

# Relevance and Analysis of the Terminologies as Specialized Registers at Tshivenda Male Initiation Schools in South Africa

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## ABSTRACT

*In the Tshivenda male initiation schools, there are terminologies that initiates are expected to use to express themselves. Failure to use appropriate language is regarded as insubordination and is punishable. This study aims at analyzing different terminologies used in the initiation schools. This will help enhance language and terminology development in Tshivenda. Data were collected using the qualitative method. The data and expressions from people who stage these initiation schools were subjected to sociological theories. In addition, terminologies were interpreted to find the correct meanings, as the language that is used at initiation schools was largely figurative in nature.*

**Keywords:** *Terminologies, Tshvenda, Male initiation schools, language development*

## INTRODUCTION

Many scholars have provided different definitions of the word 'terminology' and how it is developed scientifically. Parvizi (1996) considers 'terminology' as:

*Multidisciplinary and draws support from a number of disciplines (e.g. logic, epistemology, philosophy of science, linguistics, information science and cognitive sciences) in its study of concepts and their representations in special language. It combines elements from many theoretical approaches which deal with the description, ordering and transfer of knowledge.*

Terminology is a polysemous word that can refer to: a collection of terms belonging to a special subject field; an activity, that is, the set of practices and methods used for the collection, description and presentation of terms; and a theory, that is to say, the set of premises, arguments and conclusions required for explaining the relationship between concepts and terms which are fundamental for a coherent activity of collecting, describing and presenting terms (Sager, 1990). In addition, there are two perspectives of concept-oriented perspective, where taking from the concept as initial point terminology can be defined as: A group of concepts of a specialized area and their associated sign (Ferber, 1995). On the other hand, the term-oriented perspective defines terminology as:

*The terms which are characterized by special reference within a discipline are the 'terms' of that discipline, and collectively they form its terminology; those which function in general reference over a variety of sublanguages are simply called 'words' and their totality, the vocabulary (Sager, 1990).*

The other definition of this term according to Galinski and Budin (2010) is as follows:

*Whenever and wherever specialized information and knowledge are created, communicated, recorded, processed, stored, transformed or re-used, terminology is involved in one way or another. Subject-field communication has become a specific type of discourse with specialized texts differentiating into a whole array of text types (2010:01)*

When terminology is defined as a structured set of concepts and their designation in particular subject field, it can be considered to be the infrastructure of specialized knowledge. When one wants to write technically and document technically, it is impossible to do so without properly using terminological resources. The production of technical texts increasingly involves several languages, high quality multilingual terminologies. These have become scarce and much desired commodities on the burgeoning markets of language and knowledge industry. In other words, terminology is the study of terms and their use. Terms are words and phrases which are peculiar to a particular industry. They may be referred to as jargons. They frequently drive competitive differentiation. Most companies use or organize specific words which need to be accurately stored and translated into a product name to a marketing tag. The definition of terminology is concerned with the relationship between concepts, and between them and their designations, rather than with designations alone or with objects they represent. Secondly, a designation does not necessarily have to be a word or phrase, though it often is, or instead of words (<http://www.compuing survey.ac.uk/AI/pointer/report/section1.html>, 2010). Thirdly, it is inextricably linked with specialized knowledge and hence with special languages, or languages for special purposes. From the preceding definitions, one may conclude that 'terminology' enables one to arrange knowledge logically, expand knowledge and skills, transfer knowledge from one language to another, preserve the traditions, cultures and plan for its spread and development.

### **THE MALE INITIATION SCHOOLS**

Male initiation schools are called *Mirundu* (<singular noun *murundu*) in Tshivenda. This school is attended by boys aged 6-12 years. Recently, in July 2008, the South African Government announced that boys younger than 12 years should not be admitted to initiation schools. It is a school that is staged during early winters. Due to the Department of Education's formal school, this school does not run for a long time. There are several types of male initiation schools and *murundu* is just one of them. *Tshitambo* or *Vhutuka* is another which is attended by grown up lads who are about to get married. They are guided on what to expect in a family situation. *Musevhetho* is attended by boys as well as young girls. They are taught how to behave as well as keeping secrets when they grow up. *Murundu* is regulated to last for approximately two weeks, to enable the boys to return to formal school after initiation. This period is perceived to be sufficient because the operations performed during the winter months would have healed. Cold winters are appropriate periods for scars to heal faster. Initiation schools are available for the *vhadabe* (<singular noun *mudabe*). Schapera (1956) adds the following about *vhadabe* 'guardian'. They (*vhadabe*) are a timid, secretive people, and it seems that in their secluded retreat they have been guardians of much that is archaic: both in language and culture. They were

shielded from foreign influence by isolation. This initiation school should not be discussed with the women or people who did not attend the school (Van Warmelo, 1945). *Mudabe* is one who has been initiated into the rites of circumcision or *vhusha*, still young and acting as instructor of neophytes and assistant, to bath and wash utensils. These schools are attended by males only. Women are not accepted or allowed to pass near the site of the initiation. When the schools are staged, all other activities stop. During that period *pfumbavhulo* beer is no longer sent to the Chief's *kraals* in the vicinity. Rather, it is sent to the initiation schools in the area. At these schools, participants use terminologies and expressions that are understood only by those at the 'school'. Every day words acquire new meanings.

### INITIATION TERMINOLOGIES AND EXPRESSIONS

The term *murundu* is presumed to have been adopted from the Sotho and Tsonga neighbours. This is supported by Van Warmelo, (1956) when he says:

*Circumcision for males is also a custom only recently adopted by the Venda from their neighbours. Sotho influences seem to predominate over those of Shangaan. When the Venda first began to leave their tribal areas to work for Europeans in the South, they were often caught on the way they passed. To avoid this, many Venda voluntarily went through circumcision, and lodges were started at home by the Venda themselves to meet demand.*

The venue *mirunduni* (<the singular noun locative *murunduni*) refers to a place or lodge where these rites are performed. These places are sometimes called *Hogoni* or *Ha Madala*. The word *Ha Madala* is probably derived from Sotho *Ga-Matlala* referring to an area where the people known by this clan are known for staging these rites, as it is probably derived from the Sotho. There is a place called *Ha Madala*, in *Venda* which is high up the mountains. These places are also known as *milani* (<singular noun locative *mulani* derived from the class 3-noun *mula*). It is a circumcision lodge. It may mean one's share of meat to which one is entitled as a pre-requisite, tribute in kind.

When the male initiation schools start, we say the initiation schools-*shotha/-tshotha*. In Sotho it is *-sotlha* or *-swahla*. In Tshivenda, the term is *taha* 'break out'. When one says the circumcision lodge has started, one refers to *murundu wo (t)shot(h)a/-shot(h)a*. When the male initiation schools start, we sometimes say *murundu wo ima or ngoma yo ima* which literally means that the 'male initiation school has stood up,' meaning that the initiation schools have started. Sometimes a person causes the initiation school *shothisa* 'make or help to break out' *eg ngoma yo shothiswa shangoni* 'the circumcision rites have been ordered to commence'. The aim of initiation schools is to prepare an "assegais" or "spears", so that the initiates can be future men when they marry their wives. This is termed *u vhada pfumo* 'carving a spear'. The song that is sung during this period goes like this: *Hogoo! Hogo!* mentioning heroes like *Tshivhase*, (a *Vhavenda* warrior) where he is referred to in Sotho as a small bull. This shows that the initiation school started from *Ga-Matlala*. The initiates sing about *Tshivhase*, who was a traditional ruler of the *Vhavenda* community and did not attend initiation rites.

### **Terminologies During and After the Halfway Period of The Initiation Schools**

When the period of the male initiation schools reaches the halfway mark, we say the initiation schools have *fhindulela*. During this time the initiates eat porridge with *dovhi* or meat termed *tshigolo* as relish. In the morning, when the male initiation school are said to have *fhindulela*, there would be long poles pitched at the male initiation sites. The poles are termed *milagalu* (< singular noun for *mulagalu*). It is derived from Sotho *molakadu* meaning a long pole planted in a circumcision lodge. It is also considered as the *Vhomakhulu* 'grandpas or grandmas' (< singular noun *makhulu*) that initiates would losha or pay homage to every time. The aim of paying homage to a pole is to teach the initiates how they should pay homage or give respect to elderly people. Goat skin is attached to the *milagalu/mulagalu*. The skin represents *ndebvu* 'beards' of an old man. Every day during the morning and in the evening the initiates gather around the *makhulu* or *mulagalu* to pay homage. When they have finished, they sing *Mafhe! Mafhe! Mafhe!*

When initiates are accepted to this school, they are expected to rise very early in the morning, squat with the operated part facing the East, where the cold is perceived to come from. This is termed *u shaina/u shaila*. The initiates cover the operated part with leaves of the *muuluri* tree, also known as a zebra wood, or African Blackwood. The leaves used for this purpose are called *rathelo* whereas the process of doing it is called '*u rathela*'. After performing the initiation rites, the operated part would be termed *mutshila wa nngu*, 'tail a sheep'. The initiates are said to *la mutshila wa nngu* meaning that they are eating the tail of a sheep, which means they have undergone initiation rites. During initiation rites, initiates are punished for wrong-doing. The vhadabe use mbudzi where the wrong-doer would be expected to *hama mafhi a mbudzi* "milk the goat. They would *mamisa* (< verb *mama* 'to suck') (cause to suckle) the goat by putting four sticks (perceived as four adders of a goat) between the four fingers of both hands. They press them to punish the student. After pressing them they put the hands up and down. This hurts. This is a strange goat with four adders.

When an initiate wants to emphasize that something was correct or make an exclamation, he should say *mafhefho* or *mafhefho nga vhanna*. The term *mafhefho* (< verb *fhefha*) is an oath used by circumcised men in preference to the usual *muano* 'oath' of their group. This means that something is indeed true, and no one should dispute it. The *vhadade* man the main gate to control access to the initiation school. Anyone who wants to enter the initiation lodge would do so after he has recited *milayo* (< singular noun *mulayo*) derived from the verb *laya* 'recite formulae or precept; a formulation of what is traditionally right, customary, ethical, obligatory; exhortation in support of traditional standards of behaviour, instruction in ethics, formulae and terminology as taught in initiation rites, hence rule of behaviour, commandment and law'. If one makes a mistake in the rendering of such *milayo*, one would be expected to show *basa*, proving that he had undergone circumcision rites'. The initiation lodge has *luvhambo* which is a doctored stick fastened with pegs to the ground across the entrance gate or threshold, and put there to keep out evildoers or render them harmless if they do. The entrance gate is termed *khoro*.

## PHYSICAL TERMINOLOGIES AND EXPRESSIONS

When male initiates, called *mashuvhuru* (< singular noun (*li*)-*shuvhuru* 'uncircumcised') are admitted to the male initiation school, a place is demarcated for erecting small houses for the male initiates as well as the *midabe* (< singular noun *mudabe*), including old men called *zwihotola* (< singular noun *tshihotola*). A family house is built of poles and branches, thatched with grass termed *miphadi* or *miphado* < singular noun *mphadi* or *mphado*. In Sotho, it is *mphato*, which is a secret *murundu* term for shelters serving as sleeping quarters of initiates in circumcision lodge (Van Warmelo, 1945). Food is cooked twice a day. It is brought at +- 08h00 and at +- 16h00. Girls cook the food for the initiates. Families that stay too far away from the male initiation school are accommodated at homes near the initiation school. If there are none, temporary houses are built where girls would stay for the duration of the initiation school term. This place is termed *mankhoni*.

Every morning and evening, the initiates sit around the fire with their backs facing the fire. The fire forms a long band like that of a rainbow or Milky Way. The fire is termed *ndou* 'elephant' a secret name for the fire used in *thondo* and *murundu*. Sometimes *ndou* is used to mean an umbilical cord in other contexts. It is not known whether the name *ndou* is used because of its length or girth. Initiates are not allowed to jump over the fire. The fear is that if they face the fire called *ndou* the operated part would get warm and exacerbate the pain on the operation. That is, if they jump over it, the operated part would hurt. During the operation, initiates sit on stones/rocks. These are termed *mano a tshikadzi* or *tshimange* 'teeth of the cat'. The stones are given these names because after one sits on them, the *maine* would operate on the initiate and he will be told that he has been operated on by the teeth of the domestic cat and not by a person.

## HUMAN TERMINOLOGIES AND EXPRESSIONS

People who stage the male initiation schools are termed *Vho Ramala*, whereas those who give instruction on the rites are called *Vhomaine* (< singular noun *maine*) referring to a specialist in something unusual, as a diviner, doctor as well as circumcision operator. Before young lads and men are admitted to the initiation school, they are termed *mashuvhuru*, < singular noun *i-shuvhuru* or Class 1 noun *mushuvhuru*, which in Sotho is *lesoboro*, referring to an uncircumcised male, one who has not been through the *murundu* rites. When they enter these schools, they are still termed *mashuvhuru*. Instructors at the male initiation schools are termed *vhadabe* < singular noun *mudabe* to which refers to one initiated into the rites of circumcision or, if female, in *vhusha*. It refers to a person who is still young and acts as an instructor of neophytes and assistant.

When young lads and men are brought to a male initiation school, they are accompanied by old men. A family without an old man would employ the services of one of the older person who has attended the initiation school before. When they are there, they are termed *zwihotola* (< singular *tshihotola*) referring to *vhakalaha* plural of *mukalaha* 'father-in-law or old man'. This term is presumed to have been derived from the verb *-hotola*. It may be that old people are known for *hotola* 'coughing'. Initiation graduates who have not been *vhadabe* (< singular noun for *mudabe*) are termed

*Vhomannгода* (<singular noun *mannгода*), referring to circumcised person(s) who has/have not yet been a *mudabe/vhadabe*, who does/do not know everything about initiation. Initiation graduates who have been circumcised and have attended to male initiates the previous years are termed *vhalidi* (<singular noun *mulidi*). The initiates who are admitted at the male initiation schools of their own accord for a short spell are referred to as *dubunya*. Sometimes the initiates are accepted to the schools by going to the initiation schools without the permission of their parents. This process is termed *u shavhela* 'run to the male initiation schools'. When initiation school reaches a half-way stage, one of the *vhadabe* is painted white. He is known as *daganana*. He is painted white, putting a skirt-like clothe made of *sisal* from the waist down. Sometimes he puts a skirt made of *thangamulambo* or *mitate* 'reeds found in rivers'. Above the waist nothing covers the body. When the *vhadabe* goes to *dzikhareni* to fetch food, he amuses the women by taking some strides leading them to *dzikhareni*, holding a long stick called *mugwabere*. When he meets anyone, he lashes him/her using the stick with impunity.

## **HEALTH TERMINOLOGIES AND EXPRESSIONS**

During the male initiation schools, there is a possibility of health challenges that should be overcome. When the male initiates are operated, the process of cutting the foreskin is termed *u geda* meaning to cut and leave to dry for later use. In the case of cutting of the foreskins, it is cut off for use in the near future when it has healed. When the male initiates are operated, blood oozes from the operated part. This blood is termed *munege* whose grammatical derivation is not known. During the day when the male initiates feel dizzy due to excessive loss of blood, it is said that they have been *o diwa nga nngu* meaning that one has been hit by a ram. The sheep here literally means small stock. It also refers to the herb *Momordia fortida* and (<plural noun *manngu*) referring to the berry thereof.

When one collapses of dizziness, the *zwihotola* 'old men' would order that a *lunanga* (<plural noun *nanga*) be provided for one to drink out of. The horn contains a concoction of foreskins belonging to many operated male initiates, mixed with medicine, drugs, or any substances endowed with magic or inexplicable powers. The concoction is sometimes termed *lutala* or *muuluso*. Its consists of foreskins taken and roasted to make *miuluso* <singular noun *muuluso* 'powdered medicine for the protection against shadows'. During the operations, it sometimes happens that the initiation doctor mistakenly cuts flesh at the bottom of the penis, The area bottom of the operated part of penis is termed *madzivhanani*. At the initiation schools, the initiates are not allowed to drink water known as *magedo* or *magede* or *magedi* which are *murundu* terms for *madi* 'water'. They are also not allowed to eat salty food because salt '*matavha*', has a negative effect on their health. Water and salt may affect their body temperatures, thereby affecting their health.

## **Terminologies and Expressions Outside the Initiation Schools**

Girls cook the food for the male initiates. These girls gather at a place called *dzikhareni* to hand over the food to the *vhadabe*. When they gather there and want to announce to the *midabe* (<singular noun *mudabe*) that they have arrived with the food, they shout 'Ri

a swa 'we are burning'. The *vhadabe* would respond in one voice *Iswa u dombelele Nyankongo / or Iswa u nyengelele Nyankongo!* These expressions mean that you should 'smoulder to an end, you clitoris'. After replying in this manner, the *midabe* start singing *Hogoo! Hogoo! Hogoo*. This term is used to deride one who stays at home, like herd boys would to a youngster who is afraid of joining them, or by lads in the circumcision lodge to others still outside, to persuade them to come in. They sing while marching like a regiment on the way to *dzikhareni* 'a place of *dzikhare* 'to fetch food for the initiates. When the *midabe* go to *dzikhareni* they carry *migwabere* (<singular noun *mugwabere*) 'long and narrow sticks' like shamboks.

The place where the girls and *vhadabe* meet is called *dzikhareni*. They bring *khare* every time they bring the food. The *khare* are coils of grass or cloth used as pad when carrying things on the head; wreaths (<verb *kata* 'coil') are put in a pole pitched at *dzikhareni*, where each family puts her plates in a row. When they arrive at *dzikhareni* all the girls squat behind a group of wooden plates containing porridge and *muroho* known as *tshigolo* to initiates. The process of squatting is termed *u gwadamela* 'squat for'. The *vhadabe* of each family collect the plates and return to the lodge. Before the male initiation schools close, the male initiates whose operations have healed sometimes go out with the *vhadabe* to hunt animals and collect wood. Whenever they see females, they shout *nyovhe!* 'fuck' aloud, as a way of scaring them from coming nearer them. Women do not like it when they hear abusive words. They run away from the group. The wood collected is termed *mafhefhe*. It is termed so because *mafhefhe* refers to something not serious or important. At *murunduni* it means *khuni* 'firewood'. The wood is used for the *ndou* 'fire' in the evening fire. These are *musanda* and *murunduni* terminologies.

## **NUTRITION TERMINOLOGIES AND EXPRESSIONS**

After the *vhadabe* have received the food from *dzikhareni* in wooden plates, they carry it to their lodges. The porridge is then known as *zwivhonelo* (<singular noun *tshivhonelo*). The term is derived from the verb *-vhon-el-a*. This is food cooked for the initiates. The food should have a spherical portion or lump on top of the porridge. This small round ball or lump or spherical pebble is termed *tshigogonono*. Sometimes the porridge is put in a calabash and is called *minakululo/minakulo* <singular noun *munakululo/munakulo*. When the males arrive at the lodge, the principal *mudabe* of the male initiation school shouts *vhutswu*, which literally means 'black'. On hearing these messages the other *vhadabe* remove their clothes. After undressing, they cut the porridge into small pieces with a wooden knife. The porridge is put on a reed mat called a *ngoma*. The male initiates are called to squat around the reed mat, which serves as a small table, with the heels covering the anus, termed the *baga*, so that initiates should not break wind when they are eating. The principal (*mudabe*) shouts *manuge*, meaning that they should be quiet. Nobody talks during meal time. The principal (*mudabe*) shouts: *Na ni vhonani naa?* This expression literally means 'What do you see?'. This expression in the real sense means 'what do you want to eat?' The initiates should respond that they want to eat porridge. The expression *vhona* means 'to eat'. The initiates respond in a loud voice *Ri vhone muhali*. This means 'we eat porridge'

as *muhali* means porridge. The word *muhali* refers to a courageous, stern, severe person, great warrior, and strong-minded individual. It is also a laudatory epithet for, and a term of address to, a chief. In *murunduni* it means *vhuswa* 'porridge'. The principal (*mudabe*) shouts *khathakhatha*, meaning that initiates should eat the food. It means that they should swallow the porridge quickly, gobble, snup up as a pig or dog usually does. They eat the porridge without *muroho* which is termed *tshigolo*. There is a secret *murundu* term for *tshisevho* 'relish', dried meat or other savoury. They eat their porridge using unwashed bare hands. Sometimes it has a figurative meaning, meaning 'understood' or 'misunderstood' by females wishing to be obscenely abusive.

They use their unwashed bare hands to eat their porridge. Male initiates who are admitted to the initiation school without guardians are supported by *thondoni*. This is a group of initiates who are supported by the owner of the initiation school. The food that they are given is *gavhelo* (borrowed). Therefore, when the initiation school closes they cannot go back home until they pay the expenses incurred during the initiation period. The money charged by the owners of the initiation schools for the services rendered to the male initiates is called *tshitanze*. The group of *vhadabe* who completed their service during that year is termed as *u lata matavha*. This process means juniority in age-group, such as *vhushani* for female. It is sometimes called *u tamba vhutuka* or *murunduni*. In this case, the youngest casts off his/her status upon the next to join (*u lata matavha khae*). Resentment against past bullying suffered when one was oneself the junior is now taken out on the newcomers.

### **CLOSURE OF THE INITIATION SCHOOL**

The closure of the male initiation school takes place in the evening. Before the closure, the initiates are instructed to leave the lodge. When leaving the lodge homeward, it is said *mula wo swa*, meaning that the initiation site has burnt down. By this is meant that the initiation school is closed. When the initiates have left, the owners of the school set the building materials such as logs, *mphadi/mphade* on fire. The initiates are not allowed to look back. They are warned that if they do, they would *humela murahu* 'go back' to the initiation school and be burned to death along with the building materials. When they arrive home they are smeared with *luvhundi* 'lime'. They are given *vhulungu ha mpakato* 'beads put across the breast'. These are put across the body.

During that period they are called *zwi* (bva) *gwamathukhwi* < singular noun *tshi* (bva) *gwamathukhwi* 'new graduates'. They are not allowed to *namaila* 'to walk steadily' despite feeling the pain on the operated part. They spend a few weeks when they are *pfunda* 'confined' to wait for the operation to heal. During that period they are told that they would be pricked with a hot boring instrument with a wooden handle to hold on or an iron rod made red-hot to burn holes through wood. They are told that the red iron rod would be used from behind them *Pfo! Shavhela madini!* 'jump into the water'. When it is applied from behind they should jump into the water, they are also told to compete in making *mulilo wa madini* 'to make fire in the water'. When the operation heals, they choose a day that would *ralala* 'turn around'. This is a game where one of the initiates



goes round and round, all over the country, as when looking for a lost beast. This game is played by initiates at the end of their confinement. On the evening, they run around, one of the *mudade* holds a plank attached to a string called *ndau* 'lion' because it roars like a *ndau* 'lion'. The *ndou* 'elephant' is a secret name for fire in *thondo* and *murundu*, and *ndau* 'lion' is a secret name for a bull roarer, a slat of wood at the end of string rotated from a stick to produce a booming sound, during the last days of *murundu* rites of *tshivuuu*. The male initiates are instructed to run after the lion and catch it. The following morning the initiates go and *tamba* 'bathe the lime'. On that day they wash away all the dirt for the first time. They then gather at the Chief's *kraal u losha* so that their parents can identify them. The responsible person is delegated *u zwala mbeu* (scatter seeds).

At the *kraal*, the person delegated by the traditional ruler sprays them with seeds. This symbolizes that they have now graduated to be men; they can now go and bear children. On this day, the parents shout happily *tshatsha* because the initiates have succeeded in completing the initiation school without complications. This is so because sometimes some families lose an initiate. The girls who cooked for the initiates make *phliliphise* which are small scars burnt into the skin of the left upper arm with glowing dung or grain of maize, as an ornament. The number of scars determines the number of initiates that the girls were cooking for.

### List of Terminologies Developed in the Initiation School

Terminologies	Explanation or meaning
1. <i>Baga</i>	Tshivhunu 'anus'
2. <i>Basa</i>	tsumbo 'proof of identity, pass, tax receipt, document of identity, showing operated part'
3. <i>Daganana</i>	masquerade dressed in plaited of split <i>mutate</i> rushes or river reed for amusement
4. <i>Dubunya</i>	be initiated into the rites of sungwi or murundu for a while than anticipated whole period.
5. <i>Diwa ngangu</i>	Knocked down by a ram meaning that one has taken by exhaustion or dizziness
6. <i>Dovhi</i>	sauce or gravy of stamped peanuts, eaten as savoury with porridge.
7. <i>Dzikhareni</i>	meeting place of the girls sending food to the initiates with <i>midabe</i>
8. <i>Fhindulela</i>	To be close of ending of murundu
9. <i>Gavhelo</i>	quantity of porridge served to visitors and spongers at a chief's place.
10. <i>Gwadamela</i>	kneel for'
11. <i>Ha Madala</i>	'at the male initiation school'.
12. <i>Hama</i>	To milk meaning to punish
13. <i>Hogoo</i>	'male initiation school or song thereof'.
14. <i>Hogoni</i>	'at the male initiation school.'
15. <i>Iswa zwau u dombelele/nyengelele Nyankongo!</i>	Burn to the smoldering point, you clitoris
16. <i>Khare</i>	'coil of grass or cloth used as a pad when carrying things on the head, wreath.'
17. <i>Khareni</i>	at the place of the girls sending food to the initiates with <i>midabe</i>
18. <i>Khathakhatha</i>	seize as dog, an animal at hunt, take hold with teeth eating food by initiates.
19. <i>Khoro</i>	Main gate of male initiation school
20. <i>Losha</i>	make obeyance.
21. <i>Lutala</i>	<i>Muuluso</i> , foreskins taken and roasted for medicines to form drug which is mixed with the blood of man to drink
22. <i>Lunanga</i>	concoction in the horn for initiates to drink when feeling exhausted.
23. <i>Luvhambo</i>	Stick fastened with pegs in ground across entrance gate or put there to keep out evildoers or render them harmless if they do enter
24. <i>Luvhundi</i>	red earth with Vaseline and applied to the body of the initiates.
25. <i>Madzivhanani</i>	at the bottom of the circumcised /operated part.
26. <i>Mafhe</i>	a sort of initiation school prayer
27. <i>Mafhefhe</i>	Light wood.
28. <i>Mafhefho</i>	Oath made by initiates
29. <i>Magede/Magedi/Magedo</i>	<i>madi</i> 'water'
30. <i>Maine</i>	'circumcision operator'
31. <i>Makhulu</i>	<i>mulagalu</i> 'long pole planted in a circumcision lodge.'
32. <i>Mama</i>	to press sticks put between a person's fingers and squeezed, as an instrument of torture.
33. <i>Mamisa</i>	to press sticks put between a person's fingers and squeezed, as an instrument of torture
34. <i>Mano a tshikadzi/tshimange</i>	Operating device
35. <i>Mangoda</i>	circumcised person who has not yet been a <i>mudabe</i> , who does not know everything yet.
36. <i>Mankhoni</i>	a temporary building(s) where girls stay and prepare food for the period of the initiation school

37. <i>Manuge</i>	<i>fhumula</i> 'to be quiet'
38. <i>Matavha</i>	<i>muno</i> 'a <i>murundu</i> or <i>vhusha</i> term for salt'
39. <i>Mbudzi</i>	four sticks representing four adders of a goat put between a person's fingers and squeezed, as an instrument of torture.
40. <i>Mphadi/mphede/mphedo</i>	a <i>murundu</i> term for house
41. <i>Minakululo/Minaululo</i>	<i>vhuswa ho avhelwaho nga tshitemba</i> 'porridge put in a calabash'
42. <i>Mudabe</i>	one initiated into the rites of circumcision or <i>vhusha</i> still young and acting as instructor of neophytes as an assistant.
43. <i>Mugwabere</i>	<i>thamu</i> 'a long stick like a sjambok'
44. <i>Muhali</i>	<i>vhuswa murundu</i> term for porridge'
45. <i>Mula</i>	'male initiation school'
46. <i>Mu(i)lani</i>	'at a male initiation school(s)'
47. <i>Mula wo swa</i>	'a male initiation school has ended'
48. <i>Mulagalu/Tshuvhuyu</i>	a long pole planted in a circumcision lodge during the halfway period of the initiation school.
49. <i>Mulayo</i>	Formulae
50. <i>Mulidi</i>	senior initiated person
51. <i>Mulilo wa madini</i>	Fire, made in the water
52. <i>Munge</i>	<i>Malofha</i> 'blood'
53. <i>Murumbulo</i>	<i>Lunzhi</i> 'boring instrument'
54. <i>Mu(i)rundu</i>	male initiation school(s)
55. <i>Mu(i)runduni</i>	At the female initiation school(s)
56. <i>Mutshila wa nngu</i>	operated wound
57. <i>Muuluri</i>	The small tree zebra wood or African Blackwood whose leaves are used to dress the initiate's operation wound
58. <i>Miuluso</i>	<i>Luvhanda lwa mushonga</i> 'medicine for the protection against shadows'
59. <i>Namaila</i>	walk with legs wide apart
60. <i>Ndau</i>	<i>Ndau</i> 'lion' referring to <i>murundu</i> term for
61. <i>Ndebvu</i>	'beard'; goat skin hanged to a <i>mulagalu</i>
62. <i>Ndou</i>	<i>Mulilo</i> 'fire'
63. <i>Ngoma</i>	Drum; referring to male initiation school
64. <i>Nngu</i>	'sheep' or referring to exhaustion
65. <i>Nyovhe!</i>	sound to scare women referring to having sex
66. <i>Pfo, tshavhela madini</i>	Jump into the water
67. <i>Philiphise</i>	'scar on the forehead' showing the number of initiates the girl was cooking for.
68. <i>Pfumbavhulo</i>	present of beer sent by a commoner to his headman every time he has brewed
69. <i>Ramala</i>	a person who staged a male initiation school
70. <i>Rathelo</i>	'a leaf of <i>muuluri</i> tree used to dress the initiates' operated wound
71. <i>Ri a swa</i>	We are burning! a scream made by girls to inform the vhadabe that food should be taken at their meeting place.
72. <i>Shavhela</i>	To run to the initiation school without informing the parents
73. <i>Shuvhuru</i>	Lads, newly admitted to the initiation school
74. <i>Thangamulambo</i>	Mitate 'reeds found in rivers'
75. <i>Thondo</i>	enclosed areas under the jurisdiction of <i>musanda</i> . Owner of the initiation school
76. <i>Thondoni</i>	at the are under <i>musanda</i> : Owner of the initiation schools
77. <i>Tshigolo</i>	secret <i>murundu</i> term for <i>tshisevho</i> of dried meat or other savoury for the initiates.
78. <i>Tshigogonono</i>	a lump of porridge put on top of <i>tshivhono</i> . clitoris
79. <i>Tshikadzi</i>	Cat referring to the tool used for circumcision operation
80. <i>Tshilidi</i>	Enclosed yard in front of hut or round it
81. <i>Tshimange</i>	Cat referring to the tool used for circumcision operation
82. <i>Tshitambo or Vhutuka</i>	A place where men bath, hence an initiation school for men only
83. <i>Tshitanze</i>	money paid as fee for attending the male initiation school.
84. <i>Tshivhase</i>	a traditional leader who registered at an initiation school
85. <i>Tshivhono</i>	<i>zwiliwa</i> 'food cooked for the initiation school
86. <i>U diwa nga nngu</i>	To be exhausted'
87. <i>U fhindulela</i>	half way period of the male initiation school
88. <i>U geda</i>	To circumcise/operate
89. <i>U humela murahu</i>	To go back
90. <i>U ima</i>	'to stage an initiation school'
91. <i>U laya</i>	'to recite formulae'
92. <i>U losha</i>	To pay respect by initiates
93. <i>U namaila</i>	To walk steadily
94. <i>U pfunda</i>	to wait for the time being before the initiates are integrated to the communities
95. <i>U ralala</i>	To turn around
96. <i>U rathela</i>	To dress the operated part of the initiates
97. <i>U shaina/shaila</i>	to squat in the cold morning facing the East where cold is presumed to heal the operation
98. <i>U swa</i>	End of certain ceremonies such as <i>murundu</i> and <i>Domba</i>
99. <i>U taha</i>	To start an initiation school
100. <i>U tamba</i>	To wash or bath
101. <i>U tshatsha</i>	The initiate has graduated
102. <i>U shotha/shota/tshotha</i>	To start a male initiation school
103. <i>U vhada pfumo</i>	circumcised penis prepared to be used like a shooting arrow
104. <i>U vhone</i>	secret <i>murundu</i> term for <i>u la</i> 'to eat porridge'
105. <i>U zwaliwa mbeu</i>	to be spread seeds upon as a sign of multiplying
106. <i>Vho Ramala</i>	One who stages a male initiation school
107. <i>Vhulungu ha mpakato</i>	beads for the initiates
108. <i>Vhutsu</i>	blackness or darkness referring to <i>midabe</i> to undress remains naked.
109. <i>Zwi (bva) gwamathukhwi</i>	The male initiates
110. <i>Zwihotola</i>	secret <i>murundu</i> term for <i>vhakalaha</i> 'old men'

## CONCLUSION

Different expressions are used at Tshivenda initiation schools. At these schools, words are used differently from their normal meanings. When the terms are used outside the contexts of an initiation school, they have a completely different meaning. If one uses initiation terms elsewhere, one would be subjected to punishment. If it is an initiated person from the initiation school, *mbudzi makhulu* (seniors at initiation school) would reprimand him. These terms are used at the initiation schools only. From the preceding discussion, it is concluded that initiation schools provide fertile ground for the development of language terminologies in Tshivenda, South Africa.

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