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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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 naamveranderings. 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 nasionale.

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 betekenisse 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 beëns 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 *Khoekhoen*, 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 khoiib” (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, alzoo zy 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 Khoi-Khoin, Olpp (1876: 78) and Vedder (1966: 112) as Khoi-khoin, Theal (1964: 90) as Khoikhoi, and Vedder (1965: 17) as Khoi-Khoi. 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 Khwekhwe(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 ‘Phoebe’ or ‘phoenix’, and does thus not correlate with the pronunciation ofNama /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-hoekeoe”. All translations of quotations in this investigation are by the author.
2 “Koï-koïn or Hottentots [...] They call themselves Koï-koïn”.

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

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 *sä*, “auflesen, aufraffen (vom Boden)” (Kroenlein 1889: 293), similar to the Kung (N2) word *sã* ‘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 *sä* and the noun *säb*. 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

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3 “mostly corrupted to Khoe or Khoi”.
4 “[T]o gather, pick up (from the ground)”.
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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 genaamd)” (Forbes 1965: 147).⁶ Sonquas and the Afrikaans form Sonkwas are considered to be variants or developments of Soakwas, Soâqua, Sôaquás, Songus, Souquas, 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

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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”.

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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 *Bushman*.\(^9\)

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*, *Xhosa*, and not *isiXhosa*, *Swazi*, and not *isiSwati*. This is in accordance with using English names for foreign languages in the context of English, for example *German* and

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\(^8\) Cf Alex Thoma at ombud@mg.co.za.


\(^10\) [http://www.diversitysouthafrica.co.za/khoi.html](http://www.diversitysouthafrica.co.za/khoi.html).

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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 chiefdom 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 úkweqa ‘jump’; the
!O !Kuŋ (N3) word /ga ‘marry’, compared to the Zulu verb úkuqagca
‘marry’; the /Xam (S1) word /xum ‘break, burst’, compared to the Zulu
verb úkuqhuma ‘explode’; the Hie (C1) word /kom ‘increase’, cognate
with the Zulu verb úkúchuma ‘increase, multiply, prosper, and so on’,
and the /Xam (S1) word //hau ‘hang up’, compared with the Zulu
word úkúxhoma ‘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
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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 hypocrisly.

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 hypocrisly” 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
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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]).
Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

4.1 Southern group

S1: /Kam-ka !ke, /Xam Old Cape Colony, south of the Orange River
S2: //D !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: !Gã !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, Kù, 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, Hie∫ware, Masarwa (Tati) Near Tati, Zimbabwe
C1a: Sehura South-west of Ngami,
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 Žu/'hoãsi 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.

Θ: 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).

Θ: 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 tsk!); ≠ 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 Ø (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 $/gã, ´gã, ëgã$; the nasal efflux with $n$, as in $/na, ´na, !na$; the fricative efflux with $x$, as in $/xã, ´xã, !xã$; the ejected efflux with $k$, as in $/k?ã, ´k?ã, //k?ã, !k?ã$; the aspirated efflux with $h$, as in $/ha, ´ha, //ha, !ha$; the glottal efflux with a glottal stop, as in $/?ã, ´?ã, //?ã, !?ã$, 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

... /gen/, 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
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 e, neutral θ; occurs in diphthongs ei, we; e is the front half-close vowel, θ 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 ‘sǐ’; (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.
kʷ: 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.
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 influence as initial, Khoikhoi influence in endings, inter-changing with b.

r: voiced alveolar consonant, spoken with only one vibration, or sometimes strongly trilled.

ř: nasal r, between r and n.

ř or [rl] (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 ũt, 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.

tʃ & 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'.
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w: pronounced like English w, often distinctly a semi-vowel, interchanging with a short o or u, as in oawi and wawi ‘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 nge, and the rare instances of the velar nasal before the unvoiced form by nkc. The radical form, c, under homorganic nasal influence, becomes nge “(Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 97).

The radical form of the palato-alveolar click 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. 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 xh, 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 \( ɓ \). Under the influence of palatalisation \( b\to]\j\)" (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 \( aɓa- \) and in all concords therewith, also in the cl. 7 prefix \( uɓu- \) and its concords. Under nasal influence \( ɓ \) becomes \( mb \) [...] Under the influence of palatalisation \( ɓ \) becomes \( tsh \) [...]” (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 \( d\to]\j\)” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 133).

dl: “Voiced alveolar fricative consonant, the fricative form of \( l \), or the voiced form of \( bl \)” (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).


h: “Unvoiced glottal fricative consonant, pronounced by some speakers and on some occasions as unvoiced velar fricative. Under homorganic nasal influence h becomes nk 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 ng 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).


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 (iŋ): “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 6” (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).

mf': “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 inv- or izinv- 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, nhl, ndl” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 518).

n (jın): “Prepalatal nasal consonant intermediate in formation between English ‘ny’ and French ‘gn’, written thus when used
homorganically before tsb and j, for example intsbe, 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 cb […]; 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 bb” (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 nhl, see under bl.]” (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 [...]” (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) oe open mid-back vowel [...] lips well rounded and somewhat protruding [...]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 633).

p (p"): “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 pb” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 638).


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
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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 *qh* > *nq*, for example *i(l)qhu* (bulge) and *inquu* (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 *nts* [...] When emphasized *sb* sometimes becomes *tsh (tʃ)*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 729).

**t (t’):** “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 *th* [...]” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 775).

**th:** “Aspirated alveolar explosive consonant. Under homorganic nasal influence *tb* becomes *nt*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 780).

**ts (ts’):** “Ejective alveolar affricative consonant, found in a limited number of words in Zulu, apart from its occurrence after the homorganic nasal in *ns (nts)*” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 817).

**tsh (tʃ):** “Unvoiced prepalatal affricative consonant” (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 818).

**tʃ:** “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 *ʃ*” (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).


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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1: um-, umu-</td>
<td>class 2: aba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 1a: u-</td>
<td>class 2a: o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 3: umu-, um</td>
<td>class 4: imi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>class 5: i(li)</td>
<td>class 6: ama-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Zulu grammatical treatment (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: xviii):

**Singular** | **Plural**
---|---
I. umu- | aða-
Ia. u- | o-
II. umu- | imi-
III. i(li)- | ama-
IV. isi- | izi-
V. im-, in- | izim-, izin-
VI. u(lu)- | izim-, izin-
VII. uðu- |
VIII. | uku-

### 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 uncompounded), 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, *Nhlazatshe*, ‘green stone’, *nbla*za ‘green’, *tshe* ‘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, umMweni ≠ 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 ‘brakwater’ ('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 kuj 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 *nza* 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 *mnandi*, is said to have used the *hlonipha* 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’õî* (Bleek 1929: 82). In the component *mtoti*, the nasalised bilabial *m* represents the nasalisation of the *õ* in *t’õî*; 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 *tʼamma* (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 Kwakenames. In this case, the component Ama is comparable with Hadza (C3) //klama ‘sweet’ (Bleek 1956: 581); the component nzi with //l!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 //l!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 */kurwea* (Bleek 1956: 326), given by Lichtenstein as */kw/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 !kunj (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 *ɔ̆babo* ‘brackish’ (Doke et al 2005: 49), ɔ̆aŋa ‘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 ɓ; 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

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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, ≠ei-b ‘foot,
spoor’, ≠ai-b ‘spoor’, ≠‘ai-b ‘Fuss’, ‘foot’. The same word applying to
both ‘foot’ and ‘spoor’ is encountered also in the /Xam (S1) word
lnoay ‘foot, spoor’ (Bleek 1956: 487), by analogy with the previous
example also ‘poort, pass, road’. In the adaptation of the /Xam (S1)
word /lnoay into Zulu nang, the digraph *oa* was presumably coalesced
to a to avoid the impermissible juxtaposition of the two vowels; the
IPA symbol ŋ was written as ng, and the final o was added because Zulu
words must end in a vowel, resulting in *nango, Babanango*, adapted
from *ŋ/kxa-balnoay*, 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 sterkejie*’ (‘the little strong one’), or ‘*Die breedjie*’ (‘the little
broad one’), said by him to be derived from *‘aniza*, the diminutive of
‘anzi’ ‘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 *‘an(za)* and the Kung (N2) word *‘kay, *‘kay’a ‘to grow, be strong, hard’ (Bleek 1956: 407), the Zulu bilabial
implosive corresponding to the Bushman ejected cerebral click *lk*.
The component *(n)zana* is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word
//gãna ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 90), also //gwãna ‘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 ʔni ‘hill’ (Bleek 1929: 46) or a demonstrative, or a locative suffix like y > 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, Bevane, Pivaan. Considering Pivaan to be the primary form showed the component Pi to be comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word ʔOpwi ‘warm’ (Bleek 1929: 90), the unvoiced labial click Θ assimilated to the unvoiced labial consonant p and the semi-vowel w elided. The component vane/vana is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word //gãna ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 90), also //gwãna ‘waterpool, waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 537). Compare Bulanhloya 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 ɓomvu ‘red, in all tints’; isiɓomvu, ‘red ground’; ɓomvu, ‘red soil’; ɓomvu, ‘red ochre or clay’ (Botha 1977: 63, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 82). The stem, devoid of prefixes, is ɓomvu. If, then, (isi) ɓomvu means ‘red ground’, the component ɓo ‘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)/kəzwa ‘to be red’ (Blek 1956: 321); /Xam (S1) //k’o //k’o ‘to be a little red’ (Blek 1956: 608), the bilabial implosive consonant ɓ approximating the /Xam dental or alveolar fricative clicks with velar and faucal plosive efflux /k and //k”, the symbol ǂ denoting that the previous vowel is a closed one. The component -mvu of -bomvu may be cognate with Khoikhoi xib ‘ground’, /Xam (S1) and //ǃǃe (S2) lái ‘ground’ (Blek 1929: 44), the nasalisation in these words reflected in the m of mvu; Nama !hub ‘grond’, ‘ground’ (Nienaber 1963: 203), ‘Erde’, (‘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 !kuŋ (N3) demonstrative y, synonym n ‘this one, this is, here’ (Blek 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 Ibilanhlolo and Bilanhloya, 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 ɓila, ‘boil, bubble in boiling’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 77); blola ‘predict evil, warn of coming danger’, umblola ‘awe-inspiring experience, evil omen’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 332). The first component of the name thus occurs as bula and bila, the second as nhlolo and nbloya. Döhne (1857: 39) states that the words bula and bila, both meaning ‘to boil’, are related, /u/ being the high back vowel in Zulu, /i/ the high forward vowel. The components bula and bila are comparable with the Hie
(C1) word bela ‘to boil’ (Bleek 1956: 117). In the second component of the name, nhloya, the ejective affricate nhl represents a click substitute and y is a bridging sound inserted between juxtaposed vowels that would violate the Zulu canon. The component nhloya, 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 nhloya is more likely to be a feature designation, comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /koba/, ‘spring, water’ (Bleek 1956: 318), of which variants are !khoa:, !khwa:, !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 Bilanhloya means ‘to boil’ (Colenso 1884: 39). Bila is a variant of the word bula that occurs in the name Bulanhloya. 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) ŧbu ‘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 б. This consonant is phonologically similar to the bilabial click Θ, which varies with the dental or alveolar fricative click /; cf Θwiiŋ, /wiŋ ‘hot’, ŧu being comparable to /Xam (S1) /gũ, /gũ; /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 i difícwna, the diminutive of ādušu (iعباد) ‘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 ādušu bears a strong phonological resemblance to Kung
(N2) //ku:lu ‘a snake, green boomslang’ (for which Doke gives /ku:lu/) (Bleek 1956: 593) and, although the species of snake differs, the words for ‘snake’ may be cognate. This indicates that ɓ 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 caiba, ‘of being flat’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 97). The initial c of caiba is the Zulu dental click that corresponds to the Bushman dental click /c/, so that the Zulu ideophone caiba ‘of being flat’ is comparable to the Naron (C2) word /kaaba ‘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

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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, chamaza may display a phonological similarity to the Nama barase íi, German ‘üppig, im überfluss leben’, (‘to live in abundance’) (Rust 1960: 38). The /Xam (S1) word for ‘to live’ is !kawwa //!ke (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 ≠k”waξra ‘black mud’ (Bleek 1956: 668), recorded by Lichtenstein as ≠ywara (Bleek 1956: 668), the voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 133) of *dara* approximating the alveolar plosive click with ejective efflux, ≠k” (or ≠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 ≠k”waξra.

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)chihi*) ‘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 *cosha* ‘to pick up, for example with fingers from the ground’, synonymous with *thola* (Botha 1977: 68, Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 125). The initial *c* of *cosha* is the dental click, *tb* 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

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¹⁴ “The name originated from the material that the stream sweeps along.”
shi of the name Coshi may be comparable to the //ǂ!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 doodkalme/doodstille/stilsone‌gende’ (‘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 #gouwa ‘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) #ka: ‘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)cwebe ‘clear, still liquid (as pond of still water)’, from the ideophone cwebe ‘of sparkling, clearness; of dead silence’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 132). Considering the given meanings of the ideophone cwebe of ‘still (water)’ and ‘dead silence’ indicates that cwebe is comparable with the /Xam (S1) verb kwe:, ¯kwe: ‘to be quiet, be still, leave 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 /we ‘to be quiet’ (Bleek 1956: 361). Correspondence between ‘lagoon’ and ‘large sheet of water’ with the //ǂ!ke (S2) word //kwe: ‘pool’, the Hie (C1) word hwere ‘pool’ (Bleek 1956: 744), the //ǂ!ke (S2) word //kwe ‘salt-pan’ (Bleek 1956: 599), and the Naron (C2) word !kubi∫a ‘pond, pool’ (Bleek 1929: 66) is also apparent.

**Cwilicwili**, the name of a stream near Nongoma, is said to be formed from the ideophone cwilí ‘of diving out of sight, sinking’, from the verb cwilá ‘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 !kwo‘i ‘to dip up’ (Bleek 1956: 465), the Zulu l of cwili replacing the glottal stop and providing a glide between the two vowels. The Khoikhoi verb kbui, ‘auftauchen’ (‘dip up’) (Rust 1960: 5), and its variant khwai, ‘in die Erscheinung treten, auftauchen’ (‘to appear, dive up’) (Kroenlein 1889: 221a38) bear a phonological and semantic resemblance to cwิง.

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 /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 /b/, the diphthong ao simplified to Zulu a to obviate impermissible juxtaposed vowels, and also Old Khoikhoi doggha ‘dark’, encountered in the name Doggha 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’a (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 /gǔ’ 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/berugte*’ (‘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.” 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 ʼg, 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, ʼg, 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.”
The Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant \( d \) is comparable with the Bushman palato-alveolar click with voiced efflux, \( \text{lg} \) (Bleek 1956: 368), the word \textit{duma} cognate with /Xam\text Regular ((S1) \textit{!gum} ‘roar’ (Bleek 1929: 70), ‘to roar, bellow, call’ (Bleek 1956: 388), Nama \textit{!gom-(ina)}, German ‘\textit{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 \textit{Dwala (I)} ‘flat rock: see \textit{iWa}’ (Colenso 1884: 118); \textit{idwala} ‘large, flat, exposed rock’, and so on (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 177). The component \textit{dwala} is comparable with the Hie (C1) word \textit{ndala} ‘flat rock’ (Bleek 1956: 144), or the Hie (C1) word //\textit{gwa} ‘stone’ (Bleek 1929: 80), the Zulu voiced alveolar consonant \( d \) approximating the Hie retroflex fricative or lateral alveolar click with voiced efflux //\textit{g}. There is some controversy regarding the locative form. Although the current form is \textit{eDwaleni}, the singular locative, there are some who maintain that the original form was \textit{emaDwaleni}, locative plural, according to Botha. His explanation of the name as \textit{Rotsspruit} ‘rock stream’ raises the question as to whether the components are not \textit{Dwa(la)} ‘rock’ + \textit{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 […]’ (Botha 1977: 72), derived from \textit{odwaleni}, the locative form of \textit{udwala} ‘extensive vista, wide sweep of country’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 177). Botha’s emphasis on \textit{oop} (‘open’), permits the possibility of a link between the stem \textit{dwala} and the Sesarwa (S5) intransitive verb //\textit{gwa}: ‘(to be) open’, or more specifically the /Xam (S1) word //\textit{kwara} and the Kung (N2) word //\textit{kvaro} ‘open’ (Bleek 1929: 63), \( l \) and \( r \) being variants, Zulu \( d \) replacing //\textit{k}, //\textit{k}.

**eGwayini** is the Zulu name for the town of Piet Retief (now \textit{eMkhondo}) at 27° 00´ S, 30° 48´ E. Meaning ‘at the tobacco’ or ‘place of tobacco’, from \textit{gwayi} (\textit{ugwayi}) ‘tobacco, snuff’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 284), \textit{gwai} (\textit{n}) ‘tobacco’ (Colenso 1884: 183), the name refers to a brand of pipe tobacco, \textit{Piet Retief Tobacco}, which was manufactured near the town. The component \textit{Gwa} is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word \textit{gwa} ‘Indian hemp, dagga’, usually encountered as \textit{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 `Tokozza` (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/koenje ‘to be satisfied (belly full)’ (Bleek 1956: 304), the dental click with velar explosive or ejective release `/k` of the segments `/kau` and `/ko` shifting to the Zulu velar explosive consonant `k`; the vowel clusters `au` and `oe` coalescing to `u` and `o`, respectively; the alveolar nasal fricative `nj` 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 `≠g`, 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)/xũ` ‘to order silence’ (Bleek 1956: 637), `/Xam (S1) s`’up, quoted from Lichtenstein as `ss`’up ‘still, silent’ (Bleek 1956: 174); the Hie (C1) word `goo ‘to be silent’, ‘silence’ (Bleek 1956: 49), and the /Xam (S1) word `≠gou, `≠gau ‘to be quiet; quietly’ (Bleek 1929: 68), the aspirated alveolar explosive consonant `th` comparable to the alveolar plosive click with voiced efflux `≠g`, and the high back vowel `u` a simplification or coalescence of the diphthong `ou`. The ejective alveolar `ss’` is comparable to the aspirated alveolar `th`.

`EMachobeni` means ‘place of sandstone’, from `amachoē`, the plural of `ichoē ‘sandstone’ (Koopman 2002: 124); `ichoā`, plural `amachoā`, ‘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) //o:e, goe ‘grindingstone’ (Bleek 1956: 722), `/Xam (S1) //o:e` ‘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 (Khoekhoe) word `!kob, ‘Kalkstein’
Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

(‘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). TheNama 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 k” being comparable to the velar ejective k”. The component -ne or -ni is comparable to the !O !kuŋ (N3) word ˉ!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 rheboks’ (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 yâ-p as the Nama word for rheebok, and Lloyd (Nienaber 1963: 429) gives gyâp as the Koranna word for rheebok. Omitting the masculine singular ending -p leaves the stem yâ, gyâ. Recognising the nasal vowel n in nxa- as the representation of the nasal element in ā of the word gyâ, and the lateral click x as a replacement of a Bushman diphthong written as gy, raises the possibility of gyâ being cognate with nxa(la). Equating yâ-p and gyâp with gnioop, recorded by Levaillant (Nienaber 1963: 429) for ‘rhebuck; ree-bock’, Nienaber transliterates gnioop as giop or giüp and states: “Ek meen ons het hier dieselfde woord wat ek nêrens elders raakgeloop het nie en wat verouderd skyn te wees.” If (i)nxa(la) is indeed cognate with yâ-p and gyâp, Zulu preserves a word that does not seem to have survived elsewhere. But the possibility is not ruled out that yâ-(p) is a variant spelling of the Old Cape Khoikhoi sàá(1691), saà (1705), sàá (1708), za (1775-76), ‘ribbok, reebock, rheebok, roebuck’ (Nienaber 1963: 429), and the Nama word sàb, ‘das Reh’ (‘roebuck’) (Kroenlein 1889: 293b28), the final p of yâ-p and gyâp and the final b of sàb 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 ‘buòu, 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 buũ is then comparable to the Naron (C2) word !gubu ‘round’ (Bleek 1956: 388), the cerebral click with voiced efflux lg approximating the Zulu voiced bilabial explosive b. Khoikhoi words for ‘round’ are !gwewu, !hweu (Rust 1960: 51), which may correlate with buũ where the initial bilabial explosive consonant b is a click replacement and the implosive bilabial consonant ū accords with the Khoikhoi bilabial consonant w 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 lnu; ≠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, ū, with /Xam (S1) !hū; !hū ‘sandhill’ (Bleek 1956: 399), Auen (N1) !no; !no ‘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 /hū and /nō; 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 ū.

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 ≠’ha’ba, and the Khoikhoi word //khãb ‘thorntree’ (Bleek 1956: 763), the nasal in the last-mentioned word represented by *m* in *kham(a)*; the component *(b)j*i means ‘tree’, from *umuthi* ‘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 *khamba* 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 ‘Olivewenhou’. 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*, ‘*Oliwenholzbusch*’ (‘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 $ngum$ and $ngom$. The Zulu nasal form of the palato-alveolar click, $nq$, reflects the Khoikhoi palato-alveolar click $!k$ 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 $ngum$, 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, imimoya or immoya [< oya] wind, air, breath; spirit, soul, life’, and for ‘spirit’ they give ‘oya (umoya) [Ur-B. لا لا aYa]’, 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 $lk$ of !koja, comparable also with Cape Khoikhoi qia, 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 $Θ$.

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 !kun (N3) word po ‘jackal’, while ngushe is cognate with the Sesarwa (S5) word !ganji ‘jackal’ (Bleek 1929: 49). The Zulu nasal velar ng of the component ngushe represents a substitute for the voiced Bushman efflux l of the word !ganji; 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 j 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 grimmi’ (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 pb of the stem, the aspirated explosive consonant pb 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 Θpyn ‘duiker buck’ (Bleek 1929: 35); Θ is the labial click or lip click, the cluster (lip click with ejected efflux) Θp corresponding to the Zulu nasal bilabial consonant m plus ejective bilabial p in the cluster mp; the y in the word Θpyn pronounced like u in French ‘du’ (Bleek 1929: 13), occurring as the Zulu high back vowel u.

eMswathi, also Mshwati, 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 Mshwati is comparable with /Xam (S1)/xo/a ‘strength’, /xo/a/xo/a ‘strengthen’ (Bleek 1956: 365), the alveolar click with fricative efflux /x approximating the Zulu prepalatal fricative consonant sh that becomes the ejective prepalatal
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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 //ǂǃi //ǂǃ/‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), the Bushman alveolar fricative click with ejective efflux, */k'/, approximating the Zulu ejective alveolar explosive consonant *t*, or the /Âunu (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 *ǃgum* ‘roar’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the voiced alveolar consonant *d* approximating the palato-alveolar click with voiced accompaniment *ǃg*, the final *a* of the noun *duma* being the obligatory Zulu final vowel. The name is appropriate, Endumeni 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 ǀni ‘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 //ǃegwi (S3) ʃe ‘stone’ (Bleek 1956: 265), or Kung (N2) *kwe*, synonym *koe* ‘place’ (Bleek 1956: 112), or with /Xam (S1) and //ǁke (S2) *lxoe* ‘place, country’ (Bleek 1956: 500), the Bushman affricative efflux *lx* represented by
the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant \( z \), the vowel cluster \( oe \) 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), *tsba* ‘spurt or squirt’ (Botha 1977: 76); *amanzi* ‘water’. The initial vowel of the river name is a prefix; the component *tsba* is cognate with Auen (N1) *t∫a* ‘spit’ (Bleek 1929: 78), Khoikhoi *≠a* ‘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 *fafa*za ‘sprinkle’ (Colenso 1884: 132). A Bushman word for ‘sprinkle’ is the Hie (C1) *kha t∫a*; for ‘sparkle’
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is recorded the /Xam (S1) words babaitən ‘to sparkle, flash, lighten’ (Bleek 1956: 14) and waɛ̃waɪtən ‘to sparkle’ (Bleek 1956: 252). The component fəfa accords to some extent with the segments baba- and 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 wa- became fəfa.

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 //kãĩ ‘to seek’ (Bleek 1929: 72), and the //Kxau (S2b) word /kxæe ‘to seek’ (Bleek 1956: 335). The Zulu word ngqayi ‘to seek’ may be compared to the Hie (C1) word t∫ai ‘restrain’ (Bleek 1956: 749), as in the phrase t∫ai //gaieka gauhe ‘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 is Gedlana is, dim. v. isigedla = ‘n hanghoringos.” 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 Groenkop. 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 ṅke ‘green’ (Bleek 1929: 44), dlana to the Hadza (C3) word han-la ‘stone, hill’ (Bleek 1956: 57, 724). Regarding the form Skedlana, the component Ske (or Ge) may be cognate with Kung (N2) ṅke ‘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 ṅke. The pronunciation as Skedlana indicates that the initial unvoiced alveolar consonant plus velar explosive consonant, Sk, is an attempt at reproducing the alveolar click ṅ with ejective efflux ṅk of the word ṅke; Ske- < ṅke. Considering that the primary feature in question is a hill, the component dlana may be cognate with han-a, Hadza (C3) han-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 ṅke. 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 Debejeni, /Auni (S4) //kë: ‘hole’, Hie (C1) je (Bleek 1929: 47), also /Xam (S1) //e ‘hole in rock’ (Bleek 1956: 519), are comparable with ṅke. 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), //gãna ‘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) gigəritən ‘roll’ (Bleek 1929: 71), /Xam (S1) gigəritən ‘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 ləgəxo ‘trunk’ (Bleek 1929: 87), perhaps also with the Hie (C1) word khori ‘stump of tree’ (Bleek 1956: 90). [gigəri:ixo > 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 il(l)i)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 ləguran ‘tortoiseshell or gourd on musical bow’ (Bleek 1956: 389), and the Kung (N2) word /xu ‘gourd, bowl made of the outside of the lno fruit’ (Bleek 1956: 366), all of which bear resemblance in sound to gulana, the Bushman r in ləguran 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 “...waarsynlik ‘n verwysing na die smaak van die water. Moontlik genoem na ‘n kop – Gula(ne) – waarby dit verbyvoel.”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 ǃni ‘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, gap’ (‘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,
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:/ /goːmː/ ‘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 *Mahlabatini*, 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 *blaːaːthi* (isihlaːaːthi) ‘sand, gravel, sandy soil’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 310). The component *bla(b)* is comparable to the Au en (N1) word *k”a, k”aː* ‘sand’ (Bleek 1956: 116), Kung (N2) *kʃaː, k”aː* ‘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 //Ŋ!ke (S2)/k’i ‘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 *blabisa* ‘present a beast for slaughter’ (Raper 2004: 137); *hlaba* ‘pierce, prick, stab, gore, slaughter, slay’ and so on (Colenso 1884: 192). The component *bla* is comparable to the /Xam (S1) and //Ŋ!ke (S2) words /kaː, /aː/, the Sesarwa (S5) word //aː, and the Khoikhoi word //ña: ‘to kill’ (Bleek 1929: 50), and the Hie (C1) /kha, /ka ‘to slaughter’, /kae ‘to slaughter, to stab’, and /ka ‘to kill’ (Bleek 1956: 76); Nama //ña: ‘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/y ‘reed’ (Bleek 1956: 564); the component kulu is like /Xam (S1) #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 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/y ‘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 hlangwe does not occur in Zulu dictionaries, and Botha suggests that, considering that Kosimeer is situated in Tonga territory, -hlangwe is probably a geographical variant of ublanga ‘reed’, or inblanga ‘rietruigte’ (‘thicket of reeds’). He notes (Botha 1977: 83) that the name appears as Nhlangwe in the Natal Official Guide (1959: 40). The component blan(g) is cognate with ≠Khomani (S2a) word //ka/y ‘reed’ (Bleek 1956: 564), and with /Nu //en (S6) //nte ‘reed’, plural //^nte (Bleek 1929: 69), the Zulu unvoiced lateral fricative consonant bl comparable to the Bushman lateral fricative click //; the IPA symbol ^, 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 //D !ke (S2) word //kwe:∫ ‘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 Manzamnyama, 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 ublawwe (u(lu)hlawwe) ‘gravelly place’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 323). The component blaw(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 bl, 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 blaw(e), the alveolar fricative click / (Bleek 1929: 13) corresponding to the Zulu alveolar fricative consonant bl, the Bushman back close vowel u consonantalised as w. There is also a third Khoisan explanation of the name. Ublawwe 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) tuŋ’a ‘turn’ (Bleek 1956: 241), the glottal stop represented as the voiced velar explosive g in Zulu, and Hlawe.
from /Xam (S1) !khâü ‘to twist (intr.)’ (Bleek 1956: 88), similar to \D !ke (S2) kao: ‘to turn’ (Bleek 1956: 80).

**Hlimbitwa**, also encountered as eHlimbitwa and Hlimbithwa, 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 eHlimbithwa and said to be derived from iblimbithwa ‘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 blimbirdwa. The Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant hl corresponding to the Bushman unvoiced prepalatal fricative consonant ž and the voiced bilabial compound mb approximating the unvoiced bilabial compound θp (for example, the lip click with its homorganic unvoiced bilabial efflux) permits recognition of blimbi being cognate with Sesarwa (S5) žiθpwi ‘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). eHlimbirdwa, cognate with žiθpwi!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).

**Hluhluwe** 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 //Ŋ!ke (S2) word for ‘baboon’ is /hu/hu (Bleek 1956: 290, 291). The Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative hl approximates the Bushman unvoiced alveolar fricative click /, showing hluhlu to be comparable to /hu/hu. The component we of the name Hluhluwe is similar to the Hie (C1) word gwii ‘rope’, Auen (N1) ’lkwi (Bleek 1929: 71), Auen (N1) and Naron (C2) ’lqwe ‘Sansevieria zeylanica; rope for trapping made of the fibre of this plant’ (Bleek 1956: 393); Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !kuŋ (N3) !kwe:∫ ‘pool, pond’ (Bleek 1956: 433). However, *Sansevieria* is not bobbejaantou which is *Dalbergia*. The final component of Hluhluwe, which is the name of a river, is more likely to be a generic term meaning ‘river’. Döhne (1857: 141) gives the variants umHluhlu, umHluhlule, umHluhluwe, while Colenso (1884: 229) gives a variant umHluhluwe which he describes as an amalala form, “d.w.s. ’n dialektiese Lalaariant” (“i.e. a dialectal Lala variant”) (Botha 1977: 85). The component we, be or bwe is comparable to the Hie (C1) word kwere ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the Auen (N1) word /xwe ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 90), and the Hie (C1) word kwere and //Ď!ke (S2) word //kwe: ‘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 waterpoeletjie*” (“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 /kãnnu, /kar ‘pool’ (Bleek 1956: 301), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant D corresponding to the Bushman alveolar click
with ejective nasal efflux /k̃/, the Zulu velar nasal ng to the Bushman nasalised r̃, 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 //Dlk word _//kweisa ‘star’ (Bleek 1929: 79) and its synonym //k”we: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 ncae ‘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, /gwea, /goe ‘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 dâu ‘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 â, the vowel cluster âu 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 ntshange, 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 Entshange, also Inchanga. Doke & Vilakazi (2005: 606) give ntshange (ntshange) ‘cane knife’. Other Zulu words for ‘cane knife’ are ucelemba, isikekela, isikhabhumese (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) /ã ‘sharp’; /ã/ã, also /ã/ã ‘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 ṅāb ‘der Bergkrantz (jäh abfallender Rand)’ (‘mountain precipice (abruptly falling slope)’) (Kroenlein 1889: 96a22), also the //ǃke (S2) word ḳä: ‘ridge of rocks, krans’ (Bleek 1956: 653), the Zulu velar voiced nasal compound ng corresponding to the Khoisan alveolar click with voiced velar nasal efflux #g~ and unvoiced velar glottal #k, 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/ā.

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 lepelbout, the wood used to make troughs, ladles, spoons, pipes, and the like (Raper 2004: 151). The Afrikaans common name lepelbout means ‘spoon wood’. If Ngwavuma and lepelbout 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 kwān 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 koay ‘star’, plural koaykoay ‘stars’ (Bleek 1956: 97), the Bushman vowel cluster oa coalesced as a, the nasals n and m often interchanging (Bleek 1956: 140), kwān and koay being homophonous. The component kwa of Inkwanyezi is cognate with the component kwa of the /Xam (S1) words/kwaːˌtː̂ə, kweːˌtː̂ə, kwaəˌtːi/ ‘star’ (Bleek 1956: 331), also in the /Xam (S1) non-consonantalised form /koati/ ‘star’ (Bleek 1956: 318), and the //Ŋ!ke (S2) word //kwaisa ‘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 (inya si, 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 inspirated 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) ŋo, Kung (N2) and IO !kun (N3) ‘dţo, dţo (Bleek 1929: 21); also the /I!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 /I!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
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 wo, 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”ayk”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 bl, 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”ayk”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 /!ke (S2) noun tâ: ‘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
The forms Xobho 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 (ikhamanzi) ‘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), y/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 //D!ke (S2)/k′ê‘‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), also recorded as/k′i (Bleek 1956: 339), the alveolar fricative click with nasal ejected efflux,
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/k’/”, phonologically approximating the alveolar nasal preceding the voiced alveolar fricative consonant, nz; the vowel cluster ei coalesced as i; or /!lo!ke (S2)/k’i ‘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 ublanga ‘reed’, or of inblanga ‘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 Dronkvlei, an area near Creighton, in the Ixopo district, at 30° 32´ S, 29° 50´ E. The name Dronkvlei 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 Dronkvlei is a translation. Both Kwa and Cekwa should mean ‘drunk’; the initial component Kwa is cognate with the Kung (N2) word /k”aowea ‘to be drunk’ (Bleek 1956: 337), dabwa; the component kwa of Cekwa is perhaps cognate with the /Auni (S4) word !bowa ‘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 bxo:wa ‘high’, the component gqwa to the Kung (N2) adjective ≠xã ‘high’ (Bleek 1929: 46); the //ǁe (S2) word /k’ã, the /Xam (S1) swa; ts’wa; Naron (C2)/nu:; noun Naron (C2)/ka:ba; Khoikhoi ≠ga:b; //ǁe (S2) tã: (Bleek 1929: 39), and the component thaza then //ǁe (S2) tã:; 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) !ko:á ‘knee’ (Bleek 1929: 50), the vowel cluster óa consonantalised as wea, 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 Seserwa (S5) //’xe:u ‘white’ (Bleek 1929: 91), similar
Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

to the /Xam (S1) word /k'ọwa and the //ǃke (S2) word /ọwa ‘white’ (Bleek 1929: 91); the component gu is adapted from the Naron (C2) word /lu ‘white, pale’ (Bleek 1956: 492), /lu: ‘white’ (Bleek 1929: 91), the pattern of reduplication again occurring; the component qa is an adaptation of //ǃke (S2) ǂka: ‘ridge of rocks (krans)’ (Bleek 1956: 653).

KwaHlangakulu see Hlangakulu

KwaMaduma is explained by Botha (1977: 93) as ‘Die dreunende’ (‘the rumbling one’), from dorma ‘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 dorma, 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 dorma 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 dorma ‘bend, curve’ (Colenso 1884: 166), “... en dat [...] kwa-bygevoeg is, blybaar analogies, omdat so baie persoonsname gevorm is met -ma- + werkwoord” (Botha 1977: 93). The component Kwa, incorrectly interpreted as the Zulu locative prefix, is comparable to the Kung (N2) word k’wã ‘to turn’ (Bleek 1929: 87), the prefix -ma- added to accompany the perceived locative prefix, and dorma ‘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”.

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alive through oral tradition. This component, \textit{goba}, is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Kung (N2) word \textit{\text{\text{kw}obba “to turn”} (Bleek 1956: 600, 766), \textit{g} being the voiced form of \textit{k}, the Zulu voiced velar explosive consonant \textit{g} corresponding to the Kung lateral click, also known as the retroflex fricative click, with ejective velar accompaniment \textit{\text{\text{\text{k}}}}, the Zulu voiced bilabial implosive consonant \textit{b} corresponding to the Kung voiced bilabial consonant \textit{b}. The suffix \textit{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 \textit{ne}: (Bleek 1956: 144, Raper 2009: 138).

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

\textbf{KwaMakhamisa}, a stream 40 km south-east of Hlabisa, is said to be derived from \textit{khamisa}, the causative of \textit{kham} ‘press, squeeze, wring out’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 377). \textit{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 \textit{Kwa-Makhamisa} would be understood ‘\textit{deur die ontingewyde}’ (‘by the uninitiated’), as a personification. In fact, the component \textit{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 kwakayiko. Mindful of the oral traditional meaning ‘the poor one’ and testing for Bushman words cognate with those of which kwakayiko or variants are the Zulu adaptation reveals the /Xam (S1) word lkaui ‘poor’, plural lkaulkauítm (Bleek 1929: 67). The similarity in sound between lkaui and -kayi may suffice to warrant regarding them as cognate, and so too kwakayiko and lkaulkauítm. Recognising that Zulu phonology requires a bridging sound (consonantalisation) between juxtaposed vowels would explain the insertion of l or y, showing how kwakayik- is cognate with a Bushman word similar to lkaulkauítm (or the variant lwelkwe:étn) (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
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) _kaua, Naron (C2) /kaua ‘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 /kxai ho ‘to fall’ (Bleek 1929: 37). The component owa, pronounced with a glottal stop preceding the o as ?owa, interpreted or adapted as kwa, the glottal stop approximating the explosive unvoiced velar consonant k, the o elided. The component /kxai ho 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 h 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 melkhout, 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 Melkhout 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 umqwushu 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, //kwaj, !koadːən ‘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 tb 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 a 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 hyper-correct 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 Ndwele, 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 $kwa$ ٤ ‘to be afraid of’ (Bleek 1956: 109). The Zulu component $-Me$ $(ma + e)$ of $Kwa-Mesatshwa$, coalesced from $ma + etshwa$, can be attributed to misinterpretation of the Bushman word $kwa$ ٣ as the Zulu prefix $kwa-$, the adverbial locative formative joined to a personal noun to which the prefix $ma$ is often added. The component $tshwa$ is an adaptation of a Bushman word comparable to the //Ku //e (S2c) word $∫wa$, ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 183); the Bushman palatal unvoiced fricative $∫$ is often a variant of the affricate $tsh$ (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 //ǃ //e (S2) word $lxoxwa$ ‘tall’ (Bleek 1929: 82), the Bushman palato-alveolar click with velar fricative efflux $lx$ replaced by the Zulu velar consonant $k$, the interconsonantal vowel $o$ elided. The component $njome$ corresponds to $lxom:e$ ‘tall man’, $njo$ cognate with the /Xam (S1) word $lxo$: ‘tall’ (Bleek 1929: 82), the Zulu prepalatal nasal preceding the voiced prepalatal affricate $nj$ replacing the Bushman palato-alveolar click with fricative efflux $lx$, 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’oã ‘arm’ (Bleek 1929: 16), and the Auen (N1) word /õa ‘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 !ku ŋ (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 hobecham ‘forehead’ (Nienaber 1963: 509), the unvoiced glottal fricative h identified by Nienaber (1963: 510) as a click; the component becham (also bibecham, biqua, and so on) meaning ‘head’ (Nienaber 1963: 351), and as in the Old Khoikhoi word honco ‘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 adverbal 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’wo’a naka ‘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 /kaŋ’a, /kaŋ-a ‘to chase’ (Bleek 1956: 300, 703), and the Kung (N2) word ≠xan ‘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 4 indicating that the preceding vowel a is a pressed vowel, the Carthy being the IPA symbol for the digraph ng. I am of the opinion that the assumed personal prefix uM, occasioned by the interpretation of Kwana as the locative prefix that goes with personal names, led to the insertion of the voiced bilabial consonant M in the river name Kwamangisa. 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 Kwamangisa. 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) ≠hi ‘to hurry’ (Bleek 1956: 651), the Bushman alveolar click with aspirated velar efflux, ≠h, approximated by the Zulu velar nasal ng. The final component of the name Kwamangisa may be cognate with the //Xegwi (S3) word ∫a, the Naron (C2) word t∫a ‘water’ (Bleek 1956: 177, 224), the adapted name /nwabba ≠hi∫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 Kwana is not functional, since Msilana is not a personal name. If the regular pattern of semantic repetition applies in this instance, the component Kwana 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’laca ‘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 //!ko word !kwa and the Auen (N1) word _!kwã ‘man’ (Bleeck 1952: 56). As in similar constructions, the second component duplicates the meaning of the first, doda ‘man, male person’, being comparable to the //!ko !ke (S2) word do, and the Auen (N1) word _do ‘male (noun, often used for ‘man’’) (Bleeck 1956: 56), plus the /Auni (S4) word da ‘person’ (Bleeck 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’ (Bleeck 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’ (Bleeck 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 !kwa ‘to fall’ (Bleeck 1956: 436), the vowel cluster oa consonantalised as wa; with the /Xam (S1) word xwa: ‘to fall’ (Bleeck 1956: 262), and the Sesarwa (S5) word /gwâ ‘fall’, also ‘to set, hang’ (Bleeck 1956: 536). The component gqum(bu) is an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the Auen (N1) word lgom ‘to fall’, as in the example ‘the stone [...] falls into the water’ (Bleeck 1956: 385), and the /Xam (S1) word lgum ‘roar, bellow’ (Bleeck 1956: 388); compare also the /Xam (S1) word lkumba ‘heavy’ (Bleeck 1956: 452), and the Khoikhoi word lgom
‘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’ (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’wã ‘to graze’ (Bleek 1929: 44), the nasalisation of **ã** 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) //khoa ‘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 //! ke (S2) word /k’i ‘river’ (Blee 1956: 339), or //! ke (S2) /k’ëi ‘river’ (Blee 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 et 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 ggaza, 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 ggaza with the Naron (C2) word _ko±ra ‘to pour away, empty’ (Blee 1956: 97), the voiced and unvoiced velar explosives gq and k being variable, the Bushman vowel cluster o±a 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 past 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 //Ŋ!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* consonantised 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 //Ŋ!ke (S2) *!ke*: ‘Duiker buck’ (Bleek 1929: 35) and //be: ‘duiker’ (Bleek 1956: 287); also the #Khomani (S2a) word #khe:, #kbei ‘duiker’ (Bleek 1956: 661), and the /Auni (S4) word #khe: ‘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 *hlonipha* (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* (*usshushu*) ‘hot spring; sulphur spring [cf Xh -*u[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 *kwea* ‘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 //wë ‘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”wã ‘to drink’ (Bleek 1929: 34); the component so with Nama/no ‘ohne Athem zu bolen [...] 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 ŋ-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 ŋ; the component na with Kung (N2) k”ã, //lē (S2), //Xegwi (S3), Sesarwa (S5), /Nu //en (S6) k”ã ‘to drink’ (Bleek 1929: 34), the Zulu alveolar nasal consonant n reflecting the nasalisation of ã; the component ta with Hie (C1) t’a ‘to drink’ (Bleek 1929: 34). [Kwa-Sokunata < k”wã/ŋ-guk”ã: 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 khwa ‘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, #l, 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)/kwi, Naron (C2) k’wi ‘to speak’ (Bleek 1929: 78), Khoikhoi #kwei ‘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) /kʰi ‘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 ū variously heard as back close ū or back half-close ŏ (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 vung] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 92), cognate with bunqˇvaa ‘trees’, ‘arbores, bomen’ (Nienaber 1963: 226), punqua-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 Ndwenwe, 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* (*i*) *gaba* ‘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 lee*’ (‘the hollow places/the empty one’), from *amagoongo*, plural of *igoongo* ‘hollow place or thing’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 251). The component -goö- 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) /góö ‘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 *b* 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 blaqathi (isiblaqathi) ‘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) ’kx?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 //!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 Mkmozani 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 aMahwaqa some 30 km west of Muden (Raper 2004: 219). The name is derived from the ideophone bwaqa ‘of frowning, being overcast; of gloominess’, hence bwaqa ‘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 breaga comparable to /Xam (S1)/boaka, /baokən, /bo:ŋ ‘dark, black’ (Bleek 1956: 289), /Xam (S1) t’oakən ‘darkness’ (Bleek 1956: 207), the Bushman click being dropped and the diphthong oa consonantalised as voa. The final component may, however, be a feature-type designator, for example the //D !ke (S2) word #kâ: ‘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’à, plural k’üssin ‘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 toponymical 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 //D !ke (S2) #kâ: ‘ridge of rocks, krans’ (Bleek 1956: 653); the component (i)ni is comparable to the !O !kuŋ (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’anže* ‘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 Θ 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)//*kaie* ‘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* ‘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 !kuŋ* (N3) ˉni ‘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 hadidas)*’ (‘Hadida stream, (at the Hadidas)’) (Botha 1977: 107), from *nkankan* (*jili*) *nkankan*, ‘Common or Hadadah Ibis, Hagedashia hagedash’, plural *amankankan*, 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, *nkankan*, 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 *ntsontsha*, 'steal, pilfer' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 607). The component *ntsba* seems to be similar to the Kung (N2) word *nt∫a*, s. *t∫a* '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 *t∫a* '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 *lk* to *m*; the component *za* is comparable with the Auen (N1) word #ha '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 #b; 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 inspirated 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) *lgam* 'deep' (Bleek 1956: 376),
the ‘inspirated 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 **itheku**, **i(li)theku**, plural **amathekhu** ‘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 **itheku** 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) /**ge**/, !O !kuŋ (N3) //ke (Bleek 1956: 567), Auen (N1) #gee: and #ger ‘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).

**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 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’ (Nicolaïsen 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 **vaβa** ‘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 \( \text{va} \) seems to be cognate with /Xam (S1) //\( \text{kabba} \) ‘to be slow, leisurely’ (Bleek 1956: 548). The voiced denti-labial 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 \( \text{ba} \) ‘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) \( \text{dabe} \) ‘salt’ (Bleek 1929: 71), where the voiced alveolar explosive consonant \( d \) approximates the voiced bilabial explosive consonant \( \delta \). The first bilabial implosive consonant \( \delta \) is perhaps a click replacement for the alveolar plosive click with ejected efflux \( \#k \) and \( \text{ba} \) cognate with \( \#k\text{awa} \) ‘schlecht’ (‘bad, unpleasant’) (Rust 1960: 53), the intervocalic \( w \) a voiced bilabial semi-vowel approximating the voiced bilabial consonant \( \delta \); or with /Xam (S1) //\( \text{k’oawa} \) ‘bitter’ (Bleek 1929: 22), //\( \text{kao} \), \( w \) ‘bitter’ (Bleek 1956: 603), //\( k \) the lateral click with ejected efflux, \( \text{oa} \) 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 \( \text{bejisa} \), the causative of \( \text{beja} \) ‘be red’ (Colenso 1884: 28), from the ideophone \( \text{beje} \) ‘of redness (as of blood)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 30). The ideophone \( \text{beje} \) is cognate with the Hie (C1) word /\( \text{geje} \) ‘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)/\( \text{h’a} \) ‘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 \( \text{be} \) ‘of glittering (as dew), quivering (as heat waves)’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 70), \( \text{beza} \) ‘glitter’, \( \text{umbeza} \) ‘glittering, shimmering’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 75). The component \( (M)\text{be} \) is comparable with /Auni (S4) \( \#e \) ‘shine’ (Bleek 1929: 74), the Zulu voiced bilabial nasal compound \( mb \) approximating
the palatal click with nasal efflux ≠̃; the component za with Naron (C2) ≠ga ‘to glitter’ (Bleek 1956: 643), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant z corresponding to the Bushman voiced alveolar fricative click ≠g. The final component of the name Mbeza 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), //gâna ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 526), //gewa ‘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 !ku 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) xubisa ‘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 #gaŋ, #gaŋ ‘to be long, tall, deep, powerful’ (Bleek 1956: 644), also given as #ga-ŋ, #ga-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 lana ‘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 #gaŋ, #gaŋ and lana, !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) Obo: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 //!ke (S2) !kwe ‘(perforated) stone’ (Bleek 1929: 80), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant d approximating the retroflex click with ejected efflux /l/. 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.

Mbuizana, the name of a stream in the Lower Umfolozi, is interpreted as ‘Die klein bokkie’, (‘the little goat’) (Botha 1977: 123), from buzzi (imbuzi) [Ur-B -vool] ‘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 buri, and the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant z corresponds sufficiently to the Bushman voiced alveolar rolled consonant r to regard buzzi and buri, both meaning ‘goat’, as cognates. The Kung (N2) word vuhi ‘goat’ contains the voiced flapped retroflex consonant ṭ, 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, pudu, pu:i, puli and vuhi (Bleek 1956: 721). The component -(a)na of Mbuizana 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 lnau ‘river’, the diphthong au coalesced as a., or a generic term comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) words //k’anna ‘waterpits’ (Bleek 1956: 603), //gäna ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 526), //gåna ‘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 weerlink’ (‘where the reed-flute resounds’) (Botha 1977: 125), from dumá ‘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 *lgum* ‘roar’ (Bleek 1929: 70), Khoikhoi *lgom(ina) ‘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 *lg* of *lgum* or *lgom*. 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 *t∫b* of *t∫inku* corresponds to the Bushman unvoiced prepalatal affricative consonant *t∫* 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*. *Mdumatshingo* 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 *fafaζa* ‘sprinkle’ (Colenso 1884: 132). A Bushman word for ‘sprinkle’ is the Hie (C1) word *kba t∫a*, which may be compared phonologically to *fafaζa*, 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), //gãna ‘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 *dzbwene* ‘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 //!]!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, Mgeni, eMgeni, uMgeni, 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 bорrida, 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) ƞ//kaa ‘thornbush, thorntree’ (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 eMgeni.’ 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 Mnjeni and variants the component (n)ge is perhaps cognate with /Xam (S1) //k̖̃in, //D!ke (S2) //k̖i ‘thorn’ (Bleek 1929: 84), the Zulu voiced velar nasal compound ng approximating the Bushman lateral click with velar nasal efflux, //k̖̃, 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 //Ŋ!ke (S2) //k̖̃m ‘pot’, Hie (C1) ama ‘dish, pot, plate’ (Bleek 1956: 9); !O !kuŋ (N3) //k̖̃a, (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 ‘Diepkolofspruit (Die diep uitgrawing/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 ḏ, since “the r […] is sometimes given as a flapped variant which comes close to a ḏ” (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) _hoˉni, bo ri (Bleek 1956: 64); //ǃke (S2) bo ri, _ho ri, borehe ‘to stir’, the voiced velar fricative h 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); //ǃke (S2) //ku: //ne ‘to stir’ (Bleek 1956: 594); //Xam (S1) //k”okɔn ‘to stir, twirl’ (Bleek 1956: 607), and /Xam (S1) //kwɔppɔm, lgwɔppem, bxwɔbbn ‘to stir, beat up’ (Bleek 1956: 393). These words display the variability of g, h 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 hlahla ‘chop up, cut up; give a gaping wound’ [Ur-B ka-ka] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 311). The Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant hl approximates the Bushman unvoiced lateral fricative click //, hlahla thus comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) //ka:wa ‘to chop’ (Bleek 1929: 28), Khoikhoi //ha-na ‘abhacken’ (‘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 //Ŋ !ke (S2) /k’ẽ /river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the n reflecting the nasalisation of ê, the vowel cluster ěi 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 -blalu (u(lu)blalu) ‘gravel, stones, and pebbles lying about’ [Ur-B –kalu ‘flint’] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 316), ublalwane ‘gravel’ (Doke et al 2005: 203), ublalane ‘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 //ka-na ‘gravel-stones in a river’, ‘Kies-Steine im Fluß’ (Rust 1960: 34). The component ne is perhaps cognate with //Ŋ !ke (S2) /k’ẽ /river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the n reflecting the nasalisation of ê, the vowel cluster ěi 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 ja:la ‘to stay’ (Bleek 1929: 80), Kung (N2) ja, jã ‘to rest’ (Bleek 1956: 177), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative hl approximating the Bushman unvoiced prepalatal fricative consonant ], in other words, sh.
Mhlanga, also encountered as Othlanga, Obhlanga, uMhlanga and Umhlanga, 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 Phragmites communis growing there; it is also encountered as Umhlangakulu 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 ≠hauru, ≠houru ‘waterhole, pond, pit’ (Bleek 1956: 651, 744), the /Xam alveolar plosive click with aspirated efflux, ≠h, 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 //.
Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

/, the Zulu velar nasal \(ng\) to the Bushman velar nasal \(n\), and the component \(ana\) is a generic term similar to the Sesarwa (S5) words \(/g\\text{\'g}\text{\'ana}\) ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 99); \(/k\"\text{\'anna}\) ‘water’, ‘waterpits’; \(/gwana\) ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 603, 769, 537), or the !O !kung (N3) word \(/kana\) ‘to flow’ (Bleek 1956: 300); \(!k\text{\'a}\) ‘riverbed’ (Bleek 1956: 749), interpreted as the Zulu diminutive suffix \(ana\). There is also a stream with the name \(Mhlangu\text{\'ana}\) in the Msinga district, some 24 km south-west of Tugela Ferry, at 28° 44´ S, 30° 21´ E (Raper 2004: 241). \(Mhlangu\text{\'ana}\) 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 \(Mhlangu\text{\'anaza}\text{\'a}\) 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 \(k\text{\'xa}\) ‘salt’ recorded in 1689 (Nienaber 1963: 463); also with the Kung (N2) word \(lg\text{\'a}\), \(lg\) ‘salt’ (Bleek 1956: 374), and the Sesarwa (S5) word \(lx\text{\'ane}\) ‘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, \(l\), or with fricative efflux, \(lx\). The component \(tu\) is cognate with /Xam (S1) word \(/u:\) ‘salt, used also as brackish, bitter’ (Bleek 1956: 358), \(tu\text{\'a}\) cognate with /\text{usa} ‘brackish’ (Nienaber 1963: 464), the component \(zana\) a fluvial generic term for ‘river’, similar to the Sesarwa (S5) words \(/g\\text{\'a}\) ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 99); \(/k\"\text{\'anna}\) ‘water’, ‘waterpits’; \(/gwana\) ‘waterpit’ (Bleek 1956: 603, 769, 537), or the !O !kung (N3) word \(/kana\) ‘to flow’ (Bleek 1956: 300); \(!k\text{\'a}\) ‘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.

\(Mhlo\text{\'openi}\) 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 mhlophé ‘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 bl is an alveolar fricative corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative click / and w are bilabial consonants, Zulu mhlophé and hloph(e) and //D !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 //D !ke (S2)/k’ẽi ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the Zulu alveolar nasal consonant n, cognate with the Bushman alveolar click /, reflecting the nasalisation of ẽ, the Bushman vowel cluster ẽi coalesced as Zulu i to avoid the juxtaposition of two vowels that is impermissible in Zulu, or with //D !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 onymic generic approximating the !O !kuŋ (N3) word ‘ni ‘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 blungwa, the passive of blunga ‘separate, set apart, sort out; winnow, sift’ [Ur-B-kʊŋa ‘sift’] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 338). The component blu is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /kbu ‘split’ (Bleek 1956: 430), the verb blunga perhaps cognate with //Xegwi (S3) _//kum_///kã ‘split’ (Bleek 1929: 78), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant bl corresponding to the Bushman unvoiced lateral retroflex fricative click /, the Zulu voiced velar nasal compound ng to the Bushman retroflex click with ejected efflux and nasalisation as represented by //k˜ in the compound ∼//kã. The component ngwa approximates the /Xam (S1) word !khwa ‘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´
The component \( M \)ji is thought to be similar to the 'twist' (Bleek 1929: 88), \( l\)xwi 'to twist' (Bleek 1956: 504). The component \( k \)a is possibly (or probably) similar to the /Xam (S1) word /ka 'river' (Bleek 1956: 295), the Auen (N1) word \( \#k \)a: '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 khondo (umkhondo) [Ur-B kondo] 'track, trail' (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 402). The consonant \( k \)h of the stem khondo is the aspirated velar explosive that gives place to ejection under nasal influence; \( o \) is a mid-back vowel comparable to Bushman \( n \) and \( n \) the alveolar nasal consonant. The component kon(do) of the name Mkondo is thus comparable with the Kung (N2) \( !h \)uŋ-a, \( !h \)uŋ?a 'spoor' (Bleek 1956: 399, 757). The component \( d \)o is perhaps cognate with Bushman \( \#n 'o \)'river' (Bleek 1956: 749), the alveolar plosive click with nasal efflux \( \#n \) represented by the voiced alveolar explosive consonant \( d \). The Zulu stem kondo is also similar in sound and meaning to Eastern dialectal kudu 'footpath', 'gångvæg' (Nienaber 1963: 507), transliterated by Nienaber as cognate with !kũdau-b, from Korana !kũ 'walk', dau-b 'road', or with Nama /nudao-b, /nu 'leg' or 'foot'. The component kon is comparable with Naron (C2) !kũ 'walk' (Bleek 1929: 89), where lk is the retroflex plosive click with ejected efflux comparable to the Zulu aspirated velar explosive \( k \)h 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 //l!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 30º 30´ S, 30º 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 ≠ã ‘to stick’, ‘Kleben’ (Rust 1960: 35)], n and ≠ being alveolar consonants, the mmn approximating the alveolar plosive click ≠ with the nasalisation of ã 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 28º 53´ S, 28º 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 28º 53´ S, 29º 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, nweni changed to nweni, the back close vowel u consonantised 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) ≠ũ, ≠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 umbholo, ‘in die hol plek’, (‘in the hollow’) (Botha 1977: 147), from bholo (umbbholo) ‘deep, narrow hole; pit; excavation, hollow, cavern’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 305), or bolo (um) ‘hollow place’ (Colenso 1884: 224). The stem bolo is comparable to the !O !kuŋ (N3) verb ḥolo ‘to be hollow’, synonym kolokolo (Bleek 1956: 99). The stem bholo is also comparable to the Kung (N2) word !koro ‘hole’ (Bleek 1929: 47), the voiced glottal fricative consonant h(h) dropping the nasal under homorganic nasal influence (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 301), thus corresponding to Bushman retroflex plosive click with ejected efflux, lh, and the voiced alveolar lateral consonant l to the voiced alveolar rolled lingual consonant r. Comparable is also Khoikhoi //goro ‘hool’ (‘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 /ko:si ‘reeds’ (Bleek 1956: 321), also the //Ku //e (S2c) word doasi ‘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 into contact with birds’), from phamba ‘to bind together “by criss-crossing”’ (Döhne 1857: 266),
and ‘Die rivier waaroor die voëls kruis en dwars 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 integririma, 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, #kam* ‘to wind round, tie, bind on’ (Bleek 1956: 655), *lk”Am* ‘twist’ (Bleek 1956: 766), *!O !kʊŋ (N3):_//kAm* ‘to turn’ (Bleek 1956: 594); the component *nyo* cognate with */Xam (S1) /bo: ‘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, */b*. The variability of clicks is demonstrated in */Xam (S1)* synonyms for ‘tree’, namely */bo/, */bo;/ *Ωbo* ‘tree’; */hogen, /ph-hoken ‘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 *imposfu*, diminutive *imposfana* ‘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 *poṣu* as a variant of *mpofu* in the noun opens the way to recognising *Poṣana* as a possible variant of *Mpofana*.
for the Mooi River, which means ‘pretty river’. Potchefstroom also bore the name Mooirijersdorp ‘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 ‘Ωp’um ‘pretty, nice, beautiful’ (Bleek 1929: 61), of which ‘Ωp’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 ‘Ωp’o(m) ‘pretty’, ‘mooi’, the bilabial click Ω presumably preserved as the bilabial consonant M, Ωp’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 “inspirated 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 //gâna ‘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 /ubã ‘waterpool’ (Bleek 1956: 358), the unvoiced dental fricative click / corresponding to the unvoiced fricative consonant f; the nasalised â written as na in Zulu, (/)ubã 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 mooi 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) *lx*e ‘beautiful’ (Bleek 1929: 20), *lx* 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) *lxu: ‘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) *lkau, lkou ‘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 -*se*ē (umseē) ‘ray (as of sunlight)’ [Ur-B –*keve* ‘arrow’] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 725). The stem -*se*ē, 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 -*se*ē 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’.
Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

(Bulpin [s ə]: 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 tsu’ru, tʃu’ru ‘to vanish’ (Bleek 1956: 237), and tsuruku-siŋ ‘to vanish, disappear’, tsurukusiŋ ‘vanish’ (Bleek 1956: 221, 768). The variability of l and r occurs for example also in Zulu -thi shwíli-shwíli ‘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) /xau ‘dark blue’, are also cognate with the component su. The component lu is perhaps comparable with the /Xam (S1) word /kou: ‘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 ə]: 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 vul(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 vlegtendetjie’ (‘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) /kӃ ‘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 ū 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, \( k \), or retroflex fricative click \(/\), \( tshe \) thus cognate with \(/Nu //en (S6) //e\), Auen (N1) \( lx: \) ‘smooth’ (Bleek 1929: 77). The component \( zi \) of \( Mtsezi \) 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 \(/\).

**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 \( tsbi \) is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word \( tsic, ts'i, ts'i \) ‘to be sharp’ (Bleek 1956: 753), the component \( kwa \) with the /Auni (S4) word \(/wa \) ‘hill’ (Bleek 1956: 629), the component \( ne \) a demonstrative, or comparable with the !O !ku!ng (N3) word \( !ni \) ‘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 \(/hu/hun-ta \) ‘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, //!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 //gãna ‘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/steadily flowing one’). Considering the component ti to be a feature-type designator cognate with the //!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) ≠gou ‘silent, quiet’ (Bleek 1956: 648), the Bushman voiced alveolar click (alveolar plosive click with voiced efflux), ≠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 ngávou] (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 (ŋg, 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, Mkiwaneni, Mkobeni, Mloteni, Mpambanyoni, Mpangeni, Mpoltweni, Mpunzini, Mseleni, Mntikini,
Munweni, and so on. If \textit{ni} is a fluvial generic, comparable to the //\textit{D}!ke (S2) word /k’i/ ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), or /k’ê/, the nasalisation represented as \textit{n}, the diphthong coalesced as \textit{i}, the interpretation of ‘white-wood stream’ may be correct. The ≠Khomani (S2a) word for ‘white’ is ‘\textit{u}hi\textit{ja}’ (Bleek 1956: 493), which may be cognate with \textit{umzila}, the palato-alveolar click with glottal efflux reflected by the glottal pronunciation of ‘\textit{u}’, the voiced flapped retroflex consonant \textit{h} by the voiced alveolar fricative \textit{z}. The remaining component of the name, \textit{nyo}, may then be cognate with words for ‘wood’, for example !O !kung (N3) \textit{lo} (Bleek 1956: 489), \textit{‘o} (Bleek 1929: 25), the palato-alveolar click replaced by the inspired palatal liquid consonant \textit{ny}. This postulation is strengthened by similar cases of river names given after trees interpreted as referring to birds, \textit{cf} Mpambanyoni. An alternative Bushman origin is offered by a different common name for the \textit{Croton sylvaticus}, namely Afrikaans \textit{koorsboom} and its English equivalent \textit{Fever tree}. Bushman words for ‘fever’ include Auen (N1) \textit{\text{\textγ}}i (Bleek 1956: 382), \textit{\text{\textγi}}: (Bleek 1929: 25), Nogau (N1a) \textit{\text{\textγi}} (Bleek 1956: 647) and Naron (C2) \textit{\text{\textγi}}: â (Bleek 1929: 38), which may be cognate with the component \textit{zila}, the voiced alveolar fricative consonant \textit{z} replacing the voiced palato-alveolar click plus efflux \textit{l}, the unvoiced prepalatal fricative \textit{∫} replacing the lateral alveolar consonant \textit{l}.

\textbf{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 \textit{emZimayi}, the name is given by Döhne (Botha 1977: 165) as derived from \textit{zima}, a dialectal form of \textit{nzima} ‘awe-inspiring, strong, forcible; heavy, weighty’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 893), \textit{+ ya} ‘to go, go towards’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 870). The component \textit{(n)zima} is perhaps cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /\textit{gi}:\textit{ja},/\textit{g}î\textit{ya} ‘to be strong’ (Bleek 1956: 279), the voiced alveolar fricative consonant \textit{z} representing the voiced alveolar fricative click \textit{g}, the nasal \textit{m} the realisation of the nasal \textit{\text{\texttilde}}, the component \textit{yi} of the name a fluvial generic comparable to the //\textit{D}!ke (S2) word /k’i/ ‘river’ (Bleek 1956: 339), the prepalatal semi-vowel \textit{y} replacing the alveolar fricative click \textit{\text{\texttilde}}. If Windyridge, Umzinto and Mzimayi have a common topographical basis, the //\textit{Ku}/ke (S2c) word ‘\textit{i} ‘wind’ (Bleek 1956: 180) may be considered, comparable with the component \textit{(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); azeera ‘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 azeera ‘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) ǂxi:/, /Auni (S4) ǂe ‘shine’ (Bleek 1929: 74); Kung (N2) dzi, dzhi, 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 ŋn.

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 umzimkhulu is a compound of umuzi (‘homestead, village’) + mkhulu (‘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 umanzi. Of course, Koopman is correct if the name uMzimkhulu 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.
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) /iŋ/ ‘blood’ (Bleek 1929: 22, 1956: 292), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant \( z \) corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative click /\( \)/, the nasalisation of the \( i \) realised as the Zulu bilabial nasal \( m \), as also shown in the Auen (N1) word /iŋ/ for ‘blood’, where the nasal is indicated by \( \eta \). 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 #h aumento, #houru ‘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\( \tilde{a} \) approximating the Zulu voiced fricative \( z \), the velar nasal \( \eta \) the voiced prepalatal semi-vowel \( y \). The component ne of the name Mziyane is the feature-type designator ‘river’, perhaps comparable with //Ŋ!ke (S2) /kẽi/ ‘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 \textit{ni} similar to the \textit{ne} of \textit{Ncane}. However, mindful that Bushman place names usually consist of specific and generic terms, the \textit{ne} may (also) be a fluvial suffix, cognate with /\textit{Auni} (S4) \#\textit{ei} ‘river’, the alveolar click corresponding to the Zulu alveolar nasal \textit{n}, the diphthong \textit{ei} coalesced to the syllable peak \textit{e}.

\textbf{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 \textit{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 \textit{Ncome} or a similar word, but for ‘red’ Bushman words include Kung (N2)/\textit{num}, Naron (C2)/\textit{nu\,\^a},/\textit{noa} (Bleek 1956: 351, 352). The Zulu nasal dental click \textit{nc} correlates with the Bushman dental click with nasal efflux /\textit{n}, while the variation of \textit{u} and \textit{o} in the respective Bushman words indicates that /\textit{num} and */\textit{nom} are cognate with \textit{Ncom(e)}: phrased differently, /\textit{nu\,\^a} and /\textit{noa} are variants of the same word, and \textit{ncom(e)} is thus a permissible adapted form of /\textit{num}, where \textit{u} is the ‘back close vowel phoneme, variously heard as \textit{u} (back close) or \textit{o} (back half-close)’ (Bleek 1956: 246).

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

\textbf{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.
Ncwadi 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 ncowa is cognate with Kung (N2) !nã ‘eland’
(Bleek 1956: 511), the Bushman retroflex click ǃ, lying ‘between the
palato-alveolar and lateral clicks’ and ‘more hollow than ǃ’ (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) !kã ‘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 da wo and the prefix as in. The confusion
regarding the prefix may be ascribed to the Bushman origin of the
word. The component ndawo is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word for
rushing, namely //xa u (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 //gãna ‘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 & t∫ and the cerebral or palato-alveolar click with fricative efflux, ≠x.

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 //hoáb (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, nj (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), kwaː; kwaːna (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 
\textit{ypsilon}, for example.

\textbf{Ngcuba} is a northern tributary of the Buffels River. The name has 
been interpreted as ‘\textit{Die waardeloze}’ (‘the worthless one’), from its lack 
of permanent water (Botha 1977: 175). The root of the name is seen 
as \textit{ngc\textsc{u}ba} (\textit{ingc\textsc{u}ba}) ‘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 \textit{ingcuba}. A more productive motive would have been 
the waterless characteristic of the stream. Bushman words for ‘dry’ 
include /Xam (S1) /\textit{\textsc{k}o:wa} ‘to be dry, thirsty’ (Bleek 1956: 321), which 
is phonologically comparable with \textit{ngcuba}, the dental click with 
ejected velar efflux /k reflected by the voiced form of the dental click 
preceded by the velar nasal, \textit{nge}, the back close vowel \textit{u} variously heard 
as back half-close \textit{o}, and the voiced bilabial explosive consonant \textit{b} 
often interchanging with \textit{w} in second syllables (Bleek 1956: 13).

\textbf{Ngoje}, a tributary of Blinkwater, has a name said to mean ‘\textit{Krans(spruit)}’ 
(‘cliff (stream)’) (Botha 1977: 176), from \textit{goje} (\textit{ingoje}) ‘precipice, cliff’ 
(Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 254). \textit{Goje} is comparable with /Nu //\textit{en} (S6) 
\textit{\textsc{\texttt{\textsc{\texttt{n}}}\textsc{\texttt{g}}\textsc{\texttt{e}}} ‘stone’ (Bleek 1929: 81), Zulu \textit{ng} a compound comprising the 
alveolar nasal consonant \textit{n} and voiced velar explosive consonant \textit{g}; Bushman \neq the alveolar plosive click. The stream takes its name 
from a precipitous hill named \textit{Ngoje} past which it flows on the farm 
\textit{Daas Krantz} or \textit{Daskrans}. \textit{Daskrans} (\textit{Daas Krantz}) means ‘coney cliff’, 
\textit{das} being the Afrikaans word for ‘coney’ or ‘cony’, \textit{Procavia capensis}. 
Suspecting that the farm took its name from the prominent feature 
that also gave the stream its name, and that \textit{Daskrans} (\textit{Daas Krantz}) 
‘coney cliff’ translates a name of which \textit{Ngoje} is an adaptation, revealed 
a Cape Khoikhoi word \textit{kgoye}s ‘een \textit{das}’, ‘a cony’ (Nienaber 1963: 243). 
The final \textit{s} of \textit{kgoye}s is the Khoikhoi feminine singular ending which, 
being omitted, leaves \textit{kgoye}, sufficiently similar in sound to \textit{Ngoje} to 
regard them as cognate. \textit{Ngoje} thus seems to be the Zulu adaptation 
of a Bushman word (similar to) \textit{k\textsc{goye}s} meaning ‘coney, rock rabbit’, 
translated as \textit{Daas} (\textit{Krantz}) and adapted in Afrikaans as \textit{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 \textit{ngo} is perhaps an adaptation of /Xam (S1)/on
Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

‘rock rabbit’ (Bleek 1956: 356), or /Xam (S1)/hun ‘rock rabbit, dassie’ (Bleek 1956: 290), Naron (C2) läunj ‘rock dassie’ (Bleek 1956: 372), and the ≠Khomani (S2a) word !où = dassie (Bleek 1956: 492), the component je comparable with //Xegwi (S3) ze’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) //kõn//kõnõ, //kon//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, //k̖. 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 (-cane) = 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’omhe, 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, lh, the unvoiced glottal fricative b
The stem (n)gonyam is thus possibly an adaptation of a Bushman word cognate with the Hie (C1) word !ho kh̃am ‘a large maned lion’ (Bleek 1956: 398), /Xam (S1) /kw̃a mma ‘lion, name used by early race’ (Bleek 1956: 597), and //Ku //ke (S2c) !goiŋ ‘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, ŋ̃, is cognate with /Xam (S1) !g̃au: ‘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, ŋ.

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) !kobû ‘assemble’ (Bleek 1929: 17), and Nama /bû ‘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, ŋ̃. The component -dwini is compounded of a consonantalised dawu, from Sesarwa (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) dau, Hie (C1) dhau, (H) daob ‘path’ (Bleek 1929: 64), plus the locative ini, a possible reinterpretation of /D !ke (S2) /k̃e ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), Zulu n reflecting the nasalisation of e, Bushman ē 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 *ingwawane* given by Kropf (1915: 139). River names being known as old suggests a Bushman origin. The stem or component *ngwawana* 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 ejected 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 *Ngwawana* may well be cognate with //!k!ke (S2) /kʰǐ ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the Zulu alveolar nasal consonant *n* corresponding to the alveolar click /, the nasal element reflecting the nasalisation of 市教育局, Bushman ẻ amplified or coalesced to Zulu े.

*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 //!kke //kwaɪ, also //kwaɪ, emphatic //kwaɪn (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 //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 e*Ngweni*, 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 //!k!ke (S2) //kwe: and Sesarwa (S5), //Nu //en (S6) //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) //kauɛ, and Naron (C2) !koe:ba ‘Leopard (Felis pardus)’ (Bleek 1929: 52). In comparing //kauɛ 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 *u* 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 //kwe: and !koe:ba seems forced, while that between -ngwe and /kwe: (and //kwe: ‘Hunting leopard’ or ‘Cheetah’ became -ngwe ‘Leopard’, while lhurudub ‘Leopard’ (Bleek 1929: 52) became gulule (ingulule) ‘Cheetah’, the Zulu velar explosive consonant g supplanting retroflex explosive click with aspirated velar efflux th, voiced alveolar lateral l supplanting voiced alveolar rolled r.

Nkanyezi see Inkwanyezi

Nhlopenuku 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 bop(e) is comparable to the /Xam (S1) word /k’wewa and the //D!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 khukhu (inkuku) ‘domestic fowl’ [Ur-B –kuku] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 411), locative enkukwini (Botha 1977: 183). The root khukhu and Ur-Bantu –kuku are cognate with Kung (N2) kuku, IO !kuj (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 /?o ni, /?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 /k’i: ‘to close, stop up’ (Bleek 1956: 446), the component tu perhaps to the /Xam (S1) word /uhai’tn ‘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 Mhlatauze, between Eshowe and Melmoth. The name is of Zulu origin and means ‘place of the Red-necked Francolin’, Piernistis 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 //kóë ‘to dry’ (Bleek 1929: 35), //koe ‘to dry up’ (Bleek 1956: 584), the Naron vowel cluster oe consonantalised as Zulu ve 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 ‘Spuit(-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 Nkwi; wi is a consonantalisation of ui, so that Nkwifi can be compared to Khoikhoi !hûi ‘bubble out’, ‘aufquellen’ (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 khwifa 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) _lgwa, 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) !khwa ‘water’ (Bleek 1929: 99), the voiced alveolar fricative consonant z approximating the retroflex plosive click with ejected and aspirated efflux /lk/.

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 Ti 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’e‘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) tsOnoom ‘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 //O !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 //xeWe ‘waterhole’ (Bleek 1929: 90).

Ntambende, the name of a watercourse near Kranskop, is interpreted as ‘Langtou(-spruit)’, (‘long thong(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 lāb ‘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) !ge ‘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 !ge, 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 //D !ke (S2) /k’êi ‘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 //D !ke (S2) word #kà: ‘ridge of rocks, krans’ (Bleek 1956: 653), the alveolar nasal preceding the ejected alveolar explosive, nt, approximating the alveolar plosive click ≠, the nasalisation of à 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) //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 ū 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 //D !ke (S2) word *tu*, the Kung (N2) word *tu*/*tu*, and Khoikhoi //bus, ‘hole’ (Bleek 1929: 47), the Zulu alveolar nasal and ejected alveolar explosive, *nt*, approximating Bushman ejected affricative *t* 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 seekoeie afskei*’ (‘the river that excretes hippos’) (Botha 1977: 191); ‘where the hippo defecates’ (Koopman 2002: 129), from *nya* ‘pass excreta’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 616), *vuɓu* (*imvuɓu*) ‘hippopotamus’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 839). An alternative name for this river given by Botha, *Rietvlei* (‘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 inspirated liquid consonant (McLaren 1926: 9), thus a suction sound or click replacement comparable to the Bushman dental click /, approximates the //D !ke (S2) word /ɑ ‘reed’ (Bleek 1929: 69). The component (*m)vubu is comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word *luɓu* ‘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 ≠kʰ^n, lʰ^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 //gãna ‘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) !koro ‘hole’, /Xam (S1) !koro ‘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, lʰk, 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 //Ŋ !ke (S2) kʼorː, Hie (C1) /ko, Naron (C2) /aː, /Xam (S1) kʼorokn. ‘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 \( ≠gou ‘Holztrog, Kripp’ (‘wooden trough, crib’) \) (Rust 1969: 135), the Zulu voiced velar nasal \( ng \) approximating the palato-alveolar click with voiced velar efflux \( ≠g \). The component \( P(h)o \) could be construed as cognate with /Xam (S1) \( Θho, //Ŋ!ke (S2) \( Θho: ‘wood’ (Bleek 1929: 93), the Zulu unvoiced explosive aspirated bilabial consonant \( ph \) corresponding to the Bushman bilabial click with aspirated efflux, \( Óh. \) 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, Bulwana, 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)ongola/a, associated with Mooi Plats. The variability of the initial P of Pongola and Ph of Phongolo may indicate a former bilabial click. It seems reasonable to regard the component P(h)o as comparable with ¯Θp’o(m), an alternative pronunciation of the Seserwa (S5) word ¯Θp’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 !kųŋ (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 tl?utl?e ‘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* (*ulu*)si ‘2. a small piece, tiny infant’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 752-3). The name *Sane* is comparable with the Sesarwa (S5) word //ni ‘little’ (Bleek 1929: 54), the unvoiced alveolar fricative s approximating the unvoiced alveolar fricative click //, the symbol ^ 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) /l/, Kung (N2) /l/: ‘wet, damp’ (Bleek 1929: 91), the prepalatal unvoiced fricative / often merely a variant of s, and often found as l (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 *fa* ‘be ill, sick; suffer, be hurt’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 197); -nyawo (*unyawo*) ‘foot; footprint, footprint’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 622). The word *fa* 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 /, also comparable to the Auen (N1) word *tsbã* and the Naron (C2) verb *tša*: ‘to be ill’. The Zulu word *unyawo* would seem to be comparable with the Hie (C1) word *njao*, ‘footprint’ (Bleek 1929: 40), the prepalatal nasal consonant ny (prepatalal 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/\!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 gwummey ‘a skin’ (Nienaber 1963: 493), the consonant \( w \) identified by Nienaber as a click, gwummey interpreted by him as cognate with Nama ≠nami ‘Kaross’. Bushman words for ‘skin’ include Sesarwa (S5) t’um, /Nu //en (S6) _t’um, /Xam (S1) and //!ke (S2) tū (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 gwummey. 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 khob ‘das Fell, Haut’ (‘skin, hide’) (Rust 1960: 21). The final consonant -\( b \) of khob is the masculine singular ending, an older form of which is \( m \), which occurs in gwummey and perhaps khum(ba). It may be deduced from the above variant words that the click depicted by Herbert as \( w \) in gwummey 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 thuɓa (intuɓa) ‘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 thuɓa is cognate with Naron (C2) dauba ‘path’ (Bleek 1929: 64), Hie (C1) !kuu ‘pass, poort’ (Bleek 1956: 455); /Xam (S1) /kaniu ‘way’ (Bleek 1956: 303), ‘road’ (Lichtenstein II: 471); Hie (C1) dhau ‘road’, the aspirated alveolar explosive consonant th of -thuɓa corresponding to the alveolar explosive consonant with aspirated efflux dh of dhau, 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 //ǃke (S2)/k’êi ‘river’ (Bleek 1929: 70), the nasalisation of ê realised as n, ei coalesced as i; //ǃke (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-/gaːm, si /gaːm ‘spoon’ (Bleek 1956: 170), the voiced alveolar click /g approximating the alveolar lateral click x, the pressed vowel aː 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) tluana (Bleek 1956: 236), also #k"wana ‘elephant’ (Bleek 1956: 668), the alveolar click with ejective efflux #k” corresponding to the alveolar explosive consonant d, the u in the case of tluana being consonantalised as w. As regards the correspondence between the d of the component dwana and the t of tluana, 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, the Zulu voiced alveolar stop is represented as ū.

**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 *swe* is cognate with /Xam (S1)/ku:e ‘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* ([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)/ku: //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)tekhu* literally means ‘to meet (be together with) each other’. *Tekwini* is thought to be the Zulu locative of *(i)th(h)eku*, formed by the addition of the prefix *(h)* and suffix -ini. However, if the name *Tekwini* is indeed of Bushman origin, and not an adaptation of *(i)th(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 *itheku* as ‘a large sheet of water’, (‘*n groot strook water*’). 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 *iteku* (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) *lgu* ‘water’ s. *!gu, //gu* (Bleek 1956: 387); Kung (N2) //gu (Bleek 1956: 534), Kung (N2) !lgù (Bleek 1956: 506); Auen (N1) and Kung (N2) *≠gu*, s. *lgu* (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 t∫a ‘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 /t/, while the voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* approximates the affricative /t∫/ of /tee t∫a and alveolar fricative consonant // 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 \(\eta\), thanda thus being cognate with the /Xam (S1) word \(\_\_\text{kant-a, }\_\_\text{ka:} \eta\text{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 mackenii*, 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) *tuŋ’a, tuŋ-a* ‘turn’ (Bleek 1956: 241, 766), the glottal stop represented as the voiced velar explosive \(g\) in Zulu.

**Thukela**\((u\text{lu})\text{Thukela} [<\text{loc.} o\text{Thukela}]) 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) thro: and /Xam (S1) !ko-eingsi (Bleek 1956: 200, 439), the latter recorded by Lichtenstein (1930: 471) as t'ko-eings, words which correspond well with the components of the river name written as To and Toe; Kung (N2) //au and //on ‘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 ts’aka ‘squirt through the closed teeth; spit like a snake’, from the ideophone tshaa ‘of squirting, spurting’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 818). Tshaa is cognate with Au en (N1) /la/ ‘to spit’ (Blek 1929: 78), tsh and /l/ the unvoiced prepalatal affricative consonant, /l/ 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, Au en (N1) #ka/, Kung (N2) ‘lkā ‘river’ (Blek 1929: 70).

Tshanani is the name of a mountain peak in the Lebombo range, on the southern bank of the Mkuz e, some 7 km south of Ubombo, at 27º 37´ S, 32º 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) //gã‘a ‘ghost’ (Blek 1929: 42), //gã‘a, ‘dream, spirit, ghost, mantis’, //gan‘a ‘soul’ (Blek 1956: 526); also the Kung (N2), Au en (N1), !O !kuŋ (N3) and Naron (C2) word //gã‘a ‘ghost’, and Khoikhoi //gã‘a ‘evil spirit’ (Blek 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) #khaĩ ‘to be steep, slanting’ (Blek 1956: 660), the nasalisedĩ represented as ni, the front half-close vowel i as front half-close e (Blek 1956: 66), n inserted between the juxta-posed 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 Kwahlamba, Kwathlamba, Qathlamba, Quahlamba, and so on (Raper 2004: 76). The name uKhahlamba is said to be derived from khahlamba (u(lu)kahlamba) ‘1. Rough, bony object; skeleton. 2. Tall, thin person. 
3. Row of upward-pointing spears. 4. Broken mountain range. 5. *u(lu)* *Khahlamba*: the Drakensberg Mountains [> loc. *oKhahlamba*] (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 374). Of the five explanations given, only the first four can be interpreted as meanings of the root *khahlamba*; the fifth is a statement that the mountain range in question has two names. Of the four meanings given for *khahlamba* only one is appropriate for the topographical feature, namely the descriptive ‘Broken mountain range’. Recognising that *uKhahlamba* is a Zulisation 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*, *Kwahlamba* and *Kwathlamba*, which indicate that the component *Kha* of *u(lu)* *Khahlamba* is a coalesced form of *Qua*, *Kwa*, which is comparable to /Xam (S1) *lkwa*, Kung (N2) *lkwa*, *Naron* (C2) *kōa* ‘to break’ (Bleek 1929: 24), and also with Khoikhoi *khōa* ‘brechen, zerbrechen’ (‘break’); *khōwa*, *lkhōwa*, *khōwa* ‘aufbrechen’ (‘break off’) (Rust 1960: 12). The component *hlamba* is similar to the /Xam (S1) and Kung (N2) *khami* ‘chain of mountains’ (Bleek 1956: 573). The *hl* of *hlamba* is the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative approximating the /Xam unvoiced lateral fricative click //; the voiced bilabial unvoiced 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 !ku!ku, which may or may not be equated with the component gunu of uMgungundlovu. The component dlovu (indlovu) ‘elephant’ (Doke & Vilakazi 2005: 160), dblovu (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)/bau ‘elephant’ (Bleek 1956: 287), the alveolar fricative click with aspirated efflux, /b/, 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 blanga (umhlanga) ‘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 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 ngubo ‘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) /kuˈba ‘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 lg or its unvoiced velar equivalent lk. 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 *h* 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 _i ‘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 /kou: ‘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 Northwest 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 /i, /in, /iŋ ‘blood’ (Bleek 1929: 22, 1956: 292), the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant z corresponding to the Bushman alveolar fricative click /, the nasalisation of the i rendered in writing as the Zulu nasal n, as also shown in the Auen (N1) word /iŋ for ‘blood’, where ŋ 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 /henja ‘to be awake’ (Bleek 1956: 287), the voiced alveolar fricative and alveolar fricative click / being comparable (Bleek 1929: 13), the front close vowel / 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 //D!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 thaŋ ‘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 30º 51´ S, 30º 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 grommende’ (‘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 !l\guy ‘roar’, ‘roaring of wild beasts’ (Bleek 1956: 506, 749), !l, 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 dentic-labial fricative consonant v, η 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 moerassige’ (‘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 29º 16´ S, 31º 26´ E, said to be derived from Zulu nkwazi, ‘fish-eagle’ (*Haliaetus 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 29º 08´ S, 29º 42´ E. There is also a place with the name Zinyosini at 31º 05´ S, 29º 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 Θho ‘tree, wood’ (Bleek 1929: 87, 93): the Zulu aspirated bilabial consonant ph corresponds to the /Xam bilabial click with aspirated efflux Θh, 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) hi: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) lnu:∫a ‘hut’, but mindful of the
toponymic pattern of Bushman place names comprising specific + generic, *tsba* is more likely to be a generic term cognate with //Xegwi (S3) ]a, Hie (C1) tsaa ‘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 “inspirated 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 *Θpun* ‘duiker buck’ (Bleek 1929: 35); *Θ* the labial click or lip click, the cluster (lip click with ejected efflux)
Θp 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 pb 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 Θ.

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 KwaTswatsetshie (‘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: *umahlal’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 *KwaManzawayo*, 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 *umzí* ‘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 *umzí* 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 *uMzí*. 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 *umzí* means. In Xhosa, the word *umzí*,
with a lower tone, means ‘homestead’, whereas *umzi*, with a high tone, means ‘a rush’ (McLaren 1926: 12). Bushman words for ‘rush’ are *džnu*, *saka*, */ba:/ and */xa:/ (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, -weni 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 *iMhali*, 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". In the examples cited above, then, the component ob is a generic term meaning ‘river’, thought to be related to the /Auni (S4) verb ≠ō ‘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 ¬ni ‘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 //Ŋ!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 //Ŋ!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, Mtshesi and the like are also comparable to the //Ŋ!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 //gãna ‘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) ĵo: ‘blue’, *lu* approximating /Xam (S1) /kou: ‘ridge, krantz, overhanging cliffs’, *zi* comparable with //ǃ !ke (S2) /k’i ‘river’.

**Dronkolei**, ‘drunk marsh’, is from **KwaCekwane**, Kwa cognate with Kung (N2) /k”aowa ‘to be drunk’, *kwa* in the component **Cekwa** cognate with /Auni (S4) /!!kwa: ‘vlei’, also !howa ‘vlei, pan’, *ne* the Kung (N2) demonstrative locative morpheme *ne*.

**Duikerhoek** translates **KwaNzimela**, a Zulu adaptation, Kwa comparable to Hie (C1) khoa, also *kxoq* ‘duikerbok’; *nzi* comparable to //ǃ !ke (S2) /he: ‘duiker, duiker buck’, #Khomani (S2a) #khe: ‘duiker’, #Khomani and /Auni (S4) #khei ‘duiker’ (Bleek 1956: 661).

**Gatberg**, ‘hole mountain’, bears the Zulu name *Ntunja*, the component *tu* cognate with the /Xam (S1) and //ǃ !ke (S2) word *tu*: ‘hole’. The component **Kwa** is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *lkoa* ‘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) //kaie ‘each other’, /Xam (S1) bi/kagön.

Highflats is the English name for KwaGqwathaza, Kwa an adaptation of /Xam (S1) kwo:wa ‘high’, as is the component gqwa; tha approximates Kung (N2) ≠xα ‘high’, za comparable to /Xam (S1) swa; ts’wa ‘flat’, Naron (C2) /ka:ba and Khoikhoi #gab ‘flat’.

Hot Springs translates /iOpwilkwwa ‘hot water’, adapted as eHlimbitlwana.

Mooirivier, ‘pretty river’, is known in Zulu as Mpofana, from Sesarwa (S5) /Op ‘um, /Op’om ‘pretty, nice, beautiful’; fana comparable with Sesarwa (S5) //gana ‘waterhole’, //k”anna ‘water, waterpits’, //gewana ‘a Masarwa waterpit’.

Platberg, ‘flat mountain’, translates eNtabazwe, from which Harrismith took its Zulu name; ntaba cognate with Naron (C2) /ka:ba ‘flat’, zwu comparable with /Xegwi (S3) že ‘stone’, Kung (N2) kwe ‘place’ (Bleek 1956: 112), or /Xam (S1) and //O !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) “!ni ‘hill’.

Rooispruit, ‘red stream’, is Kamanzi in Zulu, kama maybe cognate with (S3) /kamse ‘red’, nzi like //O !ke (S2) /k’ei, /k’i ‘river’.

Sterkspruit, ‘strong stream’, is known in Zulu as eMswathi, also Mshwati, s(h)wa from /Xam (S1) /xoa ‘strength’, ti like //O !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) /benja ‘to be awake’, the component ti like ati ‘water’, //O !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 "ŋOpwi
‘warm’ (Bleek 1929: 90), the component *vana* comparable to the Sesarwa (S5) word /gãna* ‘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) /kaba* ‘flat’ (Bleek 1929: 39), *ze* like /Xegwi (S3) *že* ‘stone’ (Bleek 1956: 265), or Kung (N2) *kwe* ‘place’ (Bleek 1956: 112), or /Xam (S1) and /!ke (S2) *!xoe* ‘place, country’ (Bleek 1956: 500).

*Hotsprings*, a locality at the confluence of the Nsuze with the Tugela, provides the toponymic 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. *Kwe* approximates the !O !uŋ (N3) word *khwe* ‘to be hot’ (Bleek 1956: 90), *Zulu* appears to be an adaptation of a cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *hauru, hourn* ‘waterhole, pond, pit’ (Bleek 1956: 651, 744), the *h* 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 *Duiwe* approximate the ⵍʰihu: Bushman word *kuivi* ‘wind’ (Bleek 1956: 771), the symbol ⵍ used here for the Bushman sound which, according to Doke (Bleek
1956: 159), is pronounced as a d indicating that *suivi* ‘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) *k"we, !kwe* ‘be alone’, the component *ni* comparable to !O !kuŋ (N3) *‘nì ‘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) *y/kaba* ‘red’, and /Xam (S1) *!noa* ‘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: *sp*), *tonga* approximating Kung (N2) *tuŋ’a* ‘turn, twist’, the synonymous *Hlawe* was seen to approximate /Xam (S1) *!khãũ* ‘to twist (intr)’ (Bleek 1956: 88), similar to //Ŋ!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:
The Bushman click /c/ 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**

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

**Cwebeni**

cwele ‘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; ‘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) /kwiŋ ‘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 ‘auf tauchen’, ‘dip up’ and khwei ‘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 ‘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.

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

**Ncwabe**

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

**Ncome**

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

nenane ‘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-Ngqumbo

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, lg; 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

nguma (umnguma) wild olive’, comparable to the Hie (C1) word ≠kau ‘olive tree’.

Mahwaqa

The component qa corresponds the the /Iə !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 > /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) /gù ‘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’.

  **Mdumatsingo**
  
  duma ‘thunder; make any rumbling, resounding noise’; /Xam (S1) /gum ‘roar’, Nama /gomer(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 \d\ is reflected in the nasalisation of intuba.
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- Θ > mp

**eMpunzini**

*phunzi (impunzi)*, ‘common grey duiker-buck, *Cephalophus grimmi*’; Sesarwa (S5) Θpyn ‘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) Θho ‘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 ‘inspirated’. 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.

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<td>saːa, esaːa</td>
<td>soua(l’na) (H)</td>
<td>‘zagen’</td>
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<td>baboon</td>
<td>fene (imfene)</td>
<td>dzwene (C1)</td>
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<td>bend, to</td>
<td>goːa</td>
<td>hoba</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>!koːa η(S1)</td>
<td>to bend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>nyoni (inyoni)</td>
<td>/konnin (S1)</td>
<td>a bird</td>
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<tr>
<td>bitter, and so on</td>
<td>əaə</td>
<td>//kao’a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>//k”a ηowa (S1)</td>
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<td>k”au (Kor)</td>
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<td>au (Nama)</td>
<td>bitter</td>
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<td>≠kawa</td>
<td>bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>ngubo</td>
<td>!ku-la (S2a)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>!gub (H)</td>
<td>kaross</td>
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<td>boil</td>
<td>intumbane</td>
<td>–//kumi</td>
<td>boil</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>/kū (S1)</td>
<td>to boil</td>
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<td>boil, bubble, to</td>
<td>bila</td>
<td>bela (C1)</td>
<td>to boil</td>
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<td>chop up</td>
<td>hlahla</td>
<td>–//ka:a (S5)</td>
<td>to chop</td>
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<td>/ha:-na (H)</td>
<td>chop down</td>
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<td>clean</td>
<td>ncwaba</td>
<td>/kwa (N2)</td>
<td>clean</td>
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<td>dance</td>
<td>gida &lt; gi</td>
<td>/gi: (C2, N1)</td>
<td>dance</td>
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<tr>
<td>dark brown</td>
<td>daka</td>
<td>/hoaka (S1)</td>
<td>dark</td>
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<td>dark, to get</td>
<td>hwaqa</td>
<td>/hoaka (S1)</td>
<td>dark</td>
</tr>
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<td>disturb</td>
<td>gubaza</td>
<td>gwara (N2)</td>
<td>to be disturbed</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>≠owaba (H)</td>
<td>disturb</td>
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<tr>
<td>dry</td>
<td>gogo</td>
<td>k”oro kn</td>
<td>dry</td>
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<td>duiker buck</td>
<td>phunzi (impunzi)</td>
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<td>nwe</td>
<td>≠nu (S4b)</td>
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<td>flat</td>
<td>caša</td>
<td>/ka:ba (C2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>fowl</td>
<td>khukhu (inkuku) kuku (N2)</td>
<td>ˉku_ku (N3)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>!koxu (S4)</td>
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<td>gather</td>
<td>theza</td>
<td>/tee tʃa (C1)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>/eʃa (C2)</td>
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<td>glitter</td>
<td>beza</td>
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<td>glitter</td>
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<td>goat</td>
<td>buzi</td>
<td>buri, būri (N2)</td>
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<td>hippo</td>
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<td>nguvu (N3)</td>
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<td>hole</td>
<td>hholo</td>
<td>!koro (N2)</td>
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<td>koro (C1)</td>
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<td>hole</td>
<td>ntunja (intunja)</td>
<td>tu: (S1, S2)</td>
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<td>ˉ’ku, ˉ’ku: (S1)</td>
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<td>!kou (S1)</td>
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<td>hollow</td>
<td>goōo</td>
<td>/gọō (S1)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>!gowo (H)</td>
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<tr>
<td>hollow, hole</td>
<td>zololo</td>
<td>!koro (N2)</td>
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<td>koro (C1)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>!korro (S1)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>to be hollow</td>
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<td>hollow</td>
<td>patha</td>
<td>//khata (S1)</td>
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<td>patha (C1)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>crack</td>
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<td>kneel</td>
<td>guqa</td>
<td>//ʔuku/ //ʔuku (C3)</td>
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<td>korhaan</td>
<td>ngagalu (ingagalu) kwakwara (S1)</td>
<td>korhaan</td>
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<td>lack, to</td>
<td>swela</td>
<td>/kuːe (S1)</td>
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<td>leopard</td>
<td>ngwe (ingwe)</td>
<td>//kauē (S1)</td>
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<td>!koe:ba (C2)</td>
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<td>love, to</td>
<td>thanda</td>
<td>_/kaŋ-a (S1)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kaːŋa (S1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>doda (indoda)</td>
<td>do: (S2)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
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)  chiôi (i(li)chiôi)  jiba, d3iba (C1)  pond, pool
dumb (C2)  daub (C2)  dhau (C1)  daub (H)  pass, path
pass, passage thuôa (intuba)  dauba (C2)  damba (C2)
plait, weave, to wind  thanda  /k”â (S4)  plait
pond, vlei, dam  chiôi (i(li)chiôi)  jiba, dzhiba (C1)  pond, pool
pool, deep    biza (imbiza)  !xubisa (C2)  vlei, pan
pool          dangu (idangu)  ≠kũnu, /kã̃ru (S1)  pool
pour          qqaza, gxaza  _ko ꞌa ꞌra (?)  pour
precipice, cliff  goje (ingoje)  ≠oje (S6)  stone
press, squeeze, wring  khama  ≠kam, k”am (N2)  press
rant, rage     klabalala  !kwa: ꞌ!kwa: ꞌra be wrathful
ravine         ngongoma  //kon//kônô
redness, of  beje     /geje (C1)  red
reed          hlanga  //ka /iŋ (S2a)
               (u(lu)hlanga)  //^n (S6)  reed
rhebock       nxala  karaa (C1)  rhebock
roar (‘of wind blowing’)  vungu  \!g^ŋ (N2)  roar
### Raper/Bushman (San) influence on Zulu place names

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<td>gigari:ton</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>(S1)</td>
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<td>rope, thong</td>
<td>thambo</td>
<td>rope</td>
<td>(intambo)</td>
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<td>³k”abe</td>
<td>thong</td>
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<td>rush</td>
<td>ndwo</td>
<td>rushes</td>
<td>(indawo)</td>
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<td>split, separate</td>
<td>hlunga</td>
<td>split</td>
<td>(³k”um”ka)</td>
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<td>scrape together</td>
<td>gula</td>
<td>scrape</td>
<td>ashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin, hide</td>
<td>khumba</td>
<td>skin</td>
<td>hide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>(S1, S2)</td>
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<td>small</td>
<td>ncan</td>
<td>small</td>
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<td>/³ni</td>
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<td>/ga</td>
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<td>/gwa,</td>
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<td>sourness, acidity</td>
<td>nyu</td>
<td>brackish</td>
<td>(umunyu)</td>
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<td>spitting, of tshaax</td>
<td>tʃa</td>
<td>to spit</td>
<td>(N1)</td>
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<td>spoon, ladle</td>
<td>xwembe</td>
<td>spoon</td>
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<td>spoor</td>
<td>khondo</td>
<td>spoor</td>
<td>(umkhondo)</td>
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<td>!hunja</td>
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<td>star</td>
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<td>star</td>
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<td></td>
<td>koaŋ</td>
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<td>(S2d)</td>
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<td>stay, remain</td>
<td>hlala</td>
<td>stay</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ʃala</td>
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<td>stick, to namfu</td>
<td>≠ama</td>
<td>to stick</td>
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<td>≠ʔam, ≠ʔam</td>
<td>stick</td>
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<td>/gùː</td>
<td>stick</td>
<td>in</td>
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<td>stone</td>
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<td>stone</td>
<td>tshe</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>(i(li)tshe)</td>
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<td>strong, forcible</td>
<td>zima, nzima</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td>(giya, gi:ja)</td>
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<tr>
<td>stump, tree</td>
<td>godo</td>
<td>trunk</td>
<td>(isigodo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>surround</td>
<td>gunga</td>
<td>surround</td>
<td>!kau!kau</td>
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<td>swallow, to goja</td>
<td>gom</td>
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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.
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<td>afraid, to be</td>
<td>kwa(Mezathsha)</td>
<td>koa (N1)</td>
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<td>awake</td>
<td>zinya</td>
<td>/he:nja (S3)</td>
<td>awake</td>
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<td>blood</td>
<td>jamludi</td>
<td>jalu</td>
<td>blood</td>
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<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>zim(Mzimkulu)</td>
<td>i, iŋ (N1)</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cave</td>
<td>ngab(Ngabeni)</td>
<td>//goa (C2)</td>
<td>cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damp, wet</td>
<td>si(Siboje)</td>
<td>tǐ: (N1)</td>
<td>wet, damp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drunk</td>
<td>xobo(Ixopo)</td>
<td>/k&quot;aowa (N2)</td>
<td>drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eland</td>
<td>ncwa(Ncwadi)</td>
<td>!nā (N2)</td>
<td>eland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eland</td>
<td>sa(Sampofu)</td>
<td>s'a: (S1)</td>
<td>eland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat</td>
<td>nan(Inanda)</td>
<td>/k'ã (S2)</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>ge(Gedlana)</td>
<td>≠ke</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td>dlana(Gedlana)</td>
<td>han-!a,</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>haŋ-a (C3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hole</td>
<td>kwa(Kwa-Ntunja)</td>
<td>!koa (S1)</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hollow</td>
<td>golo(Pongolo)</td>
<td>\kolo (N3)</td>
<td>hollow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hot</td>
<td>kwa(Kwa-Shushu)</td>
<td>.deserialize(&quot;khwa&quot;) (N3)</td>
<td>be hot, burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake, pool</td>
<td>siba(Sibayi)</td>
<td>jiba, dzhiba (C1)</td>
<td>pond, pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>kwa(Kwa-Mkono)</td>
<td>.deserialize(&quot;!kwa&quot;, !kwa:) (S1)</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>kwa(Kwa-Ndodanye)</td>
<td>!kwa (S2)</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pond, pool</td>
<td>gwe(Nhlangwe)</td>
<td>/kwe:f (S2)</td>
<td>pond, pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Shona/Herero</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press, to</td>
<td>kwa (Kwa-Makhamisa) &quot;kwa&quot;</td>
<td>to press</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>kama (Kamanzi) /kamse (S3)</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>&quot;kxaba (S2b)&quot;</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>cunja (Cunjane) //&quot;khuja (N1)</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>&quot;kanja (S5)&quot;</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>ncom (Ncome) //&quot;num (N2)</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>&quot;nuə, &quot;noa (C2)</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>baba (Babanango) &quot;kxaba (S2b)&quot;</td>
<td>red-white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River</td>
<td>no (Kwa-Mkono) nô, ≠nô (N1a)</td>
<td>river</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rumble</td>
<td>ngu (Ngudumeni) !gãu: (S1)</td>
<td>rumble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>hla (Mhlatuzana)!gaa, !gã (N2)</td>
<td>salt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slanting, inclined</td>
<td>kane (Tshekane) ≠kha (S1)</td>
<td>be slanting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>shwa (Mshwati) //&quot;xoa/xoa (S1)</td>
<td>strengthen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>banza (Banzana) !kaŋ-a</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>nsi (Nsizwa) //&quot;gi (S1)</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stream</td>
<td>tube (Mtwatube) daũb (H)</td>
<td>stream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tail</td>
<td>kwa (Kwa-Msila) /&quot;k’a (S4)</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tear, to</td>
<td>kwa (Kwa-Dwengu) kwa: (N2)</td>
<td>to tear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>kwa (Kwa-Mazula) !ko̠-a (S1)</td>
<td>travel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twist, turn</td>
<td>tonga (Tongati) tuŋ-a, tuŋ?a (N2)</td>
<td>to turn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vlei</td>
<td>kwa (Kwa-Cibigoje) //&quot;kwa (N2)</td>
<td>vlei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>zwa (Nsizwa) !khwa (S1)</td>
<td>water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>twa (Mtwatube) &quot;//&quot;xwa (S5)</td>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;k’owa (S1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/o:wa (S2)</td>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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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GORDON R J

GOVE P B (ed)

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HAMILTON G N G & J F FINLAY

HATTINGH P S, N KADMON, P E
RAPER & I BOOYSEN (eds)

HERRMAN L (ed)

HOLT B

ISAACS N

JENKINS T & P V TOBIAS
KADMON N

KHUMALO J S M

KIRBY P (ed)

KOLBE P

KOOPMAN A

KRIGE E J

KROENLEIN J G

KROPP A & R GODFREY

LEE R B & I D E V O R E (eds)

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LOUW J A

LUBBE H J (red)

LUGG H C

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WILSON M L
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Peter E. Raper