

Ukuhlonipha and ukuhloniphana among the Zulu Traditional Healers

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ABSTRACT

African traditional healers have one generic doctrine among themselves which is correctly called *ukuhlonipha amasiko* in Zulu, which can be loosely translated as meaning to promote and respect cultures. The term *ukuhlonipha* alone is a Zulu verb which means 'to respect', and if it is practised effectively across all cultures it yields peace within family structures and within the society at large. Traditional healers practise and promote *ukuhlonipha* when they meet, during consultations and during traditional ceremonies, though much of it still remains a mystery to the uninitiated, and sometimes even to scholars of this philosophy. This article aims to explore the features of *ukuhlonipha* among traditional healers so that future generations can understand the somewhat interesting, strange and peculiar behaviour of traditional healers. The research therefore, utilises relevant theory, especially the theory of politeness, to critically analyse the *hlonipha* features of *ukuhlonipha* custom in order to gain a clear understanding of their meaning.

Keywords: *ukuhlonipha, ukuhloniphana, politeness, respect and traditional healers*

1. Introduction

Before analysing the data it is wise and will help this study to look at previous studies conducted on (*uku*)*hlonipha* and/or traditional healers. De Kadt (1994) is one of the researchers who have contributed a lot to the study of politeness within the Zulu culture. On her study named 'Toward a model for the study of politeness in Zulu', (De Kadt, 1994) expresses that this model of politeness may not only reflect verbal means of stating politeness, rather the use of non-verbal aspects can help in making this model much clear. She further illustrates that politeness is seen as an important factor that contributes to people living harmoniously. She showed that it is very important to look at both, verbal and non-verbal communication, as both aspects play a huge role in people's interpretation of politeness. For instance being verbally direct, does not necessarily imply that one is impolite; rather we have to understand an interpersonal relation in a culture to note and understand the aim of

such cultural aspect in maintaining a good relation with others. This study is an eye opener since it made clear that for one to do a proper research within the Zulu culture, aspects of age, status difference and gender play a huge role in how politeness is being expressed. Unlike De Kadt, this article will not look at politeness of Zulu people per se but exploring (*uku*)*hlonipha* within the Zulu traditional healers. It will be interesting to see if in the context of traditional healers, age and gender will also contribute differently in terms of *ukuhlonipha* as is the case with the Zulu people in general according to De Kadt.

As noted above De Kadt contributed a lot on the issues patterning politeness, one of the most interesting study that she developed is 'I must be seated to talk to you: taking nonverbal politeness strategies into account' (Bouton, 1995). She was looking at the status difference as one of the factors that contribute in people being polite in communication. She showed three important aspects of communication that reveal how polite a person can be when requesting, those aspects are posture, gesture and gaze. In most cases people use these aspects if they want a favour. For an example, an African child who desperately wants her or his parent to buy them

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something very important, when asking their parent for that favour, they would change their posture, gaze and show how polite and respectful they are. With awareness that if they don't show properly the aspect of politeness they probably will not get what they wish for. This then shows that for anyone who is in the position of requesting something, the requestor will most likely use the aspects of politeness to favour them. Looking at tradition healing, we can say that they are always in a position of requesting favours from their ancestors; this study then can be of relevance to enlighten us about those aspects of politeness during communication with ancestors and others.

Carrese and Rhodes (2000) conducted research on the language of traditional healers during their communication with patients. Their article examines the manner in which traditional healers inform their patients about the results from their diagnosis. Their article concludes that healers were insensitive about the impact their communication might have on patients. Patients felt that communication between them and healers should be in a caring manner. Patients also preferred that clear, understandable terminology should be used in the communication, instead of ambiguous jargon. This brings us to the ambiguity of traditional healers' words and deeds when consulting the ancestors and their patients. This research thus investigates what traditional healers do to promote *ukuhlonipha*.

On the question of gender as a contributory factor, Finlayson (in Mesthrie, 2002) contributed a chapter entitled 'Women's language of respect: *isihlonipho sabafazi*'. In this chapter, Finlayson looks at the specific linguistic phenomena affecting modernised Zulu women within the culture of *ukuhlonipha*. Finlayson is more interested in how married women linguistically show respect to their in-laws, by means of, for example, avoiding certain syllables and names of their husband's first family names and the reason for avoiding those syllables. In one hand Finlayson also identifies the challenges that traditional women face owing to modernisation and today's lifestyle, since for most people staying in urban areas it becomes increasingly difficult to promote the culture of *ukuhlonipha umuzi* 'to respect a homestead'. On the other hand, for other women, modernised life simplifies their own living since they do

not have to follow the tradition and culture of *ukuhlonipha umuzi*. Previously, a woman who was suspected of being disrespectful towards the house (the homestead) in which she was married to was frowned upon and often ostracised. However, nowadays because of modernisation, most people would certainly view this practice as typical of uneducated, 'uncivilised' and 'rural' people. Finlayson's study makes a huge contribution to the understanding of the role of gender not only within the Zulu culture alone, but within the Nguni culture as whole. And the Nguni would include the AmaXhosa, Maswati, AmaNdebele (from South Africa) as well as the Zulu. Unlike the research by Finlayson, this article will not concentrate exclusively on female traditional healers but will include both genders, in order to get a clear understanding of traditional healers and their practice of *ukuhlonipha*.

Although Ntshimane (2007) published an article that discusses the *ukuhlonipha* code of respect, the article does not specifically discuss *ukuhlonipha* among traditional healers; rather, it discusses *ukuhlonipha* and respect in relation to the Zulu culture in general. This article will discuss *ukuhlonipha* as practised by traditional healers. It will focus on qualified and recognised traditional healers only.

Analytical theories

Some people may argue that the use of politeness in this article is inappropriate as there is a contrary feeling that state that this theory does not apply to the African context or African society. For us to understand how this theory of politeness is linked to African people, we need to understand the meaning of both *ukuhlonipha* and politeness. My understanding is that *ukuhlonipha* is the inner feeling that guides how we behave and feel towards others and politeness is an external act that is expected of us to perform in order to be accepted by the society. That is how *ukuhlonipha* is associated with politeness. It is within an assumption that the more a person respects other(s), the more they are inclined to be polite towards them. On the other hand, a person can be polite towards others as expected by society without respecting them. The likes of Lakoff (in Reiter, 2000), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987) discuss the customs and features related to politeness theory in some detail. Leech

in Reiter (2000) defines politeness as behaviour that people follow to maintain peace with others. Leech's definition of politeness does not differ much from Nene's (2013:28) definition of *ukuhlonipha*, which he defines as the inner feeling that guides how we behave and act towards others. *Ukuhlonipha* is an act of respect that in the South African context is mostly associated with cultural aspect that everyone is expected to act politely towards their seniors, co-workers and royalties. *Ukuhlonipha* is linked to the ubuntu philosophy of African people, and is supported by the belief that a person is a person through others which is otherwise known as *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. The ubuntu philosophy shows the importance for everyone to remember that 'we are who we are because of others', and that this insight on which the philosophy of ubuntu and the custom of *ukuhlonipha* must be practiced.

Politeness theory

We do not know the origin of the term politeness, but Reiter (2000:2) reports that it was established during the Middle Ages by feudal knights, who described themselves as people of courtesy and certain values, which distinguished them from others. This etiquette was then followed by courtly knights and was introduced publicly and privately throughout the class structure. It was at that time that codes and behaviour of politeness were established, with the aim of maintaining peace among social groups.

When politeness is mentioned, we think of the interpersonal relationship between people. Although acts of politeness are performed by individuals, respective norms are established by society (Nene, 2013:29). If people want to be included in society, they must therefore follow the expected practices. For example, in African culture it is generally viewed as impolite to enter someone's house without knocking or entering and sitting down without being told to do so.

Lakoff in Reiter (2000:6) argues that we are guided by three rules, namely formality: keeping aloof; deference: giving options; and camaraderie: show sympathy. The first rule implies that people maintain a distance from others in order to avoid conflict. This is done in the form of formality codes of conduct to exclude the emotional attachment with others and making it

difficult for others to confront us. It is the Nene's conviction that there are huge formal barriers between ancestors and the society. Although it is said that the ancestors are mediators between God and the public, the practical reality is that rituals are required for humans to communicate with these very mediators, the ancestors. The second rule emphasises that the speaker must give room to the addressee to make his or her own decision. This can also mean that the addressee can keep up the pretence of making independent decisions. Lakoff in Reiter (2000:6) further illustrates that the power difference between two people may contribute considerably to whether people are polite toward the powerful or not. All the above-mentioned rules are considered in this article. (Camaraderie however, remains undiscussed.)

Research method and design

A qualitative research design is used, which understands human behaviour as centred in the person, as the social actor. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1982:14) social scientists who want to understand human behaviour must put themselves in the subject's place during the inquiry, meaning that they must gain knowledge of the other person before generalising. Babbie and Mouton (2005:270) elaborate that the key feature of qualitative research design is to understand people's actions in a specific context rather than generalising it to some theoretical population.

The reason this research design was chosen is because it encompasses a variety of methods such as semi-structured interviewing, observation studies, group discussions and the analysis of written documents; in which all of the above methods are used in data gathering.

Sample method

Different sample methods can be used in a qualitative research design depending on individual research interest. Of the 16 different types introduced by Mile and Huberman (1994:29-30), only two will be used in this study. Representativeness of sample and theory development will not be applied because of the vast number of traditional healers in southern Africa. Hence, non-probabilistic sampling, especially convenience and

snowball sampling will be used. Hays and Singh (2012:165) mention that if a researcher has relative easy access to a population, convenience sampling will be more appropriate.

As the *ukuhlonipha* custom chosen for this study is mainly practised by Zulu traditional healers, the research was conducted in the predominantly Zulu-speaking area of Amajuba in Newcastle in KwaZulu-Natal.

Procedure of data collection – a case in point

Due to the sensitive nature of this topic and understanding the secret and sacred nature of traditional healers, permission to conduct research had to be obtained from the Traditional Healers Organisation (THO). The permission given, and the name of a potential participant in Newcastle at Madadeni, who was interested in taking part in this research, was provided by the THO. An appointment was made to for an interview.

On the day of the interview, the researcher found that the participant was in the middle of the local THO meeting, in which the researcher was then requested to explain his research. After the meeting a couple of traditional healers volunteered to be interviewed. However, traditional healers requested that the interview be conducted in a focus group. A focus group interview facilitates interaction between individuals who share a common goal. It provides an interviewer or researcher with a chance to listen and pay attention to the needs of those who are often left unheard. The advantage of this type of interview method is to provide the researcher with the chance to appreciate the way people see their own lives and their own reality (Liamputtong, 2011). It also allows the researcher to discover some aspects that are most often not clear to the public. The main argument of using this type of interview is that the research will be able to get, because of the collective nature of the focus group format more data in a minimum amount of time (Liamputtong, 2011).

Before the interview, participants were given consent forms, one written in English and another in isiZulu. Participants could select their preferred language. Ethical rules associated with the research were explained to them, such as their right to withdraw from the research at any time (Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden, 2000:95).

Furthermore, non-maleficence ethic was explained to

them; however, the participants requested that their names be included in the research so that future researchers may consider using them for future reference. In addition to the focus groups, the researcher was invited to a thanksgiving ceremony, conducted in the river and the mountain of iNtendeka in KwaZulu-Natal, to facilitate the researcher's understanding why traditional healers conduct such *hlonipha* practices to ancestors.

As mentioned above, snowball sampling was used. After some time, the researcher contacted one of the traditional healers again to enquire whether he could introduce him to other traditional healers to conduct further individual interviews. This was done in consideration of the ethical issue of justice that implies that findings should be derived from different groups and that no biased sampling process is applied (Nene, 2013:25).

Analysis of *hlonipha* features as practised by the Zulu traditional healers

(A) Naming

As Koopman (1976:13) reports that showing *inhlonipho* starts with the name. Accordingly the newly graduated traditional healers are given new names during the traditional healers' graduation ceremony. The new name symbolises a new beginning in the life of a traditional healer, and expresses the understanding that one does not belong to himself or herself but to the ancestors. The name given to each traditional healer symbolises a new identity. When people use that name they show respect to that individual and to the ancestors that are working with that traditional healer.

Other traditional healers and members, who would be present when a newly graduated traditional healer receives a new name, avoid using the said traditional healer's original surnames (*izibongo*). Instead, they use the traditional healers' adopted names even use addresses such as *mkhulu* or *makhosi* which are used interchangeable to address male traditional healers, and *gogo* or *makhosi* which are used to address female traditional healers. Similarly, when coming for a consultation, patients use terms such as *makhosi* or *gogo* when addressing a traditional healer. The term *makhosi* can also be used by a male or female sangoma to summon the ancestral spirits during consultations or can also be

used by the diviners to call each other as a sign of respect (*inhlonipho*) towards each other. This term, *makhosi*, is exclusively used by the people who understand its importance, by people who are possessed by *idlozi* (ancestral spirit), especially when they meet or enter in a consultation. For example, when two traditional healers meet each other along the way they will greet each other by saying '*makhosi*', not by saying '*sangoma*' or '*diviner*', as others may wrongly assume. This is in essence, like two medical doctors calling each other '*doctor*' to show respect for one's position and education. When one of the healers was asked about the importance of saying *makhosi* when greeting, she replied as follows (Nene, 2013:103):

!3 *Sikhombisa ukuhlonipha lapho*

!4 *Sihlonipha idlozi lakhe sihloniphe nelakho*

!3 *Makhosi* (// *zonke izangoma zashaya izandla ngenkathi kuthiwa makhosi*)

!3 we are showing respect, there.

!4 we are respecting his or her ancestors and yours

!3 kings (// while saying *makhosi* all traditional healers in the room clapped their hands in unison)

This aspect of greeting each other using different names or *makhosi* is accompanied by the tradition of clapping hands while doing so. It must be very clear that not everyone can be called *makhosi* in traditional healer's context as this is exclusively for those who are privileged enough and meet the necessary requirements can use this term. One of the participants demonstrated that in order for anyone to be called *makhosi*, they need to be clean from all the unclean practices or behaviour and take the oath of remaining clean. This is partly by allowing the ancestor that has entered one's life to do as they please (Nene, 2013: 104). This also goes with an understanding that every person who dies enters the world of the departed and automatically becomes a king (*makhosi*), since they have conquered the world of the living and now they are in the world of kings '*amakhosi*'.

Another participant confirmed that as from the day she graduated, she was no longer called by her first name, *Nokuthula* but by her new given name, *Sithebe* (Nene, 2013:102). The new name not only gives glory and

respect to her but also to those who had given her powers to heal; her ancestors. Giving a name to a newly graduated traditional healer or diviner is not the only sign of respect or *ukuhlonipha*. A newly graduated traditional healer must make it a point that before graduating, he or she has all the necessary things to conduct the work of the ancestors. This includes the appropriate attire, and *isigodlo* which is a traditional healer's place of healing, in other words, his/her consultation room (Nene, 2013:4), *ishoba* 'a cow's tail' and so on.

(B) Power and clothes

Lakoff in Reiter (2000:6) demonstrates that difference in power impact on politeness. In the traditional healers' holistic world, God is viewed as someone who is above everyone in the hierarchy of power, followed by ancestors, then the traditional healers, then ordinary people and plants. It becomes very important for a person with less power who is situated lower on the hierarchy, to respect those above. This becomes clear when discussing traditional healers and attire. It is customary for traditional healers never to decide on their own attire; it is decided for them by their ancestors and conveyed to them through dreams. As the ancestors are associated with power by traditional healers, it is considered a gesture of respect and obedience when an apprentice and or a qualified traditional healer wear the attire that was signalled that the healer should wear by the ancestors. It is believed that an ancestor enters an individual and reveals him/herself through the traditional healer's attire.

Clothing and how one dress will show other traditional healers' that one is a qualified healer, enabling those in lower ranks, such as traditional healers' apprentices, to show them respect. This is in accordance with Lakoff's (Reiter, 2000) rule of politeness according to which power differences prescribe certain codes of politeness which in most instances compel those situated in the lower ranks of the hierarchy to show obedience to those above them.

(C) Colour of clothes

In elaborating on the colour of clothes that must be used by traditional healers to signify *ukuhlonipha* to their ancestors, one of the participants explained as follows (Nene 2013:99):

Ake ngikuqalele-ke laphayana engweni, ingwe uyimbatha uma usuphothulile usulikhosi-ke. Ma ungakaphothuli awuyembathi. Amabhayi lana uqala ukuthwasa umbatha leli elibomvu (-) elentwaso njena, uma usuphothulile sekuba yilo lelo bhayi engilikhombile. Ayazisholo wona amakhosi ukuthi lona lingubani.

Let me start by explaining the leopard print; you wear the leopard print once you have graduated and become a qualified diviner. If you haven't graduated you do not. With these sarongs, when you are starting with the divination training and are just an apprentice you wear the red one (-) it's just for the apprenticeship, after you have graduated, you then wear the one I pointed out. The ancestors themselves determine which is which.

The colour always provides information about the type of ancestor that has entered an individual, as they are different form of ancestors. There are *amandawo* which is believed to be a masculine ancestral spirit, *umnono* which is believed to be the mostly patient ancestral spirit that takes its own time to reveal itself on someone and *umndiki* which is believed to be a feminine ancestral spirit. All these types of ancestors have colours associated to them, for example, a dominance of yellow and blue colour is associated with *umthandazi* 'faith healer'. At times the same faith healer can have a divination power, which is when they were a leopard print sarong. However, it must be clear that when someone wears a leopard print it means that the person has more divination powers than faith healer' powers and that, that person is a qualified traditional healer. A red and black and or white colour is more associated with *umndiki* and a sky blue is associated with *umndawo* ancestral spirit.

Thus, if one does not wear the colours and clothes given to him or her by their ancestors, it will signify disrespect or *ukungahloniphi* in Zulu. Even before they use the selected sarongs they must report their selection to ancestors as it is believed that a number of ancestors enter an individual but only one dominate more than others. It is for this reason that a ritual is performed to show to other ancestors about your selection. That ritual serves to announce acceptance of the choice of sarongs to the ancestors, not only those within one's house, but even those who died in the rivers and mountains during the war. It is for the above reason that one of the participants mentioned the following (Nene 2013:100):

Angithi kukhona labantu abadala abasuka sebahambile emhlabeni, izikhwama ngoba angithi abanye abazifuni, nezimpahla lezi amabhayi akengithi mhlawumbe ushonelwe, akushiswa (-) kumelwe kuyolahlwa emfuleni. Ngesikhathi likhuphukela kimi leli dlozi kumele ngiye laphayana eyobona ukuthi nanku sengiyathatha izinto zakhe, noma ngabe angisezi kuthola zona ngoba vele sengiyothengelwa ezinye (-) kodwa-ke ngiyile ngayohlambulula le mimoya...

They are our grandparents who have departed from earth, some of them did not want this luggage (// referring to the burden of becoming a traditional healer), and clothes such as these sarongs. When, for example, you have just lost a loved one, you must not burn their sarongs and clothes (-) but throw them into the river instead. The time when my calling intensified I had to go there to show them that I was taking up this calling even if I will not get the exact same items because I might be given new ones (-) but the fact remains that I have cleansed myself of all these spirits...

If this ritual is not performed, it is considered as a sign of disrespect - *ukungahloniphi*. It is believed that after the river ritual, the traditional healers must take their sarongs to the mountain. This is done in order to communicate with their ancestors who died there and to speak to God, so that they may help them along on their new spiritual journey. However, this does not mean that a traditional healer needs to go to the river or mountains to communicate with their ancestors on every occasion. Every home has an area called *umsamo* that is used for communication purposes.

(D)Umsamo

Umsamo which can be loosely translated as a special and sacred place inside a traditional Zulu hut that is used as both an altar and a repository of a family's (traditional healer's) precious items. *Umsamo* is generally viewed as the most important and sacred place in the life of the Zulu people, because it is believed to be the place where the ancestral spirits reside. It is the sacred home of the ancestors. Therefore, when a member of the household dies, their grieving family members and close relatives are expected to sit on a mat within the *umsamo* area, mourning the deceased. Some believe that by doing so, the bereaved get closer to their dear departed one, since



Figure 1: Umsamo

their spirit would be at *emsamo*. Anyone can recognise *umsamo* in a traditional healer's consultation room by the lit candles usually placed in front of the traditional healer, especially during consultations, as they can be seen in figure 1 above. It is a traditional healer's responsibility to light the candles before or during speaking consultation as it to the ancestors. In doing so it is believed that they are respecting (*bahlonipha*) the fact that ancestors cannot see in the dark. The respect that traditional healers have for *umsamo* goes beyond the point of respecting only that area *umsamo*, which is why some traditional healers call their consultation room *umsamo*. Traditional healers in general show respect (*inhlonipho*) for *umsamo* by taking their shoes off each time they enter the *umsamo* area but before they reach their consultation sacred space which they also consider as *umsamo*.

(E) Manner of sitting



Figure 2: Manner of sitting

Another important element in traditional healer's life is the manner in which people sit around *umsamo*. For example, figure 2 demonstrates how one is not allowed to

sit around *umsamo*. In figure 2, we can see a traditional healer who is sitting with his back facing lit candles. In this photo, a traditional healer had just come into the consultation room and he realised that the consultation room was already full, and he created a space for himself and sat, not realising that he was sitting with his back facing *umsamo*. All the other traditional healers present in the consultation room showed a facial expression of disapproval and at least one traditional healer mentioned it in passing that the traditional healer in question must not sit with his back facing *emsamo* because this may cause ancestors to turn their backs on him. That, on its own, showed the importance traditional healers attach to *umsamo*.

Discussion and interpretation

This article has mostly analysed *ukuhlonipha* within the traditional healer's sphere by using politeness theory and its descriptive parameters such as the positive and negative facial expressions. However, most of those descriptive terms are not recognised within African cultures. It is for this reason that an ethnopragmatic approach can be used to interpret our findings. Ethnopragmatics will help us to understand better politeness or *ukuhlonipha* from an African perspective, since we cannot only analyse *ukuhlonipha* using a western concept of politeness, since different cultures express politeness differently in ways of thinking, speaking and beliefs. 'Semantic primes' will be introduced to distinguish the smallest and shared meaning in a language of traditional healers (Goddard, 2006:3).

In the analysis of *ukuhlonipha* within traditional healers the following features of showing politeness/respect were analysed: (A) naming, (B) power and clothes, (C) colour of clothes, (D) *umsamo*, and (E) manner of sitting. We will now look at the cultural scripts which include attitudes, evaluation or assumptions that are commonly known among the Zulu traditional healers (Goddard, 2006:3).

Cultural scripts

Cultural scripts, as mentioned above, refer to the aspects of thinking, speaking and behaviour within a given language community (Goddard, 2006:4). In (A), when discussing the use of names such as *mkhulu* to

address male traditional healers and *gogo* to address female traditional healers, we mentioned that this may create confusion to the uninitiated, as these words, namely *mkhulu* (grandfather) and *gogo* (grandmother) carry different meanings, but for traditional healers, the names have to do with ancestral spirits and wisdom. It is their cultural script, when calling each other *gogo* and *mkhulu*, the diviners do not mean it in the conventional sense that they are old, but they associate this word with wise people, since they view themselves as people with the wisdom and knowledge of ancestors. Furthermore, as mentioned above when talking to each other and saying '*ngiyakuzwa gogo or mkhulu*' (I hear you, grandmother or grandfather) they are not usually referring to each other in person but to the others' ancestral spirits. To be called grandmother or grandfather while you are still young can be offensive to others, but for traditional healers it is part of their communicative and cultural script.

Traditional healer's ideology

Just like any other culture, traditional healers have their own ideology (belief system). The most commonly known one aspect of this ideology is *ukuvuma* or *ukuvumisa* which could be loosely translated as to 'agree or make someone agree with'. *Ukuvuma* is most noticeable when traditional healers communicate with one another and ending their conversation or sentences, by saying '*makhosi*' ('kings') and the other traditional healers will in return say also '*makhosi*' while clapping their hands. However, this does not mean that they are in agreement, it simply means, what the other traditional healer has said was heard and taken in a polite way. Just like ordinary people would nod their heads to show the

other part that they are listening, traditional healers would say '*makhosi*' while clapping their hands to mean a similar thing. This is their way saying that 'you are heard'.

Conclusion

This article has argued that a traditional healer's life depends on *ukuhlonipha*, not only in relation to other traditional healers, and other people in general, but also in relation to their ancestral spirits. They understand that everything they do must show respect to their ancestors. It is for this reason that they value the names given to them during their graduations and that they even prefer to be called by those names rather than the name appearing on their identity documents. Traditional healers respect is don't based on age and gender; it is with an understanding that by respect one another they not only respecting the living beings but also their ancestors.

The reason why Zulu traditional healers are polite and respectful towards their ancestors is that they understand their power. It was argued that since traditional healers are situated on a lower level within this holistic hierarchy, as compared to their higher-ranking ancestors, respect must be shown towards these ancestors. In addition, it was highlighted that the respect they show is not limited to the individual, but also extends to the ancestors.

This article further established that the custom of *ukuhlonipha* among traditional healers, can teach us and future generations, that respect can be earned. This respect is earned by the way we address each other, how we dress as African people and the manner in which we sit during traditional gatherings.

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"اوكلونيفا اماسيكو" بلغة قوم "الزولو" وهي احترام سائر الحضارات والتقاليد

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ملخص

يوجد عند الأطباء التقليديين الأفريقيين اعتقاد مشترك يسمى "اوكلونيفا اماسيكو" بلغة قوم "الزولو"، معناها عند العوام تعزيز واحترام سائر الحضارات والتقاليد. إن هذه المفردة "اوكلونيفا" يقصد بها فعل "احترم". لكن لكثرة تداولها بين الشعوب المحلية، أصبح معناها السلام بين عناصر العائلة خاصة وطبقات المجتمع عامة. الأطباء التقليديون والمعالجون بالأعشاب يبذلون أقصى جهدهم لتطبيق هذا المفهوم "اوكلونيفا" عند لقاءهم وتشاورهم في الحفلات والمهرجانات الشعبية المحلية. لكن في بعض الأحيان قد يكون هذا المفهوم غريباً عند المبتدئين الجدد، وكذلك عند خبراء هذه الفلسفة. إن هذا البحث يسعى إلى اكتشاف كل ميزات مفهوم "اوكلونيفا" ومدى تداوله بين الأطباء التقليديين، ليكون سهلاً على الجيل الجديد فهم خصائصه ومعانيه، وخاصة فهم السلوك المتميز بين الأطباء. لذلك، فإن هذا البحث يستعمل استدراجاً نظرياً خاصة من ناحية الأخلاق، لتحليل ونقد عنصر "هلونيفا" من تقاليد مفهوم "اوكلونيفا" لدقة فهمه واستيعابه.

الكلمات الدالة: اوكلونيفا، هلونيفا.

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