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2012

Bushman (San)
influence on
Zulu place names

Peter E. Raper

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Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

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Acta Academica Supplementum
2012(2)

Published by
SUN MeDIA Bloemfontein
Postnet Suite 214
Private Bag X01
Brandhof
9324

ISSN 0587-2405
© Copyright
UFS
2013

Layout and design
MS Word XP &
InDesign CS3

Electronically available at: <http://www.ufs.ac.za/journals_ActaAcademica>

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Voorwoord

Die studie raak enige leser wat belang het by die ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrikaanse inheemse tale en volke, akademici wat spesialiseer in onomastiek en alle verwante dissiplines, en politici wat besluite neem oor naamsveranderings. Dit sal goed wees om die studie groter publisiteit te gee as net in akademiese kringe, byvoorbeeld die kultuurorganisasies van die Boesmans (San) en Pleknaamkomitees, provinsiaal sowel as nasionaal.

Die studie vul 'n groot leemte in die begrip van die rol van die Boesman in Suid-Afrika se geskiedenis. Dit is baanbrekerswerk met inligting wat saam met vroeëre navorsers se resultate gedreig het om in argiewe te verdwyn, maar op 'n nuwe manier aangebied word om die kulturele erfenis van die Boesman te erken en te bewaar. Die oorweldigende fonetiese data word stelselmatig en met sorg aangebied om oordrag, vertaling en toutologiese patrone te verklaar.

Die betroubaarheid van die slotsom by elke naam wat bespreek is, berus op die erkende onomastiektegnieke wat gevolg is deur die oorspronklike betekenis van elke naam na te speur. Die tegniek maak dit moontlik om vas te stel of daar ooreenstemming tussen die toponimiese motief of oordrag en vertaling betrokke was. Sodoende is verskillende verklarings moontlik gemaak deur volksetimologiese en mondelinge oordrag in ag te neem by die herkoms van die name. Die bronne wat gebruik is, was onmisbaar en vorm die basis van die argumente.

Die bydrae is 'n samevatting van soveel jare se navorsing op die terrein van Boesmankultuur. Kennis van die ingewikkelde Boesmantaal (soos wat die outeur het) is nie noodsaaklik om die waarde hiervan te besef nie.

Die wetenskaplike en akademiese meriete van die study word gereflekteer in die prosessering en analise van die data by elke naam wat tot 'n sinvolle en verhelderende slotsom lei (Keurder 1).

Preface

The study is of concern to any reader interested in the development of indigenous South African languages and peoples, academics specialising in onomastics and all related disciplines, and politicians who take decisions on name changes. It would be advisable to give the study greater publicity in, for example, the cultural societies of the Bushmen (San) and the provincial and national Place Name Committees, rather than only in academic circles.

The study fills a large gap in the understanding of the role of the Bushmen in the history of South Africa. It is a pioneering work with information that threatened to disappear into archives along with the results of earlier researchers. However, this information is presented in a new manner to recognise and preserve the cultural heritage of the Bushmen. The overwhelming phonetic data are presented systematically and with care in order to explain transfer, translation and tautological patterns.

The reliability of the conclusion reached at each name that is discussed rests on the recognised onomastic technique followed by tracing the original meanings of each name. This technique enables one to determine whether there was a correlation between the toponymic motive or transfer and translation. This led to various explanations by taking into account folk etymological and oral transfer in the origins of the names. The sources used were indispensable and form the basis of the arguments.

The contribution is a culmination of many years' research in the field of Bushman culture. Knowledge of the complex Bushman language (which the author has) is not essential in order to appreciate its value.

The scientific and academic merits of the study are reflected in the processing and analysis of the data at each name, resulting in a meaningful and elucidating conclusion (Reviewer 1: my translation, PER).

1. Introduction

The hunter-gatherers, also known as Bushmen or San, inhabited the present KwaZulu-Natal for 10 000 to 20 000 years. During that time, they named features in the landscape, and place names in the region were derived from their languages. Approximately two thousand years ago, the ancestors of the Zulu penetrated the region in small groups. Interaction with the Bushmen (or San) at different levels led the Zulu to adopt many Bushman place names which they adapted to their phonological and later orthographic systems. In due course, the Bushmen (San) became extinct, being killed or absorbed by the Zulu. Many of their place names survived, however, but were adapted into the Zulu phonological and orthographic systems to such an extent that they are no longer recognisable as Bushman (San) names, except through research and the application of validation criteria.

In terms of the dictionary definition of ‘indigenous’, the Bushmen (San) were the truly indigenous people of southern Africa. United Nations resolutions recommend that indigenous place names be recorded and preserved. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa stipulates that the Khoikhoi and San languages should be preserved and should enjoy elevated status; that the State must advance their use, and that the Pan South African Language Board must promote and create conditions for the development and use of the Khoi and San languages. Place names form an integral part of both the language and the cultural and linguistic heritage of the people who bestowed them. The original meanings of place names are also essential for the reliability of conclusions based on them, for example settlement history, the historical distribution of flora and fauna, the distribution of languages and dialects, language contact and linguistic borrowing, sound shifts, reconstruction of extinct languages from place-name elements, and so on.

Current research shows that many place names hitherto considered to be of Zulu origin are, in fact, Bushman (San) names that have been adapted in sound and form to the Zulu system. The Bushman (San) languages and dialects spoken in the region now known as KwaZulu-Natal are extinct and were never recorded, and can only be reconstructed from their preservation as place-name elements. The present investigation traces Bushman (San) influence in Zulu place

names by considering the processes of adaptation (addition of class and locative affixes, replacement of clicks and Bushman phonemes by Zulu ones, and so on) and reversing them. Zulu words derived from Bushman (San) words are identified, as well as Bushman (San) words fossilised in place names and occurring in Zulu place names but not listed in Zulu dictionaries. The distinction is drawn between the syntactic structure of Zulu and Bushman (San) place names, and some sound shifts and click replacements are identified. This research reveals part of the invisible toponymic substructure that underlies and forms the basis of the visible toponymic landscape as evidenced, among others, on maps, road signs and direction indicators, and reflects the intricacy and interrelationships that characterise South Africa's multilingual and multicultural societal structures. The results of this investigation, together with envisaged studies on San influence on place names in other indigenous languages, will add to the debate on the relationship or otherwise between the Bushman (San) languages, and shed new light on these languages and dialects.

In the course of this investigation, several articles were published in journals such as *Names*, *Language Matters* and *Nomina Africana*, with a view to giving this new research exposure and eliciting comments and constructive criticism. These articles inevitably contain material which appears here, often in substantively adapted form. Time constraints have hampered the intended reworking and reformulation of some of the data contained in the articles.

2. Nomenclature

2.1 The term *Khoisan*

The term *Khoisan*, also written as *Khoesan* and *Khoe-San*, is frequently used to refer to the Khoikhoi or 'Hottentots' and the San or 'Bushmen', and to the languages spoken by these people (Traill 1978: 137). The term *Khoikhoi* is often written as *Khoekhoe*, according to the orthographic rules of the Khoekhoegowab (Khoikhoi, Nama or Namaqua) language, and also occurs as *Khoekboen*, with the common plural gender ending *-n*. The spelling as *Khoekhoe(n)* is in accordance with the orthographic rules of Nama, namely that "[a]ll words which were written with the diphthong *-oi-* in the traditional orthography,

are written with *-oe-* in the new orthography, e.g. *khoeb* – man instead of *khoib*” (Native Language Bureau 1977: 25). Since that ruling came into effect, the spelling *Khoekhoe(n)* for the ethnonym has been gaining ground, while the rendering as *Khoikhoi* has been regarded as antiquated (Nienaber 1989: 616). Even from an early date, the spelling of the name with the diphthong *oe* was recorded. In 1714, Valentyn stated that “De oudste en eigentlyke Ingezetenen van de Kaap zyn de Hottentots [...] Waar die naam van daan komt, weet ik niet, altoos niet van hen, alzooy zich T-hoekoe noemen” (Raidt 1973: 58).¹

Subsequently, the name appeared more frequently with the diphthong *oi*. In 1842, Knudsen wrote “Koï-koïn oder Hottentotten [...] Sie selbst nennen sich Koï-koïn” (Moritz 1916: 150),² adding that *Koï* is the usual common singular word for ‘person’; *koïn* means ‘people’, the final nasal consonant *n* denoting the common plural.

Kroenlein (1889) writes the ethnonym as *Kboi-Kboin*, Olpp (1876: 78) and Vedder (1966: 112) as *Kboi-kboin*, Theal (1964: 90) as *Khoikhoi*, and Vedder (1965: 17) as *Kboi-Kboi*. Thus, with the exception of Valentyn, who wrote the name with the diphthong *oe*, most other sources recorded the name with the diphthong *oi*.

With respect to the pronunciation of *oe* as *oi*, Wilson (1986: 253) points out that “Nama has no sound corresponding to the *-oi-* diphthong. The two vowels were originally separate by a now-elided consonant (probably *w*) and are pronounced separately and are tonally different”. In Nama, the vowel cluster or diphthong *oe* is thus pronounced as /o:e/, almost as /we/, which explains why Van der Kemp and Read in 1804 referred to the language of the “Hottentot nation” as *Kbwekbwe(nama)* (Nienaber 1963: 311). However, in Afrikaans, *oe* is pronounced as /u/, as in ‘*boek*’, similar to the *u* in the English words ‘*put*’ or ‘*bull*’; in English *oe* is pronounced as /i:/, as in ‘*Phoenix*’ or ‘*Phoenix*’, and does thus not correlate with the pronunciation of Nama /o:e/. Because of the possible confusion in pronunciation of the ethnonym *Khoekhoen* (in which the final consonant *n* is the

- 1 “The oldest and actual natives of the Cape are the Hottentots [...] Where the name comes from, I do not know, in any case not from themselves, since they call themselves T-hoekoe”. All translations of quotations in this investigation are by the author.
- 2 “Koï-koïn or Hottentots [...] They call themselves Koï-koïn”.

plural marker in Nama), the spelling *Khoikboi*, which has gained international currency, is used in the present investigation. The shortened form *Kboi* is not preferred, since it is but one component of the name *Khoikboi* and, as Nienaber (1989: 624) phrases it, “meestal verhaspel tot Khoe of Khoi”.³

2.2 The term *Bushman*

It is generally accepted that the English term *Bushman* and the Afrikaans term *Boesman* are translations of the Dutch name *Bos(ch)-jesman*, derived from the Dutch word *bos(ch)* ‘bush, forest’, of which the diminutive form is *boschje* or *bosje* (Nienaber 1989: 207). There are various reasons for this name. Sparrman (1785 I: 197) stated that these people were so called “from dwelling in woody or mountainous places”; Barrow (1801 I: 56) stated that they were thus named “because, lurking in the cover of the shrubbery, they are said to shoot their poisoned arrows”, whereas Campbell (1815: 314) believed that they received the name “from their country [...] being almost destitute of trees, but much of it being covered with bushes; [and] from their method of assault, as they never attack man or beast openly, but from behind bushes”.

2.3 The term *San*

The ethnonym *San* is often regarded as being derived from a Khoekhoe verb *sā*, “*auflesen, aufraffen (vom Boden)*” (Kroenlein 1889: 293),⁴ similar to the Kung (N2) word *sā* ‘to pick up (from the ground)’ (Bleek 1956: 161), plus the Khoikhoi third person common plural ending *-n* ‘people’. Vedder (1938: 78) interprets the name as ‘the gatherers’, referring to their collecting the food that grows wild in the veld, their main article of diet. However, Budack (1969: 211) is of the opinion that the explanation of the name *San* as meaning ‘gatherers’ is not viable, because of tonal distinctions between the verb *sā* and the noun *sāb*. Nienaber (1989: 834-5) accepts Budack’s linguistic argument against the meaning of *San* as ‘gatherers’, and rejects other explanations of the name, for example that it means ‘pariahs, servants, subjugated ones’; ‘aborigines or settlers proper’; ‘the original inhabitants’; ‘those

3 “mostly corrupted to *Khoe* or *Khoi*”.

4 “[T]o gather, pick up (from the ground)”.

who sit and enjoy their leisure’, and the like (Nienaber 1989: 831). He concludes: “Die eindresultaat is dat geen enkele van hierdie ‘taalassosiatiiewe’ verklarings wetenskaplik oortuigend verantwoord is nie. Dit is die huidige stand van sake” (Nienaber 1989: 835).⁵

San is an adaptation of an older form of the name. Gordon notes that “de Bosjesmans [...] hieten sig Saana of Saanaqua (in vorige tijden Sonquas genaamt)” (Forbes 1965: 147).⁶ *Sonquas* and the Afrikaans form *Sonkwās* are considered to be variants or developments of *Soakwas*, *Soäquas*, *Söaquas*, *Souquas*, *Sounquas*, *Soanquas* and the like, as encountered *inter alia* in the Diary of Jan van Riebeeck (Nienaber 1989: 845, Bosman & Thom 1955, II: 54 n 4). Merensky (1875: 65) speaks of “die Buschleute oder Saan, wie sie sich selber nennen”.⁷ If *Sa(a)n(a)qua* is indeed the Bushman name for themselves, and if it was given by themselves, then the components of the name are presumably not from Khoikhoi, but from Bushman (Raper 2010a: 175).

2.4 *Bushman* or *San*?

Considerable controversy persists regarding the terms *Bushman* and *San* for the languages spoken by the indigenous hunter-gatherers of Southern Africa, and for the people themselves. An authoritative pronouncement was made at an interdisciplinary symposium on “The peoples of Southern Africa”, jointly sponsored by the Royal Society of Southern Africa and the South African Institute for Medical Research, in June 1971 (Jenkins & Tobias 1977). The forty-one participants, drawn from the disciplines of social, cultural and physical anthropology, linguistics, archaeology and genetics, recommended that the term *Bushman* be used for the languages spoken by the hunter-gatherer peoples called *San* (Jenkins & Tobias 1977: 51).

A perusal of the internet indicates the different points of view:

According to Andries Steenkamp, chairman of the South African San Council, the word Bushmen is preferred, since it underlines his people’s status as first nation. By contrast, Alex Thoma, the adviser

- 5 “The end result is that not a single one of these ‘language-associative’ explanations has been convincingly validated scientifically. That is the present state of affairs”.
- 6 “[T]he Bosjesmans [...] call themselves Saana or Saanaqua (Sonquas in former times)”.
- 7 “[T]he Bushmen or *Saan*, as they call themselves”.

to the South African San Council, told me that a representative gathering of San in 1993 decided to use that term.⁸

The names *San* and *Basarwa* are sometimes used, but the people themselves dislike these names and prefer the name *Bushmen*.⁹

Although some consider the name Bushmen derogatory as well, it is less so than the term San.¹⁰

The different tribes and clans started using the name Bushmen. But political correctness proclaimed this an insult and declared they should be referred to as San. Where Bushmen merely means they are people of the bush (or close to nature), San was a Khoi word meaning 'vagrants, people who have nothing'. And because of this misguided correctness we now use the more derogatory name for our first inhabitants.¹¹

It would thus seem that, at one stage, Bushman was regarded as a derogatory name and the term San was preferred, but that recently Bushman has become acceptable again, and although the term Bushman is still regarded by some as offensive or derogatory, San is considered more so.

2.5 *Zulu* or *isiZulu*?

As is the case with all nouns in the African languages, names of African languages and of ethnic groups include different prefixes or class markers. The speakers of these languages prefer using the prefixes or markers indicated for their language even when speaking English. Mother-tongue speakers of these languages prefer to use the prefixed forms or class-marked forms of the languages even when speaking English, but for academic and international use the form without the prefix or marker is generally preferred by non-mother-tongue speakers (Van Wyk 1993: 107-8). In the present investigation, the term *Zulu* is therefore used, and not *isiZulu*, *Xbosa*, and not *isiXbosa*, *Swazi*, and not *siSwati*. This is in accordance with using English names for foreign languages in the context of English, for example *German* and

8 Cf Alex Thoma at ombud@mg.co.za.

9 <<http://www.kids.net.au/encyclopedia-wiki/sc>> Kalahari Desert.

10 <<http://www.diversitysouthafrica.co.za/khoi.html>>.

11 <<http://www.southafrica.com/forums/open-board/5901-whats-name.html>>.

not *Deutsch*, *Spanish* and not *Español*, *Estonian* and not *Eesti*, *Finnish* and not *Suomi*, and so on.

3. Background

Archaeological evidence indicates that, for many thousands of years, the hunter-gathering Bushmen and their ancestors inhabited “the whole of southern Africa from the Zambezi Valley to the Cape” (Lee & DeVore 1976: 5). There is no consensus over the period involved, but Mountain (2003: 18) puts it at 120 000 years or more. Until some two thousand years ago, the Bushmen and Khoikhoi were the only inhabitants of the subcontinent (Parkington 2007: 77), “until they were encroached on, first by the Hottentots, then by the Bantu, and lastly by the Europeans” (Werner 1925: 117). The area now known as KwaZulu-Natal was inhabited by the Bushmen for between ten thousand and thirty thousand years (Mazel 1989: 12), and the ancestors of the Nguni, migrating southwards in small groups or clans from the Great Lakes regions of Equatorial Africa, reached the region between fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago (Maggs 1989: 29, Mazel 1989: 13). In the sixteenth century, a Nguni chief, Nkosinkulu, also called Zulu, founded the Zulu royal line (Krige 1975: 595-6). “The Zulu chieftdom was but one of the many insignificant Nguni clans and only came into prominence under Shaka” (Louw 1979: 8). By the nineteenth century, the Zulu had become a power whose presence extended over half the continent of Africa (Krige 1975: 595-6).

Physical and language contact took place between these various peoples and the San:

Some hunter-gatherers chose to marry into farming communities, others were employed by them, while some families chose to continue with hunting and gathering [...] Gradually, over many centuries, integration took place at different levels between San and Iron Age groups. This is reflected in [...] the adoption by some Bantu-speaking people of the click sounds typical of San languages [and] the existence of certain San racial characteristics (Mountain 2003: 22-4).

Over the course of time, the Bushmen completely disappeared in the area, and the unrecorded Bushman languages became extinct (Argyle 1986: 53). The last Bushman was shot in the Drakensberg in 1866, and “by 1890 there were no known Bushman survivors in

the Drakensberg or Lesotho” (Bristow 1985: 64). Maps depicting the distribution of Bushmen and Bushman languages in southern Africa (Bleek 1929: 1, Snyman 1974: 31, Traill 1978: 147) show no Bushman languages in the area under discussion. The present author is of the opinion that the Bushmen who inhabited the area were to some extent assimilated into the Zulu, while others were driven out of the region to inhabit the desert and semi-desert areas of the country.

Although historical evidence of contact between the Nguni of this area and the Bushmen attests to the presence of the latter in the region until relatively recent times (Vinnicombe 1976), no written records attest to the physical, social, cultural, economic and linguistic interaction that took place between them during the centuries when they inhabited the area (Duminy & Guest 1989).

However, traces of Bushman languages have been discerned in Zulu. The clicks in Zulu were taken from the Bushman languages (Snyman 1974: 33, Traill 1978: 137), and many Zulu words are borrowings from Khoisan (Louw 1974: 46). Louw (1979: 19) gives a number of Bushman cognates of Zulu words, for example the Auen, Kung and !O !kuŋ word /!ka: ‘run, jump’, cognate with the Zulu verb *úkwéqa* ‘jump’; the !O !kuŋ (N3) word /ga ‘marry’, compared to the Zulu verb *úkúgcagca* ‘marry’; the /Xam (S1) word /xum ‘break, burst’, compared to the Zulu verb *úkúqbuma* ‘explode’; the Hie (C1) word /kom ‘increase’, cognate with the Zulu verb *úkúchuma* ‘increase, multiply, prosper, and so on’, and the /Xam (S1) word //bau ‘hang up’, compared with the Zulu word *úkúxboma* ‘hang up, impale’. As Louw (1979: 20) points out:

Enough has been said to show that Khoi had an influence on Zulu, although not as intensive as on Xhosa. The influence of San is also obvious and more must be made of the latter.

It may be noted at this stage that the similarity between the Bushman words and their Zulu cognates are not always obvious, as evidenced in the examples given by Louw. The clicks do not always correspond, and coalescence and other adaptations make the correlations difficult to identify in some instances. The correspondence between Zulu name components and their Bushman cognates are indeed surprisingly close when compared to the correspondence between Zulu adaptations of place names from English, Dutch and other languages. Compare, for example, *eDindela* for *Edendale*, *eLekizanda* for *Alexandria*, *eMalimede*

for *Melmoth*, *eMawosi* for *Emmaus*, *eNyukhasela* for *Newcastle*, *eTileke* for *Volksrust* and *eVogrosi* for *Volksrust* (Van Huyssteen 2007: 147).

Argyle (1986: 53) states that the Bushman languages spoken in the area now known as KwaZulu-Natal are extinct and were never recorded, and that it is therefore impossible to compare Zulu words with words from Bushman languages spoken in this particular area, concluding that “... we are still a long way from being able to make even an approximate assessment (and that is all we will ever be able to make) of the extent and nature of Khoisan influence on Zulu” (Argyle 1986: 68).

Werner (1925: 129) points out:

It is very difficult to find out what, if any, Bantu sounds correspond to the Bushman clicks, probably because the Zulu words in which they occur are borrowed Hottentot or Bushman roots, which have not yet spread into other Bantu languages.

3.1 Place names as cognate sources

In view of the limited success of seeking Bushman cognates for Zulu words, as evidenced in Argyle’s conclusion, recourse may be taken to place names, or toponyms, as they are frequently called. That the Bushmen indeed had names for the geographical features in their environment is evidenced by recorded Bushman place names. Pettman (1931: 13-7) has a chapter on Bushman place names, and Bleek’s *A Bushman dictionary* (1956), which lists words from twenty-six Bushman languages, also includes place names.

Nicolaisen (1976: 173) points out that the first place names “... should go back to the earliest ‘stratum’ of settlement and therefore also to the earliest language spoken”, which in the case of the subcontinent of Africa were the Bushman languages. It is thus safe to assume at this point that features had names from the Bushman languages from an early date. These place names preserve fossilised words, adaptations, sound shifts, and so on. The subsequent onymic formation (or name formation) possibly entailed the employment of Bushman loanwords.

Place names tend to survive longer than other words in a language, due to their onomastic or naming function, since they enable identification of, and reference to, features whether their lexical

meaning is known or not, and whether the users know their language of origin or not. Nevertheless, the lexical meanings of toponyms are often of cultural and historical importance to the speakers of the language from which the names derived. Indeed, although the lexical meaning becomes irrelevant when a name takes on the status of a name, and may be forgotten, scholars agree that most place names had meaning when first created (Nicolaisen 1976: 3), and the primary aim of onomastic research is to determine this meaning, so that “something which is now opaque might be made transparent again. [...] Without this maxim there would be no point in, and therefore no scholarly discipline of, the study of names” (Nicolaisen 1976: 30). The meaning which the original namers had in mind is the true meaning, the authentic meaning. Webster (Gove 1961: 146) defines ‘authentic’ as follows:

1. Authoritative: possessing authority that is not usually open to challenge; 2. trustworthy: credible, convincing; 3. vested with due formalities and legally attested; 4. original, valid. Synonyms: genuine, veritable, bona fide. *Authentic* stresses fidelity to actuality and fact, compatibility with a certain source of origin, accordance with usage and tradition, or complete sincerity without feigning or hypocrisy.

When the factors of “fidelity to actuality and fact, compatibility with a certain source of origin, accordance with usage and tradition, or complete sincerity without feigning or hypocrisy” are the relevant criteria for authenticity, the original names for the features under consideration are the authentic ones, in the case of the present KwaZulu-Natal, the Bushman names.

3.2 Onymic process (name formation)

Since names of natural features are among the first names to be bestowed (Nicolaisen 1976: 173), it may be assumed that the place names of the Bushmen were primarily related to their surroundings. Kadmon (2000: 4-5) states that place-naming began with geographical objects in the near vicinity of the living or hunting grounds of the people, which were of importance to their daily life, and that “[i]n general, early names were *primary* descriptive ones expressed in local terms and language”. Pettman (1931: 10) also points out that “[b]roadly speaking the place names of primitive peoples consist largely of word pictures descriptive of natural scenery and physical

features”. Such ‘word pictures’ were presumably primarily common nouns or phrases to refer to particular places, for example ‘the high one’, ‘muddy spring’, ‘black mountain’.

Van Langendonck (2010: 2) uses the term ‘evolutionary’ names for names that develop from descriptions and other common nouns, or appellatives. For example, the descriptive phrase ‘*die diep rivier*’, ‘the deep river’ becomes the place name *Dieprivier* when it assumes the function of a name, which is to identify the particular feature, to distinguish it from other features in the same category, and to refer to it uniquely and unambiguously within a specific context. When a name assumes this ‘onomastic’ function, it becomes a label used to refer to the feature, and its content meaning becomes irrelevant. It thus loses this descriptive meaning and acquires a “new, more abstract, grammatical meaning that replaces the content meaning” (Van Langendonck 2010: 2). Thus, *Braamfontein* ‘bramble spring’ no longer has the meaning of “a fountain where brambles grow” when the name refers to the suburb of Johannesburg. The development of names from appellatives as the result of a loss of descriptive content meaning, termed ‘semantic bleaching’ or desemanticization, “[a]pparently [...] constitutes the original process of name-giving in all cultures and languages” (Van Langendonck 2010: 2).

As a result of the irrelevance of the meaning of a name, a name from any language can be used in other languages and still fulfil its referential or onomastic function. In such instances, the name may be adapted in sound, and written form, to the systems of the receiving language. When a name is taken over into another language, and its original content meaning is not known, it may acquire a different meaning, one suggested by the sound of the name as adapted in the new language, a process known as folk etymology, or popular etymology. Thus, for example, the English-sounding name of *Goodhouse* is said to be a folk etymological interpretation of the Khoikhoi name *Gudaos* ‘sheep ford’ (Nienaber & Raper 1977: 472).

Names are thus dichotomous and paradoxical. On the one hand, their lexical meaning is irrelevant and may be forgotten and lost, and the names semantically reinterpreted; on the other, determining the original meaning is the primary objective of their scientific study, as stated earlier. In addition to their intrinsic value as objects of interest

and study, however, toponyms have been, and still are, used to determine human settlement and migration, incidence and distribution of flora and fauna, dialectal and linguistic development and relationships, the relationship or otherwise of languages and dialects, and as a source of fossilised lexical items. Lexical meanings of toponyms are often a valuable part of the cultural heritage of a people. They are of cultural and historical importance to the speakers of the language from which the names derived and, in the case of preliterate peoples, are frequently preserved as part of their oral tradition. Associative meanings may also be regarded as part of the cultural heritage of a people, but such meanings are frequently subjective and subject to change. The political importance of toponyms in such matters as national name standardisation, land ownership, land claims and the like, are also crucial. In these and other applications, it is essential to ascertain the correct original meanings of toponyms in order to ensure reliable and trustworthy conclusions.

Because place names have meaningfulness as names, even when they have become meaningless as words, they have a “power of survival” that ordinary words do not have (Nicolaisen 1976: 4). In other words, place names tend to survive longer than other words in a language, because their referential function becomes primary and their lexical meaning irrelevant. Moreover, the irrelevance of lexical or descriptive meaning enables names to be used in languages other than their language of bestowal. At least some Bushman place names have thus survived, adopted by the incoming Nguni, but adapted to the Nguni phonological (and subsequently orthographic) system. Naturally, when language contact takes place, there is mutual influence, with names and words being borrowed by either language. In order to comprehend these correspondences and similarities, as well as the sound-shifts that took place, it is necessary to take cognisance of relevant aspects of the Bushman and Zulu languages.

4. Bushman ethnic groups and languages

The following are the names of the Bushman ethnic groups and languages, and the regions which the speakers of these languages inhabited or still inhabit (Bleek 1929: [i], 1956: [iii-iv]).

4.1 Southern group

S1:	/Kam-ka !ke, /Xam	Old Cape Colony, south of the Orange River
S2:	//ǀ !ke	Gordonia and Griqualand West
S2a:	≠Khomani	Northern Gordonia
S2b:	//Kxau	Near Kimberley
S2c:	//Ku //e	Near Theunissen
S2d:	Seroa	Southern Free State, near Bethany
S2e:	!Gā !ne	Former Transkei
S3:	Batwa (/Xegwi)	Lake Chrissie, Mpumalanga
S4:	/Auni	Between the Nossob and Auob (Auhoup)
S4a:	Khatia, Xatia	East of Nossop, S Kalahari
S4b:	Ki /hazi	West of Auob, S Kalahari
S5:	Masarwa	Kakia, Southern Kalahari
S6:	/Nu //en	Upper Nossop & Auhoup
S6a:	/Nusan	South of Auhoup, Namibia

4.2 Northern group

N1:	//K”au-//en, Auen	Northern Kalahari, Oas-Ngami road to 19° E
N1a:	Nogau	Omuramba-Epikuro and the Naukluft, Namibia
N2:	!Kuŋ, Kũ, Kung	Ngami to Grootfontein to Okavango
N2a:	Hei //kum, Heikum	Near Etosha Pan, Namibia
N2b:	a dialect	
N2c:	a dialect	
N3:	!O !kuŋ	Eastern half of Central Angola.

4.3 Central Group

C1:	Hie, Hietšware, Masarwa (Tati)	Near Tati, Zimbabwe
C1a:	Sehura	South-west of Ngami,

		Botswana
C1b:	Mohissa	East of Ngami, Botswana
C2:	Naron, //Aikwe	Near Sandfontein, on Namibia-Botswana border, west of Oas
C2a:	Tsaukwe	West of Ngami and north-east of Naron, Botswana
C2b:	Hukwe	Caprivi region; north of the Tsaukwe
C3:	Hadza, Hadzapi	At Lake Eyassi north of Mkalama, Tanzania.

Later authors have recorded other groups and languages, for example, *Danisin* and *Gwikwe*, and some names have been supplanted by others, such as *Batwa* by *//Xegwi* and *Masarwa* by *Tshukwe*. As far as the latter is concerned, Bleek apparently did not refer to the Central group as a whole as *Masarwa*. She used this term to refer to two individual groups, namely the Masarwa (Kakia) (S5) and the Masarwa (Tati) (C1) (Bleek 1929: [ii]). In Bleek (1956: [v]), the term Masarwa was used to refer to the group (S5), while (C1) was referred to as “hie or hiet[ware (Masarwa)]”.

J W Snyman (1975) and Ferdie Weich (2004) prepared dictionaries of individual Bushman languages, namely *Zu/’hoāsi* and *!Xuhn*, respectively, but to my knowledge Bleek’s *A Bushman dictionary* (1956) is the only comprehensive one, with words from 26 different languages, and in each case indicating from which language or dialect the word originates, facilitating or enabling comparison and validation. Her work, therefore, serves as the primary source against which to compare the words and components from extinct and unrecorded Bushman languages occurring as loanwords or cognates in Zulu place names.

5. Characteristics of Bushman languages

5.1 Clicks

The Bushman languages are characterised by clicks or suction consonants. Six distinct clicks have been identified in these languages, but five is the most that occur in any one language (Traill 1978: 137). An understanding of the way in which clicks are pronounced and

what they sound like will facilitate a comparison with the sounds and means of production of Zulu equivalents.

An exposition of the clicks, their method of production and pronunciation, is given in Bleek (1929 and 1956), as indicated below. In the following section, reference is made only to Bleek herself, and not to Doke and others whom she quotes. For further details, which are perhaps not essential for the present investigation, reference may be made to the relevant pages in Bleek's *Dictionary*.

It will be noted that different authors (and Bleek herself) use different or varying terms to refer to the clicks, and different explanations of their method of articulation. Since this is a complex topic, foreign to languages other than the Khoisan languages and those African languages which have inherited clicks from the Khoisan languages, and since the clicks and their substitutes or replacements are frequently central to the discussion of Bushman cognates, a relatively comprehensive account of the clicks is given in this instance, quoting from the different authorities. Bleek (1929: 13) has the following exposition:

//: the dental or alveolar fricative click, formed by pressing the front of the tongue against the teeth or alveolus and releasing it gently with a sucking sound.

!: the retroflex plosive click, made by pressing the tip of the tongue against the front palate and snapping it off sharply, as if imitating the drawing of a cork.

//: the retroflex fricative click, made by spreading the tip of the tongue across the palate and withdrawing it gently backwards, with a sucking sound. This click is similar in the manner of its production to the first click / but made in a different place; occasionally the lateral click of the Zulus is substituted for it by individuals, but as no word is always spoken with the latter sound, I do not mark it.

≠: the alveolar plosive click, made as the retroflex plosive click only with the front of the tongue far forward on the alveolus, almost on the teeth. This click is rarely used and is very difficult to make.

⊙: the lip click, made by pressing the lips together and releasing them as in a kiss. This click is also rarely used and is confined to the Southern Group.

In all these clicks there is a double closure; the back of the tongue is pressed against the velum and the sides of the tongue also touch the

roof of the mouth, to create a space of rarefaction; as that is the same for all but the fifth click, and is done quite unconsciously, I do not particularly name it in describing each click.

Bleek (1956) has the following:

/: This sign denotes the dental click. [...] Tongue-tip pressed against the upper front teeth, [...] back of tongue raised to touch velum and sides of tongue raised to upper gum-ridge, leaving a small space between top of tongue and centre of palate where the air becomes rarefied on slight depression of centre of tongue. The release of the tongue makes this click. For this click the release is gentle, making almost a sucking sound. The click is like the Zulu click written *c* [...] (Bleek 1956: 266).

!: This sign denotes the so-called cerebral or palato-alveolar click. [...] Tongue tip placed firmly on the point of division between palate and alveolus, not so spreaded as in the case of the alveolar click; back of tongue placed against velum and sides of tongue against side upper gums. The tongue-tip is released sharply downwards, the resulting click resembling the sound of a cork being drawn from a bottle. This click resembles the Zulu [...] palato-alveolar click represented by the symbol *q* [...] (Bleek 1956: 368).

!!: This sign denotes the retroflex click [...] It apparently lies between the palato-alveolar and the lateral clicks. Tongue-tip curled back, and underside of tongue pressed against hard palate: back of tongue raised to touch velum, and sides of tongue touching upper side gums to enclose space of rarefaction. The tongue tip is released backwards, sliding along the palate, causing a harsh-sounding click which is not 'instantaneous' (Bleek 1956: 505).

//: This sign denotes the lateral click. [...] Upper part of tongue-tip against alveolus; tongue far back against velum; sides against upper side teeth. The position is thus much as for the palato-alveolar clicks, but the release of the tongue is not forward but lateral, the injection being caused by withdrawing one side of the tongue from the upper teeth (the right side in the case of the natives whom I have carefully observed). The sound produced is exactly the same as for the lateral clicks of Zulu or Nama (Bleek 1956: 512).

≠: This sign is used to denote the alveolar click, formerly known as the palatal click. [...] Upper part of tongue behind the tip pressed firmly against the gum-ridge behind the central upper teeth; back of tongue raised to touch velum, and sides of tongue raised to complete space of rarefaction between velum and alveolus. The tongue front is brought sharply down, the resulting click resembling the sound made by a

child when tasting something sweet. The click is instantaneous and cannot be drawn out with friction (Bleek 1956: 640).

⊙: This click denotes the labial click. It is made by pressing the lips together with the back of the tongue against the uvula, rarefying the air by lowering the lower jaw as far as possible without parting the lips, then releasing the pressure by parting the lips with the sound of a kiss. {Doke for ≠Khomani distinguishes between a labial (called bilabial by him) and a dentilabial, where the lower lip is pressed tightly against the upper front teeth, the click often drawn out} (Bleek 1956: 681).

ø: This symbol denotes the labial click made as above, but released absolutely without the sound of a kiss, more like a plosive p (Bleek 1956: 682).

Traill (1978: 138) confirms that all clicks are pronounced with the back of the tongue on the soft palate, while the air trapped between this point and the front of the tongue is rarefied by hollowing the body of the tongue. He explains that:

Three distinct clicks are produced [...] by placing the tip of the tongue against the part of the palate immediately behind the upper teeth; the clicks written as /, ≠ and //. They differ as follows: / has suction reminiscent of cleaning one's upper teeth by sucking air through them (this click is written in comics as *tskt!*); ≠ has no suction [friction?] at all and has a sharp flat sound; // is made by sucking air in laterally along the molar teeth and resembles / in having friction. It is the sound one uses to spur on a horse.

The bilabial click is effected “by bringing the two lips into contact [...] Its sound-effect is very much like that of a kiss”. He further distinguishes between two clicks produced with “the tip of the tongue against the hard palate at the point where it rises sharply to the roof of the mouth”. These are written ! and ///. “While ! is described as having a sharp ‘popping’ sound, /// creates the effect of suction or scraping” (Traill 1978: 138). The latter is thought to be the retroflex plosive click !!, that lies between the palato-alveolar and the lateral or retroflex fricative clicks; although Bleek (1929: 13) calls ! the retroflex plosive click.

It will be noted that relatively few Zulu place names have initial clicks, whereas well over 70% of words in Bushman languages start with a click (Traill 1978: 138). This may be attributed to the difficulty experienced with the click consonants. Bleek (1929: 4) states that “The clicks are very difficult to distinguish at first [...] The clicks vary

from one tribe to another, possibly among individuals in the same tribe. I think this is sometimes really the case [...].” Weich (2004: iii) also notes difficulties in distinguishing between the pronunciation of certain clicks:

The dental click is fine and the palatal click can be heard clearly. But listening to different speakers, it seems as if some speakers do not really differentiate between the palatal click and the lateral. Others get the palatal click and the alveolar mixed up. I was wondering if speakers and hearers really care about the differences!!!

The confusion can be ascribed to the difficulty in rendering in writing sounds produced in speech which are not always pronounced in the same way or in the same place in the mouth. As noted earlier, experts do not agree on the terminology or the exact point of articulation of these clicks. Thus / is described as ‘the dental or alveolar fricative click’; ≠ as ‘the alveolar or palatal click’; ! as the palatal, cerebral, palato-alveolar or retroflex plosive click; // as the lateral or retroflex fricative click, and ⊙ (customarily represented as a circle with a dot in the middle) as the labial click, lip click or bilabial click.

5.2 Capitalisation of ethnic names and languages

The first letter of Bushman words is frequently a click, and no distinction is made between lower case and upper case clicks. In the Bushman languages there is no capitalisation of clicks. The letter following the click is generally not written as a capital. The names of the Bushman peoples and their languages are written by Bleek and other scholars with a lower case second letter, for example /*kam-ka !ke*. Since confusion can arise between these names and other words, the liberty has been taken in this investigation of writing the second letter of the name with a capital, for example /*Kam-ka !ke*. For the sake of clarity and convenience, the particular Bushman language with which the Zulu name, component or word is compared, will be given, as well as Bleek’s (1929: [i], 1956: [iii-iv]) symbols for that language, for example /*Xam* (S1).

5.3 Effluxes or accompaniments

The Bushman clicks are not pronounced in isolation. Each of the clicks is pronounced with distinctive releases, accompaniments or effluxes, namely aspirated, ejected, fricative, glottal, nasal, preglottal, prevoiced, voiced, and others. In the Bushman languages, the voiced efflux is indicated in writing with *g*, as in /*gā*, ≠*gā*, //*gā*, !*gā*; the nasal efflux with *n*, as in /*na*, ≠*na*, //*na*, !*na*; the fricative efflux with *x*, as in /*xā*, ≠*xā*, //*xā*, !*xā*; the ejected efflux with *k*, as in /*k?a*, ≠*k?ā*, //*k?ā*, !*k?ā*; the aspirated efflux with *h*, as in /*ha*, ≠*ha*, //*ha*, !*ha*; the glottal efflux with a glottal stop, as in /*?ā*, ≠*?ā*, //*?ā*, !*?ā*, and so on (Traill 1978: 138).

In addition to the clicks, the Bushman languages have many other complexities of pronunciation involving both consonants and vowels. The vowels of these languages are notable for their complex plain, nasalised, breathy and pressed vowel colourings. These combine with each other to produce up to seven vowel colours for each of the five vowels. It is undoubtedly these vowel quantities to which early observers reacted so strongly, talking of ‘ghastly aspiration’ or ‘strange croaking sounds’. In Nama and Kora, only plain and nasalised vowels are distinguished, but

... /*gwi*, also a ‘Hottentot’ language, has plain, nasalised and pressed vowels. It is not clear what these discrepancies in phonetic complexity between the members of the Central group may mean (Traill 1978: 139).

5.4 Tonality

A further point to note is that the Bushman languages are tone languages. Different words may have identical vowels and consonants, but be distinguished by their tone alone (Traill 1978: 139). Zulu is also a tone language, having two phonological tones, namely high and low; these tones sometimes cluster to form the high-low tone cluster (Khumalo 2005: [i]). However, no attempt will be made at this stage to seek correspondences between Bushman and Zulu tones, since

... too many variables enter into the interpretation of the absolute pitch of the syllables of the words [in Zulu] recorded on any particular day, and this makes it impossible to give such absolute pitch any

accurate systematic phonetic or phonological interpretation
(Khumalo 2005: [i]).

5.5 Consonants and vowels

In order to compare the pronunciation of Bushman words or components of names with their Zulu counterparts, including the position in the mouth where the sounds are produced, a summary is given, taken from Bleek (1929: 12-4, 1956).

- a: low front vowel, pronounced as French *a* in ‘*papa*’.
- b: ordinary voiced bilabial plosive, not common in Bushman languages, perhaps only in borrowings; tends to slide into *v* among the !O !kung.
- d: voiced alveolar plosive, sometimes a variant of *t*; *dsh*, *dzh*, *dj* all standing for the same sound; *ds* = *dz*, German *s* being voiced; Dornan’s *j* = *dzh*.
- e: close *e* and open *ɛ*, neutral *ə*; occurs in diphthongs *ei*, *we*; *e* is the front half-close vowel, *ɛ* the front half-open vowel.
- f: unvoiced labio-dental fricative, not a Bushman sound, spoken by tribes living among Bantu speakers.
- g: voiced velar explosive; exchanges with *k* and *t* in the second syllable; occurs after all clicks, except the labial.
- h: glottal fricative, much used as an initial sound, after *k*, *t*, and all clicks.
- i: front close vowel, pronounced as in ‘*hit*’ or French ‘*si*’; (as *e* front half-close).
- j: palatal fricative, more like a semi-vowel in the second syllable; occurs chiefly in languages with Bantu influence.
- k: unvoiced velar explosive, often interchanges with *t*, and in endings with *g*.
- kh: aspirated unvoiced velar explosive.
- kx’: ejective velar affricate.
- k’’: ejected *k* (glottal croak).
- l: lateral consonant, not a Bushman sound, occurring in languages exposed to Bantu influence. Often a foreign *r* is changed to *r*.

Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

- m: nasal bilabial. Like other nasals, it occurs alone, with syllabic value, often as the form n or ŋ take before labials. In the second syllable, it often interchanges with b.
- n & ŋ: nasals, often interchanging; has syllabic value and forms a word or syllable without a vowel.
- o: half back-close vowel (pure vowel).
- ø: half open back mixed vowel (written as c back to front).
- p: unvoiced labial plosive; not a Bushman sound; Bantu in-fluence as initial, Khoikhoi influence in endings, inter-changing with b.
- r: voiced alveolar consonant, spoken with only one vibration, or sometimes strongly trilled.
- ɾ: voiced flapped retroflex consonant, sounding under circumstances like d, r or l.
- ɽ: flapped lateral consonant, enunciated with a single flap of the tongue, between rolled r and liquid l.
- ̃r: nasal r, between r and n.
- ̃r or [rɫ] (l over r): a sound between r, l and n, occurring only in the second syllable.
- s: unvoiced alveolar fricative. When it stands at the end of a word, a following vowel has been dropped.
- ʃ: unvoiced prepalatal fricative, often merely a variant of s. Can combine with the velar fricative x as ʃx, and is often found after t as tʃ, often a variant of ʃ to ts.
- t: unvoiced alveolar or dental explosive consonant, often inter-changing with k in Southern languages.
- th: aspirated unvoiced alveolar or dental explosive consonant.
- ts & tʃ: alveolar affricate.
- u: back close vowel (variously heard as back close u or back half-close o); forms part of the diphthongs au and ou, also ua, ue, ui, but in these cases it often glides into w.
- v: voiced labial fricative, not a Bushman sound, only in languages exposed to Bantu influence; generally found in second syllables interchanging with b, as daba, dava ‘child’.

- w: pronounced like English w, often distinctly a semi-vowel, interchanging with a short o or u, as in oa:si and wa:si ‘all’.
- x: unvoiced velar fricative; approximates the German ch, being made further forward in the mouth before i, and e, slightly further back before a, and far back before o, and u.
- z: voiced alveolar fricative, occurring after d as dz.
- 3 or ž: voiced prepalatal fricative, pronounced as the s in treasure; follows d as dž.

6. The Zulu language

6.1 Clicks

The Zulu clicks are described as follows:

The radical form of the dental click is represented by *c*, the aspirated by *ch*, the voiced by *gc*, and the nasal by *nc*. The velar nasal consonant before the voiced form is represented by *ngc*, and the rare instances of the velar nasal before the unvoiced form by *nk*. The radical form, *c*, under homorganic nasal influence, becomes *ngc*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 97).

The radical form of the palato-alveolar click is represented by *q*, the aspirated by *qb*, the voiced by *gq* and the nasal by *nq*. The velar nasal consonant before the voiced form is represented by *ngq*, and the rare instances of the velar nasal before the unvoiced form by *nkq*. The radical form, *q*, under homorganic nasal influence, becomes *ngq* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 684).

The radical form of the lateral click is represented by *x*, the aspirated by *xb*, the voiced by *gx*, and the nasal by *nx*. The velar nasal consonant before the voiced form is represented by *ngx*, and the rare instances of the velar nasal before the unvoiced form by *nkx*. The radical form *x*, under homorganic nasal influence, becomes *ngx* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 858).

6.2 Vowels, consonants and clusters

- a: “The low vowel in Zulu [...] and a back vowel; the mouth is fairly wide open and the lips somewhat rounded. Current orthography does not mark the length” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 1).
- b: “Voiced bilabial explosive. In Zulu, this is pronounced with voiceless stop when used initially. In the combination *mb*, the

nasalisation of the stop produces voicing and the *b* is pronounced as in English.

- b* is phonemically distinct from **ɓ** (implosive) [...] Stems of nouns commencing in *imb* are sometimes recorded under **ɓ**; sometimes under *mb*. When, however, it is ascertainable that the initial of the root is *b*, and in instances where the real initial is currently unascertainable, these words are recorded under *b*. Under the influence of palatalisation *b>j*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 15).
- ɓ**: “Bilabial implosive consonant, phonemically distinct from *b*. This is very commonly found in Zulu, occurring in the cl. 1 pl. prefix *aáa-* and in all concords therewith, also in the cl. 7 prefix *uúu-* and its concords. Under nasal influence **ɓ** becomes *mb* [...] Under the influence of palatalization **ɓ** becomes *tsb* [...]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 57).
- d*: “Voiced alveolar explosive consonant. In Zulu it is devoid of voicing during the stop, unless preceded by the homorganic nasal; it therefore has a much sharper, clearer pronunciation than its equivalent in English. Under the influence of palatalisation *d>j*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 133).
- dl*: “Voiced alveolar fricative consonant, the fricative form of *l*, or the voiced form of *hl*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 150).
- e*: “The mid-forward vowel in Zulu. There are two [...] pronunciations of this vowel in Zulu, but as they belong to but one phoneme, only one symbol is necessary in a practical orthography. [...]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 180).
- f*: “Unvoiced denti-labial fricative. Under homorganic nasal influence this becomes an ejective affricate, written *mf*. By false analogy when the syllabic *-m* precedes *f* the latter becomes the ejective affricate (recorded *mf* in dictionary entries; but this process does not take place when the *f* commences a recognized verbal stem” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 196).
- g*: “Voiced velar explosive consonant. In Zulu *g* is devoid of voicing during the stop, unless preceded by the homorganic nasal; it therefore has a much sharper, clearer pronunciation than in English” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 223).
- gc*: “The voiced form of the dental click” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 234).

- gq: “The voiced form of the palato-alveolar click” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 280).
- gx: “The voiced form of the lateral click” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 289).
- h: “Unvoiced glottal fricative consonant, pronounced by some speakers and on some occasions as unvoiced velar fricative. Under homorganic nasal influence *h* becomes *nh* or causes a dropping of the nasal” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 291).
- hh: “Voiced glottal fricative consonant, resembling Afrikaans ‘h’ in contrast to English ‘h’. The effect to the ear is of a roughening and strengthening of the succeeding vowel. Under homorganic nasal influence *hh* becomes *nhg* or causes a dropping of the nasal” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 301).
- hl: “Unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant (akin to Welsh ‘ll’); under homorganic nasal influence it becomes an ejective affricate, written *nhl*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 307).
- i: “The high forward vowel in Zulu; [...] with lips decidedly spread. This vowel occurs short, long, and with prolonged length [...] in Zulu. Current orthography does not mark the length” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 354).
- j: ‘(phon. dʒ). “Voiced prepalatal affricative consonant” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 356).
- k: “Unvoiced velar explosive consonant. The aspirated form is written *kh*, q.v. In current Zulu orthography *k* represents two different sounds:
- (i) *k*, radical form, devoid of aspiration but with slight voicing (with some speakers appearing to the European ear almost as *g*). This is ‘soft-*k*’ and appears in [...] the feminine suffix *-kazi*, [...] and [...] individual words, e.g. [...] *inkuku* [...] etc.
 - (ii) *k*’, ejected form or ‘sharp-*k*’, always found in the nasal compound *nk*, [...] and further occurring in a limited number of words apart from *n*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 368).
- kh: “Aspirated velar explosive consonant, pronounced with a rush of air following the plosion. Under nasal influence this aspiration gives place to ejection, thus nasal + *kh* > *nk*’” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 372).

- kl: “Ejective velar affricate consonant, or ejective velar lateral affricate” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 429).
- l: “Voiced alveolar lateral consonant, pronounced as ‘clear-*l*’ in English. Under homorganic nasal influence the nasal is generally dropped, [...] but on rare occasions becomes *nd* [...]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 443).
- m: “Bilabial nasal consonant, pronounced as in English and occurring before vowels and homorganically before *b* and *p*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 472).
- m (*m*): “Syllabic bilabial nasal. This is a contraction of original *mu*, written thus in short unstressed positions. [...]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 472).
- m (*im*): “Denti-labial nasal consonant, pronounced with upper teeth touching lower lips, found only as homorganic nasal before *f* and *v* in the combinations *mf* and *mv*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 472).
- mb: “Bilabial voiced nasal compound; often the result of homorganic nasal influence upon original *ᄁ*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 489).
- mf: “Denti-labial nasal preceding ejective denti-labial affricate, the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *f*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 499-500).
- mf̣: “Syllabic bilabial nasal (contr from *mu*) preceding ejective denti-labial affricate” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 500).
- mp: “Bilabial nasal preceding the ejected bilabial explosive. This is usually the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *ph* [...], but sometimes on *p*. [...] For words commencing in *imp-* or *izimp-* not listed under *mp* see under *ph* or *p*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 509).
- mv: “Denti-labial nasal preceding the voiced denti-labial affricate, the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *v*. [For words commencing in *imv-* or *izimv-* not listed under *mv* see under *v*.]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 517).
- n (*n*): “Alveolar nasal consonant, pronounced as in English and occurring before vowels and homorganically in the combinations *nt*, *nd*, *ns*, *nz*, *nbl*, *ndl*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 518).
- n (*jn*): “Prepalatal nasal consonant intermediate in formation between English ‘ny’ and French ‘gn’, written thus when used

homorganically before *tsb* and *j*, for example *intshe*, ostrich. *inja*, dog. When occurring before vowels this nasal is written *ny*, q.v.” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 518).

- n (ŋ): “Velar nasal consonant, written thus when used homorganically before *k*, *g* and *kl*, and in the representation of nasal clicks, for example *nc*, *nq* and *nx*.” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 518).
- nc: “The nasal form of the dental click. This is often the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *ch* [...]; sometimes the derivation is from radical *c*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 527).
- ng: “Velar voiced nasal compound. In some areas, particularly Northern Zulu and Swazi, the plain velar nasal (ŋ) replaced this compound. [...] In some cases *ng* is the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *g*, [...] and sometimes upon *hb*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 545).
- nh: “This is used to indicate the nasalized ‘h’ or ‘glottal nasal’, produced by narrowing the pharynx and passing the air through mouth and nose at the same time” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 567).
- nhl: “Alveolar nasal preceding the ejective alveolar lateral affricate, the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *hl*. [For words commencing in *inhl-* or *izinhl-*, not listed under *nbl*, see under *hl*.]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 567).
- nk: “Velar nasal preceding the ejective velar explosive, generally the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *kh* or *h*. [... For words commencing in *ink-* or *izink-*, not listed under *nk*, see under *kh*, or rarely *k*, or sometimes *h*.]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 574).
- nkl: “Velar nasal preceding the ejective velar (or velar lateral) affricate, usually the result of homorganic nasal influence thereupon. [For words commencing in *inkl-* or *izinkl-* not listed under *nkl* see under *kl*.]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 577).
- nkx: “The radical form of the lateral click preceded by the velar nasal. This is a combination rare in Zulu, but common in Xhosa” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 582).
- nq: “This is the nasal form of the palato-alveolar click. This is often the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *qb* [...]; sometimes the derivation is from radical *q*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 588).

- ns (*nts*): “Alveolar nasal preceding the ejective alveolar affricate, the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *s* or *ts* [...] [For words commencing in *ins-* or *izins-*, not listed under *ns*, see under *s* or rarely *ts*.]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 597).
- nt: “Alveolar nasal preceding the ejected alveolar explosive. This is usually the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *th* [...] but sometimes on *t*. [For words commencing in *int-* or *izint-*, not listed under *nt* see under *th* or *t*.]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 601).
- nx: “The nasal form of the lateral click. This is often the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *xh* [...] sometimes the derivation is from radical *x*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 614).
- ny: “Prepalatal nasal consonant. This is sometimes the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *y* [...] For words commencing in *iny-* or *iziny-* not listed under *ny* see under *y*.]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 616).
- nz (*ndz*): “Alveolar nasal preceding the voiced alveolar affricate, the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *z*. [For words commencing in *inz-* or *izinz-* not listed under *nz* see under *z*.]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 632).
- o: “The mid-back vowel in Zulu. There are two distinct pronunciations of this vowel [...] (i) *o*, close mid-back vowel; [...] lips fully rounded and protruding. [...] (ii) *ɔ* open mid-back vowel [...] lips well rounded and somewhat protruding [...]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 633).
- p (*pʰ*): “Ejective bilabial explosive consonant, occurring in a limited number of words before vowels [...] but generally after the homorganic nasal as *mp*. *p* must be distinguished from *ph*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 638).
- ph: “Aspirated bilabial explosive consonant. Under homorganic nasal influence *ph* becomes *mp* [...]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 641).
- q: “This symbol represents the palato-alveolar click, pronounced with the back of the tongue raised to touch the soft palate, upper part of tongue-tip pressed tightly against the division between teeth-ridge and hard palate, centre of tongue depressed; in enunciation tip of tongue is drawn sharply downwards. The radical form is represented by *q*, the aspirated by *qh*, the voiced

by *gq*, and the nasal by *nq*. The velar nasal consonant before the voiced form is represented by *ngq*, and the rare instances of the velar nasal before the unvoiced form by *nkq*" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 684).

- qh: "The aspirated form of the palato-alveolar click, often occurring as a semantic differentiation from the radical form [...] Under homorganic nasal influence *qb* > *nq*, for example *i(li)qhubu* (bulge) and *inqubu* (bend in a river)." (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 694).
- r: "Voiced rolled lingual consonant [...]" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 719).
- s: "Unvoiced alveolar fricative consonant; under homorganic nasal influence it becomes an ejective affricate, written *ns*" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 719).
- sh (ʃ): "Unvoiced prepalatal fricative consonant, pronounced much as in English 'ship'; under homorganic nasal influence *sb* becomes *ntsb* [...] When emphasized *sb* sometimes becomes *tsb* (tʃ)" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 729).
- t (tʰ): "Ejective alveolar explosive consonant, occurring in a limited number of words before vowels, [...] but generally after the homorganic nasal as *nt* [...]. *t* must be distinguished from *tb* [...]" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 775).
- th: "Aspirated alveolar explosive consonant. Under homorganic nasal influence *tb* becomes *nt*" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 780).
- ts (tsʰ): "Ejective alveolar affricative consonant, found in a limited number of words in Zulu, apart from its occurrence after the homorganic nasal in *ns* (*nts*ʰ)" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 817).
- tsh (tʃ): "Unvoiced prepalatal affricative consonant" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 818).
- tsh (tʃʰ): "Ejected prepalatal affricative consonant" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 818).
- u: "The high back vowel in Zulu [...] lips fully rounded [...] as in 'food'" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 827).
- v: "Voiced denti-labial fricative consonant; the voiced form of *f*" (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 828).

- w: “Velar semi-vowel, occurring before vowels, as in *wena*, thou; but also in combination, as a type of velar glide, with all consonants other than the bilabial, for example **thw**, **tw**, **dw**, **zw**, **sw**, **lw**, **hlw**, **dlw**, **tsw**, **nzw**, **nyw**, **shw**, **tshw**, etc.” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 847).
- x: “This symbol represents the lateral click” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 858).
- xh: “The aspirated form of the lateral click [...]. Under homorganic nasal influence **xh** > **nx**” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 861).
- y: “Prepalatal semi-vowel. Under homorganic nasal influence this either becomes *ny* or remains with nasal dropped” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 870).
- z: “Voiced alveolar fricative consonant; the voiced form of *s*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 884). Unvoiced alveolar fricative consonant.

6.3 Prefixes or class markers

In Zulu as in other languages, names are nouns, and in order to understand Zulu place names, it is necessary to take cognisance of the structure of nouns and the noun class system (Koopman 2002: 267). Each noun consists of a stem and a prefix or class marker. The stem conveys the meaning of the word, whereas the prefix indicates number (singular or plural), concord or subject marker (which set of concordial agreement should be employed for agreement with other parts of speech in a sentence), and so on. As indicated earlier, the stem of the noun carries its ‘true’ or ‘real’ meaning; in other words, its lexical meaning (Koopman 2002: 267). Doke & Vilakazi (2005: xviii) point out that by removing the prefix from the noun the stem is revealed, and that it is under this stem that the word is entered in their *Dictionary*.

The class prefixes or markers in Zulu are as follows (*cf* Doke & Vilakazi 2005: xvii, Koopman 2002: 268):

According to the Meinhof numbering:

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
Class 1:	um-, umu-	class 2:	aba-
class 1a:	u-	class 2a:	o-
class 3:	umu-, um	class 4:	imi-
class 5:	i(li)	class 6:	ama-

class 7:	isi-, is-	class 8:	izi-
class 9:	im-, in-, etc	class 10:	izim-, izin-, etc.
class 11:	u(lu)-		
class 14:	ubu-		
class 15:	uku-		
[class 16:	pha-]		
[class 17:	uku-]		

Note:

Class 10 serves as plural class for classes 9 and 11.

Classes 12 and 13 are not found in Zulu.

Class 16 does not form nouns in Zulu, but only locative adverbs.

Class 17 is mainly of adverbial significance with shortened reflex ku-.

According to Zulu grammatical treatment (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: xviii):

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
I. <i>umu-</i>	<i>aḡa-</i>
Ia. <i>u-</i>	<i>o-</i>
II. <i>umu-</i>	<i>imi-</i>
III. <i>i(li)-</i>	<i>ama-</i>
IV. <i>isi-</i>	<i>izi-</i>
V. <i>im-, in-</i>	<i>izim-, izin-</i>
VI. <i>u(lu)-</i>	<i>izim-, izin-</i>
VII.	<i>uḡu-</i>
VIII.	<i>uku-</i>

6.4 Locative affixes

Zulu place names, like other nouns, also have a locative inflection, typically with the prefix *e* and one of the suffixes *-ini*, *-eni*, *-wini* or *-weni*, for example, *eThekwini*, *Empangeni*. Some names take the prefix *o* instead of *e*, for example, *oFeni*, and some have no suffix, for example, *eGoli*. However, locatives mostly fit the pattern of *eLangeni* and *eMthunzini*. For the most part, the locative form is determined by the manner in which the noun or name is used in a sentence. Thus, in a locative context, the locative form must be used, for

example, *eMgungundlovu*, whereas in non-locative contexts, the form *uMgungundlovu* is used (Koopman 2002: 114-5).

6.5 Structure of Zulu place names

As in other languages, place names in Zulu may be either simple (or un-compounded), such as *Ulundi*, where the stem is *Ndi*, or compounded or composite, consisting of a descriptive term and a feature type designator, otherwise called a specific and generic term respectively, for example, *Thabankulu* ‘big mountain’, from *thaba* ‘mountain’, *kulu* ‘big’. In Zulu, the generic term is generally the first component of the name, but names do occur with the descriptive term first, for example, *Nhlazatsbe*, ‘green stone’, *nblaza* ‘green’, *tsbe* ‘stone’. However, it is frequently the case that the latter are adapted Bushman names that preserve the customary Bushman structure of specific + generic.

6.6 Diphthongs and vowel clusters

Several differences between the Bushman and Zulu phonological systems should be noted. Words in Bushman languages may contain vowel clusters or diphthongs, for example, *ai*, *ei*, *oa*, and the like. In Zulu, the juxtaposition of vowels is impermissible, and when words (and names) from other languages are taken over into Zulu, the two vowels are contracted into one, or coalesced, or the first vowel is changed into the corresponding semi-vowel, or a consonant is inserted between the vowels. Similarly, Zulu does not permit the juxtaposition of certain consonants, for which reason *Pretoria* is adapted as *ePitoli*, *Vryheid* as *eFilidi*, and so on, with a vowel inserted between the consonants.

7. Difficulties and challenges in recognising Bushman influence

The naming process is continuous, dynamic and complex. The place names in the region under discussion are not homogeneous as regards age, linguistic composition or language of origin. Some names will be of Bushman origin, bestowed by them to the features concerned and subsequently adapted into Zulu; some names will be composed

of Bushman words adopted by the Zulu as loans on their migrations and used in the coining of new names, and some names will be of Zulu origin. In order to recognise Bushman influence, each Zulu place name and its components must be examined for phonological and semantic correspondence with words from the twenty-six Bushman languages that have been recorded, which could be similar to the languages spoken in what is now KwaZulu-Natal. At the same time, determining from which languages the words originate that are comparable to the components of Zulu place names may shed light on which Bushman groups inhabited the region in former times, and on the processes of language contact and mutual influence.

Koopman (2002: 136) states that “[s]urprisingly little has been published on Zulu place names”, and further points out that:

Searching for the origins of Zulu place names frequently brings to light a number of conflicting interpretations. Very often local Zulu-speaking residents do not themselves know the origin of Zulu place names in their own area [...] and often when I asked older residents how it was that such-and-such a place had come to be named, I was answered [...] ‘We don’t know, it [the name] was here when we came here’.

These statements prompt the possibility of Bushman origins for at least some Zulu place names.

8. Method of determining Bushman influence

There are similarities in the roots of words in different extant and recorded Bushman languages, so much so that they led to the classification of these languages into the three groups given earlier (Bleek 1929: 1-6, 1956: [iii-iv]). A challenge to this classification because of a lack of conversion rules does not alter the fact that words in some “obviously related” dialects are “overwhelmingly and obviously similar” (Traill 1978: 145). On the assumption that the extinct Bushman languages of the area now known as KwaZulu-Natal would also show such similarities, and that words from extinct and unrecorded Bushman languages of KwaZulu-Natal would be similar to recorded cognate words, the present investigation tests Zulu place names against such recorded words with the same lexical meanings, taking account of phonological, morphological and syntactic adaptation. In other words, Zulu place names and their component

parts are compared semantically and phonologically to extant and recorded Bushman words assumed to be similar to the extinct and unrecorded ones.

A basic assumption of onomastics is that names had meaning when they were first given (Nicolaisen 1976: 4), and particularly in the case of preliterate people, these meanings are preserved as an important part of the cultural heritage of the people. Koopman (2002: 135) notes that “[t]he meanings of Zulu place names have always had a fascination for non-Zulu visitors, and recently have become a valued part of the Zulu culture offered to tourists”. The Zulu people themselves have always regarded the meanings of their place names as an important part of their cultural heritage, and preserved their place names and the meanings of these names by passing them down from generation to generation, thus ensuring the survival of this rich linguistic, cultural and toponymic heritage.

As noted earlier, the stem of the noun (or name) in Zulu carries its ‘true’ or ‘real’ meaning, its lexical meaning (Koopman 2002: 267). By isolating the stem and comparing it in sound and meaning to Bushman words, it is possible to determine cognates. It may be the case that the prefix is a misinterpreted Bushman component (*Kwa*), or contains a remnant of a Bushman word or click, for example *Mpunzi*. By and large, however, the prefix (and where appropriate suffix), known or suspected to have been a Zulu addition, is discounted, and the remaining component(s) tested for Bushman words with the same meaning. In this regard, the pronunciation of the word in Zulu is matched against the pronunciation of the corresponding word in the Bushman language. If there is sufficient congruity or correspondence between Zulu and Bushman components as regards both sound and meaning, the word may be regarded as cognate, and an influence may be demonstrable.

In some instances, the similarities between Bushman and Zulu are clearer than in others, and the influence readily discernible. In others, the similarities are more difficult to recognise and describe, for example, *uMnweni* < $\neq y$. In some instances, all components of a name can be shown as of Bushman origin, in others only part of the name.

However, it is realised that a great deal of adaptation will have taken place in the adoption of Bushman names, components and

words. As words (and names) are transferred from one language to another, they are adapted in sound to the system of the adopting (receiver) language. In many instances, vowels do not undergo as many changes or adaptations as other sounds, since they are easier to hear and imitate. Cognizance is taken of the different conventions of writing in the different languages. As the investigation progressed, it became increasingly clear that the older the recording of the spelling and meaning of a name is, the closer it is to the surmised original Bushman form and, therefore, the more likely it is to be reliable. By contrast, the more changes in spelling a name has undergone, the more difficult it is to determine what the underlying Bushman components were, especially when folk etymology comes into play, leading to the alteration of Bushman components to fit Zulu words that sound similar; to attempts at 'correcting' the name in line with recent orthographic rules, and the like.

9. Translations

When language contact takes place, people learn each other's languages, and it becomes possible for toponyms to be translated. In some instances, the characteristic of the topographical feature that led to its name in the first place also leads to the name in a different language. In such cases, a feature may have more than one name in different languages. The given or recorded meaning of a name may thus be tested against the criterion of synonymy or translation based also on topographical correspondence. Similarly, the name of a feature may also be allocated in translated form to a different feature in the same vicinity, forming a toponymic configuration or cluster.

On the basis of lexical meanings of the names preserved in oral tradition or written records, and by syntactic and morphological analysis, African and European language names may be shown, in many instances, to be adaptations, translations and folk-etymological interpretations of original Bushman names. In determining the validity of a name, the more criteria that are applicable, the greater the measure of substantiation becomes. In the following examples, it will be shown that more than one criterion is employed to validate the meaning of the names.

10. Onomastic techniques employed

The following onomastic techniques are employed in the investigation:

- If a meaning has been recorded for the Zulu name, that meaning is tested linguistically against recorded Bushman words with the same meaning in order to determine possible semantic correspondence.
- Where both an indigenous and a European name occur for a feature, the possibility is examined of corresponding meanings that may indicate translation.
- Topographic congruity, the occurrence of toponyms from different languages in close proximity, may reveal transference and translation.
- Topographical, geographical, geological, botanical or other evidence in the region or vicinity where the name occurs may give an indication of the meaning for the name, since these may have triggered the name or been the toponymic motive.

11. Individual place names displaying Bushman influence

The following should be noted regarding the list of individual place names displaying Bushman influence:

- In discussing words that have been ‘borrowed’ from Bushman languages and adapted to the Zulu system, reference may be made to some words being cognate with others. Since Zulu and the Bushman languages are unrelated and not descended from a common ancestor, the term ‘cognate’ should be understood, according to Webster’s definition, as “*c of a word*: related in a manner that involves borrowing rather than descent from or as well as descent from an ancestral language - often used with *with*, sometimes with *to*” (Gove 1961: 440).
- Translations of quotations are those of the author.
- Over the past years, the spellings of many Zulu place names have been standardised in accordance with the prescriptions of the Pan South African Language Board, and many Zulu place names have been changed accordingly. However, in the present investigation, the spellings of Zulu place names are given as they occur in the

sources, since it is against these forms that Bushman cognates and correspondences are compared.

- In some instances, several Bushman words, from different Bushman languages, are given as cognates for Zulu words and components of place names. Although these do not all correspond to the same extent to their Zulu counterparts, they have been included for purposes of future comparison and for possibly shedding light on the relationship between languages, and former language distribution and language contact.
- With a view to facilitating comparison between the Zulu and Bushman components of names, and in the interests of transparency, reliability and authenticity of given meanings, the page numbers on which the words appear in the relevant dictionaries are given in each case. For this reason, there are frequent references to the compilers of dictionaries, vocabularies and word lists, such as Bleek, Colenso, Doke & Vilakazi, Nienaber, Kroenlein, and Rust.

Amanzaduma, also encountered as **Manzaduma**, the name of a stream 24 km south-south-east of Mapumulo, is said to mean ‘brackwater’ (‘brackish water’) (Botha 1977: 108); ‘sour, tasteless water’ (Koopman 2002: 126), from *-duma* ‘tasteless, insipid, lacking in flavour: *amanzi aduma* (brackish water)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 172). The stem of the word *amanzi* is *-nzi*; *ama-* is the plural prefix (Colenso 1884: 415, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 632). The word *manzi*, ‘from *amaNzi*, used adjectively’, means ‘moist, watery’ (Colenso 1884: 318), and *-manzi* (*ubumanzi*) means ‘moisture, dampness’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 485), similar to the Swazi word *mati* ‘water’. A Bushman cognate to this variant is the Hadza (C3) word *mati* ‘to flow’, and *ati* ‘water’, as in the example ‘*ati mati jamoa* - water flows (on) the earth’ (Bleek 1956: 136). In the word *duma*, for which the meaning of ‘brackish’ is given by Doke & Vilakazi, the component *du* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*u*: ‘salt, used also as brackish, bitter’ (Bleek 1956: 358). The Zulu words *amanzi* and *duma* may thus have Bushman cognates. However, these words are not necessarily the components of the name *Amanzaduma*. In Zulu toponyms, the generic term generally precedes the specific. If the syntactic pattern of Zulu were to have been valid, *(a)manz(i)aduma* < *mati /u*; *mati kũŋ* may have been considered. But

the syntactic composition of place names in Bushman languages is usually such that the specific term is followed by a generic term or demonstrative. Taking this into account reveals that *Amanzaduma* is probably an adapted Bushman name in which the specific precedes the generic: the component *Ama* is the Zulu prefix; *nza* is cognate with the /Nusan (S6a) and Nogau (N1a) word //ga ‘sour, bitter’ (Bleek 1956: 522), *kxa* ‘salt’. The respective orthographic systems of Zulu and the Bushman languages, to some extent, conceal the [phonological] similarity of some words. In this instance, the cluster *nz* is the egressive Zulu alveolar nasal preceding the voiced alveolar affricate, the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *z* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 632); the digraph //g is the ingressive Bushman retroflex fricative click, or lateral click, with voiced accompaniment or efflux (Bleek 1929: 13, 1956: 512). The shared voiced and (af)fricative qualities and proximity of production or pronunciation indicate the phonological similarity of these written representations. The component *duma* of the river name is cognate with the /Nu //en (S6) word *dumba* ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 29). What makes the explanation of the name as ‘brackish water’ more credible is that both components, //ga ‘sour, bitter’ and *dumba* ‘river’, are words encountered in the /Nusan (S6a) language (Bleek 1956: 29, 522).

Amanzimtoti, also encountered as *Manzimtoti*, is the name of a river which enters the Indian Ocean at Amanzimtoti, 17 km south-west of Durban, at 30° 03′ S, 30° 53′ E. Said to mean ‘sweet water’, derived from Zulu *amanzi* ‘water’, *mtoti* ‘sweet, pleasant’ (Botha 1977: 109), the name is attributed to Shaka who, not permitted to utter the usual word for ‘sweet’ or ‘pleasant’, namely *mmandi*, is said to have used the *blonipha* term *mtoti*. However, since river names are usually among the oldest names in any country, this river name is thought to predate Shaka, and to be of Bushman origin. To test that hypothesis, a Bushman word similar to *mtoti* and meaning ‘sweet’ was sought and found, namely the Auen (N1) word *t’ōi* (Bleek 1929: 82). In the component *mtoti*, the nasalised bilabial *m* represents the nasalisation of the *ō* in *t’ōi*; the intervocalic *t* in the component *mtoti* represents the glottal stop between *o* and *i* indicated by the diacritic. If the component *mtoti* of the river name is of Bushman origin, perhaps the component *Amanzi* is also derived from a word cognate with Koranna /*ammi*, /*amma* (Nienaber 1963: 523), Old Khoikhoi *t’amma* (1697),

velarised as *kamma* (1705), *t'kamma* (1775-76) (Nienaber 1963: 522). In that case, the *ama-* is not a Zulu prefix, but a relict of a Bushman word. The syntactical composition of the name gives us pause, however; if the name is of Bushman origin, the form specific + generic is expected. Then the component *ama* must mean 'sweet', cognate with Hadza (C3) //klama, //kl'ama 'sweet' (Bleek 1956: 581, 761). This name appears to display a pattern repeated relatively frequently in Zulu names derived from Bushman, namely semantic repetition, as in Kwanames. In this case, the component *Ama* is comparable with Hadza (C3) //klama 'sweet' (Bleek 1956: 581); the component *nzi* with //ǀ!ke (S2) /k'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339); the component *to* with *to'i* 'sweet', and the final component *ti* a fluvial suffix cognate with //ǀ!ke (S2) /k'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339). Thus *ama* = //klama 'sweet', *nzi* = /k'i 'river', (*m*)*to* = *to'i* 'sweet', *ti* = /k'i 'river'.

Amatikulu is the name of a town some 130 km north-east of Durban, near Gingindlovu, at 29° 03' S, 31° 32' E. It takes its name from the Amatikulu or *Matikulu* River that rises in the highlands to the south-west of Eshowe and flows south-east to enter the Indian Ocean 20 km south-west of Mtunzini, at 29° 05' S, 31° 38' E (Raper 2004: 9). The most common explanation of the name is that it means 'Grootrivier (*Die groot water*)', ('large river (the large water)') (Botha 1977: 114). Lugg (1968: 9) gives the meaning of the name as 'place of the great waters', and Koopman (2002: 126) considers that "Seasonal flooding [...] is probably the underlying reason for the naming of the *aMatikulu* River (an old dialectic variation of *amanzi* + *khulu*, 'big waters'". The catchment area is large, leading to a strong flow of water in rainy seasons, a phenomenon which would have made an impression on the Lala population, particularly in its lower reaches, where the river probably also received its name in the Tekeza dialect area (Botha 1977: 114). Bulpin (1952: 6, 1966: 10), however, gives the meaning of the name, which he regards as of dialectal Lala origin, as 'The water that scrapes away (one's crops at floodtime)'. The earliest spellings of the name occur as *Armantocoola* (Herrman 1936: 57, 101), *Amatakoola* and *Amatekoola* (Gardiner 1836: 177, map opposite 412), and *Matakulu* (Bird *s a*: 553). Bryant (1905: 760, 1929: 110, 183, 200) consistently writes the name with a *g* instead of a *k* in the second component, namely as *ema-Tigulu* and *emaTigulu*, but offers no explanation or translation of the name. Walton (1984: 130 In A) gives

the town name as *aMatikulu* and the name of the river as *Matigulu* (Walton 1984: 153 3B, 130 In B). Botha (1977: 115) concludes that the Zulu may have misinterpreted a Lala word component as a Zulu word on the basis of an incidental phonological similarity, and that the component *kulu* of the name may not be the Zulu word *khulu* ‘big’. Both explanations “Great water” and “water that scrapes” indicate name components cognate with Bushman words, and Zulu words comparable with Bushman ones, also indicating the variability of *k*, *g* and click consonants. In giving the latter explanation, Bulpin may have been considering the component *gulu* to be derived from Zulu words for ‘scrape’, which include *gudla*, *gulula*, *budzula*, *khotula* and *khukhuluza* (Doke *et al* 2005: 423). Bushman words for ‘scrape’ include the /Xam (S1) word /*kurru* ‘to tear, break, scrape’, and its synonym /*kuruwa* (Bleek 1956: 326), given by Lichtenstein as /*ku/kurru* (*cf khukhuluza*); the /Auni (S4) word /*k”uru* ‘pick up, scrape up’ (Bleek 1956: 609); the Sesarwa (S5) word /*xola* ‘to scrape’ (Bleek 1929: 72), ‘to scrape ashes over’ (Bleek 1956: 365), this word comparable with the component *coola* and with Zulu *gudla*. The variability of *r* and *l* renders comparison feasible. If *amati* is a dialectal form of *amanzi* ‘water’, it is comparable to the Bushman word *ati* ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 769), *mati* ‘flow’. Botha (1977: 114) notes that Bryant apparently does not regard the river name as being derived from *amati* + *khulu*, since he gives *emaTigulu* as the name. The component *ema* is interpreted as the plural prefix. If the name does refer to the character of the river, and recalling Nicolaisen’s statement that the names of watercourses frequently date back to the earliest stratum of habitation, and considering further the characteristic pattern of Bushman toponyms to be specific + generic, the explanation ‘great water’ may be seen to be of Bushman origin, the component *Ti* comparable to /Xam (S1) /*gi*: ‘strong’ (Bleek 1929: 82, 1956: 279), Seroa (S2d) /*kei* ‘strong’ (Bleek 1956: 208); Naron (C2) *kei* ‘big’ (Bleek 1929: 22), !O !kuŋ (N3) //*ke* ‘big’ (Bleek 1956: 567); Nama *gei* ‘big’, /*gei* ‘strong’ (Rust 1960: 28, 58). The component *kulu* may then be comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *hauru* ‘waterhole, pit, pond’ (Bleek 1956: 651), the Bushman aspirated alveolar click *h* adapted as the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative, the vowel cluster *au* coalesced to the syllable peak *u*, the voiced alveolar vibrant *r* adapted as the voiced alveolar liquid *l*. The variability of *g* and *k* in the component *gulu* or *kulu* may be attributable to the *k* being the so-called ‘soft-*k*’,

the radical form of the Zulu velar explosive consonant *k*, “devoid of aspiration but with slight voicing (with some speakers appearing in the European ear almost as *g*)” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 368), and to their approximating the Bushman alveolar explosive click with velar efflux, *≠h*.

Babanango is the name of a town some 58 km north-west of Melmoth, at 28° 22' S, 31° 05' E; of a mountain 38 km north-west of Melmoth, at 28° 23' S, 30° 59' E, and of a stream that rises there. Botha (1977: 6) relates the folk-tale of a herder (said by some to have been the child of a chief of the Buthelezi tribe) who was lost in the mist on the mountain. After a long and fearful search, his brother found him, and called out to his father: ‘*Baba, nango!*’, ‘Father, there he is!’ An alternative explanation is that the name is derived from that of a tree or shrub, *ibabanango*, encountered in the region through which the river flows. Botha (1977: 6) points out, however, that existing dictionaries do not give this plant name. A third explanation is that the name means ‘bitter stream’, ‘brackish stream’, referring to the flavour of the water in the river (Lugg 1968: 8), from *ḡabayo* ‘brackish’ (Doke *et al* 2005: 49), *ḡaḡa* ‘be acrid, pungent, bitter, salty’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 57). Botha is critical of all these explanations of the origin of the name, since they are either morphologically unacceptable, fail to explain all components, or are of too recent a date. A clue to a Bushman origin is given by Botha (1977: 63). While discussing *Bomvini*, ‘place of red ground’, he informs us that “Naby Babanango is ’n gelyknamige koppie (soms ook Bomvini genoem)”.¹² If the hill is called both *Babanango* and *Bomvini*, these names could have the same meaning, and *Babanango* could mean ‘place of red ground’. *Babanango* is not of Zulu origin, but a Zulu adaptation of a Bushman name. The initial voiced bilabial *B-* is a click replacement, the component *Baba-* cognate with a //Kxau (S2b) word *ŋ/kxaba* ‘red’ (Bleek 1956: 150), the alveolar click with prenasalised ejected affricative efflux, *ŋ/kx*, represented in the Zulu name by the voiced bilabial implosive consonant *ḡ*; and with *kaba*, a Khoikhoi word for ‘red’ recorded in 1660 (Nienaber 1963: 432). Topographical support for the theory of ‘red’ is to be found in the presence of *Rooipoort*, ‘red pass’, to the south-west of Babanango. For Khoikhoi words meaning ‘poort’, ‘pass’, Nienaber (1963: 421) refers

12 Near Babanango is a hillock with the same name (sometimes also called Bomvini).

the reader to 'pad', 'road'. For 'road' Campbell (1815: 389) gives *kaip*, equated by Nienaber (1963: 416) with Koranna /*keib*, ≠*ai-b* 'foot, spoor', ≠*ei-b* 'spoor', ≠*'ai-b* 'Fuss', 'foot'. The same word applying to both 'foot' and 'spoor' is encountered also in the /Xam (S1) word *!noaj* 'foot, spoor' (Bleek 1956: 487), by analogy with the previous example also 'poort, pass, road'. In the adaptation of the /Xam (S1) word *!noaj* into Zulu *nang*, the digraph *oa* was presumably coalesced to *a* to avoid the impermissible juxtaposition of the two vowels; the IPA symbol η was written as *ng*, and the final *o* was added because Zulu words must end in a vowel, resulting in *nango*, *Babanango*, adapted from *η/kxaba!noaj*, translated as *Rooipoort*.

Banzana is the name of a stream some 20 km north-east of Nongoma, in the vicinity of Mpisini, east of the Zulu royal residence, at 27° 45' S, 31° 50' E. Botha (1977: 61) gives the meaning of the name *Banzana* as 'Die sterketjie' ('the little strong one'), or 'Die breëttjie' ('the little broad one'), said by him to be derived from *banzana*, the diminutive of *banzi* 'broad, wide' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 67). The consonant *ɓ* is a bilabial implosive, pronounced almost like a kiss, which may be a click replacement. Botha's alternative interpretation of *Banzana* as 'the little strong one' indicates a phonological and semantic similarity between the component *ban(za)* and the Kung (N2) word *!kanj*, *!kanj'a* 'to grow, be strong, hard' (Bleek 1956: 407), the Zulu bilabial implosive corresponding to the Bushman ejected cerebral click *!k*. The component (*n*)*zana* is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word //gāna 'waterhole' (Bleek 1929: 90), also //gwāna 'waterpool, waterpit' (Bleek 1956: 537) and the Sesarwa (S5) word //k"anna 'waterpits' (Bleek 1956: 603).

Bejani is the name of a tributary of the Sabie River, entering it from the north-west near Mkhohlu railway siding, some 20 km south-east of Bosbokrand, at 24° 59' S, 31° 15' E. The name is Zulu and is said to mean 'rhinoceros (river)' (Raper 2004: 23), from *uBejane* or *uPejane* 'rhinoceros' (Colenso 1884: 28, 433), *bejane* (*isibejane* or *ubejane*) 'black rhinoceros, *Rhinoceros bicornis*' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 30). If *Bejani* is derived from *ubejane*, the name does not incorporate a generic term. The topographic configuration in the vicinity supports an alternative explanation. The Bejani watercourse rises in an elevation to the south of which is the settlement of Red Ridge (Walton 1984: 193 3B), suggesting a topographical and toponymic link between the two

features. As will emerge, a European name and a Zulu name in the same vicinity frequently prove to be synonymous. That seems to be the case in this instance. The names *Red Ridge* and *Bejani* both incorporate an element meaning 'red'. The name *Bejani* is derived from the Zulu verb *beja* 'be red (as sky at sunset or dawn, as an inflamed eye, as in anger)', from the ideophone *-beje* 'of redness (as of blood, the dawn or sunset) [cf *beja*]' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 30). The ideophone *beje* is cognate with the Hie (C1) word /*geje* 'red' (Bleek 1956: 278), the voiced bilabial consonant *b* approximating the dental or alveolar click with voiced accompaniment /*g*. The component *-ni* of *Bejani* may be a generic term cognate with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *ˀmi* 'hill' (Bleek 1929: 46) or a demonstrative, or a locative suffix like *ŋ > ng = (i)ni*.

Bivane is the name of a tributary of the Pongolo River, rising in the Balelasberg and flowing between Paulpietersburg and Vryheid, and entering the main stream north-west of Louwsburg, at 27° 27' S, 31° 12' E. Botha (1977: 62) states that it is uncertain whether this Zulu name, which also occurs as *Bivana*, *Bevane*, and *Pivaan*, is derived from *beva*, 'be angry', 'roar'; from *ubivane*, 'rising and falling', or from *imbavana*, *impivane*, *iphiva*, 'waterbuck', *Kobus ellipsiprymnus*. In instances where more than one explanation is encountered for a name, it is frequently the case that informants have sought a meaning suggested by the sound of the name, resulting in folk etymological explanations and guess-work. In such instances, recourse may be had to topographical congruence. On the northern bank of the river is the place Natal Spa (Walton 1984: 152 2B). In a personal statement Dr Lucie A Möller (25 April 2011) mentioned that her grandfather had bathed at the hot springs at Pivaan. Considering that the hot springs would be a likely toponymic motive, in other words be sufficiently descriptive to render the location unique, Bushman components meaning 'hot springs' or 'hot water' were sought comparable to the elements of the name *Bivane*, *Bevana*, *Pivaan*. Considering *Pivaan* to be the primary form showed the component *Pi* to be comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word *ˀpwi* 'warm' (Bleek 1929: 90), the unvoiced labial click *⊖* assimilated to the unvoiced labial consonant *p* and the semi-vowel *w* elided. The component *vane/vana* is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word //*gāna* 'waterhole' (Bleek 1929: 90), also //*gwāna* 'waterpool, waterpit' (Bleek 1956: 537). Compare *Bulanbloya* for the first component.

Bomvini is the name of a stream some 18 km east-north-east of Hlabisa. Meaning ‘at the red ground’ or ‘place of red ground’, the name is derived from *ḡomvu* ‘red, in all tints’; *isiḡomvu*, ‘red ground’; *uḡomvu*, ‘red soil’; *uḡomvu*, ‘red ochre or clay’ (Botha 1977: 63, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 82). The stem, devoid of prefixes, is *ḡomvu*. If, then, (*isi*) *ḡomvu* means ‘red ground’, the component *ḡo* ‘red’ may be comparable with *bo* of Khoikhoi *boro*, German ‘rot farben’ (‘paint red’) (Rust 1960: 46); ‘das Gesicht roth schmieren (mit Ocker)’, (‘smear the face red (with ochre)’) (Kroenlein 1889: 43a1); /Xam (S1) /*ko:wa* ‘to be red’ (Bleek 1956: 321); /Xam (S1) //*k”o̤//k”o̤* ‘to be a little red’ (Bleek 1956: 608), the bilabial implosive consonant *ḡ* approximating the /Xam dental or alveolar fricative clicks with velar and faucal plosive efflux /*k* and //*k”*”, the symbol *̤* denoting that the previous vowel is a closed one. The component *-mvu* of *-bomvu* may be cognate with Khoikhoi *x̣īb* ‘ground’, /Xam (S1) and //ǀ*ke* (S2) *!āū* ‘ground’ (Bleek 1929: 44), the nasalisation in these words reflected in the *m* of *mvu*; Nama *!hub* ‘grond’, ‘ground’ (Nienaber 1963: 203), ‘*Erdē*’, (‘earth’) (Rust 1960: 18). Botha (1977: 63) regards the suffix *ini* as the locative, and remarks on the place name *Esibomvini* at Bulwer where the full locative has remained in use. The absence of the locative prefix in the present case may indicate the presence of a fossilised Bushman locative demonstrative such as the !O *!kuḡ* (N3) demonstrative *ḡ*, synonym *n* ‘this one, this is, here’ (Bleek 1956: 141), final *i* being the compulsory Zulu vowel in nouns.

Bulanhloya is the officially approved form of the name also encountered, *inter alia*, as *Ibilanblolo* and *Bilanbloya*, for a stream flowing south-east to enter the Indian Ocean north of Ramsgate and south of Margate, at 30° 53′ S, 30° 21′ E. The name is said to mean ‘the marvellous boiler’, from the swirling of the turbulent water in pools along its course, or ‘*Die onheilspellend-kolkende*’ (‘the ominously swirling one’) (Botha 1977: 63), said to be derived from *ḡila*, ‘boil, bubble in boiling’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 77); *hlola* ‘predict evil, warn of coming danger’, *umhlola* ‘awe-inspiring experience, evil omen’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 332). The first component of the name thus occurs as *bula* and *bila*, the second as *nblolo* and *nbloya*. Döhne (1857: 39) states that the words *ḡula* and *ḡila*, both meaning ‘to boil’, are related, /*u*/ being the high back vowel in Zulu, /*i*/ the high forward vowel. The components *ḡula* and *ḡila* are comparable with the Hie

(C1) word *bela* ‘to boil’ (Bleek 1956: 117). In the second component of the name, *nbloya*, the ejective affricate *nbl* represents a click substitute and *y* is a bridging sound inserted between juxtaposed vowels that would violate the Zulu canon. The component *nbloya*, said to mean ‘alarming’, ‘marvellous’, ‘ominous’, and so on (Botha 1977: 64) may be cognate with the Auen (N1) word *_koa*, Kung (N2) *_koa*, ‘afraid’, Nama *≠owa*, ‘überraschend’, (‘surprising’) (Rust 1960: 63), meanings that correspond with ‘alarming’, ‘marvellous’, ‘ominous’, and so on. However, Bushman place names generally take the structure specific + generic, so that the component *nbloya* is more likely to be a feature designation, comparable to the /Xam (S1) word */kohaa*, ‘spring, water’ (Bleek 1956: 318), of which variants are *!khoa:*, *!kwa:*, *!ko ā*, ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 437); the intervocalic *y* inserted to avoid the impermissible juxtaposition of two vowels, or with Khoikhoi *//hoa*, ‘Felsenhöhle’ (‘hole in stone’) (Rust 1960: 21), or *!noa*, ‘Seitenbassin bei Flüssen’ (‘basin at the side of a river’) (Kroenlein 1889: 259a27), features where the water might be so turbulent as to appear to be boiling.

The component *bila* in the names (*I*)*bilanhlolo* and *Bilanbloya* means ‘to boil’ (Colenso 1884: 39). *Bila* is a variant of the word *bula* that occurs in the name *Bulanbloya*. In these verbs, the element *la* is a verbal formative denoting ‘at, in, on’, implying an adverb of place (Colenso 1884: vi), the element *bu* thus being comparable with the /Xam (S1) *˜bu* ‘to light, make (a fire)’, synonym *bu:/e* (Bleek 1956: 18). The initial *b* of the word *bila* is in fact a Zulu voiced implosive bilabial consonant (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 77), written *ɓ*. This consonant is phonologically similar to the bilabial click ⦿ , which varies with the dental or alveolar fricative click */*; cf *Θwiiŋ*, */wiiŋ* ‘hot’, *ɓu* being comparable to /Xam (S1) */gũ*, *˜/kũ*; /Nu //en (S6) *˜/kũ*, Auen (N1) */kũ* ‘to boil’ (Bleek 1929: 23), the click being accompanied by voiced nasal efflux and ejective nasal efflux, respectively.

Bululwane is the name of a tributary of the White Mfolosi. The name is explained as ‘*Die pofaddertjie*’ (‘the little puff-adder’) (Botha 1977: 66), from *iɓululwana*, the diminutive of *ɓululu* (*iɓululu*) ‘puff-adder, *Bitis arietans*’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 91). Botha states that it was probably not the occurrence of puff-adders that led to the name, but an association of the characteristics of the river with those of the snake: danger, aggression and the tendency to ‘attack’ suddenly. The component *ɓulu* bears a strong phonological resemblance to Kung

(N2) //ku:lu ‘a snake, green boomslang’ (for which Doke gives *bu:lu*) (Bleek 1956: 593) and, although the species of snake differs, the words for ‘snake’ may be cognate. This indicates that *ō* is comparable with //k. The last component of the name is not the diminutive, as assumed by Botha, but a feature type designation or demonstrative.

Cabane is the name of a tributary of the Mzimkulu some 14 km north-west of Umzimkhulu, at 30° 12’ S, 29° 45’ E, and of the plain through which it flows (Raper 2004: 45). Although Botha (1977: 67) points out that “dit is nie duidelik of die rivier na die vlakte of die vlakte na die rivier genoem is nie” (“it is not clear whether the river was named after the plain or the plain after the river”), he gives ‘*Die klein opruimer*’ (‘the small clearer’) as a meaning of *Cabane*, concluding that “[d]ie vertolking van die riviernaam as die opruimer of afstroper n.a.v. plante e.s.m. wat meegesleur word wanneer die rivier in vloed is, is dus nie sonder verklaringsmoontlikheid nie”.¹³ This explanation is based on the name *Cabane*, derived from the verb *caba*, ‘clear ground by cutting down trees, etc.; fell trees, cut down timber’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 97), the component *ane* interpreted as the diminutive suffix, as indicated by the epithet *klein* (small) in Botha’s explanation of ‘*Die klein opruimer*’ (‘the small clearer’). Writing about a different, relatively treeless plain also named *Cabane*, namely one situated between the Umtwalumi River and the Hlutakungu Mountains, Bulpin (1952: 46) explains the name in that instance as ‘clear, level place’, derived from the Zulu noun *isicaba*, ‘flat strip of land (as by a river)’, from the Zulu ideophone *caba*, ‘of being flat’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 97). The initial *c* of *caba* is the Zulu dental click that corresponds to the Bushman dental click/, so that the Zulu ideophone *caba* ‘of being flat’ is comparable to the Naron (C2) word /ka:ba ‘flat’ (Bleek 1929: 39). The components of the name are thus *Caba* + *ne*, the component *-ne* thought to be a demonstrative cognate with the Kung (N2) demonstrative *ne* ‘this’ (Bleek 1956: 144).

Camazane is the name of a stream at Umbumbulu, Umlazi, thought to mean ‘*Die vredigetjie/gelukkigetjie/genoegliketjie*’ (‘the little peaceful one; little happy one, little satisfied one’) (Botha 1977: 67), from

13 “The interpretation of the river name as cleaner or gleaner (stripper) with reference to plants etc. that are swept away when the river is in flood, is thus not without the possibility of explanation.”

chamaza ‘enjoy life, be comfortably situated’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 108), spelt *camaza* by Bryant (1905: 67), referring to the impression of calm peacefulness created by the stream: “die spruit wek die indruk van kalme rustigheid” (“the stream creates the impression of calm serenity”) (Botha 1977: 67). The name has also been explained as being derived from the Zulu verb *chama* ‘urinate, pass water’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 108), *cama* ‘void urine’ (Colenso 1884: 69). If the former is the case, *c(h)amaza* may display a phonological similarity to the Nama *harase ûi*, German ‘üppig, im überfluss leben’, (‘to live in abundance’) (Rust 1960: 38). The /Xam (S1) word for ‘to live’ is *!kauwa //D* lke (S2) /ka:, which may be somewhat similar to *c(h)ama*. If the latter is the case, *c(h)ama*, where *ch* is the aspirated dental click in Zulu, may be comparable to the Hie (C1) word /*kham* ‘urine’ (Bleek 1956: 311), and with the Nama verb /*kam* ‘urinieren’ (‘urinate’) (Rust 1960: 66), the Zulu dental click *c* approximating the Khoisan dental click /*.* Considering the usual toponymic pattern of the Khoisan that serves to identify uniquely, the question may be asked whether a word such as the Hadza (C3) word *kamua* ‘river, pool, waterhole’ (Bleek 1956: 179) has not been adapted as *kama* and *cama*, the digraph *ua* simplified to avoid the juxtaposition of two vowels in Zulu, and subsequently misinterpreted. By using the Afrikaans diminutive suffix *-tjie*, Botha evidently regards the suffix *-ane* of the name *Camazane* to be the Zulu diminutive suffix. Considering the Khoisan substructure that underlies both possible interpretations of the name, the component *-(za)ne* is thought to be a fluvial suffix or a demonstrative.

Cedara is the name of an agricultural research station in the Lion’s River district, at 29° 32S, 30° 06’ E, about 26 km north-west of Pietermaritzburg and 10 km south-east of Howick (Raper 2004: 52). The name *Cedara* is said to be derived from *isidaka*, the stem of which is *daka* ‘black soil, mire’ (Colenso 1884: 92); *daka* (*isidaka*) ‘1. Rich, black soil; 2. Boggy place’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 135). In current Zulu orthography, *k* represents two sounds, namely the radical form that is “devoid of aspiration but with slight voicing (with some speakers appearing to the European ear as *g*)”, and the “ejected form or ‘sharp-k’, always found in the nasal compound *nk* [...] and in a limited number of words apart from *n*. Wherever this occurs it is noted in dictionary entries” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 368). The word *daka* is not noted thus, and the intervocalic *k* in this word

is, therefore, the soft -k pronounced with slight voicing. This explains the shift from *dara* to *daka*. The voiced rolled lingual consonant *r* usually occurs in “imported words” in Zulu (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 719), in this instance from Bushman. The component *dara* (*daka*) ‘boggy place with black soil’ is thus comparable phonologically and semantically to the /Xam (S1) word $\neq k^{\text{r}}$ *wa* ξ *ra* ‘black mud’ (Bleek 1956: 668), recorded by Lichtenstein as $\neq ywara$ (Bleek 1956: 668), the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 133) of *dara* approximating the alveolar plosive click with ejective efflux, $\neq k^{\text{r}}$ (or $\neq y$) (Bleek 1956: 117). The symbol ξ indicates that the preceding *a* is a pressed vowel. Although the form *Cedara* would seem to be adapted from (*i*)*sidaka*, the component *dara* is closer to the underlying Bushman loan word $\neq k^{\text{r}}$ *wa* ξ *ra*.

A /Xam (S1) word with a similar meaning and phonological similarity to the stem *daka* is /*hoaka* ‘dark, black, used for any dark colours’ (Bleek 1956: 289), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* approximating the /Xam alveolar click with aspirated efflux, the diphthong *oa* simplified to Zulu *a* in order to obviate impermissible juxtaposed vowels.

Cibini is a stream between Mapumulo and Noodsberg in the Umvoti Reserve, at 29° 16’ S, 30° 56’ E. The name is said to mean ‘at the pan’, *cibini* derived from *chiōi* (*i(li)chibi*) ‘large stretch of water, pond, vlei, dam, lake’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 111, Botha 1977: 69), the final component *ini* being the locative suffix. The stem *c(h)iōi* is phonologically and semantically comparable to the Hie (C1) word *jiba* ‘pond, pool’ (Bleek 1929: 66), and its variant *džiba* ‘lake, pool’ (Bleek 1956: 33).

Coshi is a tributary of the White Mfolosi. The name is said to mean “*Die opteller*’, (‘the one that picks up’): “Die naam het ontstaan n.a.v. die materiaal wat die spruit meevoer”¹⁴ (Botha 1977: 68). The verb on which the name is based is *cosba* ‘to pick up, for example with fingers from the ground’, synonymous with *thola* (Botha 1977: 68, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 125). The initial *c* of *cosba* is the dental click, *th* the aspirated form of the dental click, the component *co* or *tho* thus cognate with the /Auni (S4) verb /*bō* ‘to pick up’ (Bleek 1956: 288), /*b* being the Bushman dental click with aspirated efflux. The component

14 “The name originated from the material that the stream sweeps along.”

shi of the name *Cosbi* may be comparable to the //ǀ!ke (S2) /k'i or /k"ei' 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339, 1929: 70), the Bushman alveolar fricative click with ejective efflux, /k', approximating the Zulu ejective alveolar explosive consonant *t*, the vowel cluster *ei* in the latter word coalesced to obviate the impermissible juxtaposition of two vowels in Zulu.

Cwaka is an eastern tributary of the Sampofu, which it enters 9 km south of Pomeroy at 28° 40' S, 30° 26' E. The name *Cwaka* means 'Die doodkalm/doodstille/stilswygende' ('the dead calm one/dead quiet one/the silent one') (Botha 1977: 69), derived from the ideophone *cwaka* 'of quietness, calm' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 130), 'to be perfectly still' (Colenso 1884: 88). The component *Cwa* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *Ɂgourwa* 'to be quiet, silent, at peace' (Bleek 1956: 648), the component *-ka* of *cwaka* similar to /Xam (S1) /ka 'river' (Bleek 1956: 295), Auen (N1) *Ɂka*: 'riverbed' (Bleek 1956: 653), Old Cape Khoikhoi *k'a*, recorded in 1691 for 'river' (Nienaber 1963: 430).

Cwebeni is the Zulu name for *Richards Bay*, said to mean 'Die lagune' ('the lagoon') (Botha 1977: 69), from *echwebeni*, the locative of *ichweba* 'lagoon' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 118). Lugg (1968: 6) explains *Cwebeni* as 'the place of a large sheet of water', which accords with (*u(lu)cwebé* 'clear, still liquid (as pond of still water)', from the ideophone *cwebé* 'of sparkling, clearness; of dead silence' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 132). Considering the given meanings of the ideophone *cwebé* of 'still (water)' and 'dead silence' indicates that *cwebé* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) verb *kwe:*, *ˀkwe:* 'to be quiet, be still, leave, let alone' (Bleek 1956: 111); the Kung (N2) verb *k"we* 'to be quiet, be alone, leave alone' (Bleek 1956: 127), and the Auen (N1) word *Ɂwe* 'to be quiet' (Bleek 1956: 361). Correspondence between 'lagoon' and 'large sheet of water' with the //ǀ!ke (S2) word //kwe:ǀ 'pool', the Hie (C1) word *hwere* 'pool' (Bleek 1956: 744), the //ǀ!ke (S2) word //kwe 'salt-pan' (Bleek 1956: 599), and the Naron (C2) word *!kubiǀa* 'pond, pool' (Bleek 1929: 66) is also apparent.

Cwlicwili, the name of a stream near Nongoma, is said to be formed from the ideophone *cwili* 'of diving out of sight, sinking', from the verb *cwila* 'sink, dive under' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 133), referring to the fact that the stream seems to 'dive down' or disappear from view among the vegetation or seemingly underground (Botha 1977: 69). The component *cwi*, where *c* denotes the dental click, is cognate with

the /Xam (S1) word /*kwiŋ* ‘dip up (water)’ (Bleek 1929: 23), this word reflecting the dental click with ejective efflux /*k*, and thus close to the Zulu as far as the click is concerned; also comparable is the /Xam (S1) word /*kw’i* ‘to dip up’ (Bleek 1956: 465), the Zulu / of *cwili* replacing the glottal stop and providing a glide between the two vowels. The Khoikhoi verb *khui*, ‘auf tauchen’ (‘dip up’) (Rust 1960: 5), and its variant *khw’wi*, ‘in die Erscheinung treten, auf tauchen’ (‘to appear, dive up’) (Kroenlein 1889: 221a38) bear a phonological and semantic resemblance to *cw’i*.

Dakana, the name of a stream 13 km west of Port Shepstone, at 30° 45’ S, 30° 22’ E, is said to mean ‘*Die klein modderspruit*’ (‘the little muddy stream’) (Botha 1977: 70), from *udaka* ‘mud’, *umdaka* ‘dark brown, muddy coloured object’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 136). A /Xam (S1) word with a similar sound and meaning to the stem *daka* is /*boaka* ‘dark, black, used for any dark colours’ (Bleek 1956: 289), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* approximating the /Xam alveolar click with aspirated efflux /*h*, the diphthong *oa* simplified to Zulu *a* to obviate impermissible juxtaposed vowels, and also Old Khoikhoi *dogg’ba* ‘dark’, encountered in the name *Dogg’ba kamma*, interpreted by Nienaber (1963: 388-89, 474) as ‘*Donker-water*’ (‘dark water’). Consideration may be given to the /Xam (S1) word *#k’wa’ra* ‘black mud’ (Bleek 1956: 668), where the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* approximates the /Xam alveolar plosive click with ejected efflux /*k*’. The component *-na* of *Dakana* is not a Zulu diminutive suffix as presumed by Botha, but a Bushman fluvial generic term similar to the Sesarwa (S5) /*na:u* and /Nu //en (S6) /*nau* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the vowel cluster *au* coalesced to the syllable peak *a*., or the Old Khoikhoi word *k’á* (1691), ‘een rivier’, (‘a river’) (Nienaber 1963: 430), the nasalisation preserved as *n* in the Zulu name.

Dukuza is the Zulu name for Stanger, the principal town of the Lower Tugela district, 72 km north-east of Durban, at 29° 20’ S, 31° 18’ E. It is said to be derived from *ukuTukuza* ‘hide’, ‘conceal’, ‘keep secret’, from *thukuza* ‘hide, conceal’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 805), ideophone *thuku* ‘of concealing, hiding’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 804). The component *Du*, and *thu* ‘to hide’ is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*gñ* ‘to hide, stick in, cover’ (Bleek 1956: 282), and the /Xam (S1) word /*ku:*, /*ku* ‘to put, put away, hide’ (Bleek 1956: 322). It appears

that the pattern of reduplication occurs in this name as in many others.

Dumane, the name of a watercourse 9 km south-east of Mahlabatini, is said to mean '*Die klein dreunende/verbysnellende/berigte*' ('the little rumbling one, one speeding past, notorious') (Botha 1977: 71), derived from the verb *duma* 'thunder; make any rumbling, resounding noise; boom, rumble, reverberate' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 172), descriptive of the nature of the stream. Botha (1977: 71) regards the suffix of *Dumane* as the diminutive, stating that "[d]ie diminutiefsuffiks ana/e slaan op die omvang van die spruit."¹⁵ If *ane* is the suffix, then the root of the name is *dum*, cognate with /Xam (S1) *!gum* 'roar' (Bleek 1929: 70), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant corresponding to the Bushman palato-alveolar click with voiced accompaniment *!g*, the final *-a* of *duma* the vowel that is compulsory at the end of Zulu words.

Dumaneni is the name of a northern tributary of the Tugela, which it joins some 16 km north-east of Weenen, at 28° 46' S, 30° 13' E. Said to mean 'the river that roars', 'the one that rumbles', the name is derived from the verb *duma* 'thunder; make any rumbling, resounding noise; boom, rumble, reverberate' (Botha 1977: 71, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 172), plus the locative suffix *eni*. The Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* is comparable with the Bushman palato-alveolar click (Bleek 1956: 368) with voiced efflux, *!g*, the word *duma* cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!gum* 'roar' (Bleek 1929: 70). Botha regards the suffix of *Dumane* as the diminutive, and adds that the area around the *Dumaneni* is also known as *Dumaneni*, '*aan/by die Dumana*' ('at/by the Dumana'). It is notable that this name displays the locative suffix *eni*, but not the locative prefix *e*, which one would have expected. This is an indication of a non-Zulu origin, the suffix *ne* a Bushman generic term meaning 'river', which would be in keeping with Khoisan toponymic syntactic structures, or a demonstrative.

Dumisa is the name of a railway station approximately 30 km west of Scottburgh, at 30° 16' S, 30° 26' E. There are several explanations of this Zulu name. Some say the place was named after a chief of the amaDuma group, *duma* meaning 'to be famous' or 'to thunder'. Others maintain that the place takes its name from the noise of the wind, which is said to make a thundering noise there (Raper 2004:

15 "The diminutive suffix *-ana/e* refers to the size of the stream."

79). The Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* is comparable with the Bushman palato-alveolar click with voiced efflux, *!g* (Bleek 1956: 368), the word *duma* cognate with /Xam (S1) *!gum* ‘roar’ (Bleek 1929: 70), ‘to roar, bellow, call’ (Bleek 1956: 388), Nama *!gom-(!na)*, German ‘*brummen*’, (‘growl, rumble’) (Rust 1960: 12).

Dwaleni is the name of a river 33 km south-south-east of Ixopo. Botha (1977: 72) gives the meaning ‘Rotsspruit/By die rots(e)’ (‘rocky stream/at the rock(s)'), from *Dwala (I)* ‘flat rock: see *iWa*’ (Colenso 1884: 118); *idwala* ‘large, flat, exposed rock’, and so on (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 177). The component *dwala* is comparable with the Hie (C1) word *ndala* ‘flat rock’ (Bleek 1956: 144), or the Hie (C1) word *//gwa* ‘stone’ (Bleek 1929: 80), the Zulu voiced alveolar consonant *d* approximating the Hie retroflex fricative or lateral alveolar click with voiced efflux *//g*. There is some controversy regarding the locative form. Although the current form is *eDwaleni*, the singular locative, there are some who maintain that the original form was *emaDwaleni*, locative plural, according to Botha. His explanation of the name as *Rotsspruit* ‘rock stream’ raises the question as to whether the components are not *Dwa(la)* ‘rock’ + *ni* ‘stream’.

Dwaleni, a river 24 km east-north-east of Nongoma, at 27° 49' S, 31° 55' E, has a name said to mean ‘*uitgestrekte oop landskap. [...]Die naam het betrekking op die oop grasveld [...]*’¹⁶ (Botha 1977: 72), derived from *odwaleni*, the locative form of *udwala* ‘extensive vista, wide sweep of country’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 177). Botha’s emphasis on *oop* (‘open’), permits the possibility of a link between the stem *dwala* and the Sesarwa (S5) intransitive verb *//gwa*: ‘(to be) open’, or more specifically the /Xam (S1) word *//kwara* and the Kung (N2) word *!kwara* ‘open’ (Bleek 1929: 63), *l* and *r* being variants, Zulu *d* replacing *//k, !k*.

eGwayini is the Zulu name for the town of Piet Retief (now *eMkhondo*) at 27° 00' S, 30° 48' E. Meaning ‘at the tobacco’ or ‘place of tobacco’, from *gwayi (ugwayi)* ‘tobacco, snuff’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 284), *gwayi (u)* ‘tobacco’ (Colenso 1884: 183), the name refers to a brand of pipe tobacco, *Piet Retief Tobacco*, which was manufactured near the town. The component *Gwa* is comparable to the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *gwa* ‘Indian hemp, dagga’, usually encountered as *!gwa* (Bleek 1956: 52).

16 ‘extensive open landscape [...] The name refers to the open grass veld [...]

The initial letter *e* and the final component *ini* of the name *eGwayini* are the Zulu locative affixes.

eKuthokozeni is also encountered as *iKuthokozeni*, said to be derived from *ukuthokoza* ‘satisfaction’, ‘where the class 15 prefix **u-** shifts to the prefix **i-** (class 5)’ (Van Huyssteen 1994: 58). Colenso (1884: 557) gives *Tokoza (Uku)* ‘joy’, indicating an earlier initial unaspirated dental consonant *t*. The component *Kut(h)okoze* of the place name is comparable with /Xam (S1) /*kau ta./koe* ‘to be satisfied (belly full)’ (Bleek 1956: 304), the dental click with velar explosive or ejective release /*k* of the segments /*kau* and /*koe* shifting to the Zulu velar explosive consonant *k*; the vowel clusters *au* and *oe* coalescing to *u* and *o*, respectively; the alveolar nasal fricative *ɲj* corresponding to the alveolar voiced fricative *z*: (/) *k(a)uta(/)ko(e)nje* > *kuthokoze*. The final component of the place name is the locative suffix.

EKuthuleni means ‘place of quiet’ (Koopman 2002: 123), from *-thule*, ‘silent, quiet, peaceful’, *thula* ‘be quiet, silent, still, peaceful, [Ur-Bantu *-tula*’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 805); *Tula (Uku)* ‘silence; calm, quietness; peace’ (Colenso 1884: 586). The aspirated alveolar explosive consonant *th* is considered to be a replacement of the cluster alveolar with voiced efflux *ɲg*, and the high back vowel *u* a simplification or coalescence of the diphthong *ou*, the component *thu* or *tu* of the stem *t(h)ula* is comparable with /Xam (S1) //*xĩ*: ‘to order silence’ (Bleek 1956: 637), /Xam (S1) *sʔ up*, quoted from Lichtenstein as *ssʔup* ‘still, silent’ (Bleek 1956: 174); the Hie (C1) word *goo* ‘to be silent’, ‘silence’ (Bleek 1956: 49), and the /Xam (S1) word *ɲgou*, *ɲgau* ‘to be quiet; quietly’ (Bleek 1929: 68), the aspirated alveolar explosive consonant *th* comparable to the alveolar plosive click with voiced efflux *ɲg*, and the high back vowel *u* a simplification or coalescence of the diphthong *ou*. The ejective alveolar *ssʔ* is comparable to the aspirated alveolar *th*.

EMachobeni means ‘place of sandstone’, from *amachoōe*, the plural of *ichoōe* ‘sandstone’ (Koopman 2002: 124); *ichoōa*, plural *amachoōa*, ‘sandstone’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 114); *coba (i)* ‘sandstone, of which grindstones are made’ (Colenso 1884: 82). The stem *c(h)o-* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) word //*o:e*, *goe* ‘grindingstone’ (Bleek 1956: 722), /Xam (S1) //*o:é* ‘round stone for grinding’ (Bleek 1956: 625), the digraph *oe* in each case simplified to *o* in the Zulu adaptation. The stem *chob* is comparable with the Nama (Khoekhoegowab) word *!khob*, ‘Kalkstein’

(‘limestone’) (Rust 1960: 34). Different types of sandstone occur, of which calcareous sandstone, used for grindstones, can be regarded as both sandstone and limestone (Hamilton & Finlay 1928: 48). The variation in the clicks represented in the different words is notable.

EMagidela is the Zulu name for Utrecht at 27° 39’ S, 30° 20’ E, said to mean ‘place of dancing’, from *gida* ‘dance’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 245), cf the ideophone *gi* ‘of sound of footsteps, pattering’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 245), this ideophone cognate with the Naron (C2) and Auen (N1) word /gi: ‘dance’ (Bleek 1929: 32), and with Khoikhoi/*geis*, ‘Stampf-tanz tanzen’ (‘to dance the stamping-dance’) (Rust 1960: 61), where the final -s is the marker of the feminine singular.

EMangwene is the Zulu name for the Loskop Dam (Raper 2004: 87), said to be derived from the locative *emmangweni* of the word *mango* (*ummango*) ‘steep incline’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 483). The Nama word for ‘steep’ is //no-am ‘steil (abfallend)’ (‘steep (declining)’) (Rust 1960: 59), the noun //no meaning ‘der Abhang eines Berges’ (‘the slope of a mountain’) (Kroenlein 1889: 257a10). The similarity between the component *ngo* of *ummango* and the word //no prompted the suspicion of a Khoisan link with the Zulu word. However, so often has a European name, and particularly a Dutch one, proven to translate a Bushman name of which an African language name is an adaptation, that *Loskop* was tested against the name *EMangwene* for such an origin. *Loskop* means ‘lone, loose or separate hillock’. Considering the first component of the name, *eMa*, to be an added Zulu prefix, shows the component *ngwe* being cognate with Kung (N2) *k”we*, *!kwe* ‘be alone’ (Bleek 1956: 127), the velar explosive consonant *ng* being comparable to the velar ejective *k”*. The component *-ne* or *-ni* is comparable to the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *!ni* ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46), referring to the hillock from which the dam takes its name.

Emanxaleni, the name of a spring in the iThaleni Game Reserve, means ‘place of rhebocks’ (Koopman 2002: 130), from *nxala* (*inxala*) ‘rhebok, *Cervicapra lalandii*’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 614). The root *nxala* is comparable with the Hie (C1) word *karaa* ‘rhebok’ (Bleek 1956: 81), the Zulu voiced lateral click *nx* approximating the Bushman unvoiced velar explosive consonant *k*, the Zulu voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l* regularly replacing the Bushman voiced alveolar consonant *r* spoken with only one vibration (Bleek 1956: 159). It is unusual for Zulu to

introduce a click where the original Bushman did not have one. The reason may be that the name has a related but indirect origin. The /Xam (S1) word for ‘rhebok’ is *dza*: (Bleek 1956: 30), this word cognate with the stem *nxa*, the voiced alveolar affricate *dz* approximating the Zulu nasal lateral click *nx*. Bleek (Nienaber 1963: 429) gives *yā-p* as the Nama word for *rhebok*, and Lloyd (Nienaber 1963: 429) gives *gyāp* as the Koranna word for *rhebok*. Omitting the masculine singular ending *-p* leaves the stem *yā*, *gyā*. Recognising the nasal vowel *n* in *nxa* as the representation of the nasal element in *ā* of the word *gyā*, and the lateral click *x* as a replacement of a Bushman diphthong written as *gy*, raises the possibility of *gyā* being cognate with *nxa(la)*. Equating *yā-p* and *gyāp* with *gnioop*, recorded by Levaillant (Nienaber 1963: 429) for ‘rhebuck; ree-bock’, Nienaber transliterates *gnioop* as *g̃iōp* or *giūp* and states: “Ek meen ons het hier dieselfde woord wat ek nêrens elders raakgeloop het nie en wat verouderd skyn te wees.”¹⁷ . If (*i*)*nxa(la)* is indeed cognate with *yā-p* and *gyāp*, Zulu preserves a word that does not seem to have survived elsewhere. But the possibility is not ruled out that *yā(-p)* is a variant spelling of the Old Cape Khoikhoi *sāā*_(1691), *saā* (1705), *sāā*_(1708), *za* (1775-76), ‘ribbok, reebock, rhebok, roebuck’ (Nienaber 1963: 429), and the Nama word *sāb*, ‘das Reh’ (‘roebuck’) (Kroenlein 1889: 293b28), the final *p* of *yā-p* and *gyāp* and the final *b* of *sāb* the Khoikhoi masculine singular marker.

EMbubo, also encountered as *eMbubu*, is the Zulu name for *Swartkop*, also known as Town Hill, a hill some 12 km west of Pietermaritzburg, at 27° 37′ S, 30° 23′ E. The name is variously said to mean ‘shaped like a mound’; ‘covered with fur’, referring to the vegetation that is thought to resemble fur (Raper 2004: 88), or from ‘*buōu*, species of soft, long grass; *Zwartkop*, a hill near Pietermaritzburg’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 48). It may be that the name *eMbubu* refers to the type of grass growing there. However, remembering that names of topographical features such as mountain are likely to be ancient prompts a consideration of a Bushman origin. A Bushman cognate can be shown for several of these explanations. In each instance, the initial component of the name is the added Zulu prefix *e*, and the voiced bilabial consonant is a click substitute, as in some other place

17 “I think we have here the same word that I have encountered nowhere else and that seems to be obsolete.”

names in which the letter *b* occurs. The description of ‘fur-covered’ may be equated with the Naron (C2) word /*ũ*, /*ku* ‘hair, fur’ (Bleek 1956: 357), the fur-like vegetation referred to being the species of soft, long grass. The explanation ‘shaped like a mound’ refers to the rounded shape of the hill. The stem *buǃu* is then comparable to the Naron (C2) word /*gubu* ‘round’ (Bleek 1956: 388), the cerebral click with voiced efflux /*g* approximating the Zulu voiced bilabial explosive *b*. Khoikhoi words for ‘round’ are /*guw̥u*, /*huw̥u* (Rust 1960: 51), which may correlate with *buǃu* where the initial bilabial explosive consonant *b* is a click replacement and the implosive bilabial consonant *ǃ* accords with the Khoikhoi bilabial consonant *w̥* that often replaces *b* (Rust 1960: viii). However, Khoisan names generally display the structure specific + generic, and if *eMbubu* means ‘fur-covered’ or ‘round’, there is no overt generic term. The Dutch name *Zwartkop* and its Afrikaans equivalent *Swartkop* mean ‘black hillock’. If these names translate a Bushman name of which *eMbubu* or *eMbubo* are adaptations, the component *bu* may be comparable with the Naron (C2) words /*nu*:, /*nu* ‘black, dark’ (Bleek 1956: 483), /*nu* ‘night, dark, black’ (Bleek 1956: 351), /*nu* and /*nu*: ‘black’ (Bleek 1956: 698, 1929: 22), Dutch *zwart*, Afrikaans *swart*; the second component of the name, *ǃu*, with /Xam (S1) /*hu*:, /*hũ* ‘sandhill’ (Bleek 1956: 399), Auen (N1) /*no*:, /*nõ* ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46), and Khatia (S4a) /*gou* ‘hill’ (Bleek 1956: 387). In the latter cognates, the variability of *o* and *u* is displayed in the words /*hũ* and /*nõ*:, while the vowel cluster *ou* in the word /*gou* has been simplified in the Zulu word to avoid the juxtaposition of vowels. In all instances, the click / has been transposed as *ǃ*.

Embulamalokwe is said to mean ‘*Waar die rokke uitgeklop (d.i. gewas) word*’ (‘Where the dresses are beaten (i.e. washed)’), or ‘*Waar die rokke opgelig word (?)*’ (‘Where the dresses are lifted (?)’) (Botha 1977: 72), both explanations based on the interpretation of *lokwe* as *ilokwe* ‘dress’, from Afrikaans *rok*. Botha points out that the name of the river must be young if it refers to African apparel, whereas generally names of watercourses are the oldest of names. Since this is the name of a river, a fluvial generic or feature-type designator as part of the name could be expected, the final component, *-kwe*, then cognate with Hie (C1) *kwe* ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 112). Botha (1977: 72) states that some informants consider the correct name to be *Engulamalokwe*, where the component *gula* means ‘skim off, scrape together’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 274).

This word *gula* is similar in sound and meaning to Sesarwa (S5) /*xola* ‘to scrape ashes over’ (Bleek 1956: 365), the Zulu voiced velar consonant *g* approximating the Sesarwa alveolar fricative click with velar fricative efflux /*x*, the back close vowel *u* variously heard as back close *u* or back half-close *o*.

EMkhambathini is the Zulu name for Table Mountain, the flat-topped mountain 20 km east of Pietermaritzburg, situated south-west of the Nagle Dam on the Mgeni River, at 29° 36’ S, 30° 35’ E. Named in English for its resemblance to a table, the Zulu name, *Emkhambathini*, is said to be the locative form of the noun *umkhambathi*, referring to *Acacia sieberiana* or ‘Paperbark Acacia’, Afrikaans *platkroon*, the dominant acacia in the area (Koopman 2002: 140), given as *umkhambe* and ‘flat-topped thorn’ by Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk (1962: 1349). The component *kham* of *umkhambathi* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word //kam, the ≠Khomani (S2a) word ≠’ba’ba, and the Khoikhoi word //kbāb ‘thorntree’ (Bleek 1956: 763), the nasal in the last-mentioned word represented by *m* in *khamb(a)*; the component *t(h)i* means ‘tree’, from *umutbi* ‘tree’, also ‘wood’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 794), the stem given as *ti* by Colenso (1884: 550), cognate with Xhosa *um-ti* ‘tree, wood, timber’ (McLaren 1926: 237), and with ‘e’ ‘wood’, recorded in Eastern dialect in 1775-76, the apostrophe representing a click (Nienaber 1963: 313), and with the Bushman words /i, /kbi, ≠xi ‘tree’ (Bleek 1956: 765). The concept of ‘flat’ seems to be basic to the name of the mountain and the tree, the component *kbamba* of the name with the Naron (C2) noun /ka:ba ‘flat’ (Bleek 1929: 39). The component *thi* of *umkhambathi* is cognate with the //Kxau (S2b), /Auni (S4), Sesarwa (S5), /Nu //en (S6), /Nusan (S6a) demonstrative *ti* ‘this, that, it’ (Bleek 1956: 202). The final component *ni* of the name *EMkhambathini* is the feature type designation comparable with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word ~!ni ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46).

EMnqumeni, the name of a mountain in the iThala Game Reserve, is said to be derived from *umnquma*, ‘*Olea africana*’ (Koopman 2002: 129), for which European common names include ‘Olienhout’, ‘Olive wood’ and ‘Oliewenhout’. Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 595) give *umnqumo* for *Olea verrucosa*, ‘the wild olive of the bushveld’, v.l. *nquma* (*umnquma*) ‘species of hard-wood tree’. The stem *nquma* is comparable to the Nama word !goms, ‘*Olivenholzbusch*’ (‘Olive wood bush’) (Rust 1960: 46); the final *-a* of *nquma* is the obligatory Zulu final vowel

at the end of a noun, the final *-s* of *!goms* is the Khoikhoi feminine singular ending, so that the stems being compared are *nqum* and *!gom*. The Zulu nasal form of the palato-alveolar click, *nq*, reflects the Khoikhoi palato-alveolar click *!* that acquires a nasal element when pronounced together with the voiced velar consonant *g*; the vowel *u* is the back closed vowel phoneme, variously heard as *u* (back close) and *o* (half-close) (Bleek 1956: 246). The Hie (C1) word *≠kau* ‘olive tree’ (Bleek 1956: 658) might be comparable to the stem *nqum*, the Zulu palato-alveolar click *q* corresponding to the Bushman alveolar click *≠*, the vowel cluster *au* coalesced to *u*, but there seems to be no nasal element in the Hie word.

Emoyeni, also encountered as *Moyeni*, is the name of a settlement on the railway line between Mtunzini and Gingindlovu, at 29° 01' S, 31° 40' E. It was established by John Dunn, and is still reserved for his descendants. In the form *Moyeni*, it is the name of a suburb of Tembisa, approximately 1.5 km east-south-east of the magistrate’s office, at 26° 01' S, 28° 14' E. *Emoyeni* means ‘at the wind’, ‘place of wind’ (Raper 2004: 89), being the locative form of *umoya* ‘wind, air’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 508). Colenso (1884: 331) gives “Moya (*Um*), Wind, breath, air; spirit of man”. Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 508) give the root as ‘*moya* (*ummoya* or *moya*, *inimoya* or *immoya* [*< oya*] wind, air, breath; spirit, soul, life’, and for ‘spirit’ they give ‘*oya* (*umoya*) [Ur-B. *ʎ aʎa*], but add: “This word is more generally found to-day as *ummoya*, with plural *immoya*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 638). Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 508) thus note that *moya* comes from *oya*. The stem *oya* is cognate with Cape Khoikhoi *toya*, recorded in 1691, 1705 and 1708 for ‘wind’ (Nienaber 1963: 530). Nienaber states that the alveolar explosive consonant *t* in the word *toya* represents a click, demonstrating *toya* to be cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!koja* ‘wind’ (Bleek 1956: 440), the alveolar explosive consonant *t* of *toya* approximating the palato-alveolar click with ejected efflux *!k* of *!koja*, comparable also with Cape Khoikhoi *qūa*, the *q* similar to the alveolar plosive click *≠* in the Nama word *≠oa-b* (Nienaber 1963: 530). The bilabial nasal *m* in the stem *moya* is presumably a relic of an obsolete bilabial click *⊙*.

eMpungusheni is the name of a river in Cobham Forest, being the locative form of *impungushe*, ‘jackal’ (Koopman 2002: 129). This Zulu word seems to be compounded from, or cognate with, two Bushman words for ‘jackal’. Considering that the Bushman back vowel /*o/* is

sometimes rendered as /u/ in the Nguni languages (Louw 1974: 50), the component *pu* may be cognate with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *po* 'jackal', while *ngushe* is cognate with the Sesarwa (S5) word *!gauŋi* 'jackal' (Bleek 1929: 49). The Zulu nasal velar *ng* of the component *ngushe* represents a substitute for the voiced Bushman efflux *!g* of the word *!gauŋi*; the Bushman vowel cluster *au* coalesced to *u* because */au/ is not a permissible series of vowels in Zulu (cf Louw 1974: 57); the Bushman fricative ǀ corresponds to the Zulu prepalatal fricative *sh*, and the Bushman high front vowel *i* lowered to Zulu mid-front vowel *e*.

eMpunzini is given by Koopman (2002: 129) as being derived from *impunzi* 'duiker', from *phunzi* (*impunzi*) 'common grey duiker buck, *Cephalophus grimmii*' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 678), the stem thus given as *phunzi*, the prefix as *im*. Under influence of the nasal consonant *m* in the prefix, homorganic to the initial phone *ph* of the stem, the aspirated explosive consonant *ph* changes to *mp* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: xx). However, Colenso (1884: 333) gives *Mpunzi* (*Im*), thus with the root as *mpunzi*, with the prefix *im*, indicating a correspondence between the component *mpun* and the Sesarwa (S5) word *᠓pyn* 'duiker buck' (Bleek 1929: 35); ᠓ is the labial click or lip click, the cluster (lip click with ejected efflux) *᠓p* corresponding to the Zulu nasal bilabial consonant *m* plus ejective bilabial *p* in the cluster *mp*; the *y* in the word *᠓pyn* pronounced like *u* in French 'du' (Bleek 1929: 13), occurring as the Zulu high back vowel *u*.

eMswathi, also *Mshwathi*, is the Zulu name of the *Sterkspruit*, a tributary that joins the Mgeni some 5 km east of Albert Falls at 29° 26' S, 30° 29' E. The name has been explained as 'river with its course concealed by undergrowth' (Raper 2004: 90), also as '*Die verbergende*' ('the one that conceals'), or '*Die wegkruiper*' ('the one that hides away') (Botha 1977: 154), from the ideophone *shwathi* 'of slipping in under, concealing' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 751). The existence of two names for the same feature has frequently proved to show translation and adaptation, and that also seems to be the case in this instance. The Afrikaans name *Sterkspruit* means 'strong stream', *sterk* meaning 'strong'. The component *s(h)wa* of the name *Mshwathi* is comparable with /Xam (S1)/*xoa* 'strength', /*xoa/xoa* 'strengthen' (Bleek 1956: 365), the alveolar click with fricative efflux /*x* approximating the Zulu prepalatal fricative consonant *sh* that becomes the ejective prepalatal

affricate under homorganic influence; the diphthong or vowel cluster *oa* consonantalised in Zulu as *wa* to obviate the impermissible juxtaposition of two vowels in Zulu. The component *ti* of the name *Mshwati* is considered to be a fluvial generic term cognate with //ǃ !ke (S2) /k' i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339), the Bushman alveolar fricative click with ejective efflux, /k', approximating the Zulu ejective alveolar explosive consonant *t*, or the /Auni (S4) word *≠ei* 'river' (Bleek 1956: 643), the unvoiced alveolar explosive consonant *t* corresponding to the alveolar plosive click ≠, the vowel cluster *ei* coalesced to the syllable peak *i*.

Endumeni is the name of a mountain 8 km south-east of Glencoe in the Dundee district, said to mean 'the one that rumbles' (Raper 2004: 90), from *duma* 'sound, resound; thunder; rumble' (Colenso 1884: 114). The Zulu word *duma* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *!gum* 'roar' (Bleek 1929: 70), the voiced alveolar consonant *d* approximating the palato-alveolar click with voiced accompaniment *!g*, the final *a* of the noun *duma* being the obligatory Zulu final vowel. The name is appropriate, Emdumeni being an extinct volcano, perhaps still active when the name was given. The final component, *ni*, is probably cognate with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *ˀni* 'hill' (Bleek 1929: 46).

eNtabazwe, the Zulu name for Harrismith at 28° 17' S, 29° 08' E, is said to be derived from *intaba* 'mountain' + *izwe* 'country' and refers to mountainous country (Koopman 2002: 124). Considering such an explanation to lack distinguishing valency, an alternative explanation, based on topographic contiguity, may be sought. To the east and north-east of Harrismith is a large mountain with the Afrikaans name *Platberg* (Walton 1984: 151 3A), meaning 'flat mountain'. It is believed that Harrismith took its Zulu name from this prominent and distinctive feature that bears the Zulu name *eNtabazwe*. The question now is whether *eNtabazwe* is descriptive and means 'flat mountain'. The component *ntaba* is cognate with Naron (C2) /ka:ba 'flat' (Bleek 1929: 39), the alveolar explosive consonant after homorganic nasal *nt* of *ntaba* approximating the Bushman alveolar click with ejected efflux, /k of /ka:ba; the component *zwe* is cognate with //Xegwi (S3) *že* 'stone' (Bleek 1956: 265), or Kung (N2) *kzwe*, synonym *koe* 'place' (Bleek 1956: 112), or with /Xam (S1) and //ǃ !ke (S2) *!xo:e* 'place, country' (Bleek 1956: 500), the Bushman affricative efflux *!x* represented by

the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z*, the vowel cluster *o:e* consonantalised as *we*. Since the feature in question is a mountain, the former is more likely.

eNtubeni is the name of a mountain pass, and means “at the pass”, being the locative form of the Zulu word *intuba* ‘pass’ (Koopman 2002: 114), *tuba* (*in*) ‘mountain-pass’ (Colenso 1884: 583). The stem *tuba* is cognate with the Naron (C2) word *dauba* ‘path’ (Bleek 1929: 64), the Zulu alveolar explosive consonant *t* of *tuba* corresponding to the Bushman alveolar explosive consonant of *dauba*, the *u* of *tuba* coalesced from *au* (*a* elided) in order to avoid the occurrence of two vowels alongside each other, which is impermissible in the Zulu language (Koopman 2002: 287). The component *ni* of the name *eNtubeni* is perhaps cognate with the Hadza (C3) demonstrative locative *ni*, an ending meaning ‘in’, for example *zaiko-ni* ‘in the south’ (Bleek 1956: 146).

Etshamanzi is a name with one component readily identifiable with its Bushman cognate, the other perhaps not. The component *tsha* is cognate with or comparable to the ideophone *tshaa* ‘of spurting, squirting’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 818), *tsha* ‘spurt or squirt’ (Botha 1977: 76); *amanzi* ‘water’. The initial vowel of the river name is a prefix; the component *tsha* is cognate with Auen (N1) *tʃa* ‘spit’ (Bleek 1929: 78), Khoikhoi *ʃa* ‘speien’ (‘spit’) (Kroenlein 1889: 35b16). The stem of the word *amanzi* is *-nzi*; *ama-* is the plural prefix (Colenso 1884: 415, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 632). The word *manzi*, ‘from *amaNzi*, used adjectively’, means ‘moist, watery’ (Colenso 1884: 318), and *-manzi* (*ubumanzi*) means ‘moisture, dampness’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 485), similar to the Swazi word *mati* ‘water’, and to the Hadza (C3) word *ati* ‘water’, *mati* ‘to flow’, as in the example ‘*ati mati jamoa* - water flows (on) the earth’ (Bleek 1956: 136).

Fafa is the name of a river which rises in the Ixopo district and flows south-eastwards into the Indian Ocean between Bazley and Ifafa Beach, at 30° 27' S, 30° 39' E. The name is also borne by a mission station, beach, post office and railway station, approved as *Ifafa*. It is Zulu and has been said to mean ‘the sprinkling one’, ‘the sparkling one’, referring to drops caused by the turbulent torrent at rapids, or to the soft sound of drops condensed from the misty ravines falling onto the ground below, from Zulu *fafaza* ‘sprinkle’ (Colenso 1884: 132). A Bushman word for ‘sprinkle’ is the Hie (C1) *kba tʃa*; for ‘sparkle’

is recorded the /Xam (S1) words *babaitən* ‘to sparkle, flash, lighten’ (Bleek 1956: 14) and *wax̣-waitən* ‘to sparkle’ (Bleek 1956: 252). The component *fafa* accords to some extent with the segments *baba-* and *wax̣-wa-* as regards the vowels. The labio-dental unvoiced fricative *f* is not a Bushman sound, and words containing this sound are generally loanwords from Bantu languages; however, some Bushmen “may use a bilabial unvoiced fricative in imitating the sound of wind or fire” (Bleek 1956: 40), clarifying the variability of this bilabial fricative and the bilabials *b* and *w* in their onomatopoeic expression. In other words, *b* and *w* are pronounced as *f*, which explains how the Bushman words *baba-* and *wax̣-wa* became *fafa*.

Fort Nongqai is the name of a fort in the town of Eshowe, at 28° 53’ S, 31° 28’ E, constructed in 1883 to house the Natal Native Police who served to protect the Resident Commissioner, Sir Melmoth Osborn. It is now an historical monument. The name *Nongqai*, used also for the Natal Native Police Force, is said to be derived from Zulu and to mean ‘to seek’, ‘to detect’. The component *gqai* is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) word //kāi ‘to seek’ (Bleek 1929: 72), and the //Kxau (S2b) word /kx̣:ae ‘to seek’ (Bleek 1956: 335). The Zulu word *ngqayi* ‘to restrain’ may be compared to the Hie (C1) word tʃai ‘restrain’ (Bleek 1956: 749), as in the phrase tʃai //gaieka gaube ‘to restrain oneself’ (Bleek 1956: 224).

Gedlana is the Zulu name for *Groenekop*, a hill 1128 m high, situated some 17 km east of Greytown, at 29° 12’ S, 30° 40’ E. *Gedlana* is also the name of a stream which rises on *Groenekop* and flows eastwards to join the Mvoti about 15 km south-south-west of Mapumulo, at 29° 14’ S, 31° 03’ E. The name of the hill is thought to be primary, said to be derived from *ugedla* ‘cockscomb, crest’, or from *isigedla* ‘ox with horns pointing downwards’ (Botha 1977: 78, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 240). Botha (1977: 78) states that Whites in the area call it *Skedlana*, “wat die vermoede wek dat die ware vorm *isiGedlane* is, dim. v. *isigedla* = ’n hanghoringos.”¹⁸ The differing explanations on the meaning of the name indicate folk-etymological interpretations rather than reliability of oral tradition in this instance. The form *Groenekop* is Dutch and thus an older form than *Groenekop*. The age of the name *Groenekop*, and *Gedlana* also being an old name, points to a Bushman

18 “which arouses the suspicion that the true form is *isiGedlana* = a long-horned ox.”

origin. *Groenkop* is Afrikaans for ‘green hillock’, literally ‘green head’. If *Groenkop* preserves the original meaning of *Gedlana* and *Gedlana* is an adaptation of a Bushman name, then *Groenkop* ‘green hillock’ may be a translation of a Bushman name of which *Gedlana* is an adaptation, *ge* corresponding to the Kung (N2) word \neke ‘green’ (Bleek 1929: 44), *dlana* to the Hadza (C3) word *ban-la* ‘stone, hill’ (Bleek 1956: 57, 724). Regarding the form *Skedlana*, the component *Ske* (or *Ge*) may be cognate with Kung (N2) \neke ‘green’ (Bleek 1929: 44), the voiced velar explosive consonant *g* in Zulu devoid of voicing during the stop (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 223), unless preceded by the homorganic nasal, and thus cognate with the unvoiced velar efflux *k* of the word \neke . The pronunciation as *Skedlana* indicates that the initial unvoiced alveolar consonant plus velar explosive consonant, *Sk*, is an attempt at reproducing the alveolar click \ne with ejective efflux $\ne k$ of the word \neke ; *Ske* < \neke . Considering that the primary feature in question is a hill, the component *dlana* may be cognate with *ban-a*, Hadza (C3) *ban-la* ‘stone, hill’ (Bleek 1956: 57, 724). Then Botha makes an interesting statement: “*Onder Blankes staan die spruit bekend as Potspruit.*”¹⁹ *Potspruit* is Afrikaans (Dutch) for ‘pot stream.’ No Bushman words have been found for ‘pot’ that are similar to \neke . But considering that the concept of a pot was unknown to early Bushmen, and that potholes in a river are sometimes productive of names such as *Potspruit* and *Debegeni*, /Auni (S4) $//k\text{?e}$: ‘hole’, Hie (C1) *je* (Bleek 1929: 47), also /Xam (S1) $//e$ ‘hole in rock’ (Bleek 1956: 519), are comparable with \neke . The river and the mountain (or hill) may thus have different names, but because of their similarity in pronunciation they may have been regarded as the same. The component *dlana* in the case of the stream is comparable with the Sesarwa (S5) words $//k$ ‘anna’ ‘waterpits’ (Bleek 1956: 603), $//g\text{ā}na$ ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 526), $//gwana$ ‘a Masarwa waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 537).

Gingqizigodo is said to mean ‘*Die aanroller van boomstompe*’, (‘the one that rolls tree trunks along’) (Botha 1977: 78), from *gingqa* ‘roll along, roll over’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 248), *qingqa* ‘roll’, *gingqikisa* ‘roll, make or help to roll’ (Colenso 1884: 166), and *izigodo*, the plural of *isigodo* ‘tree stump, short log of wood’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 252). The component *gingqizi* bears a phonological resemblance to the

19 “Among Whites the stream is known as *Potspruit*.”

first three syllables of the /Xam (S1) *gigəri:tən* ‘roll’ (Bleek 1929: 71), /Xam (S1) *gigeritən* ‘roll about’ [Nama *gari*, ‘roll something round’] (Bleek 1956: 46), Hie (C1) *garinje* ‘stump of tree’ (Bleek 1956: 44). The component *godo* is comparable with the /Nu //en (S6) word *!goxo* ‘trunk’ (Bleek 1929: 87), perhaps also with the Hie (C1) word *kbori* ‘stump of tree’ (Bleek 1956: 90). [*gigəri:!goxo* > *Gingqizigodo*].

Gulane is the name of a stream between Wakkerstroom and Piet Retief, said to mean ‘*Die suurmelkkalbassie*’ (‘the sour-milk calabash’) (Botha 1977: 80), derived from *gulana*, the diminutive of *i(li)gula* ‘a calabash in which sour milk is made’; *Gula (I)* ‘Milk-vessel, made from a gourd’ (Colenso 1884: 179). A Bushman word for ‘gourd’ is Hie (C1) *guju* ‘cup, gourd’ (Bleek 1956: 50), comparable with the Auen (N1) word *!guru* ‘tortoiseshell or gourd on musical bow’ (Bleek 1956: 389), and the Kung (N2) word */xu* ‘gourd, bowl made of the outside of the *!no* fruit’ (Bleek 1956: 366), all of which bear resemblance in sound to *gu(la)*, the Bushman *r* in *!guru* becoming an *l* in the Zulu word *gula* “because the vibrant or flap is a foreign sound in Xhosa and Zulu” (Louw 1979: 14). Botha states that the name is “... waarskynlik ’n verwysing na die smaak van die water. Moontlik genoem na ’n kop – Gula(ne) – waarby dit verbyvloei.”²⁰ The flavour of the water to which Botha refers is ‘sour’, for which a Khoikhoi word is */kuru* ‘sauer’ (‘sour’) (Rust 1960: 51), /Xam (S1)/*u*: ‘salt, brackish’ (Bleek 1956: 358). Botha regards the component *ne* as a Zulu diminutive suffix, but the possibility exists that it is a demonstrative or a generic term, very possibly similar to the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *!ni* ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46), considering Botha’s comment that the stream may have been named after a hillock.

Gunjaneni, the name of a stream in the Hluhluwe Game Reserve, is said to mean ‘*Die uitgeholdetjie*’, (‘the little hollowed-out one’), from *gumba* ‘hollow out’; *igumbe* = ‘*uitgeholde plek, gat*’ (‘hollowed-out place, hole’); *ingunjaneni* is the locative of *ingunjana*, the diminutive of *igumbe* (Botha 1977: 80). The name relates to the broken terrain through which the river flows: the valley lies deep between high hills reaching up on either side, says Botha. The name also occurs as *Ngunjaneni* for a mission station in the vicinity, derived from *ingumbe*,

20 “probably a reference to the flavour of the water. Possibly named after a hillock – *Gula(ne)* – past which it flows”.

a variant of *igumbe* ((Botha 1977: 221 n 62, n 63, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 564). Colenso (1884: 180) gives *Gumba* ‘scoop, hollow out, as wood, stone, iron, &c.’, and *Gumbe (I)* as ‘deep place or pool in water’. The component *gum* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*gom*:/, /*go^hm*’: ‘to scoop up, dip up, take in both hands’ (Bleek 1956: 281); also /Xam (S1)/*goo* ‘to hollow out’. Botha mentions that some people link the ‘hollows’ to excavations made against the steep hillsides for the road between Mtubatuba and Nongoma, but if the name is probably too old for that, since names of natural features are generally among the first names to be given, and the name pre-dates the construction of roads.

Hlabatini is the name of a settlement about 19 km north-west of Umzinto, at 30° 10’ S, 30° 33’ E. Also encountered as *Mablabatini*, the name is explained as ‘*sandspruit/die plek van die wit sanderige grond*’ (‘sand stream/the place of white sandy ground’) (Botha 1977: 80), from *bla^hathi (isibla^hathi)* ‘sand, gravel, sandy soil’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 310). The component *bla(b)* is comparable to the Auen (N1) word *k^ha*, *k^ha*: ‘sand’ (Bleek 1956: 116), Kung (N2) *ˀkxʔa*, *k^ha*: ‘earth, ground’ (Bleek 1956: 116), *kxa* ‘sand’ (Bleek 1956: 751), the Zulu unvoiced lateral alveolar fricative consonant *hl* approximating the Bushman ejective *k* or glottal croak; *blab* reminiscent of Khoikhoi //*kaeb* ‘Flußsand, Bausand’ (‘river sand, building sand’) (Rust 1960: 51), the lateral or retroflex fricative click with ejected efflux//*k* corresponding to the Zulu lateral alveolar fricative consonant *hl*, the vowel cluster *ae* simplified to *a*. The component (*i*)*ni* may be the Zulu locative suffix, or a generic term for ‘river’ similar to //ǀ!ke (S2) /*k^hi* ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339).

Hlabisa, a village between the Hluhluwe and Umfolozi game reserves, some 40 km north-west of Mtubatuba, at 28° 08’ S, 31° 52’ E, is said to have been named after the Hlabisa tribe of Zulus, ‘those who entertain with meat-feasts’, from Zulu *hlabisa* ‘present a beast for slaughter’ (Raper 2004: 137); *hlabisa* ‘pierce, prick, stab, gore, slaughter, slay’ and so on (Colenso 1884: 192). The component *bla* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) and //ǀ!ke (S2) words /*ka*:/, /*a*:/, the Sesarwa (S5) word //*a*:/, and the Khoikhoi word *ʔa*: ‘to kill’ (Bleek 1929: 50), and the Hie (C1) /*kha*:/, /*ka* ‘to slaughter’, *kae* ‘to slaughter, to stab’, and *kai* ‘to kill’ (Bleek 1956: 76); Nama *ʔa* ‘schlachten’ (‘to slaughter’) (Rust 1960: 53).

Hlangakulu, a tributary of the Mdloti, has a name said to mean ‘*Groot rietrivier*’, (‘great reed river’) (Botha 1977: 81), from *blanga* (*um*) ‘a reed or reeds; reedy place’; *kulu* = ‘great, large, much’ (Colenso 1884: 201, 272). Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 311) give *u(lu)blanga* ‘reed’. The component *blan(g)* is cognate with ≠Khomani (S2a) //ka /ŋ ‘reed’ (Bleek 1956: 564); the component *kulu* is like /Xam (S1) ≠*bauru* = waterhole, pit, pond (Bleek 1956: 651), the Bushman aspirated alveolar click ≠*b* adapted as the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative, the vowel cluster *au* coalesced to the syllable peak *u*, the voiced alveolar vibrant *r* adapted as the voiced alveolar liquid *l*. The name *Hlangankulu* for a tributary of the Fafa has the same origin.

Hlange, the name of an eastern tributary of the Mgeni, entering it several kilometres from the coast, is explained as ‘*Rietspruit*’ (‘reed stream’) (Botha 1977: 81), from *blanga* (*um*) ‘a reed or reeds; reedy place’ (Colenso 1884: 201). The full form of the name is *uHlange*, “*met verswakte slotvokaal*”, (“with weakened final vowel”) (Botha 1977: 81), also known by the locative form *oHlange*. The Umhlanga River that enters the sea north of Umhlanga Rocks was formerly also known as *uHlange* or *oHlange* (Döhne 1857: 127, Colenso 1884: 214). The component *blan(g)* is cognate with ≠Khomani (S2a) //ka /ŋ ‘reed’ (Bleek 1956: 564); the component (*g*)*e* may be a generic term for ‘stream’ or a demonstrative.

Hlangwe is the Zulu name for **Kosi Lake** (Kosimeer), a lake south of Kosi Bay, at 26° 58′ S, 32° 50′ E. Zulu for ‘the reedy one’, the name is derived from *u(lu)blanga* ‘reed’; the name *kuHlange* is also encountered. It is said to mean ‘*rietmeer*’ (‘reed lake’) (Botha 1977: 82), called ‘the reedy one’ by Bulpin (1952: 225). A word form with the stem *blangwe* does not occur in Zulu dictionaries, and Botha suggests that, considering that *Kosimeer* is situated in Tonga territory, *-blangwe* is probably a geographical variant of *ublanga* ‘reed’, or *inblanga* ‘*rietruigte*’ (‘thicket of reeds’). He notes (Botha 1977: 83) that the name appears as *Nblange* in the Natal Official Guide (1959: 40). The component *blan(g)* is cognate with the ≠Khomani (S2a) word //ka /ŋ ‘reed’ (Bleek 1956: 564), and with /Nu //en (S6) //^n ‘reed’, plural //^nte (Bleek 1929: 69), the Zulu unvoiced lateral fricative consonant *hl* comparable to the Bushman lateral fricative click //; the IPA symbol \wedge , pronounced as *u* in ‘*bun*’, approximating the Zulu low back vowel *a*. The component *gwe* is similar to a word cognate with the Auen

(N1) word //xwe ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1956: 639), ‘water pool’ (Bleek 1956: 769), comparable to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word //kwe:ǀ ‘pond, pool’ (Bleek 1929: 66), the voiced velar consonant *g* being the voiced form of the unvoiced velar consonant *k*. Botha (1977: 82-3) also brings in the link with the meaning ‘place of the wader’, thought to be derived from *ublangwe* ‘wader’, Afrikaans *steltloper*, literally ‘stilt-walker’, the Greenshank, *Tringa nebularia*, or Wood Sandpiper, *tringa glareola*; perhaps the Marsh Sandpiper, *tringa stagnatilis*. The Zulu common name for the bird stems from its habit of nesting in reeds, *u(lu)hlanga* in Zulu (see **Kosi Lake**).

Hlawe is the name for a tributary of the Manzanmyama, which it joins at 29° 33' S, 31° 08' E, and which is a tributary of the Tongati. *uHlawe* is also the Zulu name for the town of *Tongaat*. *Hlawe* is explained as ‘*Gruisspruit*’ (‘gravel stream’) (Botha 1977: 83), from *uhlawe* (*u(lu)hlawe*) ‘gravelly place’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 323). The component *hlaw(e)* is comparable to Nama //kaib ‘*der feine Flußsand, Treibsand*’ ‘fine river-sand, building sand’, Koranna //chaib ‘sand’, also //kaeb ‘*dryfsand, riviersand*’ (‘drift sand, river sand’) (Nienaber 1963: 438), which could be cognate with *hlawe*, the unvoiced retroflex fricative click // shifting to the unvoiced alveolar fricative *hl*, and the voiced bilabial consonant *b* shifting to the semi-vowel *w*. However, Botha informs us that an alternative name for the stream is *Buffelskloofspruit* (‘buffalo ravine stream’). Bushman words for ‘buffalo’ include Kung (N2) /*gau*, /*kau* ‘buffalo’ (Bleek 1956: 276), similar to the Nama word /*gaob* and the Koranna word /*aob* (Nienaber 1963: 236) which, considering the name *Buffelskloofspruit* to be a translation of a Khoisan name adapted as *Hlawe*, also show a similarity to the component *hlaw(e)*, the alveolar fricative click / (Bleek 1929: 13) corresponding to the Zulu alveolar fricative consonant *hl*, the Bushman back close vowel *u* consonantalised as *w*. There is also a third Khoisan explanation of the name. *Uhlawe* is also the Zulu name for *Tongaat* and the *Tongati River*, written as *Umtongata* by Gardiner (1836: 182) and explained as ‘The twisting river’ by Stayt (1971: *s p*). There are grounds for considering the names *Tongati* (or (*um*)*tongata*) and *Hlawe* to be synonymous, both being Zulu adaptations of names from different Bushman languages, *Tonga(ti)* from Kung (N2) *tuy’a* ‘turn’ (Bleek 1956: 241), the glottal stop represented as the voiced velar explosive *g* in Zulu, and *Hlawe*

from /Xam (S1) *!khāūi* ‘to twist (intr.)’ (Bleek 1956: 88), similar to //ǀ *!ke* (S2) *kao*: ‘to turn’ (Bleek 1956: 80).

Hlimbitwa, also encountered as *eHlimbitwa* and *Hlimbitwa*, is the Zulu name for *Hermannsburg* and for a tributary of the uMvoti, rising east of Hermannsburg and flowing south-east to join the main stream at Ohlakati at 29° 13’ S, 31° 01’ E. It is given in the form *eHlimbitwa* and said to be derived from *ihlimbitwa* ‘muddy storm-water, as of river after heavy rains’ (Koopman 2002: 126, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 329). Döhne (1857: 135) states that the name could have come from ‘its subterranean hot springs’. This explanation is more convincing than ‘muddy storm-water’ because it indicates a distinctive characteristic of the river, whereas any river could be muddy after heavy rains. There is also linguistic support for Döhne’s explanation, in the form of Bushman words meaning ‘hot water’ that are phonologically comparable with *hlimbitwa*. The Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant *hl* corresponding to the Bushman unvoiced prepalatal fricative consonant *ʃ* and the voiced bilabial compound *mb* approximating the unvoiced bilabial compound *ʘp* (for example, the lip click with its homorganic unvoiced bilabial efflux) permits recognition of *hlimbi* being cognate with Sesarwa (S5) *ʃiʘpwi* ‘hot’ (Bleek 1929: 48). The component *twa* or *thwa* of *eHlimbit(h)wa* is cognate with /Xam (S1) *!khwa* ‘water’ (Bleek 1929: 90), the Zulu aspirated alveolar explosive consonant *th* reflecting the Bushman retroflex click with prevoiced ejective efflux *!kh* (Traill 1978: 138). *eHlimbitwa*, cognate with *ʃiʘpwi!khwa*, means ‘hot water’. Topographical support for this explanation can be found in the occurrence of the name *Hot Springs* at Kwa Zulu on the Hlimbitwa, 25 km east-south-east of Greytown and 17 km north-west of its confluence with the Mvoti.

Hlokoma is the name of the mountain at 29° 48’ S, 29° 31’ E, at the western foot of which the town of *Underberg* is situated. Also spelt *Hlogoma*, this Zulu name is said to mean ‘place of the echoing noise’, but no reason for the source of the supposed noise has been proffered. Recalling that names of natural features are frequently transferred in translated form to more recently established features prompts the suspicion of a Bushman origin. The name *Underberg* means ‘under the mountain’, *berg* being the Afrikaans word for ‘mountain’. It appears that *Underberg* could be a translation of a Bushman name of which *Hlokoma* is an adaptation. The component *Hlo* is comparable

with /Xam (S1) /ko: ‘to be [...] under, often used as adv.’ (Bleek 1956: 316), the Bushman unvoiced alveolar fricative click / shifting to the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative *hl*; the component *koma* is comparable to the Kung (N2) word *!koma* ‘mountain’ (Bleek 1956: 737), ‘mountainous country’ (Bleek 1956: 441).

Hluluwe is the name of a river rising in the Nongoma district and flowing east through Hlabisa into Lake St Lucia at 28° 02′ S, 32° 22′ E. The name is said to be derived from the Zulu word for a type of creeper growing on the river banks, ‘thorny rope’ (*Dalbergia armata*), called *bobbejaantou* in Afrikaans. *Bobbejaantou* is Afrikaans for ‘baboon rope’; the /Xam (S1) and //ǀ !ke (S2) word for ‘baboon’ is /*bu/bu* (Bleek 1956: 290, 291). The Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative *hl* approximates the Bushman unvoiced alveolar fricative click /, showing *hlublu* to be comparable to /*bu/bu*. The component *we* of the name *Hluluwe* is similar to the Hie (C1) word *gwii* ‘rope’, Auen (N1) *!kwi* (Bleek 1929: 71), Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) *!gwi* ‘*Sansevieria zeylanica*; rope for trapping made of the fibre of this plant’ (Bleek 1956: 393); Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !kuṅ (N3) *!kwi* ‘rope, string, thread (of sanseveria)’ (Bleek 1956: 433). However, *Sansevieria* is not *bobbejaantou* which is *Dalbergia*. The final component of *Hluluwe*, which is the name of a river, is more likely to be a generic term meaning ‘river’. Döhne (1857: 141) gives the variants *umHlublube*, *umHlublule*, *umHluluwe*, while Colenso (1884: 229) gives a variant *umHlublubwe* which he describes as an *amalala* form, “*d.w.s. ’n dialektiese Lalavariant*” (“i.e. a dialectal Lala variant”) (Botha 1977: 85). The component *we*, *be* or *bwe* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *kwe* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the Auen (N1) word //x*we* ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 90), and the Hie (C1) word *hwere* and //ǀ !ke (S2) word //k*we*:! ‘pool, pond’ (Bleek 1929: 66). The Zulu river name and the Afrikaans common name for the *Dalbergia armata* or *bobbejaantou* thus seem to be derived from the Bushman words for ‘baboon’, while the former takes a Bushman generic term, the latter possibly a Bushman word for ‘rope, cord’.

iDangu, the name of a tributary of the Mhlatuze, is given as “*Die waterpoelletjie*” (“the little water pool”) (Botha 1977: 70), derived from *dangu* (*idangu*) ‘shallow pool of water (as in the veld)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 139). The component *Dangu* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*kānnu*, /*karru* ‘pool’ (Bleek 1956: 301), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *D* corresponding to the Bushman alveolar click

with ejective nasal efflux /*ḳ*, the Zulu velar nasal *ng* to the Bushman nasalised *ŋ̃*, pronounced ‘between *n* and *r*’ (Bleek 1956: 160).

Ifafa see **Fafa**

Ikwezi is the name of a railway siding in Mofolo North, west of Dube, on the route New Canada-Naledi, at 26° 14’ S, 27° 53’ E. Also encountered as *Ikwezi*, the name is said to be derived from Zulu and to mean ‘a star’ (Raper 2004: 147). The stem *Kwezi* (I) ‘Morning star’ (Colenso 1884: 287) bears a phonological similarity to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word *ǀkweisa* ‘star’ (Bleek 1929: 79) and its synonym *ǀkwe:sa* (Bleek 1956: 610), pointing to a Bushman origin for the word and the name.

Ncandu is the name of a tributary of the Ncwibitwane, rising in the Drakensberg at the Free State border, about 25 km west-south-west of Newcastle, and flowing east and then north to join the main stream at 27° 45’ S, 29° 58’ E, south-west of Newcastle. Also encountered in the form *Ncandu*, as for the *Ncandu Falls*, the name is said to mean ‘small flow’ (Raper 2004: 149), from *ncane* ‘small, little’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 528). The consonant cluster *nc* is the nasal form of the Zulu dental click, approximating the Bushman dental click with voiced efflux (or voiced dental click) /*g*, so that the component *nca-* of *iNcandu* is cognate with Naron (C2) /*goa*, /*gwa*, /*goε* ‘small’ (Bleek 1956: 280), Khoikhoi /*ga* ‘small’ (Bleek 1929: 76). The Zulu consonant cluster *nd* is the alveolar voiced nasal compound, sometimes (as in this instance) the result of homorganic nasal influence on *d* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 536). The component *-ndu* is thus cognate with Khoikhoi *dāu* ‘Flut’ (‘flow’) (Rust 1960: 22), the Khoikhoi voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* shifting to Zulu alveolar voiced nasal compound *nd* under influence of the nasalised *á*, the vowel cluster *āu* coalescing to *u* so as not to violate the consonant-vowel canon of Zulu.

Inchanga is the name of a railway station between Harrison and Drummond on the line from Durban to Pietermaritzburg, at 29° 45’ S, 30° 40’ E, in the Camperdown district. The name is derived from Zulu *ntshangwe*, the word used in northern KwaZulu-Natal for a cane knife, a knife with a serrated edge; it refers to a sharp ridge there called *Entshangwe*, also *Inchanga*. Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 606) give *ntshangwe* (*intshangwe*) ‘cane knife’. Other Zulu words for ‘cane knife’ are *ucelemba*, *isikekela*, *isikhabhumesa* (Doke et al 2005: 60). *Inchanga* is the form that was officially approved for the railway station, and it appears that

Entshangwe was a folk-etymological adaptation based on phonological similarity and the shape of the hill resembling a cane knife. Names of mountains and other natural features are among the first to be bestowed, and the name of this ridge presumably pre-dates the use of cane knives. Based on the reference to the “sharp ridge” that gave rise to the name, and the earlier form being *Inchanga*, the component *ncha* is seen to be comparable to Kung (N2) /ā ‘sharp’; /ā_/ā, also /ʔā/ʔā ‘to sharpen’ (Bleek 1956: 271, 753), and Nama /a ‘scharf’ ‘sharp’, /a-/a ‘scharfen’ (‘sharpen’) (Rust 1960: 52). The Khoisan dental click / with nasal efflux indicated by the tilde on the vowel ā corresponds to the Zulu nasalised form of the dental click, *nc*, “often the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *ch*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 527), so that the Khoisan /ā (*n/a*) corresponds to the Zulu *nca* (*n/a*). The component *nga* of the name *Inchanga* is comparable with the Nama word *ǀgāb* ‘*der Bergkranz (jāb abfallender Rand)*’ (‘mountain precipice (abruptly falling slope)’) (Kroenlein 1889: 96a22), also the //ǀǀ !ke (S2) word *ǀkā*: ‘ridge of rocks, *kranz*’ (Bleek 1956: 653), the Zulu velar voiced nasal compound *ng* corresponding to the Khoisan alveolar click with voiced velar nasal efflux *ǀg̃* and unvoiced velar glottal *ǀk̃*, respectively. The form *eNtshangwe* is based on the mistaken assumption that the *ch* of the name *Inchanga* is pronounced as in English, whereas the Zulu pronunciation is *nc* or, in Bushman transcription, *n/*. Although the written representation of the Bushman word for ‘sharp’ is /ā, the word is prenasalised and could be (more correctly) written *n/a*.

Ingwavuma is the name of a village at 27° 08′ S, 31° 59′ E, some 80 km north of Mkuze and 44 km south-west of the confluence of the Ngwavuma and Pongolo Rivers. The name, derived from that of the river, is said to mean ‘the river is growling’, or ‘the leopard (or cheetah) is growling’, referring to the roaring of a waterfall. However, the Zulu name for leopard is *ingwe*, with a final *-e*. A more satisfactory explanation links the name to the Zulu common name *ingwavuma*, used for various trees, including the *Pseudocassine transvaalensis* or *lepelhout*, the wood used to make troughs, ladles, spoons, pipes, and the like (Raper 2004: 151). The Afrikaans common name *lepelhout* means ‘spoon wood’. If *Ngwavuma* and *lepelhout* are synonymous, the component *ngwa* may be compared to the /Auni (S4) word //gwa ‘spoon’, Afrikaans *lepel*, (C2) //gwaba, the component *vuma* perhaps

comparable with the Kung (N2) word /*kumma* ‘tree’ (Bleek 1956: 765), ‘a certain kind of small fruit tree’ (Bleek 1956: 325).

Inkwanyezi, the name of a mission station established by Aldin Grout on the banks of the Empangeni River, means ‘star’ (Botha 1977: 72). The Zulu word for ‘star’ is *nkanyezi* (*inkanyezi*) (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 575), the component *kwan* of the place name displaying a semi-vowel *w* not reflected in the current Zulu word, but clearly a consonantalisation of *o* in the Seroa (S2d) word *koan* ‘star’, plural *koan**koan* ‘stars’ (Bleek 1956: 97), the Bushman vowel cluster *oa* coalesced as *a*, the nasals *ŋ* and *n* often interchanging (Bleek 1956: 140), *kwan* and *koan* being homophonous. The component *kwa* of *Inkwanyesi* is cognate with the component *kwa* of the /Xam (S1) words /*kwa*ʔtən, /*kwa*ʔttən, /*kwa*ʔtti ‘star’ (Bleek 1956: 331), also in the /Xam (S1) non-consonantalised form /*koati* ‘star’ (Bleek 1956: 318), and the //D !ke (S2) word //*kwa*isa ‘star’ (Bleek 1929: 79).

Intabazwe see eNtabazwe

Inyosi is the name of a stream some 38 km north-east of Acornhoek in Limpopo province. Of Zulu origin, the name is said to mean ‘place of bees’, from *Nyosi* (*In*) ‘bee’, *Nyosi* (*Izin*) ‘honeycomb’ (Colenso 1884: 414). Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 630) give *nyosi* (*inyosi*, *izinyosi*) ‘honey; (plural only) Honey; honeycomb with honey’. The initial *I(n)* of the name is the Zulu prefix. McLaren (1926: 9) points out that for Xhosa, also a Nguni language, the cluster *ny* is a palatal inspired liquid consonant, thus a suction sound, and thus a click replacement, comparable to the Bushman dental click /. The component *nyo* is, therefore, comparable to the /Auni (S4) /*ko*; Auen (N1) *zo*, Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) *džo*, *doo* (Bleek 1929: 21); also the //D !ke (S2) /*ko*: ‘bee’ (Bleek 1956: 313), and /Xam (S1) word /*kosi* ‘bee’ (Bleek 1956: 321). The component *si* of the name *Inyosi* is perhaps comparable to the Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) plural pronoun *si* ‘they, also used as plural suffix to a noun’ (Bleek 1956: 168), although it may be a generic term cognate with //D !ke (S2) /*k*i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339).

Isandlwana is the name of a mountain some 16 km south-east of Rorke’s Drift, 17 km south of Nqutu, and 64 km south-east of Dundee, at 28° 30’ S, 30° 39’ E. Derived from Zulu, the name has been explained as referring to the ‘third stomach’ or reticulum of an ox, which the hill resembles, and that it means ‘house-like’ (Raper

2004: 154). Lugg (1975: 105) informs us that ‘miniature huts are used for the storage of grain, termed *isandlwana*, and the second stomach of a cow is also known by this name, presumably because it serves as a sort of storage bin’. Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 10) give

-andlu (*isandlu* [...]) [*< indlu* (literally, something like a house, for example for containing food). *>* diminutive *isandlwana*] stomach of animals’, and ‘*-andlwana(e)* (*isandlwana(e)*) [...] [diminutive. *< isandlu*] 1. Second or honeycomb stomach of cattle. 2. Name of a hill in Zululand where the battle of Isandlwana was fought.

Koopman (2002: 152) states that:

The structure of this name is in fact **is(i)**, noun prefix, + **sa**, ‘something like’, + **(i)ndlu**, ‘hut’, + **ana**, (‘little’), giving ‘something like a little hut’.

He informs us that “early writers apparently interpreted this name as a diminutive of *isandla* (‘hand’)”, and Pettman (1931: 10-1) mentions that “*Isandlwana* is usually interpreted as meaning ‘little hand’, but the Zulus say that the mountain and its adjacent hills resemble the folds in the Isandlwana – the third stomach of a cow – hence the name”. Lugg (1975: 105) rejects the explanation of ‘little hand’, stating that “writers of the day wrongly confused the word with *sandlana*, a little hand”. In this instance, the Zulu word in question is *-andla* (*isandla*) ‘1. Forearm (including the hand). 2. Hand (of human being or ape)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 9). The diminutive of this word is *isandlana*, as indicated by Lugg earlier, so that the name *iSandlwana*, containing the semi-vowel *w*, cannot mean ‘little hand’, but must be based on a word ending in *-u*. Names of natural features frequently contain a feature-type indicator or generic term, and when the name is from an older language, such as a Bushman language, this term is frequently misinterpreted in Zulu as a suffix. This seems also to be the case in the name *iSandlwana*. Names of mountains and other topographical features are generally very old, and logic and experience indicate that the oldest recorded forms of a name are usually closest to the original, and that the earliest explanations are generally more reliable, since they were recorded before later adaptations suggested an explanation based on the adapted form of the name. Linguistic evidence supports the explanation linking the name to ‘a hand’, the shape of which the hill is thought to resemble. The prefix *i-* of the name *iSandlwana* is the Zulu class prefix; the component *sandlwana* is derived from

sandlu + *ana*. The component *sandlu* is cognate with Ki /hazi (S4b) *k"anj"u* 'hand' (Bleek 1956: 119), the Bushman unvoiced ejective *k"* or glottal croak in each syllable reflected respectively by the Zulu unvoiced alveolar fricative consonant *s*, which under homorganic nasal influence becomes an ejective affricate, and the voiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant *dl*, the voiced form of *hl*, which under homorganic nasal influence becomes an ejective affricate. The component *ana* is perhaps cognate with Hadza (C3) *han-la* 'hill' (Bleek 1956: 57), the cerebral or palato-alveolar click ! omitted, the glottal fricative *h* assimilated in the Zulu adaptation of *k"anj"u han-la* > *sandlu* + *hana* > *sandlwana* > *iSandlwana*.

Ithala is the name of a game reserve north of Louwsburg. Formerly written as *Itala*, the name is said to mean 'flat ledge of rock', 'surface of level rock', 'little shelf' (Raper 2004: 155), from the Zulu word *tala* (*itala*) 'shelf' (Colenso 1884: 585); *thala* (*i(li)thala*) 'shelf; raised platform in a hut [Ur-B. -tala scaffold, platform]' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 782). The meaning of the Xhosa word *thala* (*ithala*) is given as 'a ledge of rock, exposed rock, rocky ground' (McLaren 1936: 159), the Zulu and Xhosa words cognate with the Hie (C1) word *ndala* 'flat rock' (Bleek 1956: 144), the (aspirated) alveolar consonant *t(h)* approximating the nasal before the alveolar consonant *d*, suggesting a link with the /Xam (S1) and /!k (S2) noun *tā*: 'flat' (Bleek 1929: 39), in other words, "the flat one", and the component *la* cognate with the /Xegwi (S3) and Sesarwa (S5) demonstrative adverb and pronoun *la* "there, that" (Bleek 1956: 129). *Itala* is thus an adapted Bushman name that means approximately "that flat one there." The insertion of the aspiration in the name of the Ithala Game Reserve, formerly *Itala*, famed for its Bushman paintings, and the home of Bushmen for thousands of years, was thus a further step in the Zulu adaptation of the name (Raper 2009: 8).

Ixopo is the name of a town some 96 km west-north-west of Park Rynie, 85 km south-west of Pietermaritzburg and 100 km north-east of Kokstad, at 30° 09' S, 30° 05' E. It takes its name from that of the Ixopo River, said to mean 'marsh', 'swampy place', from Zulu *i(li)xobo* (Botha 1977: 208), referring to the squelchy sound made by hoofs being withdrawn from the mud (Lugg 1968: 11). The component *xobo* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *!gobo* 'mud, mortar' (Bleek

1956: 384). The forms *Xobbo* and *Xobo* are encountered for the name of the river.

IZotsha see **Zotsha**

Jamludi is the name of a cattle feedlot, a butchery, a food outlet and a village, derived from *uJamludi*,

... one of the most popular and common ox names, also used for cows, dogs, and as a nickname for a person, the named animals or people always having red hair (Koopman 2002: 215).

Koopman is of the opinion that “the Afrikaans/Dutch metaphorical name *Jan Bloed* (‘John Blood’) for a red ox [...] is the origin of the Zulu name **uJamludi**”. Perhaps the opposite is the case, namely that *Jan Bloed* is a folk-etymological adaptation and rationalisation of *uJamludi*, based not only on the phonological similarity of the two words, but also on its semantic content. *Bloed* is the Afrikaans and Dutch word for ‘blood’, for which a !O !kuŋ (N3) word is *jalu* (Bleek 1929: 22), cognate with the component *Jamlu* of the name *Jamludi*. The component *-di* is cognate with the Auen (N1) word *-di* ‘female’ (Bleek 1929: 38), *jaludi* ‘blood(-coloured) female’, in other words, ‘blood-coloured cow’ in this context.

Kamanzi, also encountered as *eKamanzi*, is the name of a tributary of the Mvoti, rising near Fawn Leas and flowing northwards to enter the main stream some 14 km east of Seven Oaks, at 29° 12’ S, 30° 44’ E. The name has been explained as ‘*Die waterversamelaar*’ (‘the water gatherer’) (Botha 1977: 87), from *-khamanzi* (*ikhmanzi*) ‘water-ladle, water-dipper’ (Doke and Vilakazi 2005: 377), from *kha* ‘dip up, draw (water)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 372); *-nzi* (*amanzi*) ‘water’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 632). *Kamanzi* is the Zulu name for the *Rooispruit*, a tributary of the Mvoti (Botha 1977: 87). *Rooispruit* is Afrikaans for ‘red stream’. A //Xegwi (S3) word for ‘red’ is */kamse* (Bleek 1929: 69), so similar in sound to *Kamanzi* that the possibility arises of *Rooispruit* being a translation of an old Bushman name of which *eKamanzi* is a Zulu adaptation. The component *kama* may be cognate with *kaba* ‘red’, recorded in 1660 (Nienaber 1963: 433), *ŋ/kxaba*, the voiced bilabial nasal consonant *m* variable with the voiced consonant *b*; the component *-nzi* perhaps an adaptation of a fluvial generic term, for instance //ǀ!ke (S2)/*k’ēi* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), also recorded as */k’i* (Bleek 1956: 339), the alveolar fricative click with nasal ejected efflux,

/kʰ, phonologically approximating the alveolar nasal preceding the voiced alveolar fricative consonant, *nz*; the vowel cluster *ei* coalesced as *i*; or //ǀ!ke (S2)/kʰi 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339).

Khambathi see **eMkhambathini**

Kosi Lake is the largest of the chain of lakes in the north-eastern extremity of KwaZulu-Natal, some 10 km south of the Mozambique border and 6 km east of Maputa, at 26° 58' S, 32° 50' E. Also encountered in the Afrikaans form *Kosimeer* (Raper 2004: 186). The lake is also known as *Hlangwe* (Botha 1977: 82), a name said to mean 'the reedy one' (Bulpin 1952: 225), *hlangwe* thought to be a regional variant of *uhlanga* 'reed', or of *inhlanga* 'thicket of reeds' (Botha 1977: 83, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 318-9). The reedy character of the lake seems to have led to the two different names for the lake having the same meaning, *Kosi*, like *Hlangwe*, meaning 'reedy'. Bushman words for 'reed' include the /Xegwi (S3) word /ko: 'arrow', of which the plural is /ko:si 'reeds' (Bleek 1956: 321), which correlates well with the component *Kosi*.

KwaCekwane is the Zulu name for *Dronkvelei*, an area near Creighton, in the Ixopo district, at 30° 32' S, 29° 50' E. The name *Dronkvelei* is Afrikaans, meaning 'dizzy marsh', 'drunk swamp'. The area is said to be so called because the water in some marshes there caused cattle drinking it to become dizzy, apparently from semi-poisonous grass growing there. The Zulu name *KwaCekwane* has been interpreted as 'the place of Cekwane', named after a Nyasane chief who lived there in former times. However, as in so many names with the component *Kwa*, *KwaCekwane* is an adaptation of a name of which *Dronkvelei* is a translation. Both *Kwa* and *Cekwa* should mean 'drunk'; the initial component *Kwa* is cognate with the Kung (N2) word /kʰaowa 'to be drunk' (Bleek 1956: 337), *dabwa*; the component *ekwa* of *Cekwa* is perhaps cognate with the /Auni (S4) word !horwa 'vlei, pan' (Bleek 1956: 398), also the Kung (N2) word !/kwa: 'vlei' (Bleek 1956: 511, 768). The suffix *ne* of the name is presumably not the Zulu diminutive suffix, but an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the Kung (N2) demonstrative locative morpheme *ne*: (Bleek, 1956: 144).

KwaCibigoje is said to mean 'n Pan wat insluk, d.i. *Die Absorberende Pan*', ('a pan that swallows, i.e. the absorbing pan') (Botha 1977: 91), from the Zulu words *ichibi* 'a natural pan' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 111),

and *goja* – ‘to swallow’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 254). In this instance, the prefix *Kwa*, misinterpreted as the personal prefix, is cognate with the Kung (N2) word *!!!kwa*: ‘vlei’ (Bleek 1956: 511, 768), or ‘marsh, pan’, the Kung retroflex click with rising tone *!!!* not being preserved in the adaptation. The component *Cibi* is cognate with the Hie (C1) word *jiba* ‘pond, pool’ (Bleek 1929: 66) or *džiba* ‘lake, pool’ (Bleek 1956: 33). The component *goje* is perhaps cognate with the Hadza (C3) word *_k”o* ‘to disappear’ (Bleek 1956: 123), or with the Kung (N2) word *gom* ‘to swallow’ (Bleek 1956: 48), the voiced and unvoiced velar explosives *g* and *k* being variable. In this case the component *Kwa* ‘marsh’ preserves the original Bushman meaning of the name, which is then repeated in the second component of the name, namely *chibi* ‘natural pan’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 111, Raper 2009: 131).

KwaGqwathaza is the Zulu name of *Highflats* at 30° 16’ S, 30° 12’ E. It is said to be derived from *gqwathaza*, associated with wearing shoes when going to town (Raper 2004: 194). If the name *Highflats* is synonymous with *KwaGqwathaza*, and the first and second components *Kwa* and *Gqa* both mean ‘high’, then the component *Kwa* may be comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *!xo:wa* ‘high’, the component *gqwa* to the Kung (N2) adjective *≠xā* ‘high’ (Bleek 1929: 46); the //ǀ!ke (S2) word */k’ā*, the /Xam (S1) *swa*: *ts’wa*; Naron (C2) */nu:a*; noun Naron (C2) */ka:ba*, Khoikhoi *≠ga:b*, //ǀ!ke (S2) *tā*: (Bleek 1929: 39), and the component *thaza* then //ǀ!ke (S2) *tā*:, Naron (C2) */ka:ba*, (H) *≠ga:b*, and so on.

KwaGuqa, the name of a populated area near Witbank (now eMalahleni), has a name said to mean ‘place of kneeling’ (Raper 2004: 194), from *guqa* ‘kneel, go down on the knee; bend the knee, stoop’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 278). The component *Kwa* is comparable with a Bushman word similar to Kung (N2) *!kōā* ‘knee’ (Bleek 1929: 50), the vowel cluster *ōā* consonantalised as *wa*, as evidence by the cognate Auen (N1) word *!kwa /ni* ‘knee’. The component *guqa* ‘kneel, bend the knee’ is cognate with Hadza (C3) *///uku///uku* ‘to kneel down’ (Bleek 1956: 627). However, this explanation has no basis other than a similarity of sounds to known Zulu words. As in so many instances, the Zulu name and its European counterpart can be shown to be synonymous. The name *Witbank* is Afrikaans for ‘white bank’; *bank* is a rock outcrop, sill or ledge or ridge, and is a translation of a Bushman name of which *KwaGuqa* is an adaptation. The component *Kwa* is an adaptation of the Sesarwa (S5) *///xwa* ‘white’ (Bleek 1929: 91), similar

to the /Xam (S1) word /k'o:wa and the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /o:wa 'white' (Bleek 1929: 91); the component *gu* is adapted from the Naron (C2) word /u 'white, pale' (Bleek 1956: 492), /u: 'white' (Bleek 1929: 91), the pattern of reduplication again occurring; the component *qa* is an adaptation of //ǀ!ke (S2) ≠ka: 'ridge of rocks (krans)' (Bleek 1956: 653).

KwaHlangakulu see **Hlangakulu**

KwaMaduma is explained by Botha (1977: 93) as 'Die dreunende' ('the rumbling one'), from *duma* 'thunder; make any rumbling, resounding noise' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 172). Botha states:

The prefixing of *kwa* is possibly linked to the community's feeling *Maduma* to be a personification, possibly even a personal name, since many personal names are formed by *-ma* plus verb (Botha 1977: 93; my translation, PER).

The component *kwa* is more likely to be cognate with /Xam (S1) *k'wa* 'roar' (Bleek 1929: 70), the semantic content preserved by oral tradition, but phonologically misconstrued as the Zulu locative prefix, leading to the inclusion in the place name of the Zulu prefix *-ma-* used in forming compounds with proper names (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 473). Since the original meaning of the name was remembered as part of oral tradition, a word with the same meaning was added to the perceived prefixes *Kwa-Ma-*, namely *duma*, cognate with /Xam (S1) /gum 'roar' (Bleek 1929: 70), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* corresponding to the Bushman retroflex plosive click with voiced efflux /g, the final *-a* of *duma* the derivational suffix that turns a verb into a noun.

KwaMagobana, the name of a stream near Nongoma, is said to mean 'Die kronkelendetjie' ('the little winding one') (Botha 1977: 93), from the verb *goba* 'bend, curve' (Colenso 1884: 166), "... en dat [...] kwa-bygevoeg is, blykbaar analogies, omdat so baie persoonsname gevorm is met *-ma-* + werkwoord" (Botha 1977: 93).²¹ The component *Kwa*, incorrectly interpreted as the Zulu locative prefix, is comparable to the Kung (N2) word *k'wā* 'to turn' (Bleek 1929: 87), the prefix *-ma-* added to accompany the perceived locative prefix, and *goba* 'to turn, to bend' tautologically added to preserve the meaning that was kept

21 "and *kwa-* added, apparently by analogy [...] because so many personal names are formed from *-ma-* + verb".

alive through oral tradition. This component, *goba*, is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Kung (N2) word //kʷobba “to turn” (Bleek 1956: 600, 766), *g* being the voiced form of *k*, the Zulu voiced velar explosive consonant *g* corresponding to the Kung lateral click, also known as the retroflex fricative click, with ejective velar accompaniment //k, the Zulu voiced bilabial implosive consonant *b* corresponding to the Kung voiced bilabial consonant *b*. The suffix *ne* of the name is presumably, therefore, not the Zulu diminutive suffix, but an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Kung (N2) demonstrative locative morpheme *ne*: (Bleek 1956: 144, Raper 2009: 138).

KwaMahlaba, the name of a stream 16 km south of Dannhauser, is said to mean ‘By uMahlaba se plek’ (‘at Mahlaba’s place’) (Botha 1977: 93), but Botha adds: ‘Wie Mahlaba was, is onbekend’ (‘Who Mahlaba was, is unknown’). The name *Mahlaba* is said to be derived from the verb *hlaŋa* ‘pierce, stab, stick, gore, prick, thrust; to kill, slaughter (a beast)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 308). The component *Kwa*, once again (mis)interpreted as a personal suffix, is an adaptation of a Bushman word comparable to the /Xam (S1) word ʔkʷaʔi “to pierce” (Bleek 1956: 458), and to the Kung (N2) word //koā “to kill” (Bleek 1929: 50), the vowel clusters *aī* and *oā* respectively consonantalised as *wa* in Zulu to obviate the impermissible juxtaposition of two vowels, the component *-Ma-* of *Kwa-Mahlaba* added because *Kwa* was interpreted as a personal prefix. The component *hla* is an adaptation of a Bushman word comparable to the /Xam (S1) and //ǀǀ !ke (S2) words /ka:/, /a: ‘to kill’, and the Sesarwa (S5) word //a: “to kill” (Bleek 1929: 50), the Bushman unvoiced alveolar fricative click replaced by the Zulu unvoiced alveolar fricative lateral consonant *hl*; and *hlabā* to the /Xam (S1) word ʔxwabba “to pierce” (Bleek 1956: 743), the Zulu alveolar lateral fricative consonant *hl* replacing the Bushman palato-alveolar with fricative efflux, ʔx (Raper 2009: 138).

KwaMakhamisa, a stream 40 km south-east of Hlabisa, is said to be derived from *khamisa*, the causative of *khama* ‘press, squeeze, wring out’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 377). *UMakhamisa* is said to have been the nickname of an early European pioneer in the area, but the name is surely much older than that. Botha (1977: 94) notes that the name *Kwa-Makhamisa* would be understood ‘*deur die oningewyde*’ (‘by the uninitiated’), as a personification. In fact, the component *Kwa* is

an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with /Xam (S1) *kwa* ‘to press’ (Bleek 1929: 76), the same meaning as given for *khama*, the prefix *-ma-* added because *Kwa* was regarded as the locative prefix commonly used in Zulu with a personal name. The word *khama* (and the component *khami* of the name *Kwa-Makhamisa*), meaning ‘to press’, is cognate with *kam* ‘to press’ (Bleek 1956: 745), Kung (N2) *k’am* ‘to wring out wet’ (Bleek 1956: 119), Kung (N2) *≠kammi* ‘to wring or twist up’ (Bleek 1956: 656). *Kwa-Makhamisa* is a tautological name, both components *Kwa* and *khama* meaning ‘to press’ (Raper 2009: 138-9).

KwaMalikayiko is given as ‘*By die plek van Malikayiko*’ (‘at the place of Malikayiko’) (Botha 1977: 94) from *imali* ‘money’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 479), plus the auxiliary *ka* used in negative exclusive implication, ‘not yet’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 368), plus the impersonal copulative *yiko*, ‘*die geld is nie hier nie, met ander woorde die eiendomlose, die arme*’ (‘the money is not here, in other words the one without property, the poor one’) (Botha 1977: 94). Botha also informs us that, in the Tefula-speaking area, the personal name occurs with a *y* instead of an *l* in the first component, for example as *uMayikayiko*. If the river name *Kwa-Malikayiko* follows the *Kwa-Ma-* pattern of adapted Bushman names, and the prefix *-Ma* is a subsequent addition on the basis of *Kwa* being misinterpreted as a locative personal prefix, the basic form may have been *Kwa-Likayiko* or *Kwa-Yikayiko*, in other words *kwayikayiko*. Mindful of the oral traditional meaning ‘the poor one’ and testing for Bushman words cognate with those of which *kwayikayiko* or variants are the Zulu adaptation reveals the /Xam (S1) word *!kauĩ* ‘poor’, plural *!kau!kauĩm* (Bleek 1929: 67). The similarity in sound between *!kauĩ* and *-kayi* may suffice to warrant regarding them as cognate, and so too *kwayikayiko* and *!kau!kauĩm*. Recognising that Zulu phonology requires a bridging sound (consonantalisation) between juxtaposed vowels would explain the insertion of *l* or *y*, showing how *kwayikayik-* is cognate with a Bushman word similar to *!kau!kauĩ(tm)* or the variant *!kwe!kwé:e(tm)* (Bleek 1929: 67).

KwaManzawayo is the name for a tributary of the Tugela River about 30 km south-west of Nkandla, and for a stream 25 km north-east of Nongoma. In each instance, the name is said to mean ‘(Soos?) *vallende water*’ (‘(Like?) falling water’), from *amanzi* ‘water’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 632) + *wa* ‘fall’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 847) + enclitic

-yo (Botha 1977: 94). Botha states that, in spite of the prefix *Kwa-*, the two names are not derived from a personal name, but that the *Kwa-* acts as a locative-possessive, the name meaning ‘At (the place of) falling water’. As in other *Kwa-Ma-* names, the prefix *-Ma-* has been added because *Kwa-* was interpreted as the Zulu locative formative joined to a personal name (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 441). In fact, *Kwa* is thought to be a Zulu adaptation of a Bushman word like Auen (N1) *_kawa*, Naron (C2) */kawa* ‘to fall’ (Bleek 1929: 37), the first vowel *a* elided, the resultant *kua*, */kua* consonantalised in Zulu as *kwa*; or cognate with /Xam (S1) *!kwa*: ‘water’ (Bleek 1929: 90). Omitting the later prefix *-Ma-* from the name shows an earlier form *Kwanz(a)wayo*, an adaptation cognate with Hie (C1) *owa* */kxaiho* ‘to fall’ (Bleek 1929: 37). The component *owa*, pronounced with a glottal stop preceding the *o* as *ʔowa*, interpreted or adapted as *kwa*, the glottal stop approximating the explosive unvoiced velar consonant *k*, the *o* elided. The component */kxaiho* correlates phonologically with *nz(a)wayo*, the Bushman alveolar fricative click with velar affricative efflux */kx* corresponding to the Zulu alveolar nasal consonant plus alveolar fricative consonant, *nz*; the vowel cluster *ai* coalesced as *a*, and the unvoiced velar fricative *b* rendered as the prepalatal semi-vowel *y*: */kxai > nzway; ho > yo*.

KwaMashu is the name of a township some 19 km north of Durban, at 29° 45’ S, 30° 59’ E. The name is said to be a Zulu adaptation of *Marshall* and to mean the place of Marshall’, referring to Sir Marshall Campbell (1848-1917),

... pioneer of the sugar industry and as a Natal parliamentarian influential in Native affairs member of the Natal Legislative Council for over 20 years, who donated land for the building of this township (Koopman 2002: 132).

The township correlates with the farm *Melk Hout Kr(aa)l*, as indicated on Road Map 114 of the Transvaal Automobile Club (1922). Dutch *Melk Hout*, Afrikaans *melkbout*, literally ‘milk wood’, is the common name for the *Sideroxylon inerme*, of which the Xhosa name is *umqwashu* (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1962: 1440). The topographical correspondence between *Melk Hout Kraal* and *Kwa-Mashu*, the botanical correspondence between *Melkbout* and *umqwashu*, and the phonological similarity between *umqwashu* and *KwaMashu*, beg the question as to whether *KwaMashu* is not an adaptation of an old

Bushman name of which *umqwashu* is the Xhosa equivalent, meaning 'milkwood'. The palato-alveolar click *q* of the tree-name suggests a Bushman origin. Speculating on this point shows the component (*m*) *qwa* to be like //koaiti, //kway, !koaddən 'milk' (Bleek 1956: 735), the component *shu* like /boo 'wood' (Bleek 1929: 93).

KwaMathambo is a locality on the Blood River at 28° 14' S, 30° 30' E, some 29 km east of Dundee. It was the site of a historic battle on 16 December 1838 between Voortrekkers under Andries Pretorius and Zulu warriors under Dingane. The name is of Zulu origin and is said to mean 'at the place of bones' (Raper 2004: 195), from *-thambo* (*ithambo*, plural *amathambo*) [Ur-B. *tambo*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 783), the component *Kwa-* interpreted as the Zulu locative prefix. In fact, however, the component *Kwa* is apparently adapted from a word cognate with /Xam (S1) *!kwa* 'bone' (Bleek 1929: 23). As in so many similar instances, the original meaning was remembered but the connection with *kwa* forgotten, and a second word with the same meaning, in this instance 'bone', added, namely *thambo*. This word stem *thambo* is perhaps cognate with /Nu //en (S6) *≠kã:* 'bone'; the Zulu consonant *th* is the aspirated alveolar explosive consonant corresponding to the Bushman alveolar plosive click with ejected efflux, *≠k*; *m* is the bilabial voiced nasal consonant reflecting the nasalisation of *ã* in *≠kã:*. (The voiced bilabial consonant *b* is the old masculine singular ending still occurring in *≠kob*, earlier masculine singular *m*).

KwaMazula, the name of a watercourse 15 km south of Melmoth, is explained as '*Die swerwer*' ('the wanderer') (Botha 1977: 95), from *zula* 'wander about, roam' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 899). Botha states that, to his knowledge, the name is not derived from a personal name, and that personification apparently led to prefixing of the hypercorrect *kwa-*. The traditional or recorded meaning of 'wander', also reflected in the component *zula*, provides the key to the component *kwa*, namely that it is a misinterpretation of a cognate of the /Xam (S1) word *!ko ā* 'travel' (Bleek 1929: 87), deemed to be the Zulu locative prefix, for which reason *-ma-* was subsequently added. The meaning of *!ko ā*, namely 'to travel', is reflected also in the component *zu(la)*, perhaps adapted from Hie (C1) *kxoo* 'travel' (Bleek 1929: 87), /Xam (S1) */ko:* 'travel in the sky, ascend, descend' (Bleek 1956: 317), or /Xam (S1) *≠nu* 'travel by night' (Bleek 1956: 674), the Zulu voiced alveolar

fricative consonant *z* approximating the Bushman dental or alveolar click with ejective efflux /*k* or alveolar click with nasal efflux $\neq n$.

KwaMesatshwa, the name of a stream 6 km south-east of Ndwedwe, is explained as ‘*By die plek van Mesatshwa*’ (‘at the place of Mesatshwa’) (Botha, 1977: 95), from *esatshwa*, the passive of *esaba* ‘fear, be afraid, be frightened’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 192). Botha suggests that *mesatshwa* may be derived from *-ma- + esatshwa*, “*die voortdurend gevreesde (?)*” (‘the continually feared one (?)’), thus interpreting *-ma-* as a prefix attached to a verb indicating the person (habitually) acting according to the verb (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 473), and implying that the adverbial locative formative *kwa*, joined to a personal name (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 441), is to be explained in this way. Considering that the name is based on the verb meaning ‘to fear, be afraid’ reveals the component *Kwa* to be an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the Auen (N1) word *kwa*^z ‘to be afraid of’ (Bleek 1956: 109). The Zulu component *-Me-* (*ma + e*) of *Kwa-Mesatshwa*, coalesced from *ma + eshwa*, can be attributed to misinterpretation of the Bushman word *kwa*^z as the Zulu prefix *kwa-*, the adverbial locative formative joined to a personal noun to which the prefix *ma* is often added. The component *shwa* is an adaptation of a Bushman word comparable to the //Ku//e (S2c) word *ʃwa*, ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 183); the Bushman prepalatal unvoiced fricative *ʃ* is often a variant of the affricate *tsb* (Bleek 1956: 176), and the geographical feature in question is indeed a hydronym.

KwaNjomelwana, the name of a stream 24 km south-west of Mahlabatini, is explained as meaning ‘*By die plek van Njomelwana*’ (‘at the place of Njomelwana’) (Botha 1977: 96), from *njomelwana*, the diminutive form of *njomela* (*injomela*) ‘tall person or object’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 363). The prefix *kwa* is apparently an adaptation of a word cognate with the //ǀǀ !ke (S2) word *!xo:wa* ‘tall’ (Bleek 1929: 82), the Bushman palato-alveolar click with velar fricative efflux *!x* replaced by the Zulu velar consonant *k*, the interconsonantal vowel *o* elided. The component *njome* corresponds to *!xo:me* ‘tall man’, *njo* cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!xo:* ‘tall’ (Bleek 1929: 82), the Zulu prepalatal nasal preceding the voiced prepalatal affricate *nj* replacing the Bushman palato-alveolar click with fricative efflux *!x*, the component *me* cognate with the Naron (C2) masculine ending *me* “also used as him, it” (Bleek 1956: 136). The suffix (*w*)*ana* is derived from a Bushman word cognate with //na, a demonstrative locative

encountered in virtually all of the Southern group of languages (Bleek 1956: 611).

KwaMkono, the name of a water feature west of Eshowe, is said to mean 'By die plek van uMkono/Mkono-spruit' ('at the place of Mkono/Mkono stream') (Botha 1977: 403), from *kono* (*umkono*) 'whole arm; foreleg of beast' (Colenso 1884: 262). The explanation 'At the place of' indicates that the component *Kwa-* of the name *Kwa-Mkono* has been interpreted as the locative formative prefix and (*u*)*Mkono* as the personal name to which it is joined (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 441). The given meaning of 'arm, foreleg,' and so on, however, provides the key to the origin of the name *Kwa-Mkono*. The component *Kwa-* is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!kwa:* 'leg' (Bleek 1929: 52), the Naron (C2) word *//k'ōā* 'arm' (Bleek 1929: 16), and the Auen (N1) word */ōa* 'leg, bone' (Bleek 1956: 355). Once again, the second component of the name, in this instance *Mkono* (*umkono*), repeats the lexical meaning contained in the initial adapted component of the name. The component *ko* of the stem *-kono* would seem at first sight to be an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the Kung (N2) and !O *!kuŋ* (N3) word *!ko:* 'leg' (Bleek 1929: 52), but *ko* can be equated with the component *bo* with the meaning 'fore, front' as in the Old Khoikhoi word *hobečham* 'forehead' (Nienaber 1963: 509), the unvoiced glottal fricative *b* identified by Nienaber (1963: 510) as a click; the component *bečham* (also *bihčham*, *biqua*, and so on) meaning 'head' (Nienaber 1963: 351), and as in the Old Khoikhoi word *bonco* 'forefinger' (Nienaber 1963: 510). The component *-no* of *-kono* would then be cognate with *no* 'leg' as in the Cape Khoikhoi word *nonqua* 'legs' (Nienaber 1963: 214), the component *-qua* explained by Nienaber as the masculine plural ending (Raper 2009: 133).

KwaMpangisa, the name of a stream 14 km south-east of Richmond, is said by Botha (1977: 95) to mean 'By die plek van uMpangisa' ('at the place of uMpangisa'). The component *Kwa* is thus again interpreted as the locative prefix, in this instance linked to what appears to be the personal name *uMpangisa*, from *pangisa*, the causative of *panga* "do anything hurriedly, eagerly; hurry, run; seize violently, ravage, plunder" (Colenso 1884: 426). The component *Kwa* is perhaps the Zulu adverbial locative formative, as assumed by Botha, but in the light of his reservations concerning the component *Kwa* in

other place names, and recognising the Khoisan influence on this name, it probably is not the locative prefix, but a folk-etymological interpretation, in this instance, of the /Xam (S1) word *k''wa*ʒ*raka* ‘run fast, be fleet’ (Bleek 1956: 127), the first and second components of the name having the same basic meaning. The Zulu word *panga* seems to be cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /*ka*ʒ*η*’*a*, /*ka*ʒ*η*-*a* ‘to chase’ (Bleek 1956: 300, 703), and the Kung (N2) word *ʔxax*η ‘make haste’ (Bleek 1956: 723), in the former instance the unvoiced bilabial explosive consonant *p* replacing the Bushman dental or alveolar fricative click with unvoiced ejected release /*k*, the symbol ʒ indicating that the preceding vowel *a* is a pressed vowel, the *η* being the IPA symbol for the digraph *ng*. I am of the opinion that the assumed personal prefix *uM*, occasioned by the interpretation of *Kwa* as the locative prefix that goes with personal names, led to the insertion of the voiced bilabial consonant *M* in the river name *KwaMpangisa*. If this name is indeed of Khoisan origin, and if a personal name is not involved and the *M* irrelevant, and oral tradition has preserved the original meaning of ‘hurry’, the structure of the place name may be *Kwapangisa*. Then, the first component *Kwapa* may be cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /*nwabba* ‘to hurry, move quickly’ (Bleek 1956: 354), the Bushman alveolar click with nasal efflux replaced by the Zulu explosive velar consonant *K*, the Bushman voiced bilabial consonant *b* replaced by the Zulu unvoiced bilabial *p*. If the pattern of duplication of the meaning in successive components is valid in this instance, the component *ngi* may be cognate with Auen (N1) *ʔhi* ‘to hurry’ (Bleek 1956: 651), the Bushman alveolar click with aspirated velar efflux, *ʔh*, approximated by the Zulu velar nasal *ng*. The final component of the name *KwaMpangisa* may be cognate with the //Xegwi (S3) word /*a*, the Naron (C2) word /*ʔa* ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 177, 224), the adapted name /*nwabba* *ʔhi* /*a* meaning ‘water that hurries, moves quickly’.

KwaMsilana, the name of a river 80 km east of Ubombo, is explained as meaning “*Die stertjie*” (‘the little tail’) (Botha 1977: 95), from *umsilana*, the diminutive of *umsila* ‘tail (of an animal)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 755). Botha states that the prefix *Kwa* is not functional, since *Msilana* is not a personal name. If the regular pattern of semantic repetition applies in this instance, the component *Kwa* is perhaps an adaptation of a Bushman word similar to the /Auni (S4) word /*k’a* “tail” (Bleek 1929: 82). The root *sila* bears resemblance to and

is probably cognate with the /Ki/hazi (S4b) word *i⁻la:ə* ‘tail’ (Bleek 1956: 69). The component *na* of the name *Kwa-Msilana* is perhaps not a diminutive but comparable to the /Xam (S1) demonstrative locative morpheme //na ‘here, in, at’ (Bleek 1956: 611, Raper 2009: 133).

KwaNdodanye, the name of a stream 16 km south-east of Hlabisa, is explained as meaning “Die plek van Ndodanye, ‘Eenmanspruit’” (“the place of Ndodanye, ‘one man stream’”) (Botha 1977: 95), from *-doda* (*indoda*) ‘adult male person, man’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 164); *nye* ‘one’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 623). *Ndodanye* is thus interpreted as a personal name, and *Kwa* as the adverbial locative formative prefixed to it. The component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the //ǀ !ke (S2) word *!kwa* and the Auen (N1) word *!kwã* ‘man’ (Bleek 1929: 56). As in similar constructions, the second component duplicates the meaning of the first, *doda* ‘man, male person’, being comparable to the //ǀ !ke (S2) word *do*, and the Auen (N1) word *_do* ‘male (noun, often used for ‘man’)’ (Bleek 1929: 56), plus the /Auni (S4) word *da* ‘person’ (Bleek 1956: 19), *doda* meaning ‘male person, man’. The component *-nye*, where the prepalatal nasal consonant plus homorganic semi-vowel *ny* is a substitute for, or replacement of, an alveolar fricative click, /, might be regarded as comparable to the Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word */ne* ‘one’ (Bleek 1956: 346). However, the component *-nye* is probably a folk-etymological interpretation of a demonstrative locative cognate with the Auen (N1) word *̃/ne* ‘there, that, this’ (Bleek 1956: 346), the Bushman dental or alveolar fricative click with nasal efflux /n shifted to the Zulu prepalatal nasal plus semi-vowel *ny* (Raper 2009: 133-4).

KwaNgqumbu is derived from the Zulu ideophone *gqumbu* ‘of sound of heavy body falling into water; of throwing into water’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 267, Botha 1977: 96). The component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!koa* ‘to fall’ (Bleek 1956: 436), the vowel cluster *oa* consonantalised as *wa*; with the /Xam (S1) word *xwa*: ‘to fall’ (Bleek 1956: 262), and the Sesarwa (S5) word //gwa ‘fall’, also ‘to set, hang’ (Bleek 1956: 536). The component *gqum(bu)* is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the Auen (N1) word *!gom* ‘to fall’, as in the example ‘the stone [...] falls into the water’ (Bleek 1956: 385), and the /Xam (S1) word *!gum* ‘roar, bellow’ (Bleek 1956: 388); compare also the /Xam (S1) word *!kumba* ‘heavy’ (Bleek 1956: 452), and the Khoikhoi word *!gom*

'heavy' (Bleek 1929: 46). The Zulu voiced form of the palato-alveolar click preceded by the velar nasal, *ngq*, corresponds to the Bushman palato-alveolar click with voiced velar efflux, *!g*; the back close vowel *u* is variously heard as *u* or *o* (Bleek 1956: 246).

KwaNkomokayidle, a stream 6 km south of Ndwedwe, has a name interpreted as '*By Nkomokayidli-kraal, (Die kraal waar) die bees/koei nie wei nie, waarskynlik die bynaam vir 'n kraal van iemand wat baie gierig was*'²² (Botha 1977: 96), from *komo* (*inkomo*) 'head of cattle, beast, bullock, as an ox, cow, &c.' (Colenso 1884: 260); *khomo* (*inkomo*) 'generic term for cow, ox or bull' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 401), *ka* the verbal auxiliary used in negative exclusive implication, to express 'not yet' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 368), and *dla* 'eat, graze, feed on' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 150). It appears that the explanation of the meaning 'where the cow does not graze' is a misinterpretation. The component *Kwa*, regarded as a locative prefix typically used with an anthroponym, is comparable to /Xam (S1) /*k'wā* 'to graze' (Bleek 1929: 44), the nasalisation of *ā* reflected in the nasal consonant *n* of the component *-Nkomo* (although, of course, the *n* of the prefix *in(komo)* is also incorporated). The component (*n*)*komokayi* is comparable to Sesarwa (S5) *gome* //*gai*, /Nu //en (S6) *gume* //*kai* 'cow' (Bleek 1929: 30), literally 'female head of cattle', //*gai* being the Sesarwa (S5) word for 'female' (Bleek 1929: 38), //*kai*, containing the unvoiced velar consonant *k*, adapted to Zulu *kayi* by insertion of the prepalatal semi-vowel *y* to obviate the juxtaposition of two vowels *ai* that would violate the Zulu phonological canon. The word *kayi* may perhaps be an older variant of the feminine suffix *kazi* that occurs with a very limited number of nouns (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 371) [*cf* Ur-B **-kali**], cognate with //Xegwi (S3) //a:si 'female' (Bleek 1929: 39). In toponymic constructions of this kind, namely names with the component *Kwa*, there seems to be a pattern of the meaning of the Bushman component adapted as *Kwa* being repeated in the other component of the name, as has repeatedly been noted, so that in this instance the component *Kwa* could be cognate with //Xegwi (S3) *!kboa* 'cow' (Bleek 1929: 30), the Bushman vowel cluster *oa* consonantalised in the Zulu adaptation as *wa*. Since the component

22 At Nkomokayidli village, in other words, (the village where) the head of cattle/cow does not graze, probably the name for the village of someone who was very niggardly.

kayi is not a negative, as suggested by Botha, but part of the noun *gume* //kai 'cow', the component *-dli* is probably not derived from *dla* 'to eat', but a generic term, for example similar to the //ǀǀke (S2) word /k'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339), or //ǀǀke (S2) /k'ēi 'river' (Bleek 1929: 70), the Zulu voiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant *dl* corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative click /, or the alveolar fricative click with ejected and nasal efflux, /k'̥̥̥/, the vowel cluster *ei* in the latter instance coalesced to *i*. The Zulu *dl* comprises the voiced alveolar explosive *d* and the voiced alveolar lateral *l* as a fricative.

KwaNogqaza, the Zulu name of the Howick Falls, is variously said to mean 'the tall one' or 'the pouring one' (Botha 1977: 96; my translation, PER). The stem of the component *Nogqaza* is regarded as *gqaza*, a reduced form of the Zulu word *gxaza* 'pour down' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 290). Botha states that the name's being regarded as that of a person is not based on historical data, but derived from the form of the name, more specifically the prefixes *Kwa* and *no* usually associated with a personal name. The variety of spellings of the name encountered, and the various attempts at explaining discrepancies and incongruities (Botha 1977: 96-7) point to an older Bushman origin of the name. It seems that the meanings preserved by oral tradition, but also obvious for a high waterfall over which the water pours continuously, are contained in the name. The component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the Naron (C2) word /bwa 'to pour', the component *gqaza* with the Naron (C2) word *_koʔaʔra* 'to pour away, empty' (Bleek 1956: 97), the voiced and unvoiced velar explosives *gq* and *k* being variable, the Bushman vowel cluster *oʔa* coalesced to the syllable peak *a*, the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* corresponding to the Bushman voiced alveolar consonant pronounced with one vibration or tap *r*.

KwaNtunja, a river 8 km east of Melmoth, takes its name from a mountain pass which it flows. The name, said to mean 'Deur/By die opening' ('through/at the opening') (Botha 1977: 98), is thought to be from *tunja* (*intunja*) 'hole, orifice, as through a thicket or between two rocks' (Colenso 1884: 590). *Ntunja* is also the Zulu name for *Gatberg*, a peak in the Drakensberg north-east of Dragon's Back (Raper 2004: 109). *Gatberg*, Afrikaans for 'hole mountain', is thought to be a translation of *Ntunja*, as is frequently the case where a feature

has names from different languages (Nienaber & Raper 1977: 142-4, 1980: 20-5). The component *tu* of *intunja* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) and //ǀǀ !ke (S2) word *tu*: 'hole' (Bleek 1929: 47), indicating that the Zulu prefix is *in-* and the stem *tunja*, as given by Colenso (1884: 590), and that the stem is thus not *ntunja* as given by Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 609). The component *Kwa* of *Kwa-Ntunja* should, if this name follows the pattern of other *Kwa-* names, duplicate the meaning of the other component of the name. In this instance, *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!koa* 'hole, cave' (Bleek 1956: 437), the Bushman diphthong *oa* consonantalised as *wa* in the adaptation to obviate the juxtaposition of two vowels that is impermissible in Zulu. The component *-nja* of the name is cognate with the /Xegwi (S3) demonstrative locative morpheme *nja* (Bleek 1956: 147).

KwaNzimela is the Zulu name of Duikerhoek, situated 20 kilometres south-west of Melmoth (Walton 1984: 153 3B). As in so many other instances, the Afrikaans name translates a Bushman name, of which the Zulu name is an adaptation. The component *Kwa* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *khoa* 'duikerbok' (Bleek 1956: 89), also *kxoa* 'Duiker buck' (Bleek 1929: 35). Reduplication of the meaning in the first two components of the name shows the element *nzi* to be comparable to //ǀǀ !ke (S2) *!ke*: 'Duiker buck' (Bleek 1929: 35) and /*be*: 'duiker' (Bleek 1956: 287); also the ≠Khomani (S2a) word *≠kbe*., *≠kbei* 'duiker' (Bleek 1956: 661), and the /Auni (S4) word *≠kbei* 'duiker' (Bleek 1956: 661). The component *mela* is more difficult to equate with Bushman cognates.

KwaShushu, the name of a mineral spring on an island in the Tugela River, is said by Botha (1977: 99) to be derived from *-shushu* (*u(lu)shushu*), a *blonipha* (avoidance) term for *thuthu* (*u(lu)thuthu*) 'smouldering fire' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 749). A more direct link between the name and the feature is that it is derived from *-shushu* (*ushushu*) 'hot spring; sulphur spring [*cf* Xh -*u*]' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 749), a word with a semantic link to *-shushu* (*u(lu)shushu*). Such an explanation would also be more in line with the Bushman place-naming pattern. The component *Kwa* of the name *Kwa-Shushu* is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *ˀkhwā* 'to be hot' (Bleek 1956: 90). The second component, *shu*, is comparable to the /Nu //en (S6) word *//u*: 'hot' (Bleek 1929: 49), the final component

shu considered to be a generic term similar to the /Nu //en (S6) word //š̄: ‘spring’ (Bleek 1929: 79).

KwaSokunata, the name of a stream 22 km east-south-east of Nongoma, is said to be derived from *natha* ‘drink heavily’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 526, Botha 1977: 100). If the river name is adapted from Khoisan, the component *Kwa* may be cognate with /Xam (S1) *k”wā* ‘to drink’ (Bleek 1929: 34); the component *so* with Nama/*no* ‘ohne Athem zu holen [...] trinken’ (‘to drink without breathing’) (Kroenlein 1889: 254b42), the alveolar fricative consonant *s* approximating the alveolar fricative click / (although the nasal efflux is not reflected in the Zulu), *sore* ‘in die Runde trinken’ (‘drink in a circle’) (Kroenlein 1889: 39b5); the component *ku* with *≠gu* ‘(anhaltent) trinken, (ohne abzusetzen)’ (‘drink (continuously, without putting down)’) (Kroenlein 1889: 140a5), the unvoiced velar explosive consonant *k* corresponding to the alveolar plosive click with voiced velar efflux *≠g*; the component *na* with Kung (N2) *k”ā*, //ǀ !ke (S2), //Xegwi (S3), Sesarwa (S5), /Nu //en (S6) *k”ā* ‘to drink’ (Bleek 1929: 34), the Zulu alveolar nasal consonant *n* reflecting the nasalisation of *ā*; the component *ta* with Hie (C1) *t’a* ‘to drink’ (Bleek 1929: 34). [*Kwa-Sokunata* < *k”wā/no≠guk”ā:t’a*].

Kwa Zulu is a locality on the Hlimbitwa River 16 km north-west of its confluence with the Mvoti River. On the map is entered the note *Hot Springs* (Walton 1984: 130 2A), a translation of the Bushman name of which *Kwa Zulu* is an adaptation. The component *Kwa* is cognate with the !O !uŋ (N3) word *ˀkhwā* ‘to be hot’ (Bleek 1956: 90). The component *Zulu* is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *≠hauru*, *≠houru* ‘waterhole, pond, pit’ (Bleek 1956: 651, 744), the /Xam alveolar click with aspirated efflux, *≠h*, replaced by the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z*, the initial vowel of the /Xam diphthong *au* or *ou* elided to avoid the juxtaposition of two vowels, and the /Xam voiced alveolar lingual consonant *r* replaced by the Zulu voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l*.

Kwiti is explained as meaning ‘*Die mompelende*’ (‘the mumbling one’) (Botha 1977: 101), from *kwiti* ‘of speaking in a way difficult to follow’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 443). The component *Kwi* is cognate with Hie (C1)/*kwī*, Naron (C2) *k”wī* ‘to speak’ (Bleek 1929: 78), Khoikhoi *≠kwi* ‘*sprechen wollen und nicht können*’ (‘to want to speak and not be able to’) (Kroenlein 1889: 228a43), *u* being elided to leave *≠kwi*. The

component *ti* of the name *Kwiti* is a generic term meaning ‘river’, cognate with //D !ke (S2) /k’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), /Auni (S4) ≠ei ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 643), the alveolar explosive consonant /t/ in the latter case representing the alveolar click ≠, the Bushman vowel cluster (diphthong) *ei* reduced to the syllable peak *i* to obviate the juxtaposition of two vowels.

Lake Sibayi see Sibaya

Longwe, a stream 24 km south of Ingwavuma, has a name said to mean ‘*Misspruit*’ (‘dung stream’), from the places along the stream where animals drank and lay (Botha 1977: 101), from *longwe* (*u(bu) longwe*) ‘fresh dung of cattle and other large cordiverous animals’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 463). The component *lon(g)* of the name *Longwe* is cognate with //Xegwi (S3) *luŋ* ‘cow dung’ (Bleek 1956: 131), the Bushman back close vowel phoneme *u* variously heard as back close *u* or back half-close *o* (Bleek 1956: 246); the component *gwe* with Hie (C1) *kwe* ‘river’, the unvoiced *k* vocalised as *g* under influence of the nasal *ng/ŋ*.

Lufafa is the name of a tributary of the Mkomazi, rising north-west of Ixopo and flowing east and then north to enter the main stream at 30° 00’ S, 30° 11’ E, some 15 km south-west of Richmond. Of Zulu origin, the name is said to mean ‘the fissure’, or ‘cleft’, referring to a chasm through which it flows (Botha 1977: 103), from *Fa* (*U for Ulu*), ‘breach, crack, flaw, blemish, chink, fracture; chasm; used for female organ’ (Colenso 1884: 132). The component *fafa* is perhaps comparable to Hie (C1) *patha* ‘crack’ (Bleek 1956: 157).

Mabunga is explained by Botha (1977: 104) as ‘*Die ophoper/versamelaar*’ (‘the one that heaps up, gathers’), from *bunga* ‘gather together on to, flock around, swarm over [...]; heap on to (as wood or stones on a pile)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005). A connection with this explanation could be *bunga* (*i(li)bunga*) ‘piece of rotten decayed wood’, plural *amabunga* [Ur-B *vungu*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 92), cognate with *bunq~vaa* ‘trees’, ‘arbores, bomen’ (Nienaber 1963: 226), *punqa-a* ‘a tree’, ‘*een boom*’ (Nienaber 1963: 226).

Maduma, the name of a watercourse 27 km north of Nongoma, is said to mean ‘*Die dreunende/eggoënde*’ (‘The rumbling one/The echoing one’), referring to echoes of thunder in the valley through which the river flows (Botha 1977: 104), from *duma* ‘thunder; make any

rumbling, resounding noise; rumble, reverberate', and so on (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 172). The verb *duma* is cognate with /Xam (S1) *!gum* 'roar' (Bleek 1929: 70), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* corresponding to the Bushman palato-alveolar plosive click with voiced efflux, *!g*, the vowel *-a* of the name being the obligatory Zulu final vowel.

Madwaleni is the name of a stream 9 km east-north-east of Ixopo, and of a watercourse 6 km west of Ndwedwe, in both instances *Madwaleni* means 'Klipspruit' ('stone stream'), derived from Zulu *idwala*, 'large, flat rock', plural *amadwala*, locative *emadwaleni* (Botha 1977: 105), *dwala* (*i(li)dwala*) 'large, flat, exposed rock' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 177). The Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* approximates the Bushman retroflex fricative click// with voiced velar explosive efflux *g*, the stem *dwala* cognate with Hie (C1) *//gwa* 'stone' (Bleek 1929: 80), or with Hie (C1) *ndala* 'flat rock' (Bleek 1956: 144), the component *-eni* may be a fluvial generic, as discussed elsewhere.

Magabeni is the name of a township some 5 km north-west of Umkomaas, at 30° 11' S, 30° 46' E. The name is said to be derived from Zulu *gaba* (*igaba* 'small branch, twig' (Colenso 1884: 150) and to mean 'place of small branches', from the plural *amagaba*, 'small branches'. The component *Ma-* of the name is the Zulu prefix; the word *gaba* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *!kaba* 'branch, twig, tendon' (Bleek 1956: 402).

Magobongo, the name of a stream 21 km north-west of Vryheid, is given by Botha (1977: 105) as meaning '*Die hol plekke/Die leë*' ('the hollow places/the empty one'), from *amagoŋongo*, plural of *igoŋongo* 'hollow place or thing' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 251). The component *-goŋo-* may be comparable with *!gowo* '*eine rundes Loch haben*' ('to have a round hole') (Kroenlein 1889: 124a30), from *!go* 'hollow, to be hollow', 'hohl, hohl sein' (Kroenlein 1889: 119b45), /Xam (S1) */góó* 'to hollow out' (Bleek 1956: 281), the Zulu voiced velar explosive consonant *g* corresponding to the Bushman cerebral or palato-alveolar click with voiced velar efflux, *!g*, the Zulu voiced bilabial implosive consonant *ɓ* to the voiced (bilabial) velar semi-vowel *w*. The component *-ngo* of *Magobongo* is perhaps cognate with *//no-b* 'ravine', '*Kluft*' (Rust 1960: 35), the voiced velar nasal compound *ng*

corresponding to the lateral retroflex fricative click with nasal efflux //n; *Ma* is an adjectival prefix (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 473).

Magogo, the name of a settlement some 22 km south-south-east of Nqutu, at 28° 27' S, 30° 48' E, and of a mountain at 28° 25' S, 30° 48' E, is said to mean 'place of grandmothers' (Raper 2004: 217), from *ugogo* 'ancestor, great grandparent' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 253). The component *Ma* is the Zulu prefix; the component *gogo* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *xoa xoa* 'mother's mother' (Bleek 1929: 43), the velar fricative *x* approximating the velar plosive *g*, the vowel cluster or diphthong *oa* in each case coalesced to *o* since two vowels may not occur in juxtaposition in Zulu.

Mahlabatini is the name of a river near Mount Misery, 26 km south-east of Richmond, at 30° 03' S, 30° 27' E, and of a village 40 km north of Melmoth and 48 km south-west of Nongoma, at 28° 13' S, 31° 29' E. Established as a Norwegian mission station, it became the seat of magistracy of the Mahlabatini district. The name is Zulu, said to mean 'place of white, sandy soil', from *blaḡatbi* (*isiblaḡatbi*) 'sand, gravel, sandy soil' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 310). The component *bla(b)* is comparable to the Auen (N1) word *k" a*, *k" a*: 'sand' (Bleek 1956: 116), Kung (N2) *ḡkx?a*, *k" a*: 'earth, ground' (Bleek 1956: 116), *kxa* 'sand' (Bleek 1956: 751), the Zulu unvoiced lateral alveolar fricative consonant *hl* approximating the Bushman ejective *k* or glottal croak; *blab* reminiscent of Khoikhoi //kaeb 'Flusssand, Bausand' ('river sand, building sand') (Rust 1960: 51), the lateral or retroflex fricative click with ejected efflux //k corresponding to the Zulu lateral alveolar fricative consonant *hl*, the vowel cluster *ae* simplified to *a*. The component (*i*)*ni* may be the Zulu locative suffix, or a generic term for 'river' similar to //ǀ!ke (S2)/k'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339).

Mahwaqa is the name of a mountain 2 083 m high, extending some 20 km in a north-westerly direction from just west of Bulwer to the Mkomozane River some 13 km north-east of Himeville, at 28° 58' S, 30° 03' E. Also encountered as *amaHwaqa* and *emaHwaqa*, this Zulu name is said to mean 'rugged mountain with a menacing appearance', 'the frowning one', from its profile when viewed from the south. There is also a mountain called *aMabwaqa* some 30 km west of Muden (Raper 2004: 219). The name is derived from the ideophone *hwaqa* 'of frowning, being overcast; of gloominess', hence *hwaqa* 'frown;

get dark, gloomy, overcast' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 352). As Botha (1977: 120) noted when discussing *Mbiza*, people are inclined to shy away from the obvious in favour of the romantically distanced or unusual where a choice presents itself. In this instance, 'the menacing appearance' is the result of darkness, gloominess, as indicated by Doke & Vilakazi earlier. The component *Ma* is presumably the Zulu prefix; the component *hwaqa* comparable to /Xam (S1)/*hoaka*, /*haokən*, /*ho:* 'dark, black' (Bleek 1956: 289), /Xam (S1) *t'oakən* 'darkness' (Bleek 1956: 207), the Bushman click being dropped and the diphthong *oa* consonantalised as *wa*. The final component may, however, be a feature-type designator, for example the //ǀ !ke (S2) word *≠kã:* 'ridge of rocks, krans' (Bleek 1956: 653), in which case the Bushman alveolar click *≠* is preserved in the Zulu palato-alveolar click *q* of the component *qa*.

Makasini, the name of a stream near Kranskop, is said to mean 'By the blare' ('at the leaves'); *eMakhasini* is the locative plural of *amakhasi* (Botha 1977: 105). The stem *khasi*, from *ikhasi*, plural *amakhasi* 'dry leaf, leaf of tree', and so on (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 383), is comparable to Khoikhoi *≠gais* 'Blatt (*am Baum*)' ('leaf (on a tree)') (Rust 1960: 11), the aspirated velar explosive consonant *kh* of *khasi* occurs in the river name as the 'radical velar consonant devoid of aspiration but with slight voicing, *k*, appearing almost as *g*' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 368), corresponding to the Khoikhoi alveolar click with voiced velar efflux, *≠g*. The component *kasin* of the name *Makasini* is also cognate with Kung (N2) *k'ã*, plural *k'ãsin* 'leaf of an onion' (Bleek 1956: 402). However, 'at the leaves' is hardly an unambiguously referential designation, and may well be a folk-etymological explanation of the name suggested by the similarity of the name *Makasini* to the word *ikhasi*. In addition, the meaning of *ikasi* as given by Colenso (1884: 244) makes the explanation even more unlikely as a toponymically motivated one: 'husk; leaves surrounding the mealie-cob; stuff spit out, after chewing *imfe*, &c.'. A more satisfactory explanation of the name is suggested by the topographical proximity of the stream to Kranskop, an Afrikaans name meaning 'cliff hillock'. The component *Ma* of the name is presumably the Zulu class prefix; the component *ka* approximating the //ǀ !ke (S2) *≠kã:* 'ridge of rocks, krans' (Bleek 1956: 653); the component (*i*)*ni* is comparable to the !O !kunj (N3) word *!ni* 'hill' (Bleek 1929: 46).

Manga, the name of a stream near Dundee, is said to mean ‘*Vals-/Moordspruit*’ (‘false/murder stream’) (Botha 1977: 106), from an obsolete word *manga* ‘with idea of surprise; ‘unbelievable happening’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 482). The word *manga* is comparable to the Kung (N2) word *k”ayʒa* ‘to speak falsely, conceal a fact’ (Bleek 1956: 119), the ejected *k”* represented by the bilabial nasal *m*. It is possible that the *m* of *manga* is a relic of a bilabial click ʘ that has shifted to *k”*, as has occurred in other words.

Mankamane is the Zulu name of *Helpmekaar* and of a spur of the Biggarsberg to the south-west of the town, at 28° 29’ S, 30° 27’ E. Also encountered as *eMankamane*, the name is said to mean ‘place of milk-curd’ (Raper 2004: 224). Doke & Vilakazi (2005) do not give a noun for ‘milk-curd’ that resembles *Mankamane*, although the verb *khama* ‘drain off (as whey from thick milk)’ is given (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 377). It has often proven to be the case that a European name for a place translates an indigenous one for the same place, and *Helpmekaar* ‘assist each other’ was tested for a Bushman origin with Zulu adaptation, but with the expectation of a negative result, since this would not be a common pattern of naming for Bushman. Nevertheless, it was found that a Naron (C2) word for ‘help’ is *ma*: (Bleek 1929: 46), which corresponds with the component *Ma-* of *Mankamane*; the second component, *-nka-*, is comparable with Naron (C2) //*kaië* ‘each other’ (Bleek 1929: 35). The second component *ma* of the name may be comparable to the Hie (C1) word *ma* ‘lend, give, forgive’ (Bleek 1956: 133), and Auen (N1) *ma*, *-ma* ‘to give’ (Bleek 1956: 132), concepts compatible with the notion of helping. The name was primarily that of a spur of the Biggarsberg, the final component (*ma*)*ne* thus possibly a generic term for ‘hill’, for example !O !kuj (N3) *’mi* ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46).

Mankankaneni is the name of a stream 6 km east-north-east of Hlabisa. It is said to mean ‘*Hadidaspruit, (By die badidas)*’ (‘Hadida stream, (at the Hadidas)’) (Botha 1977: 107), from *nkankane* (*i(li) nkankane*), ‘Common or Hadadah Ibis, Hagedashia hagedash’, plural *amankankane*, locative plural *emankankaneni* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 575). The Zulu nasal plus ejective velar explosive consonant, *nk*, is thought to be a replacement of a Khoikhoi click with nasal efflux, the stem of the word, *nkankane*, cognate with *’ta ’kai ’kene*

'hagedash' (Nienaber 1963: 295), 't and 'k representing clicks as stated by Sparrman.

Mantshontsho is the name of a stream approximately 22 km south-east of Weenen, at 28° 59' S, 30° 22' E. The name is said to mean 'the one that steals' (Raper 2004: 224), derived from Zulu *ntshontsha*, 'steal, pilfer' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 607). The component *ntsha* seems to be similar to the Kung (N2) word *ntʃa*, *s. tʃa* 'to steal' (Bleek 1956: 149), although this is not a name that follows the toponymic pattern in which a component is a feature-type designator such as *tʃa* 'water', which might have been expected.

Manzamnyama is a name applied to several rivers, such as the river which rises in the Biggarsberg and flows north into the Chelmsford Dam, at 28° 02' S, 29° 56' E; one near the Sungubala Pass in the Drakensberg; a tributary of the Buffalo River, near Isandlwana, and a tributary of the Tongathi (Botha 1977: 108). The name is generally said to mean 'black water', from Zulu *amanzi*, 'water', *mnyama*, 'black' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 506). Referring to the tributary of the Tongathi, Botha (1977: 108) states that the name refers to the presence of black dolerite rocks in its bed; that the stream is situated on the farm Klipfontein, and that the river itself is also known as *Klipfonteinspruit* ('stone spring stream'). As in many instances where a feature has a Zulu and a Dutch or Afrikaans name, the Zulu name proves to be an adaptation of a Bushman name of which the European name is a translation. The component *man* of the name *Manzamnyama* is comparable with //D !ke (S2) *!kan* 'stone' (Bleek 1956: 407), indicating a shift from *!k* to *m*; the component *za* is comparable with the Auen (N1) word *ʔha* 'spring, fountain' (Bleek 1956: 650), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z*, 'the voiced form of *s*' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 884), is comparable with the Bushman alveolar click with aspirated efflux *ʔh*; the component *nyama* perhaps with Hadza (C3) *kamua* 'river, pool, waterhole' (Bleek 1956: 179); the *ny* is the prepalatal nasal consonant (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 616), which McLaren (1926: 9) gives as the "liquid inspired palatal consonant" for Xhosa, the *u* elided to obviate two juxtaposed vowels. For the *Manzamnyama Lake* near Kosi Bay, Botha (1977: 108) gives the explanation of 'deep water', from *-mnyama* 'deep' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 506). In this instance, the Bushman cognate of *nyam* is Naron (C2) *!gam* 'deep' (Bleek 1956: 376),

the ‘inspired liquid’ palatal consonant *ny* substituted for the Naron palato-alveolar click with voiced efflux *!g* (Bleek 1956: 368).

Manzimtoti see **Amanzimtoti**

Mateku, a river in the Eshowe district, has a name said to mean ‘*Panspruit*’, (‘Pan stream’) from *itbeku*, *i(li)tbeku*, plural *amatbeku* ‘lagoon, enclosed bay, harbour’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 789); *teku* (I) ‘open mouth or river, bay: *eTekwini*, Etekwini, native name for the Bay at Durban’ (Colenso 1884: 543). Lugg (*Eshowe Golden Jubilee Supplement, Natal Mercury*, 16.2.1965, in Botha 1977: 113) gives the meaning of *itbeku* as ‘a large sheet of water’ (‘n groot strook water’). This meaning, encountered also in reference to a ‘pan’ or ‘vlei’ in the case of the name *Teku* on the farm *Jakkalsvlei*, would be in accordance with toponymic motives among pre-literate peoples, place names primarily of the evolutionary type, developing from appellatives or descriptive phrases. The component *te* is comparable to Sehura (C1a) *tse*, Auen (N1) */geˀ*, !O !kuŋ (N3) *//ke* (Bleek 1956: 567), Auen (N1) *≠gee*: and *≠gei* ‘big’ (Bleek 1956: 646), the component *ku* (with a soft-k) comparable to Auen (N1) *!gu* ‘water’ *s. ˀ!gu, //gu* (Bleek 1956: 387); Kung (N2) *//gu* (Bleek 1956: 534), Kung (N2) *!!gũ* (Bleek 1956: 506); Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) *≠gu, s. !gu* (Bleek 1956: 648); Auen (N1) *!gu:*, Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) *ˀ//gu:* (Bleek 1929: 90).

Mati is the name of a tributary of the Tugela River near Mapumulo, explained by Botha (1977: 113) as ‘*Die water, dit is Die rivier/spruit*’ (‘the water, that is the river/stream’), from *amati*, a word regarded by Döhne (1857: 208) as a dialectal form of *amanzi* ‘water’ and related to *mata* ‘to be wet, damp (as ground)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 487). The river name *Mati* is cognate with the Hadza (C3) words *mati* ‘to flow’, and *ati* ‘water’, as in the example ‘*ati mati jamoa* – water flows (on) the earth’ (Bleek 1956: 136). The phenomenon of a verb for ‘to flow’ being the basis of river names has a parallel in the river names *Tain*, *Tay*, *Teviot*, *Thames*, *Tyne*, all being derived from Indo-European **tā-*, *tə-* ‘to flow’ (Nicolaisen 1976: 190).

Matikulu see **Amatikulu**

Mavabaza is explained as ‘*Die slordige/Die trae*’ (‘the untidy one, the tardy one’) (Botha 1977: 116), from the ideophone *vabā* ‘of carelessness, untidiness’, and so on (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 828). Botha informs us that *vabaza* is regarded as a dialectal word among the Tongas of the

area, meaning 'to be lazy, tardy'. Botha's alternative explanation of 'the tardy one' shows the stem *vaḅa* seems to be cognate with /Xam (S1)//*kabba* 'to be slow, leisurely' (Bleek 1956: 548). The voiced dentilabial fricative consonant *v*, in this instance, represents the lateral click //, described by Bleek (1929: 13) as the 'retroflex fricative click'.

Mbabe is said to mean 'Bitterspruit' ('bitter stream') (Botha 1977: 117), from *ḅaḅa* 'be acrid, pungent, bitter, salty' [Ur-B *-vava*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 57). The final vowel *-e* of the river name *Mbabe* suggests a possible link with Naron (C2) and Auen (N1) *dabe* 'salt' (Bleek 1929: 71), where the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* approximates the voiced bilabial explosive consonant *ḅ*. The first bilabial implosive consonant *ḅ* is perhaps a click replacement for the alveolar plosive click with ejected efflux *≠k* and *ḅaḅa* cognate with *≠kawa* 'schlecht' ('bad, unpleasant') (Rust 1960: 53), the intervocalic *w* a voiced bilabial semi-vowel approximating the voiced bilabial consonant *ḅ*; or with /Xam (S1) // *k'oaḅa* 'bitter' (Bleek 1929: 22), // *kaoḅwa*, // *k'aḅowa*, 'bitter' (Bleek 1956: 603), // *k'* the lateral click with ejected efflux, *oa* coalesced as Zulu *a* to obviate violating the CV canon.

Mbejisa, the name of a stream 72 km south-east of Louwsburg, is interpreted as 'Bloedspruit' ('blood stream') (Botha 1977: 118), from *bejisa*, the causative of *beja* 'be red' (Colenso 1884: 28), from the ideophone *beje* 'of redness (as of blood)' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 30). The ideophone *beje* is cognate with the Hie (C1) word /*geje* 'red' (Bleek 1929: 69), the Zulu voiced bilabial explosive consonant *b* approximating the Hie alveolar click with voiced velar explosive efflux /*g*. The component *-sa* of *Mbejisa* is perhaps a fluvial generic term cognate with /Xam (S1) // *k'a* 'river' (Bleek 1929: 70), the unvoiced alveolar fricative consonant *s* corresponding to the unvoiced alveolar fricative click with ejective efflux, /*k*.

Mbezana, referring to a small lake formed when the mouth of a river is blocked by silt, is given as 'Die klein glinsterende' ('the little glittering one') (Botha 1977: 119), from the ideophone *ḅe* 'of glittering (as dew), quivering (as heat waves)' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 70), *ḅeza* 'glitter', *umḅeza* 'glittering, shimmering' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 75). The component (*M*)*be* is comparable with /Auni (S4) *≠e* 'shine' (Bleek 1929: 74), the Zulu voiced bilabial nasal compound *mb* approximating

the palatal click with nasal efflux $\tilde{\text{c}}$; the component *za* with Naron (C2) $\neq ga$ ‘to glitter’ (Bleek 1956: 643), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* corresponding to the Bushman voiced alveolar fricative click $\neq g$. The final component of the name *Mbezana* is probably not a diminutive suffix, as surmised by Botha, but a generic term comparable with the Sesarwa (S5) words $//k''anna$ ‘waterpits’ (Bleek 1956: 603), $//g\ddot{a}na$ ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 526), $//gwana$ ‘a Masarwa waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 537).

Mbilane is the name of a hill situated 36 km east-north-east of Tugela Ferry and 44 km south-south-east of Nqutu, at 28° 35' S, 30° 47' E. It is said to be derived from Zulu *imbila*, diminutive *imbilana*, ‘rock-rabbit, coney, dassie’, *Procavia capensis*, which occur there. The name is also borne by a stream 32 km east-north-east of Utrecht; by a stream in the Paulpietersburg district at 27° 33' S, 30° 39' E, and by a watercourse in the Vryheid district at 27° 40' S, 31° 06' E (Raper 2004: 234). In all these instances, the initial *M* of the name is the Zulu prefix, the component *bila* is thought to be cognate with the Hie (C1) word *pela* ‘rock rabbit’ (Bleek 1956: 157). The component *ne* is comparable to the !O !kuŋ (N3) word !ni ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46).

Mbilo is the name of a river flowing through Pinetown and Queensburgh to the Umbilo Channel and entering Natal Bay at Bayhead, at 29° 51' S, 30° 58' E. The name, also encountered as *Umbilo*, is explained as ‘*Die kokende/Die borrelende*’ (‘the boiling one/the bubbling one’) (Botha 1977: 120), from *bila* ‘boil, bubble in boiling’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 77). The word *bila* is cognate with Hie (C1) *bela* ‘to boil’ (Bleek 1956: 15), the front close vowel *i* occurring as front half-close *e* (Bleek 1956: 66).

Mbiza, a pan 18 km east-south-east of Ubombo, has a name said to mean ‘*Die (groot) pot/Diepkuil*’, (‘the (large) pot/deep pool’) (Botha 1977: 120), from *biza* (*imbiza*) ‘general name for any of the larger-sized earthenware pots [...]; deep, hollow thing; deep ravine; deep pool’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 39). The similarity between a large pot and a deep pool may have led to the different interpretations of the name. In either case, a Bushman cognate may be shown. The latter part of Naron (C2) *txubisa* ‘vlei, pan’ (Bleek 1956: 502) bears some semantic and phonological resemblance to *biza* in the sense of ‘pool’. At a stretch, a link with ‘pot’ is also possible. In 1626, Herbert (Nienaber

1963: 422) recorded that a word for ‘pot’, namely *su*, was also used for ‘ostrich-egg shell’ because ostrich-eggs were used as pots. On that basis *biza* is conceivably cognate with the latter part of Naron (C2)/*kabi*‘a ‘eggshell’ (Bleek 1929: 36).

Mbizana is the name borne by a river at 30° 01’ S, 30° 34’ E, approximately 29 km north-west of Umzinto. Botha (1977: 120-1) gives the meaning as ‘*Diepspruit*’ (‘deep stream’), from ‘-*biza* (*imbiza*); 4. deep, hollow thing; deep ravine; deep pool’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 39). Botha adds that compared to the other well-known rivers in the southern part of the region, the Mbizana is not very deep or big, which according to him is possibly why the name appears in the diminutive. The component *zana* of the name is actually not the diminutive, but comparable to the Kung (N2) word *ʒgaáŋ*, *ʒga’ŋ* ‘to be long, tall, deep, powerful’ (Bleek 1956: 644), also given as *ʒga-an*, *ʒga-ŋ* (Bleek 1956: 709). For *Mbizana* or *Mbizane*, a river 21 km south-south-west of Port Shepstone, at 30° 54’ S, 30° 20’ E, the name is said to be derived either from Zulu *imbiza*, ‘deep’, or from *imbiza*, ‘pot’, referring to potholes in the riverbed (Botha 1977: 121). There are Bushman cognates for both of the given meanings. The primary meaning of the Zulu word *-biza* (*imbiza*) given by Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 39) is ‘general name for any of the larger-sized earthenware pots’. In this sense, the component *zana* of the name is comparable with the Sesarwa (S5) word *!ana* ‘pot’, *s. !gaana* (Bleek 1956: 370). The suffix *-ana* is again regarded as the diminutive by Botha but, as noted, the component *zana* is that part of the name that carries the Bushman cognate. It seems that the pattern which has manifested itself in the *Kwa*-names, namely that of semantic reduplication, is evident in this name as well: the meaning of ‘deep’ or ‘pot’, Bushman *ʒgaáŋ*, *ʒga’ŋ* and *!ana*, *!gaana*, has been repeated in the Zulu equivalent (*i*)*Mbiza*.

Mbokodweni is the name of a river which rises 10 to 15 km south-west of Mpumalanga and flows east and south-east to reach the Indian Ocean at Umbogintwini, 23 km south-west of Durban, at 30° 00’ S, 30° 56’ E. *Mbokodweni* is given as ‘*Maalklip-/Rondeklip* (*-spruit*) (die plek van die maal- of ronde klippe)’, (‘millstone stream/round stone (stream), the place of millstones or round stones’) (Botha 1977: 121), from *ezimbokodweni*, the locative plural of *-bokodwe* (*imbokodwe*, plural *izimbokodwe*) ‘water-worn stone; upper grinding-stone’; *isibokodwe* ‘place where water-worn stones abound’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 42).

The component *-boko* bears a phonological and semantic similarity to Naron (C2) *Θbo:lore* ‘wooden mortar’ (Bleek 1929: 59), although this is of a different material (being made of wood and not stone), and the wrong portion of the mill (being the lower and not the upper part of the grinding implement). The component *dwe* of *-bokodwe* ‘grinding-stone’ is comparable with /Xam (S1) and //ǀ!ke (S2) *!kwe* ‘(perforated) stone’ (Bleek 1929: 80), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* approximating the retroflex click with ejected efflux *!k*. The Khoikhoi cognate */ui-s* ‘stone’ is phonologically closer to the component *-twi* in the older written form of the name, *Umbogintwini*, the Zulu unvoiced alveolar consonant *t* corresponding to the alveolar click */*, the vowel cluster *ui* consonantalised as *wi*.

Mbuzana, the name of a stream in the Lower Umfolozi, is interpreted as ‘*Die klein bokkie*’, (‘the little goat’) (Botha 1977: 123), from *buzi* (*imbuzi*) [Ur-B *-vuli*] ‘goat’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 56). Considering that the sound written as *y* is pronounced in Bushman as *u* in French ‘*du*’, the Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and Naron (C2) word *byri* ‘goat’ (Bleek 1929: 43) may be transcribed as *huri*, and the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* corresponds sufficiently to the Bushman voiced alveolar rolled consonant *r* to regard *buzi* and *huri*, both meaning ‘goat’, as cognates. The Kung (N2) word *vuhi* ‘goat’ contains the voiced flapped retroflex consonant *h*, which under circumstances sounds like *d*, *r* or *l* (Bleek 1956: 159), while the initial *v* is the result of a slide from *b* (Bleek 1956: 13), indicating the phonological relationship between the various renderings of the Bushman words for ‘goat’, for example *buli*, *byri*, *pudi*, *pu:li*, *puli* and *vuhi* (Bleek 1956: 721). The component *-(a)na* of *Mbuzana* is, considering that this is the name of a river, perhaps an adapted generic term meaning ‘river’, for example, /Xam (S1) */k’a* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the alveolar click/corresponding in some way to the alveolar consonant *n*, or *!nau* ‘river’, the diphthong *au* coalesced as *a.*, or a generic term comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) words //k”anna ‘waterpits’ (Bleek 1956: 603), //gāna ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 526), //gwana ‘a Masarwa waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 537).

Mdumatshingo, the name of a watercourse 30 km north-east of Hlabisa, is said to mean ‘*Waar die rietfluit weerklink*’ (‘where the reed-flute resounds’) (Botha 1977: 125), from *duma* ‘thunder; make any rumbling, resounding noise; rumble; reverberate, hum loudly’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 172); *-tshingo* (*umtshingo*) ‘reed-pipe (musical instrument);

trombone' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 821). The initial *M* of the name is the added Zulu class prefix; the component *duma* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *!gum* 'roar' (Bleek 1929: 70), Khoikhoi *!gom(!na)* 'brummen' ('hum, drone, boom, growl') (Rust 1960: 12), the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* of *duma* corresponding to the retroflex plosive click with voiced efflux *!g* of *!gum* or *!gom*. The component *-tshingo* is cognate with !O !kuŋ (N3) *t!inku* 'music', as in *t!inku bogame* '(to make) music' (Bleek 1929: 60), *bogame* 'to play the bow' (Bleek 1929: 66). The Zulu unvoiced prepalatal affricative consonant *tsb* of *tshingo* corresponds to the Bushman unvoiced prepalatal affricative consonant *tʃ* of *t!inku*; the Zulu velar nasal consonant *ng* to the Bushman voiced velar nasal *nk*; the Bushman rounded high back vowel *u* to the Zulu rounded mid back vowel *o*. *Mdumatsbingo* thus means 'where music resounds or reverberates'.

Mfazazana is the name of a river which rises south-west of Mtwalume and flows south-east to enter the Indian Ocean 7 km north-east of Hibberdene, at 30° 32' S, 30° 36' E. Of Zulu origin, the name is linked to the word *umfazi*, 'woman', diminutive *umfazazana*, thus 'despicable woman', or 'the small, despicable woman'; said to refer to a woman who gave birth on the banks of the river, which was in violation of the local tribal taboo (Botha 1977: 125). A different explanation states that the name means 'the one that sprinkles', derived from Zulu *fafa* 'sprinkle' (Colenso 1884: 132). A Bushman word for 'sprinkle' is the Hie (C1) word *kha t!a*, which may be compared phonologically to *fafa(za)*, at least as far as the vowels are concerned. Although Botha interprets the final component (*z*)*ana* of the name as a diminutive, the customary pattern of Bushman names may justify its being considered a generic term comparable with the Sesarwa (S5) words *//k"anna* 'waterpits' (Bleek 1956: 603), *//gāna* 'waterpit' (Bleek 1956: 526), *//gwana* 'a Masarwa waterpit' (Bleek 1956: 537). The river has given its name to a railway siding on the route Durban-Port Shepstone, at 30° 32' S, 30° 36' E.

Mfene is the name of a tributary of the Nwatindlopfu, which it joins 19 km north-east of Skukuza, at 24° 56' S, 31° 45' E, and of a granite hill close to it, at 24° 56' S, 31° 47' E. The name is said to mean 'baboon (*Pappio ursinus*)' (Raper 2004: 239). The name *Mfene* bears a semantic and phonological resemblance to the Hie (C1) word *dzhwene* 'baboon' (Bleek 1956: 35).

Mfolozi is the name of the river formed by the confluence of the Black and White Mfolozi Rivers. The Mfolozi flows for 375 km and enters the Indian Ocean through the St Lucia estuary at 28° 29' S, 32° 10' E. Also encountered as *Foloos* ad *Umfolozi*, the name is said, *inter alia*, to mean 'Die sigsag-rivier' ('the zig-zag river') (Botha 1977: 126), from *foloza* 'make chevron or zigzag pattern' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 212). If that is correct, the root *folo* is cognate with Kung (N2) and (C2) *≠oro* 'to wind' (Bleek 1956: 278), the unvoiced fricative *f* replacing the unvoiced alveolar click *≠*, the Zulu voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l* replacing the Bushman voiced alveolar consonant *r*. The component *zi* of the name *Mfolozi* is a feature-type designator similar to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /*k*'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339), as in other river names ending in *zi*.

Mgeni is the name of a river rising in the Lions River district and flowing 260 km eastwards to enter the Indian Ocean 6 km north of Durban, at 29° 48' S, 31° 03' E. Also encountered as *uMgeni*, *Umgeni*, *Umngeni*, *Mngeni*, *eMgeni*, *uMngeni*, and so on, the name is also borne by a tributary of the Mtwalume River, which it joins 12 km west of Ifafa Beach, at 30° 27' S, 30° 31' E, and by a tributary of the Buffalo River, which it joins 17 km east-north-east of Tugela Ferry, at 28° 37' S, 30° 37' E. The name is said to mean 'Doringboom(-rivier)' ('thorn tree (river)') (Botha 1977: 129), from Zulu *Nga* (*umu*) 'kind of mimosa, which makes good firewood' (Colenso 1884: 357), *nga* (*umunga*) 'Mimosa tree: *Acacia horrida*, *A Natalitia*, *A Dichrostachys*, etc.: thorn tree' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 546). The earliest recorded form of the name was *Umgani* (Gardiner 1836: 23, 306), displaying the medial vowel *a* also seen in the stem *nga*, perhaps cognate with Hie (C1) *ŋ//kaa* 'thornbush, thorn tree' (Bleek 1956: 763), 'a wait-a-bit thorn' (Bleek 1956: 150), *wag-n-bietjie* in Afrikaans, a name applied to various *Acacia* species (Smith 1966: 492, 567). However, from an early date and consistently thereafter the river name has been encountered with the vowel *e*, the component *-eni* interpreted as a locative suffix. Thus Van Huyssteen (1994: 60) states that 'the form *uMgeni* can be considered morphologically irregular, because the radical class 3 prefix *um-* is used in combination with the locative suffix *-ini*. [...] it is locativised only partially (by *-ini*) rather than fully (by *e...ini*) as found in the locative context *eMngeni*.' The seemingly anomalous Zulu construction may be explained by considering a Bushman

origin of the river name. The prefix (*u*)*M* is the Zulu class 3 prefix, as indicated by Van Huyssteen. For the form with an *e* as in *Mngeni* and variants the component (*n*)*ge* is perhaps cognate with /Xam (S1) //k^hein, //ǀ!ke (S2) //k^hei ‘thorn’ (Bleek 1929: 84), the Zulu voiced velar nasal compound *ng* approximating the Bushman lateral click with velar nasal efflux, //k^h, the Bushman vowel cluster *ei* coalesced as *e* to obviate the impermissible juxtaposition of two vowels in Zulu. The component *-ni* of (*u*)*M*(*n*)*geni* is a fluvial generic term or feature-type designator meaning ‘river’, or a demonstrative.

Mgetane, the name of a watercourse in the Lower Tugela area, is explained as ‘*Die plek waar die mense was*’ (‘the place where people wash’) (Botha 1977: 130), *geza* ‘wash, bathe (in the widest sense)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 245). Botha surmises that *geta** may be an obsolete word, a dialectal variant of *geza*, since the area where the river is situated is or was subject to Tekeza influence. The variation of *z* and *t* is noteworthy. The component *geta* of the name *Mgetane* may be cognate with Hadza (C3) *dzeta* ‘to wash’ (Bleek 1956: 31), the Zulu voiced velar explosive consonant *g* approximating the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* with homorganic fricative *z*. The component *-ne* of the name is probably not a diminutive, as suggested by Botha, but a feature-type designator meaning ‘river’, or a demonstrative.

Mgezankamba is a river some 33 km south-east of Umzinto. The name is said to mean ‘*Waar die [...] potte gewas word*’ (‘where the [...] pots are washed’) (Botha 1977: 131), from *geza* ‘wash, bathe (in the widest sense)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 245); *khamba* (*u*(*lu*)*khamba*) ‘earthenware pot (general term)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 377). The verb *geza* is a variant of the word *geta* ‘to wash’, as noted in the component *geta* of the name *Mgetane*, cognate with Hadza (C3) *dzeta* ‘to wash’ (Bleek 1956: 31), the Zulu voiced velar explosive consonant *g* approximating the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* with homorganic fricative *z*. The component *nkamba* is comparable to //ǀ!ke (S2) ≠k^hm ‘pot’, Hie (C1) *ama* ‘dish, pot, plate’ (Bleek 1956: 9); !O !kuŋ (N3) //k^hza, (Bleek 1956: 547, 666).

Mgodi is the name of a watercourse 11 km south-south-east of Ixopo, at 30° 02’ S, 30° 03’ E. The name is interpreted as ‘*Diepkloofspruit (Die diep uitgraving/gat)*’ (‘deep ravine stream (the deep excavation/hole)’ (Botha 1977: 131), from ‘*godi* (*igodi*) deep hole (as excavated by water);

(*umgodi*) hole of considerable size' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 252). The stem *-godi* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *kooje* 'hole' (Bleek 1929: 47), *g* being the voiced form of the velar explosive consonant *k*; double *oo* indicating that this is a long vowel; the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* approximating the voiced prepalatal fricative consonant *j*; the front high vowel *i* approximating the front mid vowel *e*. Another Bushman word to which *godi* is comparable is *!goirri* 'hole' (Bleek 1956: 725), the vowel cluster *oi* coalesced to the syllable peak *o* to obviate the juxtaposition of two vowels in Zulu, the Bushman voiced alveolar consonant *r*, spoken with only one vibration (Bleek 1956: 159), represented as Zulu voiced alveolar consonant *d*, since "the *r* [...] is sometimes given as a flapped variant which comes close to a *d*" (Louw 1979: 13).

Mgovuzo is the name of an area in the Hlabisa district, at 28° 06' S, 32° 01' E; also the name of a stream between Mtabatuba and Nongoma. This name is said to mean '*Kolkspruit, Die malende*' ('pool stream, the stirring one, whirlpool'); the river when in flood is characterised by whirlpools, as though stirred (Botha 1977: 131), from Zulu *govuza*, the causative of *govu* 'stir, stir up' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 259-60). The component *govu* is cognate with Nama *//govi* 'stir' (Bleek 1929: 80). Other comparable words for 'to stir' are Naron (C2) *_hõ̃ni, hõ̃rĩ* (Bleek 1956: 64); *//ǀke* (S2) *hõ̃rĩ, _hõ̃z̃ni, borebe* 'to stir', the voiced velar fricative *b* approximating the retroflex fricative click with voiced efflux *//g*; *!O !kuŋ* (N3) *//koni* 'to stir (pot)' (Bleek 1929: 80); *!O !kuŋ* (N3) *_//koni* 'to stir eggs' (Bleek 1956: 586); *//ǀke* (S2) *//ku: //ne* 'to stir' (Bleek 1956: 594); */Xam* (S1) *//k"okən* 'to stir, twirl' (Bleek 1956: 607), and */Xam* (S1) *!gwõ̃ppəm, !guoppem, !xwobbu* 'to stir, beat up' (Bleek 1956: 393). These words display the variability of *g*, *b* and *k* in association with the fricative click *//* and the glottal croak *k*", and of *v*, *r* and *n*.

Mgugu is the name of a stream 8 km south-south-east of Umlazi, in the Umbumbulu district, at 30° 04' S, 30° 39' E. The name is derived from Zulu (*um*)*gugu*, 'strong current', 'flood' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 274). The component *M* is the Zulu prefix *uM*, the component *gugu* approximating the Khoikhoi word *//nuru* 'fliessen, strömen (rauschend)' ('to flow, to stream (roaring)') (Kroenlein 1889: 264).

Mhlahlane is the name of a watercourse 8 km south of Helpmekaar, interpreted as ‘*Die klein “oopkapper”*’ (‘The little one that hacks its way open’). According to locals, the stream does not seem to flow where it should, following the curve, but in a straight line as though hacking its way through the earth (Botha 1977: 133), from *hlabla* ‘chop up, cut up; give a gaping wound’ [Ur-B *kaka*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 311). The Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant *hl* approximates the Bushman unvoiced lateral fricative click //, *hlabla* thus comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) *///ka:a* ‘to chop’ (Bleek 1929: 28), Khoikhoi *//ba-//na* ‘*abbacken*’ (‘chop down’) (Rust 1960: 29). The component *-ne* of the name *Mhlahlane* is not the Zulu diminutive, but an adapted generic term indicative of the feature bearing the name, namely a river, for example *//ǀke* (S2) */k’ēi* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the *n* reflecting the nasalisation of *ē*, the vowel cluster *ēi* coalesced as *e*.

Mhlalane, the name of a tributary of the Mgeni, New Hanover, is given by Botha (1977: 133) as ‘(*Klip*-)*Gruisspruit*’ (‘(stone) gravel stream’), from *-hlalu* (*u(lu)hlalu*) ‘gravel, stones, and pebbles lying about’ [Ur-B *-kalu* ‘flint’] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 316), *ublatwane* ‘gravel’ (Doke *et al* 2005: 203), *uhlalane* ‘small river stones’ (Botha’s informant). The Zulu stem *-hlala*, of which the consonant *hl* is the unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative approximating Bushman // and the voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l* Bushman voiced alveolar trill or rolled *r*, is cognate with Khoikhoi *//kara* ‘gravel-stones in a river’, ‘Kies-Steine im Fluß’ (Rust 1960: 34). The component *ne* is perhaps cognate with *//ǀke* (S2) */k’ēi* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the *n* reflecting the nasalisation of *ē*, the vowel cluster *ēi* coalesced as *e*, so that *Gruisspruit* or ‘gravel stream’, given by Botha, is a direct translation.

Mhlali is the name of a river which rises near Shakaskraal and flows south-east to enter the Indian Ocean at Umhlali Beach, between Mvoti and Tongati, at 29° 27’ S, 31° 16’ E. *Mhlali* is said to mean ‘*Die plek van rus*’ (‘place of rest’) (Botha 1977: 133), from *hlala* ‘sit, sit down; stay, remain’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 314). If that is the case, the verb *hlala* is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word *ǀala* ‘to stay’ (Bleek 1929: 80), Kung (N2) *ǀa, ǀā* ‘to rest’ (Bleek 1956: 177), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative *hl* approximating the Bushman unvoiced prepalatal fricative consonant *ǀ*, in other words, *sh*.

Mhlanga, also encountered as *Oblanga*, *Oblange*, *uMhlanga* and *Umblanga*, is the name of a river which enters the Indian Ocean just north of Umhlanga Rocks, at 29° 42' S, 31° 06' E. *Mhlanga* is given as meaning 'Rietrivier' ('reed river') (Botha 1977: 134), from *blanga* (*umblanga*) 'reed or reeds; reedy place' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 319). The root *blang-* is cognate with ≠Khomani (S2a) //ka /ŋ 'reed' (Bleek 1956: 564), the unvoiced Zulu fricative *bl* corresponding to the Bushman unvoiced retroflex fricative click //, the Zulu velar nasal *ng* to the Bushman velar nasal *ŋ*. The final component of the name may be a fluvial suffix, 'river', or the final vowel *-a* is the compulsory Zulu vowel. The same ≠Khomani (S2a) word //ka /ŋ 'reed' (Bleek 1956: 564) is encountered in the name *Mhlangamkulu* for a river which rises north of Bonnieview and flows south-east to enter the Indian Ocean between Southport and Sea Park, about 9 km north-east of Port Shepstone, at 30° 41' S, 30° 30' E. The name is said to mean 'large reed (river)', from the *Pbragmites communis* growing there; it is also encountered as *Umblangakulu* and *Hlangamkulu*. The initial component where it occurs is the Zulu prefix (*u*)*M*. The name being of Bushman origin, the structure would probably be specific + generic, in which case the component *kulu* is probably not the Zulu word meaning 'big', but a generic term, comparable to the /Xam (S1) word ≠*bauru*, ≠*bouru* 'waterhole, pond, pit' (Bleek 1956: 651, 744), the /Xam alveolar plosive click with aspirated efflux, ≠*b*, replaced by the Zulu velar plosive consonant *k*, the initial vowel of the /Xam diphthong *au* or *ou* elided to avoid the juxtaposition of two vowels, and the /Xam voiced alveolar lingual consonant *r* replaced by the Zulu voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l*.

Mhlangana, the name of a village on the Mhlangana River, some 18 km north-north-west of Muden, at 28° 49' S, 30° 19' E, is said to mean 'little reed (river)', taken from the name of the watercourse. The river is reputedly named after Dingane's brother Mhlangana, 'the little reed', who assisted him in murdering Shaka. The name is compounded of the prefix (*u*)*M*, the word *blanga* (*umblanga*) 'reed or reeds; reedy place' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 319), and the suffix *ana*, this last considered to be a diminutive. The present writer postulates that the component *blang* is comparable to, or cognate with, ≠Khomani (S2a) word //ka /ŋ 'reed' (Bleek 1956: 564), the unvoiced Zulu fricative *bl* corresponding to the Bushman unvoiced retroflex fricative click

//, the Zulu velar nasal *ng* to the Bushman velar nasal *ŋ*, and the component *ana* is a generic term similar to the Sesarwa (S5) words //gāna ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 99); //k”anna ‘water’, ‘waterpits’; //gwana ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 603, 769, 537), or the !O !kung (N3) word /kana ‘to flow’ (Bleek 1956: 300); !!kaā ‘riverbed’ (Bleek 1956: 749), interpreted as the Zulu diminutive suffix *ana*. There is also a stream with the name *Mhlangana* in the Msinga district, some 24 km south-west of Tugela Ferry, at 28° 44’ S, 30° 21’ E (Raper 2004: 241). *Mhlangana Pan*, a reedy pan some 44 km north-north-east of Ubombo, at 27° 12’ S, 32° 14’ E, is considered to have the same origin as the *Mhlangazana Dam* in Mpumalanga province, 47 km south-east of Skukuza and 29 km north of Komatipoort, at 25° 14’ S, 31° 58’ E.

Mhlatuzana is the name of a tributary of the *Mhlatuze*, flowing eastwards and entering it about 8 km south-west of Empangeni, at 28° 49’ S, 31° 49’ E. The name is a diminutive of *Mhlatuze*, ‘little Mhlatuze’. (Raper 2004: 241). In an official report of 1860, the *Mhlatuzana*, near Durban, is referred to as ‘Salt River’ (Botha 1977: 136). The name *Salt River* may be a translation of a Bushman name of which *Mhlatuzana* is a Zulu adaptation, the component *bla* cognate with the word *kxa* ‘salt’ recorded in 1689 (Nienaber 1963: 463); also with the Kung (N2) word !gaa, !gā ‘salt’ (Bleek 1956: 374), and the Sesarwa (S5) word !xane ‘salt’ (Bleek 1929: 71), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant that becomes an ejective affricate under homorganic nasal influence, (*m*)*hl*, corresponding to the voiced palato-alveolar click with nasal efflux, !g̃, or with fricative efflux, !x. The component *tu* is cognate with /Xam (S1) word /u: ‘salt, used also as brackish, bitter’ (Bleek 1956: 358), *tuza* cognate with /usa ‘brackish’ (Nienaber 1963: 464), the component *zana* a fluvial generic term for ‘river’, similar to the Sesarwa (S5) words //gāna ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 99); //k”anna ‘water’, ‘waterpits’; //gwana ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 603, 769, 537), or the !O !kung (N3) word /kana ‘to flow’ (Bleek 1956: 300); !!kaā ‘riverbed’ (Bleek 1956: 749), interpreted as the Zulu diminutive suffix. This seems to be yet another instance in which the original meaning of a Bushman name has been repeated in a subsequent component of the name in the process of adaptation and reinterpretation.

Mhlopeni is the name of a river 35 km south-east of Weenen, rising at White Cliff and flowing between Greytown and Muden to enter the

Mooi River. The name is said to mean ‘Wit(-spruit)’ (‘white stream’) (Botha 1977: 136), from *mblophe* ‘white, pale-coloured’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 502); *mblope* ‘white, clean, pure’ (Colenso 1884: 326). The name refers to white cliffs at the place White Cliff, where the river rises. It may be assumed that the name in question is an old name, perhaps of Bushman origin, consisting of a generic and a specific term. Zulu *hl* is an alveolar fricative corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative click /; *p* and *w* are bilabial consonants, Zulu *mblophe* and *bloph(e)* and //ǀ!ke (S2) /o:wa, /Xam (S1) /ko:wa ‘white’ (Bleek 1929: 91) are phonologically and semantically comparable. The component *-ni*, interpreted as a Zulu locative suffix, may be identified as an adaptation of //ǀ!ke (S2) /k’ēi ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the Zulu alveolar nasal consonant *n*, cognate with the Bushman alveolar click /, reflecting the nasalisation of *ē*, the Bushman vowel cluster *ēi* coalesced as Zulu *i* to avoid the juxtaposition of two vowels that is impermissible in Zulu, or with //ǀ!ke (S2) /k’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339). However, it was stated earlier that the name refers to White Cliff, which raises the likelihood of the component *ni* being an oronymic generic approximating the !O !kuǀ (N3) word *ˀni* ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46).

Mhlungwa is the name of a stream that enters the Indian Ocean 1 km north-east of Hibberdene and 10 km south-west of Mtwalume, at 30° 33’ S, 30° 35’ E. *Mhlungwa* is said to mean ‘Verdeelspruit’ (‘divided stream’) (Botha 1977: 136), from *hlungwa*, the passive of *hlungwa* ‘separate, set apart, sort out; winnow, sift’ [Ur-B-*kuŋga* ‘sift’] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 338). The component *blu* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *!kbu* ‘split’ (Bleek 1956: 430), the verb *hlungwa* perhaps cognate with //Xegwi (S3) *ǀ//kum ǀ//kǎ* ‘split’ (Bleek 1929: 78), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant *hl* corresponding to the Bushman unvoiced lateral retroflex fricative click //, the Zulu voiced velar compound *ng* to the Bushman retroflex click with ejected efflux and nasalisation as represented by //k ˀ in the compound *ǀ//kǎ*. The component *ngwa* approximates the /Xam (S1) word *!kbrwa* ‘water’ (Bleek 1929: 99).

Mjika is the name of a tributary of the Vungu, rising south of Renken and flowing south to join the Vungu 4 km south-west of KwaGamalakhe, at 30° 04’ S, 30° 18’ E. Of Zulu origin, the name is said to mean ‘meandering (river)’. There is a river with the same name approximately 16 km south of Harding, at 30° 45’ S, 29° 53’

E (Raper 2004: 243). The component (*M*)*ji* is thought to be similar to the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *ʔxwi* ‘to twist’ (Bleek 1929: 88), *lxwi* ‘to twist’ (Bleek 1956: 504). The component *ka* is possibly (or probably) similar to the /Xam (S1) word /*ka* ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 295), the Auen (N1) word *ʔka*: ‘riverbed’ (Bleek 1956: 653), and the Old Cape Khoikhoi word *k’a*, recorded in 1691 for ‘river’ (Nienaber 1963: 430), where the apostrophe represents a click.

Mkondo is explained as ‘*Spoor(-spruit)*’ (‘spoor (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 140), from *kbondo* (*umkbondo*) [Ur-B *kondo*] ‘track, trail’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 402). The consonant *kb* of the stem *kbondo* is the aspirated velar explosive that gives place to ejection under nasal influence; *o* is a mid-back vowel comparable to Bushman *u* and *n* the alveolar nasal consonant. The component *kon(do)* of the name *Mkondo* is thus comparable with the Kung (N2) *!huy-a*, *!huyʔa* ‘spoor’ (Bleek 1956: 399, 757). The component *do* is perhaps cognate with Bushman *ʔnō* ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 749), the alveolar plosive click with nasal efflux *ʔn* represented by the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d*. The Zulu stem *kondo* is also similar in sound and meaning to Eastern dialectal *kudu* ‘footpath’, ‘*gāngvæg*’ (Nienaber 1963: 507), transliterated by Nienaber as cognate with *!küdaw-b*, from Korana *!kü* ‘walk’, *daw-b* ‘road’, or with Nama /*nudao-b*, /*nu* ‘leg’ or ‘foot’. The component *kon* is comparable with Naron (C2) *!kü* ‘walk’ (Bleek 1929: 89), where *!k* is the retroflex plosive click with ejected efflux comparable to the Zulu aspirated velar explosive *kb* that gives place to ejection under nasal influence; *o* is a mid-back vowel comparable to Bushman *u*; the nasalisation of *ũ* is reflected in the *n* of *kon*.

Mnambiti is the Zulu name of the Klip River, a tributary of the Tugela River, rising near Van Reenen’s Pass and flowing south to its confluence with the Tugela some 19 km south-east of Ladysmith, at 28° 40’ S, 29° 58’ E (Raper 2004: 245). As it is also the Zulu name for Ladysmith, the name *Mnambiti* is said to mean ‘*Die smaaklike*’ (‘the tasty one’) (Botha 1977: 145), from *nambitha* ‘taste; smack the lips in tasting’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 522); or, in a spelling closer to the component *nambiti* of the river name, from *nambita* ‘move the lips with mouth closed, as in tasting something; taste with mouth or heart’ (Colenso 1884: 340). The Afrikaans name *Kliprivier* means ‘stone (or stony) river’, a descriptive name that is onomastically more probable than ‘the tasty one’. As in many other instances, the Dutch

(or Afrikaans) name can be seen to be semantically comparable to a Bushman provenance of which the Zulu name is an adaptation. The component *(m)nambi* is phonologically comparable to Khoikhoi //khami(s) ‘der Felsvorsprung’ (‘overhanging rock’) (Kroenlein 1889: 195b6); the component *ti* similar to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /k’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339). The name is also borne by a tributary of the Mzumbe, entering it from the north at Umzumbe, at 30° 34’ S, 30° 25’ E.

Mnamfu is the name of a river 21 km south of Umzinto, at 30° 30’ S, 30° 37’ E. The name is said to mean ‘*Die klewerige*’ (‘the sticky one’) (Botha 1977: 145), from the ideophone *namfu* ‘of stickiness, adhesiveness’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 522). Some authorities aver that the name refers to a type of tree from the sap of which bird lime is made, while others link the name to the sticky mud in the bed of the river and along its banks. The component *Mna(m)* of *Mnamfu* may be cognate with Auen (N1) *≠ama* ‘to stick’ (Bleek 1929: 80), [Khoikhoi *≠ā* ‘to stick’, ‘Kleben’ (Rust 1960: 35)], *n* and *≠* being alveolar consonants, the *mn* approximating the alveolar plosive click *≠* with the nasalisation of *ā* in the Nama cognate. The component *(m)fu* is thought to be a generic term, comparable to the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *!ku* ‘bank of river’ (Bleek 1956: 448), the bilabial fricative being a click replacement as also occurs elsewhere.

Mnweni is the name of an area south of Mont-aux-Sources, characterised by an intricate and magnificent series of peaks, columns and spires. Among these are the *Mnweni Pinnacles*, peaks in the Drakensberg range some 10 km south of Bergville, at 28° 53’ S, 28° 59’ E, and the *Inner Mnweni Needle*, a peak 2905 m above sea-level, east of Mnweni Pinnacles and south-west of *Outer Mnweni Needle*, at 28° 53’ S, 29° 03’ E. The name *Mnweni* is said to be Zulu for ‘place of fingers’, ‘place of the finger’ (Koopman 2002: 127), from *-nwe* (*umunwe*) ‘finger’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 613). The initial *M* is the Zulu prefix, the component *nweni* is a contraction of *nu + eni*, *nueni* changed to *nweni*, the back close vowel *u* consonantalised as the semi-vowel *w* to obviate the juxtaposition of two vowels, which is inadmissible in Zulu, and the final component *eni* is the locative suffix. The component *nu* is cognate with Ki /hazi (S4b) *≠u*, *≠nu* ‘finger’ (Bleek 1956: 677). The name is thought to refer to the pinnacles which resemble fingers. An alternative explanation of the name Mnweni links the component

nwe to the Kung (N2) word *≠nwe* ‘vulture, *Vultur auricularis*’ (Bleek 1956: 675), written *≠nue* by Lichtenstein (quoted in Bleek), the component *ni* the locative suffix.

Molweni is the name of a tributary of the Mgeni River some 23 km south-west of Umzinto, joining the main stream at Kloof, at 29° 47′ S, 30° 50′ E. *Molweni* is derived from *emholweni*, the locative of *umbhola*, ‘in die hol plek’, (‘in the hollow’) (Botha 1977: 147), from *bhola* (*umbhola*) ‘deep, narrow hole; pit; excavation, hollow, cavern’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 305), or *hola* (*um*) ‘hollow place’ (Colenso 1884: 224). The stem *hola* is comparable to the !O !kuŋ (N3) verb *|kolo* ‘to be hollow’, synonym *kolokolo* (Bleek 1956: 99). The stem *bhola* is also comparable to the Kung (N2) word *!koro* ‘hole’ (Bleek 1929: 47), the voiced glottal fricative consonant *h(b)* dropping the nasal under homorganic nasal influence (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 301), thus corresponding to Bushman retroflex plosive click with ejected efflux, *!k*, and the voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l* to the voiced alveolar rolled lingual consonant *r*. Comparable is also Khoikhoi *//goro* ‘*boh!l*’ (‘hollow’) (Rust 1960: 32), the voiced glottal fricative consonant *hh* corresponding to the retroflex fricative click with voiced efflux, *//g*, and the voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l* to the voiced alveolar rolled lingual consonant *r*.

Mosi Swamp, a marshland 53 km north-east of Ubombo, at 27° 16′ S, 32° 30′ E, takes its name from the reeds growing there, known in Zulu as *umusi* (Raper 2004: 252). The initial *M* is a click replacement, presumably a relic of a bilabial click Θ , *mosi* ‘reeds’ comparable to the //Xegwi (S3) word */kosi* ‘reeds’ (Bleek 1956: 321), also the //Ku //e (S2c) word *dōasi* ‘reeds’ (Bleek 1956: 27).

Moyeni see **Emoyeni**

Mpambanyoni is the name of a river which rises in various headwaters west of Umkomaas, Scottburgh and Park Rynie, and enters the Indian Ocean just north of Scottburgh, at 30° 17′ S, 30° 45′ E. According to Botha (1977: 147-8), *Mpambanyoni* is variously interpreted as ‘*Die rivier wat die voëls verwar*’ (‘the river that confuses birds’), from *phamba* ‘play a trick on; puzzle; get the better of’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 644); *nyoni* (*inyoni*) ‘bird’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 629); ‘*Die rivier wat in aanraking kom met voëls*’ (‘the river that comes ino contact with birds’), from *phamba* ‘to bind together “by criss-crossing”’ (Döhne 1857: 266),

and ‘*Die rivier waaroor die voëls kruis en dwarms vlieg*’ (‘the river criss-crossed by the flight of birds’) (Lugg 1968: 10). The first explanation is based, according to most informants, on the fact that the course of the stream is so tortuous that even birds are confused. The repetition of the idea of ‘criss-crossing’ relating to the component *pamba* is noteworthy. It ties in with ‘Ur-B *pamba*, cross, intertwine’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 644) and also occurs in the ‘Afrikaans’ common name *pambatiboom*, *Anastrabe integerrima*, *isibhembedhu* in Zulu, described as ‘a river timber-tree [...] with rectangular cross-branching’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 32). It would appear that the various attempts at explaining the name of the river are caused by misinterpretation of the component *nyoni* as ‘bird’. Logically, the name of a river should include a generic term for ‘river’. Many Zulu river names end in *-ni*, and that also seems to be the case in this instance. The component (*u*) *M* is the Zulu prefix added in the adaptation of the original name; the component *pamba* ‘cross, intertwine, twist’ may be cognate with Auen (N1) *!kamma*, *!kam* ‘to wind round’ (Bleek 1956: 406), *≠kam*, *≠ka:m* ‘to wind round, tie, bind on’ (Bleek 1956: 655), *!k”Am* ‘twist’ (Bleek 1956: 766), !O *!kuj* (N3) *_/kAm* ‘to turn’ (Bleek 1956: 594); the component *nyo* cognate with /Xam (S1) */ho*: ‘tree’ (Bleek 1956: 288), the Zulu alveolar nasal consonant *n* plus prepalatal semi-vowel *y* approximating the Bushman alveolar or dental click with aspirated efflux, */h*. The variability of clicks is demonstrated in /Xam (S1) synonyms for ‘tree’, namely */ho*, */ho:*, *ǃho* ‘tree’; */hogen*, */ph-boken* ‘wood’; */phoko* ‘stick’ (Bleek 1956: 288). An interesting possibility presents itself in the explanation given by Sir Andrew Smith (Kirby 1955: 38 n 58), where he states that *Umpambinyoni* is called *Bloody River* on many old maps.

Mpofana is the Zulu name for the *Mooi River*, a tributary of the Tugela, at 28° 58’ S, 30° 22’ E, and for the town of *Mooi River*, Afrikaans *Mooirivier*, a name meaning ‘pretty river’. *Mpofana* has been explained as ‘*Klein-Eland(rivier)*’ (‘small eland (river)’); ‘*Die valerige/Die vaalkleurige*’ (‘the greyish one/the grey-coloured one’), from *impofu*, diminutive *impofana* ‘eland, (*Oreas canna*)’ (Botha 1977: 148-9); from *mpofu* (*im*) ‘Eland’; *mpofu* ‘brown, yellow, dun, buff-coloured; tawny, colour of dry snuff’; *mpofu* (*ubu*) ‘brownness, &c., of colour; = *ubuPofu*’ (Colenso 1884: 332). The stem *pofu* as a variant of *mpofu* in the noun opens the way to recognising *Pofana* as a possible variant of *Mpofana*

for the *Mooi River*, which means ‘pretty river’. Potchefstroom also bore the name *Mooiriviersdorp* ‘pretty river town’, while Pongola correlates topographically with *Mooi Plats* (‘pretty place’). The correspondence between *Mooi* and *Po* in three instances prompted the consideration of a translation. For *Pretty* Bleek (1929: 67) says “see *Beautiful*”, and under “*Nice (comp. Beautiful)*” Bleek (1929: 61) gives the Sesarwa (S5) word $\text{ᵐ}p'um$ ‘pretty, nice, beautiful’ (Bleek 1929: 61), of which $\text{ᵐ}p'o(m)$ is an alternative pronunciation, since the Bushman back close vowel *u* is “variously heard as back close *u* or back half-close *o*” Bleek (1956: 246). The component $(M)po$ in the name *Mpofana* thus approximates the word $\text{ᵐ}p'o(m)$ ‘pretty’, ‘*mooi*’, the bilabial click ᵐ presumably preserved as the bilabial consonant *M*, $\text{ᵐ}p'o(m)$ preserved as the component *po* in the name *Mpofana*. If *Mpofana* means ‘pretty river’, *Mooirivier*, the component *fana* must then mean ‘river’ or ‘water’. The *f* is a click replacement, the component *fana* is comparable with the component *nyana* in the Xhosa name *Umnqunyana* for the *Swartwater River* ‘black water river’, where *ny*, given by McLaren (1926: 9) as the Xhosa “inspired palatal consonant”, is comparable to the Bushman retroflex fricative click (Bleek 1929: 13) or lateral click (Bleek 1956: 512) //, with ejective efflux //k”. The component *nyana* is semantically and phonologically comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word //gāna ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 99), or the Sesarwa (S5) word //k”anna ‘water, waterpits’ (Bleek 1956: 603), also the Sesarwa (S5) word //gwana ‘a Masarwa waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 537). If, then, *Mpofana* is an adaptation of a Bushman name meaning ‘pretty river’, translated as *Mooirivier* and the hybrid *Mooi River*, it cannot mean ‘Eland (River)’ or ‘the little grey one’. Support for this reasoning is found in alternative recordings of the river name, namely *imPafuna* (Döhne 1857: 263) and “*Mpafane (Im), n. Mooi-river*” (Colenso 1884: 331). The component *funa*, as given by Döhne, is perhaps comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /ubā ‘waterpool’ (Bleek 1956: 358), the unvoiced dental fricative click / corresponding to the unvoiced fricative consonant *f*; the nasalised ā written as *na* in Zulu, (/)ubā thus (f)una.

Mqeku, a tributary of the Mgeni, is said to take its name from a mountain past which it flows (Botha 1977: 154). Döhne analyses the name as derived from *qe* ‘beautiful’ and *igu* ‘bent’, thus ‘*Die mooie geboe*’ (‘the beautifully bent one’) (Botha 1977: 153). The consonant *q* is the Zulu palato-alveolar click that corresponds to the Bushman

palato-alveolar click!, so that *qe* is recognisable as cognate with Sesarwa (S5) *!xe* ‘beautiful’ (Bleek 1929: 20), *!x* the palatal or cerebral click with affricative efflux. The consonant *g* of *igu* is the velar explosive, devoid of voicing unless preceded by the homorganic nasal (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 223), thus similar [in sound] to the Bushman unvoiced affricative efflux *x*, showing (*i*)*gu* perhaps to be cognate with Sesarwa (S5) *!xu*: ‘to bend’ (Bleek 1929: 21). However, a more normal naming pattern would be for the name to include the generic term or feature designation, in this instance ‘mountain’, so that the component *ku* of *Mqeku* is cognate with /Xam (S1) *!kau*, *!kou* ‘mountain’ (Bleek 1929: 59), the vowel cluster *au* and *ou* coalesced as Zulu *u*; or with *ku* ‘hill’, ‘*ein Hügel*’ (Nienaber 1963: 217).

Msebe is said to mean ‘(*Dieson*)-*straal*(-*spruit*)’, (‘the (sun) beam (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 54), from *-sebe* (*umsebe*) ‘ray (as of sunlight)’ [Ur-B *-keve* ‘arrow’] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 725). The stem *-sebe*, in which the consonant *s* is the unvoiced alveolar fricative, is cognate with /Auni (S4) */kē* ‘sun’ (Bleek 1929: 81), / being the unvoiced alveolar fricative click. The nasalisation of *ē* in */kē* is perhaps reflected in the nasal bilabial *m* of the name *Msebe*. The consonant *ō* of *-sebe* is perhaps a remnant of an old masculine singular ending.

Msimbazi is the name of a stream that enters the Indian Ocean at Karridene, at 30° 07’ S, 30° 51’ E. The name is said to mean ‘home of shellfish’ (Raper 2004: 257), from *umuzi* ‘home’, *Zi* (*umu*) ‘kraal’ (Colenso 1884: 660). The component *mba* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *lamba* ‘cockle’ (Bleek 1956: 129), also preserved in the name of Lambazi Bay at Port Grosvenor in the Eastern Cape.

Msinga is given by Botha (1977: 154) as ‘*Sterkstroom*’ (‘strong stream’), from *umsinga* ‘strong, silent stream’ (Bryant 1905: 591) ‘whirlpool’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 758). The stem (*M*)*si* is cognate with /Xam (S1) */gi* ‘to be strong’ (Bleek 1956: 279), the Zulu alveolar fricative consonant *s* corresponding to the Bushman “dental or alveolar fricative click” / (Bleek 1929: 13). The component *nga* of the name *Msinga* is perhaps cognate with */a*: */ka* ‘river’, the velar nasal consonant *ng* corresponding to the dental or alveolar click / with velar ejective efflux */k*.

Msuluzi is the Zulu name for the *Bloukransrivier*, a river at 28° 45’ S, 30° 09’ E. The name *Msuluzi* is said to mean ‘the disappearing one’

(Bulpin [s a]: 257), derived from the ideophone *sulu* ‘of slipping away momentarily; of sudden disappearance’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 769). The component *M* of the name *Msuluzi* is the Zulu class prefix; the component *sulu* is comparable with the /Xam (S1) words *t|u’ru*, *t|ụru* ‘to vanish’ (Bleek 1956: 237), and *tsuruku-sij* ‘to vanish, disappear’, *tsurukusij* ‘vanish’ (Bleek 1956: 221, 768). The variability of *l* and *r* occurs for example also in Zulu *-thi shwili-shwili* ‘to twirl’ (Doke *et al* 2005: 520) and the /Xam (S1) word *swiswirritən* ‘to twirl’ (Bleek 1956: 176). The component *zi* is a fluvial suffix meaning ‘river’, similar to the //D !ke (S2) word /*k*’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), the Zulu alveolar fricative *z* approximating the Bushman dental or alveolar fricative click / . However, even though the Zulu components have comparable Bushman cognates, ‘the disappearing one’ is hardly a toponymically distinguishing name that would serve to refer unambiguously to a feature. The possibility of *Bloukransrivier* translating or being synonymous with *Msuluzi* is feasible. The Afrikaans name *Bloukrans* means ‘blue cliff’. The component *su* is comparable to the Kung (N2) *žo*: ‘blue’ (Bleek 1929: 22), *z* being the voiced form of the alveolar fricative consonant *s*, *o* and *u* being alternative pronunciations of the vowel variously heard as back close *u* or back half-close *o*; !O !kuŋ (N3) *_džo*: ‘dark blue’ (Bleek 1929: 22), Auen (N1) *_kãũ* ‘pale blue’, //D !ke (S2) *ʔxau* ‘dark blue’, are also cognate with the component *su*. The component *lu* is perhaps comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *ʔkou*: ‘ridge, *krantz*, overhanging cliffs (Bleek 1956: 321), the vowel cluster *ou* simplified to *u*. The final component of the name, *zi*, is comparable with the //D !ke (S2) word /*k*’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), as indicated earlier, the Zulu alveolar fricative *z* approximating the Bushman dental or alveolar fricative click / .

Mtamvuna is the name of a river that rises near the Weza Forest Reserve and flows south-eastward for 80 km to enter the Indian Ocean 2 km south-west of Port Edward, at 31° 04’ S, 30° 11’ E. *Mtamvuna* is said to mean ‘The reaper of mouthfuls’ (Bulpin [s a]: 19-20), ‘Waters that reap and consume’ (Lugg 1968: 10), or ‘*Thath’vune!* ‘take and reap!’ (Botha 1977: 156-7). If Bulpin’s explanation is correct, the first component of the name is comparable with Zulu *thamo* (*umthamo*) ‘mouthful’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 783), and with the Hie (C1) word *≠kam* ‘mouth’ (Bleek 1929: 59), the Bushman alveolar click with ejected efflux, *≠k*, replaced by the Zulu ejective alveolar explosive consonant

t in the river name. Holt's interpretation of the first component of the river name as 'take' has a parallel in Naron (C2)/*kam* 'take' (Bleek 1956: 299), the Bushman alveolar plosive click (Bleek 1929: 13) with ejected efflux /*k* (Traill 1978: 138) corresponding to the Zulu ejective alveolar explosive consonant *t*. Bulpin, Lugg and Holt interpret the component *vuna* as 'reap, harvest, gather crops' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 843), but Lugg adds the concept 'consumes', which opens up the possibility of the component *vu(n)* being cognate with Hie (C1) *≠u* 'eat vegetable food' (Bleek 1929: 35), the alveolar click with nasal efflux *≠* approximating the voiced denti-labial fricative *v*, perhaps the nasalised denti-labial affricate *mv*. The final component of the name would then be a generic term meaning 'river' that fits the usual pattern of Bushman names, for example cognate with /Nu //en (S6) *!nau*, the diphthong *au* coalesced to the syllable peak *a*.

Mtandane, the name of a tributary of the Mkumbane near Dingaanstad, is interpreted as '*Die vleggendetjie*' ('the little winding one') (Botha 1977: 157), from *thanda* 'plait, weave; wind' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 783); *tanda* 'wind, bind' (Colenso 1884: 537). Botha mentions that the name indicates the winding course of the stream. The component *tan(da)* is cognate with Auen (N1) *|kana*, //kana 'to twist, turn' (Bleek 1956: 80); /Auni (S4) /*k"ā* 'to plait' (Bleek 1956: 336). In the former instance, the unvoiced velar explosive consonant *k* (or lateral click with ejected efflux //k) interchanges with the unvoiced alveolar explosive consonant *t* (Bleek 1956: 73); in the latter instance, the alveolar fricative click with ejected efflux /*k"* corresponds to the unvoiced alveolar explosive consonant *t*, the nasalisation of *ā* realised as *n* in the component *tan*. The final component of the name, *ne*, is probably a fluvial generic.

Mtshezi, the Zulu name for *Bushmans River*, is said to mean '*Die rooi-bruin rivier*' ('the reddish-brown river' (Botha 1977: 161), from *mtshezi* 'brick-red, reddish-brown' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 514), *tshezi* (*umtshezi*) 'object of brick-red colour' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 820). The stem *tshezi* could be comparable to the Hie (C1) word /*geje* 'red' (Bleek 1929), the unvoiced prepalatal affricative consonant *tsb* approximating the alveolar fricative click with voiced efflux /*g*, but Döhne (1857: 348) gives the name as *umTjezi*, his *tj* representing the sound written *tsb* in current orthography, and he gives the meaning as 'smoothness, slipperiness', 'gladheid, glibberigheid' (Botha 1977: 161). *Tsb* is the

ejected prepalatal affricative consonant in Zulu, approximating the Bushman retroflex click ('tongue against the front palate' (Bleek 1929: 13)) with fricative efflux, *ʁ*, or retroflex fricative click //, *tshe* thus cognate with /Nu //en (S6) //e:, Auen (N1) *ʁe:* 'smooth' (Bleek 1929: 77). The component *zi* of *Mtsbezi* is a fluvial suffix meaning 'river', similar to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /*k*'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339), the Zulu alveolar fricative *z* approximating the Bushman dental or alveolar fricative click /.

Mtshilwane is the name of a hill some 22 km north-north-west of Ladysmith and 30 km west of Elandslaagte, at 28° 23' S, 29° 39' E. The name is Zulu for 'sharp point', in other words, 'sugarloaf', referring to the shape of the hill (Raper 2004: 258). The component *tshi* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word *tʃi:*, *tʃ'i*, *tʃi* 'to be sharp' (Bleek 1956: 753), the component *lwa* with the /Auni (S4) word //wa 'hill' (Bleek 1956: 629), the component *ne* a demonstrative, or comparable with the !O !kuj (N3) word *ˀni* 'hill' (Bleek 1929: 46).

Mtunzini is the name of a village and holiday resort near the mouth of the Umlalazi River, some 28 km south-west of Empangeni, at 28° 57' S, 31° 45' E. *Mtunzini* is the previously officially approved spelling (National Place Names Committee 1978: 194) of *uMthunzini*, 'derived from the noun *umthunzi* (shadow)' (Van Huyssteen 1994: 56). This latter form of the name is morphologically similar to an ordinary noun, because it employs the radical prefix *um*, but it is also morphologically similar to a locative, since it suffixes *-ini*. It can, therefore:

... be considered to be morphologically irregular due to only partial locativisation (by suffix) instead of full locativisation (by prefix and suffix), for example, *eMthunzini*, locativised by both *e-* and *-ini* (Van Huyssteen 1994: 57).

In fact, the perceived morphological irregularity may be attributable to the misinterpretation of the first component of the name as a prefix. The component *umtun* is thought to be comparable to, or an adaptation of, the /Xam (S1) word /*bu*/*bun-ta* 'shadow' (Bleek 1956: 291), the first dental or alveolar click dropped, the second replaced by the dental or alveolar consonant *t*, or its aspirated form *th* preserved in the perceived stem *thunzi*.

Mtwatube is said to mean ‘*Die troebelwit(spruit)*’ (‘the discoloured white (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 162), from the ideophone *thwa* ‘of whiteness’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 811), and *thube* ‘discoloured’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 803). Botha remarks that the explanation of ‘*troebel*’ or ‘discoloured’ is misleading, since the clarity of the water is precisely one of its distinguishing characteristics, and he draws the conclusion that a non-perennial situation led to the name, that of rainwater in the catchment area discolouring the water. A somewhat simpler explanation is linked to the name being of Bushman origin. The component *t(h)wa* of *Mtwatube* is cognate with /Xam (S1) /*k’owa*, //ǀ!ke (S2) /*o:wa* and Sesarwa (S5) //*xwa* ‘white’ (Bleek 1929: 91), the Zulu (aspirated) alveolar explosive consonant *t(h)* corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative click with ejected efflux /*k’* of /*k’owa*, the interconsonantal vowel *o* elided where it occurred in the Bushman words. The component *tube* is probably a generic term indicating the feature type, cognate with *dâub* ‘stream’, ‘*Strom*’ (Rust 1960: 60), *t* being the unvoiced form of the alveolar explosive consonant *d*; the vowel cluster *au* coalesced to *u* to obviate the impermissible juxtaposition of two vowels in Zulu; *e* being the Zulu final vowel.

Munywana, the name of a stream 32 km south-east of Ubombo, is given as meaning ‘*Die brak spruitjie*’ (‘the little brackish stream’) (Botha 1977: 162), from *nyu* (*umunyu*) [Ur-B –*u?u* ‘salt’ > *munyu*] ‘sourness, acidity’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 631), *munyu* ‘frank, suur’ (Dekker & Ries 1958: 375). The component *Mu* is the Zulu prefix; the stem *nyu* is cognate with /Xam (S1) /*u*: ‘salt, [...] brackish’ (Bleek 1956: 358), the Zulu prepalatal nasal consonant *ny* corresponding to the dental or alveolar fricative click /, as evidenced by the Xhosa equivalent of *munyu*, namely *muncu* ‘acid, sour’ (McLaren 1936: 96), *nc* being the nasal dental click. The component *ana* of the name is a generic term similar to the Sesarwa (S5) words //*gâna* ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 99); //*k’anna* ‘water’, ‘waterpits’; //*gwana* ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 603, 769, 537), or the !O !kung (N3) word /*kana* ‘to flow’ (Bleek 1956: 300).

Mvoti, the name of a river which rises in the vicinity of Greytown and flows south-east to enter the Indian Ocean near Blythedale Beach, south-east of Stanger, at 29° 23’ S, 31° 20’ E, is interpreted by Botha (1977: 162) as ‘*Die stil-/sag-/stadigvloeiende*’ (‘the silently/softly/slowly flowing one’). Considering the component *ti* to be a feature-type designator cognate with the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /*k’i* ‘river’ (Bleek

1956: 339) leaves the component (*m*)*vo* cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /*o* ‘slowly, gently’ (Bleek 1956: 356), or with the /Xam (S1) \neq *gou* ‘silent, quiet’ (Bleek 1956: 648), the Bushman voiced alveolar click (alveolar plosive click with voiced efflux), \neq *g*, approximating the Zulu voiced denti-labial fricative *v*, perhaps the nasalised denti-labial affricate *mv*, the vowel cluster *ou* coalesced to the syllable peak *o*.

Mvutshini is the name of a tributary of the Hluhluwe River, entering it at the south-eastern extremity of Hluhluwe Dam, some 16 km south-west of Hluhluwe, at 28° 08' S, 32° 10' E. The name is said to mean ‘place of hippos’, ‘at the hippos (*Hippopotamus amphibius*)’, derived from *-vubu* (*imvubu*) ‘hippopotamus’ [Ur-B *ngávu*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 839), the locative singular of which is *emvutshini*, and the locative plural *ezimvutshini* (Botha 1977: 163). The stem *-vubu* is cognate with the !O !kuŋ (N3) word *nguvu*, and the Hie (C1) word *kubu* ‘hippopotamus’ (Bleek 1929: 47), the !O !kuŋ and Ur-Bantu forms displaying nasalisation in the initial velar consonants (*ng*, *ng*) which is not reflected in the unvoiced form of the velar explosive consonant *k* of *kubu*; the intervocalic *v* of !O !kuŋ (N3) a voiced denti-labial fricative corresponding to *b*.

Mxobo, the name of a stream 17 km south-south-west of Mvoti, means ‘*Die moerassige/vlei(-spruit)*’ (‘the marshy/swamp (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 164), from *xobo* (*i(li)xobo*) ‘marsh, swampy place’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 867). The stem *xobo* is comparable with Hie (C1) *!gobo* ‘mud, mortar’ (Bleek 1956: 384), the Zulu lateral click *x* approximating the Bushman click with voiced efflux *!g*.

Mzilanyoni, the name of a stream 33 km north-west of Port Shepstone, is said to mean ‘*Wat die voël vermy*’ ‘that which the bird avoids’, referring to a species of coastal hard-wood tree, *Croton sylvaticus*, *umzilanyoni* in Zulu, from *zila* ‘avoid’, *inyoni* ‘bird’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 892). Botha (1977: 164) gives the interpretation as ‘*Without (-spruit)*’, literally ‘white-wood stream’, informing us that these trees grow along the banks of this and other rivers in the region. Since *Mzilanyoni* is the name of a river, one might expect it to contain a term indicative of the feature type. In many river names, the suffix *ni* occurs, frequently interpreted as a locative prefix, otherwise as part of the second component, for example, *Mkizwaneni*, *Mkobeni*, *Mloteni*, *Mpambanyoni*, *Mpangeni*, *Mpolweni*, *Mpunzini*, *Mseleni*, *Mntikini*,

Munweni, and so on. If *ni* is a fluvial generic, comparable to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /k'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339), or /k̃i, the nasalisation represented as *n*, the diphthong coalesced as *i*, the interpretation of 'white-wood stream' may be correct. The ≠Khomani (S2a) word for 'white' is /'uḥija (Bleek 1956: 493), which may be cognate with *umzila*, the palato-alveolar click with glottal efflux reflected by the glottal pronunciation of /'u, the voiced flapped retroflex consonant ḥ by the voiced alveolar fricative *z*. The remaining component of the name, *nyo*, may then be cognate with words for 'wood', for example !O !kung (N3) /o (Bleek 1956: 489), /'o (Bleek 1929: 25), the palato-alveolar click replaced by the inspired palatal liquid consonant *ny*. This postulation is strengthened by similar cases of river names given after trees interpreted as referring to birds, cf *Mpambanyoni*. An alternative Bushman origin is offered by a different common name for the *Croton sylvaticus*, namely Afrikaans *koorsboom* and its English equivalent *Fever tree*. Bushman words for 'fever' include Auen (N1) /gi (Bleek 1956: 382), /gi: (Bleek 1929: 25), Nogau (N1a) ≠gi (Bleek 1956: 647) and Naron (C2) /gi: /a (Bleek 1929: 38), which may be cognate with the component *zila*, the voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* replacing the voiced palato-alveolar click plus efflux /g, the unvoiced prepalatal fricative / replacing the lateral alveolar consonant *l*.

Mzimayi is the name of a river rising near Windyridge and flowing south-east through Umzinto to enter the Indian Ocean 4 km south-west of Park Rynie and 2 km north-east of Kelso, at 30° 21' S, 30° 44' E. Also encountered as *emZimayi*, the name is given by Döhne (Botha 1977: 165) as derived from *zima*, a dialectal form of *nzima* 'awe-inspiring, strong, forcible; heavy, weighty' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 893), + *ya* 'to go, go towards' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 870). The component (*n*)*zima* is perhaps cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /gi:ja, /gĩya 'to be strong' (Bleek 1956: 279), the voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* representing the voiced alveolar fricative click /g, the nasal *m* the realisation of the nasal ̃, the component *yi* of the name a fluvial generic comparable to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /k'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339), the prepalatal semi-vowel *y* replacing the alveolar fricative click /. If *Windyridge*, *Umzinto* and *Mzimayi* have a common topographical basis, the //Ku//ke (S2c) word /_i 'wind' (Bleek 1956: 180) may be considered, comparable with the component (*m*)*zi*.

Mzimbazi, a stream at Karridene on the South Coast, has a name said to mean ‘*Die glinsterende*’ (‘the shining one’) (Botha 1977: 166), from *umuzi* ‘kraal, village; collection of huts under one headman’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 891); *ōazi* ‘of flashing of soft light, glimmering’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 69). Botha (1977: 166) states that some people interpret the name as a *shining* stripe; others as a *stripe carved* in the countryside (compare *ōaza* ‘shave or pare down, carve’). He further points out that the component *umuzi* is regarded as a plain reference to a *river* – not a *village*. If the meaning of the name is ‘shining stripe’, *Mzimbazi* may be of Bushman origin, in which case the syntactic structure would be specific + generic. The component *zi* is cognate with /Xam (S1) *≠xi*; /Auni (S4) *≠ē* ‘shine’ (Bleek 1929: 74); Kung (N2) *dzi*, *dzbi*, *dji*, ‘wet, bright, shining’ (Bleek 1956: 32); the alveolar click with fricative and nasal efflux, respectively, and the alveolar fricative *z*, occurring after *d* as *dz* (Bleek 1956: 265), corresponding to the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative *z*. The component *mbazi* is perhaps cognate with Kung (N2) *nasi* ‘stripe’ (Bleek 1956: 474), the Zulu voiced bilabial implosive consonant *ɓ* following the nasal *m* replacing the Bushman cerebral or palato-alveolar click with nasal efflux *!n*.

Mzimkulu, the river which rises in the Drakensberg near the Lesotho border and flows south-east past Underberg to enter the Indian Ocean at Port Shepstone, at 30° 44’ S, 30° 27’ E, has a name explained by Botha (1977: 166) as ‘*Die groot kraal, Die hoofkraal, Die tuiste van die watere – Grootrivier*’ (‘the big village, the main village, the home of the waters – big river’). Koopman (2002: 145) states: “The word *umzimkulu* is a compound of *umuzi* (‘homestead, village’) + *mkbulu* (‘it is big’)”. Döhne (1857: 387) explains the name as ‘great place or great rush’, in the latter suggestion perhaps thinking of a Zulu word similar to the Xhosa word *umzi* ‘the common rush’ (Colenso 1884: 194). Stayt (1971) gave the meaning as ‘great affairs or great waters’, from *amanzi* ‘water’, the root of the word being *-nzi*. Koopman (1983: 304) points out that words such as *amanzi* “have no singular forms, and cannot, and do not, change their prefixes”, so that *amanzi* cannot become *umnzi*. Of course, Koopman is correct if the name *uMzimkulu* is of Zulu origin. But if it is of Bushman origin, a different picture emerges. Then the structure of the name is not generic + specific, or noun + adjective; but adjective + noun, or specific + generic. A valuable remark by Andrews (1991: 108) sheds new light on the name of this river. He

states that “Fynn calls it Bloody River” (Andrews 1991: 108). In that case, a Bushman origin is demonstrable. The component (*U*)*m* is the Zulu prefix; the component *zi*(*m*) is cognate with Auen (N1) /*ĩ*, /*ij* ‘blood’ (Bleek 1929: 22, 1956: 292), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative click /, the nasalisation of the *ĩ* realised as the Zulu bilabial nasal *m*, as also shown in the Auen (N1) word /*ij* for ‘blood’, where the nasal is indicated by *ij*. Recognising that the voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l* frequently varies with the voiced alveolar vibrant consonant *r*, it is possible to interpret the component *k*(*h*)*ulu* as being comparable with the /Xam (S1) word *≠hauru*, *≠bouru* ‘waterhole, pond, pit’ (Bleek 1956: 651, 744), the /Xam alveolar plosive click with aspirated efflux, *≠h*, replaced by the Zulu aspirated velar plosive consonant *k*(*h*), the initial vowel of the /Xam diphthong *au* or *ou* elided to avoid the juxtaposition of two vowels, and the /Xam voiced alveolar lingual consonant *r* replaced by the Zulu voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l*.

Mzinyathi see **UMzinyati**

Mziyane is the name of a river 29 km south-east of Ladysmith, at 28° 36′ S, 30° 07′ E. The name is said to mean ‘*Klein spoor(-spruit)*’ (‘little spoor (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 170), from *zila* (*umzila*) ‘broad track (as made by a herd or army passing)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 892). Noting the variability of *l* and *y* that has led to the form *Mziyane* from *umzila* (Botha 1977: 170), the component *zila* or *ziya* may be compared to the Kung (N2) *tsĩŋ’a* ‘footprints’ (Bleek 1956: 217), the Bushman alveolar affricate with nasal efflux *ts* approximating the Zulu voiced fricative *z*, the velar nasal *ŋ* the voiced prepalatal semi-vowel *y*. The component *ne* of the name *Mziyane* is the feature-type designator ‘river’, perhaps comparable with //D!ke (S2) /*k’ëi* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the alveolar click with ejected nasal efflux substituted by the alveolar nasal *n*, the vowel cluster *ei* coalesced to the syllable peak *e*.

Ncane, the name of a stream near Ndwandwe, means ‘*Die kleintjie*’ (‘the little one’ (Botha 1977: 172), from *ncane* ‘small, little’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 528). The Zulu consonant *nc* is the nasal form of the dental click, corresponding to the Bushman dental click with voiced efflux, effectively the voiced dental click, /g. *Ncane* is thus cognate with Khoikhoi /*ga* ‘small’ (Bleek 1929: 76), Naron (C2) /*kwa*, Sesarwa (S5) //*^ni* ‘little’ (Bleek 1929: 54), the latter differing in click, but

displaying the component *ni* similar to the *ne* of *Ncane*. However, mindful that Bushman place names usually consist of specific and generic terms, the *ne* may (also) be a fluvial suffix, cognate with /Auni (S4) *≠ei* ‘river’, the alveolar click corresponding to the Zulu alveolar nasal *n*, the diphthong *ei* coalesced to the syllable peak *e*.

Ncome is the Zulu name of the Blood River at 28° 14' S, 30° 30' E. Sometimes explained as ‘cattle’; a more widely accepted explanation is ‘pleasing’, ‘praiseworthy’ (Botha 1977: 172), said to be derived from Zulu *ncoma* ‘give a favourable report on; praise, admire, recommend’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 533), and thus to mean ‘the praiseworthy one [...] from its pleasant water and green banks’ (Bulpin [s a]: 199), ‘The pleasant one’ (Bulpin 1952: 84), an explanation which Botha himself describes as speculative. Popular belief is that the Blood River received its name from the blood that flowed as the result of the Battle of Blood River on 16 December 1838. So often has a European name proven to be a translation of an older Bushman one adapted into Zulu that one is tempted to investigate such a possibility in this instance. No words for ‘blood’ are immediately evident that would correlate with *Ncome* or a similar word, but for ‘red’ Bushman words include Kung (N2) /*num*, Naron (C2) /*nuʔa*, /*noa* (Bleek 1956: 351, 352). The Zulu nasal dental click *nc* correlates with the Bushman dental click with nasal efflux /*n*, while the variation of *u* and *o* in the respective Bushman words indicates that /*num* and */*nom* are cognate with *Ncom(e)*: phrased differently, /*nuʔa* and /*noa* are variants of the same word, and *ncom(e)* is thus a permissible adapted form of /*num*, where *u* is the ‘back close vowel phoneme, variously heard as *u* (back close) or *o* (back half-close)’ (Bleek 1956: 246).

Ncwabe is explained as meaning ‘*Skoon(-spruit)*’ (‘clean stream’) (Botha 1977: 172), from *ncwaɓa* ‘fresh, clean, attractive’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 535). The component *ncwa* is cognate with Kung (N2) /*kwa* ‘clean’ (Bleek 1956: 704). *Nc* is the nasal form of the Zulu dental click that corresponds to the Bushman dental click /, *wa* the consonantalised form of *oa*. The component *be* is perhaps a particle in the formation of adjectives and adverbs (Kroenlein 1889: 41a4).

Ncwadi is the Zulu name for the Elands River which rises west of Elandskop and flows south to join the Mkhomazi; also the name of a settlement on the Elands River, approximately 30 km south-west

of Pietermaritzburg, at 29° 47' S, 30° 01' E. The river is said to take its name, meaning 'conspicuous', or 'notable', from the hill. *Newadi* is interpreted as '(a) river with a conspicuous mark, i.e. the hill of the same name' (Botha 1977: 172), from *-ncwadi* (*incwadi*) 'mark, indication, sign, evidence' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 535). Botha states that the topographic characteristics of the surroundings militate against this point of view. What he does mention, however, and what may well be the key to the explanation, is that this river bears the Afrikaans name *Elandsrivier* by virtue of its rising at *Elandkop* (Botha 1977: 172). The component *ncwa* is cognate with Kung (N2) *!!nā* 'eland' (Bleek 1956: 511), the Bushman retroflex click *!!*, lying 'between the palato-alveolar and lateral clicks' and 'more hollow than *//*' (Bleek 1956: 505), formed by releasing the tip of the tongue backwards, a pronunciation which could understandably be interpreted as Zulu (*i*) *ncwa*(*di*), or /Auni (S4) *!kā* 'eland' (Bleek 1929: 36). The component *-di* of the river name is perhaps cognate with /Auni (S4) *≠ei* 'river', the alveolar consonant *d* corresponding to the alveolar click *≠*, the diphthong or vowel cluster *ei* coalesced to *i*.

Ndawana is the name of a river 16 km south-east of Ubombo. Botha (1977: 173) gives the meaning of this name as '*Klein-palmiet(spruit)*' ('small bulrush stream'), from the Zulu word *indawo* 'a species of rush, *Cyperus esculentus*'. Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 537) give the stem as *-ndawo* (*indawo*), indicating that the stem is *ndawo*, and the prefix *i-*. Colenso (1884: 94), however, gives the word as "Dawo (*In*), kind of rush" indicating the stem as *dawo* and the prefix as *in*. The confusion regarding the prefix may be ascribed to the Bushman origin of the word. The component *ndaw* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word for *rushes*, namely *//xãu* (Bleek 1956: 633), the Zulu alveolar voiced nasal compound *nd* comparable to the alveolar or retroflex fricative click with affricative efflux, *//x*, the Bushman back close vowel *u* shifting to the Zulu velar semi-vowel or glide *w* to obviate the impermissible juxtaposition of two vowels in Zulu. Botha interprets the component *-ana* of *Ndawana* as a diminutive suffix, as evidenced by his explanation of the name as '*Klein-palmiet(spruit)*' 'small bulrush (stream)'. If that were the case, the generic term would be understood as *Stream*. In most instances, however, place names have an overt feature-type designator as a component of the name. In the case of *Ndawana*, in which the first component is an adapted /Xam word, the component (*w*)*ana* is

more likely to be a feature-type designator, for example a word similar to the Sesarwa (S5) words //gāna ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 99); //k”anna ‘water’, ‘waterpits’; //gwana ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 603; 769; 537), or the !O !kung (N3) word /kana ‘to flow’ (Bleek 1956: 300).

Ndlovini is the name of an area 14 km east-south-east of Harding, and also the name of a stream 22 km west of Umzinto, at 30° 21’ S, 30° 29’ E. The name is said to be derived from Zulu *indlovu*, ‘elephant’, plus the locative suffix *-ini*, thus meaning ‘place of the elephants’. The component (*n*)*dlo(v)* is comparable to the Hie (C1) word *t|owa*, the Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) word *!xo*: ‘elephant’ (Bleek 1929: 36), the Zulu cluster *dl*, which is the voiced alveolar fricative consonant, approximating the Bushman alveolar affricate *ts* & *tʃ* and the cerebral or palato-alveolar click with fricative efflux, *ɬx*.

Ngabeni, the name of a settlement 15 km south-west of Howick, at 30° 41’ S, 29°, 23’ E, is said to mean ‘at the cave’ (Raper 2004: 270). The component *Nga(b)* is comparable with Naron (C2) //goa ‘cave’ (Bleek 1956: 703), the Bushman lateral click with voiced velar efflux, //g, corresponding to the Zulu voiced velar nasal compound *ng*, the result of homorganic nasal influence on *g*; *oa* coalesced to *a* to obviate the juxtaposition of two vowels that would violate the Zulu canon, and with Khoikhoi //boáb (Bleek 1929: 28). The component (*e*)*ni* is presumably a feature-type designator.

Ngagalu is explained as ‘*Die korhaan*’ (‘the korhaan’) (Botha 1977: 174), from *ngagalu* (*ingagalu*) ‘Natal korhaan, *Eupodotis barrowii*’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 546), for which Roberts (1951: 93) gives *i-Nkakalo*. The consonant *ng* of the stem *ngagalu* is the voiced velar nasal compound consisting of the alveolar nasal consonant *n* and the voiced velar explosive consonant *g*. The compound *nk* is the velar nasal preceding the ejective velar explosive, *ŋk’* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 574). The Zulu voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l* frequently (regularly) replaces the Bushman voiced alveolar lingual *r*. Considering *ng* and *nk* to be attempts at rendering in writing former Bushman clicks enables recognition of *ngagalu* and *nkakalo* as cognate with Old Cape Khoikhoi *k’ hack ary* ‘een korhaan’ (Nienaber 1963: 354), /Xam (S1) *kwakwara* ‘Korhaan (*Eupodotis afra*)’ (Bleek 1929: 51), *kwa*: ʔkwa ʔra (Bleek 1956: 729). The variation in the final vowel of the name *Ngagalu* is to be ascribed to difficulty in rendering the sound in writing rather than differences

in pronunciation, Witsen's *y* being the representation of the Dutch *ypsilon*, for example.

Ngcuba is a northern tributary of the Buffels River. The name has been interpreted as '*Die waardelose*' ('the worthless one'), from its lack of permanent water (Botha 1977: 175). The root of the name is seen as *ngcuḁa* (*ingcuḁa*) 'worthless person' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 552). The explanation given does not fit the normal naming pattern, and was presumably prompted by the similarity of the name with the Zulu word *ingcuba*. A more productive motive would have been the waterless characteristic of the stream. Bushman words for 'dry' include /Xam (S1) $\text{ˀ} /ko:wa$ 'to be dry, thirsty' (Bleek 1956: 321), which is phonologically comparable with *ngcuba*, the dental click with ejected velar efflux /k reflected by the voiced form of the dental click preceded by the velar nasal, *ngc*, the back close vowel *u* variously heard as back half-close *o*, and the voiced bilabial explosive consonant *b* often interchanging with *w* in second syllables (Bleek 1956: 13).

Ngoje, a tributary of Blinkwater, has a name said to mean '*Krans(spruit)*' ('cliff (stream)') (Botha 1977: 176), from *goje* (*ingoje*) 'precipice, cliff' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 254). *Goje* is comparable with /Nu //en (S6) $\neq oje$ 'stone' (Bleek 1929: 81), Zulu *ng* a compound comprising the alveolar nasal consonant *n* and voiced velar explosive consonant *g*; Bushman \neq the alveolar plosive click. The stream takes its name from a precipitous hill named *Ngoje* past which it flows on the farm *Daas Krantz* or *Daskrans*. *Daskrans* (*Daas Krantz*) means 'coney cliff', *das* being the Afrikaans word for 'coney' or 'cony', *Procavia capensis*. Suspecting that the farm took its name from the prominent feature that also gave the stream its name, and that *Daskrans* (*Daas Krantz*) 'coney cliff' translates a name of which *Ngoje* is an adaptation, revealed a Cape Khoikhoi word *kgoyes* 'een das', 'a cony' (Nienaber 1963: 243). The final *s* of *kgoyes* is the Khoikhoi feminine singular ending which, being omitted, leaves *kgoye*, sufficiently similar in sound to *Ngoje* to regard them as cognate. *Ngoje* thus seems to be the Zulu adaptation of a Bushman word (similar to) *kgoye(s)* meaning 'coney, rock rabbit', translated as *Daas (Krantz)* and adapted in Afrikaans as *Daskrans*. However, that explanation does not fit the onymic pattern of the Bushmen, namely of using descriptive words or appellatives to refer to the feature, frequently including the feature-type designation. In this instance, the component *ngo* is perhaps an adaptation of /Xam (S1) /on

‘rock rabbit’ (Bleek 1956: 356), or /Xam (S1) /*hun* ‘rock rabbit, dassie’ (Bleek 1956: 290), Naron (C2) /*āun* ‘rock dassie’ (Bleek 1956: 372), and the ≠Khomani (S2a) word /*’oũ* = *dassie* (Bleek 1956: 492), the component *je* comparable with //Xegwi (S3) /*že* ‘stone’ (Bleek 1929: 80).

Ngongoma, the name of a stream 11 km east of Ixopo in the direction of Highflats; also the name of a stream at 27° 25’ S, 31° 41’ E, in the Ngotshe district, is derived from *ngongoma* (*ingongoma*) ‘hlonipha term for *ingozi*, (i) danger, (ii) wound’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 557); *-ngozi* (*ingozi*) ‘severe wound, [...] conspicuous scar’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 558. Botha (1977: 176) states that ‘*Dit is die naam van ’n smal kloof*’ (‘it is the name of a narrow ravine.’) In this case, *Ngongoma* is the name of a narrow gorge, and that is what the name means, descriptive of the feature, cognate with Kung (N2) //*kōŋ*//*kōnō*, //*kon*//*kōnō*, //*ko*//*konu* ‘ravine, water running between steep banks’ (Bleek 1956: 586, 589). The Zulu velar voiced nasal compound *ng*, comprising the alveolar nasal consonant *n* plus voiced velar explosive consonant *g*, approximates the Bushman retroflex fricative click with ejected nasal efflux, //*k̤*. The *-m-* of the component *ngoma* is presumably the old masculine singular ending preserved in some dialects as the voiced bilabial consonant *b*, the final *a* is the Zulu vowel ending.

Ngonyameni is the name of a tributary of the Sabie River, about 19 km east of Skukuza, in the Kruger National Park, at 24° 58’ S, 31° 46’ E. The name is of Zulu origin and means ‘place of the lion’, from *ngonyama* (*in-*) (Colenso 1884: 367). McClaren (1936: 47) for Xhosa gives *in-gonyama*, but Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 557) give the stem as *ngonyama* (*ingonyama*), thus with the prefix *i*. Dropping the Zulu prefix and final vowel leaves *(n)gonyam*. In discussing “what Bantu sounds correspond to the Bushman clicks”, Werner (1925: 129) notes that in Chinyanja

... the click is usually replaced by the ‘velar nasal’ (sometimes called ‘ringing *ng* and written *ng*’ or *n*), as *n/cane* (*-ncane*) = *nono* (*ng’ono*) ‘small’. [...] This sound [...] is a little difficult for Europeans to pronounce when it occurs at the beginning of a word, as in *ng’ombe*, *ng’oma*, etc.

In the case of *(n)gonyam* the velar nasal *ng* is a replacement of the cerebral or retroflex plosive click with velar efflux, /*h*, the unvoiced glottal fricative *h*

... (phon *b* and *x*) pronounced by some [...] as unvoiced velar fricative. There is no significant difference (other than one of emphasis on occasion) between the two pronunciations (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 291).

The stem (*n*)*gonyam* is thus possibly an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the Hie (C1) word *!ho kham* ‘a large maned lion’ (Bleek 1956: 398), /Xam (S1) //kwa^zmma ‘lion, name used by early race’ (Bleek 1956: 597), and //Ku //ke (S2c) *!goĩŋ* ‘lion’ (Bleek 1956: 385).

Ngudumeni is said to mean ‘the rumbling mountain’, Afrikaans ‘*dreunberg*’ (Möller 2006). The component *ngu*, where Zulu voiced nasal compound *ng* corresponds to the Bushman voiced cerebral or palato-alveolar click with voiced and nasal efflux, *!g̃*, is cognate with /Xam (S1) *!gāu*: ‘resound, rumble’ (Bleek 1956: 378); the component *dum* is cognate with /Auni (S4) *!gum* ‘mountain’ (Bleek 1956: 389), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* corresponding to the Bushman palato-alveolar click with voiced efflux, *!g*.

Ngudwini, a settlement 6 km north of Donnybrook, at 29° 52′ S, 29° 52′ E, takes its name from a tributary of the Mkomazi, said to mean ‘meeting-place of many paths’ (Raper 2004: 272). The component *Ngu* is comparable to Sesarwa (S5) *!kobū* ‘assemble’ (Bleek 1929: 17), and Nama /*bū* ‘meet, come together’, ‘*zusammenkommen*’ (Rust 1960: 77), the Zulu alveolar nasal *n* plus voiced velar *g* compounded as *ng* approximating the alveolar fricative click with aspirated nasal efflux, /*b̃*. The component *-dwini* is compounded of a consonantalised *dawu*, from Sesarwa (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) *dau*, Hie (C1) *dbau*, (H) *daob* ‘path’ (Bleek 1929: 64), plus the locative *ini*, a possible reinterpretation of //ǀ *!ke* (S2) /*k̃*ēi ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), Zulu *n* reflecting the nasalisation of *ē*, Bushman *ēi* simplified to Zulu *e*, or a demonstrative cognate with *ŋ*.

Ngwangwane is the name of a tributary of the Mzimkulu. It rises near the Lesotho border south-west of Underberg and flows south-east to its confluence with the main stream 6 km south-west of Creighton, at 29° 58′ S, 29° 28′ E. *Ngwangwane* is given by Botha (1977: 177) as ‘*Witsprinkaanvoël(-rivier)*’, literally ‘White locust-bird (river)’, from *in-Gwangwane*, one of the Zulu names for ‘White Stork’, Afrikaans ‘*Wit Sprinkaanvoël*’, *Ciconia ciconia* (Roberts 1978: 53). This Zulu name for the bird does not appear in Zulu dictionaries, and is thought to

be a dialectal Zulu word, or from Xhosa *ingwangwane* given by Kropf (1915: 139). River names being known as old suggests a Bushman origin. The stem or component *ngwangwa* is comparable with Auen (N1) //kwa//kwa 'locust' (Bleek 1929: 54), the Zulu velar nasal compound *ng* (nasal plus velar explosive) comparable to the Auen retroflex fricative click with velar ejective efflux, //k. Generally, Bushman river names comprise both specific and generic terms; we would thus expect a fluvial suffix in this instance. It is also uncharacteristic to call a river 'Stork' or 'Locust bird'. The component *-ne* of the river name *Ngwangwane* may well be cognate with //ǀlke (S2)/k'ēi 'river' (Bleek 1929: 70), the Zulu alveolar nasal consonant *n* corresponding to the alveolar click /, the nasal element reflecting the nasalisation of ē, Bushman ēi simplified or coalesced to Zulu *e*.

Ngwanyane, the name of a tributary of the Mzimkulu near Underberg, is said to mean 'Die energieke' ('the energetic one') (Botha 1977: 178), from *gwanya* 'show vigorous growth' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 283). Stayt (1971) states that this is the name of the Sand River, the translation thereby providing the solution for the name. The /Xam (S1) word for 'soft ground, sand' is !kwaie, also !kwaĩ, emphatic !kwaĩn (Bleek 1956: 438). The Zulu velar voiced nasal compound *ng* corresponds to the Bushman palato-alveolar or cerebral click with ejective efflux !k, while the Zulu prepalatal nasal consonant *ny* reflects the Bushman nasalised ï(n), the component *ne* a fluvial generic term 'river'.

Ngweni is the name of a railway siding 7 km north of Hluhluwe, on the route Durban-Golela, at 27° 57' S, 32° 15' E. Also written *eNgweni*, the name is said to mean 'place of the leopard', from *ingwe* 'leopard' (Koopman 2002: 129). The stem *-ngwe* (Ur-B. *ngwi*) (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 566) bears a strong resemblance to //ǀlke (S2) //kwe: and Sesarwa (S5), /Nu //en (S6) ʔ/kwi, but those are words for 'Hunting leopard, *Felis jubatus*' (Bleek 1929: 53), or 'Cheetah, *Acinonyx jubatus jubatus*' (Roberts 1951: 181), *ingulule* in Zulu (Doke *et al* 2005: 72). There are two Bushman words cognate with *-ngwe*, namely /Xam (S1) //kauë, and Naron (C2) !koe:ba 'Leopard (*Felis pardus*)' (Bleek 1929: 52). In comparing //kauë with *ngwe*, the retroflex fricative click plus ejective velar efflux //k is seen to approximate the nasal plus voiced velar explosive *ng*; *a* is elided and *ue* consonantalised as *we* to obviate the impermissible vowel cluster *ue* in Zulu. In the case of !koe:ba, the Bushman retroflex click with ejective efflux, !k, approximates the

Zulu nasal plus velar explosive *ng* of *-ngwe*, the vowel cluster *oe* is consonantalised as *we*, although the component *-ba* is unaccounted for, unless it is a masculine singular suffix (Traill 1978: 139). The phonological correspondence between *-ngwe* and *//kauë* and *!koe:ba* seems forced, while that between *-ngwe* and *//kwe:* (and *ʔ//kwi*) seems more satisfactory. There seems to have been a misinterpretation at some stage, whereby *//kwe:* and *ʔ//kwi* ‘Hunting leopard’ or ‘Cheetah’ became *-ngwe* ‘Leopard’, while *!burudub* ‘Leopard’ (Bleek 1929: 52) became *gulule* (*ingulule*) ‘Cheetah’, the Zulu velar explosive consonant *g* supplanting retroflex explosive click with aspirated velar efflux *!h*, voiced alveolar lateral *l* supplanting voiced alveolar rolled *r*.

Nkanyezi see **Inkwanyezi**

Nhlopekulu is the name of a hill 6 km north of Nongoma and 34 km south of Magudu, at 27° 51' S, 31° 37' E. Also encountered as *Hlopekulu*, the name is thought to mean ‘great white one’. The component *hlop(e)* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word */k'owa* and the //ǀ!ke (S2) word */o:wa* ‘white’ (Bleek 1929: 91), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar fricative *hl* corresponding to the /Xam unvoiced alveolar fricative click */*, the bilabial consonant *p* homorganic to the bilabial consonant *w*. The component *kulu* of the name may be a generic term or feature-type designator, from a word similar to the component *//ulle* of *//ullejaba* ‘hill’, which rules out that the component *nkulu* means ‘great’.

Nkukwini is interpreted as ‘*Hoender(-spruit)*’ (‘fowl stream’), from *kbukhu* (*inkuku*) ‘domestic fowl’ [Ur-B *-kuku*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 411), locative *enkukwini* (Botha 1977: 183). The root *kbukhu* and Ur-Bantu *-kuku* are cognate with Kung (N2) *kuku*, !O !kuŋ (N3) *ku_ku* and /Auni (S4) words *!koxu* ‘fowl’ (Bleek 1929: 40). The component *-(i)ni* is a Zulu locative suffix, but in this instance, since the expected accompanying prefix *e-* or *o-* is lacking, presumably a feature-type designator.

Nkunzi, the name of a tributary of the Sundays River, which it joins about 10 km south-west of Wasbank, at 28° 21' S, 30° 00' E, is said to mean ‘a bull’, referring to the qualities of this creature: strength, forcefulness, and so on. The name is derived from *kunzi* (*in*) ‘bull; male of first-class animals; used often to designate the most powerful among other men’ (Colenso 1884: 278). The component

ku(n) is comparable to the Hie (C1) and (C2) word /*ko* ‘bull’ (Bleek 1956: 317), possibly related to the //Kxau (S2b) word $\text{ʔ}o\bar{n}i$, / $\text{ʔ}uni$ ‘strong’ (Bleek 1956: 356, 359). The component *zi* of the name is similar to //D !ke (S2) /*k*’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), the Zulu alveolar fricative *z* approximating the Bushman dental or alveolar fricative click /.

Nkutu is the name of a hill 1462 m high, situated 9 km west-north-west of Driefontein and 28 km north-west of Ladysmith, at 28° 20’ S, 29° 37’ E. The name is Zulu and means ‘solid’, ‘enclosed’, ‘heap-like shape’ (Raper 2004: 275). If the meaning of ‘enclosed hill’ is accepted, the component *Nku* may be compared to the /Xam (S1) word /*ku*: ‘to close, stop up’ (Bleek 1956: 446), the component *tu* perhaps to the /Xam (S1) word /*uhaitən* ‘heap’ (Bleek 1956: 338), /Xam (S1) /*kau, !kou* ‘mountain’ (Bleek 1929: 59), /Nusan (S6a) /*gou*, /Xam (S1) /*xau*: ‘hill’ (Bleek 1956: 633), the diphthongs coalesced to the peak syllable *u*.

Nkwalini is the name of a railway station 20 km south-east of Melmoth, on the route to Eshowe, at 28° 43’ S, 31° 31’ E. It takes its name from the river of the same name, a tributary of the Mhlatuze, between Eshowe and Melmoth. The name is of Zulu origin and means ‘place of the Red-necked Francolin’, *Pternistis afer*, Zulu *inkwali* (Roberts 1978: 132). Botha (1977: 184) reports that some informants attribute the name *Nkwalini* to a *blonipha* word. *Nkwali* used to refer to the *Mkwanazi* tribe. Correspondence between the Zulu names has been suggested with such words as the /Xam (S1) word *kurrikurri* ‘*Francolinus*’ (Bleek 1956: 107), and the Hie (C1) word *makoe* ‘francolin’ (Bleek 1956: 134).

Nkwenkwe is the name of a mountain 552 m high, some 20 km south-south-east of Melmoth, at 28° 40’ S, 31° 35’ E. Said to mean ‘the dried up one’, the name has been transferred to a railway station 6 km to the south-east of the mountain, on the route Empangeni-Nkwalini, at 28° 43’ S, 31° 37’ E (Raper 2004: 275). The first component *kwe* of the name *Nkwenkwe* is comparable to the Naron (C2) word //*kôë* ‘to dry’ (Bleek 1929: 35), //*koe* ‘to dry up’ (Bleek 1956: 584), the Naron vowel cluster *oe* consonantalised as Zulu *wé* to obviate the impermissible juxtaposition of vowels, and perhaps to the Xam (S1) word //*ko:wa* ‘to be dry’ (Bleek 1956: 589); the second component *kwe* like Kung (N2)

kwe ‘place’, and its variant *koe* (Bleek 1956: 112), *Nkwenkwe* meaning ‘dry mountain’.

Nkwifa, a settlement some 5 km west of Umzinto, at 30° 20′ S, 30° 37′ E, takes its name from the Nkwifa River which flows past it. *Nkwifa* is said to mean ‘*Spuil(-rivier)*’ (‘the spewing (river)’) (Botha 1977: 185), from *kbwifa* ‘squirt from the mouth; spurt with liquid, spit, spit on (as a snake)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 427). The Zulu velar nasal plus ejective velar explosive consonant *Nk* of *Nkwifa* corresponds to the Bushman retroflex plosive click plus velar ejected efflux plus nasalisation *!k̤*; *wi* is a consonantalisation of *ui*, so that *Nkwi* can be compared to Khoikhoi *!hûi* ‘bubble out’, ‘*ausquellen*’ (Rust 1960: 203), */kûi* ‘*speien*’, ‘spit’ (Rust 1960: 57). The nasalisation is reflected in the *N* of *Nkwifa*. This explanation of the name is based on a phonological similarity between Zulu *kbwifa* and Khoikhoi *!hûi*, */kûi*. Lugg ascribes the name to natural artesian springs (Afrikaans *spuitfonteine*) occurring in the river when the water level is low (Botha 1977: 185). Botha states that a similar natural phenomenon occurs in the Tugela valley a few kilometres from Kranskop where the Tshutshu hot springs have been developed. This statement provides a clue to the origin of the name, which means ‘hot water’. The component *kwi* of *Nkwifa* is cognate with Auen (N1), Kung (N2), !O !kuŋ (N3) *~kwi*, !O !kuŋ (N3) *~kbwi* ‘hot’ (Bleek 1929: 48), while the component *fa* is comparable to //Xegwi (S3) *sha*, //kha:, /Auni (S4) //kha ‘water’ (Bleek 1929: 90), /Nu //en (S6) *!kha*: ‘water’, also ‘spring’ (Bleek 1929: 79), the Zulu fricative *f* approximating the Bushman clicks.

Nomagwayi is interpreted by Botha (1977: 186) as ‘*Tabak(-spruit)*’ (‘tobacco stream’), from *gwayi* (*ugwayi*) ‘tobacco plant’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 284). Botha states that, although the name appears to be a typical woman’s name, *no* + *umagwayi* (*ma* + *gwayi*), in this instance, the connection between the place name and a woman’s name is, judging by the available information, excluded. He suggests that, since the prefixes sometimes reflect the notion of size and importance (Van Eeden 1956: 720), these prefixes are employed, in this instance, to give hyperbolic strength to the name. A different explanation is suggested, however. Mindful of the tautological pattern of names incorporating the component *Kwa*, interpreted in many cases as the locative prefix, it seems that the component *Noma* of *Nomagwayi* is a folk-etymological interpretation of /Auni (S4) *!numa* ‘tobacco’ (Bleek

1929: 86), a meaning preserved in the oral tradition that led to the addition of the component (*u*)*gwayi* but no longer consciously linked to the original Bushman word of which *Noma* is the Zulu adaptation. The Zulu word (*u*)*gwayi* may be related to, or derived from, !O !kuŋ (N3) *!gwa*, *gwa* or Auen (N1) *!gaixa* ‘dagga (wild hemp)’ (Bleek 1929: 32), the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* corresponding to the retroflex click with voiced ejected efflux *!g*, the vowel cluster *ai* coalesced to *a*.

Nseleni is the name of a river which rises approximately 23 km east of Melmoth and flows east and south-east to join the Nsezi at the town Nseleni, approximately 17 km north-west of Richards Bay, at 28° 45’ S, 31° 58’ E. The name is derived from Zulu and means ‘place of the badger (*Mellivora capensis capensis*)’ (Raper 2004: 279). The similarity as regards vowels of the name *Nseleni* and the Hie (C1) word *lenjebi* ‘badger’ (Bleek 1956: 130) has been noted.

Nshongweni see **Ntshongweni**

Nsizwa is the name of a stream 11 km east-north-east of Hlabisa, explained as meaning ‘*Die sterke*’ (‘the strong one’) (Botha 1977: 188). The component *Nsi*, of which *Ns* is the Zulu alveolar nasal plus ejective alveolar fricative, corresponds to the Bushman alveolar voiced fricative click /*g*, so that *Nsi* may be comparable to /Xam (S1) /*gi* ‘strong’ (Bleek 1929: 81). The component *zwa* is a generic term comparable to /Xam (S1) *!kbwa* ‘water’ (Bleek 1929: 99), the voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* approximating the retroflex plosive click with ejected and aspirated efflux *!kb*.

Nsonge, a tributary of the Mooi River, is explained as ‘*Kronkel(-spruit)*’ (‘winding (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 188), said to be derived from *songe* (*in*)*songe* ‘curve, bend, curl, winding, < *songa* ‘fold, roll up’, and so on (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 765). Bryant gives the name as *enTsonge*, thus with the affricative *Ts* instead of the fricative *s* (Botha 1977: 188). This older spelling is closer to the original pronunciation of the name, opening the possibility of a link between *Tson(ge)* and Hie (C1) *tson(oo)* ‘to twist’ (Bleek 1929: 88). The component *ge* is a fluvial generic cognate with Hie (C1) *kwe* or /*k’i* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), or possibly a locative morpheme like the /Xam (S1) word *ke*: and the /Auni (S4) word *ke*: or *ke* ‘that, there’ (Bleek 1956, 85), *Nsonge* thus means ‘that winding one there’. The same origin is considered to be

ascribable to the *Nsongeni*, a river 32 km south-east of Nkandla, at 28° 27' S, 30° 55' E.

Nsonti, '*Die vlegtende*' ('the twisting one') (Botha 1977: 89), is derived from the ideophone *sonti* 'of sudden warping, twisting, wringing', *sonta* 'to twist', *sonte* (*in*)*sonte* 'anything twisted', *insonto* 'rope of twisted calf-skin' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 766). The Zulu compound *ns* is the alveolar nasal plus ejective alveolar affricative (*nts*') (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 597), Bushman *ts* also the alveolar affricative, the root (*N*)*son* thus reminiscent of Hie (C1) *tsonoo* 'to twist' (Bleek 1929: 88). The component *ti* is thought to be an adapted generic term for 'river', as in *Njasuti*, *Nonoti*, and so on, similar to the //D !ke (S2) word /*k*'i 'river' (Bleek 1956: 339), the dental plosive consonant *t* corresponding to the dental click with plosive efflux, /*k*.

Nsuze is the name of a tributary of the Tugela River that rises approximately 20 km west of Babanango and flows east-south-east to the confluence at Hotsprings, 20 km north-east of Kranskop, at 28° 51' S, 31° 02' E. The name has been said to mean 'snake river', descriptive of water driven with force through a narrow channel (Raper 2004: 279). However, there is a strong possibility of the English name *Hotsprings* being a translation of a Bushman name of which *Nsuze* is the Zulu adaptation, an explanation justified on topographical grounds and fitting in with the Bushman penchant for bestowing descriptive names that would serve to identify the feature uniquely. The component (*n*)*su* is comparable to the /Nu //en (S6) word //u: 'hot', the Zulu *ns* (*nts*'), the alveolar nasal preceding the ejective alveolar affricate, the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *s* or *ts* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 597), approximating the Bushman retroflex fricative click //. The final component of the name, *ze*, may be similar to the Auen (N1) word //xwe 'waterhole' (Bleek 1929: 90).

Ntambende, the name of a watercourse near Kranskop, is interpreted as '*Langtou(-spruit)*', ('longthong (stream)') (Botha 1977: 189), from *thambo* (*intambo*) [Ur-B *tambo*] 'thread, string, cord, rope' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 783); *-de* 'tall, long, deep, high' [Ur-B. *le*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 141). The component *Ntambe* of the name is comparable with //Xegwi (S3)//*k'abe* 'rope' (Bleek 1929: 71), Khoikhoi *!āb* 'thong' (Bleek 1929: 84), the Zulu alveolar nasal plus alveolar explosive consonant *nt* corresponding to the Bushman retroflex (lateral) click plus ejected

efflux//k', and the Khoikhoi cerebral (palato-alveolar) click plus nasal efflux, !~. The component *-nde* of *Ntambende* is perhaps cognate with Auen (N1) !gê 'long' (Bleek 1929: 55), the alveolar nasal plus alveolar voiced explosive consonant *nd* approximating the retroflex explosive click with voiced and nasal efflux !g~. Although *-de* or *-nde* may be cognate with !gê, Bushman place names generally follow the pattern of specific + generic, so that the component *-nde* of the river name is more likely to be a fluvial generic, cognate with //ǀ!ke (S2)/k'èi 'river' (Bleek 1929: 70), the alveolar nasal plus voiced explosive consonant *nd* corresponding to the alveolar fricative click plus explosive efflux with nasalisation /k'. So frequently has topographical congruence and translation proven to indicate the authentic meaning of a name that *Kranskop* may, in this instance, translate *Ntambende*, the component *Ntam* approximating the //ǀ!ke (S2) word ≠kâ: 'ridge of rocks, *krans*' (Bleek 1956: 653), the alveolar nasal preceding the ejected alveolar explosive, *nt*, approximating the alveolar plosive click ≠, the nasalisation of ã represented by the nasal consonant *m*.

Ntumbane is the name of a river that rises east of Nthabakunetha and flows north-east into Woodstock Dam at 28° 44' S, 29° 13' E, 14 km west of Bergville. The name *Ntumbane* means 'Die (*klein*) uitborrelende' ('the little bubbling out one') (Botha 1977: 190), as a result of one or more springs in its headwaters, or with an association with the word *intumbane* 'a boil' (Doke *et al* 2005: 46). This word seems to be cognate with Kung (N2) ǀ//ku:mi 'boil, pimple' (Bleek 1956: 592), the Zulu alveolar nasal preceding the ejected alveolar explosive, *nt*, approximating the alveolar fricative click with ejected efflux, //k. The first component of the name may be cognate with /Xam (S1) /kũ 'to boil', the dental or alveolar explosive consonant *t* corresponding to the dental or alveolar click with ejected efflux, /k, the nasalisation of ù reflected in the nasal *m*. The final component of the name may well be a feature-type designator.

Ntunja, also *KwaNtunja*, a river 8 km east of Melmoth, takes its name from a topographical feature past which it flows, meaning 'Deur/ By die opening' ('at/through the opening') (Botha 1977: 98), from *ntunja* (*intunja*) 'small aperture, orifice, small hole; tunnel' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 609). *Ntunja* is also the Zulu name for *Gatberg*, a peak in the Drakensberg north-east of Dragon's Back (Raper 2004: 109). *Gatberg*, 'hole mountain', is thought to be a translation of *Ntunja*, as is

frequently the case where a feature has names from different languages. The component *ntu* of *intunja* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) and //ǀ !ke (S2) word *tu:*, the Kung (N2) word *tʃu*, and Khoikhoi //bus, ‘hole’ (Bleek 1929: 47), the Zulu alveolar nasal and ejected alveolar explosive, *nt*, approximating Bushman ejected affricative *tʃ* and Khoikhoi lateral click with aspirated efflux, //b. The component *-nja* of the name is comparable to the //Xegwi (S3) demonstrative locative morpheme *nja* ‘that is’ (Bleek 1956: 147). It would thus seem that the stem of the word *intunja* is, in fact, *tunja* and the prefix *in-*, and that the stem is thus not *ntunja* as given by Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 609). As stated, the name *KwaNtunja* is also encountered. The component *Kwa* of *KwaNtunja* should, if this name follows the pattern of other *Kwa*-names, duplicate the meaning of the other component of the name. In this instance, *Kwa* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!koa* ‘hole, cave’ (Bleek 1956: 437).

Nyamvubu, the name of a river flowing to the west of Mount Gilboa, some 30 km north of Hilton, at 29° 12' S, 30° 15' E, is often explained as ‘*Die rivier wat seekoë afskei*’ (‘the river that excretes hippos’) (Botha 1977: 191); ‘where the hippo defecates’ (Koopman 2002: 129), from *nya* ‘pass excreta’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 616), *vuḽu* (*imvuḽu*) ‘hippopotamus’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 839). An alternative name for this river given by Botha, *Rietvlei (River)* (‘reed marsh (river)’), prompts a different interpretation, namely that *Nyamvubu* is a Zulu adaptation of an older Bushman name meaning ‘reed marsh (river)’, subsequently interpreted as given by Botha and Koopman on the basis of folk etymology. The component *nya*, where the cluster *ny* is a ‘palatal inspired liquid consonant (McLaren 1926: 9), thus a suction sound or click replacement comparable to the Bushman dental click /, approximates the //ǀ !ke (S2) word /ā ‘reed’ (Bleek 1929: 69). The component (*m*)*vubu* is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word *luʼbu* ‘pan’ (Bleek 1956: 130), the Zulu denti-labial nasal plus voiced dentilabial fricative replacing the Bushman voiced lateral alveolar *l*. Botha (1977: 46, 191) gives *Riemspruit* (‘thong stream’) as an alternative name for *Nyamvubu*. Recognising that *Nya(m)* is a possible written representation of the sound *neja* allows recognition of this component as similar to Hadza (C3) /*eja* ‘rope, leather band’ (Bleek 1956: 272), indicating that *Riemspruit* translates the indigenous name.

Ntanyana is the name of a watercourse 24 km east of Nongoma, said to be derived from *intanyana*, the diminutive of *intambo* ‘rope, thong’; *-de* ‘long’, and explained as ‘*Die toutjie(spruit)*’ (‘the little rope (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 189). The component *ntan* is phonologically and semantically compatible with the ≠Khomani (S2a) word ≠*k*[^]*n*, !*k*[^]*n* ‘thong, riempie’ (Bleek 1956: 666), the symbol [^] pronounced as *u* in the word ‘bun’ (Bleek 1929: 12). The component *nyana* is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word //*gāna* ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 90), the cluster *ny* a palatal inspired liquid (McLaren 1926: 9), thus a suction sound or click replacement comparable to the Bushman alveolar click ≠.

Nzololo is explained as ‘*Gat(-spruit)*’ (‘hole stream’); ‘*Die weggesonkene*’ (‘the sunken one’) (Botha 1977: 192), from *-zololo* (*inzololo*) ‘abyss, chasm’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 897). The stem *nzololo* is cognate with !O !*kuŋ* (N3) *kolokolo* ‘a hollow’ (Bleek 1956: 99), Kung (N2) !*kor* ‘hole’, /Xam (S1) !*korro* ‘to be hollow’ (Bleek 1956: 443), the voiced alveolar consonants *r* and *l* homorganic and variable, the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *nz* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: xvi) [or alveolar nasal plus voiced alveolar affricate (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 632)] approximating the palato-alveolar click with ejected efflux, !*k*, or unvoiced velar explosive consonant *k*.

Ogogo, the name of a watercourse 24 km east-north-east of Nqutu, is said to mean ‘*Die uitgeteerde*’ (‘the emaciated one’) (Botha 1977: 193), from the ideophone *gogo* ‘of emaciation, drying up’, *u(lu)gogo* ‘emaciated person or animal’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 253). Since this is the name of a river, the meaning of ‘drying up’ would be more likely than ‘emaciation’. Bushman cognates with *gogo* would therefore include //D !*ke* (S2) *k*[”]*o*; Hie (C1) /*ko*, Naron (C2) /*o*; /Xam (S1) *k*[”]*orokn*. ‘dry’ (Bleek 1929: 35).

OHLawe see **Hlawe**

Opathe is the name of a tributary of the White Mfolozi, rising 15 km north-north-west of Melmoth and flowing north-east to join the main stream 5 km south of Ulundi, at 28° 22’ S, 31° 24’ E (Raper 2004: 291). The name is also encountered as *Pate*, and explained as meaning ‘*Die holte*’ (‘the hollow’) (Botha 1977: 194), from *patha* (*u(lu)phatha*) ‘object with a hollow side, top or bottom’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 649); *Phathe* (*u(lu)Phate*) given by Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 649) as ‘1. Name of a ravine in Zululand into which Bongoza treacherously led the Boers;

2. An ambush'. If the aspirated unvoiced bilabial explosive consonant *ph* is a replacement of Bushman unvoiced alveolar click with aspirated ejected efflux, the stem *phatha* is cognate with the Hie (C1) word *patha* 'a crack' (Bleek 1956: 157), //khata 'hollow' (Bleek 1956: 725), /Xam (S1) //kha-tu 'ditch, mouth of hole' (Bleek 1956: 573).

Pongola, also *Phongolo*, is the name of a river rising 12 km east of Wakkerstroom and flowing 470 km east and then north to enter the southern part of Delagoa Bay as the Maputo River at 26° 51' S, 32° 20' E. *Pongola* is one of the oldest river names in KwaZulu-Natal, interpreted as 'Trogrivier' ('trough river') by Botha (1977: 195), from *phongolo* (*umphongolo*) 'box, chest, barrel, cask, crate' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 669). Bulpin (according to Botha) says 'river like a trough, with very few crossing places'; Lugg (1968: 10) gives the meaning of 'river of troughs or long narrow pools'. The component (*n*)go could be thought to be cognate with Khoikhoi *ngou* 'Holztrog, Krippe' ('wooden trough, crib') (Rust 1969: 135), the Zulu voiced velar nasal *ng* approximating the palato-alveolar click with voiced velar efflux *ng*. The component *P(h)o* could be construed as cognate with /Xam (S1) *Obho*, //ǀ!ke (S2) *Obho*: 'wood' (Bleek 1929: 93), the Zulu unvoiced explosive aspirated bilabial consonant *ph* corresponding to the Bushman bilabial click with aspirated efflux, *Ob*. The river name is encountered with a final *o*, *inter alia* as (*u*)*P(h)ongolo*, as well as with an *a*, *inter alia* as (*u*)*P(h)ongola*; it was approved by the National Place Names Committee as *Pongola*. Bryant (1905: 508) notes that Colenso regards the name or word to be of Xhosa origin. In view of the frequent variability of *l* and *r*, the component *la* of the river name may be interpreted as *ra*, a component that occurs very frequently in Xhosa river names, for example *Bira*, *Bulura*, *Debera*, *Gxara*, *Kwelera*, *Quinera*, *Xolora*, and so on. This fluvial generic, *ra*, in Xhosa pronounced and often written as a velar fricative *rha*, is thought to be cognate with Cape Khoikhoi *xae* 'river' (Nienaber 1963: 430), the vowel cluster *ae* reduced to *a* to avoid juxtaposed vowels in Xhosa (and Zulu). However, the fact that there is a great deal of uncertainty about the name gives cause for considering a different explanation, based on topographical congruence or transcategorisation. One of the features associated with the river is *Mooi Plats*, meaning 'pretty place'. The word *Mooi* occurs in the names *Mooirivier* or *Mpofana*, and *Mooiriviersdorp* for *Potchefstroom*. The component *po*, common to both of those names,

also occurs as *P(h)o* in *P(h)ongolo/a*, associated with *Mooi Plats*. The variability of the initial *P* of *Pongola* and *Pb* of *Phongolo* may indicate a former bilabial click. It seems reasonable to regard the component *P(h)o* as comparable with $\text{ʔ}p'o(m)$, an alternative pronunciation of the Sesarwa (S5) word $\text{ʔ}p'um$ 'pretty, nice, beautiful' (Bleek 1929: 61), the Bushman back close vowel *u* "variously heard as back close *u* or back half-close *o*" (Bleek 1956: 246). The component *gola* may be compared to the !O !kuj (N3) word //gala 'place' (Bleek 1956: 525), Dutch *plaats*, occurring in the old form *Plats* in the name *Mooi Plats*, which thus seems to translate *Pongola*.

Sampofu is a tributary of the Tugela River. It rises in the vicinity of Pomeroy and flows south to its confluence with the main stream approximately 4 km west of Tugela Ferry, at 28° 45' S, 30° 24' E. *Sampofu* is given as 'Vaal(-spruit)', 'Die Vaalbruinerige' ('grey (stream)', 'the greyish-brown one') (Botha 1977: 196), from *-mpofu* 'tan-coloured, dun-coloured, tawny (the colour of eland skin)' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 512), from the colour imparted to the water by the soil and rocks over which it flows; *-phofu (impofu)* 'Eland, *Oreas canna*' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 667). The component *Sa-* is interpreted by Botha as the Zulu indefinite prefixal formative 'something like' when used adverbially (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 719), '-erig, -agtig', '-ish', '-like' (Van Eeden 1956: 474). In fact, the component is cognate with /Xam (S1) *s'a:*, //D !ke (S2) *sa:* 'eland' (Bleek 1929: 36), the component *-mpofu* added tautologically, because the meaning of the river name was remembered after the meaning of *sa:* had been forgotten. This pattern of naming, in which the meaning is repeated in separate components of the name, occurs fairly frequently.

Sandlundlu is the name of a river 40 km south-west of Port Shepstone. It takes its name from the hut-shaped, bush-covered sandy hill *iSandlundlu*, also known as *Tragedy Hill*, at the mouth of the river at Port Edward (Botha 1977: 196), at 31° 03' S, 30° 13' E. The component *ndlundlu* is phonologically and semantically comparable with the Hadza (C3) word *tlʔutlʔe* 'hut with earth or clay on the branch shelter' (Bleek 1956: 205).

Sandlwana see **Isandlwana**

Sane, the name of a watercourse south of Mvoti, is interpreted as 'Die kleintjie' ('the little one') (Botha 1977: 196), thought to be from

Zulu *usana*, the diminutive of *-si* (*u(lu)si*) ‘2. a small piece, tiny infant’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 752-3). The name *Sane* is comparable with the Sesarwa (S5) word //^hni ‘little’ (Bleek 1929: 54), the unvoiced alveolar fricative *s* approximating the unvoiced alveolar fricative click //, the symbol ^h pronounced like the *u* in ‘*bun*’.

Sibaya is the name of a lake 8 km long and 5 km wide in the Ingwavuma district, west of Hully Point, at 27° 20′ S, 32° 41′ E, in north-eastern KwaZulu-Natal. Also encountered as *Sibayi*, the name is interpreted as ‘*Die ingeslotene*’ ‘the shut-in one’ (Botha 1977: 197), from *baya* (*isibaya*) ‘cattle-kraal, sheep-fold; horseshoe shape, circle (with only one opening or none at all)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 69). The reason given for the name is that the 35 km sheet of water, which has no outlet, was reminiscent of a cattle-byre (Botha 1977: 198). However, the name, being that of a water feature, presumably pre-dates the existence of cattle-byres or sheep-folds of the incoming Zulu. A more directly descriptive explanation links the component *siba* to the Hie (C1) word *jiba*, *džiba* ‘lake, pool’ (Bleek 1956: 33), the Zulu alveolar fricative consonant *s* approximating the Bushman alveolar affricative *dž*. If that is the case, the stem of the place name is not *baya*, and the explanation of ‘cattle-kraal’ and so on is a folk-etymological one, a seeking after meaning based on the appearance of the lake.

Siboje is ‘*Die klam plek*’ (‘the damp place’) (Botha 1977: 198), from *boje* (*i(li)boje*) ‘sodden ground’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 42). The component *Si*, not explained by Botha, is cognate with Auen (N1) *tʃi*; Kung (N2) *ʃi*: ‘wet, damp’ (Bleek 1929: 91), the prepalatal unvoiced fricative *ʃ* often merely a variant of *s*, and often found as *tʃ* (Bleek 1956: 176).

Sifanyawo, the name of a stream near Hlabisa, is interpreted as ‘*Die spruit wat die voete besmet*’ (‘the stream that infects the feet’) (Botha 1977: 199), from *fā* ‘be ill, sick; suffer, be hurt’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 197); *-nyawo* (*unyawo*) ‘foot; footprint, footmark’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 622). The word *fā* is cognate with //Xegwi (S3) */a* ‘to be ill’ (Bleek 1929: 49), the Zulu unvoiced denti-labial fricative consonant *f* approximating or corresponding to the Bushman dental fricative click *ʃ*, also comparable to the Auen (N1) word *tshā* and the Naron (C2) verb *tsha*: ‘to be ill’. The Zulu word *unyawo* would seem to be comparable with the Hie (C1) word *ujao*, ‘footprint’ (Bleek 1929: 40), the prepalatal nasal consonant *ny* (prepalatal nasal plus

prepalatal semi-vowel) corresponding to the Hie voiced prepalatal consonant *j*, pronounced as *y* in 'yet'; the intervocalic consonant *w* in the Zulu word a consonantal glide to prevent the impermissible juxtaposition of the vowels *ao*. A clue to the component *Si-* of *Sifanyawo*, for which no explanation is offered by Botha, may be found in the traditionally remembered meaning of 'sick foot'. *Si* is cognate with //Xegwi (S3)/*k'e*, Auen (N1)/*ke*., Kung (N2)/*k'i*, !O !kuŋ (N3)/*k'e* 'foot' (Bleek 1929: 40), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar fricative consonant *s* corresponding to the unvoiced alveolar fricative click/. The component *nyawo* of the name *Sifanyawo* is a folk-etymological interpretation of a Bushman generic term, Sesarwa (S5) *!na: u*, /Nu //en (S6) *!nau* 'river' (Bleek 1929: 70). *Sifanyawo* thus seems to mean 'foot-sickness river', from /*k'i/a!nau*.

Sikumbeni is the name of a river 14 km south-east of Mahlabatini, said to mean 'Vel(-spruit)' ('skin stream', 'hide stream') (Botha 1977: 199), from Zulu *esikhumbeni*, the locative of *-khumba* (*isikhumba*) 'skin; hide, pelt; leather' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 413). The stem *-khumba* is comparable to a word recorded in 1626 by Thomas Herbert as *gwumme* 'a skin' (Nienaber 1963: 493), the consonant *w* identified by Nienaber as a click, *gwumme* interpreted by him as cognate with Nama *≠nami* 'Kaross'. Bushman words for 'skin' include Sesarwa (S5) *t'ym*, /Nu //en (S6) *_t'um*, /Xam (S1) and //ǀke (S2) *tũ* (Bleek 1929: 70), the nasalisation of the last-mentioned word represented as *m* in the others, the symbol *γ* pronounced as *u* in French 'du' (Bleek 1929: 12), the alveolar unvoiced explosive consonant *t* approximating the velar unvoiced explosive consonant *k(h)* in (*Si*)*kumbeni* and *-khumba*, and to the click with voiced velar explosive efflux in *gwumme*. The root vowel in these words for 'skin, hide' is *u*; in other Bushman words, it is *o*, for example Hie (C1) *tʃo*, Naron (C2) *ko*: Auen (N1), Kung (N2), !O !kuŋ (N3) /*no* 'skin' (Bleek 1929: 76), Khoikhoi *kbob* 'das Fell, Haut' ('skin, hide') (Rust 1960: 21). The final consonant *-b* of *kbob* is the masculine singular ending, an older form of which is *m*, which occurs in *gwumme* and perhaps *khum(ba)*. It may be deduced from the above variant words that the click depicted by Herbert as *w* in *gwumme* was the dental or alveolar click/, retained in Auen (N1), Kung (N2), !O !kuŋ (N3) in /*no*., of which the nasal efflux may also be represented in the other words as *m*.

Sithubeni, a stream near Msinga, has a name derived from *esithubeni*, the locative of *thuḁa* (*intuḁa*) ‘opening, passage’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 803), and means ‘Poort-, gang(-rivier)’, (‘pass, passage (river)’) (Botha 1977: 199), literally ‘at the pass’, ‘place of the passage’. The stem *thuḁa* is cognate with Naron (C2) *dauba* ‘path’ (Bleek 1929: 64), Hie (C1) *!kuu* ‘pass, poort’ (Bleek 1956: 455); /Xam (S1) /*kau* ‘way’ (Bleek 1956: 303), ‘road’ (Lichtenstein II: 471); Hie (C1) *dbau* ‘road’, the aspirated alveolar explosive consonant *th* of *thuḁa* corresponding to the alveolar explosive consonant with aspirated efflux *db* of *dbau*, the vowel cluster *au* coalesced as *u*, the ending *-ba* being the masculine singular ending. There is a strong possibility of the component *ni* being a generic term, for example cognate with //ǀ!ke (S2) /*k’ēi* ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the nasalisation of *ē* realised as *n*, *ei* coalesced as *i*; //ǀ!ke (S2) /*k’i* ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339).

Sixwembe is the name of a river 17 km north-east of Nongoma, said to mean ‘*Lepel(-spruit)*’ (‘spoon (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 200), from *xwembe* (*isixwembe*) ‘large wooden spoon or ladle. [v.l. *isixembe*]’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 870). The component (*i*)*sixwem*(*be*) or (*i*)*sixem*(*be*) is similar in sound and meaning to Sesarwa (S5) *si-/gaʔm*, *si-/gaʔm* ‘spoon’ (Bleek 1956: 170), the voiced alveolar click /*g* approximating the alveolar lateral click *x*, the pressed vowel *aʔ* heightened to mid-forward vowel *e*.

Sodwana Bay is the name of an indentation north of Jesser Point on the coast of KwaZulu-Natal, 120 km north of Richards Bay, at 27° 38’ S, 32° 34’ E. *Sodwana* is said to mean ‘*Die uiters verlatene*’ (‘the most isolated one’) (Botha 1977: 200), from *-dwana*, the diminutive of *dwa* ‘only, alone, by oneself, sole’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 176). Various reasons are given for the name, based on the similarity of sound between the name and the Zulu word *dwana*. Another possibility exists, based on topographical grounds. Bulpin (1952: 252) mentions the ivory trader Simon Dota who often visited the area to hunt elephants, which were apparently in abundance in this area. The component *dwana* of the name approximates the Mohissa (C1b) *tʃuana* (Bleek 1956: 236), also *≠kʷana* ‘elephant’ (Bleek 1956: 668), the alveolar click with ejective efflux *≠kʷ* corresponding to the alveolar explosive consonant *d*, the *u* in the case of *tʃuana* being consonantalised as *w*. As regards the correspondence between the *d* of the component *dwana* and the *tʃ* of *tʃuana*, Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 133) describe *d* as the

[v]oiced alveolar explosive consonant. In Zulu it is devoid of voicing during the stop, unless preceded by the homorganic nasal; it therefore has a much sharper, clearer pronunciation than its equivalent in English. Under the influence of palatalization $d > j$.

Swelamanzi, the name of a watercourse near Vryheid, is interpreted as ‘(Spruit) sonder water’ (‘(stream) without water’) (Botha 1977: 201), from *swela* ‘be in need of; lack’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 773); *nzi* (*amanzi*) ‘water’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 632). The component *swē* is cognate with /Xam (S1) /*ku:ē* ‘to be without’ (Bleek 1956: 323), the unvoiced alveolar fricative click / (Bleek 1929: 13) reflected as the unvoiced fricative consonant *s*, the back close vowel *u* consonantalised as the semi-vowel *w*. A ‘dialectal’ form of *amanzi*, *amati* (Döhne 1857: 208), is cognate with *ate*, *ati* ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 769). Döhne regards *amati* as related to *mata* ‘be wet, damp (as ground)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 487); cf *amathe* ‘spittle [Ur-B *mata*]’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 788); cf also *mati* ‘flow’.

Talana see **Itala**

Tekwini, also *Thekwini* and *eThekwini*, is the Zulu name primarily applied to Durban Bay, and also the Zulu name for Durban at 29° 51' S, 31° 01' E. The name is said, *inter alia*, to mean ‘Die lagune’ (‘the lagoon’), from *theku* (*i(li)theku*) ‘lagoon, enclosed bay, harbour’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 789), locative *ethekwini* (Botha 1977: 202). Botha (1977: 203) points out that the semantic field of *itheku* is approximately the same as *ichibi*; moreover, it also means ‘gathering place’, for example where the waters of different rivers are emptied, even where people or birds gather together, crowd. Botha (1977: 205, 225 n 224) informs us that many streams formerly flowed into the bay. Apparently, there is a semantic connection between *itheku* and Xhosa *iteko* = place of public gathering (Kropf 1915: 406). If that explanation is feasible, the component *Te-* or *The-* is perhaps cognate with /Xam (S1) //*ke*, //*k*”e ‘to meet, be together with’ (Bleek 1956: 566), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar ejective explosive consonant *t* corresponding to the Bushman alveolar lateral click with ejected efflux, //*k*”; the component *ku* cognate with Naron (C2) *ku*: ‘each other’ (Bleek 1956: 103), so that (*i*)*teku* literally means ‘to meet (be together with) each other’. *Tekwini* is thought to be the Zulu locative of (*i*)*t(h)eku*, formed by the addition of the prefix *e-* and suffix *-ini*. However, if the name *Tekwini* is indeed of Bushman origin, and not an adaptation of (*i*)*t(h)eku*, the component *-kwi* is comparable

with Auen (N1) *kwe* ‘each other, together’ (Bleek 1956: 111), the front half-close vowel *e* interchanging with front close vowel *i* (Bleek 1956: 66), while the final component *-ni* is a feature-type designatory term meaning ‘river’, cognate with *≠ei*, the alveolar nasal *n* corresponding to the alveolar click *≠*, the vowel cluster *ei* coalesced to the syllable peak *i*. However, ‘meeting place’ is not the toponymic pattern expected in names of water features, generally the oldest names given in any area, and by the earliest inhabitants. Such names are more likely to be toponymically descriptive in order to identify the specific feature readily. Lugg (Botha 1977: 113) gives the meaning of *itbeku* as ‘a large sheet of water’, (*‘n groot strook water’*).²³ This meaning would be in accordance with toponymic motives among preliterate peoples, place names primarily of the evolutionary type, developing from appellatives or descriptive phrases. Colenso (1884: 543) gives *teku* (I) ‘open mouth or river, bay: *eTekwini, Etekwini*, native name for the Bay at Durban’. Accepting Lugg’s given meaning as ‘large sheet of water’ shows the component *te* of the word *teku* to be comparable to Sehura (C1a) *tse*, Auen (N1) */gẽ*, !O !kuŋ (N3) *//ke* (Bleek 1956: 567); Auen (N1) *≠gee*: and *≠gei* ‘big’ (Bleek 1956: 646), the component *ku* (with a soft-k) comparable to Auen (N1) *!gu* ‘water’ *s. ̃!gu, //gu* (Bleek 1956: 387); Kung (N2) *//gu* (Bleek 1956: 534), Kung (N2) *!gũ* (Bleek 1956: 506); Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) *≠gu, s. !gu* (Bleek 1956: 648); Auen (N1) *!gu*; Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) *̃//gu*: (Bleek 1929: 90).

Teza, a lake, has a name said to mean ‘*Die vergaarder van vuurmaakhout*’ (‘the gatherer of firewood’) (Botha 1977: 204), from Zulu *theza* ‘gather firewood’ [Ur-B. *-teva*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 793). The Zulu verb *theza* is cognate with Hie (C1) */tee t̥a* ‘gather wood’ (Bleek 1929: 41); Naron (C2) */e:}a* ‘fire’, ‘wood’ (Bleek 1929: 39, 93). The Zulu aspirated alveolar explosive consonant *th* of *theza* corresponds to the alveolar fricative click with ejected alveolar explosive efflux */t̥*, while the voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* approximates the affricative *t̥ʃ* of */tee t̥a* and alveolar fricative consonant *ʃ* of */e:}a*.

Thandani is given as a Zulu place name meaning ‘love one another’ (Koopman 2002: 123), from *thanda* ‘like, love, be fond of’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 784). The consonant *th* of *thanda* is the aspirated alveolar explosive, corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative

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click with ejected efflux, /k; the voiced alveolar nasal compound *nd* approximates the Bushman voiced velar nasal ŋ, *thanda* thus being cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /kaŋ-a, /ka:ʔŋ?a ‘to love’ (Bleek 1929: 55, 1956: 300). As a place name, *Thandani* raises the question as to whether the component *-ni* is not a generic term or feature-type designator.

Thekwini see **Tekwini**

Thongati, also encountered as *Umtongate*, *oThongathi*, *uThongathi*, *Tongati*, *uMthongata*, and so on, is the name of a river which flows east past Tongaat and enters the Indian Ocean 5 km south-west of Ballito Bay and 10 km north-east of the mouth of the Mdloti River, at 29° 34’ S, 31° 11’ E. The name, derived from Zulu, is said to mean ‘it is important to us’ or ‘you are important because of us’, referring to legends involving reaction to a denigrating remark, in the first instance, and to Shaka’s magnanimous view of a tribe he had just made subservient to him. An alternative explanation links the name to a type of tree growing on its banks, the *Strychnos mackenzii*, or *Loxostylis alata* (Raper 2004: 369). *Umtongata* is the spelling given by Gardiner (1836: 182) for the river. The different explanations are the result of interpretations based on whether the name is structured *tho* + *ngathi* or *thonga* + *thi* (Botha 1977: 205-6, Koopman 2002: 147-9). Stayt (1971) gives as one possibility the meaning of ‘The twisting river’, an explanation which would tie in well with the evolutionary character of indigenous names. The final component of the name, *-ta*, is possibly a fluvial generic term, cognate with /Xam (S1) /k’a ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70). Considering that Bushman *u* is variously heard as *u* (back close) or *o* (back half-close) (Bleek 1956: 246), the component *tonga* is cognate with Kung (N2) *tuj’a*, *tuj-a* ‘turn’ (Bleek 1956: 241, 766), the glottal stop represented as the voiced velar explosive *g* in Zulu.

Thukela (*u(lu)Thukela* [*<loc. oThukela*]) is the Zulu name for the ‘Tugela River dividing Natal from Zululand’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 804), rising on the eastern slopes of the Drakensberg approximately 20 km south-east of Witsieshoek, and flowing some 560 km east and east-south-east to enter the Indian Ocean 10 km north-east of Zinkwazi Beach, at 29° 13’ S, 31° 30’ E (Raper 2004: 378). *Tugela* is the form approved by the National Place Names Committee and occurs as

component of names such as *Tugela Ferry*, *Tugela Bridge*, and so on. The name *Tugela* or *uThukela* is explained as ‘*Die afskrikwekkende*’ (‘the frightening one, the fearsome one’) (Botha 1977: 206), from the ideophone *thuka* ‘of fright, startling; of sudden fear’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 804). It may be that this explanation of the name was suggested by the resemblance of the river name to the ideophone *thuka*, cognate with Hie (C1) *thau* ‘startle’ (Bleek 1956: 200), the diphthong *au* simplified to *u*. Döhne (1857: 354) regards *uThukela* as a derivative of *thukela*, an obsolete or rare ‘qualifying’ form of *thuka*. The component *gela* or *kela* could be compared to the Hadza (C3) *kela* ‘river, riverbed’ (Bleek 1956: 86). However, mindful that ‘the awesome one’ or similar name would not be toponymically distinctive to indigenous hunter-gatherers to uniquely identify and refer to a river, a more pragmatic meaning may be sought. Although the name does occur with an *e* after the velar *g*, as in *Toegela*, *Umtugela*, *Umtogela*, *U’Tugela*, and *Togela* (Botha 1977: 207), it also occurs with an *a* after the velar *g*, as in *Tugala*, recorded by Gardiner (1836: 30, 69, 312, 372) and by Owen in 1836 (Cory 1926: 271), thus in early recordings of the name. An early name for the Tugela was *Fisher’s River*; Kirby (1955: 252) has *Fishers River*, as has Skead (1973: 230). The promontory now known as *Tugela Bluff* once bore the Portuguese name of *Ponta da Pescaria*, recorded by Perestrelo in 1576 (Da Costa 1939: 85). Logically, if *Tugela Bluff* is at the mouth of the *Tugela River*, *Ponta da Pescaria* must be at the mouth of the *Rio da Pescaria*, and if *Tugela Bluff* is the same entity as *Ponta da Pescaria*, the *Tugela River* must be the same entity as *Rio da Pescaria*, a Portuguese name meaning ‘Fishers River’. Could *Tugela* have the same meaning as *Rio da Pescaria* and *Fishers River*? It has been noted that the stem of the name has been recorded as *Tu*, *To*, *Tu*, *Toe*, and so on. Bushman words for ‘fish’ include //Kxau (S2b) *tho:e*: and /Xam (S1) *!ko-eiŋsi* (Bleek 1956: 200, 439), the latter recorded by Lichtenstein (1930: 471) as *t’³ko-eings*, words which correspond well with the components of the river name written as *To* and *Toe*; Kung (N2) //au and //ou ‘fish’ (Bleek 1956: 518, 626) are also comparable with *Tu*, *Tu*, and so on, the unvoiced alveolar lateral click // replaced by the unvoiced alveolar ejective explosive *t*, the vowel cluster *au* or *ou* coalesced to *u*. As noted earlier, the component *kela* could be a Hadza word for ‘river’.

Tongaat see **Thongati**

Tshaka, the name of a watercourse near Paulpietersburg, is said to mean ‘*Die spuitende*’ (‘the spurting one’) (Botha 1977: 206), from Zulu *tshaka* ‘squirt through the closed teeth; spit like a snake’, from the ideophone *tshaa* ‘of squirting, spurting’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 818). *Tshaa* is cognate with Auen (N1) $_tʃa$ ‘to spit’ (Bleek 1929: 78), *tsh* and *tʃ* the unvoiced prepalatal affricative consonant, $_tʃ$ being the International Phonetic Association symbol for *sh*. The component *-ka* of the river name *Tshaka* is thought to be a generic term, cognate with /Xam (S1) /*k’a*, Auen (N1) \neka ., Kung (N2) $_lka$ ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70).

Tshanani is the name of a mountain peak in the Lebombo range, on the southern bank of the Mkuze, some 7 km south of Ubombo, at 27° 37’ S, 32° 04’ E. Said to be Zulu for ‘place of small stones’, the name was officially approved as *Tshaneni*. The mountain is also known as *Ghost Mountain*, so called because it is supposed to be haunted, with mysterious lights being seen at times (Raper 2004: 376). The English name seems to be a translation of the Zulu adaptation *Tshanani* of a Bushman name, the component *Tshana* comparable with Kung (N2) //*gaŋa* ‘ghost’ (Bleek 1929: 42), //*gaŋʒa*, ‘dream, spirit, ghost, mantis’, //*gan’na* ‘soul’ (Bleek 1956: 526); also the Kung (N2), Auen (N1), !O !*kuŋ* (N3) and Naron (C2) word //*gāūa* ‘ghost’, and Khoikhoi //*gāūa* ‘evil spirit’ (Bleek 1929: 42), the nasalisation shown as *n* in Zulu.

Tshaneni see **Tshanani**

Tshekane is given as ‘the leaning one’, from *tsheka* ‘lean, stand at an angle, be inclined’, primarily the name of a mountain but transferred also to the river (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 820). The component *kane* is comparable with /Xam (S1) $\nekaĩ$ ‘to be steep, slanting’ (Bleek 1956: 660), the nasalised $_i$ represented as *ni*, the front half-close vowel *i* as front half-close *e* (Bleek 1956: 66), *n* inserted between the juxtaposed vowels.

Tugela see **Thukela**

uKhahlamba is the Zulu name for the Drakensberg (Koopman 2002: 155), a mountain range some 1046 km long, extending eastwards from near Dordrecht in the Eastern Cape for 130 km, then northwards to near Tzaneen in Limpopo. Other forms include *Kwabhlamba*, *Kwathlamba*, *Qatblamba*, *Quablamba*, and so on (Raper 2004: 76). The name *uKhahlamba* is said to be derived from *khahlamba* (*(lu)kahlamba*) ‘1. Rough, bony object; skeleton. 2. Tall, thin person.

3. Row of upward-pointing spears. 4. Broken mountain range. 5. *u(lu) Khabhlamba*: the Drakensberg Mountains [$>$ loc. *oKhabhlamba*]’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 374). Of the five explanations given, only the first four can be interpreted as meanings of the root *khabhlamba*; the fifth is a statement that the mountain range in question has two names. Of the four meanings given for *khabhlamba* only one is appropriate for the topographical feature, namely the descriptive ‘Broken mountain range’. Recognising that *uKhabhlamba* is a Zuluisation of an earlier name necessitates a consideration of earlier recorded forms of the name which can then be compared with possible Bushman cognates. These earlier forms include *Quablamba*, *Quatlamba*, *Kwablamba* and *Kwathlamba*, which indicate that the component *Kha* of *u(lu) Khabhlamba* is a coalesced form of *Qua*, *Kwa*, which is comparable to /Xam (S1) *!kwa*, Kung (N2) *_!kwa*, //koa.; Naron (C2) *kōa* ‘to break’ (Bleek 1929: 24), and also with Khoikhoi *kbōa* ‘brechen, zerbrechen’ (‘break’); *khōwa*, *!khōwa*, //khōwa ‘aufbrechen’ (‘break off’) (Rust 1960: 12). The component *blamba* is similar to the /Xam (S1) and Kung (N2) //khami ‘chain of mountains’ (Bleek 1956: 573). The *hl* of *blamba* is the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative approximating the /Xam unvoiced lateral fricative click //; the voiced bilabial consonant *m* is a relic of a masculine singular ending later occurring as *b*.

Ulundi is the name of the site of the royal village of the Zulu on the north bank of the White Mfolozi River, some 13 km south-west of Mahlabatini and 51 km north of Melmoth, at 28° 20’ S., 31° 25’ E. The name *Ulundi* is said to mean ‘the high place’, from *Ndi* (*U* for *Ulu*) ‘The Kahlamba Mountains; the Great Kraal of the Zulu king’ (Colenso 1884: 352), given by Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 538) as *ndi* (*u(lu) ndi*) ‘high pinnacle, apex; mountain range’. As noted, the component *ulu* is the Zulu class prefix; the component *ndi* is comparable to Hie (C1) *njimo* ‘above, the top, high’ (Bleek 1956: 147).

Umbilo see **Mbilo**

Umbogintwini see **Mbokodweni**

UMfazazane see **Mfazazana**

UMfolozi see **Mfolozi**

uMgungundlovu, variously spelt and variously explained, as shown by Koopman (2002: 163-70), has a name that is

... much more prosaic. It simply means 'Royal Capital': [the place that] surrounds the king [...] Since at least Shaka's day, the elephant has been used as a symbol of the king and his majesty' (Koopman 2002: 168, 167).

'Surround' in Bushman is /Xam (S1) *!kau!kaukən* (Bleek 1956: 417), the emphatic form of *!kau!kau* which, coalescing the diphthong *au* to *u* to obviate the juxtaposition of two vowels, gives *!kulku*, which may or may not be equated with the component *gungu* of *uMgungundlovu*. The component *dlovu* (*indlovu*) 'elephant' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 160), *dhlovu* (*in*) 'elephant' (Colenso 1884: 104), is cognate with Sotho *tlou*, *t* the unvoiced form of *d*, *v* a bridging sound inserted to prevent two vowels standing together, //Kxau (S2b) /*hau* 'elephant' (Bleek 1956: 287), the alveolar fricative click with aspirated efflux, /*h*, approximating the alveolar lateral fricative consonant *dl*, the diphthong *au* frequently variable with *ou*, as in the synonyms /*au* and /*ou* for 'duiker bok' (Bleek 1956: 12).

Umhlangana see **Mhlangana**

Umhlanga Rocks is the name of a seaside resort in the Inanda district, 18 km north of Durban, at 29° 43' S, 31° 05' E. It takes its name from the Mhlanga River, a name derived from *hlanga* (*umhlanga*) 'reed or reeds; reedy place' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 319). The root *hlang-* is cognate with ≠Khomani (S2a) //ka /*ŋ* 'reed' (Bleek 1956: 564), the unvoiced Zulu fricative *hl* corresponding to the Bushman unvoiced retroflex fricative click //, the Zulu velar nasal *ng* to the Bushman velar nasal *ŋ*. The final component of the name may be a fluvial suffix, 'river', or the final vowel *-a* is the compulsory Zulu vowel.

uMlahlangubo, a peak in the Drakensberg, has a name that is derived from *labla* 'to lose, to discard', *ingubo* 'a blanket, or item of clothing, usually a dress' (Koopman 2002: 131). The stem of the latter word is *nguḽo* 'cloak, covering for the body [...]; leathern robe; blanket' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 564). Ten Rhyne wrote: 'The clothing is exclusively of skin, and consists of a [...] blanket [...] called by them karos' (Nienaber 1963: 332). The component *ngubo* is cognate with ≠Khomani (S2a) *!ku⁻ba* 'skin petticoat, kaross' (Bleek 1956: 448), Khoikhoi *!gub* 'Schurzfell' ('hide skirt') (Rust 1960: 55), the Zulu velar voiced nasal compound *ng* corresponding to the Bushman palato-alveolar click with voiced velar efflux *!g* or its unvoiced velar equivalent *!k*. The

component *labla* ‘throw away, cast away’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 444) is perhaps cognate with Auen (N1) //ka//karre ‘throw away’ (Bleek 1956: 565), the unvoiced lateral fricative *bl* approximating the unvoiced lateral fricative click //.

Umunweni see **Mnweni**

UMunywana see **Munywana**

Umvoti see **Mvoti**

Umzinto has been explained in several different ways (*cf* Botha 1977: 168-9), none of them which he found to be satisfactory. A topographical configuration may be viable. The *Mzimayi* is the name of a river rising near Windyridge and flowing south-east through Umzinto to enter the Indian Ocean 4 km south-west of Park Rynie and 2 km north-east of Kelso, at 30° 21' S, 30° 44' E. If *Windyridge*, *Umzinto* and *Mzimayi* have a common topographical basis, the //Ku//ke (S2c) word ʃi ‘wind’ (Bleek 1956: 180) may be considered comparable with the component (*m*)zi. The component *nto* may then be comparable to the /Xam (S1) word ʃkou: ‘ridge, krantz, overhanging cliffs’ (Bleek 1956: 321), the Zulu alveolar nasal preceding the ejected alveolar explosive, *nt*, approximating the alveolar click with ejected efflux /k, the Bushman vowel cluster *ou* coalesced to *o* to avoid the impermissible juxtaposition of vowels.

Umzinyati is a name borne by three rivers in KwaZulu-Natal, namely the Buffalo River, the Blood River and the Wakkerstroom. It is generally thought that the name *Mzinyati* has the same meaning in each of these applications, and that it means ‘buffalo river’, literally ‘home of the buffalo’, from Zulu *umuzi* ‘home’, *inyathi* ‘buffalo’ (Botha 1977: 170). Bushman names for two of the rivers were adopted by the incoming Zulu, but adapted to their sound system and reinterpreted as *Mzinyati* or its variants. In the case of the “Blood River in North-west Natal” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 895), the name *Blood River* and the Afrikaans equivalent *Bloedrivier* translate a Bushman name of which (*um*)*Zinyathi* is an adaptation. The component *um* is the Zulu prefix; the component *zin* is comparable with the Auen (N1) word /ĩ, /in, /ij ‘blood’ (Bleek 1929: 22, 1956: 292), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative click /, the nasalisation of the *ĩ* rendered in writing as the Zulu nasal *n*, as also shown in the Auen (N1) word /ij for ‘blood’, where *ij* is

the velar nasal. The component (y)ati is cognate with the Hadza (C3) word *ati* ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 2). /Inati thus became (Um)zin(ya)ti. The Zulu name for the Wakkerstroom, and the town of the same name, is also *Mzinyati* (Raper 2004: 399). *Wakkerstroom* means ‘lively stream’, literally ‘awake stream’, *wakker* being Dutch and Afrikaans for ‘to be awake’. Here again the component (u)M is the Zulu prefix; the component *zinya* is comparable to the //Xegwi (S3) word /he:nja ‘to be awake’ (Bleek 1956: 287), the voiced alveolar fricative *z* and alveolar fricative click / being comparable (Bleek 1929: 13), the front close vowel *i* interchanging with the front half-close vowel *e* (Bleek 1956: 66). The component *ti* is an adaptation of the Hadza (C3) word *ati* ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 2), or similar to the //ǀ!ke (S2) word /k’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), the dental click with ejective efflux /k’ approximating the dental plosive consonant *t*.

Utaka is the Zulu name of the Wakkerstroom at 27° 21’ S, 30° 08’ E. As in so many instances, the Zulu name is thought to be an adaptation of Bushman words with the same meaning. *Wakker* is Afrikaans for ‘awake’. Although the Zulu name *Utaka* displays the same vowel sequence as the relevant Bushman words for ‘awake’, the consonants are in a different sequence, perhaps the result of metathesis. *Utaka* is semantically and to some extent phonologically comparable with the Hie (C1) verb *uka thaj* ‘to awaken’ (Bleek 1956: 248), the Hie (C1) verb *uka t’an* ‘to awaken’ (Bleek 1929: 18); and the Naron (C2) word /u: ‘to awake’, and Hie (C1) *t’an* ‘to awake’ (Bleek 1929: 18), these last two together as /u:t’a(n) closer to the Zulu *Uta(ka)* as regards the consonant sequence.

Uvongo is the name of a seaside resort 132 km south-west of Margate, at 30° 51’ S, 30° 23’ E. Also encountered as *Vungu* and *iVungu*, the name is taken from that of the Uvongo or Vungu River, said to be derived from Zulu *ivungu*, from the verb *vungazela* ‘make a low murmuring sound’ (Colenso 1884: 613). Botha (1977: 208) explains the name as ‘*Die grommendē*’ (‘the growling one’), from the Zulu ideophone *vungu* ‘of wind blowing; of swelling and subsiding sound’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 844), said by some to refer to the sound of the wind through the ravine through which the river flows, by others to the sound of the 23 m high waterfall near the mouth of the river. The component *vung* is comparable to the Kung (N2) word /!guy ‘roar’, ‘roaring of wild beasts’ (Bleek 1956: 506, 749), !g, the voiced form of the retroflex

click //, which “lies between the palato-alveolar and retroflex fricative clicks and is more hollow than //” (Bleek 1956: 505), reflected by the voiced denti-labial fricative consonant *v*, ɣ being the International Phonetic Association symbol for *ng*. The second component of the variant *Uvongo*, namely (*n*)*go*, is reminiscent of the Khoikhoi word //no ‘Kluft’ (‘ravine’) (Rust 1960: 35), or the Nogau (N1a) word ≠nō ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 672).

Vungu see **Uvongo**

Xobho is the name of a tributary of the Nhlavini River. It rises near Ixopo and flows east to join the main stream at Dawn Valley, some 16 km north of Highflats, at 30° 07′ S, 30° 13′ E. Also encountered as *Xobo*, the name is explained by Botha (1977: 208) as ‘*Die moerassigé*’ (‘the marshy one’), from *xobo* (*i(li)xobo*) ‘marsh, swampy place’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 867). The stem *xobo* is cognate with Hie (C1) !*gobo* ‘mud’ (Bleek 1956: 384), the Zulu lateral click approximating the Bushman palato-alveolar click. However, there is a different possibility, suggested by Botha’s mention (1977: 209) that an alternative name of the river is *Dronk vlei rivier* (‘drunk marsh river’), encountered thus in a report of 1864. A Kung (N2) word for ‘drunk’ is /k”*aowa* (Bleek 1956: 337), which accords with *xobo* if the alveolar click with ejected efflux and glottal croak are taken into account, the vowel cluster *ao* coalesced as *o*, and the voiced semi-vowel *w* approximating the voiced bilabial *b*.

Xobo see **Xobho** and **Ixopo**

Zinkwazi is the name of a river which flows past Darnell and enters the Indian Ocean at Zinkwazi Beach, some 10 km south-west of Tugela Mouth, at 29^a 16′ S, 31^a 26′ E, said to be derived from Zulu *nkwazi*, ‘fish-eagle’ (*Haliaeetus vocifer*), which nest in great numbers at the lagoon at the mouth of this river (Botha 1977: 209). The component *kwazi* appears to be similar to the Hadza (C3) word *kwadiso* ‘large bird, prob. eagle’ (Bleek 1956: 109), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* approximating the Hadza voiced alveolar plosive consonant *d*.

Zinyosini is the name of a town some 20 km south-west of Estcourt and 30 km west-north-west of Mooi River, at 29° 08′ S, 29° 42′ E. There is also a place with the name *Zinyosini* at 31° 05′ S, 29° 03′ E. Derived from Zulu *inyosi*, the name means ‘at the honeycomb’ or ‘place of honey’, literally ‘at the place of the bees’, from *nyosi* (*in*) ‘bee’ (Colenso 1884: 414); *nyosi*, (*inyosi*, pl. *izinyosi*) ‘bee; (plural only):

honey)' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 630). Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 616) state that the Zulu prepalatal nasal consonant *ny* is often the result of homorganic nasal influence upon *y*. The Zulu prepalatal nasal consonant *ny* is apparently a click substitute. McLaren (1926: 9) points out that for Xhosa, also a Nguni language, the cluster *ny* is a palatal inspired liquid consonant, thus a suction sound, and thus a click replacement, comparable to the Bushman dental click /. This shows the component *nyo(si)* to be comparable to the /Xam (S1) /*kosi* 'bee' (Bleek 1956: 321).

Zipunzini, the name of a stream near Nqutu, means 'Die plek van boomstompe' ('place of tree stumps') (Botha 1977:210), from *phunzi* (*isiphunzi*) 'tree stump' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 679), *punzi* (*Isi*) 'pollard; root and stump of a tree' (Colenso: 1884: 454), locative *eziphunzi*. The stem *phun(zi)* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word Θ ho 'tree, wood' (Bleek 1929: 87, 93): the Zulu aspirated bilabial consonant *ph* corresponds to the /Xam bilabial click with aspirated efflux Θ h, the /Xam rounded mid high back vowel *o* close to Zulu rounded high back vowel *u* that is also encountered in the word *punqua-a* 'een boom', 'a tree', recorded by Valentyn in 1705 (Nienaber 1963: 226), the suffix *qua* interpreted by Nienaber as the masculine plural marker, a supposition strengthened by Kolbe's recording of the variant *bunq vaa* 'bomen', 'trees' (Nienaber 1963: 226). The component *zi* may be cognate with Hie (C1) *hii, jii* 'tree', Naron (C2) *bi:ba*, (H) *heib* (Bleek 1929: 87), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative *z* corresponding to the Bushman voiced velar or glottal fricative consonant *b* or voiced prepalatal affricative consonant *j*; the vowel cluster *ei* of *heib* coalesced as the syllable peak *i*. The final consonant *ni* is thought to be a generic term for 'river', as elsewhere.

Zotsha is the name of a river which flows east-south-east to enter the Indian Ocean at Izotsha, some 7 km south-west of the mouth of the Mzimkulu River, at 30° 47' S, 30° 23' E. *Zotsha* is said to mean 'Hut (-rivier)', ('hut (river)'), from a local dialectal word for 'hut', referring to groups of huts along the river (Botha 1977: 210). The Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* (the voiced form of *s*) is comparable with Bushman voiced affricative *dz*, while *o* and *u* are close in pronunciation, so that a Hie (C1) word for 'hut', *dzu* (Bleek 1929: 48), is cognate with *Zo-*. The component *-tsha* of *Zotsha* may indicate that *Zotsha* is cognate with Naron (C2) *!nu:ʃa* 'hut', but mindful of the

toponymic pattern of Bushman place names comprising specific + generic, *tsha* is more likely to be a generic term cognate with //Xegwi (S3) [a:, Hie (C1) *ttaa* ‘water’ (Bleek 1929: 90).

12. Bushman influence on prefixes or class markers in Zulu place names

As stated earlier, Doke & Vilakazi (2005: xviii) point out that by removing the prefix (or class marker) from the noun the stem is revealed, and that it is under this stem that the word is entered in their *Dictionary*. However, they admit that

... there are cases where the stem-form is in doubt, particularly with certain nouns of classes 9 and 10 with a nasal compound in the prefix. In such doubtful cases the entry has been made under the nasal.

Discussing nasalisation and nasal changes in Zulu, Doke & Vilakazi (2005: xx-xxi) note that

... [t]he prefixes of classes 9 and 10 (Meinhof) contain a nasal consonant homorganic to the initial phone of the stem. [...] Before vowels the prepalatal nasal, *ny*, is used: *inyanga* < -*anga*, *inyoni* < -*oni*. But as these stems can only be ascertained from a knowledge of comparative Bantu, such words are entered under *ny*.

Besides ascertaining these stems from comparative Bantu, at least some may be discerned from Bushman influence. For instance, the stem of the word *inyoni*, given by Doke & Vilakazi as *oni*, as indicated earlier, is given by Colenso (1884: 414) “*nyoni* (*in*) ‘bird; bird’s feather’”. The stem *nyoni* seems to be comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /*konnin* ‘bird’ (Bleek 1956: 319), the Zulu prepalatal nasal consonant *ny* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 616) given by McLaren (1926: 9) as the Xhosa “inspired palatal liquid consonant”, indicating that the *ny* is a click replacement or substitute and thus part of the stem.

Similarly, the place name *eMpunzini* is said to be derived from *phunzi* (*impunzi*), ‘common grey duiker-buck’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 678), the stem thus given as *phunzi*, the prefix as *im*. However, Colenso (1884: 333) gives the Zulu word as “*Mpunzi* (*Im*)”, thus with the root as *mpunzi*, and with the prefix *im*. The stem *mpun* is similar in sound and meaning to the Sesarwa (S5) word *᠓pun* ‘duiker buck’ (Bleek 1929: 35); ᠓ the labial click or lip click, the cluster (lip click with ejected efflux)

Op corresponding to the Zulu nasal bilabial consonant *m* plus ejective bilabial *p* in the cluster *mp*. Doke & Vilakazi (2005: xx) explain that under influence of the nasal consonant *m* in the prefix, homorganic to the initial phone *ph* of the stem, the aspirated explosive consonant *ph* changes to *mp*. It would seem that the aspiration displayed in the stem given by Doke & Vilakazi as *phunzi* is also an attempt at rendering the pronunciation of the click ⦿ .

12.1 The prefix or class marker *Kwa*

A fairly large number of Zulu place names contain the prefix *Kwa*, which is an adverbial locative formative meaning “At the place of, joined to a personal noun or pronoun, e.g. *kwaMkhonto* (at Mkhonto’s place); *kwaZulu* (in Zululand)” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 441). Koopman (2002: 294) gives the following elaboration:

Another locative prefix found usually with class 1 and 1a is *kwa-*, with the particular meaning of ‘at the home of’, or ‘at the establishment of’. [...] *Kwadokotela* means ‘at the doctor’s surgery’ [...] *kwaSipho* means ‘at Sipho’s house’.

Regarding the occurrence of the prefix *Kwa* in place names, Koopman (2002: 295) further states that:

The prefix *kwa-*, which [...] means ‘the home of’ or ‘the establishment of’ when linked to a personal noun, is also used for making place names. Although it occurs most often with personal names, as in *KwaMashu* [...] and with clan names, as in *KwaMbonambi*, it is also found with descriptive compounds, such as in *kwaThwalilitshe* (‘the home of carrying a rock’), a hill characterized by a balancing rock, in the Drakensberg.

In his investigation into Zulu hydronyms, Botha (1977) encountered a number of names in which the prefix *Kwa* did not seem to be appropriate. In the case of *KwaCibigoje*, for example, he points out that the prefix *Kwa* has no connection with a personal name, and states that if the prefix *Kwa* is indeed part of the name, it is grammatically highly exceptional (Botha 1977: 91).

Similarly, when discussing the name *KwaHlati*, Botha (1977: 92) states that the river name has no connection at all with a personal name; yet the form with *Kwa-* is the only one used locally. Of the name *KwaMsilana* he says that the prefix *Kwa* is not functional, since *Msilana* is not a personal name (Botha 1977: 95).

It would appear that there is a group of Zulu place names beginning with *Kwa* in which the component *Kwa* can be shown to be an adaptation of a Bushman word that was phonologically similar to the Zulu locative prefix *Kwa*, and interpreted as the Zulu locative prefix *Kwa*. In a number of instances, the lexical meaning of the Bushman word in question is repeated in the other component of the name. The original Bushman meaning of the name was preserved by way of oral tradition and, when the meaning of the Bushman word that sounded like *Kwa* was forgotten, a second component, synonymous with the original word, was added, sometimes a Zulu word, sometimes a Bushman word adapted into Zulu. Of course, the processes were complex and took place over hundreds if not thousands of years, so that a precise correlation is not possible in all instances. Because of similarities in the roots of words from different Bushman languages, there may be more than one cognate for the relevant components of the name. The Zulu components are therefore not compared to one cognate only, but the similarities of other potential cognate forms from different languages are also given.

12.2 The prefix or class marker *-Ma-*

According to Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 473), in Zulu the prefix *-Ma-* is:

1. Used in forming compound nouns generally cl. 1a proper names indicating 'the daughter of' applied to married or 'lobolaed' women (a) with the clan name: [...] (b) with the father's or grandfather's personal name: [...] (c) 'u *Mabani lo?*' ('Whose daughter is this?' or: 'To what clan does this woman belong?').
2. also used in forming other cl[ass] 1a nouns indicating plants, animals, etc.
3. usually prefixed to verbs indicating the person who habitually acts according to the verb, e.g. (a) *umabamba* (one always walking) [...] (b) compounded with an adv., e.g. *umabamba-njalo* [...] (c) compounded with obj.: *umashay'impisi* (hyena-slayer); (d) compounded with participials: *umablal'ehleka* (he who is always laughing);
4. used prefixed to adjectives: *uMadala* (the Ancient One).

The interpretation of Bushman words phonologically compatible with *Kwa* as the Zulu locative adverbial formative joined to a personal noun has, in some instances, also led to the incorporation in Zulu place names of the prefix *-Ma-*, as in *KwaMaduma*, *KwaMazula*, and

so on. Of *KwaMaduma*, Botha (1977: 93) informs us that the prefixing of *Kwa* is possibly linked to the community's feeling that *Maduma* is a personification, possibly even a personal name, since many personal names are formed by *-ma* plus verb. Of two rivers called *KwaManzarwayo*, Botha (1977: 94) states that, in spite of the prefix *Kwa*, the two names are not derived from a personal name, but that the *Kwa* acts as a locative-possessive, the name meaning 'At (the place of) falling water'. Referring to *KwaMazula*, Botha (1977: 95) states that, to his knowledge, the name is not derived from a personal name and that personification apparently led to prefixing of the hyper-correct *Kwa*.

As in the case of the *Kwa* names discussed earlier, a pattern seems to be discernible in names with the prefixes *Kwa-Ma-*. In names derived from Bushman languages, the component that sounded like, and was subsequently adapted as, *Kwa* contained the lexical meaning of the name that was remembered as part of the oral tradition. When the meaning was no longer recognised in the word cognate with *Kwa*, another word with the same meaning was added. When this latter word was adapted into Zulu, the component *Kwa* was interpreted as the Zulu adverbial locative formative, the second component of the name then regarded as a personal name, and the prefix *-Ma-* added.

12.3 The component *Umzi-/Mzi-*

A number of river names in Natal have the component *uMzim* as first element, for example *uMzimvubu*, *uMzimkhulu* and *uMzimpunzi*, respectively popularly believed to mean 'home of the hippo', 'home of the buffalo' and 'home of the duiker', said to be derived from *umuzi* 'homestead', and from *imvubu* 'hippo', *inyathi* 'buffalo', and *impunzi* 'duiker', respectively (Koopman 2002: 130), and to mean 'hippo home', 'buffalo home' and 'duiker home' (Koopman 2002: 291). A reason to doubt this explanation of the meaning of *umzi* is that in all of the river names beginning with *uMzi*, in Zulu and in Xhosa, there is not a single one that begins with *uMuzi*. The names of rivers are *Mzimblope*, *Mzimpisi*, *Mzingwenya*, *Mzintlavana*, *Mzizi*, *uMzimkhulu*, *uMzimvubu*, *uMzinto*, *uMzinyathi*.

Once again considering the antiquity of names of water features raises the question as to what *umzi* means. In Xhosa, the word *umzi*,

with a lower tone, means ‘homestead’, whereas *umzi*, with a high tone, means ‘a rush’ (McLaren 1926: 12). Bushman words for ‘rush’ are *džuu*, *sa:ka*, */ba:* and *//xa u:* (Bleek 1956: 750), none of which corresponds with *umzi*. This is to be expected. The syntactic toponymic structure in Bushman is specific + generic, so that *umzi* (or *zi*, considering the *um* to be a Zulu prefix) would be a specific term, and the second component of the river names would be hydronymic generic terms, for example *vubu = lu bu*, *(ny)ati = ati* ‘water’, and so on.

The fact that the component *Umzi-* or *Mzi* occurs primarily in names of rivers prompts the suspicion that it may be a fluvial generic term. Considering the *(u)M* to be the Zulu prefix shows *zi* to be comparable to *nzi* in the word *(ama)nzi* ‘water’, and the component *ti* in Swazi *(ama)ti* ‘water’, and *zi* in the Central African (Swahili?) word *(uru)zi* ‘river’ (Van Langendonck 2010). Compare *Ziba (isi)* ‘Pool, pond’ (Colenso 1884: 661); *ziba (isiziba)* ‘deep pool (in a river), pond [Ur-B *liva*]’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 891). However, accepting the component *(u)Mzi* to have this meaning in place names implies that the names in question follow the pattern of generic + specific, which may show Zulu influence. If *zi*, *nzi* and *ti* are cognate, they may be similar to the Hie (C1) word *jiba*, ‘pond, pool’ (Bleek 1929: 66), and its variant *džiba* ‘lake, pool’ (Bleek 1956: 33) and *džinaa* ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 90). The same root is merely written in different ways.

13. Locative affixes

Koopman (2002: 114-5) explains that Zulu place names, like other nouns, also have a locative inflection, typically with the prefix *e-* and one of the suffixes *-ini*, *-eni*, *-wini* or *-weni*, for example *eThekwini*, *Empangeni*. Some names take the prefix *o-* instead of *e-*, for example *oFeni*, and some have no suffix, for example *eGoli*; generally, locatives fit the pattern of *eLangeni* and *eMthunzini*. For the most part, the locative form is determined by the manner in which the noun or name is used in a sentence. Thus in a locative context the locative form must be used, for example *eMgungundlovu*, whereas in non-locative contexts the form *uMgungundlovu* is used (Koopman 2002: 115).

Van Huyssteen (1994: 53-5) differentiates between radical and locative forms of place names, brought about by the use of the radical or class prefixes *u-*, *a-* and *i-*, on the one hand, and the locative prefixes

e- and *o-*, on the other. Thus *iTheku* is in the radical form, prefixing the radical or class prefix *i-* to the stem *-theku*, while *eThekwini* is in the locative form, prefixing the locative prefix *e-* and suffixing the locative suffix *-ini* (Van Huyssteen 1994: 53-4). Place names can be in either the radical form, for example *iMbali*, or the locative form, for example *eziMbokodweni*. Some, such as *Empangeni* and *Eshowe*, “are only ever used in the locative form on maps, signboards, etc.” (Koopman 2002: 114).

Van Huyssteen (1994: 54) identifies “morphologically exceptional, irregular or inconsistent” place names, for example *eMbali*, which prefixes the locative *e-* only, instead of the regular full locative formation with *e...ini*; *iMpangeni*, which contains the radical prefix *i-* together with the locative suffix *-eni*, and so on. She distinguishes between names that employ a radical prefix only, for example *aMajuba* vs. *iMajuba*, and those that employ a radical prefix and a locative suffix, for example *uMthunzini*, attributing the variation of radical and locative prefix to class shift (Van Huyssteen 1994: 56), and the use of the locative suffix together with the radical prefix as “partial locativisation” and “-ini fossilisation” (Van Huyssteen 1994: 59).

14. Suffixes in Zulu place names

In some place names, the components *eni* and *ini* are thus frequently considered to be the Zulu locative suffix, even when they are not preceded by the expected *e-* or *o-*. A Bushman influence may be identified on the basis of these suffixes occurring in a significant number of instances as to constitute a toponymically productive pattern. In other words, if a component occurs in a sufficient number of toponyms, as indicative of a feature-type designator, that component when tested for an ancient origin may prove to be an ancient generic term.

In their research into Khoikhoi place names, Nienaber & Raper (1977: 282, 910) encountered a fair number of rivers with the component *ob*, for example *Auob*, *Chamob*, *Gutsiob*, *Hamob* and *Nossob*, and concluded that “die -ob [...] ’n eie formans is wat op sigself staan, en bepaaldelik ’n riviernaam aandui. Ons wil dit ’n fluviale suffiks

noem”.²⁴ In the examples cited above, then, the component *ob* is a generic term meaning ‘river’, thought to be related to the /Auni (S4) verb $\ne\bar{o}$ ‘to run, flow’ (Bleek 1956: 675).

Employing the same technique of deducing generics from a substantial number of toponyms shows that in the names *Bomvini*, *Bejani*, *EMangwene*, *Emkhambathini*, *Gunjaneni*, which are all names of hills or similar features, the component *ni* and its variants seem to be a generic term comparable to the !O !kung (N3) word $\bar{n}i$ ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46). Of course, when the names have been converted to Zulu, the suffixes *eni* and *ini* are locatives in which the generic term is embedded.

In river names such as *Kwiti*, *Mnambiti*, *Mshwati*, *Mvoti*, *Njasuti*, *Nonoti* and *Nsonti*, the component *ti* is considered to be a generic term for ‘river’, comparable with the //ǀ !ke (S2) word /*k*’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), the Bushman alveolar fricative click with ejective efflux, /*k*’, approximating the Zulu ejective alveolar explosive consonant *t*.

In the river names *Kamanzi*, *Msuluzi* and *Nkunzi*, in which a Bushman word comparable with the //ǀ !ke (S2) word /*k*’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339) is adapted as the component *zi*, the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z*, the voiced form of *s*, approximates the Bushman alveolar fricative click with ejective efflux, /*k*’. The component *si* in the river names *Inyosi*, *Mtsbesi* and the like are also comparable to the //ǀ !ke (S2) word /*k*’i ‘river’, the Zulu unvoiced alveolar fricative consonant *s* approximating the Bushman alveolar fricative click with ejective efflux, /*k*’.

The suffix *ana* is frequently interpreted as the Zulu diminutive suffix, but in many instances, as noted earlier, Botha frequently points out that the meaning of ‘small’ is inappropriate in names ending in *ana*. In the case of river names, the component may be cognate with Bushman fluvial generic terms, for example a word similar to the Sesarwa (S5) words //*gāna* ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 99); //*k”anna* ‘water’, ‘waterpits’; //*gwana* ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 603, 769, 537), or the !O !kung (N3) word /*kana* ‘to flow’ (Bleek 1956: 300).

24 “the *ob* is an independent formant that stands on its own, and specifically indicates a river name. We want to call it a fluvial suffix”.

These and similar phenomena may be better understood when other Nguni names are also investigated for Bushman influence.

15. Language shift and translations

The lexical, content or descriptive meanings of place names were of great importance to the Bushmen, because it enabled them to correctly identify and refer to entities in their environment. These meanings are also a valuable part of the cultural heritage of the people, and are frequently preserved as part of their oral tradition. In some instances, names were also translated into other languages, Dutch, English and Afrikaans, often by Europeans who learnt the languages. In discussing the influence of Khoikhoi and Bushman on Zulu, Louw (1979: 10) states that:

Many of the young children of the Voortrekkers, the first missionaries among the Zulu and later the British colonial officials like Shepstone, who grew up among the Xhosa as the son of a missionary, were proficient in Xhosa. A number of these Khoi and San cognates in Zulu are therefore indirect borrowings and this took place in historical times. If it could have happened recently it may also have taken place longer ago. [...] Because of this possibility of secondary borrowing [...] great care will be taken not to suggest that all Khoi cognates in Zulu are evidence of direct contact.

However, in some instances, it may have been the Bushmen themselves who did the translating. In other parts of the country, language shift took place. In the Cape, the Free State and what is now the North-West Province, a shift took place from Bushman languages to Dutch and later to Afrikaans. “By the turn of the twentieth century [...] the shift to Afrikaans was almost complete” (Traill 2007: 132). Many Bushman place names were, therefore, translated into Dutch and later Afrikaans by these peoples themselves, and in this manner the original lexical meanings of the names were in some cases preserved.

Of course, there were also African-language speakers and Europeans who learnt the Khoikhoi and San languages, and they could have translated some of the names. In addition, some names are descriptive of the features concerned, and their appearance, colour or other attribute may have led to their receiving names with the same meaning in different languages.

In the region under discussion, as noted, adaptations of names into Zulu often occurred, and a variety of explanations are sometimes encountered. However, in the translations, the original, authentic meanings were frequently preserved.

In the following examples the meaning of the name has been preserved in the translation of the original name of which the Zulu name is an adaptation.

15.1 Translated names for the same feature

The following names are translations of Bushman names which have been adapted into Zulu.

Blood River, adapted as the Zulu name *Ncome*, is an indirect translation from Bushman words similar to Kung (N2) /*nom*, a variant of /*num* 'red'.

Bloukransrivier, 'blue cliff river', translates the Zulu adaptation *Msuluzi*, the component *su* comparable to Kung (N2) *šo*: 'blue', *lu* approximating /Xam (S1) /*kou*: 'ridge, 'krantz, overhanging cliffs', *zi* comparable with //ǀ (S2) /*k'i* 'river'.

Dronkōlei, 'drunk marsh', is from *KwaCekwane*, *Kwa* cognate with Kung (N2) /*k*"*aorwa* 'to be drunk', *kwa* in the component *Cekwa* cognate with /Auni (S4) /!*kwā*: 'vlei', also /*horwa* 'vlei, pan', *ne* the Kung (N2) demonstrative locative morpheme *ne*.

Duikerboek translates *KwaNzimela*, a Zulu adaptation, *Kwa* comparable to Hie (C1) *khoa*, also *kxoa* 'duikerbok'; *nzi* comparable to //ǀ (S2) /*be*; /*ke*: 'duiker, duiker buck', ≠Khomani (S2a) ≠*kbe*: 'duiker', ≠Khomani and /Auni (S4) ≠*kbei* 'duiker' (Bleek 1956: 661).

Gatberg, 'hole mountain', bears the Zulu name *Ntunja*, the component *tu* cognate with the /Xam (S1) and //ǀ (S2) word *tu*: 'hole'. The component *Kwa* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /*koa* 'hole, cave', the diphthong *oa* consonantalised as *wa*, the component *-nja* with the /Xegwi (S3) demonstrative locative morpheme *nja*.

- Helpmekaar*, ‘help each other’, is known in Zulu as *Mankamane*, similar to Naron (C2) *ma*: ‘help’, Naron (C2) //kaië ‘each other’, /Xam (S1) *bi* /ka:gən.
- Highflats* is the English name for *ḲwaG̣qwathaza*, *Ḳwa* an adaptation of /Xam (S1) *!xo:wa* ‘high’, as is the component *g̣qwa*; *tha* approximates Kung (N2) *ʔxā* ‘high’, *za* comparable to /Xam (S1) *swa*:, *ts’wa* ‘flat’, Naron (C2) //ka:ba and Khoikhoi *ʔgab* ‘flat’.
- Hot Springs* translates *!iʔpwi!ḳbwa* ‘hot water’, adapted as *eHlimbithwa*.
- Mooirivier*, ‘pretty river’, is known in Zulu as *Mpofana*, from Sesarwa (S5) *ˀʔp’um*, *ˀʔp’o(m)* ‘pretty, nice, beautiful’; *fana* comparable with Sesarwa (S5) //gāna ‘waterhole’, //k”anna ‘water, waterpits’, //gwana ‘a Masarwa waterpit’.
- Platberg*, ‘flat mountain’, translates *eNtabazwe*, from which Harrismith took its Zulu name; *ntaba* cognate with Naron (C2) //ka:ba ‘flat’, *zwe* with //Xegwi (S3) *ʒe* ‘stone’, Kung (N2) *kwe* ‘place’ (Bleek 1956: 112), or /Xam (S1) and //ǀ!ke (S2) *!xo:e* ‘place, country’.
- Red Ridge* is known in Zulu by the name *Bejani*, the verb *beja* ‘be red (as sky at sunset or dawn, as an inflamed eye, as in anger)’ cognate with the Hie (C1) word //geje ‘red’, the component *-ni* cognate with !O !kuŋ (N3) *ˀni* ‘hill’.
- Rooispruit*, ‘red stream’, is *Kamanzi* in Zulu, *kama* maybe cognate with (S3) //kamse ‘red’, *nzi* like //ǀ!ke (S2) //k’ēi, //k’i ‘river’.
- Sterkspruit*, ‘strong stream’, is known in Zulu as *eMswathi*, also *Mshwati*, *s(h)wa* from /Xam (S1) //xoa ‘strength’, *ti* like //ǀ!ke (S2) //k’i ‘river’.
- Underberg* bears the Zulu name *Hlokoma*, *Hlo* comparable with /Xam (S1) //ko: ‘under’, *koma* like Kung (N2) *!koma* ‘mountain’, Afrikaans *berg*.
- Wakkerstroom*, ‘awake stream, lively stream’, is known in Zulu as *Mzinyati*. The component *zinya* is like //Xegwi (S3) //be:nja ‘to be awake’, the component *ti* like *ati* ‘water’, //ǀ!ke (S2) //k’i ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), the dental click with ejective efflux //k’ approximating the dental plosive consonant *t*.

15.2 Topographical congruence as key to meanings

As indicated earlier, place names may lose their descriptive or content meanings as a result of desemanticisation (Van Langendonck 2010: 2). Their referential function being primary, names may be used to refer to features in a different category from those that initially bore them. Thus *Sweet Waters* can be the name not only of a hydrographic feature, but also of a populated area, such as the suburb of Pietermaritzburg. This process of transcategorisation (the shift of a name from a feature in one category to a feature in another category) frequently occurs in a topographically limited environment. In the process, the name in question may be applied in translated form to a neighbouring feature. Raper (1978) indicated how the occurrence of 'toponymic clusters' or names in different languages for features within an area of topographical contiguity can be utilised to determine the meanings of palaeotoponyms or ancient place names, a technique tried and tested in research into Khoikhoi toponyms (Nienaber & Raper 1977: 142-4, 1980: 129-31).

This 'technique' has also been useful in explaining the meanings of Zulu place names that display Bushman influence. Two types of congruence may be discerned: those in which two or more different features in close vicinity have names from different languages that can be shown to have the same meaning, and those in which names from different languages for the same feature are synonymous, indicating translation.

15.3 Topographical congruence involving transcategorisation

In instances where different features in close proximity to one another bear names in different languages, these names frequently prove to be synonymous. This pattern led to the most probable explanation of Zulu names adapted from Bushman or displaying Bushman influence translated into Dutch, Afrikaans, English and, in at least one instance, Portuguese.

The name *Bivane*, also recorded as *oBivane*, *Bivana*, *Pivana* and *Pivaan*, could be satisfactorily explained by virtue of its topographical proximity to *Natal Spa* (Walton 1984: 152 2B), and the hot springs there. The component *Pi* approximates the Sesarwa (S5) word ʔpwi

‘warm’ (Bleek 1929: 90), the component *vana* comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word //gāna ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 90).

eNtabazwe, the Zulu name for Harrismith, takes its name from the prominent mountain nearby, Afrikaans *Platberg*, ‘flat mountain’, the component *ntaba* approximating Naron (C2) /ka:ba ‘flat’ (Bleek 1929: 39), *zwe* like //Xegwi (S3) že ‘stone’ (Bleek 1956: 265), or Kung (N2) *kwe* ‘place’ (Bleek 1956: 112), or /Xam (S1) and //ǀ!ke (S2) !xo:e ‘place, country’ (Bleek 1956: 500).

Hotsprings, a locality at the confluence of the *Nsuze* with the Tugela, provides the topographic link that indicates the meaning of *Nsuze* as being ‘hot spring, hot waterhole’, the Zulu name clearly adapted from similar sounding Bushman words, namely //u: ‘hot’ for *su*, and //xwe ‘waterhole’ for *ze*.

The place name *KwaZulu* would seem at first sight to mean ‘the place of Zulu’, comparable to the component of the name *KwaZulu-Natal*. However, in conjunction with the name *KwaZulu* on the topographical map 1:500,000 is the inscription *Hot Springs* (Walton 1984: 130 2A). Linguistic comparison reveals that ‘Hot Springs’ is a translation of a Bushman name of which *KwaZulu* is an adaptation. *Kwa* approximates the !O !uŋ (N3) word ʔkwa ‘to be hot’ (Bleek 1956: 90), *Zulu* appears to be an adaptation of a cognate with the /Xam (S1) word ≠hauru, ≠houru ‘waterhole, pond, pit’ (Bleek 1956: 651, 744), the ≠b replaced by the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant z, *au* or *ou* shifting to *u* and *r* replaced by *l*.

It should not be unexpected that words from different Bushman languages seem to occur in one and the same name. The processes of language contact and influence between the Bushman languages over thousands of years were never recorded and are completely unknown. Yet there are similarities in the roots of words in those languages which have been recorded. Even in languages with written traditions, components from different languages occur in the same names, for example *Hout Bay*, *Randfontein South*, *Tugela Ferry*, *Zinkwazi Beach*, *Lake Sibayi*, *Tayside*, *Devil’s Peak*. The latter is an adaptation from *Duiwelspiek*, also recorded as *Duyvels Berg*, *Duiven Berg*, *Windberg* and *De Wind*, the forms with *Duyve*, *Duive* and *Duive* approximate the ǰhū: Bushman word ʔuivi ‘wind’ (Bleek 1956: 771), the symbol ʔ used here for the Bushman sound which, according to Doke (Bleek

1956: 159), is pronounced as a *d* indicating that *Swivi* ‘wind’ can be transliterated as *duivi*, of which *De Wind* is a translation, subsequently with the Dutch generic term *Berg(h)* added, and folk etymologically adapted as *Duivenberg*.

Loskop, ‘lone hill’, from which the *Loskop Dam* takes its name, is called *EMangweni* in Zulu, the component *ngwe* being cognate with Kung (N2) *kʷwe*, *!kwe* ‘be alone’, the component *ni* comparable to !O *!kuŋ* (N3) *!ni* ‘hill’.

Rooipoort, ‘red pass’, correlates topographically with *Babanango*, a Zulu name that seems to be comparable to Cape Khoikhoi *kaba*, Nama */aba* and */Kxau* (S2b) *ŋ/kxaba* ‘red’, and */Xam* (S1) *!noan* ‘foot, spoor, path’.

The meaning of *Tugela* as *Fisher’s River* was reinforced by recognition of the river as the *Rio da Pescaria*, ‘fishermen’s river’, because Tugela Bluff at its mouth was known in Portuguese as *Ponta da Pescaria*, ‘fisher’s point’, and by the linguistic affinity of *Tugela* with ‘fisher’s river’.

The solution to the name *Uhlawe* was suggested by its alternative name, *Tongaat* and *Tongati River*. Having determined that *Tongati* and its variants was a descriptive name, given as ‘Twisting River’ by Stayt (1971: *s p*), *tonga* approximating Kung (N2) *tuy’a* ‘turn, twist’, the synonymous *Hlawe* was seen to approximate */Xam* (S1) *!khāni* ‘to twist (intr)’ (Bleek 1956: 88), similar to */!D* *!ke* (S2) *kao*: ‘to turn’ (Bleek 1956: 80). In the above examples, the meaning of the Zulu name was preserved in the translated name of a topographical feature in the vicinity of the feature.

16. Sound-shifts and click substitutes

16.1 Corresponding clicks

The most obvious and well-known Bushman influence on Zulu place names is evidenced in the use of clicks. In the following examples, the Bushman click has been retained in the loanword or name, but rendered in the Zulu orthographic system:

• / > c

The Bushman click / that corresponds to the Zulu dental click *c* occurs in the following names:

Camazane

cama ‘void urine’; Hie (C1)/*kham* ‘urine’; Khoikhoi/*kam* ‘urinate’.

Coshi

cosba ‘to pick up, for example with fingers from the ground’; /Auni (S4)/*bō* ‘to pick up’.

Cwebeni

cwebe ‘of sparkling, clearness; of dead silence’; Auen (N1) /*we* ‘to be quiet’. Cognate Bushman forms that do not display the click are /Xam (S1) *kwe*; *kwē*: ‘to be quiet, be still, leave, let alone’ and Kung (N2) *k’we* ‘to be quiet, be alone, leave alone’.

Cwilicwili

cwila, ‘sink, dive under’; /Xam (S1) /*kwij* ‘dip up (water)’. A variant where the cerebral or palato-alveolar click has replaced the dental / is /Xam (S1) *!kw’i* ‘to dip up’. In the Khoikhoi cognates, *khui* ‘auftauchen’, ‘dip up’ and *khurwi* ‘in die Erscheinung treten, auftauchen’, ‘to appear, dive up’, the click is absent.

Ncandu

ncane ‘small, little’; Khoikhoi /*ga* ‘small’; Naron (C2) /*goa*, /*gwa*, /*go*Ꞥ ‘small’. The Nama word /*ga* corresponds most closely to the Zulu cognate, whereas the Naron vowel cluster in the variant /*goa* has been coalesced in Zulu to *a*.

• /n > nc

The Zulu nasal form of the dental click, *nc*, corresponds to the Bushman dental click with nasal efflux, /*n*, in the following examples:

Ncwaabe

ncwaaba ‘fresh, clean, attractive’; *ncwa* cognate with Kung (N2) /*kwa* ‘clean’.

Ncome

Kung (N2) /*num*, Naron (C2) /*nu*Ꞥ*a*, /*noa* ‘red’.

Ncane

ncane ‘small, little’; Khoikhoi /*ga* ‘small’ (Bleek 1929: 76), Naron (C2) /*kwa*, Sesarwa (S5) // *ani* ‘little’.

Ngcuba

/Xam (S1) /*ko:wa* ‘to be dry, thirsty’

• ! > q

The Bushman palato-alveolar click ! corresponds to the Zulu palato-alveolar click *q* in the following names:

Kwa-Ngqumbu

Gqumbu, ‘of sound of heavy body falling into water; of throwing into water’; /Xam (S1) /*gum* ‘roar, bellow’; /Xam (S1) /*kumba* ‘heavy’; Khoikhoi /*gom* ‘heavy’; Auen (N1) /*gom* ‘to fall’, as of ‘the stone [...] falls into the water’. The Zulu voiced form of the palato-alveolar click preceded by the velar nasal, *ngq*, corresponds to the Bushman palato-alveolar click with voiced velar efflux, /*g*; the back close vowel *u* is variously heard as *u* or *o*.

• ≠ > q

The Bushman alveolar click ≠ shifts to the Zulu palato-alveolar click *q* in the following examples:

EMnqumeni

nquma (*umnquma*) wild olive’, comparable to the Hie (C1) word ≠*kau* ‘olive tree’.

Mabwaga

The component *qa* corresponds to the /!D /*ke* (S2) word ≠*kā*: ‘ridge of rocks, krans’.

16.2 Click substitutes or replacements

Whereas well over 70% of words in Bushman languages start with a click (Traill 1978: 138), relatively few Zulu place names have initial clicks. This may be attributed to the difficulty experienced with the click consonants, both in recognising and in pronouncing them (Bleek 1929: 4). Place names were probably among the first Bushman words to be encountered and ‘borrowed’ by the Zulu. At that stage, the Bushman languages were still vastly new and strange to the Zulu

and, considering the difficulty even experts have with the clicks, the Zulu, in adapting the names into their own language, substituted other sounds for clicks. These sounds were often homorganic to the clicks they replaced, often less so.

- / > d

In a number of names, the Bushman dental or alveolar fricative click / has shifted to the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* which is devoid of voicing during the stop, unless preceded by the homorganic nasal, for example in the following names:

Dakana

umdaka, ‘dark brown, muddy coloured object’; /Xam (S1)/*boaka* ‘dark, black used for any dark colours’.

Dukuza

From the ideophone *thuku* ‘of concealing, hiding’; Xam (S1)/*gũ* ‘to hide, stick in, cover’; /Xam (S1)/*ku*; ~/*ku* ‘to put, put away, hide’. The voiced alveolar consonant *d* in the component *Du* reflects the Bushman alveolar click with voiced afflux, /g, while the Bushman alveolar click with plosive efflux /k is reflected in the component *ku*.

- !g > d

The Zulu voiced alveolar consonant *d* replaces the Bushman palato-alveolar click with voiced accompaniment !g in the following names:

Dumane

from *duma*, ‘thunder; make any rumbling, resounding noise; boom, rumble, reverberate’ corresponding to the /Xam (S1) word !gum ‘roar’

Endumeni

duma ‘sound, resound; thunder; rumble’, comparable to /Xam (S1) !gum ‘roar’.

Mdumatshingo

duma ‘thunder; make any rumbling, resounding noise’; /Xam (S1) !gum ‘roar’, Nama !gom(!na) ‘brummen’, ‘hum, drone, boom, growl’.

- //g > d

Dwaleni

dwala (*idwala*) ‘large, flat, exposed rock’; Hie (C1) //gwa ‘stone’, *ndala* ‘flat rock’. The Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* has replaced the Bushman lateral or retroflex fricative click with voiced efflux //g in the name.

- /g > g

EMagidela

gida, ‘dance’; *gi*, ‘of sound of footsteps, pattering’; Naron (C2) and Auen (N1) /gi; ‘dance’; Khoikhoi /geis, ‘Stampf-tanz tanzen’, ‘to dance the stamping-dance’.

- !g > g

Gulane

igula ‘milk-vessel, made from a gourd’; Auen (N1) !guru ‘tortoiseshell or gourd on musical bow’; Hie (C1) guju ‘cup, gourd’. In the Hie cognate the click has disappeared.

- / > ny

Munywana

nyu (*umunyu*) [Ur-B -u?u ‘salt’ > *munyu*] ‘sourness, acidity’; /Xam (S1) /u: ‘salt, [...] brackish’. The Zulu prepalatal nasal consonant *ny* replaces the dental or alveolar fricative click /, as evidenced by the Xhosa cognate *muncu* ‘acid, sour’ that displays the nasal dental click *nc*.

Zinyosini

nyosi (*inyosi*) ‘bee’; /Xam (S1) /kosi ‘bee’.

- d > nt

eNtubeni

tuba (*intuba*) ‘mountain-pass’; Naron (C2) *dauba* ‘path’. The voiced element of *dis* reflected in the nasalisation of *intuba*.

• $\Theta > mp$

eMpunzini

phunzi (*impunzi*), ‘common grey duiker-buck, *Cephalophus grimmii*’; Sesarwa (S5) *᠋᠋pyn* ‘duiker buck’. It would seem that the aspiration of the initial vowel of some stems is an indication of an earlier click, for instance *ph* > mp.

Zipunzini

phunzi (*isiphunzi*), ‘tree stump’; *Punzi* (*Isi*) ‘Pollard; root and stump of a tree’; /Xam (S1) Θ ho ‘tree, wood’.

The above are some of the sound shifts noted in the present investigation. No attempt has been made at a comprehensive analysis at this stage. It has been noted that several sounds that do not appear to be clicks in Zulu, such as *ny* and *ty*, are described for Xhosa by McLaren (1926: 9), as ‘inspired’. Louw (1979: 11) also indicates that it is more common in Zulu for one click to be replaced by another than it is in Xhosa. A cursory comparison thus reveals that a more satisfactory survey of click replacements and sound changes will be feasible when these phenomena in the different Nguni languages are compared with each other at a later stage in the project, of which the present investigation is the first.

17. Bushman (San) elements discerned in Zulu place names

Column 1 gives the meaning of the word or component in English as given or defined in Doke & Vilakazi (2005).

Column 2 gives the Zulu verb or noun stem without the prefix. If the addition of the prefix causes a change in the stem, the singular prefix and stem are given.

Column 3 gives the Bushman and, where relevant, Khoikhoi words that correlate with the Zulu words in Column 2.

Column 4 gives the meanings of the words in Column 3, as provided by Bleek (1929) and/or Bleek (1956).

The classificatory designations (S1), (N2), and so on, are placed between brackets so as to avoid misinterpretation, should these

designations occur so close to other words as to be confused with them.

<i>Column 1</i>	<i>Column 2</i>	<i>Column 3</i>	<i>Column 4</i>
Afraid, to be	saḅa, esaḅa	soua(!na) (H)	'zagen'
baboon	fene (imfene)	dzwene (C1)	
bend, to	goḅa	hoba	
		!ko:ξaξḡ(S1)	to bend
bird	nyoni (inyoni)	/konnin (S1)	a bird
bitter, and so on	ḅaḅa	//kaoξwa	
		//k" aξowa (S1)	
		k" au (Kor)	
		au (Nama)	bitter
		≠kawa	bitter
blanket	ngubo	!kuḅa (S2a)	
		!gub (H)	kaross
boil	intumbane	_//kumi	boil
		/kũ (S1)	to boil
boil, bubble, to	bila	bela (C1)	to boil
brackish	nyu	/u: (S1)	brackish
chop up	hlahla	_//ka:a (S5)	to chop
		//ha-//na (H)	chop down
clean	ncwaba	/kwa (N2)	clean
dance	gida < gi	~/gi: (C2, N1)	dance
dark brown	daka	/hoaka (S1)	dark
dark, to get	hwaqa	/hoaka (S1)	dark
disturb	gubaza	gwara (N2)	to be disturbed
		≠owaba (H)	disturb
dry	gogo	k" orokn	dry
duiker buck	phunzi (impunzi)	Θpun (S5)	duiker buck
dung	longwe	luḡ (S3)	cow dung
feminin suffix	kazi	//a:si	female

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finger	nwe	≠nu (S4b)	finger
flat	caḅa	/ka:ba (C2)	flat (noun)
fowl	khukhu (inkuku)	kuku (N2) ˀku_ku (N3) !koxu (S4)	fowl
gather firewood	theza	/tee tʃa (C1) /e:ʃa (C2)	gather wood fire, wood
glitter	beza	≠ga (C2)	glitter
goat	buzi	buri, buṛi (N2)	goat
hippo	vubu	kubu (C1) nguvu (N3)	hippo
hole	hholo	!koro (N2) koro (C1)	hole hole
hole	ntunja (intunja)	tu: (S1, S2) ˀ!ku, ˀ!ku: (S1) !kou (S1)	hole, cave hole
hollow	goḅo	/göö (S1)	hollow out
hollow, hole	zololo	!gowo (H) !koro (N2) koro (C1) !korro (S1)	hollow hole to be hollow
hollow	patha	//khata (S1) patha (C1)	hollow crack
kneel	guqa	//?uku//?uku (C3)	kneel
korhaan	ngagalu (ingagalu)	kwakwara (S1)	korhaan
lack, to	swela	/ku:ẽ (S1)	be without
leopard	ngwe (ingwe)	//kauẽ (S1) !koe:ba (C2)	leopard
love, to	thanda	_/kaṛ-a (S1) /ka: ẽṛʔa (S1)	to love
man	doda (indoda)	do: (S2)	

		_do (N1)	
		!go:, da (S2)	man
marsh, mud	xobo (i(li)xobo)	!gobo (C1)	
		≠goab (H)	mud
mumble	kwiti	/kwi (C1), ˘k'wi	speak
olive tree	(umnquma)	≠kau (C1)	
		!goms (H)	olive tree
pan (water)	chiḡi (i(li)chiḡi)	jiba, d3iba (C1)	pond, pool
pass, passage	thuḡa (intuba)	dauba (C2)	
		dumba (C2)	
		dhau (C1)	
		daub (H)	pass, path
plait, weave, to wind	thanda	/k"ã (S4)	plait
		//kana, \kana (N1)	twist, turn
pond, vlei, dam	chiḡi (i(li)chiḡi)	jiba, dzhiba (C1)	pond, pool
pool, deep	biza (imbiza)	!xubisa (C2)	vlei, pan
pool	dangu (idangu)	/kãnu, /kãru (S1)	pool
pour	qqaza, gxaza	_ko ʒ a ʒ ra (?)	pour
precipice, cliff	goje (ingoje)	≠oje (S6)	stone
press, squeeze, wring	khama	˘kam, k"am (N2)	press
		≠kammi (N2)	wring or twist up
rant, rage	klabalala	!kwa: ʒ !kwa: ʒ ŋxa	be wrathful
ravine	ngongoma (ingongoma)	//kon//kõnõ	
		//kõŋ//kõno	
		//ko//konu (N2)	ravine
redness, of	beje	/geje (C1)	red
reed	hlanga	//ka /ŋ (S2a)	
	(u(lu)hlanga)	//^n (S6)	reed
rhebock	nxala	karaa (C1)	rhebock
roar ('of wind blowing')	vungu	\!g^ŋ (N2)	roar

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roll, to	gingqa	gigəri:tən (S1)	roll
rope, thong	thambo (intambo)	//kʰabe (S3)	rope
		!āb	thong
rush	ndawo (indawo)	//xãu (S1)	rushes
split, separate	hlungu	_//kum̃ka (S3)	
		//kʰwa (C3)	split
scrape together	gula	/xola (S5)	scrape ashes
skin, hide	khumba (isikhumba)	tũ (S1, S2)	
		tʰum (S6)	
		tʰym (S5)	skin, hide
small	ncane	//^ni (S5)	
		/ga (H)	
		/goa , /gwa,	
		/kwa, /goʔ (C2)	small
sourness, acidity	nyu (umunyu)	/u: (S1)	brackish
spitting, of	tshaa	tʃa (N1)	to spit
spoon, ladle	xwembe (isixwembe)	si-/gaʔm (S5)	spoon
spoor	khondo (umkhondo)	!huŋʔa (N2)	spoor
star	nkanyezi (inkanyezi)	koaŋ (S2d)	
		/koati (S1)	star
stay, remain	hlala	ʃala	stay
stick, to	namfu	ʔama (N1)	to stick
		!am, ʔʔam (C2)	stick into
		/gũ:	stick in
stone	dwala (i(li)dwala)	ndala, //gwa (C1)	stone
stone	tshe (i(li)tshe)	zhe (S3)	stone
strong, forcible	zima, nzima	/giya, /gi:ja (S1)	strong
stump, tree	godo (isigodo)	!goxo (S6)	trunk
surround	gunga	!kau!kau (S1)	surround
swallow, to	goja	gom (N2)	

		koʰnn, koʰkoʰn,	
		//hoŋ (S1)	to swallow
tail	silá (umsilá)	iːla:a (S4b)	tail
tardy, slow	vaḡa	//kabba (S1)	slow
tear, to	dwengu	≠kawegu (H)	tear
		tharanju,	
		//ka//kãʰu (N2)	be torn
thorn tree	khambe (umkhambe)	//kam (C1)	
		≠?ha:ba (S2)	
		//khãb (H)	thorn tree
throw away	lahla	//ka//karre (N1)	throw away
thunder, rumble	duma	!gum (S1)	roar
tobacco	gwayi (ugwayi)	gwa, ḡwa (N3)	dagga
track	zila (umzila)	tsiŋʔa (N2)	footprints
tree stump	phunzi (isiphunzi)	᠓ho (S1)	tree
twist	sonti	tsonoo (C1)	twist
wet ground	joja	tʃo aha (C1)	
		≠kō (S6)	wet
white	(m)hlophe	/ko:wa (S1)	
		/o:wa (S2)	white
wind	oya (umoya),		
	moya (ummoya)	!koja (S1)	wind
wring out	khama	kʰam ,	
		≠kammi (N2)	wring out

18. Zulu words with Bushman cognates derived from place names

Certain components of place names are said to be Zulu, but these words do sometimes not appear in the Zulu dictionary. They do, however, match Bushman words that sound similar and have similar or nearly similar meanings.

Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

<i>Column 1</i>	<i>Column 2</i>	<i>Column 3</i>	<i>Column 4</i>
afraid, to be	kwa(-Mezathshwa)	kwa ^ξ , koa ^ξ , _koa (N1)	to be afraid
awake	zinya	/he:nja (S3)	awake
blood	jamludi	jalu	blood
blood	zim (Mzimkulu)	/ĩ, /iŋ (N1)	blood
cave	ngab (Ngabeni)	//goa (C2) //goab (H)	cave
damp, wet	si (Siboje)	tʃi: (N1) ˀtʃi: (N2)	wet, damp
drunk	xobo (Ixopo)	/kʰaowa (N2)	drunk
eland	ncwa (Ncwadi)	!!nã (N2) ≠kanthe (C1)	eland eland bull
eland	sa (Sampofu)	s'a: (S1) sa: (S2)	eland
elephantsodwa (Sodwana)	tʃowa (C1)	elephant	
elephantdwana (Sodwana)	tʃuana, ≠kʰwana (C1b)	elephant	
fear, to	kwa (Kwa-Mezatshwa)	koa ^ξ , nkwa (N2) \go a: (N2)	be afraid
flat	nan (Inanda)	/kʰã (S2)	flat
green	ge (Gedlana)	ˀ≠ke	green
hill	dlana (Gedlana)	han-la, haŋ-a (C3)	hill
hole	kwa (Kwa-Ntunja)	!koa (S1)	hole
hollow	golo (Pongolo)	\kolo (N3)	hollow
hot	kwa (Kwa-Shushu)	ˀkhwa (N3)	be hot, burn
lake, pool	siba (Sibayi)	jiba, dzhiba (C1)	pond, pool
leg	kwa (Kwa-Mkono)	ˀ!kwa:, !kwa:, //koa (S1)	leg
man	kwa (Kwa-Ndodanye)	!kwa (S2) _!kwa (N1)	man
pond, pool	gwe (Nhlangwe)	//kwe:ʃ (S2)	pond, pool

press, to	kwa (Kwa-Makhamisa) ˀkwa	to press
red	kama (Kamanzi) /kamse (S3) ŋ/kxaba (S2b)	red
red	cunja (Cunjane) //khuja (N1) /kanja (S5)	red
red	ncom (Ncome) /num (N2) /nu ʔa, /noa (C2)	red
red	baba (Babanango) ŋ/kxaba (S2b) kaba, /aba	red-white red
river	no (Kwa-Mkono) nō , ≠nō (N1a)	river
rumble	ngu (Ngudumeni) !gāu: (S1)	rumble
salt	hla (Mhlatuzana) !gaa, !gā (N2) !xa:ne (S5) kxa (H)	salt
slanting, inclined	kane (Tshekane) ≠khaĩ (S1)	be slanting
strength	shwa (Mshwati) /xoa/xoa (S1)	strengthen
strong	banza (Banzana) !kaŋ-a	strong
strong	nsi (Nsizwa) /gi (S1)	strong
stream	tube (Mtwatube) daũb (H)	stream
tail	kwa (Kwa-Msila) /k' a (S4)	tail
tear, to	kwa (Kwa-Dwengu) kwa: (N2)	to tear
travel	kwa (Kwa-Mazula) !ko ˀa (S1)	travel
twist, turn	tonga (Tongati) tuŋ-a, tuŋʔa (N2)	to turn
vlei	kwa (Kwa-Cibigoje) /!!kwa (N2)	vlei
water	zwa (Nsizwa) ! khwa (S1)	water
white	twa (Mtwatube) ˀ//xwa (S5) /k'owa (S1) /o:wa (S2)	white

19. Conclusion

A study of Zulu place names has indicated Bushman influence in semantic, lexical, phonological and morpho-syntactic levels. At this stage, an attempt has not been made at identifying comprehensive patterns, sound shifts, determination of relatedness between languages, areal distribution of languages and dialects, and the like. The present investigation is the first of anticipated investigations into Bushman influence on Xhosa, Swazi, Tswana, Sotho, Tsonga and other languages. As more exhaustive results are obtained, it will become more certain that final conclusions can be made.

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