

The Component *Kwa-* in Zulu Placenames Derived from Khoisan

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The prefix *Kwa* occurs in many Zulu placenames, indicating “the place of,” frequently referring to a person or personified feature. In composite placenames derived from Khoisan but adapted into the Zulu phonological and orthographic system, the component *Kwa* is often found to be a folk etymological adaptation of a Khoisan word, sometimes with the same lexical meaning as the other component of the name. In placenames of the latter sort, the prefix *Ma-* is sometimes also inserted as a result of misinterpretation of a Khoisan component phonologically similar to *Kwa-*. The present investigation also reveals a feature of Khoisan placename formation relating to the utilization of demonstrative adverbial locative elements that have in the past sometimes been regarded as generic terms or feature type designators.

KEYWORDS Geographical names, Zulu placenames, San placenames, Khoisan influence on Zulu placenames

Introduction

A fairly large number of Zulu placenames contain the prefix *Kwa-*, which is an adverbial locative formative or locative prefix meaning “At the place of”, joined to a personal noun or pronoun, e.g. *kwaMkhonto* (at Mkhonto’s place); *kwaZulu* (in Zululand) (Doke and 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 placenames, Koopman (2002: 295) further states that “The prefix *kwa-*, which [...] means ‘the home of’ or ‘the establishment of’ when linked to a personal noun, is also used for making place names. Although it occurs most often with personal names, as in *KwaMashu* [...] and with clan names, as in *KwaMbonambi*, it is also found with descriptive compounds, such as in *kwaThwalilitshe* (‘the home of carrying a rock’), a hill characterized by a balancing rock, in the Drakensberg.”

In his investigation into Zulu hydronyms, Botha (1977) encountered a number of names in which the prefix *Kwa-* did not seem to be appropriate. In the case of *Kwa-Cibigoje*, for example, he points out (91) 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. Similarly, when discussing the name *Kwa-Hlati*, Botha (92) states that the river name has no connection whatsoever with a personal name; yet the form with *Kwa-* is the only one used locally. Of the name *Kwa-Msilana* he says that the prefix *Kwa* is not functional, since *Msilana* is not a personal name (95).

Khoisan influence

The anomalies may be explained by the influence of Khoisan languages on Zulu. The Khoisan languages include the Khoikhoi (or “Hottentot”) and San (or “Bushman”) languages and dialects. Archaeological evidence shows that Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers, later referred to as “Bushmen” and also known as “San,” inhabited “the whole of southern Africa from the Zambezi Valley to the Cape” (Lee and DeVore, 1976: 5), and occupied the present KwaZulu-Natal for between 10,000 and 30,000 years (Mazel, 1989: 12). These peoples gave names to rivers, mountains, and other features in the areas they inhabited.

When the ancestors of the Zulu gradually migrated southwards from the Great Lakes regions of Central Africa in small groups or clans (Krige, 1975: 595–596), reaching the present KwaZulu-Natal between 1500 and 2000 years ago (Maggs, 1989: 29; Mazel, 1989: 13), they came into contact with San peoples, and physical, social, cultural, economic, and linguistic interaction took place between them (Duminy and Guest, 1989). Mazel (1989: 21, 22) suggests that “up to AD 1000 these Stone and Iron Age communities experienced close and equitable relations and may even have interbred,” and that “after AD 1000 the Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers became clients of the farmers, exchanging meat and ivory for domestic plant foods, as was indeed to happen during the colonial period in other regions of Southern Africa.”

Under such conditions language contact took place, the influence of which can still be discerned. The clicks in the Nguni languages, including Zulu, were taken from the Khoisan languages (Snyman, 1974: 33; Traill, 1978: 137). These are the dental click, rendered in writing by the symbol *c*, the palato-alveolar click, represented by the symbol *q*, and the lateral click, rendered by the symbol *x* (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 97, 684, 858). Numerous Zulu words are borrowings from Khoisan (Louw 1974, 46), and many placenames, too, were adopted by the Zulu, and adapted to their phonological and later orthographic system. Some names were perhaps of later coinage, but derived from Khoisan loan-words in Zulu.

Khoisan languages and dialects

The Khoikhoi languages include Griqua, Korana, Nama and the Old Cape and Eastern dialects (Traill, 1978: 137; Nienaber, 1963). Bleek’s *Bushman Dictionary* (1956) includes words from twenty-nine San languages and dialects. These have been classified into the Northern, Central and Southern Group, and reference numbers

have been assigned to them e.g. S₁, S₂, S₃; C₁, C₂, C₃; N₁, N₂, N₃, etc. (Bleek, 1929: [i]). The following are the names of the languages and dialects in which cognates occur for Khoisan components of placenames adapted into Zulu discussed in the present article, and the regions which the speakers of these languages inhabited or still inhabit (Bleek, 1929: [i]; 1956: [iii–iv]).

Southern Group

S ₁ : /Xam	Old Cape Colony, south of Orange River
S ₂ : //ǀ!ke	Gordonia and Griqualand West
S _{2a} : ≠Khomani	Northern Gordonia
S _{2b} : //Kxau	Near Kimberley
S ₃ : Batwa	Lake Chrissie, Mpumalanga
S ₄ : /Auni	Between Nossob and Auob rivers
S ₅ : Masarwa	Kakia, Southern Kalahari
S ₆ : /Nu //en	Upper Nossob and Auhoup

Northern Group

N ₁ : Auen	Northern Kalahari
N _{1a} : Nogau	Omuramba-Epikuro and Naukluft, Namibia
N ₂ : Kung	Ngami to Grootfontein to Okavango
N ₃ : !O !kuŋ	Eastern half of Central Angola

Central Group

C ₁ : Hietjware	Near Tati, Zimbabwe
C ₂ : Naron	Near Sandfontein, west of Oas
C ₃ : Hadza	At Lake Eyassi, Tanzania

What is known about the San languages is for the most part very incomplete, being based on “extremely sketchy and inadequate accounts” (Traill, 1978: 137). Traditionally the Khoisan languages have been thought to be related, belonging to the same family, and although that viewpoint has been challenged Traill (145) concludes that they “are linguistic relatives of one another,” since the “obviously related” dialects are “overwhelmingly and obviously similar.” Indeed, it is this similarity in the roots of words in certain languages and dialects that served as a partial basis for Bleek’s (1929: 4–6) categorization of the San languages, and that makes comparison possible between recorded Khoisan words and Zulu placenames and their components.

The Khoisan languages are characterized by suction consonants or “clicks.” These are the dental or alveolar fricative click, written as /; the lateral or retroflex fricative click, written //; the cerebral or palato-alveolar click, written !; the alveolar click, formerly called the palatal click, written ≠; the retroflex click, represented in writing as !!; and the labial or lip click, usually represented in writing as a circle with a dot in the middle, but in this article represented as ǀ. A pressed vowel is indicated by the symbol ǃ and a long vowel by : (Bleek, 1929: i; Bleek, 1956: 640).

The clicks are usually pronounced with accompaniments, also called “releases” or “effluxes,” such as the aspirated, ejected, fricative, glottal, nasal, and voiced effluxes. The voiced efflux is indicated as in /gǃ, the nasal efflux as in /na, the fricative efflux as in /xǃ, the aspirated efflux as in /ha, and so forth (Traill, 1978: 138).

The Khoisan languages are tonal languages, which means that words written identically may have different meanings if their tones differ. A high tone is indicated by the symbol $\bar{\quad}$, a low tone by the symbol $\underline{\quad}$, a rising tone by the symbol /, and a falling tone by the symbol \.

Juxtaposed vowels

Several differences between the San and Zulu phonological systems should be noted. Words in San languages may contain vowel clusters or diphthongs, such as *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *oa*, and *ou* (Rust, 1960: viii). The Zulu language, on the other hand, “does not permit two vowels to come together” (Koopman, 2002: 287). In order to avoid the occurrence of two vowels alongside each other in Zulu, the two vowels may fuse together or coalesce to form a combined vowel; they may be separated by the insertion of a consonant; or one of the vowels may be deleted or elided. In compound nouns in Zulu vowel elision takes place to avoid the juxtaposition of two vowels (Koopman, 2002: 287–288). When two vowels occur together in compound personal names, it is always the final vowel of the first element that is elided (e.g. *bheka* “look” + *inkosi* “the Lord” > *Bhekinkosi* “Look to the Lord”). In the case of common nouns, it is always the initial vowel of the second element that is elided (e.g. *hlala* “sit” + *inyoni* “bird” > *uhlalanyoni* “where the birds sit,” the common name for the Natal Mistletoe, *Viscum* sp.) (Koopman, 2002: 288–289).

Placenames, however, display “almost exactly half-and-half distribution between those behaving like personal names and those behaving like common nouns” (Koopman, 2002: 290). In other words, in about half of the cases where two vowels occur in juxtaposed position in placenames, the first vowel is elided; in the others it is the second vowel that is elided. Thus, for example, *amanzi* “water” + *amtoti* “sweet” > *Amanzimtoti* “sweet water,” while *amanzi* “water” + *amnyama* “black” > *Amanzamnyama* “black water.” Koopman (2002: 290) states that the rules governing the elision of vowels in personal names and common nouns do not apply to placenames “because these names are neither personal names nor common nouns.” As regards placenames adapted from Khoisan, vowel elision is determined by the emphasis in the Khoisan diphthong or vowel cluster: the stressed vowel, or that marking the syllable peak, is retained in the Zulu adaptation, while the unstressed vowel is elided.

The component *Kwa*-

In each of the placenames discussed in the present article, the component *Kwa* can be shown to be an adaptation of a Khoisan word that was phonologically similar to the Zulu locative prefix *Kwa* and therefore interpreted as the Zulu locative prefix *Kwa*. In a number of cases the lexical meaning of the Khoisan word in question is repeated in the other component of the name. The original Khoisan meaning of the name was preserved by way of oral tradition, and, when the significance of the Khoisan word that sounded like *Kwa* was forgotten, a second component, synonymous with the original word, was added, sometimes a Zulu word, sometimes a Khoisan loan-word adapted in Zulu. Of course the processes of adaptation were complex and took place over hundreds of years, so that a precise correlation is not possible in every case.

Zulu words are of course not cognate with Khoisan words, since these languages are unrelated and not descended from the same recorded or assumed ancestral language. Thus, when words or components of Zulu placenames are said to be cognate with Khoisan words, what is meant is that the Khoisan words, of which the name components are Zulu adaptations, are cognate with other Khoisan words.

Because of similarities in the roots of words from different Khoisan languages, there may be more than one cognate for the relevant component of the name. The relevant Zulu components are therefore not compared to one cognate only, but other potential cognate forms from different languages are also given.

Kwa-Cibigoje, the name of a water feature some 20 miles east-northeast of Mtonjaneni, 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 *cibi* (*icibi*) “pool, puddle, pond, rain-pool, dried up at times” (Colenso, 1884: 77) and *goja* “to swallow” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 254), *goje* “finish off (as one drinking off at one draught), go down a hill” (Colenso, 1884: 169). In this instance the prefix *Kwa*, misinterpreted as the Zulu personal prefix, is an adaptation of a Khoisan loan word cognate with the Kung (N2) word *!!!kwa*: “*vlei*” (Bleek, 1956: 511), i.e. “hollow in which water collects during rainy season” (COD, 1951: 1434), the San retroflex click with rising tone *!!!* not being preserved in the Zulu adaptation. The component *Cibi* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Hiet[ware] (C1) word *jiba* “pond, pool” (Bleek, 1929: 66) or *džiba* “lake, pool” (Bleek, 1956: 33). The component *goje* is an adaptation of a Khoisan loan word cognate with the Hadza (C3) word *_k’o* “to disappear” (Bleek, 1956: 123), the voiced and unvoiced velar explosives *g* and *k* being variable, and with the Kung (N2) word *gom* “to swallow” (Bleek, 1956: 48). The component *Kwa* “hollow in which water collects during rainy season” thus preserves the original San meaning of the name, which is then repeated in the second component of the name, *cibi* “pond, rain-pool.”

Kwa-Dwengu, the name of the township at Umlazi, is said to mean “*By die Plek van Dwengu,*” “at Dwengu’s place” (Botha, 1977: 92), the component *Kwa* regarded as the adverbial locative formative joined to a personal name (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 441) derived from the idiophone *dwengu* “of tearing, cutting through” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 179). In this case the Zulu prefix *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Kung (N2) word *kwa*: “to tear” (Bleek, 1929: 83), and the component *dwengu* “of tearing” is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Nama word *≠kawéxu* “to tear something in lengths,” “*etwas in die Länge reißen*” (Kroenlein, 1889: 203). The alveolar plosive click with ejected efflux *≠k* of the word *≠kawéxu* corresponds to the alveolar explosive consonant *d* of the word *dwengu*; the unstressed vowel *a* of *≠kawéxu* elided, the Zulu velar nasal compound *ng* of *ngu* reflecting the Khoikhoi velar fricative *x* of *xu*, so that *≠kawéxu* shifted to *dwengu*.

KwaGuqa, the name of a populated area about a mile from Witbank, 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 and Vilakazi, 2005: 278). The component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Kung (N2) word *!kóä* “knee” (Bleek, 1929: 50), the vowel cluster *óä* consonantalized as *wa*, as evidenced by the cognate Auen (N1) word *!kwa’ni* “knee” (Bleek, 1956: 461). The component *guqa* “bend the knee” is thought to be derived from San words, *gu* cognate with the Kung



FIGURE 1 Placenames in Kwa Zulu-Natal for orientation.

(N2) word $\#x\tilde{u}$ “bend” (Bleek, 1929: 21), the Zulu voiced velar explosive consonant g replacing the San alveolar plosive click with fricative efflux and nasalization $\#x\tilde{}$, qa cognate with the Kung (N2) word $!k\acute{o}\ddot{a}$ “knee” (Bleek, 1929: 50), the Zulu palato-alveolar click q reflecting the San retroflex click with ejected efflux $!k$, the vowel cluster $\acute{o}\ddot{a}$ simplified to the syllable peak a .

Kwa-Hlati, the name of a tributary of the Buffels River near Nqutu, is explained as “At/through/in/out of the forest/ Forest river,” “*By/deur/in/uit die woud/ Woudrivier*” (Botha, 1977: 92), from *hlati* (*ihlati*) “wood, forest” (Colenso, 1884: 206). The

component *Kwa-*, interpreted as the Zulu adverbial locative possessive prefix, is an adapted San word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!kwa:ǃ* “bush,” the sign ǃ indicating a pressed vowel (Bleek, 1956: 437). The component *ihla* of *ihlati* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Naron (C2) words *hi:ǀa* “bush,” *!e:ǀa* “wood” (Bleek, 1929: 25, 93), the Zulu unvoiced alveolar lateral fricative *hl* corresponding to the Khoisan unvoiced prepalatal fricative ǀ, and also with the Hiet[ware (C1) word *hi* /*kwa* “bush” (Bleek, 1929: 25) and the Old Khoikhoi words *equa*, recorded in 1673 and 1691, and *hequa*, recorded in 1705 and 1708 for “wood” (Nienaber, 1963: 313). The component *ti* of the name *Kwa-Hlati* is cognate with the demonstrative *ti* “this, that” occurring in several Southern San languages, and the /Xam (S1) locative *ti* “place” (Bleek, 1956: 200, 201).

Kwa-Mkono, the name of a water feature west of Eshowe, is said to mean “At the place of Mkono/Mkono stream,” “*By die Plek van uMkono/Mkono-spruit*” (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* is interpreted as the locative formative prefix and (*u*)*Mkono* as the personal name to which it is joined (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 441). The given meaning of “arm, foreleg,” etc., however, provides the key to the origin of the name *Kwa-Mkono*. The component *Kwa-* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!kwa:* “leg” (Bleek, 1929: 52), the Naron (C2) word *!k'ōã* “arm” (Bleek, 1929: 16), and the Auen (N1) word *!ōa* “leg, bone” (Bleek, 1956: 355). Once again the second component of the name, in this case *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 Khoisan word cognate with the Kung (N2) and !O !uŋ (N3) word *!ko:* “leg” (Bleek, 1929: 52), but *ko* can be equated with the component *ho* with the meaning “fore, front” as in the Old Khoikhoi word *hobečam* “forehead” (Nienaber, 1963: 509), the unvoiced glottal fricative *h* identified by Nienaber (510) as a click; the component *bečam* (also *bihčam*, *biqua*, etc.) 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 Old Khoikhoi word *nonqua* “legs” (Nienaber, 1963: 214), the component *-qua* explained by Nienaber as the masculine plural ending.

Kwa-Msilana, the name of a river 50 miles east of Ubombo, is explained as “the little tail,” “*Die Stertjie*” (Botha, 1977: 95), from *umsilana*, the diminutive of *umsila* “tail (of an animal)” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 755). Botha states that the prefix *Kwa* is not functional; *Msilana* is not a personal name. If the regular pattern of semantic repetition applies here, the component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with 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!a:ǀa* “tail” (Bleek, 1956: 69). The component *na* of the name *Kwa-Msilana* is not a diminutive but thought to be cognate with the /Xam (S1) demonstrative locative morpheme *!na* “here, in, at” (Bleek, 1956: 611).

Kwa-Ndodanye, the name of a stream 10 miles southeast of Hlabisa, is explained as meaning “The place of Ndodanye, ‘One man stream’,” “*Die Plek van Ndodanye, ‘Eenmanspruit’*” (Botha, 1977: 95), from *-doda* (*indoda*) “adult male person, man”

(Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 164); *nye* “one” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 623). *Ndo-danye* 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 Khoisan word cognate with the //η !ke (S2) word *!kwa* and the Auen (N1) word *!kwā* “man” (Bleek, 1929: 56). As in similar constructions, the second component duplicates the meaning of the first, *doda* “man, male person” being an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the //η !ke (S2) word *do*, and the Auen (N1) word *_do* “male (noun, often used for ‘man’)” (Bleek, 1929: 56), plus the /Auni (S4) word *da* “person” (Bleek, 1956: 19), *doda* meaning “male person, man.” The component *-nye*, where the prepalatal nasal consonant plus homorganic semi-vowel *ny* is a substitute for or a shift from an alveolar fricative click /, might be seen as an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Auen (N1), Kung (N2) and !O !uη (N3) word */ne* “one” (Bleek, 1956: 346). However, the component *-nye* is probably a folk etymological interpretation of a demonstrative locative cognate with the Auen (N1) word *ˀne* “there, that, this” (Bleek, 1956: 346), the San dental or alveolar fricative click with nasal efflux /n shifted to the Zulu prepalatal nasal plus semi-vowel *ny*.

Kwa-Njomelwana, the name of a stream 15 miles southwest of Mahlabatini, is given as “at the place of Njomelwana,” “*By die Plek van Njomelwana*” (Botha, 1977: 96), from *Njomelwana*, the diminutive form of *njomela* (*injomela*) “tall person or object” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 363). Following the pattern of names with the prefix *kwa*, this component is here an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the //η !ke (S2) word *!xo:wa* “tall” (Bleek, 1929: 82), the San palato-alveolar click with velar fricative efflux *!x* replaced by the Zulu velar consonant *k*, the interconsonantal vowel *o* elided. The component *njome* corresponds to *!xo:me* “tall man”, *njo* cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!xo:* “tall” (Bleek, 1929: 82), the Zulu prepalatal nasal preceding the voiced prepalatal affricate *nj* replacing the San palato-alveolar click with fricative efflux *!x*, the component *me* cognate with the Naron (C2) masculine ending *me* “also used as him, it” (Bleek, 1956: 136). The suffix (*w*)*ana* is derived from a Khoisan word cognate with *//na*, a demonstrative locative encountered in virtually all of the Southern group of languages (Bleek, 1956: 611).

Kwa-Nkomokayidle, 4 miles south of Ndwedwe, has a name interpreted as “At Nkomokayidli village, i.e. (The village where) the head of cattle/cow does not graze, probably the name for the village of someone who was very niggardly,” “*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), *ka* the Zulu verbal auxiliary used in negative exclusive implication, to express “not yet” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 368), *dla* “eat, graze, feed on” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 150). It appears that the explanation of the meaning “where the cow does not graze” is a misinterpretation. The component *Kwa*, seen as a locative prefix typically used with a personal name, is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word */k'wā* “to graze” (Bleek, 1929: 44). The component *komokayi* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Sesarwa (language of the Masarwa) (S5) word *gome //gai*, and the /Nu //en (S6) word *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* is thought to be an older variant of the feminine suffix *kazi* that occurs with a very limited number of nouns (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 371), cognate with the Batwa (S3) word //a:si “female” (Bleek, 1929: 39). The component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Batwa (S3) word !khoa “cow” (Bleek, 1929: 30), the San vowel cluster *oa* consonantalized in the Zulu adaptation as *wa*. The component *kayi* is thus not a negative, as suggested by Botha, but part of the noun *gume //kai* “cow.” The component *dli* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Sesarwa (S5) and /Nu //en (S6) demonstrative locative //ki “this, here” (Bleek, 1956: 316), the Zulu voiced alveolar lateral fricative consonant *dl* corresponding to the San lateral or retroflex fricative click with ejected efflux //k.

Kwa-Nogqaza, the Zulu name of the Howick Falls, is variously said to mean “the tall one” or “the pouring one” (Botha, 1977: 96). The stem of the component *Nogqaza* is regarded as *gqaza*, a reduced form of the Zulu word *gxaza* “pour down” (Doke and 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: 96–97), point to an older Khoisan 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 Khoisan word cognate with the Naron (C2) word /hwa “to pour,” the component *gqaza* with the Naron (C2) word _koʔaʔra “to pour away, empty” (Bleek, 1956: 97), the voiced and unvoiced velar explosives *gq* and *k* being variable, the Khoisan vowel cluster *oʔa* coalesced to the syllable peak *a*, the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* corresponding to the Khoisan voiced alveolar consonant pronounced with one vibration or tap *r*.

Kwa-Ntunja, a river 5 miles east of Melmoth, takes its name from a mountain past which it flows. The name, said to mean “Through/at the opening,” “*Deur/By die Opening*” (Botha, 1977: 98), is 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 northeast 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 and Raper, 1977: 142–144; 1980: 20–25). The component *tu* of *intunja* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) and //η !ke (S2) word *tu*: “hole” (Bleek, 1929: 47), indicating that the Zulu prefix is *in-* and the stem *tunja*, as given by Colenso (590), and that the stem is thus not *ntunja* as given by Doke and Vilakazi (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 Khoisan word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word !koa “hole, cave” (Bleek, 1956: 437), the Khoisan diphthong *oa* consonantalized 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 Batwa (S3) demonstrative locative morpheme *nja* (Bleek, 1956: 147).

Kwa-Mpangisa, the name of a stream 9 miles southeast 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). Once again the component *Kwa* is a folk etymological interpretation, here of /Xam (S1) *k’wa*ꞑ*raka* “run fast, be fleet” (Bleek, 1956: 127), the first and second components of the name having the same basic meaning. The Zulu word *panga* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word /*ka*ꞑ*η*’*a*, /*ka*ꞑ*η*-*a* “to chase” (Bleek, 1956: 300, 703), and the Kung (N2) word ꞑ*xan* “make haste” (Bleek, 1956: 723), in the former case the unvoiced bilabial explosive consonant *p* replacing the San dental or alveolar fricative click with unvoiced ejected release /*k*, the symbol ꞑ indicating that the preceding vowel *a* is a pressed vowel, the *η* pronounced as *ng*.

Kwa-Ngqumbu is derived from the Zulu idiophone *gqumbu* “of sound of heavy body falling into water; of throwing into water” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 267; Botha, 1977: 96). The component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word !*kōa* “to fall” (Bleek, 1956: 436), the vowel cluster *ōa* consonantalized as *wa*; with the /Xam (S1) word *xwa*: “to fall” (Bleek, 1956: 262), and the Sesarwa (S5) word //*gwa* “fall”, also “to set, hang” (Bleek, 1956: 536). The component *gqum(bu)* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Auen (N1) word !*gom* “to fall”, as in the example “the stone [. . .] falls into the water” (Bleek, 1956: 385), and the /Xam (S1) word !*gum* “roar, bellow” (Bleek, 1956: 388), compare also the /Xam (S1) word !*kumba* “heavy” (Bleek, 1956: 452), and the Khoikhoi word !*gom* “heavy” (Bleek, 1929: 46). The Zulu voiced form of the palato-alveolar click preceded by the velar nasal, *ngq*, corresponds to the San palato-alveolar click with voiced velar efflux, !*g*; the back close vowel *u* is variously heard as *u* or *o* (Bleek, 1956: 246).

Kwa-Shushu, 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 and Vilakazi, 2005: 749). A more direct link between the name and the feature is that it is derived from *-shushu* (*ushushu*) “hot spring; sulphur spring [cf. Xh. -[*u*]u]” (Doke and 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 San place-naming pattern. The component *Kwa* of the name *Kwa-Shushu* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the !O !uꞑ (N3) word ʔ*khwa* “to be hot” (Bleek, 1956: 90). The component *Shushu*, repeating the meaning of “hot”, is cognate with the Sesarwa (S5) word t[*u*]t[*u*] “very hot” (Bleek, 1956: 237).

Kwa Zulu is a locality on the Hlimbitwa River 10 miles northwest of its confluence with the Mvoti River. On the map is entered the note *Hot Springs* (Walton, 1984: 130 2A), a translation of the San name of which *Kwa Zulu* is an adaptation. The component *Kwa* is cognate with the !O !uꞑ (N3) word ʔ*khwa* “to be hot” (Bleek, 1956: 90). The component *Zulu* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word ꞑ*hauru*, ꞑ*houru* “waterhole, pond, pit” (Bleek, 1956: 651, 744), the San alveolar click with aspirated efflux ꞑ*h* replaced by the Zulu voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z*, the initial vowel of the San diphthong *au* or *ou* elided to avoid the juxtaposition of two vowels, and the San voiced alveolar lingual consonant *r* replaced by the Zulu voiced alveolar lateral consonant *l*.

Names incorporating the prefix *-Ma-*

In Zulu the prefix *-Ma-* is:

1. Used in forming compound nouns generally class 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. [...] usually prefixed to verbs indicating the person who habitually acts according to the verb, e.g. (a) *umahamba* (one always walking) [...] (b) compounded with an adverb, e.g. *umahamba-njalo* [...] (c) compounded with object: *umashay’impisi* (hyena-slayer); (d) compounded with participials: *umahlal’ehleka* (he who is always laughing);
3. used prefixed to adjectives: *uMadala* (the Ancient One). (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 473)

The interpretation of Khoisan words phonologically compatible with *Kwa* as the Zulu locative adverbial formative joined to a personal noun has, in some cases, also led to the incorporation in Zulu placenames of the prefix *-Ma-*, as in *Kwa-Maduma*, *Kwa-Mazula*, and so forth. Of *Kwa-Maduma* 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 *Kwa-Manzawayo* Botha (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 *Kwa-Mazula*, Botha (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 above, a pattern seems to be discernible in names with the prefixes *Kwa-Ma-*. In names derived from San 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 recognized 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 seen as a personal name, and the prefix *Ma-* added.

Kwa-Maduma, the name of a stream 15 miles northeast of Mtonjaneni, is explained by Botha (1977, 93) as “*Die Dreunende*,” “the rumbling one,” from *duma* “thunder; make any rumbling, resounding noise” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 172). The component *Kwa* is cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *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 placename of the Zulu prefix *-ma-* used in forming compounds with proper names (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 473). Since the original meaning of the name was remembered, a word with that meaning was added to the perceived prefixes *Kwa-Ma-*, namely *duma*, cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *!gum* “roar” (Bleek, 1929: 70), the Zulu voiced alveolar explosive consonant *d* corresponding to the San palato-alveolar click with voiced efflux *!g*, the final

–a of *duma* perhaps the Zulu derivational suffix that turns a verb into a noun, or, very possibly, considering the San origin of the name, a demonstrative adverbial locative morpheme *a* “this, that, here, there” that occurs in /Xam (S1), //ŋ !ke (S2), //Kxau (S2b), /Auni (S4) and /Ki/hazi (S4b) (Bleek, 1956: 4).

Kwa-Magobana, at Nongoma, has a name said to mean “the little winding one,” “*Die Kronkelendetjie*” (Botha, 1977: 93), from the verb *goba* “bend, curve” (Colenso, 1884: 166), “and *kwa-* added, apparently by analogy [. . .] because so many personal names are formed from –*ma-* + verb”, “*en dat* [. . .] *kwa-* bygevoeg is, blykbaar analogies, omdat so baie persoonsname gevorm is met –*ma-* + *werkwoord*” (Botha, 1977: 93). The component *Kwa*, incorrectly interpreted as the Zulu locative prefix, is cognate with the Kung (N2) word *k’wā* “to turn” (Bleek, 1929: 87), the prefix –*ma-* added to accompany the perceived locative prefix, and *goba* “to bend” tautologically added to preserve the meaning that was kept alive through oral tradition. This component, *goba*, is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Kung (N2) word //kwobba “to turn” (Bleek, 1956: 600, 766), *g* being the voiced form of *k*, the Zulu voiced velar explosive consonant *g* corresponding to the San retroflex fricative click with ejective velar efflux //k, the Zulu voiced bilabial implosive consonant *b* with the voiced San bilabial consonant *b*. The suffix *ne* of the name is presumably therefore not the Zulu diminutive suffix, but an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Kung (N2) demonstrative locative morpheme *ne*: (Bleek, 1956: 144).

Kwa-Mahlaba, the name of a stream 10 miles south of Dannhauser, is said to mean “at Mahlaba’s place,” “*By uMahlaba se Plek*” (Botha, 1977: 93), but Botha adds: “*Wie Mahlaba was, is onbekend*,” “Who Mahlaba was, is unknown.” The name Mahlaba is derived from the verb *hlaḅa* “pierce, stab, stick, gore, prick, thrust,” also meaning “to kill, slaughter (a beast)” (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 308). The different though related meanings in Zulu are reflected in the different but related cognates in San. The component *Kwa*, once again (mis)interpreted as a personal suffix, is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *ʔkwaĩ* “to pierce” (Bleek, 1956: 458), and with the Kung (N2) word //koā “to kill” (Bleek, 1929: 50), the San vowel cluster *oā* consonantalized in Zulu as *wa* to obviate the juxtaposition of two vowels which is impermissible in Zulu, the component –*Ma-* of *Kwa-Mahlaba* added because *Kwa* was interpreted as a personal prefix. The component *hlabā* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Sesarwa (S5) word //a: “to kill” (Bleek, 1929: 50), the Sesarwa unvoiced alveolar fricative lateral click // replaced by the Zulu unvoiced alveolar fricative lateral consonant *hl*, and with the /Xam (S1) word *!xwabba* “to pierce” (Bleek, 1956: 743), the Zulu alveolar lateral fricative consonant *hl* replacing the San palato-alveolar with fricative efflux, *!x*.

Kwa-Makhamisa, 25 miles southeast of Hlabisa, has a name said to mean “The place of Makhamisa,” the personal name Makhamisa derived from *khamisa*, the causative of *khama* “press, squeeze, wring out” (Botha, 1977: 94; Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 377). *Makhamisa* is said to have been the nickname of an early European pioneer in the area (Botha, 1977: 94), but Botha himself notes that the name *Kwa-Makhamisa* would be understood “by the uninitiated,” “*deur die oningewyde*,” as a personification, implying that he himself does not understand it thus. This hydronym follows the pattern of other names containing the prefixes *Kwa-Ma-*, and the component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the /Xam (S1) word *ʔkwa* “to press,”

the same meaning as that given for *khama*, the prefix *-ma-* added because *Kwa* was seen as the locative prefix commonly used in Zulu with a personal name. The word *khama* “to press” is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the !O !uŋ (N₃) word *ʔkam* “to press” (Bleek, 1956: 554), the Zulu aspirated velar explosive consonant *kh* corresponding to the San retroflex fricative click with ejected efflux *//k*. *Kwa-Makhamisa* is a tautological name, both components *Kwa* and *khama* meaning “to press.”

Kwa-Mesatshwa, the name of a stream 4 miles southeast of Ndwedwe, is explained as “At the place of Mesatshwa,” “By *die Plek van Mesatshwa*” (Botha, 1977: 95), from *esatshwa*, the passive of *esaba* “fear, be afraid, be frightened” (Doke and 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 and Vilakazi, 2005: 473), and implying that the adverbial locative formative *kwa* joined to a personal name (Doke and Vilakazi, 2005: 441) is to be explained thus. Accepting that the name is based on the recorded meaning of “to fear, be afraid” reveals that the component *Kwa* is an adaptation of a Khoisan word cognate with the Auen (N₁) word *kwa*ʔ “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 San word *kwa*ʔ 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 Khoisan word cognate with the //Ku //e (S_{2c}) word *ʔwa*, “water” (Bleek, 1956: 183); the San prepalatal unvoiced fricative *ʃ* is often a variant of the affricate *tsh* (Bleek, 1956: 176), and the geographical feature in question is indeed a hydronym.

Conclusions

In Khoisan placenames adapted into Zulu, words that sound like *kwa* have frequently been interpreted as the Zulu locative adverbial formative joined to personal names, and the following component of the name accordingly interpreted as names of persons. The prefix *-Ma-* has similarly been misinterpreted. In such instances, the lexical meaning of the Khoisan name, preserved as part of the oral tradition, no longer recognizable in the adapted component *Kwa*, has been repeated in the second component of the name, that component also frequently an adapted Khoisan word.

Although the Khoisan languages, and particularly the San languages, are structurally very different from European and other languages as regards the syntactic patterns of placenames, scholars have hitherto been inclined to interpret San placenames in terms of simple and complex names, the latter comprising a specific and a generic term or feature-type designator. A different way of interpreting the environment is now becoming clear in some San placenames, namely the incorporation in the names of demonstrative adverbial locative morphemes, e.g. “this,” “that,” “here,” “there,” “beyond.” Such morphemes may explain phenomena such as the anomalous “diminutives” and other placename components, not only in Zulu, but in other African languages as well. Thus, for example, the ending *le* in *Lephalale* and *Modimolle*, the ending *la* in *Palala*, *Pongola*, and so forth, are being reassessed.

The investigation of Khoisan origins of Zulu placenames may cast light on the question of nasalization and nasal changes in Zulu, specifically in determining the

prefixes and stems of Class 9 and 10 nouns such as *intunja* and *impunzi*, hitherto believed to have the stems *ntunja* and *phunzi*, but demonstrably having the stems *tunja* and *mpunzi*, being derived from the San words *tu* and *Øpun* respectively.

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