

Speaking the Unspeakable! Zulu Penthonyms as Oral Strategies to Diffuse Conflict within a Traditional Polygynous Community in kwaMambulu, Kranskop

Evangeline Bonisiwe Zungu

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4837-9155>

University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa

boni.zungu@wits.ac.za

Abstract

The polygynous nature of most marriages in isiZulu-speaking societies, the fact that co-wives do not get along, and the presence of jealousy, envy and fighting in households such as these are underlying major causes of friction within Zulu family units. These feuds become undercurrents of tensions and fracture within the family unit and lead to family members suspecting and accusing each other of practising witchcraft when a family member dies. In such instances, the use of penthonyms is an extremely useful channel of expressing discontent or passing criticism. This article will use data collected from kwaMambulu to assess the extent to which this age-old practice around name bestowal in isiZulu-speaking family structures such as these is still enforced. It argues that despite changes brought by Christianity, Western modernity and recently the post-apartheid period, modalities around name bestowal in a number of isiZulu-speaking communities still persist. The kwaMambulu community continues to reflect the undented epistemologies around name-giving in much of the tradition-based African households. Allegations of the practice of witchcraft and sorcery are always alluded to in this society when death strikes. When the parents suffer the misfortune of losing children, they resort to giving penthonyms. Penthonyms are given to male children because they are believed to be the future of the family. The male children protect the family and when the man of the house dies the male children take over family matters.

Keywords: penthonyms; witchcraft; death; oral strategies; polygyny



Southern African Journal for Folklore Studies
<https://upjournals.co.za/index.php/SAJFS>
 Volume 29 | Number 1 | 2019 | #4576 | 13 pages

<https://doi.org/10.25159/2663-6697/4576>
 ISSN 2663-6697 (Online)
 © Unisa Press 2019

Introduction

The aim of this article is to explore how Zulu penthonyms are used to create perceptions of normality in polygynous marriages in instances where there are strong beliefs that there is the practice of witchcraft. Through penthonyms name givers can speak the unspeakable and insinuate that family members are witches and sorcerers and not face any censure or punishment, even from the patriarchal head of the family. The rationale behind this article is that names are more meaningful in the context within which they are used. This article intends to fill the gap of the ongoing analytical approach to the article of Zulu anthroponyms. This is not to lead the reader to believe that this article is ahistorical but that it will focus on the community in question rather than on the Zulu nation as a whole. The author asserts that giving penthonyms is not an anomalous event as it may seem to an outsider but that it is a much accepted means of communication in the society where these names were collected.

Allegations of the practice of witchcraft and sorcery are always alluded to in isiZulu-speaking society when death strikes. When the parents suffer the misfortune of losing children, they resort to name-giving. They bestow names that are directed to 1) death itself, 2) to sorcerers who are believed to be bewitching the child, 3) to the evil spirits which are believed to be causing the child's poor health, and 4) to angry ancestors. These names may seem negative and to wish ill-health to the name-bearer, but as it will be shown, they reflect a deeper resilient epistemological system on the acts of naming. The data discussed here reveals that penthonyms give the name-giver a chance to warn the sorcerers and the evil spirits against bewitching the neonate. What the speaker "says" through the name—for example, *Mxosheni* ("chase him away")—may "implicate" the intention of giving the name—*chase him away*. Obeng (1994) argues that by giving these names parents are putting on a brave face for their previous losses and seeking their children's survival and well-being even though the names themselves, at face value, imply a lack of worth or respect. Through names women use language as a safety zone and as a way to exercise power which they would not normally have in any kind of circumstance within the homestead.¹ The name-giver gets the opportunity to express him/herself by giving a child a name, e.g., *Bangifunani* ("what do they want from me?"). In this instance, this name is to the benefit of the mother who gave her daughter this name to act as a defence mechanism against her co-wives' bad treatment. In the context of a polygynous family, such a name might be a deterrent to an argument that could spiral out of control, which could be detrimental to the harmonious living within the homestead. Any conflict and arguments may anger the living-dead (ancestors).

¹ Women who marry into the family are not allowed to express themselves freely in traditional societies. When they have disagreements with their in-laws and other wives they resort to naming as a way to express their feelings without fear of angering the living-dead.

Penthonyms² are thus used to air discontent to avoid confrontation. First, this article argues that in patriarchal setups women do not have a voice; however, through naming their children they usurp the power to be outspoken about certain issues in their households. Second, it looks deeper into the functionality of polygynous families because the names discussed here rupture the illusions created around the sanctity of polygyny by traditionalists. To a large extent, the families interviewed have names that are reflective of polygynous marriages in post-apartheid South Africa. Third, this article looks at the belief of the existence of witchcraft in traditional societies and the way in which names are bestowed to reflect such a belief and used to deceive the sorcerers and evil spirits into thinking that the child is not wanted. This strategy is used on children born after the parents have experienced infant mortality. The names discussed in this article are bestowed on male children because they are valued more than their female counterparts in traditional societies.

Background and Contextualisation

The names discussed in this article were collected in kwaMambulu, a rural area in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa in 2012. The community remains fully traditional despite the many evolutionary changes that have occurred in South Africa since the postcolonial era. The community still adheres to the traditional lifestyle. Belief in the practice of witchcraft is not a universal phenomenon among Zulu-speaking people; it is, however, staunchly rooted in the psyche of this particular community. In kwaMambulu, customary practices are followed in specific ways that befit the traditional authority and its expectations. Each and every person knows what their role in and contribution to the community is. The way they dress and the food they eat say a lot about the kind of people they are, which is different from the average Zulu people in townships and suburbs. They are a monolingual society with some understanding of English. They live in autonomous homesteads surrounded by fields and grazing land. Each homestead consists of a number of houses (usually rondavels), belonging to different co-wives and their children. The main hut at the top of the homestead belongs to the grandmother and is perceived as the sanctuary for the living-dead. The author has to emphasise that this small community is in no way a reflection of modern-day Zulu society. KwaMambulu society retains a traditional Afrocentric view in all aspects of the community's life; names reflect an unchanging epistemological undercurrent, where allegations of sorcery and the practice of witchcraft are a daily "problematic" phenomenon. In this community penthonyms are given to confuse the evil powers that are sent after neonates to harm them. The intention of the name is to create the illusion

2 Penthonyms are names given to children who are born after the parents have suffered child mortality. These names give hope and show the courage of the parents whose children have died. They are sometimes referred to as survival names.

that the child is not wanted. This pretence prevents the evil spirits from taking the child away.

Orality-Based Debate and the Use of Penthononyms

This article is framed by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis or the linguistic relativity principle in Casasanto (2008) which theorises that thoughts and behaviour are determined and partially influenced by language. It is founded on two main ideas: the first is a theory of determinism that states that the language you speak determines the way that you will interpret the world around you; the second states that language merely influences your thoughts about the real world. Linking the linguistic relativity principle to names and their meaning, Meiring (1994, 65) observed that “names reflect how people think or see the world around them.”

The data for this article emanate from an oral-style community. This involves Zulu people’s culture and beliefs, which are at the centre of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the influence IKS have on traditional communities. The author perceives anthroponyms as contextual variations which are used as communication strategies in oral communities. They are used as vehicles to transport the message to the intended person whilst avoiding confrontation. These anthroponyms are aimed at diffusing conflict and therefore they function as such. Their most important function is to articulate conflict in a family setting. Finnegan (1992) supports this view by mentioning that in African countries people use oral art to resolve hostilities between themselves and the society. Mapanje and White (1983) documented how different countries in Africa use songs as a form of expression. Songs are also used in the political arena, all over Africa, to voice what citizens are dissatisfied with and directly address the injustices they are faced with in their daily lives. These oral expressions are used as pedagogical tools to shape social behaviour amongst the Haya community in Tanzania (Mutembei and Lugalla 2002). These expressions are used with a succinct intention of curbing unacceptable behaviour by community members in the same manner Zulu penthononyms are used.

The penthononyms discussed in this article are used in order to alleviate feelings of tension and discontent towards people and/or the situation. They indirectly comment on the behaviour of those in close relationship with the name-giver. This is more often than not as a result of strained relationships between co-wives in polygynous households.

According to Turner (2003, 68), “Oblique allusion is typical in the speech of most Zulu people. Allusive language is characteristic of various forms of Zulu oral traditions.” Whilst investigating the Scottish Highlands, Dorian (in Holland 1990, 258) encountered a practice where nicknames are used to shun bad behaviour. She asserts that “[t]he actual use of such names, however, demands social competence in order to evaluate the offensiveness of such names—to a knowledge of social structure which is only available

to ‘insiders.’ It is not everyone who understand the meaning and function of these names.”

Turner (2003, 69) mentions the following:

Out group members may be ignorant of the very existence of these names in most cases; even when the “out group” members do know of their alternate names, they are most often totally unaware of any emotive or figurative underpinning that may be connected with these names.

Names are used as a processual paradigm to maintain order in a traditional society. Jousse (2004) emphasises that any text/utterance must be brief if it is to be memorable. After a period of time, these names become obscure. This obscurity, according to Turner (2003), is as a result of the use of metaphor and language which are time and context bound. On the orality-literacy debate, Ong (1982, 13) coined the term “oral residue”; in this article the chosen community has a “living” oral tradition which in turn displays a higher degree of residual orality. Ong asserts that, “oral cultures indeed produce powerful and beautiful verbal performance of high artistic and human worth” (1982, 13). Lambert (2000) makes a comparison between African cultures as “shame” cultures in contrast to the “guilt” cultures of the modern West. The difference, he asserts, is that shame cultures rely on external sanctions for good behaviour whilst guilt cultures rely on the internalised conviction of sin. He further mentions that shame is a reaction to other people’s criticism and that shame cultures are highly receptive to the disapproval of others. In a similar vein, Taylor (1985, 54) points out, “the distinguishing mark of a shame culture and that which makes it different from a so-called guilt-culture is that here public esteem is the greatest good, and to be ill spoken of the greatest evil.”

Gender Preferences in Traditional Societies

The preference for sons is still prevalent in societies, be they traditional or not, and it is tied to inheritance which needs to be kept within the family. This perception and practice have not succumbed to cultural evolution and/or acculturation. This sometimes leads to a blatant disregard of the female child. El-Gilany and Shady (2007) observed that the preference for sons by culture and custom is a widely accepted phenomenon in developing societies where the status of women is low and subordinated to their male counterparts. From birth, a boy is treated better than a girl because he grows up to be the head of the household, and possibly a caretaker and a provider for the family. Women who give birth to girls are usually blamed and ostracised because they have not yet proven their womanhood. In some extreme cases the husband would take another wife (polygyny) or he may divorce her. Preference for sons is deeply rooted in social structures in traditional societies, because girls will eventually marry and move into another family. Umahi (2010) makes a critical observation on the status of women in different cultures. He mentions that “in some parts of West Africa, it is believed that a

woman is 'settled' in her husband's home only when she has given birth to a male child" (2010, 17).

The kwaMambulu community believes that if a man dies without a son, the history of the family will vanish because the daughters will get married, leave their father's homestead and change their surname. The implication is that if you have only girls when you die, you will leave no history behind. This becomes a problem, especially for the wives who have no sons. They feel left out and not as important as the ones who have sons, and there is usually no stopping jealousy and feelings of resentment among the wives, which sometimes lead to witchcraft and sorcery. In traditional societies, having male children is an important phenomenon, because they look after the family when the father has passed on. In these societies, grown women rely on their sons for decision-making. In his book on Zulu culture, Msimang (1991, 27) concurs with this statement as he observed that in traditional societies

naye umnumzane wethembele kakhulu emadodaneni akhe. Uma enecala nomakhelwane, uliqula namadodana akhe, abe izindlebe zakhe. Kanjalo nezikweletu zakhe zaziwa yiwo. Uma ezokwenza umsebenzi phakathi kwekhaya ubikela wona kuqala engakasitsheli isithembu.

(the head of the homestead himself is dependant on his sons. When he has a dispute with the neighbours, he consults his sons, as they are his ears. Even his debts are known by them. When he is going to do a ritual at home, he informs them first, before telling his wives.)

What Msimang is saying is reflective of what happens in traditional Zulu society, particularly in the research area. Having a son gives a man a voice in society. His sons are superior to his wives and he takes their advice seriously. Generally, having children is mandatory in this particular community, a lack of which is almost always blamed on the woman.

Aetiology of Zulu Pentonyms

According to Mensah and Offiong (2013, 43), African names and naming practices "have enormous socio-cultural, spiritual and psychological significance in Africa and beyond." They argue that the whole African cultural worldview is spiritual and the spiritual nature of their beliefs binds them together as a people. Their beliefs provide a nexus between language, culture and religion. In this particular society, the use of names, especially personal names, is an extremely useful channel to express discontent or pass criticism and is a vital way in which tension is publicly aired, either with the intention of making others aware of the problem, or for the ultimate purpose of restraining or correcting an undesirable situation or behaviour trait, as direct confrontation or criticism is not an acceptable or preferred form of behaviour (Turner 1992). Friction is always going to be a problem within extended families. Avoiding

confrontation is important to people who want to appease their ancestors. The living-dead are an important part of these people. They are venerated and believed to be the mediators between God and their living relatives. In a situation where getting even is not an option, bestowing a name to voice your disapproval is the easy way out. The conflict is resolved by co-wives using names to vent their anger out of respect for the ancestors. The ancestors are (to a Zulu person) like God's angels, so they command respect. The respect family members have for their ancestors forces them to always be at their best behaviour.

This Zulu traditional society believes that the sorcerer uses people's names to bewitch them. Names form an integral part of the Zulu culture to give identity to the name-bearer. As Sarpong (1974) rightly points out, one is not simply called X, one is X. It is believed the sorcerers use people's names to bewitch them. The sorcerers may use people's names at night while using *umuthi*³ that will cause them to get sick. As a result, it is believed that there are many man-made illnesses where sorcerers use people's names to bewitch them.

In the data collected, there were a number of names suggesting that the belief in witchcraft is still rife in the Zulu society, as can be seen in the following names: *Felamandla* ("he is bewitched because he is strong"), *Bhekumuthi* ("watching the use of *umuthi*"), *Nyathelephi* ("where did you put your foot now that you are sick?"), and *Fumbetheni* ("what do you have in your closed hand?"). It is also clear that people believe personal names and dreams are used to bewitch other people. Witchcraft is associated with darkness, so it cannot be a positive thing. It involves a change in behaviour and values. Witches are believed to ride on their baboons naked and backwards when they go to other people's houses at night. Owls are believed to be used to go to people's houses and make noise. When such an incident happens, death befalls that house. Family members have to catch the bird, kill it or drown it in *umuthi*.

Speaking the Unspeakable through Penthonyms

Nyabwari and Kageba (2014, 14) mention that "the basis of this thinking is that there is no such thing as coincidence in life. All events have a cause. Witchcraft is the way Africans explain the ultimate cause of images." Penthonyms are given to male children because they are believed to be the future of the family. The male children protect the family and when the man of the house dies the male children take over family matters. These names explicitly describe the cultural belief in mystical powers and magic. Obeng (2001, 94) points out the following:

³ *Umuthi* refers to the herbs and traditional medicine used to heal ailments and to cause people to get sick.

Survival names and other related names may epitomize cultural ideas and values as well as the wishes of the society which gives them. Societies create such names to help to deal with emotions associated with the loss of a loved one and grief associated with such a loss.

The most important function of penthonyms is that they “are created to help members of the society to speak the unspeakable” (Obeng 2001, 94). Penthonyms are believed to “link their bearers to their past, ancestors and spirituality” (Mensah and Offiong 2013, 41). Similar to the Zulu beliefs regarding penthonyms, the Akan of Ghana lament the death of children who died early (Obeng 1998). According to Thipa (1983), a penthonym shows that the spirit world has a way of compensating the parents whose children died; “*Puseletso* in Sesotho and *Mbuyiselo* in isiXhosa mean ‘recompense,’ suggesting something like ‘a reward for our dead child(ren)’” (Thipa 1983, 112). Obeng (1998, 168) mentions that “Wiru penthonyms, like some Akan death-prevention names, may express grief. These sorrow-names may be a direct statement of sorrow, refer to a wound or to circumstances at burial.”

Normally when parents are blessed with a child after infant mortality they treat the newborn with special care. They protect the child by using strong *muthi* that is hoped to chase away the dark forces. Mönnig, cited in Koopman (1986, 28), states that these names are bestowed by the parents who have suffered the misfortune of infant mortality: “Parents who have lost a few children will name a new-born daughter *Mosa* (son) while a son will be named *Ngwanenyana* (small daughter).” Sesotho-speaking people may go to the extent of treating and clothing the child as if it were the opposite sex. This is not the case with the Zulu traditional society. On the contrary it is treated in a special way and given an unpleasant name to confuse the spirits into thinking that the child is unwanted and the parents will not suffer if they lose the child.

Parents do not give negative names to their children because they do not like them—as it may seem to outsiders—but rather because such a name is a disguise for the affection they have for the child. Chuks-Orji (1972, 82) argues that this love for the children is to be universally observed in the names the children bear:

Thus even the quite uncomplimentary name *Chotsani* “take it away” (Yao, Malawi), is not, in fact, an expression of rejection but rather an attempt by the family to conceal or disguise its joy so that the divinities or the ancestors will not take back the precious infant.

He further points out that the name bestowed on the child may be uncomplimentary, for example “‘I am dead’ or ‘I am ugly’” (Chuks-Orji 1972, 82). In this way, it is hoped to avoid the jealousy of the ancestors who might wish to take back to themselves a child who is especially healthy or good looking. In a similar vein, Obeng (2001, 91) argues that “in giving children survival names, the children’s biological parents hope that even if the members of the spirit world recognize the children eventually, they will be so

angry (because of the ugly nature of the survival name) that they will not call the child to the spirit world.”

Penthonyms Which Reflect That the Child Is Not Wanted

Ancestral veneration is the focal point of Zulu people’s religious system. If people have issues with ancestors or what has happened and they believe it is the ancestors’ fault, it is easy to channel that anger through a name he or she gives to a child. These names give the impression that the parents do not want the infant. They believe that by so doing the child’s life would be spared. Consider the following:

Mbulaleni (“kill him”) for a child who comes after the parents have suffered infant mortality; by using this name they are pretending that they do not mind if the child dies.

Mdumazeni (“disappoint him”) suggests each parent is hurt and disappointed when the child dies, so they are instructing the evil spirits to disappoint them yet again.

Mlandeni (“fetch him”) refers to the belief in some societies that an infant still belongs to the spirits and they can take it back to their realm.

Penthonyms Which Plead with Death to Spare the Life of the Child

Penthonyms can also be given to children so that they can survive childhood diseases. They are thus death-prevention names and are given to the children of couples who may have previously suffered infant mortality. Some of the penthonyms are given in order to plead with evil forces, sorcerers and death. Consider, for example, the name *Mkhululeni* (“free him”). It is usually very painful for parents to see their children suffer and their hands are tied and they cannot cure them. With this name the parents are pleading with the evil spirits to spare the life of the child and free him from ailments. The following names serve similar functions:

The name *Mchazeleni* (“explain to him”) seeks clarification from the evil forces to explain to the child why his siblings had to suffer so much.

The name *Mxoleleni* (“excuse him”) suggests this child must be excused from the fate of dying as an infant like the children that came before him.

The use of the name *Mkhohliseni* (“deceive him”) is connected to the pain that sometimes becomes more bearable for parents if they have hope that the child will survive, even if they are lying to themselves.

Penthonyms Which Ask for the Protection of the Child

The name-givers bestow these names to ask protection from the ancestors. The ancestors act as watchdogs over their family members. Ancestors are believed to be dead but alive

(the living-dead). “They know and have interest in what is going on in the family” (Mbiti 1969, 82). Consider, for example, *Mzungezeni* (“surround him”); since ancestors are believed to be guardian angels to their family members, they can surround the child and protect him.

The name *Mqiniseni* (“make him strong”) is a plea for the ancestors to make the baby strong should the sorcerers try to bewitch him.

The name *Mbuyiseni* (“bring him back”) refers to the fact that a son had been born before and he died, and now the parents are asking the ancestors to bring him back to life through his brother (reincarnation).

Mhlengeni (“save him”) suggests this child needs to be saved since most of his siblings have died of unexplainable ailments.

The name *Mnikeni* (“give him”) is a request for the ancestors to give the child its life.

Mvikeleni (“protect him”) signals that the child needs to be protected from the dark forces.

The name *Mkhetzeni* (“choose him amongst others”) reveals that death has taken the other babies before this one and this one should be chosen to be the one to survive.

Penthonyms Which Attempt to Scare Evil Spirits

Some names are given to show bravery on the side of the parents and to scare the evil forces away from the child. It may be because the parents have used some *muthi* to prevent the tragedy of infant mortality; for example, *Mthinteni* (“We dare you to touch him”) may be used by some parents whose misfortunes within the homestead compel them to consult an *isangoma*⁴ and then they become confident that whosoever tries to bewitch their child will die.

Mbhasobheni (“beware of him”) is another such name. In this particular case the parents feel confident that their child will not easily get sick and that the dark forces should be scared of him.

The name *Mlungeleni* (“be kind to him”) may be used as a plea for the spirits to be kind to the child by not taking it away.

⁴ An *isangoma* is a diviner who gets a calling from the ancestors and becomes an apprentice to a qualified *sangoma*.

Conclusion

Names in a Zulu context are never chosen fortuitously; the state of affairs of the parents is always taken into account before the child is given a name. Pentonyms are bestowed because of the belief that within traditional societies witchcraft is still part of their daily lives. These names become the safest way to accuse people without mentioning their names. This article also looked at the complex phenomena of language, meaning and interpretation. It examined how Zulu traditional beliefs in the mystical powers and the practice of witchcraft influence the choice of names parents bestow on their children. It concludes by arguing that Zulu pentonyms can hide the identity of the infant by deceiving the evil spirits into thinking that the child is not wanted. These names link the name-bearers to the spirit world and their ancestors for protection against the dark forces.

References

- Casasanto, D. 2008. "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Whorf? Crosslinguistic Differences in Temporal Language and Thought." *Language Learning: A Journal of Research in Language Studies* 58 (1): 63–79. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9922.2008.00462.x>.
- Chuks-Orji, O. 1972. *Names from Africa*. Chicago: Johnson.
- El-Gilany, A. H., and E. Shady. 2007. "Determinants and Causes of Son Preference among Women Delivering in Mansoura, Egypt." *Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal* 13 (1): 119–34.
- Finnegan, R. 1992. *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jousse, H. 2004. "A New Contribution to the History of Pastoralism in West Africa." *Journal of African Archaeology* 2 (2): 187–201. <https://doi.org/10.3213/1612-1651-10027>.
- Holland, T. J. 1990. "The Many Faces of Nicknames." *Names* 38 (4): 255–72.
- Koopman, A. 1986. "The Social and Literary Aspects of Zulu Personal Names." MA diss., University of Natal.
- Lambert, M. 2000. "Classical Athenian and Traditional African Ethics: The Hermeneutics of Shame and Guilt." *South African Journal of Folklore Studies* 11 (1): 41–55.
- Mapanje, J., and L. White, eds. 1983. *Oral Poetry from Africa*. London: Longman.
- Mbiti, J. S. 1969. *African Religions and Philosophy*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1594869>.

- Mensah, E., and I. Offiong. 2013. "The Structure of Ibibio Death-Prevention Names." *Anthropological Notebooks* 19 (3): 41–59.
- Meiring, P. J. G. 1994. "Mission: Who?" In *On Being Witnesses: What Is the Goal and Content of Mission; Who Is Responsible for Mission; The Context of Mission; The Methods of Mission*, edited by J. J. Kritzinger, P. J. G. Meiring and W. A. Saayman, 40–72. Johannesburg: Orion Publishers.
- Msimang, C. T. 1991. *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter.
- Mutembei, A. K., and J. L. P. Lugalla. 2002. "Using Narratives to Understand People's Experience on AIDS: Examples from Oral Poetry of the Bahaya of Bukoba, Tanzania." Paper presented at the Conference on Language, Literature and the Discourse of HIV/AIDS in Africa, University of Botswana, Gaborone.
- Nyabwari, B. G., and D. N. Kagema. 2014. "The Impact of Magic and Witchcraft in the Social, Economic, Political and Spiritual Life of African Communities." *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education* 1 (5): 9–18.
- Obeng, S. G. 1994. "Speaking the Unspeakable in Akan Discourse: A Linguistic Study." *Studies in Ghanaian Linguistics* 9: 22–36.
- Obeng, S. G. 1998. "Akan Death-Prevention Names: A Pragmatic and Pragmatic Analysis." *Names: A Journal of Onomastics* 46 (3): 163–87.
<https://doi.org/10.1179/nam.1998.46.3.163>.
- Obeng, S. G. 2001. "African Anthroponymy: An Ethnopragmatic and Morphological Study of Personal Names in Akan and Some African Societies." Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
- Ong, W. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologising of the Word*. London: Methuen.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203328064>.
- Sarpong, P. 1974. *Ghana in Retrospect: Some Aspects of Ghanaian Culture*. Accra: Ghana Publishing.
- Taylor, G. 1985. *Pride, Shame and Guilt: Emotions of Self-Assessment*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Thipa, H. M. 1983. "By Their Names We Shall Know Them." *Names* 2: 107–19.
- Turner, N. S. 1992. "Zulu Names as Echoes of Censure, Discontent and Disapproval within the Domestic Environment." *Nomina Africana* 6 (2): 42–56.
- Turner, N. S. 2003. "Oral Strategies for Conflict Expression and Articulation of Criticism in Zulu Social Discourse." PhD diss., University of Durban-Westville.

Umahi, G. A. 2010. "Rethinking the Low View of Women in Church Ministry. A Study of Luke 24:1–11." *Insight: Journal of Religious Studies* 7: 17–38.