are used which distinguish the particular characteristics of individual beasts. The production of milk is of immense importance and *amasi* (sour milk) is one of the staple foods in the traditional Zulu home. It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of terms connected with milk and milk production also exist as well as those which denote female animals in various stages of milk production and calf-bearing. The most common and primary name for a cow is *inkomazi* (*izinkomazi*). Besides this general term, the following are names for cows including those which indicate type, age, milking capacity, fertility and other characteristics.

1. *-alukazi (isalukazi / izalukazi)* n.

i) Old cow, bullock. [cf. *malukazi (u/o)*.]

It is interesting to note that this term is also applied to old bullocks (castrated males), deprived of male status by the feminine suffix *-kazi*. An old bull is never called *isalukazi* and is known as *umasheqe*.

2. *-dlezane (indlezane / izindlezane)* n.

i) Cow that has recently calved.

ii) Cow that has only had the first calf (Samuelson, 1923: 569).

3. *-fambele (imfambele / izimfambele)* n. [*<fa (die)(v.)*, + *umbele (teat)*: lit. one with dead teats.]

i) Cow with blind or dry teats.

4. *-fusakazi (i(li)fusakazi / amafusakazi)* n. [*<i(li)fusa (n.)*, dark brown beast.]

i) Cow that has lost its calf.

ii) Dark brown cow.

iii) Young widow.

[*I(li)fusa* indicates a dark brown beast. *Ukufusa* is to fumigate or discolour or to be seared. This connotation appears to connect the word with the concept of loss. The word is not commonly known.]

5. *-gqala (isigqala / izigqala)* n.

i) Cow that gives very little milk.

6a. *-gudo (isigudo/ izigudo)* n. [*<guda (v.)*, milk a cow without first giving the calf suck; milk dry; question craftily in order to extract information.]

i) Cow that is milked without her calf.

6b. *-gudwa (isigudwa / izigudwa)*

i) As above.

It is probable that the meaning 'question craftily in order to extract information' derives from the notion of milking to the last drop.

7. *-hinikazi (i(li)hinikazi / amahinikazi)* n.

i) A cow which is milked a lot (Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 46). [cf. *-nondlini (u/o)*; *-sengwakazi (in/izin)*.]

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 307) list *umhini / imihini* as an animal or person with lopped ears. No mention is made of milking or the word *i(li)hini*. *Ukuhina* means to cut short, cut off at the end.

8. *-hubuhubu (i(li)hubuhubu / amahubuhubu)* n.

i) Cow that yields abundant milk (Bryant 1967: 335)

This term is not found in either Doke and Vilakazi (1948) or in Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994).

9. *-khomazi (inkomazi/ izinkomazi)* n. [fem. *<inkomo. >u(lu)khomazi* (sg. only: coll.), female cattle; the cows of a place.]

i) Cow. Common term.

10. *-malukazi (umalukazi / omalukazi)* n.

i) Old bullock, cow. [cf. *-alukazi (isa/iza)*.]

The above term refers to bullocks and cows only. An old bull is known as *umasheqe*.

11. *-mazi (imazi / izimazi)* n. [idiomatic contr. of *inkomokazi*.]

i) Cow. [cf. *-khomazi (in/izin)*.]

Imazi esengwayo (a cow which gives a lot of milk); *imazi eyisigqala* (a poor milking cow).

12. *-nondlini (unondlini / onondlini)* n. [<loc. *indlu*, (n.), house.]

i) Good milking cow, sufficient for the support of a family.

ii) Small house mouse.

This information comes from both Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 585) and J.S. Murray (1956)².

13. *-inqonqodwane (inqonqodwane / izinqonqodwane)* n.

i) An old cow which has given birth to many calves (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 46).

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 594) list *inqonqodwane* as a species of swamp rush.

14a. *-nyumba (inyumba / izinyumba)* n. [<*nyumba* (v.), become

²Murray, J.S. 6/10/1956. 'Cattle'. Uncatalogued manuscript. Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban.

- barren.]
- i) Barren female animal. [cf. *-dlolo (u(lu)/izin).*]
- 14b. *-nyumbakazi (inyumbakazi / izinyumbakazi)* n.
- i) Sterile cow.
- 14c. *-nyumbakazana (inyumbakazana / izinyumbakazana)* n.
- i) Disliked animal; person.
15. *-qoqoqo (isiqoqoqo / iziqoqoqo)* n.
- i) Cow that gives no milk (only Bryant 1967: 335).
- ii) Species of shrub, *Portulacaria afra*, used as a winter fodder for cattle (Doke and Vilakazi 1948: 712).
16. *-sengwakazi (insengwakazi / izinsengwakazi)* n. [*<sengwa* (v. passive), be milked.]
- i) Heavy-milking cow, one that gives abundant milk.
- Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 46) liken *insengwakazi* to *ihinikazi, unondlini*.
- 17a. *-thantazana (umthantazana / imithantazana)* n. [contr. *<umthantikazana.*]
- i) Young heifer.
- 17b. *-thantikazana (umthantikazana / imithantikazana)* n. [*<umthantikazi.* >contr. *umthantazana.*]
- i) Young heifer (contracted form '*umthantazana*' more commonly used).
- 17c. *-thantikazi (umthantikazi / imithantikazi)* n. [*<umthanti* (n.), precocious person. >*umthantikazana* (n.), young heifer.]

i) Full-grown heifer; precocious heifer.

ii) Woman with a man's ability.

18a. *-thole* (*i(li)thole* / *amathole*) n. [>dim.

<*i(li)thodlana*; aug. *i(li)tholekazi*; contr. fem.

i(li)thokazi.]

i) Calf (male or female) from about nine months and upwards.

ithole lenkabi (young steer).

18b. *-thole* (*isithole* / *izithole*) n. [dim. >*isithodlana*;

aug. *isitholekazi*; contr. fem. *isithokazi*; *isithokazana*.]

i) Heifer.

19a. *-thokazi* (*i(li)thokazi* / *amathokazi*) n. [contr. fem.

i(li)thole.]

i) Young female animal, especially heifer calf. [cf.

isithokazi, *umthokazi*.]

19b. *-thokazi* (*isithokazi* / *izithokazi*) n. [contr. fem.

<*isithole*. >dim. *isithokazana*.]

i) Young heifer before impregnation [cf. *i(li)thokazi*.]

19c. *-thokazi* (*umthokazi* / *imithokazi*) n.

i) Young female animal (especially heifer before

impregnation). [cf. *i(li)thokazi*, *isithokazi*.]

20a. *-zibule* (*i(li)zibule* / *amazibule*) n. [<*zibula* (v.),

bear the first offspring. >*i(li)zibulekazana*.]

i) Beast which has calved only once.

20b. *-zibulekazana* (*i(li)zibulekazana* / *amazibulekazana*) n.

[<*i(li)zibule*.]

i) Beast which has calved only once. Heifer with first calf.

A small number of the names for cows derive from verbs e.g. *i(li)fusakazi* comes from *ukufusa*, 'to sear' or 'discolour' and is a dark brown beast; *i(li)fambele* is a compound noun meaning 'dead udder' and describes a beast with blind teats. Other names, derived from verbs, indicate some attribute such as productivity e.g. *insengwakazi* from '*sengwa*' (v. passive), be milked. A term such as *unondlini* derives from the locative, meaning 'of the house', indicating the status of this animal as the provider of enough milk to feed a family.

5.2.1.2 BULLS

The bull has a special place in the perceptions of the Zulu people. It is associated with strength, authority, virility and leadership. Males and bulls are metaphorically linked, males often being likened to the bull in the panegyric of the Zulu people. A great number of proverbs exist in which the bull features and 'bull imagery' is found throughout the different genres of the oral tradition. There are a number of names to denote bulls although not as many as there are for the cow: the wide-ranging vocabulary associated with female animals is the result of a need to distinguish stages of fertility, milk production and other features significant in animal husbandry.

The following names for bulls, both young and mature, have been recorded. Oxen, steers and bullocks are listed in 16.2.1.3 below:

1. *-bhonga* (*i(li)bhonga* / *amabhonga*) n. [*< bhonga* (v), roar

(of lion), rumble (of bull), grunt (of pig), speak with a very deep voice.]

i) Young male beast when commencing to make its typical call.

ii) Boy at age of puberty.

The connection between these images of newly-emerging manhood, associated with both pubescent boys and maturing beasts is plain.

2. *-dudu (umdudu / imidudu)* n.

i) Young bull. [cf. *i(li)vukana*.]

The verb, *ukududa*, means to arouse sexual passion (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948: 170).

3. *-guqa (isiguqa / iziguqa)* n. [*<guqa* (v.), kneel, go down on the knee.]

i) Large, powerful old bull.

ii) Cast-out bull buffalo, rhinoceros. [cf. *-huqa (i(li)/ama)*.]

The idea of bowing-out is implicit in the concept of going down on one knee. *I(li)guqa* is the *hlonipha* or 'respect' term for *i(li)dolo*, the knee. *Isiguqa* is also a word for an unusually large earthen vessel.

4. *-huneba (uhuneba / ohuneba)* n.

i) Monster, huge beast (term applied to unusually large bull or buffalo and occasionally to a man).

5. *-huqa (umhuqa / imihuqa)* n. [*<huqa (v.)*, besmear, over-eat, loaf about.]

i) Lone bull (e.g. buffalo driven from herd). [cf. *-guqa (isi/izi)*.]

6. *-kume (umkume / imikume)* n.

i) Old rogue buffalo bull cast out from herd by other bulls. Such a bull is also known as *umdlawodwa*, what eats alone. [cf. *-guqa (isi/izi)*.]

ii) Person barren from impotency [cf. *-nyumba (in/izin)*.]
Doke and Vilakazi list '*umkume*' as a cattle-marking but do not mention cattle under '*umkume*'. This word also denotes a 'stupid, clumsy fellow' (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948: 440).

7. *-khunzi (inkunzi / izinkunzi)* n. [Ur-B. *-kunda (v.)*, copulate.]

i) Bull (of cattle).

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 416) describe *inkunzana* as a diminutive, small, young bull. The term *i(li)khunzana* is used to denote a petty chief with few people under his control but is seldom used and then only in a jocular sense.

8. *-swempe (u(lu)swempe / izinswempe)* n.

i) Old worn-out bull.

ii) Recluse.

iNswempe is Coqui's Francolin (*Francolinus coqui*). It is possible that the name for the bird, which is secretive in

its habits, was derived from *ukuswempa* to trick, deceive, be reclusive. An old buffalo bull, to which the term is usually applied is generally isolated from the herd. The word *ukuswempa* also means 'to grow stout' (Doke and Vilakazi 1948: 774).

9a. *-theku (i(li)theku / amatheku)* n.

i) Beast with one testicle.

9b. *-thekwa (i(li)thekwa / amathekwa)* n.

i) Beast with one testicle.

10a. *-vuka (i(li)vuka / amavuka)* n. [*vuka* (v.), awake, rise.]

i) Young bull.

ii) Young boy at the age of puberty.

10b. *-vukana (i(li)vukana / amavukana)* n. [dim. *<i(li)vuka.*]

i) Young bull (term commonly used).

The concept of awakening, rising and starting forth is intrinsic to this name used for both a young bull and a boy at the brink of manhood.

Assessing the names given to bulls, the primary term, *inkunzi*, is revealing. It derives from the Ur-Bantu *-kunda*, copulate: the potency and fertility of the bull is crucial to the survival of the herds and is linked - inextricably - to the name which denotes it. Names such as *umdudu* and *i(li)vukana* which imply awakening and the arousal of sexual passions are associated

with young and adolescent bulls. Most of these terms for the bull indicate some attribute consistent with virility, power, strength, size, the ability to roar. Age and waning status and 'bowing out' into solitude, past the ability to procreate are indicated by terms such as *u(lu)swempe* (recluse), *umkume* (also known as *umdlawodwa*, 'what eats alone'), *umhuqa* (from *ukuhuqa*, 'to loaf about') and *isiguqa* (from *ukuguqa*, to kneel on one knee) and meaning large, powerful old bull cast out from the herd are apt in terms of the habits of old bulls which are inclined to be ousted from the herd.

5.2.1.3 OXEN (Steers and Bullocks)

Traditionally, the ox was of the greatest importance for the purposes of transport and ploughing, as beast of burden and as the supplier of hides for military regalia. Though the usefulness of the ox may have declined in the last few decades, a fine ox is prized in traditional Zulu society and is a valuable asset in any *umuzi*.

The following are common Zulu terms for oxen, bullocks, castrated beasts:

1a. *-bhoxo (i(li)bhoxo / amabhoxo)* n. [*<bhoxa* (v.), grow to maturity, put out horns.]

i) Young bullock with horns well-grown and suitable for inspanning [cf. *i(li)jongosi*.]

1b. *-bhoxo (imboxo / izimboxo)* n. [*<bhoxa* (v.), grow to maturity (of a young bull), put out horns.]

i) Young beast with well-grown horns. [cf. *-boxa*

(*i(li)/ama*); -*jongosi* (*i(li)/ama*); -*khwangi(u)(i(li)/ama)*.]

2. -*folosi* (*i(li)folosi* / *amafolosi*) n. [Afr. <vooros.]

i) Front ox. Ox used at the front of the span.

3. -*gxankxa* (*i(li)gxankxa* / *amagxankxa*) n. [<*gxankxa* (v.), add on, grow; mix milk with other food.]

i) Young ox with partly grown horns.

4. -*jongosi* (*i(li)jongosi* / *amajongosi*) n. [<Afr. *jongos*, young ox.]

i) Young ox fit for inspanning.

5a. -*khwangi* (*i(li)khwangi* / *amakhwangi*) n.

i) Young steer.

5b. -*khwangu* (*i(li)khwangu* / *amakhwangu*) n.

i) As above.

[cf.-*jongosi* (*i(li)/ama*); -*bhoxo* (*im/izim*).]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 46) describe this as an ox which is still growing.

6. -*malukazi* (*umalukazi* / *omalukazi*) n.

i) Old bullock, cow. (See -*alukazi* (*isa/iza*).)

7. -*nakambha* (*isinakhamba* / *izinakhamba*) n. [<*naka* (ideo.), of being spotted, gaudily coloured; of walking with mincing gait.]

i) Worthless, worn-out beast of burden.

8. *-nkabi (inkabi / izinkabi) n. [>dim. inkabana, inkatshana.]*

i) Ox, bullock, castrated animal.

The word *unkabi (onkabi)* derived from *inkabi* (ox) is the term for 'fellow' or 'chum' and *unkabiyamalanga* (ox of days) the pet name for a friend.

9. *-nkunela (inkunela / izinkunela) n.*

i) Old, worn beast or thing. [cf. *-nomgedlewane (u/o).*]

10. *-nomgedlewane (unomgedlewane / onomgedlewane) n. [<gedle (ideo.), of loose-jointedness.]*

i) Old beast, old ox. [cf. *-nkunela (in/izin).*]

11. *-nxahi (i(li)nxahi / amanxahi) n.*

i) Bull that has been castrated when fully-grown.

12. *-tilosi (i(li)tilosi / amatilosi) n. [<Afr. agteros. >tilosa (v.), pull last in the team, pull in the wagon-shaft.]*

i) Back ox, one bearing the wagon-shaft.

Many of the names used to denote oxen derive from Afrikaans, a legacy from the days when the trek-oxen of Afrikaans-speaking farmers and transport riders were such a familiar part of the South African scene.

The usual term for ox is *inkabi (izinkabi)*, meaning an ox, bullock or castrated animal. Of the other names collected, some

refer to the position held by the ox yoked in a *span* and these names, in particular, are generally derivatives from Afrikaans e.g. *i(li)tilosi*, back ox, last in the team (*agteros*)³. Foreign breeds are known by derivatives as well, e.g. *umbunu* (*Boer*) for Afrikander cattle, *usuthu* (*Sotho*) for Sotho cattle, *i(li)kwiyi* (*Afr. koei*) for the European Friesland.

5.2.1.4 CALVES

The diminutive of *inkomo* (head of cattle, beast) is *inkonyana(e)*. A calf is also known as *i(li)thole*. The following names apply to young animals without the gender being specified.

1. *-gqame* (*umgqame* / *imigqame*) n.

i) A very big calf.

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 261) list *umgqame* as any 'person or thing conspicuously tall, strong, and plump' but Doke et al (1990: 59) state that *umgqame* is a particularly big calf.

2a. *-nkonyana* (*inkonyana* / *izinkonyana*) n. [dim. <*inkomo*.]

i) Small beast (even if old).

2b. *-nkonyana(e)* (*inkonyana(e)* / *amankonyana(e)*) n. [dim. <*inkomo*.]

i) Calf.

ii) Young of any animal.

³ It is interesting to note that many names for colour-patterns have also emerged in recent times which are derived from Afrikaans e.g. *velimeyisi* (*vaalmuis*), dusky mouse; *veth'futi* (*witvoet*), beast with a white sock (Mzamane, 1962: 227-228).

3. *-phusela (impusela / izimpusela)* n. [*<phusela (v.)*,
cease giving milk for; go dry for.

i) Weaned calf, that has ceased sucking.

ii) Orphaned animal (e.g. calf which is slow-growing on
account of having lost its mother.)

4. *-thole (i(li)thole / amathole)* n. [*>dim. i(li)thodlana*;
aug. *i(li)tholekazi*; contr fem. *i(li)thokazi*.]

i.) Calf (male or female), from about nine months of age.
Ithole lenkabi (a young steer); *isithole* (a heifer).

5. *-vemve (umvemve / imivemve)* n.

i) Young, feeble calf.

ii) Wagtail (*Motacilla capensis*).

The wagtail is especially associated with cattle and is a
bird of good omen (see Chapter 11 [11.2.1.2]).

The names for calves are somewhat un-descriptive. The term *umvemve* however, is metaphorical and associates a particularly delicate calf with a small and frail bird. The choice of connection is particularly apt though for the wagtail frequents cattle byres and moves about with the herds in a sociable and assertive manner, despite its seeming vulnerability. It is a bird of good omen and is respected and protected by herdsmen.

5.2.2 PHYSICAL FEATURES REGARDLESS OF GENDER

The following are a group of words which describe certain miscellaneous features associated with cattle. As Nguni bulls are

humped, the term *i(li)lunda* is particularly pertinent to them. The appearance of a beast's tail and brush is used to describe an individual e.g. *ijoli* for a black and white tail resembling the quill of a porcupine and a beast with a particularly fine brush may be described, for example, as *inkomo emnyama emashoba* (the black beast with a bushy brush.)

1a. *-lunda (i(li)lunda / amalunda)* n. [Ur-B. *-lunda*, hunch.]

i) Hump on the neck of a beast (as in Afrikander or Madagascar cattle).

ii) Hump-backed beast [cf. *-malunda (u/o)*.]

1b. *-malunda (umalunda / omalunda)* n. [<*i(li)lunda(n)*>], hump-backed beast.]

i) As above.

2. *-mashoba* (rel.)

i) Long-tailed; with tails. [cf. *-shoba (i(li)/ama)* (n.), bushy tail, bushy end of tail; ornament made of bushy tails; one of the cattle sent with a bride on her wedding day by her father [cf. *-beka (um/imi)*.]

3. *-mcondo* (rel.) [<*umcondo / imicondo* (n.)], thin, scraggy, calfless leg.]

i) Scraggy, lanky-legged (beast).

4. *-nqini (umnqini / iminqini)* n. [<*nqina* (v.)], to cut off the tail.]

i) Animal with tail cut short.

5. *-qeku (umqeku / imiqeku)* n. [*<qeku* (ideo.), of portioning out.]

i) Group of young cattle separated from the herd.

6. *-qhewu (umqhewu / imiqhewu)* n. [*<qhewo* (ideo.), splitting.]

i) Person or beast with split ear or lip.

7. *-tshezi (umtshezi / imitshezi)* n.

i) Herd of red cattle.

8a. *-veshe (umveshe / imiveshe)* n. [*<veshe* (ideo.), loose-jointed.]

i) Big, fat beast.

ii) Immoral person.

8b. *-vesho (umvesho / imivesho)* n.

i) Big, fat beast.

5.2.3 MISCELLANEOUS TERMS REGARDING FUNCTION

The following are a few examples of other terms used to denote cattle in connection with some characteristic or function that they perform. Of these, the term *i(li)siso* to denote a beast used in the custom of *ukusisa* described briefly below, is noteworthy:

1. *-qiqi (ugiqi / oqiqi)* n.

i) Beast slaughtered for food or commerce (Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 45).

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 555) give only *ungiqi / onqiqi*. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 45) give *ugiqi, uginqi* and *ungiqi*.

2. *-nqwansi (umnqwansi / iminqwansi)* n.

i) The sole beast one possesses.

3. *-ondlo (isondlo / izondlo)* (also *umondlo / imondlo*) n.

[<*ondla* (v.), nourish, rear, bring up.]

i) Payment, generally a beast, to a person for rearing someone else's child.

Samuelson (1923: 570) lists this as *inkomo yesondlo*.]

4. *-siso (i(li)siso / amasiso)* n. [<*sisa* (v.), to place beast in the care of another.]

i) Beast sent to another to look after; place where beast is farmed out.

The custom of *ukusisa*, by means of which a person could place his cattle in the care of another, ensured that these cattle were protected, especially in times of drought or war, by being spread about. The risk of losing one's stock in a single calamity was thus obviated and links of friendship and mutual dependence between families were strengthened by the practice. The kings 'sisa'd' their cattle throughout their territory ensuring both protection for the herds and also the loyalty of a wide-ranging number of subjects. At the height of the power of the Zulu kingdom, the *ukusisa* custom also ensured that cattle were

always available to the army, no matter where they moved within Zulu territory. The caretaker of these animals is entitled to the milk of the beasts in his protection and is usually rewarded with payment of a beast (*isisinga*) when the animals are returned to their owner.

5.3 RITUAL NAMES

The subject of marriage, the significance of cattle and their transfer from the possession of the prospective bridegroom to the parents of the bride has been dealt with in Chapter 4 (4.3.3). A detailed analysis of this complex subject is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The subject has been well-documented in many anthropological sources by writers such as Bryant (1967), Krige (1988) and others and, more extensively, by Kuper (1982). In this chapter animals connected with *ukulobola* customs are listed alphabetically. In Chapter 3 the same animals are discussed but are classified according to certain functions performed during marriage ceremonies.

Beasts used in other rituals, in sacrifice and in ceremonies of national importance, have specific names but this nomenclature is not nearly as extensive as that used for *lobolo* cattle.

5.3.1 LOBOLO CATTLE

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 64-66) and Krige (1988: 389-394) document the *lobolo* cattle in some detail. Their naming is intricate, as are the ceremonies and rituals with which they are connected. Besides the *lobolo* cattle which are given to the girl's family by the man, there are beasts presented before the

official *lobolo* negotiations begin, those slaughtered during proceedings and those which remain with the bride after her marriage, such as the *umendiso* cattle which are taken by the bride to her new home. One of these beasts is kept by the bride 'to represent the girl's own ancestors at the strange kraal' (Krige, 1988: 391). The word *umendiso* derives from the verb meaning 'to go on a long journey; to journey in order to marry; to marry' (*endisa* [v. caus.], to 'cause to marry') and the word is descriptive of the process inherent in Zulu marriage practices in which the bride always travels to the homestead of the groom.

The names of the *lobolo* cattle are given below with a brief explanation of their meaning and the function of the beast concerned. A fuller discussion will be found in Chapter 4. So extensive is this vocabulary and the cultural complexity of the institution of *ukulobola* and so much has it adapted over the decades, that it is an area in which much more extensive and in-depth research could be undertaken in relation to naming and terminology. Regional differences in naming and even in practice abound. Such an in-depth analysis of this area of cattle nomenclature is peripheral to the subject of this dissertation but would be a fulfilling field of study and one which would add significantly to a greater understanding of the cattle-culture of the Zulu people.

1. *-baneka izinkomo (inkomo eyokubaneka izinkomo)* n + rel.

[<*baneka* (light up) + *izinkomo* (the cattle).]

i) This beast is no longer known but was sent by the bride's father to the groom's father to 'light up' the *lobolo* cattle. [cf. *-bhaqa (u(lu)/izim)*.]

2a. *-beka (umbeka, sg. only) n.* [*<beka (v.)*. put, preserve, put aside.]

i) Beast sent with bride for slaughter at her wedding.

ii) Beast given in honour of a newly-appointed chief.

iii) Meat or beer offering to the spirits. [cf. *-beko (um/imi), -shoba (i(li)/ama)*.]

2b. *-beko (umbeko / imibeko) n.* [*<beka (v.)*, put aside.]

i) As above. [cf. *-beleko (im/izim)*.]

The concept of *ukubeka*, 'to put aside' is implicit in the idea of reserving beer and meat for the *amadlozi*, or beasts for particular ceremonies.

Krige (1988: 392) describes the *umbeko* beasts in some detail:

'This is a general term for the beasts a girl takes with her, but it applies more particularly to the beast which will represent her and her ancestors, or "place her before" the ancestors of the new kraal. This is the beast of the *amadlozi*. If there are several *beka* beasts, the *beka* beast will be called *isiGodo*, and should it be slaughtered, the bride will never eat its meat, though she would eat that of any other *beka* beast.'

Other names for this beast are *inDondo* (Natal). Krige quotes Malcolm as saying that this *umbeka* beast is given by the bride's father for his daughter's use until she is allowed to partake of the *amasi* of her husband's homestead. Krige (1988: 392) indicates that there are differences in the naming of these animals in different parts of Natal and KwaZulu and her Natal informants differ from those from Zululand in relation to the names and functions of certain beasts. e.g. Krige (1988: 392) states that information

received from a correspondent in Zululand, Braatvedt -

'gives the word *isiGodó* as referring also to the beast given by the girl's father in return for the spoon goat (*imbuzi yokhezo*).'

3. *-beleko (imbeleko / izimbeleko)* n. [<*beleka* (v.), carry on the back; wrap round.]

i) Beast presented by the father in honour of a visit from his newly-married daughter. [cf. *-beko (um/imi)*.]

Krige (1988: 394) states that the *imbeleko* beast is a goat which is slaughtered for a woman by her father, at his homestead after the birth of her first child, the skin of which is used to make the *imbeleko*, or carrying skin in which the child is transported on the mother's back. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 65) make no reference to the use to which the beast's skin is put. *Ukubeleka* 'to carry on the back' is the verb from which this word is derived.

4. *-bhaqa (u(lu)bhaqa/ izimbaqa)* n. [<*bhaqa* (v.) to light up, illuminate.]

i) Beast given by the bride's family to the bridegroom's father to 'light up the *lobolo* cattle' with which he has parted in his son's account.

Ukubhaqa, to illuminate, is the verb from which this word is derived. *U(lu)bhaqa*, the name of the beast concerned, is also the term for a torch or candle or for a forerunner, one who lights the way.

Krige (1988: 394) refers to this beast as *ukuBaneka izinkomo* and states that by the 1930's when she initially wrote The Social System of the Zulus, this beast was no

longer known. Her reference was Colenso's Zulu-English Dictionary (1884).

5. *-bheka (i(li)bheka / amabheka)* n. [<*bheka* (v.), look, look at, tend.]

i) One of the *lobolo* cattle.

6. *-bhoma (isibhoma / izibhoma)* n.

i) Beast provided at a wedding for slaughter for the girls and womenfolk, which is cut into chunks and distributed to the various families. [cf. *-boma (isi/izi)*; *-phoso (um/imi)*; *-phonso (um/imi)*.]

7. *-bikibiki (ubikibiki / obikibiki)* n.

i) Beast given by son-in-law to his mother-in-law as part of *lobolo*.

Bikibiki (ideo.) means, 'of bogginess, of a shaky jelly-like nature' and all other words deriving from this have the same connotations.

8. *-bhongile (i(li)bongile / amabongile)* n. [<*bonga* (v.) praise, thank.]

i) Beast sacrificed to the spirits.

9. *-bhuzi (imbuzi / izimbuzi)* n. [<*imbuzi* (n), (goat).]

i) Beast of no consequence sent by bride's father to provide food for the bridal party if it is large.

10. *-boma (isiboma / iziboma)* n.

i) Beast provided at a wedding for slaughter for the girls and womenfolk which is cut up in chunks and distributed to the various families.

This word also refers to anything large and lump-shaped, such as a joint of meat. Krige (1988: 392) states that it is a beast killed and cut into chunks and carried to the groom's kraal where it is thrown over the fence as an inducement to open the gate. There is some debate as to the name and function of this animal - Krige citing Malcolm and Braatvedt. Malcolm (letter to Krige) claims that the bride's father visits the groom's father before the wedding and arranges which of the *lobolo* cattle should be the *isiboma* beast. It is killed as the bride's party enters the groom's homestead. Many Zulu-speaking informants disagree with this explanation and told Krige that Malcolm was confusing this animal with the *isiKhumba* beast. [cf. *-bhoma (um/imi)*; *-phoso (um/imi)*; *-phonso (um/imi)*.]

11. *-cela izinkomo (inkomo eyokucela izinkomo)* rel. [*<cela* (ask for) + *izinkomo* (cattle).]

i) Ox (never a cow) sent by the father of the bride as a hint to the bridegroom that he would like more *lobola* cattle.

This beast is sent by the bride's father to ask for the *lobolo* cattle after all the preliminaries for the wedding have been arranged and only the final formalities remain. As the newly-married woman is not allowed to touch anything

pertaining to the *isibaya* of her husband, this beast provides the dung with which she smears the floor of her house after the wedding. Krige (1988: 391) states that in the 'olden days' when there was no fixed *lobola*, the *inkomo eyokucela izinkomo* was sent with the 'beka' herd as a hint that the bride's father would appreciate more cattle. This beast is not only connected with the *lobola* of a man's daughter, it may be sent at any time to his daughter's husband for the purpose of asking for cattle to supplement those a man might have to give as *lobola* on behalf of a son.

It is expected of the young man to help his father-in-law in these matters and a son-in-law is often referred to as *umphini wekhuba* (handle of a hoe) to indicate his duty to oblige when assistance is required.

12. *-cobantswani (i(li)cobantswani / amacobantswani)* n. [*<coba* (v.), mince finely, grind up chopped meat.]

i) This is usually a goat which is given to the young men in the bride's party. The *isiwukulu* is given to the girls who attend her (Krige, 1988: 393). This name is unknown in many areas of Zululand.

13. *-cola (inkomo yokucola)* n. [*<cola* (v.,) to slaughter in honour of.]

i) Beast slaughtered at the bride's home prior to her departure. [cf. *-ncamisa (in/izin).*]

14. *-dondolo (u(lu)dondolo / izindondolo) n.* [*<dondolozela (v.)*, walk with a staff.]

i) Ox which accompanies the bride to the homestead of the groom and which is killed there. The bride does not eat this meat.

Only Krige (1988: 392) gives this name for a beast. *Udondolo* is the term for a staff or walking stick. The idea of the ox being the support or 'the stick by which the girl will support herself' on the journey, is inherent in the meaning of the word.

15. *-endiso (umendiso, sing. only) n.* [*<endisa (v.)*, cause to marry, give in marriage.]

i) Beast or beasts given by the father-in-law to accompany the bride when on her way to her marriage (see p.22 above). The names and functions of the different '*endisa*' cattle differ from area to area. Krige (1988: 391) states:

'It is with regard to these beasts that we find the greatest difference of opinion, and there is also a distinct difference in custom between the Natal tribes and those in Zululand proper.'

16. *-godo (isigodo / izigodo) n.* [*<goda (v.)*, finish completely.]

i) Beast presented by bride's people to the bridegroom's people on the day of the wedding.

Krige (1988: 392) states that the chief *umbeka* beast is also known as *isigodo* in some areas and that the bride would never partake of its meat. There is confusion in the literature regarding the exact status of this beast,

Malcolm (quoted by Krige), writing of Natal and Braatvedt of Zululand, differ as to the significance and function of this beast. Krige states (1988: 392):

'In Natal the *isiKhumba* or *isiGodo*, is a beast, really part of the *lobola*, but given from it by the bride's father as a sort of counterpart of the *inGquthu*. It is driven with the *endisa* cattle between the parties during the dances, and is slaughtered just after.'

A contemporary view of the *isikhumba* beast and its counterpart, *inhlabisamthimba*, is described in 18 below.

Bryant (1967: 549) states that the *isigodo* also means tree-stump because it is a sacrificial beast and symbolizes 'the implanting or setting up of their blood within the foreign clan.' Bryant (1967: 549) states that this beast is also called 'e-yoku-Kulekel' *iNdzalo*', 'the beast for praying-for-children' but Berglund states that it is a different beast (1976: 206). Its flesh is taboo to the bride and her friends.

17. *-gqaqamazinyo*

i) See *-qaqamazinyo (i(li)/ama)* below.

18. *-hlabisamthimba (inhlabisamthimba /*

izinhlabisamthimba) n. [*hlabisa* + *umthimba*, lit. what is presented to the bridal party for slaughter.]

i) Beast slaughtered for the bridal party. [cf. *-khumba (isi/izi)*.]

ii) Young steer just beginning to be inspanned, with horns still erect. [cf. *-hlabazulu (i(li)/ama)*.]

Mrs T.C. Mkhize of Nyuswa states that the *isikhumba* (see 8

above) beast and the *inhlabisamthimba* are slaughtered together: one (*isikhumba*) by the bridal party, one (*inhlabisamthimba*) by the groom's party. The beasts are then divided lengthwise and half of each is given to the other party and joined with the other half of the beast remaining i.e. each party then has a beast made up of half the *isikhumba* and half the *inhlabisamthimba* beasts. If this ceremony is not performed, the marriage is not believed to have been properly concluded. The skin from the *isikhumba* beast is used to make the bride's *isidwaba* (the skirt worn by married women) (p.c. to MPO, Feb. 1996.).]

19. *-hloko (inkomo yenhloko) [<inkomo (beast) + yenhloko (of the head): lit. beast by which to put up her hair.]*

i) This animal is one of the *lobolo* cattle and it must be pointed out to the girl before she will start preparations for her wedding. If this is not done an extra beast will have to be bought for the purpose (Krige, 1988: 390-391).

20. *-khezo (u(lu)khezo / izinkezo) n.*

i) Spoon.

Inkomo eyokhezo is a beast given (one by the father and one by the groom) to the bride for slaughter in order that she might commence eating the *amasi* of her new home (Samuelson, 1923: 570). This animal is often a beast but is more generally a goat, *imbuzi yokhezo* (Doke and Vilakazi, 1949: 392).]

Krige (1988: 394) explains the significance of this animal

and the custom connected with its transfer:

'When the bride is in the new kraal, she will not touch the *amasi* of the kraal before she has been given a present of a goat or ten shillings, called *imBuzi yoKhezo*, and also a wooden spoon. This she takes to her father, telling him she has been given sour milk. He will then give the husband of the bride a gift of the same value, which will become the property of the the eldest child borne by the woman. This gift from the girl's father is also called *imBuzi yoKhezo*, or sometimes, *imbuzi yamasi*.'

21. *-khobe (inkobe /izinkobe)*

i) This beast is not mentioned in Doke and Vilakazi or Nyembezi and Nxumalo and is most likely a goat. Krige (1988: 393) states that this beast is given by the bridegroom's father to the bride and is eaten by her followers. Other informants state that this beast is given at the end of the wedding. Krige says (1988: 393):

'It is agreed by all, however, that there are differences in the names given to these animals in different districts, so that each of these alternatives is probably correct for certain districts.'

This beast is closely connected with the *isiwukula* and *icobantswani* animals.

22. *-khulekela ukuzala (inkomo eyokukhulekela ukuzala)* n + rel. + v. [*inkomo* (the beast) + *eyokukhulekela* (which begs for) + *ukuzala* (birth).]

i) Beast slaughtered for bride after a period in her new home to ask that she might have children (Berglund, 1976: 207).

23. *-khumba (isikhumba / izikhumba)* n.

- i) Beast given to a bride to be killed at her new home.
- ii) Skin, pelt. [cf. *-hlabisamthimba (in/izin)*.]

If this beast is not killed at the marriage of the bride and groom, it is considered that they are not properly married. (See 10 *-hlabisamthimba in/izin* above). The *isidwaba* or black skin kilt worn by a married woman is made from the hide of the *isikhumba* beast (Mrs T.C. Mkhize to MPO, Feb. 1996).

24. *-meke (umeke / omeke)* n. [*<meke* (ideo.), of cleaving, of splitting open.]

- i) This is a goat given after the consummation of the marriage to the bride's attendants who will not eat its meat until they are assured that the event has taken place.

25. *-mashoba* (rel.)

- i) One of the cattle sent with a bride on her wedding day by her father.

[cf. *-beka (um/imi)* - long-tailed, with tails;

-shoba (i(li)/ama) - bushy tail, bushy end of tail; ornament made of bushy tails.]

Krige (1988: 391) states that this beast is the 'tail' of the beast known as '*eyokucela izinkomo*' but is unknown in many localities. It is also known as *u(lu)swazi* meaning 'switch' or 'whip'.

26. *-mba (umumba / imimba)* n.

- i) Beast given as part of the *lobolo* to the bride's mother.

[cf. *-fociya (isi/izi)*, *-hlanga (u(lu)/izin)*.]

Umumba kanina - the mother's gift beast.

Krige (1988: 390) states that *umumba*, *ingquthu*, *unozungeza* and *inkomo yesifociya (isifociya)* are all the same. This beast, given to the mother of the bride is in token of her having reared her and for the girl's virginity. If a girl is deflowered, this beast must be paid to the mother. It is part of the *lobolò* cattle but is the personal property of the mother and is usually slaughtered and eaten by the women of the bride's homestead.

Bryant (1967: 560) states that this beast is kept by the bride's mother as her special animal and is usually given to the younger son of the household as inheritance.

27. *-memeza (inkomo eyokumemeza)* [*<memeza (v.)*, call out.]
i) This is a large heifer, then first of the *lobolo* cattle taken by the *umkhongi*, or negotiator, when he goes to the girl's father to say that she has gone to the homestead of the intended groom. It is not essential that this beast should accompany the *umkhongi* on this visit - enough that he should call out its colour-pattern so that the father of the girl knows what to expect. If the beast is paid but the negotiations are unsuccessful, this beast is not returned. However, if the marriage takes pace, it is counted among the *lobolo* cattle.

28. *-ncamisa (incamisa / izincamisa)* n. [*<ncamisa (v. caus.)* cause to eat before commencing a journey.]

i) Just before leaving home on the bridal journey, this beast, also known as *inkomo yokucola*, is slaughtered and the contents of the gall sprinkled on the bride to bring her good luck and blessings.

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 124) describe *ukucola* as 'to give a feast' in honour of someone or to slaughter or present a beast. *Ukucola indodakazi* means to slaughter a beast in honour of a daughter's approaching marriage.

29. *-ngquthu (ingquthu / izingquthu)* n.

i) Ox given to bride's mother, extra to *lobolo* cattle.

ii) *Hlonipha* term for female organ.

Krige (1988: 390) says that this is another name for the *umuba* beast and is connected with the virginity of a girl. However, both Samuelson and Malcolm disagree that they are the same. The *umumba* is part of the *lobolo* whereas the *ingquthu* beast is given as damages for the seduction of a girl. The seducer, in addition to the *ingquthu* beast, must pay another, known as *imvala* or *imvinba* i.e. 'that which closes', in order to restore the girl to her full potential for the securing of *lobolo* and to make good the damage.

30. *-nkwa (isinkwa / izinkwa)* n.

i) Beast slaughtered for journey; food for a bride going to be married.

ii) Bread.

31. *-nozungeza (unozungeza / onozungeza)* n. [*<zungeza*

(v.), surround, encircle (contraction of <*zungeleza*>).]
i) Prize beast of the herd, especially coveted to be included among the *lobolo* cattle.
Krige (1988: 390) states that this beast 'which goes around the hut' is the same as *umumba*, described in detail above. *Ukuzungeza* means to surround or encircle. The concept of this beast encircling or being an agent by means of which the bride is claimed, is evident in the name.

32. *-pheko (isipheko / izipheko) (n.)* [<*pheka* (v.), cook.

i) Beast given to the bridal party to cook in the veld before the wedding. [cf. *nkwa (isi/izi)*.]

ii) (pl. only) Food prepared for a feast.

33a. *-phonso (umphonso / imiphonso) n.* [<*phonsa* (v.), to throw, hurl.]

i) Meat brought to the bridegroom's kraal to induce the opening of the gates on the wedding day to admit the bridal party. [cf. *-boma (um/imi)*; *-boma (isi/izi)*; *-phoso (um/imi)*.]

33b. *-phoso (umphoso / imiphoso) n.* [<*phosa* (v.), throw, hurl at.]

i) As above.

34. *-qaqamazinyo (ingqaqamazinyo / izingqaqamazinyo) n.* [*qaqa* + *amazinyo*, lit. the teeth loosener.]

i) Beast or money presented to bride's father by groom's people before the legal *lobolo*. [cf. *-vulamlomo (im/izim)*.]

This term and the comparable *umvulamlomo* are descriptive of the function of these animals, those which make negotiation possible.

35. *-qholiso (umqholiso / imiqholiso) n. [<qholisa (v.), to honour, to anoint, to kill a beast in honour of an intended bride on the day of her arrival.]*

i) Beast slaughtered in honour of intended bride's visit; beast given to bride's mother.

Samuelson (1923: 571) states that this beast's fat is used to anoint the bride. In Zululand this beast was slaughtered by the groom at his home immediately after his marriage and its gall sprinkled over the bride so that she might have many children.

The importance of this animal is emphasized by Krige (1988: 393). She states:

'The fixing point in the wedding ceremony in Zululand is the slaughter of the *umqholiso* on the day after the wedding dances. This beast is supplied by the boy's father, and certain parts are taken to the bride's home. The gall of this beast is poured over the girl to incorporate her into her husband's family. As it is taboo for anyone to touch the bile of any beast belonging to another sib, the significance of this action is clear.'

Bryant (1967: 552) states that this beast is an ox and that the name *umqholiso* means 'that-which-will-scent-them-nicely'. This beast is slaughtered while the bridal attendants look on. Its dung is buried within the *isibaya* so that it does not fall into the hands of *abathakathi* who might harm the bride's prospect of bearing children. The meat is taboo to the women in the party but may be eaten by

the bride's male attendants. The hide of this beast becomes the property of the bride's maid (*isigqila*).

36. *-qodo (isiqodo / iziqodo)* n.

This term is listed by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 65) but appears to be a mistaken entry for *isigodo / izigodo*.

37. *-shoba (i(li)shoba / amashoba)* n. [*>-mashoba* (rel.), long-tailed, with tails.]

i) One of the cattle sent with a bride by her father on her wedding day (see *-mashoba* and *-beka (um/imi)* above.)

[cf. *-swazi (u(lu)/izin)*.]

38. *-thothongo (umthonthongo / imithothongo)* n.

[*<thothonga* (v.), render helpless, hypnotize.]

i) Beast presented by a father to his married daughter in order to appease the family spirits and gain the favour of the spirits of the son-in-law's family.

39. *-thuli (u(lu)thuli / izintuli)* n.

i) Sometimes a beast or goat may be given by the groom to a bridal party to help them along on the path home.

Only Krige (1988: 394) who got the reference from Bryant's 1905 Dictionary, mentions this beast and comments that Mahlobo, one of those interviewed in the field, likens this animal to *izinkobe*.

40. *-valamlomo (imvalamlomo / izimvalamlomo)* n. [*<vala*

(close) + *umlomo* (mouth): lit. mouth-closer.]

i) Gift presented to the father of the intended bride by the father of the suitor in order to keep him in a good humour.

41. - *vula* (*imvula / izimvula*) n. [*vula* (v.), open.]

i) First beast when arranging *lobolo*; deposit on an account.

This name indicates the opening of negotiations. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 65) state that some people count it as part of the *lobolo* cattle and others that it is sent alone and is considered separately.

42. -*vulamlo* (*imvulamlo / izimvulamlo*) n. [*vula* (open) + *umlomo* (the mouth): lit. the mouth-opener.]

i) Beast or money presented to bride's father by bridegroom's people before the legal *lobolo*. [cf.

-*gqaqamazinyo* (*in/izin*); -*vumelwana* (*isi/izi*).]

43. -*vulasango* (*imvulasango / izimvulasango*) n.

i) Beast presented by the groom to the bridal party at the commencement of the wedding ceremonies.

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 841) and Krige (1988: 393) state that this beast is a goat.)

44a. -*vuma* (*imvuma / izimvuma*) n. [*vuma* (v.), agree.]

i) Goat or ox slaughtered by a prospective bridegroom on accepting the girl who has run to him.

44b. *-vumelwana (isivumelwana / izivumelwana) n.* [*<vumelana* (v.), agree with one another.]

i) Beast presented by bridegroom's people to bride's father before the legal *lobolo*: today money takes the place of the beast. [cf. *-vulamlomo (im/izim).*]

45. *-wukulu (isiwukulu / iziwukulu) n.* [*<wuku* (ideo.), of nonsense, stupid talk.]

i) Beast killed for the bridal party on the evening of their arrival at the bridegroom's home. Krige (1988: 393) says that this is a goat. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 66) state that it is a beast.

The extent to which the names for *lobolo* beasts derive from verbs, indicates that these names tend to describe 'process'. Colour-pattern terminology is primarily concerned with imagery but implicit in the names for the *lobolo* cattle, is the function that they individually perform. Thus, by its name, the part which each beast is to play in proceedings, is clearly indicated. Names such as *umthothongo* (derived from *ukuthothonga*, 'to render helpless') describes its use as the beast which appeases the shades of both families; *umvulamlomo* (the beast which 'opens the mouth') enables negotiations to begin. *Umqholiso*, derived from the verb *ukuqholisa*, 'to anoint', is the sacrificial beast which is slaughtered at the most solemn moment of the wedding. Its gall is used to anoint the bride and thus incorporate her into the man's family and to present her to his lineage shades.

Examination of each of the names associated with *lobolo*

cattle will confirm this aspect of process and function and of the forty odd terms associated with *lobolo* beasts twenty seven derive from verbs and two from ideophones.

5.3.2 OTHER RITUAL BEASTS

Beasts are used in various other rituals not necessarily connected with marriage. Most are slaughtered in honour of or as a sacrifice to the ancestral shades. Others are connected with the custom of *ukusisa*, where a stock-owner may put some of his animals in the care of another. There are animals connected with other rites of passage such as when a girl reaches puberty and her father slaughters a beast to mark the event.

1. *-bongile (i(li)bongile / amabongile)* n. [*<bonga (v.)*, praise, laud.]

i) Beast sacrificed to the ancestors.

2. *-emulisa* (v. caus. *<emula*, reach marriageable state; initiate.)

i) Observe the ceremonies for a daughter arriving at marriageable age; initiate a daughter into new life.

Samuelson (1923: 570) lists *eyokwemulisa (inkomo eyokwemulisa)*, which he describes as a beast provided by the father of a girl for slaughtering in honour of her arriving at the age of puberty and one when she comes to marriageable state.

3. *-hlanzo (isihlanzo / izihlanzo)* n. [*<hlanza (v.)* wash, clean, purify.]

i) Beast paid as damages for slander.

4. *-singa (isisinga / izisinga) n. [Ur-B. -tinga, string.]*

i) Beast paid to a person for looking after one's stock.

5. *-vimba (imvimba / izimvimba) n. [<vimba (v.), to close, block up.]*

i) Beast given by a boy to the parents of a girl who he has impregnated. It is slaughtered for her (only Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 65).

Like the *lobolo* cattle, the terms for other ritual beast mostly describe process and function and are derived from verbs.

5.4 DISCUSSION

The intimacy with which the Zulu people know their cattle is exemplified in the terms given above in which every individual characteristic becomes a vehicle for the identification of the animal. That these terms are so extensive in the vocabulary is a sign of their usage: a descriptive, randomly-chosen phrase or individually-devised description will not suffice to explain the size, shape, colour of a beast. A formal, and long-entrenched vocabulary exists to denote - with precision - any individual.

As in descriptions of colour-pattern and horn-shape, the names for different types of beast and the terms used to describe animals used for certain ritual purposes abound in allusion. Beasts used for *ukulobola* negotiations particularly are known by terms which describe or represent some aspect of those

negotiations e.g. *ingqaqamazinyo*, 'teeth-loosener' or *inkomo eyokumemeza*, 'the beast which calls out' (the negotiating parties), for the beast with which *ukulobola* negotiations are initiated. *Incamisa*, derived from the verb *ukuncamisa*, 'to cause to eat before commencing a journey', describes a beast slaughtered for the bridal party prior to leaving the bride's home. Another example is *inkomo yokhezo*, 'beast of the spoon', so-called because this animal is given to a recently-married girl by her father at the time of her commencing to eat curdled milk (*amasi*) at her husband's home. It should be noted that this animal is more commonly a goat, known as *imbuzi yokhezo*.

As has been pointed out, there is some fluidity in these names and their application can change from district to district. Rituals and ceremonies may also vary but the underlying procedures by means of which cattle pass between families in order to cement marriage bonds and to ensure the acquiescence and goodwill of the ancestral shades of the families concerned, do not change. Nor does the significance of cattle in these transactions which represent the endeavours of the living and the respect in which they hold the shades of those who have gone before.

CHAPTER SIX: PHYSICAL COLOUR FEATURES IN THE PATTERNS OF THE SANGA-NGUNI CATTLE OF THE ZULU PEOPLE: SOLID COLOURS *AND COLOUR COMBINATIONS*

*'I have a great tawny yellowish ox which bellows like an ostrich,
I have a great dark brown ox which roars like a lion...'*¹

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The range of colour of the Sanga cattle of Africa must be unequalled in bovine populations in the rest of the world and the perception of that colour by the people of the pastoralist societies that own them link the animals closely to other phenomena in the environment. Such an apperception and the naming that arises from it has grown out of hundreds of years of interaction between man, his domesticated beast, wild animals and birds, flowers, trees, veld and pasture. Traditionally, cattle were entirely integrated into the world of the herdsman, named for the familiar - and the beautiful - with which he is acquainted.

In Chapter 2 the ideas of Berlin and Kay, as postulated in their Basic Color Terms (1969), were explored. Simply, their thesis is that every society developes colour terms in a certain unvarying sequence and that eleven basic colour terms 'evolve' in a particular order. Not all societies have names for all eleven terms but, no matter how simple or sophisticated the society, the order in which these terms arise in the vocabulary

¹Deng, F.M. 1973. 'Mithiang Roars Like a Lion' in The Dinka and their Songs. Page 114 (lines 1-2). Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

does not vary. According to the findings of Berlin and Kay, they were consistent in regard to the 98 languages against which they tested their findings. This study enabled them to formulate the following two-fold hypothesis:

i) that there exists a universal set of eleven colour terms and, whereas some languages choose certain sub-sets, others employ all eleven.

ii) the colour-vocabulary in any language develops along an evolutionary line commencing with the term for 'white' and 'black', culminating in the terms for 'purple', 'pink', 'orange' and 'grey'.

Louwrens (1993: 123), examining their theory in regard to colour terminology in Northern Sotho, states:

'... despite the vast number of differences which can be observed between the languages of the world, all are bound together by deep-seated underlying features which are universal in nature ... Differences between languages are hence not accounted for in terms of "different conceptions of the world" as suggested by the relativist hypothesis, but in terms of differences in the selection which individual languages make from universal sets of features.'

From the inventory of eleven colours postulated by Berlin and Kay, Louwrens explores the sub-sets employed by Northern Sotho. Since Northern Sotho colour terminology is very similar to that found in Zulu, especially in terms of colour-pattern terminology in cattle, his findings are of interest. He postulates that there are only four 'basic' colours in Northern Sotho: **white, black, red and green** (which will be disregarded in this case as it does not apply to cattle) and that the others, such as **brown, yellow** etc. do not match the standard required to be termed 'basic'. This, therefore, puts Northern Sotho in a fairly 'unsophisticated' position on the 'evolutionary scale' of

the development of colour vocabularies as proposed by Berlin and Kay.

Certain criteria for assuming a colour to be 'basic', according to Berlin and Kay's hypothesis of universality, are summarised by Louwrens (1993: 124):

- i) The colour must be *monolexic*, i.e. its meaning must not be predictable from the meaning of its parts.
- ii) Its signification must not be included in that of any other colour term. e.g. Northern Sotho *-sehla* 'grey' also includes shades of yellow.
- iii) Its application must not be restricted to a narrow class of objects.
- iv) It must not be the name of an object which, characteristically, has that colour: e.g. gold, silver.
- v) It must not be a loan-word.
- vi) It must be stable in its reference across informants and occasions of use.
- vii) It should not be morphologically complex.

In terms of the above seven criteria, it is clear that only three colour terms in Zulu emerge as complying with all requirements: *-mhlophe* (white); *-mnyama* (black); *-bomvu* (red), all of which are basic colour terms in regard to cattle colours. Indeed, Guthrie (1969) postulated only three Ur-/Common Bantu protoforms for colours and these were also 'white', 'black' and 'red'.

It is not easy to decide why certain languages employ all of the universal 11 colour terms isolated by Berlin and Kay or

why only some sub-sets are selected but clearly, one of the reasons could well be that there is a cultural need to make certain distinctions between selected colours and to ignore others because the language concerned neither finds the distinction useful nor meaningful. The need to make distinctions clearly influences the complexity of colour-naming in some aspects of a language and the relative simplicity in others. Furthermore, language reflects the interests of a particular society and colour terms, like other concepts, have developed according to cultural needs. To illustrate this, Louwrens points out (1993: 123):

'...the highly complex system of colour terms pertaining to domestic animals such as cattle in Northern Sotho suggests, in turn, that this system developed due to the cultural need to distinguish cattle unambiguously from one another on the basis of their colour patterns.'

Clearly, the sophistication of the sub-sets subordinate to 'basic' colours such as white, black and red in cattle colour terminology is because these colours apply to the fine variety of shade and saturation of colour in cattle and the ability to distinguish between shades and conformations is crucial to identification. Such sub-sets in colours such as green or purple are clearly irrelevant in this context and it would serve no useful purpose to explore them. Besides this, without a verifiable history of specific colour terms, it is dangerous to make assumptions about their status. Louwrens (1993: 128) poses the question:

'To what extent were colour terms which are today regarded as basic, in the incipient stages of their development also but the names of objects which typically had those colours?'

There may be only three basic colour *terms* in a linguistic

sense. However, in *physical* terms, six 'solid' colours emerge. I have used the term 'solid' to obviate confusion with Berlin and Kay's linguistic category 'basic'. In observing the beasts themselves and, more particularly, taking into account the way they are perceived by their herders, six solid colours form the basis of Sanga-Nguni colour-patterning and there are six terms which apply:

- i) white
- ii) black
- iii) red
- iv) brown
- v) dun
- vi) yellow

The richly metaphorical variety of names, based on the close observation of natural phenomena, belie any idea, so long held by both scholars and the ignorant, that many African languages have few names for colours. The definition of colour and reference, yet again, is probably based on a Eurocentric view and despite the theory of a universal emergence of a 'basic colour' sequence, the ways in which these colours - whether basic or not - are perceived, explained and described, is individual to every society and informed by its cultural needs and mores.

As pointed out in the introduction to this section (Section Three), I have classified cattle *terminology* according to:

- i) type of beast and customary and ritual names;
- ii) colour-pattern and marking;

With regard to the latter, colour-pattern is divided into:

- i) physically-differentiated categories, which covers every possible colour combination
- ii) descriptive and distributional terms for markings and patterns;
- iii) patterns with strong metaphorical associations.

Inevitably there is overlap between these categories, items

listed in i) and ii) often having metaphorical associations but the necessity of arranging the material in a practical way so that it can be appraised in conjunction with the figures recorded in Appendix II, made it appropriate to divide the beasts into physical colour categories, as the herdsmen themselves do and always have. Thus, for example, a beast known as *ilunga*, 'fiscal shrike', will not only belong in the metaphorical category denoting 'bird-association' but also in the physical category, 'bicolour combinations: black and white'.

The method of categorization below, therefore, is offered as a practical way to examine the colour-patterns of the Sanga-Nguni cattle of the Zulu people.

In this chapter the Classification of Patterns by Physical Colour Feature: Solid Colours, Groups and Combinations is described. The terms recorded here are discussed according to colour category. In order to avoid endless repetition, the synonyms of each term are not recorded in the text of this chapter except where they are of special interest. These synonyms are fully listed in the alphabetical list of cattle terminology documented in Appendix I which can be consulted in addition to this text and which has been designed as a cattle-vocabulary dictionary. Many of the beasts described are illustrated in Appendix II. The archive and field sources for these names have been described in Chapter 1, however, it is worth repeating here that most of the description derives from Doke and Vilakazi's Zulu-English Dictionary (1948), Nyembezi and Nxumalo's Inqolobane Yesizwe (1966 [1994 edition]) and Schroeder and de la Harpe's Nguni Cattle Register. Other Zulu Dictionaries were consulted as

well as a large number of texts and these are acknowledged where applicable.

6.2 SOLID COLOURS

With regard to the solid colours mentioned above, a number of words denoting them exist in Zulu and these are listed in full below:

6.2.1 WHITE : -*mhlophe* (rel.)

White is the colour of the 'royal cattle'. The white beasts of the monarch, known collectively as '*inyonikayiphumuli*', 'the bird that never rests', were, and are, prized and renowned among the Zulu people. The royal white cattle are animals with darkly-pigmented skin and white hair. Consequently, the horns, hooves, muzzles, noses, eyes and inner surfaces of the ears, are black.

Writing of these white cattle with dark skin and black-pigmented 'points', Bonsma *et al* (1950: 20) state:

'The *nhlophekati*² pattern appears to be the basal pattern of Nguni cattle, the colour markings of which consist either of whole or mixed colours.'

At the height of the power and influence of the Zulu kingdom, these white cattle were the property of the king and any *inyonikayiphumuli* calves born to the cows of common men were immediately given over to the royal herds. King Cetshwayo's herd was particularly famous, and the confiscation of these cattle at the end of the Zulu War was deeply symbolic of the defeat of the

² '*Nhlophekati*' is the Swazi term for white cattle. In the 1950 Nguni-Cattle Report for the Department of Agriculture, Bonsma *et al*, use Swazi terminology more frequently than Zulu.

Zulu nation. Only in recent years have the royal whites been bred up again and returned to their place of prominence among the national herd.

The term *inyonikayiphumuli*, 'the bird that never rests' is said to relate to the flocks of cattle egrets which follow the herds, foraging among the beasts in pasture. The cattle egret (*Bubulcus ibis*) is also known as '*ilandankomo*', 'what follows the cattle' or simply '*ilanda*' (<*landa* (v.), to follow). Simelane (letter, September 1996) says of this type of beast:

'They had very short hair on their skins and ticks could not rest on them. As a result, the birds that ate ticks could not worry themselves looking for ticks on this herd. That is why it was called *inyonikayiphumuli*.'

According to Blamey (nd), after Shaka had established his court at KwaBulawayo, he crossed the heights at Mtunjaneni and visited his relative, Madlokovu at Mfulu and obtained from him six heifers, one ox and a bull. From these he built up his herd of white cattle which were known as *inyonikayiphumuli*.

It has already been stated that white is perceived by the Zulus as a 'cool' and health-giving colour and that cattle themselves are associated with 'coolness', with health, fertility and fertilizing (Kuper, 1982: 20). The colour white is also linked to lightning and a white cow is used in a ritual performed by 'heaven herds', diviners particularly concerned with rain and the management of storms. Berglund (1975: 44-45) describes an encounter with a heaven herd in which a squirt of milk in the centre of a bowl from the udder of a pure white cow, was explained in symbolic terms:

'It [the squirt of milk] comes from above, like lightning. It comes straight, like lightning. It is white like lightning. Even the cow is white, like the sky [the

interior of the sky is believed...to be wholly white]. So it is clear that the milk from this cow is lightning. That is how I work with this white cow.'

To this explanation the diviner added that only he would be able to drink the *amasi* produced from the milk of this cow and that he had paid a great deal for it and took the greatest care of it because of its associations.

The following are terms which denote white beasts.

1. *-bungu (umbungu / imibungu)* n. [Ur-B. *-vungu*, worm.]
 - i) Ox of an entirely white colour, horns and all.
 - ii) Embryo or foetus. [cf. *-bungu (isi/izi)*, maggot.]

An albino beast is known as *umbungu*. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 57) state that even the horns of a beast of this colour are white. A beast of this colour was pointed out in the field (Aug., 1994) and was called, by the herder 'ilanda', meaning 'cattle egret'. He stated that its pure whiteness as opposed to the 'black points' found in *inyonikayiphumuli* cattle distinguished it as 'ilanda'.

- 2a. *-hlophe (umhlophe / imihlophe)* n. [>*-mhlophe* (rel.), white.]
 - i) White beast.
- 2b. *-hlophebalalinye (umhlophebalalinye)* n.
 - i) White beast with one patch of any other colour (Samuelson, 1923: 570).
- 2c. *-hlophekazi (umhlophekazi / imihlophekazi)* n.
[fem. <*umhlophe* (n.), white beast.]
 - i) White cow.
- 2d. *-hloshazana (umhloshazana / imihloshazana)* n.dim.

[<*umhlophe* (n.), white beast.]

i) Small white heifer.

ii) Plant with white leaves or stems; term applied to *Allophylus africanus*, *Trichocladus crinitus*, and many other plants.

3. *-masavutshiwe* (*amasavutshiwe*, pl. only) n.

See *-savutshiwe* below.

4a. *-mhlophe* (rel.) [<*umhlophe* (n.), white beast.]

i) White [cf. *-hlophe* (*um/imi*) above.]

4b. *-mhloshana* (rel.) [dim. <*umhlophe* (n.), white beast.]

i) Whitish, somewhat pale.

dim.

5. *-nyonikayiphumuli* (*inyonikayiphumuli* sg. only) n. [<*inyoni* (the bird) + *kayiphumuli* (never rests): lit., the bird that never rests.]

i) Royal cattle; spotless white object.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 59) state that these beasts are only white and do not mention the black 'points' (see Figs. 1&2).

6. *-phuphu ezikhova* (*amaphuphu ezikhova*) n. [<*amaphuphu* (the fledglings) + *ezikhova* (of the owl): lit., fledglings of the owl.]

i) Whitish beast with fine dun speckling on the flank and loosely scattered elsewhere (Schroeder). (See fig. 63).

6.2.2. BLACK : -*mnyama* (rel.)

The most generally-used word for 'black' is -*mnyama* (rel.). Black cattle are greatly prized. The white *inyonikayiphumuli* are the 'royal' cattle of the Zulu kings and the black *inzima* cattle, the 'royal' cattle of the Swazi kings. It is interesting to note that the white beasts are more resistant to tsetse-fly disease than the black. Experiments have shown that the flies are more attracted to black cattle than to white, hence the suitability of the higher pastures of Swaziland for black cattle where the fly is less numerous. White cattle are able to adapt to the fly-infested coastal plain of a large part of KwaZulu-Natal more successfully. This factor may have significantly influenced the choice of colour of their royal cattle by the monarchs of the respective Swazi and Zulu kingdoms.

However, black cattle were not exclusive to the Swazi kings. King Dingane of the Zulus was renowned for the ownership of herds of black cattle of which he was immensely proud. The animal killed during the First Fruits Ceremony, the most important national ceremony in the religious and cultural life of the Zulu people, is always a black bull. Black cattle also play a significant role in times of national crisis or drought, in the *ukubuyisa* ceremony (see Chapter 4: 4.4), on which occasions black cattle are sent with senior men to appeal for assistance from the ancestral shades of the deceased kings. Black is always associated with the rain and rain medicines are black. That is why, black cattle are used in rain ceremonies. Rain medicines are also kept in the tips of black horns.

Among the Swazi, the Paramount chief has claim on certain

cattle belonging to his people and all black cattle may be claimed by him. Faulkner (1947: 22) comments that this right 'is often forestalled by the "accidental" breaking of a horn or some other disfiguration.' Among the Swazi, as among their neighbours, the Zulu, black beasts are also used for the purposes of supplication for rain during *Incwala* or First Fruits Ceremonies. Taking his reference from Marwick's monograph The Swazi (1940) Faulkner says (1947: 23):

'A black bull is chosen for the ceremony apparently because of its connection with rain-making. According to information given to Marwick the black animal "symbolises the impenetrability of the future" and "the sins and evils of the past year."'

Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1986, Vol. IV: 75) interviewed Mtshapi in 1918 and learned from him that the black cattle of Mpande were known as *inkumande* and that these cattle furnished the hide for the shields of the young regiments.

The following are Zulu terms for black cattle:

1. **-hlangazimhlophe** (*inkomo engahlangazimhlophe*) [*<inkomo* (beast) + *engahlangazimhlophe* (which has white reeds): lit., black beast with white horns.]
 - i) Black beast with white horns (only Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 53).
 - ii) These animals are completely black and are more common in Swaziland than KwaZulu-Natal. Their hides, horns, hooves and eyes are very darkly pigmented.

2. **-mnyama** (rel.) [*<umnyama*, sg. only (n.), blackness, dimness.]
 - i) Black, darkness. See *-nyama (um)* below. (See fig. 3).

- 3a. **-mthika** (rel.) [**<umthika** (n.), dark black object.]
 i) Dark, black.
- 3b. **-mthika** (**umthika / imithika**) n.
 i) Dark black object.
 Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53) observe that **umthika / imithika** describes a beast which is an ash-like black, not an intense or pitch black.
- 4a. **-nsizwa** (**insizwa / izinsizwa; insizwakazi/ izinsizwakazi;**) n. [**>-nsizwa** (rel.), clear and bright; **>-nsizwakazi** (rel.), fully developed, crooked or shady.]
 i) Ox or bull, **-nsizwa** (**in/izin**); **-nsizwakazi** (**in/izin**) cow or heifer.
- 4b. **-nsizwazana** (**in/izin**) n.
 i) Beast without horns.
 ii) Young man who has not put on the headring.
 Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54) state that this is a pitch black beast without horns. Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 599) do not mention the colour and, according to them, the name appears to refer exclusively to the absence of horns. The word **insizwakazi** is also used to describe a law case without evidence.
5. **-nyama** (**umnyama**, sing. only) n. [**>-mnyama** (rel.), blackness.]
 i) Black beast (Schroeder: field). (See **-mnyama** (rel.)

above.)

- 6a. **-nzima** (rel.) [<**inzima** (n.), black ox or bull.]
i) Black, dark-skinned. [cf. **-zima** (*in/izin*) below.]
- 6b. **-nzima** (*inzima / izinzima*) n. [>**-nzima** (rel.), black, dark-skinned.]
i) Black ox or bull.
- 6c. **-nzimakazi** (*inzimakazi / izinzimakazi*) n. [<**inzima** (n.), as above.]
i) Black cow; dark, ebony-coloured girl.
- 6d. **-nzimazana(e)** (*inzimazana(e) / izinzimazana(e)*) n. [<**inzima** (n.), as above.]
i) Small black cow.
Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54) describe *inzima / izinmakazi* as a pitch black beast although there is occasionally white on the legs.
- 7a. **-tile** (*isitile / izitile*) n. [<**tile** (ideo.), of pitch blackness, darkness.]
i) Pitch black person, animal or thing.
- 7b. **-tileka** (*isitileka / izitileka*) n. [<**tile** (ideo.), as above.]
i) Pitch black person, animal or thing.
Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54) describe *isitile / isitilekazi* and *isitileka* as a pitch black beast.
8. **-time** (*isitime / izitime*) n. [<**time** (ideo.), of blackness,

darkness.] [cf. *-tile (isi/izi).*]

i) Pitch black person, animal or thing. [cf. *-tile (isi/izi); -tileka (isi/izi).*]

9. *-zima* (rel.) [*<inzima* (n.), black, dark beast.]

i) Black, dark-skinned.

ii) Weighty, forcible.

6.2.3. RED : *-bomvu* (rel.)

The most general term for 'red' in Zulu is *-bomvu* (rel.) and a variety of vibrant reds are evident in the colour-patterns of Sanga-Nguni cattle although Bonsma *et al* (1950: 19) state that red cattle, at the time of the survey which they undertook in 1950, were looked upon by the more conservative with suspicion. It was felt then that the colour was evidence of Afrikaner blood. He did observe, however, that only a few expressed scepticism and that the majority of people interviewed, perceived red as a colour typical of these cattle. Faulkner (1947: 27) comments that the Swazi, too, are slightly sceptical about red, dun and yellow, for the same reason as the Zulus, i.e. that an infusion of Afrikaner blood may be present.

1. *-bende (ububende, pl. only.)* n.

i) *Inkomo ebubende*, a beast of a dark red colour (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 55).

ii) Clotted blood; favourite dish made from clotted blood and minced meat. [cf. *-bende (u(lu), spleen, milt.*]

Doke and Vilakazi (1948) do not give *ububende* as a colour-pattern. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 55) list *ebubende* / *ebubendekazi* as a red beast coloured the same as the spleen. According to them, it is also named *inzotha* (1994: 55), which means 'of sober colouring' (Doke and Vilakazi 1948: 898).

- 2a. *-bomvu* (*umbomvu* / *imibomvu*) n. [>*-bomvu* (rel.), red.]
 i) Reddish-coloured beast.
- 2b. *-bomvukazi* (*umbomvukazi* / *imibomvukazi*) n. [<*umbomvu* (n.), reddish-coloured beast.]
 i) Reddish-coloured cow.

These two names for reddish-coloured beast come from the relative stems *-bomvana* and *-bomvu*, denoting 'reddish' and 'all tints of red' respectively. (See fig. 10).

3. *-dokwe* (*umdokwe*, sg. only) n. [>*-mdokwe* (rel.), reddish.]
 i) Red or brown cow (Nyembezi and Nxumalo only, 1994: 55).
 [cf. *-mdokwe* (rel.).]
 ii) Porridge; species of climbing plant.
 iii) Levailant's cisticola (*Cisticola tinniens*).

Doke and Vilakazi give this term under '*umbala*' but not under '*umdokwe*'.

- 4a. *-gwaqa* (rel.) [*i(li)gwaqa* (n.)]
 i) Dark coloured, of medium hue.
- 4b. *-gwaqa* (*i(li)gwaqa* / *amagwaqa*) n. [<*ingwaqa* (n.), dark colour.]

- i) Dark-coloured beast.
- 4c. *-gwaqa (ingwaqa / izingwaqa)* n.
- i) As above.
- Doke and Vilakazi do not mention cattle but Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 55) list *egwaqa / egwaqakazi* as a very dark-coloured red beast akin to a beast with the colour described as *ububende*.
5. *-hlamvukazi (inhlamvukazi / izinhlamvukazi)* n. [<contr. dim *-hlamvazana (in/izin)*; *-nhlamvukazi* (rel.), light red-brown.]
- i) Cow of a light brown colour. (See fig. 11).
6. *-khandlu (umkhandlu, sg. only.)* n. [>*mkhandlu* (rel.) red, reddish.]
- i) Group of red cattle.
- ii) Assembly of men; place of assembly.
- Umkhandlu* - a small herd of red oxen (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 56).]
7. *-mampilimpili* (rel.) [<*-mpilimpili* (rel.), red-splashed.] [*<mpili* (ideo.), of being red-splashed.]
- i) Blood-stained, bright with red colour.
- Imampilimpili / imampilimpilikazi* is a beast which may have more than one colour but is predominantly bright red (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 55).]
8. *-mdokwe* (rel.) [*umdokwe / imidokwe* (n.), millet.]

- i) Reddish brown, colour of ripe millet. [cf. *-dokwe (um/imi).*]
9. *-mkhandlu* (rel.) [<*umkhandlu*, sg.only) n.
i) Group of red cattle. [cf. *-khandlu (um)* above.]
10. *-mpilimpili* (rel.)
i) See *-mampilimpili* above.
11. *-mtoto* (rel.) [<*umtoto* (n.), species of small shrub with red roots and black, edible berries; bright red object.]
i) Bright red.
Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 56) state that *umtoto / imitoto; umtotokazi/ imitotokazi* are particularly bright red beast(s).
12. *-mtshezi* (rel.) [<*umtshezi* (n.), object of brick-red colour.]
i) Brick-red colour.
13. *-nhlamvukazi* (rel.) [<*inhlamvukazi* (n), light red-brown cow.]
i) Light reddish-brown.
- 14a. *-nsomi* (rel.) [<*i(li)nsomi* and *i(li)somi* (n.), purplish black beast; Redwinged starling.]
i) Dark purple colour; blue-black.
- 14b. *-nsomi (i(li)nsomi / amansomi)* n.[>*-nsomi* (rel.) purplish,

blue-black.]

i) Purplish and red beast (Schroeder).

ii) Redwinged Starling (*Onychognathus morio*). [cf. *-somi* (*i(li)/ama*).]

This pattern will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8: 8.2. (See fig. 65).

15. *-ntwakubomvu* (*intwakubomvu*, sg. only) n.

i) Species of small shrub (*Lannia edulis*). [cf. *-mtoto* (*rel.*); *-toto* (*um/imi*).]

James Stuart states that *intwakubomvu* oxen are the same brick-red colour as *umtshezi* oxen (Webb and Wright, 1976, Vol.1: 325).

16. *-somi* (*i(li)somi* / *anasomi*) n.

i) Purplish-black and red beast (Schroeder). See *-nsomi* (*i(li)/ama*).

ii) Redwinged starling (*Onychognathus morio*).

17. *-toto* (*umtoto* / *imitoto*) n. [*>-mtoto* (*rel.*), bright red.]

i) Bright red object. [cf. *-mtoto* (*rel.*).]

ii) Species of shrub with red roots and black, edible berries.

18. *-tshezi* (*umtshezi* / *imitshezi*) (n.) [*>-mtshezi* (*rel.*), brick-red colour.]

i) Reddish brown, brick-red colour. *Intwakubomvu* (Stuart in Webb and Wright, 1976. Vol. I: 325) is the same as

umtshezi and *umtoto*. All are an especially vibrant red.

There are various shades of red and it can be divided into three general groups:

i) **Bright Red**: The vibrant, glossy reds which give such satisfaction to cattle owners, have several names to describe them. Those which best represent this shade are:

- a) *-bomvu* (rel.): the standard term for red.
- b) *-mampilimpili* or *-mpilimpili* (rel.), a bright, blood-red.
- c) *-mtoto* (rel.): a vibrant red linked to a species of shrub with bright red roots.
- d) *-mtshezi* (rel.): a brick-red colour, which Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1976, Vol.1: 325) likens to (e).
- e) *-ntwakubomvu (in/izin)*: a species of small shrub which suggests the bright red-brick colour *-mtshezi*.

ii) **Sombre Red**: Sombre reds shaded with black and brown are not uncommon. Among these are:

- a) *-bende (ubu)*: sombre red like the colour of the spleen or of clotted blood.
- b) *-gwaqa* (rel.): dark red-brown.
- c) *-mdokwe* (rel.): brownish-red like the porridge made from *umdokwe*.
- d) *-zotha (in/izin)*: sombre coloured associated with the colour *ububende*.

iii) **Light Red-Brown**: Mixtures of brown and red are common and it is difficult to know whether to classify certain animals as brown or red. It is also classified under 'brown' in 6.3.4 below.

- a) *-nhlamvukazi (in/izin)*; light, bright red-brown.

iv) **Red with Purple Undertones**: Although a tricolour pattern (red, black and brown), the *isomi* colour-pattern can be so rich in red tones that it has been grouped with the reds as well as in other categories.

- a) *-nsomi* (rel.): purplish-red.

6.2.4 **BROWN** : *-nsundu* (rel.)

Brown is a common colour among Sanga-Nguni cattle and is well-liked for it is associated with hardiness (Bonsma et al 1950: 19) and is seen as one typical of the breed (Faulkner 1947: 27). There are a large number of terms denoting 'brown' and the colour ranges in intensity from almost black to pale yellowish-brown. It must be noted that brown is quite distinct from dun, *-mdaka* (rel.), and is seen as a completely separate colour by the Zulu people.

1a. *-fipha* (*u(lu)fipha / izimfipha*) n. [*<fipha* (ideo.), of dullness, dimness, obscurity, darkness.]

i) Dark-brown beast; thing of deep, purplish-brown colour.
[cf. *-fusa* (*i(li)/ama*).]

1b. *-fiphakazi* (*i(li)fiphakazi / amafiphakazi*) n. [*<u(lu)fipha* (n.), dark brown beast.]

i) Dark-brown cow, dark brown female beast.
[cf. *-fipho* (*u(lu)/izim*); *fusakazi* (*i(li)/ama*).]

1c. *-fipho* (*u(lu)fipho / izimfipho*) n. [*<lufipho* (rel.), dull, burnt-brown.]

i) Dull, burnt-brown colour.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52) state that *-fipha* (*-fiphakazi*) refers to a pitch black beast with red ears. From field experience, it appears that *-fipha* refers to a beast that is a rich dark brown with strong red undertones, the darkest parts of which tend to deep brown, almost black (Schroeder/ MPO).]

The colour-pattern *insomi* and *i(li)somi* is discussed in Chapter 8: 8.2. This colour is very similar to *u(lu)fipha* although a beast of the *insomi* pattern has a more reddish and purple colouring than one which would be described as *u(lu)fipha* (see figs. 12, 17 and 28). Similarly, the animal featured in fig. 39 is named *iqhwagi elufiphakazi*, i.e. a cow of the pattern resembling a veld locust but coloured in the *ufipha* colouring (blackish-red).

From this it will be noticed that, where there is a pattern, such as 'veld locust' or 'redwinged starling', which may be further defined by a colour which describes the tone more precisely, in these cases *-lufipha*.

- 2a. *-fusa (i(li)fusa / amafusa)* n. [*<fusa (v.)*, fumigate, discolour, bronze (the skin).]
 i) Dark-brown beast [cf. *-fipha (u(lu)/izim)*; *-fusi (um/imi)*.]
- 2b. *-fusakazi (i(li)fusakazi / amafusakazi)* n. [*<i(li)fusa (n.)*, dark brown beast.]
 i) Dark brown cow.
 ii) Cow that has lost its calf; young widow.
- 2c. *-fusi (umfusi / imifusi)* n. [*<fusa (v.)*, fumigate, discolour.]
 i) Dark brown beast. [cf. *-fusi (i(li)/ama)* (n.), particular portion of meat.]
Inkomo emfusi - dark brown beast (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 56).

3a. *-hlamvazana (inhlamvazana / izinhlamvazana)* n. [contr. from *inhlamvukazana*, dim. <*inhlamvukazi*.]

i) Small cow or heifer of a light brown colour.

3b. *-hlamvu (i(li)hlamvu / amahlamvu)* n.

i) Bright, shining object; honeyguide [cf. *-hlava (in/izin)*.]

3c. *-hlamvukazi (inhlamvukazi / izinhlamvukazi)* n. [contr. dim. *inhlamvazana*; *-nhlamvukazi*. >*-nhlamvukazi* (rel.), light brown).]

i) Cow of a light brown colour.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 56) state that *inhlabavu / inhlabavukazi* is also called *inhlamvu*. Doke and Vilakazi do not mention cattle under *inhlamvu*, but call *inhlamvukazi* a light brown cow. This colour has also been classified under 'red' in 6.2.3 above.

4. *-lufipha(o)* (rel.) [<*u(lu)fipha(o)* (n.), dark brown beast.]

i) See *-fipha(o) (u(lu)/izim)*.

5. *-mfusi* (rel.) [<*i(li)fusa* and *i(li)fusakazi* (n.), dark brown beast.]

i) See *-fusi (i(li)/ama)* and *(um/imi)* above.

6a. *-nsundu* (rel.) [<*insundu* (n.), dark brown beast.]

i) Dark-brown, chocolate coloured.

6b. *-nsundu (insundu / izinsundu)* n. [>*-nsundu* (rel.), dark brown.]

i) Dark-brown beast.

Beasts of the sombre red-brown colour known as *ububende* and *i(li)gwaqa* (see 6.3.3) may also have strong brown overtones and the colour of such a beast is generally referred to as *-nsundu*. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 56) state that *inkomo ensundu* is '*ibomvu ngokuzothile*' or, a sombre red. They say it is the same as *inzotha*, which, in turn, is likened to *ububende*, a dark liver-coloured red and *igwaqa*, a dark-coloured beast.

- 7a. *-nyaluthi* (rel.) [*<inyaluthi* (n.), beast or cow of light, muddy colour; bulrush millet.]
 i) Muddy-coloured; light mauve. [cf. *-nyawothi* (rel.); *-nyawothi (in/izin)*.]
- 7b. *-nyaluthi (inyaluthi / izinyaluthi)* n.
 i) Beast or cow of light, muddy colour; bulrush millet.
Unyaluthi (sg. only) is a species of brown bulrush millet.
 [cf. *-nyawothi* (rel.); *-nyawothi (in/izin)*.]
- 8a. *-nyawothi* (rel.)
 i) Muddy-coloured, light mauve. [cf. *-nyaluthi* (rel.); *-nyaluthi (in/izin)*.]
- 8b. *-nyawothi (inyawothi / izinyawothi)* n. [*>-nyawothi* (rel.)],
 i) Beast of light, muddy colour; bulrush millet.
 Among the Swazi, dun is known as '*-nyawotsi*' (rel.) or '*-mdaka*', which Faulkner says is 'the Zulu term' (1947: 27).
9. *-nhlamvukazi* (rel.) [*<inhlamvukazi* (n.), cow of a light

brown colour.]

i) Light-brown. See *-hlamvukazi (in/izin)* above and in 6.3.3.

10. *-thube* (rel.) [*<i(li)thube* (n)., discoloured object. *<thuba* (v.), be overcast.]

i) Discoloured, ripe.

Only the relative form *-thube* is listed by Doke and Vilakazi under '*umbala*' (1948: 60). Nyembezi and Nxumalo do not note it. *Inkomo ethube*: a discoloured, brownish beast.

Shades of brown vary from the dark *-lufipha* and rich but slightly lighter *-nsundu* tones, which are strongly shaded with red and black, to the light red-brown of *-nhlamvukazi*. Sombre browns, somewhat similar to the sombre reds and closely associated with them, are *-mfusi* and *-thube*. Browns with purple undertones are *-nyaluthi* and *-nyawothi* which take their names from the bulrush millet, a plant with a deep purple and brown-tinged head. The ubiquitous colour *-nsomi*, named for the Redwinged starling, is found in any category where red and black, purple and brown combine and is a uniquely vibrant mix of colours.

6.2.5 DUN : *-mdaka* (rel.).

In general, dun is known as *-mdaka* (rel.). This term appears to apply to a dun beast *-daka (um/imi)* of an intense and darkish colour. *-Mdubu* (rel.), more readily refers to lighter dun, given by Doke and Vilakazi as the colour of the cap of a

mushroom and *umdubu/imidubu* refers to a drab, 'dusty-brown' beast (1948: 169). *Inkomo ephethikhowe*, the beast which 'touches the mushroom' is classified under both 'dun' and 'yellow' and appears to be a lighter shade than *umdubu* which suggests a deeper, more brownish hue. Simelane (letter, Sept. 1996) states that light dun is generally known as *izihlabathi* (sand) while *umdubu* is a mixture of 'sand and brown dust'. He calls *-mdaka* 'deep dun'. Mngomezulu (pc to MPO) agrees that *umdubu* is light dun and stresses that it has yellow undertones.

It has been observed that the hooves, horns and hides of dun-coloured cattle may be lighter than usual (Bonsma et al 1950: 19).

1. *-daka (umdaka / imidaka)* n. [*>-mdaka* (rel.), dark brown.]
 i) Dark brown, muddy-coloured object. *Umdaka wenkomo* (dun-coloured beast). (See fig. 6, 14 and 24.)

2. *-dubu (umdubu / imidubu)* n. [*<dubu* (ideo.), of selling up, of upheaval; *>-mdubu* (rel.) drab, dusty brown.]
 i) Beast of drab, light colour. [cf. *-dubu (u(lu))* (n. sg. only), species of large edible mushroom found near antheps.]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) state that *umdubu / umdubukazi* is a dusty-coloured beast, the colour of the Yellowbilled kite *ukholo*. It is also associated with *-ntenjane* (rel.), the colour linked with the Crowned plover. *Inkomo ephethikhowe* (the beast which touches the mushroom) is a light creamy, yellow-dun.

3. **-hlabathi** (*isihlabathi / izihlabathi*) n.

i) Sand-coloured beast.

This colour is listed under 'yellow' 6.2.6 as it is more generally seen as such. However, there are many shades of this colour from the lightest creamy yellow to a dun hue. Simelane (letter, Sept. 1996) states that it is a light dun colour. (See fig. 81.)

4. **-hlangwe** (*umhlangwe / inihlangwe*) n. [**<umhlangwe** (the Cape File Snake).]

i) Dun beast, always of the *inkone* pattern (i.e. with a white spine and belly) which resembles the Cape file snake. The dun coloration, in a beast of this pattern, ranges from pale to dark dun. The name refers to the pattern which is always *inkone* and resembles the Cape file snake which has a white spine and underside. The sides of the snake are dun as are the colour-panels of the beast. (See fig. 69).

5a. **-mdaka** (rel.) [**umdaka** (n.); dim. **>mdakana**;

int. **-mdakakazi**.] (See fig. 14.)

i) Dark brown. (See **-daka** (*um/ini*) above.)

5b. **-mdakakazi** (rel.) [aug. **<-mdaka**.]

i) Intensely dark brown.

5c. **-mdakana** (rel.) [dim. **<-mdaka**.]

i) Brownish.

6. **-mdubu** (rel.) [**<umdubu / inidubu** (n.), beast of drab, light colour; drab, dusty brown colour of the top of the *ikhowe*

mushroom.]

i) Drab, dusty brown. (See *-dubu (um/imi)* above.)

7a. *-mpofazana (impofazana / izimpofazana)* n. [*<impofu (n.)*, eland.]

i) Tawny, dun-coloured cow. [cf. *-phofu (im/izim)*.]

ii) Wattled starling (*Creatophora cinerea*).

7b. *-mpofu* (rel.) [*<impofu (n.)*, eland.]

i) Tawny, dun-coloured. [cf. *-phofu (im/izim)*; *-phofu (isi/izi)*.]

The colour, *-mpofu*, is generally connected with 'yellow' and will be listed under 6.2.6 but there is variation in shade and tone. *Impofu* refers to the eland which, in colour, is tawny, dun, grey and yellow and this variety is inherent in the perception of *-mpofu* as a colour.

8. *-mntulwa* (rel.) [*<umntulwa (n.)*, dun-coloured beast.]

i) Dun-coloured. [cf. *-tulwa (in/izin)*.]

9. *-mthuku* (rel.) [*umthuku / imithuku (n.)*, mole-coloured beast; mole.]

i) Mole-coloured. (See *-thuku (um/imi)* below.)

10. *-ntulwa (umntulwa / imintulwa)* n. [*>-mntulwa (rel.)*, dun-coloured.]

i) Dun-coloured beast. (See *-mntulwa* above.)

Umntulwa / imintulwa (n.) is a species of wild medlar fruit. Another name, '*umviyo*', applies to cattle which is derived from the name of the fruit of the wild medlar which has been classified under 'yellow'. Observation of an animal with the *umviyo* colour-pattern persuades me to

classify it as yellow. However, Doke and Vilakazi's description (1948: 609) necessitates its inclusion under 'dun' as well. Mrs T.C. Mkhize, interviewed on 7/05/1996, explained that the fruit of the *i(li)thulwa*, well-known to her as a child in the Nyuswa district of KwaZulu-Natal, is a 'yellow colour but even a little bit brown, not quite yellow'. She did not know the word, *umviyo*. (pc to MPO, 7/05/96).

11. *-phethikhowe (inkomo ephethikhowe)* [lit.<*inkomo* (the beast) + *ephethikhowe* (which touches the mushroom).]
 i) Pale dun beast intensifying to tawny, dusty colour. This colour appears to be a lighter shade than *-mdubu* (rel.) but is linked to it.

12. *-phofu (impofu / izimpofu)* n.
 i) Dun to yellow-coloured beast (Schroeder).
 ii) Eland. (See *-mpofu* (rel.) above.)
 Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 667) do not mention *impofu* as a cattle colour but Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) list *impofu / impofukazi* as a tawny beast. Animals of this colour and called *impofu* by their herders, were observed in the field (Schroeder/ MPO). (See fig. 7.)

- 13a. *-thube (i(li)thube / amathube)* n. [<*thuba* (v.), be overcast. >-*thube* (rel.), discoloured, ripe.]
 i) Discoloured object.

- 13b. *-thube (umthube / imithube)* n. [<*thuba* (v.), be discoloured, ripe.]
 i) Discoloured object. [cf. *-mpofu* (rel.); *-phofu (um/imi)*.]

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) mention *-thube* as relating to cattle under the entry *umbala* but not under *-thube* itself. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) state that *umthube* is a dusty-coloured beast, similar to *impofu*.

14. *-thuku (umthuku / imithuku)* n. [<*thuku* (v.), of thrusting

up. >-*mothuku* (rel.), mole-coloured.]

i) Mole-coloured beast. [cf. -*mothuku* (rel.) above.]

ii) Mole.

Umothuku and *umvukuzi* both refer to mole-coloured beasts and are both listed by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58). Another word connected with the mole but referring to a distributional pattern is -*fukufu* (*u(lu)/izim*) meaning a beast which has spots and markings around the neck distributed in a pattern which resembles the way in which a mole pushes up the soil when tunnelling.

15. -*vukuzane* (*imvukuzane* / *izimvukuzane* and *i(li)vukuzi* / *amavukuzi*) n. [*vukuza* (v.), to lift soil upwards.]

i) Mole-coloured beast. (See -*thuku* (*um/imi*) above).

A wide range of shades is associated with the general term -*mdaka*. Dun-coloration is linked with birds such as *ukholo*, the Yellowbilled kite, and *intenjane* the Crowned plover. Dun colouring is also associated with mushrooms and sea-sand. Examination of the above words, which Doke and Vilakazi have linked to the term *umdaka*, show a wide range of shades connected with 'dun': -*phethikhowe* (rel.), for example, is a light creamy colour with dusty-yellow overtones; *ukholo* refers to a slate-coloured beast, similar in colour to the yellowbilled kite (*Milvus migrans*) and represents the deepest shade of dun; *intenjane* (which is named for a species of plover) is white patterned in large patches with dun/grey; *impofu* is generally agreed to be a shade of tawny-fawn, tending to yellow.

Many of the terms used to describe dun cattle are associated with animals, birds and plants and the metaphorical content of these names will be discussed in Chapter 8.

6.2.6. YELLOW : -*mpofu* (rel.)

This colour has become more prominent among cattle of the Sanga-Nguni breed in more recent times. Yellow cattle have hooves, horns and hides which are more lightly pigmented than is usual. The shades range from a deep mustard or brownish-yellow

to palest creamy-yellow, fading into white. Yellow and dun often overlap and the very term *-mpofu* is classified under 'dun' as well.

1. *-caba (umcaba / imicaba)* n. [*<caba* (v.), to clear ground.]
i) Boiled mealie grains.

i) Delicate animal or person.

Samuelson (1923: 569) lists *icaba* as a deep yellow beast with streaks of dark brown. *Umcaba* is not listed under 'umbala' in Doke and Vilakazi and there is no entry under *-caba (um/imi)* itself.

2. *-hlabathi (isihlabathi / izihlabathi)* n. [*<umhlaba* (n.), earth.]

i) Sea-sand, gravel [cf. *-hlabathi (i(li)/ama)* (n.), whitish, sandy soil, river sand.]

Inkomo eyizihlabathi zolwandle - a sandy-coloured beast, a beast the colour of sea-sand, is a name not mentioned by either Doke and Vilakazi or Nyembezi and Nxumalo but was often given as the name for the colour-pattern of light creamy-yellow animals observed in the field (Schroeder/MPO) (See fig. 81). It is noteworthy, however, that the word *isihlabathi* implies 'beauty' as well, e.g. "'N" *ufana nezihlabathi zolwandle*' - "'N" is like the sea-sand i.e. very beautiful'. (See 'dun', 6.3.5 above.)

3. *-mntulwa* (rel.)

i) Dun-coloured. (See *-ntulwa (um/imi)* below.)

- 4a. *-mpofu* (rel.) [*<impofu* (n.), eland.]

i) Tawny, tan-coloured. [cf. *-phofu (im/izim)*.]

- 4b. *-mpofazana (impofazana / izimpofazana)* n. [*<impofu* (n.) eland.]

i) Tawny, dun-coloured cow.

ii) Wattled starling (*Creatophora cinerea*).

(See also 'dun', 6.3.5 for a fuller explanation of *-mpofu*.)

- 5a. *-ncombo* (rel.) [*<incombo* (n. sg. only), yellow colour.
i) Yellow.
- 5b. *-ncombo* (*incombo*, sg. only) n. [*>-ncombo* (rel.), yellow.]
i) Yellow colour.
ii) Species of small termite.
iii) Small, light-yellow bead.
Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) list this under 'umbala' but do not mention beast under *incombo*.]
6. *-ntulwa* (*umntulwa*/*imintulwa*) n. [*>-mntulwa* (rel.), dun-coloured.]
i) Dun-coloured beast; yellow-coloured beast.
This has been included here as well as in the category 'dun', 6.3.5. Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 609) describe it as a 'dun-coloured beast'. However, it is related to the name for the fruit of the Wild Medlar (*Vangueria infausta*) which ranges in colour from yellow to dun. *I(li)tulwa* / *amatulwa* and *umtulwa* / *imitulwa* refer to the fruit and a species of Wild Medlar respectively (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948: 826). Another name for this species is 'umviyo', a term also used to describe a cattle colour which, through observation in the field, is more inclined to be yellow than dun.
7. *-phethikhowe* - (*inkomo ephethikhowe*) rel. [*<inkomo* (the beast) + *ephethikhowe* (which touches the mushroom): lit., beast which touches the mushroom.]
i) White beast intensifying to dusty, tawny colour (Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 59). (See also, 'dun', 6.3.5 above.)
8. *-phofu* (*impofu* / *izimpofu*) n.
i) Yellow-coloured beast (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 58).
ii) Eland. (See also 'dun', 6.3.5 above and *-mpofu* (rel.). See fig. 7.)
9. *-thuthuva* (*u(lu)thuthuva* / *izinthuthuva*) n. [*>-luthuthuva* (rel.), sandy-coloured.]

- i) Anything discoloured, dusty.
 ii) Sandy-coloured beast. *Uthuthuvakazi* (fem.), sandy-coloured cow (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 59).
10. *-tulwa (i(li)tulwa / amatulwa and umtulwa / imitulwa)* n.
 i) See *-ntulwa (um/imi)* above.
- 11a. *-viyo* (rel.) [*i(li)viyo* (n.), wild medlar fruit.]
 i) Yellowish-brown.
- 11b. *-viyo (i(li)viyo / amaviyo)* n. [*<umviyo* (n.), wild medlar tree.]
 i) Yellowish beast.
 ii) Wild medlar fruit. [cf. *-tulwa (in/izin)*, *-tulu (um/imi)*, *-tulwa (um/imi)*.]
 According to Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 56) *umviyo / umviyokazi* is a dark brown beast. From evidence gathered in the field, this animal is a dark yellow colour, tinged with brown. It is coloured like the ripe fruit of the wild medlar tree (Schroeder/ MPO). (See fig. 76.)

6.3 DISCUSSION

From the terms listed above and a perusal of the figures in Appendix II it will be evident that yellow and dun beasts overlap considerably as do brown and red beasts in terms of colour and pattern. Only black beasts and to a lesser extent, white ones, show some physical consistency. To classify anything as variable as a hide-pattern in an exact way is clearly impossible but the six colours listed above do serve as a broad frame of reference. Much more complex are the colour combinations which follow, for the variety and their possible permutations are as abundant as the cattle they describe and only general categories can be proposed. For, just as a black bull and a white cow may produce a vibrant red and white spotted calf, the combinations of colour are unpredictable: but herdsman know that there is a wide margin within which the interpretation of a colour-pattern may be made. Hence the lively debate that often arises when a group is discussing the classification of any individual beast.

6.4 COLOUR COMBINATIONS

The Dinka ox song, recorded by Deng (1973: 38), epitomises something of the problem of trying to classify colour-pattern terminology for there are so many variables, that they almost defy description:

*'On the back of my Mijok are four spots, close together,
But they will never meet,
They miss each other like the sun and the moon.'*³

Although white, black, red, brown, dun and yellow Sanga-Nguni cattle are not uncommon, beasts with a hide which is variegated are far more typical of the breed. It is the colour-combinations in their variety and endless range that make these cattle so distinctive. The most common combination is the basal white with any of the other solid colours distributed in a variety of patterns. However, black animals with brown or red shades are also found and, although relatively rare, animals displaying every colour known to the breed have also been observed (see fig. 37). For the purposes of classification these combinations are divided into the following groups:

1. Bicolour Combinations:

- i) The *inkone* Pattern
- ii) Roan patterns
- ii) General bicolour patterns

2. Tricolour Combinations

As most of the terminology which applies to animals with bicolour or tricolour hides has a resonant metaphorical content,

³ Deng, F.M. 1973. The Dinka and their Songs. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 110: lines 38-40.

the physical classification of bicolour and tricolour terminology will be summarized in this chapter and the fuller analysis of each name dealt with in the chapter on metaphorical association. This will obviate unnecessary repetition.

6.4.1 BICOLOUR COMBINATIONS

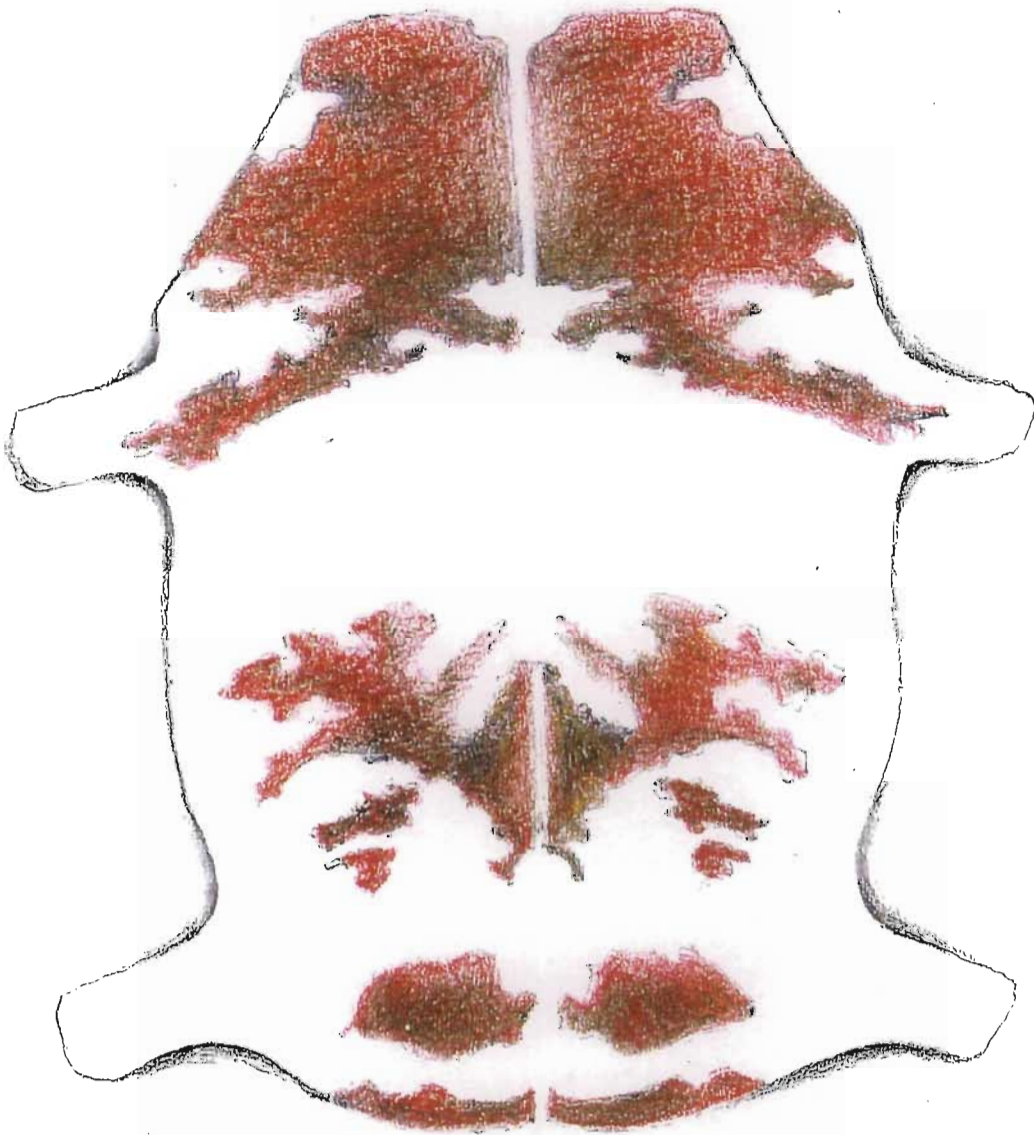
Distinct among the bicolour combinations are the '*inkone*' pattern and the '*roan*'. Strictly speaking, both of these are bi-coloured combinations, which merit separate discussion and are individually treated in 6.4.1.1 and 6.4.1.2 below. This is followed by a list of bicolour terms divided into physically defined colour combinations:

- i) black and white;
- ii) red and white;
- iii) brown and white;
- iv) dun and white
- v) yellow and white.

Each of these combinations is divided again, in summary and for easy reference, into categories in which metaphorical association is the most appropriate means by which to group them:

- i) associations with birds
- ii) associations with animals
- iii) associations with plants
- iv) associations with other natural phenomena

Any descriptive and distributional terms specifically connected with the physical colour category under discussion will be documented although these terms are rare for most descriptive and distributional terminology (e.g. '*spots*', '*stripes*', '*mottling*' etc.) applies to any colour combination and will be dealt with separately in Chapter 7.



THE 'MIRROR-IMAGE' *INKONE* PATTERN

6.4.1.1 THE INKONE PATTERN

The *inkone* pattern is the most distinctive distributional or descriptive physical pattern observed among Sanga-Nguni cattle and is very widespread. It is also much-valued by cattle owners and *inkone*-patterned cattle have been bred for generations. The pattern most often consists of two colours. The essential characteristic of the *inkone* pattern is the white stripe along the back of the beast and the white underbelly. The sides of the beast are distinguished by panels of colour, either solid or interrupted. These side panels can be of any colour but the white spine is essential if a beast is to be defined as an *inkone*. The unique feature of this pattern is the 'mirror image' in which the pattern on the righthand side of the beast is repeated exactly on the lefthand side. King Mpande's *iNgulube* (wild pig) regiment had the name *inkone* as an alternative (wild pigs also have a white crest along the back). Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 578) describe *inkone* as 'white-patched, white-spotted (on the ridge of the back)', which is an inadequate definition. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53-54, 57) describe a beast with the *inkone* pattern as being of any colour with a white stripe along the back and on the face.

The Ndebele royalty of Zimbabwe favoured beasts of the *inkone* pattern and it is a pattern which often predominates in herds in general. A number of *inkone*-patterned animals are illustrated in Appendix II (see figs. 8-16 and 22-31).

6.4.1.2 ROAN PATTERN

The roan pattern in which coloured hairs are evenly

sprinkled among white hairs to give a 'salt and pepper' effect is common among Sanga-Nguni cattle. A number of 'red roan' patterns exist. 'Grey', which is a common colour among Sanga-Nguni cattle is included in this section because all grey coloration is a combination of black and white hairs and, essentially, all grey beasts are roans. Consequently, 'grey' is classified as a 'grey roan' despite the observation in the field that the deepest shades of grey appear as solid colours and animals have been recorded that are a uniform, translucent shade of grey (*impunga*). As many of these terms have a strong metaphorical content, they will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 8 and are presented in summary here to obviate repetition.

6.4.1.2.1 RED ROAN

Descriptive relatives describe roan coloration and most of the terms connected with this pattern have a metaphorical content.

1. **-masavutshiwe** (*amasavutshiwe*)
 - i) See **-savutshiwe** (*ama*) below.)

2. **-mavovo** (rel.) [*i(li)vovo* / *amavovo* (n.), dregs left after straining.]
 - i) Drab. (See **-vovo** (*i(li)/ama*) below.)

3. **-nsiphozamabele** (*izinsipho*, pl. only.) n. [*izinsipho* (the dregs) + *zamabele* (of sorghum): lit. the dregs of sorghum.]
 - i) A beast with red and white scattered all over the body.

4. **-savutshiwe** (*amasavutshiwe* pl. only) n. [< *amasi* (sour milk) + *avutshiwe* (which is already ripe): lit. ripe *amasi*.]
 i) White beast in which black or red hairs are evenly sprinkled and which is like ripe *amasi* (Schroeder).
 (See figs. 29 and 31.)
5. **-vovo** (*i(li)vovo* / *amavovo*) n. [<*vova* (v.), strain, filter.]
 i) Dregs, sediment, remains after straining. (See fig. 30.)
 [Note: **-vovo** (u/o) is the name of the red aloe flower.]
6. **-vukuthu** (*i(li)vukuthu* / *amavukuthu*) n. [<*vukuthu* (ideo.), of cooing.]
 i) Beast with colours like a pigeon (Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 57 / Schroeder [field]).
 ii) Rock pigeon (*Columba guinea*). (See fig. 66).

It is interesting to note that most of the terms which refer to red-roan have some connection with foodstuffs - sorghum and millet, *amasi* and the dregs strained from beer. It is the 'mixed' appearance of the colours that calls to mind such foodstuffs. The range of names in grey roan is a little wider.

6.4.1.2.2 GREY ROAN

'Grey' is generally known as **-ngwevu** (rel.), **-mpunga** (rel.),

and less commonly as *-mthuqu* (dusty), *-mvubomabele* (rel.) (ground sorghum) or *ngamunwe* (rel.) (like the finger). Greys range from almost white, finely interspersed with black hairs as in the colour-pattern *inkomo engabantu begugile* (old people) (fig. 26) to a deep, blackish grey, *-mpunga* (rel.) (see fig. 27), or *-mzondo* (rel.) (see fig. 73).

1. *-masavutshiwe* (rel.)

i) See *-savutshiwe (ama)* below.

This colour-pattern is more usually associated with red-roan but can also be applied to a grey roan beast.

2a. *-mpunga* (rel.) [*<impunga* (n.), grey-haired person or animal.]

i) Grey.

2b. *-mpunga (impunga / izimpunga)* n. [*>-mpunga* (rel.), grey.]

i) Grey-haired person or animal.

ii) Old person.

This colour is generally a deep, even translucent grey.

3. *-mthuqu* (rel.) [*<umthuqu* (n.), dust-coloured, greyish beast, cataract over eye.]

i) Dust-coloured, greyish. (See *-thuqwa (um/ini)* below.)

This colour has sandy shades in it and, depending on their intensity, could also be classified as dun.

4. *-mvubomabele* (rel.) [*<umvubomabele* (n.), greyish beast.]

i) Grey. (See *-vubomabele (um/ini)* below).

The other terms associated with *-mvubomabele* are

-mavovo (rel.) and *-nsiphozamabele* (rel.). (See fig. 30.)

5a. *-ngamunwe* (rel.) [*<i(li)ngamunwe* (n.), grey beast.]

i) Grey-coloured.

5b. *-ngamunwe* (*i(li)ngamunwe* / *amangamunwe*) n. [*<nga* (like) + *umunwe* (a finger). *>-ngamunwe* (rel.), grey-coloured.]

i) Grey beast.

6a. *-ngwevu* (rel.) [*<ingwevu* (n.), beast of any colour with white hairs mixed.]

i) Grey; coloured mixed with white hairs.

6b. *-ngwevu* (*ingwevu* / *izingwevu*) n. [*>-ngwevu* (rel.), as above.]

i) Beast of any colour with white hairs mixed.

ii) Person with hair turning grey.

Ingwevu is generally accepted as 'grey'. It appears from photographs taken in the field that *impunga* is a deeper, more charcoal-coloured grey than *ingwevu*. (Compare figs. 26 and 27.)

7. *-ntu begugile* (*inkomo engabantu begugile*) [*<inkomo* (a beast) + *engabantu begugile* (like old people): lit., like old people.]

i) A grey beast tending to white, resembling an old person (Schroeder). (See fig. 26.)

8. *-qandakahwayiba* (or *-qandakahhwayiba*) (*amaqandakahhwayiba*,

- pl. only) n. [*amaqanda* (the eggs) + *kahhwayiba* (of the dikkop): lit. the eggs of the (dikkop/plover).]
- i) White beast with brown spots and circles all over the body, resembling the eggs of the dikkop. Another name for this bird is *-wayiba (u/o)*.
9. *-qungokazi (umqungokazi / imiqungokazi)* n. [*<umqungo* (n.), curds, mixed concoction, infusion.]
- i) Light, grey-coloured beast.
10. *-savutshiwe (amasavutshiwe, pl. only)* n. [*<amasi* (sour milk) + *avutshiwe* (which is ripe or ready): lit. the *amasi* which is ripe/ready.]
- i) White beast in which black or red hairs are evenly sprinkled (roan) (Schroeder/ MPO: field). (See fig. 29.)
- 11a. *-thuqu (umthuqu / imithuqu)* n. [*<thuqu* (ideo.), of rising up as dust.]
- i) Greyish beast, dust-coloured beast.
- ii) Cataract on the eye.
- 11b. *-thuqwa (umthuqwa / imithuqwa)* n. [*>-mthuqwa* (rel.), greyish.]
- i) As above.
- This beast may be sandy, with yellowish overtones.
12. *-vubomabele (umvubomabele / imivubomabele)* n. [*<umvubo* (ground) + *amabele* (sorghum): lit., ground sorghum) n. *>-mvubomabele* (rel.), grey.]

i) Greyish beast. (See fig. 30.)

13. *-vunduna (imvunduna / izimvunduna) n.*

i) Black beast with white spots on the body; dark grey mottled beast.

ii) Emerald cuckoo (*Chrysoccyx cupreus*).

This term refers to a pattern which is very mottled like *-hwanqa* (rel.) and *-mahwalahwala* (rel.) which indicate extensive mottling.

14. *-zondo (umzondo / imizondo) n. [>-mzondo (rel.), spotted.]*

i) Beast with white hair interspersed with black (Schroeder: field).

ii) Evil-smelling garden bug.

Cattle with the name '*umzondo*' can range from very dark grey (almost black) to almost white interspersed with black hairs (observation of Schroeder's 'Nguni Cattle Register'). A beast known as *inkomo empunga* is likely to be a more even grey than a beast known as *umzondo*. Of all the colour-patterns, moreover, it appears that *umzondo* gives the widest latitude for interpretation: compare figs. 37 and 73.

6.4.1.3 GENERAL BICOLOUR COMBINATIONS

As stated in the introduction to this section, the terms for these general bicolour patterns usually have metaphorical associations and because of this dominant feature, will be divided here into colour categories which will be briefly

summarized to obviate repetition in Chapter 8 which deals with metaphorical associations in cattle terminology.

The general bicolour classification deals with the following colour combinations:

- i) black and white;
- ii) red and white;
- iii) brown and white;
- iv) dun and white
- v) yellow and white.

Each of the above combinations is divided again, in summary for easy reference, into categories in which metaphorical association is the most appropriate means by which to group them.

- i) associations with birds
- ii) associations with animals
- iii) associations with plants
- iv) associations with other natural phenomena

6.4.1.3.1 WHITE AND BLACK: BLACK AND WHITE

White is seen as the basal colour of Sanga-Nguni cattle but the combination being examined here may be either predominantly black or predominantly white.

i) Descriptive or Distributional Pattern:

1. *-abul'umunga* (*abula* (v. tr. + n.) [*yaba* (ideo.) (of flopping down) + *umunga* (mimosa or sweet-thorn (*Acacia karoo*)).)

i) Black beast with a white mark down its throat resembling mimosa bark which has been peeled back (only Bryant, 1905 ms.)

2. *-hwanqa* (rel.) [*i(li) hwanqa* (n.) mottled, variegated beast.]

i) White or grey beast with deeper grey or black markings; Hairy, bewhiskered.

Bonsma *et al* (1950: 20) states that *i(li)hwanqa* is a white beast with with black or red or grey patches and blobs. This pattern is a very common white/black combination and was observed in the field often. (See fig. 42 and 18).

ii) Association with Birds:

1. *-khozi (u(lu)khozi / izinkozi)* n. >*-lukhozi* (rel.), black with white marks on belly and speckling on forehead.]

i) Black beast with white marks on belly and speckling on forehead, giving the effect of grey.

ii) Black Eagle (*Aquila verreauxii*), Martial Eagle (*Polemaetus bellicosus*).

2. *-lukhozi* (rel.) [*u(lu)khozi* (n.), eagle.]

i) Black with white marks on belly and speckling on forehead. [cf. *-khozi (u(lu)/izin)*.]

3. *-lunga (i(li)lunga / amalunga)* n. [>*-lunga* (rel.), black or brown with white stripes.]

i) Black or brown beast with white stripes across stomach and legs (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 52). (See fig. 57.)

ii) Fiscal shrike (*Lanius collaris*).

4. *-nhlekwane (unhlekwane / onhlekwane)* n.

i) Black beast (ox or cow) with white stripes running from shoulders to sides.

- ii) Common widow-bird, black-tailed finch (*Vidua principalis*).
5. **-nkanku** (*inkanku / izinkanku*) n.
 i) Black beast with white stripe along the belly.
 ii) Jacobin cuckoo (*Clamator jacobinus*). (See fig. 59.)
6. **-nkwazi** (*inkwazi / izinkwazi*) n.
 i) Black beast with a white head and neck.
 ii) African Fish Eagle (*Haliaeetus vocifer*).
7. **-nsingizisuka** (*insingizi / izinsingizi*) n + v.
 [*<insingisi* (the hornbill) + *suka* (goes off): lit. the hornbill takes to flight.]
 i) Black beast with a white patch between the inner hind leg and the belly (only Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 54).
8. **-vunduna** (*imvunduna / izimvunduna*) n.
 i) Black beast with white spots on the body; dark grey mottled beast.
 ii) Emerald Cuckoo (*Chrysococcyx cupreus*).
 This colour-pattern is very similar to a number of mottled patterns such as *ihwanqa* and *-mahwalahwala* (rel.).
- 9a. **-waba** (rel.) [*<i(li)waba* (n.), black or red beast with a white patch on the flank.]
 i) Black or red with white patch.
- 9b. **-waba** (*i(li)waba / amawaba*) n. [*>-waba* (rel.), black or red

with white patch.]

i) Black or red beast with white patch on stomach.

I(li)wabayi is the name for the Whitenecked raven (*Corvultur albicollis*).]

9c. **-wasa** (*i(li)wasa* / *amawasa*) n.

i) As above.

9d. **-wasakazi** (*i(li)wasakazi* / *amawasakazi*) n. [*<i(li)wasa*

(n.), Black or red beast with white patch on stomach and flank.]

i) Feminine of above.

9e. **-wasazana** (*i(li)wasazana* / *amawasazana*) n. [dim. fem.

<i(li)wasa, red or black beast with white patch on stomach and flank.]

i) Red or black heifer or young cow with white patch on stomach and flank.

10. **-qola** (*i(li)qola* / *amaqola*) n.

i) Black or brown beast with white stripes across the back and sides like those of the shrike.

ii) Fiscal Shrike (*Lanius collaris*).

iii) Association with Animals:

1. **-cimbi omganu** (*amacimbi omganu* pl. only) n. [*<amacimbi* (the caterpillars) + *omganu* (of the marula tree, *Sclerocarya caffra*): lit., the caterpillars of the marula tree.]

i) White beast finely speckled with dark spots resembling the caterpillars found on the marula tree. (Schroeder only).

2. *-hamba (i(li)hamba / amahamba)* n.
 i) Black and white beast. Puff-adder.
 ii) Thickly whiskered man.
3. *-joli (i(li)joli / amajoli)* n. [*>-joli* (rel.), white-spotted.]
 i) Black beast with a white tail.
 ii) Porcupine quill.
4. *-mzondo* (rel.) [*<umzondo* (n.), garden bug.]
 i) Spotted. [cf. *-zondo (um/imi)*.]
Umzondo / imizondo - garden bug (evil-smelling). A beast with this colour-pattern is black with fine white speckles.
5. *-ntulo (intulo / izintulo)* n.
 i) Black beast speckled white on head and rump.
 ii) Species of lizard.
6. *-qhwagi (i(li)qhwagi / amaqhwagi)* n. [*<qhwaga* (v.), rob, plunder.]
 i) Black beast speckled and striped in white on the head.
 ii) Veld locust.

iv) Association with Plants:

No black and white cattle names are associated with plants.

v) Association with Other Natural Phenomena:

1. *-dluyamathe (indluyamathe / izindluyamathe)* n. [lit. *<indlu*

- (house) + *yamathe* (of spittle).]
- i) Black beast with one white spot on the side (only Samuelson, 1923: 569).
- 2a. *-matshehlathi* (rel.) [*<amatshe* (the stones) + poss. *i(li)hlathi* (the forest): lit., stones of the forest.]
- i) Greenish-grey. [cf. *-tshehlathi* (*ima/izim*) ; *-tshezulu* (*ama*).]
- 2b. *-matshehlathi* (*imatshehlathi* / *izimatshezulu*) n.
- [*<amatshe* + *i(li)hlathi*: lit., forest stones.]
- ii) Beast coloured like lichen-covered rocks, mottled beast (usually black and white). (See fig. 43.)
3. *-matshelentaba* (rel.) [*lit. <amatshe* (the stones) + *lentaba* (of the mountain).]
- i) See *-tshelentaba* (*i(li) /ama*).
- 4a. *-matshezulu* (rel.) [*<amatshe* (stones) + *i(li)zulu* (sky): lit., stones of the sky.]
- i) Spotted black and white. [cf. *-tshezulu* (*im/izim*).]
- 4b. *-matshezulu* (*imatshezulu* / *izimatshezulu*) n.
- i) Beast spotted black and white [*inkomo ematshezulu*).
5. *-phuzingwebu* (*i(li)phuzingwebu* / *amaphuzigwebu* (n.) [*<phuza* (drink) + *ingwebu* (froth), lit. what drinks froth.]
- i) Black or red beast with white on its mouth. (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 54, 56).

6. *-tshehlathi (imatshehlathi / izimatshehlathi)* n.
 i) See *-matshehlathi (ima/izim)* above.
7. *-tshelentaba (i(li)tshelentaba / amatshelentaba)* n.
 [<*i(li)tsh* (stone) + *lentaba* (of the mountain): lit., stone of the mountain.]
 i) Black beast with small white spots (Samuelson, 1923: 569). [cf. *-matshelentaba* (rel.).]
 This name is not found in Doke and Vilakazi or Nyembezi and Nxumalo and Samuelson's rendering '*ityelentaba*' appears to be Xhosa. This word is not found in any of the dictionaries in the relative form i.e. '*-matshelentaba*'.
8. *-tshezulu (imatshezulu / izimatshezulu; amatshezulu)* n.
 i) See *-matshezulu (ima/izim); (ama)* above.
9. *-zikhala zemithi (izikhala zemithi, pl. only.)* n.
 [<*izikhala* (the gaps [between the branches]) + *zemithi* (of the trees): lit., the gaps between the branches of the trees.]
 i) Black beast with sandy white patches.
 Observation in the field proves that red and other coloured animals may also be described as *ezikhala zemithi* (Schroeder/ MPO). (See figs. 84 & 85.)
10. *-zondo (umzondo / imizondo)* n. [*>mzondo* (rel.), spotted.]
 i) Beast with black and white pattern (Schroeder [field]).
 [cf. *-mzondo* (rel.).] (See fig. 72, 73 and 37.)

ii) Evil-smelling garden bug.

From the above it will be noted that the pattern often takes precedence over the colour in determining the way in which a beast is described e.g. '*iqola*', the name for a Fiscal shrike, is the term used to describe a black beast with diagonal white stripes along its flanks. This pattern is reminiscent of that of the bird which is black with white. However, although uncommon - in theory - the name can be applied to a red beast with similar markings for it is the stripes laid diagonally which are the distinctive feature.

6.4.1.3.2 WHITE AND RED : RED AND WHITE

There are not as many names for red and white patterns as there are for black and white. Some of these names are associated with birds' eggs. Many of the red and white beasts fit more readily into the category red-roan and therefore are not listed here.

i) Descriptive and Distributional Patterns:

1a. *-nakazi* (*inakazi* / *izinakazi*) n. [*<inala* (n.), beast with red and white spots all over the body; abundance.]

i) White cow with red and brown spots all over the body.

[cf. *-nala* (*in/izi*).]

1b. *-nala* (*inala* / *izinala*) n.

i) White beast (ox, cow) with red and brown spots all over its body. (See fig.38.)

- 2a. **-nco** (rel.) [**<inco** (n.), beast spotted red and white; species of speckled bird.]
 i) Spotted red and white.
- 2b. **-nco** (**inco / izinco**) n. [**>-nco** (rel.), spotted red and white.]
 i) White beast speckled with fairly large red spots and patches. (See figs. 21, 48 and 49.)
 ii) Species of speckled bird.
- 2c. **-ncokazi** (rel.) [aug. **<nco**.]
 i) Very speckled, red and white.
- 2d. **-ncokazi** (**incokazi / izincokazi**) n. [fem. **<inco**.]
 i) White cow heavily speckled and spotted with red.
- 3a. **-nsasa** (rel.) [**<insasa** (n.), red or brown beast with white-speckled belly.]
 i) Red or brown with speckled on belly.
- 3b. **-nsasa** (**insasa / izinsasa**) n. [**>-nsasa** (rel.), red or brown with speckled belly.]
 i) Red or brown beast with a speckled belly.
- 3c. **-nsasakazi** (rel.) [**<insasa** (n.), red or brown beast with speckled belly.]
 i) Intensely red or brown with speckled belly.
- 3d. **-nsasakazi** (**insasakazi / izinsasakazi**) n. [**>-nsasakazi** (rel.), very red or brown speckled on belly.]
 i) Red or brown cow with speckled belly.
- 4a. **-zikhala zemithi** (**izikhala** [the gaps or spaces between the branches] + **zemithi** [of the trees].)

i) White beast with a red (or black) mottled pattern like the spaces between the branches of the trees (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 54). (Schroeder / Oosthuizen [field].) (See fig. 84.)

ii) Patterns Associated with Birds:

1. *-qandakacilo* (*amaqandakacilo*, pl. only) n. [*<amaqanda* (the eggs) + *kacilo* (of the lark): lit. the eggs of the lark.]

i) White beast with small red speckles, resembling the marking on the eggs of a lark (Nyembezi & Nxumalo 1994: 57).

2. *-qandakahuye(i)* (*amaqandakahuye(i)* pl. only) n. [*<amaqanda* (the eggs) + *kahuye* (the lark), lit. the eggs of the lark.]

i) White beast with small red speckles resembling the marking on the eggs of the Rufousnaped lark (*Mirafra africana*) (Schroeder). [cf. *-qandakacilo* (*ama*).]

3. *-qandakaqelu* (*amaqandakaqelu*, pl. only) n. [*<amaqanda* (the eggs) + *kaqelu* (of the pipit): lit., the eggs of the pipit.]

i) White beast with red speckles sprinkled all over it, resembling the eggs of the pipit (Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 57).

4. *-qola* (*i(li)qola* / *amaqola*) n.

i) Black or brown beast with white stripes across the back and sides like those of the shrike. This is included here as Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 55, 57) state that the term can also apply to a red beast with these markings.

ii) Fiscal Shrike (*Lanius collaris*).

iii) Patterns Associated with Animals:

1. -*ntulo* (*intulo* / *izintulo*) n.

i) Red beast with white speckles on head and rump.

ii) Species of lizard.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54, 56) state that *intulo* / *intulokazi* is a red or black beast with a white head. This pattern is more commonly a black and white pattern.

2. -*qhwagi* (*i(li)qhwagi* / *amaqhwagi*) n. [*qhwaga* (v.), rob, plunder.]

i) Red and white beast with spots and stripes on head and rump. (See fig. 23.)

ii) Veld locust.

iv) Patterns Associated with Plants:

1, -*zumbe* (*umzumbe* / *imizumbe*) n.

i) Beast patterned like a sugar bean. (See fig. 77.)

v) Patterns Associated with Other Natural Phenomena:

1a. -*ntusi* (rel.) [*intusi* (n.), red beast with white mark in

front of hip.]

i) Red with white marking.

1b. *-ntusi* (*intusi* / *izintusi*) n. [*>-ntusi* (rel.)], red with white marking.]

i) Red-coloured beast, ox or cow marked with white in front of the hip which is supposed to resemble a splash of milk.

[cf. *gqiza* (v.).]

6.4.1.3.3 WHITE AND BROWN : BROWN AND WHITE:

Dun and white patterns are far more common than brown and white patterns. Brown combines more frequently with black and red.

i) Descriptive and Distributional Patterns:

1. *-nakazi* (*inakazi* / *izinakazi*) n. [*<inala* (n.)], beast with red and white spots all over the body.]

i) White cow with brown and red spots all over the body.

[cf. *-nala* (*in/izi*).]

1b. *-nala* (*inala* / *izinala*) n.

i) White beast (ox, cow) with brown and red spots all over its body.

ii) Abundance.

This pattern is more generally red and white.

2a. *-nsasa* (rel.) [*<insasa* (n.)], beast with speckled belly.]

i) Red or brown with speckled belly.

2b. *-nsasa* (*insasa* / *izinsasa*) n. [*>-nsasa* (rel.)], red or brown with speckled belly.]

i) Red or brown beast with a speckled belly. (See fig. 47.)

ii) Patterns Associated with Birds:

1. **-mngquphane** (rel.) [**<umngquphane** (n.), brown beast with white above eyes; Blackcrowned tchagra (*Tchagra senegala*).]
 - i) Brown with white above eyes. (See **-ngquphane (um/imi)**.)

2. **-ngqithi (umngqithi / imingqithi)** n.
 - i) Brown and white beast coloured like the Kori Bustard.
 - ii) Kori Bustard (*Ardeotis kori*). (See fig. 58.)

- 3a. **-ngquphane (umngquphane / imingquphane)** n. [**<ngqupha** (ideo.), of nodding, sleepiness; **>-mngquphane** (rel.), brown with white above eyes.]
 - i) Brown beast with white above the eyes.
 - ii) Blackcrowned Tchagra (*Tchagra senegala*).

- 3b. **-nguphane (umnguphane / iminguphane)** n.
 - i) See **-ngquphane (um/imi)** above.

iii) Patterns Associated with Animals

1. **-qandakahhwayiba (amaqandakahhwayiba, pl. only)** n.
[**<amaqanda** (the eggs) + **kahhwayiba** (of the dikkop): lit., the eggs of the dikkop/plover.]
 - i) White beast with brown spots and circles all over the body, resembling the eggs of the dikkop (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 57). [cf. **hhwayiba (u/o)**; **-wayiba (u/o)**.]
(See fig. 41.)

iv) Patterns Associated with Plants:

1. -*hlakuva* (*umhlakuva* / *imihlakuva*) n.

i) Brown and white beast resembling the castor oil bean.

v) Patterns Associated with Other Natural Phenomena

1. -*hlangu zodloko* (*izihlangu zodloko*) n. [*<izihlangu* (the shields) + *zodloko* (of the Dloko Regiment): lit., shields of the Dloko. *<hlangu* (ideo.), of brushing off in haste.]

i) White beast with circles all over the body.

6.4.1.3.4 WHITE AND DUN : DUN AND WHITE

Dun and white patterns are common to Sanga-Nguni cattle.

i) Descriptive and Distributional Patterns:

There are no descriptive or distributional patterns which particularly pertain to dun and white.

ii) Patterns Associated with Birds:

1a. -*ntenjane* (rel.) [*<intenjane* (n.), dun-coloured beast with white patches.]

i) Dun-coloured with white patches.

1b. -*ntenjane* (*intenjane* / *izintenjane*) n. [*>-ntenjane* (rel.), as above.]

i) Dun-coloured beast with white patches on flanks and back. (See fig. 61.)

ii) Crowned Plover (*Vanellus coronatus*).

2. -*phuphu ezikhova* (*amaphuphu ezikhova*) [*<amaphuphu* (the fledgelings) + *ezikhova* (of the owl).]

i) Whitish to grey beast with fine **dun** speckling on the

flank and loosely scattered elsewhere, resembling the colour of the fledglings of an owl (Schroeder). (See fig. 63.)

iii) Patterns Associated with Animals:

1. *-hlangwe (umhlangwe / imihlangwe)* n.

i) Dun and white beast patterned like the Cape file snake.

iv) Patterns Associated with Plants:

1. *-phethikhowe (inkomo ephethikhowe)* n. [*<inkomo* (beast) + *ephethikhowe* (which touches the mushroom): lit., beast which touches the mushroom.]

i) Pale dun beast with cream and yellow tones.

This beast is associated with the *ikhowe* mushroom. The colour *umdubu* is also associated with this colour.

6.4.1.3.5 WHITE AND YELLOW : YELLOW AND WHITE

No yellow and white patterns of any significance have been recorded except for yellow and white *inkone*-patterned beasts and one which is connected with the wild medlar fruit *i(li)viyo*, illustrated in Fig. 76.

6.4.1.3.6 BLACK AND RED

1a. *-bhondwe* [rel. stem *<Afr. bont.*]

i) Reddish or blackish speckled.

1b. *-bhondwe (i(li)bhondwe / amabhondwe)* n. [*>-bhondwe* (rel.), reddish or blackish speckled.]

i) Beast with red or black speckles all over (only

Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1996: 52, 55).

- 2a. *-nsomi* (rel.) [*<i(li)nsomi* and *i(li)somi* (n.), purplish-black beast; redwinged starling.]
- i) Dark purple colour; blue-black.
- 2b. *-nsomi (i(li)nsomi / amansomi)* n. [*>-nsomi* (rel.) purplish, blue-black.]
- i) Purplish and red beast (Schroeder).
- ii) Redwinged Starling (*Onychognathus morio*). [cf. *-somi (i(li)/ama)*.]
- 2c. *-somi (i(li)somi / amasomi)* n.
- i) Purplish-black and red beast (Schroeder). [cf. *-nsomi (i(li)/ama)* above.]
- ii) As above.

One colour-pattern, which cannot be defined as 'black' or as 'red' or as 'tan', for all shades are incorporated into it in varying degrees of intensity, depending on the individual beast, is the pattern named for the Redwinged Starling (*Onychognathus morio*), *i(li)somi*. This pattern can either be bi- or tricoloured. The relative stem, *-nsomi*, means 'purplish-black'. A beast of this colour-pattern is named *i(li)somi (amasomi)* or *insomi (izinsomi)*. The pattern is characterised by a deep purplish-black shade on the flanks, shoulders and head, diffusing into rich tan or red on the sides. This colour is evocative of the Redwinged starling, particularly when it is in flight. This colour-pattern can also be tan, intensifying to dark brown. (See 'Black and Brown' below.)

6.4.1.3.7 BLACK AND BROWN

1a. *-fipha (u(lu)fipha / izimfipha)* n. [*<fipha* (ideo.), of dullness, dimness, obscurity, darkness.]

i) Dark-brown beast; thing of deep, purplish-brown colour.

[cf. *-fusa (i(li)/ama)*.]

1b. *-fiphakazi (i(li)fiphakazi / amafiphakazi)* n. [*<u(lu)fipha* (n.), dark brown beast.]/

i) Dark-brown cow, dark brown female beast.

[cf. *-fipho(u(lu)); fusakazi (i(li)/ama)*.]

1c. *-fipho (u(lu)fipho / izimfipho)* n. [*<lufipho* (rel.), dull, burnt-brown.]

i) Dull, burnt-brown colour.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52) state that

-fipha (-fiphakazi) refers to a pitch black beast with red ears. From field experience, it appears that *-fipha* refers to a beast that is a rich dark brown with strong red undertones, the darkest parts of which tend to deep brown, almost black (Schroeder). (See fig. 25.)

2. *-fusa (i(li)fusa / amafusa)* n. [*<fusa* (v.), fumigate, discolour, bronze the skin.]

i) Very dark brown beast. [cf. *-fipha (i(li)/ama)*.]

2a. *-nsundu* (rel.) [*<insundu* (n.), dark brown beast.]

i) Dark brown, chocolate coloured.

2b. *-nsundu (insundu / izinsundu)* n. [*>-nsundu* (rel.), dark brown.]

i) Dark brown beast.

Bonsma et al (1950: 20) lists this colour-pattern as 'Black

and Tan', calling it *-nsundu* (a term generally accepted to mean 'brown'):

'The natives recognise two sub-types, namely -
1) "black and tan" -[*ntontfo* (Swazi)], in which the predominating colour is black, including the hair on the inner surfaces of the ears;
2) "tan and black" -[*nsundu* (S)], in which the predominating colour is tan, including the hair on the inner surfaces of the ear.'

I have heard a brown and black cow being called *isomikazi elinsundu* which was a beast of the *-nsomi* configuration (i.e. very dark head and flanks and legs) but the lighter parts on the stomach were brown rather than red. A typical *-nsomi* coloration, however, would feature a deep reddish tone on the sides of the beast.

6.4.2 TRICOLOUR COMBINATIONS

Tricolour patterns are of the greatest interest. They are relatively unpredictable in form and colour-combination. The variety of possibilities for the classification of any animal makes the art of naming a dynamic tradition and tricoloured beasts sorely test the naming skills of the researcher and herdsman. Schroeder states (p.c. to MPO, 11/06/96) that in the matter of tricolour combinations, the herdsman will usually look for the predominant colour and refine the choice by adding the name which best describes the conformation of the pattern. For example, in fig. 71, the beast is named '*intulo elufipha*', i.e. it is a dark blackish-brown with red undertones and has the lizard pattern, defined by the speckled face and rump. Another animal which has a tricolour pattern (and which is classified under its term with metaphorical association i.e. birds) is the

beast illustrated in fig. 34, *amaqandakahhwayiba* . A brown, black and white beast, illustrated in fig. 75, *inkonekazi eyiqokolo*, is another example of the diversity of colour combination. A beast which I have classified as bicoloured '*amacimbi omganu*' (caterpillars on the Marula tree) because it is generally white with fine black speckles, may, however, be speckled with more than one colour. For example, the animal in the illustration (fig. 68) is basally white but speckled with black, red and brown while the neck is shaded with dun.

Another interesting tricoloured pattern which is a combination of red and grey roan is *i(li)vukuthu* (Rock pigeon) (see fig. 66), which combines red, grey and white in a pattern which resembles very closely the plumage of the bird.

Schroeder states that the *i(li)somi* colour-pattern which is sometimes more appropriately tricoloured (black, brown and red) than bicoloured (black and red), 'stands alone' in some ways, being dominated 'by a different set of genetic combinations' from other patterns (pc, Schroeder to MPO, 23/05/96).

The wide range of possibilities in tricoloured combinations makes it impossible to list specific colour patterns with a tricoloured base. Black, brown and white; black, red and white and black, yellow and white may be found in combination (see fig. 37). Brindled beasts may also display three colours. Hard and fast rules do not exist and each individual animal must be assessed with fresh eyes.

The following pattern is unknown to Schroeder or Doke and Vilakazi and has not been observed in the field but it is listed by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54, 57):

-tshinaha (i(li)tshinaha / amatshinaha) n.

i) Black beast with circles of red, tan, white, grey; red beast with circles of white and grey (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 54, 57).

6.5 DISCUSSION

The above classification of solid colour terms and those for colour-combinations give an idea of the extent and range of possible colour combinations with which the hides of Sanga-Nguni cattle may be patterned. The conformation of those colours i.e. their distribution on the hide, the features of spots, stripes, mottling etc. and the terms used to describe them, will be discussed in the following chapter.

The decision as to which name best describes a colour or a pattern is often a matter of controversy among herdsmen and cattle owners, as one cannot always be categorical in declaring that an animal belongs to one group or another. The permutations are as wide-ranging as the beasts they describe and the very fluidity of the names allows for endless combinations devised to distinguish individuals from each other as imaginatively as possible.

The notion of 'solid colours' or 'bicolour/ tricolour' patterns must therefore be approached with an open mind. Solid colours are the base from which the great variety of combined colour-pattern arises and these combinations, by their varying visual impact, have given rise to the great number of terms, so full of imagery, that are characteristic of the cattle vocabulary.

Interpretation of these terms also varies from district to district and certain ideas regarding naming, even between neighbours and families, may show patterns of preference.

*'My father bequeathed me the Crested Crane [an ox]
My father bade me not to leave my bird, the Crested Crane
I have taken over the colour-pattern of my father...'*
[Deng, 1973: 125.]

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISTRIBUTIONAL AND DESCRIPTIVE TERMS FOR CATTLE MARKINGS AND COLOUR-PATTERNS

'I found Pied-One a joy of the heart.'¹

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Approximately sixty terms exist to describe distributional cattle markings and patterns. The terms which are included in this chapter are generally descriptive of distribution and do not have reference to birds, animals, plants or other natural phenomena which will be discussed in Chapter 8 in which the metaphorical content of cattle terminology is described.

Distributional terms are those for concepts such as spots, stripes, mottled patterns, and similar terms used in naming-practice and which describe the physical conformation of patterns.

Some listed here may also be associated with colour features, but the predominant characteristic will be related to pattern. Included in this category are many relative stems with meanings such as 'gaudy', 'variegated', 'mottled' etc. These are words used to *refine* a description of a pattern. e.g. *inkomazi engamaqanda kahuye emakhwezikwezi*: a cow with the pattern 'the eggs of the lark' which is very bright. *Inco emakhwangukhwangu*, is a red and white spotted beast which is gaudy. '*Inkampu*' is a

¹. DENG, F.M. 1973. The Dinka and Their Songs. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. p. 137, line 10.

beast with a white band on a coloured body. Mottling and variegation in a pattern is described by terms such as *i(li)hwanqa*, *-hwalahwala* and *-mahaqahaqa*. Some of these terms may have metaphorical associations, but they are not necessarily connected with birds, animals, plants or other natural phenomena in the same way as the colour-patterns described in chapter 8.

Morphologically, a large number of relative stems provide terms for distributional patterns. Ideophones are also the source from which other terminology derives.

i) **Relatives:** At least twenty six relative stems are descriptive of distributional patterns. Terms such as *-mahwalahwala*, *-makhwezikhwezi*, *-manakanaka*, *-mbaxambaxa* are used to refine descriptions of cattle. Such terms refer to a certain quality of colour and, it will be noticed, are often given in the intensified form, adding a certain preciseness to the description.

ii) **Ideophones:** Distributional pattern terms also derive from ideophones. Names such as *umbhehhe* (<*hhehhe* (ideo.), of gashing, of gaping wound), *i(li)hbanggu* (<*hbanggu* (ideo.), of marking with a striped pattern), *i(li)gqaba* (<*gqaba*, of marking with spots), *-mahwalahwala* (<*hwala* (ideo.), of faintness, haziness) are also vehicles for precision in naming.

iii) **Nouns and Verbs:** Nouns such as *indonya* (a conspicuous white spot) and *i(li)klala* (mark on throat) provide precise descriptions of certain distributional patterns. The odd term is

derived from a verb such as *umshekelo* (<*sheka* (v.), to pass loose stools) used to describe a single splash of white on a darker background.

iv) **Synonyms:** Many of the distributional terms have a variety of synonyms. Features such as 'spots' can be described in many ways, the finer distinctions interpreting size, intensity, quality of distribution etc. Thus, although the many terms for spots are often listed as synonyms in the various dictionaries, it must be understood that the words do not always indicate identical concepts. Moreover, in the cattle dictionary in Appendix I (which was compiled from all known dictionary sources and data from the field), synonyms for certain terms relating to distributional patterns, may have strong metaphorical connotations. For example the term *i(li)haqahaqa* (many-coloured object) also has *i(li)hamba* (puffadder) and *imvunduna* (emerald cuckoo) listed as synonyms in the dictionaries which, without a thorough knowledge of colour-patterns and the shades of meaning and of difference between each term, could lead to unnecessary confusion.

7.2 DISTRIBUTIONAL TERMS FOR PATTERNS

The distributional patterns have been classified into the following categories:

- 7.2.1 Mottled and Variegated Patterns
- 7.2.2 Spotted Patterns
- 7.2.3 Striped Patterns
- 7.2.4 Miscellaneous Distributional Patterns
- 7.2.5 Quality and Intensity of Pattern or Colour

Although these categories may overlap sometimes - spots and

mottling may well be interpreted differently by different people - they are offered as a broad base from which distributional patterns might be understood and assessed.

7.2.1 Mottled and Variegated Patterns:

It should be noted that nearly all the terms listed below have a large number of synonyms and related terms which will be listed fully in Appendix I in the Dictionary of Cattle Terms.

1. **-bhidi (i(li)bhidi / amabhidi) n.**

i) Variegated, vari-coloured object (e.g. a vari-coloured ox). This pattern is more readily applied to goats (personal communication, Hlengwa to MPO, 11/06/96).

2. **-bhulomu (ubhulomu / obhulomu) n. [<Afr. blou.]**

i) Mottled ox.

ii) Washing blue.

This beast may be black or red mottled with white (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 52, 55).

3. **-haqahaqa (i(li)haqahaqa / amahaqahaqa) n. [>-mahaqahaqa (rel.), many-coloured.]**

i) Many coloured object.

This term is synonymous with many terms for mottling which are listed in this section.

4. **-hwalahwala (i(li)hwalahwala / amahwalahwala) n. [<hwala (ideo.), of faintness, haziness. >-mahwalahwala (rel.),**

mottled, variegated).]

i) Mottled, variegated animal or thing.

5. *-hwanqa* (*i(li)hwanqa* / *amahwanqa*) n. [*>-hwanqa* (rel.), black with grey markings.]

i) Beast with black hair plentifully mixed with grey; red beast with white markings.

ii) Bewhiskered man.

This is a very common term. *I(li)hwanqa* describes heavy mottling and beasts with this pattern are often observed. Most beasts of this pattern are black and white but not exclusively so (see figs. 17 & 20).

Bonsma *et al* (1950: 20) states that *ihwanqa* is a beast with a white-based hide with black or red or grey patches and blobs on it. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52, 55) describe *ihwanqa* / *ihwanqakazi* as a black or red beast covered with white speckles, both face and ears being coloured. In Xhosa, *irwanqa* is the name for a beast with a heavy mane or for a bewhiskered man (McLaren, 1963: 146).

6. *-hwaqahwaqa* (*isihwaqahwaqa* / *izihwaqahwaqa*) n. [*<hwaqa* (ideo.), of being gloomy, overcast). *>-mahwaqahwaqa* (rel.), mottled, variegated).]

i) Mottled, variegated animal or thing.

7. *-madixadixa* (rel.) [*<amadixadixa* (n. pl. only), muddy objects, applied to small boys playing in the mud.]

i) Covered in mud and dirt.

8. **-mahaqahaqa** (rel.) [**<amahaqahaqa.**]
 i) Many-coloured, multi-coloured. See **-haqahaqa (i(li)/ama)** above.
9. **-mahwalahwala** (rel.)
 i) Mottled, variegated. See **-hwalahwala (i(li)/ama)** above.
10. **-mahwaqahwaqa** (rel.)
 i) Mottled, variegated. See **-hwaqahwaqa (i(li)/ama)** above.
11. **-mbaxambaxa** (rel.) [**<imbaxambaxa / izimbaxambaxa (n.)**, person befouled with mud; **<baxa (ideo.)**, of squelching in mud.]
 i) Muddy; stout.

7.2.2 Spotted Patterns

With regard to spots, there is a great variety in the quality of this feature. Some are very large, others fine and speckled. Some spots are so thickly distributed that they give the impression of mottling. Each of the terms below describes the type of spot, but only a herdsman in the field can distinguish, with a discerning eye, the subtler differences between the varying qualities of spot.

1. **-bala (i(li)bala / amabala)** n. [**<bala (v.)** Ur-B. **-vala**, speck. **>-mabalabala (rel.)**]
 i) Spot, mark, stripe, cattle-marking. This is also the term for 'colour-pattern': '**amabala wezinkomo**' means the colours, patterns and marking on cattle.

2a. *-bhadu (i(li)bhadu / amabhadu) n.* [*<bhadu (ideo.)*, of a spot or dot.]

i) Large-sized or prominent spot or marking.

2b. *-bhadu (isibhadu / izibhadu) n.*

i) Prominent spot or mark. [cf. *-bhadu (i(li)/ama)*.]

2c. *-bhadubhadu (amabhadubhadu, pl. only) n.* [*<bhadu (ideo.)*, of a spot or dot. *>-mabhadubhadu (rel.)*.]

i) Pattern of spots.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52) state that *emabhadu* is another name for *ilunga*, a term applied to cattle with two prominent stripes on the back. The term *emabhadu* appears to refer to black cattle only.

3. *-donya (indonya / izindonya) n.*

i) Conspicuous white spot (as on forehead of a horse).

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53) state that *indonya*, *indonyakazi* is a black beast with a white blaze on the forehead.

4. *-fosi (rel.)*

i) Spotted in the forehead.

5. *-gqabha (i(li)gqabha / amagqabha) n.* [*<gqabha (ideo.)*, of marking with large spots.]

i) Animal or thing marked with large spots (as a butterfly, leopard.)

Emagqabhagqabha and *emagqabhagqabhakazi* is a black or red beast or cow with coloured spots all over it (Nyembezi and

Nxumalo, 1994: 52, 55).

6. **-gqiza** (v.)

i) Have white marks on the fetlocks.

Inkomo egqizile or simply, *egqizile*, describes a beast with white fetlocks (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 52).

7. **-hhehhe** (*umhhehhe* / *imihhehhe*) n. [<*hhe* (ideo.), of gaping wound, of gashing, of splitting.]

i) A beast with large spots distributed thickly over the hide (Schroeder: field). (See fig. 45.)

8. **-khangu** (*umkhangu* / *imikhangu*) n. [<*khangu* (obs.ideo.), of attraction, desire.]

i) Light patch or mark on person or animal.

Samuelson (1923: 571) lists *inomkhangu* as a beast with a noticeable spot or special mark.

9. **-khwifikhwif** (*amakhwifikhwif*, pl. only) n. [<*khwif* (ideo.), of spots, speckles.]

i) Small spots, speckles. [cf. *-makhwifikhwif* (rel.).]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53) state that *emakhwifikhwif* is a beast with an equal number of black and white speckles. The pattern is also known as *imatshehlathi*. Samuelson (1923: 570) lists *ukhwikhwi*, a black beast with tiny white spots.

10a. **-klala** (*i(li)klala* / *amaklala*) n. [<*i(li)klalathi* (n.),

black beast with white spot on throat.]

i) Beast with a spot on the throat.

10b. **-klalathi** (*i(li)klalathi* / **amaklalathi**) n. [*i(li)klala* (n.), as above.]

i) Black beast with white spot on the throat.

10c. **-klila** (*i(li)klila* / **amaklila**) n. [*>i(li)klilathi* (n.), beast with white-marked throat.] [cf. **-klala** (*i(li)/ama*).]

i) Beast with white mark on the throat.

10d. **-klilathi** (*i(li)klilathi* / **amaklilathi** [*<i(li)klila* (n.), as above.]

i) Beast with white mark on its throat.

Iklilathi may refer to a beast of any colour but which displays a white mark on its throat (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 52, 55, 57).

11. **-mabadubhadu** (rel.) [**amabadubhadu** (n.), pattern of spots.]

i) Having a pattern of spots and markings. See **-bhadubhadu** (**ama**) above.

12. **-mabalabala** (rel.) [**-bala** (v.), to count, calculate, reckon.]

i) Spotted. See **-bala** (*i(li)/ama*) above.

13. **-magqabagqaba** (rel.) [**amagqabagqaba** (n. pl. only), large-sized spots.]

i) Spotted. See **-gqabagqaba** (**ama**) above.

14. **-makhwifikhwif** (rel.)
 i) Speckled, spotted. See **-khwifikhwif** (*ama*) above.
- 15a. **-mseka** (rel.) [**<umseka** (n.), white mark on throat.]
 i) White-marked on throat.
- 15b. **-mseka** (*umseka / imiseka*) n. [**>-mseka** (rel.), as above.]
 i) White ring mark round the neck (as on crow); white mark on throat.
16. **-mzondo** (rel.) [**<umzondo** (n.), evil-smelling garden bug.]
 i) Spotted.
 ii) See **-zondo** (*um/imi*) below. (See figs. 37 & 73.)
17. **-nakazi** (*inakazi / izinakazi*) n. [**<nakaza** (v.), adorn with gaudy colours, make spotted, variegated.]
 i) Beast with white and red or white and brown spots all over the body. (See fig. 19.)
18. **-nala** (*inala / izinala*) n.
 i) Beast with white and red or white and brown spots all over its body.
 ii) Abundance.
Inakazi and *inala* are also listed under 'white and red' and 'white and brown'. (See fig. 38.)
19. **-nangananga** (*amanangananga*, pl. only) n. [**<nanga** (ideo.), be spotted; **>-manangananga** (rel.).]
 i) Spots (as on leopard).

The verb *nangaza* (v.) means to dot over with spots.

20. *-nco* (rel.) [*<inco* (n.), beast speckled red and white; species of speckled bird.]
i) Speckled red and white. (See fig. 21.)
21. *-manakanaka* (rel.) [*<amanakanaka*, pl. only (n.), of small spots, speckles of colour; *<naka* (ideo.), of being spotted, gaudily coloured, adorned.]
i) Spotted, speckled. See *-nakanaka (ama)* below.
22. *-manangananga* (rel.) [*<nanga* (ideo.), of being spotted.]
i) Spotted (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 57). See *-nangananga (ama)* (n. pl. only), spots (as on leopard) below.
23. *-mavakavaka* (rel.) [*<amavakavaka*, pl. only) n. [*<vaka* (ideo.), of being spotted, speckled, of being dotted about (like kraals).]
i) Spotted, speckled. See *-vakavaka (ama, pl. only)* below. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 57) describe this as a beast with 'mixed colours like a leopard' (*amavakavaka*).
24. *-nco (inco /izinco)* n. [*<-nco* (rel.), spotted red and white.]
i) Red and white spotted beast. (See fig. 21.)
25. *-nsasa* (rel.) [*<insasa* (n.), beast with speckled belly on

red or brown.]

i) Red or brown with speckled belly. (See fig. 47.)

26. *-nselekazi* (rel.) [*<inselekazi* (n.), white-spotted goat.]

i) White-spotted.

26b. *-nselekazi* (*inselekazi* / *izinselekazi*) n. [*>-nselekazi* (rel.), white-spotted.]

i) White-spotted (goat).

This term usually applies to a goat. Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) list it under '*umbala*' but not under *inselekazi*. *Insele* is the name for the honeybadger or ratel (*Mellivora capensis*).

27. *-phukuthu* (*isiphukuthu* / *iziphukuthu*) n. [*<phukuthu* (ideo.), of being spotted, splashed with colour on face or beak.]

i) Person or beast with splash mark on the face.

ii) Bird with a coloured beak.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 59) list *isiphukuthu* / *isiphukuthukazi* as a beast with a white splash on its face. *Isiphukutwana(e)* / *iziphukutwana(e)* is a small animal or person with a mark on its face (Doke and Vilakazi 1948: 675).

28. *-qanda* (*isiqanda* / *iziqanda*) n. [*<qanda* (v.), be very cold, be very loud, strike down, divide. *>-siqanda* (rel.), spotted, speckled.]

i) Speckled beast.

In Chapter 8: 8.2, the patterns *amaqanda kacilo*, *amaqanda kahhwayiba*; *amaqanda kaqelu* - the eggs of the lark, dikkop and pipit respectively, are listed. Note that these terms derive from *amaqanda*, eggs and *>-maqanda* (rel.), egg-laying.

29a. *-shekelo* (*umshekelo* / *imishekelo*) n. [*<ap. sheka* (v.), pass loose stools.]

i) White spot on back of black or red beast.

29b. *-sheko* (*umsheko* / *imisheko*) n. [*<sheka* (v.), pass loose stools.]

i) Red or black beast with white splash on its side or back.

30. *-siqanda* (rel.) [*<isiqanda* (n.), speckled beast.]

i) Speckled, spotted. [cf. *isiqanda* above.]

31. *-tshinaha* (*i(li)tshinaha* / *amatshinaha*) n.

i) Black beast with circles of red, tan, white and grey; red beast with circles of white and grey (only Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 54, 57). In fact, this beast may have many combinations of colour.

32. *-vakavaka* (*amavakavaka*, pl. only) n. [*<vaka* (ideo.), of spotting, dotting. *>-mavakavaka* (rel.), spotted.]

i) Spots speckling. [cf. *-mavakavaka* (rel.).]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 57) state that *amavakavaka* is a beast with colours mixed like a leopard's.

7.2.3 Striped Patterns

Stripes may take the form of large and dramatically contrasting stripes or fine brindling. Many of the terms for colour-pattern have metaphorical connotations and patterns connected with birds often feature stripes e.g. the colour-patterns *iqola* and *ilunga*, both named for the Fiscal shrike, a bird distinguished by two clear diagonal stripes on its back.

1a. *-bhangqu (i(li)bhangqu/amabhangqu)* n. [*<bangqu* (ideo.), of marking with striped pattern (as hut framework, mat, clay decorations).]

i) White stripes on the small of the back and down the sides of black or red cattle.

1b. *-bhangqule (i(li)bhangqule/ amabhangqule)* n.

i) As above.

1c. *-bhanqu (i(li)bhanqu/ amabhanqu)* n. [*<bhanqu* (ideo.), of marking with striped pattern.]

i) As above.

1d. *-bhanqule (i(li)bhanqule / amabhanqule)* n. [*<bhanqu* (ideo.), of marking with a striped pattern.]

i) As above.

Inkomo ebhangqule or *ebhangqule* is described by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52, 54) as a black beast with long white stripes across the middle and meeting on the stomach.

2. *-gampu (i(li)gampu / amagampu)* n. [*<gampu* (ideo.), of cutting, dividing, marking across, of striking across the body.]

i) Red, brown or tawny beast with white patch on side and over part of back. [cf. *-kampu (in/izin)*.]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52, 55) describe *igampu / igampukazi* as a black or red beast with a white stripe cutting through its shoulder.

3. *-nkampu (i(li)nkampu / amankampu)* n. [<*nkampu* (ideo.), of cutting in two.]

i) Beast with a white band on a coloured body. [cf. *-gampu (i(li)/ama)*.]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) describe *inkampu / inkampukazi* as a beast of many colours with a white band dividing the body.

4. *-nkone* (rel.) [<*inkone* (n.), beast with white stripe along back and underbelly and coloured side panels (Schroeder).]

i) White-ridged (along back).

This pattern merits special mention and is discussed in Chapter 6: 6.5.1.1. (See figs. 22-31).

5. *-nqamulo (umnqamulo / iminqamulo)* n. [<*nqamula* (v. trans.), cut through, amputate, lop off.]

i) A beast with a wide stripe dividing it in two across back and down the sides. Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 590) describe *umnqamulo* as a boundary or limit. (See fig. 52.)

7.2.4 Miscellaneous Distributional Patterns

There are a few terms which describe distributional features

which do not fit into categories descriptive of spots, stripes etc.:

1. *-gamanxa (i(li)gamanxa / amagamanxa)* n. [*<gamanxa (v.)*, act incompletely, do by halves.]

i) A beast with an intensely-coloured head fading into spots about the neck and then into white. Beasts were observed in the field and were called *i(li)gamanxa* which means 'incomplete' in terms of the distribution of colour. It also means a person with good facial features but a bad figure (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948: 228). (See fig. 54.)

2. *-fukufu (u(lu)fukufu / izimfukufu)* n. [*<fukufu (v.)*, of movement upwards, of pushing up, as a mole the soil.]

i) Black beast with grey and white spots about neck and throat. A variation of this pattern term is *u(lu)fukufuku*. (See fig. 53.)

7.2.5 Quality and Intensity of Colour

The following words do not describe distributional patterns but they are terms which are used in connection with attributes of colour-pattern such as 'gaudy', 'bright' etc.

1. *-makhwangukhwangu* (rel.)

i) Gaudy, showy, attractive.

I(li)khwangukhwangu is not given as a term for cattle in Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60). However, the relative stem, *-makhwangukhwangu* is listed under 'umbala' as a term used in connection with cattle.

2. *-makhwazikhwazi* (rel.)

i) Gaudy, attractive.

3. *-makhwezikhwezi* (rel.) [*<i(li)khwezi* (n.), bright colour.
<*amakhwezikhwezi* (n. pl. only), bright, multi-coloured
object.]

i) Brightly- coloured. (See *-khwezikhwezi (i(li)/ama)*
above.)

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) do not record *-makhwezikhwezi*
in connection with cattle. However, Nyembezi and Nxumalo
(1994: 57) state that *inkomo emakhwezikhwezi* is a beast
with bright colours standing out all over the body.

4. *-makhwengukhwengu* (rel.)

i) Gaudy, attractive.

7.3 DISCUSSION

The patterns listed above cover those that are mottled and variegated, spotted, striped, piebald and also embrace terms for concepts such as 'gaudy', 'bright' and 'attractive'.

In summary, these terms related to distributional patterns describe specific pattern features such as striped, spots and mottling. They are not metaphorical in the sense that colour-patterns are which relate to animals, birds, plants and other natural phenomena, but describe with fine (and evocative) precision, details of patterning which enable the herdsman to distinguish one beast from another.

Those distributional pattern terms which are synonymous with

other colour-patterns with strong metaphorical connections appear to be used in a 'secondary' sense or as an addition to description. e.g. a finely-spotted beast may well be described as *inkomo emakhwifikhwifi* but is more likely to be called by a more common term denoting spottedness such as *inala*, *ematshezulu*, *insasa* (all depending on the appearance of the spots), the term *emakhwifikhwifi* being an additional descriptive feature.

Certain of the distributional cattle terms are commonly used and are what I would call 'primary' distributional pattern terms. These distributional patterns are frequently observed and are core terms in cattle terminology. Among them, the following could appropriately be called 'primary':

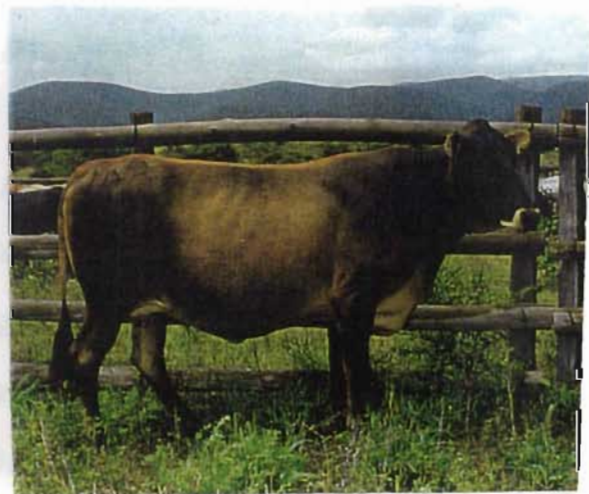
- i) *ibhidi*
- ii) *umhhehhe*
- iii) *ihwanqa*
- iv) *inala*
- v) *inco*
- vi) *inkone*
- viii) *insasa*

Of these the *inkone* pattern has been dealt with in detail in Chapter 6: 6.1.1 due to its great prominence as a distributional pattern. Another distributional pattern which is significant is *ihwanqa* which denotes heavily mottled animals (see figs.17 & 20) and which is very commonly observed among Sanga-Nguni cattle. The distributional pattern *inco* (figs.48 & 49) is a common term describing beasts with large red spots on a white base and *inala* (fig. 38), describes finer red and brown spots on a white base.

Lesser used distributional pattern terms such as *-navakavaka*, *-manangananga*, *-mahaqahaqa*, *-madixadixa*, I have designated as 'secondary' distributional patterns.

These distributional pattern terms are an indication of the definition which Zulu-speakers are at pains to employ in describing their cattle. The cultural importance of these animals and the need to identify them accurately has given rise to this comprehensive and complex aspect of naming-practice.





CHAPTER EIGHT:

COLOUR-PATTERNS WITH METAPHORICAL ASSOCIATIONS

*'White-faced Butcher Bird, Most Beautiful,
In spring's verdure she leads the herdboys astray,
The time the cattle feast upon the black stubs of burnt
grass,
And their herdboys have intensity in their eyes;'¹*

8.1 INTRODUCTION:

The beauty and complexity of the Zulu names for the various colour-patterns of Sanga-Nguni cattle lie in their metaphorical associations. Many of these names must be of ancient origin, for, all over Africa, cattle are associated with birds, plants and trees and the similarities in naming-practice is a field of comparative study which is relatively unexplored at present. However, it is clear from the little evidence which is available that, in the consciousness of the people who owned the indigenous cattle of Africa, there were - and are - similarities in the perception of cattle and a naming-practice which associates these cattle with phenomena found in the environment in which they live.

Writing in 1925, Marcel Jousse (1990 translation: xxi), commented on people who have lived in close contact with the soil and who have relied on the oral art to transmit ideas:

'It goes without saying that they could not decline rosa "rose", but they could identify different types of wheat, corn, barley and oats, they know the various kinds of good

¹ Kunene, D.P. 1971. The Heroic Poetry of the Basotho. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. p. 142.

corn, barley and oats, they know the various kinds of good and harmful herbs. To designate them they used the sorts of picturesque names that we, in our bookish civilisation, use on poems. This is the life as it is lived in close contact with the soil, sap, wind, and sky. This is that which constitutes the genuine education of the living concrete individual, in contact with actual objects.'

Among the Zulu, historically, that contact with the earth, the environment and the close and intimate association with the herds, contributed a major part to the education of every member of the society. Commenting on the metaphorical names employed for cattle by the people of the Nile region, Lienhardt (1961: 10-11) states:

'These metaphors show to what extent and in what detail Dinka thought is orientated towards their herds, and how each configuration of colour can form the centre of a whole field of diverse experience, linking one apperception with another.'

He adds that these names are of great sociological interest demonstrating, as they do, the way in which symbols relating to colours and their distribution are formed and the way in which language can serve as a tool in economic relations.

Many of the names for colour-patterns in Zulu are old, this being demonstrated by evidence from early praise poetry, court records in which the colour of a beast serves as crucial evidence and in the similarity in naming practice between Bantu-speaking people throughout Africa. Further, it has been noted, wherever cattle nomenclature has been described, that the term which denotes the colour-configuration, also has another meaning related to something of a similar configuration in nature or in the culture of the people concerned. Speaking of the Dinka, Lienhardt (1961: 12) says that the connection between the beast

and the thing to which it is related, is consciously made.

'[They] explicitly connect the basic colour-terms for their beasts with the source from which they derive.'

Among the Zulu many of the terms for the colour-patterns of cattle, refer to birds. Some of these names are falling into disuse and some of the birds to which they refer are seldom seen in the Zulu-speaking area due to dwindling habitat. Names also have regional differences. Many Zulu speakers questioned and even herdsmen interviewed in the field, often did not know the terms for colour-pattern or had a limited range at their disposal. For example, some made little distinction between different black and white beasts, generally referring to *ilunga* or *iwaba* when, in terms of names rendered by other herdsmen with more extensive knowledge, black and white cattle enjoyed a wide range of names, in which the finer distinctions between different conformations of black and white in colour-pattern were observed and applied. Others knew the name for the colour-pattern but did not associate the term with a bird, animal, plant or tree. In this connection, Lienhardt (1961: 12) makes an interesting observation about the Dinka which could, as aptly, be applied to the Zulu. He says:

'The basic vocabulary of names for configurations of colour in cattle is fixed and traditional, consisting of words for colours and combinations of light and shade which a Dinka learns to use from childhood, perhaps without initially having seen what it is, in wild nature, to which they refer ... A Dinka may thus recognize the configuration in nature by reference to what he first knows of it in the cattle on which his attention, from childhood, is concentrated.'

For the Dinka, as for other Nilotic pastoralists, the very perception of light, dark and shade is influenced by cattle terms and even where a people have lost their cattle they retain, nevertheless, a colour vocabulary which derives from cattle-

colours and from which poetic images are developed.

Although most names may indeed be fixed and traditional, as Lienhardt has suggested and which seems evident from observation in the field among Zulu pastoralists, new names are added although these may only have a limited currency. An example already cited is of the name '*ubullybeef*' instead of *impemvu* (White helmetshrike), for a red beast with a white face, linking it with the picture on the label of a well-known brand of corned meat.

Knowledge of cattle terms, which was once an extensive part of the everyday vocabulary of the Zulu population, has become something of a specialist area in 'oral art'. Writing at the beginning of the century Stuart (nd (b): 18) observed:

'The power of the Zulu language in expressing concisely the most prominent characteristics of cattle is certainly remarkable and possibly unsurpassed by any other tongue.'

The 'genuine education of the living concrete individual, in contact with actual objects' to which Jousse (1990: xxi) referred, has a different focus in contemporary times. It would be interesting to compare the currently employed vocabulary of Nuer and Dinka cattle-terms with the detailed and extensive lists collected by Evans-Pritchard and Lienhardt forty to sixty years ago and to investigate the extent to which these may or may not have changed.

In his work The Oral Style (1990) Marcel Jousse writes that the preferred instrument of philosophical (intuitive) thought is metaphor and that pre-literate people deployed their keen powers of observation and knowledge of animals, birds and plants to inform the ways in which they expressed moral notions which

applied to men. The speech was fluent, figurative and metaphorical.

Vail and White (1991: 71) in researching the praise poetry of Mozambique, observed that metaphors, by linking concrete images with abstract concepts:

'have the characteristic of uniting physical and metaphysical elements into a rich compound of meaning. Like theory, they transcend empiricism, but in an open manner, cherishing complexity and receptive to fresh experience and interpretation.'

The striking aspect of the naming of cattle colour-patterns in metaphorical terms is the very close visual link between the colour-pattern of the beast and the bird, plant, animal or object with which it is associated. The selection of figures facing the first page of this chapter illustrate this very clearly. In such metaphors a wide range of experience gleaned from the natural world is referred to the central theme of cattle. These names are rich in allusion, a device, writes Okpewho (1992: 100):

'whereby ... an image is used in a tightly compressed form ... frequently in the form of compressed metaphors.'

In terms of arranging cattle-terms with metaphorical associations in a number of categories according to association, the following have been devised:

- i) Colour-Patterns Associated with Birds
- ii) Colour-patterns Associated with Animals
- iii) Colour-Patterns Associated with Plants
- iv) Colour-patterns Associated with Other Natural Phenomena.

8.2 NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH BIRDS

Of all the phenomena linked with colour-patterns in cattle, birds provide the most varied and striking association. **Thirty-seven** names for colour-patterns with metaphorical reference to birds are recorded here. There are doubtless more and it is clear from observation in the field that the regional distribution of birds plays a role in whether a particular bird-associated colour-pattern is known in a certain area or not. Other colour-patterns, such as the name linked with the Kori Bustard, '*umngqithi*', are still recognised even though the bird to which the term refers is not known in the region. It must be emphasized, however, that only people with an extensive knowledge of cattle terminology are inclined to be familiar with such names.

1. **-cubu** (*ubucubu* sg. only) [**<cubu** (ideo.), of squashing, of crumbling.]

i) Chick, young of any bird or domestic fowl, young animal not fully developed.

ii) Ruddy (common) waxbill (*Estrilda astrild*).

Roberts gives the Zulu name *iNtiyane* for the Common Waxbill. This does not mean it is the only name by which this bird is known. Samuelson (1923: 569) lists *icubhu* as a brown-coloured beast with splashes of white here and there on the flanks. Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 127) list **cubu** as an ideophone meaning, of dipping, splashing, crumbling. *Ukucubhaza* means to leave dirty marks with feet or hands.

2. **-dokwe** (*umdokwe*, sg. only) n. [**>-mdokwe** (rel.), reddish.]
- i) Red or brown cow (Nyembezi and Mxumalo, 1994: 55).
 - ii) Porridge; species of climbing plant.
 - iii) Levaillant's cisticola (*Cisticola tinniens*).
- Doke and Vilakazi give this term under '**umbala**' but not under '**umdokwe**'. It is more likely that this colour is associated with the concept of 'porridge-coloured'. However, the bird, Levaillant's cisticola, has a similar colour and may itself have been called **umdokwe** because of the similarity in its colour with that of the cereal.
3. **-hhemu** (*i(li)hhemu* / *amahhemu*) n. [**<hhemu** (ideo.), of showing two colours (e.g. ox; shield; landscape partly cultivated, partly not; patchy rainfall; of being crested.)]
- i) Black or red beast (on one side of the body) with white patches on the other; shield similarly coloured.
- uNohhemu** / **oNohhemu** is the name for the Crowned Crane (*Balearica regulorum*) which has a colour-pattern similar to that described above. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52, 55.) describe '**ihhemu/ihhemukazi**' as '**imnyama ngahlanye, imhlophe ngahlanye**' adding that white is found on both flanks.
4. **-hwayiba** (*uhhwayiba* / *ohhwayiba*) n.
- i) Beast of greyish colour; species of bird.
 - ii) Type of large bead called **amaqanda kahhwayiba**.
- The colour-pattern **amaqandakahhwayiba** is mottled and consists of densely-scattered brown and reddish and even

black spots. There are many terms which are listed as synonymous, but, as with most synonyms for colour-patterns, are not identical, but similar. The distributional patterns like *-mahwaqahwaqa*, *-mahaqahaqa*, *-mahwanqa*, which are generally associated with mottled colour conformations are usually seen as synonymous.

The bird, *uhhwayiba*, is said to be the Spotted or Cape Dikkop (*Burhinus capensis*). The colour-pattern found in cattle is known as *amaqandakahhwayiba*, the 'eggs of the dikkop' and is common. The eggs of the Spotted Dikkop were compared with a photograph of a cow with the colour-pattern *amaqanda kahhwayiba* and the similarity in the patterns was striking. (Fig. 34.)

5. *-hlabavu (inhlabavu / izinhlabavu)* n. [fem. <*inhlabavukazi / izinhlabavukazi*.]

i) Reddish cow with colours. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 56) relate this to the term '*inhlamvu*' which is the name for the Honeyguide (*Indicator indicator*).

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) do not list *inhlabavu* among the cattle terms.

6. *-hlalamagwababa (inhlalamagwababa / izinhlalamagwababa)* n. [lit. <*hlala* ([where] sits) + *amagwababa* (the crows).]

i) Beast of unspecified pattern (Murray, 1956: no pagination).

Inhlalamagwababa and *umhlalamagwababa* refer to a species of tree (*Bridelia micrantha*) according to Doke and Vilakazi

(1948: 314). Murray lists the term for cattle as *intlalamagwababa*.

7a. *-hlamvazana* (*inhlamvazana* / *izinhlamvazana*) n. [contraction from *inhlamvukazana*, dim.<*inhlamvukazi*.]

i) Small cow or heifer of a light brown colour.

Doke and Vilakazi list *-hlamvu* (*i(li)hlamvu* / *amahlamvu* (n.)) as a bright, shining object and give it as a name for the Honeyguide (*Indicator indicator*). [cf. *-hlamvu* (*i(li)/ama*) and *-hlava* (*in/izin*)].

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 56) state that *inhlabavu* / *inhlabavukazi* is also called *inhlamvu*. Doke and Vilakazi do not mention cattle under *inhlamvu*, but call *inhlamvukazi* a light brown cow. *Inhlava* is another name for the honeyguide.

7b. *-hlamvukazi* (*inhlamvukazi* / *izinhlamvukazi*) n. [contr. dim. *inhlamvazana*; >*-nhlamvukazi* (rel.), light brown).]

i) Cow of a light brown colour.

The relationship with the honeyguide is yet to be fully established but, taking the colour of both bird and beast into account, it suggests that a connection exists. (See fig. 34.)

8. *-kholo* (*ukholo* / *okholo*) n. [>*-kholo* (rel.), slate-coloured, bluish.]

i) Slate-coloured beast.

ii) Yellowbilled kite (*Milvus migrans*). [cf. *-kholwe* (u/o);

-*nhloyile* (u/o).]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 57) state that the colour-pattern '*ukholo*' resembles the colour of the plumage of the hawk. They state that this colour-pattern is similar to *umdaka*, *umdubu* and *intenjane*, all terms for dun although a beast of the *intenjane* colour-pattern can also be grey and white. The term is said to refer specifically to the Yellowbilled kite (*Milvus migrans*), *ukholo*.

9. -*khozi* (u(lu)*khozi* / *izinkozi*) n. [Ur-B. -*koli*, hawk.]

i) Black beast with white marks on belly and speckling on forehead.

ii) Black Eagle (*Aquila verreauxii*), Martial Eagle (*Polemaetus bellicosus*).

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52) describe *ukhozi* as a black beast with stomach and poll covered in white speckles. (See fig. 56.)

10. -*landa* (*ilanda* / *amalanda*) n.

i) Cattle egret (*Bubulcus ibis*). [cf. -*nyonikayiphumuli* (*in/izin*).]

The cattle egret is also known as *umlindankomo*, lit. 'what waits for the cattle' (Roberts, 1985: 53).]

At Iphiva farm, Hluhluwe district (Aug. 1994), it was suggested by a cattleherd that '*ilanda*' refers to a beast which is completely white, horns and all (see -*bungu* (*um/imi*) which distinguishes it from *inyonikayiphumuli*, the term for a white beast with black 'points' or 'royal Zulu'.

11. **-lunga** (*i(li)lunga* / *amalunga*) n. [**>-lunga** (rel.), black or brown with white stripes.]
- i) Black or brown beast with white stripes across stomach and legs. [cf. **-waba** (*i(li)/ama*).]
- ii) Species of shrike. Fiscal shrike (*Lanius collaris*). This colour-pattern is always connected with strong diagonal stripes which resemble the stripes of white seen against the black plumage of the Fiscal shrike when not in flight. Other words connected with it are distributional terms for stripes. Its closest synonym is *i(li)qola* which is also listed in Roberts (1985: 641) as a name for the Fiscal shrike. I would like to suggest that the term *i(li)qola* is the name for the Fiscal flycatcher, for which Roberts does not give a Zulu name (1985: 609) but which is known as *icola* in Xhosa.
12. **-lukhozi** (rel.) [**u(lu)khozi** (n.), eagle.]
- i) Black with white marks on belly and speckling on forehead. See **-khozi** (*u(lu)/izin*).
13. **-maqanda** (rel.), laying, egg-laying.
- i) See **-qanda** (*i(li)/ama*) & (*isi/izi*) below.
14. **-ngquphane** (rel.) [**<umngquphane** (n.), brown beast with white above the eyes; Blackcrowned tchagra; **<ngqupha** (ideo.) of nodding, sleepiness.]
- i) Brown and white above the eyes.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53, 56) state that this beast is black or red with white in its face and widely spread on the body. Field experience indicates a brown beast with white stripes above the eyes (Schroeder/ MPO).

15. **-mpemvu** (rel.) [**<impemvu** (n.), beast with white markings on the face.]

i) White-faced, having white markings on the face. See **-phemvu** (**im/izim**) below.

I(li)phemvu / amapphemvu is the name for the White Helmetshrike (*Prionops plumatus*) which is also known as **umthimbakazane**. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53, 56) state that **impemvu** is a black or red beast with a white face and white sometimes sprinkled on the legs. (See fig. 62.)

16. **-mpofazana** (**impofazana / izimpofazana**) n. [**<impofu** (n.), eland.]

i) Tawny, dun-coloured cow. [cf. **-mpofu** (rel.); **-phofu** (**im/izim**).]

ii) Wattled starling (*Creatophora cinerea*).

It is most likely that this colour-pattern relates to **impofu**, the eland, and that the bird also derives its name from this source. '**Impofu**' is a commonly-used word for 'tawny' in Zulu. (See fig. 7.)

17. **-ngqithi** (**umngqithi / imingqithi**) n.

i) Light brown and white beast.

ii) Kori Bustard (*Ardeotis kori*).

In the field Schroeder has recorded *umngqithikazi*, a light brown cow, the colour of which resembles a Kori Bustard very closely. The Kori Bustard is not found in KwaZulu-Natal and it is possible that this is an old name dating from earlier times. The most probable source of derivation is from Xhosa and/or Khoi. Herders, when questioned, said it was named for a 'big bird' (MPO: field.) (See fig. 58.)

18. *-ngquphane (umngquphane / imingquphane) n.* [*<ngqupha* (ideo.), of nodding, sleepiness. *>-mngquphane* (rel.), brown with white above the eyes.]

i) Brown beast with white above the eyes.

ii) Blackcrowned tchagra (*Tchagra senegala*); Southern tchagra (*Tchagra tchagra*).

19. *-nhlekwane (unhlekwane / onhlekwane) n.*

i) Black beast with white stripes running from shoulders to sides. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53) list '*inkomo enhlekwane*'.

ii) Common widow-bird (*Vidua funerea*) (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948: 568); Pintailed Whydah (*Vidua macroura*) (Roberts, 1985: 767). Roberts gives no Zulu name for the Black Widowfinch (*Vidua funerea*) but the Pintailed Whydah (*Vidua macroura*) is known as *uHlekwane* and visually resembles the cattle colour-pattern described.

20. *-nkanku (inkanku / izinkanku) n.*

i) Brown or black beast with white stripe along the belly.

ii) Jacobin Cuckoo (*Clamator jacobinus*).

Doke and Vilikazi (1948: 575) say that both the 'Striped crested cuckoo' and the 'Jacobin crested cuckoo' are called *inkanku*. Roberts (1985: 333) names only the Jacobin cuckoo '*inkanku*'. Both birds are very similar although the Striped Cuckoo is only found on the very northern limits of the Zulu-speaking area. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53) describe *inkanku/ inkankukazi* as a black beast with white scattered up the flank to meet on top of the back. (See fig. 59.)

21. *-nkwazi (inkwazi / izinkwazi)* n.

i) Black beast with white head.

ii) Fish eagle (*Haliaeetus vocifer*).

22a. *-nsasa* (rel.) [*<insasa* (n.), beast with speckled belly.]

i) Red or brown with speckled belly.

This term is linked to a number of other colour-patterns such as *-nsiphozanabele* which is a red roan pattern meaning 'dregs of millet', *amasavutshiwe* meaning 'ripe sour milk', *umvubomabele* (stew made of millet) and *-mavovo* (dregs). The *insasa* pattern describes soft speckling on the edges of solid colour. It was suggested by a herdsman in the field that the term was linked to the word for 'dawn' (*ukusa*).

22b. *-nsasa (insasa / izinsasa)* n. [*>nsasa* (rel.), red or brown with speckled belly. [cf. *<-sa (uku)*, dawn.]

i) Red or brown beast with speckled belly.

22c. *-nsasakazi* (rel.) [*<insasakazi* (n.), red or brown cow with speckled belly.]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54, 56) state that this beast is black or red with fine speckling on legs and flanks.

Insansa is a 'species of small bird speckled black and white' (Doke and Vilakazi 1948: 598). A bird named *intsasa* in Xhosa is the Goldenbreasted Bunting (*Emberiza flaviventris*) which is brightly-coloured in black, white, yellow and orange. It is not a speckled bird. *Insasana* is a striped pipit (*Anthus lineiventris*) which is brown and white with a speckled belly (*intsasana* - Xhosa). (See fig. 47.)

23. *-nsingizisuka* (*insingizi* / *izinsingizi* + *-suka*) [lit. *<insingizi* (the hornbill) + *suka* (goes off).]

i) Black beast with a white patch between the inner hind leg and the belly .

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54) state that informants have said that this colour-pattern is the same as *iwaba*. However, the pattern known as *i(li)waba* or *i(li)wasa* describes a broad white vertical stripe over the body of the beast towards the flank. *Insingiz'isuka* is a pattern conformation in which a black or dark beast has a patch of white either on its belly in a place which is obscured and then exposed as the beast walks or which runs along the lower inside edge of the haunch of a black beast. This pattern resembles the plumage of the Ground hornbill (*Bucorvus leadbeateri*), a black bird which, when it takes

to flight, exposes the white of its large white primary feathers.

24a. *-ntenjane* (rel.) [*<intenjane* (n.), dun-coloured beast with white patches.]

i) Dun-coloured with white patches.

24b. *-ntenjane* (*intenjane* / *izintenjane*) n. [*>-ntenjane* (rel.), as above]

i) Dun-coloured beast with white patches on flanks and back.

In Southern Sotho *lethejane* is the name for a Crowned Plover (*Vanellus coronatus*). The beast is patterned similarly to the bird. Informants in the field stated that *intenjane* was the name of a bird but were vague as to what kind except that it was a large, ground bird. The synonyms listed in the dictionaries give a wide range of terms, most of which refer to the dun coloration. In meaning the terms range from dark dun (*-mdaka*) to the palest creamy-dun (*-phethikhowe*). Nobbs (1927: 342) recorded *intenjane* as a colour-pattern term in Sindebele (Zimbabwe) and stated that it was a 'vaal' or 'light dun' beast 'like a kiwiki' [sic]. The common name for the Crowned Plover is 'kiewietjie'. (See fig. 61 and figures facing first page of this chapter.)

25a. *-nsomi* (rel.) [*i(li)nsomi* and *i(li)somi* (n.), purplish black beast; Redwinged starling (*Onychognathus morio*).]

i) Dark purple colour; blue-black.

25b. *-nsomi (i(li)nsomi / amansomi)* n. [*>nsomi* (rel.) purplish, blue-black.]

i) Purplish and red beast.

ii) Redwinged Starling (*Onychognathus morio*).

[cf. *-somi (i(li)/ama)*.]

This colour-pattern incorporates black, red and brown. The black is purplish. The term is especially evocative: a Redwinged starling in flight gives the impression of a blur of red with deep purplish-black at the extremities. The colour-pattern of the beast reflects this visual image exactly. (See fig. 65.)

26. *-nyonikayiphumuli (inyonikayiphumuli, sg. only)* n. [lit. *inyoni* (the bird) + *kayiphumuli* (that never rests).]

i) Cetshwayo's Royal cattle; spotless white object.

These are 'royal' white cattle with black muzzles, horns, hooves and ears. The black 'points' are a distinguishing feature of this colour-pattern. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 59) state that these beasts are completely white. A white beast, however, is known as '*umhlophe*' or '*ilanda*' or '*umbungu*' and the '*inyonikayiphumuli*' colour-pattern always displays the black points. (See Chapter 6: 6.2.1).

In a letter to an unknown recipient, Lugg (letter, n.d.) says:

'The name means the birds that have no rest because these white cattle were so numerous that they gave no rest to the tick birds that followed them.'²

² Lugg, H.C. nd. Letter to unknown recipient. Uncatalogued manuscript, no. 1412, File 2, Killie Campbell Africana Library, University of Natal, Durban.

In the same letter, Lugg notes that *inyonikayiphumuli* was a 'nick name' given to the amaMboza or Tulwana regiment because they carried white shields. This regiment was formed in about 1854. Lugg states:

'This regiment was formed by Mpande in about 1854 and fought on the side of Mpande's son Mbulazi or Mbuyazi when his forces were signally defeated and himself killed at the battle of Ndongakusuka on the banks of the Thugela in 1856 by his brother Cetshwayo.'

Simelane (letter, Sept. 1996) has a slightly different interpretation. He states:

'These cattle were especially bred for His Majesty the King. They had very short hair on their skins and ticks could not rest on them. As a result, the birds that ate ticks could not worry themselves looking for ticks on this herd. That is why it was called '*Inyonikayiphumuli*'.'
(See fig. 1 & 2.)

27. *-phemvu* (*impemvu* / *izimpemvu*) n. [*>-mpemvu* (rel.), white markings on the face.]

i) Beast with white markings on the face.

I(li)phemvu / *amaphemvu* is the name for the White Helmetshrike (*Prionops plumatus*). Another name for this bird is *umthimbakazane*. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53, 56) state that *impemvu* is a black or red beast with a white face. White is sometimes sprinkled on the legs. (See fig. 62.)

28. *-qandakacilo* (*amaqandakacilo*, pl. only) n. [*<amaqanda* (the eggs) + *kacilo* (of the lark): lit. the eggs of the lark.]

i) White beast with small red speckles, resembling the marking on the eggs of a lark (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 57). It is assumed that the names *ucilo* and *uh(h)uye(i)*,

neither of which appear in Roberts, refer to the Rufousnaped Lark (*Mirafra africana*) which is prominent in Zulu folklore and which is found over the whole area where Zulu is spoken. In colour and pattern, its eggs resemble the beast in question. (See fig. 64.)

29. **-qandakahuye(i)** (**amaqandakahuye(i)** pl. only) n.

[<**amaqanda** (the eggs) + **kahuye** (the lark): lit. the eggs of the lark.]

i) White beast with small red speckles resembling the marking on the eggs of the Rufousnaped lark (*Mirafra africana*) (Schroeder).

It is assumed that the names **ucilo** and **uhuye(i)**, neither of which appear in Roberts, both refer to the Rufousnaped Lark (*Mirafra africana*) which is prominent in Zulu folklore and which is found over the whole area where Zulu is spoken. The eggs of this lark resemble closely the colour-pattern in question. (See fig. 11 & figures facing the first page of this chapter.)

30. **-qandakahwayiba** (**amaqandakahwayiba**, pl. only) n.

[<**amaqanda** (the eggs) + **kahwayiba** (of the dikkop): lit. the eggs of the dikkop / plover.]

i) White beast with brown spots and circles all over the body, resembling the eggs of the dikkop (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 57). [cf. **hwayiba (u/o)**; **-wayiba (u/o)**.]

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 306) describe **uwayiba** and **uhwayiba** as 'a large bird'. Roberts does not give either

name. Personal communication with Schroeder and Koopman indicates that this is a dikkop. *Uhhwayiba* is the name recorded by Koopman for this bird from people interviewed in the Loskop area of KwaZulu-Natal. Ngcobo stated that an inspanned team of four white or light-coloured oxen, was also known collectively as '*amaqandakahhwayiba*' (pc Ngcobo to MPO, February 1996). (See fig. 34.)

31. *-qandakaqelu* (*amaqandakaqelu*, pl. only) n. [*<amaqanda* (the eggs) + *kaqelu* (of the pipit): lit. the eggs of the pipit.]

i) White beast with red speckles sprinkled all over it, resembling the eggs of the pipit (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 57).

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 693) state that *uqelu* is a small bird. The term is not found in Roberts although *unngcelu* is the name for Richard's Pipit (*Anthus novaeseelandiae*). Its eggs are lightly speckled with rusty red, especially at the thick end.

The above names, all connected with '*amaqanda*', are also linked to words which indicate patterns which are speckled or mottled such as *-mahwalahwala* (rel.).

32. *-iqola* (*i(li)qola* / *amaqola*) n.

i) Beast with white on small of back and stripes down sides.

ii) Fiscal shrike (*Lanius collaris*). See *-lunga* (*i(li)*) above.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54) also list the variations *iqolakazi* and *iqolazana* for 'cow' and 'young cow' respectively.

33. *-somi (i(li)somi / amasomi)* n.

i) Purplish-black and red beast. See *-nsomi (i(li)/ama)*.

ii) Redwinged Starling (*Onychognathus morio*).

(See fig. 65.)

34. *-thekwane (uthekwane / othekwane)* n. [*>ubuthekwane* (n.), bunch of feathers worn behind the head like that of the hamerkop (*Scopus umbretta*).]

i) Beast with a head shaped like that of a hamerkop.

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) list '*-thekwane*' under '*umbala*' but not under '*-thekwane*'.

Ngcobo stated that this term did not refer to colour but, specifically, to the conformation of head and horns resembling the hamerkop's crest (pc Ngcobo to MPO, Feb. 1996).

35. *-vemve (umvemve / imivemve)* n.

i) Young feeble calf.

ii) Cape wagtail (*Motacilla capensis*).

This entry does not refer to a colour-pattern but to a type of beast. However, the delicacy of the wagtail bird and the young calf are associated in this metaphorical name. The wagtail is seen as 'a bird of the cattle' and its presence where cattle are kept is a sign of good fortune resulting

in the protection of wagtails by herdsmen.

It should be noted that *umvemve* is a name for a colour-pattern in Sindebele (Elliot, 1911: 478), descriptive of a black beast with large white flame-shaped patches.

36. *-vukuthu (i(li)vukuthu / amavukuthu)* n. [*<vukuthu (ideo.)*, of cooing.]

i) Beast with colours like a pigeon (Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 57).

ii) Rock pigeon (*Columba guinea*). (See fig. 66.)

37. *-vunduna (imvunduna / izimvunduna)* n.

i) Black beast with white spots scattered on the body; dark grey mottled beast.

ii) Emerald cuckoo (*Chrysoccyx cupreus*).

This name is similar to terms which denote mottling such as *-hwalahwala (i(li)/ama)*; *-hwanqa (i(li)/ama)*.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53, 56) describe *imvunduna / imvundunakazi* as a black or brown beast with white spots scattered all over the body.

Comparing the Zulu names for the colour-patterns of cattle which are associated with birds with those known among the Xhosa, a few Xhosa names emerged which are not found among the Zulu but which are of interest. The following were listed by Biggs (letter to MPO 2/05/95):

i) *inkomo egwagga* - light brown or bay beast named for the Rufousnaped lark (*Mirafra africana*)

ii) *inkomo engqabe* - red beast with a white forehead or

with white marks on the head, linked to the Cape sparrow (*Passer melanurus*)

iii) *inkomo enqilo* - beast with a white patch on the throat named for the Orangethroated longclaw (*Macronyx capensis*);

iv) *inkomo endlazi* - brown beast, the colour of the Speckled mousebird (*Colius striatus*). The term *isidlazi*, also derived from the name of the mousebird, is used to describe a beast with wide-spreading horns which turn slightly downwards, reminiscent of the conformation of a mousebird's wings when it is in flight.

v) *inkomo empangele* - a beast with speckled hindquarters, named for the guineafowl (*Numida meleagris*).

Terms such as *ilunga*, *iwaba*, *impemvu* and *intenjane* are known to the Ndebele of Zimbabwe (Nobbs, 1927: 342.).

8.3 NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS, REPTILES AND INSECTS

Terms connected with animals, including insects and reptiles are not as numerous as those associated with birds. It would seem that among other cattle-keeping people such as the Nuer, the Xhosa, the Ndebele and the Swazi there is a preponderance of names connected with birds as well.

1. *-cimbi omganu* (*amacimbi omgano* pl. only) n. [lit. *amacimbi* (the caterpillars) + *omganu* (of the marula tree [*Sclerocarya caffra*].)]

i) White beast finely speckled with dark spots resembling the caterpillars found on the marula tree. (Schroeder only.)

I(li)cimbi / *amacimbi* are large, hairless edible caterpillars which are green or black.

Another name for them is *amaxingovu* (pc Mngomezulu to MPO, May 1995.) (See fig. 68.) A beast observed in the field with Mngomezulu was described by him as *umzondo omacimbi omganu*, 'garden bug which is the caterpillars of the Marula tree.'

2. *-dube (i(li)dube / amadube)* n.

i) Zebra; beadwork with horizontal stripes.

Doke and Vilakazi do not mention '*idube*' under cattle. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966: 55) list *idube / idubekazi*, describing it as a red beast with a black stripe dividing the body or a grey beast divided by a white stripe. *Idube* is the rarest colour-pattern (pc, Mngomezulu of the Veterinary Department, Hluhluwe to MPO (May, 1995) and Simelane (letter, Sept., 1996).)

3. *-fezi (imfezi / izimfezi)* n.

i) Black or red beast with a white mark across its throat (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 53, 56).

ii) Spitting cobra. (See fig. 55.)

4a. *-fukufu (u(lu)fukufu / izimfukufu)* n. [<*fuku* (ideo.), of movement upwards.]

i) Black beast with grey and white spots about neck and throat.

4b. *-fukufuku (u(lu)fukufuku / izimfukufuku)* n.

i) Black beast with white speckles all over the neck (Nyembezi & Nxumalo, 1994: 52).

Imfukumfuzi / izimfukumfuzi) is the name for a mole.

Inkomo emfukumfuzi describes a beast with speckles around the throat. This description renders the idea of the spots on the beast being pushed up about the throat in the same way as a mole pushes up soil when tunnelling. Other mole-associated names are related to the colour of the mole and are greyish or dun-coloured animals, e.g. *-thuku (um/imi)*.

5. *-hamba (i(li)hamba / amahamba)* n.

i) Puffadder. [cf. *-hungqu (i(li)/ama)*; *-hunqu (i(li)/ama)*.]

ii) Thickly-whiskered man.

This term is associated with the heavily mottled patterns such as *-hungqu(i(li)/ama)*; *-hwalahwala (i(li)/ama)*; *-hwanqa (i(li)/ama)*;

Doke and Vilakazi do not mention cattle under

'*uhamba*'. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 57) state that *inkomo ehamba/ ehambakazi* is equally coloured with black and white and that the name is similar to '*imahwalahwala*.'

6. *-hlangwe (umhlangwe / imihlangwe)* n.

i) Large, dust-coloured, non-poisonous snake with a prominent spine.

The name *umhlangwe* is found neither in Doke and Vilakazi nor in Nyembezi and Nxumalo but has been encountered in the field many times (Schroeder). The beast is a dun *inkone* with a conspicuously white line along the spine and on the belly. It resembles the Cape file snake very closely and

herdsmen in the field have said that the colour-pattern is named for the snake. The dun varies from a deep shade to the palest dun. (See figs. 13 & 69.)

7a. *-hungqu (i(li)hungqu / amahungqu)* n. [*>-hungqu* (rel.), brindled, mottled.]

i) Brindled or mottled animal or thing (e.g. puffadder or tortoise-shell). [cf. *-hunqu (i(li)/ama)*; *-ngampisi (i(li)/ama)*.]

7b. *-hunqu (i(li)hunqu / amahunqu)* n. [*>-hunqu* (rel.), brindled, mottled.]

i) As above.

Doke and Vilakazi do not mention cattle under either *uhungqu* or *uhunqu*. In the list of names for cattle colours under '*umbala*', both are recorded (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948: 60). Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 52, 55) list *ihunqu / ihunqukazi* as descriptive of a black, red or brown beast sprinkled with white and mottled like a puffadder. They note that this colour is seen mostly among chickens and dogs. Lepen (1984)³, lists *ihunqu* as a colour commonly used to describe fowls and dogs and says that a beast with this colour-pattern is similar to *inkomo engampisi* which is 'beast which is the hyena'.

8. *-joli (i(li)joli / amajoli)* n. [*>-joli* (rel. white-

³ Lepen, J.M. 1984. KwaZulu Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry Selection and Statistics of the Nguni Herd at Bartlow Combine over the Past Three Years (1982-1984). Unpublished paper sent by author to Schroeder.

spotted.]

i) White-spotted beast.

ii) Porcupine quill.

This term is more usually applied to a beast with a black and white tail resembling a porcupine quill (pc Mngomezulu to MPO, May 1995).

9. *-mpisi*. (rel.)

i.) Hyena-coloured. See *-ngampisi* below.

10. *-mpofu* (rel.)

i) Dusty, tawny coloured. See *-phofu (im/izim)* below.

11a. *-mthuku* (rel.) [*<umthuku / imithuku* (n.), mole-coloured beast; mole.]

i) Mole-coloured.

11b. *-mthuku (umthuku /imithuku)* n. [*>-mthuku* (rel.), mole-coloured.]

i) Mole-coloured beast.

ii) Mole. [cf. *-fukumfuzi (im/izim)*; *-vukuzi (i(li)/ama)*; *-vukuzane (im/izim)*.]

12. *-mzondo* (rel.) [*<umzondo* (n.), garden bug.]

i) Spotted.

This term has many applications. Some beasts described as *umzondo* have dark grey hide with little evidence of spots. Others are very spotted and may be a light grey with black spots. Yet others are multicoloured. Compare figs. 37

and 73. Among the Xhosa, the term *umzondo* describes a dark brindled beast (Biggs 1995: 2).

13a. *-ngampisi* (rel.) [*<i(li)ngampisi* (n.): lit. like a hyena.]

i) Brindle-coloured.

13b. *-ngampisi (i(li)ngampisi / amangampisi)* n. [*<nga + impisi:* lit. like a hyena.]

i) Brindle-coloured beast. [cf. *-hungqu (i(li)/ama); -hunqu (i(li)/ama).*]

14a. *-nselekazi* (rel.) [*<inselekazi* (n.), white-spotted goat.]

i) White-spotted.

14b. *-nselekazi (inselekazi / izinselekazi)* n. [*>-nselekazi* (rel.), white-spotted.]

i) White-spotted goat.

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) list *inselekazi* under '*umbala*' but do not mention cattle under *inselekazi*. *Insele* is the honeybadger or ratel (*Mellivora capensis*).

15. *-ntulo (intulo/ izintulo)* n.

i) Species of lizard.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54, 56) state that *intulo / intulokazi* is a black or red beast with a white head. Animals named *intulo* which were observed in the field, were black, dark brown or red and distinctively speckled at the top of the rump and on the head (Schroeder/MPO: field).

Dohne (1859: 246) states that this lizard is about the same size as the chameleon. Its name, in Xhosa, means 'reduced

to poverty or nakedness' which refers to its role as the messenger of God who told men they would die. (See fig. 35.)

16. *-phofu (im/izim)* n. [*>-mpofu* (rel.), tawny, dusty-coloured.]

i) Eland.

ii) Yellow-coloured beast (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 58).

(See fig. 7.)

17. *-qhwagi (i(li)qhwagi / amaqhwagi)* n. [*<qhwaga* (v.), rob, plunder.]

i) Veld locust.

Iqhwagi / iqhwagikazi is a black or red beast with white on the back and face (Nyembezi & Nxumalo, 1994: 54, 57). Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) do not mention this word in connection with cattle. Beasts described as having the colour-pattern *iqhwagi* were observed often in the field. They were mostly red and white and quite heavily mottled (Schroeder/ MPO). (See fig. 23.)

18a. *-thuku* (rel.) [*<umthuku* (n.), mole; *-mthuku* (rel.).]

i) Mole-coloured. [cf. *-thuku (um/imi)*.]

18b. *-thuku (umthuku / imithuku)* n. [*<thuku* (v.), of thrusting up; *>-mthuku* (rel.), mole-coloured.]

i) Mole-coloured beast.

ii) Mole.

This colour is a greyish dun. It was not observed in the field. Another term which refers to the same colour is *-vukusi (im/izim); -vukuzane (im/izim); -vukuzi (im/izim)*.

19. *-vukuzi (imvukuzi / izimvukuzi)* n. [*<vukuza (v.)*, dig and lift soil upwards.] [fem., *imvukuzikazi*.]

i) Mole-coloured beast.

ii) Mole.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) list *inkomo emvukuzi* or *emvukuzikazi* as a mole-coloured beast. Variants of this term are *-vukusi (im/izim)* and *-vukuzane (im/izim)*.

20. *-zondo (umzondo / imizondo)* n. [*>-mzondo (rel.)*, spotted.]

i) Beast with black and white pattern.

ii) Evil-smelling garden bug.

Umzondo / imizondo, umzondokazi / imizondokazi describes a black beast with white mixed into it. This is also known as *impunga* which is described as grey with white mixed into it (Nyembezi & Nxumalo, 1994: 53, 58). Among the Xhosa, a beast of the *umzondo* pattern is a dark-brindled or 'tiger' patterned animal (Biggs 1995: 2). (See figs. 37 & 73.)

8.4 NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH PLANTS

A number of colour-patterns have been recorded with names which are metaphorically associated with plants or fruit. There are regional differences in the meaning attached to certain names.

1. *-abul'umunga* [*<abula (v. tr.)*, of flopping down + *umunga*

(n.), mimosa or sweet-thorn (*Acacia karoo*).]

i) Black beast with a white mark down its throat resembling mimosa bark which has been peeled back. Only Bryant lists this in his unpublished English-Zulu Dictionary (1905: 56). *Inkomo eyobul' umunga* is Bryant's rendering of the colour-pattern. Simelane (letter, Sept., 1996) states that this pattern is the same as *ebafazibewela* and indicates a black or brown beast with white legs. This name was not recorded elsewhere.

2. **-dubu** (*umdubu* / *imidubu*) n. [**<dubu** (ideo.), of selling up, of upheaval; **>-mdubu** (rel.), drab, dusty brown.]

i) Dusty-brown beast, dun beast. [cf. **-dubu** (*u(lu)*) (n. sg. only), species of large, edible mushroom found near antheps. The more usual name for mushroom is *i(li)khowe*. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) state that *umdubu* / *umdubukazi* is a dusty-coloured beast, the colour of the yellowbilled kite *ukholo* (*Milvus migrans*). *Umdubu* describes the colour dun. The lighter shades are similar to **-phethikhowe** (rel.), 'what touches the mushroom'.

3. **-hlakuva** (*inhlakuva* / *izinhlakuva*) n.

i) Brown and white speckled beast with a pattern that resembles a castor oil bean (*u(lu)hlakuva*).

Inhlakuva is a well-known colour-pattern for cattle but is not mentioned in connection with cattle by Doke and Vilakazi. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 57) state that it is a brown beast with the colour scattered on its flanks. It

is a colour-pattern often observed in the field (Schroeder). (See fig. 74.)

4. *-hlangazimhlophe (inhlangazimhlophe / izinhlangazimhlophe)*
n. [*<inhlanga* (reeds) + *zimhlophe* (white): lit., white reeds.]

i) Black beast with white horns (Nyembezi & Nxumalo, 1994: 53).

Doke and Vilakazi have no entry for *inhlangazimhlophe*.

5. *-hloshazana (umhloshazana / imihloshazana) n.dim.*
[*<umhlophe*, white beast.]

i) Small white heifer.

ii) Plant with whitish leaves or stems; term applied to *Allophylus africanus*, *Trichocladus crinitus*, and many other plants.

6. *-mdubu* (rel.) [*umdubu / imidubu* (n.), beast of drab, light colour; drab, dusty brown colour of the top of the *i(li)khowe* mushroom.]

i) Drab, dusty brown. [cf. *-dubu* (*um/imi*).]

7. *-mtoto (umtoto / imitoto) n.* [*>-mtoto* (rel.), bright red.]

i) Bright red object.

ii) Species of shrub with red roots and black, edible berries.

This colour can refer to a very red-skinned beast.

- 8a. **-mntulwa** (rel.) [**<umntulwa** (n.), dun-coloured beast.]
 i) Dun-coloured.
- 8b. **-ntulwa** (**umntulwa / imintulwa**) n. [**>-mntulwa** (rel.), dun-coloured.]
 i) Dun-coloured beast.
Umtulwa / imithulwa (n.) is a species of wild medlar fruit. It is similar to i(li)viyo. Mkhize (pc to MPO, Feb., 1996) states that it is a yellow fruit but tending to brown.
- 9a. **-nyaluthi** (rel.) [**<inyaluthi** (n.), beast or cow of light, muddy colour; bulrush millet.]
 i) Muddy-coloured; light mauve.
- 9b. **-nyaluthi** (**unyaluthi**, sg. only) n.
 i) Dun-coloured beast (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 58-59).
 ii) Species of brown bulrush millet.
- 9c. **-nyawothi** (rel.)
 i) As in a) above.
- 9d. **-nyawothi** (**inyawothi / izinyawothi**)
 i) As in b) above.
 A beast of this colour is dun, with an overtone which gives a purplish shade.
10. **-phethikhowe** (**inkomo ephethikhowe**) (rel.) [**<inkomo** (the beast) + **ephethikhowe** (touches the mushroom): lit., beast which touches the mushroom.
 i) White beast intensifying to dusty, tawny colour like *impofu* (only Nyembezi & Nxumalo, 1994: 59). This colour is

dun with yellow overtones.

11a. *-qokolo (i(li)qokolo / amaqokolo)* n. [*>-maqokolo* (rel.), of uneven, knotted surface.]

i) Tawny beast with spots and marks similar to that of the Kei Apple (Schroeder/MPO: field).

ii) Fruit of the Kei apple (*Doveyalis caffra*).

11b. *-qokolo (umqokolo / imiqokolo)* n.

i) Kei apple tree (*Doveyalis caffra*).

Neither Doke and Vilakazi, nor Nyembezi and Nxumalo give *iqokolo* as a name for a colour-pattern. However, the *iqokolo* pattern has been observed in the field. Schroeder believes that *iqokolo* is another name for *umgwenya* or *i(li)gwenya*, the fruit of the sour plum, (*Harpephyllum caffrum*). However, the botanical evidence suggests that this beast is named for the Kei apple (*Doveyalis caffra*) which would not be inappropriate. A list of Xhosa names for colour-patterns obtained from Vosloo of Thandweni Ngunis in the Port Alfred region of the Eastern Cape, includes '*mqokolo*' which means either Kei Apple (*Solanum sodomium*) or Blackheaded Oriole (*Oriolus larvatus*) which in itself is the colour of the Kei apple. Roberts lists *umqokolo* as the Xhosa name for the Blackheaded oriole.

12. *-tulwa (umtulwa / imitulwa) [>i(li)tulwa* (n.), fruit of the wild medlar.]

i) See *-ntulwa (um/imi)* above.

13a. **-viyo** (rel.) [*i(li)viyo* (n.), wild medlar fruit.]

i) Yellowish-brown.

13b. **-viyo** (*i(li)viyo* / *amaviyo*) n. [*umviyo* (n.), wild medlar tree.]

i) Yellowish beast.

ii) Wild medlar fruit.

[cf. *-mtulwa* (rel.); *-ntulwa* (um/imi).]

Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) do not mention cattle in connection with *umviyo* / *imiviyo*. According to Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 837) *umviyo* means 'wild medlar tree' (*Vangueria infausta*). *Umviyo* / *umviyokazi* is listed by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 56) as a dark brown beast. From evidence gathered in the field, this animal is not brown but a dark yellow, tinged with brown. It is coloured like the ripe fruit of the wild medlar tree (Schroeder). (See fig. 76.)

14. **-zambe** (*umzambe/imizambe*) n.

i) Sugarbean.

This pattern is not listed by Doke and Vilakazi (1948) nor by Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994) but has been observed in the field (Schroeder/ MPO). (See Fig. 77.)

8.5 NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH OTHER NATURAL PHENOMENA

Among these patterns are those specifically associated with nature e.g. *amatshehlathi* (the stones of the forest), those which have domestic connotations e.g. *amasavutshiwe* (sour milk which is ready or ripe) and those specifically associated with people

e.g. *inkomo engabantu begugile* (beast which is like old people).

1. *-bafazibewela (inkomo ebafazibewela)* rel. [*<-bafazi* (the women) + *bewela* (cross over).]

i) A beast of any colour with white legs and white underbelly. The dividing line between white and the solid colour is usually wavy, giving the impression of the mark at which water lapped against the legs of women as they crossed the stream. (See fig. 78.)

2. *-bantu begugile (inkomo engabantu begugile)* rel. [*<inkomo* (a beast) + *engabantu begugile* (like old people): lit. a beast like old people.]

i) A grey beast tending to white resembling an old person (Schroeder). (See fig. 26.)

3. *-bende (ububende only)* n.

i) Clotted blood; favourite dish made from clotted blood and minced meat. [cf. *-bende (u(lu)/izim)*, spleen, milt.]

Doke and Vilakazi do not give *ububende* as a colour-pattern. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 55) list *ebubende / ebubendekazi* as a red beast coloured the same as the spleen. They describe it as similar to *inzotha* which means to be coloured soberly. Samuelson calls this colour-pattern *ebomvungokububende* (1923: 570).

4. *-fak'umuntuphakathi (efak'umuntuphakathi)* rel.

i) See *-lala umuntu* below.

5. *-fu (i(li)fu / amafu)* n. [Ur-B. *-tu*, cloud. <*inkomo* (beast) + *engamafu* (which has clouds): lit. beast with clouds.]
 i) A beast of any colour with cloud-shaped patches on the sides (Schroeder/ MPO). (See fig. 79.)
6. *-hlabathi (isihlabathi / izihlabathi)* n. [<*umhlaba* (n.), earth.]
 i) Sea-sand, gravel [cf. *-hlabathi (i(li)/ama)*, whitish, sandy soil, river sand.]
Inkomo eyizihlabathi (zolwandle) - a sandy-coloured beast, a beast the colour of sea-sand. This name is not mentioned in either Doke and Vilakazi (1948) or in Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994) but was often observed in the field (Schroeder/ MPO). It is noteworthy, however, that the word *isihlabathi* implies 'beauty' as well, e.g. *"N" ufana nezihlabathi zolwandle* - *"N"* is like the sea-sand', i.e. very beautiful. Samuelson (1923: 570) calls this *inhlabathiyolwandhle* and describes it as light yellow, the colour of sea-sand. (See fig. 81.)
7. *-lala umuntu (inkomo elel' umuntu)* n. [<*inkomo* (the beast) + *elel' umuntu* (in which there lies a person): lit. the beast in which there lies a person.]
 i) Beast with a marking in its sides resembling a reclining person (Schroeder).
 Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) state that this is a beast of many colours. Field investigation suggests that it is usually a white beast with a black or dark marking along

its side which looks like a reclining person. In former days, unless castrated, a male beast with this pattern was given to the king. Samuelson (1923: 570) calls this beast *Efak'umuntuphakathi* which he describes as a black beast with broad white stripe from the hips across the side but not reaching as far as the shoulders. (See fig. 82).

8. *-laza (umlaza* sg. only) n. [*<laza* (v.), put on light, scattered, fleecy clouds; be held over, delayed.]

i) Long, extended, stratified cloud.

ii) Whey [cf. *-laza (u(lu) sg. only*, cream.]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) state that *umlaza /umlazakazi* is a beast which is white but has dark marking like the clouds of the sky. The word also means 'whey', which, in similarity of appearance, could also apply. Mngomezulu stated that this colour-pattern referred to clouds (pc to MPO, May 1995.)

9. *-masavutshiwe (amasavutshiwe*, pl. only) n. [*<masi* (sour milk) + *avutshiwe* (which is ripe or ready).]

i) See *-savutshiwe (ama)*.

10a. *-matshehlathi* (rel.) [*<amatshe* (the stones) + *i(li)hlathi* (of the forest): lit. stones of the forest.]

i) Greenish-grey. [cf. *-matshehlathi (im/izim)*; *-tshehlathi (ama)*.]

10b. *-matshehlathi (imatshehlathi / izimatshehlathi*) n.

[*<amatshe* (stones) + *i(li)hlathi* (the forest): lit., stones

of the forest.]

i) Beast coloured like lichen-covered rocks, mottled beast (usually black and white). [cf. *-tshehlathi (ama)*.]

This pattern is often listed as synonymous as terms for mottled or speckled such as *-khwifikhwif i(i(li)/ama)*; *-makhwifikhwif i (rel.)*. *Imatshehlathi* or *inkomo ematshehlathi* describes a beast which has black and white hair equally mixed or is patterned with brown and/or dun and white. Cattle with this colour-pattern are heavily mottled. Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53, 57) describe *imatshezulu* in exactly the same way. (See fig. 43.)

11a. *-matshezulu (rel.)* [*<amatshe* (the stones) + *i(li)zulu* of the sky]: lit. stones of the sky.]

i) Spotted black and white. [cf. *-matshezulu (im/izim)*; *-tshezulu (ama)*.]

11b. *-matshezulu (imatshezulu / izimatshezulu)* n.

i) Beast spotted black and white [*inkomo ematshezulu*].

[cf. *-matshezulu (rel.)*; *-tshezulu (ama)*.]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53) describe both *imatshezulu (inkomo ematshezulu)* and *imatshehlathi (inkomo ematshehlathi)* as beasts equally spotted in black and white.

12. *-matshe oNgoye (amatshe oNgoye, pl. only)* n. [*<amatshe* (the stones) + *oNgoye* (of Ngoye): lit., the stones of the Ngoye forest.]

i) Brown or red beast with large spots defined by a faint

white edging. This unusual pattern is named for the rocks of the Ngoye forest in KwaZulu. These large rocks are dome-shaped and around the perimeters of each grows vegetation, encircling the dome. A beast with this pattern has an edging to each large spot which resembles the conformation specific to the rocks of the Ngoye region (Schroeder). (See figure 40.)

13. *-mvubomabele* (*umvubomabele* / *imivubomabele* n. [*<umvubo* (ground) + *amabele* (sorghum): lit. ground sorghum) n. [*>-mvubomabele* (rel.), grey.]

i) Greyish beast.

Inkomo emvubomabele is a greyish roan beast (Nyembezi & Nxumalo, 1994: 53, 55). The colour of this roan is similar to *-nsiphozamabele* (*izin, pl. only*); *-savutshiwe* (*ama*); *-vovo* (*ama*); *-vubomabele* (*um/imi*).

14. *-ndlu* (*inkomo eyizindlu*) n. [*<inkomo* (a beast) + *eyezindlu* (with houses): lit., beast with houses.]

i) White beast with medium-sized, circular black patches distributed all over the body (Schroeder).

An animal of this pattern has large dark blotches scattered over its sides, looking somewhat like a view of homesteads from a distance. (See fig. 83.)

15. *-ndluyamathe* (*indluyamathe* / *izindluyamathe*) n. [*<indlu* (house) + *yamathe* (of spittle): lit. house of spittle.]

i) Black beast with one white spot on the side (only

Samuelson 1923: 569).

16. *-ngamunwe (i(li)ngamunwe / amangamunwe)* n. [*<nga + umunwe: lit. like a finger. >-ngamunwe (rel.), grey.*]
i) Grey beast.
Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 58) describe this animal as *inkomo empunga*, (dark grey). This is a less usual way to describe the colour grey. *-Mpunga* and *-ngwevu* are more usually used.
17. *-nsiphozamabele (izinsipho pl. only)* n. [*<izinsipho (the dregs) + zamabele (of sorghum): lit. the dregs of sorghum.*]
i) A beast with red and white scattered all over the body. (only Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 58). An animal of this colour is roan and is similar in colour to *-savutshiwe (ama); -vovo (ama); -vubomabele (im/izim).*
18. *-ntu begugile (inkomo engabantu begugile)* n. [*<inkomo (a beast) + engabantu begugile: lit. beast like old people.*]
i) A grey beast tending to white resembling an old person (Schroeder). (See fig. 26.)
19. *-phuzingwebu (inkomo ephuzingwebu)* n. [*<phuza (to drink) + ingwebu (froth): lit. what drinks froth (of beer).*]
i) Beast with a white snout.
Doke and Vilakazi do not mention this pattern. Samuelson (1923: 570) lists the beast as *inkomo ephuzingwebu*, a beast with a white snout. This beast has been observed in the

- field (MPO).
20. **-qungokazi** (*umqungokazi / imiqungokazi*) n. [*<umqungo* (n.), curds, mixed concoction, infusion.]
 i) Light, grey-coloured beast.
21. **-savutshiwe** (*amasavutshiwe*, pl. only) n. [*<amasi* (sour milk) + *avutshiwe* (which is ready): lit. sour milk which is ripe or ready.]
 i) White beast in which black or red hairs are evenly sprinkled (roan). It is similar to **-nsiphozamabele** (*izin, pl. only*); **-vovo** (*ama*); **-vubomabele** (*im/izim*).]
 Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 53, 55) state that **amasavutshiwe** is a red or black beast which is sprinkled with white, both of which give the impression of *impunga* or grey. (See fig. 31.)
22. **-tshehlathi** (*imatshehlathi / izimatshehlathi*) n. [*<amatshe* (the stones) + *i(li)hlathi* (of the forest): lit. stones of the forest.]
 i) See **-matshehlathi** above.
23. **-tshelentaba** (*i(li)tshelentaba / amatshentaba*) n. [lit. *i(li)tsh*e (stone) + *lentaba* (of the mountain).]
 i) Black beast with small white spots (only Samuelson (1923: 569)).
24. **-tshezulu** (*imatshezulu / izimatshezulu*) n. [*<amatshe* (the

stones) + *i(li)zulu* (of the sky): lit. stones of the sky.]

i) See *-matshezulu (im/izim)* above.

25. *-thuthu (u(lu)thuthu*, sing. only) n. [*<thu* (ideo.), of puffing out. *>-luthuthu* (rel.), smoky, hazy, greyish.]

i) Hot ashes, smouldering fire, layers of smoke haze.

[cf. *-luthuqasana* (rel.), *luthuqasana* (rel.), *-luthuqusi* (rel.), *-luthuthuva* (rel.).]

Nyembezi and Nxumalo state that *uthuthu / uthuthukazi* is a cow the colour of sand.

26. *-thuthuva (u(lu)thuthuva / izinthuthuva)* n. [*>-luthuthuva* (rel.), sandy-coloured.]

i) Anything discoloured, dusty.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo state that *uthuthuva / uthuthuvakazi* is a sandy-coloured beast.

27. *-vovo (amavovo, pl. only)* n. [*<vova* (v.), strain, filter. *>-mavovo* (rel.), drab.]

i) Remains, dregs after straining. This pattern is very similar to *-nsiphozamabele (in/izim)*; *-savutshiwe (ama)*; *-vubomabele (im/izim)*.]

Emavovo is a white beast with red sprinkled all over the body. Also called *imvubomabele* and *insiphozamabele* (dregs of beer) (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 57). (See fig. 30.)

28. *-zikhala zemithi (izikhala zemithi, pl. only.)* n.

[*<izikhala* (the gaps [between the branches]) + *zemithi* (of

the trees): lit. the gaps between the branches of the trees.

i) Sandy white beast with a black, brown or red pattern on its sides resembling the silhouette of trees against the sky. (See figs. 18 & 84.)

8.6 DISCUSSION

The interactive theory proposed by Black (1979) through which the metaphorical content of colour-pattern terminology might be understood, has been discussed and applied in some detail in Chapter Two. In summary, however, the interactive theory proposes that metaphors, such as those found in cattle terminology, create the similarity rather than formulating some similarity antecedently existing. The two or more ideas inherent in the metaphor work together to produce a new concept for which there may be no other expression. The terms then become entities, examples of resonant, generative metaphors which, according to Black (1979: 26), function as

'cognitive instruments through which a new view of a domain of reference can be achieved'.

Moreover, these terms, even if only 'marginal' in relation to the more conspicuous genres in the oral tradition, are, nevertheless, a pithy, allusive and metaphorically rich category in their own right: small imagist poems which, I would contend, deserve to be viewed as a special genre in that tradition.

It is the acute observation of nature by the Zulu people that has made possible the creation of these metaphorical names in which associations between colour-pattern and other natural

phenomena, so vividly juxtaposed, become integrated terms.

These terms give insight into the way in which the Zulu people view, not only their cattle, but nature as well. Speaking of the Sandawe people of Tanzania, Okpewho (1992: 32), observed that it was a rational rather than mystical system of thought, determined by observation rather than emotion, which governed their philosophy of nature. Yet, even if the word-pictures which describe the colour-patterns of cattle are simply practical, linking - for reasons of quick identification - a beast with some other phenomenon which it resembles closely to create an image easy to recall, these word-pictures are, nevertheless, resonantly metaphorical. Practical they may be, but the beauty in their conception, is indisputable and listening to herdsmen discussing colour-patterns in the field leaves no doubt that emotion is in no way absent:

'To know a thing is not to discover what it has in common with one or more things (this is merely to discover a way of replacing or imitating it), it is, on the contrary, to experience its unique individuality, its original structure, it is to grasp "what will never be seen again". To see the colour of the sky that is there behind those trees is not just to realise that it is blue, it is to be penetrated by this unique and precise shade that no one word could translate and that no brush, perhaps, will ever be able to capture again. To understand the beauty of a work of art is not to notice the juxtaposition of certain pieces of marble, not even the proportion of certain parts, it is to experience, under a specific form, that indefinable feeling which is the perception of beauty.' (D'Hautefeuille, 1924: 162-163.)

Speaking of the 'ecology of art' in Africa, Okpewho (1979: 19) remarks on the African's deep and intuitive sense of belonging to the landscape which informs both the plastic and oral arts of the continent. His words lend insight to an appreciation of this particular form of that art: colour-pattern

terminology and naming-practice:

'There is a subtle and discernable link between art and the landscape out of which it grows... and it would appear that much of the aesthetic nourishment of traditional African art derived from the nature of the surrounding landscape and the concomitant throb of animate company within it. In the words of an old griot, "Hunter, your words are obscure. Make your speech comprehensible to us, speak in the language of your savanna."'

CHAPTER NINE

NAMING-PRACTICE IN ZULU: HORN-SHAPES

*'How grow the horns spreading,
How grow the horns sweeping the earth!
The horns of Mangar are straying,
The horns of Mangar are straying like a lost man
The horns go to greet the things of the sky.'*¹

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The most significant descriptive device for identifying cattle among the Zulu is the colour-pattern. This is confirmed by all those interviewed in the field. However, the presence or absence of horns and their varying shapes, sizes and conformations, are also crucial features in their naming. Inevitably, there are not as many terms for horn-shape as there are for colour-pattern nor are the terms which exist to describe the conformation of horns as metaphorical and descriptive as those for the colour-patterns but a number of names exist which link horn-shape with different natural and domestic phenomena. Some of these names are associated with animals e.g. the rhinoceros or elephant. Others are linked to domestic objects, such as the shallow basket or the wide-mouthed pot.

Although Zulu-speakers might favour colour-pattern as the primary descriptive feature among their cattle, from a scientific point of view, Bonsma et al (1950: 23) state:

'Together with the build of the head, the horns form the principle conformational feature, by which the breed is identified. The forehead does not pass evenly and smoothly over onto the horns. There is a somewhat sudden

¹ DENG, F. M. 1973. The Dinka and their Songs. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. p 99.



Isiqengqe



Umdlavu



Umkhombe



Umphoxela



Igubudu



Ihlawe

constriction of the forehead just below the horns, and these seem to start wider apart than the general width of the forehead. The poll and horn bases, therefore, give the impression of forming the top of the pedestal above, rather than being a part of the forehead.'

The cross-section of the horn is round and the horns are relatively thin and dense, tapering to a sharp point. In bulls the horns are shorter and thicker than in cows. The horns are generally dark with very dark tips although light horns are encountered. The main characteristic of Nguni horns is their lyre shape. Although a feature of the breed, the lyre shape is only fully achieved in adult cows. Steers, castrated early in life, have a variety of horn-shapes and their horns are generally longer and thinner than those of cows. Although genetically linked, the extraordinary length and breadth which characterise the horns of Afrikaner cattle are not found among Sanga-Nguni cattle, these features having been induced in Afrikaners by years of selection and scientifically-controlled breeding (pc, Bachmann to MPO, June 1996).

Some Sanga-Nguni cattle, however, show great breadth and strength of horn. Naturally polled animals are not uncommon among Sanga-Nguni cattle and in many herds, the polling of cattle is standard practice to obviate injury or inconvenience to the herders.

Among many pastoral people in Africa, the horns were trained to take on certain shapes and styles. A hot iron is applied to the horn to burn it and 'turn' it in different directions. Some of this training is of an elaborate nature. Among the Xhosa, during the last century, horns were cut into fantastic shapes reminiscent of the antlers of deer. Writing of the Xhosa, Barrow

(1806: 128) says:

'The horns of the large oxen were twisted with great pains into a variety of shapes. The points of some were brought to meet under the neck; others were drawn into straight lines projecting horizontally from each side of the head; some had one horn pointed directly into the air, and the other to the ground; and others, rising parallel from their bases, had their points turned back, which gave them the appearance of huge antelopes.'

The method of training these horns was also observed by Barrow who continued his description of Xhosa cattle, stating (1806: 156):

'The horns of their greatest favourites are twisted in their nascent state into very whimsical forms. These are effected by grasping the young horn with hot irons till it becomes soft, in which state the direction wished for is given to it. Those of the ox on which the king rode were laid along each side of the neck with the points just touching the shoulders.'

Jabavu (1943: 19) writes of the bullocks owned by the Xhosa, stating that they were an asset much valued and admired. He writes:

'...a typical tribesman, would, in his dancing gesticulate the shapes of their horns and bodily form with his arms to the delight and envy of the spectators.'

Such manipulation of the horns and imitation of the beasts are no longer found today and the tendency is to poll rather than encourage fanciful shapes. However, cattle with full lyre-shaped horns are still common and a characteristic feature of the Zulu herds.

9.2 TERMS FOR HORN-SHAPES:

Although the list may not be exhaustive, fifty-six different conformations of horn have been identified (fifty-one recorded by Nyembezi and Nxumalo 1994: 59-64). These terms are grouped in

the following categories:

- i) Plain descriptive terms for horn-shape.
- ii) Terms for horn-shape with metaphorical associations.

9.2.1 PLAIN DESCRIPTIVE TERMS FOR HORN-SHAPE:

Most of the terms listed in this section are descriptive of horn-shapes without obvious metaphorical associations.

1a. *-gedla (isigedla / izigedla)* n. [*gedla* (v.), to gnaw.]

- i) Ox with horns pointing downwards on either side or round before the face; clippers. [cf. *-dlovu (um/imi); nomgedlewane (u/o).*]

The *isiGedla* were a certain section of the *umXhapho* regiment.

1b. *-gedlekazi (isigedlekazi / izigedlekazi)* n. [*<isigedla* (n.).]

- i) Cow with horns pointing downwards.

2. *-godla (i(li)godla / amagodla)* n. [*<godla* (v.), hold back, reserve.]

- i) Ox with one horn turned downwards.

3. *-gongomba (ingongomba / izingongomba)* n.

- i) Ox with long horns twisted towards the end.

[cf. *-goqela (in/izin).*]

4a. *-goqela (ingoqela / izingoqela)* n. [*<goqela* (v.), twist in spiral shape.]

- i) Animal with spiral horns or horns curved to meet above or beneath the head.
- 4b. *-goqo (i(li)goqo / amagoqo) n.* [*<goqo (ideo.)*, of rattling, of stirring.]
- i) Beast with spiral horns twisted backwards.
- 4c. *-goqokazi (ingoqokazi / izingoqokazi) n.* [*<i(li)goqo (n.)*, beast with spiral horns twisted backwards.]
- i) Cow with spiral horns twisted backwards.
- 4d. *-goqwazana(e) (ingoqwazana(e) / izingoqwazana(e)) n.* [*<ingoqokazi (n.)*, cow with spiral horns twisted backwards.]
- i) Small or young cow with horns twisted backwards.
5. *-gxankxa (i(li)gxankxa / amagxankxa) n.* [*<gxankxa (v.)*, add on, grow; mix milk with other food.]
- i) Young ox with partly grown horns.
6. *-hleza (isihleza / izihleza) n.* [*<hleza (ideo.)*, of wrenching off, breaking off.]
- i) Beast with broken-off horn or horns.
7. *-khawe (u(lu)khawe / izinkawe) n.*
- i) Sharp-horned beast, ox or cow.
- 8a. *-khobongela (inkobongela / izinkobongela) n.* [*<khobonga (v.)*, have curved-in horns.]
- i) Beast with twisted horns.
- [cf. *-phothane (im/izim)*; *-sontela (in/izin)*.]

8b. *-khobongo* (*i(li)khobongo* / *amakhobongo* [*<khobonga* (v.)], have curved-in horns.)

i) As above.

8c. *-khobongo* (*isikhobongo* / *izikhobongo*) n. [*<khobonga* (v.)], have curved-in horns.]

i) Beast with horns falling forward.

9a. *-magwegwe* (rel.) [cf. *gwegwe* (ideo.), of crookedness.]

i) Bandy-legged, crooked, bent. [cf. *-makhwembe* (rel.).]

9b. *-magwembe* (rel.) [*<gwembe* (ideo.), of crookedness.]

i) Crooked, malformed, of bandiness. [cf. *-makhwembe* (rel.).]

This term is mentioned by Doke and Vilakazi (1948: 60) under 'umbala' (cattle terms) but horn-shape and cattle are not listed under *-magwembe*.

9c. *-magwenxe* (rel.) [*<amagwenxe* (n. pl. only).]

i) Crooked, bent, bowed [cf. *-magwegwe* (rel.).]

9d. *-makhwembe* (rel.)

i) Crooked, bent, bandy.

ii) Meat off the top of the shoulder-blade.

[cf. *-khwembe* (*i(li)/ama*); *-magwembe* (rel.).]

10. *-mazinga* (rel.) [*<i(li)zinga* / *amazinga* (n.), corrugation or ring of horn.]

i) Corrugated, grooved, scaly, ringed.

Inkomazi emazinga (old cow with ringed horns); *izimpondo ezimazinga* (corrugated horns).

11. **-mazombe** (rel.) [*i(li)zombe / amazombe* (n.), winding course; <**zombe** (ideo.), of twisting, or crookedness.]
 i) Meandering, winding, crooked. [cf. **-magwembe** (rel.), **-makhwembe** (rel.).]
- 12a. **-ngqudulu** (*ingqudulu / izingqudulu*) n.
 i) Hornless, polled beast. [cf. **-nqudulu** (*in/izin*).]
- 12b. **-nqudulu** (*inqudulu / izinqudulu*) n.
 i) Hornless, polled beast.
- 13a. **-ngxibongo** (*ingxibongo / izingxibongo*) n.
 i) Ox with sharp, straight horns. [cf. **-ngxobongo** (*in/izin*).]
- 13b. **-ngxobongo** (*ingxobongo / izingxobongo*) n.
 i) Ox with sharp, straight horns. [cf. **-ngxibongo** (*in/izin*).]
14. **-nqudulu** (*inqudulu / izinqudulu*) n.
 i) Hornless beast. [cf. **-ngqudulu** (*in/izin*) above.]
15. **-nsizwa** (*insizwa / izinsizwa*) n. [**>-nsizwa** (rel.), fully-developed.]
 i) Hornless ox or bull.
- 16a. **-nsizwakazi** (rel.) [*insizwakazi*.]
 i) Fully developed.
- 16b. **-nsizwakazi** (*insizwakazi / izinsizwakazi*) n. [fem. <*insizwa*. **>-nsizwakazi** (rel.).]

i) Cow without horns.

ii) Law case without evidence.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 54) state that *insizwa* / *insizwakazi* is a pitch black beast without horns. The analogy with a law case without evidence is interesting. Cattle disputes are a great source of litigation and the use of this phrase '*insizwakazi*' to indicate a 'law case without evidence' is apt not just for the idea of 'hornlessness' but in drawing its inspiration from cattle.

17. *-nxele (i(li)nxele / amanjele)* n.

i) Ox with one horn receding downwards.

18. *-phelekehle (u(lu)phelekehle / izimpelekehle)* n.

i) Beast with long horns bent backwards.

19. *-phixongo (umphixongo / imiphixongo)* n.

i) Beast with horns growing straight up [cf. *-phoxela im/izim*]; *-phondo (isi/izi)*.]

20a. *-phondo (isiphondo / iziphondo)* n.

i) Ox with upright horns.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 64) state that *isiphondo* is similar to *umphoxela* and *umphixongo*.

20b. *-phondo (u(lu)phondo / izimpondo)* n.[> *dim. u(lu)phonjwana*.]

i) Horn (of cattle, antelope, rhinoceros etc.); single horn made from ox-horn hollowed and bored just below the solid

tip.

- 21a. *-phothane (impothane / izimpotane)* n. [*<phothana* (v.), be twisted together.]
- i) Animal with twisted horns.
- Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 62) state that a beast with horns like this is also known as *inkobongela* or *insontela*.
- 21b. *-photela (impotela / izimpotela)* n. [*<photha* (v.), twist together, entwine.]
- i) Beast with twisted horns (Samuelson, 1923: 569).
- 22a. *-phoxela (impoxela / izimpoxela)* n. [*>dim. impoxeyana*.]
- i) Undersized beast with outsized horns; beast with horns standing straight up. [cf. *-phixongo (um/imi)*; *-phondo (isi/izi)*; *-phoxela (um/imi)* .]
- 22b. *-phoxela (umphoxela / imiphoxela)* n.
- i) Beast with horns standing straight up.
- 22c. *-phoxeyana (impoxeyana / izimpoxeyana)* n. [dim. *<umphoxela* (n.), beast with horns standing straight up.]
- i) Under-sized beast with outsized horns.
23. *-qobodo (i(li)qobodo / amaqobodo)* n.
- i) Beast with horns turned inward at the top.
24. *-sontela (insontela / izinsontela)* n. [ap. *<sonta* (v.), twist.]
- i) Beast with twisted horns. [cf. *-khobongela (in/izin)*; *-phothane (im/izim)*.]

25. *-suthu (u(lu)suthu / izinsuthu)* n.
 i) Long-horned Afrikaner cattle .
U(lu)suthukazi is an Afrikaner cow.
26. *-thoba (i(li)thoba / amathoba)* n. [*<thoba* (v.), bend, bend down; lower, bow.
 i) Ox with horn curving downwards.
27. *-thulu (isithulu / izithulu)* n.
 i) Hornless beast; deaf person.
28. *-yeke (isiyeke / iziyeke)* n. [*<yeke* (ideo.), of slackness.]
 i) Beast with horns rising up and twisted back.
 [cf. *-yezeke (isi/izi)*.]
29. *-yezeke (isiyezeke / iziyezeke)* n.
 i) Beast with horns that grow upright and twist backwards (only Nyembezi & Nxumalo, 1994: 64). [cf. *-yeke isi/izi*].
 This name is not found in Doke and Vilakazi.
30. *-zinga (i(li)zinga / amazinga)* n. [*>-mazinga* (rel.), corrugated.]
 i) Corrugation or ring on horn. [cf. *-mazinga* (rel.).]

9.2.2 TERMS FOR HORN-SHAPE WITH METAPHORICAL ASSOCIATIONS

The following names for horn-shape have metaphorical associations in the same way as some of the colour-patterns of cattle.

1. *-bhedula (imbedula/ izimbedula) n.* [*<bhedula (v.)*, turn up and expose (as a plough to the soil, or as one may the lids of the eyes).]
 - i) Old beast with widespread, twisted horns.

- 2a. *-boxela (imboxela/ izimboxela n.* [*<boxa (v.tr.)*, mix up, tread (as cattle moving about in mud); grow to maturity (of a young bull); put out horns; pierce with the point of the horn; throw out a cob.]
 - i) Ox with erect, sharp-pointed horns [cf. *-cushela (u(lu)/izin)*.]

- 2b. *-boxo (i(li)boxo / amaboxo) n.*[*<boxa(v.)*, mix up, tread (as above).]
 - i) Young bullock with the horns well-grown (suitable for inspanning). [cf. *-boxo (im/izim)*, *-jongosi i(li)/ama*; *-khwangi(u) (um/imi)*.]

- 2c. *-boxo (imboxo / izimboxo) n.*[*<boxa (v.)*, mix up, tread (as above).]
 - i) Young beast with well-grown horns. [cf. *-boxa (i(li)/ama)*.]

3. *-cengeza (isicengeza / izicengeza) n.*
 - i) Beast with horns broadly spread out. [cf. *-cengezi (u(lu)/ izim)*, broad, shallow, earthen vessel.]

4. *-dlazi (in/izin), n.*
 - i) Beast with horns which stretch out at either side of the head, slightly downcurved

- ii) Speckled mousebird (*Colius striatus*). The way that the bird's wings are held in flight and the conformation of the animal's horns appear similar.
5. **-dlovu** (*umdlovu / imidlovu*) n. [*<indlovu* (n.), elephant.]
 i.) Horn of an ox when growing with the points curving downwards like the tusks of an elephant.
 [Note: *umdlovukazi* - a cow with horns of this shape.]
- 6a. **-gengenene** (*amagengenene*, pl. only) n. [*<gengenene* (ideo.), of being wide open, exposed, spread open.]
 i) Wide-spreading horns.
- 6b. **-gengenene** (*isigengenene / izigengenene*) n. [*<gengenene* (ideo.) As above.]
 i) Ox with wide-spread horns; wide-spread tree or hat.
- 7a. **-gubudu** (*i(li)gubudu / amagubudu*) n. [*<gubudu* (ideo.), of falling forward, curving down.] [cf. *-magubudu* (rel.).]
 i) Beast with horns curving downwards and forwards.
- 7b. **-gubudu** (*isigubudu / izigubudu*) n. [*<gubudu* (ideo.), of falling forward, curving down.]
 i) Large basket with small mouth and flattened top.
- 7c. **-magubudu** (rel.)
 i) Turning inwards and downwards. [cf. *-gubudu* (*i(li)/ama*).]
8. **-gudulu** (*ingudulu / izingudulu*) n. [*gudu* (ideo.), of making a track; of groping one's way. dim. *>ingudulwana*.]

- i) Young bullock whose horns are just appearing; term of contempt for a precocious youth.
9. **-gumgedla** (*i(li)gumgedla / amagumgedla*) n.
 i) Ox with horns falling downwards and pointing backwards. The name for a carbineer or soldier is also *i(li)gumgedla* (Doke and Vilakazi, 1948: 276).
- 10 **-hlabamvula** (*i(li)hlabamvula / amahlabamvula*) n. [*<hlaba* (pierce) + *imvula* (the rain): lit. what pierces the rain.]
 i) Young bullock with horns still erect.
 [cf. *-hlabazulu* (*i(li)/ama*); *-hlabisamthimba* (*i(li)/ama*).]
 The Black swift (*Apus barbatus*) is known as *i(li)hlabankomo / amahlabankomo* or *ijankomo / amajankomo*.
11. **-hlabazulu** (*i(li)hlabazulu / amahlabazulu*) n. [*<hlaba* (stabs) + *i(li)zulu* (the sky): lit. what stabs the sky.]
 i) Young bullock of about two years old, with its horns still erect. [cf. *-hlabisamthimba* (*in/izin*); *-hlabamvula* (*i(li)/ama*).]
12. **-hlabisamthimba** (*inhlabisamthimba / izinhlabisamthimba*) n.
 [*<hlabisa* (what is slaughtered) + *umthimba* (the bridal party): lit. what is presented to the bridal party for slaughter.]
 i) Young steer just beginning to be inspanned, with horns still erect. [cf. *-hlabazulu* (*i(li)/ama*).]
 ii) Beast slaughtered for the bridal party.

13. **-hlangazimhlophe** (*enhlangazimhlophe*) n. [*<uhlanga / izinhlanga* (reed/reeds) + *mhlophe* (white): lit. white reeds.]
- i) Black beast with white horns (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1994: 53).
- 14a. **-hlawe** (*i(li)hlawe / amahlawe*) n. [*>-mahlawe* (rel.), having horns hanging down or drawn backwards (as buffalo).]
- i) Beast with horns bent downwards over mouth and hanging loose.
- ii) Small plant whose edible seed-pods hang down like pairs of little horns.
- 14b. **-mahlawe** (rel.)
- i) Having horns hanging down or drawn backwards.
15. **-khombe** (*umkhombe / imikhombe*) n. [Ur-B. *-komba*, hollow out.]
- i) Ox with horns growing diagonally, one up, one down.
- ii) White rhinoceros.
16. **-mahlawe** (rel.)
- (See **-hlawe** (*i(li) / ama*) above.)
17. **-mpondonde** (*umpondonde / ompondonde*) n. [lit. *<umpondo* (horns) + *nde* (long).]
- i) Species of long-horned cattle.
- ii) Species of aloe used to strengthen the chief.
- Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1994: 62) state that this beast has

- horns like Afrikaner cattle and are also known as *umbhunu*.
18. *-mpondozammenke (umpondozammenke / ompondozammenke) n.*
 [lit. <*izimpondo* (horns) + *zammenke* (of the snail).]
 i) Branching outwards; with two sharp horns.
19. *-ngcungu (ingcungu / izingcungu) n. [>dim. ingcungwana.]*
 i) Ox with horns curving in almost to meet.
 ii) Small light brown bird with a long beak (*isingcungu*).
 Roberts (1985: 683) lists no bird called *isingcungu* but does give *ingcungcu* (Xhosa), Malachite sunbird (*Nectarinia famosa*), which has a long curved beak. Samuelson (1923: 569) lists *ingcugcu* as a beast with horns curved in as to almost meet.
- 20a. *-phenge (u(lu)phenge / izimpenge) n. [-luphenge (rel.), wide-spreading, broad.]*
 i) Beast with wide-spread horns; wide-brimmed hat.
- 20b. *-phengelezi (u(lu)phengelzi / izimphengelezi) n.*
 i) Beast with widespread horns [cf. *-phenge (u(lu)/izim).*]
21. *-phishilili (u(lu)phishilili / izimphishilili) n. [<phishi (rel.), of fizzling out.]*
 i) Ox with tall, back-slanting horns.
22. *-qengqe (isiqengqe / iziqengqe) n. [<qengqe (ideo.), of being flat, broad, level.]*
 i) Ox or bull with broad-spreading horns.
 [cf. *-gengenene (ama) + (isi/izi).*]

- [cf. *-gengenene (ama) + (isi/izi).*]
- 23a. *-vava (u(lu)vava / izimvava) n.* [*<vava (v.)*, splinter, break into splinters.]
 i) Beast with upright, pointed horns.
- 23b. *-vava (umvava / imivava) n.* [*<vava (v.)*, splinter.]
 i) As above.
24. *-vavasholo (u(lu)vavasholo / izivavasholo) [<u(lu)vava (n.)*, beast with upright, pointed horns.]
 i) As above.
- 25a. *-xhonkxo (i(li)xhonkxo / amaxhonkxo) n.* [*<xhonkxa (v.)*, sow thickly, strew seed thickly.]
 i) Beast with horns curved crossing each other over the face. [cf. *-xhonxo (i(li)/ama).*]
- 25b. *-xhonxo (i(li)xhonxo / amaxhonxo) n.*
 i) As above. [cf. *xhonkxo (i(li)/ama).*]
- 26a. *-yengezi (isiyengezi / iziyengezi) n.* [*<yenge (ideo.)*, of eyes filling with tears.]
 i) Ox with wide-branching horns.
 ii) Broad-mouthed vessel.
- 26b. *-yengezi (u(lu)yengezi / izinyengezi) n.* [*<yenge (ideo.)* as above.]
 i) As above.

The metaphorically-associated names can be divided into groups according to the referent or type of referent to which they are linked. Of these metaphorical terms for horn-shape, a number are clearly variations of each other, e.g. a number of names refer to the wide-spreading characteristics of certain horns, likening them to a broad-bottomed vessel or spreading tree.

i) Wide-spreading as a broad-bottomed earthen vessel; broad-mouthed vessel; wide-spread tree or hat
(*isigengenene*):

- a) *-cengeza (isi/izi); -yengezi (isi/izi + u(lu)/izin)* : broad shallow earthen vessel
- b) *-gengenene (ama + isi/izi)*: being wide open, spread open; wide-spread tree or hat
- c) *-phenge (u(lu)/izim); -phengelezi (u(lu)/ izim)*: wide-spread, open
- d) *-qengqe (isi/izi)* : of being flat, broad

ii) Shallow-mouthed / narrow-mouthed basket with flattened top:

- a) *-gubudu (i(li)/ ama + isi/izi)*: large basket with small mouth and flattened top
- b) *-ngcungu (in/izin)*: basket or earthenware vessel narrowing in shape at the rim and fitted with a lid used for sour milk and ground boiled mealies.
(See also 'Bird referent', p 406.)

iii) Animal referent:

- a) *-ndlovu (um/ imi)*: elephant
- b) *-khombe (um/imi)*: rhinosceros
- c) *-mpondozamnenke (um/imi)* : horns of the snail

iv) Bird referent:

- a) *-ngcungu* : small light brown bird with long beak. *Ingcungcu* (Xhosa) is the name for the Malachite sunbird which has a long, curved beak (See also ii) above).
- b) *-dlazi (in/izin)* : Speckled mousebird.

v) Plant referent:

- a) *-hlawe (i(li)/ama)* : small plant whose edible seed-pods hang down like pairs of little horns.
- b) *-hlangazimhlophe (u(lu)/izin)* : white reeds.

vi) Other:

- a) *-bhedula (im/izim)*: turn up and expose, as the plough through soil or the lids of the eyes
- b) *-gumgedla (i(li)/ama)*: carbineer, soldier
- c) *-hlabamvula (i(li)/ama)*: what stabs the rain
- d) *-hlabazulu (i(li)/ama)* : what stabs the sky
- e) *-hlabisamthimba (in/izin)*: what is presented to the bridal party for slaughter
- f) *-phishilili (u(lu)/izim)* : of fizzling out
- g) *-xhonkxo ((i(li)/ama)* : sow or strew seed thickly
- h) *-vava (u(lu)/izim)* : splinters

9.3 DISCUSSION

Simelane (letter, Sept., 1996) insists that horn-shape takes second place to colour-pattern in naming-practice but acknowledges that a particularly fine pair of horns will attract comment and praise.

Examining the names for the horns of the cattle of the Zimbabwean Ndebele, it is interesting to note the similarity in terminology for horn-shape (Brownlee, 1977: no pagination.) Names recorded by Brownlee (1977: no pagination) give an idea of the form of naming-practice among the Zimbabwean Ndebele, whose language is directly related to Zulu, and it is of interest to note that horn-shape is mentioned before coloration although Brownlee's method of obtaining the information is not documented and emphasis on horn-shape may be his own.

In the field - although no hard-and-fast rule appears to exist - a beast was generally described by type followed by colour-pattern and then horn-shape. Three of the examples recorded by Brownlee in which horn-shape is the first feature described, are given below:

- i) *Isiqenge esingu Mhalatsheni*: a beast with horns curving back along the body (*isiqenge*) with the colour pattern of black and tan with small white markings resembling stones.
- ii) *Isipondo esilu Bende*: a beast with horns sweeping back and down along the sides of the animal which has the *ububende* colour, a brownish red, the shade of dissected spleen.
- iii) *Ibelekazi elingu Mhlopekazi*: a white cow with horns growing down the sides of the face and almost touching the cheeks.

The following examples describe cattle, using a more common order of description, i.e. by type, colour-pattern and horn-conformation:

i) *inkabi elisomi elingumkhombe*: an ox of a purplish and red colour-pattern (redwinged starling) which has horns like a rhinoceros.

ii) *iklilathikazi eliqobodo*: a black cow with a speckled white marking under the throat which has horns turned inward at the top.

iii) *inkomo engamavukuthu engumdlovu*: a beast coloured like a rock pigeon with horns like an elephant's tusks.

iv) *inkomazi ensingizisuka engembedula*: a cow with the pattern, 'the hornbill takes to flight' with wide-spread, twisted horns.

v) *inkunzi ewaba elingamazinga*: a bull with a black and white colour-pattern and corrugated horns.

Perhaps one of the most evocative and beautiful sayings in Zulu, is '*izimpondozankomo*', 'horns of the cattle', used to indicate the appearance of the first light of dawn. This phrase suggests the silhouette of the heads and horns of the cattle gathered in the kraal, being just visible against the coming light. Even the dawning of the day is connected with the herds and a man, on going out to relieve himself in the morning, will endeavour to pre-empt his bull in his ablutions.

Hammond-Tooke (1993: 53) describes this interchange between the household head and his bull in the following way:

'It is crucial that the head rises and passes water each morning before his bull does if he wishes to retain his authority over his homestead.'

The rising of the sun, its first appearance at the edge of the horizon, is likened, in poetry, to 'a poll-headed beast'. And the Zulu army, in its climactic manoeuvre, closing in on the enemy, attacks in the formation of the 'horns of the bull,

surrounding the opponent: a tactic used to devastating effect by the regiments of the great Zulu kings.

SECTION FOUR

UCHIBIDOLO: THE ABUNDANT HERDS

PERCEPTIONS OF CATTLE

*'... it is deep learning. We are enabled to establish harmony between ourselves and God and the departed spirits by means of praises. It is rejoicing and it is weeping with which we cry unto God. The praises reveal what a man thinks in his heart. It is his speech...'*¹

INTRODUCTION

The role of cattle in Zulu society has been explored in the previous chapters. So has the naming-practice by means of which a vast vocabulary related to colour, horn-shape, type of beast and the social function of cattle has been described. The importance of cattle in Zulu society is not in question - but how do the Zulu people perceive their cattle and what role do they have in their aesthetic life? What cattle-lore exists and what part do cattle play in the oral art?

The oral art of the Zulu people has been fairly extensively recorded over the last hundred years, particularly the praises or *izibongo* of the Zulu kings. Praise poetry in general has received much attention from academics in the last thirty years and Ruth Finnegan's Oral Literature in Africa (1970) has influenced considerably a trend not only to examine the aesthetic content of the great oral traditions of Africa but to assess them

¹ Lekgothane, S.K. Sept. 1938. Praises of Animals in Northern Sotho. Bantu Studies. Vol. 12, No. 3. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. p 191.

in context and through the eyes and perceptions of the people to whom these traditions belong: context, performance and interpretation have replaced the more function-orientated studies of earlier times.

A study of the Zulu peoples' perceptions of cattle could and should be an extensive and rewarding exercise. Any comprehensive analysis of the role of cattle in the oral tradition or in-depth study of cattle-lore would provide the subject of a large independent dissertation. Again, because of the constraints of time and academic requirement, such an in-depth analysis is beyond the scope of this study and, as with the cultural aspects of cattle dealt with in Chapter 4, can only be described in overview. To leave out any reference to cattle-lore however, or to the role of cattle in the various genres of the oral tradition, would be to present an incomplete picture of the beast so interwoven in the lives of the Zulu people. Besides, although cattle terminology relates to 'names' rather than 'praises' in the truest sense of the word, it is more than just 'marginal', despite Finnegan's (1970: 23) statement:

'...we have verbal forms that are clearly marginal: obviously not 'literature' in their own right, and yet not irrelevant to literary formulation and composition. We could instance metaphorical names, elaborate greeting forms, the serious art of conversation and, in some cases, proverbs or rhetoric.'

She (1970: 24), herself, concludes:

'There is no point at which I would draw a definite dividing line ... even though one extreme is clearly literary...'

The beast cannot be 'dissected' without loss and this section is offered as a background against which the complexity

of naming, especially in terms of metaphor and imagery, can be appreciated.

This section is divided into two parts, for although both are integral to the concept of 'perception' of cattle and both belong in a discussion of the 'oral tradition', dividing the material into two sections makes its management easier.

i) Cattle-Lore: this aspect of the study of cattle deals with beliefs about cattle much of which is informed by the veld-lore of the herdsman. How cattle fit into the cosmology of the people is explored and their beliefs about the relationship between cattle and birds, plants, animals, the earth and sky are all significant in comprehending the perceptions that the Zulu people have about them. The exploration of such lore adds to the appreciation of the metaphorical content of many of the names, deepening insight into the interrelationship between the cattle and the environment.

ii) Cattle and the Oral Tradition. Not only are cattle the subject of praises or tales, but cattle imagery is found in all forms of the oral art. Stories of particular cattle which have captured the imaginations of the people have passed out of history and experience into legend and may be intergral to the content of proverb, aphorism or folktale. Aphorisms, idioms, proverbs and riddles employ cattle imagery. It finds expression in a more sophisticated form in the imagery which abounds in the *izibongo* of the kings and other prominent people. The praises of cattle

themselves have been little recorded although they are recited and composed wherever men have herds: this is a field of study waiting to be tapped. The pioneering work of Lawrence Molefe gives a taste of the fascination of this subject. His unpublished MA, The Praises of Domestic Animals (1992: University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg) deserves a far wider audience. The individual praise names of cattle are also a source of great interest, the study of which would bring abundant rewards.

Cattle-lore arises from the close relationship between the herdsman and the beast and the man's keen observation of that beast in the context of its environment. The way cattle are perceived is an integral part of the cosmology of the Zulu people and the oral art which is a product of that cosmology uses images and references which are significant in leading to an understanding of that perception.

The oral art emanates from a people's need and desire to describe their world and express their feelings about their perceptions of it. However, in writing down or recording much of the oral art of Africa, many constraints are brought to bear, not the least of which is the fact that what is 'translated' inevitably loses much of its meaning, vitality, poetry, nuance and subtlety. Vail and White (1991: 322) state:

'There is more at stake here than our own limitations. We have argued elsewhere that literary criticism has been the Cinderella of African studies producing little scholarship that can match the commitment and intellectual vigor of debates in related disciplines. Part of this failure seems to lie in its origins in the New Criticism of the 1950's, when a stress on the study of the "text as artefact," as "verbal icon" or "well-wrought urn," led all too easily to

the assumption that there was some special virtue in isolating literature from its social and historical setting.'

Vail and White rightly point out that despite Finnegan's extensive opening up of the field for literary criticism, there has been a dearth of work dealing with the oral literatures of Africa. They comment (1991: 324):

'...literary critics who have studied Africa have been unembarrassed to work in ignorance of the African languages, and material that has a profound intrinsic value of its own and that is essential to the understanding of social and historical change, has been shunted to the sidelines of folklore, structural linguistics, or the hunt for formula.'

It is time to redress some of the false impressions of the past. Finnegan (1970: 80) states:

'The present exceedingly simple impression of African literature can be seen to rest more on the lack of research than on the lack of actual material.'

With regard to the praises of cattle and the role of cattle imagery in the oral tradition as a whole, there is indeed scope for research and further exploration.

CHAPTER TEN

CATTLE-LORE AND THE ROLE OF CATTLE IN THE ORAL TRADITION

*Cattle are 'the link between the perceptible
and the transcendental'*¹

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Cattle are as much a part of the environment in which they move as the birds, animals and plants that share their pastures. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, the veld is the 'school' for the young herder - the companion and caretaker of the cattle - the place where he learns natural history and the skills of animal husbandry.

Considering this daily activity, it is understandable that the veld-lore of the Zulus should be extensive and that cattle should feature in it. Such lore is found among all African people with a cattle-culture and much of it arises out of a minutely-observed attention to and knowledge of the natural environment. It is a lore which is being lost as society becomes urbanised and the pressure for land increases with the consequent dwindling of the herds. It has also been an observation in the field that younger cattle herders, for example, are unaware of many of the cattle names as well as some of the metaphorical associations between the cattle names they are familiar with and other natural phenomena. It was often recorded that a cattle name which was associated with that of a bird (e.g. *igola* - black and white beast/ fiscal shrike) was given by the herder for a particular

¹ Chazzolara, J.P. 1934. 'Die Bedeutung des Rindes bei den Nuer'. *Africa*. p 320.

beast, and, on further questioning, evidently did not know that the word referred to a bird at all.

The psychological relationship between man and the animals in pastoral society influences very significantly the way pastoralists relate to the land. Smith states in his work, Pastoralism in Africa (1992: 25):

'It is inevitable that the symbiosis of the pastoralist with his animals would create a psychological dependence due to the restrictions placed upon him by the needs of the animals ... All these interwoven aspects of the lives of animals and men revolving around seasonal resource availability would inevitably intertwine with the rituals and belief structures of pastoral peoples.'

Man, in constant communion with his animals, and part of the perpetual activity of seeking grazing, is companion in all their wanderings. Whatever affects or influences the beasts in the pasture, becomes part of the experience of the herders as well. Thus, beast and man are daily one with the land, the pasture and the creatures that share it. The lore which has developed out of this association has grown in complexity over time.

Besides man, perhaps the closest companion of the cattle at pasture, are the birds of the veld. They, in many instances, are assisted, by the presence of cattle, with their own nutritional needs. Cattle egrets, with which the royal cattle are especially connected, flock wherever cattle graze, eating whatever is disturbed by the hooves as the beasts move through the grass. Others forage at the edges of the herd, and, before general dipping led to the decline in numbers, birds such as ox-peckers were abundant wherever herds were found, perching on the beasts and feasting on ticks and other parasites.

These symbiotic relationships have led to a number of

beliefs and ideas, often based in an accurate observation of the behaviour of birds and animals connected with cattle.

10.2 CATTLE LORE

In the following sections, the relationship between cattle and birds, animals, plants and other natural phenomena will be recorded. Many of the beliefs associated with the lore described will have become obsolete or may be known only in areas where a traditional lifestyle is still embraced. As in the case of naming-practice, regional differences will exist. Most of the lore recorded in this chapter comes from archival sources and relates to traditions recorded in the last hundred years, stretching from Callaway (1870) to the writings of Berglund (1976).

10.2.1 CATTLE AND BIRDS

Besides men, birds are the most constantly in the company of cattle, and, throughout Africa, their names and the names of cattle colour-patterns are linked. There are a number of symbiotic relationships between birds and cattle and a number of beliefs have arisen regarding these.

10.2.1.1 CATTLE AND FORKTAILED DRONGOS:

Intengu, the forktailed drongo (*Dicrurus adsimilis*), is credited by the Zulu and the Xhosa as being a bird with a love of cattle. The bird is said to have the power of herding and has a whistle that is very similar to that employed by herders in directing their cattle. It is said, that on hearing the drongo

Makisa
Mole Eqsaka

whistle, cattle will bunch together in the same way as they do in response to a human whistle. Thus, in traditional belief, it is said that a man without sons may employ a drongo to herd his cattle for him.

Should herdboys appear at home at a time of day when they should be attending to the cattle, it is understood that they have left a drongo in charge. There is a saying in Xhosa:

'Indoda engenamalusi, iinkomo zayo zaluswa yintengu.'
'The cattle of the man without a herder, are herded by a drongo.'

The connection with cattle is also found in the song of the drongo. Among the Zulu, the drongo is believed to say to his mate (Dunning nd: 56-58):

'Wongamula, qede Mantaba.
Woncomboza ungayithola intandane.'
'(You had better) make haste and finish your preparations (i.e. wash your feet, etc.) for the journey, Mantaba. (Be sure) you announce your intention (insistently and brazenly enough) of getting (adopting) an orphan and you will succeed in getting (possession of) one.'

The meaning of this exchange may seem obscure. However, the drongo is urging his wife to go over the mountain in search of a suitable girl that he might take as a second wife. The reference to 'orphan' indicates that she should cut her ties with her parents and come to him and that his first wife should have a say in the choice.

10.2.1.2 CATTLE AND WAGTAILS:

Umvemve or *umcelumvemve*, the Cape wagtail (*Motacilla capensis*) is most specifically linked to cattle. In Xhosa, its praise name is, for example, '*intaka yenkomo*', bird of the

cattle. It is believed that if this sociable small bird is seen around the cattle-kraal, the stock will increase and the herd prosper, for it is a bird of good-fortune while its sudden desertion of a locality is a sign of war (Godfrey, 1941: 101).

Its fondness for cattle and for sheep gives it the status of 'herder' in the eyes of the people. It is said to whistle like a herdboys and to practise in imitation, preferring to spend its time around stock than in foraging elsewhere.

The wagtail is especially sacred to the cattle-herder and, among the Xhosa, should one inadvertently be killed, it is customary to bury the body with two white beads and to make application for clemency to the ancestral shades, or to God:

'Camagu! mandingafikelwa ngamashwa'

'I beg for clemency! May ill-fortune pass me by!'

(Godfrey, 1941: 102)

10.2.1.3 CATTLE AND BLACKEYED BULBULS

The Zulu people believe that the Blackeyed bulbul (*Pycnonotus barbatus*) or *iphothwe*, is associated with cattle through its song. Like the drongo, being one of the last birds to roost at night, its late evening call is an admonishment to the herdboys to hurry home with their cattle.

'Bafana, bafana, izinkomo ziyobuya nini? Niyogcina konke, aniboni ukuthi izwe lifile? Nithathe izagila-nje, aniboni ukuthi ilanga lishonile, kuyogcina thina?'

'Boys! boys! When are the cattle returning? Will you collect them all? Don't you see that the land is dead? You have actually taken your throw-sticks with you. Can't you see that the sun has set and that we are the last to retire?' (Dunning, nd: 51)

10.2.1.4 CATTLE AND THE CRESTED EAGLE

The Crested eagle (*Lophoetus occipitalis*), known as *isiphungumangathi*, is employed by herders who have allowed their cattle to wander. This bird, often seen sitting for long periods at a vantage point in the veld, surveying the surrounding countryside, is approached by the errant boys and it is asked, 'ziph'izinkomo', to which the bird responds by moving its head in this direction or that, the long trailing point of its crest feather indicating the direction in which the cattle have strayed. The chrysalis of a type of stalk-borer has the same name as the eagle and it may also be appealed to when cattle have wandered. It wiggles its tail, indicating, as the bird does, the place where the cattle have gone (Godfrey 1941: 33). Mngomezulu explained the connection between cattle-herds and the insect, saying that the erratic vigilance of a bad herder is similar to the erratic actions of the *isiphungumangathi*.

10.2.1.5 CATTLE AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS WITH BIRDS

Where the Jacobin cuckoo (*Clamator jacobinus*) calls, cattle thrive and milk is plentiful because the bird indicates the presence of rich pasture (Ayliff, 1846: 223) and it is believed by the Xhosa that the locality favoured by the bokmakierie (*Telophorus zeylonus*) is a good site for a cattle-kraal as this bird is associated with luck and prosperity (Godfrey, 1941: 111).

The name for the evening star, Venus, is *isacelankobe* (Zulu) or *ucel'izapholo* (Xhosa). The first means 'that which asks mealie grains' and the second 'that which asks a little milk' or the 'last drop from the teat'. Besides being used to denote the star,

these words both refer to swallows which follow the herds to the byre at evening time, hawking for insects. Thus, star, cattle and birds are connected in the minds of men and through the name which links them.

10.2.2 CATTLE AND ANIMALS AND PLANTS

Cattle are not closely connected with animals but have a special association with plants, especially with the flowers of the *Helichrysum* family which link cattle to the ancestral shades.

The association between cattle and animals is not as close as that which exists between cattle and birds due to the fact that birds and cattle live, in many cases, in a specifically symbiotic relationship. The resemblance between the colour-patterns of cattle and the colours of various animals has been described in Chapter 8.

The relationship between cattle and the *impepho* (*Helichrysum niconiaefolium*) plant has been mentioned in Chapter 4: 4.2.2 in connection with the *izinkomo zamadlozi* or beasts of the ancestors. However, the association needs to be more fully examined as *impepho* plays an extremely important part in the materia-medica of the Zulu people and is especially linked to the ancestral shades.

Before the connection with cattle is explained, the characteristics of *impepho* and the reason for its relationship to the shades needs explanation. A diviner interviewed by Berglund (1976: 113) explained:

"This plant is like a shade. It does not die as a shade does not die. The flower remains without withering (*ukubuna*). The Zulu word *ukubuna*, however, is more than wither. It includes a fading away gradually, eventually

dying away totally, not to recover). The flowers that I picked when I was initiated when I was young are there to this day. They do not change. They are like the shades".'

It is the quality of everlastingness which links the flower to the shades:

'"It (*impepho*) is not a shade. But they are alike in that they do not wither. So they are friends (*abazalwane ngokufanana*)."' (Berglund, 1976: 113)

The association between *impepho* and cattle was emphasized by all informants to whom Berglund spoke in the course of his research. This plant is not eaten by cattle which is taken as an indication that there is a close link between the *impepho* and them. One informant told Berglund (1976: 114):

'"The things of the shades do not eat each other".'

A related plant, *impephotshani*, (*Gazani longifolia*) is also associated with the shades and with cattle. These plants are much more rare than *impepho* and are not eaten by cattle either. They are plants through which the shades indicate that rain is coming and, like *impepho*, are used in the form of ash, to rub the back of the sacrificial beast while the headman calls on the shades to look at their food. The shades, thus summoned, should enjoy the 'sweet smell of the ash and become happy' (Berglund, 1976: 114-115).

The *ixhanti* region of the body in both humans and animals is the upper row of dorsal vertebrae. It is the place where those called to be diviners feel pain and it is also the region of the beast that is rubbed with *impepho* prior to ritual slaughtering.

After a ritual slaughtering, when the beast is cut up and a part of the carcass brought to the *indlunkulu* or great hut, wrapped in the skin of the animal, a portion of the meat is burnt

in a potsherd over the hearth with a pinch of *impepho*. This is a solemn moment in the proceedings and one which takes place in an atmosphere of reverence (Berglund 1976: 217).

There are many distractions in the veld and herders, as has been described, are known to allow their cattle to stray. However, a remedy for parental anger caused by this negligence, is afforded by *Wahlbergia grandiflora campanulaceae* or the giant bellflower, known in Zulu as *ushayindoda omhlophe* which will make a herdboyc invisible from his irate elders if he chews on the roots.

The names of colour-patterns associated with those of plants by virtue of the visual resemblance between them is discussed in Chapter 8: 8.4.

10.2.3 CATTLE AND CONCEPTS OF THE SKY

In discussing the traditional Zulu concept of the sky, Berglund describes a great blue rock which stretches from one flat end of the surface of the earth to the other. This vault of rock rests on the edge of the earth which itself is held up by four bulls which carry the earth on their horns. When one of these celestial bulls shakes its head, the earth shakes too and that is how earthquakes are accounted for (Berglund, 1976: 32).

It is believed that the sky is a place of perpetual light and that the stars are small holes in the floor of the sky through which the light filters. One of Berglund's (1976: 32) informants described the stars in the following way - a description which emphasizes the consciousness of cattle being an integral and significant part of Zulu thought-patterns:

'When it has rained and the cattle are driven to the grazing grounds, they sometimes tramp through the mud and their feet go through the floor of the sky. Then the light comes through".'

The same person described the shooting star as being caused when a heavenly beast, impatient to reach the sky-grazing, drags its foot in the mud in its haste, causing light to flash across the sky as the 'mud' is pushed aside. The idea of celestial cattle, belonging to the Lord-of-the-Sky or Creator, is evidence, in the mind of Berglund's informant, that there is life above. She said (Berglund, 1976: 32):

'How else could there be movements there if there is no life in the sky?'

The same woman described the Milky Way as the gateway to the heavenly cattle-enclosure.

Among the most metaphorically beautiful and apt Zulu riddles connected with cattle is recorded by Canonici (1994: 51):

'Ngikuphica ngenkunzi emhlophe edla ebusuku nezinkomo ezimhlophe:

Yinyanga nezinkanyezi.'

'A white bull that eats at night with white cattle:
The moon and stars.'

10.2.4 CATTLE AND RAIN

Drought, and the threat of drought, is a constant source of concern to the pastoralist and the agriculturalist in Southern Africa, for the absence of rain results in great suffering, the failure of crops and the depletion of pasturage. Consequently, the Zulu people, have many and varied ways of making supplication and, in some of these activities, cattle play an important role.

Mtshayankomo told Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1986, Vol. 4: 115) that entreaties for rain were made at the 'place of the

kings' (*emakhosini*) and that Senzangakhona, Ndaba, Phunga and Mageba were called upon to help. He said (1986: 117):

'There was no king whose praises were omitted when the cattle of the spirits were sacrificed. Even a king who had been buried in a foreign country would have cattle of the spirits sacrificed to him, and be addressed with praises. Nzibe too had praises addressed to him. The ruling king was not praised'.

According to Bryant (1967: 524), *ukucela imvula emakhosini* - to beg rain from the kings - required black cattle, the colour associated with rain, storms and thunderclouds.

The intimate connection between the kings and rain is evident in the idea that drought can be caused by the death of a monarch and is most likely to occur between this event and the accession of the new king. Krige (1988: 248) states:

'...it is believed that there is particular danger of drought in the period between the death of one king and the accession of another. Sometimes it even becomes necessary to hold a special gathering at which beasts are slaughtered, and the deceased king is called upon and scolded for being so hard-hearted.'

Krige (1988: 248) records that on the occasion of *ukucela imvula* from a recently-deceased king, the senior men of the people gathered at the Great Place of the heir. Six pure black oxen were killed, at least one of which came from the herd of the departed monarch. The others were obtained from the herds of his councillors. The meat was boiled and served on the wet hides of the slaughtered animals. The praises of the dead king were recited and all present stood for the ceremony. It was believed that rain, sent by the shade of the king, would follow

immediately these rites had been performed².

Not only were cattle driven to the Makhosini district, where the kings' graves are found, to ask for rain but, in times of extreme distress, ten or more fat black oxen might be sent to the King of the Swazis to make similar entreaty. The Swazis have always been credited with the ability to break a drought, even in distant places³.

Supplication for rain and the significance of this activity as a National Ceremony is described in more detail in Chapter 4:
4.4

10.2.5 CATTLE AND LOCUSTS

Locusts have been a scourge in Southern Africa for many years, declining in numbers only since the introduction of intensive spraying programmes. According to Krige (1988: 196-197) locusts were unknown in Zululand before 1829. Legend has it that a contingent of Zulus, raiding far into Soshangane's country near Delagoa Bay, went out in search of food. At a deserted kraal they found a large basket and opened it. It was full of locusts. The hungry soldiers ate the insects but the people of the kraal who were hiding on a large rock nearby, cursed the intruders, uttering the threat that the locusts would follow them home and

² Bryant, A.T. 1967 edition. The Zulu People. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter. p 527: It is of interest to note that when a monarch dies his spears are buried in a secret place lest his spirit turn against his former friends, foes or even the cattle he has left behind. Such wounds or **amanxeba** do not manifest themselves externally but are believed to be present internally.

³ Stuart, J. nd (b). 'Cattle as a Medium of Exchange'. James Stuart Papers. Uncatalogued manuscript, Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban. pps 13-14.

plague them forever. Since that time, locusts have often devastated the crops and pastures of Zululand.

Stuart's informant, Mpatshana (Webb and Wright, 1982, Vol.3: 312), told him that during the great locust invasions at the end of the nineteenth century, emissaries were sent to Mabelemade, an old woman living north of Delagoa Bay, who was supposed to have caused the plague. Cattle were given to her with a solemn prayer that she should order the locusts away. This offering of cattle is believed to have pleased Mabelemade and the locusts withdrew.

10.2.6 CATTLE AND THE SHADOW OF THE CHIEF

The identification between men and their cattle is illustrated by the belief that the disputes of men can affect their animals as closely. Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1982, Vol. 3: 15) writes that 'in the old days' (i.e. the heyday of the Zulu kingdom in the nineteenth century), chiefs of high standing did not resort to stabbing cattle to kill them for sacrifice and ritual purposes:

'A beast to be killed, having been caught by the regiments and brought to the chief, would be "struck" by the chief's shadow and then "fade" - waste away - and, after being driven away, take ill and die without being stabbed.'

Death of this kind happened when a man was taken prisoner. On merely beholding his captor, the captive would be overcome with fear and then succumb.

In 1913, Mbokodo ka Sikulekile of the Mkhize people, informed Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1982, Vol.3: 14) that chiefs of olden times had certain powers and related an incident which occurred when there was a dispute over livestock. Zihlandlo, one

of Tshaka's favoured men, went cattle-raiding and acquired Baleni's herds. Among them was a large red and white ox which he singled out from among the other beasts. Zihlandlo pointed a pair of pincers at it and it died. He then flicked it with a switch and it stood up again⁴.

10.2.7 TO BEWITCH A BEAST.

Ukulinga inkomo, the practice of bewitching a bullock, is described by Callaway (1870: 428-429). This is done to cause the beast to lose its natural properties. Thus, when stabbed, the spear will not penetrate, nor, when the meat is cooked, will it boil. In order to effect this, the man who bewitches the beast will rub medicines on the places where the beast is most likely to be stabbed, or breathe medicines into the pot in which the meat would be cooked.

10.2.8 CATTLE AND OMENS:

So bound to the lives of the Zulu people are their cattle, that the behaviour of these animals is carefully analysed for signs which augur well or ill and which might indicate to men the vagaries of fortune. If a calf lies down behind its mother while she is being milked (Berglund 1976: 334) or a cow knocks off the cover of a vessel containing heads of millet and eats them, these would be considered signs from the ancestral shades that disaster

⁴ Stuart (Webb and Wright, 1982. Vol.3: 14) Stuart notes that this particular beast was Baleni's *ingezelo* animal, the one that is washed for him. It was the custom, when chiefs were washing in their cattle enclosures, for a fine beast to be brought there at the same time. It was identified with the chief 'because it is his body'.

is not far off (Krige, 1988: 288). An ox bellowing in the middle of the night is a clear indication that war is imminent and that the army must rally with all haste. Mtshapi, interviewed by Stuart in 1918 (Webb and Wright, 1986, Vol.4: 77), told him that the two ways through which the shades indicate their permission to commence hostilities are by sending the king a dream in which the ancestors specifically tell him it is time for war and the other is when they cause an ox or bull to bellow at night. Such a beast is known as *izwandaba* - 'what hears the news'. A calf behaving unusually while the army is preparing to march would be reason enough to put off the battle that day (Kidd, 1925: 304).

10.2.9 SACRED CATTLE

The role of the sacred cattle of the ancestral kings, *izinkomo zemzimu*, has been described in Chapter 4: 4.2.3. In connection with such cattle, however, it is of interest to note that among the Xhosas, there is reverence for a small number of 'sacred' herds once found in Bomvanaland. These cattle have supposedly died out. However, Soga (1931: 389), writing of Xhosa society before 1930, says:

'At one time such herds existed among the Xosas also, in connection with religious worship.'

Soga (1931: 392-393) notes that two herds of sacred cattle came to his attention, one from the principal house of the Amatshezi, the other from the right-hand house of the Bomvanas. These herds were known as the Ondongolo and Bolowana or Zankayi respectively. It has been extremely difficult to trace the origin of any of these words:

'The name given to these cattle "Bolowana" is somewhat doubtful in its origin. It is a name often applied by the older Natives to the mimosa tree (*umnga*). Should a Native get an order to cut firewood, and is simply told "*yiza no Bolowana*" (bring Bolowana) he knows that he is expected to bring mimosa wood.'

Soga states that it was the Bomvana chief, Gambushe, who called the sacred herd 'Bolowana' and that they were used for specific sacrificial purposes. After such sacrifice, the meat was not consumed by the people but given over entirely to the ancestral shades. When a beast was to be sacrificed, the herd was driven to a sacred pool called 'Kukapi'. The first to lie down on reaching this place was believed to have been chosen by the shades for sacrifice. The corpse was put into the pool and its sinking assured the watchers that the shades had accepted the gift.

In connection with the Xhosas, it is interesting to note that Ntsikana (c. 1780-1821), who is linked with the beginnings of Christianity among the Xhosa-speaking people, and is held by many as a prophet and saint, is connected with an ox named Hulushe, which played a role in his conversion. Hodgson (1980: 3) describes the first of a number of manifestations of his calling to Christianity which, Ntsikana believed, was a sign from the Holy Spirit:

'The story goes that early one morning, as he was admiring his cattle in his kraal, he saw a bright ray of light from the rising sun strike the side of his favourite ox, Hulushe. But a young boy rounding up calves saw nothing peculiar.'

Ntsikana's Great Hymn is designated 'Poll-headed' or 'Round Hymn', reflecting a symbolic image of cattle, a beast which was significant in his consciousness and in his conversion (Hodgson,

1980: 4).

Cattle-lore exists throughout Africa - recorded and unrecorded - wherever men are pastoralists and herders. The lore described above is only a part of the tradition which exists among the Zulu people and is derived, mostly, from written, archival, sources. It is a lore which, with intensive field research, could be augmented considerably and to which more material can and should be added. The changing beliefs in regard to this lore, are also something which need more contemporary attention. The diminishing significance of cattle in the lives of the Zulu people will bring about shifts in emphasis and new lore may emerge where the old recedes.

10.3 THE ROLE OF CATTLE IN THE ORAL TRADITION

Cattle imagery and role of cattle in the oral tradition is a field in which an extensive amount of material is awaiting analysis, the exploration of which would be a rewarding endeavour. Scholars such as Finnegan, Scheub, Okpewho and others have written extensively about the oral tradition in Africa, its form, the disciplines through which its content has been analysed: the literature is vast and comprehensive and it is not appropriate to document here current thinking on the various forms and methods of analysis. Suffice it to say that Finnegan's 'literary approach' to an appreciation of the aesthetics and form of the different genres has been the basis on which this material has been appraised. An attempt is made to understand how the Zulu people describe and perceive their world and how this perception is expressed in their oral art, in this case, through cattle

imagery and the deployment of cattle as the subject of poetry and praising.

The role of cattle in the oral tradition is approached here from the conceptual viewpoint of Cattle as Subject.

Cattle imagery abounds in the praises, songs, chants and other genres relating to people but to explore each of these areas of interest would be beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, the material covered in this chapter includes cattle themselves as the subject of praise, cattle imagery in proverbs and some examples of cattle as subject in oral prose.

From this it will be clear that in one instance cattle are the focus of attention and the subject under review and in the other, cattle imagery is metaphorically significant in genres in which people are the subject. It is the first aspect of cattle imagery which will be explored.

The following aspects of the oral tradition are examined with regard to cattle and the role they have to play. The material is divided for convenience, and - it is hoped - for clarity, into the following areas of interest :

10.3.1 Cattle Imagery in Proverbs

10.3.2 Cattle and Oral Poetry

10.3.2.1 Praises of Cattle

10.3.2.2 Praise Names of Cattle

10.3.3 Cattle in Oral Prose

10.3.3.1 Cattle as Characters in Tales

10.3.3.2 Cattle in History and Legend

10.4 Discussion

When appraising genres such as those listed above, it is not only the category into which a particular 'text' falls which is important, but the 'vehicle' through which it is expressed. And this is language: it is not just the images conveyed in the

different oral art forms that are of importance but the way in which they are 'delivered'. These qualities of language, the assonance, alliteration, rhyme, rhythm, tone - and all the vast panoply of features which can be employed by the skilled speaker - constitute the fabric and allow for a full appreciation of the form. In translation much is lost to all but the mother-tongue speaker.

The subject of the performance of the different genres of the oral tradition is also one which has been extensively investigated by Finnegan and other writers and is a study in itself. Obviously, by its very nature, the oral art is performed and performance has been a subject under extensive scrutiny in the last two decades. Scheub, working among the Xhosa, has demonstrated that tales and other forms of the oral art, taken out of the context of performance, lose much of their aesthetic appeal.

To ignore performance, says Finnegan (1970: 12)

'is to risk missing much of the subtlety, flexibility, and individual originality of its creator and, furthermore, to fail to give consideration to the aesthetic canons of those intimately concerned in the production and the reception of this form of literature.'

Performance, in terms of cattle praises, are a case in point. The praises are designed to encourage, affirm and coax and are 'performed' for both beast and onlookers. A cattle-praise without the beast in question being present, would divest it of much of its impact, if not its meaning. Cattle are praised to encourage them to plough harder, to thank them for producing milk, to admire them for virility, to encourage them to enter the byre and to generally affirm them in the eyes of their owners.

Without the physical demonstration of affection and regard - tone of voice, coaxing gesture, punctuating whistle - the praises would be delivered without reason.

Jousse (1990: xiv) claimed 'man is gesture; gesture is man' in that the whole of the body is at the disposal of thought. And this is never more so than in the creation of praises or tales in which the performer becomes integral to the content itself.

'Oral style is human expression full of gesture, full of melody, full of rhythm, because full of organic function.'
(Jousse, 1990: 109)

10.3.1 CATTLE IMAGERY IN PROVERBS

Cattle feature in many proverbs in Zulu and forty five have been recorded by Nyembezi (1990) in his seminal Zulu Proverbs.

Proverbs are succinct expressions, rich in imagery and metaphor through which abstract ideas, couched in abbreviated and allusive phrases, may be expressed. Those who can use them aptly and with precision, are admired.

Of African proverbs in general Nketia (1958: 21) says:

'...the proverb is a model of compressed or forceful language. In addition to drawing on it for its words of wisdom...[the speaker] takes interest in its verbal techniques - its selection of words, its use of comparison as a method of statement and so on.'

The exact definition of a proverb is problematic and what may be viewed as proverbial by people in one society might have different currency in another. There is, however, some general agreement as to what a proverb is and, according to Finnegan's definition (1970: 393) it is:

'...marked by "shortness, sense, and salt" and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in it.'

Okpewho (1992: 235) states that the function of proverbs is to give 'clarity', 'pointedness' and 'focus' to speech. But, he says, their over-riding value is that they may be considered the 'storehouse of the wisdom of that society':

'Most proverbs have a philosophical depth which is the result of a careful and sensitive observation of human conduct and experience and of the surrounding nature.'

In form, Zulu proverbs are short and have a structure which conforms to a more or less fixed pattern, the details of which are beyond the scope of the present study. Proverbs have a poetic quality and are set apart from straightforward maxims. The context in which they are used is important for the occasion of use and the circumstances surrounding a particular proverb's aptness all need consideration. Many collections of proverbs do not take these matters into account and, as a result, misconceptions arise regarding their meaning and application. Finnegan warns (1970: 394) that understanding context is essential to their interpretation.

Proverbs, stylistically, are always expressed in a poetic form and in figurative terms which set them aside from ordinary speech. The 'truth' which constitutes the subject of the proverb is either conveyed literally, or through a simile or metaphor.

The real nature of things is often contained in proverbial expression or advice is proffered through the apt choice of a proverbial saying. Finnegan comments (1970: 395):

'...proverbs may also conceal deeper meanings as well as picturesque language, but in explicit form, in contrast to the clearly figurative, they present the thought in a simple and straightforward way.'

Zulu proverbs are highly figurative, often using similes but more frequently - and most evocatively - being rich in metaphor

and analogy. Proverbs using bird and animal images metaphorically are very common and cattle fall within this definition. Through the use of such proverbs comment can be made about the human condition. Finnegan (1970: 396) cites an example in which cattle imagery plays a part. It demonstrates a state of extreme egotism:

'The worm in the cattle kraal says "I am an ox".'

Hyperbole, exaggeration, paradox and allusion are all features of the language of proverbs. Reference to events famous in a particular history may be cited - but only those well-versed in such matters will grasp their full implication.

Proverbs are also closely connected with other forms of oral literature and may inform or be informed by them. Finnegan (1970: 393) explains that the close connections between proverbs and other forms mutually enrich and act upon each other and should be seen as 'one aspect of artistic expression within a whole social and literary context.'

Performance is not as important in terms of the delivery as it is in the recitation of praises, but context is crucial: the aptness of the expression, matched to the situation, decides its impact.

In form, the Zulu proverb can be simple or complex, distinguished by a figurative mode of expression abounding in metaphor, allusion and imagery. It may be compressed or abbreviated and full proverbs which are particularly well-known are sometimes quoted in truncated form.

Commenting of proverbs from Africa in general, Finnegan says (1970: 402):

'Bantu proverbs, then, are noted for special patterns which in many cases give poetic flavour to the saying. They use

various devices to express the thought succinctly and sometimes rhythmically ... The effectiveness is heightened by the fact that often, though not always, there are archaic or unusual words and picturesque phrasing.'

The proverbs used to illustrate this section are selected from Nyembezi's Zulu Proverbs (1990). They are known as *izaga*.

Izaga are characterised by a balanced structure in which, for example, verb contrasts with verb, adverb with adverb. Cross-parallelism is also a common feature. There are other special forms, such as the common device of beginning a saying with '*akukho*' - 'there is no'... etc.

Proverbs enrich speech at every level and are regarded as essential to the life and language of the Zulu people. The images are drawn from the everyday experience and from history. As would be expected of pastoral people, cattle play an important role in the choice of imagery. The themes which are generally embraced offer comment, advice or encouragement: bravery, caution, hospitality (or the lack thereof), honesty, integrity: and all the qualities that are most valued in the society, provide topics through which -

'...the Zulu are able to comment on and mould their social experience; their proverbs are an important facet of their conversation and literature' (Finnegan, 1970: 422).

More than forty proverbs in which cattle imagery features were found in Nyembezi's (1990) work. A discussion of language and style used in these proverbs is a specialised subject which would constitute a separate study but the main themes which emerge from proverbs which employ cattle imagery are of interest. Cattle are very much part of the daily lives of the Zulu people and 'cattle society' is more than familiar to them. Inevitably then, cattle are used as metaphors for the humans with whom they

live in such close contact. The theme which emerged as dominant in which cattle imagery is employed, deals with relations between parents and children and between siblings. Other topics include the giving and receiving of favours; decency; death; helplessness; the achievement of success; selfishness and all the concerns in which human beings, in any society, are engaged.

1. Breach of Custom:

i) *Inhlok' idlelw' ebandla*: 'the head of the beast is eaten in the assembly of men'. When the beast is slaughtered there are two parts which are specially for men - the head and one forelimb. It is a breach of custom for anyone to withhold these parts. The expression is a reminder to anyone who might breach custom in regard to food.

2. Death and Loss:

i) *Akufanga thol' elidala*: 'it is not an old calf that died'. The death of an older calf is regarded as a greater loss than the death of a younger one because it has very nearly reached the stage when it would be of use to the owner. When a child dies it is not considered to be as terrible as when an older one dies. The expression signifies that the loss has not been that great.

3. Family Relations, Upbringing and Personal Attributes:

i) *Nginjenje mntanethu ngonniwa yinkunzi*: 'I am what I am, dear one, because I was spoilt by the bull'. This is said by young men when courting a critical girl. He reminds her that he is not of his own making.

ii) *Inzimakaz' izal' ilungakazi*: 'the black cow gives birth to the black and white calf (of the Fiscal shrike pattern)'. People observe that a cow does not always give birth to a calf like it in colour. Said of parents who have children who are different in character from them.

iii) *Inkonyan'ifuz' unina*: 'the calf takes after its mother'. This is said of a child who takes after its parents in behaviour.

iv) *Inkonyane yeny' iyayiqhubusha, eyay' iyayikhotha*: 'the calf of another it gores, its own it licks'. Animals exhibit kindness to their own young.

v) *Inkonyane enhle ekhothwa unina*: 'a good calf is one that is licked by the mother'. This indicates that it is better to lose a father than a mother because mothers look after their young better than fathers.

vi) *Ayikhab' izibay' ezimbili*: 'it (cow) does not kick in two kraals'. A cow doesn't give trouble when milked in its own kraal - but does in another. This indicates that a man is only master in his own house and a woman the mistress of hers.

vii) *Yek' izilo zokwelamana*: 'behold the beasts which follow one another'. This expression is used of children of one family who help each other out of difficulties.

viii) *Umhlambi kazalusile*: 'the herd which looks after itself'.

A herd with no herder is prey to wild beasts. This is said of a family of children with no parental control.

ix) *Izinkonyane yomdlandla yeqala kweq' unina*: 'the calf of the wild buck leaps where its mother has leapt'. This is said to young men seeking wives. They are advised to look at the girl's mother well before they choose, for girls are supposed to take after their mothers.

x) *Inkom' ikhula namafuth' ayo*: 'a beast grown with its fat'. What a person is in youth is what he will be when he grows up.

xi) *Inkonyan' isethuk' isisinga*: 'the calf is still new to the rope'. Calves may be tied up with ropes to keep them away from their mothers. The calf has to get used to being tied. At first it will revolt. Children will learn in time.

4. Favours:

i) *Inkomo kayimith' ingaphindwanga*: 'the cow does not become pregnant if not covered by the bull more than once'.

The proverb is used in seeking a second favour - because a cow needs to be covered more than once to ensure pregnancy.

5. Helplessness, Powerlessness, Disadvantage:

i) *Inkom' iwe ngophondo*: 'the beast has fallen by the horn'. This means someone is in a hopeless condition, like a beast which, if it has fallen on its horns, is helpless.

ii) *Ikhab' abayisengayo*: 'it (cow) kicks those who milk it'. The milker generally knows how to approach each cow that he milks. Sometimes, for no reason, the cow may kick the milker. People may derive benefit from some kind person but sometimes, unpredictably, the benefactor will turn on them. This comes from the fact that people near the king derived some good from their position but if anything went wrong, they were the first to suffer.

iii) *Amabon' abonen' ashiwo nguGcugcwa*: 'the seers have seen each other, said Gcugcwa'. Gcugcwa was the chief of the Wosiyana and was a great cattle thief who one day stole Shaka's herd. He was brought before Shaka and would not reply to Shaka's greeting but finally said, '*Yebo nkosi, ubona mina nje nawe bayoze bakubone*', 'Yes, oh king, though you see me, they (people) will also see you one day.' For this insolence, he was killed in a terrible way. He was tied at the opening to the kraal and the herd of cattle was driven into it over him, cutting him to pieces. The saying is used by one in a disadvantageous position to warn those who take advantage that they might suffer the same plight one day.

iv) *Inkunz' inqunyw' amanqindi*: 'the bull has had its horns cut short'. Amanqindi means stump ends from which the points have been cut. The weapons of the bull are its horns and to be effective they must be sharp. This expression is used to describe a loss of power.

v) *Enethung' ayisengelwa phansi*: 'the one (cow) with the pail

is not milked onto the ground'. This means one is not supposed to suffer when one has one's own things.

vi) *Inkonyan' ikhetwa kusakhanya*: 'the cow is separated from the mother whilst there is still light'. The calves do not sleep with their mothers because if they do, there will be no milk the following morning. They have to sleep in a separate kraal of their own. They must be separated before dark so that they can be rounded up with ease. This proverb cautions that it may be too late to save the situation.

vii) *Azanye nonina*. 'Let them graze with their mothers'. Calves are generally herded separately so they don't drink during the day, for if they do, the milk will be scarce. It is difficult to separate the calves if one is a single herder and therefore the boys often give up and let the calves run with their mothers. The saying is used when repeated efforts to save a situation fail.

6. Hospitality:

i) *Inkom' ehambayo kayiqedi tshani*: 'a beast that is passing finishes no grass'. This proverb commends the kind treatment of strangers.

7. Loneliness:

i) *Isizungu sabulal' inkonyane njengakwaMasuku*: 'loneliness killed the calf at Masuku's'. The origin of the proverb is unknown but it indicates that a calf which has lost its mother will die of loneliness. This proverb is used by a person who

feels the want of a companion.

8. Lying and Notoriety, Unsavoury Behaviour, Emptiheadedness:

i) *Usenga nezimithiyo*: 'he milks even those in calf'. Only cows that have calved are milked. A person would not be believed who claimed to milk even those cows which had not calved. This saying describes a liar.

ii) *Inkom' ixakelwe yinkonyane*: 'the cow finds it difficult to deliver its calf'. This indicates an element of uncertainty. The outcome of an affair may be difficult to predict. The saying is also used of an untruthful person caught by his own words.

iii) *Sekuyinkom' enombala*: 'it is now a beast with a mark'. Zulus know their cattle by means of their colours. When a man looks at his herd he can spot a strange beast immediately or tell which is missing. The saying is used of a person who has become notorious because of his deeds.

iv) *Useng' inkomo nenkonyana*: 'he milks the cow and the calf'. Used of a thoroughly bad or unscrupulous person with no respect for decency - like one who would have relations with both a mother and daughter.

v) *Iginye ithodlana*: 'it (the python) has swallowed a calf'. This is said of someone who has too much to say as a result of taking too much beer. This is also said of someone who speaks offensively and one has to suspect some ulterior motive.

vi) *Ziyolima ziye etsheni*: 'they (oxen) will plough through stones'. This describes a reckless attitude.

vii) *Inkom' enomlomo kayinamasi*: 'the cow with a mouth has no milk'. This is taken from a cow which continues to low when separated from its calf and which always appears restless. When it is milked, it is found to have very little milk. The expression means that empty vessels make most noise.

7. Moving, Restlessness:

i) *Eyokufika ziyayibovula*: 'a stranger is gored'. When a strange beast is brought to the herd, it has to pass through a phase of initiation which may include numerous fights in order to establish its place in the pecking order. It is the same with people moving into area where they are unknown.

ii) *Indlezan' ayisengelwa thungeni*: 'the cow that has recently calved is not milked into a milk pail'. When a cow first calves the milk is not fit for use and it is milked onto the ground. After a few days such beestings may be used. It is not possible to gauge the potential of a cow until it is milked into a pail: similarly one cannot judge a man in a new job until he has settled down. Another way of saying this is, *indlezan' isengelwa phansi*, 'a newly-calved cow is milked onto the ground'.

iii) *Inyoni kayiphumuli*: 'the bird that never rests'.

This is the name given to the cattle egret because it seems to cover such long distances without resting. A person always on the

move is described in this way. Nyembezi does not note that the king's beasts also have this name.

iv) *Inkomo yokuthutha ayinamquba*: 'the beast that is on the move has no manure'. A rolling stone gathers no moss.

8. Perfection (striving for), Success (or lack of it), End

Result:

i) *Inkunj' iyazibeka*: 'the bull installs itself'. In the herd there is a dominant bull. To attain that position it has to fight. A person who wants to succeed must do battle by himself and indicate that he is worthy of the honour.

ii) *Inkom' isengwa ngoyaziyo*: 'the cow is milked by one who knows it'. One is always happier milking a cow one knows. The proverb means that one who understands a matter well should take control in order to ensure success.

iii) *Ikhab' isengiwe*: 'it (the cow) kicks after being milked'.

This emphasizes the fickleness of fortune and is a warning. When one milks a cow, one may find that at the end of the milking, the cow may kick the pail and spill all the milk. One can never be sure of the success of a thing until it is done.

iv) *Ithotshwa ingakazali*: 'the cow has a hot foment applied before it calves'. This refers to a cow which is going to calve for the first time. The udder is bathed with warm water and this is believed to stimulate greater milk production. This is a

warning that things should always be done at the proper time if success is to follow.

v) *Nezala muv' izala ngabele*: 'even the one that gives birth later does so with an udder'. This is said when a delay is inevitable - as long as things turn out well in the end. However long it takes to calve does not matter, a cow which calves in the end, still yields milk.

9. Power, Autonomy:

i) *Akukho zinkunzi zahlala ndawonye*: 'no two bulls ever stayed together'. Bulls fight whenever confined together. They have to be separated. Similarly, people can't work smoothly together if both want to be masters. *Akukho zinkunzi zadla ndawonye*. No bulls graze together is a variant.

10. Selfishness:

i) *Enethung' ayidingi*: the one (cow) with the pail never wants. This is said of one who has provided for himself and yet who is too selfish to share with others in case he is inconvenienced later.

11. Tact:

i) *Iyagodla nxa igqulwa, yehlisa nxa inxenxwa*: 'the cow withholds the milk when prodded, but it yields much when coaxed'. A cow roughly handled just before or during milking, does not give as much milk as when it is treated gently. When one wants something it is inadvisable to resort to force when gentle persuasion would

be more successful.

12. Uncertainty:

i) *Idla emnceleni*: 'it (the beast) is grazing on the border'. This refers to cattle grazing on the edge of a cultivated field and wishing to give the impression that they are not interested in raiding it. This expression refers to someone skirting the issue and never coming to the point.

ii) *Ukuhamba kuzal' induna kuzal' insikazi*: 'travelling begets a male and begets a female'. When an animal is heavy there is no way of knowing whether it will beget a male or female. There is always an element of uncertainty in things.

iii) *Inkom' ingazal' umuntu*: 'a cow may beget a human being'. This indicates that nothing is impossible.

Each of the proverbs recorded above, give an indication of the intimacy with which the Zulu herdsman knows his animals and how keenly he observes the small nuances of their behaviour. The aptness of the images created through his knowledge of his beasts and applied to his fellow man, afford both wry and vivid reflection on human foibles.

10.3.2 CATTLE AND ORAL POETRY

In Southern Africa, animals and especially cattle, are a popular subject for praise poetry although in the literature, much less attention has been paid to these praises than to those

of men. The majority of works on praise poetry among the Zulu deals with high panegyric although, very recently, Gunner and Gwala (1994) have brought out a comprehensive collection dealing with contemporary national figures and with ordinary people. Included in their collection is a poem called 'the Bull of Mdlavuzza Mnyango.'

Gunner and Gwala (1994: 1) define *izibongo*, or praise:

'*Izibongo* is a plural noun which can be translated as "praises", "praise names" or "praise poetry".

Gunner states that the genre is not fixed however, but that it is closely related to dance, song and chant especially *izigiyo* which are "songs which go with the war dance" (Gunner, 1994: 1).

Defining the functions of praising, Gunner and Gwala (1994: 3-4) state:

'*Izibongo* have the potential to be drawn into these moveable parameters of identity. The act of praising focuses on identifying a person, embodying his or her personality through the process of naming and also in essence providing a link with his or her community, lineage and origins. Also, the naming is a process of objectifying, so that once a name has been given, or self-given, it is in a way outside the power of the individual to remove it or contest it.'

The style and form of praises is beyond the scope of this dissertation, being a specialist subject which has been studied in detail by Canonici (1996), Cope (1968), Finnegan, (1970 and 1977) and Gunner and Gwala (1994), Rycroft and Ngcobo (1988) and Stuart as recorded in Webb and Wright (1976-1986), to name but a few. In brief, it is characterized by certain formulae and images which give it its particular character. Gunner and Gwala (1994: 4) summarize as follows:

'*Izibongo* may be freefloating in a way that written poetry

is not, but there are still certain conventions of language that mark them off from ordinary speech and give the language a rich, varied denseness. The cluster of praise names which mark and identify a person often make use of very condensed, compact language ... Expression is often cryptic and aphoristic. Single lines often recall the balanced structure and gnomic brevity of proverbs.'

Within these praises, whether names or the longer and more formal *izibongo*, each contain many kinds of devices, each of which is well-recognized in the praising convention. Gunner and Gwala (1994: 6) state that a person's [or animal's] praises may contain:

'Established praise names that recur, binary balance, linking, parallelism, alliteration and assonance over and above the inbuilt features in the language, and the allusiveness that is often seen as a spice flavouring the taste of a particular set of *izibongo*.'

With regard to the functions of praise, they are used to laud, give thanks, express gratitude, identify. They also play an important role during ritual slaughter as a means of communication between the living and the dead.

Canonici (1996: 228), quoting Dhloomo (1947: 28), states:

'They are used to delight and excite, to appeal and appease, to honour and humour...'

Finnegan comments that animal praises tend to be light-hearted and humorous until the solemn panegyric of prominent people. She says (1970: 123):

'But even the praises of animals are marked by solemnity and allusiveness. Indeed, there is often an intentional ambiguity in the poems between animal and person, and some poems can be interpreted as sustained metaphors.'

Tuynsma (1980) writes that animals, specifically cattle, occasion praise poetry almost as important as that dedicated to humans and that sometimes, personification is so strong a factor in animal praises that it becomes difficult to distinguish

whether a praise is directed at an animal or a human. He says (1980: 134):

'Among the lyrical poems the most fascinating examples are often those involving animals. As mentioned earlier, animals are very much a part of the landscape that the African permits to envelope his character and culture. Animals are accorded respect either because they are feared or because they are used to resemble man's ingenuity and prowess...'

It is in terms of this too, that cattle imagery is found so widely in the praises of men. Msimang (1976: 58-59) writes:

'The Zulus being a hunting and pastoral society, it is inevitable that animal imagery should dominate their praise-poetry.'

He (1976: 69-70) quotes an example in which Dingane, at the time that he murdered Shaka, is personified as a large hornless calf.

*'Ithol'elinsizwa lakokaDonda,
Elihambe liwakhahlel' amanyamathole,
Izingazi zaphuma ngamaphumulo
Ngoba lakhahlel' elakwaBulawayo.'*

'Big hornless calf of the daughter of Donda,
Which went about kicking other calves,
The blood came out through the nostrils,
Because it kicked the one of Bulawayo kraal.'

He explains the symbolism (1976: 70):

'Cattle normally use horns for fighting but if the calf has not yet developed horns, it is logical that it resorts to other means, e.g. kicking. But young though the calf still was, its kicking was fatal.'

This refers to Dingane, at the time of the murder, being considered 'hornless' or harmless, but that Shaka had miscalculated, for horns were not the only weapon that could kill.

The high panegyric of praise poetry directed at men, is a vast study and although cattle imagery abounds in it, it is

beyond the scope of this dissertation of which cattle themselves are the subject. A few examples, however, serve to highlight the character of such images and the way in which they are employed and serve to indicate how the consciousness of cattle pervaded Zulu thought. Grant (1929: 214-215) records from Dingana's praises:

*'Inkomo ekhal' osizini,
Emva ukukaNtlapo noMlambo;
Izizwe zonke zizwil' umlomo,
Iye yezwiw' amaNtungw' akwaKumalo.'*

'Beast which bellows on the ashes of the burnt grass,
After Ntlapo and Mlambo,
All the tribes have heard its bellowing,
Until it is heard by the amaNtungwa of the Kumalo.'

Cetshwayo was known as 'the young one of the bull calves of Zululand' (Grant, 1929: 221); Senzangakhona 'beast with variegated colours (*ubhidi*) which scolds with tears (Samuelson, 1929: 256) and Dinizulu, 'He the cattle that crossed bearing the South on their horns...the bull of Ndaba' (Samuelson, 1929: 287).

A more contemporary cattle image is found in praises recorded by Vail and White (1991: 51) in which Joyi, a Thembu chief of the early 1960's who was banished for his opposition to schemes such as rehabilitation and stock limitation, is alluded to:

*'The dark bull that is visible by its shiny horns,
Horns that today are besmeared with streaks of blood,
It is for that reason that today he is not amongst us,
As I am talking to you now he is far away in a lonely
desert.'*

Such images abound in the praises of men and can be found in abundance in the recorded praise poetry of the Zulu people.

10.3.2.1 PRAISES OF CATTLE

Both Molefe and I have lamented the paucity of recorded praises to cattle although it would seem that the tradition of praising, is still quite vigorously practiced in the areas where Molefe worked. Cattle praises were recorded by Kunene among the Basotho (1971) and by Rubusana among the Xhosa (1906). Molefe's work in the Loteni district of KwaZulu-Natal is pioneering and the praises of cattle from elsewhere in the Province would add considerably to our appreciation of this lively genre of the oral art.

Molefe gives numerous examples of cattle praises, which embody different aspects of man's attitude to his beasts. Here a cow is praised (Molefe, 1992: 59):

*'Wakhothwa ngabalele,
Wabe sewukhotha mvemve,
Uyindlunkulu yabasezweni
Lamahlung' aluhlaza.
Udla nabadl' amabele'*

*'You were licked by those asleep,
And you licked the calf,
You are the queen of those in the country
Of green pastures.
You can eat corn with others
In the green pastures.'*

Molefe (1992: 52) states that the praises of animals are also used to encourage them, to express gratitude, to disclose the animal's attributes and abilities be it in fighting, ploughing, milk-production, mating and to reflect on the animal's size, stature, colour and physical attractions. Molefe (1992: 58) writes:

'All domestic animals are praised because their owners love them ... the cow is the most loved animal among domestic animals because it is the only animal that supplies meat and milk to the families.'

Imagery in cattle praises often shows a keen - and humorous - observation. The *izibongo* of 'The cow of Noziyaka' (anon. nd. Killie Campbell Library), found as a fragment, records:

'Thou, whose thighs are like those of a lady,
The girls which are looked after by their mother.'

A more contemporary *isibongo*, recorded by Molefe, in praise of a span of oxen, likens the span to a jeep with super wheels. (Molefe 1992: 162):

'*Iyaphi laphaya,
Velfudi, Bhentrog, Khalisamadoda!
Iyaphi ngale Thakathani,
Iyaphi, Nquluzomjendevu,
Jibh' omasondosondo.*'

'Where is it going there,
Witvoet, Bentrog, Khalisamadoda,
Where are you going, Thakathani,
Where are you going, Nqulusomjendevu!'

The strength and awesome qualities of the bull are described in a laudatory phrase by Vilakazi (1938: 107):

'*uBukuda kwesinengwenya,
Ingweny' ingannaki,
Inak' amagweb' akhe.*'

'He who bathes among crocodiles,
The crocodiles will not attack him,
They care for his bubbles.'

Cattle praises from the rest of Africa, show similar use of imagery and arise from a shrewd observation by man of his beasts. The ox songs recorded by Deng (1973) among the Dinka is a body of poetry which is of astonishing beauty, humour and insight in which cattle are deeply bound to the whole of nature, not just by colour-pattern but through the metaphors used to praise the beasts themselves:

'The Black-clouded One rises like a rain-storm,
Brightens like a clearing sky.' (Deng, 1973: 99)

Summing up his findings on Zulu praises of domestic animals, Molefe (1992: 149) states:

'It should be clear by this stage that praises of domestic animals are rich in poetic features and that there is no difference in the poetic content of praises of domestic animals and that in praises of human beings. All poetic features that occur in praises of human beings also occur in praises of domestic animals.'

The integral part that cattle play in Zulu society, makes them members of that society and they are praised, as are men, in the same terms and in the same way. Dhlomo (nd (a): 36) believes these praises to be more ancient than those of the great chiefs and that man praised his cattle as long as he has owned them, the bonds of affection and respect reaching back hundreds of years.

10.3.2.2 PRAISE NAMES OF CATTLE

Although it has been established by investigation in the field that, in the general context of everyday speech, terms for colour-pattern are names and not praises in the laudatory sense, they do belong to a very specialised class of words and, as such, cannot be viewed simply as common names or designations in the usual sense of the word. Moreover, a colour-pattern term can and often is used in a laudatory sense in the praises of either cattle or men. Then the colour-pattern term becomes a component of a praise name or 'informs' the praise name. The context in which the term is used is significant. For example, Cetswayo is likened to a beast of the *i(li)waba* pattern (which is linked with the Whitenecked raven) and is called '*Uwaba lenkomo zakwaMshweshwe*' (Cope, 1968: 219) or 'Black and White beast of

Msheshwe' in which the term for colour-pattern takes the personal concord and become the personal praise-name of the king. Cattle themselves, in their own praises, may well be addressed in a laudatory manner in which their colour-pattern becomes an honorific.

Although this study does not deal with individual names or praise-names, mention must be made of the extensive and often imaginative names bestowed on individual beasts e.g. *uDududu*, *uFlayimashini*, *uMampisi*, *uLovu* etc.

Many cattle have individual or 'personal' names which refer to some characteristic of the beast, event with which it is connected or exploit in which it was involved e.g. a young heifer observed in August 1994 at iPhiva Farm, Hluhluwe district, was called *uMampisi* because its mother had once been attacked by a hyena and had lost her tail in the ensuing struggle.

A list of individual names from the Eastern Cape sheds light on an interesting cultural phenomenon in naming-practice. The names reflect the society of those to whom the cattle belong and the preoccupation, in some cases, with names which fit a 'language of oppression'. For example, from the Thandeni Estate in the Port Alfred District of the Eastern Cape, names such as '*uKomkom*' (police-van), '*uNayiloni*' (transparent police-van: nylon), '*uSpildayi*' (spare-diet and solitary confinement) etc. have been recorded. These names derive from the worldview and experience of the people who tend the cattle and reflect, quite clearly, the preoccupation with current concerns: no longer do the individual names echo experiences with wild animals or other phenomena of nature, but with the realities of the society in

which herdsmen and farm workers have lived in recent times.

10.3.3 CATTLE IN ORAL PROSE

As in the matter of Oral Poetry above, discussion of the whole genre of oral prose is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but mention must be made of the fact that cattle inevitably feature in the oral prose of the Zulu people and that in one of two cases they are 'characters' in a story. More often than not, however, they are mentioned in terms of cattle raids or as riding oxen or in regard to a sacrifice being made to the ancestral shades.

In this section, I will deal with an example of a beast being the central character in a tale and describe some cattle, which, through their fame in historical times, have passed into legend.

The art of storytelling among the Nguni people has been documented in great depth and detail by Scheub among the Xhosa, Bryant, Callaway, Canonici, Krige, Msimang and others among the Zulu. Canonici (1996: 165) writes:

'Folktales can be analysed as works of literature in the genre of prose narrative fiction. They are narratives because they relate a story, with its beginning, middle and end, showing the development of action through conflict and resolution. They are fiction because they are the fruit of the author's imagination. They are prose because the medium of expression is the prosaic form of language, as opposed to the poetic form.'

The development of the story through these stages, goes hand in hand with performance and much has been written of the performance of oral prose and the fact that the examination of texts out of the context of performance, strips them of much of

their aesthetic features and even of meaning.

Scheub, interviewing an oral artist, Masithathu Zenani, in the Eastern Cape, among the Xhosa people, gives her rendering of what the tradition of storytelling means. He paraphrases her (Zenani, 1992: 19):

'Storytelling, said Masithathu Zenani, is a sensory union of image and idea, a process of recreating the past in terms of the present; the storyteller uses realistic images to limn the present, and fantasy images to evoke and embody the essence of the past. These latter, the ancient, fantastic images, are the culture's heritage and the storyteller's bounty: they contain the emotional history of the people.'

10.3.3.1 CATTLE AS CHARACTERS IN TALES:

Animals feature in many of the tales of the Zulu people and abound in the stories found in the rest of Africa. Okpewho (1979: 17) says of animal tales in general:

'... the subjects may be non-human, but they are treated with such interest and intimacy that the line of distinction virtually disappears.'

The tale of Tulube the ox, well-known among the Zulu people, is a story in which this very intimacy is demonstrated and the sympathetic and magical qualities of the ox, personify it: while its bovine characteristics are evident, its deep link with its herder epitomises the level of affection and trust that exists between man and beast in Zulu society.

The story summarized below was taken from the James Stuart Archive in the Killie Campbell Museum, Durban, and was told to Stuart by Khathazile, a skilled storyteller from whom he recorded a number of tales at the turn of the century. It is analysed in Oosthuizen (1976: 182-185):

At one time, there was a boy herding cattle and some thieves appeared and said to the boy 'We are taking these cattle.' And the boy said, 'Take them'.

Among the cattle was Tulube, the bull who obstructed the path of the other cattle and would not allow them to proceed. In anger the thieves said, 'Why have the cattle stopped?' and the boy said, 'They must be spoken to'.

The boy said:

Tulube, oh Tulube,
Can't you see I am being killed?

The bull, Tulube allowed the cattle to pass but travelled with them, the boy following.

Each time they reached a river, each time they reached a hill, Tulube would stand and the cattle would stop. Angrily, the thieves would order the boy to sing to the bull and make it move.

'Tulube, Tulube,
Can't you see I am being killed?
Just go.'

And so they proceeded slowly until they came to the country of the chief of the thieves. And there, it was decided that the troublesome bull, Tulube, would be killed. A spear was fetched and the bull was stabbed but it would not die. And so the thieves told the boy to speak and he said:

Tulube, oh Tulube,
Can't you see I am being killed?
Just die!

Tulube was killed and skinned but before it was consumed, the thieves went to the river to wash. When they were gone the boy assembled the meat and skin and all the bones of Tulube and he sang:

Tulube, oh Tulube,
Get up!

It is then that the bull got up and the boy herded together all the cattle at that place and he drove them before him, riding on Tulube's back. When he arrived home the rejoicing was great. And he stayed with Tulube in the *isibaya* and took his food with him. Indeed, he was a boy born with that bull.

There are many versions of this story - but the theme which unifies them all, is the connection between the boy and the bull and the bull's obedience to all the boy's commands. The bull is magical but cannot exert that magic without the boy's help and

without the bond of mutual trust that exists between them.

In another version of the story, in which Tulube is an ox, the boy is offered a bride when he returns home but he prefers to stay with his beast 'practising enchantments as before' (Krige, 1988: 359).

10.3.3.2 CATTLE IN HISTORY AND LEGEND:

Some cattle, which were central to an historic event, have developed a mythic quality and passed into the lore of the Zulu people. Chief among them is a famous ox, known as Lovu.

10.3.3.2.1 Lovu, a Famous Ox:

Lovu was an ox which belonged to Khondlo, a powerful chief. The right to be Khondlo's heir was a cause for dispute between his sons, Nomo and Phakathwayo. Through circumstances pertinent to the quarrel, Lovu, the ox, became a central player in the affair. Mbovu kaMtshumayeli told James Stuart the story of Khondlo and his ox, Lovu, in 1903 during a series of interviews (Webb and Wright, 1982, Vol. 3: 29-30):

'ULovu was a famous ox. I do not know where it was, at eMtandeni or oDwini or Ntoleni. It was small in stature, with large horns. This ox was the cause of the quarrel between Ntoleleni kraal and oDwini kraal, i.e. between Pakatwayo and Nomo, both Kondhlo's sons. It may have been the ox of the gourd, or the *tshwama* [*ukweshwama*] ceremonies, seeing it was the cause of so great a quarrel'

Mmemi ka Nguluzane was interviewed by Stuart in 1904 and he, too, spoke of Lovu. Lovu was the centre of a dispute of succession between Nomo of the Mthethwa and Phakathwayo of the Qwabe. Khondlo, the presiding chief, had nominated Nomo as his heir but the Qwabe s, who supported Phakathwayo, objected as the

Mthethwa's were amaLala by decent. Both men and their supporters went to King Dingiswayo to discuss the matter. When it had been aired - with some dispute - the parties returned to oDwini, Khondlo's military kraal. When they arrived, they did not go to Khondlo but kept themselves hidden and the *abanumzana* took one of Khondlo's beasts and slaughtered it for them without Khondlo's permission. This beast was Lovu, which was a small ox with very long horns. Khondlo discovered that the ox was missing and sent his people out to search for it. He was told, secretly, that Nomo and Phakathwayo had returned from Dingiswayo and were in hiding and that Lovu had been killed for them. Khondlo was extremely angry and sent out an *impi* to 'eat up the cattle belonging to all the *abanumzana*'. Nomo returned to Dingiswayo to ask for assistance as he was the son that Khondlo had chosen as his heir, despite the fact that the Qwabe people supported Phakathwayo in preference. At this moment Khondlo died and Dingiswayo and Nomo attacked Phakathwayo. Phakathwayo repulsed the attack and Nomo retreated to Dingiswayo's kraal where he spent the rest of his life, while Phakathwayo was installed as chief (Webb and Wright, 1982. Vol.3: 243-245).

If Lovu was a beast of the *ukweshwana* ceremony or a beast of the gourd, it is likely that it was black although this has not been stated in the sources. However, the word *umlovu* is the word for the Septee tree (*cordia caffra*), a plant known for its black wood, favoured for carving (Doke and Vilakazi 1948: 465).

10.3.3.2.2 The White Cow that Divided the Nation:

In the early history of the Zulu people (circa 1650), it was

a white cow - an *inyonikayiphumuli* - which caused the split between the great chief Malandela's sons, Zulu and Qwabe. This cow was given to Zulu by their mother. Qwabe, jealous of the gift, quarrelled bitterly with his brother and separated from him. Thus, two of the most important branches of the Zulu people were formed (Stuart, n.d (b): 21).

10.3.3.2.3 Mangondo's Cow:

During the reign of Dingana, Manqondo, chief of the Magwaza people, was at Mgungundlovu with the king. The king ordered a cow from one of his herds to be bound and tied by the legs. The animal chosen was a heifer with a white face and brown markings on its back. Pointing to a large herd of cattle nearby, the king said that whoever could lift the heifer and run with it, would be entitled to the whole herd. All the men tried but only Manqondo managed the feat and was duly rewarded with the brown and white heifer and the rest of the cattle. These he distributed between his kraals. The cow turned out to be a prolific breeder, producing over twenty calves (double the normal quota). It was much honoured and whenever Manqondo was holding an *ukukhetha* wedding dance, the cow would be decorated with a crest of ostrich feathers tied with a softened red hide rope and would be brought down from the forests by the women for the occasion. The cow lived to a great age and eventually died in the forests of esiBudeni on the Nkandla mountain.

Its praises were (Webb and Wright, 1986. Vol. 4: 66):

'Producer of bull calves, who will ever "eat you up"? You are safe.'

After the cow's death its skin was made into *izidwaba*, or skin skirts for Manqondo's wives. Another of its praises were:

'Here is the *impoloba* (said because of its lowing being loud and strong)!
The wind which comes from Embuzini.'

Dingana called Manqondo 'Matwayinkomo' after he had won the cow and the herd of cattle (Webb & Wright, 1986. Vol.4: 66).

10.3.3.2.4 Bongoza's Cattle:

During a time of hostilities between the Boers and the Zulus in 1838, Bongoza kaMefu of the Ngongoma people was famed for outwitting the enemy forces. Finding his men in a steep valley and the Boer forces close at hand, he instructed his troops to cover themselves with their multi-coloured shields and to pretend to graze like cattle. An informant was then sent to the Boers and told that the Zulus had fled but had left behind a large herd of cattle, browsing in a nearby gully. The Boers, anxious to capture the herd, went where directed and, taken by surprise, were routed by Bongoza's men.

There are many versions of this tale and, although based in historical fact, the tale of Bongoza has passed into legend. Krige writes that Bongoza himself lured a Boer commando onto a plain through a narrow pass in the hills, telling them that Dingana's cattle grazed there unprotected. However, a large *impi* lay in wait and ambushed the commando as it reached the open veld, killing all the Boers (Krige, 1988: 360).

10.4 DISCUSSION

That 'cattle are life itself' has been expressed many times in the course of this study. There is no aspect of traditional Zulu life which is not influenced by cattle and no concerns of men in which they do not play their part. It is inevitable, therefore, that they should feature in the lore and cosmology of the Zulu people and play their role in the aesthetic life as well.

Cattle, being 'cool', bring health and prosperity. The ultimate accolade that one could bestow to applaud the beauty or other attributes of another, is to declare that they were 'belched up by a cow' (Callaway, 1870: 34).

The connection between man, beast, the ancestral shades and the intermediary role which cattle also play between man and the natural environment, link them together in a cosmos, in which cattle play a central role in giving meaning to the world.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONCLUSION

'The way forward is to listen and listen again¹.'

The subject of this study, the cattle of the Zulu people has embraced, broadly, three aspects of their existence:

- i) their significance in cultural, economic and ritual terms
- ii) their naming
- iii) how they are perceived and how that perception is expressed in the oral tradition.

The first and third aspects serve mostly to highlight the chief subject of the study, i.e. naming-practice, and to provide a background against which this complex and metaphorically-rich phenomenon can be appreciated.

In cultural terms cattle are inextricably bound to their owners and play a significant role in their economic and religious lives. And yet, they are not the object of religious veneration, rather they are man's helper in maintaining harmony with the ancestral shades on whose goodwill - in traditional society, at least - man's well-being depends. Cattle are necessary, not only for food and in marriage negotiations, but also for salvation and for the fulfilment of social undertakings. They contribute as a means through which men might overcome, through sacrifice, both sickness and sin. They are given, too, in times of thanksgiving and celebration and their meat is shared with the lineage shades. It is through the presence of cattle that the presence of the shades is most specifically sought. They are present in the cattle byre and the *inkomo yamadlozi*, the

¹Vail, L. and White, L. 1991. Power and the Praise Poem. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. p 324.

ancestral beast of the herd, provides a constant reminder of their vigilance and is a symbol of man's attempt, through his daily doings and concerns, to maintain harmony with them. Harmony with the ancestral shades, assists harmony among the living and it is in the role of mediator, as Chazzolara (1934: 320) said, that cattle provide the link between the 'perceptible and the transcendental.'

It is not surprising, therefore, that in traditional society, the animals which forged so vital and complex a link within and between the communities of the living and dead should have been cared for, observed and ultimately named with such perception and precision. It is from this regard for cattle, this indissoluble bond between man and beast, that naming-practice in the form in which it exists at its most rich, can be understood. For it is in the things on which man most depends, through which his social transactions are conducted and to which attention which transcends the utilitarian is directed, that finds the most meaningful expression in metaphoric language and thought.

The variety of patterns and their permutations have been explained in the course of this dissertation and the most usual forms described. Names for type of beast indicating status, gender and function have also been documented and is a body of data to which new names could be added which derive from regional differences or from a changing mindset. There are those which have or may be in the process of becoming obsolete and those which have still to emerge.

The vicissitudes of cattle and of men run parallel and it has been of interest to note that the history of the indigenous

people of Southern African has, in many ways, been reflected in the fortunes of their cattle. The consistent breeding programmes by government through which foreign stock is introduced, the deliberate attempt to 'breed out' the indigenous cattle, the perception of their genetic and functional inferiority, has been ongoing for decades. In the former territories of the Transkei it was a policy to irradiate breeding through indigenous bulls in order to 'improve' the stock with an influx of foreign blood. Only in the most recent times, has the folly of such a proceeding been recognised and the fact appreciated that the indigenous animals, through hundreds of years of selection, have adapted to and maximised the use of the environment. Breeding them out, has resulted in a paucity of stock that it will take years to rectify.

The history of the cattle, is reflected also in their naming and the dying of this tradition has run parallel again with the diminishing significance of cattle in ritual and spiritual terms in all but the most conservative areas where people still hold strongly to their cultural heritage. The names of individual cattle that have been collected, have also highlighted another aspect of the interface between the fortunes of cattle and of men. A comprehensive list gathered over a number of years, has contained, besides the usual affectionate appellations celebrating the individual exploits of particular beasts, a vocabulary which echoes the concerns and preoccupations of their owners: images of police, of solitary confinement and spare diet, of police vans, batons, handcuffs are not unusual. A study of this aspect of cattle nomenclature would throw significant light

on yet another aspect of bovine history and the history of the people to whom they belong.

The naming itself, whether indicating type of beast or colour and pattern conformation, is either purely descriptive and in a sense functional, or metaphoric. For example, many of the names for *lobolo* beasts are descriptive of the function which they serve: *umvulamlomo* 'what opens the mouth' for a beast used to begin marriage negotiations; *ingqaqamazinyo*, 'what loosens the teeth' for the animal which will encourage the bride's father to respond to overtures from the people of the young man; *udondolo*, 'the staff' which accompanies the bride on her journey to the groom's home. Status too is indicated through descriptive terms which indicate a position in the herd or a state of production or usefulness: *iguqa*, for an old bull bowing out of the dominant position in the herd; *insengwakazi* for a cow which is a prolific milker, *ivukana*, for a young bullock just coming into his sexual prime.

But it is in the colour-pattern terminology that these names find their richest and most developed expression: the names associated with birds, animals and plants goes beyond mere description of function and status and describe, in both apt and poetic terms, configurations which not only identify the beasts to their herders, but which, as a body of names, have elements of praise in them. Names they may be, as has been discussed in the relevant chapters, but, I would contend, as a specialised vocabulary, specific to one aspect of life - and significant indeed in the vocabulary of the Zulu people - they are, in themselves, a genre of the oral tradition. They are a form of

generic praise which may be marginal to the high panegyric used in the praises of people and may not fulfil the criteria required for definition as 'oral literature' but, nevertheless, they are capable of being deployed in a form which comes very close to praising and, in cattle praises themselves, have been used as laudatory phrases, no differently from epithets commonly accepted as praises. No doubt, as more praises of domestic animals themselves are collected, more evidence will come to light. It is the way in which these names are used and the context in which they arise that is important: the beasts' individual name, augmented by the name of its colour-pattern, used in the flexible and fluid way in which the Zulu language - in all its figurative strength - can be employed, which will decide its status in the oral art.

Although, to some extent, the vocabulary is 'fixed', rather like the elements and phrases which repeat themselves in the praises of men, they can combine in a way which is both flexible and novel. Such flexibility allows for new images to be created in a way which is characteristic of praise poetry and is echoed even in the manner in which core motifs in other genres of the oral tradition are employed. For example, in storytelling, the storyteller's skill is used to combine traditional motifs in any number of ways to create new stories out of well-known elements in the oral tradition. Thus, in standing at the edges of a herd, and listening to the herders discuss a beast under observation, combinations such as '*ilungakazi elimfezi*' are heard: 'that which is the Fiscal shrike which is the cobra'. Not only are these terms which identify exactly - or aptly, or even humourously -

a particular animal, but they are names which challenge the aesthetic sense as well and which give scope to creativity: the parameters of a colour pattern are wide, 'the ideal' into which a number of beasts may fit, affording a latitude that the application of mere names or specific terms, would not allow.

Colour-pattern terms are 'strong' metaphors, as defined by Black (1979: 41) and inform and give insight into systems to which they refer. Like all 'strong' metaphors, they can and sometimes do, generate "how things are" in reality.

These metaphorical names derive from analogy, the pattern of the beast being reminiscent of something in nature with which an analogy is drawn. But they are more than analogies or comparisons, for, the colour term becomes an entity in itself, embodied in a colour-pattern which exists apart from the referent. For example, 'the eggs of the dikkop' or 'the hornbill takes to flight' are true interactive metaphors, and, in Billow's words (1977: 82):

'the two (or more) ideas of the metaphor work together to produce a new concept for which there may be no other expression'.

Indeed, juxtaposing the Fiscal shrike and the spitting cobra would make no sense unless the concept is understood in terms of of a beast so named: it is an entity for which there may be no other expression.

The question of colour has been explored in Chapter 2 in terms of the Basic Color Terms of Berlin and Kay. The evolution of colour terms in human society, is of interest in that (to reiterate Sahlins' statement (1977: 177) it opens up:

'very exciting prospects for an ethnography of colour whose

general aim, quite beyond the determination of the empirical correlates of semantic categories, might consist especially in the correlation of the semiotic and perceptual structures of color, for colours too, are good to think with.'

It is the way that the Zulu people have 'thought ' with colour which gives insight into their perception - not only of their cattle but of the natural world as well. As Sahlins (1977: 174) says:

'culture exists alongside subject and object, stimulus and response, and the mediating between them by the construction of objectivity as significance.'

That colour is used symbolically in society is seminal to an understanding of them and their importance in human perception. Metaphors are employed to describe that perception, for proposing analogies and for showing comparative characteristics. They are not mere analogies however. They create concepts which are new, which are resonant, which define an object in a way that is more than mere comparison. *Imatshehlathi* is not like the stones of the forest, it has a quality of dappledness and light and shade which is intrinsic in the idea of the stones of the forest. *Iphethikhowe*, is not simply that which 'touches the mushroom', it is a concept which embraces the sheen, the shade, the quality of the colour of an *ikhowe* mushroom yet exists in its own right as a shade of dun in cattle quite different from other shades and independent of the constituent on which the metaphor is based.

Metaphors enable us to 'talk of experience which cannot be literally described and provides a vivid and therefore memorable and emotion-arousing representation of perceived experience'

(Paivio, 1979: 152). The comparison inherent in these metaphors for cattle names are integrated to form strong metaphors, resonant metaphors, which go beyond mere comparison, for the terms are more than a sum of the attributes of each of its constituents.

So important have cattle been in the consciousness of the Zulu people in traditional times, that it has been impossible to cover every aspect of their significance in this dissertation or to analyse in depth every aspect of their lives in the kind of detail which would have been exhaustive. The field is open for students to explore other aspects of the 'bovine idiom', especially in the areas of individual praise naming, the changing perceptions of cattle in contemporary society, the praises of cattle themselves. Such a study as this may seem anachronistic when viewed in the context of how traditional Zulu society has changed both so radically and under such pressure over the last hundred years. Anachronistic or not, Evans-Pritchard's rendering of the Nuer expression 'She, the cow, was ordered by God for the deliverance of souls' (1956: 270), still has resonance today, despite the changes. For it is through such perceptions, so consistently demonstrated in cattle naming, that much may be learned about the way the Zulu people have viewed the world.

These perceptions of cattle and of nature demonstrate a finely-tuned observation arising from a oneness with the environment, a fluid and figurative body of expression which has added immense depth to the language and which, even if the cattle-culture gives way entirely to a new order, is an aesthetic

inheritance which is a reminder of the moral and imaginative significance that cattle had and still may have - something which transcends their utilitarian importance.