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Soshanguve paremiology+

A multilingual approach

Edited by Napjadi Letsoalo & Mpho Ngoepe

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Soshanguve paremiology+

A multilingual approach

Published by AOSIS Books, an imprint of AOSIS.

AOSIS Publishing
15 Oxford Street, Durbanville, 7550, Cape Town, South Africa
Postnet Suite 110, Private Bag X19, Durbanville, 7551, Cape Town, South Africa
Tel: +27 21 975 2602
Website: https://www.aosis.co.za

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Cover image: The cover design was created by Natascha Olivier/Coco Design with the use of an illustration provided by Dr Napjadi Letsoalo, with kind permission granted by the University of South Africa, and a background by Siberian Art {396950148} obtained from Adobe Stock, titled 'Welcome to Africa vector website template, landing page design for website and mobile site development. Paper cut Africa map with African landscape, wild animals silhouettes inside. Travel concept', available from https://stock.adobe.com/za/images/welcome-to-africa-vector-website-template-landing-page-design-for-website-and-mobile-site-development-paper-cut-africa-map-with-african-landscape-wild-animals-silhouettes-inside-travel-concept/396950148, copyright-free under the Standard Licensing Terms from Adobe.com subscription, where one can download 10 images free.

Published in 2025
Impression: 1

ISBN: 978-1-77995-350-6 (paperback)
ISBN: 978-1-77995-374-2 (casebound)
ISBN: 978-1-77995-351-3 (epub)
ISBN: 978-1-77995-352-0 (pdf)

DOI: https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523
How to cite this work: Letsoalo, N & Ngoepe, M 2025, *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town.

Printed and bound in South Africa.

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Edited by
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The publisher (AOSIS) endorses the South African 'National Scholarly Book Publishers Forum Best Practice for Peer-Review of Scholarly Books'. The book proposal form was evaluated by our Social Sciences, Humanities, Education and Business Management editorial board. The manuscript underwent an evaluation to compare the level of originality with other published works and was subjected to rigorous two-step peer review before publication. Instead of subjecting the entire manuscript to review by a minimum of two technical experts, the chapters were grouped according to language and submitted to two or more linguistic experts per chapter, selected based on the relevance of their expertise to the chapter content. The reviewers were independent of the volume editors and authors, with the identities of the reviewers not disclosed to the volume editors or authors. The publisher shared feedback on the similarity report and the reviewers' inputs with the manuscript's editors and authors to improve the manuscript. Where the reviewers recommended revision and improvements, the editors and authors responded adequately to such recommendations. The reviewers commented positively on the scholarly merits of the manuscript and recommended that the book be published.

Research justification

Proverbs are bearers of culture and forward-thinking approach to cultural education and preservation. It is crucial to teach individuals about their culture in the multicultural setting of South Africa, and proverbs are one way to do it. Paremiological study has applications in fields such as folklore, literature, sociology, psychology, syntax, semantics and translations, and proverbs have been incorporated into the strategies of several professionals such as psychologists, educators, politicians and preachers. This book provides an account of the state of proverb scholarship and its transformative role in the current scholarly discourse in South Africa. It addresses the need for revisiting Indigenous African Knowledge for the purpose of decolonisation, (re)Africanisation and transformation, and setting the agenda for leadership, acculturation, new media, popular culture, gender issues and digitisation. This approach poses a challenge for higher education to create platforms for introducing indigenous knowledge to the scholarly discourse of transformation and decolonisation.

As South Africa is a multicultural and multilingual nation where cross-cultural communication is inevitable, it promotes multilingualism and multiculturalism. By adopting a multilingual approach in a country where several languages are spoken, language scholars can gain an understanding and appreciation of the different languages and cultures that exist within the country. This can help to promote social cohesion and mutual respect between different speech communities. A multilingual approach provides an opportunity for a broader range of communication skills, allowing people to interact with a wider range of communities and cultures within their own country, and potentially even in international contexts. It also allows a person to develop a deeper understanding of the history, values and beliefs of different cultural groups, which can lead to increased cultural awareness and sensitivity. This book contributes greatly to the target readers as a teaching and learning resource for proverbs in Northern Sotho/Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Xitsonga, isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, siSwati and/or Tshivenḓa (Sotho, Shangaan, Nguni and Venḓa, i.e. Soshanguve), as well as Chichewa and Shona. It addresses the United Nations' (UN) Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 (quality education), SDG 5 (gender equity), SDG 9 (increase industry, innovation and infrastructure) and SDG 10 (reduce inequality).

The chapters of this book emanate from a scholarly project on the development of the multilingual proverbs dictionary and its transformative role in the current academic discourse in South Africa. This book makes significant theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of proverbs, introducing and applying frameworks such as conceptual metaphor theory, ethnopragmatics and translation quality assessment. These approaches offer fresh perspectives on the semantics, interpretation and cross-cultural transfer of proverbs, enriching our understanding of their linguistic and cultural dimensions. The combination of qualitative research methods with theoretical models provides nuanced analyses that capture the complexity of proverbs as both linguistic and cultural phenomena. This interdisciplinary approach underscores the value of proverbs as a subject of scholarly enquiry, bridging fields such as linguistics, anthropology and digital humanities.

Unless otherwise indicated, all sources consulted by authors were adequately attributed, referenced and cited in the body of work and reference lists. The editors confirm that no part of the work has been plagiarised. All chapters were subjected to plagiarism detection using iThenticate software and were cleared of any potential

overlap or unoriginal content. The following chapters are based on unpublished dissertations and a conference proceeding, and the necessary acknowledgement is provided at the start of each chapter: Chapter 2, 'Proverbs in music: A closer look at Pleasure Peta's *manyalo* songs' by Napjadi Letsoalo and Tshepo J Kgasago; Chapter 4, 'Patriarchal implications on women empowerment in Chichewa and Shona proverbs' by Juliet C Kamwendo and Munyaradzi Mushonga; and Chapter 8, 'UNongqawuse! Uhlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo yombhalingqangi kusetyensiwa imodeli kaHouse' by Amanda Nokele.

The target audience of this book is scholars and experts in languages, literature, linguistics and digital humanities.

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

ADHO	Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations
AFR100	African Forest Landscape Restoration Initiative
AU	African Union
AUDA-NEPAD	African Union Development Agency–New Partnership for Africa's Development
CDA	critical discourse analysis
CMT	conceptual metaphor theory
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
COP21	21st Conference of the Parties
COVID-19	coronavirus disease 2019
CSS	cascading style sheets
DHASA	Digital Humanities Association of Southern Africa
EFA	Education for All
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
HTML	hypertext markup language
IKS	indigenous knowledge systems
InterPARES	International Project on Permanent Authentic Records in Electronic Systems
LI	*Love Interrupted*
LS1	*Lebo's Story 1: A Young Girl's Dream Interrupted*
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NIHSS	National Institute of Humanities and Social Science
O+/R model	observe and/or reflect model
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAFOS	*Southern African Journal for Folklore Studies*
SAJAL	*South African Journal of African Languages*
SAJILS	*South African Journal of Libraries and Information Science*
SDG	sustainable development goal

STIWA	Social Transformation Including Women in Africa
TTWDL	*The Things We Do for Love*
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
Unisa	University of South Africa
www	world wide web

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‘A people without knowledge of their history, origin, and culture is like a tree without roots.’

– Marcus Garvey –

Acknowledgements

Multilingualism is not only speaking different words for the same thing in different languages, but it is venturing in another way to think about things. For multilingualism to be realised, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa through Section 6(2) provides that the state, and by extension public institutions such as the University of South Africa and others, must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of indigenous languages. We are indebted to the University of South Africa for offering resources including time and money for the team to undertake the project on multilingual proverbs dictionary which led to the penning of this book. It was through the funds from the National Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS) that the initial project of the multilingual proverbs dictionary in four languages (Northern Sotho/Sepedi, Xitsonga, Tshivenḓa and English) was successfully executed. The University of South Africa, the University of Limpopo and the University of the Free State are appreciated for their endorsement of the researchers affiliated to these institutions to publish this book in open access.

The project team of Napjadi Letsoalo as editor-in-chief; Kganathi Shaku and Maropeng Maponya as associate editors; Delvah Mabaso, Arnold Mushwana, Moffat Sebola and Lufuno Miriri as contributors; the School of Arts in the College of Human Sciences of the University of South Africa, headed by Mpho Ngoepe and later Siyasanga Tyali as project sponsor, is lauded. After the realisation of the need to move beyond the initial initiative, the contributors responded to the call for chapters to make this book possible. Your contribution is a step towards achieving the introduction of programmes that advance African languages as languages of research, teaching and science, as well as promote multilingualism in teaching and learning. This helps to avoid indigenous languages being mere vehicles of translated Western ontologies. To the initial peer reviewers of the chapters, you have enhanced the quality and ensured that this scholarly work falls within the required standards. We are therefore grateful to Kganathi Shaku, Jonathan Mukwevho, Tshepho Mosweu, Mampaka Mojapelo, Francinah Kanyane, Amos Shibambu, Koliswa Moropa, Mlamli Diko, Patrick Mbedzi, Joseph Ngoaketsi, Thulile Shandu, Mashilo Modiba and Carien Wilsenach for constructive criticism to the submitted chapters.

The support provided by Katy Blatchford, Marinda Louw, Anna Azarch, Thea Korff and Veronique Botha from AOSIS is highly appreciated. The

rigorous independent peer-review process from AOSIS ensured that the quality of this book was further enhanced. We appreciate the principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa for writing the foreword of this book.

Go bala ke go hloya, re re le ka moso! Ka nnete moremogolo go betlwa wa taola, wa motho o a ipetla.

Foreword

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South Africa's linguistic and cultural diversity is a profound reflection of its people, history and identity. The recognition of multilingualism as a cornerstone of the nation's heritage is enshrined in its Constitution, which acknowledges 12 official languages and encourages the preservation and promotion of indigenous knowledge. In a society shaped by its rich oral traditions, proverbs hold a unique place as carriers of wisdom, cultural values and communal identity. This book, *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, serves as both a tribute to and a critical exploration of South Africa's paremiological heritage, offering a much-needed lens through which proverbs are documented, studied and applied to contemporary issues.

The multilingual composition of this book reflects the heart of South Africa's cultural mosaic. It includes chapters written in Northern Sotho/Sepedi, Xitsonga, Tshivenḓa and isiXhosa, underscoring the importance of indigenous languages as mediums of scholarly engagement. By embracing multiple languages, this book goes beyond linguistic inclusivity to champion the decolonisation and transformation of academic spaces. It bridges the past, present and future of South African paremiology, presenting proverbs not merely as remnants of history but as living artefacts relevant to the challenges and opportunities of our time.

Proverbs are more than eloquent expressions; they are vessels of indigenous knowledge, reflecting the complexities of a society's values, beliefs and worldview. As Kosch (2016) aptly observed, proverbs are 'bearers of culture', embodying a speech community's collective wisdom. Through this book, the proverbs of Soshanguve (Sotho, Shangaan, Nguni and Venḓa) and their associated traditions are meticulously discussed and analysed. The authors examine the present state of paremiography, which is the collection of proverbs, and paremiology, their study, while

How to cite: LenkaBula, P 2025, 'Foreword', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. xxvii–xxix. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.0f

acknowledging the past accomplishments that have shaped these fields. References to foundational works, such as *Izaci Namaqhalo EsiXhosa* (Masetywa 1954), *Marema ka Dika* (Rakoma 1968), *Vutlhari bya Vatsonga (Machangana)* (Junod 1978) and *Ngoma ya Vhatei* (Milubi 1985), contextualise this scholarly endeavour within a rich legacy of indigenous knowledge.

Exploring proverbs within the context of bilingual or multilingual communication offers more than language proficiency; it provides a unique way to grasp not only the language itself but also insights into the people who use it. In a linguistically diverse country like South Africa, adopting a multilingual and multicultural approach to language learning becomes crucial. Through the adoption of such an approach, language learners not only acquire the linguistic skills for effective communication but also cultivate a deeper understanding and appreciation for the rich tapestry of languages and cultures coexisting within the country.

The themes explored in this book resonate far beyond linguistic boundaries. They address the broader need for decolonisation, (re)Africanisation and transformation in South Africa's higher education and academic discourses. The University of South Africa has been at the forefront of these agendas as we continue to reclaim Africa's intellectual capital. This book sets an agenda that intersects gender, acculturation, popular culture and digitisation, demonstrating the relevance of paremiology to contemporary grand societal challenges. In doing so, it emphasises the role of indigenous knowledge systems in shaping future generations and contributing to global conversations on cultural preservation and innovation.

At the heart of this exploration is the look at gender critiquing patriarchal structures embedded in androcentric texts and cultural practices, while celebrating aspects of African culture that uplift and honour women. This perspective is particularly significant in the analysis of proverbs, which often mirror societal attitudes towards gender roles.

The digitisation of proverbs represents a critical step towards preserving and revitalising indigenous knowledge in the digital age. By integrating emojis and archives into the documentation process, this book pioneers innovative methods of engaging younger generations with cultural heritage. Emojis, as modern symbols of communication, provide a novel way to bridge the gap between traditional wisdom and contemporary modes of expression. These digital tools enable proverbs to be archived and disseminated in ways that resonate with modern audiences, ensuring their longevity and accessibility across generations.

As an introductory guide to South African proverbs, this book invites readers to explore the rich tapestry of wisdom embedded in the languages of Northern Sotho/Sepedi, Xitsonga, Tshivenḓa and isiXhosa. It provides structured knowledge on the evolution of proverbs, connecting their historical origins to their contemporary relevance and future potential. By situating paremiology within the broader world of its speech communities, this book not only preserves cultural heritage but also serves as an 'authoritative container of knowledge' (Gouws & Prinsloo 2005).

Moreover, the text challenges us to reflect on the transformative power of indigenous knowledge. It encourages higher education institutions to create platforms that elevate indigenous perspectives and integrate them into mainstream academic discourse. This is not merely an act of preservation but a proactive effort to reimagine the role of indigenous knowledge in shaping a more inclusive and equitable future.

In conclusion, this book stands as a testament to the resilience and richness of South Africa's linguistic and cultural heritage. It bridges the wisdom of the past with the tools of the future, ensuring that the Soshanguve proverbs continue to inspire, educate and challenge generations to come. As readers journey through the chapters, they are invited to engage with a multilingual exploration of proverbs, one that underscores the profound significance of cultural preservation, gender equity and digital innovation in the 21st century.

Finally, I would like to congratulate the editors and contributors of chapters to this book. Let this work inspire us to see proverbs not just as relics of the past but as dynamic elements of a shared cultural journey – a journey that unites us in our diversity and empowers us to envision a future enriched by the wisdom of our collective heritage.

Introduction

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Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach

Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach describes the present state of Soshanguve proverbs scholarship, that is, the collection of proverbs (paremiography) and the study of proverbs (paremiology), its past accomplishment and its significance for the future.

Drawing on five years of a multilingual online proverbs dictionary project that collected 200+ common equivalent proverbs in each of the following languages: Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, Xitsonga, isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, siSwati and Tshivenḓa (Soshanguve), this book illuminates the richness of linguistic diversity and the profound cultural tapestry woven through the threads of proverbs across languages. For both general information and specialised research purposes, this book provides an account of the state of proverb scholarship and its transformative role in the current academic discourse in South Africa.

This multilingual book on Soshanguve paremiology+ has the potential for a significant impact on language learning and cultural preservation. In the South African multicultural context, it is important to teach culture to the young generation, and one way of teaching culture is through the teaching of proverbs. Paremiological study has applications in fields such as folklore, literature, sociology, psychology, syntax, semantics and translations. Proverbs have been incorporated into the strategies of several professionals such as psychologists, educators, politicians and preachers. For example, proverbs are used to study the traditional beliefs and customs of a community, the attitudes and behaviour of a person or group, the superintendence of a community, etc.

How to cite: Letsoalo, N & Ngoepe, M 2025, 'Introduction', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, p. xxxi. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.0i

Preface

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The declaration of a decade of indigenous languages by the United Nations General Assembly, as well as the revised Language Policy Framework for Higher Education in South Africa which seeks to promote multilingualism as a strategy to facilitate meaningful access and participation by university communities, resulted in a project at the University of South Africa to investigate proverbial equivalence among the 11 official languages of South Africa for language learning and communication with the objectives to identify popular proverbs in each language and their equivalence in the other languages; compile a comprehensive list of popular proverbs and meanings for each language and their equivalence, translation and usage examples in the other languages; explore the everyday use of the proverbs in all official languages; and digitise the comprehensive list of collected proverbs in all official languages.

Learning about proverbs, in the case of bilingual or multilingual communication, provides a way to learn not only the language but also about the people who use it. A multilingual and multicultural approach to language learning is important in a multilingual country like South Africa.

In the wake of a successful project funded by the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, one that resulted in the launch of an online multilingual proverbs dictionary, the motivation to pen this book on proverbs was born. The project collected 200+ common equivalent proverbs in each of the following languages: Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, Xitsonga, isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, isiSwati and Tshivenḓa (Soshanguve). This book describes the present state of Soshanguve proverb scholarship, that is, the collection of proverbs (paremiography) and the study of

How to cite: Letsoalo, N & Ngoepe, M 2025, 'Preface', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.00

proverbs (paremiology), its past accomplishments and its significance for the future. The development of the multilingual proverbs dictionary itself involved several focus groups to decide on popular proverbs to be included.

The journey embarked upon through the creation of the dictionary illuminated not only the richness of linguistic diversity but also the profound cultural tapestry woven through the threads of proverbs across languages. This book stands as a testament to that realisation and seeks to unravel the intricate layers of Soshanguve proverb scholarship. This book is not about providing a list of proverbs; it is an exciting journey into understanding and exploring proverbs. We want to tell you about the Soshanguve proverbs – how they came to be, what they mean and why they matter. Soshanguve is an acronym for Sotho (Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana), Shangaan (officially referred to as Xitsonga), Nguni (isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati) and Venda. Throughout this book and in the title, we deliberately used the acronym 'Soshanguve', although we are conscious of the contestation on Shangaan versus Xitsonga. Throughout this book, the language is referred to as Xitsonga. This is also the case with Sepedi/Sesotho sa Leboa. In one chapter, Sesotho sa Leboa is used, while the other uses Sepedi. Nonetheless, the chapters of this book look at the past, appreciate where we are now and dream about the future of proverbs.

Most of the chapters in this book are interrelated emanating from the multilingual proverbs project and written in five South African official languages, that is, isiXhosa, Sepedi/Sesotho sa Leboa, Xitsonga, Tshivenḓa and English. The book is designed to be an introductory guide to the study of South African proverbs and provides structured knowledge on how to use proverbs from the past, present and future. We hope that future companion editions will include all official languages to enhance multilingualism and multiculturalism, as South Africa is a multicultural and multilingual country where intercultural communication cannot be avoided. By adopting a multilingual approach in a country where several languages are spoken, language learners can gain an understanding and appreciation of the different languages and cultures that exist within the country. This can help to promote social cohesion and mutual respect between different speech communities. A multilingual approach provides language learners with a broader range of communication skills, allowing them to interact with a wider range of people and cultures within their own country, and potentially even in international contexts. Furthermore, a multicultural approach to language learning helps language learners to develop a deeper understanding of the history, values and beliefs of different cultural groups, which can lead to increased cultural awareness and sensitivity.

In Chapter 1 of this exploration, an overview of the Soshanguve paremiology project is provided, written in Sepedi. Attention is given to the digitisation of proverbs on institutional websites in South Africa.

This endeavour is framed within a broader objective of developing a robust framework for web archiving proverbs, recognising the importance of preserving indigenous knowledge contained within these linguistic expressions. The management of indigenous knowledge becomes a central focus in the ongoing conversation about archiving these linguistic artefacts. Chapter 2 adopts a text–context analysis to unravel the embodiment of proverbial purpose in Sepedi *manyalo* songs composed by Pleasure Ramadimetja Peta. The interplay between proverbs and cultural expressions becomes evident, offering a nuanced understanding of how these linguistic constructs permeate various forms of artistic representation. In Chapter 3, the focus shifts to the influence of language on societal norms, particularly within Bapedi marriages. Here, proverbs emerge as potent influencers, shaping stereotypical portrayals of men and women. The examination underscores the pivotal role language plays in constructing and reinforcing societal expectations. Chapter 4 extends the analysis to critically evaluate the connotations embedded in gendered proverbs, assessing their impact on women's empowerment and girls' education across the respective South African language groups. This chapter scrutinises the societal implications of linguistic constructs, seeking to illuminate potential avenues for positive change. The exploration of proverbs extends to the digital realm in Chapter 5, which investigates the contemporary use of proverbs on social media platforms. Despite initial scepticism, the enduring value of proverbs is recognised as they persist as integral elements in various creative expressions such as poetry, music and visual art.

Chapter 6 is written in Tshivenḓa, and it delves into the semantic aspects of Tshivenḓa paremiology, utilising a representative sample of proverbs from the Tshivenḓa grammar textbook, *Ngoma ya Vhatei*. This linguistic analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of the semantic nuances inherent in the proverbs of this particular South African language group. In Chapter 7, which is written in Xitsonga, the theoretical framework of Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory is applied to the analysis of proverbs in Xitsonga. This chapter posits that proverbs can be effectively dissected in terms of metaphorical expressions, revealing a plurality of meanings that enrich their linguistic and cultural significance. Written in isiXhosa, Chapter 8 shifts the focus to translation quality assessment, specifically evaluating a self-translated novel from isiXhosa into English. Drawing on House's model, this assessment scrutinises the fidelity of translation, with particular attention to the nuanced rendering of proverbs and their fulfilment of the intended purpose in the translated work. Chapter 9 is written in Sesotho sa Leboa and aims to untangle the implications embedded in Sesotho sa Leboa proverbs, which seemingly harbour contradictions in meaning. The analysis seeks to illuminate

potential inconsistencies in the advice conveyed by these proverbs, contributing to a nuanced understanding of their societal impact.

In the final chapter, Chapter 10, the attention turns to an in-depth analysis provided for four distinct South African language groups: Sotho (encompassing Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana), Xitsonga, Nguni (comprising isiZulu, isiXhosa and siSwati) and Venda. This examination delves into the conceptual framework shaping the creation of proverbs and elucidates the diverse social functions they serve within these linguistic communities.

This book is like a friendly guide to help you learn about South African proverbs. We take you from the very beginning of proverbs, way back in history, up to the present day. And we'll even chat about what might happen with proverbs in the future. But there is more to it! We think it is crucial to explore Indigenous African Knowledge, to shake things up a bit. We want to be part of transforming and celebrating our culture, bringing it back to life. This book touches on important topics like leadership, acculturation, new media, popular culture and digitisation. We are throwing out a challenge to universities and colleges. Let us make room for talking about indigenous knowledge and see how it can shape the future. Our book is a conversation starter, an invitation to think about new ideas and ways of learning.

Have you ever thought about how languages pass down their stories from one generation to the next? It is a bit like a family recipe that gets passed down. Proverbs are like those recipes – they carry our culture and traditions. This book is all about keeping those traditions alive.

Proverbs are not just fancy phrases; they are part of our daily language. They help us communicate better, understand each other and express our thoughts. We will show you how proverbs are like little gems that make our language sparkle. You will be surprised how much proverbs play a role in different areas of life. We will explore how they pop up in folklore, literature and even in the strategies of professionals like analysts, educators, writers and singers. Proverbs are like secret codes that help us understand our beliefs, attitudes and behaviours.

In a multicultural place like South Africa, it is super important to share and teach our culture. Proverbs are like little stories that make this sharing fun and meaningful. We want the younger generation to learn and enjoy these stories.

So, buckle up! Our book is a journey – a journey into the heart of Soshanguve proverbs. We are excited to share these stories with you and contribute to the bigger picture of indigenous knowledge in our academic discussions.

Chapter 1

Totobolepung ya diema: Kgoboketšoema ya Soshanguve

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Summary

The importance of preserving and disseminating knowledge contained in proverbs is necessary for the development of indigenous languages. One of the methods of conserving indigenous knowledge contained in proverbs has been oral history since the beginning of time. Technology has made it impossible to rely solely on oral tradition to preserve proverbs. As a result, information from proverbs can be preserved in part by using technology like web archiving. Indeed, improvements in technology have led to better ways of preserving and disseminating indigenous knowledge to ensure that future generations can access this information without challenges.

How to cite: Letsoalo, N & Ngoepe, M 2025, 'Totobolepung ya diema: Kgoboketšoema ya Soshanguve', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 1–15. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.01

This chapter, titled 'Web archiving of proverbs: Soshanguve paremiology', discusses the process of digitising proverbs using the multilingual proverbs dictionary as a case study. This chapter provides background information on the creation of the multilingual proverbs dictionary, which began in 2019 with four languages, that is, English, Tshivenḓa, Xitsonga and Northern Sotho. Other official languages, including siSwati, Setswana, Sesotho, Afrikaans, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu, were eventually added to the project in 2023. Nevertheless, the entries in the latter languages had not yet been published at the time this chapter was written. Additionally, this chapter describes the operation of the database that houses the 200 entries of chosen proverbs in each language. It is indicated in this chapter that web archiving is an essential instrument for the preservation and revitalisation of proverbs. This chapter suggests that one way to preserve and disseminate proverbs in indigenous languages is through technology.

Abstract

Soshanguve paremiology is an ongoing project that intends to preserve, revitalise and promote indigenous knowledge contained in proverbs, and mainstream linguistic diversity and multilingualism aspects into the sustainable development efforts. The management of indigenous knowledge contained in proverbs should be part of the main focus in the archive conversation. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the process of digitising proverbs in institutional websites in South Africa. Sufficient research has taken place on proverbs dictionaries in other languages such as Portuguese, Italian and English, among others. Nevertheless, there is still a gap in the availability or publication of online proverbs dictionaries for South African indigenous languages. This study used the qualitative research approach, which is associated with the interpretivist paradigm. It used a case study to explore the development of a multilingual quad-directional proverbs website. The study reveals that web archiving is a vital tool for proverbs preservation and revitalisation. Moreover, features of the proverbial dictionary microstructure can be made accessible through an electronic medium as an effort to digitise indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). Furthermore, in-depth knowledge of web archiving as a digital preservation measure is a vital component of online dictionary writing. We propose that for the purpose of revitalising the use of proverbs, an online dictionary and its website should be responsive so that it can be used on various devices, not just on a desktop computer.

Kakaretšo

Ge go bolelwa ka totobolepung ya diema, tsebo ya setlogo yeo e lego ka gare ga diema e swanetše go ba karolo ye kgolo poledišanong yeo. Se se

bjalo ka gobane melawana ya totobolepung e ka thuša go boloka, go tsošološa, le go tšwetša pele tsebo ya setlogo yeo e lego ka gare ga diema, le go phatlalatša go fapafapana ga maleme le dikarololwana tša malementši maitekong a tlhabollo ya go ya go ile. Maikemišetšo a kgaolo ye ke go hlagiša tshepedišo ya go titšifatša diema mo setshatshedimošong sa setšhaba sa setlogo sa Aforika Borwa ka nepo ya go hlama tlhako ya go boloka diema bolepung. Dinyakišišo tše mmalwa di dirilwe ka ga dipukuntšu tša diema ka maleme a mangwe a go swana le Sepotokisi, Sentlareana, Seisemane, gare ga a mangwe. Le ge go le bjalo, khwetšagalo goba phatlalatšo ya dipukuntšu tša diema tša bolepung tša maleme a setlogo ka Aforika Borwa e sa hlaelela. Nyakišišo ye e šomišitše mokgwa wa nyakišišo ya boleng, wo o amanago le filosofi ya mokgwatlhathollo (*interpretivist*) go tsinkela tlhabollo ya setshatshedimošo sa diema tša malementši. Bangwadi ba kgaolo ye ba be ba le karolo ya protšeke ya diema tša malementši yeo e theilwego bolepung. Go utullwa gore totobolepo ke lefelo la bohlokwa la go boloka diema le go di tsošološa. Go feta fao, dikarolwana tša kago ye nnyane (*microstructure*) ya pukuntšu ya diema di ka dirwa gore di fihlelelege ka sedirišwa sa elektroniki, maitapišo e le a go dira gore tsebo ya setlogo e be ya titšithale. Go feta fao, tsebo ye e tseneletšego ya totobolepung bjalo ka mokgwa wa pabalelo wa titšithale ke karolo ye bohlokwa ya go ngwala pukuntšu ya inthaneteng. Re šišinya gore ka nepo ya go tsošološa tšhomišo ya diema, pukuntšu ya inthanete le setshatshedimošo sa yona e swanetše go hlangwa bonolo gore e kgone go šomišwa didirišweng tša go fapafapana, e sego fela khomphutheng.

Matseno le boithekgo bja nyakišišo

Go na le bohlokwa bjo bogolo bja go boloka, go tsošološa le go hlatloša tsebo ya setlogo yeo e hwetšwago ka gare ga diema. Wo mongwe wa mekgwa ya go dira se ke go šomiša mananeotirišo (*softwares*) a mararankodi (*networks*) le ditshatshedimošo (*websites*) tša theknolotši bjalo ka matlakala a bolepu (*web*). Kaonafatšo ya theknolotši e tlile ka mekgwa ye mekaone ya go boloka le go phatlalatša tsebo ya setlogo go netefatša gore meloko ya ka moso e kgona go fihlelela tshedimošo ya segagabobona ntle le ditlhohlo. Nakong ya selehono, go bile le ditšwelopele ka lefapheng la theknolotši tšeo di tlišitšego titšifatšo bjale ka mokgwa wa go boloka tsebo ya setlogo (Balogun & Kalusopa 2022). Go ya ka Matsilele, Maunganidze le Ruhanya (2021), titšifatšo ke phetolelo ya tshepedišo ya botšweletši, le mešwang ya analoko bjalo ka dingwalo, diswantšho goba medumo go ba ka mokgwa wa titšithale wo o ka kgonago go balwa le go sepetšwa ka sebaledi. Mokgwa wo wa go boloka tsebo le tshedimošo o šetše o lekilwe go šomišwa gomme o laetša gore o tloga o tshepagala. Balogun le Kalusopa (2022) ba kgonthišiša gore dinaga tša Aforika bjalo ka Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana, le Aforika Borwa di na le bohlatse bja gore titšifatšo e ka šomišwa

go boloka tsebo ya setlogo. Ba fa mohlala ka Aforika Borwa yeo e nago le bengmalepu (*web-based portals*) tša go bitšwa *National Heritage Repository* le *National Automated Archival Infrastructure Information Retrieval System* ya go boloka bohwa bja bosetšhaba bja dingwalwa. Mongabolepu wo wa bosetšhaba o ka ba pulamadibogo ya go hlahla poloko, tsošološo le tlhatlošo ya tsebo ya setlogo yeo e hwetšwago ka gare ga diema tša maleme a setlogo a Aforika Borwa. Ngoepe (2015) o laetša gore titšifatšo ka Aforika Borwa ga se tlholompsha ka ge le dikgoro tša mmušo tše di latelago di šetše di e thakgotše: Kgoro ya Bogwebi le Bohlagiši, Kgoro ya Tirelo ya Mmušo le Taolo, Kgoro ya Mahlale le Theknolotši, Kgoro ya Dipapadi, Bokgabo le Setšo, Ofisi ya Bopresidente, Kgoro ya Pušo-Tirišano le Merero ya Magoši, le Kgoro ya Dinamelwa. Ngoepe (2017) o laetša gape gore khamphani ya *Rank Water* ke yengwe ya dikhamphani tša setšhaba tšeo di laolago direkoto ka mokgwa wa titšifatšo. Mokgwa wo o šomišwago mo o fokotša dikgonagalo tša gore tshedimošo ya setšhaba, mmušo le dikhamphani e ka lobjwa goba go fetošwa ntle le tumelelo. Poloko ye ya dingwalwa tša mmušo ka mokgwa wa go šomiša dibaledi, e ka nabela go diema.

Tsebo ya setlogo kudu ya go humanega ka gare ga diema ga e nape e bolokwa le go phatlalatšwa ka mokgwa wa titšithale. Tsebo ye ya setlogo ge e ka lahlega, e ka dira gore bafsa ba lehono ba se tsebe filosofi ya go nona yeo e iphihlilego ka gare ga diema. Tsebo ya setlogo e bohlokwa gore Aforika le yona e kgathe tema go rarolleng mathata a mo lefaseng le go kaonafatša maphelo. Go se ele šedi ya go boloka bohwa bjoo bo le go ka gare ga diema, go ka dira gore bohwa bja ye tšhupša bo lewe ke ya dinaka. Ge ya dinaka e ja bohwa bja ye tšhupša, go tla phethega seo Sesanti (2012) a re go bašhwahladifero e tla ba bathibadifero mola bathibadifero e ba bašhwahladifero, ya ba gore ba go tšwa moše wa mawatle ba tšea tsebo ya rena ya setlogo gomme morago ba re rekišetša yona ka gore re diegile le go ba boi go ka e boloka le go e phatlalatša. Theknolotši e re fa monyetla wa gore re kgone go boloka tsebo ye ya setlogo yeo e le go ka gare ga diema.

Bjale ka ge Ngoepe, Shaku le Letsoalo (2022) ba boletše, go bohlokwa gore re tšee dibaka tšeo re di fiwago ke bolepu go boloka le go phatlalatša tsebo ya setlogo yeo e le go ka gare ga diema. Ge tsebo e gatišitšwe ka go ngwalwa ka gare ga dipuka le ge e ka bolokega, batho ba bantši ga ba kgone go e fihlelela ka ge dipuku di sa keke go tshwana le tshedimošo yeo e le go inthaneteng. Se se bonagetše kudu projekeng ya Facebook yeo e bitšwago *Sešego: Pukuntšutlhaloši* ya Sepedi. Malebana le seemotikologo seo se laeditšwego, kgaolo ye e utolla poloko le phatlalatšo ya diema totobolepung.

Diema di bohlokwa polelong kudu ya setlogo ka ge bangwadi ba go swana le Ngoepe et al. (2022) ba lla ka taba ya gore maleme a setlogo

ga a gole ka lebaka la go hloka mareo le go se šomišwe ke baboledi ba ona. Diema ke mafoko a bohlale a bogologolo. Tšona di theilwe godimo ga diphoofolo, diphedi le dilo tša go se phele. Diema di natefiša le go nontšha polelo, ebile di tletše ka dikgopolo le dikeletšo. Le ge go le bjalo, ga go yo a tsebago gore di hlotšwe ke mang. Diema di fapafapana go ya ka dilete, eupša di tšeelana mello. Gape di na le dibopego tša go fapafapana. Tše dingwe tša diema di theilwe godimo ga poeletšo medumo mola tše dingwe tša tšona di tšweletša thulano. Diema tše dingwe di bolela selo se tee. Mohlala wa diema tša go thulana ke: *Ya boela pitšeng e a swa* le *Maropeng go a boelwa*. Go na le diema tše dingwe tšeo di bolelago selo se tee. Mehlala ya diema tšeo di tšeelelanago mellwane ke yeo e latelago: *Molato ga o bole* le *Molao o na le letsogo le letelele*. Tše dingwe e ka ba *Maebana mabedi ga a rakwe* le *Pšhio tša tlou ga di pataganywe*. Go ya le ka Ngoepe le Thoka (2008), mehola ya diema ke yeo e latelago:

- Di oketša tlotlontšu
- Di oketša tsebo
- Di nontšha polelo
- Di ruta motho setšo sa gabo
- Di tlwaetša motho go inaganela
- Di phafoša motho
- Di fetišetša setšo melokong ye e tlago
- Di bjala moya wa tšhomišano setšhabeng.

Go bohlokwa gore diema di bolokwe le go phatlalatšwa gore meloko yeo e tlago e di humane. Ngoepe et al. (2022) ba bolela gore mokgwa wo mongwe wa go godiša leleme la setlogo e ka ba go šomiša dikgokagano tša leago go swana le projeke ya *Sešego: Pukuntšutlhaloši ya Sepedi* letlakaleng la Facebook. Letlakala le la Facebook le hlamilwe ke Napjadi Letsoalo wa Yunibesithi ya Aforika Borwa ka morago ga go lemoga gore batho ba lahlegelwa ke maleme, setšo, le bohwa ge babagolo ba tloga lefaseng ka gore tsebo ya setlogo e sa gatišiwe. Go gatiša le go boloka tsebo ye mararankoding go ka dira gore le morole o mosesane o be le kgahlego ka ge tlholegong ya bona ba šomiša dibaledi. Le ge mararankodi a dibaledi e le lerumo la magare a mabedi (*double-edged sword*), a ka raloka karolo ya bohlokwa go bopa, phatlalatša, le go boloka tsebo ya setlogo yeo e le go ka gare ga diema. Dinyakišišo di laetša gore Facebook ka bo yona e na le bašomiši ba dimilione milione lefaseng ka bophara. Se sa ra gore ge diema di bolokegile bolepung, di tla be di batametše go dimilione tšeo tša bašomiši ba dikgokagano tša leago. Maikemišetšo a kgaolo ye ke go hlagiša tshepedišo ya go titšifatša diema mo setshatshedimošong sa setheo ka Aforika Borwa ka nepo ya go hlama tlhako ya go boloka diema bolepung.

Seemotikologo sa projeke

Yunibesithi ya Aforika Borwa e na le projeke ya go kgoboketša diema tša go nyalelana tša maleme ka moka a semmušo ya go bitšwa Kgoboketšoema ya maleme a *Soshanguve Paremiology*. Soshanguve mo ke khutsofatšo yeo e emetšego maleme a setlogo e lego Sotho, Tsonga (yeo e bego e tsebega ka Shangaan ka nako ya mmušo wa hlaolele), Nguni, Venḓa le Tsonga. Diema tše di re go kgoboketšwa gomme tša phatlalatšwa ka setshatshedimošong (*website*) sa Yunibesithi. Ka ge go šomišitšwe lenaneotirišo (*software*) la TLex, tshedimošo ye ga e laolwe ka mafuri (*back-end*) a mongabolepu wa Yunibesithi. Bangwadi ba ba ntši go swana le Shibambu le Ngoepe (2020), Ngoepe le Van der Walt (2009) ba lla ka mathata a poloko ya dingwalwa marung gape le go onega ga mananeotirišo le ditšhipi (*hardware*) tša theknolotši. Ge di šetše di onetše, go ba boima go ka buša tshedimošo. Ka fao, go hlokega mokgwa wa go netefatša gore tshedimošo ya diema tša go nyalelana tša maleme ka moka a semmušo e ba ka gare ga polokelo ya Yunibesithi gore ka moso e kgone go šomišetšwa dinyakišišo. Ge e se ka gare ga polokelo ya Yunibesithi, go bohlokwa gore go be le lengwalwana la kwano le bao ba bolokilego tsebo yeo gore e laolwe ke Yunibesithi, ka ge le yona e tla be e le thoto ya Yunibesithi. Molawana wa Tirelo ya Bosetšhaba ya Bokgobadingwalo le Direkote wa Aforika Borwa (*Act 43 of 1996*), o tloga o gatelela gore tshedimošo yeo e dirilwego go šomišwa mašeleng a mmušo e swanetšwe go laolwa ka tlase ga molawana wo wa dingwalwa.

Diema ke sehlagiši sa kamano ya polelo le setšo, ka fao ke mothopo o mogolo wa bohwa bja merafo ya go fapafapana kudukudu ya se-Aforika. Tshedimošo ye ntši ya bohwa bja ditšo tša Aforika e lobilwe ka lebaka la go se ngwalwe le go se titšifatšwe. Ge bokgobapuku bja Yunibesithi ya Kapa bo lauma ka kgabo ya mollo, dikgoboketšwa tšeo di ikgethilego di ile tša hwelela sa ruri ka ge tše dingwe tša tšona e be e le dipuku, diswantšho, dikhasete le direkoto tšeo di bolokilwego ka mokgwa wa analoko. Mokgwa wo wa kgale wa go boloka tshedimošo ga wa tshepagala ka ge o sa fihlelege ga bonolo ebile o le kotsing ya go lahlega ntle le mohlala (Balogun & Kalusopa 2022; Ngoepe 2017). Go na le hlokego ya go netefatša gore mokgwa wo wa kgale le melawana ya wona e se be lepheko la toto (*archiving*) ya tshedimošo ya bohwa ka mokgwa wa titšithale (Perry 2014). Go efoga gore batho ba lobe tsebo ya bona ya setlogo goba ba e fetošwe ge nako e dutše e sepela, Niu (2012) o re totobolepung, yeo e le go tshepedišo ya go kgoboketša tšhedimošo yeo e lego inthaneteng le go netefatša gore tshedimošo yeo e lotwa ka gare ga polokelo (*archive*) gore e šomišwe dinyakišišong tša ka moso, e swanetše go ba selomodiro ge go bolokwa tšhedimošo.

Tshekatsheko ya dingwalwa

Go sekaseka dingwalwa ge re nyakišiša kgaolo ye, re thomile ka go hlatholla mantšu a dikgonyollo go swana le poloko, bokgobadingwalwa, ditshatshedimošo (bolepu), le totobolepu. Ge re fetša ra lebelela bohlokwa, ditlhohlo, le menyetla ya go boloka le go phatlalatša diema ka mokgwa wa inthanete. Poloko e hlalošwa ke Ngoepe le Van der Walt (2009) e le tlhokomelo ya direkote go kaonafatša maemo a tšona le go telefatša bophelo bja tšona mola bobolokelo bja bokgobadingwalwa e le moago woo ka gare ga wona direkote tša go ba le boleng bja bokgobadingwalo di bolokelwago sammaruri. Se se akaretša palomoka ya ditshepetšo tša go akaretšwa ka tiišong le tšhireletšong ya ditokomane kgahlanong le tshenyo goba tshenyego le ka tokišong ya ditokomane tše di senyegilego goba di boetšego. Pabalelo gape e ka akaretša phetišetšo ya tshedimošo go mokgwa wo mongwe, go swana le ditšitale. Ba bangwe ba e bitša kgoro ya mmušo, mokgatlo goba lenaneo la go rwala maikarabelo a go sekaseka, go lokiša, go tlaleletša, go boloka le go fa tirelo ya tšhupetšo go dimetheriale tša bokgobadingwalo. Ka ge mokgatlo wo o boloka bohwa bja dingwalwa, go a swanelwa gore o ka katološa taelo ya wona go akaretša tsebo ya setlogo. Mo e tla be e phethagatša phetogo yeo bangwadi ba ba ntši ba bolelago ka yona gore tsebo ya setlogo e akaretšwe mananeong a thuto, moruo, le mafelong a mangwe.

Lentšu le lengwe leo re bolelago ka lona kgaolong ye ke bolepu. Bolepu bo hlathollwa ke Luthuli (2022) e le letlakala goba kgobokanyo ya matlakala mo setsheng sa bolepu bja lefase ka bophara (*world wide web* [www]) yeo e rwelego tshedimošo ye e itšego ka motho goba mokgatlo gomme e lotega ka didirišwa tša tšhupafelo ya semphato (*uniform resource locator [URL]*) ka mehla. Go ba bangwe e tsebja bjalo ka mongasefata (portal) ka ge e le bolepu bjoo bo akaretšago hlogotaba ye e itšego goba ntasteri, gomme e na le ditšhupane le dientšine tša go nyaka tšeo di diretšwego go šomišwa bjalo ka mekgwa ya go buša tshedimošo go tšwa go bolepu bja lefase ka bophara (www). *World wide web* ke tsela ya tshedimošo inthaneteng, yeo e dumelelago ditokomane go kopantšhwa le ditokomane tše dingwe ka dihaephalinki go kgonagatša go nyaka le go hwetša tšhedimošo.

Ditshatshedimošo ka mehla di šomišwa bjalo ka mokgwa wa tsebišano go setšhaba ka kakaretšo. Tšona di tla ka mekgwa le dibopego tše ntši tša go fapafapana, gomme ye nngwe le ye nngwe e na le ditlhohlo tša yona (Brügger 2005). Mehuta ya ditshatshedimošo e akaretša ya go se fetoge (*static*) goba setshatshedimošokemi, yeo e na go le kgoboketšo ya dihaephalinki tša ditokomane tša go bolokwa ka gare ga dathabeisi. Go mohuta wo wa setshatshedimošo, tiro yeo e bonagalago ke tšhutišo magareng ga ditokomane tšeo di haephalinkilwego. Mohuta wo o bonolo go boloka tshedimošo ya wona go swana le go swantša dihala goba seširo.

Gape setshatshedimošo se ka ngwalwa ka gare ga CD (Luthuli 2022). Tshedimošo yeo e phatlaladitšwego setsheng seo e ka laolwa ka gare ga dathabeisi yeo e boloketšwego go yona.

Mohuta wa bobedi wa ditshatshedimošo o akaretša wa go fetogafetoga (*dynamic*). Mohuta wo o na le ditlhohlo tše ntši tša go laola le go boloka tshedimošo. Go ditshatshedimošo tša go fetogafetoga, bašomiši ba ka kgopela tshedimošo yeo e le go ka gare ga dathabeisi ka go šomiša e-form (Niu 2012). Bašomiši ba ka diriša ditšhupane le dientšine tša go nyaka tšeo di diretšwego go šomišwa bjalo ka mekgwa ya go buša tshedimošo go mohuta wo wa setshatshedimošo. Mohuta wo wa bolepu ga o bonolo go o laola le go o boloka. Mohuta wa mafelelo wa setshatshedimošo ke wa tsenelelano (*interactive*). Go ya ka Mosweu le Ngoepe (2019), mohuta wo wa setshatshedimošo o wela ka tlase ga sekhukhu sa tsebišano ya seela (*liquid communication*). Mosweu le Ngoepe (2020) ba bapetša tsebišano ya seela le thai ya gore 'se se se kae', yeo nyepollo ya yona e lego letsetse. Se ke ka lebaka la gore ka ponyo ya leihlo o a le bona le kotame letsogong, efela motsotsonyana ga o le bone ka gore le fofile. Bjale le mohuta wo wa setshatshedimošo o bjalo, gomme go boima go o laola le go o boloka ka ge tshedimošo ya wona e nyamela ka pela.

Go projeke ya totobolepung ya diema, go šomišitšwe mohuta wa setshatshedimošo wa go se šikinyege ka lenaneotirišo (*software*) la TshwaneLex (Tlex). De Schryver le Joffe (2006) ba hlaloša gore TLex ke lenaneotirišo la profešenale, leo le humilego ka dikarolo, leo le dirilwego ka botlalo la boditšhabatšhaba, la go kgoboketša dipukuntšu goba mananeo a mareo. Setshatshedimošo se se bopilwe ka palo ye e sa fetogego ya difaele tšeo di bolokilwego go *server* ya ka morago, server yeo ke lenaneotirišo la TLex. TLex e na le dikarolo tše ntši tše di kgethegilego tšeo di go dumelelago go fokotša nako le ditshenyagalelo tša tšweletšo ya pukuntšu le go oketša boleng le go se fetoge ga dipukuntšu tša gago (De Schryver & Joffe 2006). Difaele tšeo di šomišitšwego go hlama setshatshedimošo sa pukuntšu ya diema ya projeke ye di ngwadilwe lenaneotirišong la TLex, ke moka tša fetolelwa go *hypertext markup language* (HTML). *Hypertext markup language* ke polelo ya mathomo ya go ngwala dikhoutu yeo e šomišwago go hlama ditshatshedimošo tše di sa fetogego. Go ngwala khoutu ya HTML go akaretša go ngwala khoutu yeo e hlalošago sebopego le diteng tša setshatshedimošo. Ge modiriši a kgopela letlakala go tšwa go *server* ka URL, server e bušetša faele ya HTML yeo e laeditšwego ke URL le difaele dife goba dife tša *cascading style sheets* (CSS) le/goba JavaScript tšeo di sepelago le yona (De Schryver & Joffe 2006; Xing et al. 2022; Zhu et al. 2013).

Ge modiriši a le gare a fetleka setshatshedimošo, server ya setshatshedimošo ga e fetoše difaele pele di romelwa go modiriši, ka fao letlakala la setshatshedimošo le tla lebelega le swana tlwaa go yo mongwe

le yo mongwe yo a le kgopelago (Zhu et al. 2013). Diteng ga di šikinyege – tsela e nnoši ya go fetoša kamoo setshatshedimošo se lebelegago ka gona ke ka go fetoša ka seatla dikagare tša difaele. Le ge setshatshedimošo se sa fetoge, se kgahliša ka tirišego ya go fetleka ka go kgotla dikonope le dilinki.

Mehola ya mohuta wa setshatshedimošo wa go se šikinyege ke mohuta wo bonolo wa setsha go hlama le go hlokomela (Xing et al. 2022). Tirišego ka lehlakoreng la modiriši e ba ya lebelo ka ge ditshatshedimošo tšeo di sa šikinyegego di na le go ba lebelo go feta tšeo di fetogago. Se ke ka lebaka la gore matlakala a ditshatshedimošo tša go se šikinyege a šetše a agilwe gomme a nyaka tshepedišo ye nnyane ya ka mafuri. *Server* e hloka fela go lata difaele tše di kgopetšwego le go di iša go modiriši. Ditshatshedimošo tša go se šikinyege le tšona di bonolo go bolokwa ka lebaka la go hloka go fapafapana ga diteng. Tshepedišo ya setshatshedimošo goba lebelo la setsha le bohlokwa kudu bakeng sa boitemogelo bjo bobotse bja modiriši gomme gape le ama maemo a setshatshedimošo (Kant & Sundaram 2000). Go bohlokwa gore lenaneotirišo la go hlama mohuta wa setshatshedimošo wa go se šikinyege le kgone go ka akgofiša tšhomišo ya setshatshedimošo ntle le go ama go nepagala ga dinyakwa.

Ge go hlangwa setshatshedimošo sa mohuta wa go se šikinyege, go bohlokwa go rulaganya diteng ka sebopego se se kgahlišago ebile se fletlekegago gabonolo. Se se akaretša go hlama tšhupaditeng go dumelela badiriši go hwetša diteng tšeo ba di hlokago ka pela. Gape go bohlokwa go šomiša polelo ye e kwagalago e le ye kopana le go fa ditlhalošo le mehlala go thuša badiriši go kwešiša ditlhalošo tša diema. Go hlama setshatshedimošo sa mohuta wa go se šikinyege ka go šomiša difaele tša HTML ke tshepedišo ye e otlologilego yeo e akaretšago magato a mmalwa. Pele go thongwa tshepedišo ya tlhamo ya setshatshedimošo sa pukuntšu ya diema ya projeke ye, go be go le bohlokwa go rulaganya sebopego le diteng tša setshatshedimošo. Se se be se akaretša go dira nyakišišo go hlatha badiriši ba tshedimošo bao ba nepišitšwego, go hlaloša morero wa setshatshedimošo, le go kgetha diema tša maleba. Tlhagišo ya setshatshedimošo se e šomišega bonolo, sebopego se a kgahliša ebile se dumelelana le morero wa setshatshedimošo. Se se dirwa ke kgetho ya mengwalo (difonte) ya maleba, mebala, le diswantšho tšeo di sepelelanago le morero wa setshatshedimošo go lebeletšwe letlakala la ditaelo tša ditshatshedimošo la Yunibesithi.

Go ngwala dikhoutu tša HTML tša setshatshedimošo sa pukuntšu ya diema go dirilwe ka lenaneotirišo la TLex. Se se akaretša go hlama dikarolo tša letlakala la gae, mongwalo wa diema bjalo ka hlogo ya letlakala la seema, mmele – tlhalošo, tšhomišo, mahlalosetšagotee, diphetolelo, le go tsenya dikgokagano. Ka morago ga moo setaele sa CSS se ile sa šomišwa ka gare ga lenaneo la TLex go oketša setaele setshatshedimošong, go swana le bogolo bja fonte, mmala le peakanyo (Xing et al. 2022;

Zhu et al. 2013). Se se akaretša go hlama faele ya CSS ye e arogilego le go e kgokaganya le faele ya HTML. Pele go setshatshedimošo se hlangwa, go be go le bohlokwa go leka le go lokiša setshatshedimošo ka botlalo go netefatša gore se šoma gabotse go didirišwa tše di fapanego. Tšhomišo ya HTML le CSS tirelong e thuša gore tshepetšo ya go boloka le go phatlalatša tshedimošo e be bonolo.

Tshepetšo ya go boloka le go phatlalatša tshedimošo ka ditshatshedimošo e bitšwa totobolepu. Niu (2012, p. 1) o hlaloša totobolepu bjalo ka tshepetšo ya go tomola le go buna tshedimošo yeo e gatišitšwego setsheng sa bolepu bja lefase ka bophara. Ge e bunnwe e lotwa gare ga didathabeisi le bokgobadingwalwa gore e kgone go fihlelelwa ke banyakišiši le bameloko yeo e tlago ka moso. Gore se se phethagale, go hlokega lenaneokgoparara la tshedimošo, bokgoni, maitemogelo, le tekanyetšo. Ke ka fao projeke ye ya go phatlalatša diema ka totobolepu e ithekgile ka mašeleng go tšwa go mokgatlo wa bosetšhaba wa sehlongwa sa botho le thuto ya leago wa go bitšwa *National Institute of Humanities and Social Science* (NIHSS). Ntle le thekgo ye ya matlole go tšwa go NIHSS poloko ye ya diema e be e tla ba taba ya thaba ya go nyaka banna ka dilepe. Kua moše wa mawatle, bokgobapuku bja bosetšhaba bja Singapore (*National Library of Singapore*) bo bonwa bjalo ka bjo bokaone go bolokeng bohwa bja setšhaba ka go šomiša totobolepu (Cadavid, Bash & Kaleeswaran 2014).

Tše dingwe tša ditlhohlo tšeo batho le mekgatlo ya go fapafapana ba kopanago natšo di akaretša go onega ga mananeotirišo le ditšhipi tša theknolotši (Ngoepe 2017). Se se ka dira gore tshedimošo yeo e bolokilwego e se sa hwetšwa goba go bušwa ge e hlokega. Ge mananeotirišo le ditšhipi di onala, go nyakega gore tshedimošo e hudušetšwe go theknolotši ye ntshwa go swana le ga bjale ge re le intastering ya bone ya phetogo, yeo e tsebegago ka *Fourth Industrial Revolution* (4IR) go bolelwa ka ditheknolotši tšeo di thubago (*disruptive technologies*) go swana le bohlale bja maitirelo dibaleding (*artificial intelligence*), poloko marung (*cloud storage*), legong la ketane (*blockchain*), le tše dingwe. Ka lebaka la go hlabologa kudu ga theknolotši, re bona mananeotirišo le ditšhipi tša dibaledi di sa tie go feta nywaga ye mehlano. Di fetogafetoga ka pela, gomme di nyaka gore le batho ba fetoge le mabaka. Dillathekeng le tšona di hlabolotšwe kudu. Dingwe tša ditlhohlo di akaretša tšhwahlelo ya ditshatshedimošo ke boramahlale ka nepo ya go utswa tshedimošo.

Se ke nnete ka gore ga ntši go ba boima go fihlelela tshedimošo yeo e bolokilwego nywaga ye lesome ya go feta ka lebaka la phetogo ya mananeotirišo le ditšhipi tša dibaledi. Mohlala, lehono ke dibaledi tše mmalwa fela tšeo di dumelago *floppy disk*. E šita le difatanaga tše ntši ga di sa dumela CD. Inthanete ya dilo *(internet of things*) e thatafaditše dilo le go feta ka gore ga bjale go nyakega dillathekeng le didirišwa tša bohlale go

kgonagatša kgokagano kae le kae. Ditheknolotši tšeo go bolelwago ka tšona di ka dirišwa go boloka diema tšeo e lego bohwa bja setšhaba.

Taolo ya tsebo ya setlogo yeo e hwetšwago ka gare ga diema e swanetše go ba ye nngwe ya ditabakgolo ge go bolelwa ka totobeolepung. Diema di hlagiša bophelo bja 'tšatši ka 'tšatši bja setšhaba sa polelo yeo ebile di bohlokwa polokong ya mantšu a kgale ao lehono batho lehono ba se sa a šomišago kgafetšakgafetša efelupša ba felago ba a lahlela mo le mola (Mafela 2012). Ka ge Yunibesithi ya Aforika Borwa e kgoboketša diema tša go nyalelana tša maleme ka moka a semmušo, go hlokega tlhako goba mokgwatirišo wa go titšifatša diema tšeo di lego setshatshedimošong sa Yunibesithi efela taolo ya tšona e se ka mafuri a mongabolepu wa Yunibesithi. Dinyakišišo mabapi le go šomiša titšifatšo go boloka tshedimošo le tsebo ya setlogo ke kgale di tsitsinketšwe mo Aforika Borwa le dinaga mabapi. Go fa mohlala, Katuu le Ngoepe (2015) ba lebeletše melao ya taolo ya direkoto tša titšithale. Balogun le Kalusopa (2022) ba lebeletše tlhamo ya mokgwatirišo wa go boloka tsebo ya setlogo go šomišwa titšifatšo. Ngoepe (2017) o hlodumetše seemo sa polokego ya direkoto tša titšithale. Ngoepe le Saurombe (2016) ba lekotše melao ya go laola go boloka dingwalwa tša titšithale go tšwa mebušong ya dinagakakaretšo tša Borwa bja Aforika, yeo e tsebegago ka *Southern African Development Community* (SADC). Ngoepe le Van der Walt (2009) ba fetlekile maano a go dirišwa ke Tirelo ya Bosetšhaba ya Bokgobadingwalo le Direkote ya Aforika Borwa. Shibambu le Ngoepe (2020) le bona ba hlalositše ditlhotlo le menyetla ya go boloka dingwalwa tša mmušo marung.

Le ge dinyakišišo mabapi le go šomiša titšifatšo go boloka tshedimošo le tsebo ya setlogo e le maphaaphaa, ga se go hlake gabotse gore go bolokwa tshedimošo yeo e lego setshatshedimošong se itšego efela taolo ya yona e le lefelong leo le fapanego go swanetše go latelwa mekgwa efe gore tshedimošo yeo e se ke ya fetolwa goba go phumulwa ntle le tumelelo. Godimo ga fao, go na le dinyakišišo tša go tlala seatla tša go fetleka dipukuntšu tša diema ka maleme a go swana le Sefora (*French*) (Nelyubova, Dugalich & Ershov 2021), Sepotokisi (*Portuguese*) (Silberger 1989), le Seisimane (*English*) (Doyle 2007). Efela Le ge go le bjalo, hlokego ye kgolo e sa le gona ya go lebelela kgoboketšo le phatlalatšo ya sebjalebjale ya diema tša maleme a setlogo a Aforika Borwa e sa le gona. Nyakišišo ye e kopanya hlokego ya polokelo ka titšifatšo le ya phatlalatšo ya titšithale ya diema tša maleme a setlogo a Aforika Borwa. Kgaolo ye e kgonthišiša mokgwa wo o ka šomišwago go totobolepung ya tsebo ya setlogo yeo e hwetšwago ka gare ga diema tša maleme a setlogo a Aforika Borwa. Mokgwa wo o tla thuša bakgoboketši le baphatlalatši ba diema go šomiša maanophethagatšo ao a tla netefatšago gore tsebo ya setlogo e bolokelwa bolepung goba setshatshedimošong le gore e lotwa ka gare ga polokelo.

Tirišo ya setshatshedimošo sa projeke

Go boloka diema ka dipukuntšu tša inthanete ke mokgwa wo o šomago wa go šireletša bohwa bja setšo bjo bo tsentšwego ka gare ga mebolelwana ye le go fa bohlale. Dipukuntšu tša inthaneteng ke dipolokelo (*databases*) tše di hlagolegago tša tšhomišo ya tshedimošo ya sebjalebjale (Cotter & Damaso 2007). Dipukuntšu tša inthaneteng, tšeo di nago le diema tše di fapafapanego go tšwa ditšong le malemeng a go fapafapana, ke mothopo wo o loketšego morero wa go boloka maleme a setlogo. Di nolofatša go hwetša le go sekaseka tshedimošo gabonolo, go di kgontša go tsoma ka lebelo ga diema tša go swana malemeng a go fapafapana ka lebelo. Tshepetšo ya go boloka diema tša setshatshedimošo ka dipukuntšung tša inthanete e akaretša magato a mmalwa, go thoma ka go hlatha setsha sa maleba seo se kgonago go boloka kgoboketšo ye e feletšego ya diema. Se se phethagaditšwe ka ditherišano tša ditsebi. Ke moka diema di kgobokeditšwe le go rulaganywa ka mokgwatatelano, tlhaolo ya mothopo wa seema, bohlokwa bja polelo le setšo go ralala le maleme a mane (Seswantšho 1.1 se laetša letlakala la gae la setshatshedimošo ka maleme a

Source: https://www.unisa.ac.za/sites/corporate/default/Colleges/Human-Sciences/Schools,-departments,-centres,-institutes-&-units/School-of-Arts/Department-of-Linguistics-and-Modern-Languages/Unisa-Multilingual-Proverbs-Dictionary. Screenshot reproduced with permission from Napjadi Letsoalo.

FIGURE 1.1: Letlakala la gae la setshatshedimošo.

mane a projeke). Setshatshedimošo se se thakgotšwe semmušo kgweding ya Mopitlo ka 2023. Ka nako ya ge re ngwala karolo ye, sehlopha sa projeke se be se le gare se katološa diema go maleme a mangwe a semmušo, go tloga go Sovenga go ya go Soshanguve.

Go boloka diema go be go nyakega go šomiša sedirišwa sa totobolepung seo se bego se ka swara le go šireletša diteng tša pukuntšu ya inthaneteng. Se se thuša go thibela tahlegelo ya tshedimošo yeo e ka hlolwago ke diphetogo tša setshatshedimošo goba go phumuolwa ga seema setsheng. Tshedimošo yeo e bolokilwego ka mo go šireletšegilego e rulagantšwe bakeng sa go bolokwa nako ye telele, go kgonthišetša gore banyakišiši, diithuti le batho bao ba nago le kgahlego ba ka hwetšae diema tšeo di bolokilwego. Dipolokelo tša tshedimošo tša inthaneteng le mananeotirišo di ile tša dirišwa go dira gore diteng tša setshatshedimošo di fihlelelege gabonolo. Diteng tše di bolokilwego di dirilwe gore di fetlekwe le go humanega ka go šomiša dithekniki tša maleba tša go nyaka go kgontša phihlelelo ye e šomago gabotse. Ge di šetše di bolokilwe le go dirwa gore di fihlelelege, diema di kgona go ka sekasekwa go ya ka bohlokwa bja tšona bja setšo, dimelo tša polelo le seemo sa histori. Tshekaseko ye bjalo e ka fa ditemogo tše bohlokwa ka ga bohwa bja setšo bja ditšhaba tše di fapanego gomme ya thuša go boloka bohlale bjo bo lego ka gare ga diema go meloko ye e tlago. Go tšwetša pele tšhomišo ya diema le go hlola temošo ya bohlokwa bja tšona bjalo ka mothopo wa setšo go fihleletšwe ka go šomiša dikgokagano tša leago, dikgatišobaka tša thuto, le tšhomišano le setšhaba.

Setshatshedimošo sa projeke ye se hlamilwe setsheng sa Yunibesithi ya Aforika Borwa. Se hwetšwa ka fase ga College of Human Sciences ka Lefapheng la Thutamaleme le Maleme a Sebjalebjale. Leina la setshatshedimošo ke *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary*. Setshatshedimošo se se kopanya diema tšeo di tumilego gomme ya mpshafatša diteng ka go akaretša diema tšeo di thomilego go dirišwa matšatšing a sebjalebjale. Se latela mokgwa wa malementši le ditšontši wa go ruta le go ithuta diema ka maleme a mane e lego, Sepedi, Xitsonga, Tshivenḓa, le Seisemane. Godimo ga fao, se ba setshatshedimošo sa mathomo sa diema seo se nago le dikarolo tše tshela tša tsenyo ya seema. Dikarolo tšeo ke, (1) seema sa polelo ya mothopo bjalo ka tsenyokgolo, (2) tlhalošo ya sona, (3) mohlala wa tšhomišo, le (4) phetolelo ya sona le seema sa go lekana le sona go polelophetolelo ya pele, (5) phetolelo ya sona le seema sa go lekana le sona go polelophetolelo ya bobedi, le (6) phetolelo ya sona le seema sa go lekana le sona go polelophetolelo ya boraro. Gape e ba moswananoši go ba le tlhagišo ya mahlakore a mane ya diema, ke go re, ye nngwe le ye nngwe ya maleme a mane ao a tšweleditšwego bjalo ka dikeno tša hlogo dikarolong tša ona ka go latelana (Seswantšho 1.2 ke mohlala wa dikarolo tše tshela tša tsenyo ya seema).

Source: https://www.unisa.ac.za/sites/corporate/default/Colleges/Human-Sciences/Schools,-departments,-centres,-institutes-&-units/School-of-Arts/Department-of-Linguistics-and-Modern-Languages/Unisa-Multilingual-Proverbs-Dictionary. Screenshot reproduced with permission from Napjadi Letsoalo.

FIGURE 1.2: Dikarolo tše tshela tša tsenyo ya seema.

Go diriša setshatshedimošo sa pukuntšu ya projeke ye go tloga go otlologile. Meagato ya kakaretšo šea:

- Latela linki ye: https://www.unisa.ac.za/sites/corporate/default/Colleges/Human-Sciences/Schools,-departments,-centres,-institutes-&-units/School-of-Arts/Department-of-Linguistics-and-Modern-Languages/Unisa-Multilingual-Proverbs-Dictionary
- Bula sephephediši sa gago sa wepe, nyaka *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary* gomme o sepele bolepung bja pukuntšu ya gago ya inthanete yeo o e kgethilego
- Ge o šetše o le letlakaleng la gae, o ka kgotla konope ya polelo ye e itšego go phetla diema tšeo di kgethilwego bakeng sa polelo yeo
- Letlakaleng la polelo, o ka sepelasepela diema tše di beakantšwego ka tatelano ya ditlhaka goba wa kgotla tlhaka go phetla diema tša go thoma ka tlhaka yeo
- Ka morago ga go hlaola diema tšeo o nyakago go di lebelela godimo, kgotla seema go bona dipoelo
- Dipoelo di tla laetša tlhalošo (ditlhalošo) ya seema, gotee le tshedimošo efe goba efe ye nngwe ya maleba go swana le mohlala wa tšhomišo, mahlalosetšagotee, , le diphetolelo go tšwa malemeng a mangwe
- Ge o nyaka go lebelela seema se sengwe, boeletša tshepedišo yeo.

Go šomiša setshatshedimošo sa *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary* ke tsela ye bonolo le ye e loketšego ya go lebelela tlhalošo ya seema, go lekola mopeleto, le go ithuta ka botlalo ka diema go tšwa malemeng a go fapafapana.

Thumo le dikeletšo

Go tloga go bonagala gore ditshatshedimošo e ka ba senotlelo sekgobeng sa go boloka, go tsošološa, le go hlatloša tsebo ya setlogo yeo e hwetšwago ka gare ga diema. Go bohlokwa gore baboledi ba maleme a setlogo ba tšee monyetla wa ditshatshedimošo go godiša le go boloka maleme a bona. Ka ge Ngoepe et al. (2022) ba hlalositše, ge leleme / polelo e ngwalwa ebile e šomišwa dikgatišong le moyeng, go swana le dipukung, inthaneteng le sethaleng sa dikgokagano tša leago bjalo ka Facebook, X, le tše dingwe, e ka bolokega gomme ya tšwela pele le go ba gona. Ga bjale re kwa gore go na le maleme a mangwe ao a hwelelago go swana le N|uu (Ngoepe et al. 2022). Re kwa gore Koko Katrina Esau, yoo a šetšego a itšofaletše, ke yena a le tee yoo a bolelago le go ngwala ka leleme le, le ge e le gore o thomile go ruta ba bangwe go bala leleme le. Go bohlokwa gore mekgatlo ya mmušo go swana le Tirelo ya Bosetšhaba ya Bokgobadingwalo le Direkote ya Aforika Borwa, Bokgobapuku bja Bosetšhaba bja Aforika Borwa, le Lekgotla la Bosetšhaba la Bohwa (*National Heritage Council*), e raloke karolo go bolokeng maleme a setlogo ka ge mekgatlo ye e na le taelo ya go boloka bohwa. Go se go bjale, maleme a setlogo a Aforika Borwa a tla nyamelela le monga wa seloko bjalo ka ge re šetše re hlalositše ka leleme la N|uu. Gape phatlalatšo ya tshedimošo ka bolepu e dira gore taba e se ke ya lala, gomme e thunye bjalo ka muši e fihle kgole moo mahlo a sa kgonego go fihla, moo go fihlago kgopolo fela. Setshatshedimošo se ka pela, ebile se kgona go phatlalatša ditaba tšeo di lebanego bjalo ka seyalemoya.

Chapter 2

Proverbs in music: A closer look at Pleasure Peta's *manyalo* songs

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Abstract

Recently, social media has played a pivotal role in promoting indigenous language songs, thereby exposing a younger audience to indigenous knowledge. Consequently, many scholars have chosen to investigate the incorporation of indigenous languages in pop culture. The use of proverbs in Sepedi music lyrics remains a prevalent and, at times, controversial subject. This chapter examines how the purpose and essence of proverbs are embodied in Sepedi *manyalo* songs. Using a qualitative text–context analysis approach within an interpretative paradigm and guided by the contextual theory of meaning, this study analysed data from the lyrics of

How to cite: Letsoalo, N & Kgasago, TJ 2025, 'Proverbs in music: A closer look at Pleasure Peta's *manyalo* songs', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 17–35. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.02

five Sepedi songs composed and performed by Pleasure Ramadimetja Peta. Over the years, Pleasure has become the embodiment of Sepedi *manyalo* songs, and their music has been taken as a reflection of the Bapedi community. As an agent of cultural reflection and transmission, Pleasure's music is a subject of study in gender studies and sociolinguistics. The analysis in this chapter revealed that there is much to be learnt from sung proverbs regarding language use, customs, beliefs and norms. Through the use of proverbs, Pleasure is transmitting Sepedi indigenous wisdom, spiritual heritage, culture, morality, collective experience and general well-being of the society. The employment of proverbs in her music is an indication that oral literature, just like in the olden days of folklore, is central to contemporary Bapedi culture.

Introduction

In the context of the 2023 Grammy Awards, Trevor Noah highlighted that music transcends mere auditory harmony, but encompasses the harmonious coexistence of individuals from diverse racial, gender, religious and sexual orientation backgrounds that reject division to find moments of joy, unity and harmony. Undoubtedly, this sentiment resonates deeply with the work of Ramadimetja Pleasure Peta, widely regarded as one of the preeminent figures in the *manyalo* music genre. The extensive collection of songs performed and played by Pleasure within Sepedi-speaking communities has resonated with numerous individuals, touching their lives and serving as a source of inspiration for many marriages.

This chapter focuses on *manyalo* songs, which have become a hallmark of Sepedi weddings (Letsoalo 2022). *Manyalo* songs refer to commercially popularised songs performed at both customary and contemporary weddings. Pleasure Peta stands as a key figure in the commercialisation of *manyalo* songs. Through her music, she embodies and reflects the cultural identity of the Bapedi community. *Manyalo* songs not only are an essential cultural element within the Bapedi community but also carry functional and educational significance, as their lyrics are meticulously crafted to convey important cultural lessons (Letsoalo 2022). This aligns with the assertion of Ndebele and Dube (2016, p. 279) that wedding songs in African societies promote physical and emotional unity, resonating with the communal ideals that lie at the heart of African traditions. Similarly, Bebey (1999, p. 115) posits that African music serves as a medium for expressing communal experiences, translating them into living sounds that go beyond mere auditory pleasure.

One of the key features of *manyalo* songs is the use of proverbs, which serve as a vehicle for transmitting indigenous knowledge. Proverbs are seen as a nexus of language and culture, providing rich material for

exploring how figurative language in Sepedi influences behaviours within the cultural contexts in which these expressions are produced and consumed. Letsoalo (2024) emphasises this relationship, noting that proverbs reflect the intricate interplay between language and cultural expression.

Building on Dundes' (1975) foundational work, which highlights the societal role of proverbs in expressing and reinforcing cultural values, this chapter examines how proverbs are woven into *manyalo* lyrics. Proverbs play a central role in conveying messages that guide social behaviour, serving as instruments of social control to encourage desirable behaviours while discouraging others (Dundes 1975). The lyrics of *manyalo* songs are carefully constructed by composers to evoke musical gestures that encapsulate emotional and musical experiences. Zondi (2008) further asserts that music serves as an artistic form of personal expression, allowing composers to communicate their lived experiences and creative ideas to their audiences. Through this lens, this chapter seeks to illuminate the intersection of cultural heritage, musical artistry and social commentary within the context of *manyalo* songs.

The role of proverbs in music has been explored across various fields, including ethnomusicology, anthropology, linguistics and African studies. Scholars have examined how proverbs convey cultural values, their contribution to the aesthetics of musical performances and their significance within different musical traditions. There is substantial research on proverbs from a variety of contexts (Arewa & Dundes 1964; Asimeng-Boahene 2009; Dundes 1975; Dundes & Mieder 1981; Meider 2004), as well as studies on wedding music in languages such as Hausa (Bichi 1986), Lutsango and Siswati (Dlamini 2009), Yoruba (Ajibade 2005), Xitsonga (Johnston 1975), Sepedi (Letsoalo 2022) and others. However, the intersection of proverbs and Sepedi music, particularly *manyalo* (wedding) songs, remains underexplored. While studies have highlighted the cultural and aesthetic significance of proverbs in musical traditions, there is a notable gap in documenting and analysing how Sepedi *manyalo* songs encapsulate the wisdom, traditions and moral teachings of the community. This chapter seeks to fill that gap by conducting a text–context analysis of Pleasure Peta's *manyalo* songs that incorporate proverbs.

Paremiology: An overview

Paremiology is the academic discipline that studies proverbs and proverbial expressions in order to understand their linguistic, cultural and historical significance. Paremiologists study the structure, meaning and use of proverbs and explore the ways in which proverbs are used in different cultural and linguistic contexts (Hrisztova-Gotthardt & Varga 2015;

Mieder 2008). They also examine the role of proverbs in communication and their cultural and historical significance. A proverb is a short, multiword expression that bears culture and 'contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorisable form which is handed down from generation to generation' (Meider 2004 in Kosch 2016; Križaj 2017). Proverbs are commonly used in many cultures around the world, and they capture important cultural values, beliefs and experiences. They contain wisdom, truth and morals while conveying practical advice on how to live a good life, how to treat others and how to navigate complex social situations. In this way, they serve as important tools for socialisation and cultural transmission.

Proverbs have been a subject of investigation by several scholars who have made significant contributions to the understanding of proverbs and their role in different cultures. To name but a few, Alan Dundes – American folklorist and cultural anthropologist who wrote extensively on proverbs and their cultural significance, Wolfgang Mieder – German American folklorist known for his work on the history and cultural significance of proverbs, and Raymund P Kan – Filipino scholar who has written about the proverbs of the Philippines.

Dundes (1966b) authored an article on 'Proverbs' that was published in *The New Book of Knowledge: The Children's Encyclopedia*. This unique one-page article aimed to introduce young readers to the captivating world of proverbs without making any erudite claims in particular (Mieder 2006). In this article, Dundes defines proverbs as traditional sayings that sum up a situation, pass judgement on a past matter or recommend a course of action for the future. Dundes wrote extensively on the subject of proverbs, with works such as 'Proverbs and the ethnography of speaking folklore' (1964), 'Metafolklore and oral literary criticism' (1966a) and *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb* (1981), among others. Dundes studied the ways in which proverbs are used in everyday life, such as in social interactions and in literature, and explored how proverbs are employed as rhetorical devices in various contexts and how they can be used to convey humour, irony and other forms of social commentary. His work inspired scholars such as Wolfgang Mieder and Raymund P Kan. In his major article 'On the structure of the proverb', Dundes (1975) argues that proverbs possess a specific structure that enables them to be easily remembered and transmitted through oral tradition. He proposed a formulaic structure for proverbs that comprises a situation or condition, a consequence, and a moral or lesson. According to Dundes (1975), this structure facilitates the efficient transmission of proverbs and ensures their survival over time.

African proverbs have been the subject of numerous studies by scholars and researchers in various fields such as anthropology – studying the role of proverbs in African societies, their cultural significance and the way

they reflect the beliefs, values and wisdom of African communities (Asimeng-Boahene 2009; Dagnew & Wodajo 2014); linguistics – examining the linguistic structure and form of African proverbs, as well as their meanings and uses in communication and oral tradition (Kamwangamalu 1999; Mojela 2004); folklore – studying the role of proverbs in oral tradition and storytelling, and their contribution to cultural heritage (Knappert 1989; Monye 1996); and cultural studies – analysing the cultural and social context of African proverbs and how they reflect the experiences and perspectives of African people (Graham 1999). The studies by these scholars examine the role of proverbs in African societies; their origins, meanings and functions; and their significance in oral tradition and cultural heritage. The studies also analyse the use of proverbs in different contexts, such as in everyday conversations, storytelling and decision-making, and how they reflect the values, beliefs and wisdom of the African people. Additionally, there have been studies comparing African proverbs with proverbs from other cultures, examining their similarities and differences, and exploring their contribution to global human knowledge and understanding.

To achieve this chapter's purpose, a closer look is given to the Sotho languages. Machobane (1996) examined gender stereotypes present in Sesotho proverbs. Through a meticulous analysis of proverbs depicting men and women, she found that these proverbs tended to portray men in a more positive and elevated light than women. In contrast, Possa (2014) focused on the structural characteristics of contemporary Sesotho proverbs. The research sought to determine whether these proverbs could be classified as such based on their structural properties. This was done by examining various features, including length, rhyme and syntax, to establish the defining features of a Sesotho proverb. Furthermore, Phindane's (2020) research on Sesotho proverbs focused on pragmatics, investigating the illocutionary acts and forces inherent in the chosen proverbial and idiomatic expressions. The study delved into the meaning and implications of these expressions in various contexts, demonstrating the significance of language use and communication in social and cultural contexts.

Proverbs play a significant role in the Sepedi culture, serving as a means of communication, education and moral guidance. Scholars have analysed the language (Mapadimeng 2018), structure (Letsoalo 2024) and meaning (Kosch 2016) of Sepedi proverbs, as well as their social and cultural significance (Mokgokong 1977; Ramohlale, Mogoboya & Chauke 2021). For example, some scholars have focused on the role of proverbs in socialisation, particularly in teaching children about their cultural values and beliefs. Others have explored how proverbs are used to convey important messages about social hierarchy, gender roles and community relationships. Some notable scholars who have studied Sepedi proverbs include MJ Mojalefa,

who wrote extensively on the language and culture of the Bapedi; IM Kosch, who studied the lemmatisation of proverbs in Sepedi; and RV Selolwane, who conducted research on the use of proverbs in Sepedi literature. Kosch (2016) further highlights that there are gaps in the provision of meanings or interpretations of the proverbs. This gap is particularly relevant in the context of African cultures, where proverbs are often intricately tied to oral traditions and performance, such as music, dance and storytelling.

The intersection of proverbs and music presents an underexplored area that could offer deeper insights into the ways in which cultural wisdom is conveyed and preserved through both linguistic and non-linguistic expressions. Proverbs are deeply embedded in society, conveying moral teachings and reinforcing social hierarchies, gender roles and community relationships. Similarly, music serves as a reflection of societal norms and cultural identity.

African music, culture and society[1]

In the early stages of music inquiry:

> [*S*]cholars, including Dewey (1934) and Merriam (1964), have shown in their writings that music is, at an intellectual and emotional level, a construct of culture, and as such, a product of society. (Mapaya 2014a)

The significance of music in society cannot be overemphasised. Music serves many socio-cultural functions for individuals. People use music in different settings for various reasons. Music has the power to influence culture, and human culture is voiced in music. Thus, people use music to learn about a different culture. Francis (2008) states that 'music is powerful at the level of the social group because it facilitates communication which goes beyond words, induces shared emotional reactions and supports the development of group identity'. Music has also been proven helpful at the individual level, facilitating multiple responses such as physiological and cognitive mood, and behavioural and emotional movement. Technology has eased the accessibility of music; therefore, individuals use music to optimise their sense of well-being (Francis 2008). Regarding prominent critical media scholar, Theodor Adorno (1941), in his article with George Simpson 'On popular music', said that people may use music to escape boredom. He argues that the way people work in the factories and offices denies them any novelty; hence, popular music serves as a stimulant.

1. This section presents a reworking of more than 50% of material from an unpublished PhD thesis conferred in 2022 at the University of Limpopo by Dr Tshepho Justice Kgasago under the supervision of T Oyedemi, titled 'Download culture and the dilemma of postmodern technologies: (Il)legal digital music sharing and its effects on South African artists'.

Horan (2006) projects that music has the function of making people happy in society and feel connected to the rest of the world.

Music has dependably been a vital piece of life in Africa. It contributes numerous meanings in Northern, Western and Southern African culture. Within these societies, there exist specific songs designated for accompanying various tasks (Arko-Mensah & Agyeiwaah 2024). Music imparts thoughts, emotions and values and is used to celebrate notable occasions and imperative events in individuals' lives. Zondi (2008), for example, asserts that there are songs for death, weddings and functions regarding ancestors.

Southern (1997) shows that in Africa, there was different music for different occasions. There were stately music celebrations recognising agricultural rituals, commending the installation of kings, uniting essential chiefs from a different nation and re-enacting historical events of importance. A special kind of music was called for in preparations for war or leaving upon a major hunting mission. Similarly, there were musical ceremonies related to triumph festivities, regardless of whether they had won the fight or had successful hunting. Each town had its musicians, singers and instrumentalists who provided music at formal events of the community (Southern 1997). Music assumes a critical function in the lives of the general population of the Limpopo province, South Africa, as it does in that of all Africans. There is music for restoration, music for social excitement, children's songs, religious music, protest music and music for different purposes (Mapaya 2014b). These kinds of music can be grouped into two general classifications: vocal music and instrumental music. Further order could split group shows from solo shows. Mapaya (2014a) views these groupings as stretching out to incorporate classifications of music, for example, Mmapadi – a melodic type for ladies, and Kiba – a kind for men. Kiba and Mmapadi are two discernible genre representatives of the sonic character of Basotho. Moreover, dipela musical performance prevalence in the Limpopo province reflects its importance to the Basotho culture. Mapaya (2014a) puts forward that the dipela classification of music exists and is becoming central as a genre in the contemporary social personality of Basotho in these territories.

Music has always been central to African culture. In pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa, music was produced and used for different social events. Demolin (1990) posits that the social organisation of music has mutual structures among societies in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly known as Zaire) within the Mangbetu culture where music has been produced for different occasions such as initiation, rituals or ceremonies. Wanjala and Kebaya (2016) state that popular music is important for understanding identity formation for youth, but importantly

it plays a crucial role in influencing, shaping and negotiating identity constructions among the youth. This explains why most of the youth are active listeners to music because it offers them more than just entertainment. The use of indigenous languages in music may aid in uncovering the philosophical features of music.

Numerous studies have explored the significance of wedding songs in an African context. For instance, Johnston (1975) conducted fieldwork in Mozambique and Northern Transvaal from 1968 to 1970, collecting Tsonga wedding song texts to analyse their social significance. Bichi (1986) discusses and analyses wedding songs used in society, specifically among the Hausa of Nigeria, in the larger context of their performances during wedding ceremonies. These songs are formally used to teach not only the bride and groom but also all adolescent youths the values that society cherishes regarding married life. Rayya (2002) analyses 'the language of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs, specifically [*focusing*] on phonology, lexis, syntax, semantic, and paralinguistic levels'. Ajibade (2005) discusses the role of African women, especially the Yoruba women, in literature by examining the songs that form an integral part of their nuptial poetry. Nhlekisana (2007) investigated how 'recorded popular music takes precedence over the communal performance of Setswana traditional wedding songs', which consequently excludes and limits communal participation in counselling and guiding the new couple through songs. Dlamini (2009) studied 'Swazi women folk songs performed by women in various social and communal gatherings and during Swazi traditional marriage rites such as *umtsimba*'. Mtose (2011) outlines and discusses amaXhosa traditional songs sung by women 'during the marriage ceremony and their important message for both the couple and other young people in the community'. Mbenzi (2022) focuses on Aawambo wedding songs, which are performed throughout the entire wedding period and whose text is carefully crafted for different contexts to serve functional and educational purposes. Letsoalo (2022) discusses the traditional trademark for Sepedi weddings, the *manyalo* songs, which act as tools for empowerment and upholding gender equality.

These studies typically approach wedding songs as discourses that prepare couples for the challenges of married life (Ndebele & Dube 2016; Ndlovu & Sibanda 2015), emphasising the role of such songs in promoting marriage values like morality, hard work, unity and social participation by the newlyweds. However, none of these studies have examined the ways in which indigenous proverbs are embedded within wedding songs. This chapter fills this gap by investigating Sepedi wedding songs that incorporate indigenous proverbs and how they reflect the complex interplay between culture, tradition and individual expression. It offers an

African-centred interpretation of proverbs, considering their connection to the past and their acknowledgement of the role of ancestors and cultural practices in shaping the present celebration. This deeper understanding sheds light on the meaning and significance of wedding songs and how proverbs contribute to the celebration of marriage in the Sepedi culture.

This suggests that the cultural context plays a significant role in the understanding of idioms and proverbs and that their meanings cannot be fully understood without considering their cultural roots. Therefore, it is crucial to examine the socio-cultural contexts in which these expressions are used to appreciate their intended meaning fully. Understanding the cultural roots of proverbs can provide insight into the social and historical experiences of a particular community, which may help to better comprehend the expressions and their significance. In this way, semantically analysing proverbs in songs can enhance appreciation of the cultural diversity and richness of a society. The use of Sepedi by Pleasure in her music is a cultural phenomenon that has the potential to influence society.

Text and the contextual theory of meaning

The contextual theory of meaning is used in this chapter to establish a robust theoretical framework for analysing Pleasure's *manyalo* song lyrics that incorporate indigenous proverbs, with a particular focus on Sepedi. This approach underscores the pivotal role of context in shaping the meaning of a text, as highlighted by Sechler (1970) and Sury, Smoter and Kołodziejczak (2022). Meaning is not derived solely from the words or linguistic structures present in the text. Instead, it emerges from the interplay between the text and the social, cultural and historical contexts in which it is both created and interpreted (Sechler 1970). This perspective enables a nuanced exploration of the cultural and communicative functions of proverbs within *manyalo* songs, illuminating their role in preserving and transmitting indigenous knowledge. This suggests that the meaning of a proverb used in a *manyalo* song can only be fully understood by considering the broader context in which it was produced. In the case of *manyalo* songs, the context is the celebration of a union between two families and the cultural traditions and values associated with marriage.

Sechler (1970) argues that the contextual approach to meaning is necessary to fully understand the complexities of language use. The cultural, social and historical context that shapes the production, performance and reception of *manyalo* songs is crucial for a comprehensive analysis. The cultural context encompasses the Sepedi-speaking societies

and communities where the songs are performed, including their cultural practices, rituals and beliefs related to marriage. The social context involves the social structures, norms and values of the communities, including their gender roles, family dynamics and community expectations surrounding weddings. The historical context encompasses the historical events, traditions and changes that have influenced the development and performance of *manyalo* songs.

Textually, *manyalo* song lyrics with indigenous proverbs are viewed as cultural artefacts that reflect the unique traditions, customs and values of Sepedi communities. These proverbs, deeply rooted in the linguistic heritage of Sepedi societies, carry profound meaning and symbolism related to marriage, love and family. They serve as expressions of cultural identity, conveying the wisdom and worldview of the Sepedi communities from which they originate.

When incorporating proverbs from Sepedi, *manyalo* songs not only celebrate the union between two families but also highlight the importance of cultural heritage and traditions. The proverbs in the song lyrics also represent a form of oral tradition, passed down through generations (Thompson 2017), and embody the collective knowledge and experiences of the community in relation to marriage and relationships (Adams 2023). The use of proverbs in the lyrics adds depth and richness to the songs, conveying wisdom and imparting moral lessons.

Manyalo song lyrics are not isolated from their cultural and social surroundings, but are embedded within a larger context. The context provides the necessary framework for understanding the meaning, significance and functions of the proverbs in the songs. Similarly, the proverbs in the songs contribute to shaping and reinforcing the cultural and social context in which they are performed (Coplan 1994). *Manyalo* songs serve as a platform for the transmission, negotiation and expression of cultural values, social norms and historical traditions related to marriage. The proverbs serve as a way to connect the present celebration to the past, acknowledging the role of ancestors and the continuity of cultural practices.

Through the lens of the contextual theory of meaning, analysing *manyalo* songs that contain indigenous proverbs, as a form of oral communication (Dundes 1966a), can reveal the complex interplay between culture, tradition and individual expression. The theory emphasises the importance of considering the historical, social and cultural context in which the lyrics are created and received (Sechler 1970; Sury et al. 2022). This approach provides a deeper understanding of the meaning and significance of proverbs used in *manyalo* songs and the role they play in the representing of marriage in Sepedi cultures.

Methods and procedures

This study adopted a qualitative text–context analysis approach (Fairclough 1992; Van Dijk 1985) within an interpretative paradigm, guided by the contextual theory of meaning (Sechler 1970; Sury et al. 2022). This approach was selected to explore the cultural, social and linguistic dimensions embedded in the lyrics of *manyalo* songs, focusing on how proverbs convey deeper meanings within the Sepedi cultural context. The contextual theory of meaning provided a theoretical lens through which the interplay between language, context and cultural expression in the lyrics could be analysed comprehensively.

The data comprised five Sepedi songs composed and performed by Ramadimetja Pleasure Peta, a prominent artist in the *manyalo* music genre. These songs were selected purposively (Patton 2015) from Pleasure's extensive repertoire. The selection criteria prioritised songs containing proverbs, as these were central to the study's aim of examining how proverbial language reflects and reinforces Sepedi cultural values and norms. This targeted selection ensured the analysis focused on lyrics rich in indigenous knowledge and cultural significance.

The songs were originally recorded in Sepedi and thus were transcribed verbatim from audio recordings to preserve their linguistic authenticity. Each transcription was subsequently translated into English to enable broader accessibility and analysis. For accuracy, literal English translations were provided alongside the original Sepedi lyrics. This dual presentation allows for a nuanced interpretation of the proverbs, capturing both their linguistic structure and their contextual meanings.

Mojela (2004) proposes a method of semantic analysis for proverbs, whereby their meanings can be categorised into three distinct types. The first type is the literal translation, which typically lacks any discernible meaning. The second type is the textual meaning, which may appear to make sense, but does not accurately reflect the actual meaning of the proverb or idiom. The third and most significant type is the intended meaning, which represents the figurative or actual meaning of the expression, often deviating from its literal interpretation. The third type of analysis is used in this chapter to interpret proverbs used by Pleasure in her *manyalo* songs through the contextual theory of meaning.

The text–context analysis involved interpreting the identified proverbs in relation to their surrounding lyrics, the broader themes of the songs and the Sepedi cultural framework. This approach highlighted the interconnectedness of language, cultural expression and social commentary in *manyalo* songs, contributing to a deeper understanding of the role of proverbs in Sepedi music and weddings.

Pleasure's *manyalo* songs as a focus

The chapter undertook a series of analytical steps, informed by the contextual theory of meaning. These steps comprised listening repeatedly to selected *manyalo* songs by Pleasure, transcribing the lyrics, constructing a code tree with the key elements of proverbs that are embedded in each song, encoding the texts with descriptive and holistic codes to capture the overarching themes of particular songs, creating notes for specific portions of text and generating a new code, and finally analysing and formulating conclusions based on the data. Furthermore, the encoding of texts with descriptive and holistic codes facilitated the identification of the general themes that underpin the proverbs in songs. This approach allowed for a more comprehensive analysis of the proverbs, as it captured not only their surface meanings but also their deeper cultural and historical resonances. The notes generated for specific portions of text and the subsequent creation of a new code were particularly useful in highlighting the significance of certain phrases and concepts and in emphasising their implications for the broader themes of the proverb in the song.

The contextual theory of meaning served as a framework for understanding the nuanced meanings and messages conveyed by the proverbs. The iterative process of analysing the proverbs involved a close reading of the lyrics, paying attention to the multiple layers of meaning that emerge from the interplay of words, symbols and cultural contexts. The code tree helped to identify and categorise the different proverbs that were employed in the songs, which served as a key element in the interpretation of their meanings.

The following Pleasure's *manyalo* songs were identified for analysis, as they contain popular proverbs from the Sepedi-speaking community: *Wena* 'Wena makoti' ('You Bride'), 'Sehlephisantepa' [*sic*] ('Loose Panty'), 'Mepipi' ('Stink Shepherd's Trees'), 'Protection Order' and 'Pheko tša [*sic*] monna' ('Man's Herbs'). The proverbs used in these songs were also confirmed from the following sources: Rakoma (2012), Masola (1990), Nokaneng and Louwrens (1996) and Mohlala and Thobakgale (2003), as they have collected and published proverbs over the years. According to Letsoalo (2024), these sources have multiple dates of publication to reflect to some extent the history of the collection of proverbs and possibly the changes that may have taken place over the years.

Kosch (2016) maintains that there are gaps in the provision of meanings or interpretations to proverbs. However, Letsoalo (2024) resuscitates Mojela's (2004) proverbs analytic framework that involved the semantic analysis of proverbs where the meaning is classified into

three categories, which are (1) a literally translated meaning, (2) a textual meaning and (3) the figurative meaning. In the context of proverbs in *manyalo* songs:

> [*T*]he introductory proverb announces to the audience that the arbitrator is planning to use a proverb and reminds them of the great power and prestige of proverbs in such situations. (Dundes 1966b)

For instance, the introductory lyrics of the song Sehlepisantepa open with a proverb, highlighting the great power and prestige of proverbs in the context of the song.

‘Sehlephisantepa’

Yoo thušang nna ke meetse magakwa	Please! Help I am still waters
Pheladi wa ka o boile bogadi ka lebaka la mmatswale	My Pheladi returned from the in-laws because of mother-in-law
Mmatswale o re ke sehlephišantepa	Mother-in-law says she is promiscuous

- ‘Sehlephisantepa’

The proverb identified in the lyrics of this song is *meetse magakwa go iša fase ke ga ona* (still waters run deep), inferred by the lyrics *Yoo thušang nna ke meetse magakwa* (Please! Help I am still waters). According to Letsoalo et al. (2023), this proverb means that a person who is often quiet is more knowledgeable than people think. However, the contextual theory of meaning holds that the meaning of a proverb is dependent on the context in which it is used. When the proverb *meetse magakwa go iša fase ke ga ona* is used in a *manyalo* song, its meaning can be analysed in the context of Sepedi culture and traditions. The meaning of this particular proverb is influenced by the context in which it is used and can be applied to a range of situations, encouraging people to be thoughtful and cautious in their judgements and actions. In this context, the proverb may suggest that the quiet or reserved nature of the bride does not necessarily reflect her depth of character or strength. It may be interpreted as a call to not judge the bride based solely on her outward appearance or behaviour, but rather to look beyond the surface and appreciate their inner qualities. It may suggest that there is value in looking beyond the superficial and recognising the richness of Sepedi cultural traditions, which may be hidden beneath the surface.

The proverb may also have broader applications, such as suggesting that situations or problems that seem simple or straightforward may actually be more complex or difficult than they appear. It may be used to suggest that the complexities and challenges of married life may not

always be apparent on the surface and that couples should approach their relationship with a sense of depth and understanding. In this sense, the proverb may encourage people to be cautious and thoughtful to consider all aspects of a situation before making a judgement or acting.

'Mepipi'

Similarly, on the note of judgement, the song 'Mepipi' is named after a proverb. The song contains the proverb *Mepipi ka moka e a na* (every rose has its thorn). The general meaning of the proverb is that one should never think that they are the only ones with problems; all people have problems (Letsoalo et al. 2023). In the context of the Sepedi culture and traditions relating to marriage, the proverb may suggest that every marriage, no matter how beautiful or perfect it may appear, will have its challenges and difficulties. It may be interpreted as a reminder that no relationship is perfect and that couples should approach their marriage with a sense of realism and understanding. Pleasure uses the proverb to highlight that people are quick to point out other people's problems, but it is important to note that they too have problems that they may even not be able to solve. Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) (2023) shows that the divorce rate increased by 13.1% since 2020; Pleasure's music can be used to advise couples about how to maintain and sustain their relationship with their in-laws. This is depicted in the lyrics below:

Se tshwenyege ngwana' mma ge ba dula makgotla ka wena	Don't worry my mother's baby if they sit in councils about you
Ba go sega, ba go kwera, tša bona di a ba hlola	They laugh at you, they mock you, theirs overcome them
Mepipi ka moka e a na	All stink shepherd's trees are dripping

– 'Mepipi'

The proverb is used to encourage the married person that while there are challenges and difficulties, there will also be moments of joy and happiness, just as a stink shepherd's tree has both its shade and its dripping water. In addition, the proverb may be used to acknowledge the importance of perseverance and resilience in the face of challenges and to suggest that even in difficult times, there is still beauty and hope. The use of the proverb in a *manyalo* song may serve as a reminder of the challenges that are inherent in every marriage and the importance of approaching the relationship with a sense of balance and perspective.

‘Wena makoti’

This song carries a message that implies that one should adapt to the customs and practices of a particular culture or society when in that environment. This can also be applied to approaching marriage with a sense of balance and perspective. When preparing for marriage, it is essential to consider the cultural norms and expectations of both parties involved. While it is important to maintain your individuality and beliefs, it is equally important to respect and understand your partner’s traditions and values. Through the adoption of a balanced and open-minded approach, one can establish a strong foundation for a healthy and harmonious relationship. This approach can help one navigate potential cultural differences and create a more fulfilling and rewarding partnership:

Afa ga geno makoti ba go file molao?	Haven’t your family they gave you rules?
Phukubje ya tshela moedi e duta mosela	If a jackal crosses the valley it ducks its tail
O bea melao o bea mapheko	You set rules and put obstacles

– ‘Wena makoti’

This song contains the proverb *phukubje ya tshela moedi e duta mosela* (when in Rome, do as the Romans do). Letsoalo et al. (2023) hold the view that the proverb means that when one visits others, he or she has to live according to the rules of those he or she visits. With reference to the contextual theory of meaning, in the context of marriage, the proverb may suggest that once one is married, they should observe and respect the customs and traditions of the family they are married into. This could involve adopting certain behaviours or customs that are typical of the family, such as dress or food preferences. Furthermore, the proverb may also be used to encourage the newlyweds and remind old married couples to embrace their cultural heritage and to honour their ancestors and community. By following the customs and traditions of their culture, the newlyweds and old married couples may strengthen their ties to their community and demonstrate their commitment to preserving their cultural identity.

Contrary to popular interpretation, it is important to note that the use of this proverb in contemporary society may be influenced by the history of colonialism and the oppression of African cultures and traditions. As such, the proverb may also be interpreted as a call to assimilate to dominant Western cultural norms, rather than embracing and celebrating African cultural traditions.

'Protection order'

The call to assimilate to dominant Western cultural norms, rather than embracing and celebrating African cultural traditions, is seen in the way people deal with problems nowadays. Instead of seeking counsel from the elders in the community when they have problems in their marriage, people resort to invoking protection orders, which sometimes leads to regret. Pleasure's 'Protection Order' song highlights the importance of heeding the counsel of parents rather than hastily rushing to dominant Western cultural norms of resolving conflict in a marriage. Pleasure uses a perfect proverb to accompany the message of following the customs and traditions of one's culture:

Le ge o ka lla ngwanaka, wena wa hlapa ka megokgo	Even if you cry, my child, and bathe in tears
Wena o moipolai ya sa llelwego	You are an unmourned suicider
O nyaditše keletšo ya batswadi	You despised parental counsel

– 'Protection order'

The proverb Pleasure uses in this song is *moipolai ga a llelwe, sello sa gagwe ke moropa; ge a lla re a bina* (curses, like chickens, come home to roost), which, according to Letsoalo et al. (2023), means the consequences of doing wrong always catch up with the wrongdoer. In the context of this song, the proverb suggests that actions have consequences and that negative deeds can come back to haunt those who act in a disrespectful way. It may be interpreted as a warning to the newlyweds to be mindful of their words and actions and to treat others with respect and kindness, so as to avoid any negative repercussions. The proverb may also be used to acknowledge the importance of community and collective responsibility in the Sepedi culture. It may suggest that the actions of one individual can have an impact on the broader family and that negative deeds can harm not only the individual who acts but also those around them.

Additionally, the proverb may be used to encourage the newlyweds to approach their marriage with a sense of responsibility and accountability. It may suggest that they should be mindful of their words and actions and that they should work together to create a positive and respectful environment for themselves and those around them.

'Pheko tša monna'

On the matter of respect, proverbs often guide people to be respectful of the self and others. In marriages, proverbs may serve as a reminder of the

power of words and the importance of communication in a healthy marriage. It is important for couples to be mindful of their words and to use language with respect, kindness and understanding. In the Sepedi culture, the use of language is usually taken as a reflection of one's character and values. Pleasure, in the song 'Pheko tša monna', infers to the proverb, '*lentšu ke kota le a betlwa*', (a word spoken is past recalling):

Sesi Refilwe o mosadi	Sister Refilwe you are a woman
O hlomphe monna wa gago lapeng la gago	Respect your husband in your household
Tseba lentšu le a betlwa, hlokomela polelo	Know the word is carved, mind the language

– 'Pheko tša monna'

The proverb used in this song is interpreted depending on the context in which it is used. In this context, the proverb may suggest that words spoken in haste or anger cannot be taken back and that the impact of those words can last long after they are spoken. In general, the proverb means 'it is impossible to withdraw one's words or undo their effects once they have been spoken aloud' (Letsoalo et al. 2023). In the song, Pleasure uses the proverb as a reminder to the newlyweds to be mindful of their words and to choose them carefully, especially in moments of tension, anger or disagreement.

As a form of advice to married couples, the use of this proverb in a *manyalo* song may be used to acknowledge the importance of taming one's tongue for the sake of having a healthy marriage. It may suggest that the spoken word is powerful and that communication between partners should be respectful, honest and open. It may encourage the newlyweds to listen to each other with empathy and to speak with kindness and understanding. Furthermore, the proverb may be used to highlight the significance of language and words in the Sepedi culture. It may suggest that words have great power and carry significant meaning and that the use of language is a reflection of one's character and values.

■ Conclusion

The study of proverbs has long been an area of interest to scholars seeking to gain insight into cultural beliefs and practices. The contextual theory of meaning, which posits that the meaning of a proverb is shaped by its context of use, offers an essential framework for understanding how proverbs are employed to convey deeper cultural meanings and encourage certain behaviours and attitudes. Proverbs serve as a rich source of cultural insight and can be valuable lessons and perspectives on life.

The contextual theory of meaning is highly relevant to this analysis, as it underscores the importance of considering the socio-cultural context in understanding the significance of proverbs. Proverbs, as embedded in Pleasure's *manyalo* songs, carry meanings that go beyond their literal translations. The chapter applies this theory to interpret the proverbs not only within the linguistic framework of Sepedi but also within the broader cultural context of marriage ceremonies and community values. This approach allows for a deeper appreciation of how these proverbs are used to communicate messages about gender roles, social hierarchy and cultural continuity. By integrating the contextual theory of meaning, the chapter argues that the meaning of proverbs in music cannot be fully understood without considering the cultural and historical settings in which they are embedded. Thus, this theoretical framework enhances the understanding of how proverbs in Peta's songs serve as both a cultural and educational tool, helping to shape and preserve the values of the Sepedi community.

An analysis of proverbs in *manyalo* songs offers a rich source of insight into how proverbs function in specific cultural contexts. In this chapter, Pleasure's careful selection of proverbs to be used in her wedding songs underscores the importance of tradition and culture in fostering sustainable marriages. Pleasure's chosen proverbs include '*meetse magakwa go iša fase ke ga ona*', '*mepipi ka moka e na*', '*phukubje ya tshela moedi e duta mosela*', '*moipolai ga a llelwe, sello sa gagwe ke moropa, ge a lla re a bina*' *and* '*lentšu ke kota le a betlwa*'. These proverbs encourage individuals to look beyond surface appearances and appreciate the inner qualities of others, to respect cultural traditions, to adopt a sense of realism and to be mindful of their words and actions.

Moreover, these proverbs highlight the importance of community and collective responsibility. For instance, the proverb '*moipolai ga a llelwe, sello sa gagwe ke moropa; ge a lla re a bina*' emphasises the interconnectedness of individuals and their actions, implying that one's negative actions will ultimately have negative consequences for oneself and others. The proverb '*phukubje ya tshela moedi e duta mosela*' underscores the importance of adapting to the cultural norms of a particular community, promoting a sense of belonging and community engagement.

The use of proverbs in Pleasure's music is a powerful means of communicating the values and traditions of the Bapedi community. The contextual interpretation of proverbs is essential in understanding the diverse cultural values and beliefs embedded within them. The analysis of proverbs in *manyalo* songs reveals the multifaceted role that proverbs play in encouraging individuals to adopt certain behaviours and attitudes that are important for the maintenance of sustainable marriages and the fostering of collective responsibility.

This chapter contributes to the ongoing scholarly debate on the role of proverbs in African music by offering a unique perspective on the integration of Sepedi proverbs in Pleasure's *manyalo* songs. While previous studies have focused on the linguistic, structural and social significance of Sepedi proverbs (Kosch 2016; Letsoalo 2024; Mapadimeng 2018), this chapter expands the discussion by exploring how proverbs function as a vital component of cultural expression within the context of music, specifically in the context of wedding songs. Unlike earlier works that primarily examined proverbs in isolation or within specific genres, this chapter highlights the dynamic interplay between proverbs and music, arguing that these songs do more than preserve cultural values – they actively transmit them through melodic and lyrical means. Furthermore, the chapter deviates from previous research by emphasising the performative aspect of proverbs, showing how their use in songs not only educates but also emotionally engages the community, reinforcing both individual and collective identity.

Chapter 3

Cultural bondage: An analysis of sexist Sepedi proverbs in Reneilwe Malatji's selected prose

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Abstract

Most African societies are characterised by a rich culture of orature, which includes proverbs that have for a long time influenced societies' values and belief systems. Proverbs are not just a part of cultural heritage but also a source of guidance and decision-making in social challenges. However, despite the demand for social transformation, patriarchal apologists continue to ignore chauvinist proverbs which benefit them. This chapter adopts a qualitative approach and an exploratory design to examine the negative effects of such proverbs in Limpopo communities as portrayed in three prose texts from Malatji's collection of short stories titled *Love Interrupted* (2012). Furthermore, the primary data were collected from three short stories that were thematically analysed and purposively sampled because of their relevance to the purpose of the study. As a theoretical framework, four of the six mountains that Molara

How to cite: Masha, L 2025, 'Cultural bondage: An analysis of sexist Sepedi proverbs in Reneilwe Malatji's selected prose', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 37–50. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.03

Ogundipe-Leslie discusses in conceptualising Stiwanism (derived from STIWA – Social Transformation Including Women in Africa) were employed. Some of the major findings revealed that proverbs indicate the stereotypical depiction of men and women in romantic relationships. To be specific, patriarchal socialisation promotes double-standard views regarding sexuality whereby accepted femininity and masculinity have normalised unrestrained male sexual behaviour without repercussions. In addition, married women are confined to cultural beliefs that teach passivity and meekness in all circumstances as a sign of good femininity. Although these sexist proverbs are not explicitly mentioned in the selected short stories, it is evident that the organising social structure of the narratives is based on the Bapedi proverbial belief system. Therefore, this study recommends that in the quest for transforming patriarchal African societies, language bearers have the responsibility to filter their languages as well as culture and discontinue the use of offensive proverbs that promote ancient and regressive gender stereotypes.

Introduction

Literary studies and African feminisms consistently point out folklore, particularly gendered proverbs, as part of the cultural aspects that are used to oppress and marginalise women while empowering men. While some people may consider paremiology as mostly related to linguistics, it goes beyond that because proverbs form an important part of African heritage and are used as references for guidance and decision-making in a traditional society (Ramohlale, Mogoboya & Chauke 2021). According to Asimeng-Boahene (2013):

> [*P*]roverbs are the mostly used form of orature, thus their influence is so strong to the point that even the concept of the social construction of women is persistently carved from it. (p. 123)

Consequently, while proverbs are sacred in various African societies, many of them are also characterised by patriarchal ideology that reflects the current gendered culture of those groups of people. Despite the call for social transformation, patriarchal apologists continue to ignore misogynistic proverbs that benefit men at the expense of women.

In line with the aforementioned, this chapter provides an analysis of the negative influence and impact of sexist Sepedi proverbs on 21st-century heterosexual marriages as portrayed in the prose of Reneilwe Malatji titled *Love Interrupted* (2012). Malatji's anthology was selected because of its contribution to the limited oeuvre on gender issues in the context of Sepedi literature in English. From that collection, three short stories were purposively sampled because of their common theme of marriage, which is the focus of this study particularly because Moloko-Phiri (2015) and

Owu-Ewie (2019) emphasise that proverbs play a significant role in traditional African marriages. Although the proverbs that are discussed in the analysis of the chosen prose do not explicitly appear in the narratives, it is evident that the organising social structure of the fictionalised communities is to some extent guided by the Bapedi proverbial belief system. In addition to the chosen literary text, Rakoma's (1986) *Marema-ka-dika* as well as other related studies were the source of the sexist proverbs that are discussed below.

Problem statement

The problem statement of this study suggests that many Sepedi proverbs promote prejudice towards women, particularly in the current dispensation in which they are deemed irrelevant and toxic. This corresponds to Schipper's (1991) assertion that:

> Given the change among women and societies, a number of proverbs no longer reflect certain women's realities today. Still, many proverbs in many cultures continue to represent deep-rooted ideas on women's roles and impossibilities. Where the proverbs are no longer quoted, these ideals do not seem to disappear naturally at the same time. Internalised images, collective memories and traditions are handed down from one generation to the next and are fundamental to the construction of people's everyday realities. (p. 5)

As a theoretical framework, four of the six mountains that Molara Ogundipe-Leslie speaks about in theorising Stiwanism (derived from STIWA – Social Transformation Including Women in Africa) were employed. According to Ogundipe-Leslie (1994), external oppression in the form of colonialism and neo-colonialism, oppressive traditional structures, the African man and the woman herself hinder the progress of the African woman's transformation. This work adds to the research by scholars such as Ramohlale et al. (2021) who probe the relevance of some proverbs in the 21st century and contend that the use of gendered proverbs should be terminated or restructured because they do not edify contemporary societies that are characterised by socio-political and economic changes.

Proverbs and the contemporary society

Like many other forms of oral literature from Africa, folklore was originally not written nor recorded, but rather, it was passed on from generation to generation through word of mouth (Biyela 2003; Etuk 2002). Isichei (1997) asserts that this form of knowledge transmission leads to the possibility of an infinite number of African histories. Because of its oral nature, the exact origin of Sepedi proverbs (called *diema*) cannot be traced in published works. However, it is believed that they emerged with the introduction of the Bapedi culture. For preservation and learning purposes, most of the

language's proverbs are compiled by JRD Rakoma and Nape 'a Motana in their books *Marema-ka-Dika* and *Sepedi Proverbs*, respectively. It should be noted that most proverbs possess a reference to animals, which Finnegan (2012, p. 393) attributes to that 'most Africans lived in relatively rural and sparsely populated areas where the animal world impinged closely on their lives'.

Although there may be numerous definitions of what proverbs are, Finnegan (2012, p. 383) proclaims that there is a general agreement that a proverb is a saying in the relatively fixed form marked by 'shortness, sense and salt' and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth expressed in it. Moloko-Phiri (2015, p. 1) acknowledges that proverbs are a significant factor in the social and traditional practices in African communities. This means that those that are not particularly truthful prescribe certain behaviours. According to Kamwendo and Kaya (2016, p. 92), proverbs also encourage members of a cultural society to conduct themselves in a manner that is common.

Like many African traditions, the patriarchal ideology of the Bapedi culture is reflected through the proverbs that address men and women. This is in line with Ramohlale et al.'s (2021, p. 771) observation that Sepedi, like most African languages, is renowned for proverbs that promote gender disparity. Salami (2005, p. 24) asserts that 'in feminist discourse, language is one of the most basic markers of patriarchy which is also used as a manipulative tool'. The difficulty in tracing the exact establishment of many traditional proverbs leaves room for numerous speculations such as whether African folklore is influenced by colonial systems or reflects pre-colonial societies. By utilising the Zimbabwean context, Ndlovu (2018) highlights that the emergence of African metaphors that undermine women is a result of the Western systems that demean and exclude women. Therefore, it is possible that the popular gendered Sepedi proverbs are a result of the influence of the British and Bapedi patriarchal ideologies, which have been accepted by society and are identified as part of the Bapedi tradition.

Although there are high chances that the proverbs recorded in Rakoma's book are incomplete, only a few represent women in a positive light and should be noted that such is not the focus of this study. In contrast, many of them depict a picture of women as dependent, lacking autonomy, passive and unable to lead, while the opposite is reserved for men. According to Hussein (2005), African proverbs greatly bolster traditional masculinity as dominant, forceful and self-reliant among other aspects. These disparities and misrepresentation are part of the grievances that Stiwanism identifies as contributing to the gender stereotypes perpetuated by cultural and external influences from colonialism. This stereotyping could be attributed to the fact that most societies' beliefs and customs

were created by men who were considered wise in their communities (Fortes 2014), and thus, they allocated themselves positive and empowering proverbs. Unlike popular beliefs that all forms of gender equality movements are man-hating and un-African, Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) contends that gender equality movements do not view men as rivals, but they become enemies when they cite culture as justification for their oppressive behaviour.

The following section provides a brief overview of each selected narrative that is examined in the chapter.

Synopses of short stories

Love Interrupted (*LI*) is set in the village of Modjadji and narrates Anna's marital dilemma caused by her husband Leshata and his mother. After getting married, the couple built their own house in the same plot as Leshata's home as the yard was spacious enough. This was a common practice in the Bapedi community. The story opens with Anna explaining that in the village of Modjadji, being a *makoti* (wife/daughter-in-law) largely meant being a domestic worker, and this was not very different from her village. Furthermore, Anna recounts her initiation into marriage by her mother-in-law who taught her to address all her in-laws in plural form as a sign of respect. Despite being overworked even during pregnancy, Anna did not mind doing all the chores because she did that for her husband. However, because of numerous factors, Anna's relationship with her mother-in-law and husband began to take a strain with Leshata's heavy drinking, abuse, coming home late and sometimes not coming back at all, in addition to ill-treatment from her mother-in-law. Leshata's departure to stay with another woman exacerbated Anna's problems, although she and the children occasionally preferred that as a better option. In this story, cultural socialisation instilled through pre-marital counselling and traditional teachings is evident in Anna's endurance and perseverance at her marital home despite being overworked, her husband's extramarital affairs and abuse by her mother-in-law. She stayed and endured cruelty because of the prestige that marriage gave to women in their society. Moreover, Anna believed herself to be fortunate to be married and have a father for her children.

The Things We Do for Love (*TTWDL*) is also set in a region in Modjadji called Duiwelskloof (Devil's Gorge). Malatji writes about Mosima and his unfaithful minister husband Ngwato, who could not be called to order by anyone because almost everyone in his life was dependent on him financially. The story begins with a drunk Ngwato crashing into the garage at his home resulting in one of their cars smashing through the wall that separated the garage and kitchen. After hearing the crash sounds, Mosima speculated that

her husband was being chased and wanted to call the police, but their employee advised otherwise as Ngwato was drunk. The next morning, Mosima called Ngwato's cousin Phuthi to intervene concerning her husband's alcohol abuse. Before Phuthi could say much, Ngwato told him that his drinking is his problem alone and no one else's. After failing to get through to him regarding his alcoholism, Phuthi further confronted Ngwato about the rumours of his public affair with Maphefo. At first, Ngwato denied, but then proceeded to justify it by stating that he had one mistress as compared to other politicians who had many concubines. The rising action of the story is when Ngwato books his mistress in the same hotel that his family stays at for a holiday. Eventually, Mosima unknowingly met Maphefo at the hotel, but only found out about her and Ngwato two weeks after the holiday. Upon learning about Maphefo and her husband's affair, Mosima decided to go talk to Maphefo 'woman-to-woman' and pleaded with her to leave Ngwato because his family needed him more than she did. When Maphefo refused, a physical confrontation broke out and Mosima threatened to kill her if she does not leave her husband. After that altercation, Mosima was arrested for a short while, and to her dismay, the affair between Maphefo and Ngwato did not stop. As Mosima could not end her husband's cheating, she resorted to drowning herself in church activities. Sadly, the story ends with a pregnant Maphefo who died within a year, and speculations were that Mosima was responsible.

Lebo's Story 1: A Young Girl's Dream Interrupted (*LS1*) is a story about an ambitious young girl who comes from a poverty-stricken home, born to a domestic worker mother and raised by her grandmother. Since the age of eight, Lebo worked at Teacher Mangena's house after school as a babysitter. During this time, Lebo was able to experience a luxurious lifestyle through expensive and plentiful food, as well as using bathrooms and toilets with running water. She would then inform her family of all this when she arrived home because it was not a life they were used to. When she was 12, Lebo visited her mother's workplace in Nelspruit (Mbombela) and assisted with her chores. Both her mother and her white employers were impressed with Lebo's work and how much she knew. At 15 years, Lebo was invited to live with teacher Mangena's sister Sindi, her husband Lucky and their children. Lebo was inspired by Lucky's success considering that he also came from a poor family in KwaZulu-Natal, and the conversations that they used to have when Sindi was on call led to a romantic relationship which Lebo felt guilty about. The relationship resulted in a pregnancy, and Lucky instructed Lebo to abort as it would ruin his marriage. Lebo refused and went on to finish her matric with help from her mother and grandmother.

The next section focuses on the themes depicted by various proverbs, and each theme is substantiated by excerpts from the selected accounts and narratives discussed in the preceding section.

Domesticated femininities

As far back as precolonial African societies, many women have been socialised to be sole homemakers who ensure that their households, husbands and children are always taken care of. Carole Pateman (1988) explains how, in European societies, the private and public arenas were designated to men and women and revealed that domesticity as the private arena was associated with femininity. This arrangement has since been embraced globally. Scholars such as Moagi and Mtombeni (2020) demonstrate that in pre-colonial Southern Africa, women were not restricted to the domestic space, but such a setup was introduced by colonialism. While it is true that precolonial African women performed other roles outside of the home, part of their primary roles was household chores. One of the popular proverbs that underpins the confinement of women to domestic exploitation in the traditional Bapedi society is *Mosadi ke tšhwene o lewa mabogo* (A woman is a baboon, her hands are eaten). According to Rakoma (1986), this proverb means that a woman's value is judged by the work of her hands in taking care of her home and husband. This proverb has been interpreted to rationalise the notion that a good woman is one who always performs her homely duties. The Bapedi nation's general understanding is that performing house chores such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of all the members of a household is a sign of good femininity, especially for a married woman. In support, Masenya (2018) endorses the viewpoint that in the Bapedi culture, 'the efficient management of a household cannot be separated from the use of woman's hands'. This rationale is demonstrated by Leshata and his mother's nonchalance with Anna doing the cleaning, cooking and washing for the entire household although she was heavily pregnant.

Before the spread of feminist and gender equality consciousness, the socialisation of restricting women to the home seemed totally practical for earlier generations, although it cannot be determined whether or not the women had no issues with the setup. These limitations include females not being allowed to study and work in formal settings. The confinement of women to the home may have not been a problem in precolonial and early colonial South Africa where women did not have many public obligations. However, since the late 20th century, many African women have had access to public services such as education and employment. Speaking of the 21st century, Possa (2013) states that given the dynamism of societies, the examination of the pragmatic relevance of oral literature, which includes proverbs, is necessary. Despite the socio-political and economic changes in contemporary South Africa that require a mental shift if societies wish to create healthy and fair livelihoods for all its members, most women are still confined to the private arena (Agbedo, Obiora & Ahamefula 2016). When Anna's mother heard of the back-breaking work that her daughter

was subjected to, she wept so much that 'her tears could have filled a plastic bag'. She informed Anna that her in-laws' system of making her daughter their domestic worker was impractical, especially after the birth of the twins, and her job as a schoolteacher. To lessen her daughter's burden, Anna's mother was thus determined that she would find her a domestic helper. The decision by Anna's mother demonstrated that the socialisation communicated by proverbs that anticipate women to dedicate their lives to domesticity despite the changes in the society no longer reflects women's realities today (Schipper 1991, p. 05).

While changing times have forced those who are progressive to retreat from stereotypical thinking, the changes have also stalled the belief of those who are willing to benefit from stereotypical philosophies found in sexist remarks. This includes traditional men such as Leshata who dismissed their domestic aider because he was taught to believe that a wife should be able to perform all the household duties reserved for females, despite any external pressure. Anna's predicament is based on Maisiri's (2015, p. 61) belief that traditional societies view performing household chores as one of the practices that married women demonstrate respect and submission to their husbands. Even when Leshata arrived home drunk, he would demand warm food as the head of the household, it did not matter what time he returned. After a small bite, he would leave the meal and ridicule his wife's cooking abilities. He would then go to the kitchen to prepare a meal for himself, and he usually fell asleep on the couch while cooking (*LI*:49). Even though Leshata did this repeatedly, Anna was compelled to prepare a meal for him because it was customary in the Bapedi society that when a husband comes home late, the wife should prepare food for him without questioning his whereabouts. The notion that a woman's place is the kitchen and 'she has no mouth' is perpetuated in this narrative. The wife's emotional well-being is not considered, and there are no remedial measures pertaining to the husband's behaviour because he is the head of the household. Although Anna's in-laws' thinking may be regressive, their 'social expectations are influenced by the philosophy of the messages communicated through proverbs' (Moloko-Phiri 2015). The concept of 'head of the house' is supported by the bride-price practice in Africa, which, in Malesa and Sekudu (2021), is viewed as payment for being given power over women.

Instead of stepping up as a father, Leshata entrusts the women in his life to attend to his children because he could not tolerate the crying. By recommending that his mother should assist his wife, Leshata shows that in traditional societies, caring for children (i.e. feeding, bathing and changing nappies) is viewed as a feminine task. This preserves the ideology of hegemonic masculinities as non-nurturing and emotionally absent towards their children, even in the 21st century. Moreover, by allowing the

domestic worker issue to cause a rift between him and his wife, Leshata becomes a stumbling block to women's emancipation from being household slaves. Baloyi (2022, p. 3) asserts that if a man's definition of a good woman includes observing her roles as performing domesticated chores, then his definition borders toxic masculinity.

Amidst this, Anna maintains that her husband is incompetent in caring for their children. In this way, she hinders her own transformation and fails to realise that she is sustaining the Bapedi culture that discourages males from actively raising their children through prescribed cultural masculine socialisation. Furthermore, Leshata's indifference supports Ogundipe-Leslie's (1994, p. 43) view that many women are overworked because their men do not do any housework or intimate childcare. If both Anna and Leshata were equally involved in some of the home activities, not only would that reduce Anna's workload but it would also create a better relationship between Leshata and the children. Nevertheless, with his free time, Leshata spares himself and opts to spend time away from home, only to return drunk, when everyone is asleep. This behaviour creates unhealthy and toxic households with absent or passive fathers and husbands. Leshata's unwillingness to assist with the children and house chores is justified by the Bapedi's traditional belief that a woman is proving her worth by performing household chores and rearing children even at her demise.

Bound to marriage by culture

While traditional Bapedi communities view the husband as the head of a family, the sustenance of a marriage is emphasised on the part of the wife. The proverb, '*bogadi ke namane ye thata ya phophoma re a bo foketsa*', (Bogadi is a hard calf if it overflows, reduce it) implies that a woman's marital home is full of troubles that require patience and meekness so that even in her anger, a mother-in-law does not chase her daughter-in-law away. Owu-Ewie (2019, p. 36) asserts that the success or failure of a marriage is highly dependent on one's relationship with their in-laws, and this is also transmitted through Akan proverbs. Anna encountered difficulties when Leshata and his mother would both curse her and call her names, from a mad person to the daughter of a wicked witch (*LI*:41). The quarrel began when Anna missed her personal space with her husband because her mother-in-law was sharing a room with her and the twins in order to assist with taking care of the newborns. The situation between the two women was worsened by Anna relieving Leshata's mother of her duties of taking care of the twins. Leshata's mother saw Anna's request as an attack and a sign that they did not want her around in their house anymore. Therefore, she was angered by the fact that her daughter-in-law had

set boundaries. Since then, Anna and her mother-in-law's relationship was never the same, to the extent that she even refused to assist with their second-born Moraba.

Some of the mockery from Leshata's mother included making fun of Anna's postpartum body. She gossiped with her neighbour about how Anna behaves like a know-it-all just because she is a university graduate (*LI*:35). Masenya (1998, p. 86) attributes the quarrels between Anna and her mother-in-law as typical because the wife is seen as an 'intruder' who disturbs the harmony that existed between a mother and her son. As a result, mothers-in-law develop a negative attitude towards their daughters-in-law. Because divorce was not an option for Anna, she tolerated all the hurt. Another reason that discouraged Anna from leaving her abusive marital residence is the myth that as she already has children, no other man would be interested in her. Thus, Anna felt that with her four children, no one would find her appealing. Staying unmarried was not an option because their society did not respect women who were not married. According to Moloko-Phiri (2015, p. 6), stereotypical cultural beliefs such as those expressed by the proverb mentioned above encourage women to endure even in difficult marriages where they may experience psychological and social harm. Moreover, the proverb implies that Bapedi wives should always be submissive to their mothers-in-law, hence the abuse by Leshata's mother. If they are not, they may be sent back to their homes, and that is considered humiliating for the wife and her family. Such a belief means that the responsibility of a good relationship is centred on the wife and not on the husband and his family.

In Western religious tradition, popular marriage vows include 'until death does us apart', to symbolise that the couple should only be separated by death and nothing else. In Sepedi, a similar ideology is communicated by the proverb, '*lebitla la mosadi ke bogadi*' (a woman's grave is at her in-laws), which means that no matter what may come, abuse, infidelity and other life-threatening circumstances, the wife is not to leave her marital home. Extremists contend that even if the husband dies, the wife should remain with her late husband's family. Masenya (1998, p. 87) asserts that this proverb binds a wife to her husband beyond death as she remains the property of her husband's family forever. If she is to remarry, it should be to a male relative because in that way, she remains in the same family, supported by the proverb '*lehu ga le hlalwe*' (one does not divorce death). According to Rakoma (1986), the aforementioned proverb implies that it is not permissible for a widow to leave her marital home, either to go back to her home or be remarried to a man who is not related to her late husband. The traditional Bapedi communities believe that once a woman is married, she submits to her in-laws forever. The widows who marry outside are granted permission to do so by their in-laws.

Anna and Mosima suffer the same fate in their marriages when they choose to stay in difficult marriages. While violence is legally forbidden in many countries, most societies continue to promote domestic violence as a means of correction by a husband to his wife and children. The proverb '*tshwenegatsane o matepe, ge o bitswa ke boroto o a gana*' (female baboon you are spoiled, when male baboons call you, you decline) is interpreted by Rakoma (1986) to mean that husbands are justified to batter their wives if they are seen to be disrespectful. Similarly, when Leshata unfairly beats his children and verbally assaults his wife, Anna makes peace with the fact that despite these challenges, a divorce or a separation was not an option (*LI*:40). In a traditional setting, any disapproval of a wife to her husband's views is perceived as disrespect. Likewise, Leshata beat his children for playing around the house, and when Anna attempted to intervene, she was either threatened with a beating or received one (*LI*:39). The endorsement of domestic abuse by sexist proverbs completely negates the fact that not only does this type of abuse cause physical pain but it also has emotional and psychological consequences.

During Mosima and Phuthi's discussion about the caller who informed her about Maphefo and Ngwato's affair, Phuthi asserts that 'it must be a strategy to get Mosima to fight with her husband-perhaps even get her out of the picture'. Like any Bapedi traditional wife who was taught never to leave her marital home no matter what, Mosima told Phuthi that 'she will never leave her husband over some cheap tickiline' (*TTWDL*:118). This philosophy of endurance in marriage is communicated through the discussed proverbs which according to Moloko-Phiri, Mulaudzi and Heyns (2016, p. 253) are meant to discourage divorce and encourage perseverance. In Mosima's case, Phuthi's character is somewhat progressive and deviant from the norm by telling Ngwato that 'he should apologise to his wife who made the foolish decision to stay with a mad person like him for the rest of her life' (*TTWDL*:113)

Sadly, the veneration of the proverbs discussed above makes it difficult for unhappy wives to separate from or divorce their husbands no matter how bad the situation may be because they also imply that even in the absence of the husband, the married woman must remain with her in-laws until she dies. Anna remained married, although Leshata had been away for several nights, and it was clear that he stayed with another woman. Likewise, Mosima never left her marriage even after she confronted her husband's mistress, but their relationship continued. These two women are a good example of how in most African patriarchal societies, the wife is burdened with the responsibility to ensure that her marriage succeeds no matter the circumstances. The fact that a marriage involves two grown-up individuals who consented to marry, often the man being the initiator, is ignored or neglected. Even when Anna was dripping wet from the rain as she was

locked outside her house, she questioned if she was ever ready to get married or to marry at all because her mother had told her that 'to sustain a marriage as a woman, you need a certain level of stupidity' (*LI*:48). In the same manner, as some participants in a study conducted by Moloko-Phiri (2015) revealed that they embraced Christian faith to instil hope that one day their lives would change for the better, Mosima found solace in church.

Male promiscuity

Gender studies have shown that sexual conquest is a revered trait of cultural masculinity in traditional societies. In liberal or modern communities, while it may not be clearly sanctioned, men receive less to no backlash for having multiple partners, whereas women are totally ostracised (Bhana 2016, p. 474; Monagan 2009, p. 85). There are quite a number of Sepedi proverbs that support male tendencies of having multiple sexual partners, married or not. These include '*monna ke thaka o a naba*' (a man is like a pumpkin plant, he spreads) and one which is not included in *Marema-ka-dika* but is popular, '*monna ke selepe re lala re adimišane*' (a man is an axe we borrow each other overnight). While Selepe (2019, p. 19) states that heterosexual men demonstrate their masculinity by publicly having multiple sexual partners, Possa (2013) avows that proverbs that encourage promiscuity should be seen as promoting unaccepted behaviour that creates toxic masculinities. Leshata, Ngwato and Lucky's extramarital affairs are endorsed by the proverbs discussed in this section. Unlike many others who were not brave enough to call out Ngwato for his cheating, Phuthi confronted him, and with no shame, Ngwato answered:

> You are judging me because you know nothing. At least I have only one girlfriend – most of those guys in cabinet have several. The president has four wives and a girlfriend in every province. No, not province, in every town. It is African culture. This is how our grandfathers used to live. (*TTWDL*:115)

Ngwato does not dispute that he has an extramarital affair, but rather, he minimises its effect by telling his cousin that at least he is better than most men as he only has one mistress. He utilises culture to justify his actions by stating that their forebears practised polygamy, whether formally or informally. Therefore, it is clear that Ngwato believed that his cheating was acceptable.

Rakoma (1986) explains that the proverb '*monna ke tšhwene o ja ka matsogo a mabedi*' (a man is a baboon, he eats with two hands) means that even if a man marries, he is likely to have other women who entertain him besides his wife. This proverb normalises male promiscuity and makes it seem like a natural occurrence. Relating to the narratives under discussion, Lucky was not ashamed to declare his love for their helper Lebo by telling her that he was romantically attracted to her since the day she arrived.

His proposal for a relationship included promises that he would help Lebo achieve her dreams and would redeem her from her poverty (*LS1*:71).

Malatji's selected prose shows that in patriarchal societies, male promiscuity is accepted not only by men but also by women. Such women hinder the progress of societal transformation by being complacent with the ill-treatment of other women. The mistresses' acceptance of relationships with married men is laced with disrespect for their partners' wives. For instance, Maphefo would mock Ngwato's wife by calling her a 'Modjadji' over a glass of whiskey and Ngwato would also laugh along (*TTWDL*:118). When Mosima went to confront her husband's concubine and pleaded with her to let him go because his family needs him, Maphefo told her that they would have to share him because she also loves him. Possa's (2013) observation that out of comfort and enjoyment, some concubines boast to wives while the men's families suffer is evidenced in the aforementioned account. Only after being beaten did Maphefo promise to end the relationship. However, she and Ngwato continued seeing each other and he continued staying away from home. The affair 'was now an open secret and Maphefo had been elevated to the status of an official deputy wife' (*TTWDL*:121). Mosima did not confront her husband about his affair but went to fight Maphefo as if she was the instigator in the relationship. This is a proof that women involved in extramarital affairs are always seen as the problem and receive backlash.

Like Maphefo, Lebo agreed to be in a relationship with Lucky for three years even though she knew that he is married and 'that she was taking the caresses and closeness that belonged, by law, to another woman' (*LS1*:72). Even though she did not clearly condone Lucky and Lebo's relationship, Lebo's grandmother always received Lucky warmly because he would bribe their family with groceries. She hoped that Lucky would take Lebo to university when she finished matric (*LS1*:73). Lebo's grandmother only warned her granddaughter to be careful because Sindi might kill her if she found out, as is usually the case that when an affair is exposed or goes wrong, men are absolved. Instead of seeing men as active participants, the concubines are accused of seducing them and thus face the consequences alone. Most traditional societies seen through the Duiwelskloof community and Lebo's grandmother accept male promiscuity which is normalised by the culture reflected through their language. Hussein (2005, p. 73) cautions against the silent approval of ideologies depicted by languages that denigrate and sideline African women. Subsequently, they influence the continuation of oppressive aspects of their languages.

Bhana (2016, p. 474) declares that patriarchal socialisation promotes double-standard views about sexuality whereby accepted hegemonic masculinity includes the normalisation of unrestrained male sexual behaviour with no repercussions. When Lebo falls pregnant at the age of 18

and informs Lucky, he tells her that he will arrange for her to get an abortion (*LS1*:73). Lucky tried to convince Lebo that she would not achieve her dreams because the child will ruin her future, and she would end up working as a domestic worker like her mother and grandmother. Instead of stepping up as the father of the child, Lucky excluded himself from the consequences of an affair he consented to. Because it was not a rare occurrence for cheating men to flee the consequences of their actions, Lebo's grandmother advised Lebo to leave Lucky and keep the baby and raise her by herself. One of the effects of extramarital relationships is that they contribute to the percentage of children who grow up with absent fathers, and for some, this has serious side effects. In this context, proverbs indicate the stereotypical portrayal of men and women in Bapedi marriage.

Conclusion

The negative consequences of the cultural socialisation of restricting women by expecting them to be passive and meek in all circumstances as a sign of good femininity are evident in the foregoing discussion. In the quest for social transformation which ensures gender equality, the upholding of gendered proverbs by both men and women makes wives easy targets of abuse inflicted by their husbands as well as in-laws. Furthermore, the masculine-oriented proverbs that encourage violence and abuse, promiscuity together with insensitivity, not only harm women and children but also promote toxic behaviour in men. In line with Stiwanism, men, women and Bapedi culture as depicted in the short stories have proven to be mountains that African women need to redress because they cling to old and traditional attitudes that are not beneficial to humanity.

This chapter recommends that in the quest for transforming patriarchal African societies, future literary works and language practitioners be responsible for filtering misogynistic aspects of the Sepedi language and culture. The use of offensive proverbs that promote ancient and regressive gender stereotypes should be discouraged. This can also include the phasing out or revising of the current collections of written proverbs in Rakoma's *Marema-ka-dika* and Nape 'a Motana's *Sepedi Proverbs*, which are critical texts used for learning. Such a task may seem difficult because of proverbs being considered sacred, and some Africans refuse to desecrate their heritage by phasing them out in support of modern civilisation (Ramohlale et al. 2021, p. 775). Nonetheless, change is inevitable if the Bapedi nation yearns for a non-patriarchal society. Because of the impact of proverbs beyond the education sector, this study further recommends that the research findings be utilised to inform Bapedi communities of the repressive beliefs and values embedded in some proverbs and other cultural practices. This study has supported the argument that language is highly influential in a society's way of life.

Chapter 4

Patriarchal implications on women empowerment in Chichewa and Shona proverbs

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Abstract

From time immemorial, proverbs are some of the most widely and commonly used expressions on the African continent in the oral transmission of knowledge, beliefs, values and traditions from generation to generation. Apart from being a linguistic sign with a literal interpretation, proverbs have other communication functions. From literature, in Chichewa in Malawi, and in Shona in Zimbabwe, gendered proverbs are used not only as linguistic tools but also to define gender identity and social parameters and enforce decisions between the speaker and the hearer. Because of

How to cite: Kamwendo, JC & Mushonga, M 2025, 'Patriarchal implications on women empowerment in Chichewa and Shona proverbs', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 51–73. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.04

entrenched patriarchal ideologies coupled with colonialism and religion in African societies, the gendered proverbs have been at the centre of the construction of masculinity and femininity gender identities of what it means to be a woman or a man in Africa as they reinforce issues that can be contested. This chapter critically analyses the connotations in the gendered proverbs to establish the extent to which they impact on women empowerment and girls' education in the respective countries. The chapter is underpinned by a qualitative, comparative and desktop approach to establish the intersection of the proverbs and their implications. The authors relied heavily on already documented texts to source gendered proverbs. For Malawi, a compendium proverb text by Chakanza (2001) with the title *Wisdom of the People 2000: Chichewa Proverbs* was used. Shona proverbs were sourced from the Shona dictionary, *Duramazwi guru reChishona* (2001), and from conversations with a few Shona speakers conversant with proverbs. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and intersectionality frameworks were deployed as the main analytical tools to unpack the connotations embedded within the proverbs. Findings revealed that notwithstanding the utility in some of the proverbs as rich cultural indigenous knowledge systems, some of the proverbs appear outdated and continue to perpetuate stereotypical ideological values and beliefs about women and girls. Evidently, the findings reveal that proverbs in Chichewa and Shona portray men as superior, as leaders by birth and owners of intellect, while women are portrayed as inferior, less intelligent and as gossipers and evil. This chapter concludes by making two related recommendations: Firstly, although there are growing debates in the light of decolonisation to revitalise and recentre Africa's cultural values, the emancipation of women and girls from negative traditional ideologies remains paramount, and secondly, there is need to revisit some of the traditions that prevent women and girls from participating fully in society and unlock their full potential.

Introduction

Nothing defines a culture as distinctly as its language. The unique way in which people experience and interact with the environment can only be conveyed fully and vividly through the local language. This implies that to rob people of their language is to rob them of not only their confidence and dignity but also their creativity. The element of language that best encapsulates a society's values and beliefs is proverbs. The richness, beauty and sharpness of wisdom are clearly reflected in proverbs and sayings, and they are a kernel of culture, values, beliefs and other multiple complex ways. Proverbs are therefore considered as a cultural heritage of the society or nation. The idea of this chapter then started as a general conversation

between the two authors who hail from Malawi and Zimbabwe. The authors committed to doing a joint comparative article with an aim to analyse whether Chichewa and Shona proverbs are regarded as pathways for masculinity and femininity construction and what it means to be a woman or man among the Chewa and Shona people of Malawi and Zimbabwe, respectively. The two landlocked countries are located in southern Africa. Politically, Zimbabwe and Malawi became British Protectorate in 1891 and were previously known as Rhodesia and Nyasaland, respectively, during that British colonial rule. However, it is not the focus of this chapter, and the authors will not go into details of such a political landscape.

Proverbs as indigenous knowledge systems of Malawi and Zimbabwe culture

Just as in many African countries, Chichewa and Shona proverbs constitute an integral part of Chewa and Shona culture and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). These are simple statements with deep meaning and are highly regarded as society's assets that serve as windows through which a particular society can be viewed and appreciated. Proverbs in Malawi and Zimbabwe are used as a socialisation tool to educate, inspire, warn and manage conflicts, as well as create what it means to be a good citizen. The proverbs contain what is believed to be the wisdom of the elders. As such, in communicating this wisdom, it is preceded with 'the elders once said'. Mieder (1997, p. 3) refers to proverbs as 'traditional bits of wisdom and kernels or rather containers of cultural heritage'; hence, they are regarded as reservoirs of societal knowledge. Proverbs are used to express truths of life. These tools of languages are passed on from generation to generation. In many African cultures, proverbs constitute a powerful rhetorical device for the shaping of moral consciousness and beliefs as they express the collective wisdom of the people. Truly speaking, proverbs influence public thinking, and many of the decisions are taken out of proverbial wisdom, making their use a powerful tool in the quest for a genuine African identity (Magwaza 2004). The wisdom, humour and inspiration contained in African proverbs and folktales offer a rich mine or wealth of material with which to construct the roadmap to one's desired destination in life. Proverbs have proven that self-development is a universal concept that transcends time and space. With such conviction, in African oral cultures, people are impressed by those who have many proverbs at their disposal and know how to use them at the right moment. Because of the recognition of their power, the use of proverbs goes beyond homesteads and cuts across all levels of spheres which include the education system. In religious settings, proverbs are also used extensively as a preacher's tool to drive home spiritual messages (Kaphagawani & Chidammodzi 1983).

Malunga (2012), as well as Malunga and Banda (2013) indicate that in traditional African societies, the wisdom that is contained in proverbs forms a powerful tool that can make a great contribution towards addressing some of the cultural, ethnic, moral and other dilemmas facing modern society. The significance of this assertion is evident in many African cultures. For example, in Igbo culture there is a proverb that says: '*Ilu bu mmanu e ji eri okwu*', which means that proverbs are the palm oil with which words are eaten. This is a profound statement made by Chinua Achebe in his writings in *Things Fall Apart*. Similarly, in Amharic tribe of Ethiopia, there is a proverb that says, 'a speech without proverb is food without salt' (Fasiku 2006, p. 50). Mmadike (2014, p. 98) argues that 'proverbs are the horses of speech for Yoruba, Nigeria, and without proverbs, the language would be but skeleton without a flesh'. Schiper (2004) echoes this by explaining that within the Zulus of South Africa, there is a proverb that says, 'a speech without a proverb is like a body without a soul'.

Kgoroeadira and Kaya (2012) observe that with the coming of Western cultures and ideologies during colonialism, African IKS became marginalised and were considered primitive and unscientific. As a result, there has been a disturbing distortion of African cultural values and the marginalisation of Africa's contribution to the global knowledge pool. This has resulted in the continent being seen as a region in the world where foreign development paradigms dominate development processes. Africa has been turned into a consumer of knowledge(s) of other parts of the world and a lot has to be done to turn it into a respectable producer and exporter of own knowledge (Prakash 2009). Mushonga (2015) also argues that with the exception of a few countries such as South Africa and Ghana, the majority of African countries have no policies to protect their IKS, including their language. South Africa's Department of Science and Technology is one of the shining examples that has established the National Indigenous Knowledge Systems Office as well as the Ministerial Advisory Committee on IKS. The Committee, among other things, is tasked with affirming, promoting and protecting South African IKS (Kanjere, Thaba & Teffo 2011). Within the spirit of the African Renaissance, and decoloniality shifts, African countries need to come up with strategic plans to protect the continent's IKS, which will include the preservation of indigenous languages and their tools. This goes beyond the country level but to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region and Africa as a whole. As a Xitsonga proverb says, 'food cooked in borrowed pots does not cure hunger', because of the lack of policy frameworks, negative exploitation and stealing of African IKS goes on, and Africa seems to lack a proper direction. The protection of IKS requires a paradigm shift approach in the light of regional policies, for example, the SADC

policy and other legal instruments for the protection of IKS (Mushonga 2015; Saurombe 2013). In the light of embracing globalisation and decoloniality with its economic underpinning in terms of knowledge production, the continued validation of Western paradigms at the expense of diverse traditions and systems of knowledge should be taken into account. The argument being put forward is about the decolonisation of people's minds in view of the failure to develop and use our own tools and indigenous epistemologies such as proverbs. Malunga (2012) argues that if positively used, African proverbs can help in addressing the negative face of African culture amid the challenge of corruption, nepotism, favouritism, tribalism and inequalities. However, based on the accumulated wisdom, the issue of gender in proverbs has been overlooked and neglected. It is possible to romanticise proverbs as cultural assets and sources of pride and wisdom about ethnic identity. Just like in language in general, some studies aimed at promoting and preserving folk proverbs without critically analysing their implications for gender equality debates.

Despite the importance of proverbs as indigenous wisdom, the language tools cannot go unchallenged, especially in terms of how they have been used and manipulated by those in power to communicate directly or indirectly the negative and stereotypical messages that may disempower, objectify, discriminate, subordinate and marginalise women and girls. The construction and perpetuation of gender inequality through proverbs is also a statement of women's biological and psychological inferiority. This emerges from hegemonic masculinity in social representation of the psychological, social and physical potency of men in patriarchal and sexist societies. Webster (1982, p. 174) argues that within the African context, hegemonic masculinity on sexual behaviours is maintained by labelling women as 'other'. Proverbs play an important role in reinforcing such femininity and cultural expectations of endurance and submissiveness. The conspiracy and stereotypical inferiority of women as contained in some African proverbs silence women, thereby rendering them vulnerable. This is achieved by placing them in different positions and patterns of social norms and expectations. Proverbs have the prevailing patriarchal power hierarchies and established rigid images of what it means to be a man or a woman in an African society. As power defines knowledge, men and society use African proverbs in general to articulate and emphasise women's unfitness to assume important leadership and decision-making positions in society (Asimeng-Boahene 2010). To echo such observations, Table 4.1 provides some examples of Sepedi/Setswana proverbs in studies conducted in Botswana in Xitsonga by Nhlekisana (2007) and Igbo proverbs in studies conducted in Nigeria by Hussen (2005), Soetan (2001) and Ogbulogo (2001).

TABLE 4.1: Examples of gendered proverbs from other societies.

Sepedi proverb	**Translation/meaning**
1. *Mosadi ke tšhwene o lewa mabogo*	The only contribution a woman can make in society is through her physical hard work
2. *Tša etwa keya tshadi pele di wela leopeng*	If a leader is a woman, disaster is bound to happen (Kanjere, Thaba & Teffo 2011, p. 246)
3. *Magadi ke di etelelwa pele ke tle di wele ka selomo*	An ox cannot be pulled by cows, it will fall into a ditch (Nhlekisana 2007, p. 124)
Igbo proverb – Nigeria	**Translation/meaning**
4. *Woke obu la na-agba egwu nwayi na-aku oye o bula na-anwu mgbe chi ya akpoghi*	The man who dances for the flute played by a woman generally goes to the spirit world prematurely (Soetan 2001, p. 26)
Igbo proverb – Nigeria	**Translation/meaning**
5. *Mgbe nwunye ochie, ego eruola nkụ*	When a woman is getting old, it would seem as if money [bride price] was not paid for when marrying her' (Ogbulogo 2002)
Moroccan Arabic (Darija) proverb	**Translation/meaning**
6. *L-mra l-'aqla 'ndha bzaf ma tgul, walakin katskt*	A wise woman has much to say but remains silent' (Hussein 2005, p. 65)
Xitsonga proverb	**Translation/meaning**
7. *Nhwanyana i huku yo khomela vayeni*	A girl is like a chicken reserved for guests (Nhlekisana 2007)
Somali proverb	**Translation/meaning**
8. *Siilka yar waa qiimo*	The smaller the entrance to the bride's vagina, the greater the value in marriage market (Hussein 2005, p. 65)

Source: Authors' own work.

In the first Sepedi proverb in Table 4.1, women are portrayed as useless human beings in society. Women's existence as human beings is doubted, and the only contribution a woman can make is through her own efforts. This is a systematic way of excluding women from taking active roles in different societal aspects. Proverbs are manipulated and used by those in power to facilitate the transmission of social and cultural beliefs that portray other groups, especially men as superior, while women are portrayed as inferior, dependent, less intelligent, a subordinated group and people who cannot lead. Unless women prove otherwise to the world, the world does not recognise them (Schipper 2004). The implication is that women fail to make significant contributions in both private and public spheres. More disturbing is the idea that women and girls are socialised to believe that they are born to serve men when they get married and be owned by a husband. For example, an Ibgo proverb cited by Ogbulogo (2002) says, 'When a woman is getting old, it would seem as if money (bride price) was not paid for when marrying her'.

Similarly, Nhlekisana (2007) in her study observed a Xitsonga proverb cited as number 7 in Table 4.1, where a girl is equated to a chicken that is reserved for visitors. With an understanding that the girl child will one day get

married and leave her parents' home, the mentioned proverbs reduce the whole human being of 'a girl child' to a fowl as she awaits a suitor. This is a clear example of the objectification of women that much research tends to ignore. Similarly, Hussein cites a Somali proverb that is used to increase or devalue the chastity of unmarried and married females, respectively, and affirm the idea of getting married earlier than later to avoid getting expired. Regrettably, some of these ideologies are replicated in education systems of many African countries. Probably, this could be the reason why some societies still believe girls' education is a waste of time and resources as girls will get married and be under their husbands.

The preliminary literature also shows that in Malawi and Zimbabwe, proverbs are used extensively. Growing up in the rural villages of Phalombe in Malawi and Zaka in Zimbabwe, respectively, we directly interacted with proverbs. Traditionally, it is a common practice in many societies that a fireplace is used as a symbol and place of unity. This is where family members sit to warm themselves during the cold season while discussing issues concerning their family, clan and community. During that time, parents would talk to children about their culture and traditions in a relaxed environment. Sitting with grandparents around a big fire, we would listen to different stories and folktales associated with family values, traditions and cultural heritage of our society. To this day, proverbs are still meant to safeguard society's wisdom across and through generations and to educate, guide and inspire children as future wives and/or mothers, and fathers and/or husbands. Proverbs play an integral part in everyday conversations across many African communities and are common socialisation tools in homes and initiation schools. Teachings in proverbial wisdom range from desirable citizenships, parenthood, motivation, inspiration and many more. In religious settings, proverbs are also used extensively as preachers' tools to drive home spiritual messages. Through proverbs, community members are able to learn morals, and traditional and society values. One can therefore regard proverbs as some kind of manuals of life because they tell people what is worth doing as well as what is not worth doing.

With evidence from the preliminary literature on African proverbs in general, the chapter seeks to discuss and critically analyse how patriarchal ideologies are embedded in Chichewa and Shona proverbs, which may be used for masculine and feminine constructions, which at the end promote and perpetuate gender inequality between men and women in society. The chapter further discusses the implications of gendered proverbs in relation to women's and girls' empowerment and education. The chapter deploys critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the intersectionality framework to examine and interrogate the proverbs to establish their potential within the gender inequality perspective.

Theoretical framework

The chapter deploys CDA by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) and the intersectionality framework as used by Kimberley Crenshaw to unpack the connotations embedded in the proverbs. Critical discourse analysis is largely interested in the production and consumption of texts in social settings. Critical discourse analysis stems from a critical theory of language that regards its (language) use as a form of social practice. Gross-berg (1991, p. 134) observed how 'texts reveal their significance, not on the surface of images and representations, but rather in the complex ways that they produce, transform and shape meaning structure'. This simply means that all social practices are tied to specific historical contexts and are means by which existing social relations are reproduced, served and sustained. Fairclough and Wodak provided eight fundamental principles upon which CDA is founded. These can be outlined as follows:

- Critical discourse analysis addresses social problems, and this study focuses on gender-based problems
- Critical discourse analysis recognises power relations as being discursive
- Discourse constitutes society and culture and is constituted by them
- Discourse does ideological work. As such, discourse reproduces society's unequal relations.
- Discourse is historical and is connected to the present
- Relations between text and society are mediated
- Discourse is a form of social action.

Critical discourse analysis frames this chapter as it provides the social-historical conditions that govern the processes that the proverbs reveal by pointing out how they are implicated in relation to patriarchal structures and those in power in society. This goes further to analyse how through written and spoken proverbs, patriarchal power is utilised to abuse, dominate, 'subordinate, oppress and marginalise [*the other group,*] women, and girls' (Kwanya & Matu 2024). Through the manipulation of language, men have managed to create an ideology that defines their supremacy as the natural owners of the intellect, and as people with rationality and power to rule (Kwanya & Matu 2024). As proverbs are made out of language, they are openly used to pre-determine gender relations in relation to power, spatial parameters and gender roles.

Intersectionality framework, on the contrary, gives a platform to understand inequalities that CDA has overlooked in different geographical locations and contexts, and other binaries such as colonialism, age, socio-economic status and other traditional pathways that perpetuate inequalities rather than overgeneralise and essentialise women as a monolithic group. Intersectionality helps us to have a better understanding of how resilient

colonial practices in Malawi and Zimbabwe continue to place African women in an inferior position to that of men. It is a fact that colonialism and its legacies are intertwined with patriarchal structures to bring inequalities that we face today. The colonial system has also contributed to the three challenges: Employers preferring female employees than men, poverty and inequalities, which disproportionately continue to affect women in comparison to their male counterparts. Even though some men were also affected by the system, they still had some chances of participating in the labour market and were even afforded the right to land, unlike women who were expected to remain in the villages to take care of children and household needs. A study conducted by Birkelund et al. (2022) of the University of Oxford attests that gender discrimination in hiring still exists in the labour market. The study further reveals that women and men are treated differently in the same jobs in the same firms in terms of earnings and promotion prospects. The fundamental argument in intersectionality essentialises women as monolithic and that men and women experience gender inequalities differently.

With the understanding that gender dynamics differ in different geographical contexts and chronological periods, the intersectionality framework is one of the transformative feminist theories which advocates for the redress of any ideological sexist language as seen in proverbs. Both the CDA and intersectionality frameworks give us an opportunity to understand cultural attitudes, beliefs and power relations as proverbs embody cultural reality. With all that Malawi and Zimbabwe have achieved in trying to achieve gender equality, still at cultural and traditional levels gender inequality is generally manifested through language and its tools and, more specifically, through proverbs. Is it worth to interrogate and contest the notion of wisdom conveyed through Chichewa and Shona proverbs? Is it wisdom that has the potential to widen or minimise gender inequalities and promote women education? These are some of the difficult questions that confront us today.

Methodology

The chapter deployed a qualitative, comparative and desktop approach to establish the intersection of the proverbs and their implications with regard to masculinity and femininity construction, women empowerment and education for girls. The authors relied heavily on documented proverbs (texts). For Malawi, a compendium proverb text by Chakanza (2001) with the title *Wisdom of the People 2000: Chichewa Proverbs* was used. Shona proverbs were sourced from the Shona dictionary *Duramazwi guru reChishona* (2001). The proverbs are analysed using thematic and content analysis and categorised according to the themes and connotations

embedded in Table 4.1–Table 4.5. While the authors strived to juxtapose the Chichewa and Shona proverbs according to the connotations embedded, in some instances it was not possible to do so.

Findings

Gendered Chichewa and Shona proverbs

Table 4.2–Table 4.6 provide an overview of the variety of gendered Chichewa and Shona proverbs.

TABLE 4.2: Chichewa and Shona proverbs and masculinity construction.

Chichewa proverbs	Translation/meaning	Shona proverbs	Translation/meaning
1. *Atambala awiri salira mkhola limodzi*	Two cocks do not crow in the same chicken pen, i.e. no two bosses rule over the same area at the same time	*Machongwe maviri haakukurudzi pamutanda mumwe; rimwe rinorumwa muchochororo*	Two cocks do not crow from the same log; one will be bitten
2. *Mphongo ya chiwala sichepa*	The male grasshopper is never too small for its female	*Murume ijongwe rinokwegura richiita*	A man is like a cock, he performs and needs sexual intercourse even in old age
3. *Mwamuna ndi kabudula, amathera moyenda*	A husband or a man is like a pair of short trousers, it gets worn out because of travelling	*Baba muredzi, mwana kuchema anodaidza mai*	It is the father's responsibility to ensure that a child is taken care of, but in times of sorrow the child calls upon the mother
4. *Mamuna ndi mpeni timabwerekana*	A man is like a knife and can be borrowed by a neighbour	*Kunyenga zvimvana ita zviviri kuramba kwechimwe unosara nechimwe*	In proposing women make them two; if one refuses the other one remains
5. *Mwamuna mzako ndi pachulu umalinga wakwerapo*	Your fellow man is an anthill, and you can only celebrate when you are on top	-	-
6. *Wakwata kwa mphenzi saopa kung'anima*	When one marries a thunder, he should not fear the lightning. A man is expected to take control of the situation no matter how cunning the woman is.	-	-
7. *Chophulika chapsa, mkamwini konza nguwo*	What has burst is ripe, son-in-law, prepare the wrap over. Men have to be courageous.	-	-
8. *Mamuna saudzidwa*	Never tell a man what to do because he knows	-	-
9. *Mamuna safunsidwa komwe achokera*	You do not ask where a husband is coming from	*Musikana isango rehuni*	A girl is a forest where anyone can get firewood

Source: Authors' own work.

TABLE 4.3: Chichewa and Shona proverbs and femininity construction.

Chichewa proverbs	Translation/meaning	Shona proverbs	Translation/meaning
1. *Mwamuna kumamuyang'ana pamimba kukakhala kukula mutu mkwamake*	A wife is supposed to check the husband's tummy rather than his big head	*Mwanasikana ndimandifumise*	A daughter enriches (her family) through marriage
2. *Mkamwini ndi mlamba sachedwa kuteleleka*	A husband is like a fish, he slips easily so the wife should take care	*Usikana idamba kamwe chikuru umvana*	Girlhood is experienced (enjoyed) once but the rest is motherhood.
3. *Nsima ya apongozi amuna sasungira mlendo ngakhale yachokera kwa apongozi akazi*	Do not keep your father-in-law's stiff porridge for a visitor, even if it had been sent by the mother-in-law	*Mukadzi muuya haafukuri hapwa*	A good wife does not disclose secrets of her home and marriage
4. *Mkazi ndi chitenje chimathera pakhomo*	A woman is like a wrapping cloth that is specifically worn at home only	*Musha mukadzi*	A woman is a key figure in a home; a woman makes a home to be homely
5. *Ovala nyanda salumpha moto*	Do not move around when wearing a sanitary pad	*Usikana idamba kamwe chikuru umvana*	Girlhood is experienced (enjoyed) once but the rest is motherhood
6. *Kukwatiwa ndi kumbuyo komwe osati kumaso kokha*	I am married not only by face but including the back [being married not only because of beauty but being able to produce children for the husband]	*Kuwanikwa igwara vasikana vose vanofamba naro*	Marriage is like a path that all girls have to use
7. *Munthu wosabala anasowa chomutukwanira mamuna*	A barren woman lacked someone through whom she could use abusive language against her husband	*Mukadzi anozvara haarambwi*	A woman who bears children will not be divorced
8. -	-	*Nhumbu mukadzi mukuru hairevi chayadya*	A pregnant womb is like an elderly woman; it does not reveal what it has eaten or what is in it – also to do with keeping secrets
9. *Mdima wa dzinja udakwatitsa mkazi woyansa*	The darkness of the wet season got the ugly woman a husband	*Mukadzi/musikana mupinyi webadza, wasvika anomboedzawo*	A woman or girl is a handle of a hoe, anyone can try to use it
10. *Mkazi wophika nsima yosazizira*	A real woman is the one who does not cook cold pap	*Kunzi mukadzi ari apa kunatsa munyu*	To be called a good housewife, one should season her relish well

Source: Authors' own work.

TABLE 4.4: Chichewa and Shona proverbs portraying women as gossipers or as being troublesome.

Chichewa proverbs	Translation/meaning	Shona proverbs	Translation/meaning
1. *Paunjikana ntchembere pali bodza*	Where women gather, just know there are plenty of lies	*Mukadzi idare rinoti ngwe ngwe ngwe*	A woman is a ringing bell
2. *Mkazi wa mfumu asamati mlomo tolotolo ataya mudzi*	A wife of a chief should not be too talkative, otherwise she destroys the village	*Kubereka mwanasikana kuchengeta mangava*	To have (bear) a girl child or daughter is to store up troubles
3. *Mkazi wa mfumu asamati khutu petupetu*	A wife of a chief should not listen to rumours	-	-

Source: Authors' own work.

TABLE 4.5: Portrayal of women lacking decision-making skills.

Chichewa proverbs	Translation/meaning
1. *Mbeta silola tsiku limodzi*	The unmarried girl does not consent to marriage in one day
2. *Tinthu m'kuni adalekera mwana mkazi mnzake ku njoka*	The one who said, 'there are things in a firewood bundle' left her fellow woman's child to a snake. Not being prudent.
3. *Adagula mbereko mwana asatabadwe*	She bought the baby-carrying cloth even before the child was born

Source: Authors' own work.

TABLE 4.6: Chichewa and Shona proverbs and the objectification of women.

Chichewa proverb	Translation/meaning	Shona proverbs	Translation/meaning
1. *Akazi ndi maluwa sachedwa kulakatika*	Women are flowers that blossom nicely in the morning, but wither and die quickly in the afternoon	*Mukadzi muchero, adimura anongawo*	A woman is a fruit that anyone can pluck; a woman is a fruit, anyone who passes by the tree can get it
2. -	-	*Muramu inzungu yakateya gonzo*	A sister-in-law is (like) a nut (meant) to catch the rat
3. -	-	*Muramu haagarotungamidzwi mberi*	A sister-in-law should not (always) walk in front, lest you are tempted
4. -	-	*Mukadzi mutsvuku kana munaku akasaba anoroya*	A beautiful woman or light in complexion, if not a thief, is a witch
5. -	-	*Matende mashava huvazva doro*	Beautiful women spoil things; a woman's fine is her very self
6. -	-	*Mukadzi/musikana mupinyi webadza, wasvika anomboedzawo*	A woman or girl is a handle of a hoe, anyone can try to use it
7. -	-	*Mukadzi/musikana idomboka, asvika anokanda chidombo*	A woman is like a stone, any man can throw it in any direction
8. -	-	*Musikana idzivva, asvika anokanda duo*	A girl is a pool or dam, any fisherman can throw his net
9. -	-	*Musikana isango rehuni*	A girl is a forest where anyone can get firewood
10. -	-	*Musikana ishavhi anoteverwa neshiri*	A girl is a fruit followed by birds
11. -	-	*Musikana munaku ihambakwe*	A beautiful girl is proposed to by many men
12. -	-	*Kufamba nevakadzi kuzvibatisa nemadzviti*	If you travel with women, you will be caught by the enemy ('Ndebele invaders')

Source: Authors' own work.

Discussion

To begin with, it is imperative to explain that it is not possible for the authors to unpack each single proverb in the tables provided. Proverbs will be referred to as a group according to similar connotations embedded and conveyed. We also begin to rekindle our conceptual understanding that:

> [*G*]ender is socially and culturally constructed. As stated in Kimberley's intersectionality framework, a gender construct differs across contexts and cultures, and changes over time. However, depending on the context, gender influences what is expected of each of us, the power we have in society, how we relate to others, and the norms to which we are expected to conform. (Ridgeway 2011, p. 26)

Consequently, this chapter reveals the idea that Chichewa and Shona proverbs are not used in a haphazard fashion, but are systematically crafted to represent different situations and people of different age and social groups, whether it is men or women, married people, young women and men or small children. A particular proverb has to resonate with what or to whom it is to be addressed, at what stage or age, men or women. Choosing a proverb for use is not like going shopping where one buys according to the fashion of the period. In a patriarchal society, proverbs were designed for particular purposes and cannot be used at random. For example, proverbs that are meant for married people cannot be applied to a group of young and unmarried people. This amounts to flouting the beliefs and values contained in the proverbs. Evidently, Chichewa and Shona proverbs show that the structure of male and female relations in Malawi and Zimbabwe's pre-colonial societies was rooted in a separate but complementary gender division of labour that was appropriate for social cohesion.

The proverbs were/are used according to responsibilities that each age group has to satisfy in accordance with the norms, beliefs and traditions of the respective society. The teachings surround the morals, manners and etiquette issues that are specifically meant for masculine and feminine constructions that are required for adulthood. Above the teaching about morals and societal etiquettes, masculine Chichewa and Shona proverbs were designed to teach young men with regard to married life in order to inspire them to work hard as future providers and heads of families. On the contrary, girls were groomed as future wives, mothers and caregivers of their families. This was meant to complement each other to come up with a stable unit of respect and productivity in the families. However, the issue of privileged power and authority is overlooked in these instances, which men exercise over the whole household. In their culturally sanctioned capacity as heads of families, men remain in overall control of the social organisational structure.

Drawing specific attention to proverbs in Table 4.2 where they are used for masculine construction in which men and boys are expected to exhibit specific characteristics such as being strong, assertive, controlled and dominant, some men tend to abuse this responsibility by taking advantage of it to control women and girls. Proverbs are used to teach young men and boys to assume the role of leadership, the spirit of being courageous and adventurous, and people who take up challenges and leading positions no matter how small they might be. With such teachings, boys grow up with tough and leadership ideologies in mind. Two common proverbs deserve attention. These are '*mphongo ya chiwala sichepa*', which means no matter how small a male grasshopper can be, it can perform its male duties, and the Shona proverb which says '*murume ijongwe rinokwegura richiita*', which means a man is like a cock, he performs and needs sexual intercourse even in old age. Indeed, this is a reality based on observations over a long period of time among both men and women; in old age, women are less sexually active than men. However, as Moto (2001) argues, in many other societies, such proverbs are exploited to illustrate the power of men while oppressing and excluding women from taking active roles simply because they are women. Critical discourse analysis in this context provides the socio-historical conditions that govern the processes that the texts and discourses reveal by pointing out how discourses are implicated in relation to those in power in society and how through written, visual and spoken texts, social power is utilised to abuse, dominate, subordinate, oppress and form different identities that perpetuate inequalities.

Furthermore, Chichewa and Shona proverbs are mechanisms through which men control positions while portraying women as people lacking decision-making skills, gossipers and evil human beings. The connotation inscribed in proverbs in Table 4.4 is about women being evil, gossipers and good for nothing. Table 4.5 portrays women as weak and not firm to take decisions. Proverbs as forms of figurative communication with didactic functions in studied conversations possess evidence of men's attempt to maintain control over discourse in society. Throughout and across many cultures, women have negatively been portrayed in African proverbs as senseless and lacking decision-making skills, devilish, childish, weak and morally debased. The prejudices loaded in the proverbs go a long way in discrediting women leaders. This concurs with Fairclough's (2001) assertion in his CDA theory that language and its tools are tied to social practices and specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced and contested and how different interests are served and sustained. Of course, this depends on context, as Kimberly stated. Although literature is available in the African context in which Malawi and Zimbabwe are part of it, little attention has been paid to

research on how proverbs 'as a discourse in which females are portrayed based on stereotypical gender roles and perceptions'. Balogun (2010, p. 35) argued that the implication of the continued use of gendered proverbs continues to work against gender sensitisation, closing the gap in education for women as well as women empowerment in general. Schipper (1991, p. 22) argues that studying people's proverbs is vital in getting a better knowledge of them because as part of a people's cultural heritage, proverbs are embedded in the context in which they function. This indeed applies to the context of Malawi and Zimbabwe where Chichewa and Shona proverbs have served as a major avenue for the continued perpetuation of women's subordination and gender discrimination.

Chinyowa (1999) argues that in the advert of European colonialism in the 19th century, colonialism created a major disruption to precolonial gender relations in the colonised societies in Africa. 'Women occupied the domestic domain and men the public domain, and because power and authority [*were*] vested in the public domain, women had de facto lower status than men' (Muhoyi 2021). Within these conditions of marginality brought by the colonial legacy, African writers began to create images of women as second-class citizens. In early literature:

> [*W*]omen characters who [*submitted*] to patriarchal power and authority are idealized, while those who challenge it are castigated [*and despised*.] Such politics of gender involves dividing women into a 'rural good' and 'urban bad' dichotomy. Rural-based married women are often portrayed as the ideal *madzimai* ([*good*] mothers/wives) while those in urban areas are considered *mahure* (prostitutes). (Muhoyi 2021, p. 14)

The image of the 'new woman' seems to point towards the existence of a crisis in gender identity in the process of challenging and destabilising barriers to individual progress (Muhoyi 2021, p. 31).

The ideology of regarding women as people with weaknesses and not taking challenges is no longer true in this 21st century. This is a clear indication that women fail to succeed in decision-making not because they are not intelligent, weak or not capable, but because the patriarchal society system deliberately sets them up for failure. As a result, we lack role models in societies from whom girls can draw inspiration for self-realisation and development (Mafela 2007; Nelson 1974). Self-realisation, actualisation and development are solitary journeys. Every person must climb the mountain or ladder themselves. No one can do it for another. It is in the solitude of reflection and learning that one sharpens their sense of purpose and mission. In a gendered society like Malawi and Zimbabwe, where men and women continue to be stratified along differential patterns of space of private (domestic) for women and public for men, and where women are considered evil and gossipers, the self-realisation process becomes

a challenge. Mafela (2007) argues that women's personal lives and social legal status are curtailed by strictly prescribed patriarchal social codes of behaviour based on religion, traditions, norms, rules and practices. She continued to argue that with these prescriptions, women and girls are placed in already existing positions, which are private to the society.

In Table 4.3, feminine traits are measured as nurturers with empathy, submissiveness, caregivers and ability to hold yourself in a very gentle way. Right from childhood, girls are socialised to exhibit such traits. Their roles are reduced to that of wifely, nurturing children and performing domestic chores. This is suggested by proverbs such as '*mwamuna kumamuyang'ana pamimba kukakhala kukula mutu mkwamake*', which means a wife is supposed to check the husband's tummy rather than his big head; and '*usikana idamba kamwe chikuru umvana*', which means girlhood is experienced (enjoyed) once but the rest is motherhood.

In addition to control and male dominance, Chichewa and Shona proverbs are also used to control spatial parameters of public and private spheres. The said proverbs place women in domestic or private spheres while men are accorded public sphere and allowed to go beyond their homes. This can be noted in, for example, the proverb in Table 4.3, which says '*mkazi ndi chitenje chimathera pakhomo*' (a woman is like a wrapping cloth that is specifically worn at home only). Women and girls are further reminded that '*ovala nyanda salumpha moto*', which means do not move around when you know you are wearing a sanitary pad (Table 4.3). This contrasts with proverbs in Table 4.2, which says '*mamuna ndi kabudula amathela moyenda*', which means a man is like a pair of short trousers, it gets worn out in the strange land; and '*mamuna ndi mpeni timabwerekana*', which means a man is like a knife and can be borrowed by a neighbour. This should be understood from a traditional setting that suggests that one can borrow a knife from a neighbour. Men are, therefore, allowed to move around freely and perform sexual services to other women, while women and girls' movements are restricted. This is done without even considering the psychological, emotional and health hazards that men inflict on women. Proverbs are used to legitimise such behaviours as referred to in the tables. This clearly indicates that in Malawian and Zimbabwe traditions, masculinity and femininity do not have the same value placed on males and females. What is more problematic is that the proverbs in Table 4.2 define women as if their full and wholesome existence depends on marriage where they produce children and care for the family. In this way, women's duties are relegated to those of second-class citizens. Heterosexual marriage in this regard is seen as a pathway towards the subordination and marginalisation of women, thus reducing their chances of being empowered.

The intersect of Chichewa and Shona proverbs to education and women empowerment

Since the inception of the *Beijing Platform for Action* in 1995, strides have been made towards women's and girls' empowerment and narrowing the gender gap, especially in education. It has been over some decades now that Malawian and Zimbabwean governments as members of the United Nations ratified the gender protocols such as the 1995 *Beijing Platform for Action*, the African Union (AU) *Agenda 2063*'s strategy for gender equality and women empowerment, and the 50–50 SADC protocol, including the national gender policies that the countries have initiated with the aim to eliminate all gender discriminatory elements. The AU *Agenda 2063* envisages a non-sexist Africa and Africa where girls and boys can reach their full potential and where women contribute equally. Knowing that women make up almost half the population, the governments of Malawi and Zimbabwe recognise the wide-ranging contribution of women to the social-economic, political and cultural development of the nations. As such, both governments responded by developing gender policies to safeguard and accelerate such aspirations on women and girl empowerment. Positive achievements recently have been registered at the World Economic Forum 2023 on gender equality in education attainment, economic participation and opportunity, health and survival, the growth in employment opportunities and decision-making. However, the same discrepancy in 2023 World Economic Forum is that African women and girls as the largest proportion of the population still remain vulnerable, at risk and impoverished because of challenges caused by social, economic, cultural and political marginalisation.

This necessitates us to pose a question as to why such stagnation. Moving slightly away from the issue of proverbs, it is worth noting from the historical point of view that before the introduction of Western education, traditional people in Malawi and Zimbabwe had always transmitted their cultural values through socialisation. In this socialisation, cultures emphasised careful observation, imitation and memorisation of lessons, which were passed on from one generation to the next until the early nineteenth hundred, when Western education was received in most places in the two countries. Western-styled schools were only first established in 1889 by Scottish Missionaries, who also persuaded the British government to establish a colonial rule known as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as already indicated in the introductory section. Later came the Dutch Reformed Missionaries, the Anglican Church of England and the Roman Catholics, who also set up schools in many parts of Malawi

and Zimbabwe. Many primary schools were established, along with training institutes for nurses, hospital attendants, and midwives. By 1970, Catholics ran many schools, teacher training colleges, several hospitals and leprosy clinics in the federal government (Schmied 1996, p. 302). In agreement, Pheko (2002) explains that during the pre-colonial period, only a few families were willing to send their children to school but did not consider it wise to send female children.

The concept of education for women during the colonial period was aimed at character development; the development of intent and physical skills such as knitting, sewing, embroidery and cookery, appreciating and promoting the cultural heritage of what it means to be a good wife and mother, while men were engaged in military, technical and white-collar jobs. Adebisi (2009, p. 153) also explains that in sub-Saharan Africa, 'some parents felt that if girls should acquire some formal education and were privileged to work, they would surrender their' traditional roles as wives and mothers. According to Adebisi:

> [*T*]he African woman [*was*] not encouraged [*to*] avail herself for educational opportunities; rather, she [*was*] encouraged to go [*to*] such an institution where functional education [*was*] acquired to prepare her for motherhood. (p. 153)

Now, from the understanding that education enhances group solidarity, national consciousness, tolerance of diversity and life opportunities, many countries in the region and beyond, such as Madagascar, Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa, Lesotho, Nigeria and Cameroon, are shining examples of how to transform the education curriculum to incorporate issues of gender sensitivity and reduce the gender gap (Tabulawa 2013).

With the aim to improve girls' education and gender equality, Malawi and Zimbabwe:

> [*T*]ook some measures to ensure that its entire education system is gender-friendly and gender-sensitive. This can be noticed in many areas such as curriculum development and learning, and development of teaching materials [*and texts*.] Curricula at various levels have been revised to make them gender sensitive. [*For example, in the context of Malawi*,] teacher education is another avenue through which gender issues are [*emphasised*] in primary teacher education. (Brock & Harber 2013, p. 10)

Malawi has an expansion of 'girls' only hostels, bringing schools closer to the community to reduce walking distances for the girls and bringing them to school. These are the girls who dropped out because of pregnancies. Currently, there is a policy that allows the girls to resume school. This is an initiative that has allowed many of them to complete their education. As mentioned earlier, this education reform is critical and has been adopted by many countries throughout Africa and beyond to achieve equality and

to increase access while reducing girl dropouts (Maluwa-Banda 2003). The aim and vision of education in Malawi and Zimbabwe are to make education a catalyst for socio-economic development and industrial growth and an instrument for empowering the poor, vulnerable, weak and voiceless. Education is meant to provide quality and relevant education to its citizens, which include women and girls. This has led to the enaction of policy and official documents such as the national education sector plan of 2008–2017, appraisal and reviews of Malawi education sector plans such as Malawi Local Education Donor Group. The point of departure is the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 3, which supersedes the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, which aims at promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women as enshrined in the country's visions. The noble goals echo Education for All (EFA) Goal 5. One of the targets of MDG 3 and SDG 5 is to eliminate all elements of discrimination in order to close the gender gap at all levels (i.e. primary, secondary and higher learning institutions):

> It is important to see how the national goals and values of both countries connect with or fail to connect with [*the*] regional initiatives or expectations (e.g. SADC protocol on education and training), [*and*] continental obligations. (Brock & Harber 2013, p. 13)

For example, AU's second decade of education for Africa and Agenda 2063 flagship projects that aim at gender equality and the empowerment of women and other international declarations such as sustainable development and EFA goals (United Nations Women 2017).

As noted by Chiwaya-Kamwendo (2019), educational objectives become difficult to achieve by all citizens because of several reasons such as social status, ethnicity, traditions and religious beliefs, disability, the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) pandemic and gender. Most recently, coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic impacts have also contributed to the already suffering of people and the education system in the countries. In terms of Kamwendo's (2015) observations, Malawi and Zimbabwe have not been spared from the negative impact of acquired HIV as well as the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic. The education sector in the respective countries has suffered and continues to suffer from the impact of the pandemic. For example, all the pandemics have led to the death of parents as well as teachers. Some of the children (students) are now dropping out of schools to engage in wage-giving activities such as small businesses, crime and prostitution (Kamwendo 2015).

However, the portrayal of men as born leaders is perpetuated in schools in various aspects. Through socialisation, boys act as born leaders and intimidate girls who wish to become so. What is shown in Table 4.1–Table 4.5; the domination, subordination, marginalisation, exploitation and abuse of

women and/or girls are reinforced. The proverbs have the potential to create a situation whereby boys end up dominating in class activities, while girls are bullied, harassed and denied opportunities. Masculinity and violence are somehow related to such normalised ideologies, and hence, girls experience bullying in schools. In his study conducted in schools in Lesotho, Morojele (2010) observed that boys in schools exploit the cultural wisdom to act violently and sexually harass and abuse girls. Because of such an unconducive environment, girls feel intimidated and shy away from participation in class and school environments. Shefer, Kruger and Schepers (2015) argue that some gender-based violence, abuse and exploitation that the society experiences are a direct 'result of learned behaviour from society, and proverbs are at the centre of such grooming'.

Depending on how gender-aware the educators and schools are, there is still a belief that there are some subjects that girls cannot do well, especially science and technology. Consciously and unconsciously, teachers encourage such beliefs and attitudes. This is the reason why up to date, there is a general outcry about school dropouts, especially girls. Women are less represented in many fields, especially in science and technology. The Global Gender Gap 2023 Report still shows the missing 5% for the world to close the gender gap. Despite several initiatives in education in sub-Saharan countries, still the trajectory shows that it will take at least 14.2 years to completely close the gap (Global Gender Gap 2023 Report).

Kamwendo and Kaya (2016) argue that the lack of role models is another issue that is overlooked in many African societies, especially in rural areas. Girls lack role models to benchmark their lives and achievements. Kamwendo and Kaya (2016) continue to argue that because of cultural beliefs, girls sometimes drop out from school because they have no one to look up to and encourage on the essence of the importance of education. In rural areas where proverbs are used extensively, influenced by the wisdom in proverbs, girls sometimes choose to drop out and get married because that is what the society upholds as the first gender role of a woman, not because they cannot do better but because of the prescribed ideologies. Girls get discouraged, their self-esteem lowered and denied opportunities all in the name of traditions even if a girl has the potential to achieve.

Without undermining other factors mentioned in this chapter as a hindrance to developmental strides, language and, more specifically, proverbs are also believed to host the cultural wisdom in which gender inequality is manifested and sustained. Evidently, as seen in Table 4.1–Table 4.5, Chichewa and Shona are highly embedded with differentiated femininity and masculinity construction between men and women. The hegemonic masculine and feminine gender ideology in Chichewa and

Shona proverbs has the potential to perpetuate inequalities and gender-based gaps among the key areas of economic participation and opportunities, educational attainment, health and survival, as well as political empowerment through which the gender gap index benchmarks. As Matsuura (2002) argues, for instance, men are considered superior over women as born leaders, and women as followers and dependent on men; men as providers and women as nurturers; women as a group who cannot make decisions and men as owners of intellect; and women are portrayed in the negative as gossipers and evil. Undoubtedly, such portrayal has gender implications towards gender equality, women empowerment and girl education as well. Currently, the Global Gender Gap 2023 Report shows that political empowerment is the worst key area in closing the gender gap with only 2.4% globally constituting parliamentary representation (African Union Report 2021; Hussein 2009; Lakoff 2004).

While CDA analyses the domination, hegemony and abuse of power by men in patriarchal structures, it does not follow that women's concerns are the same across all contexts in the world as explained by Kimberley Crenshaw's intersectionality framework. In Malawi and Zimbabwe, colonialism has played a pivotal role in the construction of male hegemonic behaviors and the categorisation of men and women. Colonialism embraced and reinforced the masculinity ideology. Kabwila (2013) is of the view that colonialism favoured men in education, labour market and decision-making. Women, on the contrary, were considered wives and mothers to men. This means that a woman was to be married and bear and nurture children, while men were hired in white collar jobs, construction and the army. This is probably the genesis of the perceived untrustworthiness of women's leadership skills and the resulting compromised opportunities. Culture, customs, traditions, marriage, religion and colonialism as observed by Hussen (2005) and Chinyowa (1999) have been used as tools infused in proverbs to safeguard and protect male hegemony and to sustain patriarchy and male supremacy. Depending on context, proverbs are used in society by those in power (men) to position themselves at the echelon of wisdom. Men are viewed as owners of intellect, while women are deemed incapable of attaining academic achievement. This rubberstamps the provision of CDA by pointing out how discourses are implicated in relation to those in power in society. Women continue to be pushed to the margins.

Contrary to such stereotypes and negative views, in modern times, women have shown their resilience in reaction to the pressures of patriarchy, religion and colonialism, globally. Current events in the world today show numerous examples of successful women in both public and private sectors. Women have been elected as presidents, vice presidents, prime ministers, ministers, vice-chancellors of universities, chief executive officers of big companies, ambassadors, pilots, and many other jobs, which were

considered male-dominated. Both in Malawi and Zimbabwe, women have occupied and continue to occupy prominent positions in politics, government and the private sector. One can cite some notable cases from African countries. For example, Joyce Mujuru, former Zimbabwe vice president; Malawi had Joyce Banda as vice president and later president; Liberia had Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as president; and South Africa has had two female deputy presidents, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka and Baleka Mbete, former Speaker of Parliament. The former president of Mauritius Ameenah Gurib-Fakim is a woman, and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma of South Africa, former head of the African Union Commission, is also a woman. This is a clear indication that women are capable of achieving anything, if given a chance. Women sometimes fail to succeed in decision-making not because they are weak, not intelligent or not capable, but because of societal structures and knowledge systems embedded in the so-called wisdom along with the legacies of colonial regimes that perfected it.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have unearthed, discussed and validated connotations that perpetuate the construction of masculinity and femininity in Chichewa and Shona proverbs that create predetermined spatial parameters and rigid gender roles about women. Further to our findings, proverbs portray women as people who lack decision-making skills, as gossipers and as evil beings. Women are also objectified in many of these proverbs. Women's place in the public structure of roles is clearly defined in relation to one or two points that of their husbands and their fathers. As for the rest of their social life, it takes place at a relatively unstructured interpersonal level with other women. Clearly, this is a situation that continues to disempower women and girls, casting them in very negative light. With the beliefs that girls' future is about marriage, the ideologies affect their education, thereby encouraging laziness and lowering their self-esteem, discouraging them from working hard in their education and restricting their subject choices because the society still believes that they cannot do better in other subjects.

The understanding of gender equality and women's empowerment as a human right is critical in the reinforcement of equal chances, thereby allowing women to operate freely as fully-fledged citizens and not appendages of men. As proverbs are there to stay and cannot be erased from the society, it is very important to recognise, appreciate and stop considering all proverbs as a blueprint. This is because some proverbs can contradict or cancel each other out. In other words, proverbs offer contested wisdom and are open to scrutiny and critique. What this requires from any user of proverbs is the need to be critical and open-minded towards the

meaning and relevance of proverbs at this point in time. Mahatma Gandhi, one of the world's leading icons and a scholar in IKS once said: 'Wisdom that is not open to scrutiny can be dangerous, unhelpful and hindrance to women empowerment and development' (Kolawole 2005, p. 12). Nevertheless, the very negative, stereotypical and oppressive Chichewa and Shona proverbs could be used as steppingstones to bring about awareness to the oppressive nature of some proverbs and thus lead on the path of emancipation as seen in some gender activists from Malawi.

Chapter 5

South African proverbs on social media: Advancing creative digital content

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Abstract

There are rich theoretical and conceptual perspectives within the indigenous African folklore such as proverbs. However, young African language speakers tend to be sceptical of the significance of proverbs in modern society. This chapter advances that proverbs have a role to play in contemporary society. Despite being crafted centuries ago, proverbs frequently embody enduring, objective truths and universal wisdom that remain relevant in today's world. Although there is evidence of the use of proverbs on social media platforms such as Twitter (now known as 𝕏), Instagram and Facebook, there is little evidence of studies that focus on

How to cite: Letsoalo, N & Mabaso, D 2025, 'South African proverbs on social media: Advancing creative digital content', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 75–94. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.05

the contemporary use of South African proverbs on social media. This chapter draws from social media platforms to advance the use of proverbs as digital content. This chapter used crowdsourcing methodology as an open call for the public to collaborate and participate in research problem-solving. Through crowdsourcing on the Facebook pages Sešego: Pukuntšutlhaloši ya Sepedi and Tshivenḓa Proverbs, data were collected and analysed from virtual communities, online texts and interactive chatrooms, that is, online ethnography. Individual Facebook, Instagram and 𝕏 proverb posts were randomly selected through the search bar. Data collected on social media are presented here as efficient vehicles for the maintenance and transmission of proverbial knowledge among different languages, therefore proving that proverbs are of as current use as they have ever been. Using proverbs on social media is a great way for young people to communicate in a culturally rich and meaningful way. It encourages the speakers to learn about proverbs and to use proverbs that reflect the values and beliefs of their own culture.

Introduction

Young African language speakers tend to be sceptical of the significance of proverbs in modern society. This scepticism relates to whether proverbs (still) play any meaningful role in people's daily lives. A possible explanation for this may be that Africa has often been vilified as being endowed by barbarism and backwardness, as explained in Sibanda (2015). According to Raphalalani (2017, p. 98), the productive use of proverbs is vanishing, and this is negatively impacting the moral fibre of modern society. Scholars such as Etta and Mogu (2012, p. 187) have argued that proverbs are of paramount importance in the substantiation of philosophical claims and remain an indisputable source of all human wisdom in Africa. Even though some youth may find proverbs to be outdated and irrelevant to their lives, many young speakers of African languages still see them as an important part of cultural heritage and appreciate the wisdom they contain. Ghilzai, Sultana and Zeeshan (2020) allude that despite modernisation and social change, proverbs still hold a strong wave of conveying an important message whether through social media, written or uttered through word of mouth. Additionally, some young people may be attracted to the use of proverbs as a form of communication, as they often convey complex ideas compactly and memorably. Proverbs are a traditional form of oral expression that has been passed down through generations, and they have gained a new form of popularity in social media.

Because of digitisation and advances in technology, young people prefer information that is easily accessible through platforms such as WhatsApp, TikTok, Facebook, Twitter (now known as 𝕏) and Instagram. These social media platforms have a profound influence on how information is obtained

and exchanged (Badea 2014). It has become a convenient way for young people to create and consume content. Social media has given people the opportunity to share and spread proverbs in new and innovative ways, making them accessible to a wider audience. Furthermore, proverbs are often used to express personal beliefs and attitudes, to comment on current events and, as Chintya Winda, Suhadi and Purwarno (2019) assert, to share cultural values and wisdom.

In addition to being shared and spread through social media, proverbs are also used as a source of inspiration for new forms of creative expression, such as poetry, music and visual art (Viljoen 2015). Social media platforms like Instagram and 𝕏 are also home to communities of people who share and discuss proverbs, providing a space for people to learn from one another and deepen their understanding of the cultural significance of these brief, memorable sayings. As Radwan (2022) affirms, social media encourages community association and interconnectedness so that individuals can communicate and interact with data that are easily available on the internet.

This chapter argues that proverbs continue to have a role to play in contemporary society. Even though they were often created many centuries ago, proverbs typically contain impersonal timeless truths and universal wisdom that still apply to modern life (Bradbury 2020). For example, the Sepedi proverb '*maaka ga se makhura motho a tlolago ka ona*' (lies are not oil, with which a person smear), which is equivalent to 'honesty is the best policy', is still just as relevant today as it was when it was first coined. Similarly, the Xitsonga proverb '*nomu a wu tlheli ku tlhela rintiho*' (a mouth does not return what returns is a finger), which is equivalent to 'a word spoken is past recalling' is still relevant and important to remember in our modern world. Proverbs offer guidance and insight into how to live a good life and navigate tricky situations (Ramin 2019), making them just as relevant today as they have always been.

As Raphalalani (2017) notes, the use of proverbs has started to vanish which puts the African scholarship at risk. There are rich theoretical and conceptual perspectives within the indigenous African folklore such as proverbs (Mapadimeng 2018). Mapadimeng (2018) discusses proverbs in a manner that deciphers their rich theoretical content and insights on young persons as an important social category of African communities. Despite all efforts to highlight the significance and relevance of proverbs in the modern-day society, young people might be left behind if not involved in the discourse. The introduction of social media has made it easier for people to access and share proverbs from various cultures and traditions, increasing their exposure and potentially leading to an increase in interest. There are challenges associated with the use of African languages on social media. For example, many African languages are under-resourced, with

limited digital content and limited support for African language input methods. Despite these challenges, and evidence of the use of proverbs on social media platforms such as 𝕏, Instagram and Facebook, there is little evidence of studies that focus on the contemporary use of proverbs on social media.

This chapter aims to explore the contemporary use of proverbs on social media. It recognises that despite scepticism, proverbs continue to hold value in various forms of creative expression, such as poetry, music and visual art. The study acknowledges that social media platforms like WhatsApp, TikTok, Facebook, 𝕏 and Instagram have become significant channels for sharing, discussing and spreading proverbs. Furthermore, the research emphasises the role of social media in creating communities where individuals can learn from each other, share cultural values and deepen their understanding of the cultural significance of proverbs.

Background

Paremiology, the study of proverbs, focuses on the collection, analysis and interpretation of proverbs from diverse cultures and languages. It can be used to shed light on a wide range of cultural, linguistic and social phenomena (Mieder 2004). Studying proverbs is a way to understand the complex interplay between language, culture and history. Scholars who study proverbs are interested in understanding the role that proverbs play in shaping and reflecting cultural identity and values (Dundes 1965; Propp 1928; Taylor 1962; Whiting 1977). Propp (1928) argues that proverbs often convey important cultural values and themes in condensed form. Among the key goals of studying proverbs is to identify and analyse the common themes, motifs and patterns that are found in proverbs from diverse cultures and languages. Proverbs often reflect the worldview and cultural identity of a particular group and that they can be used to reinforce social norms and expectations (Dundes 1965). In a seminal work in the field of paremiology, Taylor (1962) includes a comprehensive index of proverbs from various cultures, along with commentary on their origins, meanings and use in everyday speech. Whiting (1977) notes that proverbs often reflect the values, beliefs and traditions of a particular society and that they can provide meaningful perspectives into the ways in which people communicate and express themselves. Proverbs can be studied by looking at history and origins, their cultural and linguistic significance, and their role in shaping public discourse and communication (Mieder 2004). These highlight the importance of studying proverbs as a form of cultural expression and communication.

In addition to the interplay between language, culture and history, paremiologists may also be interested in the sociological, psychological and cognitive aspects of proverbs. Sociologically, proverbs reflect social

hierarchies, power dynamics and the values and beliefs of communities (Amoke 2013; Gyan, Abbey & Baffoe 2020). This provides an understanding of the ways in which people communicate and interact with each other in different social contexts. Psychologically, proverbs can serve as a means of expressing emotions and attitudes, such as humour, irony or cynicism (Kim & Plester 2019; Mané 2015); including the revelation of patterns of human thought and behaviour, such as the ways in which people make decisions or cope with adversity. Cognitively, proverbs can shed light on the ways in which language is processed and understood by the brain (Vulchanova et al. 2015). They may also provide insights into the relationship between language and memory, as many proverbs are easily remembered and passed down through generations. The communal memory and shared history may be passed down from one generation to the other, but knowledge and wisdom evolve as the society progresses with time. Mieder (2004) draws on perspectives from fields such as anthropology, psychology, linguistics and folklore studies, demonstrating how proverbs can provide key understandings into the human experience. As such, this focus offers a rich and multifaceted view of how language, culture and identity intersect and provides valuable insights into the human experience across time and place.

Mieder (2004) underscores the importance of studying proverbs as a means of understanding the cultural and linguistic diversity of human societies, and the ways in which traditional knowledge and values are transmitted across generations. However, from the early days when proverbs were studied, scholars have argued that proverbs are not static, rather are part of a dynamic and ongoing process of cultural transmission and transformation. Taylor (1962) discusses the ways in which proverbs evolve and change over time, noting that they are often adapted to new contexts and situations. Dundes (1965) attests that proverbs are transmitted and adapted over time and often modified to suit new contexts and changing cultural circumstances. For this reason, this chapter advances that proverbs have a role to play in contemporary society, given that they can be adapted and modified to suit new contexts and changing cultural circumstances. The new context and circumstances alluded to in this chapter are the use of proverbs on social media through various technologies.

African proverbs are known for their wisdom in the diverse cultures, histories and worldviews of the continent. African proverbs often reflect the communal nature of African societies, as they are used to teach, advice, entertain and inspire individuals and communities. Hence, African paremiologists specialise in proverbs' linguistic, cultural and social dimensions and their contribution to African cultures and societies. Awoonor (1975) discusses the role of proverbs in African societies and how they serve as a means of communication and cultural expression. Proverbs play a significant role in African literature such as Tutuola's (1952)

The Palm-Wine Drinkard, Achebe's (1958) *Things Fall Apart*, Joubert's (1980) *The Long Journey of Poppie Nongena*, Bopape's (1982) *Lenong la gauta*, Mgiba's (1995) *Vutomi I vhilwa* and Mda's (2000) *The Heart of Redness*. Achebe (1958) uses proverbs to convey complex cultural concepts and to provide insight into the values and beliefs of the Igbo people, who are the focus of the novel. Tutuola (1952) heavily employs proverbs to convey both practical advice and moral messages. Mda (2000) incorporates isiXhosa proverbs into the narrative, highlighting the importance of oral tradition and cultural heritage. Joubert (1980) incorporates many African proverbs providing insight into the cultural traditions and beliefs of the black South African community. Bopape (1982) and Mgiba (1995) incorporate Sepedi and Xitsonga proverbs, respectively, reflecting the rich oral traditions of a speech community and the importance of communal memory and shared history.

According to Finnegan (1994), nowhere in the world is the proverb more popular than in Africa. Proverbs are used extensively in the media and play a significant role in language use and communication (Wiafe-Akenten 2021). The rise of vernacular media outlets in South Africa in the late 1980s, especially community radio stations, which became popular among different age groups both in urban and rural settings, has played a key role in promoting the use of indigenous languages, and consequently, the use of indigenous language proverbs also flourished.

In addition to community radio stations, social media also had an impact on the use and popularity of proverbs (Fernández 2017). The use of African languages on social media is increasing, particularly on platforms like TikTok, 𝕏 and Facebook. This helps to foster a sense of community and belonging and can also serve as a powerful tool for promoting linguistic and cultural diversity. Historically, African proverbs have always interested linguists. For instance, Stan Nussbaum co-ordinated the African Proverbs Project for three years (1993–1996) where several scholars collected, studied and published proverbs (Mbiti 2002). The study of proverbs provides the reader with a useful introduction to the considerable African proverb scholarship and raises critical issues such as the definition, structure, style, context, function and meaning of proverbs (Finnegan 1994). Several studies have dissected these critical issues over the years. Sovenga (Sotho, Venda, and Tsonga) proverb scholars took a gendered approach in studying Sepedi (Letsoalo 2024), Xitsonga (Baker & Maluleke 2020) and Tshivenḓa (Raphalalani 2021) proverbs. Furthermore, Letsoalo (2024) analysed the structure of Sepedi proverbs. Similarly, on the gender issue, Machaba (2011) examined the image of women in Xitsonga proverbs. Nkuna (2015) focused on the management ideas contained in some Xitsonga proverbs, while Mushwana (2020) looked at the role that Xitsonga proverbial expressions can play in the tourism sector in encouraging people

to tour. Raphalalani (2017) investigated the significance and appropriateness of some Tshivenḓa proverbs under the new legal order of democracy in South Africa.

Methodology

To address the research problem, we utilised an inductive, qualitative research approach. As the aim of this chapter is to explore the contemporary use of proverbs on social media, we adopted a crowdsourcing methodology to explore the use of South African proverbs on social media platforms, namely Facebook, 𝕏 and Instagram. Crowdsourcing, an open call for the public to collaborate and participate in problem-solving, has been increasingly employed as a method in qualitative research studies (Bassi, Misener & Johnson 2020). Through crowdsourcing on the Facebook pages Sešego: Pukuntšutlhaloši ya Sepedi and Tshivenḓa Proverbs, data were collected from virtual communities, online texts and interactive chat rooms. Crowdsourcing generally involves five phases: (1) preparing, (2) forming crowds, (3) collecting crowdsourced data, (4) coding and analysing crowdsourced data and (5) generating and disseminating findings (Sood et al. 2021).

Phase 1: Preparing

Napjadi Letsoalo of the University of South Africa founded the Facebook page named Sešego: Pukuntšutlhaloši ya Sepedi (see Figure 5.1) in 2019,

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FIGURE 5.1: Sešego: Pukuntšutlhaloši ya Sepedi Facebook page.

after realising that people's records of their traditions, culture and way of life die with the oldest member of the community unless that record is memorised by subsequent generations (Ngoepe, Shaku & Letsoalo 2022). The Facebook page was originally intended to share Sepedi vocabulary and definitions, but it has since expanded to include any Sepedi-related content. The group currently has 320 members and posts on topics ranging from unfamiliar words or words that members want clarity – to the use of emoticons and emojis in the form of a quiz for Sepedi proverbs (Ngoepe et al. 2022).

The Facebook page named Tshivenḓa Proverbs was also identified as an online platform where we could leverage the collective intelligence, efforts and contributions of a diverse group of individuals or a crowd to achieve the aim of this study. This Facebook page bears the popular Thohoyandou landmark as a sign of the Tshivenḓa speech community. It provides quotes, motivation, sayings, wisdom, satire and proverbs. This Facebook page uses current situations to create funny contemporary Tshivenḓa proverbs that are accompanied by pictures. Using pictures to communicate proverbs is a visual and engaging way to convey cultural values and wisdom.

Phase 2: Forming crowds

The researchers participated in the activities of the Sešego Facebook page since it was created in 2019 while studying the contemporary creative use of language in the Tshivenḓa page. In this regard, they immersed themselves in the group observing contributions and engaging in online discussions. We employed maximum variation sampling to focus on Sešego: Pukuntšutlhaloši ya Sepedi and Tshivenḓa Proverbs in order to maximise diversity and representativeness in the sample by deliberately selecting cases that differ on key dimensions (Palinkas 2015). We aimed to include cases that exhibit maximum variation or heterogeneity in terms of relevant characteristics.

Phase 3: Collecting crowdsourced data

The collection of proverbs can begin from any source, be it an online search, experts' recommendations or listening to daily conversations. However, Mieder (1974) cautions that:

> [*A*]ssembling a list of proverbs out of the works of an author [...] without any verification by means of standard proverbs dictionaries and without an expository essay on the function and importance of the collected proverbs in the literary work itself is a worthless and purposeless undertaking. (p. 67)

Therefore, *Vutlhari bya Vatsonga* (Machangana) by Junod (2017) and *Marema-ka-dika* by Rakoma (2012) continue to hold significance as valuable references for proverbs. Additionally, as the initial compilation of proverbs originated from oral traditions (Mieder 1992), it is possible to gather proverbs without specifying the source or verifying them using conventional proverb dictionaries. This is particularly relevant considering that some indigenous languages lack adequate resources. Consequently, social media serves as an additional means of collecting proverbs, as it complements oral sources by providing written content.

In the Sešego: Pukuntšutlhaloši ya Sepedi page, we posted proverbs illustrated through emojis and participants discussed what the proverb is and what it meant. While in the Tshivenḓa Proverbs page, we observed participants posting proverbs and engaging in them without our involvement. The benefit of social media is that information is readily available and can be revisited and captured through screenshots for the purpose of presenting results for data analysis (Ngoepe et al. 2022). Additionally, individual Facebook, Instagram and 𝕏 proverb posts were randomly selected through the search bar. For anonymity and confidentiality, the names of the participants are redacted on the screenshots.

Phase 4: Coding and analysing crowdsourced data

Data were analysed through a content analysis of the proverbs. This allowed us to form an in-depth understanding of every proverb by grasping its meaning and how the proverb is used on social media and in day-to-day living. Content analysis was employed as a method to make sense of the (often unstructured) content of messages – be they texts, images, symbols or audio data (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz 2017). We applied content analysis to social media data of proverbs discussions by systematically examining and interpreting the content of proverbs-related posts, comments and discussions on platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and 𝕏. We developed a coding scheme that included categories such as themes, sentiments and cultural context. Each post and each comment was manually coded based on the identified categories.

Phase 5: Generating and disseminating findings

The National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS) funded the project titled 'Multilingual and multicultural approach to language learning and communication' with Napjadi Letsoalo as co-ordinator for three years (2021–2023). The project involved academics who collected proverbs from Sepedi, Xitsonga and Tshivenḓa. The purpose of

this project was to investigate proverbial equivalence across Sepedi, English, Xitsonga and Tshivenḓa for language learning and communication with the following objectives:

- To identify popular Sepedi proverbs and their English, Xitsonga and Tshivenḓa equivalence
- To compile a comprehensive list of popular Sepedi proverbs and their English, Xitsonga and Tshivenḓa equivalence
- To explore the everyday use of the Sepedi, English, Xitsonga and Tshivenḓa proverbs (Letsoalo et al. 2023).

Among the outputs of the project were an online dictionary resource and the social media filters to provide a fun way of engaging with proverbs. For member checking, these resources were developed to seek feedback from the crowd. We shared preliminary findings with crowds in the form of an online multilingual proverbs dictionary, and participants were requested to provide feedback through comments and suggestions (Sood et al. 2021). The participant feedback is incorporated into final analyses that we then utilise to develop the intended online dictionary resource with ongoing crowd involvement.

Presentation and discussion of results

As previously stated, the aim of this chapter was to explore the contemporary use of proverbs on social media. Unseth (2016) asserts that it is important to collect proverbs with a community, rather than merely collecting them from a community. Collecting proverbs is an interesting experience as it exposes paremiologists to an understanding of the cultural values and beliefs of a particular language, culture or region. As part of generating and disseminating findings, a website of multilingual proverbs dictionary that offers a collection of 200+ common equivalent proverbs updated and compiled from existing Sepedi, Xitsonga, Tshivenḓa and English proverbs was shared with the crowd (see Figure 5.2). This website was used to support the discussion of the results of this study.

With resources of this nature (Figure 5.2), this has meant that recently there are many sources for proverbs, including books, websites, mobile applications and oral sources. These sources serve as a repository for a platform for the transmission of African proverbs and sayings (Amojo 2020).

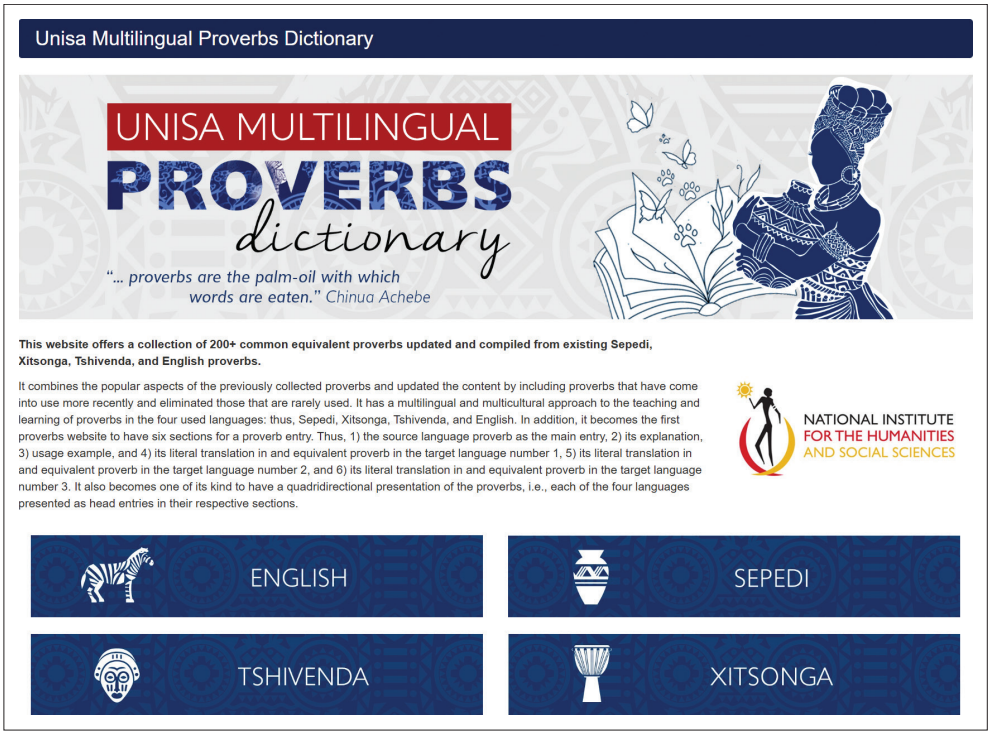
Collecting proverbs on social media exposes one to digital content that contains a rich source of wisdom and cultural knowledge. In order to gather proverbs for this study, social media platforms such as 𝕏, Facebook and Instagram were utilised by visiting accounts and pages dedicated to

proverbs. The search bars on these platforms were used to specifically locate proverbs in various languages. Examples from the search bar locator are provided in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3 shows how a simple 𝕏 search of proverbs tagged by a specific language can retrieve the use of proverbs on that specific platform. It shows that tweeps use proverbs to tweet their updates, while others reply and re-tweet other tweeps by quoting proverbs. The proverbs, as reflected in Figure 5.3, are presented in Table 5.1 with their English translations.

Proverbs as a form of social commentary

As demonstrated in Figure 5.3, proverbs continue to be widely used on social media as a means of communicating cultural values, wisdom and life lessons (Amojo 2020; Mieder 2014). Tweeps, Instagrammers and Facebookers use proverbs in a variety of ways on social media, including sharing quotes and images with proverbs, using proverbs in their posts and status updates, and creating groups and pages dedicated to proverbs.



Source: https://www.unisa.ac.za/sites/corporate/default/Colleges/Human-Sciences/Schools,-departments,-centres,-institutes-&-units/School-of-Arts/Department-of-Linguistics-and-Modern-Languages/Unisa-Multilingual-Proverbs-Dictionary. Used with permission from the copyright holder.

FIGURE 5.2: *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary* website.

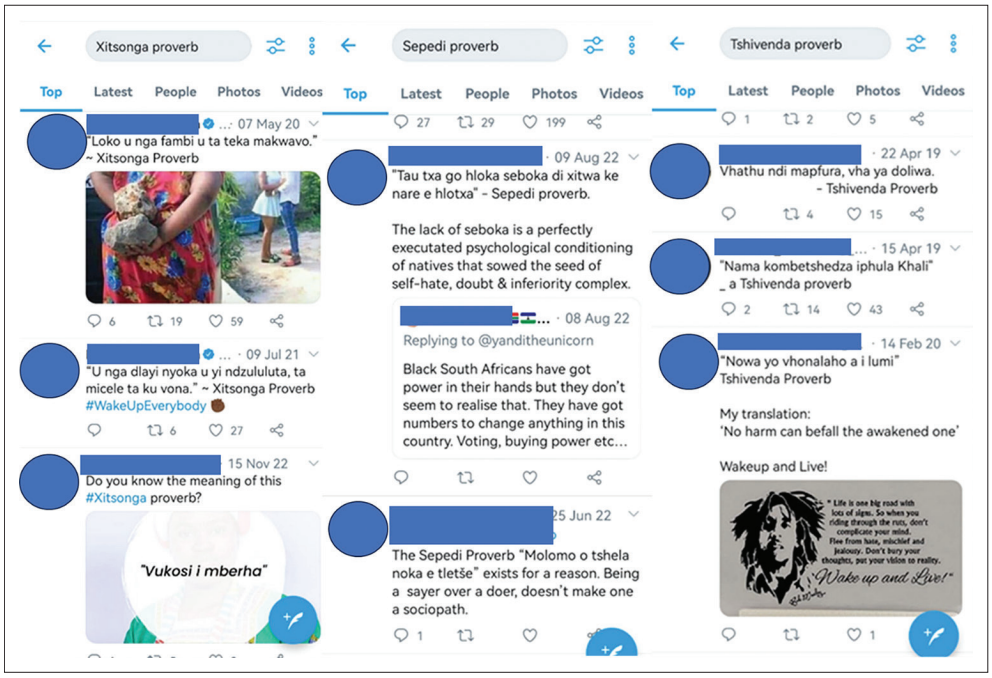


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FIGURE 5.3: Proverbs located through the 𝕏 search bar.

TABLE 5.1: Twitter (now known as 𝕏) Xitsonga, Sepedi and Tshivenḓa proverbs.

Xitsonga	
Proverbs	**Translations**
Loko u nga fambi u ta teka makwavo	If you do not walk, you will marry your sibling
U nga dlayi nyoka u yi ndzululuta, ta micele ta ku vona	Do not kill a snake and swing it, the ones inside the holes are watching you
Vukosi i mberha	Kingship is dew
Sepedi	
Proverbs	**Translations**
Tau tša hloka seboka di šitwa ke nare e hlotša	Lions that are not united fail to catch a limping buffalo
Molomo o tshela noka e tletše	A mouth crosses a full river
Tshivenḓa	
Proverbs	**Translations**
Vhathu ndi mapfura, vha ya doliwa	People are oil, they are smeared
Nama kombetshedza i phula khali	Forced meat breaks the pot
Nowa yo vhonalaho a I lumi	A snake that has been seen does not bite

Source: Authors' own work.

Social media users make use of proverbs as a form of social commentary. Proverbs have been regarded as repositories of the people's collective social, political and cultural wisdom and as analytic tools of thought (Orwenjo 2009). This is seen on social media posts where proverbs are used to comment on current events, political issues and individual experiences, as well as to offer advice and encouragement to others.

In Figure 5.3, when one tweep tweeted that black South Africans have voting and buying power in their hands, but they do not seem to realise it, the other tweep replied with the Sepedi proverb '*tau tša hloka seboka di šitwa ke nare e hlotša*' (lions that are not united fail to catch a limping buffalo) which according to the *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary* is equivalent to 'united we stand, divided we fall'. The proverb is used in the tweet to highlight that if the society is not united against a common cause, they are not likely to achieve what they are fighting for.

Proverbs for the expression of feelings and emotions

Social media users leverage proverbs as succinct and culturally resonant tools to articulate and convey a spectrum of feelings and emotions. There are proverbs containing emotional references (Dzokoto et al. 2018). Consequently, social media users widely use proverbs to express feelings and emotions. Emotions are expressed to react to, interface with and adapt to the physical and social environment (Dzokoto et al. 2018). In Figure 5.3, a tweep posted the Xitsonga proverb '*loko u nga fambi u ta teka makwavo*', semantically written as '*loko u nga fambi u ta teka makwenu*' (if you do not walk, you will marry your sibling), which according to the *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary* is equivalent to 'ignorance is bliss'. The proverb is used to express the idea that it is better to be adventurous if one wants to learn and explore new things.

The condensed nature of proverbs allows individuals to summarise complex emotional experiences within a few words, making them ideal for the rapid and concise communication demanded by online platforms. For example, the Tshivenḓa proverb '*nama kombetshedza i phula khali*' (forced meat breaks the pot), which according to the *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary* is equivalent to 'you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink' draws upon shared Tshivenḓa cultural and linguistic backgrounds, creating a sense of community and understanding among users who grasp the embedded nuanced meanings. Moreover, the use of proverbs on social media adds a layer of depth to expressions of emotion, as these age-old sayings often carry historical wisdom and collective insights (Etta & Mogu 2012). When tapping into the cultural richness of proverbs, social media users not only convey their own emotions but also engage in a shared dialogue that connects them to a broader cultural heritage, fostering a sense of unity and shared experience within the digital landscape.

Proverbs for entertainment and humour

In addition to these uses, proverbs on social media are also often used for entertainment and humour. People use proverbs in a playful and

light-hearted way to make jokes, to tease friends or to comment on funny situations (Dowling 1996). The Xitsonga proverb '*loko u nga fambi u ta teka makwavo*' in Figure 5.3 is accompanied by a picture of someone holding two stones behind her adding entertainment and humour to the proverb. The humour is drawn from the hidden meaning where stones are used as a form of encouragement to push people out of their comfort zones. Fotovatnia and Khaki (2012) posit that the presentation of images and visual depictions of content is displayed to improve the understanding and memory retention of proverbs among language learners. Using pictures to communicate proverbs is a visual and engaging way to convey cultural values and wisdom, and people can convey the meaning of the proverb in a way that is easily understandable, even for those who may not speak the same language.

Various scholars have delved into the concept of visually presenting proverbs, exploring the efficacy of different modalities. Boers and Lindstromberg (2005) argued that incorporating impactful images enhances the recall of proverb meanings and their practical applications. Building on this idea, Boers, Eyckmans and Stengers (2007) conducted research demonstrating the beneficial role of pictures in aiding the recollection of figurative meanings associated with proverbs. Haas (2008) investigated the impact of integrating images and sounds in proverb teaching. In a related vein, Fotovatnia and Khaki (2012) directed their efforts towards finding effective ways of incorporating pictorial modes specifically in the teaching of idiomatic language and proverbs. Collectively, these studies underscore the importance of visual elements, ranging from static images to multimedia, in enhancing the comprehension and retention of proverbs among language learners.

As supported by Asmi, Jazadi and Solihin (2023), the use of picture-based proverbs can improve speakers' ability to explain social phenomena well. This can help to promote cultural understanding and appreciation and can also serve as a tool for education and cultural preservation. This use of proverbs reflects the enduring popularity and relevance of these cultural expressions and the ways in which people continue to use them to communicate values, wisdom and advice in the digital age.

These so-called proverbs on social media, as depicted in Figure 5.4, are not (strictly speaking) proverbs but a way to use humour and irony to make a point or critique a social or cultural issue (Dowling 1996; Singh 2012). Through this type of use, users are engaged and entertained, while also encouraged to think more critically about the world around them. Humour in proverbs can be a powerful way to challenge conventional wisdom and to raise awareness about important social and cultural issues (Singh 2012). These make proverbs more memorable, relatable and effective in communicating wisdom and life lessons.

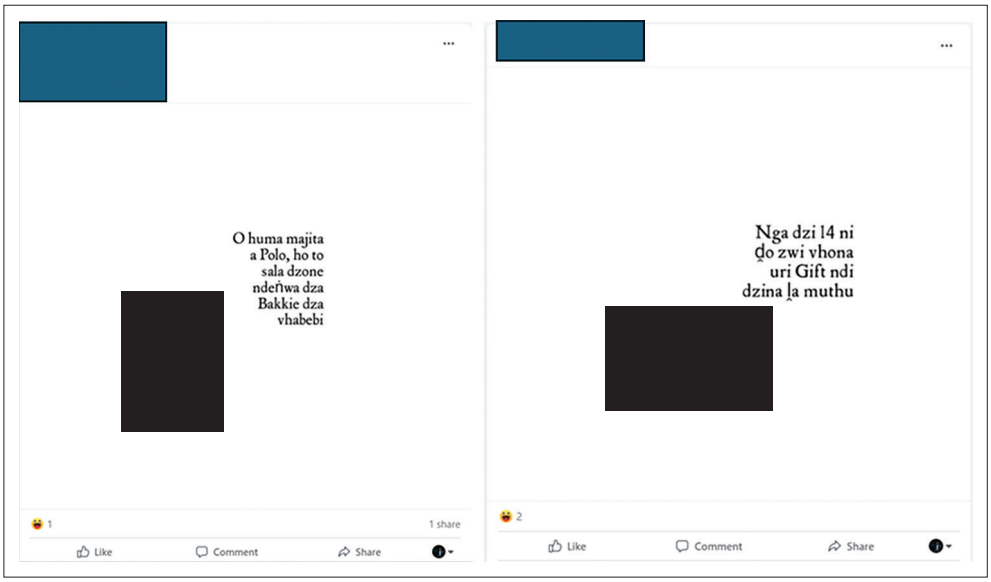

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FIGURE 5.4: Humour in language use.

In Figure 5.4, the Facebook page creates humorous contemporary Tshivenḓa sayings termed proverbs. The 'proverb' '*o huma majita a Polo, ho to sala dzone ndenwa dza Bakkie dza vhabebi*' (Polo guys are leaving, only those who drive parents' bakkies are remaining) and its accompanying image is related to the social pressure women put on men to buy specific models of vehicles. This is more likely to be remembered by social media users as it makes them laugh or feel good than one that is straightforward or serious.

Proverbs and emojis on social media

The use of proverbs through emojis has become a trendy way of expressing cultural values and wisdom in a playful and creative way on social media (Mgogo & Nokutywa 2023). Emojis are a visual language that allows people to express emotions and ideas quickly and easily, and they have become a staple of online communication. Proverbs and emojis are frequently used together on social media as a way of conveying meaning, emotion and cultural values in a fun and engaging way. This has meant that technology has remodelled the linguistic and social cultural practices as people attempt to align themselves to global advancement using emoji to pass on information through proverbs (Kunkeyani & Magaleta 2020). Emojis as a form of nonverbal communication add extra nuance and context to proverbs to provide a source of cultural wisdom and insight in a visual language form.

When communicating proverbs with emojis, as depicted in Figure 5.5, people can convey the meaning of the proverb in a fun and engaging way. For example, the combination of emojis of a rat, money and coffin can make the proverb '*legotlo le lefa ka setopo*' (a rat pays with a corpse) which according to the *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary* is equivalent to 'an eye for an eye (and a tooth for a tooth)' more memorable and impactful and can also make it more accessible to a wider audience, including those who may not be familiar with the specific cultural or linguistic context of the proverb. The proverb means retaliation is the appropriate way to deal with an offence; if someone does something wrong, that person should be punished by having the same thing done to them. The use of proverbs through emojis can also be a way for people to share their cultural heritage and connect with others who share the same cultural values (Kunkeyani & Magaleta 2020; Mgogo & Nokutywa 2023). In this instance, it illustrates how the Sepedi speaking community deal with a rat that has destroyed their belongings.

Additionally, the use of proverbs and emojis on social media can serve as a tool for cultural preservation and promotion. Culture plays a role in envisaging insights and intuitions of affect when it comes to the usage of emojis especially in social media (Kunkeyani & Magaleta 2020). The combination of guinea fowl, flying object, black colour, paints, eyes and coffin as depicted in Figure 5.5 helps to introduce these expressions to new audiences and promote cross-cultural understanding. The proverb

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FIGURE 5.5: Proverbs in a visual language form.

conveyed by the series of emojis stated above is '*kgaka ge e fofa ke ye ntsho, mebala re e bona ge e hwile*' (a flying guinea fowl is black, its colours are seen when it is dead), which is equivalent to 'absence makes the heart grow fonder'. The metaphors presented through the visual languages system are symbolic construction and interpretation of socio-cultural meanings (Altheide & Schneider 2012).

The use of emojis as shown in Figure 5.6 plays a significant role in promoting linguistic knowledge of African languages by making it more accessible and engaging for users. Emojis are a universal form of communication that can be understood by users regardless of their language or cultural background. Communicating Sepedi, Xitsonga or Tshivenḓa proverbs through emojis can make these languages more approachable and user-friendly and can help to break down language barriers and increase cross-cultural communication. After the introduction of the fourth industrial revolution, and the fact that it adds to the big question about the future of the human language, particularly indigenous languages (Mgogo & Nokutywa 2023), the use of emojis to communicate proverbs adds a fun and creative element to language-based communication, encouraging users to express themselves in new and innovative ways. When social media users use proverbs in these new and innovative ways, African languages are promoted, and language traditions are kept alive for future generations.

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FIGURE 5.6: Proverbs and emojis.

Social media filters and proverbs

Ghilzai et al. (2020, p. 2) contend that 'proverbial rhetoric carries an innate lesson or advice and are often instructive, which supports the arguments made'. Social media filters can be used as a tool to promote the innate lessons and advice conveyed through proverbs, particularly by providing people with a fun and engaging way to learn unfamiliar words and phrases in a particular language. Social media filters that use augmented reality technology can create immersive experiences that allow users to learn a language in a more interactive and memorable way (Kriegel et al. 2023).

'Proverbs and sayings develop creativity, enrich students' vocabulary, help them to learn the structure of the language, and to develop memory and the emotional expressiveness of speech' (Syzdykov 2014, p. 321). The NIHSS project designed emoji proverbs filters with the goal of promoting language learning. This was done with an understanding of how people learn languages and the types of features that are most effective in promoting language acquisition. As depicted in the Figure 5.7, an Instagram filter was designed to teach users proverbs from different languages through emojis that represents the proverb. The user interacts with the filter, guessing the proverb by looking at a series of emojis. In addition to being a fun and engaging way to learn a language, the use of social media filters can also help to promote linguistic and cultural diversity.

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FIGURE 5.7: Instagram proverbs filters.

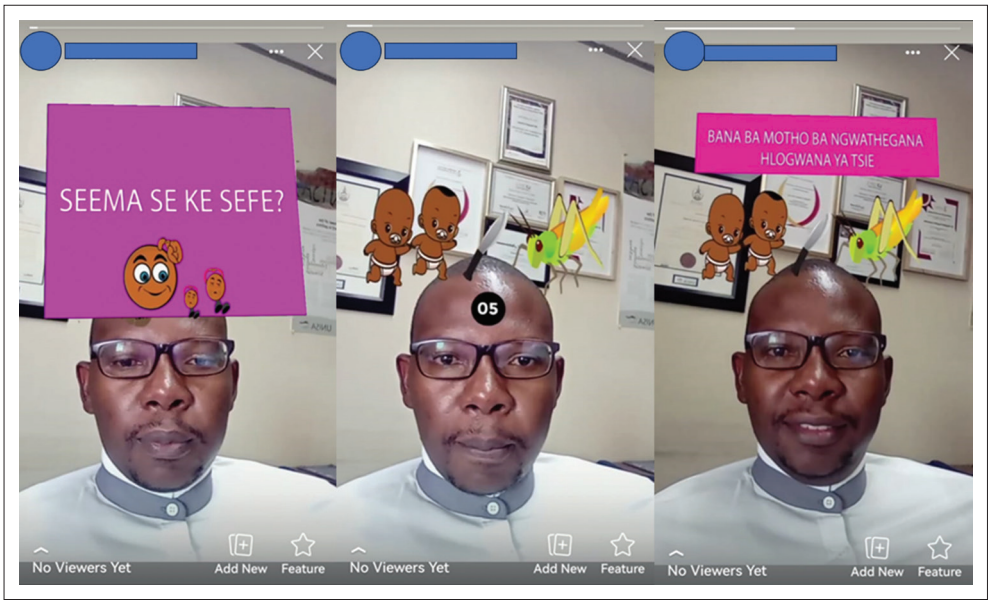

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FIGURE 5.8: Facebook proverbs filters.

Social media filters, as shown in Figure 5.8, can play a key role in promoting language by making it more accessible and engaging for users. The filters built for the NIHSS project are meant to increase the visibility of indigenous African languages to a wider audience, especially among younger users who might still be viewing indigenous knowledge system as being endowed by barbarism and backwardness (Sibanda 2015). The incorporation of indigenous languages into social media filters makes language learning more appealing and engaging and can help to demystify the language and make it more approachable for users.

The use of social media filters to promote language has a significant impact on language awareness, appreciation and preservation, as well as on language learning and cultural promotion. Filters can be used to promote the culture and traditions associated with a language, helping to preserve and celebrate cultural heritage by making language more accessible, engaging and interactive in social media. This can also help to increase cross-cultural understanding and appreciation and can provide a platform for users to share and display their cultural identity.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the contemporary use of proverbs on social media. In the digital age, individuals and communities gather and communicate on

social media to share information, ideas, personalised messages, images and other content (Ventola 2014). Users are provided with tools to share information, to promote their languages and culture, and easily share images and reach a wide audience.

This study argued that proverbs have a role to play in contemporary society, and their use on social media takes a form of digital content aimed to promote the use of indigenous languages. Using proverbs on social media is an effective way for speakers to communicate in a culturally rich and meaningful way. The use of proverbs on social media encourages them to learn about proverbs and to use proverbs that reflect the values and beliefs of their own culture. This also advocated for creativity using images, emojis or other forms of multimedia to make social media engagements more visually appealing and engaging and to help convey the meaning of the proverbs more effectively.

Following the emergence of the fourth industrial revolution and its implications for the future of indigenous languages, the utilisation of emojis as a means of conveying proverbs serves as a catalyst for cultural preservation. The sharing of proverbs on social media helps to keep cultural traditions alive and accessible and can also promote cross-cultural understanding. Through the use of proverbs in a culturally conscious way, tweeps, Facebook users, TikTokers and Instagrammers can use social media to communicate in a rich and meaningful way and to promote cultural understanding and appreciation. Additionally, by using proverbs creatively and accurately, they can make their social media posts more engaging and memorable and can help to preserve cultural traditions for future generations.

Chapter 6

Tsenguluso ya ndeme na kuvhumbelwe kwa mirero yo topolwaho ya Tshivenḓa

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Summary

This chapter, titled 'An analysis of the significance and structure of selected Tshivenḓa proverbs', elucidates the semantic aspects of Tshivenḓa paremiology with the help of a representative sample of proverbs from the Tshivenḓa grammar textbook, *Ngoma ya Vhatei* (Milubi 2004). Given that proverbs are used in a wide range of contexts and with many varied meanings in Tshivenḓa culture, this chapter reflects on both the linguistic and non-linguistic codes that aid the construction, communication and cognisance of a Tshivenḓa proverb. To decode a Tshivenḓa proverb, requisite knowledge, be it historic, cultural, contextual, ethnographic, socio-pragmatic, semiotic and otherwise, usually contributes to the attainment of a precise interpretation and accurate application of a Tshivenḓa proverb. In essence, Tshivenḓa proverbs have a wider range of meanings than first come to mind mainly because of the Vhavenḓa's proclivities towards connotative uses of language on a daily basis. This chapter, as essentially a conceptual intervention, provides indices into the

How to cite: Sebola, M 2025, 'Tsenguluso ya ndeme na kuvhumbelwe kwa mirero yo topolwaho ya Tshivenḓa', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 95–109. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.06

hermeneutics and exegesis of proverbs in Tshivenḓa culture. Among its thematic foci, this chapter probes the historical and cultural context of a proverb; lexical choice in proverbs; archetypes and symbols in proverbs; ethno-cultural content and peculiarities of Tshivenḓa thinking; and theoretical models that can be used to analyse the semantics of Tshivenḓa proverbs. This chapter contributes to the fields of language studies such as ethno-linguistics, paremiology, paremiography, culture study and cognitive linguistics, among others. This chapter recommends that paremiology be incorporated into curricula offered at South Africa's basic and tertiary institutions of learning, particularly as a significant aspect of African folklore.

Abstract

This chapter deals with the semantic aspects of Tshivenḓa paremiology with the help of a representative sample of proverbs from the Tshivenḓa grammar textbook, *Ngoma ya Vhatei*. Given that proverbs are used in a wide range of contexts and with many varied meanings in Tshivenḓa culture, this chapter reflects on both the linguistic and non-linguistic codes that aid the construction, cognisance and interpretation of a Tshivenḓa proverb. Here, it is noted that requisite knowledge, historic, contextual, ethnographic, socio-pragmatic, semiotic and otherwise, usually yields a precise interpretation and application of a Tshivenḓa proverb. Tshivenḓa proverbs have a wider range of meanings than first come to mind mainly because of the Vhavenḓa's proclivities towards connotative uses of language daily. This chapter, by way of decoding a few selected Tshivenḓa proverbs, shows how Vhavenḓa, in particular, and Africans, in general, use proverbs to say what they mean and to mean what they say. Qualitative in approach and reliant on ethnopragmatics and the contextual theory of meaning, this chapter, as essentially a conceptual intervention, provides indices into the hermeneutics and exegesis of proverbs in Tshivenḓa culture. Among its thematic foci, this chapter probes the historical and cultural context of a proverb; lexical choice in proverbs; archetypes and symbols in proverbs; ethno-cultural content and peculiarities of Tshivenḓa thinking; and theoretical models that can be used to analyse the semantics of African proverbs. This chapter contributes to the fields of language study such as ethno-linguistics, paremiology, paremiography, culture study and cognitive linguistics, among others. This chapter recommends that paremiology be incorporated into curricula offered at South Africa's basic and tertiary institutions of learning, particularly as a significant aspect of African indigenous knowledge systems.

Manweledzo

Ino ndima i sengulusa mirero yo topolwaho ya Tshivenḓa u bva kha *Ngoma ya Vhatei* hu u ṱoḓa u sumbedza uri mirero yeneyi i nga ṱalutshedzwa hani.

Vhunga mirero i tshi shumiswa masiani o fhambanaho a vhutshilo na matshilisano, zwi tea u dzhielwa nzhele uri nga nṱhani ha zwenezwi, ṱhalutshedzo dza mirero dzi sikwa na u fhambanywa ho sedzwa zwivhangi zwa tsiko ya mirero yeneyo. Ngauralo, ino ndima i thusa muvhali kha u pfhesesa uri Vhavenḓa vha sika hani mirero yavho, vha pfhesesa hani zwithu na vhutshilo khathihi na zwiṅwe zwiṱaluli zwine zwa nga thusa muthu u ṱalutshedza mirero nga nḓila i pfhalaho. Ndi henefha hune muthu a ḓo zwi limuwa uri nḓivho yo ṱanḓavhuwaho ya luambo lwa Tshivenḓa, mvelele ya Vhavenḓa khathihi na sialala ḽavho na kushumisele kwavho kwa luambo lwa figara dza muambo kha vhudavhidzani havho, zwi a shela mulenzhe zwihulu kha uri muthu a pfhesese zwine mirero ya Tshivenḓa ya amba zwone. Nga u senguluswa ha mirero ya Tshivenḓa miṱanu fhedzi, hu tendwa uri muvhali u ḓo kona u vha na luvhonela lwa uri mirero ya Tshivenḓa i vhumbwa na u ṱalutshedzwa hani. Tsenguluso ya mirero yo topolwaho yo ḓisendeka nga *contextual theory of meaning*. Iyi thiyori i khwaṱhisedza uri vhasengulusi vha zwiteṅwa zwa luambo zwi no nga mirero, vha tea u dzhiela nzhele fhethuvhupo hune mirero ya sikwa hone, hune ya shumiswa hone khathihi na ṱhalutshedzo dzine vhashumisi vha mirero vha dzi livhanya na mirero yavho. Nga iṅwe nḓila, muthu u tea u zwi ḓivha uri murero muṅwe na muṅwe u sikwa hu na ndivho nahone ndivho yeneyo i pfheseswa nga muthu aṋe a ḓivha hune mvelele ya mirero ya tutuwa hone. Ino ndima i nga shela mulenzhe kha ṱhanḓavhudzo ya nḓivho na mahumbulwa nga ha mveledziso na mbulungo ya Tshivenḓa Afrika Tshipembe. Ngauralo, ino ndima i themendela uri mirero, sa tshipiḓa tsha ndeme tsha nḓivhoyapo, i katelwe kha pfhunzo ine ya ṋetshedzwa kha vhagudi vha mirole ya fhasi na vhane vha vha yunivesithi na kha maṅwe magudedzi a pfhunzo dza nṱha.

Mvulatswinga

Nyambo dza Tshirema dzhangoni ḽa Afrika nga vhuphara, dzi anzela u ḓiṱama nga figara dza muambo dzo fhambanaho dzine kanzhi dza tutuwa kha nḓivhoyapo (Makamani 2012). Ndi kha nyambo dzenedzi hune vhathu vha rathisa nḓivho yavho u bva kha murafho muṅwe u ya kha muṅwe (Mafela 2008). Hu ḓi nga Vhavenḓa na vhathu vha Afrika nga u angaredza, vha shumisa luambo nga nḓila nnzhi dzo fhambanaho u rathisa vhuṱali havho na nḓivho yavho nga u shumisa mirero, maambele, dzithai, mamethafore na zwiṅwevho zwine zwa thusa kha u bvukulula vhuvha havho na nḓivho ya vhongwaniwapo vha havho (Kemi & Chijioke 2021; Mugovhani 2016). Hu tshi pfhi nḓivho ya vhongwaniwapo, hu khou ambiwa sialala na maitele o ḓisendekaho nga mvelele ya vhathu vhakene ye ya vha hone u bva miṅwahani ya mmbo na tsikidzi nahone nḓivho yeneyo i katela zwikili, zwisikwa, vhuṱali, pfhunzo, tshenzhemo, vhurereli, luambo na mavhonele a zwithu u ya nga mvelele yeneyo (Kaya 2013). Nyambo dza Tshirema sa tshipiḓa tsha ndeme tsha nḓivhoyapo, dzo pfhuma kuambele

ku no shumisa maidioma, mirero na mamethafore (Baloyi & Ramose 2016). Mirero, sa tshipiḓa tsha nḓivhoyapo na luambolwapo, i shuma sa zhendedzi ḽine ngaḽo vhathu vha ḵovha kuhumbulele na kuvhonele kwavho kwa vhutshilo (Ibrahim 2016). Ndi henefha hune ra wana mirero i tshi bvukulula vhutsila na vhuṱali ha vhathu musi zwi tshi ḓa kha u funza mikhwa, u dededza, u eletshedza, u tikedza, u kaidza, u ḵhuthadza, u ṱuṱuwedza na zwiṅwe (Sebola & Abodunrin 2021).

Kha mvelele ya Tshivenḓa ya musalauḽa, mirero yo vha i tshi rathiswa u bva kha murafho muṅwe u ya kha muṅwe nga u tou shumiswa ha ipfhi ḽa mulomo (Milubi 1997). Izwi ndi nge Vhavenḓa vha tshifhinga tshenetsho vha vha vha sa khou ḓidzhenisa kha zwa u vhulunga na u kovha nḓivho yavho nga u tou ṅwala dzibugu. Ndi ngazwo mirero i tshi anzela u ṱaluswa sa tshipiḓa tsha luambo tshine tsha wela kha maṅwalwa a sialala fhasi ha lushaka lwa fokuḽore. Kha ulwu lushaka lwa fokuḽore, ndi hune ra wana ngano, dzithai, maambele, nyimbo, zwidade, ndelazwixele, vhurendi, miswaswo na zwiṅwe. Hezwi zwoṱhe, zwi dzhiiwa zwi zwa ndeme vhukuma kha mvelele ya Tshivenḓa. Naho izwo zwo bulwaho afho nṱha zwi tshi wela fhasi ha nḓivho ya sialala, ri wana mirero i sa shumiswi nga nḓila i fanaho na ya musi hu tshi khou itwa miswaswo kana u anetshela ngano.

■ Ṱhaluso ya zwithu nga murero

Mirero i ṱalusa zwithu nga nḓila ya vhuṱali, vhupfhufhifhadzi nahone nga nḓila yo dzumbamaho. I dzhiiwa sa nḓila yo dzumbamaho ngauri kha mirero, hu a shumiswa luambo nga nḓila i songo ḓoweleaho lune muthu a nga farwa nga nḓaḓo ya uri hu khou ambiwa nga ha mini. Mirero i tutuwa kha zwiko zwinzhi zwo fhambanaho nahone vhunzhi ha zwiko zwa hone a zwi ḓivhei (Sebola & Abodunrin 2021). Zwine ra zwi ḓivha ndi zwauri mirero i shuma sa mbulungelo ya tshenzhemo, nḓivho na vhuṱali zwe vhathu vha kuvhanganya zwenezwo musi vha tshi khou tshila shangoni, ho katelwa na zwe vha guda nga nḓila i vhavhaho. Mirero i bvukulula vhurereli na vhuḓifari ha lushaka. Nga u dzhiela nzhele mirero, muthu u a kona u guda vhuḓifari vhu ṱanganedzeaho na ho iledzwaho kha mvelele ya hawe. Ngauralo, uri muthu a pfhesese vhunzhi ha mirero ine ya wanala kha luambo lwa hawe, uyo muthu u tea u vha na nḓivho yo dziaho nga ha mvelele ya hawe khathihi na zwine vhathu vha hawe vha tenda khazwo.

Finnegan (1970) u ri murero ndi tshiko tsho pfhumaho zwifanyiso zwa muhumbulo nahone i nga dzhiiwa sa maambele a bulwaho nga u tou pfhufhidza ngeno khao hu tshi nga tutuwa ṱhalutshedzo yo ṱanḓavhuwaho arali maambele eneo a senguluswa nga vhuronwane. Hezwi zwi amba uri mirero i shumisesa figara dza muambo nahone mirero a i shumisi maipfhi manzhi, saizwi mirero i tshi ḓisendeka zwihulu nga tsiko ya zwifanyiso zwa muhumbulo muhumbuloni wa muvhali kana muthetshelesi wa mirero. Izwi

zwi ita uri muthu a ṱuṱulee maluvhini hu u lwela u pfhesesa zwine murero wa nga vha u tshi khou amba zwone. Kha u ṱuṱulwa ha maluvhi, muthu u vha a tshi khou guda na u humbula nga ndila yo dzingindelaho lune musi a tshi dzhia tsheo, a sumbedza u vha muthu a humbulaho zwavhudi nahone lwa vhuṱali.

Tshiṅwe tshifhinga, mirero i nga shumisa luambo lu songo shumisaho mavhuvhisi lune na zwine zwa dzhiiwa sa maṱamba kana zwiila kha mvelele ine murero wa shumiswa khayo, ra wana zwi tshi bulwa hu si na thimathimo kana u kanakana (Madadzhe 2010; Mudau 2016; Njoroge, Mukhwana & Sanja 2016). Ngauralo, zwine ra nga zwi dzhia sa maṱamba kana zwiila kha kushumisele kwa luambo, kha u bulwa ha mirero, ri nga zwi wana zwi tshi khou bulwa hu si na vhuleme na luthihi, ngauri kha mirero, luambo lwonolwo lu a ṱanganedzea. Hu tou nga kushumiselwe kwa ipfhi kana maipfhi o iledzwaho ndi zwone zwine zwa ita uri murero u pfhale u na mutsindo. Zwino, Tshivenda ndi luambo lune lwa shumisesa mavhuvhisi, lune arali muthu a bula ṱamba kana ipfhi line musi ri tshi li pfha ra vhona uri tshumiso ya livhuvhisi madzuloni a ilo ipfhi yo vha i tshi do vha i khwine, ri mbo di sedza onoyo muthu sa a si na mikhwa yavhudi (Madadzhe 2010). Ndi zwine Vhavenda vha gudisa vhana zwiila sa ndila ya u vha funza kushumisele kwa luambo ku ṱanganedzeaho (Sengani & Ladzani 2018). Naho zwo ralo, ri wana kha miṅwe mirero ya Tshivenda, hu na maipfhi ane a dzhiiwa sa maṱamba. Mirero i tevhelaho ndi miṅwe ya ye Mafenya (2002, pp. 37–38) a i sengulusa a tshi khou ṱoda u khwaṱhisedza uri hu na mirero ya Tshivenda ine i nga shumiswa u kandeledza vhafumakadzi, sa heyi:

- Mukovholwa u sumbedza mbonzhe, *mulaliwa* u sumbedza thumbu
- Madzanga a *nnyo* ndi ṅwana.

Mirero yo bulwaho afho nṱha i shumiswa musi hu tshi vhudzwa vhafumakadzi uri vha do ṱhonifhiwa fhedzi nge vha vha na vhana. Izwi zwi amba uri mufumakadzi a si na ṅwana, ha ṱhonifhiwi kha mvelele ya Tshivenda. Iyi mirero i nga dovha ya shumiswa nga mufumakadzi a tshi khou dirwa khana nge a beba vhana kana musi hu tshi khou rovhedzwa mufumakadzi a si na vhana. Iyi mirero i a shumiswa na u ṱanganedzwa nga Vhavenda nahone hu vhonala hu si na thaidzo na tshumiso ya maipfhi o no nga *mulaliwa* na *nnyo* kha yeneyo mirero. Uri muhumbulo une murero wa khou bvukulula u pfhalese, eneo maipfhi a songo ṱanganedzeaho kha luambo lwa mikhwa, ndi one a no ita uri muthetshelesi kana muvhali a pfhesese zwine a khou vhudzwa. Mirero i dzhiiwa sa kushumisele kwa luambo kwo khetheaho kune khakwo ha shumiswa luambo lwa mamethafore na dziṅwe figara dza muambo.

Tshiṅwe tsha zwiṱaluli zwihulwane zwa mirero ndi kushumisele kwa luambo nga ndila ya vhuṱali fhungoni, ndivho i ya u rera nga ha zwithu zwo fhambanaho zwa vhutshilo. Naho hu uri mihumbulo ine ya vha yo katelwa

kha mirero i nga vha i yo ḓoweleaho, fhedziha, kuvhekanyele na kushumisele kwa maipfhi na mafhungo hu tshi khou bulwa mihumbulo yeneyo, ku ita uri muthu a ṱuṱule maluvhi uri a pfhesese zwine murero wa amba zwone. Arali muambi a shumisa murero kha nyambedzano, muambiwa nae ha lavheleli uri muambi u ḓo inga nga u ṋea ṱhalutshedzo ya murero. Ndi ngazwo zwi zwa ndeme uri muthu a vhe na nḓivho yo ṱanḓavhuwaho malugana na mvelele ine murero wa shumiswa khayo uri a kone u pfhesesa ndivho ya muambi. Sa tsumbo, arali muthu a ṋewa tshithu, fhedzi, a ḓi bvela phanḓa na u humbela u fhira zwe a ṋewa, hu nga shumiswa murero une wa mu limusa uri a songo tsha bvela phanḓa na luhumbelo lwonolwo. Onoyo muthu a nga vhudzwa kana a nga kaidzwa nga murero u no nga, 'Hu lumbwa nga tsha thengo; tsha u fhiwa a tshi pfhi engedza'. Nga murahu ha u shumiswa ha murero wo raliho, muambiwa nae u ḓo zwi elelwa uri vhuḓifari hawe a si havhuḓi na luthihi, a mbo ḓi litsha u humbelesa.

■ Zwiṱaluli zwa murero

Murero u na tshivhumbeo tshawo wone une tshine a tshi tei u shandukiswa na musi murero wonoyo u tshi shumiswa fhungoni. Huṅwe ri wana uri murero u kombetshedza uri dzina na nyanḓano yaḽo zwi si shandukiswe ngauri zwa shandukiswa, murero u nga vho sala u si tsha amba zwine zwa pfhala. Maṅwe maambele a no nga maidioma a nga shandukisa tshifhinga, ḽimudi kana a iswa kha vhunzhi, ngeno kha murero zwi songo ralo. Sa tsumbo, ḽiidioma, 'U fa a tshi vhavha', ḽi nga iswa kha vhunzhi lune ḽa vho ḓo bulwa kana u vhalwa ngaurali: 'Vha fa vha tshi vhavha', nahone ḽa ḓi vha ḽi tshi khou amba zwine zwa fana na zwa musi ḽi kha vhuthihi. Fhedzi, murero u fanaho na uyu, 'Munwe muthihi a u ṱusi mathuthu', a u tendi u ya kha vhunzhi wa amba zwine zwa pfhala ngauri ḽifurase ḽa dzina na nyanḓano yaḽo a zwi tei u shandukiswa zwa iswa kha vhunzhi. Zwa ralo, ndi afho hune ra vho ḓo pfha muthu a tshi ri: 'Minwe [mi]thihi a [i] ṱusi mathuthu', zwine a zwi tsha amba zwe murero wa vha zwo sikelwa zwone kha Tshivenḓa.

Naho muambi a tshi nga vha a tshi khou amba na vhathu vhanzhi, ha tei u shandukisa tshivhumbeo tsha murero uri u pfhale wo livhanywa na vhathu vhanzhi lini. Tshiṅwe hafhu tshine tsha fhambanya murero na ḽiidioma, sa tsumbo, ndi tsha uri murero u na tshivhumbeo tsho fhelelaho tsha fhungo (Mafenya 1994). Nga iṅwe nḓila, murero u a kona u vha na zwipiḓa zwoṱhe zwine zwa shela mulenzhe kha u vhumbwa ha fhungo ḽi pfhalaho ngeno ḽiidioma ḽi tshi nga tou vha ḽifurase fhedzi. Arali muthu a sedza murero, 'Ṅwana muḽamalofha mavhisi, thumbuni hu onya hawe', u ḓo kona u zwi vhona uri uyu murero u tou vha fhungo ḽo fhelelaho. Ri ralo ngauri, kha uyu murero, ri a kona u vhona ṋefhungo, nyengedzedzo ya ṋefhungo, ḽibulafhethu, ḽiiti na maṅwe mafurase, ngauralo ngauralo. Ḽiidioma a ḽi kombetshedzei u vha na ṋefhungo, u fana na musi muthu a tshi ri: 'U bata nzie'.

Nga u tou pfhufhifhadza, ri nga ri murero ndi ḽiambele ḽine ḽa bula zwithu nga vhupfhufhi ngeno ḽi tshi kona u bvukulula vhuṱali, ngoho, pfhunzo na ndayo nga tshumiso yaḽo ya luambo lwa figara dza muambo. Ngauralo, ndi zwa ndeme u zwi pfhesesa uri murero u a fhambana na maṅwe maambele a Tshivenḓa ane a nga maidioma ngauri tshivhumbeo tsha murero a tshi shanduki ngeno tsha maṅwe maambele tshi tshi nga shanduka nahone, a si tshifhinga tshoṱhe hune maidioma, sa tsumbo, a bvukulula ngoho na ndayo sa zwine mirero ya anzela u ita. Kha ino ndima, hu sedzeswa mirero sa figara ya muambo ya ndeme kha mvelele ya Tshivenḓa na uri muthu a nga kona hani u pfhesesa kushumiselwe na kuṱalutshedzelwe kwayo kha luambo lwa ḓuvha ḽiṅwe na ḽiṅwe.

■ Ndeme ya murero

Murero u a shumiswa kha nzulele dzo fhambanaho nahone u kwama masia o ṱanḓavhuwaho vhukuma a vhutshilo na matshilisano a vhathu. Izwi zwi amba uri murero u nga shumiswa huṅwe na huṅwe, tenda tshumiso yawo ya vha i na ndeme. Sa tsumbo, murero u nga shumiswa hayani u laya vhana na u vha funza mikhwa yavhuḓi. Mirero i nga thusa khoroni ya musanda hune muhuweleli na muhuwelelwa vha nga i shumisa u bvukulula vhupfhiwa havho. Hu ḓi nga na muhaṱuli kha yeneyi khoro, ane kanzhi a vha khosi, a nga shumisa mirero musi a tshi khou ṋea tshigwevho. Mirero i dovha ya shumiswa kha vhutshilo ha ḓuvha ḽiṅwe na ḽiṅwe u khuthadza, u khoḓa, u goḓa, u holedza, u sasaladza, u eletshedza, u tsivhudza na u ṱuṱuwedza muṅwe muthu. Kha mvelele ya Tshivenḓa, murero u a dovha wa shumiswa u rovhedza muthu, nga maanḓa muthu we a kaidzwa kana u tsivhudzwa a si thetshelese, a vho fhedza a tshi vho wela khomboni ye a kaidzelwa kana u tsivhudzelwa yone.

Naho hu uri murero wo ḓowelea kha mvelele ya Tshivenḓa, a si kanzhi muthu a tshi nga wana ṱhoḓisiso dzo ḓisendeka nga mirero ya Tshivenḓa, zwihulusa ho sedzwa uri mirero ya Tshivenḓa i vhumbwa na u ṱaluswa hani. Vhunzhi ha bugu dzine dza vha na mirero ya Tshivenḓa dzi sokou tou ṋetshedza mutevhe wa mirero ya Tshivenḓa na ṱhalutshedzo dza hone, fhedzi hu si na ṱhaluso ya uri mirero i vhumbwa na u senguluswa hani kha Tshivenḓa. Sa tsumbo, Van Warmelo (1937), Schwellnus (1940), Milubi (1984, 2004), Makuya na Mudau (1989) vho kuvhanganya mirero ya Tshivenḓa vha tshi khou ita na u ṋea ṱhalutshedzo dza mirero yeneyo na kushumiselwe kwayo. Honeha, avha vhaṅwali a vho ngo dodombedza uri mirero ya Tshivenḓa i sikwa hani na uri ṱhalutshedzo dza mirero dzi bveledzwa hani kha mvelele ya Tshivenḓa. Khuba (1986) o sengulusa ndeme ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa o sedza uri Vhavenḓa vha i shumisa hani vho i livhanya na ḓivhazwakale yavho, mahumbulwa avho malugana na vhutshilo nga u angaredza, ndavhuko yavho, khathihi na vhuvha havho. Ndi henefha

hune muthu a zwi elelwa uri mirero i a khethekanywa ho sedzwa nzulele dzine ya shumiswa khadzo. U ya nga Khuba (1986), mirero i nga shumiswa u amba nga u nengisa ha zwithu, vhufhura, u ḓihudza, vhuṱali, u sika maano a u ḓibveledza, u vha na tshivhindi, vhubva, muhoyo, thambulo, mulayo, vhulamukanyi na mbingano. Zwino, musi zwi tshi ḓa kha uri murero u khou amba nga mini na kushumisele kwawo, muthu u tea u sedza nzulele kana fhethuvhupo hune murero wa livhanywa naho. Ngauralo, nḓivho yo fhelelaho nga ha murero i nga swikelelwa fhedzi arali muthu a na nḓivho ya zwiṱuṱuwedzi zwa tsiko ya murero wonoyo na ndivho ya u shumiswa hawo. Ngauralo, muthu u tea u vha na ḓivhazwakale malugana na tsiko ya murero, uri ho vha hu tshi khou itea mini musi murero u tshi sikwa na uri hu ṱoḓwa u swikelelwa zwifhio nga u shumiswa ha murero wonoyo.

Muthu a nga ḓi dovha a sengulusa mirero ya Tshivenḓa o sedza kushumisele kwa luambo na tshitaila kha mirero. Ndi henefha hune muthu a nga sedza na thikho dza vhurendi dzi no nga pharaḽeḽizimu, ndovhololo ya themba na pfhalandoṱhe maipfhini, mutevhetsindo, na zwiṅwe. Izwi zwi amba uri hu na zwinzhi zwine muthu a nga zwi sedza kha tsenguluso ya mirero, ho katelwa na thinwaipfhi dzo fhambanaho dzine dza shumiswa u sika mirero, u fana na madzina, maṱaluli, maiti, masala, maḓadzisi, maṱanganyi, maaravhi, ngauralo ngauralo (Mafenya 1994). Kha ino ndima, hu ṋetshedzwa mirero yo topolwaho kha *Ngoma ya Vhatei* (Milubi 2004) hu u itela u amba nga tshivhumbeo na ṱhalutshedzo ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa.

Hu ḓi nga na kha dziṅwe nyambo dzi no nga Sesotho, u wana hu na ṱhoḓisiso dzo livhanywaho na mirero. Sa tsumbo, ṱhoḓisiso ya Guma (1967) malugana na mirero ya luambo lwe lwa vha lu tshi vhidzwa u pfhi Southern Sotho, yo amba nga tshivhumbeo tsha mirero ya luambo lwonolwo, ya ita na u sumbedza uri miṅwe ya mirero ya hone i vhumbwa nga u shumiswa ha fhungo tswititi naho hu uri zwivhumbeo zwayo zwi tshi fhambana. Guma o dovha hafhu a sumbedza uri kha mirero ya Sesotho, tshipiḓa tsha ṋefhungo tshi nga vha dzinambumbano ḽo vhumbwaho nga ḽiiti na dzina. Guma o bvela phanḓa na u amba uri kha luambo lwa Sesotho, hu na mirero minzhi ine khayo tshipiḓa tsha ṋefhungo tshi si vhonale.

Kha tsenguluso ya mirero ya luambo lwa Sepedi, Bushney (1986) o ṱoḓisisa nga mirero na maidioma, ndivho i ya u ṱoḓa u bvisela khagala phambano ine ya vha hone vhukati ha idzi tshaka mbili dza maambele. Khwaṱhisedzo ya Bushney yo vha ya uri phambano vhukati ha mirero na maidioma ndi ya uri mirero i na tshivhumbeo tsho fhelelaho tsha fhungo ngeno maidioma a si na. Murero u na ṋefhungo na furase ḽa ḽiiti ngeno ḽiidioma ḽo vhumbwa nga furase ḽa ḽiiti fhedzi. Naho zwo ralo, Bushney o bvela phanḓa na u ṱalutshedza uri mirero i anzela u bva nnḓa ha nḓila kwayo ya kushumiselwe kwa luambo. Afha o vha a tshi khou amba uri mirero i a kona u thudzela kule tshumiso ya thangi dza madzina, masumbi kha mbumbo ya maṱaluli,

maṱanganyi, tshumiso ya nyanḓano ya ṋefhungo nga nḓila i songo ḓoweleaho, na zwiṅwe. Mirero, sa tshipiḓa tsha luambo, i na vhuḽedzani na zwiṅwe zwipiḓa zwa luambo, u fana na vhurendi (Motjuoadi 1991). Vhushaka ha izwi zwipiḓa vhu nga vhonala nga kuvhekanyelwe kwa maipfhi nga nḓila i fanaho, u vhekanywa ha mitaladzi nga nḓila i fanaho, kusikelwe kwa ṱhalutshedzo nga nḓila i fanaho, na zwiṅwe zwi kwamaho tshivhumbeo tsha maipfhi, mafurase na mafhungo (Bushney & Van Wyk 1989).

Kha luambo lwa isiZulu, Nyembezi (1974) o sedza vhubvo ha mirero khathihi na u khwaṱhisedza uri vhunzhi ha mirero ine ya wanala kha isiZulu, i honevho na kha dziṅwe nyambo dza Tshirema. U wanala ha mirero ine ya fana kana ine ya yelana kha dzinyambo, zwo ita uri Nyembezi a tende uri mirero yeneyi yo vha i hone musi wa mmbo na tsikidzi phanḓa ha musi Vharema vha Afrika Tshipembe vha tshi fhandekanywa nga mivhuso ya vhukoḽoni na tshiṱalula. Uzomah (2018) na Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) vha tendelana na Nyembezi kha ḽa uri u govhelwa ha Afrika Tshipembe na dzhango ḽa Afrika nga vhuphara ho shela mulenzhe zwihulu kha u nyadzwa, u kandeledzwa na u thudzelwa kule ha nḓivhoyapo ya Afrika, ho katelwa na kha nḓisedzo ya pfhunzo ya tsholoni kana pfhunzo ya vhatshena. Mawanwa a ṱhoḓisiso ya Nyembezi a bvisela khagala uri vhunzhi ha mirero ya Vharema, ho katelwa na Vhavenḓa, i tutuwa kha zwine vhathu vha vha vho zwi vhona, vhuḓifari ha vhathu kana phukha, na u tou thetshelesa nga vhuronwane musi zwithu zwi tshi itea vhutshiloni u ya nga u fhambana hazwo. Nga nṱha ha zwenezwo, Nyembezi o dovha a sedza kuvhumbele na kushumisele kwa mirero kha luambo lwa isiZulu. Nyembezi o sedzesa u ṱahedzwa ha maipfhi mathomoni na magumoni a mirero, u shumiswa ha khanedza na pharaḽeḽizimu kha mirero ya isiZulu, a gomedza nga u ṱalusa tshaka dza mirero u ya nga ndeme yadzo, sa tsumbo, mirero malugana na mafunda, u ḓiṱukufhadza, vhuthu, na zwiṅwe.

Kha ino ndima, ho senguluswa tshivhumbeo tsha mirero ya Tshivenḓa na uri muthu a nga wana hani ṱhalutshedzo ya mirero yeneyo. Mafenya (1994, 2002) o ṱoḓisisa nga ha tshivhumbeo tsha mirero ya Tshivenḓa khathihi na uri mirero ya Tshivenḓa i nga ṱaluswa hani yo sedzwa nga iṱo ḽa thiyori ya Ndwelatshikadzi (*Feminism*). Nga nṱha ha u amba nga tshivhumbeo tsha mirero ya Tshivenḓa kha ṱhoḓisiso ya Masiṱasi, Mafenya (1994) o sedzavho na uri kha tsiko ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa, hu a ṱunḓwa maipfhi kha dziṅwe nyambo. Kha ṱhoḓisiso yawe ya Vhudokotela ha Fiḽosofi, Mafenya (2002) o sengulusa mirero ya Tshivenḓa ine i nga dzhiiwa sa ine ya kandeledza vhafumakadzi. Nga vhuya, Mafela (2008) o ṱumbula mirero ya Tshivenḓa kha ṱhalusamaipfhi ya Tshivenḓa na English hu u ṱoḓa u amba nga mirero yeneyo sa tsumbo dzi bvukululaho mvelele na ṱhalutshedzo dza Tshivenḓa. A tshi kha ḓi vha Mafela (2012), u ri u bva tshee vhaṋeri vha Berlin vha ṅwala ṱhalusamaipfhi ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa nga 1872, a hu athu tou vha na ṱhalusamaipfhi ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa ine muthu a nga ḓirwa khana ngayo.

Ndi ngazwo iyi athikili ye Mafela (2012) a i ṅwala i tshi dzinginya nḓila dza khwiṋe dzine ngadzo ha nga dzudzanywa ṭhalusamaipfhi ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa yo dziaho. Raphalalani (2021, pp. 17785–17786) u vhona u nga hu na mirero ya Tshivenḓa yo sikwaho hu u ṭoḓa u takulela mbeu ya tshinnani nṭha ngeno kha ḽiṅwe sia, mirero yeneyo i tshi shumiswa u kandeledza vhafumakadzi, u fana na heyi:

- Munna ndi nḓou, ha tshili nga muri muthihi
- Musadzi muthihi ndi khaladzi
- Fuyu ḽitswuku a ḽi kundwi tshivhungu
- Khuhu ya phambo a i imbi mutsho
- Musadzi a shuma, munna ndi tshinamo
- Musadzi ndi phandamulongo
- Musadzi ndi tshikwati, tshi a kwatuwa
- Musadzi ha na gota
- Musadzi ndi tsilu sa ṭhoho, u vhala luraru fhedzi
- Musadzi ndi nyamukhithi mukhanelela dumba ḽawe
- Vhuhadzi ndi ṋama ya thole, ya fhufhuma ri a fhunzhela.

U swika hafha, zwi a vhonala uri mirero ya Tshivenḓa i a sengulusea ho sedzwa masia o fhambanaho na kuvhonele kwa musengulusi. Sebola na Abodunrin (2021), vho ita mbambedzo ya ṭhalutshedzo dza mirero ya Tshivenḓa na ya Yoruba (Nigeria), vha wana uri hu na u fana vhukati ha ṭhalutshedzo dza mirero yeneyo. Ngauralo, hu na zwinzhi zwine muthu a nga zwi wana nga u tou sengulusa mirero ya nyambo dza Tshirema vhunga idzi nyambo dzo pfhuma vhuṱali na nḓivho. Ndi ngazwo kha ino ndima, ho senguluswa mirero yo fhambanaho hu u lingedza u sumbedza uri muthu a nga kona hani u ṋea ṭhalutshedzo yoneyone ya murero wa Tshivenḓa. Hu ḓi nga na zwithu zwine zwa nga u shumiswa ha maipfhi ane ha tsha wanala kha luambo lwa Tshivenḓa musalauno, u siedzwa ha masumbavhuṋe, u vhewa na u shumiswa ha madzina a tsini na tsini, u shumiswa ha madzina o tutuwaho kha maiti, u shumiswa ha nyanḓano ya tshiitwa nga nḓila i songo ḓoweleaho, u siedzwa ha maṱanganyi vhukati ha ḽiiti na tshiitwa, u shumiswa ha madzinambumbano ane a vha na thangi dzi ṱalusaho mbeu (ya muthu), u shumiswa ha maiti a sumbedzaho khonadzeo na u shumiswa ha nyanḓano ya ṋefhungo hu sa khou ambiwa nga muthu kana vhathu, zwi nga thusa kana zwa thivhela muthu kha u ṱalukanya tshivhumbeo na ṭhalutshedzo zwa murero.

Muhangarambo wa Thyiori

U rathiswa ha nḓivho, mvelele, sialala, vhufa, vhurereli na zwiṅwe zwi kwamaho matshilele na matshilisano a vhathu u bva kha murafho u ya kha muṅwe, hu ṭoḓa tshumiso ya luambo, vhunga luambo lu lwone tshishumiswa tshine ngatsho vhathu vha bvisela khagala mihumbulo

yavho (Olanrewaju 2020). Zwavhuḓivhuḓi, nyambo dza Tshirema dzi ḓisendeka zwihulu nga tshumiso ya mirero musi zwi tshi ḓa kha u vhulunga luambo (Fakoya 2007). Vhunga luambo luṅwe na luṅwe lu na ṱhalutshedzo dzalwo dzo tou livhanywaho na mvelele ya vhaambi vhalwo, ndi zwa ndeme uri hu vhewe mutheo wa thyiori une u nga thusa kha tsenguluso na ṱhalutshedzo ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa. U swikelela iyi ndivho, thyiori i ombedzelaho ngudo ya ṱhalutshedzo ya maipfhi, furase na mafhungo i vha yone ya khwiṋesa. Ndi ngazwo kha ino ndima, ho shumiswa thyiori i no vhidzwa u pfhi *contextual theory of meaning*. Heino thyiori i shumiseswa musi hu tshi khou gudwa uri vhathu vha ḓisikela hani ṱhalutshedzo ya zwithu kha luambo lwa havho, hu sa londwi uri ṱhalutshedzo ya hone i nga vha yo dzumbamaho kana i khagala (Olanrewaju 2020). Nga u tou angaredza, heino thyiori i tou fombe kha u ṱoḓana na ṱhalutshedzo ya zwine vhathu vha anzela u amba zwenezwi musi vha tshi khou davhidzana lune muthu a nga kona u saukanya yeneyo ṱhalutshedzo (Allot 2010; Kubayi 2013).

Ngauralo, vhashumisi vha luambo vha a kona u ṱumanya zwine vha khou amba na fhethuvhupo ho teaho lune muthu a kona u pfhesesa uri vha khou amba nga mini. Sa tsumbo, murunduni wa Vhavenḓa, hu na luambo lune vha lu shumisa nahone luambo lwonolwo lu na ṱhalutshedzo dzo tou livhanywaho thwii na zwi no itwa henengeyi murunduni. Ngauralo, muthu o yaho murunduni nahone a ṱalukanyaho luambo lwa murunduni, u ḓo kona u zwi pfhesesa uri murunduni hu na zwiila khathihi na uri musi hu tshi pfhi *nḓou* hu vha hu tshi khou ambiwa *mulilo*, na uri *magedo* ndi *maḓi*, *muhali* ndi *vhuswa*, *gobodo* ndi *mbaḓo*, ngauralo ngauralo (Makhado 2009). Izwi zwi ri ṋea muhumbulo wa uri muthu a sa athu yaho murunduni, a nga si pfhesese uri maipfhi aya a amba mini, ha vha u xeletshelwa nga ṱhalutshedzo na ṱhalukanyo. Zwino, heyi thyiori i thusa kha uri muthu u kona hani u pfhesesa kushumiselwe kwa luambo o livhanya u pfhesesa hawe na henefho hune ulwo luambo lwa khou shumiswa hone khathihi na zwine lwa amba kha vhashumisi vhalwo. Ngauralo, *contextual theory of meaning* yo tea kha tsenguluso na ṱhalutshedzo ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa ngauri i thusa kha uri musengulusi a kone u tandula murero u swika a tshi pfhesesa uri uyo murero u nga vha wo sikwa ho sedzwa mini. Ndi henefha hune ra wana na uri maṅwe maipfhi a Tshivenḓa a mbo ḓi inga ṱhalutshedzo ntswa nṱha ha dzo ḓoweleaho. Ngauralo, ndi zwa ndeme uri muthu a vhe na nḓivho yo ṱanḓavhuwaho ya mvelele ya Tshivenḓa, kushumiselwe kwa luambo lwa Tshivenḓa na tsiko ya ṱhalutshedzo kha nzulele dzo fhambanaho dza Vhavenḓa.

Ngona

Kha ino ndima, ho shumiswa ngona ya khwaḽithethivi ngauri yo tendela muṅwali u tou ṱalusa zwithu madzuloni a u ṋetshedza mawanwa nga dzimbalo.

Naho hu uri a hu tou vha na muthu wa Muvenḓa aṋe ra nga ri ndi ene e eṱhe o sikaho mirero ya Tshivenḓa lune ra nga tea u davhidzana nae nga ha mirero, kha ino ndima, ho ṱumbulwa mirero i si gathi kha *Ngoma ya Vhatei* (Milubi 2004), zwa amba uri data ya ino ndima ndi ya sekondari. Ho tou topolwa mirero ya sumbe fhedzi, vhunga ndivho ya ino ndima hu u ṋea muvhali mavhala a nngwe malugana na kuvhumbele na kusengulusele kwa mirero ya Tshivenḓa. Ngauralo, mirero yo topolwaho, yo senguluswa hu tshi khou shumiswa tsaukanyo ya maṅwalwa. Nga nṱha ha zwenezwo, musengulusi wa mirero yo topolwaho ndi muambi na mudededzi wa Tshivenḓa, lune nḓivho yawe ya luambo lwa Tshivenḓa na mvelele ine lwa shumiswa khayo, zwo mu thusa kha u sengulusa na u ṱalutshedza mirero yo topolwaho.

Tsenguluso

Naho hu uri mirero i a shumiswa u swikelela ndivho nnzhi nahone dzo fhambanaho, muthu a tou thetshelesa kana a vhala nga vhuronwane, u a kona u zwi pfha kana u zwi elelwa uri hu na ndivho yo imaho ngauri ine murero muṅwe na muṅwe wa sikelwa u i swikelela. Kha ri dzhie tsumbo ya murero u tevhelaho: 'U songo vhona mbulu we mbu mbu mbu muḓa murahu u ḓe mbulu yanga' (Milubi 2004, p. 161). Uyu murero u anzela u shumiswa musi hu tshi khou ṱuṱuwedzwa muthu uri a ite zwithu nga tshihaḓu madzuloni a u ita zwa tshiangatela. Vhavenḓa vha tenda uri muthu o no timatima musi a tshi ita zwithu, u fhedza o xeletshelwa nga zwenezwo zwithu. Uyu murero u vhonala wo sikwa nga murahu ha musi musiki wawo o zwi vhona uri vhathu vhane vha vha na tshiangatela kana hone u timatima, a si kanzhi vha tshi swikelela zwivhuya vhutshiloni. Ngauralo, uyu murero u kaidza nyofho musi zwi tshi ḓa kha u hovhelela zwivhuya vhutshiloni. Zwino, uri muthu a pfhesese murero uyu, u tea u vha na nḓivho ya kushumiselwe kwa zwiga sa figara ya muambo kha Tshivenḓa. Arali muthu a shaya nḓivho ya uri mbulu ndi mini, zwi ḓo mu konḓela u pfhesesa murero uyu nge a shaya ṱhalukanyo yo fhelelaho ya maipfhi o shumiswaho kha murero. Ipfhi ḽine ḽa nga konḓela musengulusi wa murero une wa vha afho nṱha ndi *mbulu*.

Mbulu ndi tshikokovhi tshi elanaho na tswina nga tshivhumbeo nahone tshi wanalesa matomboni, naho hu uri hu na lushaka lwa mbulu lu no tshila maḓini. Vhunga zwi tshi lelutshela mbulu u dzumbama matomboni, muthu a tshi tou i vhona, u tea u vhamba maano a u i fasha nga u ṱavhanya. Murero a u ṱalutshedzi uri nga murahu ha musi muthu o no fara mbulu u ḓo itani ngayo. A hu tou vha na maṅwalwa ane a zwi khwaṱhisedza uri mbulu yo vha i tshi ri u vhonwa na u farwa, ya itwa mini lune ra nga ri ndi zwe ngazwo muthu a vha a tshi ṱuṱuwedzwa uri a ambe nga u ṱavhanya uri u khou vhona mbulu. Fhedziha, musi ri tshi sedza uyu murero hafhu, zwi a vhonala uri muthu u khou ṱuṱuwedzwa uri arali o vhona tshithu tsha ndeme kana

tshavhuḓi, a songo fhedzesa tshifhinga a tshi khou amba nga hatsho madzuloni a u ya a tshi dzhia tsha vha tshawe. Arali a bvela phanḓa na u sokou ambesa nga hatsho hu si na nyito, mudzianyito u ḓo mu pfha, a ya a bveledza muhumbulo wonoyo sa wawe. Ngauralo, mbulu i nga amba muhumbulo wavhuḓi wa zwine muthu a ṱoḓa u ita. Izwi zwi ri swikisa kha uri, arali muṱhannga, sa tsumbo, a vhona khomba ine a i funa, kha ite nungo, a ambise khomba yeneyo madzuloni a u sokou i takalela o imela kule. Zwa sa ralo, muṅwe wa tshivhindi u ḓo vhuya a ambisa, khomba ya vha yo ṱuwa. Ngauralo, u shumiswa ha maipfhi *mbu mbu mbu*, ndi u holedza muthu wa tshiangatela khathihi na u mu ṱuṱuwedza uri a ṱutshele tshiangatela nga u tou bula thwii zwine a khou zwi ṱoḓa. Ṱhalutshedzo ya uyu murero a i fhambani kule na ya murero, 'Ṋama i ḷiwa muvoni' (Milubi 2004, p. 153). Uyu murero u eletshedza muthu uri u tea u ya hune zwithu zwavhuḓi zwa vha hone. Ngauralo, arali hu na tshine muthu a khou tshi ṱoḓa, u tea u ya hune tsha wanala hone, madzuloni a u sokou amba nga ha hune zwivhuya zwa wanala hone ngeno hu si na nyito ya u zwi swikelela.

Hu dovha hafhu ha vha na murero wa Tshivenḓa u no ri: 'Khangala mbili a dzi dzuli muiṋa muthihi' (Milubi 2004, p. 151). Khangala ndi ṋowa ya swili nahone ya vhuhali vhukuma. Nga nṱhani ha vhuhali hadzo, khangala dzi ḓo dzulela u lwa nahone zwi ḓo konḓa vhukuma uri iṅwe yadzo i ḓiṱukufhadze, i tende u rangwa phanḓa nga iṅwe. Afha Vhavenḓa vho vha vho sedza vhathu vhavhili vha zwiito zwi no fana kana vhuvha vhu no fana, ndalukanyo dzi no eḓana na maimo a no eḓana, vha zwi vhona uri havha vhathu vha nga si kone u dzulisana saizwi vha tshi ḓo dzulela u ṱaṱisana na u vhangisana. Hafha, khangala dzi olwa sa zwikokovhi zwi si na matshilisano na vhuhwavho. Nga murero uyu, ri a kona u zwi vhona uri Vhavenḓa vho ḓiṋea tshifhinga tsha u ṱalela tshaka dza ṋowa, vha vhambedza maitele adzo na zwine vhathu vha vha zwone. Zwi amba uri vhutshiloni, hu na vhathu vhaṋe vha vha na vhuhali sa khangala, Vhavenḓa vha mbo ḓi sika murero vho shumisa khangala sa tshiga.

Mirero i a dovha ya shumiswa kha mafhungo a zwa vhulamukanyi, u tumbula ngoho na u wana thandululo ya khuḓano. Kha ri dzhie tsumbo ya musi muthu a tshi pomokwa kana hone u hweswa mulandu, fhedzi, ene a tshi khou dadadza. Hu nga shumiswa murero une wa nga ombedzela uri muhuwelelwa u kwamea hani mulanduni une wa khou sengwa. Ndi tsengoni hune muthu a nga pfha hu tshi shumiswa murero u tevhelaho: 'Ya longa khwanḓa yo nwa' (Milubi 2004, p. 156). Zwo ḓowelea kha mvelele ya Tshivenḓa uri muthu a nga ṱaṱa khani ya uri ene ha na mulandu ngauri ha ngo shelesa mulenzhe kha mulandu une a khou huwelelwa wone. Sa tsumbo, kha ri ri mutukana u khou pomokwa uri o tshinya musidzana, fhedzi, hoyo mutukana a sa khou tenda uri ndi ene o tshinyaho hoyo musidzana naho hu uri o ita zwa vhudzekani na musidzana onoyo. Nga u tou tenda fhedzi uri o eḓela nae, muthu a nga pfha Vhavenḓa vha tshi redza

uyu murero. Uyu murero wo tutuwa musi vhalisa vha kholomo vho zwi limuwa uri kholomo, donngi, mbudzi kana nngu, ya vhuya ya longa mulenzhe maḓini, hu nga vha kha maḓi a mulambo kana a tshisima, phukha yeneyo i fhedza yo nwa maḓi kana nga nṱhani ha u ṋukala ha khwanḓa, zwi ḓi dzhiiwa uri yo nwa na dziṅwe.

U ṋukala ha khwanḓa ndi hone vhuṱanzi ha uri iyo phukha yo vha i hone musi hu tshi nwiwa maḓi, ngauralo, i na vhuṱanzi ho fhelelaho ha zwoṱhe zwine zwi nga vha zwo itea musi hu tshi khou nwiwa maḓi. Hu ḓi nga naho ya nanga u hanedza, i ḓo tea u ṱalutshedza uri ndi ngani yo ṋukala khwanḓa. Ngauralo, naho muthu a songo shela mulenzhe kha u rwiwa kana u vhulahwa ha muthu, sa tsumbo, u shelwa hawe nga malofha a tshipondwa, zwi nga khwaṱhisedza uri u na tshanḓa kha u huvhala kana u vhulahwa ha tshipondwa. Zwi a kona u vhonala uri Vhavenḓa ndi vhathu vha u sedzesa zwithu nga vhuronwane, lune vha sedza na khwanḓa ya kholomo hu u ṱoḓa u khwaṱhisedza uri yo nwa maḓi kana a yo ngo nwa naa. U tielela honohu ndi hune ra hu vhona hu tshi thusa na kha u sengwa ha milandu ya vhathu khoroni hune vha ḓivha uri muiti wa mulandu vha mu fara hani. Ngauralo, zwifuwo zwi no nga kholomo, mbudzi, donngi na nngu, zwi a shumiswa kha tsiko ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa ho sedzwa vhuḓifari na maitele azwo. Huṅwe hu a shumiswa murero wo no ri: 'O ḽaho funguvhu, u vhonala nga valuvalu' (Milubi 2004, p. 161), hu tshi khou ambiwa uri muthu ane a ḓivhona mulandu, u anzela u sokou timatima lune na vha mu vhonaho, vha a zwi limuwa uri hu na zwine a zwi khou mu ṋea mulalo. Uyu muthu a nga ḓivhonadza nga u sokou dadadza kana u sokou vhudza vhathu mafhungo ngeno a songo vhudziswa.

Hu na murero wa Tshivenḓa u no ri: 'Ndi khakhisa u rwa, ndi mbevha ya ludongoni' (Milubi 2004, p. 154). Zwino, hafha ndi ha musi hu tshi khou ambiwa nga ha thaidzo ine ya ita uri muthu a timatime u dzhia tsheo ngauri tsheo ifhio na ifhio ine a nga i dzhia, i ḓo ḓi fhedza i tshi sika iṅwe thaidzo. Uyu murero u tshimbilelana na muṅwe une wa ri: *Ndi kholomo ya musanda, wa i khada, u a lifha, wa i litsha, u a lifha*. Vhavenḓa sa vhathu vhe vha vha vha tshi shumisesa ludongo u hadzinga kana u fara tshisevho, vho ḓo dzhia ludongo sa tshishumiswa tsha ndeme vhukuma khavho. Hu ḓi nga na tshifhinga tshine muthu a tshi shumisa u vhumba ludongo ndi tshinzhi vhukuma, lune u ḓo lwa nga nungo dzawe dzoṱhe u vhulunga ludongo lune a vha nalwo. Ndi ngazwo naho mbevha i ludongoni, a tshi ḓi ṱoḓa u rwa mbevha nga nḓila ine ludongo lu sa ḓo sala lwo kwashea ngauri u kwashea ha ludongo na u shululela zwiḽiwa fhasi, hu ḓo vha hu ndozwo khulu khae. Ngauralo, uyu muthu u sala a tshi timatima u rwa mbevha yo dzhenaho ludongoni. U timatima honohu ndi he Vhavenḓa vha hu sedza, vha mbo ḓi hu vhambedza na vhukonḓi vhune muthu a ṱangana naho musi a tshi khou tea u dzhia tsheo ine ya ḓo mu vhangela iṅwe thaidzo.

Hu ḓi nga na nga kholomo ya musanda, Vhavenḓa vha tea u vha vho zwi limuwa uri, arali vhamusanda vha songo ṋea ndaela ya uri kholomo yavho i khadelwe dangani ḽa musanda, muthu a songo sokou i khada, ngauri a nga ḓo wana vhamusanda vha tshi khou i ṱoḓa mafuloni. A tshi kha ḓi vha onoyo muthu muthihi, arali a vhona kholomo ya musanda, a i fhira, zwi a itea, ya vha yo xela nahone vhamusanda vha tshi khou i ṱoḓa. Ngauralo, arali zwa ḓivhea uri hu na muthu we a vhona kholomo ya musanda yo xelaho a si i khadele musanda, muthu onoyo u ḓo sinyusa vhamusanda lune tshigwevho tshawe tshi nga vha tshihulu vhukuma. Afha Vhavenḓa vho vha vho sedza vhushaka ha vhalanda na vhamusanda wavho, vha zwi limuwa uri a zwo ngo leluwa u takadza vhamusanda, saizwi u tshi ḓo ri u khou vha tonda ngeno hu hone u tshi khou vha sinyusa. Ngauralo, mirero ya Tshivenḓa i a livhanywa na zwa matshilisano vhukati ha vhalanda na vharangaphanḓa vhavho, nga maanḓa fhasi ha vhuhosi ha sialala.

■ Mvalatswinga

Vhavenḓa vha sika mirero vho sedza zwithu zwo fhambanaho, ho katelwa na u vhambedza maitele kana mvelo ya zwithu na ya vhathu. Vhavenḓa vha nga sedza vhuhwavho kana vhuhali ha ṋowa, vha mbo ḓiḓisendeka nga zwenezwo u sika murero une wa kaidza, u ṱuṱuwedza kana u holedza. Vha nga sedza vhuḓifari ha phukha, vha shumisa honoho vhuḓifari sa nḓila ya u khoḓa kana u goḓa vhuḓifari ha muthu. Kha ino ndima, ho tou ṋewa mavhala a nngwe hu u ṱoḓa u sumbedza uri mirero ya Tshivenḓa i sikwa, u shumiswa na u senguluswa nga nḓilaḓe. Vhaṅwe vhaṱoḓisisi vha nga angaladza ṱhoḓisiso ino nga u sengulusa mirero ya Tshivenḓa vho sedza uri Vhavenḓa vha sika hani mirero khathihi na u bveledza ṱhalutshedzo yayo vho sedza zwimela, mishonga, miraḓo ya muvhili wa muthu kana mivhili ya phukha na mirero i no shumisa maṱamba fhedzi ya ḓiṱanganedzwa na u shumiswa lushakani. Hu nga ḓi dovha ha itwa mbambedzo ya mirero ya Tshivenḓa na ya dziṅwe nyambo dza Afrika Tshipembe, nyambo dza mashangoni a nnḓa ha Afrika Tshipembe na ḽifhasi nga u angaredza hu u ṱoḓa u vhona uri idzi nyambo dzi sika hani mirero khathihi na ṱhalutshedzo dza hone.

Chapter 7

Swihlawulekisi swa tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso swa 'nyoka' eka Xitsonga

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Summary

This chapter, titled 'The semantic aspects of "snake" proverbs in Xitsonga', examines the semantic aspects of 'snake' proverbs in Xitsonga. It is acknowledged that although the traditional approach of studying proverbs expects every proverb to have at least one connotative generational meaning, proverbs can also be analysed in terms of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). In terms of this framework, rather than closed utterances, proverbs are appreciated as metaphorical expressions that lend themselves to the source-target domain enquiry. Five proverbs were collected from Junod (1990), and four Xitsonga academics from the Universities of Limpopo and Venda, Limpopo province, South Africa, participated in the study.

The data show that structurally, snake proverbs manifest themselves in three different types of syntactic constructions. Whereas declarative proverbs assert a state of affairs, imperative proverbs instruct the hearer to do or not to do something. This is in contrast with conditional proverbs,

How to cite: Kubayi, SJ 2025, 'Swihlawulekisi swa tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso swa "nyoka" eka Xitsonga', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 111–124. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.07

which are hypothetical in nature. At a semantical level, as opposed to the traditional approach, which construes proverbs as mono-semantic expressions, CMT is suggestive that proverbs are open to multiple interpretations. More specifically, the theory is demonstrative that by studying proverbs associated with a particular animal, knowledge of how that animal is viewed by members of a linguistic community is possible. From 'snake' proverbs, for example, it appears that a snake is regarded as an untrustworthy reptile at least by the participants of the study.

Abstract

Oral literature is manifested in diverse forms in African languages, including proverbs, which are embedded in discourse. Proverbs use objects, living or non-living, including animals. Among the animals are reptiles such as snakes, which are also varied in terms of types. Xitsonga is one among many languages that use snakes in proverbial expressions. Proverbs are connotative in that although they may use a snake, their meanings are extended to human beings. Traditionally, proverbs have one or more known or given meanings, which have been handed down generationally from the forbears. However, recently, evidence suggests that proverbs are not only connotative but also, more importantly, metaphorical. This implies that their meanings are open to multiple interpretations.

The aim of this chapter is to assess the applicability of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) in the analysis of proverbs in Xitsonga. In order to realise the plurality of meanings, CMT emphasises that proverbs can be analysed in terms of metaphor. Specifically, this chapter looks at 'snake' proverbs, that is, those that are associated with a snake. The study was underpinned by the qualitative research approach, which leads to an in-depth analysis of phenomena. The proverbs were collected from various sources, including Junod (1990), whose work is a collection of proverbs and their meanings in Xitsonga; the author, who is a native speaker of the language; and four academics from the Universities of Limpopo and Venda, Limpopo province, South Africa, who dedicated their time to share their understandings of the proverbs. There appear to be about 30 proverbs on snakes in Xitsonga. Five proverbs were conveniently selected in terms of their popularity in the public domain.

From the study, two main findings emerged. The first is that snake proverbs manifest themselves in three forms in Xitsonga: Declarative, imperative and conditional proverbs. The study further found that the proverbs are open to multiple interpretations. This is in contrast with the traditional approach, which sees proverbs as semantically closed expressions. Finally, it is recommended that further studies should dwell on proverbs in the rest of African languages for more insight into the workings of CMT as it applies to fixed expressions.

Manghenelo

Matsalwa ya ndhavuko ya avanyisiwile hi swiyengekulu swinharhu eka tindzimi ta Afrika hi ku angarhela (Raju 2015). Xo sungula i xiyenge xa ririmi ra masiku hinkwawo lexi tirhisaka swilo swo fana na swivulwa na mileriso leyi nga na nhlamuselo; ku landzela xiyengekulu lexi fambelanaka na matirhiselo ya ririmi ro koka miehleketo, kunga ririmi ra swigaririmi; kasi xo hetelela i xiyengekulu lexi tirhisaka ririmi ra swivulavulelo na swivuriso. Swivuriso swi tirhisa swiharhi swo hambanahambana, ku katsa na swikokovi, kunga swiharhi leswi nga riki na milenge kumbe leswi nga na milenge yo komela etlhelo (Schoor 2007), hikokwalaho swi famba hi ku kokova, ku kasa kumbe hi khwiri; swi tshikela mandza, swi tlhela swi va na magegetsu na mincila (Yakub 2019). Ku na tinxaka tinyingi ta swikokovi, ku katsa na tinyoka. Ndzima leyi yi hlela swivuriso leswi tirhisaka xikokovi xa nyoka.

Ku tshembiwa leswaku ndzima leyi yi ta pfuna vahlayi ku twisisa hilaha nyoka yi tekisiwaka xiswona hi Vantima va le Dzongeni wa Afrika, ngopfungopfu Vatsonga lava kumekaka eAfrika-Dzonga hi xitalo, eMozambique na le Zimbabwe. Vavuyeriwa va ndzima leyi va ta katsa vadyondzi ku suka eka tindyondzo ta le henhla na tiyunivhesithi ku ya fika eka vadyondzisi va vona tanihilaha va nga ta dyondza hilaha swivuriso swa nyoka swi humelerisaka tinhlamuselo ta swona hakona. Xikongomelokulu xa ndzima i ku xopaxopa hilaha hi nga fikelelaka tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso swa nyoka hi vunyingi bya tona hi ku tirhisa thiyiro ya nhlamuselo ya xigego (*conceptual metaphor theory*) kumbe CMT hi ku komisa.

Kutani, endzhaku ka ku hlaya ndzima leyi, u ta fanele ku kota ku:

- Lemuka xivumbeko xa swivuriso swa nyoka
- Hlamusela timitsu ta matirhelo ya CMT
- Xopaxopa tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso swa nyoka tanihilaha ti humelerisiwaka hakona hi thiyori ya CMT
- Xiya hilaha tinhlamuselonyingi ta swivuriso swa nyoka ti humelerisiwaka hakona
- Paluxa nhlamuselo leyi katsakanyaka tinhlamuselo hinkwato ta swivuriso swa nyoka eka Vatsonga.

Eka xiyenge lexi landzelaka, ku xopaxopiwa swivuriso swa nyoka na mitirho ya swona. Kusuka kwalaho, maendlelo ya ndzavisiso ya paluxiwa. Leswi swi landzela hi andlalo wa tinhlamuselo, kunga xiyenge lexi langutaka swivumbeko na vuhleri bya swivuriso swa nyoka. Leswi swi ta fikelerisa ndzavisiso eka mikumisiso ya swivuriso leswi hlawuriweke. Xo hetelela i ku gimeta ndzavisiso lowu hi ku songasonga mongo wa wona eka xiyenge xa mahetelelo.

Swivuriso na mitirho ya swona

Xivuriso, tanihi rixaka rin’wana ra mbulavulo, xi teka xivumbeko xa xivulwa lexi nga hetiseka (Gandara 2004). Hi marito man’wana, xivuriso xi languteriwa ku va na nhlokomhaka na riendli, kambe eka swivuriso swin’wana ku nga katsiwa na xiendliwa. Mbulavulo wa xivuriso wu paluxeka hi ku tirhisa swifaniso; hikokwalaho tinhlamuselo ta xona ti lava nhlavutelo lowu nga na miehleketo leyi enteke (Yakub 2019). Thwala (2017) u hlamusela xivuriso tanihi xivulwa lexi tirhaka ku boxa ntiyiso wa vutomi. Leswi swi vula leswaku xivuriso xo karhi xi na nhlamuselo yin’we kumbe timbirhi naswona leti tivekaka eka lava va tivaka ririmi hi ku hetiseka. Ku seketela mavonelo lawa, ku boxiwa leswaku ntirhokulu wa xivuriso i ku dyondzisa: hileswaku, swivuriso swi fuwile hi dyondzo (Sadikovna 2021; Yakub 2019).

Kambe Gandara (2004) u pima leswaku tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso a hi ta ntolovelo hikuva ti na vugego. Loko Myrdal (2019) a tshikilela mavonelo lama, u boxa leswaku hambiloko swi komba milawu ya mahanyelo ya siku rin’wana na rin’wana, hakanyingi swivuriso swi fuwile hi tinhlamuselovugego. Leswi i ku vula leswaku hambiloko xivuriso xi boxa ntiyiso hi ku landza ntokoto wa mahanyelo ya vanhu hi ndlela ya matimba yo tlula ririmi ra masiku hinkwawo (Fu 2008), nhlamuselo ya xona a yi le rivaleni (Barasa & Opande 2017; Muhammad & Rashid 2014). Nakambe, leswi swi komba leswaku tinhlamuselo ta xivuriso ti lava ku hlutiwa na ku hlavuteriwa.

Hikuya hi Lauhakangas (2007), rimitsu ra xivuriso i ‘tihlo ra vunharhu’. Hi marito man’wana, loko xivulavuri xi tirhisa xivuriso, xi hlohlotela vayingiseri, ngopfungopfu loko xivuriso xa kona ku ri lexi va xi tivaka (Schipper 1991), ku tekela mhaka ya xona (xivulavuri) enhlokweni hi ku tihumesa emhakeni leyi nga etafuleni kumbe eka nhlengeletano xi yi yisa eka xirho lexi nga tivekiki naswona lexi nga riki kona eka mbulavulo kumbe eka nhlengeletano. Hi ndlela leyi, xivuriso xi tirha tanihi milawu leyi bohiweke khale ku komba mahanyelo lamanene lama, ku ya hi xivulavuri, ya faneleke ku landzeleriwa (Sadikovna 2021). Xivuriso xi tlhela xi tirha tanihi mikhuva ya rixaka, swikholwakholwana, mfuwo wa rixaka, matitwelo, mintolovelo, matikhomelo hikuya hi rimbewu, na swin’wana na swin’wana (Barasa & Opande 2017; Lelli 2007; Thin 2020). Hi ndlela leyi, ntirho wa xivuriso i ku ololoxa swendlo leswo biha (Yakub 2019).

Mutshahi wa xivuriso u tihumesa emhakeni hi ku rhangisa ntshaho wa yena wa xivuriso hi marito yo fana na ‘vakhale va ri/te’, ‘vatolo va ri/te’, ‘vakokwana va ri/te’ ‘van’wana va ri/te’, ‘va le hansi va ri/te’ kumbe ‘va ri/te’. Kutani, handle ka ku khavisa ririmi, ku vuriwa leswaku swivuriso swi tlhela swi phofula vutlhari bya vakokwana na tihosi tanihi vativikulu (Liu 2013; Schipper 1991; Syzdykova 2014) va mfuwo wa rixaka (Fu 2008, p. 14); na ku tlhela swi komba matwisiselo na miehleketo ya vona (Gasanovaa, Magomedovaa & Gasanovaa 2016). Leswi i ku vula leswaku swivuriso i

xiphemu xa switsundzuxo swa ndlela leyinene leyi tivekaka. Hikokwalaho ku tirhisa swivuriso swi nyika xivulavuri ndzhuti na ku tiyisa mhaka ya yena (Schipper 1991). Xikombiso, xivuriso xi nga tirhisiwa hi mutswari ku lawula na ku tshinya n'wana (Arewa & Dundes 2011).

Nakambe, mhaka yo tirhisa xivuriso tanihi tihlo ra vunharhu yi komba leswaku tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso ti dzimile timitsu: ta tiveka. Handle kaloko u tirhisa xivuriso tanihi bulu, ku khavisa kumbe ku komba vutivi bya yena bya ririmi, mutshahi wa xivuriso u kholwa leswaku muyingiseri wa yi tiva nhlamuselo ya xivuriso lexi a xi tirhiseke. Hi ku tirhisa thiyori ya CMT, ndzima leyi yi rhamba vahlayi leswaku va langutisisa mhaka leyi hi tihlo ro anama. Loko swa ha ri tano, swa hlohletela ku lemuka leswaku ku na vatsari vambirhivanharhu lava nga hoxa tihlo eka swivuriso swa nyoka eAfrika-Dzonga na le ntsungeni wa malwandle.

Thwala (2017) u paluxa nyoka tanihi xin'wana xa swiharhi leswi tirhisiwaka ku komba ku pfumala ku tshembeka. Xikombiso, u boxa leswaku xivuriso xa Xiswati lexi xi nge '*udla mfundzambili njengemboma*' (u dya ematlhelo ka nambu hamambirhi ka wona ku fana na nyokamati) xi komba leswaku *mboma,* kunga nyokamati, yi nga tirhisa tlhelo rin'wana na rin'wana ra nambu ku humela ehandle hikuva ku hava xilo lexi nga yi sivelaka ku endla tano. Kutani xivuriso lexi xi nga tirhisiwa eka munhu loyi a tilavelaka swa yena a ri swakwe, loyi o ka a nga tshembekangi hikuva u endla ku rhandza ka yena nkarhi wun'wana na wun'wana.

Xivuriso xa vumbirhi xa nyoka xa Thwala (2017) i *ngiyokunika inyama yenyoka* (ndzi ta ku nyika nyama ya nyoka). Laha, nyoka yi fanisiwa na vuxungu lebyi tisaka khombo ra rifu. Hi ndlela leyi, ku tshembisiwa ku nyikiwa nyama ya xiharhi xa khombo na rifu swi vula ku xungetiwa ka vutomi bya munhu hi ku n'wi chavisa leswaku a nga endli mhaka yo karhi hikuva loko a ya emahlweni, u ta humeleriwa hi mhaka yo biha, ku fana na ku vavisiwa emirini kumbe ku lahlekeriwa hi vutomi bya yena. Hi ku komisa, hi mavonelo ya Thwala (2017), Maswati va vona nyoka tanihi xiharhi xo ka xi nga tshembekangi na swona lexi nga na khombo.

Ndzavisiso wa Yakub (2019) na wona wu tirhisa swivuriso swa nyoka eNzema, kunga ririmi leri vulavuriwaka eGhana. Xin'wana xa swivuriso xi ri 'loko u ri karhi u lava murhi wo tshungula loyi a lumiweke hi nyoka, u nga veketeli'. Mongo wa xivuriso lexi hi leswaku munhu u fanele ku papalata ku veketela ngopfungopfu loko a hlangana na mhangu kumbe xiyimo xa khombo. Leswi swi yelana na mhaka ya leswaku loko munhu a lumiwile hi nyoka, u fanele ku kuma vutshunguri hi xihatla, vuxungu bya yona byi nga si hangalaka na miri hikuva byi ta koxa vutomi bya yena. Leswi swi vula leswaku nyoka yi voniwa yi ri xiharhi xa khombo swinene. Xivuriso lexi xi seketela xivulavulelo xa Xitsonga lexi xi nge: xinamu xi dlele nkwahle, lexi na xona xi hlamuselaka leswaku ku veketela ku tala ku va na mbuyelo wo biha.

Ku yisa emahlweni, Matta (2021) u longoloxa swivuriso swa nyoka eEgipita, leswi swi kombaka tinyoka tanihi swikokovi swa khombo. Swin’wana swa swivuriso swa kona swi ri: ‘Loyi a lumiwaka hi nyoka u chava ncila wa yona’; ‘loyi a tlangaka na nyoka u ta lumiwa’; ‘loyi a tsakisaka nyoka u dlaya hi nyoka’; ‘loyi a tsakisaka nyoka a nga rivali rifu ra jaha ra yena’; ‘nyoka a yi rivali ku tsemiwa ka ncila wa yona’; ‘loko ri ri na nkateko, risokoti ri dlaya nyoka’; ‘a hi ti yimisele nyoka kambe hi rivala xipamu’ (ku tiyimisela ka munhu lonkulu wo biha mbilu swi endla leswaku munhu a rivala munhu lontsongo wo biha mbilu loyi a helaka a n’wi hlasela); ‘nyoka yi tswala xinyokana’ (xinyokana xi na khombo ku fana na mana wa xona); na ‘u chava xifufunhunu kutani a tlanga na nyoka’ (swa hlamarisa leswaku u chava xilo xo pfumala khombo ivi a tlanga na lexi nga na khombo). Hi ku katsakanya, swi le rivaleni leswaku nyoka yi langutiwa hi tihlo ra ximatsi tanihilaha yi tekiwaka tanihi xiharhi xa khomba eEgipita.

Xohetelela, Liu (2013) u fananisa swivuriso swa swiharhi eka tindzimi ta Xichayina na Xinghezi. Ndzavisiso wu kuma leswaku swivuriso swin’wana swa swiharhi eka tindzimi letimbirhi swa fana hi xivumbeko na nhlamuselo ya kona. Swa hlohletela ku vona leswaku swivuriso leswi swi tsemakanya mindzelekano ya rixaka na ya mfuwo wa rixaka. Xikombiso, eka tindzimi leti hatimbirhi ka tona, nyoka yi tekiwa tanihi xigevenga, xikhudani na muphangi.

I swa nkoka ku boxa leswaku ndzima leyi a yi lwisani na tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso leti paluxiweke etibukwini to fana na buku ya Junod (1990) na tindzhawu tin’wana. Kambe xikongomelo i ku tiyisisa tinhlamuselo leti na ku humesela ehandle hilaha tinhlamuselo leti na tin’wana havunyingi bya tona ti nga humelerisiwaka hakona. Kahlekahle, ndzima leyi yi langutisisa xivumbeko na vundzeni bya swivuriso tanihi mbulavulo wa ririmi lowu tinhlamuselo ta wona ti lavaka vuhleri. Hi ku vula leswi, ndzavisiso lowu wu lemuka maendlelo mantshwa yo humelerisa tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso leti nga riki na vugimamusi tanihi mfuwo wa rixaka lowu nga tshamangiki endzhawini yin’we kambe lowu fambaka na mikarhi. Ku engeta, maendlelo lama ya komba leswaku leswi faneleke ku dyondzisiwa ngopfungopfu etiyunivhesithi a hi swivuriso na tinhlamuselo ta swona leti nga hundzusiwa hi vakokwana hi malembe ya makwangala, kambe i hilaha swivuriso swi humelerisaka tinhlamuselo ta swona hakona. Enkarhini lowu, i swa nkoka ku languta thiyori ya CMT.

■ Thiyori ya ndzavisiso

Ku boxiwa leswaku swivuriso swi na tinhlamuselo ta vugego (Gandara 2004; Myrdal 2019). Kutani ku twisisa hi laha xivuriso xi humelerisaka tinhlamuselo ta xona hakona, swi fanerile ku twisisa hilaha xigego xi

hlamuseriwaka hakona hi ku xiya thiyori leyi hlamuselaka hilaha swigego swi nga ntlhatlhiwaka hakona. Lakoff (1993) u boxa leswaku xigego a hi mhaka ya ririmi na nkhaviso wa rona ntsena, kambe xi tlhela xi khumba miehleketo na matirhiselo ya rona. Lakoff na Johnson (1980) va tumbuluxile thiyori yo hlamusela hilaha xigego xi tirhaka hakona. Thiyiro leyi, leyi vuriwaka thiyiro ya nhlamuselo ya xigego (*conceptual metaphor theory*) kumbe CMT hi ku komisa, yi boxa leswaku xigego xi na ntikelo wo tlula swigaririmi hinkwaswo hi ku angarhela hikuva tinhlamuselo ta xona ti navile naswona timitsu ta xona ti fikelela ntokoto wa miehleketo ya munhu hi ku enta ka yona (Yakub 2019). Hi marito man'wana, ririmi ra vugego ri boxa timhaka ta nkhuluko wa mbulavulo wa siku rin'wana na rin'wana hi ku kongoma.

Hikuya hi CMT, xivuriso xi nga xopaxopiwa hi ku pananisa swilo swimbirhi: xitikoxihlovo (*source domain*) na xitikoxikongomisiwa (*target domain*) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; *vona na* Chauke 2017). Xitikoxihlovo i nchumu kumbe michumu leyi tirhisiwaka ku hlamusela xitikoxikongomisiwa. Nchumu i xilo lexi twiwaka hi switwi hikuva wu nga khomiwa hi mavoko, voniwa hi mahlo, kumbe ku twiwa hi tindleve, sweswosweswo. Xitikoxikongomisiwa i xianakanyiwa hikuva swilo swa kona swo anakanyiwa kunene (Barasa & Opande 2017; Muhammad & Rashid 2014). Kutani swivuriso swi nga hlutiwa hi ku pananisa kumbe ku hlanganisa xitikoxihlovo na xitikoxikongomisiwa ivi xitikoxikongomisiwa xi teka xivumbeko xa xikotixihlovo (Yakub 2019). Hi ndlela leyi swihlawulekisi swa xitikoxihlovo swi tirhisiwa ku twisisa swihlawulekisi swa xitikoxikongomisiwa. A swi kanakanisi leswaku thiyori leyi yi ba nhloko ya mhaka mayelana na vuhleri bya swivuriso hikuva ku fana na swigego, swivuriso swi tirhisa swilo swo fana na swiharhi (Yakub 2019). Kutani, thiyori leyi ya vuyerisa eku hlutiweni na le ku hleriweni ka swivuriso swa nyoka na swivuriso leswin'wana hi ku angarhela hikuva yi komba leswaku a hi ntiyiso leswaku xivuriso xin'wana na xin'wana xi na nhlamuselo yin'we naswona leyi tivekaka.

■ Maendlelo ya ndzavisiso

Ndzima leyi yi tirhisile endlelo ra vulavisisi leri vuriwaka endlelo ra nkoka (*qualitative approach*). Eka endlelo leri, timhakamhisi leti endlaka xiphemu xa ndzavisiso ti teka xivumbeko xa marito kungari tihlayonhlayo, naswona mhakakulu ya vuhleri lebyi endliwaka eka ndzavisiso wa muxaka lowu i ku fikelela vuenti bya tinhlamuselo ta timhakambisi (Neuman 2012). Xavumbirhi, endlelo ra nkoka ri pfumelela mulavisisi ku va muhlengeleti na muhleri wa timhakamhisi hi nkarhi wun'we (Creswell 2013). Hikokwalaho swivuriso leswi hoxiweke tihlo ra vuhleri eka ndzima leyi swi hlengeletiwile hi tindlela timbirhi.

Eka ndlela leyi yo sungula, swivuriso swi huma eka buku ya Junod (1990), loyi a nga hlengeleta swivuriso swa Xitsonga hi ku hambanahambana ka swona. Ebukwini leyi, handle ka tinhlamuselo, swivuriso swi tlhela swi nyikiwa vuhundzuluxi eka ririmi ra Xinghezi. Eka ndlela ya vumbirhi, swivuriso na tinhlamuselo ta swona leti ti tivekaka swi hlengeletiwile hi mutsari tanihilaha a an'weke ririmi ra Xitsonga hi ku tirhisana na valeteri va Xitsonga va mune ku suka eTiyunivhesithi ta Limpopo na Venda. Ku tirhisiwa ka valeteri lava tanihi vatekaxiave ku tlhela ku ri ndlela yo tiyisisa tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso tanihilaha ti tivekaka hakona. Valeteri lava hinkwavo a va ri va xinuna handle ka un'we. Vambirhi a va ri na malembe yo ka ya nga hundzi 40 hi vukhale na ntokoto wa vona wa vuleteri bya Xitsonga a wu nga hundzi 20 wa malembe. Lavambirhi lava va saleke a va ri na malembe yo hundza 50 hi vukhale na ntokoto wa vuleteri wo tlula 20 wa malembe.

Ku na swivuriso swo tlula 30 leswi vulavulaka hi nyoka eka Xitsonga (Junod 1990), kambe ndzima leyi yi ta hlela swivuriso swa ntlhanu ntsena hikuva xikongomelo i ku lemukisa hilaha thiyori leyi yi nga tirhisiwaka hakona ku humelerisa tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso swa nyoka. Swivuriso swa kona hileswi landzelaka: 'nyoka a yi na xinyokani'; 'n'wana wa nyoka i nyoka'; 'nyoka yo yi vona a yi lumi'; 'nhonga ya le kule a yi dlayi nyoka'; na 'nyoka a yi landziwi enceleni'. Xiyenge lexi nga laha hansi xi andlala vuhleri bya swivuriso leswi.

Andlalo wa vuhleri bya swivuriso swa nyoka

Xiyenge lexi xi andlala vuhleri bya swivuriso swa nyoka hi ku paluxa xivumbeko xa swona, na ku xopaxopa tinhlamuselo ta swona hi ku landzelela mianakanyo ya CMT.

Xivumbeko xa swivuriso swa nyoka

Swivuriso swa nyoka swi kumeka hi swivumbeko swinharhu. Rixaka ro sungula ri teka xivumbeko xa nhlayelo ra kombiso (Golele 2013). Swivuriso swa muxaka lowu swi vonaka hi maviti mimbirhimbirhi. Eka xivuriso xa 'nyoka a yi na xinyokani', maviti ya kona i 'nyoka' na 'xinyokana'; eka 'n'wana wa nyoka i nyoka', maviti ya kona i rito 'nyoka' hamatlhelo lamambirhi. Riviti ro sungula eka xivuriso xa 'nyoka yo yi vona a yi lumi' i 'nyoka', kasi lera vumbirhi, ku nga 'munhu', ri tumberile na swona ku fikelela rona, hi fanele ku ri anakanya kunene. Maviti ya swivuriso leswi swi nharhu ya nga tlhela ya kombisiwa hi ndlela leyi yi landzelaka eka Tafula 7.1 laha hansi:

TABLE 7.1: Maviti ya swivuriso swa nyoka swa nhlayelo ra kombiso.

Xivuriso	Riviti 1	Riviti 2
Nyoka a yi na xinyokana	*nyoka*	*xinyokani*
N'wana wa nyoka i nyoka	*n'wana wa nyoka*	*nyoka*
Nyoka yo yi vona a yi lumi	*nyoka*	*(munhu)*

Source: Author's own work.

Swivuriso swa nyoka swi nga tlhela swi teka xivumbeko xa nhlayelo ra ndzeriso hikuva swivuriso swa kona swi lerisa vayingiseri leswaku va endla kumbe va nga endli nchumu wo karhi. Swivuriso swinyingi swa muxaka lowu swi le ka tlhelo ra nandzulo wa xileriso, naswona swi katsa swivuriso swo fana na 'u nga dlayi nyoka u ndzuluta ta mincele ta ku vona'; 'u nga landzi nyoka enkeleni wa yona'; na 'u nga hleki nyoka loko yi famba hi khwiri'.

Rixaka ro hetelela ra swivuriso swa nyoka ri nga thyiwa 'swivuriso swa loko' (*if/conditional proverbs*) hikuva xivuriso xa kona xi teka xivumbeko xa 'loko' laha xi kombaka leswaku ku humelela kumbe ku endliwa ka mhaka yo karhi swi ta susumetiwa hi mhaka yin'wana leyi faneleke ku rhanga yi humelela kumbe ku endliwa. Swivuriso swa muxaka lowu swi avanyisiwile hi swiphemu swimbirhimbirhi. Xikombiso, eka xivuriso lexi nge 'loko u phasa nyoka a yi ve nyama', swi le rivaleni leswaku nyoka yi nga hundzuka nyama ntsena loko yo rhanga hi ku phasiwa; kasi eka xivurisio 'loko u chava ku lumiwa vana munghana wa nyoka', ku na ndlela yin'we ntsena yo va munhu a chava ku lumiwa hi nyoka: u fanele ku va munghana wa yona. Handle ka xivumbeko, swivuriso swa nyoka swi na tinhlamuselo leti nga ta hleriwa hi ku landzelela thiyori ya CMT tanihilaha yi andlariweke hakona laha ehenhla.

Vuhleri bya swivuriso swa nyoka

Ku fikelela xikongomelokulu xa ndzavisiso, swa vuyerisa ku rhanga hi ku andlala xivuriso xa kona; ivi sweswo swi landzeriwa hi ku aneka vugego lebyi humelerisiwaka hi xivuriso; kutani ku kombiwa xitikoxihlovo na xitikoxikongomisiwa swa vugego bya kona. Ku suka kwalaho, ku ta landzela tinhlamuselo ta xivuriso hi laha CMT yi letelaka hakona. Swivuriso swo sungula swi ta hleriwa nkarhi wun'we hikuva swi na xivumbeko lexi yelanaka.

Swivuriso 1 na 2: Nyoka a yi na xinyokana/ n'wana wa nyoka i nyoka.

Xigego: Xinyokana i nyoka.

Xitikoxihlovo: Nyoka yi na khombo; yi bihe mbilu; n'wana wa nyoka u vuriwa xinyokani lexi nga na khombo kumbe ku biha mbilu hikuva na xona xi na vuxungu.

Xitikoxikongomisiwa: Munhu u na khombo; vanhu lava tsongo na vona va na khombo tanihi vanhu lavakulu.

Nhlamuselo: Ku nga tshahiwa xigego xin’we eka swivuriso swa 2 na 3 laha henhla, lexi nge ‘xinyokana i nyoka’. I swa nkoka ku lemuka leswaku xinyokana i nyoka le yi tsongo. Leswi swi vula leswaku tanihiloko nyoka yi ri na khombo, na xinyokana xi tano hikuva na xona xi na vuxungu. Kutani ku tekela munhu ehansi hikwalaho ka vutsongo bya yena swi nga nghenisa munhu ekhombyeni. Leswi i ku vula leswaku i swa nkoka ku tivonela eka khombo leri nga vangiwaka hi munhu swi nga yi hi xiyimo xa malembe ya yena. Ku va na khombo swi na nhlamuselo ya vumbirhi ya leswaku munhu wa kona u bihe mbilu. Loko munhu a bihe mbilu, swi languteriwa leswaku na vana va yena va nga va na timbilu to biha. Kutani xivuriso lexi xi tirhisiwa ku tsundzuxa vanhu ku tivonela eka vana va vatswari va khombo kumbe vo biha timbilu hikuva swa endleka va tekele vatswari va vona. Xivuriso lexi xi na mavizweni eEgipita (Matta 2021) lexi nge: ‘nyoka yi tswala xinyokana’ (xinyokana xi na khombo ku fana na mana wa xona).

Xivuriso 3: Nyoka yo yi vona a yi lumi.

Xigego: Nyoka i meno ya yona.

Xitikoxihlovo: Nyoka yi na meno, ya luma; yi na khombo. Loko wo rhanga u yi vona, a yi swi koti ku ku luma hikuva yi khoma hi tingana, kumbe yi hleketa leswaku u ta yi lwisa, a ya ha ri na matimba; loko u yi vona, a ya ha ri na khombo. Nyoka ya tumbela loko yi famba, na swigingi a yi bi hikuva a yi na milenge, hikokwalaho yi na khombo. Kambe loko wo rhanga u yi vona, a ya ha ri na khombo.

Xitikoxikongomisiwa: Munhu u na khombo/vubihi; kambe loko wo n’wi tivela a nga swi koti ku ku vavisa hikuva u hela matimba. Munhu u na vugevenga, manyala kumbe vukungundwana naswona u endla swilo leswi hi ku tumbela, kambe loko o vonaka, a nga ha swi koti ku ya emahlweni na vugevenga, manyala kumbe vukungundwana bya yena.

Nhlamuselo: Xigego xa xivuriso lexi nga laha henhla xi nga ha pfelerisiwa tanihi ‘nyoka i meno ya yona’. Mitirho ya meno yi katsa ku cakunya swakudya na ku luma. Kutani loko wo yi gula meno, nyoka a yi nga swi koti ku luma. Xivuriso lexi xi na tinhlamuselo tinyingi, leti katsaka leswaku munhu u na khombo leri hi faneleke ku tivonela eka rona, kambe leri hungutanaka loko ho hatlisa hi n’wi lemuka. Xavumbirhi, munhu a nga luka kungu ro endla swilo swo biha, vukanganyisi, vugevenga kumbe ku vavisa van’wana exihundleni. Kambe loko ho n’wi tlharihela hi tiva xihundla xa yena, a nge swi koti ku ya emahlweni na vubihi, vukanganyisi kumbe ku vavisa van’wana. Hiloko a tsandzekile hikuva a nge he swi koti ku fikelerisa kungu ra yena hikuva u ta va a humeseriwile ehandle. Ku ta va vuphukuphuku ku va mukanganyisi a ya emahlweni na kungu ra yena a karhi a tiveka hikuva wa swi tiva leswaku vanhu va tiyimeserile na ku tilulamisela ku lwa na yena loko o tshuka a ya emahlweni a endla swo huma endleleni.

Xivuriso lexi xi nga tirha na le mugangeni kumbe etikweni hi ku angarhela. Xikombiso, Afrika-Dzonga namuntlha ri tale hi manyala na vukungundwana hikuva swigevenga na swikhudana swi anakanya leswaku a swi voniwi naswona a swi nga kumeki. Loko swo lemuka leswaku swa voniwa kumbe ku tiveka, a swi nga yi emahlweni na manyala kumbe vukungundwana bya swona. Hikokwalaho, matiko ya thola vanhu lava va tirhaka eka xiyenge xa vuhlori leswaku va nghenelela na ku hangunuxa vugevenga byi nga si humelela.

Xivuriso 4: Nhonga ya le kule a yi dlayi nyoka.

Xigego: Nyoka i nhonga (ya le kusuhi).

Xitikoxihlovo: Nhonga i xisirhelelo/ntlhari hikuva yi nga tirhisiwa ku tisirhelela eka valala, ku katsa na tinyoka. Kambe nhonga yi kota ku tirha ntsena loko yi ri kusuhi na laha yi fikelelekaka. Nyoka yi na khombo/vuxungu; yi nga kotiwa hi nhonga. Loko vanhu va vona nyoka, va lava ku yi dlaya hi xibye xin'wana na xin'wana lexi xi nga kusuhi, ku katsa na nhonga. Nhonga i xitirhisiwa ku fana na ntlhari, leri ri nga tirhisiwaka enkarhini wa khombo ku fana na loko vutomi bya munhu byi ri eka nxungeto wo herisiwa hi swikokovi swa khombo ku fana na tinyoka.

Xitikoxikongomisiwa: Khale nhonga a yi tirhisiwa ku tshega rivanti; na ku tiseketela hi yona loko munhu a ri na swivavi kumbe a dyuharile. Nhonga i xitirhisiwa ku fana na swin'wana switirhisiwa leswi tirhisiwaka hi munhu ku fikelela swikongomelo swo hambanahambana. Nhonga yi nyika matimba. Nyoka i khombo, ya luma na ku dlaya.

Nhlamuselo: Eka xivuriso lexi nga laha henhla, swa koteka ku fikelela xigego lexi nge: 'nyoka i nhonga'. Nhonga na nyoka ha swimbirhi ka swona i xitikoxihlovo xa xigego. Nhonga a yi swi koti ku tirha hi yoxe hikuva i xibye lexi tirhisiwaka hi munhu ku tisirhelela ku fana na ntlhari. Khale ka masiku ku nga si va na maloko, nhonga a yi tirhisiwa ku tshega kumbe ku goga rivanti ku tisirhelela eka swigevenga, swikhudani, swifamona na vakanganyisi, ku katsa na tinyoka hi toxe. Muti lowu a wu pfumala nhonga a wu nga hlayisekangi kumbe ku sirheleleka. Handle ka ku tshega kumbe ku goga rivanti, nhonga yi tirhisiwa tanihi ntlhari eka valala. Nhonga yi nga tlhela yi tirhisiwa ku tiseketela hi yona hi vavabyi va milenge kumbe tinyonga, kumbe hi vadyuhari. Loko nhonga yi nga ri kona, muvabyi kumbe mudyuhari a nga swi koti ku famba. Hi ndlela leyi, nhonga yi tirha tanihi nenge wa vunharhu.

Nhonga yi tirhisiwa hi munhu ku n'wi nyika matimba. Kutani, ku va na nhonga swi fana na ku va na matimba, vusirheleri na vuhlayiseki. Loko munhu a pfumala swisirhelelo u hava matimba. Mhaka ya leswaku nhonga yi tirhisiwa hi munhu swi vula leswaku yi fana kumbe ku tlula na xirho kumbe xiphemu xa yena lexi xi n'wi tiyisaka. Munhu un'wana na un'wana u hanya hi

ku tiyisiwa, seketeriwa, sirheleriwa na ku hlayisiwa hi van'wana vanhu lava va n'wi nyikaka matimba. Leswi swi hi tsundzuxa xivuriso lexi nge 'ndlopfu i xakwa'. Hi tiya hi van'wana vanhu lava nga kusuhi na hina. Hi tlhela hi tsundzuka mavonelo ya *ubuntu* lama nge: munhu i munhu hi van'wana vanhu (Mabvurira 2020).

Vanhu va kota ku avelana kumbe ku nyikana matimba hi tindlela tinyingi. Ndlela yo sungula i ku aka vuxaka na swirho swa ndyangu na vaakelana kumbe vamakhelwana lava khumbhekaka hi vutomi bya wena. Ya vumbirhi i ku endla vuxaka na vatirhikuloni lava mi avanelanaka matirhelo na miehleketo. Na loko vanghana va cincana tinomboro ta tifoni ivi va hamba va pfuxelana, ka ha ri ndlela yo tshunelelana na ku nyikana matimba. Leswi i ku vula leswaku vanhu lava ku seketelaka va tekiwa tanihi nhonga leyi u yi vekaka enyongeni. Laha hi vulavula hi swirho swa ndyangu leswi swi khumbhekaka hi vutomi bya wena. Va katsa vanhu lava nga kusuhi na wena hi matshamelo lava va ku nyikaka nseketelo na matimba; i vatirhikuloni lava va nga kusuhi na wena hi matirhelo; na vanghana lava mi avelanaka vutomi. I vanhu lava lavaka ku tiva na ku nghenelela hi moya wo pfuna eka rihanyo, tidyondzo, mikhuva na mintolovelo ya wena. Hi ku angarhela, xivuriso lexi xi komba leswaku vutomi byi le ka vanhu lava nga kusuhi na wena emoyeni, enyameni na le timalini, sweswosweswo. Hikokwalaho dyondzo ya xivuriso hi leswaku i swa nkoka ku tekela vanhu lava yisaka vutomi bya wena emahlweni hi tindlela tin'wana na tin'wana leti va kotaka tona.

Xivuriso 5: Nyoka a yi landziwi enceleni.

Xigego: Nyoka i ncele.

Nyoka i tinyoka letin'wana eminceleni.

Xitikoxihlovo: I swa nkoka ku engeta leswaku nyoka yi na khombo; yi tshama enceleni laha ku nga na munyama – lowu fananisiwaka na ndhawu ya khombo. Nyoka yi na matimba enceleni laha yi tshamaka kona. Nyoka yi tshama na tin'wana tinyoka leti fanaka na yona hi matimba kumbe mahanyelo. Ku nghena enceleni wa nyoka i ku ti vangela khombo, na ku ya tshama na tinyoka emiceleni i ku ya dyondza mahanyelo na mikhuva ya tinyoka.

Xitikoxikongomisiwa: Vanhu va na khombo; va tshama emakaya ya vona laha va nga na matimba kona. Kutani ku landza nala ekaya ra yena i ku tivangela khombo. Ku ya tshama na munhu ekaya ra yena i ku ya tivangela swiphiqo kumbe ku ya dyondza mahanyelo kumbe mikhuva ya yena, ngopfungopfu lamo biha.

Nhlamuselo: Xigego lexi hi nga xi vumbaka hi xivuriso lexi nga laha henhla xi ri: 'nyoka i ncele'. Xin'wana xi ri: 'nyoka i tinyoka letin'wana emiceleni'. Hi ku landzelela xigego lexi, xivuriso xi humelerisa tinhlamuselo timbirhi.

Yo sungula hileswaku munhu u na matimba emutini wa yena laha a tshamaka kona. Matimba lama ya tisiwa hikuva u tiva jarata hinkwaro ra muti wa yena hi ku hetiseka, ku katsa na tikhona ta rona na laha ku nga tumbela magoji, mitwa, sweswosweswo. U tiva na swibye hinkwaswo leswi a nga swi tirhisaka ku tilwela. Tlhandlakambirhi, u na nseketelo wa vamakhelwani na swirho swa muti wa yena. Kutani loko u n'wi pfuka emutini wa yena a nga ku vavisa kumbe ku koxa vutomi bya wena. Hi ndlela leyi, vanhu lava tlhariheke va fambela ekule na vahlampfa, switaswifamba na valala kumbe miti ya vona.

Nhlamuselo ya vumbirhi yi komba leswaku vanhu va na mahanyelo na mikhuva ya vona vinyi emitini ya vona. Yan'wana ya mahanyelo lama hi lama yo biha kumbe lama kombaka vanhu va timbilu to biha. Loko munhu a teka xiboho xo hanya na vanhu va mahanyelo kumbe timbilu to biha, na yena u ta sungula ku hanya tano. Loko vanhu lava va ri swigevenga, na yena swi ta va tano. Hambiloko a nga tekeleli mahanyelo lama yo biha, van'wana va ta n'wi vonisa sweswo hikwalaho ko hanya na vanhu valavo. Hi nhlamuselo leyi, xivuriso lexi xi nga tlhela xi va xitsundzuxo xo tshinya vana ku papalata vanghana vo ka va nga ri na mahanyelo. Xi vula leswaku vana va fanele ku hlawula vanghana lavanene na ku tivonela eka lavo biha timbilu.

■ Mikumisiso

Ku gimeta ndzima leyi, i swa nkoka ku lemuka leswaku mikumisiso yi komba leswaku ku na tinxaka tinharhu ta swivuriso swa nyoka. Swivuriso swa nhlayelo ra kombiso; swivuriso swa nhlayelo ra ndzeriso; na 'swivuriso swa loko'. Hi ntolovelo, xivuriso xi tekiwa xi ri na nhlamuselo leyi tivekaka, naswona leyi nga cinciki. Kambe eka ndzima leyi, hi vonile hilaha swivuriso swa nyoka swi kotaka ku hleriwa hi ku landza swiletelo swa CMT tanihilaha Lakoff na Johnson (1980) va bumabumelaka thiyori ya vona hakona. *Conceptual metaphor theory* yi komba leswaku xivuriso xi fanele ku tekiwa tanihi xigego. Matirhelo ya xigego i ku tlhontlha vuenti bya miehleketo, ntokoto na vutivi bya mfuwo wa rixaka wa munhu, ku katsa na ntokoto wa ririmi, rimbewu, vukhale bya yena, vukhongeri, xiyimo xa dyondzo, sweswosweswo. *Conceptual metaphor theory* yi humesa vumbhoni bya leswaku swivuriso swa nyoka swi na tinhlamuselonyingi tanihilaha swigego swi nga xiswona. Leswi swi komba leswaku swivuriso swa Xitsonga hi ku angarhela swi nga hleriwa hi ku landzelela swiletelo swa CMT.

Thiyori ya CMT loko yi tirhisiwa ku hlela swivuriso swa nyoka yi tlhele yi hi dyondzisa leswaku nyoka i xiharhi xa njhani hikuya hi Vatsonga. Hambi loko mhaka leyi yi nga heleri laha, swi le rivaleni leswaku swigego leswi peperhiweke eka swivuriso swa nyoka swi komba leswaku xiharhi lexi xi tekiwa xi ri na khombo, xi ri na xitumbelelani, xi ri mukanganyisi ku katsa na vugevenga. Kutani hi ku tirhisa swivuriso swa xikokovi lexi, xivulavuri xi

nga tlhela xi komba vubihi bya mbilu ya munhu loyi xivuriso xi kongomisiweke eka yena. Hi hala tlhelo, ku nga ha vuriwa leswaku swivuriso swa nyoka swa tsundzuxa, dyondzisa na ku lemukisa hi ta mahanyelo lamanene na lamo biha.

Mahetelelo

Hi ku katsakanya, xikongomelokulu xa ndzima leyi a ku ri ku xopaxopa hilaha tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso swa nyoka ha tinyingi ka tona ti nga humelerisiwaka hakona eka Xitsonga hi ku tirhisa CMT. Ku tshembiwa leswaku ndzima leyi yi swi kotile ku fikelela xikongomelokulu hikuva yi kombisile hilaha swivuriso swa nyoka swi nga riki na swivumbeko swo hambanahambana ntsena, kambe swi tlhela swi va na tinhlamuselo leti nga riki na mpimo hi vunyingi bya tona. Leswi swi vonaka hikuva, hi ku tirhisa CMT, ndzima leyi yi swi kotile ku hluta swigego ku suka eka swivuriso swa nyoka yi tlhela yi swi (swigego) tirhisa ku humelerisa tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso havunyingi bya tona. Swigego leswi hlutiweke eka swivuriso leswi swi tlhele swi kombisa hilaha xikokovi xa nyoka xi tekisiwaka xiswona hi Vatsonga.

I swa nkoka ku lemuka leswaku ndzima leyi yi hlerile swivuriso swa nyoka swa ntlhanu ntsena eka swa kwalomuya ka 30 hikuva xikongomelo a ku nga ri ku xiya swivuriso hinkwaswo hi xin’wexin’we, kambe a ku ri ku lemukisa hilaha CMT yi nga kotaka ku humelerisa tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso ha vunyingi bya tona hi ku tirhisa swivuriso swa nyoka. Leyi i mhaka ya nkoka hikuva leswi swi vula leswaku tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso a ti kumeki ha vunyingi ntsena, kambe ta cinca hikuya hi mikarhi naswona ti nga hambana hikuya hi ntokoto na vutivi bya muhleri. Swidyondzeki leswi baseke tinhloko hi ku ehleketa swi nga humelerisa tinhlamuselo tin’wana to enta ta swivuriso leswi ku nga kaneriwa hi swona eka ndzima leyi. Hi nga vula handle ka ku tipfinyinga leswaku ka ha ri na ndzima yo leha leyi faneleke ku rimiwa mayelana na tinhlamuselo ta swivuriso eka ririmi rerhu na tindzimi ta Afrika hi ku angarhela. Leyi i mhaka leyi valavisisi van’wana va nga navelaka ku hoxa xandla eka yona ku yisa emahlweni.

Chapter 8

UNongqawuse! Uhlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo yombhalingqangi kusetyensiwa imodeli kaHouse[2]

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Summary

The Wrath of the Ancestors (Jordan 1980) is a self-translation of one of the classics in Xhosa literature. It was published 40 years after its source text *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (Jordan 1940) in response to Lovedale Press's request that it be translated for non-speakers of isiXhosa. The purpose of the translation was to introduce non-Xhosa-speaking communities to Xhosa culture. A novel is a unique genre that is informative, educational and entertaining, all of which must be recreated in the translation. Assessing the translation of a literary text such as a novel ingrained in culture is not

2. Some sections in this chapter are based on an unpublished presentation, 'Preserving intercultural wisdom in the age of digitalisation: Unlocking the treasures of diversity through a multilingual proverbs dictionary project', presented at the 4th Triennial School of Arts (SOA) Conference, Sun City Resort, North West province, South Africa, 16–20 October, 2023.

How to cite: Nokele, B 2025, 'UNongqawuse! Uhlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo yombhalingqangi kusetyensiwa imodeli kaHouse', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 125–143. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.08

uncommon in translation studies. However, it is relatively rare to assess a self-translation of such a work. The translation's use of English, the author's second language, added to the study's enlightening value. As such, this chapter, titled 'Nongqawuse! A quality assessment of the English translation of *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya, The Wrath of the Ancestors*, using House's model', assessed the quality of a self-translated novel from isiXhosa into English, using House's (2014) functional-pragmatic model of translation quality assessment and Baker's (2011) strategies for translating fixed expressions. The assessment focused on whether the translation purpose was fulfilled, paying particular attention to the translation of proverbs.

In his effort to remain loyal to the target audience and create a functional translation, Jordan adopted a literal translation approach. Domesticating the text would obscure how amaXhosa people lived, spoke and conceptualised life. By using direct translations or borrowing from the source language, Jordan preserved the foreignness of the original text and the proverbs. Despite the structural differences between the source and the target texts, the plots are the same.

Abstract

Writing a novel is a unique creative skill. To translate a novel requires more creativity because the translator assumes the position of the original novelist. A novel is a special kind of genre that is informative, educational and entertaining, all of which must be recreated in the translation. Assessing the translation of a literary text like a novel has become a common activity in translation studies. However, assessing a self-translation is rather scarce. This chapter assesses the quality of a self-translated novel from isiXhosa into English, a language that is different and unrelated, using House's (2014) functional-pragmatic model of translation quality assessment. The assessment also focuses on the fulfilment of the purpose of translation with special reference to the translation of proverbs. Following a qualitative approach and content analysis, House's model of quality assessment and Baker's strategies for translating fixed expressions were applied on *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (Jordan 1940) and its translation, *The Wrath of Ancestors* (Jordan 1980). The findings revealed that by using foreignisation, the translator fulfilled the brief and the purpose of the translation. Although there are structural differences between the two novels, the plot is the same. Jordan retained the foreign culture in the book and the translation of proverbs by opting for literal translation or borrowing the source language expressions. It is recommended that House's model be applied in other self-translated works.

Amagqabantshintshi

Ukubhala inoveli sisakhono esisodwa sobugcisa nobuchule. Ukuguqulela inoveli kolunye ulwimi kuyedlulisa ukufuna ubuchwepheshe kuba kufuneka

umguquleli angene ezihlangwini zombhalingqangi. Inoveli luhlobo olulodwa lwembalo, olufundisayo nolonwabisayo, okanye oluthunuka izivo zomlesi, nto ezo ekufuneka umguquleli angaphulukani nazo kwinguqulelo yakhe. Ukuhlolwa kwenguqulelo yenoveli yinto eqhelekileyo kwizifundo zoguqulelo bunzululwazi. Kodwa uhlolo lwenguqulelo eyenziwe ngumbhali wenoveli yentsusa, asinto ivamileyo ukwenzeka. Ingxam yesi sahluko kukuphononononga nzulu umgangatho wenguqulelo yenoveli ebhalwe ngesiXhosa yaze yasiwa esiNgesini, ulwimi lwasemzini nolunenkcubeko eyahluke mpela kweyamaXhosa, nguqulelo leyo eyenziwe kwangumbhali wenoveli ngokwakhe, kusetyenziswa imodeli kaHouse (2014) yohlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo eyaziwa ngokuba yi*Functional-Pragmatic model*. Olu phononongonzulu luqwalasela ngokukodwa umgangatho wenguqulelo ngokubhekiselele ekufezekisweni kwenjongo yenguqulelo, kujoliswe ikakhulu kwinguqulelo yezaci namaqhalo njengemibhobho yenkcubeko. UHouse (2014) kule modeli yakhe yohlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo entlantluntathu, ucebisa ukuphicothwa kwembalo yentsusa, ukuphicothwa kwembalo yenguqulelo kunye nokuthelekiswa kwezi mbalo kuqwalaselwe umahluko ophakathi kwazo. Le modeli ikwagxininisa ukubaluleka kokufezekiswa kwenjongo yenguqulelo. Ngokulandela indlela yophandonzulu echazayo ekuthiwa yi*Qualitative approach* ngesiNgesi, ephendlisisa amaxwebhu okanye iimbalo, kuhlalutywe ezi noveli zimbini *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (Jordan 1940) nethi *The Wrath of the Ancestors* (Jordan 1980) kusetyenziswa le modeli kaHouse (2014) yohlolo kunye neengcebiso zikaBaker (2011) ezimalunga nokukhawulelana nemingeni yokunqatyelwa ngamaqhalo afanelekileyo kulwimi ekuguqulelwa kulo. Iziphumo zohlalutyonzulu zidandalazise ukuba ukuze kufezekiswe iminqweno yomzi wopapasho, umbhalimguquleli usebenzise indlela yokuguqulela egcina ulwimi nenkcubeko yembalo yentsusa ekuthiwa lufudusontsingiselo yentsusa (*foreignisation*) ekuguquleni isakhiwo sebali kunye namaqhalo nezaci. Ngaphezu koko kuhlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo iyonke kufumaniseke ukuba imodeli kaHouse iyasebenziseka kwaye kucetyiswa ukuba ilingwe nakwezinye iinguqulelo abazenzela ngokwabo ababhalingqangi.

■ Imbulambethe

Kunqabile ukufumana incwadi ebhalwe ngesiNtu iguqulelwe esiNgesini. Kuxhaphake uguqulelo lweencwadi zesiNgesi zisiwe kwiilwimi zesiNtu. Kungoko olu phandonzulu lulolukhethekileyo nolunika umdla. Okwenza umdla ngakumbi kukuba umbhali wenoveli yentsusa nomguquleli ngumntu omnye. UMadolo (2021) umthiya igama elithi *mguqulelimbhali* umntu owenza inguqulelo kuba xa eguqulela imbalo kolunye ulwimi uyila elakhe ibali okanye imbalo. Xa sithathela kule ngcamango kaMadolo (2021) kufanelekile ukuba nakule meko umguquleli athiywe igama lokuba

ngumbhalimguquleli kuba uqale wangumbhali kuqala kwaze kwalandela ukuba ngumguquleli. Akuphelelanga apho, lo mbhali ngumntu olwimi lwakhe lusisiXhosa, ulwimi aluncance ebeleni, waze waguqulela esiNgesini, ulwimi adibene nalo bumini. Loo nto itsala umdla wabaphandinzulu ibenze bafune ukuqwalasela umgangatho wenguqulelo.

UNjingalwazi AC Jordan ongumbhali wenoveli ethi *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* ephononongwayo kolu phandonzulu, uyiguqulele esiNgesini encediswa yinkosikazi yakhe uPhyllis Ntantala-Jordan (Nokele 2005). *Ingqumbo Yeminyaya* yenye yeenoveli ezibalulekileyo nezihlonitshiweyo kuncwadi lwesiXhosa ngenxa yolwimi oluchubekileyo olusetyenzisiweyo kwakunye nendlela ezotywe ngayo inkcubeko nentlalo yamaXhosa, gxebe yesinye sezizwana zakwaXhosa, amaMpondomise.

Eyona nto itsala umdla kule nguqulelo kaJordan kukufuna ukuqonda ukuba uyiguqule njani incwadi ayibhale kwangokwakhe xa eyiguqulela kulwimi lwasemzini. Ngamanye amazwi, ingaba uyiguqulele okanye uyibhale okutsha? Iinkunkqela okanye iingcali zofundonzulu ngezenguqulelo uShread (2009), uMaklakova, Khovanskaya le Grigorieva (2017), noWanner (2018), ziphawula ukuba ukuziguqulelela (*self-translation*) asinto ivamileyo ukwenzeka, kangangokuba lunqabile uphandonzulu olwenziwe kwiinguqulelo ezenziwe ngababhali nqo. Amaxesha amaninzi xa kuphendlwa iinguqulelo ezenziwe ngabafundi boguqulelo okanye abaguquleli abaphume izandla, sukube kuhlolwa umgangatho weenguqulelo zabo, kujoliswe ekufumaneni iimpazamo zabaguquleli okanye ubuchule ababusebenzisileyo kwiinguqulelo zabo (Amiri, Sharifabad & Amiri 2021; Castilho et al. 2018; De Sutter et al. 2017; Hansen 2008). Maxa wambi sukube kujoliswe ekufumaneni intsilelo kumguquleli buqu, ukuze kuphuculwe izakhono zakhe zokuguqulela ezinokuthi zisetyenziswe kwilixa elizayo.

Olu uphandonzulu alujolisanga ekufumaneni iziphene kangako, kuba umbhalimguquleli yingcaphephe yolwimi ekungalindelekanga ukuba angaxakwa yinto ayiqambe ngokwakhe. Kodwa ke oko kwakuduliswa ziziphumo zolu phandonzulu. Ngaphezu koko, ngokokweengcali zoguqulelo, kulindeleke ukuba umguquleli abe yincutshe yolwimi lwakhe kunye nolu aguqulela kulo, kwaye azi nzulu ngenkcubeko yolwimi lwakhe neyolwimi lwenguqulelo ukuze akwazi ukuguqulela imbalo ebhalwe ngolo lwimi eyisa kolunye ulwimi. Njengoko sekukhankanyiwe ngaphambili, umbhalimguquleli kwesi sihlandlo ngumXhosa olwaziyo ulwimi lwakhe nenkcubeko yalo, ekukholeleka ukuba uyalwazi nolwesiNgesi njengoko eyimfundimani. Esona sizathu sokwenza olu phandonzulu kukuphononongа umgangatho wenguqulelo kugxilwa ekufezekisweni kweminqweno okanye kwenjongo yeziko lopapasho iLovedale Press, elasungula le nguqulelo. Uthelekiso lwezi mbalo zikaJordan luye lwasekelwa kwimodeli kaHouse (2014) yohlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo, kukwajoliswe kwinjongo yenguqulelo.

NgokukaJordan (2004) ecatshulwa nguMoropa noNokele (2008) kwakunye noNokele (2005) ukuguqulelwa esiNgesini kwe*Ingqumbo Yeminyaka* yayikukusabela kwisicelo soMphathi weziko loshicilelo lakudala iLovedale Press eyapapasha le noveli kwangowe1940. Ngokuqaphela ubuncwane bolwimi nobutyebi benkcubeko nentlalo yamaXhosa, iLovedale Press yacela ukuba uJordan akrobise abantetho iyenye, isiNgesi ukutsho, intlalo yamaXhosa. Kaloku iLovedale Press yasekwa ngabefundisi bamaSkoti, abamisa imishini okanye isitishi sabo kumhlaba weTyhume, eDikeni. Mhlawumbi babefuna ukubonisa abaseSkotilani indlela abaphila ngayo abaNtsundu kweli cala lehlabathi, bekwabonisa neziphumo zemigudu yabo ekufundiseni aba bantu isiNgesi. Uhlolo lwale nguqulelo yesiNgesi *The Wrath of the Ancestors*, lujolise ikakhulu ekuqondeni ukuba ingaba ukwazile na ke uJordan ukusiphumeza eso sicelo okanye uyifezekisile na injongo yenguqulelo. Ngamanye amazwi, uphandonzulu olu lujolise ekuhloleni umgangatho wenguqulelo yombhali ncakasana, kuthelekiselwa engqondweni neenguqulelo ezenziwe ngabaguquleli abaqhelekileyo abaguqulela loo nto bayinikiweyo. Oku kwenziwe ngokuphicotha ngokukodwa inguqulelo yamaqhalo nezaci. Isizathu soko kukuba inkcubeko nentlalo yesizwe iqulethwe zezi ntetha zintsonkothileyo nezikwazizinongo zolwimi. Le ngcamango ingqinelana nokaKatan (2004), othi amaqhalo aqulethe iinkolo ezendeleyo kwaye abubungqina bamava obomi. Isaci yintetho emfutshane elibinzana elinentsingiselo efihlakeleyo, ngeli xa iqhalo liyintetho ende esisivakalisi esipheleleyo, entsonkothileyo neyimfundiso maxa wambi. Ezi ntetho ke ziintetho amaXhosa azijula nje encokweni ngokuzenzekela, maxa wambi ngenjongo yokugxininisa uluvo okanye into ethile.

Imibuzo yophandonzulu ekhokela lo msebenzi yile: (1) Imodeli kaHouse (2014) yoHlolo loMgangatho weNguqulelo ichaneke kanganani na ekuhloleni umgangatho wenguqulelo yesiNgesi (*The Wrath of the Ancestors*, Jordan 1980), ye*Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (Jordan 1940) eyenziwe ngumbhalingqangi? (2) Uyifezekise njani na uJordan imiyalelo yoguqulelo yeLovedale Press?

■ Malunga nombhalimguquleli

NgokukaNokele (2005) uNjingalwazi Archibald Campbell Jordan wazalelwa eMbokothwana kuTsolo ngowe1906 waze wasweleka ngowe1968. Wazalelwa kule ndawo liqhubeka kuyo kanye ibali, into ethetha ukuba unolwazi oluphangaleleyo ngale ndawo abhala ngayo. Njengoko itayitile yakhe ichaza, ufunde wade wayityekeza, wabalasela kakhulu kwezenzululwazi yeelwimi. Waba sezimbalini ngokuba ngumntu wokuqala oNtsundu, ukufumana isidanga sobugqirhalwazi kwiiLwimi zesiNtu kwiYunivesithi yaseKapa. UNjingalwazi Jordan akaphelelanga ukuba nguSozilwimi, ube ngumbhali weenoveli, umguquleli kwaye ekwalitshantliziyo kwezepolitiki, nto leyo

eyabangela ukuba alishiye ilizwe lakhe lokuzalwa aye elubhacweni, waphelela eMelika apho aswelekele khona (Moropa & Nokele 2008; Nokele 2005). Eyona ncwadi ifumene indumasi kwiimbalo zakhe yile kujoliswe kuyo kolu phandonzulu – *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*. Le noveli ayiguqulelwanga esiNgesini kuphela, ifumaneka nangezinye iilwimi kuquka nezaphesheya kweelwandle: inguqulelo yeAfrikaans eyenziwa nguSJ Neethling – *Die Toorn van die Voorvaders* (1995); eyesiDatshi (Dutch) eyenziwa nguR Dorsman – *Die Wraak van het Voorgeslacht* (1999). Ezi nguqulelo zibonisa indumasi eyaba nayo le noveli ukuba ide iguqulelwe nakwiilwimi zaphesheya. Inkcazelo ezeleyo nethe vetshe ngobomi bukaJordan ifumaneka kuJordan (1992).

Uphengululo loncwadi nesithako sophononongonzulu

Uphandonzulu ngohlolo lomgangatho weenguqulelo luthande ukuba yinto ephambili mvanje kumazwe aphesheya (Han 2020; Hansen 2008; Kargarzadeh & Paziresh 2017; Massey & Wieder 2019), kodwa lunqabile kweli loMzantsi Afrika xa kuthelekiswa nophandonzulu olwenziwe kwamanye amazwe. Naxa kunjalo, kuyabonakala ukuba ikhona imigushuzo ebonisa inkathalo malunga nomgangatho weenguqulelo ezifumaneka ngeelwimi zesiNtu (Madolo 2021; Motjope-Mokhali & Mkhatshwa 2021; Saliwa 2006). Ziliqela izithako okanye iithiyori ezisetyenziswe ziingcali zoguqulelo ekuhloleni umgangatho wenguqulelo. Iingcali ezininzi ziye zathanda ukugxila kusetyenziso lolwimi, ngelithi uguqulelo lumalunga nolwimi (Catford 1965; House 1981; Newmark 1988). Unobangela waloo nto ikukuba bezisebenzisa izithako zee-ekhwivalensi okanye ungqamano ngqo ikakhulu xa zihlola iinguqulelo, zithako ezo zaziya kugxininisa kusetyenziso lolwimi. Ngokuhamba kwexesha nokutyhilekelwa ngakumbi ngezithako zoguqulelo, iingcaphephe ziqaphele ukuba inkcubeko, ezesini, ezobunganga (Fawcett 1998; Katan 2004; Nida 1964; Toury 1995), nenjongo yenguqulelo okanye indlela esebenza ngayo inguqulelo kule meko intsha yolwimi olutsha (Baker 2011; House 1977, 2014; Kussmaul 1995; Nord 1997; Reiss & Vermeer 1984/2013), zizinto ezinefuthe kuguqulelo, kodwa ezingasiwanga so sesi sithako se-ekhwivalensi okanye somakufanwe twatse. Loo nto yabangela ukuba sibe nokusilela ekuhloleni umgangatho okanye ukuchaneka kwenguqulelo. Ezinye iinkunkqela ziphakamisa ukusetyenziswa kwekhophasi (De Sutter et al. 2017; Martinez Mateo, Montero Martinez & Moya Guijarro 2017) njengendlela yokuhlola umgangatho wenguqulelo. Ezi mbono zahlukileyo zibangelwa kukuba uhlolo ngalunye olwenziwayo sukuba lusekelwe kwisithako esithile (Catford 1965; Fields et al. 2014; Han 2020; Marais 2013) nakwinjongo yolo hlolo. UDrugan (2013) yena unembono ethi, oku kungavisisani kukwabangelwa kukuba iimfundimani noosomashishini ababoni ngasonye kuba banezimvo ezahlukileyo kwaye

bazibuza imibuzo eyahlukileyo xa bethetha ngomgangatho wenguqulelo. Ngenxa yoko, kunzima ukufumana imodeli equka zonke izithako, kodwa ke naxa kunjalo, zikhona iinzame ezenziwayo ezikhokelela apho (Colina 2009; De Sutter et al. 2017; House 2014; Sofyan & Tarigan 2018; Zehnalová 2013). OkaHan (2020) uyawakhuthaza la malinge ngelithi, anika umphandinzulu ithuba lokukhetha imodeli emlungeleyo kuba imodeli nganye inokomelela nobuthathaka bayo.

Phambi kokuba kungenwe nzulu kuphandonzulu lomgangatho wenguqulelo, kubalulekile ukucacisa ukuba yintoni inguqulelo. Iingcaphephe zezifundo zoguqulelo ziluchaza ngeendlela ngeendlela uguqulelo okanye uguqulelolwimi. UNewmark (1981) uchaza esi senzo njengokudluliselwa kwentsingiselo yembalo ebhalwe ngolwimi oluthile kolunye ulwimi. UNida (1964) ubona ngasonye kuba uthi, le ntsingiselo kufuneka ibe nefuthe elifanayo okanye elisondeleyo kwelo lentsingiselo yetekisintsusa. UReiss noVermeer (2013) kunye noVermeer (2000) baluchaza uguqulelolwimi njengesenzo sonxibelelwano. UHouse (2014) yena uthi, kukusetyenzwa kwembalo apho ulwimi luguqugugulwayo lube kwimeko yolunye ulwimi. Ngamanye amazwi ukusebenza ngolwimi phantsi kweemeko ezahlukileyo. Isiphumo solu setyenzo lolwimi kufuneka sibe yinguqulelo encomekayo, efundekayo nenika umdla kumlesi wayo. Ngenxa yoko kubonwa kunyanzelekile ukuba umgangatho wenguqulelo uhlolwe ukuze kuqinisekiswe ukuba inguqulelo yinguqulelo egqwesileyo, yokwenyani nenentsingiselo (Kargarzadeh & Paziresh 2017). Ngaphaya koko, uhlolo lwendlela aqhube ngayo umguquleli, ngakumbi *umbhalimguquleli*, ngumba osafuna ukuqwalaselwa ngakumbi kwiilwimi zesiNtu zoMzantsi Afrika. Kungoko ke nomphandinzulu ebone kufanelekile ukuba ahlole le nguqulelo kaJordan okwangumbhali wembalo yentsusa.

Olu phandonzulu lilinge lokuphosa esivivaneni ukuze kubekho izalathiso xa kuphononongwa nzulu umba ofana nalo kwiinguqulelo zeelwimi zesiNtu. Imodeli engundoqo ekusekelwe kuyo olu phandonzulu yeyaziwa ngokuba yi*Functional-Pragmatic model* esungulwe nguHouse (2014) ayakhele kwisithako sikaHalliday senzululwazi ngolwimi. Xa uthelekisa le modeli kaHouse (2014) nezinye iimodeli zohlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo ufumanisa ukuba yona iyihlola ngokupheleleyo inguqulelo, ayijongi cala linye. Inamanqanaba amathathu ohlalutyonzulu: (1) uphicothonzulu okanye uhlalutyonzulu lwetekisi yentsusa ngokolwimi, imbalo nohlobo lwembalo; (2) ukuhlalutywa kwenguqulelo kusetyenziswa kwa ezi khrayitheriya; (3) ukuthelekiswa kwetekisi yentsusa netekisi eguqulelweyo kukhangelwa imfano okanye iyantlukwano kujoliswe kwimeko yokwahluka ngokolwimi, intlalo nenkcubeko. Ngaphaya koko, inguqulelo iphengululwa ngokuqwalasela uhlobo lolwimi nenjongo yetekisi; umxholo, ulwalamano phakathi kwabathathinxanxeba kolu nxibelelwano, umzekelo, umguqulelimbhali nomlesi, indlela yokucinga; indlela olubhalwe ngayo ulwimi okanye indlela

odluliswa ngayo umyalezo. Kwinqobo nganye yezi ziqalelo kuqwalaselwa amagama, amabinzana aquka amagama ahamba kunye, njalonjalo, izivakalisi kunye nokuyondelelana kwembalo. Konke oku kwakuqapheleka ngokuthi umphandinzulu aphicothe okanye aphengulule, ahle amahlongwane itekisi yentsusa netekisi eguqulelweyo aze azithelekise emva koko. UMadkour (2016), xa eyiqwalasela le modeli kaHouse yokuhlola umgangatho wenguqulelo, uqaphela ukuba ikhuthaza ukufana kuba injongo yoguqulelo irhesha indlela okanye iindlela (*strategies*) ezinokusetyenziswa ekuveliseni inguqulelo esebenzayo nenentsingiselo kubantu ekujoliswe kubo. Ngaphandle kokugxininisa ukubaluleka kwenjongo yenguqulelo, uHouse (2014) ukubona kubalulekile ukuqwalasela uhlobo lwetekisi, kuba nalo lukhokelela kwiindlela ezithile okanye kubuchule obubodwa bokuguqula. UZehnalová (2013) naye uyakungqina ukubaluleka kwenjongo yenguqulelo xa kuphononongwa umgangatho wayo. Kwicandelo elilandelayo kudakancwa indlela oluqhutywe ngayo uphandonzulu. Uphengululo lophandonzulu olujolise kuhlolo lomgangatho weenguqulelo ludandalazisa ukuba le modeli kaHouse isetyenziswe kakhulu ekuhloleni iinguqulelo ezenziwe ngabaguquleli abangengobabhali. Injongo yolu phando ke kukufuna ukuqonda ukuba iyasebenziseka na le modeli ekuhloleni umgangatho wenguqulelo eyenziwe ngumbhalingqangi ngokwakhe. Lo mbuzo okanye le njongo ingabonwa njengefamanqe ngelithi inguqulelo yinguqulelo nokuba iguqulelwe ngubani na. Lo mphandinzulu yena uwujonga lo mba ngeliso lokuba umntu owenza inguqulelo ubalulekile ngoko ke kufuneka abandakanywe kuhlolo lwenguqulelo.

Indlela oluqhutywe ngayo uphandonzulu

Olu phandonzulu luqhutywe ngokusebenzisa indlela yophando echazayo nephengululayo ekuthiwa yi*Qualitative approach*, egxila ekuqondisiseni into ekhoyo ngokwasendalweni okanye entlalweni (Fouché & Schurink 2011; Leedy & Ormrod 2014). Olu hlobo lwendlela yophandonzulu lusenokuqhutywa ngokuqokelela iinkcukacha aze umphandinzulu (1) achaze okanye acacise ubume bentlalo okanye indalo, indawo okanye imeko yaloo nto iphandwayo; (2) atolike ngeenjongo zokufumana ubunzulu okanye ulwazi oluphangaleleyo ngento leyo; (3) angqine okanye avavanye ubunyani bamabango okanye izithako; okanye (4) ahlole ngeenjongo zokunika uluvo ngokusebenza okanye ukungasebenzi kwesithako (Leedy & Ormrod 2014, p. 142). Iinkcukacha zophandonzulu zifunyenwe kwinoveli ethi *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (Jordan 1940) nakwinguqulelo yayo yesiNgesi ethi *The Wrath of the Ancestors* (Jordan 1980). Indlela yohlalutyo esetyenzisiweyo yebizwa ngokuba luhlalutyo lomxholo (*content analysis*) apho kuphendlwa usetyenziso lolwimi ngokucazulula intsingiselo yamagama asetyenziswe ngumbhali okanye ngabalinganiswa kwiincoko zabo. Kwesi sahluko kugxilwe ngakumbi kuqwalaselo lwenguqulelo yezaci namaqhalo esiXhosa esisiwa esiNgesini, ulwimi olwahluke mpela esiXhoseni, kuquka nenkcubeko

equlethwe ngala maqhalo. Njengoko kuchaziwe ngasentla, uhlalutyonzulu lwenziwa ngokuqamela ngemodeli kaHouse (2014) yohlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo.

Uhlalutyo lwembalo yentsusa nenguqulelo ngokolwimi

Imbalo yentsusa yinoveli eyabhalwa nguAC Jordan (1940) ethi *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*. Le noveli yenye yeenoveli ezibalulekileyo esiXhoseni kuba izoba inkcubeko yesizwe samaMpondomise. Igxila ngakumbi kulawulo lwesiNtu phantsi kweenkosi. Le noveli ikwabonisa ungquzulwano phakathi kwezimvo zabantu bamandulo, ababetshila ngendebe endala bewahloniphe ngokukodwa amasiko nezithethe zabo, nezimvo zabo bale mihla abathi bona bakhanyiselwe kwaye abahambisani mpela namasiko nezithethe. Inoveli yesiXhosa ibhalwe ngolwimi olunambithekayo ngokunongwa ngezafobe, izifanekisozwi nokubekwa kwamagama ngendlela eyondeleleneyo netsala umdla womfundi wayo. Ukuzoba intlalo yesiNtu, uJordan usebenzise amagama abonisa oku (bona iTheyibhile 8.1):

TABLE 8.1: I Intlalo nenkcubeko yamaXhosa/amaMpondomise.

Ukuzalana	Izikhuzo	Ukubizana ngokobuhlobo nothando	Ukubizana ngesiduko	Ezombuso
IsiXhosa: Yisekazi, Bawokazi	**IsiXhosa:** Uma! Awu! Yhini na le	**IsiXhosa:** Wase, Major	**IsiXhosa:** Mashiyi, MaMiya, Jolinkomo	**IsiXhosa:** Mntwan' enkosi, Mntwan' omhle, iKomkhulu
English: *Uncle, uncle*	***English:*** *What's this?*	***English:*** *Child of home, Major*	***English:*** *Mashiyi, MaMiya, Jolinkomo*	***English:*** *Child of Kings, Most Excellent One, Great Place*

Source: Synthesised from Jordan 1940; 1980.

Ukwakhiwa kwezivakalisi kuyashiyana, kukho ezifutshane nezide, ezimbaxa kusentyenziswe izihlanganisi okanye iziphumlisi, ezinye izivakalisi zikwizixando ngezixando. Ngaphandle kokusebenzisa izihlanganisi, ukuyondelelanisa izivakalisi nembalo ngokubanzi, umbhali usebenzise izivakalisi eziqhagamshelayo, njengaxa ekhumbuza umlesi ngento ebeyikhankanye ngaphambili, umz. *Umfundi selevile* [...], *Besithembise ukuba* [...]

Uhlalutyonzulu lwetekisi yentsusa nenguqulelo ngokwembalo nohlobo lwembalo

Ingqumbo Yeminyanya nenguqulelo yayo yesiNgesi ziinoveli ezibhalelwe ukufundwa. *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* yayibhalelwa amaXhosa antetho isisiXhosa ngeli xa inguqulelo yayo yesiNgesi ibhalelwe abantetho isisiNgesi

abangazi nto ngesiXhosa nentlalo yamaXhosa (Jordan 2004). Inoveli ke luhlobo loncwadi apho umbhali athi abonise ubuchule nobugcisa bakhe bokuyila ibali. Kungoko olu didi lwembalo iludidi olonwatyelwayo. Kuye kulindeleke ukuba le njongo yokonwabisa iphunyezwe nakwinguqulelo. Akuye kube lula ke ukuluguqulela kolunye ulwimi olu hlobo loncwadi, kuba olu lwimi lunezangotshe ezidla ngokuba nobunzima kumguquleli, ngakumbi xa engalwazi ulwimi lwentsusa. Ngethamsanqa kwesi sihlandlo umbhalingqangi ikwangumguquleli olwazi kakuhle ulwimi abhale ngalo. Ngenxa yoko ukwazile ukuwudlwengula umxhelo womlesi ngendlela abalisa ngayo nangesiNgesi. Isakhiwo sebali usizobe ngendlela elandelekayo ukuya kufikelela kuvuthondaba. Akonelanga nje ukutsala umdla nengqondo yomlesi ngolwimi olunencasa okanye indlela yokubalisa encamisa umxhelo, koko ebemana ethetha naye ngqo emkhumbuza ngebali alibalisayo. Umhlathi olandelayo uthelekisa imbalo yentsusa ebhalwe ngesiXhosa nenguqulelo yayo esesiNgesini.

Uthelekiso lwetekisi yentsusa nenguqulelo

Into yokuqala eqaphelekayo xa uthelekisa izalathiso zezi noveli zimbini *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* nenguqulelo yayo ethi *The Wrath of Ancestors*, ufumanisa ukuba izahluko zihlelwe ngokwamacandelo. Zombini zinamacandelo amahlanu. Kodwa inani lezahluko ezikula macandelo alifani: Izahluko ezikwicandelo I esiXhoseni zisibhozo ngeli xa zizihlanu esiNgesini. Ezecandelo III zisibhozo esiXhoseni kodwa zithandathu esiNgesini. Zahlukile nakwicandelo IV apho zifumaneka zili11 esiXhoseni kodwa zili10 esiNgesini. Lo mahluko wenziwa kukuba umbhalimguquleli uthande ukudibanisa izahluko ezithile esiNgesini, ezithathu ngelinye ixesha, aziqukanise phantsi kwesahluko esinye. Kucingeleka ukuba unobangela woku kukuzama ukugcina umdla womlesi, angamdiki ngengcombolo engazi kumsa ndawo. Ezinye iindawo akhethe ukungaziguquli ziincoko neengcaciso ezingenafuthe kwintsingiselo yebali ngohlobo lokuba ukungabikho kwazo akudali sikhewu okanye ukungaqondi kumlesi. Umzekelo, incoko phakathi kukaMphuthumi noZwelinzima ekufikeni kukaMphuthumi esinaleni eLovedale eDikeni. Naxa kunjalo ziluncuthu kumlesi wesiXhosa kuba zinolwazi olutsha nolubalulekileyo ngabalinganiswa. Kwimeko enje umbhalimguquleli usebenzise ilungelo lakhe njengombhali lokuba akhethe okumfaneleyo nokungamfanelanga umlesi. Ukuba ibingumguquleli ongenguye umbhali wetekisi yentsusa, ngekulula ukumgweba ngelithi akanalungelo lokunyina ulwazi lomlesi. Okuncomekayo kukuba isihloko sesahluko ngasinye sesiNgesi sihamba nenguqulelo yesiXhosa. Ngokwenza njalo, umbhalimguquleli uzama ukumthi chu ngesandla umfundi webali, athi ukuba unofifi lwesiXhosa ayiqonde ngakumbi intsingiselo yaloo ntetho. Kananjalo, ngokwenza njalo ubonisa ukuziqonda ukuba ubhalela mlesi wumbi wasemzini, ngoko ke uzama ukukhawulelana naye. Inkcubeko

nentlalo yamaXhosa okanye yamaMpondomise idandalaziswe ngobunjalo bayo nakwinguqulelo, senzo eso sivisa umlesi wenguqulelo ubuncwane boncwadi lwentsusa. Lo mahluko uqatshelweyo phakathi kwezi noveli ngokwale modeli kaHouse (2014) yohlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo ubuya kuchazwa njengempazamo ecace gca. Kwicandelo elilandelayo kuhlalutywa inguqulelo yamaqhalo nezaci.

Uguqulelo lwamaqhalo nezaci

Kuyenzeka ukuba iqhalo okanye isaci sibe nalo okanye singabi nalo iqhalo okanye isaci esifanayo kulwimi ekuguqulelwa kulo. Xa kunjalo uye axakeke umguquleli kufuneke enze iqhinga lokuzikhupha kuloo ngxaki. UBaker (2011, pp. 75–86) unoluhlu lwamaqhinga awacebisayo kubaguquleli ukukhawulelana nale ngxaki, angala:

1. Ukusebenzisa iqhalo okanye isaci esinentsingiselo efanayo nemo efanayo (ngolwakhiwo).

   Eli qhinga libandakanya ukusetyenziswa kweqhalo okanye isaci solwimi ekusiwa kulo esinentsingiselo efanayo okanye esondeleyo, nesakhiwe ngamagama afanayo nalawo entetho yolwimi lwentsusa.

2. Ukusebenzisa iqhalo okanye isaci esinentsingiselo efanayo kodwa sakhiwe ngokwahlukileyo.

   Apha umguquleli usebenzisa iqhalo okanye isaci solwimi lwenguqulelo esithetha into enye okanye esondeleyo kule yeqhalo okanye isaci sentsusa kodwa sakhiwe ngamagama ahlukileyo.

3. Ukuboleka iqhalo okanye isaci solwimi lwentsusa.

   Umguquleli unakho ukuliboleka iqhalo okanye isaci, alisebenzise ngobunjalo balo kulwimi lwenguqulelo kunjalonje lifaneleke.

4. Ukushwankathela.

   Xa amaqhinga ephelile kungekho sisombululo, okanye xa kungafanelekanga ukusebenzisa iqhalo, maxa wambi ngokuthanda komguquleli, umguquleli uye akhethe ukuyishwankathela intsingiselo yeqhalo elo.

5. Ukungakuguquli ukujikajikwa kweqhalo okanye isaci.

   Kuyenzeka maxa wambi umbhali wentsusa adlale ngeqhalo, nto leyo enika ingxaki kumguquleli ngelinye ixesha. Uthi ke umguquleli akuba kuloo ngxingwa azikhuphe ngokulitolika ngentetho elula okanye ekhaphukhaphu esebenzisa la magama lakhiwe ngawo iqhalo angalinganisi umbhali adlale ngalo naye.

6. Ukungaliguquli kwaphela iqhalo okanye isaci.

   Lingashiywa iqhalo lingaguqulelwa kwaphela kulwimi ekusiwa kulo ngenxa yokuba kungekho qhalo lifana nalo okanye kuba kunzima ukushwankathela intsingiselo yalo okanye ngenxa yesinye isizathu esinokuba mayela nesimbo sokubhala. Kodwa ke umguquleli unakho ukuyibuyekeza loo lahleko ngokusebenzisa isaci okanye iqhalo kwenye indawo kuloo tekisi. NgesiLungu eli qhinga kuthiwa yi-*compensation*.

Njengoko bekukhankanyiwe ngasentla, amaqhalo abonisa intlalo yabantu abathetha olo lwimi. Iqhalo yintetho epheleleyo enentsingiselo entsonkothileyo okanye ekwekwayo, ekholisa ukuba nemfundiso okanye isiyalo (Pahl, Pienaar & Ndungane 1989) esekelwe kwindlela ekwakuphilwa ngayo ngaphambili okanye kumava angaphambili, umzekelo, *isala kutyelwa sibona ngolophu*. Isaci yintetho entsonkothileyo enobuciko ekwekwayo, engathanga ngqo (Tshabe & Shoba 2006), umzekelo, *ngqanga neentsiba zayo*. Njengoko kubonisiwe kwingxoxo engasentla, ziliqela iindlela anokuzisebenzisa umguquleli ukusombulula ingxaki yokungakwazi ukuguqulela kolunye ulwimi intetho entsonkothileyo. Apha ngasezantsi kudakancwa izikrweqe azisebenzisileyo uJordan xa ebeguqulela izaci namaqhalo esiXhosa esiNgesini, ulwimi olwahlukileyo ngokwakhiwa nangenkcubeko. Ukuhlalutya zonke izangotshe zolwimi ezisetyenziswe kule noveli kungathatha ixesha kwaye akubakho ndawo kwesi sahlukwana kuba zininzi. Kungoko umphandinzulu ekhethe imizekelo elishumi kuphela. Akukho mgaqo ulandelweyo ekukhetheni ezi zaci namaqhalo, umphandinzulu uhambe echolachola ngokuthanda kwakhe. Uzamile ukuba akhethe ukususela ekuqaleni ukuya ekupheleni kwenoveli. Uhlalutyonzulu lwenziwe ngolu hlobo.

Ukuboleka iqhalo okanye isaci solwimi lwentsusa

1. **Xh**: **Undihle entloko**. (p. 34)

   Ng: *You've hit me right on the head*. (p. 34)

Esi saci sithetha ukuqubula okanye ukwenza into emntwini engalindelanga. Umguquleli uboleke iqhalo lesiXhosa walisebenzisa esiNgesini. UZwelinzima uwathetha la mazwi kuMphuthumi owavela sembonga emkhahlela njengenkosi yamaMpondomise, embeka kwelinye inqanaba elingasentla, emkhumbuza ngoxanduva lwakhe njengenkosi yamaMpondomise. Engasenguye laa Major ungumhlobo wakhe. Yiyo loo nto wasuka wadideka wathetha ngolu hlobo lucatshulwe ngasentla kuba ebengayilindelanga le nto yenziwa ngumhlobo wakhe. Esi saci sisukela kubetho lweentonga

lwamandulo apho umfo wayeyikhusela kangangoko intloko yakhe ukuze angoselwa oyiswe. Ukuze amchane ke lo alwa naye kufuneka amqubule okanye abe lichule lokubetha iintonga aphumele ngaphaya kokuhlanganisa. Le ntetho esiNgesini inenye intsingiselo ethetha ukuba *uchan'ucwethe*.

2. **Xh**: **UThikoloshe makaphume ezingcongolweni**. (p. 78)

   Ng: *The thikoloshe must come out of the reeds*. (p. 82)

Kukho inkolo phakathi kwamaXhosa yokuba uhili okanye uthikoloshe uhlala ezingcongolweni. Akanakuhlala nabantu kuba yinto yabathakathi (Moropa & Nokele 2008). Uhili lo uchazwa njengendoda emfutshane engabonakaliyo ethanda ukudlala nabantwana. Xa kuthe kwenzeka ukuba abhaqwe abanjwe kuthiwa uphumile ezingcongolweni (Mesatywa 1954). Esi saci sithi 'uthikoloshe uphumile ezingcongolweni' sithetha ukuba ihlebo lidulile, okanye inyaniso ivelile. Maxa wambi kuthiwa 'uhili uphumile ezingcongolweni'. Apha umbhali udlale ngaso esi saci wasijikajika xa ebonisa incoko ephakathi kukaDingindawo noMthunzini, uDingindawo encina uMthunzini ongade asixele isizathu sotyelelo lwakhe. Uthi ngamanye amazwi makade athethe inyani. Nalapha umbhalimguquleli uboleke intetho yesiXhosa wayisebenzisa ngobunjalo bayo esiNgesini. Ukhethe ukuligcina igama elithi thikoloshe ukuze ingalahleki inkcubeko yamaXhosa. Ebenakho ukusondela kumlesi wenguqulelo asebenzise igama elithi '*elf/elves*' lona laziwayo nasezintsomini zamaNgesi. Kodwa ukwenza njalo bekungayi kuyiphumeza injongo yenguqulelo yokukrobisa umlesi kwinkcubeko yamaXhosa.

3. **Xh**: **Deda mhlangala endaweni yenyhwagi**. (p. 68)

   Ng: *Mungoose, get out of the way of the genet*. (p. 68)

NgokukaMesatywa (1954, p. 10) inyhwagi nomhlangala ziinyamazana zasendle ezibufana kodwa zahlukile ngemibala neziqu. Inyhwagi ineengcwangu kwaye iyawoyisa umhlangala, kuba uthi isakuthi gqi ukhawleze ukushenxa (Moropa & Nokele 2008). Lisukela apho ke eli qhalo. Isichazimagama sesiXhosa (Mini et al. 2003) side silicacise ngokuthi umntu obambele usihlalo entlanganisweni makadede akufika. Ngokunjalo ibambelankosi kufuneka lishenxe esihlalweni xa inkosi yoqobo ikho. Njengoko uDingindawo wayebambele uZwelinzima, phofu engaqondi ukuba ubambele ecinga ukuba wafa kudala, kwaye nguye onelungelo kweso sihlalo, kwafuneka ashenxe akubuya uZwelinzima eSheshegu ezokuthatha isihlalo sakhe sobukhosi. Ngeliphandle, eli qhalo lithi 'suka Dingindawo esihlalweni senkosi uZwelinzima'. Xa kuqwalaselwa inguqulelo yesiNgesi kufumaniseka ukuba kuguqulwe la magama esiXhosa. Akusetyenziswanga qhalo lasiNgesi elinentsingselo efanayo.

Ukungaliguquli kwaphela iqhalo okanye isaci

4. **Xh**: **Waqonda ukuba makasel' eyeka, uxam waphusile**. (p. 56)

   Ng: *Thereupon Mphuthumi wisely decided not to ask him anymore*. (p. 56)

Intetho ethi uxam waphusile ithetha ukuba isisulu siphelile (Mesatywa 1954; Pahl et al. 1989) okanye ububele buphelile (Moropa & Nokele 2008; Zauka & Nqevu 2019). Uxam sisirhubuluzi esaziwa ngobubele xa esancancisa amantshontsho aze athi akuba madala awalumle buphele ububele abe neengcwangu ade awabethe ngomsila. Apha kwesi sicatshulwa esi saci sithetha ukuba izinto zijikile okanye imeko itshintshile. UMphuthumi ushiya uMthunzini echwayitile eyimvuzemvuze eza kuya kuThembeka eyokuzitshololo, phofu ecinga ukuba noThembeka umncwasile kuba evumile ukuba angamndwendwela. Ngelishwa uThembeka akamvumanga. UMphuthumi ubuya ugxa wakhe equmbe esisifu engafuni nokuthetha. Aba ngazama ukumncokolisa abuze le naleya, suka umfo aphendule ngokungatyhileki. Yiyo le nto agqiba kwelokuba uxam waphusile makamyeke uMthunzini azihlalele. Akasitolikanga umguquleli esi saci, ngokwenza njalo wamvimba umlesi ulwazi malunga naloo ntetho. Kodwa kwisahluko esilandelayo usibuyekezile esi saci ngokuthi aguqulele intetho eqhelekileyo *ukubutha* ngokusebenzisa isaci esithi *to while away time*.

Ukushwankathela

5. **Xh**: **Washiya kambe wazicandela umgalagala**! (p. 80)

   Ng: *What troubles had he brought upon himself!* (p. 84)

NgokukaMesatywa (1954, p. 91) umgalagala ngumthi olushica ekunzima ukuwucanda. Kwesi sicatshulwa uMthunzini unike uDingindawo iileta zikaMphuthumi ezithetha ngamalungiselelo okubuyiswa kukaZwelinzima azokuthatha isikhundla sakhe sobukhosi. Akugqiba ukufunda iileta uDingindawo ubize elinye lamaphakathi akhe ukuba likhe limke naye uMthunzini nto leyo yamothusa kakhulu wacinga ukuba uDingindawo uzama icebo lokungazibuyiseli kuye ezo leta. Waqonda ukuba uzifake engxakini enkulu. Eli qhalo alitolikwanga ngelinye iqhalo, koko lishwankathelwe. Umguquleli unike ingcaciso yalo.

6. **Xh**: **Qabu uNoqolomba efile nje!** (p. 80)

   Ng: *A sigh of relief!*

Ngokwasezintsomini zakudala uNoqolomba yayisisilo esinoburhalarhume esasigqugqisa yonke into nabantwana besoyikiswa ngaso. Ukufa kwakhe kwaza nochulumanco nenkululeko nakwizilo zasendle. Esi saci ke sithetha ukuba ingozi idlule, amaxhala aphelile. Nesi isaci sitolikwe ngokunika

intsingiselo yaso. Akusetyenziswanga saci sesiNgesi esifana naso. Sona sidla ngokusetyenziswa ngumntu ophume engxakini okanye osinde enkathazweni (Pahl et al. 1989). UMthunzini uvuyile xa ebona iileta zibekwe phezu kwesitulo sakhe nguDingindawo, ezibuyisela kuye. Kuye kwee xibilili kuye kuba wayesel' ecinga ukuba uDingindawo uza kuzigcina angamniki.

7. **Xh**: **Woba selexube nokuthenga emithiyo kuDingindawo**. (p. 64)

   Ng: *It would serve to promote his own personal interests*. (p. 65)

Ukuthenga emithiyo kuthetha ukuba kukho enye into ojonge ukuyizuza (Mesatywa 1954), kuba emva kwexesha uza kufumana ithole yakuzala loo nkomo. Loo nto ithetha ukuba uzibalile iisam zakhe phambi kokuba enze eso sigqibo sokuthenga loo maz' enkomo. Esi saci siguqulelwe ngentetho eshwankathelayo, akusetyenziswanga qhalo okanye intetho entsonkothileyo. Naso sisekelwe kwintlalo yandulo yamaXhosa, nezinye izizwe zabaNtsundu, apho abantu babephila ngokufuya. Phantse yonke imizi ngelo xesha yayineentlanti ezizele ziinkomo. Ongenankomo wayebolekwa, yiyo le nto kwakuthethwa ngenkom' enqoma. Kucingeleka ukuba umbhalimguquleli ukhethe ukuyicacisa le ntetho ukuqinisekisa ukuba umyalezo awudlulisayo uyavakala kumlesi wenguqulelo osenokungabi nalwazi ngemfuyo.

8. **Xh**: Ukuba ukhe wayenza loo mpazamo uze waz' ukuba **uzinqikele ility' elineembovane**. (p. 181)

   Ng: *To take such a stand would be* ***to overturn a stone and have a swarm of vicious ants all over your body in a twinkle****!* (p. 199)

Ukuzinqikela ilitye elineembovane ngentetho ephandle kukuzibizela okanye ukuzifaka engxakini. Liyafana neli lithi 'uzicandel'umgalagala'. Iimbovane zizinambuzane ezincinci kodwa ezilumayo okanye ezitswikila kabuhlungu. Xa uthe wanqika ilitye elinazo zikhwela kuwe ngomsindo zikulume kanobom kuba uziphazamise zizihlelele. Kwinguqulelo yesiNgesi umbhalimguquleli uyicacisa kakuhle le meko ngokusebenzisa isichazi esithetha ukuba nobungozi, ukuvisa kabuhlungu okanye inkohlakalo–*vicious*. Uyizoba le meko ngokunika umfundi wencwadi umfanekiso ngqondweni womntu olunywa ziimbovane umzimba wonke. Naxa engasebenzisanga qhalo nje, inkcazelo ayinikileyo ecacisa eli qhalo lesiXhosa idala lo mfanekiso ngqondweni, owenza ukuba umfundi ayinambithe into ayifundayo, ade azibone naye sele etyiwa zezo mbovane. Ngamanye amazwi inkcazelo yakhe inganeziphumo ezifanayo nezo zibangelwa liqhalo lesiXhosa kubafundi besiXhosa.

9. **Xh**: Yaziqonda ukuba **isukele endala icinga ukuba lithole**. (p. 208)

   Ng: *He realized that* ***he had very much underestimated the task before him***. (p. 233)

Izinto zithande ukumxaka uZwelinzima, ebecinga ukuba iintambo uzibambe kakuhle. Idabi eliphakathi kwamaMfengu namaMpondomise limbethe wahiliteka waziqonda ukuba akazi nto ngolawulo, yiyo le nto athetha ngolu hlobo. Le ntetho isukela kwisenzo sokuzingela iintaka apho amakhwenkwe aleqa iintaka ezincinci ngokwakhiwa ecinga ukuba ngamantshontsho kanti zindala, ziwabhide angaze azifumane. Ngamafutshane eli qhalo lithetha ukuyidelela into, ucinge ukuba incinci kanti inkulu. Kwinguqulelo yesiNgesi akusetyenziswanga saci okanye qhalo, koko kusetyenziswe intetho eqhelekileyo etolika esi saci.

10. **Xh**: Nanko uDingindawo ebhunga noZwelinzima eNtshiqo **embetha ngemfe iphindiwe**. (p. 194)

    Ng: *Dingindawo was having a confidential talk with Zwelinzima at the Royal Place and successfully* ***flattering and deceiving*** *him*. (p. 214)

Ukubetha ngemfe iphindiwe kuthetha ukuqhatha okanye ukukhohlisa, ukuxelelwa into engeyonyani. Naxa uZwelinzima lo wayefundisiwe, wayengenabo ubulumko okanye iliso lokumqaphela umntu omqhathatyo. Wayenjalo ke apha kuyisekazi uDingindawo owayesoloko esenza ngathi uyamthanda kwaye uyamcebisa kanti uyamlahlekisa. Nakwesi sihlandlo bebhunga bobabini nje uyamlahlekisa, umbetha ngemfe iphindiwe. Imfe sisityalo esilizele esimnandi esifana nezimba. Xa ityiwe yamfimfithwa, iyathamba. Nokuba ingaphindwaphindwa kangaphi na ayisoze ibe nabuhlungu kumntu obethwayo (Zauka & Nqevu 2019). Ngokucacileyo ukubetha umntu ngemfe kuyafana nje nokumdlalisa, wenza ngathi uyambetha ube umteketisa. IsiNgesi siyibeka kakuhle xa sisebenzisa igama elithi *flatter* (*flattering*) elithetha ukuba umvisa kamnandi, ukumvuyisa kodwa emkhohlisa.

Ingxoxo

Xa uphendlisisa ezi noveli zimbini ukhona umahluko oqaphelekayo. Xa ebhekisela kulo mahluko uHouse (2014) ebeya kuthi ziimpazamo ezibonakalayo (*overt errors*) neempazamo ezifihlakeleyo (*covert errors*) okanye athi inoveli *The Wrath of Ancestors* yinguqulelo ecace gca. Andifuni kuthi ziimpazamo kuba umbhalimguquleli uzenze ngabom ngendlela abone ngayo njengombhalingqangi. Endaweni yoko ndingathi *ziinguqu* ezifihlakeleyo nezibonakalayo ezizalwa liqhinga lokuhlangabezana nemeko entsha. Kuba *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* iluyilo lwakhe, unakho ukwenza iinguqulelo azibona ziyimfuneko xa ecingela abantu abaza kuyifunda kunye nenjongo aguqulela phantsi kwayo. Njengoko kuxeliwe ngasentla, kukho izahluko ezidityanisiweyo kwinguqulelo yesiNgesi ngeli xa kwinoveli yentsusa izizahluko ezizimeleyo. Kukwakho neencoko ezishiyiweyo ezingatolikwanga. Ezi nguqu azidalanga zikhewu okanye kulengalenga

komxholo kwinguqulelo yesiNgesi kuba ibali liyafundeka kwaye linentsingiselo ecacileyo. Intlalo yasezilalini yakudala, ulawulo lwenkosi, iincoko nendlela yokubizana, zonke ezi zinto zizotywe ngobunono kwinguqulelo azilahlekanga nezo ziqendwana zishiyelelweyo. Ukuba ngumbhalimguquleli kuba luncedo kuba uyakwazi ukuvala izikhewu ngokusebenzisa amava okuba ngumbhali nobuchule bokuthobela imiyalelo. Nangona amagama abonisa ukuzalana kungakwazeki ncam ukuwaguqulela kolunye ulwimi, ngakumbi ulwimi olufana nesiNgesi olwahluke kwaphela esiXhoseni, umbhalimguquleli ukwazile ukumsondeza umfundi wenguqulelo yakhe ngokusebenzisa ingcaciso. Ukuxatyiswa kweziduko ngamaXhosa nendima yazo entlalweni kuzotywe kwacaca gca kuzo zombini iitekisi. Ukuxatyiswa kwemfuyo nako ukuvezile ngokuthiya amahashe amagama, *ooGoloza*. Indlela alizobe ngayo ibali lenkwakhwa kwinguqulelo yenza umfundi wayo acacelwe kukuxatyiswa kwamasiko nezithethe ngamaMpondomise namaXhosa ngokubanzi.

Ukutolikwa kwamaqhalo nezaci nako kwenziwe ngobuchule obubonisa ukulandelwa kwemiyalelo yeLovedale Press. Intsusa yenguqulelo kukukrobisa abantu abalolunye uhlanga indlela aphila ngayo amaXhosa. Umyalelo onje uthi umguquleli makasebenzise amaqhinga okanye ubuchule bokuguqulela obuza kudandalazisa le ndlela yokuphila. Ngamanye amazwi, kufuneka umguquleli asondeze umfundi kule nkcubeko intsha yasemzini amkrobise kuyo (Venuti 1998). Le ndlela yokuguqulela yenza umfundi wenguqulelo angathandabuzi ukuba ufunda inguqulelo. Oku kuhambelana nengcamango kaVenuti (1995) yokuba noxa kucetyiswa ukuba umguquleli angabonakali kwinguqulelo (*invisible*), maxa wambi kuye kufuneke azibonakalise kwinguqulelo yakhe njengomguqulelimbhali. Xa kunjalo ke kufuneka ayigcine inkcubeko yetekisi yentsusa angafuni ukuyifanisa nale kusiwa kuyo, kuba xa enokwenza njalo akayi kuyiphumeza injongo yoguqulelo. Yiyo loo nto uJordan azame kangangoko ukuzibamba angamlungiseleli umfundi, ukuze amane ukuzibuza ukuba ngubani ke uNongqawuse okanye kuxa kutheni ke xa usithi *Uma*! Okanye xa usithi 'Deda mhlangala endaweni yenyhwagi' uthetha ukuthini, njalonjalo? Njengokuba besekuxelwe kaliqela ukuba amaqhalo nezaci asukela kubomi bentlalo yabantu, oku kuyabonakala kwimizeleko embalwa ekhethiweyo yamaqhalo nezaci. Umzekelo, ubomi bokulima (isityalo imfe – ukubetha ngemfe), imfuyo (iinkomo, ukuthenga emithiyo), ukuzingela (iintaka – ukusukela endala ucinga ukuba lithole); nezilwanyana zasendle (iinyamazana – deda mhlangala endaweni yenyhwagi).

Malunga nokuguqulelwa kwamaqhalo nezaci, uBaker (2011) unoluhlu lweziphakamiso azicebisayo ezixelwe ngasentla, ezinokusetyenziswa ukuzama ukukhawulelana nomlesi. Kwezi ziphakamiso umbhalimguquleli ukhethe ezithathu: Ukuboleka iqhalo okanye isaci solwimi lwentsusa; ukusebenzisa ushwankathelo; ukulishiya okanye ukungaliguquli kwaphela

iqhalo okanye isaci. UJordan ukhethe ukuzityeshela ezinye iziphakamiso kuba, xa ebenokuzisebenzisa ebeya kusondela kakhulu kulwimi nakwinkcubeko yolwimi lwenguqulelo, nto leyo inokuthathwa njengokunyevulela isicelo sabapapashi baseLovedale. Ngaphezu koko inguqulelo ibinokungasebenziseki okanye ingamkeleki kwabo kujoliswe kubo. Ukuba ebenokusebenzisa amaqhalo afanayo okanye asondeleyo esiNgesi, ebengasoze abe nalo nofifi umfundi ngendlela acikoza ngayo amaXhosa. Yiyo loo nto athande ukuyitolika ngesiNgesi intetho yesiXhosa njengoko kubonisiwe kuhlalutyonzulu olungasentla. Umzekelo, umbhalimguquleli usebenzise ushwankathelo okanye ingcaciso elula ekutolikeni izaci okanye amaqhalo akwimizekelo 5–10. Kwimizekelo 1, 2, 3, umbhalimguquleli uboleke isaci/iqhalo lesiXhosa, walisebenzisa linjalo esiNgesini. Kumzekelo wesine, ukhethe ukulishiya angaliguquleli iqhalo elithi *uxam waphusile*.

Njengoko kuxeliwe ngasentla, olu hlobo loguqulelo alunakuthathwa njengempazamo, koko lungathathwa njengeqhinga lokuhlangabezana nenjongo yoguqulelo okanye ukuhlangabezana nabafundi benguqulelo. Malunga nalo mba, singacaphula kumazwi kaMossop (1990), ngosiba lukaHu (2022, p. 204), athi 'uguqulelo olusulungekileyo nolunambithekayo kulwimi lwenguqulelo alwamkeleki kuba luyakufihla ukwahluka kwetekisi yentsusa kwaye lusenokubucima nya ubuni bombhali wentsusa'. Le ngcamango ihambelana nembono kaVenuti (1998) ekhuthaza ukugqama komguquleli. Inguqulelo efana nale yamkeleka lula kubafundi bayo njengenguqulelo ebatyhilela indlela abaphila ngayo abanye abantu. Ngaphezu koko, ithathwa njengenguqulelo esemthethweni '*ethical translation*'.

Eloqukumbela

Olu phandonzulu belujolise ekuhloleni umgangatho wenguqulelo yesiNgesi yenoveli *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* ethi *The Wrath of Ancestors*, ebhalwe nguJordan waze wayiguqulela kwa ngokwakhe, lugxile ngokukodwa kuguqulelo lwamaqhalo nezaci. Olu hlolo luqhutywe ngokusebenzisa i*Functional-Pragmatic model* kaHouse (2014) yohlolo lomgangatho wenguqulelo. Uhlalutyonzulu ludandalazise ukuba le nguqulelo isemgangathweni kwaye imodeli kaHouse (2014) ingasetyenziswa nakwinguqulelo eyenziwe ngumbhali wetekisi yentsusa. Naxa kunjalo, xa kujongisiswa umba wothelekiso lwetekisi yentsusa nenguqulelo yayo iziphumo zophando zidandalazise ukuba umahluko ophakathi kwetekisi yentsusa netekisi eguqulelweyo awuthethi ukuba umgangatho wenguqulelo usezantsi. Kwakhona le modeli kaHouse ikwaphononononga ukuba itekisi yenguqulelo iyasebenziseka na kumfundi okanye kwimeko ekujoliswe kuyo. Oku kwenziwa ngokucubungula iziphene ezenziwe ngumguquleli ezinokuba

nefuthe elibi kumgangatho wenguqulelo. Akukho ziphene ziqatshelweyo kuhlalutyonzulu lwale nguqulelo. Umahluko oqatshelweyo phakathi kwetekisi yentsusa neyenguqulelo ubangelwe kukunamathela kombhalimguquleli kwinjongo yenguqulelo, asikuba ziimpazamo ezibangelwa kukonganyelwa ngumsebenzi woguqulelo okanye ukungabi nabuchule bokuguqulela. Ngokusebenzisa izikrweqe zokugcina imeko yasemzini engaqhelekanga kumlesi, ezinjengokuboleka amaqhalo nezaci zolwimi lwentsusa endaweni yokusebenzisa amaqhalo nezaci esiNgesi angqamene ngqo nawo; ukusebenzisa izikhuzo, amagama abonisa ukuzalana neziteketiso njalonjalo, umbhalimguquleli uyifezekisile iminqweno yabapapashi yokukrobisa abasemzini nabantetho isisiNgesi intlalo yamaMpondomise ngobunjalo bayo. Akenzanga mpazamo ngokuhlanganisa okanye ukushwankathela izahluko ezithile. Ubone kufanelekile ukuba imiba engenato yakwenza nenkcubeko yamaXhosa okanye yamaMpondomise angagxili kuyo ukuze ngokwenza njalo agcine umdla womlesi. Ngokucacileyo ukufezekiswa kweenjongo zeLovedale Press kuqinisekisa ukusebenziseka kwenguqulelo yakhe. Olu phando lukwadandalazisa ukuba ukufumana iziphene asikokuphela kwendlela enokussetyenziswa ukufumanisa okanye ukuhlola umgangatho wenguqulelo. Uhlolo lomgangatho lusenokuvelelwa kwicala elakhayo nelincomayo ngokuphendla ubuciko, ubuchule nobuchwepheshe bomguquleli ekufezekiseni injongo yoguqulelo. Njengoko kunqabile ukuhlolwa kweenguqulelo ezenziwe ngababhali boncwadi, le modeli kaHouse ingakhe iphinde ivavanywe kwezinye iinguqulelo ezenziwe ngababhalingqangi ukuhlola imigangatho yeenguqulelo zabo.

Chapter 9

Thulano ya diema go lebeletšwe tlhalošo ya diema tša Sesotho sa Leboa

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Summary

Proverbs are a means of communication used to explain and convey cultural, natural, social and other behaviours or actions. In this chapter titled 'Contradictory proverbs looking at Sesotho sa Leboa proverbial meanings', analysed data from the selected proverbs showed that there are conflicts of meaning in Sesotho sa Leboa proverbs. The research discovered that conflict in the meaning of proverbs was more reflected in the ideas than in the words. These conflicts of proverbs can be seen as a tool to navigate the ambiguity of life rather than just fixed truths.

Proverbs A1 (*Ngwana yo a sa llego o hwela tharing*) and A2 (*Monna ke nku o llela teng*) conflict one another with meaning, as the meaning of proverb A1 encourages one to seek help when facing problems. Whereas proverb A2 prohibits seeking help from others when facing challenges, the proverb suggests that one should be like a sheep when slaughtered as it does not make noise.

How to cite: Maponya, M 2025, 'Thulano ya diema go lebeletšwe tlhalošo ya diema tša Sesotho sa Leboa', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 145–157. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.09

Proverbs B1 (*Kgomo e se nago kgamelo ga e ke e gamelwa fase*), B2 (*Kgomo ga e latswe namane e šele*) and B3 (*Lefotwana e sego la gago o le hloba le gaela*) – most participants indicated that the proverbs are not conflicting; only one participant mentioned that provers B2 and B3 are supporting each other but are in contrast with B1. The meaning of B1 indicates that no man (human being) should be neglected regardless of not having a family. B2 and B3 indicate that no parent would love a child who is not theirs.

Proverbs C1 (*Bagwe babedi ke lesolo*), C2 (*Magotlo a mantši ga a epe molete*), C3 (*Monwana o tee ga o rone nta*), C4 (*Babedi ga ba lwe ba ronana dinta*), C5 (*Diatla tše pedi ga di rafe nose*) and C6 (*Mphiri o tee ga o lle*) – from the mentioned proverbs, C1, C3, C4 and C6 support one another with meaning which is teamwork. Then, proverbs C2 and C5 also help each other in meaning, which are against teamwork. Of the participants, only one indicated that proverb C5 is not regarded as a proverb but just a phrase.

The meaning of proverbs D1 (*Ye maswi ga e itswale*) and D2 (*Mmala wa kgomo o gola namaneng*) conflicts each other as D1 suggests that a parent with good behaviour is unlikely to give birth to a child who will be like them in terms of behaviour. D2 suggests that a child will behave the same way that the parents are behaving at home or in life. Just like A1 and A2, proverbs E1 (*O se bone mpša go tswala lesome, lesome la mpša le hlola modiilo*) and E2 (*A ba tlale ba ate monapelo ga a tsebje/A ba tswalwe ba ate monapelo ga a tsebje*) are against one another in meaning, as the meaning of E1 prohibits giving birth to many infants and E2 encourages giving birth to many children as one would not know/predict which of his children will be the one to help them or be successful.

Lastly, F1 (*Motho ge a ehwa ga a re batho ehwang le fele*) and F2 (*Pudi ya ja leotša e fetetša tše dingwe*) – F1 means that people should not suffer because of one individual; on the contrary, F2 is saying just because you were a group when a crime was committed you should all be punished even if you did nothing. The two proverbs are conflicting in meaning.

Abstract

Proverbs are a phenomenon reflecting the collective wisdom of society. Every culture or society has proverbs that reflect its ideas, philosophies, social morals and traditions. The Basotho ba Leboa community, just like any other African society, has a practice of utilising proverbs during weddings, customary courts and other daily activities. Such knowledge and practices seem to be vanishing, and going with it is the tangible and intangible heritage of the people. This chapter adopted contrastive analysis theory as a lens to view the phenomenon. This chapter aims to examine the

implications brought forth by the Sesotho sa Leboa proverbs. The study follows the qualitative research method. Data are gathered through interviews and secondary sources. The findings of this study reveal that there are some proverbs that indeed have contradictions in meaning, which may portray some inconsistencies in the type of advice they impart.

Kakaretšo

Diema ke ditlabelo tšeo di makatšago, tše di bonagatšago kgoboketšo ya bohlale bja setšhaba. Ke ka fao setšhaba se sengwe le se sengwe se nago le diema tša go bonagatša dikgopolo, difilosofi, boitshwaro le ditlwaelo tša sona. Basotho ba Leboa bjalo ka wo mongwe wa mehlobo ya setšhaba sa MaAforika, ba na le setlwaedi sa go šomiša diema manyalong, dikgorong tša tsheko, gammogo le maphelong a bona a tšatši ka tšatši. Tsebo le ditlwaelo tše bjalo di a timelela gomme di ya le bohwa bja batho. Kgaolo ye e latetše teori ya 'contrastive analysis' bjalo ka leihlo la go lebelela taba ye ya thulano ya tlhalošo ya diema. Maikemišetšomagolo a kgaolo ye ya nyakišišo ke go bea nyanyeng seabe seo se tlišwago ke thulano ya diema. Nyakišišo ye e latela mokgwa wa boleng (*qualitative*) bjalo ka mokgwa wa nyakišišo. Tshedimošo e kgobokeditšwe ka mokgwa wa phatadiganong, gammogo le mokgwa wa go fetleka dingwalwa tšeo di lego gona. Se se hweditšwego ke gore go na le diema tše di thulanago ge go lebeletšwe tlhalošo ya tšona.

Matseno

Seema ke setlabelo se bohlokwa polelong ya motho. Gape mongwe a ka bolela gore bophelo bja mothomoso bo ithekgile ka diema, ka ge di šomišwa mabakeng a go fapana. Diema ke bohlale bja gagwe. Kgonthe ya taba ye e laetšwa ke Nokaneng (1976) ge a re:

> Bohlale, metlae le go šetša dilo ga Mosotho di bonagatšwa ke dithai, dika le diema. Ke dilo tšeo di bolelago ka ga lefase leo a phelago go lona. Di bolela seo e lego therešo go bohle. (p. 177)

A tšwela pele a re 'Ka go realo ke mothopo wa bophelo, di fa bophelo ka gobane motho yo bohlale o ithuta ka tšeo di hlagetšego batho' (Nokaneng 1976, p. 177). Tšhomišo ya diema e bonwa bjalo ka setlabelo sa go tšweletša melaetša yeo e tebilego polelong, melaetša yeo e tlišago maele le therešo ya bophelo. Gantši diema di šomišwa go lebeletšwe maemo ao motho a lego go ona.

Diema di kgatha tema ye kgolo mo maphelong a batho. Bagologolo ba be ba di šomiša kudu mo maphelong a bona a tšatši ka tšatši. Ge go be go sekwa melato kgorong, di be di šomišwa go ahlola. Di šomišwa go ruta batho phedišano le tlhomphano magareng a bona. Polelo ya diema e tloga

e se molaleng gore motho a ka naganela gore naa seboledi se bolela ka eng, kudu ge a se na tsebo ya diema.

Ditlhalošišo tša mareo

Seema ke lefoko le lekopana la sebopego sa go se fetogefetoge. Seema se šomišwa bjalo ka setlabelo seo se kgontšhago batho go hlagiša ditlhalošo tše fapanego le go kwešiša maikemišetšo a seboledi ka mokgwa wa go bolela goba wa go ngwalwa. Etta le Mogu (2012) ba laetša gore kgale bohlale bjo bo be bo fetišetšwa go moloko wo o latelago ka mokgwa wa molomo, eupša matšatšing a lehono bo a ngwalwa.

Seema se hlamilwe ka lebaka la selo seo bagologolo ba se bonego se diragala, gomme ba hlama mmolelwana wo o sepelelanago le seo ba se bonago. Wona mmolelwana wo, o ba o phurolla tsela ya bophelo bja batho bao ba humanwago tikologong ye itšego (Mogale et al. 2007). Serudu (1990) le Nokaneng (1976) ba gatelela taba ya gore diema ke tšona di re fago bohlale le filosofi ya setšhaba se se rilego; ke gore ke methopo ya bophelo. Diema gape di nyaka go ruta batho ka dintlha-theo tša bophelo. Van Leeuwen (1992, p. 32) o laetša ntlha ye ya taba ka go re: '[...] proverbs sought first to teach these basic "rules of life"[...]'.

Sesotho sa Leboa ke polelo ye e lekaneditšwego. Bontši bja baboledi ba yona bo humanega phorobentsheng ya Limpopo. Yona polelo ye e na le dimmotwana tše e ka bago masomepedipedi (22). Go ya ka pukutlhahli ya Applied African Languages: Grammar for Home Language teaching in the Intermediate Phase (2019) e re:

> [...] Sesotho sa Leboa ke polelo ya mohlakanelwa, ye e šomišwago ke baboledi ba mebolelo ye e fapanago go ya ka dilete. Baboledi ba ba go dula dileteng tša go fapana ga ba bolele go swana thwii eupša mabakeng a semmušo bjalo ka dikolong, phatlalatšong ya ditaba le dipukung ba šomiša polelo ya go swana. (p. v)

Setsopolwa se sa ka godimo se hlatsela gore polelo ya Sesotho sa Leboa ke yona e lekaneditšwego, gomme ke yona ya mohlakanelwa ka ge e akareditše dimmotwana goba mebolelo ya dilete ka moka. Go ya ka dipalopalo tšeo di dirilwego ka ngwaga wa ketepedilesometee (2011), polelo ye e be e bolelwa ke batho ba dimilione tše 13.8 (Statistics South Africa Census 2011) bjalo ka leleme la ka gae.

Tekodišišo ya dingwalo mabapi le diema

Ge go lebelelwa taba ya go nyakišišwa ga diema, ga se gwa dirwa go tlala seatla polelong ya Sesotho sa Leboa. Thulano yeo Masuku le Chiliza (2021) ba bego ba e lebeletše e be e le ka lehlakoreng la seo go ka thwego ke makopano-bopepetla (*cross-parallel*). Masuku le Chiliza (2021) nyakišišong

ya bona, ba be ba lebeletše tirišo ya diripa tša polelo mo diemeng, kudu thulano ya go tlišwa ke tšhomišo ya madiri. Diema tšeo di bego di lebeletšwe mo ke tša polelo ya Sezulu, fao go tšona go laeditšwego gore taba ye ya thulano e gona. Bona banyakišiši ba babedi ba, ba ruma ka gore thulano ya diemeng e bohlokwa ka ge maemo a batho a sa swane. Ka fao diema tše di ka kgona go šomišwa go akaretša maemo ka moka a bophelo. Ka pene ya bona ba re:

> [.../]t is our view that such variations are necessary, as people and situations vary widely, and opposing messages will apply equally validly to a wide range of people in different situations and circumstances. (Masuku & Chiliza 2021, p. 74)

Akanbi (2020) yena o be a lebeletše thulano yeo e lego gona diemeng tša SeYorùbá. O dirile se ka go kgetha diema tše lesomepedi (12), go lebelela ge eba nnete di a thulana. O šomišitše teori ya Lado ya *contrastive analysis*, le mekgwa ye mebedi ya phetolelo e lego 'parallel word-to-word translation' le '*normal sentential translation*'. Teori ya gagwe e šomišitšwe go bapetša ditlhalošo tša diema, mola mekgwa ya phetolelo e šomišitšwe fela gore kgwekgwe ya diema le ditlhalošo tša SeYorùbá di se timelele le gore batho bao ba sa tsebego polelo ye ba kwešiše. Yena o molomo o tee le Masuku le Chiliza (2021) ge a re diema di a thulana ka tlhago, gomme lebaka la thulano ye ke gore di tšweletša therešo ya thulano le go se sepelelane ga ditiragalo maphelong a batho ka kakaretšo. Akanbi (2020) o ruma ka go re:

> One can therefore conclude that Yorùbá proverbs are not contradictory; rather, they show the Yorùbá power of observation and analysis of human nature and human affairs. (p. 268)

Lengwalong la gagwe la bongaka, Possa (2013) o be a lebeletše ge eba diema tša Sesotho tša sebjalebjale di kgatha tema ye bohlokwa setšhabeng. O be a lebeletše tlhalošo, tlhamego, le mohola goba tirišo ya tšona diema tše tša sebjalebjale. O hlophile diema go ya ka mehuta go swana le tša go hlohleletša go šoma, le go phela ga motho a le tee, tša go laetša tlaišo ya bana, mohlala wa legoro la go phela ga motho a le tee: 'Qaqana se seng le se seng sea iqhomela' (Possa 2013, p. 88). Seema se se re 'segwagwa se sengwe le se sengwe se a iphofela', e le ge se hlaloša gore motho yo mongwe le yo mongwe a lebelele bophelo bja gagwe. Go itaetša gore diema tša sebjalebjale di hlangwa go lebeletšwe maitemogelo a batho a tšatši ka tšatši, gape go bonagala di na le tswalano le diema tša bogologolo (Possa 2013). Possa (2013) o re:

> An observation was made that these contemporary proverbs were also given their meaning based on context. (p. 202)

Fa Possa (2013) o bolela fela gore bjalo ka diema tša bogologolo, diema tša sebjalebjale le tšona di filwe tlhalošo go lebeletšwe diteng tša tšona. Go utollotšwe le gore tšona diema tše tša sebjalebjale di laetša gore setšhaba ga se sa ema felo gotee, eupša se na le diphetogo.

Possa le Makgopa (2010) ba be ba lebeletše ge eba kgolo ya setšhaba e ka ba le seabe phetogong ya diema tša Sesotho. Phetogo ye e ba gona mo ditlhalošong tša diema. Le bona ba laeditše tlhamo-lefsa ya diema gore di hlophilwe go ya ka tšhomišo ya tšona go swana le tša go laetša gore basadi ba ka loša banna, go swana le seo se rego: 'Sethole se seng le se seng se itsokela setono sa sona pela mokoko oo se o ratang' (Possa & Makgopa 2010, p. 8).

Phetolelo ya seema se ke yeo e rego 'sethole se sengwe le se sengwe se itšhikinya sekgoto pele ga mokoko wo se o ratago'. Sona se laetša gore mosadi ge a kgahlilwe ke monna o tla mo loša. Banyakišiši ba ba utollotše kgonthe ya gore diphetogo tšeo di lego gona mo setšhabeng, di kgona go ama phetogo ya diema. Ka pene ya bona ba re:

> The analysis disclosed that Basotho culture is dynamic as it changes with time and space. An investigation revealed that there is a shift in Basotho Cultures as is shown in the study of proverbs. (Possa & Makgopa 2010, p. 12)

Maikemišetšo

Maikemišetšomagolo a nyakišišo ye ke go tsitsinkela thulano tlhalošong ya diema tša Sesotho sa Leboa le seabe sa thulano yeo kabong ya thuto le maele bathong. Go tlile go ahlaahlwa diema tšeo di kgethilwe go ya ka (1) tlhalošo ya tšona, (2) tsebego ya tšona, le (3) melaetša ya tšona yeo e nonnego ka tshedimošo yeo e ka šomišwago maphelong a batho.

Mokgwanyakišišo

Mokgwanyakišišo wo o dirišitšwego mo nyakišišong ye, ke mokgwa wa boleng (mokgwaboleng). Ke mokgwanyakišišo wo o bitšwago '*qualitative*' ka Seisemane. Go ya ka Tong et al. (2012) maikemišetšomagolo a mokgwa wa boleng ke go aba kwešišo ka botlalo malebana le maitshwaro, maikutlo, mekgwa, le maitemogelo a batho goba a setšhaba. Mokgwa wa boleng o itheile godimo ga ntlha ya go hlatholla nnete ya setšhaba, le tlhalošo ya maitemogelo a ka fao setšhaba se phelago ka gona (Atkinson, Coffey & Delamont 2001). Mokgwa wo wa boleng o na le seabe se segolo kudu ka dinyakišišong tša thuto, maphelo, sosiolotši, le saekholotši. Kgonthe ya taba ye e laeditšwe ke Denzin le Lincoln (2005). Bryman (2008) le Brink (1993) ba molomo wa lehlabula ntlheng ya gore mokgwanyakišišo wo o itheile tšhomišong ya mantšu go feta tšhomišong ya dipalopalo go kgoboketšeng le go sekasekeng ga tshedimošo. Mokgwa wa boleng o gatelela kudu tshekatsheko ya mantšu ka lebaka la gore o itheile go seo batho ba se bolelago (naa batho ba reng goba ba ra go reng), dinyakwa le ditumo tša bona, le maitshwaro a bona a bohlokwa.

Nyakišišong ye go kgethilwe diema tše lesomešupa (17), tšeo di kgethilwego go tšwa go puku ya Rakoma ya Marema-ka-dika tša Sesotho sa Lebowa [sic] le weposaete ya *Unisa Multilingual Proverbs Dictionary* (Letsoalo, Shaku & Maponya 2023). Tšona di kgethilwe go lebeletšwe tsebego ya tšona bathong, le ka fao di šomišwago kgafetšakgafetša ka gona. Monyakišiši gape o kgethile diema tše a nagantšhitše ka ditlhalošo tša tšona. Kahlaahlo ya diema tše e dirilwe go ya ka (1) tlhalošo ya tšona, (2) tsebego ya tšona, le (3) melaetša ya tšona ye e nonnego ka tshedimošo yeo e ka šomišwago maphelong a batho.

Batho ba mengwaga ye e fapanago, le bong bjo bo fapanago ba kgopetšwe go kgatha tema mo nyakišišong ye. Bona ba fatilwe dikaganong go šomišwa '*WhatsApp call*'. Monyakišiši a ba botšiša dipotšišo tšeo a di ngwadilego letlakaleng, gomme bona ba di araba. Dikarabo tša bona di bolokilwe ka mokgwa wa go gatišwa ka segatišamantšu. Bakgathatema e bile banna, basadi, bafsa (bong bja bonna le bja bosadi), le bakgekolo go ralala le phorobetshe ya Limpopo. Sehlopha se sa bakgathatema se akaretša barutiši, bafahloši le bao e bego e le barutiši/gadi fela ba rotše modiro. Ka moka ga bona ba dumetše go kgatha tema ntle le go gapeletšwa, ebile ba boditšwe gore maina a bona a ka se phatlalatšwe mo nyakišišong ye. Dikarabo tša bona di ile tša ngwalollwa morago ga go gatišwa, gomme monyakišiši a di tsitsinkela. Ke gona fao monyakišiši a kgonnego go lemoga le go tšweletša thulano ya diema nyanyeng morago ga go bala dikarabo tša bakgathetema.

Teori ye e latetšwego

Teori e ka hlalošwa bjalo ka leihlo leo monyakišiši a le šomišago go bona dilo mo nyakišišong, gore a kgone go di kwešiša. Matthews le Ross (2010) ge ba hlaloša lereo le teori ba re ke:

> A set of ideas or related concepts which can be used to explain and understand an event, situation, social phenomena. (p. 480)

Mola Maxwell (2013) yena a re teori ke:

> [...*A*] set of concepts and ideas and the proposed relationships among these, a structure that is intended to capture or model something about the world. (p. 48)

Bangwadi ba ka bobedi ba gatelela taba ya gore teori ke sehlopha sa dikgopolo tšeo di šomišwago go hlatholla le go kwešiša diponagalo tša se sengwe mo nageng. Nyakišišong ya diema ga go bonolo gore monyakišiši a kgethe teori yeo a tlago go e šomiša. Eupša, mo nyakišišong ye monyakišiši o kgethile teori yeo e bitšwago '*contrastive analysis*'. '*Contrastive analysis*' ke teori yeo e šišintšwego ke Lado ka ngwaga wa 1957. Yona e be e šomišwa go bapetša le go fapantša dipolelo goba ditšo tše pedi. Akanbi (2020) o re:

> [...] Lado's theory is basically concerned with how languages and cultures can be compared and contrasted in terms of their similarities and differences, [...] (p. 263)

Teori ye ya 'contrastive analysis' e be e šomišwa dithutong tša go ithuta maleme a šele le dithutong tša go fetolela ka ge motho a tla ba a šoma ka dipolelo tše pedi. Gantši maleme ao a ba a sa swane goba a sa nyalelane ka dilo tša go swana le mongwalo le mongwalelo.

Bjale ka ge maikemišetšo a nyakišišo ye e le go laetša seabe sa thulano tlhalošong ya diema tša Sesotho sa Leboa, monyakišiši o tla swanelwa ke go bapetša ditlhalošo tša diema gore a kgone go lemoga thulano yeo e lego gona. Ka gona teori ye ya 'Contrastive analysis' e tloga e le ya maleba mo nyakišišong ye.

Dikutollo le kahlaahlo

Go utolla thulano yeo e ka bago gona diemeng, go tla ahlaahlwa diema tše lesomešupa bjalo ka ge go laeditšwe. Tšona diema tšeo di beilwe ka bobedi goba go feta. Mo diema di ka fetago tše pedi, go ka ba le kgonagalo ya gore tše dingwe di be le ditlhalošo tša go nyalelana goba tša go kwana. Ditlhalošo tše bjalo di tla laetšwa, le ge e le gore tabakgolo ya nyakišišo ye ke thulano.

> '**A1**: Seema: Ngwana yo a sa llego o hwela tharing.
>
> Tlhalošo: Ge motho a ka re ge a le mathateng a se bolele goba a se kgopele thušo, gona a ka se hwetše thušo ka ge go se na yo a tsebago ge a na le mathata.
>
> **A2**: Seema: Monna ke nku o llela teng.
>
> Tlhalošo: Ge motho a wetše mathateng a se ke a tlatša lešata e le ge a nyaka thušo, eupša a ke a loge maano a gore a ithuše mathateng ao a ka bago a le go ona.'

Diema tše ka bobedi di a ganetšana goba di a thulana ge re lebeletše ditlhalošo tša tšona. Tlhalošo ya seema sa **A1** e hlohleletša gore motho a se dule fela le ge a bona goba a tseba gore o na le mathata. Mo seemeng se, go lla go šupa go se bolele goba go se itsheke. Go lla ga go šupe sello sa dikeledi, le ge e le gore ba bangwe ge ba le mathateng ba ka lla ka tšona dikeledi.

Mola ka go le lengwe seema sa **A2**, sona se šupa gore motho a se bolele ge a le mathateng. Motho mo gape o bapetšwa le nku ka ge yona ge e bolawa e sa hlabe lešata go swana le pudi goba kgogo. Bontši bo dumela gore lentšu le *monna* mo seemeng se le šupa motho wa bongtona. Ba bangwe ba le bona bjalo ka ge le šomišitšwe ka gare ga Kgwadi'a boMateu go šupa motho yo mongwe le yo mongwe go sa kgethollwe bong (Bagalatia, 6:7; Bakorente ba 1, 15:21). Mohlala o mongwe e ka ba wa Nelson Mandela mo a rego '*If you talk to a **man** in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his own language, that goes to his heart*'.

Bakgathatema ka moka ba laeditše gore ba dumela kudu gore nnete diema tše di a thulana ka tlhalošo. Ba bolela gore se sengwe se tloga se ganetša se sengwe kudu. Ga go tumelelano le ye nnyane mo gare ga tšona. Mabapi le tšona diema tše ka bobedi, motho a ka re bolela ba go sege, goba homola o hwe le tšona.

> '**B1**: Seema: Kgomo e se nago kgamelo ga e ke e gamelwa fase.
>
> Tlhalošo: O se ke wa dira dilo go se na maikemišetšo. Ka mehla dira dilo ge o ikemišeditše. Se e tla ba tshenyo.
>
> **B2**: Seema: Kgomo ga e latswe namane e šele.
>
> Tlhalošo: Batho ge ba sa tsebane goba ba sa nyalelane (e se batho ba tee ka madi goba lenyalo), ga ba swanela go thušana.
>
> ['Ga go motswadi yeo a ka ratago ngwana motho ošele gagolo go fetiša wa gagwe', Rakoma (1978, p. 113)].
>
> **B3**: Seema: Lefotwana e sego la gago o le hloba le gaela.
>
> Tlhalošo: Motho yo e sego wa geno ga o gapeletšege go mo thuša, le ge a le mathateng, a di se ke tša go ama.'
>
> ['Ngwana ge e se wa gago ga o ke o mo kwela bohloko le ge o mo tlaiša', Rakoma (1978, p. 118)].

Ditlhalošo tša diema tše tša **B1**, **B2** le **B3** ga go bonale di thulana goba di ganetšana. Seema sa **B2** le seema sa **B3** di a kwana ka ge di šupa selo se tee sa go swana. Ka mantšu a mangwe ke gore **B2** le **B3** di a thekgana, mola **B1** e fapana le tšona ka ge yona e bolela ka go ba le maikemišetšo a go phethagatša selo se se itšego.

Bakgathatema ba nyakišišo ye ka bontši ba laeditše gore ba magareng, fao e lego gore ga ba bone go na le thulano goba kwano ge ba bapetša ditlhalošo tša diema tše ka boraro bja tšona. Ke o tee fela yo a rilego o dumela gore diema tše di na le thulano ge go lebelelwa ditlhalošo tša tšona. Mabaka a gagwe e bile gore:

> '**B1** e bolela ka motho yo a sa lahlwego ka ge a sena [*sic*] ba gabo.
>
> **B2** le **B3** di bolela ka motswadi yo a ka se ratego ngwana yo e sego wa gagwe. Thulano e tlišwa ke go se rate le go lahlwa.'

Lentšu le letšema, le tlwaelegile le go tsebega kudu go baboledi ba dipolelo tša sehlopha sa Sotho-Tswana. Le thekga kgopolo ya gore katlego phethagatšong ya mediro le dilo tše dingwe mo bophelong e kgonagatšwa ke go thušana. A re lebelele diema tše:

> '**C1**: Seema: Bagwe babedi ke lesolo.
>
> Tlhalošo: Batho ba babedi ba ba tsebanago, ebile ba kgotselane, o ka se ba kgaogantšhe. Tšohle tše ba di dirago, ba a di dikišana.
>
> **C2**: Seema: Magotlo a mantši ga a epe molete.
>
> Tlhalošo: Le ge o rata, ge batho e le ba bantši, ba ka se ke ba kwana mošomong wo mongwe le wo mongwe. Ge bangwe ba eya kua, ba bangwe ba tla ya kua.

C3: Seema: Monwana o tee ga o rone nta.

Tlhalošo: Ge o nnoši ga go seo o ka se kgonago, thušo e a nyakega bophelong.

C4: Seema: Babedi ga ba lwe ba ronana dinta.

Tlhalošo: Ge le le batho, se segolo ke go thušana gobane ge o le noši ga go seo o ka se kgonago ka mehla.

C5: Seema: Diatla tše pedi ga di rafe nose.

Tlhalošo: Batho ba ba dirago modiro o tee gantši ga nke ba ratana, ka ge yo mongwe a ipona a tseba modiro go phala yo mongwe. (Serudu 1990).

C6: Seema: Mphiri o tee ga o lle.'

Tlhalošo: "Motho ga a ke a kgona go phetha mediro ka moka a le noši ka ntle le go thušwa ke batho ba bangwe." (Rakoma 1978, p. 217).

Ditlhalošo tša diema tše hlano tše e ka tsela ye, **C1**, **C3**, **C4** le **C6** di a thekgana, k.g.r di hlohleletša tšhomišano bathong. Ka boraro bja tšona di bolela gore go swanetše go be le thušano magareng a batho gore ba kgone go fihlela selo se se itšego. Ka go le lengwe **C2** le **C5** le tšona di a thekgana, fao di bolelago ka go se nyake thušo go tšwa go ba bangwe ka ge seo se bonwa bjalo ka moditela. Naa ekare mola motho a boditšwe gore letšema le a thuša modirong, bjale go reng go hlamilwe diema tša go ba kgahlanong le thušano yeo? Taba ye nnete e gabedi, ka gore ge modiro o thikilwe nnete o ka phethagala ka pela. Gape ke therešo gore ge mošomo o thikwa go ka ba le dikgogakgogano, gomme ka lebaka la go kgaletšana modiro wa se phethagale ka tshwanelo.

Bakgathatema ba tloga ba laeditše taba ye ya thulano ya diema ka ge ba rile ba dumelelana le gore diemeng tše go na le thulano ya tlhalošo. Ke o tee fela yo a laeditšego gore seema sa **C5** ga a tsebe e le seema, eupša o tseba e le mmolelwana. Fela seo ga se sa mo palediša go ka lemoga thulano ya tlhalošo diemeng tšeo a di filwego.

Mmolelwana wa segologolo wo o rego 'leabela le a fetetša' goba 'leabela le a fetiša' o ka šomišwa go akaretša diema tše di tla latelago. Ke nnete gore ga se gantši kgomo ya go ba le maswi a mantši e ka re ge e tlilo tswala ya tliša namanyana yeo le yona ka moso e tla bago le maswi a mantši. Le mo bophelong go bjalo, ga se ka mehla ngwana le motswadi ba ka swanetšana, ba dira dilo tša go swana, tša go ratega, tša go loka.

E sa le nnete gore ge motho a dira tša go loka, ka dinako tše dingwe bana ba gagwe ba a mo tšeelela, ba dira tša go loka go swana le yena, ka dinako tše dingwe ba ba ba feteletša.

Se se bonagala gabotse gore ga se ka mehla moo ngwana a tšeelelago motswadi wa gagwe. A re lebelele diema tše:

'**D1**: Seema: Ye maswi ga e itswale.

Tlhalošo: Motho ga nke a belega goba a tswala ngwana wa go mo etša ka mediro goba wa go swana le yena.

> **D2**: Seema: Mmala wa kgomo o gola namaneng.'
>
> Tlhalošo: Dika le mekgwa ya batswadi di bonala kudu mo ngwaneng wa bona. "Mekgwa ya batswadi gantši e bonala gabotse baneng." (Mogale et al. 2007, p. 67)

Ditlhalošo tša diema tše tše pedi di a thulana. Seema sa **D1** se a gana, se a latola, se re motswadi wa mekgwa ye mebe a ka se tswale ngwana yo bjalo ebile motswadi wa pelo ya lerato, ya borutho le yena a ka se tswale ngwana wo bjalo ka yena; eupša o tla tswala ngwana wa mekgwa ye mebe. Seema sa **D2** se bolela gore maphelelo a lapa goba batswadi o tla a bona ngwaneng wa lapa leo. Bakgathatema ba tloga ba kwane ka dikarabo tša bona le go laetša gore ba tloga ba dumela kudu gore ditlhalošo tša diema tše di a thulana. Ke gore tlhalošo ya seema se sengwe e kgahlanong le tlhalošo ya se sengwe.

Diema di ka thulana gape le ge go bolelwa ka ditaba tša pelego ya bana. Pelego ka setšo e bonwa bjalo ka mpho ya go tšwa go Modimo le Badimo. Ke ka fao gape go thwego motho o belega go ya ka fao Modimo le Badimo ba mo abetšego ka gona.

> '**E1**: Seema: O se bone mpša go tswala lesome, lesome la mpša le hlola modiilo.'
>
> Tlhalošo: Motho ge a na le bana ba bantši ba mmakela mohlako.

Ye nngwe taba e ka ba ya go fiwa ga mašeleng baneng ba banenyana ke mmušo e le ge ba re ba ba thuša go fepa bana, ka ge yo mongwe wa bakgathatema a laeditše gore se se ba hlohleletša go belega bana ba bantši. Go belega bana ba bantši go ka hlola bahloki, ka gore ge bana ba le mmalwa le dinyakwa tša bona e tla ba tše mmalwa. Bana ba nyaka tlhokomelo.

> '**E2**: Seema: A ba tlale ba ate monapelo ga a tsebje. (A ba tswalwe ba ate monapelo ga a tsebje.)'
>
> Tlhalošo: "Motho ke go tswala ka fao a ka go kgona, ka ge a sa tsebe gore gare ga bana bao a ba tswalago; ke ofe yo a ka tlago a mo phutha a mo tšwela mohola."

Seema se se tliša lehutšo la gore yo mongwe wa batho ba mo lefaseng o tla tliša lesedi moo go nago le leswiswi.

Ditlhalošo tša diema tše ka bobedi di a thulana. Thulano ya tšona e bonagala ge sa **E1** se le kgahlanong le go belega bana ba bantši. Mola sa **E2** sona se hlohleletša gore bana ba belegwe go ya ka fao motho a ka kgonago. Dikarabo tša bakgathatema di tlogile di laetša gore nnete ba tloga ba dumelelana le gore ditlhalošo tša diema tše di a thulana, yo mongwe o ile a bolela le go re:

> 'Se sengwe ga se nyake palo ya godimo ya bana goba ya pelego (bodiidi fela) mola se sengwe sona se nyaka palo ya godimo ya pelego (lehumo la go tlišwa ke yo wa go ba le pelo ye botse).'

Tše dingwe diema tšeo go boletšwego ka tšona ke:

> ‘**F1**: Seema: Motho ge a ehwa ga a re batho ehwang le fele.
>
> Tlhalošo: Motho ge a tsene mathateng a se ke a nyaka go tsenya batho ba bangwe mo mathateng a gagwe.
>
> **F2**: Seema: Pudi ya ja leotša e fetetša tše dingwe.’
>
> Tlhalošo: Motho ge a ka dira phošo, ge re mo kgalemela go akaretšwa le batho bao ba lego kgauswi le yena mosenyi yo.

Diema tše ka bobedi bja tšona ga di thekgane. Seema sa **F1** se laetša gore ge motho a wela mathateng a se bolaiše bangwe. Kotlo yeo a tlago go e hwetša e tla ba e lebane yena a le tee, go ka se ke gwa lebelelwa gore o be a na le bomang ge a dira molato woo. Taba ye e hlatselwa ke tlhalošo yeo e filwego ke Rakoma (1978, p. 146) ge a re ‘Motho ge a bona a wetše molatong a se ke a rato (sic) gogela le batho bao ba se nago molato ka fao kotsing, […]’

Ge re lebelela tlhalošo ya seema sa **F2** re bona e thulana le ya sa **F1**. Thulano e tlišwa ke gore mo go **F2** motho yo a dirilego phošo o otlwa le batho bao a obilego molato a na le bona. Bakgathatema ba laeditše gore ba dumela kudu tabeng ya gore diema tše ka bobedi di tloga di thulana ka tlhalošo.

Pele bakgathatema ba fiwa diema, ba botšišitšwe ge eba go na le diema tšeo ba di tsebago di thulana ka ditlhalošo. Bona ka moka ba laeditše diema tše pedi fela e lego ‘Ye maswi ga e itswale’ le ‘Mmala wa kgomo o gola namaneng’.

Thumo

Diphatišišo tše di laeditše gore ka nnete go tloga go na le diema tšeo di ganetšanago ge go lebeletšwe tlhalošo ya tšona. Mmoledi a ka re a efa keletšo ka seema se se itšego, mmoledišwa a iphetolela ka sa go thulana naso. Tlhalošo ya seema e fiwa ke tšhomišo ya sona mo setšhabeng goba kwešišong ya setšhaba. Go hweditšwe gore thulano yeo e lego gona mo diemeng e bonagetše kudu mo dikgopolong, e sego mantšung.

Taba ye ya diema go nyaka e fiwe šedi ye kgolo, go dirwe dinyakišišo tša go tlala seatla ka yona. Go ya ka nyakišišo ye diema di bonwa di thulana ka ge mongwe a ka šomiša seema se se itšego go ikarabela tabeng yeo a ka bago a e botšwa ka seema. Go swana le ‘mmala wa kgomo o gola namaneng’, fao motswadi wa pelo le mekgwa ye mebotse, a ka botšago bangwe mola a ka arabja ka seema se se rego ‘Ye maswi ga e itswale’. E tla ba e le ge ba thulana le kgopolo ya mmoledi ya gore o tla belega bana ba go etša yena.

Go dirweng ga nyakišišo ye, go ka akanywa gore tsebo ye ya borakgolokhukhu e ke e nyakelwe sešego e bolokelwe ka go sona. Nke di logaganywe ka gare ga lenaneothuto, go hlangwe dithalokwana tša sebjalebjale tša go ba le diema, gore bana le meloko yeo e tlago ba di tsebe gape di be nyanyeng go bona.

Chapter 10

Conceptualisation and social functions of Soshanguve proverbs

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Abstract

African people often use proverbial expressions to give advice or say something about life. Proverbial expressions are linguistic expressions with unique structures (form, style and formulae), and they have distinct functions in society. In general, proverbs have similar functions – to use folk wisdom to provide general advice on how to act and live, and to reflect on cultural values. South African linguistic communities also use proverbs as channels through which messages travel. Therefore, it is important to explain how proverbs are formed and used in South African speech communities. This chapter analyses proverbs from four South African ethnic groups – Sotho (Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana), Tsonga (Xitsonga), Nguni (isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati) and Venḓa (Tshivenḓa). The proverbial analysis looks at two aspects of the proverbs – conceptual framework (what informed the formation of proverbs) and social functions of proverbs.

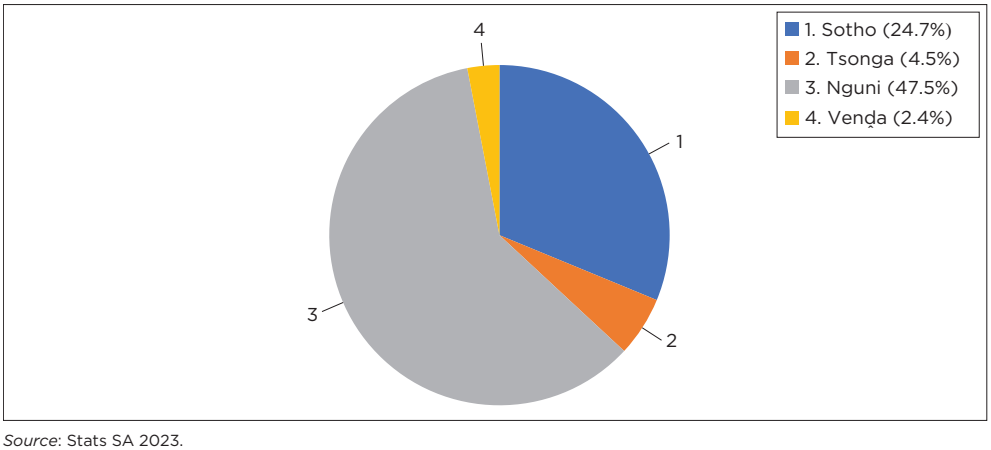
How to cite: Shaku, K 2025, 'Conceptualisation and social functions of Soshanguve proverbs', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 159–175. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.10

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the proverbial formula and the social functions of Soshanguve proverbs. It starts with an explanation of how Soshanguve proverbs are conceptualised. The conceptualisation of Soshanguve proverbs is guided by the observe and/or reflect conceptual model (O+/R conceptual model). This conceptual model was developed to account for how Soshanguve speech communities used their daily events (norms, traditions and practices) and experiences as frames of reference for proverbial formulation. Thereafter follows a section on the social functions of Soshanguve proverbs. Although Soshanguve proverbs have many functions, this chapter only explores two of those functions – pedagogical and social cohesion functions. Both functions explain how Soshanguve proverbs have a role to play in society.

Álvarez-Mosquera and Coetzee (2018) and Mbirimi-Hungwe, Hungwe and Seeletse (2020) state that Soshanguve is a short name that refers to Sotho, Shangaan, Nguni and Venḓa. The grouping of Soshanguve language categories is inspired by African cultures, which include four ethnic groups Sotho (Bapedi, Basotho and Batswana), Nguni (AmaZulu, AmaXhosa, AmaNdebele and AmaSwati), Vatsonga and Vhavenḓa (Chivandi, Samuel & Muche 2020). This demonstrates the multilingual and cultural diversity of South Africa. The Soshanguve languages are used by 79.1% of South African citizens, and the statistics per language are demonstrated in Figure 10.1.

Figure 10.1 shows that 79.1% of South Africans speak languages that resort under the Soshanguve language categories, with the Sotho languages being spoken by 24.7%, Tsonga by 4.5%, Nguni by 47.5% and Venḓa by 2.4% (Stats SA 2023).



Source: Stats SA 2023.

FIGURE 10.1: South African language categories.

Proverbs are the ancient linguistic utterances of speech communities, composed of different structures and having distinctive social functions. This is why Avoseh (2013) regards them as theoretical frameworks for lifelong learning in indigenous African education, constituted of powerful words couched in them. Through such powerful words, people can draw an abundance of knowledge and learn about their indigenous life. On the contrary, Jesenšek (2014) concentrated on the structural formulae of proverbs by stating that:

> [*A*]ll languages possess certain structural formulae that exhibit a high degree of peculiarity towards the proverb as a linguistic form and that new proverbs have often been made on old models. (p. 117)

Based on the latter guidance, it is necessary to explore and explain the structural formulae of the Soshanguve language categories. Hence, the proverbial techniques used in the formulation of proverbs in the Soshanguve language categories are explained. Contributions are made on African paremiology, as the proverbs from South African indigenous languages are explored. The language experts and paremiologists are capacitated with the skills and knowledge to continue with the creation of proverbs. Moreover, different functions of proverbial expressions within the Soshanguve language categories are explored. A multilingual and multicultural approach to the analysis of proverbs is adopted as this kind of approach has not been explored fully.

Soshanguve proverbial formula

Numerous characteristics highlight the difference between proverbs and normal sentences. They include but are not limited to formulae, style and purpose (Mac Coinnigh 2015). This section explores the formulae of Soshanguve proverbs by exploring a dominant pattern manifested in the proverbial structures. Soshanguve proverbs constitute an interesting structural formula, which makes them unique and fascinating to explore. An analysis of this formula shows a pattern and style that cut across most of the proverbs within languages in the Soshanguve language categories. The proverbial pattern shows a classical structure that linguistic communities of languages under Soshanguve language categories used when formulating proverbs. The proverbial structural pattern shows that Soshanguve proverbs are made up of inferences; thus, they are attached to the implications and interpretations people make in their daily lives.

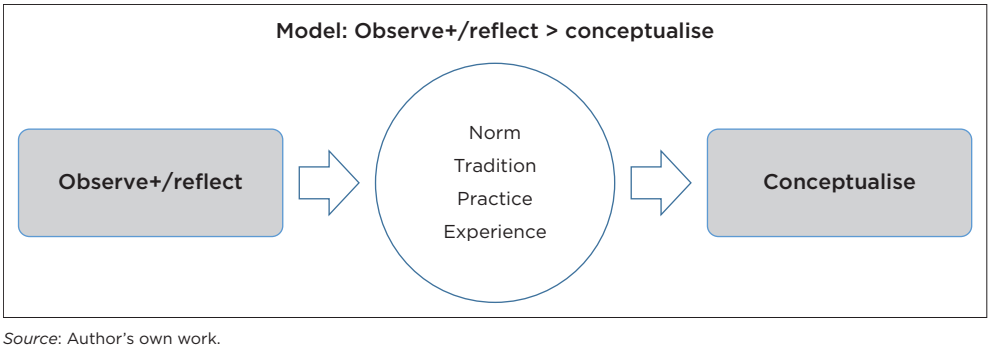
Therefore, this section explores two aspects of Soshanguve's proverbial formula: The relationship between proverbs and daily events, and the use of life experiences when proverbs are formed. These two aspects are of interest as they are central to the formulation of proverbs. They can be regarded as points of reference. The discussions are framed within a conceptual model

of observe and/or reflect (O+/R model), which guided the formulation of Soshanguve proverbs. The model was developed based on the Soshanguve languages' repeatable pattern of proverbial formula. It is deemed relevant as the structure of Soshanguve proverbs has a dominating pattern of observation +/reflect > conceptualise. The O+/R model was developed to explain how speakers of languages within Soshanguve language categories conceptualised proverbs through their observation of daily events (norms, traditions and practices) and reflection on their experiences.

Proverbial formulation through the O+/R model

Figure 10.2 depicts the conceptual model developed to explain the system used by speakers of languages within the Soshanguve language categories during the formulation of their proverbs.

Figure 10.2 illustrates a pattern for the conceptualisation of Soshanguve proverbs. It shows that Soshanguve proverbs are conceptualised based on the observations people made (which usually are norms, daily events, traditions and practices) and their reflections (life experiences) on past events. So, in a nutshell, Soshanguve proverbs are informed by what people do, see and experience. Dei (2013) opined that proverbs are wise utterances and the source of wise teachings for Soshanguve proverbs. Navigating through Soshanguve proverbs, one would realise that speakers of languages within Soshanguve language categories drew wisdom and teachings from their bad and good life experiences. The following proverbs from the Soshanguve languages that were collected from print and internet paremiological resources on South African languages are used as examples. Each proverb is accompanied by a literal English translation. The semantic representations are deliberately excluded from these examples, because the aim is only to explore the surface structure of the proverbs – the formulae. The examples are grouped according to the clusters of language families (Sotho, Tsonga, Nguni and Venḓa) in Table 10.1.



Source: Author's own work.

FIGURE 10.2: O+/R conceptual model.

TABLE 10.1: Examples of proverbs grouped according to the clusters of language families (Sotho, Tsonga, Nguni and Venḓa).

Language group	Examples
Sotho	**Sepedi** *Ngwana wa tšhiwana molao o tšea kgorong* (An orphan receives law from a traditional court) *Fihla thupa o senye ngwana* (Hide the stick and spoil the child) **Setswana** *O se bone dithaba go katogana, bosigo di a etelana* (Do not see the mountains being apart, they are visiting each other at night) *Kgomo ga e ke e tlhaba mong wa yona* (A cow does not stab its owner) **Sesotho** *Mabitla a matle kantle* (Graves are beautiful from the outside) *Pere e kgoptjwa e le maoto mane* (Although a horse has four legs, it stumbles)
Xitsonga	*Ku rima hi tihomu swi tlula hi ku rima hi xikomu* (Ploughing with cattle is better than ploughing with a hoe)
Nguni	**siSwati** *Tandla tiyagezana* (Hands wash one another) **isiZulu** *Akulahlwa mbeleko ngakufelwa* (The cradle is not abandoned after losing a child) *Impi yomndeni ayingenwa* (A fight between family members is not entered) *Akukho ndlovu yasindwa umboko wayo* (There is no elephant that finds its trunk heavy)
Tshivenḓa	*A hu na nḓila i si na mipfa* (There is no path without thorns) *Munna ndi nngu, ulilela thumbuni* (A man is a sheep, he cries from within)

Source: Author's own work.

The proverbs presented in all Soshanguve language groups in Table 10.1 attest that Soshanguve proverbs are utterances inferred from observations people made from their lives and life experiences. These proverbs illustrate how the speakers of languages in the Soshanguve language categories wisely formulated figurative speech out of day-to-day events and by reflecting on past events.

A proverb such as '*fihla thupa, o senye ngwana*' (hide the stick and spoil the child) was conceptualised from the fact that if parents do not reprimand their children, they end up spoiling them and ingraining bad manners. This proverb is based on the observation made about the consequences of not reprimanding children. Also, the proverb '*mabitla a matle kantle*' (graves are beautiful from the outside) is an observation that people make about graves. They realised that the outer structure of the graves does not represent how they look from within; therefore, a proverb was formed based on this narrative.

Moreover, in the Xitsonga language, the same pattern can be seen. The proverbial formulation through reflection+conceptualisation is manifested in the proverb '*ku rima hi tihomu swi tlula hi ku rima hi xikomu*' (ploughing with cattle is better than ploughing with a hoe). The formulation of this proverb emanated from the observation made about the efficacy of ploughing with cattle, in comparison to ploughing with a hoe.

Similarly, proverbs in the Nguni languages also followed suit. The siSwati proverb '*tandla tiyagezana*' (hands wash one another) is a case in point. In this proverb, an observation was made on how hands wash each other and the results thereof. This observation facilitated the translation of the literal sense – the actual act of hands washing each other, into a figurative sense – the significance of returning a favour. Also, in isiZulu, a proverb like '*akukho ndlovu yasindwa umboko wayo*' (there is no elephant that finds its trunk heavy) is a similar example. As African people and wildlife cannot be separated, this proverb proves that an observation was made about elephants' ability to carry their trunks no matter how heavy they might be. In this instance too, a proverb was conceptualised based on the observation made. Through this observation, a proverb that suggests that a self-chosen burden is not felt was conceptualised.

Like in other Soshanguve languages, Tshivenḓa proverbs also demonstrate a pattern of observation+reflection for the conceptualisation of proverbs. This can be seen in proverbs such as '*a hu na ṋḓila i si na mipfa*' (there is no path without thorns) and '*munna ndi nngu, ulilela thumbuni*' (a man is a sheep, he cries from within). The first proverb displays an observation people made about the fact that all roads have thorns. Based on this observation, a proverb that likens life to a thorny road was conceptualised. Such a proverb is often used to encourage people to

endure difficult situations. The latter proverb was formed based on the observation and experience people have on how sheep live. By nature, a sheep does not cry when it is slaughtered, despite the pain it feels. So, this proverb is intended to capture how a sheep feels pain without making noise. As a result, a proverb that guides people not to make their hardships public was conceptualised.

A close look at the above examples of Soshanguve proverbs shows there is a manifestation of the O+/R conceptual model. That is, the formulation of these proverbs follows a pattern of observe and/or reflect > conceptualise. Accordingly, when proverbs were conceptualised, Soshanguve speech communities carefully observed their daily events, practices and norms and extracted figurative utterances – proverbs. In addition, experiences became instrumental as the referential points for the formulation of proverbs. To this end, it is interesting to realise how day-to-day events and experiences are used as frames of reference for the conceptualisation of Soshanguve proverbs. Consequently, the formulation of proverbs through the O+/R conceptual model not only shows a systematic way of creating proverbs; it also represents the wisdom and intellectual capacity of Soshanguve language categories' speakers.

Furthermore, the O+/R conceptual model continues to be demonstrative in the formation of proverbs in Soshanguve languages. For instance, a Sepedi proverb such as '*noka e thibja marega, selemo e tla falala*' (a river is blocked in winter, in summer it will overflow), coined by three academics and paremiologists, Letsoalo, Shaku and Maponya (2023), from the University of South Africa, can still be analysed through the O+/R conceptual model. The conceptualisation of this proverb demonstrates an observation that it is possible to block a river during winter because, at that time, rivers either have little water or are dry because of a lack of rain. However, in summer, it would be impossible to block a river because it is a rainy season, and often, rivers overflow. Therefore, such observation became a frame of reference for the formulation of a proverb that advises people not to procrastinate when they want to accomplish something. This section discussed Soshanguve's proverbial formula. The following explores various social functions of the Soshanguve proverbs.

Social functions of Soshanguve proverbs

Achebe (1958) describes proverbs as the palm oil with which words are eaten. Achebe (1958) also notes that proverbs are utterances with forms of figurative communication with didactic functions. In general, African proverbs have been used to perform several functions within the context of African traditions (Essuman, ResCue & Yeboah 2021). Proverbs have different functions in society, and users benefit differently. Like in any other

society or community, Soshanguve proverbs also have several functions for the Soshanguve community. In this section, we limit Soshanguve proverbs to two themes: pedagogical and social cohesion functions. Each of these two themes is engaged, and references are made from relevant Soshanguve proverbs. Take note that there are proverbs that carry multiple functions; thus, they are educational and, at the same time, speak to social cohesion.

Pedagogical functions

Proverbs are enablers of education for the current and future generations. From proverbs, people can deduce valuable teachings that have the potential to impact lives positively. In Rani's (2017) words:

> [*P*]roverbs have been used as teaching tools for centuries to teach moral values and way of doing things. Proverbs contain much educational wisdom and have long been used as a didactic tool in child-rearing. (p. 3)

This means that proverbs can serve as teaching material in facilitating the transfer of knowledge. Mvanyashe (2019) and Essuman et al. (2021) pronounce that, among other things, proverbs carry teachings about wisdom, culture and moral behaviour. Through Soshanguve proverbs, this section explores cultural and moral education found in the proverbs.

Cultural education

In acknowledging the value of cultural education carried by proverbs, Dei (2013) states that:

> [*P*]roverbs, cultural stories, and mythologies have long been part of the Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) in many communities. Proverbs constitute a body of knowledge in African communities. Proverbs help African peoples connect understandings of culture, society, land, environment, history, and tradition as valid sources of knowledge. (p. 345)

With that said, proverbs can be regarded as a window through which culture is learnt. So, by just unpacking the proverbs of a particular speech community, culture can be learnt.

In an African context, it is impossible to divorce proverbs from culture. Therefore, Richmond (1987) was on point when he called for the teaching and usage of proverbs in African cultures, as they are a prime vehicle through which culture is communicated. Consequently, this calls for an analysis of how some of the Soshanguve cultures are carried through proverbs. This section illustrates how proverbs successfully paint the cultures of the Soshanguve speech communities. In this context, culture refers to people's traditions, ideas, customs, social behaviour and way of life or lifestyle. This section provides an overview of how proverbs can

teach people about the traditions and norms of the Soshanguve speech communities. An analysis is drawn from proverbs that were conceptualised based on African practices of kingship leadership and the use of traditional doctors.

Soshanguve proverbs provide teaching on cultural practices on how kings and queens are respected in the Soshanguve communities, the central role played by traditional doctors and the gender roles attached to men and women. Therefore, the value of such cultural practices manifests itself through the surface structure of the proverbs. Therefore, the following proverbs show the Soshanguve speech communities' norms of being governed by kings. This is the case because the formulation of these proverbs emanates from people's cultural beliefs and experiences on how kings live their lives, how people are expected to honour them and the consequences of rebelling against a king. Examples of proverbs are provided in Table 10.2.

TABLE 10.2: Examples of proverbs that show the Soshanguve speech communities' norms of being governed by kings.

Language group	Examples
Sotho	**Sepedi** *Go roga kgoši go tsenya monna kgorong* (To insult a king makes a man to enter a traditional court) **Sesotho** *Mohlanka wa moreneng, Morena* (A servant of a king, a king) **Setswana** *Kgosing ga go elwe* (At the royal place, someone does not go on behave of someone)
Xitsonga	*Ku hela ka vuhosi i ku hela ka matimba* (The end of a kingship is the end of power)
Nguni	**isiZulu** *Wayethi uyokwendela enkosini* (She thought she would be married by a king) **isiXhosa** *Njengomdudo kaMapasa* (Just like Mapasa's [a king] wedding) **isiNdebele** *Ubukhosi ngombethe* (Kingship is like a dew)
Tshivenḓa	*U si nyefule khosi, nḓevhe yayo ndi muḓalahoṭhe* (Do not insult a king, his ear is everywhere)

Source: Author's own work.

The proverbs presented in Table 10.2 cut across Soshanguve languages, and their wording manifests how kingship is perceived by the Soshanguve community. Kingship governance is one of the Soshanguve community's ways of living – their culture; hence, it also shapes their worldview. An isiZulu proverb like '*wayethi uyokwendela enkosini*' (she thought she would be married by a king) symbolises the value and prestige attached to a royal marriage and how every village girl or boy wishes to have a royal partner. The isiXhosa proverb '*njengomdudo kaMapasa*' (just like Mapasa's [king] wedding) also used King Mapasa's marriage festival norms as a framework to conceptualise a proverb. Such proverbs have the potential to teach people about the cultural norms and values of AmaZulu and AmaXhosa, respectively.

Moreover, these proverbs also show how the Soshanguve speech communities give reverence and honour to their kings. Proverbs like '*go roga kgoši go tsenya monna kgorong*' (to insult a king makes a man enter a traditional court) and '*u si nyefule khosi, nḓevhe yayo ndi muḓalahoṯhe*' (do not insult a king, his ear is everywhere) signify the reverence and honour Bapedi and Vhavenḓa are expected to give to their kings. Such expectation is not confined to Bapedi and Vhavenḓa communities; it is also in the culture of other Soshanguve speech communities.

Proverbs do not just become handy to the cultural projection of Soshanguve communities; in addition to this point, Savić and Miladinović (2013) opine that proverbs can aid with the cultural education of people who are learning a second language. It is said that using literature, films, music, radio and TV shows is not sufficient for the effective learning of a language; however, proverbs should be used to bring speakers closer to the language. Therefore, this means that second language speakers or any individual learning the Soshanguve languages can also learn the Soshanguve cultures through Soshanguve proverbs.

In addition, a leadership pattern could also be learnt through these proverbs. For instance, most of the Soshanguve proverbs show that it is unusual for the communities to be governed by queens. It is for this reason that words such as '*mmakgoši, mofumahadi, kgosigadi, Ndlovukati, indlovukazi, ukumkanikazi, khosi khadzi and hosikati*' are rare in Soshanguve proverbs.

Another Soshanguve intercultural traditional norm is the use of traditional doctors as they are used as consultants for various diseases, and many people seek protection from them. As a result of this norm, Soshanguve proverbs have been conceptualised through the experiences people gained from consulting traditional doctors or by just observing what they do. The following proverbs in Table 10.3 can help to understand the experiences people have about traditional doctors and their observation thereof.

The proverbs listed in Table 10.3 tell a story about the Soshanguve speech communities' cultural norm of using traditional doctors. Traditional doctors form part of the Soshanguve linguistic communities' lives; hence, they use their experiences and observations of traditional doctors as a frame of reference. This shows that their first-hand experience with traditional doctors shapes their worldviews. To put things into perspective, proverbs such as '*ngaka e rutwa wa dihlare, mejo ha e e rutwe*' (a doctor is taught medicine, but not the charges) and '*ngaka go alafa ya leme-le-thata*' (healing comes from a doctor with a hard tongue) represent the experiences Soshanguve people have with traditional doctors and what they have observed from them.

Also, Soshanguve proverbs confirm the value that people attach to traditional doctors. For instance, proverbs such as '*ṅwana mutshenzhela ṅanga u ṭanganya ṅanga ndi hawe*' (child who has faith in traditional doctors will go to all of them) and '*n'anga yi khome vutomi, hosi yi khome ndzalama*' (a doctor has life, and a king has wealth) are framed within the morals of the Soshanguve community.

All these depict how culture is painted in proverbs. As a result, proverbs can be used as tools for the analysis of Soshanguve cultures. Cultural education can also be facilitated through engagement with the proverbs, as Rani (2017) and Fayemi (2010) state that proverbs display the historical background and cultural context of a speech community.

TABLE 10.3: Examples of proverbs that can help to understand the experiences people have about traditional doctors and their observation thereof.

Language group	Examples
Sotho	**Setswana** *Ngaka e a re e tlhotswe, go alafe ngakana* (When a big traditional doctor fails to heal, a small traditional doctor will do) **Sesotho** *Ngaka e rutwa wa dihlare, mejo ha e e rutwe* (A doctor is taught medicine, but not the charges) **Sepedi** *Ngaka go alafa ya leme-le-thata* (A doctor who heals is the one with a hard tongue)
Xitsonga	*N'anga yi khome vutomi, hosi yi khome ndzalama* (A doctor has life; a king has wealth)
Tshivenḓa	*Ṅwana mutshenzhela ṅanga, u ṭanganya ṅanga ndi hawe* (A child who has faith in traditional doctors will go to all of them)

Source: Author's own work.

Moral education

A generic observation on proverbs informs that they wisely convey messages about morality, social conduct, accountability, social justice and community ethics (Dei 2013; Sonde 2013). By doing this, they educate people about the norms and ethics of the socio-cultural context in which they live. This shows that proverbs perform an educational function by providing guidance, codes of conduct and behavioural patterns with which people should abide to create a functional society. As it is preached that it 'takes a village to raise a child', Fasoro (2012) points out that proverbs can be used to shape young people's minds by channelling their minds (youth) to behave morally and assisting them with personality development (Ndume 2020).

Proverbs (Soshanguve proverbs in context) are central to moral education in the African context. Maduka (2019) suggests that through proverbial language, people can draw a line between good and bad behaviours. Therefore, proverbs can tell people what is morally correct and what is not. These proverbs can be labelled 'fountain of knowledge' for acceptable behaviour in African societies. When used as moral guiding utterances, proverbs can either come as speech for reprimanding what is regarded as deviant behaviour or as a piece of advice.

These proverbs could be used as a yardstick to measure the wrongfulness and rightfulness of a behaviour. It is for this reason that Dei (2013) refers to proverbial utterances as 'wise sayings', which convey messages about morality, social conduct and accountability.

According to Masuku (2020):

> Proverbs are philosophical and moral expressions encapsulated into a few words. They contain wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views, and are handed down from generation to generation, just like folktales. (p. 218)

Moral education has also spread over Soshanguve proverbs and is passed from generation to generation. Many Soshanguve proverbs guide people on what is right and wrong; however, for a brief analysis, some Soshanguve proverbs are presented in Table 10.4.

In observing the principles of right and wrong (morality), Soshanguve proverbs play a huge role in shaping people's minds on what to do and what not to do. These proverbs promote good behaviour and indicate what is immoral. A proverb such as '*leshano ha le ruise motho*' (a lie does not make a person to be rich) cautions people about the immoral act of speaking lies; it encourages people to be moral by speaking the truth. Also, more often, when an individual is reluctant to change their bad manners, a proverb such as '*mangwa a yi cinci mavala ma yona*' (a zebra does not

TABLE 10.4: Examples of Soshanguve proverbs.

Language group	Examples
Sotho	**Sesotho** *Leshano ha le ruise motho* (A lie does not make a person to be rich) **Sepedi** *A di re go šika le manamane di ete di amuša* (As they flock with the calves, they should breastfeed)
Xitsonga	*Mangwa a yi cinci mavala ma yona* (A zebra does not change its colours)
Nguni	**isiZulu** *Iqiniso liyakhulula* (The truth liberates)
Tshivenḓa	*U songo lifhedza tshivhi nga tshivhi* (Do not revenge sin with sin) *Naho wa sema thavha u seli, u ḓo vhuya wa swika* (Even if you insult a mountain while on the other side, eventually you will arrive) *Tshilombe tsha dzana malamba tshi a ṋewa* (An itinerant who dances must be given a reward)

Source: Author's own work.

change its colours) would be used as a way of showing how scornful people with bad manners are not acceptable in the society.

Moreover, Soshanguve proverbs suggest hospitality as one of the important values upheld by the Soshanguve communities, and people who are hospitable are seen to be moral. A proverb such as '*lunyawo alunamphumulo*' (a foot does not have relief) proposes that people's politeness should be extended to strangers, as those strangers might be helpful in the future.

The scrutiny of Soshanguve's proverbs informs that there are many things on which people's moral standards are judged. For instance, Soshanguve proverbs regard retaliation to be an immoral thing. Therefore, proverbs such as '*u songo lifhedza tshivhi nga tshivhi*' (do not revenge sin with sin) were created for people to refrain from retaliation. In this way, morality is encouraged as a social value.

Ultimately, Soshanguve proverbs represent philosophical and moral expressions that are carried over from generation to generation (Masuku 2020). Such expressions guard against immoral behaviour and enable people to draw a line between right and wrong. As a result, community ethics would be upheld (Sonde 2013), and social cohesion would be established.

Social cohesion

In their article titled 'Ubuntu-as-Unity: Indigenous African proverbs as a "re-educating" tool for embodied social cohesion and sustainable development', Thakhathi and Netshitangani (2020, p. 407) decry that 'one of the main problems which obstruct socio-cultural development in Africa is a lack of unity, peace, and social cohesion'. Therefore, such tension needs practical measures to be put in place to build a functional society. In response, scholars such as Ajiboye (2012) and Egenti and Okoye (2016) guide that in African societies, proverbs can play a huge role in conflict resolution and crisis management in pursuit of unity. They further emphasise that if received positively, proverbs can be used as a tool to bring peace, togetherness and harmony between people. Also Ajiboye (2012) informs that in a case of conflict, regardless of whether it is interpersonal, inter-communal or ranging from person to person, community to community and nation to nation, proverbs can negotiate peace. Moreover, proverbs encourage unity through collaboration by emphasising that it is feasible for people to achieve things if they work together.

As guided by Ajiboye (2012) and Egenti and Okoye (2016), Soshanguve proverbs can also be used for the purposes of social cohesion. This is so because there are proverbs that stand against conflicts and promote peace and unity. In the quest for an interconnected society, some of the Soshanguve proverbs inspire collaboration. The advantage of these proverbs is that they give reasons why people should collaborate and have unity, and the consequences of disunity are spelled out. It is up to an individual to receive or reject what proverbs advise. Nonetheless, Dei (2013) states that:

> [*S*]ociety bestows wisdom, knowledge, and intelligence on one whose speech is laced with proverbs, but also easily frowns upon someone who shows arrogance and pomposity in their display of knowledge of these wise sayings. (p. 352)

This means that proverbial utterances' effectiveness depends more on the reception by people. Thus, if they are received well, their impact will manifest; however, an individual's arrogance has the potential to fail in their end goal. Soshanguve proverbs, which encourage unity and collaboration, follow shortly. For ease of analysis, these proverbs are presented in language groups, thus Sotho, Tsonga, Nguni and Venḓa.

Proverbs for collaboration and unity

This subsection presents and analyses Soshanguve proverbs that encourage social collaboration and unity in Table 10.5. Each family of languages in the Soshanguve language category is represented.

TABLE 10.5: Examples of Soshanguve proverbs that encourage social collaboration and unity.

Language group	Examples
Sotho	**Setswana** *Kgetsi ya tsie e kgonwa ka go tshwaraganelwa* (A bag of locusts lightens up when it is carried by many people) **Sepedi** *Letšema le ema ka beng* (A company of workers stands together) **Sesotho** *Ntjana – peli ha li hloloe ke phokojoe* (Two dogs do not get defeated by a fox)
Xitsonga	*Tsima ri hanyisa rixaka* (Group work makes a nation to live) *Xandla xi na matimba ku tlula rintiho* (A hand is more powerful than a finger)
Nguni	**isiXhosa** *Intaka yakha ngoboya benye* (A bird builds its nest with the feathers of another) **isiZulu** *Induku ayiwakhi umuzi* (The stick does not have a home) *Igugu liyadonsiswana* (A good thing is pulled both ways) **siSwati** *Tandla tiyagezana* (Hands wash each other)
Tshivenḓa	*Ho andaho zwanḓa, shango ḷi a lala* (Where there are many hands, the land sleeps) *Vhuvhili vhu vhulaha ṋowa* (Two kill a snake)

Source: Author's own work.

The proverbs presented in Table 10.5 advocate for the spirit of togetherness, peace and social stability. Therefore, these proverbs can promote social cohesion. A case in point is when it is said that '*kgetsi ya tsie e kgonwa ka go tshwaraganelwa*' (a bag of locusts lightens up when it is carried by many), '*tsima ri hanyisa rixaka*' (group work makes a nation to live), '*igugu liyadonsiswana*' (a good thing is pulled both ways) or '*vhuvhili vhu vhulaha ṋowa*' (two kill a snake), people are encouraged to work as a unit, as there is safety in numbers.

One of the functions of the Soshanguve proverbs is to bring families together. For example, when there is no peace in a family, a proverb such as '*induku ayiwakhi umuzi*' (the stick does not have a home) would be uttered to encourage the family to stick together. As a result, thoughtful consideration of the advice of this proverb could help the family to put their differences aside and put their house in order.

In addition to Soshanguve proverbs' social unifying role, they also pursue solidarity through the creation of conflict resolution. This function is well captured by Egenti and Okoye (2016), who articulated that African proverbs are indispensable in conflict resolution, and they can be used as a tool to disperse tension among people. If applied correctly, Soshanguve proverbs can create a cohesive society. For example, the utterance of the following proverbs can calm blazing hearts.

Proverbs for conflict management

The following proverbs in Table 10.6 demonstrate Soshanguve proverbs' ability to play a unifying role by inspiring a cohesive society.

TABLE 10.6: Examples of proverbs that demonstrate Soshanguve proverbs' ability to play a unifying role by inspiring a cohesive society.

Language group	Examples
Sotho	**Sesotho** *Ntwa ke ya madula-mmoho.* (Those who stay together often quarrel) **Sepedi** *Se re go e bona e hlotša wa e nametša thaba* (Do not make it to climb a mountain while you see that it is limping) **Setswana** *Ntwa kgolo ke ya molomo* (The biggest battle is the words [*from a*] [*sic*] mouth)
Xitsonga	*Nyimpi i ya vambirhi* (A fight is between two people)
Nguni	**isiZulu** *Akusoka elingenasici* (There is no sweetheart without fault) **isiNdebele** *Umuntu abozinuka amakhwapha* (Every person should smell their armpits)
Tshivenḓa	*I nguluvhe, i songo itwa nḓou* (Do not make a pig an elephant) *Muxedzi na muxedziwa vha a fana* (The one who leads astray and the one who is led astray are similar)

Source: Author's own work.

In an instance of conflict, Soshanguve proverbs can be used to bring calm and peace. This can be executed through proverbs such as '*ntwa kgolo ke ya molomo*' (the biggest battle is the words of mouth) and '*nyimpi i ya vambirhi*' (a fight is between two people), as they serve as an advisory utterance for people to resolve their conflicts. Proverbs such as this usually come to play as agents of peace during conflict. Furthermore, Soshanguve proverbs can also teach people to realise that no one is insusceptible to making mistakes in life. Proverbs like '*ntwa ke ya madula-mmoho*' (those who stay together often quarrel) and '*umuntu abozinuka amakhwapha*' (every person should smell their armpits) could be influential in resolving conflict and making individuals aware to realise that it is normal for people to fight; however, there should be room for forgiveness and peace offering.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the conceptualisation of Soshanguve proverbs. The observe and/or reflect conceptual model (O+/R conceptual model) was used to explain how Soshanguve speech communities use their day-to-day events and experiences to formulate proverbs. It was established that the observation of day-to-day events (norms, traditions and practices) and reflection on experiences led to the conceptualisation of Soshanguve proverbs. This means that Soshanguve proverbs use literal occasions to convey figurative messages. Then, pedagogical and social cohesion were explained as some of the functions of Soshanguve proverbs. On pedagogical function, an explanation of how Soshanguve proverbs teach culture was provided. It was explained that proverbs carry multiple cultural education and can be used as a window to understand the culture of a particular speech community. Also, an explanation of how Soshanguve proverbs encourage morality was provided. It was indicated that social morality could be enforced through proverbs. Finally, this chapter ended with an explanation of how proverbs can be used in the promotion of social cohesion. The submission was that social stability, unity and conflict resolution could be achieved using proverbs.

Epilogue

Epilogue: Reflections and reflexivity

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This book is intended to describe the present state of Soshanguve proverbs scholarship, that is, the collection of proverbs and the study of proverbs, its past accomplishments and its significance for the future. It has meticulously woven together a rich tapestry of scholarship on proverbs, exploring their historical roots, present-day relevance and future potential. This section synthesises the purpose and central themes of this book while reflecting on the significance of its contributions to the study of proverbs and their broader cultural, linguistic and societal implications.

Proverbs have long been a profound repository of African wisdom, encapsulating the values, philosophies and societal norms that shape and sustain communities. These concise and impactful expressions serve as oral archives, bridging the past and present while preserving the cultural

How to cite: Letsoalo, N & Ngoepe, M 2025, 'Epilogue: Reflections and reflexivity', in N Letsoalo & M Ngoepe (eds.), *Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach*, AOSIS Books, Cape Town, pp. 177–180. https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2025.BK523.0e

heritage passed down through generations. Beyond their linguistic artistry, proverbs offer deep insights into the collective knowledge, lived experiences and moral frameworks of African societies. They act as tools for teaching, guiding behaviour and resolving conflicts, reflecting the communal ethos and resilience of the people. In essence, proverbs are timeless vessels of African identity, wisdom and interconnectedness. This book underscored the enduring importance of proverbs as a fundamental component of African oral tradition, emphasising their role in preserving indigenous knowledge systems.

The chapters collectively highlighted how proverbs transcend their literal meanings, functioning as both linguistic artefacts and tools for navigating complex social, moral and cultural landscapes. Proverbs, often succinct and metaphorical, encapsulate wisdom passed down through generations, offering insights into communal values, ethical dilemmas and social norms. By delving into the proverbs of various South African languages such as isiXhosa, Xitsonga, Sepedi and others, this book demonstrated how these linguistic treasures serve as a bridge between the past and the present. Each proverb not only communicates universal truths about human nature, relationships and resilience but also reflects the unique cultural contexts and historical circumstances from which it arises. Through this exploration, the chapters uncovered the dynamic interplay between the universal and the particular, showcasing how proverbs are adapted to local contexts while maintaining their broader applicability. This multifaceted approach not only underscores the richness and diversity of South Africa's linguistic heritage but also affirms the role of proverbs as vital tools for fostering intercultural understanding and preserving the wisdom of various linguistic communities in a rapidly changing world.

One of the central themes of this book is the duality of proverbs as both stable and dynamic elements of cultural expression. Historically, proverbs have served as fixed, authoritative sources of wisdom, passed down from one generation to the next. Yet, as the chapters reveal, they are not static relics but living forms of expression that adapt to the changing contexts of modern society.

For instance, the analysis of proverbs featuring animals, such as snakes in Xitsonga culture, demonstrates the flexibility of proverbs in accommodating multiple interpretations and shifting meanings. Similarly, the exploration of social media platforms as contemporary spaces for proverbial expression underscores their evolving role in digital communication. This dynamism allows proverbs to remain relevant, resonating with younger generations who engage with them in innovative and culturally rich ways.

The multilingual approach adopted in this book is a testament to South Africa's linguistic diversity and the interconnectedness of its cultural traditions. Proverbs from various language groups are analysed not in isolation but as part of a broader tapestry of African oral traditions. This approach enriches our understanding of how different communities articulate shared human experiences through their own linguistic and cultural lenses.

The focus on proverbs across multiple languages in this book also advocates for the importance of linguistic inclusivity in scholarship. It highlights how multilingualism can serve as a bridge, fostering mutual understanding and appreciation of South Africa's diverse cultural heritage.

Another key theme is the transformative potential of proverbs in addressing contemporary social challenges. While proverbs have historically been used to reinforce societal norms, they can also serve as instruments of critique and change. For example, this book examines how patriarchal ideologies embedded in certain proverbs perpetuate gender stereotypes and inequality. This book calls for a re-evaluation of proverbs in the context of social transformation, advocating for the discontinuation of regressive expressions and the promotion of inclusive and empowering narratives. This critical engagement with proverbs reflects a broader effort to align traditional knowledge with modern values, ensuring that proverbs continue to serve as relevant and constructive tools for societal growth.

In an era marked by rapid technological advancements, the preservation and revitalisation of proverbs take on new urgency. This book champions the use of digital tools, such as online proverbial dictionaries and web archiving, to safeguard this intangible cultural heritage. The digitisation of proverbs and their accessibility through responsive platforms ensures their survival and continued relevance in a world increasingly mediated by technology. Moreover, the integration of proverbs into digital spaces, including social media and gaming, provides innovative avenues for engaging younger audiences. These efforts not only preserve proverbs but also rejuvenate their role in contemporary communication, fostering intergenerational dialogue and cultural continuity.

Finally, this book issues a compelling call to action for integrating proverbs into educational curricula and sustainable development initiatives. The incorporation of proverbs into basic and tertiary education, it argues, can foster a deeper appreciation of indigenous knowledge systems and promote cultural literacy among learners. This, in turn, supports broader efforts to mainstream linguistic diversity and multilingualism in South Africa's development agenda.

This book also highlights the potential of proverbs to contribute to social cohesion, ethical decision-making and intergenerational knowledge transfer. The recognition of their value as both cultural artefacts and practical tools calls for renewed investment in their study, preservation and promotion.

Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach serves as both a tribute to the rich heritage of African proverbs and a forward-looking guide for their continued relevance in a rapidly changing world. The documentation of the present state of proverb scholarship, reflection on its past accomplishments and charting of a path for the future, this book provides a comprehensive and accessible introduction to the study of South African proverbs.

Through its multilingual and multidisciplinary lens, this book illuminates the power of proverbs to connect, inspire and transform. It invites readers to engage with proverbs not just as linguistic expressions but as living embodiments of African wisdom and creativity. As we look to the future, the preservation, revitalisation and promotion of proverbs will remain essential to safeguarding the cultural and linguistic diversity that defines South Africa and the African continent as a whole. The future companion edition should include all the official languages of South Africa.

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Soshanguve paremiology+: A multilingual approach describes the present state of Soshanguve proverbs scholarship, that is, the collection of proverbs (paremiography) and the study of proverbs (paremiology), its past accomplishment and its significance for the future.

Drawing on five years of a multilingual online proverbs dictionary project that collected 200+ common equivalent proverbs in each of the following languages: Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, Xitsonga, isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, siSwati, Tshivenda (Soshanguve), the book illuminates the richness of linguistic diversity and the profound cultural tapestry woven through the threads of proverbs across languages.

This multilingual book on Soshanguve paremiology has the potential for a significant impact on language learning and cultural preservation. In the South African multicultural context, imparting culture to younger generations is essential – and the teaching of proverbs provides a powerful means to achieve this. Paremiological study has application in fields such as folklore, literature, sociology, psychology, syntax, semantics and translation studies. Proverbs are widely used by professionals such as psychologists, educators, politicians and preachers to explore traditional beliefs, societal norms, individual and group behaviour, and community dynamics.

Primarily intended for scholars engaged in research, this book provides a comprehensive account of the current state of proverb scholarship and its transformative role in South Africa's academic discourse. It is also a valuable resource for practitioners and specialists interested in the applied significance of proverbs across various disciplines.

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https://doi.org/10.4102/
aosis.2025.BK523

ISBN: 978-1-77995-352-0