

THE PROVERBS AS MIRROR OF THE VHAVENDA
CULTURE AND PHILOSOPHY

A DISSERTATION

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PROMOTER

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

My promoter Prof. Dr. M.E.R. Mathivha has guided me through the years that I was busy with this dissertation. He has been so patient in advising and encouraging me. From him I have learnt hard work and perseverance. At times when I felt discouraged from my field work on the research, I would phone him; only to find him ready with a solution for my problem and end up with a word of encouragement.

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I also thank all my informants who contributed much in this dissertation. Had it not been for their information this work would not have come to be.

Above all, I thank my Creator who kept me healthy throughout the preparation of this dissertation.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that "THE PROVERBS AS MIRROR OF THE VHAVENDA CULTURE AND PHILOSOPHY" submitted by me for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the North has not been submitted previously to any other University.

I also declare that this is my own original work and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

A. E. Khuba
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother and father Vho-Luvhengo Esther and Vho-Ravele Abel Mulaudzi who passed away before they could see the fruits of their toil in their beloved daughter.

C O N T E N T S

	Page
INTRODUCTION	
i) CULTURE AND PROVERBS IN LUVENDA	1
ii) THE SCOPE AND OBJECT OF THIS DISSERTATION	9
iii) DEFINITION OF FOLKLORE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PROVERBS IN LUVENDA	13
iv) SOME ASPECTS OF THE ORIGIN OF SOME PROVERBS	18
v) DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LUVENDA PROVERBS	38

CHAPTER 1

1.1 THE TRUTH EXPRESSED IN THE LUVENDA PROVERBS	41
1.1.1 Annoyance	43
1.1.2 Boastfulness and Deceit	44
1.1.3 Bravery and Industriousness	45
1.1.4 Advisory	45
1.1.5 Chieftainship and Administration	46
1.1.6 Courage, Determination and Perseverance	48
1.1.7 Co-operative Spirit and Good Relations	49
1.1.8 Disappointment, Rivalry and Hostility	50
1.1.9 Excuse	51
1.1.10 Irony	52
1.1.11 Laziness and Poverty	52
1.1.12 Loyalty to the Chief and other Authorities	54
1.1.13 Law and Justice	55
1.1.14 Marriage and Family Life	57
1.1.15 Respect and Compliments	59
1.1.16 Strive, Quarrels and Cruelty	61
1.1.17 Selfishness and Egotism	61

	Page	
1.2	THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LUVENDA PROVERBS	64
1.3	SHADES OF MEANING IN THE PROVERBS IN LUVENDA	74
1.4	THE PROVERBIAL FUNCTION AND STYLE	85
1.5	OCCASIONS ON WHICH PROVERBS ARE USED	96
1.6	CONCLUSION	108

CHAPTER 2

2.1	THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE PROVERBS IN LUVENDA	111
2.1.1	Reciprocity in Luvenda Proverbs	112
2.1.2	Elision in Proverbs in Luvenda	113
2.1.3	Parallelism in Luvenda Proverbs	115
	2.1.3.1 Direct Parallelism	117
	2.1.3.2 Cross Parallelism	121
2.1.4	Alliteration in Proverbs in Luvenda	124
2.1.5	Assonance in Proverbs in Luvenda	127
2.1.6	Contrast in Proverbs in Luvenda	129
	2.1.6.1 Contrast in the same proposition	129
	2.1.6.2 Contrast in two propositions	131
2.1.7	Rhythm in the Proverbs in Luvenda	135
2.2	CONCLUSION	139

CHAPTER 3

3.1	PARTS OF SPEECH INVOLVED IN PROVERBS IN LUVENDA	143
3.1.1	Nouns	143
3.1.2	Adjectives in Proverbs	151

	Page
3.1.3 Copulatives in Proverbs	156
3.1.4 Verbal Constructions	167
3.2 CONCLUSION	173

CHAPTER 4

4.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROVERBS IN LUVENDA	176
4.1.1 Form	176
1. Poetic Form	176
2. Explicit Form	178
3. Fixed Form	178
4. Abbreviated Form	179
5. Economical Form	179
4.1.2 Didactic in Nature	180
4.1.3 Short and Pithy	181
4.1.4 Metaphorical and Figurative Meaning	182
4.1.5 Practical Application of the Luvenda Proverbs	183
4.1.6 The Proverbs in Context	185
4.2 CONCLUSION	187

CHAPTER 5

5.1 PROVERBIAL PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS IN LUVENDA PROVERBS	189
5.1.1 Annoyance	231
5.1.2 Boastfulness and Deceit	233
5.1.3 Bravery, Industriousness and Wealth	234

	Page
5.1.4 Advisory	235
5.1.5 Chieftainship and Administration	239
5.1.6 Courage Determination and Perseverance	241
5.1.7 Co-operative Spirit and Good Relations	243
5.1.8 Disappointment, Rivalry and Hostility	245
5.1.9 Excuse	246
5.1.10 Irony	250
5.1.11 Laziness and Poverty	252
5.1.12 Loyalty to the Chief and other Authorities	253
5.1.13 Law and Justice	254
5.1.14 Marriage and Family Life	256
5.1.17 Selfishness and Egotism	261
5.2 CONCLUSION	263

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION	265
REFERENCES	310
BIBLIOGRAPHY	311

THE PROVERB AS MIRROR OF THE VHAVENDA CULTURE AND PHILOSOPHY

INTRODUCTION

i) CULTURE AND PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

The function of education is conceived by some linguists as the transmission of culture from generation to generation. As Lawrence Stenhouse puts it, "the idea of cultural transmission can catch the essence of the traditional academic theory of secondary education."¹⁾ I shall first have to arrive at a clear idea of what is meant by culture and understanding how culture is transmitted; in this case through proverbial sayings. It will also be necessary to decide whether the cultural background of proverbs have been transmitted effectively.

I elect to begin by reviewing some definitions of culture, since this will give a glimpse of the character of the territory to be explored.

According to E.B. Taylor, "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society. "²⁾

Taylor's conception is characterised by the American Talcott Parsons when he suggested that "in the first place culture is transmitted, it constitutes a heritage or a social tradition; in the second place it is learned, it is not a manifestation, in particular content, of man's genetic constitution; and in the third place it is shared."³⁾

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- 1) Lawrence Stenhouse: Culture and Education, Thomas, Nelson and Sons, Canada, 1967, p.2
 - 2) E.B. Taylor : Primitive Culture, John Murray, London, 1871, p.1
 - 3) E. McIntosh : Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 297

The idea that culture is a social tradition which is transmitted, learned and shared will be illustrated in this analysis of the proverb as a mirror of the Vhavenda culture and philosophy.

A glance at the definition by the Oxford English Dictionary shows culture as improvement or refinement by education and training; the training and refinement of mind, taste and manners; this being the intellectual side of civilization." ¹)

Through a process of social interaction, individual members of a community or language are inducted into culture. The social character of this process by which culture is most apparent in primitive societies, for in a simple society the growing individual is inducted into his culture mainly by living within the community and taking part in its life.

Children in a society learn the tasks required of adults simply by doing them or imitation. They are anxious to immitate their elders, and there is never any compulsory element in the teaching of these skills hence the proverb "vha bikela vhuṅanga vhutsila vha vhona nga maṭo" (literal translation: they train for doctorship but skills are seen by eyes). This means that to become a doctor one has to undergo certain stages of learning being taught by others but as for skills they are learnt by merely using your eyes to see and then immitate.

This type of education has an advantage above the other types, that it is not carried out in an institution divorced from everyday activities.

1) Talcott Parsons: The Social System, London, 1952, p. 15

The child feels himself being an essential part of society and that what he does is a contribution to that society. For instance a girl immitating what her mother does in the family and a boy observing and helping his industrious father at work. So, by participating in the life of his tribe the child picks up the ideas which comprise its tradition. He learns as he listens to the members of his society gossiping, telling stories, performing community dances, conducting initiation schools; above all he assimilates the tradition as he acquires the language.

The general behaviour attitudes and values expected of every child in the community are not taught by any formal training as the proverb "hu laiwaho vhazwale ndi hune tsiwana ya laiwa hone" (where the cousins are advised is where the orphan is also advised) explicitly puts it. This means that whatever the child is going to come across in everyday life activities his character will be moulded irrespective of the fact that he is an orphan or not.

This shows that these values are inextricably bound up with life in the society and become unconsciously adopted by anyone fully partaking in that social life.

A. Krige and Krige put it "any individual finds himself unconsciously taking for granted values he never had before and which are certainly not to be found in his society for they seem to follow naturally from the social situation and to be bound up with the language itself." ¹) Taking this into account the Luvenda proverbs behave in the same manner; that of following naturally from the social situation and are bound up with the Luvenda language itself.

1) E.J. Krige and: The Realm of a Rain-Queen, Oxford
J.D. Krige University Press, London, 1943,
p. 110

For instance, if there appears a chaotic situation at the chief's kraal the people always say "vhubva ha khosi vhu mulomoni" (the chief's laziness is in the mouth) meaning that his people are ready to do what he tells them. Another situation which might be cited here is that of a child who is advised and does not want to take the advice in which case people will say "funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi la fhira mudi lo kovhela" (the crow said I don't want to be advised and went past home by night).

Lawrence Stenhouse also puts it this way that "though people can think for themselves they cannot think by themselves. They think within cultures associated with human societies. Culture is often seen, therefore, as a determinant of thought and behaviour, shaping the thinking of all of us. If we were to accept this position without reservation, we should have to concede that to transmit culture to our pupils would be to determine their thoughts and actions for the future." 1)

The proverbs in Luvenda can also be seen as reflecting the thought and behaviour of the Vhavenda, for the majority or almost all of these proverbs deal with their social life as such.

What is more about these proverbs is the shaping of the Vhavenda's way of thinking as a society since most cultural aspects are transmitted through them as it will be seen in later chapters in this dissertation.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica in line with this states that "culture consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs,

1) Lawrence Stenhouse : Culture and Education, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Canada, 1967, p. 2

codes, institutions, tools, works of art and so on." 1) Therefore "culture" as defined by George Foster is "the shorthand term for all the rules that members of a particular society agree on for living together, that guide the way of life of the members of a social group." 2)

More specifically, culture can be thought of as the common learned way of life shared by the members of a society, consisting of the totality of tools, techniques, social institutions, attitudes, beliefs, motivations, and systems of value known to the group.

Now let's pause and have a quick look at the characteristics of culture - in the first place culture is learned, which means that the behaviour pattern constituting a particular culture are not biologically determined neither are they genetically determined.

Every child in any community is capable of learning any culture to which he or she is exposed.

In the second place, culture is a functional, logically integrated, sense-making whole since its analogy goes a long way back.

Thirdly, every culture has a value system because the members of a society react, to a lesser or greater extent, emotionally to their culture. This value system is what gives stability to a culture because it justifies the members of society in their actions and or thoughts; and reassures them that they are behaving in the manner expected by society.

1) Encyclopaedia Britannica; p. 197

2) George M. Foster: Traditional Cultures and the Impact of technological changes, University of California at Berkely, New York, 1962, p. 11

There are many members of society who feel secured when conforming to the standards of their culture's value system.

The proverbs in Luvenda generally stress that behaviour which deviates from the norms established by this value system is liable for punishment. For instance the proverb "Funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi la fhira muḁi lo kovhela" (the crow says "I don't want to be advised" and went past home by night) meaning somebody who blunders because he refused to heed other people's advice. The punishment lies in the passing of the home by night.

In "Asi halwo lukunda a lu kokomedzwi lwa kokomedzwa lu a thara" (it is not its place the 'lukunda' it should not be forced because if it is forced it will stretch and be useless) meaning forcing issues which results in spoiling everything; the punishment lies in the spoiling of all things.

Another example is that of "Tshe wa da iwe tshilavhi na murundo wa phofu u a nwa" (what you have chosen, 'you little thing' even the urine of an eland you will drink) meaning that you will have to bear the brunt by doing the hardest thing you can ever think of, just like drinking the eland's urine which is very bitter. The punishment is in the persevering to the last.

In the forth instance, culture is constantly changing, it is dynamic, it is never static. This is more clearer in the fact that some of the norms which were valued by the past generation are devaluated or even completely rejected by the new generation. As such, most of the proverbs in Luvenda have disappeared together with their origin and meanings. These are those proverbs which are not mostly used or whose situations occur seldom in a society.

There is much debate as to which languages do some of the words in Luvenda proverbs belong? Proverbs like "Ndi lihamba thi na makumbo kuenda mu ndi galelevho" (I am a walker without speed, you should wait for me).

"Maudu a khovhe ndi vhana vhayo" (the feet of a fish are its children). "Muima-woga shaka ndi nnyi" (stand-alone, who is your relative?). Words like "woga", "lihamba", "maudu" present difficulty to a Muvenda child to understand their meaning without help of an explanation from somebody.

In the fifth place, culture makes interaction between individuals possible. This interaction provides for the communication and understanding, through language. In the Luvenda proverbs cultural knowledge is stored ready for use in the situations in which society finds itself. In these situations proverbs emanate and are used either to advise, to show irony, good relationship, courage, loyalty and many other values in a society.

In the proverbial constituent parts of obsolete words and expressions no more in use are found. Examples are: the words "dza" in "U tshi dza muro wa muvhuda ranga u ya tshilaloni" (when you are not satisfied with the hare's broth get to its sleeping place, that is, check its size). The word "dza" which in this case stands for "nyadza" is not so much in use.

"thengu" in "Muvhona thengu sima u vhone matshelo thengu i a fhufha" (the one who sees the 'thengu' take good look at it for tomorrow it flies away) that is, take opportunity when it offers itself. Therefore this word "thengu" stands for something good or helpful but that which comes once in one's life time.

"n'ombe" in "Mutshimbili u wana n'ombe mavhele a wanwa nga nzula" (traveller gets cattle but mealies are got by he who stays) that is in order to be rich one must concentrate on what one has decided to do instead of moving from place to place. In anyway this word "n'ombe" has a double connotation because it may also mean 'nose-bleeding' which may truly serve the purpose in this instance.

On the whole, this is not a surprising fact for proverbs have basically the character of repeated quotations.

ii) THE SCOPE AND OBJECT OF THIS DISSERTATION

The Luvenda proverbs originated in oral tradition which in turn originated with the nation itself. The proverbial wisdom of the Vhavenda is gleaned from their cultural conditions existing amongst them. The Luvenda proverbs have many sources, most of them anonymous and all of them much difficult to trace. Their appearance in literary form is only an adaptation of this oral tradition. The scope in this dissertation will evolve around the Luvenda proverbs as a whole, emphasizing the practical lessons of life gained from experience.

Following the Encyclopaedia Britanica (1943, p. 258) "the wise man is the righteous one, for uprightness of character brings the good life, whereas wickedness brings punishment." ¹) It is around this idea that the scope of this dissertation revolves. The aim being to see how far the Luvenda proverbs act as guidance towards good living and a deterrent towards deviant behaviour which is punishable.

In treating the Luvenda proverbs against the Vhavenda culture one is inclined to reflect on the deeper meaning thereof. One should, as a matter of fact, show both the practical overtones and the wisdom enhanced in Luvenda proverbs which consist chiefly of wise sayings that have an appeal to experience and at the same time offer prudential guidelines for successful and a happy living.

This is disclosed by those proverbs that show a co-operative spirit and good relationship as in "A dzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana" (relatives hardly stand by one another except in times of need). This shows the intensity of hatred which is realised in the extremity of greed and self-aggrandizement. Only when one of them is in need is their relationship bound together.

1) Encyclopaedia Britanica; p. 197

This type of relationship is also expressed in "Hu na wau a hu p felwi" (where there is a relative there is an existential attachment). This shows how strong relationship is amongst the Vhavenda that a relative may be how far, his place of abode must be reached in time of bad news.

The Vhavenda culture is that of treating a stranger like a visitor before knowing his name and mission. It is not becoming amongst the Vhavenda to ask of the visitor's origin and errand before showing him that he is welcomed. Against this cultural precept they have a proverb in Tshivenda "Muwanwa u wanwa na ndila wa u bebwa nae ha dali" (a stranger may prove to be a relative you do not know) not only those that are of your next of kin are your relatives.

The scope will also reflect on the medicinal matrix of the Vhavenda. According to a Tshivenda way of living every home has its own doctor. Through some of the proverbs the harmonious relationship between the doctor and members of the family will be brought to light.

This research will show the moral character of the Luvenda proverbs which contribute to well-ordered society. The proverbs will be divided into categories of advisory proverbs that cater for the moral side of the Vhavenda's way of living; annoyance; boastfulness and deceit; proverbs that depict bravery and industriousness amongst the Vhavenda as a tribe; proverbs used in the administrative and family life; proverbs relating to the following human attitudes: courage, determination, perseverance and tolerance, co-operative spirit, rivalry, hostility, irony, laziness, respect and complements.

The scope in this dissertation will also delve into the proverbial value of the Luvenda proverb which does not only lie in what it reveals of the thoughts of the past, but in the fact that it is also a model of compressed or forceful language.

Hence the reason why the proverb is continually used in daily life as a living tradition in Venda.

In the Vhavenda culture a feeling for language, imagery and expression of abstract ideas through compressed and allusive phraseology comes out in proverbs.

What is most striking is the figurative nature of these proverbs whose rhythm has an allurement as in the proverb "Funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi la fhira muḁi lo kovhela" (the crow never took heed of advice and landed in trouble) the crow symbolises an adamant personality who is not ready to take advice. Here the comparison is evoked metaphorically between a bird and a person.

In "Miḁi mivhili i kundisa pfuko u fhaṭa" (two undertakings deprive the mole of building a fine home) the comparison is evoked metaphorically on human life and action through reference to non-human activity performed by the mole.

Besides scope, the object of this research will include the discerning of generalizations about animals implying a comment on human affairs.

There are many Luvenda tales about animals and birds, also other everyday things which are used to suggest some related idea about people. No wonder why proverbs about animals and birds in Luvenda are common. For instance "Mbila yo kundwa mutshila nga u rumela" (the rabbit failed to get a tail by sending someone) in which the importance of self-help is stressed.

The scope and object in this dissertation would therefore be to bring out the literary significance of proverbs in Luvenda by their close relationship to other forms of oral literature like idioms and riddles.

Proverbs in Luvenda are closely related to idioms that the two are sometimes confused save their difference in use that when idioms can be altered to suit the type of saying, proverbs remain fixed in form. While idioms can be used in parts proverbs in Luvenda should be used as wholes.

iii) DEFINITION OF FOLKLORE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Folklore may be said to be oral tradition since it suggests the oral attributes in a culture, which are not in writing, in which almost all things are transmitted orally, channeled across the countries through human mouths, like praise songs, legends, folktales, jokes, riddles, chants, charms, myths, idioms and proverbs.

Anyway all forms of folklore which are manifested and communicated in a written form have once been in an oral tradition.

Therefore, folklore is transmitted from individual to individual often directly by word of the mouth like proverbs or by act like dances.

Up to now very few of us actually know what is meant by folklore. We also fail to realise that we are in fact sources and carriers of folklore. Folklore should at all times if possible come to us in conversation rather than printed form which proves to be more difficult to disentangle. This task aims at holding conversations with elderly informants in order to gain the original background of proverbs as against the Vhavenda culture and philosophy since in reality folklore bore the mark of the spoken rather than the printed word. As researchers, ours is to try and recapture its spirit which we cannot, of course, guarantee we shall succeed.

What does then the term folk refer to? The term folk refer to any group of people who share a common factor. The group will have traditions which it rightfully calls its own.

It may be possible that a member in the group may not possibly know all the other members in the same group, but will at least know the common core of traditions that belong to the group as a whole; these are the traditions which help the group to have a sense of unity and identifying themselves. As such every group has its own folklore. Therefore, folklore may in addition include blessings, curses, oaths, insults, teases, retorts, toasts, greeting and leave-taking formulas. On the other hand it also includes folk dances, folk costume, folk art, folk drama, folk belief, folk similes, folk metaphors and folk names.

Thus Richard Dorson states that "full background information from informants should be provided on these human sources of folklore." 1)

A conspicuous feature of any language is its resort to proverbs in confirming a judgement, in pointing out a moral, or in imparting an advice. The proverb acts as the bone and sinew of the language.

Through the proverbs the Vhavenda are seen as an agricultural people. Cattle and other domestic animals loom prominently in their homely injunctions; the dog for instance is indeed an object of reference in the majority of their proverbs. Examples: "Mmbwa munamba i a u funa i ro shaya mubikeli" (the dog likes milk porridge but there is nobody to cook for it).

1) Dorson Richard M. : Folklore - American Folklore, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p.5

"Mmbwa hu zwima ya muambi" (the dog that hunts is that which is encouraged) "Tshivhuya tshini tsha mmbwa na musu wa i fha munamba ya bvela nnda i la zwinwe." (what good is that of a dog, you may give it milk food but once it goes out it eats other things).

"Mmbwa yo naiwaho a i na mune" (a wet dog - from rain - has no owner) "Mmbwa ya la inwe a i noni" (the dog that eats another will never be fat)

"Mmbwa phaphadzi u fashwa nga mulavhu ndi hayo" (a moving around dog is always caught in a trap). "Ho ya ndou, ho ya mudzimba, muzwimi o tuwa na mmbwa dzawe" (there goes the elephant and one who lives on hunting but a hunter is gone with his dogs).

"Mmbwa ndi mmbwa i la na matanza ayo" (a dog is a dog it eats even what it vomitted).

"MMbwa i huvhaho a i lumi" (a barking dog does not bite). "Mmbwa nzwimi phindelela lufu lwa mmbwa a lu ho kule" (a hunting dog that goes on, its death is not far).

"Mmbwa i poswa kurambo nga a i divhaho" (the dog is given a bone by somebody who knows it).

"U songo nea mmbwa wo fara thamu" (do not give a dog while holding a stick).

"U songo vunda mmbwa mano" (do not break the dog's teeth).

The values of the Vhavenda labour in agriculture can be read in their proverbs such as:

"Mutshimbili u wana nombe mavhele a wanwa nga nzula"

(traveller gets cattles but mealies are got by he who stays).

"Mulimi ha nyadzi mufumbu" (An agriculturist values the bran).

"Tshidzembe tsha mulima-tsimbe tshi dihwa khombo nga mune watsho" (a hoe that ploughs with difficulty is known its danger by the owner).

Most of the folk beliefs circulating amongst the Vhavenda are contained in their proverbs like :

"Ya mudzimu i bva dziŋweni" (that of the god is isolated from the others).

"U kungulusa tombo ndi u li isa vhudzuloni" (to move or roll a stone is to take it to its place).

"Ntsa i tamba nga ntsana" (a buck is washed by its offspring).

"Hu bikelwa vhuŋanga vhutsila vha vhona nga maŋo" (they cook for doctorship but art they see by eyes).

"Mutsheli wa ndala u tshela a tshi lima" (the one who fights hunger should do so busy cultivating his field).

"Khosi ya tudza na vhalanda vha a tudza" (if the chief limps the subjects also limp).

"Ya longa khwanda yo nwa" (once it has its hoof in the water it has drunk).

"Wa la nawa na vhanzhi u zwimbela dzi a talula" (if you eat beans with others constipation isolates).

Folklore wraps around the lives of the Vhavenda at every point, and their proverbs are closely keyed to their immediate lives. The proverb as a genre in folklore is defined by Ruth Finnegan as "a saying in more or less fixed form marked by shortness, sense, and salt; and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in it." ¹)

The main structural pattern of the proverb is accepted by the Vhavenda as an appropriate one and proverbs have poetic quality in style or sense.

1) Ruth Finnegan : Oral literature, Nairobi, 1970, p.393.

As seen under characteristics a proverb is indeed a saying in a fixed form in that its form should never be altered hence its emphasis on life diminishes like in the proverbs: "Dza musanda dzi kumba thole" (the chief's domestic animals take the young/tender ones they find on their way, that is, the healthy ones). If this proverb comes out as "dzi a kumba thole dza musanda" then the whole metaphorical structure of the proverb has been reduced to a layman's language not to mention the poetic effect which is henceforce spoilt. "Ganuko a li vhuisi tshalo" (suprise brings back nothing of its own). If this proverb is worded "tshalo a li vhuisi ganuko" the effect of its being figurative in meaning and nature will diminish. It is then equal to daily language in a way save its liguistic meaning.

"Mulenzhe ndi bofu" (the foot is blind) cannot be said as "ndi bofu mulenzhe" because then the poetic effect and emphasis on life is lost.

"Ndi u konana ha Nyagumba na Nyagalanga" (it is the friendship of Nyagumba and Nyagalanga that will never last) cannot be set out as "Nyagumba na Nyagalanga vha a konana" because by so doing the effect of the rythm and emphasis is spoilt.

The main characteristic of the proverbs in Luvenda is that they convey some accumulated experience or generalized observation or that they give advice. They convey this meaning usually in metaphorical way, and their situation in a text is that of a quotation.

In the majority of cases their origin is known but their knowledge belongs to the knowledge of the language and knowledge of the Vhavenda culture. As they basically have the character of repeated quotations they must just be understood as wholes.

iv) SOME ASPECTS OF THE ORIGIN OF SOME PROVERBS.

Proverbs may be considered as a body of short statements built up over years reflecting the thought and insight of the Vhavenda into problems of life. Proverbs may be viewed as a technique of verbal expressions used in daily living amongst the Vhavenda.

Proverbs revolve around imagery, expressing abstract ideas through figurative phrases. This figurative quality of proverbs is striking and appears in metaphorical form.

Through imagery man could create a figurative expression which is taken to be a speech on its own right, the meaning of which is deep rooted, giving it a quality of secrecy and alusiveness in Luvenda as a language. This leaves us with the question as to how proverbs might have originated. These words of wisdom are drawn from verbal expressions with which man becomes familiar and is then able to create his own proverbs.

As Ruth Finnegan rightly expresses it "the allusions of proverbs in the various collections are often not obvious. This is frequently due to our ignorance of the culture, particularly with proverbs which allude to some well-known story or famous individual.

A knowledge of the situations in which proverbs are cited may also be an essential part of understanding their implications, and this is complicated further by the fact that the same proverb may often be used, according to the context, to suggest a variety of different truths, or different facets of the same truth, or even its opposite" 1)

Following the above statement we cannot possibly expect every individual in a language to be able to grasp the way in which these proverbs figuratively suggest these truths.

1) Ruth Finnegan : Oral Literature in Africa, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1970, p. 398 - 99

If there is one aspect of language that reflects culture and tradition more than anything else is the proverb. The Vhavenda originated in Africa and are still living in Africa. All that Africa had and still has is embodied in their proverbs. Africa is known for her cultural riches and natural resources. Many Luvenda proverbs therefore include most aspects of nature such as trees, water, mountains and so on. The Vhavenda are human like all nations are hence the reason why their proverbs have human qualities in them such as love, friendship, enmity, family relationship and many others.

When it comes to animal husbandry and agricultural farming many of the Vhavenda feel at home. Examples are : "Mulala a sa fi tsimu ya shubi u do vhuya a lima," (an old one who does not die will at last own a fertile field).

Every nation has its own form of religion and religious aspects are also reflected in the Luvenda proverbs like "Midzimu yo mu tenda" (the gods have favoured him). In fact, the whole philosophy of the Vhavenda is embodied in their proverbs. Their every walk of life is depicted by their proverbs, no matter how less important it may seem to be. Proverbs originated from comparisons of the Muvenda as a human being to celestial and terrestrial phenomena. Nature is made up of "inorganic matter under which we find non-living objects such as terrestrial phenomena; and organic matter under which is found fauna and flora which are animals and plants respectively." 1)

1) Whitting, C.E.J. : Hausa and Fulani Proverbs, p. 1.

A Muvenda's way of doing things, his nature and characteristics may be compared to that of animals. Like zebra in "ha mbiḍi ndi ha thumbuni ha maramani i fa naho" (that of the zebra is in the stomach it dies with that in the cheeks i.e. grass). This is compared to a person's nature of keeping secrets, that it may be how bad secrecy must never be divulged.

His strength might be compared to that of a lion which is taken as king of all animals in a proverb like "phanda ha ndau a hu iwi u si na tshikuni" (to the front of the lion is not gone without a blazing firewood). The lion is depicted as a dangerous animal hence a person must be very careful on approaching it. Thus he is advised to have glowing wood to frighten it - in this case meaning a present to please the chief. It is known amongst the Vhavenda that the chief is vested with all the powers, so, he is compared to a lion which is feared for its power.

The various qualities and actions of the Vhavenda may be conveyed in metaphorical terms in proverbs referring to dogs, snakes, elephants, pigs, frogs, bucks, baboons, goats, mice, giraffes, etc. as in the following examples:
Laziness - "mmbwa munamba i a u funa i ro shaya mubikeli" (the dog likes milk food but nobody to cook for it).

This person's actions have been brought forward as those of somebody very lazy and despised by being rated as a dog which is taken to be something with nothing of its own.

Cleverness - "Khangala ruḁa maḁo vuluvulu lo fa nga vhuhwavho" (the snake "khangala" have your eyes open, the snake "vuluvulu" is dead because of politeness). This person's qualities are those of a brave industrious somebody who cannot easily be deceived and be led into danger.

Another proverb is "muthu ndi ḁou ha tshili nga muri muḁwe fhedzi" (a human being is an elephant which eats different trees) for its better body building effect.

Boastfulness - "nguluvhe ye ndi edza ḁou maḁanga a bva nga mulomoni" (the pig imitated the elephant and its tusks came out of the mouth). This person is deceived by the identity of a pig to that of an elephant forgetting the size. He then tackles an undertaking that can be done by experienced or older people than himself and as a result fails in his endeavour.

Another proverb which shows boastfulness and deceit is "ndi mulindedzano ndi wa ḁula na ḁowa" (it is wait in readiness as that of a frog and a snake). Here are two deceived people waiting for a chance to hurt each other. The frog intends swallowing the snake and the snake intends to bite the frog. They are both kept in a waiting state for a good chance which may never come to be.

Dissatisfaction in "tshivhuya tsha mmbwa tshini, na musiwani fha munamba, ya bva i la zwiḁwe" (what good is that of a dog for after being given milk food, once it is outside it eats other things). This shows a human quality of a person who is ever dissatisfied no matter how good the other people may act towards him.

His reaction is that of criticism at every stage of life.

Repeated undertaking - This means the action of doing things over and over again leading into a dangerous or disliked situation as in the proverb "ntsa ya la munawa a i humi" (after the duiker has eaten a bean plant it frequents the field where beanplants grow).

The duiker's action is compared with that of a person who after getting something of interest somewhere, will frequent the place more often.

The leaves of a beanplant when still young are tender and provide good relish for the duiker which is used to eating grass and other shrubs in the forest. The duiker is compared to someone who got something unusually good by way of stealing which he had never got before, so the theft goes on until he is arrested or found out.

A good quality - "na vuvhi halo pfene vhusiku mavhele a li li" (it can be how bad the baboon, at night mealies it won't eat). This quality is bestowed upon a person who has performed a good action. He may be known for a bad character in other spheres but this time he is being defended for good behaviour.

The feeling of identity - in a proverb like "ntsa ya dzhena mbudzini i ndi mbudzi-vho" (the duiker amongst the goats calls itself a goat as well). In every society any human being is inclined to associate himself with the good company.

The goat has got an owner who cares for it by providing it with a sleeping place, sees to it that it gets enough fodder for all its days while still belonging to him.

Hence the reason why the duiker with nobody to protect it against the dangers of death, once it gets a chance of being with the goats calls itself a goat.

It is human nature to prefer identity if this will bring a better welcome anywhere in the world. That is why the Vhavenda also say "u naka a hu fani na u dihwa" (to be beautiful is not like being known - i.e. it is better to be known) which means it is better to be ugly but be known and treated well.

The quality of having knowledge that is indelible is seen in the proverb "nwana wa mbevha ha hangwi mukwita" (the little mouse does not forget the way to its abode). Teach a child what you want him to be he will grow up with it. A person may cultivate artificial characteristics due to circumstances but in the long run his background will sooner or later overpower him. That is why most people are prone to live two types of lives. At times their private lives being the direct opposite of their lives in public. It is only when the bad side of their lives is discovered that it is compared to a mouse which failed to assimilate any other good qualities it came across in life but still live the same way its mother did.

Slyish - "ndi nnda ndumela shevhoni" (it is a louse which bites in the cloth). A sly person is compared to a louse which after hiding itself starts doing mischief. One can hardly be suspicious of a sly person from his outlook.

His bad actions are often done out of sight, only the results thereof will be realised and him as the culprit may not be under suspicion for a length of time. This person may be taken for a friend and yet he is incurring much danger to the minded companion.

Alertness - "wa vhangwa thuda na wa kule u vhangwa u tshilavhelesa duvha" (when disputing over a giraffe with someone from afar, do so looking at the sun). In this case the one afar means somebody not related to you may wait for the sunset and put you into trouble. A human being should always be alert hence he falls into life's pitfalls. The action of being alert is compared to that of a man who while disputing over a certain issue knows when to end before it is too late which even mending will fail to put right.

Proverbs based on nature - Nature is made up of inorganic and organic matter. Inorganic matter consists of non-living objects like heavenly and earthly bodies; and organic matter consists of animals and vegetation. The examples here are :-

Celestial phenomena - Rain:- "Mmbwa yo naiwaho a ina mune" (a wet dog from rain has got no owner) showing despise for anybody having nothing of his own or whom shame has fallen. This person is compared to a dog which is wet which nobody will allow into his well furnished clean house. Rain is good provided it does not make wet those things it is not expected to, or cause mud.

Hurricane - "No runwa mvula na vhuya na dumbu" (you were sent for rain but instead brought back hurricane). Meaning someone who has done the direct opposite of what he was asked to do. This shows disobedience unto the instruction.

Whirlwind in "tshidumbumukwe tshi konela ho swaho" (a whirlwind plays in a burnt area). Man has been found to be a self-conceited human being. Selfishness and pride are inborn. When provoked by someone older or stronger he will keep his quiet otherwise he fails to stand it. He is sure of a defeat, thus he is compared to a whirlwind which finds strength in a clear place.

Night - "la kovhela u late mbado vhusiku ndi dada li a la" (by night it is dangerous to have weapons). This originated from the fact that by night or in the dark it is not wise to carry weapons.

By making use of celestial phenomena in forming proverbs the Vhavenda have shown themselves to have a wider vision which enabled them to formulate proverbs from abstract concepts of nature.

Terrestrial phenomena - These are inorganic natural objects of the earth which are frequently found in the Vhavenda proverbs. The Vhavenda used to live in and around mountains, sandy and stoney areas. Their proverbs will therefore reflect all these, for example:-

A rock in "Mungona mubikwa na ive, ive la vhibva Mungona a sala" (a Mungona cooked with the stone and the stone was cooked but the Mungona remained). Meaning one who does not fall easy prey to acculturation. The Vhavenda have studied a stone and observed its hardness and toughness. They then compare this person with a stone only to find him harder than a stone. This person is not easy to live with for he is not ready to take the fine arts of life as such.

Mulambo - "Mulomo a u dalelwi nga mulambo" (a river will never be in flood for a month) It is impossible to cross a river on foot when it is in flood. It is very simple for a month to state that it can cross over. If there is somebody on the other bank of the river the month will still converse with him irrespective of the river being in flood and running between them.

Fauna - "The word fauna means animals collectively" 1)
The Vhavanḁa were hunters of wild animals and herders of domestic animals. Upon the characteristics of some of the wild animals they came across they formulated proverbs like:

Didinngwe in " li naka li tshi hoha liḁwe didinngwe li tshi hohwa li ri mavhala anga" (the leopard delights in pulling others, when it is being pulled it says 'my colours'). When an enemy gets hurt, one usually rejoices but vice versa one becomes unhappy. This originated from the beautiful colours of the leopard.

Nari in "a ri dzheni nari ri si na mmbwa" (we do not provoke the buffalo without dogs) "nari" in this case signifies an affair that should be solved. "Mmbwa" signifies all the facts to be known in connection with the solution of the problem. This means that one should not interfere in other people's affairs if not invited to do so.

That the Vhavanḁa lived in rural areas as an agricultural nation gave them contact with various creatures that appear in their proverbs.

1) Morris, W. : The Heritage Illustrated Dictionary of the English Language, 4th Edition, London 1975, p. 478

The birds are also common in their proverbs where comparison is evoked metaphorically.

A fowl is a bird of prey which the Vhavenda kept in their families in case they needed meat on a smaller scale. This fowl which is "khuhu", in their chief's kraal is known as "gwitha" that is owl. From this identification of the fowl to owl a proverb is formed "ndi mañwe na khuhu mukegulu a tshi la gwitha" (it is the same as that of the fowl when the old lady enjoys the owl). The old people are rated as people who are ever forgetful, do things the other way round to such an extent that they can be given an owl for chicken and still fail to recognise the difference. This proverb is used when one has been badly cheated.

A crow is a bird that lives on meat and other crops or grains like corn, millet, monkey nuts and so forth. The crows are seen flying to their sleeping place by sunset. A crow that delays in the fields and tries to fly to its sleeping place by night will actually fail to find its way to the right place. This crow is compared to one who did not heed advice in the proverb "Funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi la fhira muḍi lo kovhela" (the crow refused to be advised and yet went past home by night).

A metaphor is also brought in on their able manner of being able to find out where meat is even though in a hidden place i.e. "Naho wa i viela bakoni mahunguvhu a do i vhona" (you may slaughter it in a cave but the crows will see it) This is comparison to the fact that whatever man does will be known sooner or later. The cave signifies a hiding place.

"Thengu" is a beautiful black cuckoo shrike that attracts the eyes but it is rare to find. So, if one is fortunate to see it better take a good look at it for tomorrow it won't be there anymore.

For opportunities that offer themselves a proverb "Muvhona-thengu sima u vhone matshelo thengu i a fhufha" (the one who sees this cuckoo bird should take a good look for tomorrow it flies away) is formed. It means take opportunities while they offer themselves.

A young bird that is "fhondo" needs care and guidance from the parents or guardians. There are those guardians who out of lack of love for their dependants illtreat them. Hence the origin of the proverb "Fhondo li si lau u thuvha li tshilila" (the young bird which is not yours you remove its feathers while it chips, with an aim of hurting mercilessly). It is true that cruelty is rarely exercised on your own child.

In their youth most creatures look nice, strong, fine, beautiful and admirable, than they are in old age. From this comparison a proverb originates that "Ndi khanga khulu thi na mavhala mavhala a na khangana" (I am a big guinea-fowl and do not have colours, they are with small guinea-fowls). Human life and activities are compared to these two types of guinea-fowls, the one being old and almost weak and useless; the other being young, strong and full of vigour - this is still useful.

Proverbs based on man - In Luvenda there are those proverbs which deal with man and his environment. Some of the proverbs are based on the organs of the human body. Diseases are common among all people and the Vhavenda are not an exception. They regard clothing in a high light and so they have proverbs dealing with clothing. When it comes to beer brewing they are experts and professionals.

The relationship between parents and children is a fundamental characteristic of people, the Vhavenda could not therefore be the exception in coining proverbs based on a child-parent relationship.

Whenever and wherever people are, differences and squabbles do occur which usually result in battles and wars.

Examples of proverbs dealing with human nature are:

Organs of the human body and their functions:-

"Ito" (eye) - An eye is a valuable organ of the body used for sight. Once the eye becomes blind one is incapacitated in one way or another. It is therefore wise to take great care of this precious part of the body. The proverb "Ito linwe a li vhoñwi nga tshilavhi" (one eye is always unfortunate) originated from the fact that the eye performs an important function as part of the body. It is of advantage that the eyes are two. A blind person presents a special problem to society than is deaf and dumb one. This proverb then refers to a thing that is most trusted and on which people depend, especially when it is threatened by danger.

"Mulomo" (mouth) has got various functions to perform as an organ of speech. The good words, fine words, soothing words, as well as harsh and bad words can all be uttered by the mouth.

Culture and other developments are transmitted through speech. In the proverb the mouth is compared to a big drum "ngoma" that the mouth makes more noise than the drum that is "Mulomo wa muthu u fhira ngoma u lila" (the mouth is louder than the big drum). It has been found that the mouth can do things which are greater than its size. This refers to rumours that are spread far and wide. No matter how loud the drum beat may sound it will not be heard as far as the word uttered by the mouth.

"Mulenzhe" (leg) This part of the body has a duty of carrying the whole body wherever it decides to go. The decision is in the head, the eyes help to see where the legs should tread. The proverb "Mulenzhe ndi bofu" (the leg is blind) originated from the fact that though the leg can travel far yet it does not see its way because it has no seeing eyes; although it has knuckles at the ankle known as the leg's eyes, "maṁo" in Luvenda. This is said of one who is reluctant to help others in need. He does not ever dream of seeking help in the future.

"Tshanda" (hand) This is that part of human body that performs the duty of handling. The body depends upon the hand in almost all its performances. A human being has two hands which help each other. The proverb "Tshanda tshinwe tshi kona u komba ndilo" (one hand can only take food from a wooden plate) originated to signify that two hands should work in harmony since one cannot perform two duties simultaneously.

"Ipfi" (word) In speech words are all valuable in that they work together to make sentences understood in their meaning. A word or a sentence may be said in contradiction to the other. A statement made may be opposed or affirmed. In Tshivenda it is only the word uttered by one in his death bed that may never be opposed but be carried out as such. The proverb "Ipfi la mufu a li pfukwi" (the word of the dead must never be disregarded) is said with the fullest belief that if his last wish is not done things will not go well with the rest of the family.

"Shambo" (bone) The duty of the bone is to form a skeleton around which flesh is build. Once the bone is removed the body collapses..

It is through this imagery as to what type of body composed of flesh without bone would it look like. The proverb "Shambo la mutshini li thumbuni" (the bone of a dancer is in the stomach) is formed with the idea that an empty stomach leaves the body helpless, weak and sick. The food in the stomach which gives strength to the body is compared with the bone in the body. Only when a dancer is satisfied can he perform his entertainment well.

Actions of man -

"Ambuwa" (cross) The act of crossing is used to compare the skill and competence to right of birth. A skilled and competent person is more famous than the chief's children as obviated by the proverb "hu ambuwa vhuḥanga vhukololo a vhu ambuwi" (to be a doctor can be imparted but to be a prince is not transferable) Therefore a skilled and competent person's services are sought far and wide whereas being a prince goes as far as the country's borderline.

"Enda" (travel) Old people are people on whom younger generation depend in life. They are known for their experience and sound advice. This is made clear in the proverb "Mutukana ha endi hu enda mukalaha" (a boy does not travel but an oldman) Experience is gathered over years. So the younger one is the less experienced he is. Hence the reason why the Vhavenda "khorō" is composed of elderly people who are considered to have wise ideas.

"Hovha" (pull) This is the act of getting a thing nearer.

The proverb "tsha kule tshi wanwa nga muhovhi" (that which is far is got by he who pulls) shows that if one perseveres he will in the end achieve his goal. The act of pulling is compared to that of persevering. Good things are achieved after hard work.

Parent - child relationship :-

"Fa" (die) Children depend upon their parents and death of the parents dooms their future. The proverb "Mukange a fa vhana vha Mukange vha a fhalala" (if Mukange dies his children disperse) means that once the head of the family or the parent is dead the dependants feel the loss. They cannot live in peace or harmony as they used to do during his life time.

"Laṭa" (throw away) A thing which is of no use anymore can be thrown away but a child cannot. A child is a gift from God and that cannot easily be done away with. The proverb "A u laṭi ṅwana nga phaḍi" (you cannot throw a child away or disown your child because of eczema) is giving a child a nasty disease and yet this child cannot possibly be disowned by the parent. The parent has got a responsibility that is not transferable. As such a parent should not neglect his child because of unbecoming behaviour.

"Lila" (cry) in "ṅwana hu ḷa a lilaho" (it is the crying child who gets food) originate from demand made by the child on the parent through crying. This is the child's only language; then the mother learns to know the various cries of her child. The mother will then see to it that this child's demands are met. Therefore for one to get what one wants, one should state his case.

Man to man relationship -

"Muimawoga shaka ndi nnyi" (stand alone who is your relative) One who decides to do things all by himself in life will find life difficult. This is a rebuke to one who does not want to take advice from relatives. The act of standing alone is compared to that of doing things alone without the help of others in any way. It is better to create friendship in all spheres of life than to be a recluse.

"Khangala mbili a dzi dzuli muina muthihi" (two ferocious snakes cannot live in the same hole). Here the relation between two people of equal status is observed. It has been found that they fail to respect each other. Now, how can they stay at the same place? Their relationship is ever strained. This proverb shows that two leaders with the same power vested upon them cannot perform their duties well since they will differ in ideas.

"U laṭa ngoma hu a langanwa" (to do away with initiation school should be agreed upon) In executing some of the duties people will first agree and work in unity. This embraces life as a whole because in daily living most of the things done are those that need agreement. The initiation school stands for things undertaken which may be difficult to solve.

The use for which various things are meant -

"Bako" (cave) The Vhavenda before Western civilization touched their country lived in times of wars and they used caves as their place of refuge to hide away from the enemies.

In this caves they used to cook, sleep and live for some length of time until the coast is clear. The caves gave them shelter from rains, warmth during the winter months and good hiding place from the enemies as the entrance to the caves were closed with big stones that no suspiscion could be aroused as to any human being living in. The proverb "Bako lo dzhena maḍi" (water has got into the cave) originated from the idea that once water gets into the cave it will spoil everything. The people will have no place to make fire, or to sleep and they will suffer the cold resulting in their falling ill.

"Khali" (clay pot) The Vhavenda in cooking food, storing food, water, grain and other things used clay pots that they made themselves out of clay. These clay pots are valuable and handy utensils in each and every Muvenda home. Different names are given to different shapes of clay pots according to the function they perform: viz. "nkho" for holding beer they brew; "mvuvhelo" for holding water; "tshidudu" for cooking vegetables and meat; "mukhambana" for soaking samp that will be ground into mealie flour; and there is also an ordinary "khali" used for cooking. This clay pot used for cooking has got a long story to tell about its daily use. It is filled with water and put on fire, mealie flour is added to the boiling water to cook food for the whole family. This pot will stay there above this glowing fire which must never go out until the food is cooked. Thereafter when empty it is filled with water to soak it and be washed ready for the morrow's routine. The proverb "khali yo shululelwaho i fhira yo bikaho" (the holding pot surpasses the cooking pot)

originated from the idea that the holding clay pot has no story to tell yet this time it tells more about the cooking than the one that actually cooked. This is given in an exaggerated way for it never experienced the story it is relating. Hence one who talks of something he never witnessed of which he only heard.

"Mapfura" (cream) This precious commodity is valued by most of the Vhavenda people. It is used for warmth during cold days, to prevent the skin from cracking after daily bath. The body that uses cream is well cared for and looks beautiful. The proverb "Mapfura a khosi ndi vhathu" (the chief's cream is his people) originated in the idea that the chief should handle his people like the most expensive commodity in market. By treating them well, they in turn will care for him and his welfare in the same manner the cream does the body.

"Thonga" (knob kerrie) This is a short stick with a head that has a knob on it formerly used as weapon by South African tribes. ¹) including Vhavenda. It must always be at hand in case it is needed in self-defence. The proverb "Thonga ya kule a i vhulahi nowa" (a far fetched knob-kerrie does not kill a snake) originated from the idea that one cannot depend on far-off friendship just like when one cannot depend on a faraway knob-kerrie to use in killing a snake otherwise it will then be too late and the snake will be nowhere to be found by the time he is back with the stick.

1) Hornby A.S. : Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 474.

A snake as a dangerous reptile is compared to some danger that may threaten one's life and at that moment his failing to get help from friends or beloved ones staying far from him. After all friendship costs nothing according to the Vhavenda custom since they have a habit of welcoming a stranger before knowing his name and errand.

"Mulilo" (fire) Fire in daily life can be put into various functions on smaller or larger scale. Power, warmth and heat can all be derived from fire. In winter or in cold climates fire is needed for warmth, cooking, steam and numerous other things. The proverb "Mulilo wa mbava a u orwi" (the fire of the thief cannot be shared) originated from the fact that if one shares the fire of a thief cooking all stolen things one is also suspected of theft. This is to try and discourage people from associating themselves with bad characters.

Since proverbs are situational they appear in almost every sphere of life. There is comparison on philosophical basis using speech figuratively. The Vhavenda lived in rural areas which were sparsely populated. Their experience in life and their philosophy appear in their proverbs against their cultural background. Therefore they have proverbs which originated from their family life; they have proverbs originating from authority, chieftainship, government oppression as well as the burden of power. ¹⁾

1) Khuba A.E. : A descriptive Study of the Proverbs concerning Administrative and Family Life in Luvenda, University of the North, 1983, p. 9

The Vhaverda are after good relationship in a family, as such all their proverbs revolve around the activities in and outside the family.

v. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LUVENĐA PROVERBS.

The collection of the Luvenda proverbs demands the knowledge of the background of the Vhavenda in order to know the situations from which the various categories of proverbs originated. Ignorance of the Vhavenda culture will make the allusions of the Luvenda proverbs in the various situations not obvious. Therefore, it sounds thus that a knowledge of the situation in which a proverb originates is also an essential part in order to understand its implications in life. Another stumbling block in collecting and categorizing proverbs is that according to the context in which a proverb appears, it may suggest a variety of different truths. In collecting these proverbs one would realize that most of the informants do fail to realize or see the difference between an idiom and a proverb in which case one is forced to follow the majority. For example the proverb " ha na khana" (he does not keep secrets) sounds like an idiom and yet the majority confirm that it is a proverb.

At first approach of these informants one would find out that they do not just understand what one is really after.

Only after categorizing the proverbs I have collected into the following groups: annoyance; boastfulness and deceit; bravery and industriousness; advisory; chieftainship and administration; courage; determination and perseverance; co-operative spirit and good relations; disappointment, rivalry and hostility; excuse; irony; laziness and poverty;

loyalty to the chief and other authorities; law and justice; marriage and family life; respect and complements; strife and quarrels; selfishness; could I get some response. I was then faced with one problem as to the category in which the informant before me is well versed. After discovering the informant's sphere of knowledge I could proceed well for the informant could also provide additional proverbs of a similar nature.

At first I had these proverbs arranged in the form of a questionnaire with two open lines after every proverb in which I could fill in the information I got from my informants. This proved to be a tedious way of doing it for by the time I am through with the writing my informant's attention is distracted from our conversation by one thing or another in the environment. Only after grouping these proverbs according to the situations in which they are likely to occur did I make use of a tape recorder and the results were favourable.

So far I cannot guarantee that the proverbs I collected are all that exist in Luvenda. In this research what I realised is that proverbs are in various spheres of the life of the Vhavenda. For one to collect them all if ever one aims at that it will take one not less than a decade. Another interesting point about these mainly figurative sayings which I discovered is that they are all inclined to rely for their effect on the aptness with which they are used in a particular situation.

For instance the situation in a proverb like "a zwi vhulahi khwaṭhi, khwaṭhi ya fa yo silinga" (it does not kill an unmarried man for if he dies there is something wrong that he has done) is that of one who is cheated. After discovering the incident he found there is nothing he could do to save the situation. This he voices as consolation trying to gather up some courage because the proverb itself in this situation means this defeat is not the end of life for one could still hope for brighter days in future.

During this research it has been discovered that younger generation is not a complete source of information as the older generation who provided most valuable information. In Tshivenda it is believed that "u hula a si u bebwa kale ndi u tsha gole wa vhona" (to be grown up is not to be born earlier but experience gathered over the years). As such the few young individuals who were privileged to have contact with elderly people for some time gave a good deal of information.

The proverbs used in this dissertation are those gathered over a length of time for more than twenty years from students by giving them assignments to go and gather these proverbs from their homes and far-off places during their holidays. Some from the student teachers in the training during the years I was Departmental Head lecturer for Luvenda at the Tshisimani Teacher's Training College. Another collection was made from teachers in the field teaching Luvenda Standards 6 to 10 since they requested me as their lecturer to compile a book on proverbs with their meanings. As a result of this research all the proverbs in this dissertation are those in current use.

CHAPTER 1

1.1. THE TRUTH EXPRESSED IN THE LUVENDA PROVERBS.

The truth expressed in the proverbs in Luvenda revolves around the meaning of their culture. Comprehension of the significance of the term culture is in the custom of using it in a sense of evaluation. An educated and polished person in manners is said to be cultured. In this sense the term means superiority, but is applied contrary to the mode of life of a group of people known as their culture. The Vhavenda have culture of their own which may differ in one aspect or other from that of another nation.

In comparison the Vhavenda may have the same claims to originality in culture as other tribes do. Since life is dynamic and not static it is quite understood that improvement or changes brought into any culture by its members might have influence from outside or within. Culture goes hand in hand with borrowing which the less privileged nation might do during the space of time. Culture is the name given to the basic phenomenon of life in its entirety of community activities by sociologists, historians, linguists and anthropologists.

It is quite interesting to learn and know the different cultures of different nations and to realize that some are much different, some have very little in common yet some are more or less the same save the language they use.

There are different angles from which culture may be viewed such as daily activities, type of place of abode, means of travelling, pets kept, type of farming, shape and origin of utensils used at home; peculiar styles and type of materials used for clothing; the methods used in greeting, the ideas of hospitality; methods of getting rid of crime and the training of the young, type of belief, customs and taboos, the important values and norms and the standards of beauty.

The Vhavenda as a group of people have a culture because in their daily activities are new and peculiar practices not to be found in other groups of people. A complete record of a culture such as that of the Vhavenda will include inter-alia, their arts, crafts, industries, communication, politics, social life, chieftainship, education, religion, etiquette and the rest of other things.

All these will help in the comprehension of a culture complex and the realization of its reality and even formulation of an idea about its character.

What is really done is to note some of the most distinctive or original characteristics and upon this basis assume a distinct culture.

Therefore, the Vhavenda culture is the sum and substance of the thoughts and beliefs of the Vhavenda.

These are the determining characteristics of their culture. As such their culture is a core of ideas and beliefs, actuating the Vhavenda and in large measure controlling their career that forms the back-

bone, or the unifying element in the culture complex

The Vhavenda proverbs are geared around their culture and philosophy and there is much truth in their expression. Any proverb might be taken as an example but, now a few proverbs will be cited as examples taken from each group which groups will be discussed fully in chapter 5.

1.1.1. ANNOYANCE

The proverb "A si halwo lukunda a lu kokomedzwi lwa kokomedzwa lu a thara" (It is not its place - the bangle - it should not be forced for it will break) has the truth which lies in that the issue may be forced in life and the outcome becomes undesirable. There are so many activities in life that can be given as example to illustrate this.

"Mubikela phondi tsevhi ya lala na ndala"

(cook for the murderer and the adviser sleeps hungry). In life people are there who are likely to be deceived in the way a bad character expresses himself and take him on his word.

An adviser may give a sound advice to no avail. The other people out of the scene may realize the fire with which he is playing and say this proverb, just to try and make him realize the danger before him.

1.1.2. BOASTFULNESS AND DECEIT

"Bako lo dzhena madi" (the water has got into the cave). It is true that a cave which gives shelter and security is compared to the comfort a person gets from his guardians. The water which got into the cave spoils everything inside for it leaves dampness and discomfort and the cave becomes cold and unbearable to live in. This humid cave has all the disadvantages one can think of. This is compared to the removal or death of something or somebody upon which or whom one depended.

It is true that if all of a sudden the thing on which a group of people depends is confiscated they become beserk and helpless. When they discern a doomed future they usually say this proverb. There is indeed so much suffering in life as a result of the good thing that got spoilt before those who toiled could enjoy the fruits thereof.

"Khangala mbili a dzi dzuli muina muthihi"

(two venomous snakes cannot share the same hole). Greatness in life is achieved once in one's life time. When one is in higher status one feels the power and awaits respect from other members lower in rank. It may happen that two people with the same qualifications are placed in the same office of work.

In practical life they will keep on differing because there are no two identical experts.

Everybody has got his own interpretation of life.

Putting two leaders of the same calibre at the head of the same Department would just be trying the impossible unless one becomes submissive.

1.1.3. BRAVERY AND INDUSTRIOUSNESS.

"Vha bikela vhuṅanga vhutsila vha vhona nga maṭo"

(they cook for the doctorship but crafts is seen by eyes). On professional basis of those things that are difficult to know in life, like becoming a doctor, education of its type is essential; but a practical article worked by hand in one's presence can be imitated. The truth in this proverb is that there are so many things overlooked in life yet simple useful and practical. Through the art of accurate observation one can learn most basic undertakings in life.

"Khangala ruda maṭo vuluvulu lo fa nga vhuhwavho"

(venomous snake, be alert for puffadder died being polite). Clever people are wanted in each and every nation. We are aware that they have foresight and can give sound advice to the rest of the nation. These are compared with a clever snake which is always alert and awake. The meek snake is compared to those who seem to be contributing very little in life. In life there are always these two groups of people.

1.1.4. ADVISORY

"A hu aluwi muthu hu aluwa mbilu" (it is not the person that grows but the mind). In this proverb "muthu" stands for the body that we see composing

a person and "mbilu" represents the knowledge gathered in life. Let's presume the body grows and the knowledge remains stagnant. This person will always act like a small child. On the contrary if much knowledge is gathered and yet the body remains that of a child there is still a lack of balance. The truth in this proverb is that while the body grows up the knowledge gathered becomes more. When the body looks young and the knowledge gathered is in comparison depicted as being above the size of the body this proverb becomes true.

"Fhungo li ela fobvu na iwe mune wa tsimu li do u elavho" (rumours about the culprit is also rumours for the plaintiff). This proverb in its advisory capacity brings out the truth that the one who spread rumours about anybody else's bad undertakings is also building a bad name for himself. Those who will hear about the blame upon the wrongdoer will carry it out by first stating the name of the one who told them, so, both names are paired together. At times his actions are criticized against those of the culprit.

1.1.5. CHIEFTAINSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION

"Hu ambuwa vhuṅanga vhukololo a vhu ambuwi" (it is doctorship that goes beyond the boundaries but not royalty). Everybody who does good work to all human beings, especially when it comes to the saving of lives, is known far and wide.

We all strive to keep alive and always turn to those who are said to be in the know whenever our lives are threatened by death or danger. Every child who belongs to the royal family is known amongst the subjects under the rule of that individual ruler. His fame goes as far as the boundaries of their country which means that he is known by his acquaintances only. The respect that a child from a royal family receives from people in his home country will never be such in other countries in which he may find himself to be.

"Khosi ndi khosi nga vhathu" (a chief is so because of people). It is true that the chief is installed into his throne after being chosen by the people who are ready to take his word. There is nothing according to the Vhavenda culture that he may do without their knowledge. There are rules that govern him as their chief. From youth he is initiated in the idea of respect for people; love for everybody living in his country irrespective of good or bad character; have a merciful and helping spirit.

The Vhavenda are a tribe full of respect for their chief (ref. A.E. Khuba, 1983, p.30). They have all their hopes on him for the maintenance of peace and harmony in their homeland. In turn this chief will grow up knowing that his chieftainship is supported by the very people he is ruling. Hence the reason why cases are handled by his "khoru" composed of chosen men. His is just to give the last word after the hearing. The people under his jurisdiction know their duty as far as respect, homage and protecting him is concerned.

They install him as chief and give him all their love and respect.

1.1.6. COURAGE, DETERMINATION AND PERSEVERANCE.

"Mulala a sa fi tsimu ya shubi u do lima" (the old one who does not die will one time be well-to-do). It is mostly at oldage that people enjoy good living. The experience they have gathered through the years of their lifespan prove to be the best teacher.

It is believed amongst the Vhavenda, and truly so, that the largest head of cattle, goats, sheep and any other material counted for the well-to-do people is owned by those who worked hard in life, who obviously happened to be those who lived longer and are experienced.

The "Shubi" is the field which has been manured through years and its soil is so fertile that anything planted in this soil flourishes very well. One can only own a "shubi" after staying at the same place for a long time. After building a new home at a new place, the old place becomes his "shubi". The pumpkin plants planted here, whose leaves the Vhavenda use for vegetables, will be used the whole year round for the place is fertile and a little shower of rain or even dew will keep them growing. The truth in this proverb tallies very much with that in perseverance which is the mother of success.

"Tshe mulomo wa amba ndi tshe mbilu ya amba"

(what the mouth uttered has been thought out). The mouth is always expected to say what has been decided upon by the mind. There are times when one might say words that may hurt the other individual on purpose knowing that he will withdraw his words or ask for pardon. This proverb brings out the truth that what has been said with an intention to hurt has been decided upon. Under normal circumstances it is not usual for the mouth to utter words that have not been decided upon by the mind.

1.1.7. CO-OPERATIVE SPIRIT AND GOOD RELATIONS.

"A dzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana"

(relatives are ready to help one another in case of danger). The word "malombe" means proper relatives. When there is peace and people are happy it is not usual that a relative is thought of rather a friend. The truth of this proverb lies in that relatives whenever there is something sorrowful like death do come together according to the Vhavenda culture. This is the time that they are united and work in unity. On the contrary feasts may be organised and relatives invited, some may decide not to come but not in times of sorrow. The word "mukosi" symbolises danger, sorrow or bad news. "phalala" means help one another without being requested to.

"Mulomo ndi khaladzi a ndila" (the mouth is the brother to the way). In the Vhavenda culture a foreigner who may happen to come to Venda will feel free to ask anybody of the place he wants to visit. The relationship between brother and sister is compared to that between the mouth of the foreigner and the right way he is shown by the individual asked. It is against the Vhavenda culture to mislead anyone who seeks direction of the way. For anyone moving in Venda there is no need to fear for he is going to reach his destination by merely asking for direction.

1.1.8. DISAPPOINTMENT, RIVALRY AND HOSTILITY.

"Akha lutsinga u ye makoleni" (go and report anywhere nothing will happen to me). "Akha" means stretch and "lutsinga" is a blood vessel which in this proverbial connotation means to be cheeky. To stretch one's blood vessel to the sky is a fruitless endeavour impossible to accomplish. Secondly getting to the sky won't bring any solution to the problem before us. This is said to somebody young or whom you are sure won't have power to do anything.

"Mmbwa yo naiwa a i na mune" (a wet dog has no owner). In this proverb the dog symbolizes a person. When someone has behaved in a way not accepted by the community everybody tend to spite him. People will even shun to admit that he is their acquaintance for bad behaviour brings a bad name to the family and relatives.

A good example is that of a rich man whom most people wish to be related to and a poor person who through lack of most material things is despised for his begging habits. It is human nature that people are inclined to like and respect those who have property and dislike and despise the needy.

1.1.9. EXCUSE

"A ri dzheni nari ri si na mmbwa" (we cannot attack the buffalo without dogs) this is in truth giving an excuse when you do not want to be involved in the case in action. "Nari" means the case at hand and "mmbwa" means facts about the case.

This excuse in this proverb has double connotation, that of lack of facts or knowledge about the case and that of not wanting to be involved in the case. At times this proverb is said in order to keep peace between the two parties at logger heads. The two parties may be seeking a third person to take sides and the third person being aware of the consequences declines by using this proverb.

"Ya mudzimu i bva dzinweni" (that of god is chosen from many). This proverb becomes true when there is a case which involves a group of people. After a long investigation only one of them remains as the culprit.

At the Vhavenda "khoros" as in the other courts evidence paves the way as to how the case may be judged. Since the rest of the "khoros" men were not there when the case took place they are justified to depend upon evidence given.

1.1.10. IRONY

"Fuyu litswuku a li kundwi tshivhungu" (a good looking fig has its disadvantage as well). "Fuyu" is a fig. This is a ripe fig that makes the mouth water when looking at it. It is true in life that most things have both good and bad sides. In an individual's personality there are good and bad traits. It is through culture that some of the bad traits may be pruned. Within the scope of culture the bad habits are dealt with. This is not an easy task for it calls the attention of every individual to join hands in this cultivation. A good member of society who may at one stage fall short of good character then falls within the allusions of this proverb.

"Ri de ndi mbidi ro vhona mavhala" (Seeing is believing). How true it is that most things heard of are believed when seen. Promises made are believed when fulfilled.

This proverb is said in a doubtful situation as a means of encouraging the other part to strive hard to get the case under discussion under control. It makes the hearer aware that he is being doubted. To clear the doubt he must make an effort in bringing out the truth.

1.1.11. LAZINESS AND POVERTY

In the Vhavenda culture a poor man is believed to be lazy for if he goes out to his field and work he will reap the toils of his sweat.

In pastoral farming he must look after his domestic animals. After all what is riches if not the material needs of one's type of life? A rich Muvenda has a variety of grains planted in his fields especially mealies which form the basis of his staple food; and lots of reared domestic animals. Cattle farming, poultry keeping and pigery are practices taking place amongst the Vhavenda.

"Mmbwa munamba i a u funa i ro shaya mubikeli"

(a dog likes milk food but no cook) is true in that humanity strives for the best side of life. It is only a bother to decide to put some effort into the making of the best awaited for.

The "munamba" which is porridge cooked out of milk instead of water tastes nice. The cooking should be done in order to get and enjoy this food.

"Mufuvha u lambisa thakha" (draught game makes one poor). This game which is played mostly by elderly men during their leisure time is very interesting. It absorbs one's whole mind for to win needs the know how. Winning in this game is not an easy task. It can be played by people in groups helping one another towards a way of winning.

It is interesting to note that all who know how to play this game can play it on days unending.

each time they play it they become so engrossed in the game that they put aside all other undertakings but, the only snag is that this game leaves them poor. When others are busy working for riches they are busy with this time consuming game with no gain except enjoyment.

This game is always played under a nice shade of a tree sitted in a squatting position standing at intervals while checking your position well. The players have nothing to worry about unlike those ploughing the fields or those looking after their herds of cattle and other domestic animals.

1.1.12. LOYALTY TO THE CHIEF AND OTHER AUTHORITIES.

It is the Vhavenda culture that loyalty be practiced at all times. The chief or any other authority amongst the Vhavenda is chosen by the people to keep discipline and order in their community. The chief installed would find it very difficult to accomplish the above mentioned tasks if members of the community who installed him are not indoctrinated into loyalty.

"Dza musanda dzi kumba thole" (those from the chief take whatever they find on their way the young, healthy). The chief amongst the Vhavenda is given respect wherever he is, the same applies to his herd of cattle. His domestic animals are given due respect on their way or else the other herds of cattle belonging to the other members of the community if found on the way will get mixed with those of the chief and no herdboy is allowed to get his out of the chief's.

His is just to go and report what happened to his father who in turn has also no power to go for them. He will only console himself by saying the proverb "U luvha a hu na mapone" (paying homage has no blisters).

"Tshidzimba tsha a si na mano litshani tshi sine tshi na mune watsho" (The "tshidzimba" of the one without teeth should be let aside for the owner is there).

This is to guard against youngsters who may take an elder man's possession without his permission under the pretext that he has no use for it. Indeed an elderly person may have riches in which he finds delight in possessing rather than using. The truth brought out in this proverb is that whatever one possesses he has use for; this also applies to young wives married to oldmen.

If he fails to make use of his possession it should not be anybody's problem since he is still alive. He might have planned to divide his possession among his children or dispose of it in one or another way. In this case the Vhavenda always say "zwanda mafhini" (hands off).

1.1.13. LAW AND JUSTICE.

There are proverbs that are used in court as a means of gaining favour, giving a judgement to a case or alerting the court members as to the fair direction of judgement.

Some proverbs give point and colour to ordinary conversation about a case before its judgement. The easiest way to collect these proverbs on law and justice is during court hearings. The Vhavenda "khoró" (court) is held at the chief's kraal by the "khoró" men in a building known as "tshivhambo".

The older women are also welcomed to give a hearing and to speak only on request by the "khoró". The chief is at the head of the "khoró" and gives the last judgement on the case. The types of crimes usually tried by the "khoró" are among others murder, theft, insults of authorities, adultery, burglary, robbery, cruelty to children, divorce, usurping another's wife, quarrels, cruelty towards wives or any human being, petty stealing, disobedience of children, assault or using a deadly weapon, rape, impregnating a young girl and witchcraft.

The proverb "Hu tshi fashwa buku hu si fashwe khwamba" (when the water rat is caught and the parrot goes free) gives the truth of a case where the big offenders who were sure they will win the case are apprehended and the minor offenders are released. The real situation in life is that people are inclined to take an aged on his word rather than the young man who is believed to be still wet behind the ears concerning court cases. This proverb shows that the law has no eyes.

In "Mukoma a tudza na vhalanda vha a tudza" (if the headman limps the subjects will also limp)

the truth is in the limping of the headman who should at all times be aware that every step he takes is watched by his subjects.

How true it is that a headman as the man at the head of his community, once he fails to plan for the future of his community will find himself ruling an unruly nation.

Discipline in a country lies within the hands of the ruler. A ruler who plans for his people, love them and respect them will in turn get their service and full support.

1.1.14. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Preparation for married life is one of the most important aspects amongst the Vhavenda nation. All their schools aim at building up character of a good man or woman of tomorrow. This guidance is given from early childhood when boys are taken to the "murundu" initiation school and girls to the "musevhetho" initiation school.

In these schools part of the training is that of teaching the child to think and behave with respect for the seniors.

The next stage after puberty is when they are taken to the "vhusha" initiation school for girls and "thondo" initiation school for boys where they learn to be obedient, helpful to the community in many ways, have proper respect for the seniors, be subjective to authority and love one another.

Thereafter they are both taken to the "domba"

initiation school which must alert them about life in the family.

There are many proverbs used in the family as a whole. The proverb "Mutupo u tevhela nómbe" (the totem name follows the cattle) is true amongst the Vhavenda in marriage and family life because the totem name used in the family by parents, children, grand-parents and grand-children is that of the one who paid lobolla which is always counted in herds of cattle form. A woman married after she had children rejected by the biological father they automatically take the totem name of the man paying lobolla for their mother. If there happens to be separation of the parents the man is given custody of the children for he paid lobolla for their mother.

The boy who came along with his mother to her new husband and refuses to take the new totem name does not inherit anything.

The proverb "Wa sa tshimbila u dzea khaladzi" (stay at one place you will marry your sister) brings out the truth that variety as the spice of life is learnt from different places.

Improvement and progress are learnt by moving from place to place and compare different types of lives. It is true in life that a well-travelled man is an experienced member of the community. Knowledge gathered through seeing and handling concrete or existing objects remains indelible in the mind.

The Vhavenda like staying together as a clan and their relationship is true,

there is no half-relationship with them.

The parents of a young man who reaches a marrying stage will take the trouble to get him a good wife since they are well-travelled and know where good young ladies are.

1.1.15. RESPECT AND COMPLIMENTS

An acceptable child is that with respect amongst the Vhavenda.

When a child or somebody is grateful of what has been done to him he makes a compliment which is in the form of a polite expression.

"Matanzu maswa a ima nga malala" (new branches get strength from old branches). this proverb teaches the new generation to have respect to some of the valuable things that their forefathers did or else most of the occurrences will remain a boomerang in their lives.

What the forefathers did amongst the Vhavenda deserves respect, for a nation that discards its history is like a tree without roots that can fall any moment on the slightest motion.

History forms the foundation on which to build and on which every nation can gauge its progress. There are so many ideas and art which are fine that were done away with for petty reasons given to the Vhavenda, the loss of which leaves an indelible gap between the previous and the modern times. The recording of these undertakings gives us the history of the Vhavenda upon which new developments and endeavours should be based.

The new generation which esteem itself to be in the know how, is always reminded of this proverb, the observation of which will give them pride in knowing from where they originated. Their knowledge should strive to improve or build on what already exists in their nation. Sound advice is awaited for from elderly people by the younger generation which is appropriate.

The proverb "Na vuvhi halo pfeŋe vhusiku mavhele a li li" (it can be how bad, the baboon, at night mealies it won't eat) is said as a compliment for one who is ever suspected of bad behaviour hence this time he is not involved in the case under discussion. The Vhavenda as a pastoral nation chose to stay near mountains along the rivers, a good abode for baboons. Their farming was done wherever they were.

The baboons used to come and stole their mealies planted at the base of the mountains, but this they did only by daylight.

The "thumba" huts (temporary huts) used for guarding these baboons in their fields are used during the day only.

At night they go home to get a night's rest when the baboons are gone to their hiding places in the mountains. Anyway by dawn they should already be up mountain for the baboon is an early riser. As it is true of the baboon's behaviour it is true of the suspect.

1.1.16. STRIFE, QUARRELS AND CRUELTY

These are the three factors disproved of in the Vhavenda community for their outcome is strained relationship.

The proverb "Musi wa mmbi dzi lala na mavhoda"

(During war time they sleep with their offsprings) shows the truth of the state of affair during bad times like when there are wars, strifes or quarrels. The little time saved is that of protection and planning how to be out of danger or how to conquer, living no time for the herd-boys to take the calves away from their mothers. This proverb is used when a major problem has to be solved which actually disturbs the normal setup or even threatens the life.

Cruelty is shown in the proverb "Fhondo li si lau u thuvha li tshi lila" (nestling which is not yours you remove its feathers while it chips). The truth lies in the handling of somebody's possession in a bad way showing no love as you would your own possession. This young bird still too young to leave the nest is illtreated mercilessly. This proverb is used to reprimand somebody who is becoming cruel in treating a youngster who is not his own child.

To avoid this the Vhavenda in their culture bring up all children as their own. No child should feel unwanted amongst the Vhavenda.

1.1.17. SELFISHNESS AND EGOTISM

Deficiency in consideration for others is a characteristic sustained by some individuals

chiefly for their personal profit or pleasure actuated by self-interest. Self-conceit is despised in the Vhavenda community which believes in sharing as "Vhana vha khotsi vha kovha na thoho ya nzie" (children of the same father share even the head of a locust).

Selfishness is expressed in the proverb "Fhuri la u newa a li na khobvu" (a given pumpkin has no syrup) in which one expresses his reluctance to share what he has been given.

It is human nature that one feels happy to use alone what one has been given. The other people can only admire it but with no intention to share in its use.

The truth is in the fact that you cannot do as you wish with a given article or a thing which is always in the minority.

Egotism in the proverb "Mutshidzi ndi wa pfumo wa ndala u ndo tshila nga ndothe" (saver is that in war that of hunger says I saved myself) emphasises the fact that it is so difficult for most people to admit the fact that they were helped in life. If war broke out the warriors go out to fight protecting their country. These are the people we all admit have saved us. In things within our ability we want ourselves to be praised.

The general truth in the Luvenda proverbs can be conveyed in several ways always through a metaphor.

The literal forms of the Luvenda proverbs do contain a picturesque form of speech marked by poetic quality.

The same proverb used in different context may suggest a variety of different truths or even different facets of the same truth. Since some proverbs in Luvenda are obscure even to some people in the community they cannot be so clear to enable us to grasp the mode through which they figuratively suggest their truths.

1.2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LUVENDA PROVERBS

The Luvenda proverbs are known for their special patterns which give figurative flavour to the saying. The use of pictureque phrasing is one of the devices to express the thought in a succinct way. The heightened speech which is in one form or another is used in proverbs signifying their difference from ordinary speech.

Proverbs in Luvenda have proved to be a rich source of imagery and succinct expression on which more elaborate forms can be drawn.

The value of the Luvenda proverbs in modern times lie in what they reveal of the thoughts of the past. To the speaker who proves to be an artist in the use of words proverbs are a model of forceful language. Besides their words of wisdom proverbs have verbal techniques in the way words are used in metaphorical comparison which enabled the Vhavenda forefathers to create proverbs which give freshness to the speech.

Proverbs are evident in the speech of the Vhavenda, not only as statements built over years reflecting the thoughts and philosophy of the Vhavenda giving them insight into the problems of life, but they are also technical verbal expressions. As such their use has become a living tradition amongst the Vhavenda's daily speech.

The Luvenda proverbs refer to practically any situation and some of these will be discussed under the headings in 1.5. which include

nearly every aspect of human affairs. A definitive treatment of the allusive content of proverbs include the study of their situations. The significance of the proverbs in the different situations is varied. The stress in all cases being comments about human affairs. This is mostly connected with the significance of the ancestral culture and philosophy in Luvenda for it seems difficult for new proverbs to be formulated up till now, hence the reason why these proverbs are always collected from elderly people for they are the right source of information.

The figurative quality of proverbs is striking and one of their most noticeable characteristics is their allusive wording which is always in metaphorical form, in the general stress often laid on the significance of speaking in symbolic terms.

These terms signify different human qualities. For instance the term "mbwa" (dog) appearing in the following proverbs:

"Mbwa munamba i a u funa i ro shaya mubikeli"
(a dog likes milk food but lacks the cook)
signifying a lazy personality.

"Mbwa hu zwima ya muambi" (it is the encouraged dog that hunts) signifying a hard-working personality that can do the working only with some encouragement.

"Mmbwa ya la inwe a i noni" (the dog that eats another does not get fat) signifying a cheating personality.

"Mmbwa i na mune i vhonala nga tshiangaladzi" (the dog with an owner has a dog-collar) showing a well cared for person.

"Mmbwa yo naiwaho a i na mune" (a wet dog has no owner) signifying a poor person who is despised even by his own relatives.

"Mmbwa phaphadzi u fashwa nga mulavhu ndi hayo" (a roving dog is easily caught in a trap) signifies the personality of a rolling stone that gathers no moss but always end up by landing into trouble.

"U songo nea mmbwa wo fara t_hamu" (don't give a dog while holding a cane) signifying the quality of giving guidance under cruel disciplinary measures.

"Mmbwa nzwimi phindelela lufu lwa mmbwa a luho kule" (a dog that keeps on hunting without coming back, its death is nearby) shows the inquisitive type of personality that likes following up a case to its last stage, no matter how dangerous.

"Mmbwa i poswa kurambo nga a i divhaho" (a dog is given a bone by an acquaintance) showing a grateful personality.

"Mulifho wa mmbwa ndi t_hoho yayo" (the payment of a dog's guilt is its head) signifying an atmosphere of giving up on the side of guardians or

Showing a personality that is disowned by the parents that they hand their child over to the guillotine for what he has done.

This proverb is said by the parents at court in answer to the proverb "nwana a suka matope u sukela vhabebi vhawe" (when a child forms mud he does so for his parents) in closing this child's case by the "khoru".

The close connection of Luvenda proverbs with other forms of oral literature like idioms and riddles brings out their literary significance. The Luvenda proverbs fall in line with those of Yoruba and Zulu in which "a distinction does exist in terminology between proverbs and other types of literary expression". (1)

There is also a practical connection between proverbs and idioms in Luvenda as in the proverb "mbilu khulu ya musingili a no latelwa kudzembe a doba" (patience of a begger whose hoe is thrown away and he picks it up) and the idiom "u na mbilu khulu" (he has a persevering heart) which in both cases mean somebody who has perseverance.

Proverbs and idioms are so closely related that they are at times confused for their significance remains the same.

(1) Dundes, A. : Folklore: Some Yoruba wellerisms, Dialogue Proverbs and Tongue-twisters, p. 75, U.S.A., 1964

Stuhardt, J.G. : A Collection of Zulu Proverbs, Nada 8, p. 69, 1930.

For instance there are very short proverbs that are taken to be idioms by some individuals; such as "Munwe a u disumbi" (the finger cannot point at itself).

"pfungwi a i fi" (a mark does not die)

"U tswa a hu gudwi" (stealing is not learnt)

"U isa marambo manweni" (to take the bones home)
that is to rest.

The Luvenda proverbs besides being closely interwoven with other aspects of linguistic and literary behaviour, they appear in some specific forms like names given to babies.

Their special significance being their meaning connotation attached to the situation pertaining to that clan at the moment of the child's birth. These names refer to various relationships in the family.

It is only the shortened form of the proverb that is given as a name.

The name "Nyadzawela" is a shortened form of the proverb "Nyadzawela vhanwe wa sea matshelo dzi do u welavho" (laugh when it befalls others tomorrow is your turn) signifying a situation in which the well-to-do people look down upon the needy. In Luvenda falling in line with this proverb they say "vhutshilo ndi thai" (life is a riddle) that no one can guarantee its future or what will become of him in the future.

According to the Vhavenda culture to delight at somebody's downfall is looked upon as folly.

The name "Muambatshawe" is from the proverb "Muambatshawe ha lwiwi nae dzhiani ni mu nee ni si divhumbe vhukoma nga zwa vhañwe" (the one who demands that which is his give him, don't be rulers of what is not yours) signifying a situation in which a hard-working member of society is being blamed for demanding that which belongs to him.

The name "Mudindivhathu" is a shortened form of "Mudi ndi vhathu matanzu ndi madagalala" (a village is people branches are to be thrown away) signifying that the value of the people is more than that of the branches which are used for fencing the villages. The significance of this name lies in bringing one of the members in the community to his senses, that is he must treat people in a human way. He must realise that the people he is illtreating form the majority in the village to which he belongs.

This name is given to a child born of a wife married after some wives have been expelled by the same husband.

The name "khangala" is from "khangala ruda mato vulu-vulu lo fa nga vuhwavho" (Venomous mamba be alert, puffadder died of meekness) or "khangala mbili a dzi dzuli muina muthihi" (two mambas cannot live in the same hole). Each of these proverbs has its own significance. The first signifies a personality that is too good that he loses all in life for the sake of others.

The second signifies two characters with the same status that keep on differing in their way of thinking. For good relationship to be maintained one of them must be submissive.

The name "Fulufhelo" shortened from "Fulufhelo a li thavhisi dzithoni" (faith does not disappoint) signifies people who had given up hope of ever getting what they wish to get - especially a child, at times a boy if girls are born already; or a girl if boys are born before her.

The name "Ludzula" is from one of the following proverbs:

"Ni pfupfutwa nga ludzula" (you are weary of riches)

"Ludzula ndi maduvha mana mutshinyalo ndi nwaha" (riches last for four days but poverty takes a year).

The term "mutshinyalo" can also be a name to a child.

"No vhidzwa nga ludzula na fhumula na vhidzwa nga mutshinyalo na aravha" (you were called by riches and kept your quiet but called by poverty and answered).

Their significance:

In the first proverb the reference is upon he who is rich or is married into a rich family yet fails to conform to the becoming behaviour in that family in such a way that the last resort is expulsion.

The second proverb refers to one who fails to realise that good life is shorter than hardships.

The third proverb signifies one who blundered in making a choice.

The name "Langanani" is taken from the proverb

"Langanani zwanu vhaloi vhadzimu who langana kale"

(you witches for the gods have long agreed) signifying a situation into which this child is born after death of other children born of the same family recently before.

As already mentioned somewhere in this dissertation the Vhavenda are a religious nation who believe in the god known as "Thimudi". Their belief is that of making use of their forefathers to take their message to the higher god. This is done each time they are in need of something like when they want to thank their god for the good things experienced; when a girl leaves for the in-laws; when a couple is in need of a newborn baby; when a gentleman goes to town asking the god to be with him always till he comes back; when a gentleman arrives home from town where he has been working; after a good crop thanking their god for a fruitful harvest; when there is drought asking their god to give them rain and this was done in the form of what they call "bando" in which ceremony they all go out of their homes and gather in a nice open place with green grass, and the very same day when they come back rain must have started. The ceremonial prayer is usually done by "Vhomakhadzi" (the aunts).

This proverb refers to the fact that the loving god has been merciful and answered their prayers to get another child. The proverb starts with an irony that you who know how to kill you can now do the killing but god has shown us his mercy in this gift that is the new born child.

The name "Maanda" is a shortened form of "Maanda nga u pfana" (unity is strength) referring to people who are not in good terms in a family that they must know that when they are divided they are going to fall.

The name "Mutali" is taken from the proverb "Mutali u la kanwe tsilu li la kanzhi" (wise man eats once while a fool eats many a time) referring to a personality that lives on cheating people.

It is almost the same as 'once beaten twice shy'.

The proverb name "Maano" may be a shortened form of either "Maano ha fhedzi fwaha" (cunning does not take a year) or "Maano a vhambwa nga luvhadzi" (being cunning is gained from scar).

The first proverb signifies a personality that lives on long term cunning plans that will in the long run come to an end.

The second proverb refers to the gaining of experience through coming across difficulties which teach one to be more wiser.

The name "Muofhe" comes from "Muofhe wa u ofha ndala mafumo u lwa nga ethe" (one who fears hunger at war he must fight for himself) signifying a brave man whom nobody ever suspected could perform such great undertaking or risk in his life.

The proverb name "Madahuvhi" is a shortened form of "Madahuvhi mvula ya tshifhango" (hail rain that comes to a wrong place) signifying a child born where it was not awaited for and into a very poor family or with nobody to care for it or to provide for its needs.

The name "Musandiwa" is taken from "Musandiwa nguvho ya pfene i no sandwa na nga vhaambari" (the hated one who is like the baboon skin or goat skin attire,

hated even by the wearers) referring to one who is not liked yet is the provider of the family's needs.

The proverb names in Luvenda need a discussion by themselves stating their significance in life. The above examples will suffice for the present discussion yet they are not all the proverb names that exist in Luvenda.

The Luvenda proverbs signify, in fact, almost everything of which the Vhavenda have experience. It is usually difficult to comprehend the significance of these proverbs without some knowledge of the cultural background of the Vhavenda as a nation.

1.3. SHADES OF MEANING IN THE PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Semantics is the scientific and philosophical study of meaning. The word semantics which has been coined for a relatively new field of study has ultimately prevailed as a name for the doctrine of meaning, in particular, of linguistic meaning.

The sudden rise of interest in meaning can be attributed to an interaction of several theories of development in various disciplines including natural languages, which are the natural media of human reasoning.

The influence of mathematical thinking and of mathematical logic in particular left a permanent mark on the subsequent study of semantics. This mark is more obvious in the semantic theories offered by philosophers, mathematicians and scientists.

Against this rigid logic, natural languages appeared to these philosophers as something primitive, vague, inaccurate and confused.

Semantics is also used to denote a broader field, that is the study of using signs as a behaviour in general. The perception of certain objects, marks, sounds, characteristics, and so on, always lead an intelligent being to the thought of another thing with similar entities. For instance the study of smoke evokes the idea of fire in the proverb "there is no smoke without fire" equivalent to "A lu khwaṭhi fhedzi lunundu lu khwaṭha lu na thanda ngomu" in Luvenda. The smoke is therefore the sign of something else.

It is particularly true of proverbs whose use and application depends so much on their context. Full understanding of the proverbs can only be reached with the knowledge of the occasions and purpose of their actual use. The meaning of the proverb depends upon the occasions in which it is used.

Christensen is right in stating that "there is no proverb without the situation". (1) because the proverb is always used in a situational context.

One proverb may conform to varied situations with different meanings. For instance the proverbs:

"Khosi ndi khosi nga vhathu" (a chief is so because of people) may refer to the following situations: when a chief is reminded to handle his people well; when a member of the community does not want to pay homage to his chief; when the people are advised to be always by the chief's side and help him in all things.

"U beba a si u ka muroho" (to bear a child is not collecting vegetables) referring to either a mother or any relative giving thanks to a present given him/her by a child whom he/she guarded once in his/her life; to remind someone who may be illtreating another's child; it may be said by a mother in defence for her child who may happen to be illtreated.

In Luvenda there are many proverbs which do refer to more than one occasions.

(1) Christensen J.B.: The story about the Akan attitude to Proverbs, Evans-Pritchard, 1963, p. 7

This study of meaning has many aspects such as meaning attached to single, isolated words; meaning attached to words within certain contexts; figurative meaning which may be called metaphorical meaning (1) used in proverbial meaning expressing commonly held ideas and beliefs.

Take for instance the belief that an oldman or oldwoman may bring misfortune to the family or individual if illtreated or killed. Hence the reason why warriors are instructed never to kill the elderly people at war for fear of bringing misfortune upon the killers.

This is expressed by the proverb "L̄inoni fulu a l̄i vhulawi l̄i na malumbulela" (the great bird should never be killed for it has misfortunes).

Another of its kind is "Ipfi la mufu a l̄i pfukwi" (the word of the dead should never be overlooked) bringing out the belief that if someone expresses a wish in his deathbed it must just be done or else misfortunes befall those who ignore it.

The philosophical views on meaning cover the topics of meaning and reference; meaning and truth; meaning and use; and meaning and thought.

(1) Khuba A.E.: A descriptive Study of the Proverbs concerning Administrative and Family Life in Luvenda, University of the North, 1983, p. 107

Meaning in linguistics cover treatments of semantics in the theory of language; meaning structure and content; lexical entries and generative semantics. Generative semantics is a system of language analysis within the linguistic field of transformational and generative grammar that holds that the semantic description of a language is of the same nature as the syntactic description and that only one set of rules and elements relates the meaning of a sentence to its superficial form.

Transformational grammar posits for each proverb a surface structure and a deep underlying structure. For instance the proverb "ya longa khwanda yo nwa" (once its hoof is inside it has drunk) is the surface structure of "kholomo ya longa khwanda madini i fanela u vha yo a nwa madi" (if the herd of cattle put its hoof into the water it must have drunk the water) which is its deeper, more abstract reading.

The statement that a proverb is a short and pithy saying with a bearing on life (1) depends so much upon its formulation using the surface structure only, which is the actual words uttered.

Other examples of proverbs showing their deep, underlying structures are :

"Wa sa li pfa u vhudzwani u do li pfa vhulaloni"

(if you do not heed a warning when it is given you will learn to understand it when in bed) whose deep, underlying structure is:

(1) Khuba A.E. : Op. cit, p. 7

"Ipfi la u laya wa sa li pfa musi u tshi vhudzwa kana u kaidzwa u do li pfa musi zwo no vhfifa, u vhulaloni kana huñwevho hune wa do vha u tshi vho pfa u vhavha".

"Muhulwane u kanda mupfa a tshi u vhona" (an elderly person tramps over the thorn seeing it) is the surface structure of "Muthu ane a vha muhulwane u kanda mupfa u vayaho naho a tshi u vhona".

"Tsha kule tshi wanwa nga muhovhi" (that which is far is got by one who pulls it nearer) is the surface structure of "tshithu itsho tshine tsha vha kule tshi waniwa nga uyo muthu ane a tshi hovha".

In referential meaning one word or object said makes the listener think of another word or object with similar characteristics.

In addition to the example already given above a few more proverbs may be cited:

The word "mulomo" (mouth) evokes the idea of talking and eating in the proverbs "mulomo ndi khaladzi a ndila" (the mouth is brother or sister to the way) that is talking, "mulomo ndi tshilonda tshi phuphwa tshi sa fholi" (the mouth is a sore being cured but never heals) that is eating, "mulomo a u dalelwi nga mulambo" (a river will never be too full for the mouth) that is calling out which is part of talking or boasting.

The word "notshi" evokes the idea of its flying around in the flowers in the proverb:

"Tshikalaha tsha notshi tshi ra muvula na vhana"
(the old bee plays in the pollen with its kids).

The truthful meaning is when proverbs prove to be distilled words of wisdom which serve to express some truth or a moral lesson. (1)

All the Luvenda proverbs are still distilled words of wisdom which express the accumulated experience of the ages.

They are all truthful in nature but a few examples here can be given:

"Ntsa i tamba nga ntsana" (the duiker is cleaned by the small duiker). The truth expressed in this proverb is three-fold:

when a woman is grouped with other women after getting a child because only then she has had experience in childbirth, a childless woman is humbled in this case; when a parent is given presents or support by the children whom he once helped and are by then grown-ups and responsible people; and when there is a decision to be taken by the parents, instead of making this decision they state that they are still going to alert their children about the whole case, who also should take part in deciding.

In all cases here the child is the central pith around which the proverb revolves.

"Hu bikelwa vhuṅanga vhutsila vha vhona nga maṭo"
(they cook for doctorship, craft is seen by eyes)

(1) Khuba A.E. : Op. cit. p. 7

Nearly all the activities done by human beings are passed to the next generation by means of sight and imitation. It is believed that all the senses may be used in this learning but imitation plays a major part in the playback of what is learnt.

There are many dimensions of truth in the proverbs such as feasibility in the case of orders, excuses and promises; utility in the case of regulations and prescriptions; and moral in the case of advices and law and justice.

These dimensions are involved in the understanding of the proverbs said and consequently in the meaning of the proverbs used in certain contexts. Therefore the meaning of the proverb should be explained in terms of its contribution to the truth of the context in which it occurs. The proverb gets its significance from the system of proverbs from the language to which it belongs, for understanding a proverb means understanding a language.

The useful meaning of proverbs is that they are employed in the nation's daily speech. Consequently their meaning may be nothing more than the restrictions, rules and regularities that govern their employment.

This useful meaning has several sources some of which are :

First is trying to understand the nature of moral suggested by such proverbs as "Tshidumbumukwe tshi konela ho swaho" (the whirlwind plays in a burnt area),

"Ya mudzimu i bva dziñweni" (that of god is isolated from the rest),

"Hu na wau a hu pfelwi" (where there is a relative you don't wait to be told what is going on) which have an emotive meaning instead of the descriptive meaning other proverbs have. In using them one expresses approval, disapproval or commendation.

Second is the stimulus for the useful meaning in which proverbs are viewed as certain language games with an exclusive role enjoyed by those privileged with the knowledge of the language in use.

Luvenda language as it exists in reality is more complex like any other language, that is it is a combination of a great many language games. This is emphasised by the fact that proverbs use a figurative language understood by those versed in the language in use.

The thoughtful meaning is when proverbs are always used with other ends in mind, some of which are: praises, annoyance, doubtful, advice, reminder, educative, administrative, co-operation, good relationship, perseverance, disappointment, irony, excuse and many others.

In real speech the situation is radically different. The point of using proverbs in a real speech act is to be understood.

If the proverb "Bako lo dzhena mađi" (the water has got into the cave), is said the aim is to make the hearer realize the bad situation in which he is.

It is possible that the hearer may not believe it. If the hearer understands the proverb and give it some thought he will at least know that the speaker is presenting a serious case that needs him to act in one way or another in order to be out of this critical situation.

Similarly if one says: "Mmbwa hu zwima ya muambi" (the encouraged dog is the one that hunts) and the hearer understands this proverb he will start giving courage in the situation in which he finds himself. Thus the notion of saying a proverb is inseparably tied up to such concepts as beliefs, intention, knowledge and understanding is just a reformulation of a very traditional idea that proverbs are essentially the expression of thought. Proverbs are used not to play a game with fixed rules but to express beliefs and judgements; intentions and desires; that is to make others know by the use of proverbs, according to the occasion that a person has certain beliefs and desires to inprint others to share them.

There are two themes in the use of proverbs in context. There is the sense of generalization and detachment inherent in proverbs where the speaker is out of the situation and draws attention to its wider implications as in the proverbs:

"Mungona mubikwa na ive, ive la vhibva Mungona a sala" (the Mungona cooked with the stone, and the stone gets cooked but the Mungona not).

"Mulomo a u dalelwi nga mulambo" (the river will never be in flood for the mouth),

"Ntsa ya dzhena mbudzini i ndi mbudzi-vho" (when the duiker is amongst the goats it calls itself a goat),

Secondly the nature of expression through proverbs makes it possible for them to be used in a variety of effective ways.

For instance they are used in oratory when praises are given as in "Nyamuvhuya ha shayi thando a sa vha mbava ndi muloi" (the good one do not lack rumours, if he is not a thief he is a wizard) in praising a herd of cattle when naming it.

In law cases as in "O laho funguvhu ha hangi u vho-nala nga valuvalu" (he who has enjoyed a crow is seen by being timid),

In quarrels and disputes as in "Ndi zovhozovho ndi mukosi wa luaviavi u phalalwa nga a na fola" (it is the noise made by the chameleon which can only be controlled by he who has snuff),

On advisory capacity proverbs in Luvenda are used by counsellors and judges besides elderly people who use them in their daily speech.

Such proverbs are:

"A i pfi dzwaladzwala nyañombe i nga do dzwala na i songo swika" (don't force the cow to bear, otherwise it will bear a premature offspring),

"Mutali u la kañwe tsilu li la kanzhi" (clever eats once but dull eats more),

"U si dze muvhidzi tshivhidzelwa u sa tshi divhi" (don't overlook a call when you know not why),

As proverbs employ a figurative language "it is only a counsellor who understands proverbs who will soon sets matters right" (1)

Therefore proverbs are a suitable form of communication in all occasions and are of more importance amongst the Vhavenda for they constitute a condensed language which expresses a case in few words. In this way proverbs are all educative to all ages.

(1) Messenger, J.C. : The Role of Proverbs in a Nigerian Judicial System, SWFA 15, 1959, p.70

Ellis, A.B. : The Yoruba speaking peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, London, 1894, p. 231

1.4. THE PROVERBIAL FUNCTION AND STYLE

To start with the problem of the relationship between proverbs and other aspects of culture is in itself far more important.

These problem is three faced:

First face is the extent to which folklore like language is a mirror of culture. To this Boas and Herskovits gave a classical analysis that "a substantial body of folktales is more than the literary expression of a people ----- which if systematized by the student, gives a penetrating picture of their way of life". (1)

The Luvenda proverbs can be fully understood only through a thorough knowledge of the Vhavenda culture. For instance "Hu laiwaho vhazwale ndi hune tsiwana ya laiwa hone" (where the cousins are advised is where the orphan is also advised). The sister in Tshivenda is responsible for the transmission of the family line, and the brother is indispensable as the guardian to the sister's children. The precepts for his children's characters are also received by his sister's children.

The second face has to do with the fact that characters in the community may deviate from the norms. For instance the norm that the son-in-law should avoid the mother-in-law is observed to avoid dishonesty of the son-in-law.

(1) Boas, F. : Tsimshian Mythology, Washington, 1916, p. 29

Herskovits, M.J.: Man and his works, New York, 1948, p. 418

The striking contrasts between folklore and actual conduct brings up problems of theoretical significance concerning the relations between folklore and culture. The Luvenda proverbs like any other aspects of folklore are regarded as a true and accurate mirror of culture giving the actual behaviour in the society and the ideal patterns of culture.

The third face is the consideration of what proverbs do for the people in the community. Viewed in this light proverbs reveal man's frustrations and attempts to escape from repressions imposed upon him by society. For instance at the "khoru" the man may give evidence in a prohibited taboo that he did not commit the case. The case may reach its climax where the "khoru" men fail to know who is wrong and who is right between the plaintiff and the complainant.

Then one of them may come out with the proverb "Ya longa khwanda yo nwa" (if its hoof is inside it has drunk) basing his argument upon the evidence gathered from the hearing. In defence he will say "Ya mudzimu i bva dzinweni" to show his annoyance.

The Luvenda proverbs do accurately mirror the familiar details of culture and incorporate common situations from everyday life.

The unusual and the impossible are defined in terms of the Luvenda culture and members of the community.

The second function of proverbs is the role which they play in validating culture, in justifying its rituals and institutions to the Vhavenda who perform and observe them.

In "Nyambeni vha nnyamba vha itani mudzimu ndi sa phasi wavho ndi tshi phasa wa makhadzi wanga wa lala" (let them talk about me but they will do nothing for I worship my aunt's god and all goes well) the way the Vhavenda worship shows that the aunt "makhadzi" sister to the father is the most important figure.

Every Muvenda village has full respect for the "makhadzi" for she is the one entitled to worship the gods on their behalf. The role played by the "makhadzi" is seen when a chief has to be chosen for she is vested with the power to say who the next chief to the throne is. Her marriage does not detach her from her birth home for she knows the chronological sequence of the chieftainship. (1)

Institutions are of vital importance amongst the Vhavenda for the proper discipline of their children. The proverb "Musanda vha toda ngoma fhedzi" (at the chief's kraal they want initiation school only) does not only apply to those children who will stay at the chief's kraal, but the whole community as such.

The chief demands initiation schools to be attended by each and every child in his community.

(1) Khuba A.E.: A Descriptive study of the Proverbs Concerning Administrative and Family Life, UNIN, p. 21

A foreigner who may happen to permanently join any Vhavenda community, must be taken to all these initiation schools and then qualify as a member of the community. There are various initiation schools like "domba", "vhusha" and "musevetho" for the girls; and "thondo", "murundu" and "vhu-thannga" for the boys. These schools are attended in age groups.

The proverb "Hu laiwaho vhazwale ndi hune tsiwana ya laiwa hone" (where the cousins are advised is where the orphan is advised) emphasises this point of children getting education from their older community either individually or collectively. This shows that the accepted pattern of life is also expressed in proverbs.

The third function of proverbs is that which they play in the education of the whole society. There are those proverbs which incorporate morals as in "Nwana wa mbevha ha hangwi mukwita" (the little mouse always takes after the parents) which alerts the parents to be well-mannered for they are examples to their children.

The distorted character of the parents is usually assimilated by their children. The proverb "Mutshe-tshete wo beba mutanzwa" (a thorn tree breeds a fruit tree) shows a child with good morals but from a bad family, which is a rare case.

Forthly proverbs are used to express a threat which the speaker may later not wish to carry out,

as in the proverb "Mulomo a u dalelwi nga mulambo" (the river is never in flood for the mouth); to direct another's action where a blunt command might offend, as in the proverb "U tunga ndou nga sila" (to make the chief angry by using a cloth); to incite a person to action through irony as in the proverb "Mmbwa ya la inwe a i noni" (a dog which eats another will never be fat) or through a complement as in the proverb "A vha zwi funi vha ha Nyamukwita vha ndevhe dza makhwathi" (they don't like it jealousy people with rough cars). To this Raum says "beginning at the age of about fourteen, when a child flies into a rage, when he lies or steals, when he is recalcitrant or violates the code of etiquette, when he makes an ass out of himself, when he is cowardly, he hears his actions commented upon in the words of a proverb". (1)

The fifth function of proverbs is to emphasize the formal instruction in the initiation ceremonies already mentioned above as in the proverbs: "Wa sa li pfa u vhudzwani u do li pfa vhulaloni" (if you do not heed the advice when it is given you will learn to know it while in bed) said when verbal instruction is given during the initiation ceremonies. The younger generation is ever reminded that "U sa pfa hu tunya mavhudzi" (disobedience shaves the hair) to guard them against misbehaviour.

(1) Raum, O.F. : Chaga childhood, A Description of Indigenous Education in an East African Tribe, London, p. 214.

Girls in these initiation ceremonies get preparation for marriage where they are told that "Mudi ndi vhathu maṭanzu ndi maḡagalala" (the village is people branches (that which surround the village) are to be thrown away) to initiate them in the idea that if at the in-laws are many people they must be happy for that is the composition of the village; that "Vhida la musadzi li vhuhadzi" (getting to the in-laws has no return) to give them an idea of what is expected of them once they are married.

These girls are made to be aware that it is not there in the Vhavenda culture that a girl gets married and comes back home no matter how bad things might seem to be. It is a taboo, hers is just to persevere. The inlaws may be how difficult to handle she must honour her father's name since her coming back degrades her father's status. She must keep in mind that "Vhuhadzi ndi nama ya thole ya fhufhuma ri a fhunzhela" (at the in-laws is like veal, we keep the froth from boiling over with a spoon).

Perseverance as the mother of success is emphasized in this proverb.

The information embodied in the proverbs is highly regarded by the Vhavenda. The sixth function of the proverbs is therefore, amusement but in this humour is found a deeper meaning; as in the proverb "Shambo la mutshini li thumbuni" (the bone of the dancer is in the stomach).

The proverbs are regarded as historically true and their teaching holds water. To the extent to which they mirror culture, they contain practical rules for the guidance of life as a whole. Guidance in behaviour, beliefs, ceremonies and knowledge on the basis of which the community must act.

The seventh important function of proverbs in Luvenda is when they maintain conformity to the accepted patterns of behaviour. Proverbs in Luvenda are used in institutions beliefs and attitudes; some are used as a means of applying social pressure and exercise social control upon the community as in the proverb "Khosi ndi khosi nga vhathu" (the chief is so because of people).

This social control is employed against individuals who attempt to deviate from social conventions with which they are fully familiar. For instance the proverb "Marema khombo u pikisa u vhanga" (the one who chops danger knows how to be out of it) which shows that no man is ready to help one who misbehaves purposefully.

A similar proverb is "A lu khwathi fhedzi lunundu lu khwatha lu na thanda ngomu" (it cannot be strong "lunundu" unless it has a stick inside) meaning it is of no use helping one to good behaviour when he is being strongly encouraged to misbehaviour. The next proverb to this is "Mulifho wa mmbwa ndi thoho yayo" (the dog's account is its head) bringing out the idea that let the individual concerned

be punished for what he has done.

My informants state that jealousy, theft, greed and deceit are punishable traits in the character of a Muvenda.

In the eighth instance proverbs are also used to express social approval of those who conform to the accepted way of behaviour. The proverb "A vha zwi funi vha ha Nyamukwita vha ndevhe dza makhwathi" (they do not like it jealousy people with rough ears) is said in gratitude for a present received from a younger relative.

Another proverb of its calibre is "Munwe muthihi a u t̄usi mathuthu" (one finger cannot hold cooked mealies) said to show how grateful one is by the help offered by other people.

The proverb "Hu na wau a hu p̄felwi" (where there is a relative don't wait to be told) is said to show that a relative amongst the Vhavenda is a very important figure irrespective of the distance.

There is a proverb that discourages theft and encourages hard work "Mula-tshawe u a dzumbama a ri u vhoṅwa zwi si vhe mulandu" (in using yours hide yourself but if seen there is no case) meaning there is no fear using what you possess unlike when using stolen property.

Luvenda proverbs have high effect in exercising social control, because they are considered appropriate in adult life.

For instance "Muhulwane u kanda mupfa a tshi u vhona" (elderly tramps over a thorn seeing it) which expresses the moral support by the aged.

Proverbs in Luvenda set convenient standards used in appraising good behaviour approved by the community. Examples are : "Mudinda ha na diso" (a messenger has no turns) which encourages obedience;

"Tshidzimba tsha a si na mano litshani tshi sine tshi na mune watsho" (don't infringe with other people's property) which encourages respect and loyalty;

"Ndala ndi mbetshelwa" (store for hunger) which encourages hard work for the future;

"U fha ndi u fhahea" (to give is to store) which encourages good relationship.

The Luvenda proverbs may disapprove or comment upon the behaviour of others. For instance "Ride ndi mbiro ro vhona mavhala" (seeing is believing) which is a disapproval; and "Maudu a khovhe ndi vhana vhayo" (the fish's legs are its offsprings) which is a comment.

Any particular folk art will necessarily share the style of its general cultural background. Thus analysis of the style and recognition of its folk origin is dependent upon knowledge of the folk situation that sets it apart.

Proverbs in Luvenda as part of folklore composition are set apart as a linguistic genre because of their steadfast originality not so resilient.

The proverbial style in Luvenda is that of poetic quality such as rhythm in which all the Luvenda proverbs are expressed.

Examples: "U nembelela ha shamba a si u wa halo" (dangling of the "shamba" does not prophesy its fall)

"U beba a si u ka muroho" (bearing is not collecting vegetables)

"U naka a hu fani na u dihwa" (beauty is not like acquaintance)

"U luvha a hu na mapone" (paying homage has no blisters)

"U fha ndi u fhahea" (to give is to store)

"U amba ndi u pfa nungo" (to talk is to have strength).

From the above "u" at the beginning of each proverb has its rhythm in "a si", "a hu" and "ndi u" respectively.

The truth in Luvenda proverbs is conveyed through a metaphor in figurative language. Their figurative way of expression serves to set them apart from everyday speech. For instance in ordinary speech a boastful person may say he can cross the river which is in flood. His listeners will tell him that "mulomo u sokou kona u amba na zwine wa si kone u zwi ita zwa u wela mulambo" (the mouth is able to say that which it cannot perform like crossing a flooded river).

Compare this ordinary speech with the proverb "Mulomo a u dalelwi nga mulambo" (a river will never be in flood for the mouth).

In other words this proverb may indicate that the mouth can say something that will be heard on the other side of the river.

This style is adopted by many a proverb in Luvenda. Several of the Luvenda proverbs do conceal the deeper meanings as well as picturesque language.

1.5. OCCASIONS ON WHICH PROVERBS ARE USED

In relation to occasions on which proverbs are used the people who cite or listen to proverbs are of importance. In the Venda society occasions are the same throughout the whole nation.

Suitable occasions for proverbs are varied and the proverbs used during these occasions are potentially known to everyone and can be used by all, men, women and young generation.

Most of the Luvenda proverbs are used in the family. The Vhavenda have composite families in which an elder brother stays with his younger brothers, their wives and children. These proverbs depict amongst other things varied personal traits such as boastfulness, as in the proverbs:

"Khangala mbili a dzi dzuli muina muthihi" (two mambas fail to live in the same hole) referring to two people with the same status;

"Mulomo wa muthu u fhira ngoma u lila" (the person's mouth is louder than the drum) referring to a person who keeps on saying what he will never accomplish.

Bravery as in the proverbs:

"Muvhona thengu sima u vhone se matshelo thengu i a fhufha" (the one who sees the "thengu" have a good look at it for tomorrow it flies away) meaning to be wide awake for chances that offer themselves once;

"Ntsa ya dzhena mbudzini i ndi mbudzivho" (the duiker amongst goats calls itself a goat as well) meaning a brave person who decides to sacrifice his identity for an advantage.

Industriousness as in the proverbs:

"Hu bikelwa vhunanga vhutsila vha vhona nga mat_o"
(they cook for doctorship, art and craft is seen by eyes) referring to a hard working person who learns by sight only);

"Mphe, mphe i a netisa muthu u konwa nga tshawe"
(Give, give is tiresome better work for your own) encouraging hard work.

Courage as in the proverbs:

"A hu na a no rwiwa nga tshawe a lamba" (no one will be beaten by that which is his and refuse) referring to somebody who can persevere to an extent of never been discouraged;

"Tsha kule tshi wanwa nga muhovhi" (that which is far is got by he who pulls it nearer) meaning a personality that does not tire before the end of the battle in life.

Perseverance as appear in the proverbs:

"Muhulwane u kanda mupfa a tshi u vhona" (elderly one tramps over the thorn while seeing it) meaning a bitter pill that an elderly person should swallow for better discipline;

"Tshe wa da iwe tshilavhi na murundo wa phofu u a nwa" (what you started you thing you will drink even the urine of an eland) referring to persevering hardships since you insisted besides all pieces of advice given.

Determination as in the proverbs:

"Mmbwa munamba i a u funa i ro shaya mubikeli"
(the dog likes milk food but nobody to cook for it) referring to a lazy personality who wants good

things and yet forget that he must work for them;
"Mubva ha na nzie dzi khoroni" (a lazy personality can die of hunger within reach of food - simbolized by locusts in this proverb) meaning one who fails to make an effort in his life.

Loyalty as in the proverbs:

"Mudinda ha na diso" (a messenger has no turns) referring to his being loyal to the chief all the time;

"Thoho a i lwi na mutsinga" (the head does not differ with the neck) meaning that status must receive its due respect in the Venda community.

Respect as appear in the proverb:

"Matanzu maswa a ima nga malala" (new broken branches are strengthened by old ones) meaning that the new generation should be careful in discarding what their forefathers did for that should serve as their foundation in life. Respect for all what the forefathers did is the starting point of national feeling which breeds progress. A nation without history is like a tree without roots which will fail to stand on its own.

"U si vhone tsimba u naiwa wa ri ndi lukhohe" (don't see a wet genet and mistake it for a slender mungoose) referring to times when somebody is in need where people are inclined to look down upon him. It is a reminder that respect should be practised even un to the poor and needy.

Selfishness as in the proverbs :

"We thi la_xi ya rare ya mu_nwe a u nga i vhoni"

(if you don't heed your father's advice you won't take somebody's) referring to a personality which does not want to share what he has in life with the rest in the community. The others in turn will not be ready to share what they have with him.

"A i na vhu_toma thilili ya vhulaha mbevha i a la" (it has no mercy 'thilili' for if it kills a mouse it devours it) referring to selfishness as exercised by youngsters who have become too big for their boots.

Cruelty as in the proverbs:

"Fhondo li si lau u thuvha li tshi lila" (nestling which is not yours you remove its feathers while it chips) meaning a personality that is cruel at heart concerning other people's property.

"Thole ho lelwa ya_nu ya mu_nwe i bvisa misevhe" (the calf that is looked after well is yours for another you use the arrow (it is killed) meaning human feeling when it is exercised to relatives only to show that 'blood is thicker than water'.

There are those proverbs used in the Venda "khoru" which are most common in law cases discussed by elderly men for administrative purposes. For instance the proverbs :

"Ndi lumbile ndi mbila ya Nevondo i no viiwa ya bva mbilana, mbilana ya bva mbilanana" (it is a recurring affair like Nevondo's dassie which

when skinned a smaller dassie comes out and in turn when the smaller dassie is skinned out comes a baby dassie) referring to a case that has no end for it leads the "khoró" to so many cases that keep on interrupting its judgement.

"Ndi khakhisa u rwa ndi mbevha ya ludongoni" (it is a missed mouse that is in the earthenware dish) referring to a case committed by an honourable personality whom they are afraid to approach.

"Ndi luranga lu ya nga mulivho" (it is the calabash plant that extends through its creepers) referring to the fact that the case should follow its right channels.

The occasion on which people must get advice has proverbs which are most naturally used by elderly people. In Luvenda these proverbs are usually used during the initiation or any other school where the younger generation come together for a certain period of time. This is the situation in which proverbs are used by the experienced in a specialized way. For instance the proverbs:

"Hu laiwaho vhazwale ndi hune tsiwana ya laiwa hone" (where the cousins receive advice is where the orphan is also advised) advising any youngster to take any piece of advice from any older person anywhere.

"Mutali u la kanwe tsilu li la kanzhi" (a clever person eats once but a fool often) giving advice as to a humble way of living.

There are those occasions on which the younger generation should receive education amongst the Vhavenda conducted in various forms during which appropriate proverbs are employed such as:

"Wa sa li pfa u vhudzwani u do li pfa vhulaloni" (if you do not heed advice when it is given you will understand it while in danger) meaning that if you do not want to take advice when it is given you will know its meaning when things are bad. This proverb has the same meaning as:

"Tshilamba-u-vhudzwa ndi tshilila-u-vhona" (refuse-to-be told you want to witness) meaning your refusal to be advised will make you believe the truth and importance of the advice given when you will face the worst side of life alone.

The occasion during which a girl is married has proverbs appropriate in advising the bride to be such are:

"Vhida la musadzi li vuhadzi" (the bride's grave is at the in-laws) meaning that she must be aware of the fact that getting to the in-laws has no return till her death.

"Wa vhenga dongo wa funa vowa" (you hate the earthenware dish and love the vegetable "vowa") that her love should not be directed to her husband alone but to all the members of the family into which she is going to be a member after marriage.

In Luvenda "there is hardly a discussion of any consequence in which proverbs are not employed".⁽¹⁾

(1) Hersog, G. : Jabo Proverbs from Liberia, London, and 1936, p. 2.
Blooah, C.G.:

The Luvenda proverbs are flexible to such an extent that the same proverb may be used in varied occasions, such as the proverbs:

"Wa sa ri vhudza u tshi ya u do ri vhudza u tshi vhuya" (you do not tell us when you go, all the same you will tell us when you come back) which may be in an ironical situation or in an advisory capacity. It can be used in the family as such or in justice.

The proverb "Ri de ndi mbidi ro vhona mavhala" (we believe it's a zebra from its colours) can be used in three different situations with differing meanings: as an expression of doubt about what is said; as a retort when someone weak makes threats, and to indicate that we agree with the speaker.

A stingy personality in Luvenda may use one of the following proverbs:

"furi la u newa a li na khobvu" (a given pumpkin has no syrup) meaning I cannot give you part of what I am given.

"Sunzi lo hwalaho a li seri mutanda" (the ant with a load cannot pass under a log) in a way to state failure to get into somebody's place of abode, or failure to do any other thing before taking what one has been given home.

"Mula tshawe u a dzumbama a ri u vhonwa zwi si vhe mulandu" (when eating that which is yours hide yourself but if seen there is no case) referring to an act of defending oneself when having a

meal in the presence of other people whom you do not want to invite to join. This is based upon the Vhavenda cultural trait that it is indecent to have a meal before other people without inviting them to join for you never know, they may be more hungry than yourself. A norm approved by the Vhavenda community is that of considering the visitor first then yourselves.

Proverbs taken from the agricultural aspect are:

"Tshidzembe tsha mulima-tsimbe tshi dihwa khombo nga mune watsho" (a hoe that is used with difficulty is known its danger by the owner) meaning the care given to an implement by the owner when another misuses it.

"Mulimi ha nyadzi mufumbu" (an agriculturist does not despise the bran) that is he is careful in using every bit of what he produced because he knows how hard it is to get the product.

"Lupfumo lu mavuni" (riches are in the ground) as encouragement for the lazy personality in the community.

Proverbs originating from the Vhavenda's pastoral farming are:

"Mutupo u tevhela nombe" (the totem follows the herd of cattle - that is for lobolla) meaning that the surname of the mother and her children should take after that of the father for he paid lobolla which is usually in the form of herds of cattle.

The hunting occasion has its proverbs such as:

"U tshi dza muro wa muvhuda ranga u ya tshilaloni"

(when not satisfied with the gravy from a hare first go to its sleeping place) meaning that when expressing disgust at the smallness of the gift check the sources used. Since a hare is small in size there is no sense in expecting it to give much broth.

"Tshe wa da iwe tshilavhi na murundo wa phofu u a nwa" (what you started, you thing, the eland's urine you will drink) from the experience that the eland's urine is very bitter to the taste. The drinking of this urine symbolizes the time of hardship that one has to experience and persevere.

During all occasions it is customary that the Vhavenda women have beads around their necks for it is a taboo to have a naked neck which is termed "dongola", except in the case of death in the family. There is an expensive type of bead known as "nungu ya denga". This is an ancient small blue bead, very beautiful, given to girls married to the chief.

The proverb originating from this bead is:

"Tshe wa lilela musanda wo tshi wana nungu ya denga yo no vha mukuloni" (that which you craved for at the chief's kraal you have got for the "denga" bead is around your neck) said in the situation of a girl who refused the in-laws given her by her parents and made her own choice,

when she is then in trouble and seeks her parents' help.

There is no occasion on which things might be hastened in their happening. Usually the end thereof is not what was expected. Such occasions have their proverbs in:

"A si halwo lukunda a lu kokomedzwi lwa kokomedzwa lu a thara" (it is not its place the bangle it should not be forced for it will break) referring to an occasion in which things have been hurried up with a regrettable end.

"A i pfi dzwala-dzwala nyanombe i nga do dzwala na i songo swika" (it should not be forced to bear, the herd of cattle for it will give a premature calf) referring to a situation in which things are forced to take place before their right time.

"Thavhanyedza i la mbudzi tsalela i la kholomo" (the hasty one gains a goat, less speed gains an ox) referring to an occasion when there is a scramble over an undertaking and those who came later gained more than those who started.

There is an occasion during which one may feel dejected, helpless and regret for one's actions. This may bring up a decision never to repeat such actions which is pronounced in the proverb "Ndo lata nowa na lutanda" (I have thrown away the snake together with the stick).

The Vhavenda have various intertainments in the form of "tshikona", "givha", "tshikanganga" played by males and "tshigombela" played by females to mention but a few.

During these occasions all age groups are at liberty to help in one way or another either by beating the drums, singing, moving arround giving special appropriate movements to enhance the beauty of the game. The proverb **Mulenzhe muthihi a u tshini tshimbo**" (one leg cannot dance) signifies the fact that in these entertainments harmony and unity with understanding are required.

The Vhavenda during the occasion of illness they make use of medicines of various types according to the type of diseases.

These medicines are shown from generation to generation.

Minor ailments can be dealt with in the family except serious diseases which are handled by witch-doctors who know better on the side of medicines.

The proverbs from these occasions are:

"Muthu ndi ndou ha tshili nga muri munwe fhedzi" (a person is an elephant that lives on various trees) referring to various diseases that are cured by various medicines.

"Nwana mutshenzhela nanga u tanganya nanga ndi hawe" (a child experienced in witch-doctors will go from one to another) referring to the fact that there are occasions when a child may contact difficult to cure diseases and be taken from place to place.

From this occasion there arise a case of a home witch-doctor.

Each family has its special witch-doctor and from this originated the proverb "Tshinanga tsha haya tshi fa madidedzo" (the home witch-doctor should always be pleased) refering to the way how this home doctor should be handled. Since he is doing valuable work concerning the lives of the people in that family it is becoming to honour him as well.

1.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter was devoted to the truth, significance, meaning, function and occasions on which Luvenda proverbs are used as against the Vhavenda culture and philosophy.

The questions to which I addressed myself are :
How is truth expressed by the Luvenda proverbs to which the answer is in a variety of different ways and different facets to the same truth. The truth in the Luvenda proverbs is seen from the fact that they survived all changes of time that they remain a mystery as to what quality of the brains that formulated them. The truth in these proverbs is suggested in a figurative and picturesque symbolism.

What significance do proverbs have upon the culture of the Vhavenda? The philosophy embodied in figurative language is expressed through proverbs.

How is meaning created in a proverb? The proverbial meaning can be analyzed as an interaction of four analytical levels:

context, use, structure and function.

There is the narrative context and the behavioural context. Context and use as part of semantics should be studied on the basis of empirical material.

The structure is an analytical level which changes according to use for each context.

What then is the proverbial function? The proverbial function is a conclusion derived from the structures of all the proverbial use in the context, and is not timebound.

How effective is the occasion on which the proverb is used?

Since the proverb is an ethnopoetic genre which is rather a poetic and condensed summary of collective experience bearing a specific structure and characterized by recurring use it cannot possibly be divorced from any situation. Therefore all proverbs are occasion dependent.

In one occasion various proverbs may be used with varied meanings as in the following example:

There is a member of the family who have been ill for a long time. His relatives come together to discuss what should be done since he has been taken to a number of doctors with no avail. One of them may suggest that there is a doctor who stays very far, then they agree to try this doctor because "Nwana mutshenzhela nanga u tanganya nanga ndi hawe" (a child experienced in doctors will go from one to another) for they are aware that "tsha kule tshi wana nga muhovhi" (that which is far is got by he who pulls it nearer). Moreover they know that "muthu ndi ndou ha tshili nga muri mu'we fhedzi" (a person is an elephant that lives on various trees) because "tshi tshidzaho muthu a tshi dihiwi" (that which saves a person is not known).

All these proverbs make it clear that the members are all agreed upon the fact of helping the ill member to get somebody who will help with the healing.

The main concern of this work is the creation of meaning in the proverbs as against the cultural background of the Vhavenda.

CHAPTER 2

2.1. THE CONSTITUENTS OF THE PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

The Luvenda proverbs that express in terse form a **statement** embodying observations about the nature of life or about wise or unwise conduct are constituted of various parts of speech with differing characteristics.

Comparisons of proverbs found in various languages in different parts of the world show that the same kernel of wisdom may be gleaned under different cultural conditions and languages.

In the Luvenda language "Tshanda iya tshanda vhuya" (hand go hand come back); "U fha ndi u fhahea" (to give is to store) both form part of codes of behaviour and exemplify the proverb's use for transmission of tribal wisdom and rules of conduct.

Irrespective of its constituents the same proverb may be found in many variants. Folk proverbs are commonly illustrated with homely imagery in household, objects, farm animals, agricultural activities, pets and the events of everyday life.

The Luvenda proverbs consist of reciprocity, rhythm, assonance, alliteration, elision, parallelism, contrast, reduplication and word play in their use. These proverbs sometimes embody superstitions as in "Ludzula ndi maquvha mana mutshinyalo ndi iwaha" (being rich is four days poverty lasts a year) which some people in the community may believe to be true and end up being stingy.

2.1.1.1. RECIPROCITY IN LUVENDA PROVERBS

Reciprocity in Luvenda proverbs is expressed in various ways. By means of a reciprocal word as in the proverb "A dzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana" (they stinge one another food relatives in danger they help one another). The word "phalalana" in itself brings forward the idea of the action being reciprocal.

The proverb "Tshanda iya tshanda vhuya" (hand go hand come back) shows how good relationship can be maintained in life if communities or members of a community help one another in a reciprocal way. The two words "iya" and "vhuya" show the direction of the action to and fro. The proverb "U fha ndi u fhahea" (to give is to store) implies an action of giving so as to get in future which is reciprocated by the words "fha" and the implied action of "fhahea" with an idea of getting back later on.

The proverb "Tsha bvungwi tshi tshila nga tsha munangoni" (the one inside is alive because of the one at the door) shows reciprocal action in that the one innermost is more valuable to that one at the door. Hence the reason why the one at the door is so much concerned with the protection of the one inside.

The action's reciprocity takes place only when the one at the door succeeds in protecting and defending that which is inside (the house). The word "bvungwi" and "munangoni" do reciprocate in their positions which directly oppose each other.

2.1.2. ELISION IN PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Elision which means "striking out" in Latin, in prosody means the omission or slurring of the final unstressed vowel that precedes either another vowel or the weak consonant sound. At times it refers to the dropping of a consonant between vowels.

Elision in a proverb may mean the omission of a word or a group of words for emphasis sake or to save the metaphorical language.

The word elided in the proverb "Ya longa khwanda yo nwa" (once its hoof is inside (the water) it has drunk) are "kholomo" which is represented by the concord "ya" and the word "madi" which is suggested in the drinking. The Vhavenda culturally always think in terms of herds of cattle which are countable for their riches and lobolla. It should have been "kholomo ya longa khwanda madini yo nwa madi".

In the proverb "U kona gumba ndi u mila, u tafuna li a silinga" (better swallow an egg for chewing will cause nausea) the word elided is "ngauri" (because) and the two "li". It should have been "U kona gumba ndi u li mila ngauri u li tafuna li a silinga".

The concords "li" and "li" have been elided as well as to keep the rhythm in tact.

The proverb "Fhondo li si lau u thuvha li tshi lila"(a nestling that is not yours you remove its feathers while it chips) has the word "mithe-nga" elided together with the pronoun "line", the concord "vhe" and the auxiliary "khou". This proverb should have been "Fhondo line li si vhe lau u thuvha mithenga li tshi khou lila". The proverb is based upon the idea that any bird including domesticated birds are first killed before their feathers are removed. Removing its feathers while it is alive is the same as punishing it.

In the constitution of the proverb "Ha mbidi ndi ha thumbuni ha maramani i fa naho" (that of the zebra is in the stomach, it dies with that in the cheeks) the word "hatsi" (grass) is elided and represented by the concord "ha" in each proposition. Therefore it should have been "Hatsi ha mbidi ndi (hatsi) ha thumbuni (hatsi) ha maramani i fa naho".

The word "duvha" (sun) is elided from the proverb "La kovhela ni late mbado vhusiku ndi dada li a la" (by dark throw down the axe for night is a dragon that eats) implied by the concord "la" in its constitution. The word "ngauri" is also elided in the surface structure of this proverb.

The whole proverb should have been "Duvha la kovhela ni late mbado ngauri vhusiku ndi dada li ala".

2.1.3. PARALLELISM IN LUVENDA PROVERBS

Parallelism is component of literary style in which co-ordinate ideas are arranged in phrases and sentences in a proverb and balance one element with another of equal importance and/or similar wording.

The Luvenda proverbs have contrasted ideas made clear by means of various parts of speech. In their composition they are set out in two or more paralleled propositions. The one proposition coming after the other in philosophical sequence.

For instance the proverb "Mmbwa yo naiwaho a i na mune" (a wet dog has no owner) has the first proposition as the wet dog "mmbwa yo naiwaho" and the second proposition as "a i na mune" (has no owner).

This proverb is grounded upon the Vhavenda culture of keeping dogs either for hunting purposes or for guarding their homes.

A Muvenda man who qualifies to keep a dog is the one with love as they clearly express it in the proverb "U tshi fuwa muthu ranga nga mmbwa" (when you decide to subject a person start with a dog). This proverb brings out the philosophy of the Vhavenda that if you fail to love a dog it is futile trying to subject a person, for a person demands more love than a dog.

In the Vhavenda community a dog is valued so much that the owner will see to it that it is well-fed, it is free from ticks, it is cured of any disease, it is well-trained in the hunting habit.

The philosophy in this proverb is depicted in the wet dog which symbolises poverty in life and there is a Luvenda proverb that supports my argument : "Mmbwa i re na mune i vhone nga tshiangaladzi" (the dog with an owner is seen by the neckbelt). This emphasises the expected care a dog should receive from any Muvenda man. He should in addition prepare a sleeping place for his dog known as "nwavho" (kennel)

Parallelism reflects that the proverb is composed of balanced parts which must be used in their proper sequence. There are those proverbs with a contrasted structure such as: "Hu livhala mubai mubaiwa ha livhali" (it is the culprit that forgets, the plaintiff does not forget) in which "livhala" is contrasted to "ha livhali" which is just its negative form; and "mubai" is contrasted to "ha livhali" which is just its negative form; and "mubai" is contrasted to "mubaiwa" since they appear in opposite positions.

There are two types of parallelism, direct and cross parallelism.

2.1.3.1. DIRECT PARALLELISM

The two ideas expressed in the paralleled propositions may be likened or contrasted to each other in the same proverb.

For instance the ideas expressed in the proverbs:

"Wa la nawa na vhanzhi u zwimbela dzi a talula"
(you may enjoy beans with others but constipation is selective).

The philosophy paralleled in this proverb is the performance by a certain group of people, represented in the proverb by the words "la" (eat) and "vhanzhi" (a group) to the constipation which singles out one or a few, represented in the proverb by the words "u zwimbelwa" (constipated) and "talula" (single out).

Sending children on various errands and undertakings is part of the discipline in a community for it is a way to teach them obedience.

Discipline in a family is maintained only when the children are obedient, faithful, trustworthy, hardworking, eager to carry out instructions and ready to persevere with all the love for their superiors. This is directly paralleled to the proverb "Mapfura a nwana ndi u runwa" (the cream in a child is to be sent). In life the cream means the best which in this proverb refers to the best quality in a good child paralleled with the obedience in the same child. Philosophically obedience reflects a good quality in a child.

It is not easy to be obedient when sent at somebody's will. The child might be doing so because he has no choice. But when it comes to the fact of being paralleled or compared to the cream, a child will rightly choose to be obedient, for to be grouped as a good child creates a feeling of pride.

"Mutali u la kanwe tsilu li la kanzhi" (a clever person eats once, a dull person eats many a time) in which "mutali" is directly paralleled to "tsilu".

In meaning they are contrasts. The word "kanwe" is direct parallel to "kanzhi" and they are also contrasts. The actions by a clever man show some logic and planning and are contrary to those by a dull person.

Philosophically the proverb goes further in its meaning that this wise man is clever in a way of working others down forgetting that once discovered he will find them more clever. A dull person referred to in this proverb is steady but sure in his dealings with the community and is handled in a human way.

Therefore, "mutali" and "kanwe" in the first proposition are paralleled to "tsilu" and "kanzhi" in the second proposition respectively.

In the proverb "Mutsinda ndi khwine shaka ndi bulayo"(foreigner is better relative is deadly) the philosophy paralleled is in the idea that what is generally known is that the relative is more important than a stranger, and receives more recognition.

When it comes to planning for one's downfall a relative has the know-how. In this proverb "mutsinda" is directly paralleled to "shaka" and "khwine" to "bulayo". The contrast comes in when "mutsinda" proves to be "khwine" and "shaka" proves to be "bulayo".

The philosophy expressed in this proverb is that of a jealousy relative and a loving, helpful stranger who might be a mere friend or an ordinary acquaintance. "Mutsinda" is contrasted to "shaka" and "khwine" to "bulayo".

"Ndo la_̣ta n_̣owa na lutanda" (I have thrown the snake together with the stick away) in which proverb "n_̣owa" is likened to "lutanda". The throwing away of the "n_̣owa" in the first proposition is paralleled with the throwing away of the "lutanda" in the second proposition.

In fact this proverb in its surface structure elided some of the words appearing in its deep structure.

Its underlying structure should have been "Ndo la_̣ta n_̣owa, na lutanda ndo lu la_̣ta" which would be unnecessary repetition and at the same time spoiling the poetic effect of the proverb.

The throwing away of the "n_̣owa" which is dangerous, is paralleled to the throwing away of the "lutanda" which is more dangerous for it succeeded in killing the dangerous snake.

The philosophy expressed is that of totally doing away with.

In the proverb "Mutupo u tevhela n^omb^e" (the totem follows the herd of cattle) the "mutupo" is likened to "n^omb^e". "N^omb^e" simply means a heard of cattle. In this proverb it is the "n^omb^e" that is used in "lobolla" for the wife by the husband. It is customary amongst the Vhavenda that lobolla is paid out solely in herds of cattle. This brings us back to the fact that culturally the Vhavenda practised pastoral farming as part of their community activity.

The wife after her lobolla has been paid to her father, she joins the in-laws and uses her husband's totem name for she is now one with the members of that family. The first name is in general use amongst the Vhavenda. Where many wives are married to one man their first names are used together with their father's surnames for differentiation sake. A rich Muvenda man may have many wives for he has enough cattle to pay for their lobolla. Therefore it is not suprising to find the chief having the highest number of wives for he is the richest figure in the Vhavenda community.

There are strong reasons for marrying many wives. Besides that it is customary the birth rate of females is higher than that of males, the daily duties in a family are mainly those performed by females, lobolla received for the daughters is in turn used to bring back other wives either for the man himself or for his sons.

The lobolla for the son's first wife is customarily paid by the father. Another reason is that this practice disciplines the husband and prevents him from infringing with other men's wives.

This is deemed a good norm if a man wants to command respect in the community.

"Mukange a fa vhana vha Mukange vha a fhalala" (when Mukange is dead his children disappear). The philosophical idea of death "fa" is likened to that of the children's disappearance "fhalala". The death of the father is directly paralleled to the disappearance of the children and both incidents are likened.

Discipline in a Muvenda family is father centred except community discipline which is maintained by the initiation schools.

The death of Mukange as a father is detrimental to the welfare of his children.

Parallelism is in the fact that welfare is maintained only when Mukange is alive and his death is a blow to the children's welfare.

Philosophically Mukange's presence is the shock absorber to all sorrows and disasters his children might sustain as after his death.

2.1.3.2. CROSS PARALLELISM

In this form parallelism is inverted for stronger emphasis. The inversion is in the order of words in the second proposition. The contrasted words denoting contrasted ideas,

do occur in opposite positions in the constituent phrasing of the proverb.

In the proverb "Mutukana ha endi hu enda mukalaha" (the boy does not travel it is the oldman who travels) the inversion is in the verbs "endi" and "enda" which are cross paralleled in the negative and affirmative. The word "mutukana" occurs in the opposite position to the word "mukalaha" in the proverbial constituent. Therefore the cross parallelism in this proverb is in the contrasted nouns "mutukana" and "mukalaha", as well as the contrasted verbs "endi" and "enda". In both cases ideas are contrasted by means of identical types of parts of speech.

The cross parallelism in the proverb "Muremba tshikosi u ri u vhona phanda a shavha" (the back biter runs away from the sight of the face) is in the verb "remba" (talk about) which appear as a noun derivation by prefixing "mu" of the first class singular and "shavha" (run away). The talking about an individual is done at his back "tshikosi" but when he turns around and the face "phanda" is seen, there follows the running away. The noun "tshikosi" stand in the opposite position to "phanda". The noun "tshikosi" is cross paralleled to "phanda" and the verbs "vhona" and "shavha" cross paralleled to each other.

The proverb "Mwana-zwitoma ha fani na madzula-fhedzi) (to get little is better than get nothing) has cross parallelism in the compound nouns "mwana-zwitoma" and "mudzula-fhedzi".

They are both derived from verbal stems by prefixing "mu-" for "muwana" and "ma-" for "madzula-fhedzi". The noun "zwitoma" which serves as the object in the first proposition of the proverb is cross paralleled to "fhedzi" which serves as an abstract object in the second proposition of the same proverb.

The proverb "Wa sa ri vhudza u tshi ya u do ri vhudza u tshi vhuya" (though you do not tell us when you go you will tell us when you come back) has cross parallelism in the verbs "ya" and "vhuya" which are contrasting words in opposite positions. The first proposition is cross paralleled to the second proposition for when going the things are fully confidential but when coming back the whole secret is revealed showing that the expected end was not achieved. The negative "wa sa ri" in the first proposition is cross paralleled to the affirmative "u do ri" in the second proposition.

The cross parallelism in the proverb "Wa tevhula wo dadza u olela ndi vhudenga" (spill full collect half) is in the verbs "tevhula" and "olela" which appear in opposite positions and cross paralleled to each other. The verb "dadza" is cross paralleled to the adjective "vhudenga" derived from the noun "denga" (half).

2.1.4. ALLITERATION IN PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Alliteration means the deliberate repetition of the same consonant in the proverb. This feature means commencement of words in close connection with the same letter or sound which may be echoed in another word or words. This recurring of consonantal sounds is brought about for the sake of emphasis and rhyme since proverbs employ a poetic language. The Luvenda concordial system also produces an alliterative effect.

Let us observe the following proverbs:

"Tshi hulaho tshi tshi lwa ndi ndau tshivhudzi tsha hula tsho hula" (that which fights until death is the lion when a person is old is old). The first proposition has three identical "tshi" consonantal groups and the second proposition has "tshi", "tsha" and "tsho" which all belong to the same concordial system.

"Li naka li tshi hoha linwe didinngwe li tshi hohwa li ri mavhala anga" (the tiger is pleased when pulling others, but when pulled it says; mind my colours) The alliteration in this proverb is effected each time by the concord "li" all representing "didingwe" and one class prefix "li" which is prefixed to the adjectival stem "---nwe".

The proverb Ndi lumbile ndi mbila ya Nevondo i no viiwa ya bva mbilana, mbilana ya bva mbilanana" (it is a continual process like

Nevondo's dassie which when slaughtered out comes another smaller dassie) has an interesting type of alliteration. This proverb consists of three propositions, viz.

"Ndi lumbile ndi mbila ya Nevondo"

"i no viiwa ya bva mbilana"

"mbilana ya bva mbilanana"

In each of the propositions the rhyming of "mbila" exists. In the first proposition the first alliteration ends in the vowel -e which then changes the meaning of the nominal stem -mbil- to mean a case which has no end.

In the second proposition besides the alliterative "mbila" there is an addition of an alliteration in the form of a verbal suffix "-ana" which in turn alliterates in the third proposition with a reduplication of the verbal suffix "-ana" in the last alliterative word "mbilanana".

The alliteration in the proverb "Nwana hu la a lilaho a sa lili u fela ngozwini" (the child who is fed is the one that cries that which does not cry dies in the sling) is in the repetition of the consonant "l" with its dental "l". the verbs employing these alliterative consonants "la", "lilaho", "lili", and "fela" all form a sequence of eat after cry or else die.

There are so many proverbs in Luvenda with this type of alliteration such as:

"Mulomo ndi khaladzi a ndila" (the mouth is brother to the way)

"Mulomo ndi tshilonda tshi phuphwa tshi sa fholi" (the mouth is a sore which is nursed without its healing)

"Makhulu ndi tshiulu ri tamba ri tshi hwela" (grandfather/mother is an antheap we play by climbing up)

"Na vhuvhi halo p^hene vhusiku mavhele a li li" (the baboon can be how bad by night mealies it won't eat) has alliteration in the dental "l" and "l". The alliterative consonants form part of the possessive pronoun "halo", the noun "mavhele", the subjectival concord in the first "li" and the verbal stem in the second "li". The alliteration in this proverb is in various parts of speech.

There are also Luvenda proverbs with alliterative consonants **mb**" such as :

"Wa vhona mbulu we mbu-mbu-mbu, mubva-murahu u mbulu yanga" (if you find an iguana and hasitate the one who comes after says: my iguana)

"Nyamutshimbili thi ambi-ambi ndi goda dzanga nda tshimbila" (walker as I am, I do not talk but pack and go)

Another alliteration is in "**vh**" as in the proverbs:

"Nwana wa tshidzula-huvhuya huvhi hu a vhidza" (a child in a well-to-do family a poor family is calling)

"Thonga thanzi a i vhavhi hu vhavha ya murahu" (first knock is not painful but the latter is painful)

"Na sa ri vhudza ni tshi ya ni do ri vhudza ni tshi vhuya"(if you do not tell us when you go you will tell us when you come back)

From the above proverbs the nouns such as "huvhuya" and "huvhi" in the first proverb have been used in the alliteration.

The verbs such as "vhidza" in the first proverb, "vhavhi" and "vhavha" in the second proverb, "vhudza" and "vhuya" in the third proverb show alliteration.

2.1.5. ASSONANCE IN PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Assonance is the appearance of identical vowels in a proverb giving rhythm and rhyme to the proverb making it more poetic.

It is repetition of stressed vowel sounds within words composing a proverb. This is the correspondence or rhyming of one word with another in the accented vowel and those which, follow, but not in the consonant.

The vowel system as used in Luvenda is predominant to such an extent that one and the same proverb may use all the five existing vowels in Luvenda.

For instance:

"Ndi khakhisa u rwa ndi mbevha ya ludongoni"

(it is miss to hit it is a mouse in an earthen-ware dish) in which the vowels

"i" appear four times

"a" appear five times

"o" appear twice

"u" appear twice

"e" appear once.

With the exception of "e" all the other vowels are repeated.

In the proverb "Nguluvhe ye ndi edza ndou mananga a bva nga mulomoni" (the pig imitated the elephant and the tusks came out of the mouth) all five vowels are repeated in this manner:

"i" is repeated twice
"a" is repeated seven times
"o" is repeated three times
"u" is repeated four times and
"e" is repeated three times.

It is interesting to observe that in Luvenda proverbs generally the vowel "a" appears more times than the other vowels in the same proverb. Analogically it might be due to the fact that all verb stems have an "a" as their ending vowel. There are instances in which the vowel "a" appears in nearly all the words composing the proverb as in the following proverbs:

"Gwagwagwa o t̄angana na gwagwagwa" (he has met his match) in which assonance is in the repetition of the vowel "a" through out the proverb save the "o" which appears once.

"Ntsa i t̄amba nga ntsana" (a duiker is washed by its small duikers) in which "a" forms the assonance except one "i".

There are however, a few exceptions like:

"Wa vhona mbulu we mbu-r̄bu-mbu mubva-murahu u mbulu yanga" (you see an iguana and hasitate the one who comes after says: my iguana) in which the vowel "u" outnumbers the other vowels.

In the proverb "Nyamutshimbili thi ambi-ambindi goda dzanga nda tshimbila" (as a walker I do not talk but pack and go) the vowel "i" is in the majority giving assonance with the vowel "a" at its heels.

The assonance in the proverb "No runwa mvula na vhuya na dumbu" (you have been sent for rain and brought back the storm) is effected by the same number of the vowels "u" and "a".

In the proverb "Mutshetshete wo beba mutanzwa" (the thorn tree bore a fruit tree) assonance is in the repetition of the vowel "e".

2.1.6. CONTRAST IN PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Contrast means juxtaposition of proverbs in order to heighten the effect of their corresponding propositions whereby their contrasting qualities are brought out. Contrast increases the splendour of beauty in a proverbial language.

In the Luvenda proverbs contrast is effected by two opposing propositions either as subject, object or predicate. The different parts of speech are also involved in contrast such as verbs, adverbs, adjectives, compounds and nouns.

Two contrasts are distinguished in the Luvenda proverbs:

2.1.6.1. Two contrasts may appear in the same proverb or in the same proposition such as:

"Ndi pfarela u lila ndi thonga ya musudzungwane" (it is have for the time being like a staff from "musudzungwane") in which "pfarela u lila" is contrasted to "thonga ya musudzungwane".

The two phrases opposed here depict philosophy in that the real staff or rod cannot be obtained and in its place a less strong, easy to break stick is used in its stead.

The staff is usually used by elderly people to lean against and to serve as the walking-stick. Some elderly people have created a habit of carrying this staff whenever they take a journey to be used in/or clearing a narrow pathway with thickset grass and bushes blocking the way, and for defence when necessity occurs. Contrast is in the predicates.

In the proverb "U gidima hu tshe u lenga" (to run is to delay) the verb "gidima" is contrasted to the verb "lenga" which are both used in the infinitive form. The philosophy contained in the first proposition is contrasted in the second proposition. In actual meaning running hastens the pace and one comes to the destination earlier than one who is walking. The philosophy contained is that in the running there is delay instead of haste. This proverb refers to things done in a haphazard way and it appears also in English as "more haste less speed".

The proverb "Thole ho lelwa yaṅu ya muṅwe i bvisa misevhe"(the young healthy calf looked after is yours somebody's is killed) has the two opposite contrasts in the verbs "lelwa" in the first proposition and "bvisa" in the second proposition. This shows that 'blood is thicker than water' for that which is yours receives all the care. The philosophy contained in this proverb is that of selfishness which is possessed by the majority in humanity.

The Vhavenda culture is that of trying to discourage this sort of occurrence and encourage general love for all human beings. The possessive pronoun "yaṅu" in the first proposition is contrasted to the adjective "muṅwe" in the second proposition. The value laid upon your belonging is not the same as that laid upon somebody's belonging that is more value is laid on yours.

2.1.6.2. Contrast in proverbs may also appear in the form of two propositions one in the positive and the other in the negative. Negatives are employed in the majority of proverbs in Luvenda. The proverb may start with a negative proposition followed by a positive proposition and vice versa. For this discussion a few examples will be cited:

"Hu ambuwa vhuṅanga vhukololo a vhu ambuwi"
(it is doctorship that crosses the boundary and not princship) in which the positive verb "ambuwa" in the first proposition is contrasted to the negative verb "ambuwi" in the second proposition.

Chieftainship amongst the Vhavenda is descendible and all the princes and princesses in that country are respected since the community does not know their future chief. The Vhavenda boundaries were rivers on all sides of their country - especially the big rivers. The philosophical contrast comes in when the well known prince or princess is recognised as so only in his/her home country yet the doctor is known far and wide. For emphasis sake the proverb starts with a positive proposition.

The noun "vhunanga" in the first proposition is in contrast to the noun "vhukololo" in the second proposition. A Muvenda "mukololo" is respected by all the people in the community including the "nanga" yet when it comes to who is who in fame the "nanga" is famous. At a glance at the life in a community a "mukololo" is more famous than a "nanga". The "mukololo" is famous by birth and the "nanga" is famous by works.

The proverb "mutukana ha endi hu enda mukalaha" (a boy does not travel but the oldman) starts with a negative proposition pronounced by the verb "endi" in contrast to the verb "enda" in the second proposition, both belong to the same verb root.

Generally it is a boy who is fit and strong contrary to the oldman whose strength diminishes with age.

The philosophy contained in this proverb is of the oldman with his vast experience in life. This is the man from whom advice can be gleaned. The noun "mutukana" in the first proposition is contrasted to the noun "mukalaha" in the second proposition. According to the Vhavenda culture oldmen and old women are entitled to give advice to the younger generation.

In the proverb "Thonga thanzi a i vhavhi hu vhavha ya murahu" (the former slash is not painful but the latter) the negative "a i vhavhi" in the first proposition is contrasted to the positive "hu vhavha" in the second proposition. On the other hand the adjective "thanzi" is contrasted to the adverb "murahu" in the first and second propositions respectively. The slashing of the rod whether at the beginning or the end pains to the same degree. The philosophy depicted is that one is more hurt when receiving a revenge.

The name proverb "Tshinakaho a tshi yi thambo tshi yaho thambo ndi mutshinyalo" (the good does not last but the bad) has the negative proposition "a tshi yi thambo" in the first proposition contrasted to the positive "tshi yaho thambo" in the second proposition. A good side of life should be enjoyed longer but life seems the other way round as the needy are in the majority. The philosophy in this proverb alerts the well to do and encourages the needy to work harder with the hope of earning a good life in future.

The proverb "Tshilamba-u-vhudzwa ndi tshilila-u-vhona" (refuse-to-be-told is like-to-see) has the compounded negative proposition "tshilamba-u-vhudzwa" contrasted to its counterpart compounded positive proposition "tshilila-u-vhona". The nouns are derived from the verbs "lamba" and "lila" in contrast and the verbs "vhudzwa" and "vhona" also contrasted. The philosophy in this proverb stems from the disciplinary measures metred by the Vhavenda community upon their young generation. This advice done through the telling method with demonstrations here and there, most of it is given at the initiation schools. Hence the reason why these initiation schools accommodate a certain age group.

The negative proposition in the proverb "wa sa ri vhudza u tshi ya u do ri vhudza u tshi vhuya" (if you do not tell us when you go you will tell us when you come back) is "wa sa ri vhudza" which is contrasted to the positive proposition "u do ri vhudza" in the second proposition. The predicate "u tshi ya" is contrasted to the predicate "u tshi vhuya". There is an interesting type of rhyme in this proverb that attracts the listener's attention while laying emphasis upon what is being said:

"Wa sa ri vhudza"	" u tshi ya"
"u do ri vhudza"	" u tshi vhuya"

The concords "ri" rhyming and the verbs "vhudza" also rhyming. The particle "tshi" rhyming followed by the rhyming verbs "ya and "vhuya". This shows how able the older generation was in their choice of appropriate words for the proverbs.

The philosophy contained in this proverb is that of trying to maintain or keep a secret and the result being failure. The proverb puts this out in an ironical way. In the Vhavenda culture irony serves the purpose of advising, laying emphasis upon the matter under discussion, and/or alerting the listener.

2.1.7. RHYTHM IN THE PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Rhythm means a measured flow of words in a proverb.

It is a metrical movement determined by various relations of long and short, accented and unaccented syllables giving a spontaneous development. Luvenda is a syllabic language in which every syllable carries a certain measure of rhythm.

The Luvenda proverbs have developed a varied measure of metrical form and are more appealing as they provide contrast with the unmetrical prose since they employ elision. There is a tendency to discard superfluous words in proverbs to effect more force in the expression giving it a certain measure of rhythmical form.

Although all Luvenda proverbs are rhythmic not all employ elision. Nonetheless they all have rhythmical patterns which differ from proverb to proverb. Rhythm in a proverb in Luvenda is quite irregular and the position of words affected by elision in various proverbs do differ.

The spontaneous features in the Luvenda proverbs are prosodic elements that is length, stress and tone which bring about rhythm. (1)

The Luvenda proverbs consist of two or more propositions balanced with a noticeable pause between the balanced phrases.

The proverb "u kungulusa tombo ndi u li isa vhudzuloni" (pushing a stone further is taking it to its place) has the following balanced parts:

"u kungulusa tombo" in the first proposition balanced with "ndi u li isa vhudzuloni" in the second proposition. The second proposition is a completion of the first proposition.

The length falls on the penultimate syllable of the word "tombo" which is to: in the first proposition, and the penultimate syllable of the word "vhudzuloni" which is lo: in the second proposition.

The stress on the second proposition "ndi u li isa vhudzuloni" which complements the subject introduced by the first proposition.

Luvenda is a tonal language with two tones, and the voice falls to end up each phrase, proposition or word-group irrespective of its position in a saying. There is a conspicuous tone on every word ending up a proposition through the falling of the voice.

(1) Khuba A.E.: A descriptive study of the Proverbs concerning Administrative and Family Life in Luvenda, UNIN. 1983, p. 94

Throughout each and every syllable in a Luvenda proverb tone is noticeable. Refer to Mathivha's thesis on Tonemes in Venda.

Rhythm in the proverb "Dza sa runga dzi nanzwa pfumo" (if they do not kill they lick the spear) balances the proposition "dza sa runga" with another proposition "dzi nanzwa pfumo". The first proposition of proverb is pronounced with a raised voice than the second proposition for the sake of stress which is laid upon the second proposition "dzi nanzwa pfumo" giving a concluding effect on the whole proverb.

Length falls on the "ru": of the last word in the first proposition, and on the penultimate "pfu": of the last word in the second proposition.

The first proposition "funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi" (the crow refused to be advised) is balanced with the second proposition "la fhira mudi lo kovhela" (and went pass home by night) in the proverb "funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi la fhira mudi lo kovhela".

The length falling on the penultimate syllable i in "laiwi" and ve in "kovhela". This gives us another aspect that a Luvenda syllable is controlled by vowels. As such a vowel may form a syllable by itself as appears in the above mentioned proverb.

In the following proverbs the first propositions are balanced with the second propositions in this manner:

"Khosi ya tudza" with
"na vhalanda vha a tudza"

"Tshe mulomo wa amba" with
"ndi tshe mbilu ya amba"

"Fhefhe o tuwa" with
"Fhefhe o tumba"

"Wa sa ri vhudza u tshi ya" with
"u do ri vhudza u tshi vhuya"

"Wa fhiwa u see" with
"wa dzińwa u see"

The stress in each proverb falling on the second proposition. The length falling on the penultimate syllable of the ending words in both the first and second propositions constituting each proverb. Besides these prosodic elements these proverbs depict an interesting rhyming element.

In the first proverb the ending word "tudza" in the first proposition rhyming with its identical word "tudza" in the second proposition also at the end of the proposition.

In the other proverbs "amba" rhymes with the second "amba";

"tuwa" rhymes with "tumba":
"ya" rhymes with "vhuya" and
"see" with "see".

Tone is heard in each and every proposition, made clear by the falling of the voice at the end of each proposition. The third proverb depicts the rhyming of the initial words in the noun "Fhefhe" which introduces each proposition.

Rhythm plays an important part in the Vhavenda community since in most of their initiation schools, praise songs, entertainment activities, music, some daily pursuits and dances, co-ordinate movements are a pre-requisite. In all these the metrical feet is spontaneous and no deliberate effort is exerted in achieving it.

2.2. CONCLUSION

Morphologically the Luvenda proverbs are constructed of a number of structural features some of which are reciprocity, elision, parallelism, alliteration, assonance, contrast and rhythm already discussed in this dissertation. In conclusion it will suffice to state that reciprocity caters for the mutual reversion of actions in a proverb.

The situations in which reciprocity occurs are varied with the give and take condition. In a proverb reciprocity may appear in the form of reciprocal words, in the form of opposed words, or in the form of opposite propositions or situations in which the action takes place.

Elision takes into account the suppression of vowels, syllables, word or even phrases in a proverb in its surface structure.

For the proverb to sustain its poetic nature, rhythm with all the prosodic elements and rhyme, this constituent feature forms the basis. The metaphor and imagery in a proverb brought about by the missing of some of the elements appearing in the deep structure is maintained by this constituent.

A survey of the Luvenda proverbs reveals that parallelism accounts for the comparison of propositions composing a proverb in which the second proposition serves as a complement to the first proposition. It is only when these propositions are placed side by side that one will realise the first proposition depends upon the second proposition and vice versa.

Alliteration as a proverbial constituent takes into account the recurrence and distribution of consonants in close connexion.

Luvenda proverbs often alliterates in prefixes, concordial system, nouns, verbs and other parts of speech. This alliteration beautifies the proverbial language making it more metaphorical. Economy in the use of words in proverbs is brought about by alliteration which is not forced but spontaneous.

Assonance is repetition of stressed vowel sounds within words composing a proverb. This is the correspondence or rhyming of one word with another in the accented vowel and those which follow,

but not in the consonant. It takes into account the length and distribution of vowel sounds.

Therefore, assonance is the resemblance of sound between two syllables in the same proverbial constitution.

Contrast in proverbs caters for the setting of two things one with another in opposition in order to realise their difference. Proverbial contrast as a constituent is the basis of proverb meaning. These philosophical sayings originated as a means of voicing what lies in the deeper mind in a figurative way.

No wonder why "proverbs are a useful means of studying a people" (1) for the habits of the people are contrasted with those of the birds, animals, and nature in general.

They reveal "what it is that people adore, and what it is they hate; what they respect and what they despise". (2) This means that they reveal the people's outlook on life.

The Vhavenda display rhythm in their plays, dances, music and entertainments which require co-ordinate movements giving various interesting styles. The rhythmical forms developed in proverbs making them more appealing to life, and easily remembered as there is no other saying of the same nature fitting to the situation.

(1) Nyembezi C.L.S.: Zulu Proverbs, Wits. JHB.
1974 Introduction, p. xii

(2) Ibid

The literary significance of proverbs stems from the beauty of their language and form, and their perceptiveness and aptness when used in actual context. The proverbial constituents discussed above enhance the beauty of proverbial language in varied manner as existing in various occasions.

CHAPTER 3

3.1. PARTS OF SPEECH INVOLVED IN PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Morphology is the study of the form of words in a language. The Morphology of the proverbs refers to the various parts of speech used in their composition. Each of the grammatical classes of words is known as parts of speech that is nouns, adjectives, verbs, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. Proverbs in their constitution employ parts of speech some of which will be discussed hereunder in this dissertation.

3.1.1. NOUNS

In the structure of all the Luvenda proverbs the nominal appears in varied positions, either as the subject or complement. Most of the nouns employed in the constitution of the proverbs make it clear that these proverbs originated with humanity itself for they are no more in general use. For instance the noun "malombe" (relatives) in the proverbial construction "a dzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana" (they stinge one another food relatives in danger they unite).

Some of us in the existing generation fail to associate "lilombe" with relative and yet that is what is meant in the proverb.

This noun "malombe" in this proverb is used as the subject, but for emphasis sake it appears at the end of the proposition in which it exists.

In the same proverb the noun "mukosi" which is the object introduces the second proposition giving emphasis on what they unite.

In the proverb "A lu khwathi fhedzi lunundu lu khwatha lu na thanda ngomu" (the hair style cannot be erect unless there is a stick inside) the noun "lunundu" is no more in use. In this proverb it appears as the subject in a complementary position giving emphasis to the first proposition. In the second proposition the noun "thanda" forms the object by which the "lunundu" is able to stand erect.

In the proverb "Khangala ruda maṭo vuluvulu lo fa nga vuhwavho" (venomous snake be alert for puffadder died of compassion) has two nouns "khangala" and "vuluvulu" which are both subjects in the proverb of the first proposition and the second proposition respectively. The second proposition being a complement for the sake of the proverb's meaningful structure. The new generation is not in the know of these snakes for they are gradually disappearing through the years.

Following the nouns used in the Luvenda proverbs the cultural background of the Vhavenda can be discerned that they are hunters who came across various types of wild animals; agriculturists who depends on ploughing and storing food; smiths who melted iron and made implements;

artists who learnt various arts and crafts; religious people with a specific way of worship.

Let's have a look at some of the proverbs from the above aspects:

As hunters :

Mbidi in "Ha mbidi ndi ha thumbuni ha maramani i fa naho" (that of the zebra is in the stomach it dies with that in the mouth referring to grass) used as the possessive noun because of the possessive concord "ha". "Mbidi" is the possessor of the grass represented in the proverb by "ha".

Buku in "Hu tshi fashwa buku hu si fashwe khwamba" (the big water rat is caught when the parrot goes free) used as the object caught in the trap. The Vhavenda courts like any other courts depend upon the evidence given before giving the justified sentence. There is no respect given to the "buku" with all its greatness but evidence is all that gains respect hence the reason why the "khwamba is released from evidence given.

Ntsa in the proverb "Khumbana vhulaelo ntsa i vhuya nga vhubala hayo" (the game has turned and the duiker is coming back on its tracks) used as the subject of the second proposition.

The Vhavenda as hunters had the opportunity to observe the movements of the animals and compared them with some of the activities taking place in the community.

In their "khoró" when the accused is cross-questioned he/she may at first give false evidence; only when he/she starts to give the proper evidence do they say this proverb. The "khoró" in their cross-questioning is compared to the act of hunting.

When the accused is giving the right evidence is compared to the duiker coming back on its right track.

Mbila in "Mbila yo kundwa mutshila nga u rumela" (a rock rabbit is short of a tail through sending others) in which it is the subject of the first proposition. The Vhavenda observed the rock rabbit and from its way of living, staying at almost the same place while other animals move from place to place, concluded that it could have lacked a tail as a result of being lazy to move about.

As agriculturists :

"Mufumbu" in the proverb "Mulimi ha nyadzi mufumbu" (an agriculturist does not despise the bran) in which it is the object of the proverb. The Vhavenda have various types of food cooked out of mealie powder pounded in the stamping block, such as "tshikhuthela" - food cooked from bran; "munzelu" - food cooked of powdered meal but using whey from fermented bran; "munamba"- food cooked using whey from milk; "lukata" - food cooked of powdered meal only; "tshisese" - food cooked with lots of samp. Culturally the Vhavenda have variety in their menu.

Tshidzembe in "tshidzembe tsha mulima-tsimbe tshi dihwa khombo nga muḡe watsho" (the danger of the hoe used with difficulty is known by the owner) which is the subject in the first part of the proverb. The Vhavenda by culture make their own hoes at the place called "nando" furnace. In the "nando" steel instruments, equipment and useful articles are made. This brings us to the point that the Vhavenda are also blacksmiths.

There is a proverb "Mafumo a la vhavhandameli" (spears distroy the nearing) which shows that the Vhavenda are warriors.

As blacksmiths they made their own spears and trained their soldiers to be ready for any war out-break. In hunting they make use of "misevhe" (arrow) to shoot at the animals. Hence the proverb "thole ho lelwa yaḡu ya muḡwe i bvisa misevhe" (the young calf looked after is yours someone's is killed with an arrow) giving us the idea that the arrow is used in shooting and killing. The noun "mafumo" is used as the subject to the proverb whereas the noun "misevhe" is used as the object.

Trade

The Vhavenda are artists who embark on some crafts for a trade. Some are potters who mould utensils and other pottery work. From the pottery side there are such proverbs as:

Nkho in "Mapfura ha ḡadzi nkho" (cream or fat cannot fill a huge clay pot) in which the noun "nkho" is the object of the proverb.

The Vhavenda as pastoral farmers are able to separate cream from milk, and make butter from the cream. To show that they have experience in making cream and butter they have this proverb which shows that cream can never be in abundance.

As weavers they made beautiful shallow winnowing baskets (*tselo*), small winnow baskets (*tshikundi*), bucket-shaped but round decorated baskets with lid (*mufaro*), big dome-shaped baskets (*muthatha*); each made for a specific purpose.

These baskets are found in each and every Muvenda home. One of the proverbs that can be cited from this trade is "musadzi wa muluki wa maluwa u fara nga tshiteto" (the wife of a weaver uses a wornout winnowing basket). The noun "tshiteto" is used as the object in this proverb. All the beautiful basketwork is taken to market for him and his family to earn a living.

When there is great demand for what he weaves there is a meagre chance for him to weave for his family.

As wood carvers the Vhavenda made varied articles to use at home and in the community as a whole such as:

"lufo" (wooden spoon) used for cooking or stirring; "ndilo" (wooden plate) used for serving food; "mutuli" (stamping block) used for stamping mealies till the powdered stage; "musi" (stamping piece of wood) for crashing grains in the stamping block; "ngoma" (big drum) used for various purposes according to the way how it is beaten either for initiation schools or other ceremonies;

"Murumba" (small long drum) to be used with the big drum or by itself giving various types of rhythm to the drum beating music; and many other carved articles.

One of the proverbs from this trade is: "Ngoma madzula wo vhambwa musu wa mmbi a hu dihwi" (the drum should be ready before time, for war breaks unexpectedly). The art of making a drum takes years because there is the carving of the drum from a trunk of a big tree, the softening of the hide to be used over the hollowed part of the drum, the stratching of the softened hide over the well decorated drum, the time to be allowed to let it get dry till it gives the desired sound. The noun "ngoma" is subject to this proverb.

The Vhavenda have various commodities from which proverbs originated such as:

Mapfura in "Mapfura a liwa mutumbani" (cream is had in a shelter). Here the "Mapfura" is referred to metaphorically meaning good life which can be led in a less considered home. The noun "Mapfura" being the subject to the proverb. "Mapfura" is an expensive commodity among the Vhavenda which is highly valued. Hence the reason why all proverbs with the noun "Mapfura" refer to good attitude, valuable or precious articles. Such proverbs are: "Mapfura a ñwana ndi u runwa" (the cream in a child is to be sent). A Muvenda child belongs to the community for its future education. Every Muvenda adult is entitled to give advice to whoever child in whatever situation that demands such advice. In the same manner a Muvenda child is taught to be obedient and be ready to help whoever needs help.

"Mapfura a khosi ndi vhathu" (the chief's cream is people). As the body cannot do without some type of cream so also the chief cannot do without people. The chief depends solely on his subjects for the prosperity of his chieftainship.

The other proverb is "Mapfura ha dadzi nkho" (cream or fat cannot fill a big claypot). The time taken to produce cream from whatever source is comparatively more than the quantity of the product. Culturally this cream is used in most daily undertakings and care.

The Vhavenda are a religious nation that believes in their forefathers to be their intermediary. They have various selected occasions on which to do their ceremonial sacrifices.

The "Makhadzi" who is sister to the owner of the village is usually the one entitled to take the lead in this worshipping.

In their worship the forefathers are named in their sequence till the unknown "Iwe Thimudi" who is the god. The sacrifices are done to appease the god so that things can go well in the family.

The proverb "Ndi dinwa ngani mudzimu ndi sa phasi wavho ndi tshi phasa wa makhadzi wanga wa lala" (what worries me when I do not pray their god for I pray my aunt's god and all goes well) is formulated upon their religious attitude. In nearly all the events in the family the "makhadzi" must have the last say. The noun "mudzimu" is the subject in both deep structures of the propositions composing the proverb.

All the Luvenda proverbs are based on the nouns with the predicate bringing out the meaning with reference to the noun or nouns used in the individual proverb. This may stem from the fact that the Luvenda proverbs refer to humanity and its activities by way of comparison metaphorically.

3.1.2. ADJECTIVES IN PROVERBS

There is an additional part of speech in Luvenda proverbs, dependent upon the noun in existence in the used proverb; this is the adjective.

The adjective as existing in the proverbs make the position of the subject or object clearer, as such its position is either after the subject or the object in a proverb. Let me cite examples of proverbs with this descriptive part of speech:

"Fuyu litswuku a li kundwi tshivhungu" (a ripe fig does not lack a worm) in which "litswuku" describes the "fuyu" in the first proposition.

"Muhuyu" from which "mahuyu" - plural of "fuyu", are plucked is a wild fruit tree known for its nourishment that in places where "mahuyu" are in abundance the residents in that place may live on them in times of hunger and draught.

They are so sweet that after eating them thirst is induced and lots of water should be drunk to quench it.

The imagery brought out by the adjective "litswuku" is that of a fig which is ripe and mouthwatering, yet it has a worm inside which disturbs the appetite and spoils the nice outlook of the fig. This gives a warning that it is not all gold that glitters.

The proverb "Linoni fulu a li vhulawi li na malumbulela" (the great bird should not be killed for fear of misfortunes) has the adjective "fulu" describing the bird. According to this proverb the adjective "fulu" distinguishes which bird is not to be killed, whose death is an omen to the community. This is one of the proverbs which culturally is didactic and teaches lessons of respect, loyalty, love and obedience. The imagery is in the killing of the elderly people which is regarded as a bad omen.

In the proverb "Midi mivhili i kundisa pfuko u fhaṭa" (two homes deprive a mole from building a descent home) the describing word is "mivhili" which tells us more about the number of homes. The imagery is that of one who embarks on more than one employments all ending in failure. The philosophy behind the possession of more than one homes is that no proper development can be achieved in either. The proverb is advisory to the community to concentrate on one endeavour at a time.

The proverb "Tshilavhi tshivhi ndi tsho dzhenaho itoni tsho yaho thumbuni tsho lala" (the bad dirt particle is in the eye that in the stomach is at rest) has the adjective "tshivhi" describing the type of dirt particle.

The philosophy embodied in this proverb adjective is that this dirt particle in two different places reacts differently. In the eye it gives pain but in the stomach it is insignificant. The eye as a delicate organ needs more protection against such accidental intrusion.

The above examples of the adjectives in the proverbs made use of the adjectives formed from adjectival stems, that is

"litswuku" from the stem -tswuku

"fulu" from the stem -hulu

"mivhili" from the stem -vhili and

"tshivhi" from the stem -vhi

There is yet another type of adjectival phrase used in proverbs to describe the subject noun by making use of possessive concord plus either a noun or an adverb, a verb or any other part of speech as in the following proverbs:

"dangani la fobvu a hu dzhenwi" (in the thief's kraal do not entre)

"Shambo la mutshini li thumbuni" (the bone of the dancer is in the stomach)

"Kholomo ya ndila a i fhedzi hatsi" (the moving herd of cattle cannot graze all the grass)

"Thonga ya kule a i vhulahi nowa" (a faroff stick does not kill a snake)

"Mutsheli wa ndala u tshela a tshi lima" (look for food while busy ploughing).

"Musadzi wa muluki wa maluwa u fara nga tshiteto" (the wife of a weaver uses a wornout winnowing basket).

The descriptive parts in the above mentioned proverbs for the following subjects:

"dangani", "shambo", "kholomo", "thonga", "mutsheli", and "musadzi" are:

"la fobvu" for dangani

"la mutshini" for shambo

"ya ndila" for kholomo

"ya kule" for thonga

"wa ndala" for mutsheli

"wa muluki wa maluwa" for musadzi

These adjectival clauses make it clear as to which is referred. In the first place it is a kraal that belongs to a thief; in the second proverb it is a bone that is of a dancer; in the third proverb it is a herd of cattle that moves from place to place; in the fourth proverb it is a stick that is far away when needed; in the fifth proverb it is a person that has hunger; and in the sixth proverb it is a wife of a weaver.

The descriptive part "la fobvu" shows the type of a kraal that should not be entered. The imagery being that once you are a friend of a thief you are liable to be a suspect for theft.

"la mutshini" describing "shambo" has a double connotation which might be taken for machine or dancer. This is a characteristic of metaphor in proverbs in Luvenda.

Its imagery is that the bone forms the pillar against which the flash stands.

In this sense it is the food that the dancer should have for strength.

Usually the herd of cattle has a kraal next to the owner's place of abode. The descriptive phrase "ya ndila" gives the imagery of a herd of cattle moving from place to place.

Literarily this herd of cattle will graze while moving and it cannot possibly graze all the pastures. This proverb is based upon the idea that an end is focussed on the case under discussion.

The imagery in the descriptive phrase "ya kule" is that of banking upon remote friendship that in times of need the neighbour's help is sought. This proverb encourages the people to live in harmony with love for each other amongst themselves.

When there is hunger at a place the people's concentration is upon getting food. Those who have surplus should help the needy.

The descriptive portion "wa ndala" has the encouraging imagery that teaches the needy to know the right way to fight against a situation. It is not a matter of seeking help but it demands the know-how to help oneself.

The business minded man whose mind is fixed upon business out of which he earns a living, usually concentrates on helping others forgetting his own home. The descriptive clause "wa muluki wa maluwa" has the imagery that hardwork and concentration on an achievement lead one to forget his own welfare.

3.1.3. COPULATIVES IN PROVERBS

The Luvenda proverbs employ various parts of speech in their construction. The verb "to be" ndi is used in some of these proverbs either as a copula to connect the subject and the predicate in the proverbial proposition or as part of the comment in the proverb. Therefore the Luvenda proverbs have either the subject or the comment of the proposition as a copulative. (1)

As a subject the copulative expresses the verb "to be" as "it is" in which case the "ndi" introduces the whole proverb. Let me give a few examples of proverbs with the copulative propositions.

The copulative "ndi" can introduce the whole proverb; it can refer to the subject of the proverb; it can form part of the commentary proposition or refer to the object.

The introductory copulative is found in the following proverbs:-

"Ndi nnda ndumela shevhoni" (it is a louse bites in the skin kaross). Before the manufacture of clothing the Vhavenda knew how to make clothing out of the hides of animals they kill while hunting. The hides of their domestic animals were used for various purposes such as "shevho" (kaross);

(1) Khuba A.E.: O.p. cit, p. 102

"dada" also kaross; "phale" goat skin skirt for women; "tshirivha" leather skirt worn by women; "gaga" snuff pouch.

The philosophy in this proverb is that this louse bites only when hidden. Comparatively it means an evil doer who looks innocent in the eyes of the people.

"Ndi tshiranga tshi ya nga mulivho" (it is the calabash plant that depends upon its creepers). Culturally the Vhavenda in their agriculture amongst other plants they have the calabash plant which is one of the creepers. The more the creepers the more the calabash squashes.

When hard they become handy utensils for holding beverages and water in the home. When tender they are either used in the leafy vegetables or as they are, cooked in halves. This way they are much nourishing.

Their leaves are used for fresh vegetables and also dried vegetables known as "mukusule".

"Ndi tshidzembe tsha mulima-tsimbe tshi dihwa khombo nga mun^ue watsho" (it is the hoe used in difficulty whose danger is known by the owner). The Vhavenda as agriculturists mostly used hoes to till their fields. Obtaining these hoes was a difficult task as they were manufactured at specific places in the "nando" furnaces. This taught the Vhavenda to take great care of their hoes. The older the hoe the more care should be exercised.

The copulative proposition "ndi tshidzembe" is qualified by "tsha mulima-tsimbe" showing to whom the "tshidzembe" belongs that is "mulima-tsimbe".

"Ndi mañwe na a khuhu mukegulu a tshi la gwitha" (it is the same as the fowl when the old woman eats the owl). Elderly people are taken to be forgetful and some fail to recognise things let alone to differentiate them. This proverb reveals the bad treatment given to old people that they can be given an owl which is not eaten for a fowl which is eaten as chicken.

The copulative proposition "ndi mañwe" shows synonymy of "khuhu" (fowl) to "gwitha" (owl) one being a bird of prey and the other a gamebird. The philosophy in this proverb lies in the taking of an owl for a fowl in the form of chicken.

There are Luvenda copulative proverbs that are introduced by the nouns as subjects of the proverb, such as:

Khosi in "Khosi ndi khosi nga vhathu" (a chief is so because of people). The copulative "ndi khosi" together with the rest of the proverb give a complement to the proverb complimenting upon the subject "khosi". This "khosi" is made to be aware that his chieftainship depends solely upon people when the noun "khosi" is repeated for emphasis sake. Therefore the absence of these people would mean no chieftainship. The copulative "ndi" lays emphasis upon the importance of people who made it possible that the chief be installed.

Philosophically the chief is made aware that he is the central figure around which discipline rotates. Special respect is given to this figure for his willingness to accept this responsibility.

Vhuhadzi in "vhuhadzi ndi nama ya thole ya fhufhuma ri a fhunzhela" (at the in-laws is like veal we keep the froth from boiling over with a spoon). The copulative "ndi" introduces the explanation of what "vhuhadzi" is that is "nama ya thole". Through this copulative proverb a Muvenda young lady getting married is made aware of the situation at the in-laws, that it is a good place to live at for the rest of her life provided she knows what to do while there. The life at the in-laws is summed up in a few words; for instance that it is a good place with problems that need solution rather than her coming back home which is a taboo.

The set-up in a Muvenda village is that after a young man's marriage he still stays with his parents and other relatives who might happen to be there. His wife is introduced as mother to the whole family. On her arrival she is vested with all the responsibility in nearly all the activities in that family. "nama ya thole" refers to veal which is tender meat but need careful cooking to be nice. In the same manner she must be careful in handling the people in her new home.

Mutshidzi in "mutshidzi ndi wa pfumo wa ndala u ndo tshila nga ndothe" (saver is that of spear, as in war, that of hunger says he fended for himself.

The copulative "ndi" brings forth the real "mutshidzi" who deserves a praise that is "wa pfumo".

Two situations are given; that in times of war and that in times of hunger. Saving an individual in war deserves praises when compared to saving the same individual in times of starvation.

The philosophy in this proverb lies in the fact that praises can be given in acts that need tactics otherwise general effort is claimed by the saved.

Muthu in "muthu ndi muthu nga vhaiwe vhathu" (a person is so because of others). The emphasis in this copulative proverb is in the repetition of the noun "muthu". In Tshivenda if one is said to be "muthu" it means he has a good personality. The good personality in this copulative proverb is consideration for other human beings. A lot of things are embraced to meditate upon such as the possibility to live without other people; the possibility to be human out of other people's reach; the possibility to develop culturally without communication and interaction with other groups of people. In other words "muthu" should receive great respect for his existence is all that matters in life as a whole.

The copulative in the complement explains or affirms the statement given in the first proposition. As such it appears in/or introduces the second proposition complimenting upon the first proposition.

Such proverbs are:

"Tshe mulomo wa amba ndi tshe mbilu ya amba" (what the mouth uttered is what has been decided upon). This comes as a complementary upon the action that is perfect. In this proverb the heart "mbilu" represents the brain. Its talking "amba" means its thinking. The second proposition in this copulative proverb "ndi tshe mbilu ya amba" lays emphasis upon the fact that it was not a slip of the tongue as it is pretended to be.

The young Vhavenda generation is initiated in the art of listening quietly and answers only on request. This saves them from uttering regretful words. They are also indoctrinated in the way of giving an answer in a polite and respectful way. This training is received at the initiation schools.

"Tshilamba-u-vhudzwa ndi tshilila-u-vhona" (refuse-to-be-told is like-to-see). The compounded copulative proposition "ndi tshilila-u-vhona" compliments upon the subject compounded proposition "tshilamba-u-vhudzwa".

The two compounded nouns are derived from four verbstems "-lamba" (refuse), "vhudzwa" (tell in the past), "-lila" (cry) and "-vhona" (see).

The Vhavenda used their initiation schools as places and occasions in which to give pieces of advice to their young generation. After advising these youngsters they will end off by alerting them that those who do not want to listen should wait to see what the future has in store for them.

The proverb "Tshi hulaho tshi tshi lwa ndi ndau tshivhudzi tsha hula tsho hula" (that which fights till death is the lion a human being becomes old) the copulative verb "ndi" in the first proposition lays emphasis upon the strength of the lion till death. The second proposition gives explanatory complement as to what is compared to the lion that is "tshivhudzi" which means a human being.

The proverb "u divha makhulu ndi u vhudzwa" (your grand parents should be introduced to you) has the copulative second proposition "ndi u vhudzwa" which compliments upon the first proposition "u divha makhulu".

In Tshivenda relationship is followed till the unknown generation. The Vhavenda culture allows them to live together as a clan including children, parents, grand parents and great grand parents. This composition has always maintained order and discipline, with loyalty, obedience and respect in practice.

The copulative that refers to the object lays emphasis upon the object referred to. This type of copulative is always advisory, such proverbs are:

"Mapfura a khosi ndi vhathu" (the chief's cream is people) in which "ndi vhathu" gives an object copulative at the same time laying emphasis on "vhathu" to show their importance in life.

The chief amongst the Vhavenda deserves respect irrespective of his/her age. His training include the art of loving people without taking into account the type of character. Every human being should feel accepted in the eyes of the chief. He is fully aware or made to be aware that his chieftainship depends upon the presence of the people.

The copulative object in the proverb "Mutondi wa u tonda Venda muvhuya ndi o faho" (the helper of Venda, the good one is dead) or (the good helper of Venda is the one dead) is "ndi o faho" which is in the form of an adjectival phrase composed of the concord "o" and the relative verb "-faho". This copulative object shows the dead one who is now termed a good one in his absence. The good he did while still alive was ever exposed to criticism. How true this proverb is in life as a whole. It is rare that one be praised for his good works while still alive.

The proverb "wa tevhula wo dadza u olela ndi vhudenga" (spill full collect half) has the copulative object "ndi vhudenga" which is in the form of an adverbial phrase modifying the verb "olela". This copulative object spells a fruitless endeavour. It puts the fact clearer that trying to collect what has been spilt in full will only result in getting part of it. In life this proverb is didactic and teaches a lesson to be economical while discouraging extravagance. It is used in the Vhavenda "khorro" when a sentence has been passed upon the accused to pay out what seem to be half or part of what he actually used. In this case the plaintiff is the loser.

In the proverb "shango la shaya thovhela ndi mulano" (the country that has no chief has no future) the copulative object is "ndi mulano" which augments and describes more fully about the chief "thovhela" whose absence in a community is detrimental to the welfare of the whole community. The Vhavenda are people who cannot possibly do without chiefs. Hence the reason why they install a chief and put all their faith in him.

Their chief deserves a special respect in all things. His life depends so much upon his people. His love for the nation is all that is needed. He is trained never to have a partial treatment for his subjects in the eyes of the law. He who disregards the word of the chief has automatically dismissed himself from that country under that chief's jurisdiction. This is agreed upon by the whole community for the sake of disciplinary measures.

The chief and his people in his kraal have a special language used which is totally different from the commoner's language. Culturally one feels this is a strong strategy to show how disciplined the Vhavenda nation is. At their initiation schools where youngsters are taught discipline is the central pith. Most of these schools are conducted at the chief's kraal.

There are those proverbs whose propositions are both in the copulative in which case emphasis is layed upon the first as well as upon the subsequent propositions. Such proverbs are:

"Mutsinda ndi khwine shaka ndi bulayo" (a stranger is better than a relative who is deadly) in which the copulative "ndi khwine" and "ndi bulayo" appear in the first and second proposition respectively. They both lay emphasis upon the characters depicted by both "mutsinda" (stranger) who is deemed better, and "shaka" (relative) who is deadly. The copulatives "ndi khwine" and "ndi bulayo" contrast in the same manner as their subjects are that is "mutsinda" to "shaka".

This proverb originated from the fact that the differences between relatives is more deadly than that which might occur between strangers comparatively.

In the proverb "ndi lumbile ndi mbila ya Nevondo i no viiwa ya bva mbilana, mbilana ya bva mbilanana" (it is a recurring case it is Nevondo's dassie which when slaughtered out comes a small dassie which in turn when slaughtered out comes a smaller dassie) the copulative "ndi lumbile" introduces the proverb followed by another copulative "ndi mbila ya Nevondo" qualifying the "lumbile". The two copulatives at the beginning of this proverb lay emphasis followed by explanatory note in the rest of the proverbial phrase giving the reason why the case is refered to as "lumbile" (recurring case).

The philosophy in this proverb is compared to what takes place during the hearing of most cases at the "khoru" which forces the "khoru" men crack their heads before they could ultimately give a justified sentence. Justice is what is awaited for and should be metred on all cases at the "khoru".

The proverb "ndi khakhisa u rwa ndi mbevha ya ludongoni" (it is confussing to aim at it is the mouse in the eathenware dish) has two copulatives at the beginning of each proposition.

The second copulative "ndi mbevha ya ludongoni" modifies the verb phrase "khakhisa u rwa" and gives the object "mbevha" which makes the aiming difficult for killing it would mean also breaking the earthenware dish.

This proverb refers to a case at the "khoru" in which the accused is found to be of nearest relation or own child. Philosophically killing this mouse will mean ruining one's own life for the precious earthenware dish would also be broken. It may happen that the mouse is missed yet the earthenware dish will no doubt be broken.

There is also a proverb with three copulative propositions that is "Ndi mutanyatanya ndi musanda wa mapfene ndi mupfufhi si mphire" (it is as noisy as the baboons' kraal while competing for recognition).

The three propositions "ndi mutanyatanya"

"ndi musanda wa mapfere"

"ndi mupfufhi si mphire"

besides complementing each other depict movement when baboons are scrambling for recognition. The imagery given is that of a lousy group of baboons in their chief's kraal. One can realise that there is no order or discipline. There is no time for status the minds are concentrated on the informal competition. The Vhavenda have some respect for baboons for during the time of wars while they took refuge in the mountains these baboons alerted them that enemies are coming to attack them.

3.1.4. VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

The Luvenda proverbs are composed of various parts of speech including verbal constructions. These are word groups expressing action, condition or state of being, in the proverbial construction. Nearly every proverb contains this part of speech which conveys what is said about the subject or object. Therefore, its function is predicational. The verbal construction in a proverb is so important for the meaning of a proverb revolves around the metaphorical meaning of the verb in use.

The proverbial verbal constructions can be divided into various categories and those discussed in this dissertation are:

simple stem, causatives, negative forms, passives and reduplicated verbal stems.

Simple verbal stems are used either in a transitive or intransitive form in nearly all the proverbial constructions with the subject or object. Such are:

"Wa la nawa na vhanzhi u zwimbela dzi a talula"(eat beans with others but constipation is selective). The verb "la" (eat) is transitively used in this proverb with the object "nawa".

The verbal constructions "zwimbela" (constipate) and "talula" (select) are both intransitive. The metaphorical meaning lies in the performing of an action which others have performed in the same manner but one becomes the scapegoat.

"Tshińanga tsha haya tshi fa madidedzo" (the home doctor should always be given presents). The simple verb stem "fa" is transitive, used with the object "madidedzo".

The metaphor in this verbal construction is that of performing an action with all your might. The good service that a doctor can render to a family depends so much on these "madidedzo" which should always be presented to him.

The whole message embodied in this proverb is that since the duty performed by the doctor is of vital importance, it deserves "madidedzo" from those helped while threatened by illness.

This proverb is didactic in nature for it teaches one to be grateful in life for what one received.

The relative verbal construction qualifies either the subject or the object. In the proverb "hu laiwaho vhazwale ndi hune tsiwana ya laiwa hone" (where the cousins are advised is where the orphan is advised) "laiwa" qualifies the place represented by "hu" acting as the subject in this proverb. Besides initiation schools in which the young Vhavenda generation is advised, every Muvenda adult is an adviser in his/her own capacity. Pieces of advice are given wherever the occasion offers itself.

The research in this dissertation makes it clear to me that Luvenda proverbs are situational. There are situations that the old women know better than the oldmen and vice versa.

The relative verbal construction in "khali yo shululelwaho i fhira yo bikaho" (the holding pot has more than the cooking pot) put the gossipers in their right position. This means the gossipier retells the story in an exaggerated form. Philosophically the first pot is preveleged to tell more for it has done the real cooking, but metaphorically it is the holding pot giving more.

The proverbs with reciprocal verbal constructions show the action that is reciprocated mutually.

The proverb "Adzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana" (relatives stinge one another food but unite in danger) has the reciprocal verb stems in "-dzimana" (stinge one another) and "-phalalana" (help one another).

The two reciprocal verb stems are contrasted in their actions. The philosophy against this proverb is of relatives who are stirred to unity in bad times. This stems from the fact that the Vhavenda value relationship is so much that there are no half-relatives amongst them.

In the proverb "Ho t̄angana mūtu na mūtango" (birds of a feather flock together) the reciprocal verbal construction "t̄angana" shows the interchanging influence existing between "mūtu" and "mūtango". The leaves of these tree are identical and in this proverbial construction they stand for people with similar tastes.

Causatives as verbal constructions do occur in some of the proverbs like "Mīdi mivhili i kundisa pfuko u fhāta" (two homes deprive a mole from building). The verbal construction "kundisa" nullifies the mole's effort to build a decent home by mentioning "mīdi mivhili" to show how difficult it is to maintain both. The philosophy is that of one who has embarked on varried undertakings without proper achievement.

In the proverb "Mufuvha u lambisa thakha" (the "mufuvha" game deprives one of riches) the causative verbal construction (-lambisa) depicts the backoning quality in the game "mufuvha". This game is palyed by men of all age groups and to win much concentration is needed.

When other people are busy in the fields or herding their herds of cattle the men at the "mufuvha" game are busy enjoying themselves and in the long run they prove to be losers.

The negatives in verbal constructions do occur in proverbs such as:

"A hu aluwi muthu hu aluwa mbilu" (it is not the person that grows but the heart - meaning the mind) in which the verbal construction "aluwi" is the negative of the simple verbal construction "aluwa" (grow). Comparison in this proverb is given between the person and the mind and the mind gains value. The growth of the person cannot possibly be compared to that of the mind for the mind's growth depends on circumstances in the society.

In the proverb "a ri dzheni nari ri si na mmbwa" (we do not approach the buffalo without dogs) the negatives "dzheni" and "si na" are verbal constructions opposing their simple verbal constructions "-dzhena" and "-na". Two different types of negatives are used in this proverb. In "dzheni" the verb ending "-a" is used. Philosophically the proverb shows a total refusal to help.

Passives in proverbial constructions indicate the subject receiving the action through the passive verbal construction.

In the proverb "a li ili u sumbwa lombe tshalo ndi mpesulela" (the dancer likes to be pointed at for his is to dance) the passive verbal construction is "sumbwa" the action which is received by "lombe" (dancer) which is the subject in this proverb.

When the subject becomes the receiver of the action in Luvenda the verbal extension "-wi-" is used with the ending "-a".

At times strengthening of consonants do occur in which case the "-i-" usually disappears. Therefore the simple verb stem "-sumba" will become "-sumbiwa" in the passive but generally used as "-sumbwa".

The proverb "hu tshi fashwa buku hu si fashwe khwamba" (when the bull frog is trapped and not the parrot) used the passive verbal construction "-fashwa" together with its negative passive verbal construction "-fashwe" following the negative morpheme "si". The proverb signifies apprehension of the honourable people and the ordinary ones let free.

Repetition of words in the form of reduplication is found in a few proverbs for emphasis on the action. The reduplication of verbal stems in proverbial constructions exist in such proverbs as: "a i pfi dzwala-dzwala nyañombe i nga do dzwala na i songo swika" (do not force a cow to bear or else it will give a premature calf).

The reduplicated verbal construction "-dzwala-dzwala " lays emphasis upon wishful thinking. The imagery is in the action that is forced with regrettable end. The proverb is advisory for caution to be practised.

The reduplicated verbal construction in the proverb "nyamutshimbili thi ambi-ambi ndi goda dzanga nda tshimbila" (as a walker I do not talk but pack and go) is "-ambi-ambi" used in the negative form of the simple verb stem "-amba".

The reduplicated verbal stem indicates the action being repeated laying emphasis upon the fact that there is nothing specific to talk about. When "-amba" (talk) is repeated it means talking with no point in view.

3.2. CONCLUSION

The Luvenda proverbs form a technical language of their own since they give a special type of vocabulary; they have linguistic constructions; they reflect a certain style; and they show logic in their construction.

The parts of speech as used in proverbs adopt a particular style of sequence that lends them the art of laying emphasis in every proposition composing every proverb.

The selection of the proper part of speech used in these proverbial constructions characterize and evaluate human beings, events and situations. The Luvenda proverbs are so much dependant on situations depicting recognizable experience of the ages. These proverbs prove to be valuable verbal instruments that can be used to minimize friction while on the other hand effecting the expected adjustment legally, socially and intellectually. The Vhavenda culture can be interpreted by way of study of their proverbs.

The sequence of parts of speech adopted by the proverbial constructions brings out the balanced structure in all proverbs, showing that contrasted subjects are governed by one predicate as in:

"Gwagwagwa// o t̄angana// na Gwagwagwa" (he has met his match)

"Mulomo// a u d̄alelwi// nga mulambo" (a river is never in flood for the mouth)

"Maano// ha fhedzi// n̄waha" (cunningness does not take a year);

contrasted predicates are governed by one subject as in:

"Ntsa// ya l̄a munawa// a i humi" (where the duiker tested beans it comes more often)

"Nemud̄i// o t̄uwa// Nemud̄i// o sala" (the owner has left the owner is there)

"mmbwa// i huvhaho// a i lumi" (the barking dog does not bite);

contrast may occur in both subjects and predicates as in:

"A hu aluwi// muthu// hu aluwa// mbilu" (it is not the person that grows but the mind)

"Hu livhala// mubai// mubaiwa// ha livhali"
(the giver forgets but the receiver not)

"Hu enda// mukalaha// mutukana// ha endi" (the oldman travels, not the boy).

In Luvenda proverbs word-order is kept intact with the verb contrasting with the verb, the noun with the noun, the adverb with the adverb and so forth. The vocabulary used being not different from that of everyday language, but the proverbs do not appear as ordinary because of their special forms and the fact that they are generally accepted as philosophical and attractive expressions containing much truth in life.

CHAPTER 4

4.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROVERBS IN LUVENDA

Proverbs in Luvenda are expressions of imagery and abstract ideas by means of allusive phraseology which is metaphorical in nature. The figurative quality of proverbs stems from their allusive wording which is one of their most important characteristics. The figurative expression in proverbs forms its own language working through comparisons with a deep hidden meaning different from the literary meaning. Some of the characteristics of the proverbs as a genre may be cited hereunder to distinguish them from other forms of oral culture or art.

4.1.1 FORM

The Luvenda proverbs can adopt various forms literary which contain an allusive form of speech such as:

1. POETIC FORM

The quality of proverbs is depicted in rhythm, a characteristic shared by all proverbs in this language. This rhythmic quality lends proverbs to music through singing, drumming, dancing and other movements. For instance the proverbs:

"Funguvhu lo ri// thi laiwi// la fhira muḍi// lo kovhela".

"Ngoma madzula// wo vhambwa// musu wa mmbi// a hu dihwi", in the singing with drumming, dancing and clapping hands.

It is started by one group and another group of singers fall in in chorus. This is culturally the structure of the Vhavenda songs. Examples are: (see tonic solfa)

POETIC FORM

MULAMBATAI ITO LA KHUHU

l .s : s .sl s : s l d' : t.ʔl s : m l .s : s .ʔlf : r l
l .m : m .ml m : m l m : s.f l m : d l .d : d .rlʔ : ʔ l
l mu - lambal ta- i l i -to ʔalkhu - hu l mu - lambal ta - i l

l f : s .sl m : m l : l : l : l : l
l d : t .tl d : d l : l : l : l : l
i - to ʔalkhu- hu

l : l : l : l : l : l : l : l
l : l : l : l : l : l : l : l

NYAMUVHUYA HA SHAI THANDO A SA VHA MBAVA NDI MULOI

l .s :-s lʔ : s l -.m : m.r l d : ʔ l-. f : f .r l ʔ : s l
nya - mu - vhu- ya ha shai tha- ndo a sa vha mba- va
l .m :-m l f : m l -.d : d.t l d : d l-.r : r .ʔ l d : t, l

l-.f :-m l r : d l : l : l : l : l
ndi mu - lo- i
l-.ʔ :-s l s : s l : l : l : l : l

1. Nyamuvhuya ha shai thando a sa vha mbava ndi muloi
2. Ngoma madzula wo vhambiwa musu wa mmbi a hu ḍihwi
3. Funguvhu ʔe ri thi laiwi ʔa fhira muḍi ʔo kovhela
4. Mirero iyi ya vhakale i ri funza u ḍifara

2. EXPLICIT FORM

The deeper proverb meaning concealed through the use of picturesque language is set out in an explicit form because the thought is presented in a simple and straight forward manner.

Although the proverb language is figurative in nature it clearly expresses the idea or comparison.

For instance the proverb "mbwa munamba i a u funa i ro shaya mubikeli" (the dog likes milk food but lacks the cook) in which laziness is expressed clearly, refers to a human being who prefers good life yet is lazy to work for it.

3. FIXED FORM

Luvenda proverbs depends upon their form which is fixed, a characteristic that differentiate them from idioms and other oral art. Their structural pattern is accepted in the society as such. In use they are employed in wholes. If the first proposition of the proverb is used the audience is likely to pronounce the remaining proposition/propositions to show that the whole group is united in the discussion.

The proverb "dzi tshi ya vungani dzi ranga u pungiswa" (before slaughter they must be fed) is used in its usual form and as a whole like any other proverb in Luvenda. If one proposition is said the other proposition must be pronounced as well.

For instance if one party says: you must remember that "dzi tshi ya vungani" the other party listening must say: "dzi ranga u pungiswa". In Luvenda it is always the first proposition that comes first and then the other propositions follow in their sequence.

4. ABBREVIATED FORM

Luvenda proverbs are set out in abbreviated forms which are preferred to more drawn out forms. (1)

They are marked out as being short in addition to terseness and relative fixed form. The proverb "ya sa raha i do dadza" (if it does not kick it will fill) is short but explaining a whole situation of a case that is kept as a secret yet clear that it will end in the public.

5. ECONOMICAL FORM

Words in proverbs are used economically by means of contrasted propositions which may be presented in parallelism, either direct or cross parallelism. In the proverb "ho tangana mutu na mutango" (he has met his match) the "mutu" is directly paralleled to "mutango". In the proverb "tshanda i ya tshanda vhuya" (hand go hand come back) the going "i ya" is cross paralleled to the coming back "vhuya"

(1) Doke, C.M. : The Basis of Bantu Literature, Africa 18, in African studies, 1959, p. 150.

4.1.2. DIDACTIC IN NATURE

The Luvenda proverbs embrace various lessons to be learnt when occasions offer themselves. All Luvenda proverbs are didactic, that is they teach a lesson, but the following should be taken into consideration in this aspect: the social context of the proverb use, the proverb situation and the social situation to which the proverb is applied, the imagery proverb situation and the implication of proverbial terms in the social situation. (1)

Any proverb can be cited as an example in this aspect. The general truth in a proverb is conveyed to the society in various ways through a metaphor or a simile. Although figurative the proverbial language is it is clear in its application in any social situation. A proverb in its context may suggest various truths or different aspects of the same truth. This brings us to the fact already stated that the knowledge of the situations in which proverbs are used is of vital importance for their meanings to be driven home. The proverb "hu enda mukalaha mutukana ha endi" (it is the oldman that travels not the boy) is cited in a situation where proper advice is needed. An oldman is taken to be experienced in life and will rightfully give a sound piece of advice.

1) Khuba A.E.: A Descriptive Study of the Proverbs concerning Administrative and Family Life in Luvenda, UNIN, 1983, p. (26).

4.1.3. SHORT AND PITHY

The economical form of proverbs lends them to be short through the use of economical words which are sometimes archaic. The pithyness is noticeable when facts are stated without the subject, through the use of the concordial system. This is another economical way of word usage.

In the proverb "wa li kukuna na thoni u do li laṭa na nama" (chew the bone timidly you will throw it away with its meat) the subject "shambo" (bone) is represented by the concords "li".

In the proverb "hu na wau a hu p felwi" (where there is a relative is frequented) the place "fhethu" is represented by the concords "hu".

Economy of wording in the proverbs is often achieved by elision that is leaving out words that are represented by concords or never represented at all as in the proverb "ya longa khwanda yo nwa" (once its hoof is inside it has drunk) in which "ya" and "yo" are concords representing the herd of cattle but the water referred to in the drinking is never stated. The whole picture given is that of a herd of cattle in a place where there is water.

4.1.4. METAPHORICAL AND FIGURATIVE MEANING

The proverbial form which is different from ordinary speech marks the Luvenda proverbs with terseness in their expression giving a figurative mode of expression which abounds in metaphor. These proverbs do express their truths in a figurative way by various types of metaphor through comparison of one thing with the other.

The art of loving and staying with a person is compared with that of keeping a dog in the proverb "u tshi fuwa muthu ranga nga mmbwa" (before keeping a person first try a dog). The figurative meaning is set out metaphorically that it is not possible to stay with a person who needs more care if you fail dismally to keep a simple domestic animal like a dog.

Proverbs as figurative sayings rely mainly for their effect on the aptness with which they are employed in a particular situation and on the style and form of words in which they appear. (1) Comparisons in proverbs with birds or animals are evoked metaphorically commenting on human life and action through reference to non-human activity.

(1) Doke, C.M.: Bantu Wisdom -lore, African Studies, 1947, p. 106

In the proverb "tshi hulaho tshi tshi lwa ndi ndau tshivhudzi tsha hula tsho hula" (the lion may fight till death but a person becomes old) the strength of a lion through its life till oldage is compared to that of a human being.

The action of a crow is compared to an individual who does not heed advice in the proverb "funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi la fhira muḍi lo kovhela" (a crow refused to heed advice and went past home by night).

Egotism may be commented upon in a figurative way in the proverb "we thi laḵi ya rare ya muḵwe a u nga i vhoni" (you refuse to heed your father's advice you won't listen to any other) meaning the process of learning is continuous in all situations. Generalizations about every activities are also employed metaphorically in proverbs to suggest ideas related to human characteristics as in the proverb "nyamutsha la tsha a tondwa, naho o kodelwa thanga u ḍi ri: tho ngo tondwa" (giving help to the same individual often has no praise) refering to one who is not grateful in life.

4.1.5. PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE LUVENDA PROVERBS

Proverbs would be in nonexistence if it were not for their practical applicability in life. Studying proverbs is studying practical figurative sayings which are so situational that every existing situation they await to decorate.

Some of the proverbs are resilient that they comply to various situations like "gwagwagwa o tangana na gwagwagwa" (he has met his match) which may be used in law and justice at the "khoru" (court) when two parties get into a hot debate; in marriage and family life when two parties compete for good results in activities; and in strife and quarrels showing equal strength between two rivals.

Proverbs are a process of communication that transmits a message to evaluate human behaviour in a social situation. Proverbial communication revolve around the culture they depict indicating cultural perceptions of reality and human relationship.

Amongst the Vhavenda divorce is prohibited unless under strong proofs of witchcraft - this is a rare incident.

It is not possible for a husband to divorce his wife because there are strong historical lobola ties and vice versa.

The proverb "tshalo tsha musadzi tshi vhuhadzi" (the wife's grave is at the in-laws) binds the wife under all circumstances to be a permanent member at the in-laws. The husband on the other hand is bound by the fact that the wife belongs to the family because of the lobola which might be paid out by the husband's father or from the sister's lobola. Nonetheless he has got the right to marry other wives and keep them all in one family provided he can maintain them.

The proverb "hu na wau a hu p felwi" (where there is a relative is known) or "a dzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana" (relatives may stinge one another food in danger they unite) communicate a cultural message that blood ties in Vhavenda relationship are the strongest and most important. The proverb "ngoma madzula wo vhambwa musu wa mmbi a hu dihiwi" indicates the cultural value of preparedness. Knowledge of an occurrence to take place forces an exertion of every effort to be appropriately prepared for it.

Proverbs as embodied in folklore are highly regarded for their practicability which is regarded as historically true. Their teaching is regarded as important to society to the extent to which they mirror culture and contain practical rules for social guidance.

4.1.6. THE PROVERBS IN CONTEXT

The proverbs as a rich source of imagery can be fully understood when used in context. The Luvenda proverbs reveal the philosophy and ideology of Vhavenda and their past. They all adopt the poetic style which maintains them in their fixed form contextually they appear in wholes depending for their meaning upon their verbal techniques. Working through metaphorical comparisons proverbs give freshness to the speech. This body of short figurative statements, built up over the years give a reflection of the philosophy and insight of the Vhavenda into their problems in life.

Proverbs are situational philosophical aspects that cannot possibly be regarded as isolated sayings to be collected as such, but rather as aspects of oral art expressed within the whole social and literary context. The use of context forms the major ground upon which proverbs can be differentiated from other figures of speech.

Their pithiness, economy of words and fixity in form are characteristics lacking in other figures of speech. Proverbial use of archaic words poses a difficulty for a foreigner learning a language to comprehend their real meaning.

For instance the proverb "thole ho lelwa yanu ya muñwe i bviswa misevhe" (the young calf looked after is yours somebody's is killed) with the word "thole" meaning a young calf may puzzle the hearer. The deeper meanings in the picturesque language in a proverb can only be comprehended after proper knowledge of the working of the proverbs against the cultural background of the language in use.

For instance the proverb "ndi ntsa ya daka ri vhala mikumba" (it is the wild duiker we count the hides) has a deeper meaning that you keep on thinking of your absent relative as being alive when he is actually dead. The occasion on which it is used is when inquiring about this relative. From this point of view one realise that proverbs are closely involved with speech on specific situations.

The context of use is very important in the study of proverbial situations in order to give an appropriate treatment of their allusive content. The proverbial use in context lays stress on comments about human affairs.

The proverb "t̄hoho a i lwi na mutsinga" (the head does not disagree with the neck) outside the context is not clearly expressed in its meaning. Used in a situation in which those with authority are advised not to differ with their subordinates its meaning is driven home.

4.2. CONCLUSION

The metaphorical nature of proverbs enables their general truth to be conveyed in a nutshell. This characteristic depends upon the utilization of a figurative language giving the proverb a poetic and fixed form. The abbreviated form in which the proverb is often quoted is dependent upon the use of words economically.

The general proverbial form in Luvenda proverbs is the expression of an abstract idea by way of a concrete case metaphorically.

The use of archaic words in proverbial construction emphasises the fact that proverbs are as old as the language, giving comparability between the components of a specific situation and their metaphor and figurative meaning.

Practically there is a specific point in a situation at which a proverb is uttered for a specific purpose.

It is characteristic of a proverb either to give advice, to sum up a case or to give judgement to a court case and many more points in view.

The treatment of the allusive content of proverbs depends upon the context of use in their situations with stress on comments about human affairs.

The practical value of proverbs is well set out by Bascom in his Folklore research in Africa when he stated that because of the high regard in which they are held proverbs are highly effective in exercising social control. Because they express the morals or ethics of a group, they are convenient standards of appraising behaviour in terms of the approved norms. (1)

(1) Bascom, W.R. : Folklore Research in Africa, JAF 62, 1964, p. 295.

CHAPTER 5

5.1. PROVERBIAL PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS IN LUVENDA
PROVERBS

Events and phenomena may be categorized by various proverbs originating in varied situations. The message conveyed by these proverbs operating as mechanisms of social control are to mould behavioural traits by serving as a warning, excuse, encouragement, or advice in any social sphere.

A proverb in its resilient capacity may serve several functions depending upon the situational circumstances in the society on the one hand, yet on the other it may serve only one purpose.

According to Bascom "folklore has four functions that is psychological release, validation of culture, education and social control". (1)

All the four functions including evaluation can be performed by proverbs as an oral art in folklore. Therefore, proverbs in society may serve the purpose of enculturation and socialization for the frustrations and other personality traits produced by culture are reflected in the proverbs of that culture. For social control "proverbs are employed against members of a community who attempt to deviate from social conventions with which they are familiar." (2)

(1) Dundes, A. : The study of Folklore, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, 1965, pp. 279-298

(2) Ibid. p. 294

Bascom includes considerable reference to proverbs as they serve these functions "especially education and social control". (1)

In this dissertation the philosophical concepts to be discussed reveal proverbs as they function to ease social tension and in this way fulfilling the function of psychological release.

For a proper research into these concepts I made a questionnaire with four questions to present to my informants which are mainly elderly women and men. In this way I want to glean the philosophy of the Luvenda proverbs as known by the pillars in the communities. It is wonderful to realise that proverbs are never affected by any type of education neither time nor cultural change in Luvenda.

They survived all the ages in the same form that both the literate and illiterate know them, not to mention the fact that the wording is still standing in recent as in past years.

My questionnaire is after appropriate occasions on which proverbs are used and their possible meanings as known by the aged.

Some of the occasions are given and the proverbs follow in alphabetical categories with blocks of occasions for the researcher to mark. This is done with the aid of tape recorder so that the marking can be done after the discussion.

(1) Bascom, W.R.: Four Functions of Folklore,
Journal of American Folklore 67,
1954, p. 294

The four questions proposed to the informants are to get as much as possible of their knowledge about the meaning, occasion and related proverbs.

Here follows the questionnaire I used :-

THE PROVERB AS MIRROR OF THE VHAVENDA CULTURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Four questions are posed to each informant in order to reach as many possible levels of information about the occasions and meaning of the Luvenda proverbs. Summary of each meaning is taken from the tape recordings made.

- 1) Do you remember this proverb used anywhere in Luvenda?
- 2) What is its possible meaning as you know it?
- 3) On which occasion or occasions is the proverb used?
- 4) Which other proverbs are used in the same context?

The numbers in blocks represent the following occasions:-

1. Annoyance
2. Boastfulness and deceit
3. Bravery, industriousness and wealth
4. Advisory
5. Chieftainship and administration
6. Courage, determination and perseverance
7. Co-operative spirit and good relations
8. Disappointment, rivalry and hostility

9. Excuse
10. Irony
11. Laziness and poverty
12. Loyalty to the chief and other authorities
13. Law and justice
14. Marriage and family life
15. Respect and complements
16. Cruelty, strife and quarrels
17. Selfishness and egotism

PROVERBS

1. A dzimana u ja malombe
mukosi a a phalalana

2. A hu aluwi muthu
hu aluwa mbilu

3. A hu na a no rwiwa nga
tshawe a lamba

4. A hu na pfepe li no fa
li songo gonya luwa

5. A i pfi dzwala dzwala
nyanombe i nga do dzwala
na i songo swika

6. A i na vhutoma thilili ya
vhulaha mbevha i a la

7. Akha lutsinga u ye
makoleni

8. A li ili u sumbwa lombe
tshalo ndi mpesulela

9. A lu khwathi fhedzi lunundu
lu khwatha lu na thanda
ngomu

OCCASSIONS

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

10. A ri dzheni nari ri
si na mmlawa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

11. A ri shavhi mvula ro
naiwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

12. A si halwo lukunda a lu
kokomedzwi lwa kokome-
dzwa lu a țhara

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

13. A hu na khali i no fa
i songo bika

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

14. A vhu rengwi vhushaka

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

15. Bako ło dzhena mađi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

16. Dza musanda dzi kumba
thole

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

17. Dza sa runga dzi nanzwa
pfumo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

18. Dangani ła fobvu a hu
dzhenwi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

19. Dakalo li tula u lila
u lila hu tula dakalo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

20. Dzi tshi ya vungani
dzi ranga u pungiswa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

21. Funguvhu lo ri thilaiwi
la fhira muḍi lo kovhela

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

22. Fulufhelo a li thavhisi
dzithoni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

23. Fuyu litswuku a li
kundwi tshivhangu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

24. Furi la u newa a li na
khobvu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

25. Fhefhe o tuwa Fhefhe
o tumba

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

26. Fhungo li ela fobvu na
iwe mune wa tsimu li do
u elavho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

27. Fhondo li si lau u
thuvha li tshi lila

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

28. Ganuko a li vhuisi
tshalo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

29. Gwagwagwa o tangana na
gwagwagwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

30. Hu ambuwa vhuṅanga
vhukololo a vhu ambuwi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

31. Hu laiwaho vhazwale ndi
hune tsiwana ya laiwa
hone

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

32. Ho ya ṅdou ho ya mudzimba
muzwimi o tuwa na mmbwa
dzawe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

33. Hu livhala mubai mubaiwa
ha livhali

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

34. Hu lumbwa nga tsha thengo
tsha u fhiwa a tshi pfi
engedza

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

35. Hu bikelwa vhuṅanga
vhutsila vha vhona nga
mato

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

36. Ho țangana Marema na
Mukhoro

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

37. Ho țangana muțu na
muțango

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

38. Hu bebwa tshi aluwaho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

39. Hu tshi fashwa buku
hu si fashwe khwamba

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

40. Ha mbidi ndi ha thumbuni
ha maramani i fa naho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

41. Hu na wau a hu pfelwi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

42. I shavha i sia muinga i
yafhi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

43. Ipfi la mufu a li pfukwi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

44. I rema nga luńwe mbevhana
mulindi wa vhuya wa dala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

45. Khangala ruḁa maḁo
vuluvulu lo fa nga
vhuhwavho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

46. Kholomo ya nḁila a i
fhedzi hatsi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

47. Khangala mbili a dzi
dzuli muina muthihi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

48. Khumbana vhulaelo ntsa
i vhuya nga vhuḁala hayo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

49. Khokhonya i la maanda
ayo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

50. Khumbana ye ya vha i na
muḁo ludungela i tshe
nalwo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

51. Khunda yo fhasha muvei

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

52. Khosi ndi khosi nga
vhathu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

53. Khosi ndi mandiaḁa-ndi-
a-da nwana a bebwa u vhuya
a tshimbila

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

54. Khosi ya tudza na vhalanda
vha a tudza

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

55. Khali yo shululelwaho i
fhira yo bikaho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

56. Khombe ya fura i raha
ndilo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

57. Kule ndi hu sina wau

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

58. Kha vhu waa vhu sie
matumba

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

59. Kulidzana khombe a dzi
endelani

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

60. La kovhela u late mbado
vhusiku ndi dada li a la

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

61. Li naka li tshi hoha linwe
didingwe li tshi hohwa li
ri mavhala anga

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

62. Lwendo lwa shaya phangami
lu a fa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

63. Linoni fulu a li vhulawi
li na malumbulela

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

64. Li tshaho li da na zwalo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

65. Midi mivhili i kundisa
pfuko u fhata

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

66. Muvhuda a u na zwilalo
zwivhili

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

67. Musanda vha toda ngoma
fhedzi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

68. Mmbwa hu zwima ya muambi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

69. Muvhona thengu sima u
vhonese matshelo thengu
i a fhufha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

70. Mutshimbidza vhusiku ndi
mu tenda lo tsha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

71. Mutshimbili u wana nombe
mavhele a wanwa nga nzula

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

72. Muenda tshilimo milandu u rera yothe
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
73. Mutsheli wa ndala u tshela a tshi lima
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
74. Mulimi ha nyadzi mufumbu
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
75. Musadzi wa muluki wa maluwa u fara nga tshiteto
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
76. Mudinda ha na diso
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
77. Mapfura a khosi ndi vhathu
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
78. Mutukana ha endi hu enda mukalaha
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
79. Mueni puta yau hu rengedele dza vhane vha haya
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
80. Muvheulwa u nekedza thoho
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |

81. Mapfura a liwa mutumbani

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

82. Mmbwa yo naiwaho a i na
mune

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

83. Maita-zwitoma ha fani
na madzula-fhedzi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

84. Mafumo a la vhavhandameli

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

85. Mutshidzi ndi wa pfumo wa
ndalau ndo tshila nga ndo-
the

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

86. Muwanwa u wanwa na ndila
wa u bebwa nae ha dali

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

87. Maanda nga u pfana

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

88. Munwe muthihi a u tusi
mathuthu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

89. Muthu ndi muthu nga vhanwe
vhathu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

90. Matanzu maswa a tikwa nga
malala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

91. Mmbwa i re na mune i
vhonala nga tshiangaladzi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

92. Mukoma a shaya tsha u amba
u ri tswinga dzi duvhani

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

93. Mukoma a tudza na vhalanda
vha a tudza-vho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

94. Mushavha-mvula vhilula u si
shavhe dumbu lo no swika

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

95. Mudengu ha didenguli
Muregu ha direguli

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

96. Mupfuluwi tonda tshilindo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

97. Mutshenzhe a u na zwivhili

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

98. Mutshutshudzi wa mulandu a
si mulifhi wawo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

99. Muhoha muhulu a u na nama

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

100. Mulilo wa mbava a u orwi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

101. Mutshetshete wo beba
mutanzwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

102. Mulomo a u dalelwi nga
mulambo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

103. Mufela dangwa mukumbi a
so ngo nwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

104. Mulenzhe ndi bofu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

105. Mmbwa munamba i a u funa i
ro shaya mubikeli

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

106. Muita kukwe ni mu litshe
a ite

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

107. Mulomo wa muthu u fhira
ngoma u lila

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

108. Mmbwa ya la inwe a i noni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

109. Mapfura ha dadzi nnkho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

110. Maudu a khovhe ndi vhana
vhayo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

111. Mulandu u fhisi ndu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

112. Mutali u la kanwe tsilu
li la kanzhi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

113. Mmbwa phaphadzi u fashwa
nga mulavhu ndi hayo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

114. Mubikela phondi tsevhi ya
lala na ndala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

115. Mahondo manzhi ha bwi
mulindi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

116. Munwe na munwe u la tsha
biko lawe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

117. Muthu ndi ndou ha tshili
nga muri muñwe fhedzi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

118. Mbila yo kundwa mutshila
nga u rumela

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

119. Matangwa a la nama a a
fhufha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

120. Muofhe wa u ofha ndala
mafumo u lwa nga ethe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

121. Mudi ndi vhathu matanzu
ndi madagalala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

122. Munwe a u disumbi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

123. Madahuvhi mvula ya
tshifhango

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

124. Mulala a sa fi tsimu ya
shubi u do vhuya a lima

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

125. Muḍangawe ndi musanda iwe
muhuyu wo sunda muvhula

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

126. Mphe, mphe i a netisa
muthu u konwa nga tshawe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

127. Mulanduli wa maḁi u sa-
dzingoni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

128. Muḁa ha divhoni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

129. Marema-khombo u pika u
vhanga

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

130. Musandiwa nguvho ya pfene
i no sandwa na nga
vhaambari

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

131. Mubva ha na nzie dzi
khoroni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

132. Makhulu ndi tshiulu ri
tamba ri tshi hwela

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

133. Mutsinda ndi khwine shaka
ndi bulayo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

134. Mulomo ndi khaladzi a
ndila

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

135. Mulomo ndi tshilonda tshi
phuphwa tshi sa fholi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

136. Muri u vhavhaho u bva
tsindeni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

137. Muvhulawa thi na maano
maano a na vhavhulahi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

138. Musi wa mmbi dzi lala na
mavhoda

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

139. Mukange a fa vhana vha
Mukange vha a fhalala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

140. Mukatshelwa mukakameli
mulu wa nama ya phatha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

141. Muhulwane u kanda mupfa
a tshi u vhona

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

142. Mungona mubikwa na ive
ive la vhibva mungona a
sala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

143. Masindi ndi ravuluvulu thi
shelwi mavu nda shelwa ndi
fhaladza malofha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

144. Muremba tshikosi u ri u
vhona phanda a shavha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

145. Mutupo u tevhela nombe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

146. Maatamela ndodo dza vhatu
a no atamela na vhavhulahi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

147. Mufuvha u lambisa thakha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

148. Mushathama tsinde la
vhulada

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

149. Mmbwa nzwimi phindelela
lufu lwa mmbwa a lu ho
kule

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

150. Mmbwa ndi mmbwa i la na
matanza ayo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

151. Mmbwa i poswa kurambo nga
a i divhaho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

152. Mutondi wa u tonda Venda
muvhuya ndi a siho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

153. Mmbwa i huvhaho a i lumi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

154. Munna ha wi nga thonga
nthihi fhedzi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

155. Munna ha kundwi mulandu
khoroni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

156. Ndi lumbile ndi mbila ya
Nevondo i no viiwa ya bva
mbilana, mbilana ya bva
mbilanana

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

157. Ndi ludzula mukoto?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

158. Ndi u konana ha Nyagumba
na Nyagalanga

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

159. Ndo lata nowa na lutanda

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

160. Nwana u dzivhiswa mbado
lufhanga u litsha nga ethe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

161. Ndu a dzuli sa mahu-
ndwane i si na luvhambo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

162. Nwana hu la a lilaho a sa
lili u fela ngozwini
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
163. Nwana wa tshidzula-huvhuya
huvhi hu a vhidza
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
164. Nwana mutshenzhela nanga
u tanganya nanga ndi hawe
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
165. No ungelelwa nga matshe-
loni na vhofha muhwalo
nga gavhi
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
166. Na u tamba wa dola senenga
a li tuwi
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
167. Na sa ri vhudza ni tshi
ya ni do ri vhudza ni tshi
vhuya
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
168. Nyavhumbwa wa dagaila
wa kanda vho u vhumbaho
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
169. Ndi vhomutanda-nga-u-we
ri wane makwati
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
170. Ndala ndi mbetshelwa
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 171. | Nyamufuwi wa tsinyaladzi
mufuwi wa vhathu ha rali
u bvisa tshimeno | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
| 172. | Nama-kombetshedzwa i
afhula khali | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
| 173. | Ndala tula vhaeni vhane
vha haya vha tshilevho | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
| 174. | No vhidzwa nga ludzula na
fhumula na vhidzwa nga
mutshinyalo na aravha | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
| 175. | Nya-dza-wela vhanwe wa
sea matshelo dzi do u
welavho | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
| 176. | Nawa nnzhi dzi bva pfu-
membe | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
| 177. | Na u sea thavha u seli
u do vhuya wa swika | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
| 178. | Nwana wa zwira ndi wa
phanda | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |
| 179. | Nwaito u sea Mpofu u ito
la Mpofu lo fa | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 |

180. Ndi mutonga-kanwe ndi thumbu ya bvani
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
181. Ndi la ha Nyatshikalange ndi la ha Nyathophi i fhola ntha fhasi i tshi fhisa
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
182. Ndi tshidzembe tsha mulimatsimbe tshi diхва khombo nga mune watsho
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
183. Ndo wana vha tshi la mutada vha mborona vha la makanda
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
184. Nyamuvhuya ha shai thando a sa vha mbava ndi muloi
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
185. Ntsa ya dzhena mbudzini i ndi mbudzivho
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
186. Nga i ponde i sie marambo
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
187. Nwana a suka matope u sukela vhabebi vhawe
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
188. Ndou a i lemelwi nga musingo wayo
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |

189. Ndi ntsa ya daka ri vhala
mikumba

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

190. No vhenga dongo na funa
vowa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

191. No runwa mvula na vhuya
na dumbu.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

192. Ndi vho-Mafune nga a fe
ri wane mudi wawe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

193. Nemudi o tuwa Nemudi o
sala.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

194. Ndi marangaranga Khuzwane
a tshi la ndilo ya khotsi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

195. Ndi nnda ndumela-shevhoni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

196. Ni songo ofha mahwai
nndwa ndi khulu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

197. Ndi luranga lu ya nga
mulivho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

198.	Nguluvhe ye ndi edza ndou mananga a bva nga mulomoni	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>
199.	Ndi zovhozovho ndi mukosi wa luaviavi u phalalwa nga a na fola	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>
200.	Ntsa ya mulomo a i na nguvho	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>
201.	Nyamutshimbili thi ambi- ambi ndi goda dzana nda tshimbila	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>
202.	Ndi manwe na a khuhu mukegulu a tshi la gwitha	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>
203.	Ndi khakhisa u rwa ndi mbevha ya ludongoni	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>
204.	Ndi mutanyatanya ndi musanda wa mapfene	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>
205.	Ndi khanga khulu thi na mavhala, mavhala a na khangana	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>
206.	Ndi lihamba thina makumbo kuenda mu ndi gelelevho	<u>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</u> <u>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17</u>

207. Nwana wa mbevha ha hangwi mukwita

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

208. Ndi mulindedzano ndi wa dula na nowa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

209. Ntsa hu tshenzhela phoswa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

210. Ntsa ya la munawa a i humi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

211. Naho wa i viela bakoni mahunguvhu a do i vhona

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

212. Nyamutumbane wo kona wa da mufumbu wo wana vhushelo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

213. Ndo la vungu la malamba ndo lavhila

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

214. Ntsa ya vhuvha nga tshitaka vha rwa tshitaka

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

215. Ntsa i tamba nga ntsana

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

216. Na vuvhi halo pfeṇe
vhusiku mavhele a ḽi ḽi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

217. Ṇamusī ndi mukomana wa
matshelo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

218. Ngoma madzula wo vhambwa
musi wa mmbi a u dihwi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

219. Ndi a vhahwa li na
mulwadze

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

220. Ntsa nthihi i tshinya
lunda

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

221. Nwana ha tsheleli munwe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

222. O laho funguvhu u vhonala
nga valuvalu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

223. O hwala ngoma nga tshi-
ombo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

224. Pfenē li anea luvhilo
mutonga u anea tshe a la

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

225. Phanda i tshi da i ranga
nga thotha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

226. Phanda ha ndau a hu iwi
u si na tshikuni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

227. Philipise a si tshilonda
ndi tshilonda tsha u
ditodela

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

228. Pfungwi a i fi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

229. Ri de ndi mbidi ro vhona
mavhala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

230. Ri do vhona hu yaho
phuna na tshinoni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

231. Ro fara tsimba nga ndevhe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

232. Ravele ndi rashaka lo
mphani arali lo mpha
musadzi nga li dzhie

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

233. Shambo la mutshini li
thumbuni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

234. Shango a li ambi tshalo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

235. Shango la shaya thovhele
ndi mulano

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

236. Sunzi lo hwalaho a li
seri mutanda

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

237. Sila lo tandwa u siho u
tandulula li a kunda

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

238. Tshithu divha wa sa divha
ndi swiswi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

239. Tshe mulomo wa amba ndi
tshe mbilu ya amba

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

240. Tshidzimba tsha a si na
mano tshi litsheni tshi
sine tshi na mune watsho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

241. Tsimba ye wa nea mmbwa u
songo i londa u dala na
mavu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

242. Tsimba i fa maphaphadzi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

243. Tshilavhi tshivhi ndi tsho
dzhenaho itoni tsho yaho
thumbuni tsho lala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

244. Thonga thanzi a i vhavhi
hu vhavha ya murahu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

245. Tshiitamune a tshi vhavhi
tshi vhavha mune watsho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

246. Tsha kule tshi wanwa nga
muhovhi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

247. Tshi nakaho a tshi yi
thambo tshi yaho thambo
ndi mutshinyalo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

248. Tshe wa da iwe tshilavhi
na murundo wa phofu u a
nwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

249. Tshe wa lilela musanda wo
tshi wana nungu ya denga
yo no vha mukuloni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

250. Tshokotshoko a i li muthu
u liwa nga dzumbulukwane

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

251. Tshanda tshinwe tshi kona
u komba ndilo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

252. Tshikalaha tsha notshi
tshi ra muvula na vhana

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

253. Tshiuba tsho fhalala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

254. Tshifho-tshifho mutshila
wa mbevha a u afhuli
ludongo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

255. Tshisima tsha seli tshi
vhulahisa vhathu dora

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

256. Thanga-mavhudzi lupfumo
a lu tanganyi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

257. Tsiwana i laiwa ndilani

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

258. Tahulela tshiunga tshi
tshi hula tshi a u thavha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

259. Tahulela tshinana-unga
tshi tshi hula tshi u la
thoho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

260. Tshidumbumukwe tshi konela
ho swaho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

261. Tshivhiahuvhi nyamubiki
a sa londi munna ndala u
bika nga u pfa yawe
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
262. Tshipala mulilo tshi a
dipalela
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
263. Tshilamba u vhudzwa ndi
tshilila u vhona
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
264. Tsha mutoma tshi fhelela
thohoni
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
265. Thoho i si na nama u
vhona nga yau
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
266. Tsha mushavhi tshi dala
tshika
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
267. Tsho laho nyanwali nga
tshi de tshi le na nnevho
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
268. Tshivhuya tsha mmbwa tshini
nangwe wa i fha munamba ya
bva i la zwinwe
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |
269. Thengu mutshenela kule
vha haya vha sala maswi-
swini
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | |

270. Thengu mutshenela kule
mabesu a sala tshitahani

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

271. Tsha bvungwi tshi tshila
nga tsha munangoni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

272. Thoho a i lwi na mutsinga

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

273. Tshi si khawe a tshi vhavhi
tshi vhavha mune watsho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

274. Thole ho lelwa yanu ya
munwe i bvisa misevhe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

275. Tshinanga tsha haya tshi
fa madidedzo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

276. Tsimba ya lamba mbevha
thumbuni ndi mitumbu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

277. Tshi hulaho tshi tshi lwa
ndi ndau tshivhudzi tsha
hula tsho hula

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

278. Tshiselo tsha bva dzuwa
tsho bva

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

279. Tshi runwaho u fa a tshi
fi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

280. Tshidzembe tsha mulima-
tsimbe tshi dihwa khombo
nga mune watsho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

281. Tshitaka tshe wa vhona
nowa u di ri i tshe ngomu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

282. Thama ya seli ndi
mavhulahise

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

283. Tshiweduwedu musi wa davha
la hashu davha la fhela hu
sala mavhengani

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

284. Thonga ya kule a i
vhulahi nowa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

285. U pfupfutwa nga ludzula

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

286. U tonga hu vunda khomba
luvhabvu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

287. U tshi dza muro wa muvhuda
ranga u ya tshilaloni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

288. U isa marambo manweni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

289. U lema hu fhira u lotshe-
lwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

290. U naka a hu fani na u
dihwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

291. U songo vunda mmbwa mano

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

292. U songo nea mmbwa wo
fara thamu

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

293. U divha makhulu ndi u
vhudzwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

294. U tshi fuwa muthu ranga
nga mmbwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

295. U tshi tola mbilu ya wa
hau u role mbado u reme
tombo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

296. U si nanele mupfufhi u
lima fhasi ho mu edana

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

297. U si dze muvhidzi tshi-
vhidzelwa u sa tshi divhi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

298. U luvha a hu na mapone

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

299. U a dzinwa Nembado mune
wa lufhanga ri la nae

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

300. U beba a si u ka muroho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

301. U beba a hu na tsimbe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

302. U si vhone tsimba u naiwa
wa ri ndi lukhohe

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

303. U nala tshau ndi u lata

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

304. U fha ndi u fhahea

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

305. U kungulusa tombo ndi u
li isa vhudzuloni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

306. U a nymba tshirwamukula
u nyumba tsho no fhira

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

307. U lata ngoma hu a langa-
nwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

308. U nembelela ha shamba a
si u wa halo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

309. U kana nawa na mbisi .

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

310. Vhana vha munna vha
kovha na thoho ya nzie

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

311. Vhandalala fuvhuvhu u do
la vhufa ha tombo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

312. Vha la nama vhadinda u
enda vhusiku ndi havho

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

313. Vhutulu ho la mufhomi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

314. Vhathu ndi nanga dza
kholomo vha a kudana

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

315. Vhathu ndi mapfura vha a
doliwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

316. Vuhosi vhu tou bebelwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

317. Vhuhadzi ndi nama ya
thole ya fhufhuma ri a
fhunzhela

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

318. Vhida la musadzi li
vhuhadzi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

319. Vhulata ngoma vhu a
langanwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

320. Vhubva ha khosi vhu
mulomoni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

321. Wa khukhuna luombeni
thunda nnda i a vhonala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

322. Wa la nawa na vhanzhi u
zwimbela dzi a talula

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

323. Wa sa ri vhudza u tshi ya
u do ri vhudza u tshi
vhuya

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

324. Wa tevhula wo dadza u
olela ndi vhudenga

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

325. Wa wana wa hau a tshi lila
dzula fhasi u lile nae

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

326. Wa kokodza luranga na
mafhuri a a tevhela

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

327. We thi lati ya rare ya
munwe a u nga i vhoni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

328. Wa vhangá thuda na wa kule
u vhangé u tshi lavhelesa
duvha

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

329. Wa wana mbulu we mbu-mbu-
mbu mubva-murahu u mbulu
yanga

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

330. Wa vhenga dongo wa funa
luranga/vowa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

331. Wa li kukuna na thoni u do
li lata na nama

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

332. Wa fhiwa u see wa dzinwa
u see

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

333. Wa sa li pfa u vhudzwani
u do li pfela vhulaloni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

334. Wa wanala nduhuni a hu na
vhudzumbamo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

335. Wa sa tshimbila u dzea
khaladzi

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

336. Ya longa khwanda yo nwa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

337. Ya mudzimu i bva dzinweni

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

338. Ya sa raha i do dadza

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

339. Ya kanda kanwe i a rewa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

340. Zwa madzanga zwi a todana

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

341. Zwi tshi fhela zwi nga
nwando

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	

Findings from research are discussed hereunder concept per concept.

5.1.1. ANNOYANCE

Proverbs in this category according to my informants are :

A si halwo lukunda a lu kokomedzwi lwa kokomedzwa lu a ṭhara

Mubikela phondi tsevhi ya lala na n̄dala

Mungona mubika na ive, ive ɭa vhibva mungona a sala

Ndo laɽa n̄owa na lutanda

Ntsa nthihi i tshinya lunda

Tshidumbumukwe tshi konela ho swaho

Tsho ɭaho nyanw̄ali nga tshi de tshi ɭe na n̄e-vho

U kungulusa tombo ndi u ɭi isa vhudzuloni

Mushaathama tsinde ɭa v̄hulada

This vexation is reflected in a number of proverbs in Luvenda such as:

"A si halwo lukunda a lu kokomedzwi lwa kokomedzwa lu a ṭhara" (it is not its place, the bracelet, it must never be forced for it will break). In this situation where there is annoyance the philosophical concept is that of an undertaking that is forced to take place under unfavourable circumstance with the unwanted for results.

Though the majority of informants agree that it is used in case of annoyance some feel it can also be used in an advisory capacity to warn one against going on for the worst.

"Mubikela phondi tsevhi ya lala na ndala" (Cook for the murderer and the adviser sleeps hungry) is used in a case when one believes the words of his killer instead of those from the one who advises him. The philosophy held being teaching one to be careful and not take things at their face value.

"Mungona mubikwa na ive, ive la vhibva mungona a sala" (the Mungona cooked with a stone and the stone is cooked but Mungona remained uncooked). The archaic word "ive" means a stone. The comparison is upon the hardness of the stone and a person who is not so easily convinced in life. He sticks to his principles in whatever circumstances. Philosophically there was no other thing he could be compared to besides a stone. The Vhangona are people whom the Vhavenda came across, weaker as they were in those times, they were subjected by the Vhavenda who realised that they were not so easy to handle.

"Ndo lata nowa na lutanda" (I have thrown away the snake together with the stick). The philosophy depicted in this proverb is that of total abstinence. The comparison is that since the snake is dangerous the stick that killed it is more dangerous. This proverb is said in a situation where one offered help but landed in trouble.

5.1.2. BOASTFULNESS AND DECEIT

Proverbs:

Bako lo dzhena maḍi
Khangala mbili a dzi dzuli muina muthihi
Khali yo shulelwaho i fhira yo bikaho
Mudengu ha ḍidenguli, muregu ha ḍireguli
Mulomo wa muthu u fhira ngoma u lila
Mulomo ndi tshilonda tshi phuphwa tshi sa
fholi
Mulomo a u ḍalelwi nga mulambo
Ndo wana vha tshi la muḍada vha mmbona vha
la makanda
Nyamuvhuya ha shai thando a sa vha mbava ndi
muloi
Ndi mulindedzano ndi wa ḍula na nowa
Ndi nnda ndumela shevhoni
Nḵwaito u sea mpofu u ito la mpofu lo fa
Nguluvhe ye ndi edza ndou maḅanga a bva nga
mulomoni
Naho wa i viela bakoni mahunguvhu a ḍo i vhona
Ntsa i ḵamba nga ntsana
U tonga hu vunḍa khomba luvhabvu

Any member of society who is proud yet full of misleading ideas is criticised in the Vhavanḍa society. They prefer a humble well-meaning character. Proverbs in this category have a taste of self exaltation and misleading appearance.

Let's take the proverb "bako lo dzhena maḍi" (water has got into the cave).

Philosophically the cave represents a safe place in times of threatening danger. The water spoils its safety. This signifies the sudden withdrawal of one's provider leaving him puzzled as to what to do. The proverb is used to jeer at a boastful character when he has met such a catastrophe.

Another proverb in this category is "Khangala mbili a dzi dzuli muina muthihi" (two venomous mambas cannot share a hole). The philosophy expressed is of two characters enjoying the same status when vested with equal powers and their work becomes affected by their prejudice.

The proverb "Khali yo shululelwaho i fhira yo bi-kaho" (the holding pot has more than the cooking pot) is used when a character boasts of an action he never witnessed. The philosophy lies in the pride of the good results being ignorant of the making.

The proverb "Mudengu ha didenguli" (a doctor cannot heal himself) has the philosophy that self-praise has no recommendation. This proverb can also be used as an advice to a deceitful character.

5.1.3. BRAVERY, INDUSTRIOUSNESS AND WEALTH

Proverbs:

Dza sa runga dzi nanzwa pfumo

Hu bikelwa vhuŋanga vhutsila vha vhona nga maŋo

Khangala ruḍa maŋo vuvuvulu lo fa nga vuhwavho

Ludzula ndi maḍuvha maḅa mutshinyalo ndi nḅaha

Lupfumo lu mavuni

Mphe, mphe i a netisa muthu u konwa nga tshawe

The Vhavenda in their various industries used to work together with their children teaching them how to manipulate the tools. This encourages the younger generation to be industrious as well.

In the proverb "lupfumo lu mavuni" (wealth is in the ground) the fact that the Vhavenda believed in tilling the ground to get their wealth is emphasised; the green pastures from the fertile ground fed their herds of cattle which are countable for their main source of wealth.

5.1.4. ADVISORY

Proverbs:

A hu aluwi muthu hu aluwa mbilu

A i pfi dzwala-dzwala nyanombe i nga do dzwala
na i songo swika

Fhungo liela fobvu na iwe mune wa tsimu li do u
ela-vho

Funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi la fhira mudi lo kovhela
Ganuko a li vhuisi tshalo

Hu laiwaho vhazwale ndi hune tsiwana ya laiwa hone
I shavha i sia muinga i yafhi

Ipfi la mufu a li pfukwi

Khombe ya fura i raha ndilo

La kovhela u late mbado vhusiku ndi dada li a la
Linoni fulu a li vhulawi li na malumbulela

Muhoha muhulu a u na nama

Mula-tshawe u a dzumbama a ri u vhonwa zwi si vhe
mulandu

Mulenzhe ndi bofu

Mushavha-mvula v_hilula u songo shavha d_umbu l_o no
swika
Muthu ndi n_dou ha tshili nga muri mu_n'we fhedzi
Mu_tali u l_a ka_n'we tsilu l_i l_a kanzhi
Mutsheli wa n_dala u tshela a tshi lima
Mutshenzhe a u na zwivhili
Na sa ri v_hudza ni tshi ya ni d_o ri v_hudza ni tshi
vhuya
N_amusi ndi mukomana wa matshelo
Matshelo a beba matshelo
N_dala ndi mbetshelwa
Nyamuvhuya ha shai thando a sa vha mbava ndi muloi
Pfungwi a i fi
T_sima ye wa n_ea mmbwa u songo i londa u d_ala na mavu
Tshisima tsha phanda tshi vhalaisa v_hathu d_ora
Tsimba i fa maphaphadzi
Tshilamba u v_hudzwa ndi tshilila u v_hona
Tshithu d_ivha wa sa d_ivha ndi swiswi
Thavhanyedza i l_a mbudzi tsalela i l_a kholomo
U hula a si bebwa kale ndi u tsha gole wa v_hona
U si dze muvhidzi tshivhidzelwa u sa tshi d_ivhi
U n_ala tshau ndi u l_ata
U fha ndi u fhahea
U amba l_ivhi ndi uri l_uvhuya l_i wane v_hudzulo
W_a l_a n_awa na vhanzhi u zwimbela dzi a t_alula
Wa wanala nduhuni a hu na v_hudzumbamo
Wa tevhula wo d_adza u olela ndi v_hudenga
Zwi tshi fhela zwi nga n_wando

Nearly all the Luvenda proverbs are advisory for they maintain conformity to the accepted patterns of behaviour. However there are those proverbs that my informants agree amongst themselves that they are more advisory than the others.

Mun'we na mun'we u la tsha biko lawe
Muvhona thengu sima u vhone matshelo thengu i
a fhufha
Ndi ludzula mukoto
No vhidzwa nga ludzula na fhumula na vhidzwa nga
mutshinyalo na aravha
Ntsa ya dzhena mbudzini i ndi mbudzi-vho
Thanga-mavhudzi lupfumo a lu tanganyi
U pfupfutwa nga ludzula

The Vhava went through difficult times in which they had to fight for their country. Industrious as they are they could provide themselves with food while in their hiding places.

Their interest in agriculture and pastoral farming forced them to seek good soil for tilling and green pastures for their herds of cattle and other domestic animals. Their wealth was counted in large herds of cattle and enormous harvest from their vast lands of fields.

The proverb "dza sa runga dzi nanzwa pfumo" (if they fail to pierce they touch the spear) has the philosophy of bravery. The brave men were praised for their deeds and were given prizes in the form of crowns.

The proverb "hu bebelwa vhunanga vhutsila vha vhona nga mato" (they cook for doctorship craft is observed) philosophises that to be industrious is mere imitation of what observed.

The proverb "a hu aluwi muthu hu aluwa mbilu" (It is not the person that grows but the heart-that is the mind) has the philosophy to advise those who take age to be the standard of thinking in all matters. There are instances that advice may be gleaned from youngsters as the Vhavent̃a rightly puts it that "u hula a si u bebwa kale ndi u tsha gole wa vhona" (age does not determine your knowledge but it is determined by experience) with this in mind the Vhavent̃a do instal a young chief if the throne is his. The universal respect he receives from his members is the same as that given to any other chief.

The Vhavent̃a as an agricultural nation have proverbs such as "fhungo liela fobvu na iwe mune wa tsimu li do u ela-vho" (a bad name for the thief is also your bad name as owner of the field). The practice of theft grows with man and is discouraged by all means in every nation. The property owner might delight in spoiling the evil doer's name forgetting that he is calling attention on himself as well. The philosophy in this proverb is to give advice to those who have been wronged not to publicise the wrong doer's actions.

The proverb "ganuko a li vhuisi tshalo" (it's no use crying over spilt milk) makes it clear that it is useless to regret of an action that has taken place. The philosophy being advice for future life for opportunities missed are never regained.

The proverb "Khombe ya fura i raha ndilo" (a bachelor when satisfied kicks the wooden plate) has the customary background that a Muvenda young man is always encouraged into marriage. This custom is at times breached by those selfish young men who prefer to lead a recluse life. Nonetheless these still need food for their living. Customarily it is women who should prepare food for the whole family. Philosophically this proverb depicts the bachelor as an ungrateful human being; who is advised by stating his rude actions that will lead him nowhere.

5.1.5 CHIEFTAINSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION

Proverbs:

Hu ambuwa vhuṅanga vhuḱololo a vhu ambuwi

Khosi ndi khosi nga vhathu

Khosi ndi mandiḱa-ndiḱa ṅwana a bebwa a vhuya a tshimbila

Khosi ya ṱudza na vhalanda vha a ṱudza

Musanda vha ṱoḱa ngoma fhedzi

Mmbwa hu zwima ya muambi

Mapfura a khosi ndi vhathu

Marema-khombo u pika u vhanga

Mmbwa nzwimi phindelela lufu lwa mmbwa a lu ho kule

Ndi lumbile ndi mbila ya Nevonḱo i no viiwa ya bva mbilana, mbilana ya bva mbilanana

Ndi marangaranga Khuzwane a tshi ḱa ndilo ya khotsi

Ndi luranga lu ya nga mulivho

Ndi tshiranga tshi ya nga mulivho

Ndi khakhisa u rwa ndi mbevha ya ludongoni

Ntsa ya ḱa muṅawa a i humi

Vhubva ha khosi vhu mulomoni

Vhuhosi vhu tou bebelwa
Vhathu ndi mapfura vha a doliwa
U tunga ndou nga sila
Ya longa khwanda yo nwa

The Vhavenda community is chief centred. The chief's duties are enormous though they are decided upon and administered by the members themselves. The respect and support a Muvenda chief is given is of the best for they have it in mind that uneasy lies the head that wears the crown. The whole development in a country depends upon the personality of the chief installed. They even put it well when they express it that his is just to give a word and it will be done in the proverb "vhubva ha khosi vhu mulomoni" (the chief's lazines is in the mouth). The community appreciates his foresight and good advice which is presented to the public through a choosen council.

It is interesting to see how this chieftain system works for the smooth running of orders in a community. Philosophically the chief is choosen, given direction of his duties and respected by the very members in his community. As a leader he is liable to spend sleepless nights planning for the welfare, safety and development of his country and its community. A well-developed country becomes strong economically, socially, politically and spiritually.

The philosophy of one who commits a case on purpose revolves arround the proverb "marema-khombo u pikisa u vhanga" (he who chops danger knows how to put it right).

If the "Khoru" may happen to know of this truancy he is sentenced by this proverb.

5.1.6. COURAGE DETERMINATION AND PERSEVERANCE

Proverbs:

A hu na pfe^{ne} li no fa li songo gonya luwa

A hu na khali i no fa i songo bika

A hu na a no rwiwa nga tshawe a lamba

A li ili u sumbwa lombe tsha^{lo} ndi mpesulela

A lu khwa^{thi} fhedzi lun^{undu} lu khwa^{thi} lu na thanda ngomu

A ri shavhi mvula ro naiwa

A zwi vhulahi khwa^{thi} khwa^{thi} ya fa yo silinga

Hu livhala mubai mubaiwa ha livhali

Mulala a sa fi tsimu ya shubi u do lima

Mulimi ha nyadzi mufumbu

Muhulwane u kanda mupfa a tshi u vhona

Munna ha wi nga thonga nthihi fhedzi

Muvhulahi ha vhali hu vhala mupakati

Nw^{ana} mutshenzhela n^{anga} u t^{anganya} n^{anga} ndi hawe

Ndi tshidzembe tsha mulima-tsimbe tshi di^{hwa} khombo nga mu^{ne} watsho

Nyamutshimbili thi ambi-ambi ndi goda dzanga nda tshimbila

Ndo la vungu la malamba-ndo-lavhila

Ngoma madzula-wo-vhambwa musi wa mmbi a hu di^{hwi}

Ndi-a-vhahwa li na mulwadze

Tshe mulomo wa amba ndi tshe mbilu ya amba

Tshe wa da iwe tshilavhi na murundo wa phofu u a nwa

Tshipala-mulilo tshi a di^{palela}

Tsha kule tshi wanwa nga muhovhi

Tshifhio-tshifhio mutshila wa mbevha a u afhuli ludongo

I rema nga lunwe mbevhana mulindi wa vhya wa dala
U tshi dza muro wa muvhuḁa ranga u ya tshilaloni
U posa ha mupfulaudzi a si u neta ha mavhoho

The Vhavenda younger generation is taught the three abilities at their various schools for different age groups. These abilities are believed to be the foundation of a sound future nation.

The proverb "a hu na a no rwiwa nga tshawe a lamba" (there is none beaten by his and refuse) has the philosophy that a courageous personality is the winner for where there is a will there is a way.

The proverb "ndi-a-vhahwa li na mulwadze" (pain is felt by the patient) is used to make it clear that it is only the one in the scene who can tell more. Philosophically there are those characters who perform impossible actions by word of the mouth. These are the people for this proverb.

The philosophy in the proverb "i rema nga lunwe mbevha-na mulindi wa vhya wa dala" (steady but sure) lies in the courage which is coupled with determination to take an occupation whose maturity comes after a long time. In most of their undertakings the Vhavenda have this proverb in mind for they work hard in their art, craft, agriculture and pastoral farming.

The proverb that follow suit is "tsha kule tshi wanwa nga muhovhi" (strive to get that which is far) with the philosophy of encouragement. Such a proverb usually refer to a trade, harvest and riches for which one should fold the sleeves and sweat.

5.1.7. CO-OPERATIVE SPIRIT AND GOOD RELATIONS

Proverbs:

A dzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana
Gwagwagwa o tangana na gwagwagwa
Hu na wau a hu pfelwi
Halwa vha ingela thama lufu vha vhidzela tshine
Langanani zwanu vhaloi vhadzimu vho langana kale
Lwendo lwa shaya phangami lu a fa
Maanda nga u pfana
Muwanwa u wanwa na ndila wa u bebwa nae ha dali
Munwe muthihi a u tusi mathuthu
Mutlu ndi muthu nga vharwe vhathu
Mupfuluwi tonda tshilindo
Makhulu ndi tshiulu ri tamba ri tshi hwela
Mulomo ndi khaladzi a ndila
Muvheulwa u nekedza thoho
Mmbwa i poswa kurambo nga a i divhaho
Nwana hu la a lilaho a sa lili u fela ngozwini
Nyamufuwi wa tsinyaladzi mufuwi vhathu ha rali u
lvisa tshimeno
Shambo la mutshini li thumbuni
Tshanda tshinwe a tshi koni u komba ndilo
Tshikalaha tsha notshi tshi ra movula na vhana
Tshinanga tsha haya tshi fa madidedzo
Tshiweduwedu musi wa davha lashu davha la fhela hu
sala mavhengani
Thonga ya kule a i vhulahi nowa
U naka a hu fani na u dihua
U songo vunda mmbwa mano
U songo nea mmbwa wo fara thamu
U tshi fuwa muthu ranga nga mmbwa
U tshi tola mbilu ya wa hau u role mbado u reme tombo
U a dzinwa nembado mune wa lufhanga ri la nae

U laṭa ngoma hu a langanwa
Vhana vha munna vha kovha na ṭhoho ya nzie
Vhathu ndi nanga dza kholomo vha a kuḍana
Wa wana wa hau a tshi lila dzula fhasi u lile nae
Wa vhangā ṭhuḍa na wa kule u vhangē u tshi lavhelesa
ḍuvha

Co-operation and good relations are attitudes most encouraged amongst the Vhavanḍa for they do not have half relationships as in other nationalities. On the other hand the chief's field "dzunde" is tilled, weeded and harvested by the community in co-operation. For their own duties they have the "davha" into which people are invited to help in a certain sphere of work and given some food or beverage.

The proverb "a dzimana u ḷa malombe mukosi a a phalalana" (relatives stinge one another food but in danger unite) makes this philosophy clear that blood is thicker than water.

The Tshivendanḍa funeral is attended by relatives only for they maintain that "tshikuni tsho dzima" (the fire wood is extinguished). No food is taken until the corpse is burried. Customarily then a beast is slaughtered for the relatives only.

The proverb "hu na wau a hu pfelwi" (where you have a relative is known) lays emphasis upon relationship. The Vhavanḍa have ceremonies which are performed by relatives only. A relative may be how far his place of abode must be reached.

They have yearly ceremonies like "thevhula" during which they all come together and the family tree is refered to.

The philosophy in the proverb "lwendo lwa shaya phangami lu a fa" (a tour without a leader does not come to be) is that of lack of co-operation. This is the same as the proverb "u laṭa ngoma hu a langanwa" (to do away with a school must be agreed upon) whose philosophy is unity in all undertakings.

The proverb "u songo vunda mmbwa maṅo" (do not break the dog's teeth) discourages the spirit of being inconsiderate and encourages good relationship. The philosophy in this proverb is to appreciate a good undertaking embarked upon.

5.1.8. DISAPPOINTMENT, RIVALRY AND HOSTILITY

Proverbs:

Akha lutsinga u ye makoleni

Dakalo li tula u lila u lila hu tula dakalo

Ha na khana

Mmbwa yo naiwaho a i na muṅe

Muofhe wa u ofha ndala mafumo u lwa nga eṭhe

Mutsinda ndi khwine shaka ndi bulayo

Maḍahuvhi mvula ya tshifhango

Mukange a fa vhana vha Mukange vha a fhalala

Musandiwa nguvho ya pfene i no sandwa na nga vhaambari

Ndi mutanyatanya ndi musanda wa mapfene ndi mupfufhi
si mphire

U hwala ngoma nga tshiombo

Shango a li ambi tshalo

Tshi runwaho u fa a tshi fi

Thonga thanzi a i vhavhi hu vhavha ya murahu

These concepts form part of human experience in one way or another .

The proverb "mutsinda ndi khwine shaka ndi bulayo" (a stranger is better a relative is deadly) has the philosophy that relatives know each other that they can easily do one another harm.

When there is a rivalry amongst relatives it is deadly for they will fail to communicate easily yet they must be together in their various ceremonies.

The philosophy in the proverb "Mukange a fa vhana vha Mukange vha a fhalala" (if mukange dies his children disperse) is in the fact that the man is considered the bred winner. His wife and children are dependent on him for all their needs. On his death his dependants might have a squabble over his property and end by departing.

The proverb "tshi runwaho u fa a tshi fi" (that which is wished for death does not die) has the philosophy that if wishes were horses beggars would ride. In life there are many occurrences whose ends are wished for but cannot be achieved.

5.1.9. EXCUSE

Proverbs:

A ri dzheni nari ri si na mmbwa

Na u tamba wa dola senenga a li tuwi

Ndo la vungu la malamba-ndo-lavhila

Philiphise a si tshilonda ndi tshilonda tsha u ditodela

Tshilavhi tshivhi ndi tsho dzhenaho itoni tsho yaho thumbuni tsho lala

Tshiitamune a tshi vhavhi tshi vhavha mune watsho

Tshinakaho a tshi yi thambo tshi yaho thambo ndi
mutshinyalo

Tshiṭaka tshe wa vhona nowa u di ri i tshe ngomu

Tshisima tsha phanda tshi vhulahisa vhathu dora

Thama ya seli ndi mavhulahise

U divha makhulu ndi u vhudzwa

U si nanele mupfufhi u lima fhasi ho mu edana

U beba a si u ka muroho

U beba a hu na tsimbe

U beba a hu na mapone

U fela fele sa bete

Wa kokodza luranga na mafhuri a a tevhela

Ya mudzimu i bva dziweni

Sila lo tandwa u siho u tandulula li a kunda

An excuse is made when there is a strong reason in view. The proverb "A ri dzheni nari ri si na mmbwa" (we do not attack the buffalo without dogs) has a philosophical reason that the third person may aggravate the case hence he decides to give his lack of facts as an excuse.

The philosophy in the proverb "tshiitamune a tshi vhavhi" (selfdone is not painful) lies in the giving of an excuse to be out of what has been incurred purposely. This is said after pieces of advice which were never heeded.

The proverb "tshiṭaka tshe wa vhona nowa u di ri i tshe ngomu" (the bush in which you saw a snake you still suspect it is there) has the philosophy of an excuse to do away with all future giving of hand on account of the nasty experience encountered.

5.1.10. IRONY

Proverbs:

Dzi tshi ya vungani dzi ranga u pungiswa

Fuyu litswuku a li kundwi tshivhungu

Fhefhe o tuwa Fhefhe o tumba

Ho ya ndou ho ya mudzimba muzwimi o tuwa na mmbwa
dzawe

Ho tangana Marema na Mukhoro

Kholomo ya ndila a i fhedzi hatsi

Khumba ye ya vha i na muno ludungela i tshe nalwo

Khunḁa yo fasha muvei

Kha vhu waa, vhu sie matumba

Li naka li tshi hoha linwe didinngwe li tshi hohwa
li ri mavhala anga

Mukoma a shaya tsha u amba u ri tswinga dzi duvhani

Mufela dangwa mukumbi a songo nwa

Muita kukwe ni mu litshe a ite

Maatamela ndodo dza vhatu a no atamela na vhavhulahi

Mmbwa ya la inwe a i noni

Mutshekwa khovhe ya vhimbi i no tshela i tshi endelela

Matangwa a la nama a a fhufha

Malanduli wa madi u sadzingoni

Muvhulawa thi na maano a na vhavhulahi

Mmbwa ndi mmbwa i la na matanza ayo

Mutondi wa u tonda Venda muvhya ndi a siho

Ndi u konana ha Nyagumba na Nyagalanga

Mukatshelwa mukakameli muli wa nawa ya phatha

Ndi vho-mutanda-nga-u-we ri wane makwati

Ndi manwe na a khuhu mukegulu a tshi la gwitha

Nyamutumbane wo kona wa da mufumbu wo wanelwa vhushelo

O laho funguvhu u vhone nga valuvalu

Ri de ndi mbiḁi ro vhona mavhala
Ri do vhona hu yaho phuna na tshinoni
Thoho i si na nama u vhona nga yau
Tshivhuya tsha mmbwa tshini na musi wa i fha munamba
ya bva i la zwiḁwe
Tshisikhawe a tshi vhavhi tshi vhavha muḁe watsho
Tsimba ya lamba mbevha thumbuni ndi mitumbu
Tshilamba-u-vhudzwa ndi tshilila-u-vhona
Tshiselo tsha bva dzuwa tsho bva
Tshiuba tsho fhalala
U isa marambo manweni
U a nyumba tshirwamukula u nyumba tsho no fhira
U kaḁa nawa na mbisi
U amba ndi u pfa nungo
Vhandalala fuvhuvhu u do la vhufa ha toambo
Wa sa ri vhudza u tshi ya u do ri vhudza u tshi vhuya
Wa khukhuna luombeni thunda nḁa i a vhone
Wa li kukuna na thoni u do li laḁa na nama
Wa fhiwa u see wa dziḁwa u see
Ya sa raha i do ḁadza
Ya kanda kaḁwe i a rewa
Zwa madzanga zwi a ḁodana

Irony is an expression in which the meaning of the words is opposite to what they really are. It is simulation of ignorance as a means of confuting adversary, by using a language that has an inner meaning.

The proverb "mmbwa ya la inwe a i noni" (a dog which eats another will never be fat) has the philosophy that cheating has no reward. The Vhavenda believe in sweating for a living in the proverb "muḁwe na muḁwe u la tsha biko lawe" (eat your sweat).

The philosophy in the proverb "fuyu litswuku a li kundwi tshivhungu" (a ripe fig does not lack a worm) is to alert one to be careful and considerate in one's choice of a future partner. The outward appearance is not all that makes life. The irony is on the ripe, mouth watering fig which may be happy to possess not knowing how bad it is inside. This proverb can also be used for a pretty girl who after marriage proves to be a bad mannered woman.

The proverb "ri o vhona hu yaho phuna na tshinoni" (we shall see the end of the "phuna" and the bird - the "phuna" is used for shooting at birds, it has a small knobbed end) has the philosophy of waiting to see how things will come to an end since advice was given and not heeded. The irony is in the end which is forecasted to be bad yet the other party insists on trying till the end.

5.1.11. LAZINESS AND POVERTY

Proverbs:

Musadzi wa muluki wa maluwa u fara nga tshiteto

Mulilo wa mbava a u orwi

Mmbwa munamba i a u funa i ro shaya mubikeli

Mapfura ha odadzi nnkho

Mmbwa phaphadzi u fashwa nga mulavhu ndi hayo

Mbila yo kundwa mutshila nga u rumela

Mubva ha na nzie dzi khoroni

Mufuvha u lambisa thakha

Tsha umutoma tshi fhelela othohoni

Tsha mushavhi tshi odala tshikha

Wa wana mbulu we mbu-mbu-mbu mubva-murahu u mbulu yanga

These are two concepts the Vhavenda strive to do away with.

Their belief as seen from their proverbs is hard work in all spheres of life. The proverb "mulilo wa mbava a u orwi" (the fire of a thief is not shared) discourages theft with the philosophy of working to earn a living.

The philosophy in the proverb "mufuvha u lambisa thakha" (the "mufuvha" game leaves one poor) is a warning for those who when engaged in pleasures forget the most important things in life. It is believed by the Vhavenda that poverty results from laziness. It is in their philosophy that the younger generation should be taught some trade in preparation for their future lives.

The proverb "mubva ha na nzie dzi khoroni" (the lazy fails to get a fortune at doorstep) has the philosophy that laziness keeps all endeavours in abeyance because it is like procrastination which is the thief of time.

5.1.12. LOYALTY TO THE CHIEF AND OTHER AUTHORITIES

Proverbs:

Dza musanda dzi kumba thole

Ha mbiḍi ndi ha thumbuni ha maramani i fa naho

Mutshimbili u wana ḥombe mavhele a wanwa nga nzula

Muḍinda ha na diso

Muvheulwa u nekedza ṭhoho

Nga i ponde i sie marambo

Phanda ha ndau a hu iwi u si na tshikuni

Tshidzimba tsha a si na maṅo litshani tshi sine
tshi na muṅe watsho
Thoho a i lwi na mutsinga
U luvha a hu na mapone
Vha la nama vhaḍinda u enda vhusiku ndi havho

Loyalty is in general acceptance by the Vhavenda not only to the chief but to other authorities as well. The proverbs in this sphere encourage this concept for it is disciplinary.

The proverb "dza musanda dzi kumba thole" (those of the chief go along with the weakling) has the philosophy that the respect given to the chief is also given to his property. In pastoral farming the herdboys are fully aware that their herds of cattle must always give way to those from the chief's kraal.

There is the proverb "muḍinda ha na diso" (a messenger has no turn) with the philosophy that loyalty is expected of the messenger at all times. The chief as head of the state has varied errands to be taken to his headmen and other authorities for the chief's place is their rendezvous. He must cater for their stay at his kraal. The messenger has no choice either of direction or distance, his is to carry out the instruction promptly.

5.1.13. LAW AND JUSTICE

Proverbs:

Dangani la fobvu a hu dzhenwi
Dzo rwa gona

Mutukana ha endi hu enda mukalaha
Hu tshi fashwa buku hu si fashwe khwamba
Khumbana vhulaelo ntsa i vhuya nga vhuṭala hayo
Mukoma a ṭudza na vhalanda vha a ṭudza
Mutshutshudzi wa mulandu a si mulifhi wawo
Mulandu a u fhisi nṅdu
Nwana u dzivhiswa mbaḍo lufhanga u litsha nga
ethe
Na u sea thavha u seli u ḍo vhuya wa swika
Ntsa ya vhandalala na tshitaka vha rwa tshitaka
Munna ha kundwi mulandu khoroni
Shango ḷa shaya thovhele ndi mulano

The survival of community discipline depends upon law and order administered to its members. The proverb "shango ḷa shaya thovhele ndi mulano" (a country without a chief is doomed) emphasises this with the philosophy that the chief is the highly respected and honoured figure in the Vhavenda community. He is installed irrespective of his age.

Law and justice is maintained in a community by the proverb "mukoma a ṭudza na vhalanda vha a ṭudza" (if the headman limps the subjects limp as well).

Its philosophy is to bring out the relationship between a leader and his followers. The headman must always keep in mind that his actions are under observation. If he is not straight in his daily pursuits he will ultimately fail to discipline his community. As one next to the chief he must see to it that law and order is maintained in the part of country under his jurisdiction.

In the proverb "mutshutshudzi wa mulandu a si mulifhi wawo" (the intimidator in a case is not the payee) the philosophy is in listening to a wrong advice from someone out of the case. At the "khoru" before the sentence is given, if the accused happen to name those who influenced him into committing the case, he is reminded of the consequences by this proverb.

5.1.14. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Proverbs:

Midi mivhili i kundisa pfuko u fhata
Muvhuda a u na zwilalo zwivhili
Mmbwa i re na mune i vhonala nga tshiangaladzi
Mutshetshete wo beba mutanzwa
Mudangawe musanda iwe muhuyu wo sunda muvhula
Muri u vhavhaho u bva tsindeni
Mudi ndi vhathu matanzu ndi madagalala
Mutupo u tevhela nombe
Mmbwa i huvhaho a i lumi
Ndu a i dzuli sa mahundwane i si na luvhambo
Nyavhumbwa wa dagaila wa kanda vho u vhumbaho
Nwana a suka matope u sukela vhabebi vhawe
Ndou a i lemelwi nga musingo wayo
Ndi ntsa ya daka ri vhala mikumba
Ndi vho-Mafune nga a fe ri wane mudi wawe
Nemudi o tuwa Nemudi o sala
Ntsa hu tshenzhela phoswa
Nwana ha tshelileli munwe
Phanda i tshi da i ranga nga thotha
Tshe wa lilela musanda wo tshi wana nungu ya denga
yo no vha mukuloni

Tshilela tshina[^]naunga tshi tshi hula tshi u la[^]
thoho.

Tahulela tshiunga tshi tshi hula tshi a u thavha[^]
U lema hu fhira u lotshelwa

We thi la[^]ti ya rare ya mu[^]we a u nga i vhoni

Vhuhadzi ndi na[^]ma ya thole ya fhufhuma ri a fhunzhela

Vhida la musadzi li[^] vhuhadzi

Wa vhenga dongo wa funa vowa

Wa sa li pfa u vhudzwani u do li pfa vhulaloni

Wa sa tshimbila u dzea khaladzi

Sila li funwa nga muambari

This is the most important occasion in the life of a community in which most activities play the major role. Family life is a daily scene with no formula from family to family. Nonetheless the family structure and customs vary from family to family and from community to community. Since most of the life is spent in a family, the proverbs in this occasion are in the majority. Most of the other proverbs under other occasions can as well be used in a family circle. The proverb "m[^]idi mivhili i kundisa pfuko u fhata[^]" (two homes deprive a mole of a descent home) has a philosophy to advise that many engagements will result in accomplishing none.

The philosophy in the proverb "tahulela tshiunga tshi tshi hula tshi a u thavha[^]" (the prickly one when grown it kills/or pricks you) revolve around the custom of keeping relationship.

An orphan is looked after, guarded and provided for till adulthood by relatives. Only when he proves to be ungratefull does this proverb applies.

In the proverb "we thi laṭi ya rare ya munwe a u nga i vhoni" (refuse your father's advice you will not take any other) the philosophy is to be social with other members of the community. Learning is a daily affairs transmitted from person to person through the language. Learning is a give and take process leading to progress.

5.1.15. RESPECT AND COMPLEMENTS

Proverbs:

A ni ntshileli

Maṭanzu maswa a ima nga malala

Mueni puta yau hu rengedele dza vhaṅe vha haya

Maudu a khovhe ndi vhana vhayo

Ndi khanga khulu thi na mavhala a na khangana

Ndi ḷihamba thi na makumbo kuenda mu ndi galelevho

Na vhuvhi haḷo pfeṅe vhusiku mavhele a ḷi ḷi

Pfeṅe ḷi anea luvhilo mutonga u anea tshe a ḷa

Sunzi ḷo hwalaho a ḷi seri mutanda

U nembelela ha shamba a si u wa haḷo

ḷi tshaho ḷi ḍa na zwaḷo

U si vhone tsimba u naiwa wa ri ndi lukhohe

Vha a zwi funa naa vha ha Nyamukwita vha nḍevhe dza makhwathi

The main stress in the Vhavenda community is laid on respect to be practised throughout life. They believe so much in respect that all their initi-

ation schools have a major part of the curriculum as respect. Hence the reason why these schools are conducted according to age groups. The valuable education gathered from the initiation schools is not meant for discussion but to be put into practice.

In the proverb "ma^xanzu maswa a tikwa nga malala" (new branches stand against old ones) the philosophy is to teach the younger generation to be aware of the fact that though it is within their ability to bring a sound change into life as a whole, what their fathers, forefathers and great forefathers did deserve respect for they laid a foundation on which they can build their future development.

The philosophical concept in the proverb "ndi ^lihamba thi na makumbo kuenda mu ndi galelevho" (I am a feetless walker wait for me) is that the past generation depends upon the modern generation for the transmission of the culture. Elderly as they are they are inclined to be slow in nearly every activity in life that is mentally, physically and socially.

The proverbial philosophy in "na v^huvhi ha^lo p^hene v^husiku mavhele a ^li ^li" (the baboon can be how bad mealies at night it will not eat) is a complement given to a well known culprit who on this occasion abstained from the evil action under discussion.

5.1.16. CRUELTY, STRIFE AND QUARRELS

Proverbs:

Ho t̄angana mut̄u na mut̄ango
Mafumo a ɭa v̄havhandameli
N̄wana wa zwira ndi wa phanda
Muvhulawa thi na maano a na v̄havhulahi
Ni songo ofha mahwai nndwa ndi khulu
Fhondo ɭi si ɭau u t̄huvha ɭi tshi v̄hona
Ro fara tsimba nga ndev̄he
Musi wa mmbi dzi lala na mavhoda
Thole ho lelwa yaṅu ya muṅwe i bvisa misev̄he

These phenomena are unfortunately part of life though not accepted in any community for they do not conform to the accepted norms and patterns of behaviour. The proverbs in this sphere are very few as a result of the community's lack of interest in these occurrences.

The proverb "fhondo ɭi si ɭau u t̄huvha ɭi tshi lila " (a nestling which is not yours you remove its feathers while it cheeps) has the philosophy of cruel treatment given to someone not your relative. This proverb is used as an advice to any member of community who might meter cruelty.

The proverb "ni songo ofha mahwai nndwa ndi khulu" (do not fear the twigs war is great) has the philosophy of strife which may be sustained for a length of time.

This is to alert anyone suffering the state of conflict to gather up strength.

The philosophy in the proverb "ro fara tsimba nga ndevhe" (we hold the genet by its ears) is that of frequent quarrels and those trying to put things right are getting it tough.

5.1.17. SELFISHNESS AND EGOTISM

Proverbs:

A i na vhuṭoma thilili ya vhulaha mbevha i a ḷa
Furi ḷa u newa a ḷi na khobvu
Khokhonya i ḷa maanda ayo
Mutshidzi ndi wa pfumo wa ndala u ndo tshila
nga ndothe
Nyadzawela vhanwe wa sea matshelo dzi do u welavho
Ndi muṭonga-kanwe ndi thumbu ya bvani
Vhutulu ho ḷa mufhomi

The deficiency in consideration for others and the practice of self praise are concepts which philosophically end in the overweening opinion of one's own qualities that is pride.

The proverb "a i na vhuṭoma thilili ya vhulaha mbevha i a ḷa" (no matter how small the wild cat is, after killing a rat it devours it) has the philosophy of self esteem.

The proverb "vhutulu ho ḷa mufhomi" (poison has devoured the trapper) displays the philosophy of egotism. The trap is set but catches the owner. This is said after a well planned case has the tide turned against the planner.

In the proverb "khokhonya i la maanda ayo" (the woodpecker enjoys its strength) the philosophy is to sting others what one possesses by using this proverb as camouflage for selfishness.

In life there are the less privileged people who need help from their fellow members of the community. It is only the selfish group of people that resort to this proverb.

5.2. CONCLUSION

The Luvenda proverbs are used in various occasions, and to determine which occasion is served by which proverb depends upon the context in which the proverb occurs. No matter which of these occasions a proverb is serving in a given context, it is ever expressing either social approval or social disapproval. Whether it is in advisory, warning or encouraging capacity the proverb still remains a positive or negative evaluation of the behaviour or occasion which has elicited it.

Let me illustrate this with the proverb "phanda i tshi da i ranga nga thotha" (the bold forehead has signs) which may serve the following situations and evaluations:

Advisory - when indications of a change occur and the object of the proverb is unaware, it communicates a negative evaluation of the object's behaviour and lack of perception.

Annoyance - when an individual has disregarded clear indications of a change important to him and to others, it communicates a negative evaluation of one's behaviour with ill effects.

Law and justice - when an individual has heeded clear indications of a change in his affairs and is ready for any criticism or questioning by law, it communicates a positive evaluation of own behaviour negatively evaluated by others.

In Luvenda as seen from the above example there are proverbs that serve a number of occasions contextually; though each proverb in each context communicates an evaluation which may either be negative or positive.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The proverbs are a mirror of the Vhavenda culture and philosophy. They depict their nature which is derived from the fact that they are message carriers. The message contained in the proverb "A dzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana" (they may not give one another food, relatives, but unite in times of sorrow) is that relatives amongst the Vhavenda nation are bound together by blood. They may have petty differences but, when there is sorrow which has befallen one of them they stand together. Their belief is that "Halwa vha ingela thama lufu vha vhidzela tshine" (they brew beer for friends, but for death only relatives are called). The Vhavenda custom is that only relatives should be present at the funeral of a deceased.

The main concern in this dissertation is with the features of the occasions in which proverbs occur, from which point the other points of discussion emerged. (chap. 1, p. 96)

Proverbs in Luvenda are a feature of the culture related to other types of cultural art such as idioms and riddles. Though riddles are mostly considered for entertainment, they are very closely related to proverbs. They are expressed in a brief and concise way, and often involve metaphorical and poetic comments.

This was pointed out by Aristotle when he remarked on the close relationship of riddles to metaphorical expressions, such as proverbs that "Good riddles do, in general, provide us with satisfactory metaphors: for metaphors imply riddles,

and therefore a good riddle can furnish a good metaphor" 2) Riddles like proverbs they evolve analogy whether of tone, sound, rhythm or meanings.

The Vhavenda riddles are no exception. The riddle "Thaii, dzhiedzhi lo la mutanga, mutanga wa li la" (The hoe has eaten the swampy field and the field in turn ate the hoe has a metaphor that in hoeing a field one concentrates in tilling the soil. After some years one realises the hoe also becomes smaller.

The distinction between idioms and proverbs has always presented a puzzle to researchers, for their characteristics are so akin that even some of the informants fail to distinguish them with confidence.

The expression of truth in a proverb cannot be over-emphasised for if proverbs were devoid of truth they could not possibly survive the dynamic changes in a language. The picturesque language in proverbs conceals the deeper meaning which is in explicit form and is truthful. Proverbs as a mirror of the culture are learned and shared by all members of the community. This learning may not be uniform although proverbs are uniform in form. The truth embraced in a proverb can be conveyed in varied ways either through a metaphor or through a simile. As proverbs are figurative in nature their comparison with different facets of life is evoked metaphorically. (chap. 1, p. 41)

2) Georges R.A. : Toward a structural definition of the and Dundes, A. riddle, 1963, p. 116.

Since proverbs in Luvenda are a feature of nation's culture their significance is derived from their nature and how they mirror the Vhavenda culture and philosophy. From the cultural rules, norms and values, proverbs can fulfil the needs of the community. Proverbs as cultural transmitters in Luvenda are viable as a means of understanding the Vhavenda culture and philosophy and they must therefore be learned and shared by all members of the community. Culture is a set of values, learned and shared. This knowledge is classified as a set of hypothetical as well as real phenomena. The Vhavenda are closely attached to their cultural practices and patterns which form part of their behavioural traits.

The Luvenda proverbs represent these patterns expressing the sequence of reality with the information which they communicate to society. The Luvenda proverbs are still uniformly learnt including the knowledge of how to use them for they are all situational. This brings us back to the point that proverbs should appear in context in a specific situation for one proverb can serve various situations.

In order to determine the message conveyed by proverbs we must, therefore study the contexts in which they are used. The proverb messages aim at evaluating the behaviour of human beings positively or negatively.

The style and form of words which compose the proverbs distinguish them from other parts of oral art.

The proverbial constituents enhance the poetic effect which lends itself to metaphorical language. chap. 2, p. 111)

The poetic form in which proverbs are expressed is allied to their figurative mode of expression and both set proverbs apart from everyday speech. The structure in which the constituents appear in a proverb, provides rhythm and picturesque language. Contrast and imagery form the core in a proverbial puzzle of meaning. Knowledge of the cultural background of the language in which the proverb is used reveals the deeper meaning embedded in the picturesque language. (chap. 4, p. 176)

The special patterns for which the Luvenda proverbs are noted, brought about by either reciprocity or elision, contrast or parallelism, alliteration or assonance, give the poetic flavour. (chap.2, p.112)

The grammatical parts of speech employed in the composition of these proverbs have special phrasing. (chap. 3, p. 143)

Hence the reason why some of the proverbs still exist with archaic or unusual words in their constitution.

The characteristics of proverbs mentioned in this dissertation serve to distinguish them from other forms of traditional oral literature. The range of comparisons and applications of proverbs to other oral forms is great, for proverbs allude to all situations in the society. It is for this reason that they are used in the majority of cases since they are applied in the daily usage of the language. (chap. 4, p. 176)

Every situation discussed in this dissertation has its proverbs which may also serve other situations depending on the main contexts and the function to be fulfilled as discussed in chapter 5. The culture and experience of the Vhavenda as appear in their proverbs give us a glimpse into their philosophy and their norms and values in life. (p. 189)

The Vhavenda are portrayed as a hardworking and peacemaking nation, this is indicated by their activities which revolve around the chief and his kraal. This pattern makes it easy for their culture to be transmitted in continuity through the use of proverbs, for every situation has produced proverbs and there is no proverb without a situation.

Throughout this dissertation the attempt has been made to show how proverbs mirror the Vhavenda culture and philosophy by giving at the initial stage the truth expressed in the Luvenda proverbs. The accompanying questionnaire has focussed on gleaming the shades of meanings embodied in these proverbs. (chapter 5, p. 189)

The occasions in which these proverbs occur involve the whole Venda philosophy showing the social structure around which the cultural patterns revolve. (chapter 1, p. 41)

The proverb "tshe wa lilela musaida wo tshi wana nungu ya denga yo no vha mukuloni" (that which you craved for at the chief's kraal you got for the denga bead is already around your neck) reveals the Venda cultural practice of never staying without beads around any woman's neck for then be naked neck is called "dongola" which can only be seen in times of the death of a relative.

The lobola cultural pattern has the proverbs "vhida la musadzi li vuhadzi" (the wife's grave is at the in-laws) or "mutupo u tevhela nombe" (the totem follows the cattle - paid out for lobola). In both cases there are strong ties sealed by lobola that no reverse action can possibly be taken.

The proverbial form and structure gives the picturesque language which is metaphorically expressed in a figurative mode. (chapter 4, p. 176)

Special grammatical forms as infinitive nouns, verbal sentences, the subjective (which does not refer to any specific time) the copulative which lay emphasis or the adverb giving a full description, are employed in proverbial construction. Rhyme, rhythm or poetic effect are supplied by this. (chapter 2&3 p. 111 & 143)

The proverbial characteristics distinguishing proverbs from other oral cultural forms such as idioms and riddles show that proverbs are a rich source of imagery set out in propositions. (chapter 4) p. 176

For instance the idiom "hu na makole" (there are clouds) or the riddle "gambana litswuku thavhani ya Luonde" are both set out in a single proposition unlike the proverb "u luvha a hu na mapone" (paying homage has no blisters) which is set out in two propositions.

The function of proverbs is therefore, by the nature of their use and operation, are transmitters of the evaluative knowledge which is either positive or negative. (chapter 5)

The literary significance of proverbs lies in their beauty of words and their special form. They are connected with other genres of oral artistic expression. The Luvenda proverbs are situational with philosophical concepts in particular contexts which control their direction of meaning. (chap.4, p.185)

The Venda administration is mostly set out in proverbs. The chief's field is tilled, planted, weeded and harvested by his subjects. When these activities are to be done the announcer blows the horn and there-after calls out "dzunde matshelo! u luvha a hu na mapone! a hu na saleli" (the chief's field is to be worked on tomorrow! paying homage has no blisters! nobody is exempted!). The proverbs in this situation reveal the Vhavenda philosophy of insisting upon respect that should be shown to the chief as the head of their nation. (chap. 1, p. 54)

The Vhavenda administration is set out in proverbs which reveal their culture. 1)

The proverb "Tshalo tsha musadzi tshi vhuhadzi" (the grave of a wife is at the in-laws) is one of the proverbs to illustrate that culturally is no divorce amongst the Vhavenda.

The proverb "Mutupo u tevhela nombé" (the totem follows the cattle for lobola) gives the Vhavenda culture that children belong to the father.

1) Khuba, A.E. : A Descriptive Study of the Proverbs concerning Administrative and Family Life in Luvenda, UNIN, 1983, pp. 110 - 112.

SOME VENDA PROVERBS AS APPENDIX

The proverbs in this arrangement are those discussed in the dissertation. Most of them appeared in the questionnaire, some were collected in the fieldwork while doing research. I still have a feeling that more proverbs are there which I could not possibly get hold of. The attempt here is to arrange these proverbs in alphabetical order.

A dzimana u la malombe mukosi a a phalalana (relatives stinge one another food but unite in times of sorrow).

A farwa kanwe matsetse musalela u do fara madula (The bull frogs are caught once, late comers will get ordinary frogs).

A hu aluwi muthu hu aluwa mbilu (it is not the person that grows but the heart - meaning the mind).

A hu na a no rwiwa nga tshawe a lamba (nobody is beaten by his and refuse).

A hu na khali i no fa i songo bika (no clay pot that ends before cooking).

A hu na mpengo a si na thama (no maniac without a friend).

A hu na nnda a hu na gai ndi zwilumi zwothe (there is no difference between a louse and its nit for they all bite).

A hu na pfene li no fa li songo gonya luwa (no baboon dies before climbing a cliff).

A i na vhutoma thilili ya vhulaha mbevha i a la (no matter how small it is 'thilili' after killing a mouse it devours it).

A i na hayo nzie u tshi bata i a fhufha u rwa ndi u pwaṭula (no help to catch a locust for it flies away to beat is to crush)

A i pfi dzwala-dzwala nyanombe i nga do dzwala na i songo swika (never force a cow to calve for it will give birth to a premature calf).

Akha lutsinga u ye makoleni (stretch the artery to heaven).
A li ili u sumbwa lombe tshalo ndi mpesulela (he does not hesitate when pointed at, the dancer, for his is to dance).

A li na maano dumbu li tita mavhele fhedzi lufhuri lwa sala lwo thitha (the storm is not wise for it disturbs the mealies only, the pumpkinplant remains flourishing, that is under the mealies for it is a creeper).

A lu khwathi fhedzi lunundu lu khwatha lu na thanda ngomu (it cannot stand on itself 'lunundu' it is strengthened by a stick which is inside).

A na tshawe u nga thovhela muhumbeli u nga Negota (he who has his is like a chief a begger is like Negota).

A re tsini na ndu ha naiwi (one near the hut is sheltered from rain).

A ri dzheni nari ri si na mmbwa (we cannot attack the buffalo without dogs).

A ri dzheni tshikona tsha mmbwa (we do not get into the dog's game).

A ri na maoto (we have no eyes).

A ri shavhi mvula ro naiwa (we do not run away from rain while wet).

A si halwo lukunda a lu kokomedzwi lwa kokomedzwa lu a thara (it is not its place the 'lukunda' bangle it should not be forced or else it unwounds).

A u lati nwana nga phadi (a child cannot be disowned because of eczema).

A vhu rengwi vhushaka (relationship is not bought).

A zwi vhulahi khwaṭhi khwaṭhi ya fa yo silinga (it does not kill a bachelor for if he dies he has done something wrong).

Bako lo dzhena maḡi (water has got into the cave).

Dakalo li tula u lila u lila hu tula dakalo (happiness indicates crying, crying indicates happiness).

Dangani la fobvu a hu dzhenwi (the thief's kraal is not entered or else you are taken for a thief too).

Dza musanda dzi kumba thole (the chief's take along with them the young, fresh and healthy).

Dza sa runga dzi nanzwa pfumo (if they do not pierce they touch the spear).

Dzi tshi ya vungani dzi ranga u pungiswa (before slaughter they must be fed).

Dzo rwa gona (they have knocked the knee).

Fhefhe o tuwa Fhefhe o tumba (vanity is gone another vanity sits).

Fhondo li si lau u thuvha li tshi lila (nestling that is not yours you remove its feathers while it cheeps).

Fhungo li-ela fobvu na iwe mune wa tsimu li do u elavho (a bad name for a thief is a bad name for the owner of the field).

Fulufhelo a li thavhisi dzithoni (faith does not disappoint).

Funguvhu lo ri thi laiwi la fhira muḡi lo kovhela (the crow refused to be advised and went past home by night).

Furi la u newa a li na khobvu (a given pumpkin has no boiled juice).

Fuyu litswuku a li kundwi tshivhungu (a nice looking fig does not lack a worm).

Ganuko a li vhuisi tshalo (surprise brings back nothing of its own).

Gwagwagwa o tangana na gwagwagwa (he has met his match).

Halwa vha ingela tahama lufu vha vhidzela tshine (beer is brewed for friends, for death they call relatives).

Ha mbidi ndi ha thumbuni ha maramani i fa naho (that of the zebra is in the stomach it dies with that in the cheeks).

Ho tangana Marema na Mukhoru (they are of the same taste).

Ho tangana mutu na mutango (they have the same characteristics).

Ho ya ndou ho ya mudzimba muzwimi o tuwa na mmbwa dzawe (where the elephant is gone is where the one who lives on hunting is gone, the hunter went away with his dogs).

Hu ambuwa vhunanga vhukololo a vhu ambuwi (doctor's art can be imparted but royal descent cannot be passed on to another).

Hu bebwa tshi aluwaho (that which is born should grow).

Hu bikelwa vhunanga vhutsila vha vhuona nga mato (train for doctorship craft is seen by eyes).

Hu laiwaho vhuzwale ndi hune tsiwana ya laiwa hone (where the cousins are advised is where the orphan is advised).

Hu livhala mubai mubaiwa ha livhali (it is the murderer who forgets not the victim).

Hu lumbwa nga tsha thengo tsha u fhiwa a tshi pfi engedza (demand is done on sales but if given you cannot say : add).

Hu na wau a hu pfelwi (where there is a relative is known).

Hu naka nthuleni nkhweseni i a vhavha (it is nice to be helped to put down, but loading is painful).

Hu tshi fashwa buku hu si fashwe khwamba (when the big offenders are apprehended and the small ones go free).

Huvhala malofha a u dōdza ha fari (get hurt smeared blood does not stick).

Hu vhudzwa tshi na ndevhe (it is told to he who has ears).

Ipfi la mufu a li pfukwi (the word of the dead is never ignored).

I rema nga luŋwe mbevhana mulindi wa vhuya wa dala (slowly but surely).

I shavha i sia muinga i yafhi (it runs away from its tracker where does it go).

Ito linwe a li vhonwi nga tshilavhi (one eye is easily blinded).

Khali yo shululelwaho i fhira yo bikaho (a holding pot has more than the cooking pot).

Khangala ruda maṭo vuluvulu lo fa nga vuhwvho (Venomous snake be alert for puffadder died of politeness)

Khangala mbili a dzi dzuli muina muthihi (two venomous snakes cannot share a hole).

Kha vhu waa vhu sie matumba (go and leave the ruins).

Khokhonya i la maanda ayo (woodpecker enjoys its strength).

Kholomo ya ndila a i fhedzi hatsi (a moving cow cannot graze all the pastures).

Khombe ya fura i raha ndilo (when a bachelor is satisfied he kicks the wooden plate).

Khosi ndi khosi nga vhathu (a chief is so because of people).

Khosi ndi mandiada ndi a da n'wana a bebwa a vhuya a tshimbila (the chief is I come, I come and the child is born till he is a toddler).

Khosi ya tudza na vhalanda vha a tudza-vho (if the chief limps the followers will limp as well).

Kule ndi hu si na wau (afar is where you do not have a relative).

Kulidzana khombe a dzi endelani (cry together bachelors cannot visit each other).

Khumbana vhulaelo ntsa i vhuya nga vhubala hayo (the game has turned, the duiker comes back on its tracks).

Khumba ye ya vha i na muño ludungela i tshe nalwo (a shell which had salt still taste salty).

Khunda yo fasha muvei (the trap has caught the setter).

La kovhela u late mbado vhusiku ndi dada li a luma (at sunset put away your axe for night is a dragon that bites).

Langanani zwanu vhaloi vhadzimu vho langana kale (agree you witches for the gods have long agreed).

Li naka li tshi hoha linwe didingwe li tshi hohwa li ri mavhala anga (it is happy to pull others, tigercat but when pulled it says : mind my colours).

Ludzula ndi maduvha mana mutshinyalo ndi nwaha (riches are for four days poverty takes a year).

Linoni fulu a li vhulawi li na malumbulelal (a big bird is not killed for it has evil omen).

Lugwe luvhandaladzi lu fhedza marevho lo lala (the stealthy leopard kills the sheep while there is peace).

Lupfumo lu mavuni (riches are in the soil).

Lwendo lwa shaya phangami lu a fa (the journey without leader dies).

Maanda nga u pfana (unity is strength)

Maano a vhambwa nga luvhadzi (once beaten twice shy).

Maano ha fhedzi nwaha (cunningness does not last).

Maatamela ndodo dza vhathu a no atamela na vhavhuhlahi (open the mouth for food you also open the mouth for killers).

Madahuvhi mvula ya tshifhango (hail rain at a wrong place).

Madi ha fhiri mulindi (water does not flow over a hole).

Mafumo a la vhavhandameli (spears eat the nearing).

Mahondo a tshila nga tsinga dza vhaeni (mice live on visitor's arteries).

Mahondo manzhi ha bwi mulindi (many mice fail to dig a hole).

Makhulu ndi tshiulu ri tamba ri tshi hwela (grandmother is an antheap we play by climbing).

Mapfura a khosi ndi vhathu (the chief's cream is people).

Mapfura a liwa mutumbani (cream is had in a shelter).

Mapfura a nwana ndi u runwa (the child's cream is to be sent).

Mapfura ha dadzi nkho (cream does not fill a big claypot).

Marema khombo u pika u vhangwa (he who chops danger knows how to put it straight).

Masindi ndi ravuluvulu thi shelwi mavu, nda shelwa ndi fhaladza malofha (death is puffadder don't pour ground on me or else I shed the blood).

Matangwa a la nama a a fhufha (dancers after enjoying meat they must go away).

Matanzu maswa a ima nga malala (new branches stand against old branches).

Maudu a khovhe ndi vhana vhayo (the legs of a fish are its children).

Maita zwioma ha fani na madzula fhedzi (half a loaf is better than nothing).

Mbevha i tshi fa i vhidzwa nga vhuanzwo (when a mouse dies is attracted by a bait).

Mbila yo kundwa mutshila nga u rumela (a rock-rabbit is short of a tail by sending others).

Mbilu khulu ya musingili a tshi latelwa dzembe a doba (a persevering heart of a begger whose hoe is thrown away and he picks it up).

Midi mivhili i kundisa pfuko u fhaa (two homes deprive a mole of building a fina home).

Mishumo a i dali hu dala ya mutani (duties are not much except those at home).

Mireo ya muwe a i retshululwi nga muwe (somebody's traps cannot be undone).

Mmbwa hu zwima ya muambi (the dog that hunts is that encouraged).

Mmbwa i poswa kurambo nga a i divhaho (the dog is given a bone by one who knows it).

Mmbwa i re na mune i vhonele nga tshiangaladzi (the dog with an owner has a neckbelt).

Mmbwa munamba i a u funa i ro kundwa mubikeli (the dog likes milk food but no one to cook for it).

Mmbwa ndi mmbwa i la na maṭanza ayo (a dog is a dog it eats even its vomit).

Mmbwa nzwimi phindelela lufu lwa mmbwa a luho kule (the dog that goes on hunting its death is not far).

Mmbwa phaphadzi u fashwa nga mulavhu ndi hayo (a roving dog is easily trapped).

Mmbwa ya la inwe a i noni (a dog that eats another does not become fat).

Mmbwa yo naiwaho a i na mune (a wet dog has no owner).

Mme anga ndi tenda ngozwi yo mmbeba, khotsi ndi muzwala vhanzhi (mother I believe the sling that carried me for father is the sower of many).

Mphe, mphe i a netisa muthu u konwa nga tshawe (give me, is tiresome have your own).

Muḁa ha divhoni (slovenly one does not see himself).

Muamba tshawe ha lwiwi nae dzhiani ni mu nee ni si divhumbe vhukoma nga zwa vhanwe (he who demands his should be given do not be rulers of that which belongs to others).

Mubikela phondi tsevhi ya lala na ndala (cook for the murderer while the adviser sleeps hungry).

Mubva ha na nzie dzi khoroni (sluggard has no locusts at the gate).

Mudangawe ndi musunda iwe muhuyu wo sunda muvhula (he who comes by you whats to oust you as the fig tree did the mobola tree).

Mudengu ha di denguli muregu ha direguli (a doctor cannot diagnose himself).

Mudinda ha na diso (a messenger has no turns).

Mudi ndi vthathu maṭanzu ndi maḁagalala (a home is people twigs are thrown-aways).

Muđi wa goswi a u na malila (the home of a coward has no mourning).

Muenda tshilimo milandu u rera yothe (travel in summer get all cases discussed).

Mueni puta yau hu rengedele dza vhaṅe vha haya (visitor hide yours and let those of the home owners act).

Mufela dangwa mukumbi a songo nwa (die for the top dirt when he did not drink the maroela beer).

Mufuvha u lambisa thakha (the 'mufuvha' game makes one poor).

Muhoha muhulu a u na ṅama (wide track has no meat).

Muhulwane ha tevheli zwitshela (an elderly one does not use hearsay).

Muhulwane u kanda mupfa a tshi u vhona (an elderly tramps on a thorn seeing it).

Muhulwane u wanala musu wa mmo (an elderly is got the day of tsetse flies).

Muima-woga shaka ndi nnyi (stand alone who is your relative).

Muita kukwe ni mu litshe a ite (he who does his let him do).

Mukalaha mutshinya ṅanzi u tshinya mulo wawe (an oldman who spoils his share spoils his food).

Mukange a fa vhana vha Mukange vha a fhalala (if Mukange dies his children disperse).

Mukhatshelwa mukakameli muli wa ṅama ya phatha (the stummerer who eats a fillet).

Mukoma a shaya tsha u amba uri tswinga dzi duvhani (a headman who has nothing to say says the gate poles are in the sun).

Mukoma a tudza na vhalanda vha a tudza-vho (if the headman limps the followers limp as well).

Mukuku wo fashwa nga tshifu (the cock is caught in a trap).

Mukuzhe, mukuzhe ha fani na a songo kuzhwa (half done is better than none).

Mula itshi ndi movhea itshi (eat this and preserve that).

Mulala a sa fi tsimu ya shubi u do vhya a lima (the old one who does not die will plough a fertile field).

Mulamba tai ito la khuhu (refuse to see as the fowl's eye).

Mulambo u dala nga milambwana (a river is filled by rivulets).

Mulandu a u fhisi ndu (a case does not burn a house).

Mulanduli wa madi u sadzingoni (say there is no water by showing an empty pot).

Mulenzhe muthihi a u tshini tshimbo (one leg cannot dance).

Mulenzhe ndi bofu (a foot is blind).

Mulilo wa mbava a u orwi (the fire of a thief is not shared).

Mulimi ha nyadzi mufumbu (an agriculturist does not despise bran)

Mulomo a u dalelwi nga mulambo (a river is never in flood for the mouth).

Mulomo ndi khaladzi a ndila (mouth is brother to the way).

Mulomo ndi tshilonda tshi phuphwa tshi sa fholi (mouth is a sore which is dressed and does not heal).

Mulomo wa muthu u fhira ngoma u lila (the mouth sounds louder than the drum).

Muluvha hothe maputo a a fhela (he who pays homage both sides will run insolvent).

Mungona mubikwa na ive, ive la vhibva Mungona a sala (the Mungona cooked with a stone and it was cooked but the Mungona remained).

Munna ha kundwi mulandu khoroni (a man cannot lack a case at court).

Munna ha wi nga thonga nthihi (a man does not die of one knock).

Munwe a u disumbi (a finger cannot point at itself).

Munwe muthihi a u tusi mathuthu (one finger cannot take out samp).

Muniwe na muñwe u la tsha biko lawe (everyone enjoys his sweat).

Muofhe wa u ofha ndala mafumo u lwa nga ethe (coward in hunger, in war he fights by himself).

Mupandela tshisindi ha sei hu sea a na vhudahelo (he who chases the squirrel does not laugh, he who laughs has a snuff pouch).

Mupandeli wa khanga a si muvhulahi wayo (the guinea-fowl chaser is not the killer).

Mupfuluwi tonda tshilindo (on trekking save the watcher's hut).

Muremba tshikosi u ri u vhona phanda a shavha (back-biter runs away from the face).

Muri u vhavhaho u bva tsindeni (a sour tree is from the stem).

Mushaathama tsinde la vhulada (lack friend the stem of the velvet stinging bean).

Musadzi wa muluki wa maluwa u fara nga tshiteto (the wife of a weaver uses a wornout basket).

Musanda vha toḁa ngoma fhedzi (at the chief's kraal they want initiation school only).

Musandiwa nguvho ya pfeḁe i no sandwa na nga vha-ambari (the hated one, hide of a baboon, hated by the wearers).

Mushavha mvula vhilula u songo shavha ḁumbu lo no swika (run-away from rain early do not run when the storm has started).

Mushumo wa musanda u vhulaha tsilu (the work at the chief's kraal kills a dunce).

Musi wa mmbi dzi lala na mavhoḁa (on the days of war they sleep with the young).

Muswikeli ha avhi ndilo u avha zwitshele (the loved one does not dish out food but gossip).

Muḁadzia a si muḁa muḁa ndi mushela-vhuse (the starter is not careless but the follower).

Muḁali u la kanwe tsilu li la kanzhi (clever eats once a fool eats many a time).

Muḁa u liwaho ḁama u vhoneḁa nga marambo (a family where they enjoy meat has bones).

Muḁani wa mufu hu dzulwa a siho (stay at the deceased 's home in his absence).

Muḁawa mupfumi u dzulwa a siho (stay at the rich-man's home in his absence).

Muthu ndi ndou ha tshili nga muri muthihi fhedzi (a person is an elephant that does not live on one tree).

Muthu ndi muthu nga vhanwe vhathu (a person is so because of others).

Muthu ndi muthu tshitanda a tshi na ndevhe (a person is a person a piece of wood has no ears).

Mutondi u tonda mutondi ngae (kind hearted shows kindness to another kind hearted).

Mutsheli wa ndala u tshela a tshi lima (the searcher of food do so while ploughing).

Mutshenzhe a u na zwivhili (the termite has no two good things).

Mutshetshete wo beba mutanzwa (a thorn tree has born a fruit tree).

Mutshidzi ndi wa pfumo wa ndala u ndo tshila nga ndothe (saviour is at war of hunger boast of saving himself).

Mutshimbidza vhusiku ndi mutendwa lo tsha (leader at night is praised by day).

Mutshimbili u wana nombe mavhele a wanwa nga nzula (traveller gets a herd of cattle mealies are got by he who stays).

Mutshutshudzi wa mulandu a si mulifhi wawo (the inciter in a case is not the receiver of punishment).

Mutsinda ndi khwine shaka ndi bulayo (stranger is better relative is deadly).

Mutukana ha endi hu enda mukalaha (a boy does not travel but an oldman).

Mutupo u tevhela nombe (the totem follows the herd of cattle for lobola).

Muvheulwa u nekedza thoho (the one to be shaved gives the head).

Muvhi u sea mu'we ngae (evil doer laughs at another evil doer).

Muvhona thengu sima u vhone matshelo thengu i a fhufha (the one who sees the black cuckoo shrike take a good look for tomorrow it flies away).

Muvhuda a u na zwilalo zwivhili (a hare has no two sleeping places).

Muvhulahi ha vhali hu vhala mupakati (the killer does not count but the victim counts).

Muvhulawa thi na maano a na vhavhulahi (victim I have no plan but the killers have a plan).

Muvhumbi wa khali u bika nga tshikamba (a moulder of claypots uses broken claypots).

Muvhuya ndi o faho a tsha di vhona ndi muvhi (a good one is dead the one alive is bad).

Muwanwa u wanwa na ndila wa u bebwa nae ha dali (a friend indeed is got on the way not born with).

Naho wa i viela bakoni mahunguvhu a do i vhona (even if you slaughter it in a cave the crows will see it).

Na la tshidzimba ni nwe madi (after eating samp cooked with powdered nuts drink water).

Nama i liwa muvoni (meat is eaten at the slaughter place).

Nama kombetshedzwa i afhula khali (forced meat breaks the pot).

Namusi ndi mukomana wa matshelo (today is elder brother to tomorrow).

Nanga ya haya i fa madidedzo (a home doctor should be given presents).

Na u sea thavha u seli u do vhuya wa swika (laugh at the mountain while on the other side you will arrive).

Na u tamba wa dola senenga a li tuwi (even if you bath and use cosmetics smell is still there).

Na vuvhi halo pfene vhusiku mavhele a li li (the baboon can be how bad, by night mealies it won't eat).

Nawa nzhi dzi bva pfumembe (many beans come out of many stalks).

Ndala ndi a vhadā ppho ndi tshi la manona (hunger makes thin while chill kills the fat ones).

Ndala ndi mbetshelwa (store for hunger).

Ndala tula vhaeni vhanē vha havho vha tshile-vho (hunger bring visitors so that the owners may also live).

Ndi a vhahwa li na mulwadze (pain is felt by the patient).

Ndi divha mini zwa makwatini ndi si phame (what do I know in the bark when I am not a scorpion).

Ndi khakhisa u rwa ndi mbevha ya ludongoni (it is miss to hit it is the mouse in the clay dish).

Ndi khanga khulu thi na mavhala, mavhala a na khangana (I am old guineafowl and have no colours, the colours are with young guineafowls).

Ndi la ha Nyatshikalange ndi la ha Nyathophi i fhola nthā fhasi i tshi fhisa (it is that of Nyatshikalange and Nyathophi cool at the top hot in the bottom).

Ndila i yaho mudini i ya nga vhathu (a way to a village has people).

Ndila khulu a i na lupfumo, lupfumo lu na ndila thukhu (wide way has no riches but narrow way).

Ndi la Makahane a tshi vhambisa vhathu mukumba nga mano (it is that of Makahane when he makes people stretch a hide with their teeth).

Ndi lihamba thi na makumbo kuenda mu ndi galele-vho (I am a slow walker wait for me).

Ndi ludzula mukoto (it is short lived riches).

Ndi lumbile ndi mbila ya N̄evondo i no viiwa ya bva mbilana, mbilana ya bva mbilanana (it is a recurring case like N̄evondo's dassie which when slaughtered out comes a small dassie which in turn when slaughtered out comes another younger dassie).

Ndi luranga lu ya nga mulivho (it is the calabash plant which goes according to creepers).

Ndi mañwe na a khuhu, mukegulu a tshi la gwitha (it is the same as the fowl when the old lady eats the owl).

Ndi marangaranga Khuzwane a tshi la ndilo ya khotsi (it is the young green tender calabash when Khuzwane eats from his father's wooden plate).

Ndi mulindedzano ndi wa dula na nowa (it is wait in readiness as that of the frog and snake).

Ndi mutanyatanya ndi musanda wa mapfene ndi mupfufhi si mphire (it is competition at the baboons place).

Ndi mutonga-kanwe ndi thumbu ya bvani (it is boast once like the watermelon's stomach).

Ndi nnda ndumela-shevho (it is louse bite in the kaross).

Ndi ntsa ya daka ri vhala mikumba (it is the forest duiker we count the hides).

Ndi pfarela u lila ndi thonga ya musudzungwane (it is hold for the time being like the staff of a wild mint).

Ndi mukokozelano ndi shevho la vhusiku (it is pull to your side like the night kaross).

Ndi tenda nga wa ndebvu mukala a tshi tswa mukhaha (I believe the bearded oldman after stealing milk).

Ndi tshidzembe tsha mulima-tsimbe tshi dihwa khombo nga mune watsho (it is a used with care hoe whose danger is known by the owner).

Ndi tshilonda tsha mmbwa tshi fhola nga u nanzwiwa (it is the dog's sore which is healed by leaking).

Ndi u konana ha Nyagumba na Nyagalanga (it is friendship of Nyagumba and Nyagalanga).

Ndi vho-Mafune nga a fe ndi wane muḍi wawe (it is Mafune should die so that I get his home).

Ndi vho-Mutanda-nga-u-we ri wane makwati (it is let-the-pole-fall and we get the dry bark).

Ndi vho-Netshikoli muzwala wa thoho u ita a tshi kuzhela vhanwe (it is the cob cousin to monkey which eats and gives others).

Ndi zovhozovho ndi mukosi wa luaviavi u phalalwa nga a na fola (it is noisy as the cameleon's cry which is quitened by he who has snuff).

Ndo lata nowa na lutanda (I have thrown the snake away together with the stick).

Ndo la vungu la malamba-ndo-lavhila (I have eaten the worm of refuse-while-I-look-on).

Ndou a i lemelwi nga musingo wayo (an elephant does not feel the weight of its tusk).

Ndo wana vha tshi la mutada vha mbona vha la makanda (I found them eating 'mutada' after seeing me they ate the peels).

Nemudi o tuwa Nemudi o sala (the owner of the house has left another owner is left).

Nga i ponde i sie marambo (let it devour and leave the bones).

Ngoma madzula wo vhambwa musu wa mmbi a hu dihwi (prepare for the day of war before hand).

Nguluvhe ye ndi edza ndou mananga a bva nga mulomoni
(the pig imitated the elephant and its tusks
came out of the mouth).

Ni di kandisa thuno nga uri ndi a fhala (you
wrong yourself by being inquisitive).

Ni pfupfutwa nga ludzula (you are puffed up with
riches).

Ni songo lonzhedza vhulungu ha wahanu davanhi
(don't air your relative's dirty linen in public).

Ni songo ofha mahwai nndwa ndi khulu (don't fear
the branches the war is still great).

Ndu a i dzuli sa mahundwane i si na luvhambo
(a hut is not a play place which stays without
'luvhambo' - rod to keep out evil doers).

No runwa mvula na vhuya na dumbu (you are sent
for rain and bring back storm).

No tamba nga muno nga u lunga dula (you wasted
salt by adding it to a frog).

No engelelwa nga matsheloni na vhofha muhwalo
nga gavhi (you were induced to stay by morning
and ended by tying your laggage with a rough string).

No vhenga dongo na funa vova (you hated the fertile
field and loved the vegetables).

No vhidzwa nga ludzula na fhumula na vhidzwa nga
mutshinyalo na aravha (you were called by riches
and keep your quite but called by poverty and
answered).

Nowa a i londwi mulindini wayo (don't follow
the snake into its hole).

No wanala nduhuni a hu na vhudzumbamo (when caught
in the groundnuts field there is no hiding place).

N^owa yo v^honalaho a i lumi (a snake that is seen does not bite).

Ntsa hu tshenzhela phoswa (an alert duiker is the experienced one).

Ntsa i t^am^aba nga ntsana (a duiker is cleaned by its offspring).

Ntsa nthihi i tshinya lunda (one duiker spoils all groundnuts fields).

Ntsa ya dzhena mbudzini i ndi mbudzi-vho (a duiker amongst the goats calls itself a goat).

Ntsa ya la munawa a i humi (when the duiker has tasted the young bean plant it will frequent the place).

Ntsa ya mulomo a i na nguvho (a talkative duiker has no blanket).

Ntsa ya vhandalala na tshitaka vha rwa tshitaka (if a duiker hid against the bush they beat the bush).

N^owaito u sea Mpofu u ito la Mpofu lo fa (one eye laughs at blind one saying his eyes is dead).

N^owana a suka matope u sukela vhabebi vhawe (a child who forms mud does so for his parents).

N^owana ha tsheleli muⁿwe (a child does not seek food for another).

N^owana hu la a lilaho a sa lili u fela ngozwini (to get food a child must cry or else he dies in the sling).

N^owana mutshenzhela nanga u tanganya nanga ndi have (a child experienced in doctors will consult many of them).

N^owana u dzivhiswa mbado lufhanga u litsha nga ethe (guide a child working with the axe a knife he will leave himself).

·
Nwana wa mbevha ha hangwi mukwita (a little mouse does not forget the way to the hole).

·
Nwana wa munwe u a ambea ngeno no furalela pheleha ndya-mafhuri yo tanama (it is simple to talk about someone's child when yours is a hypocrite eating pumpkins sleeping on its back).

·
Nwana wa tshidzula-huvhuya huvhi hu a vhidza (a child in a rich home a poor home calls).

·
Nwana wa zwira ndi wa phanda (a child in danger is the first one).

·
Nwatshikamba o bika phele mmbwa dzi huvha matswia (Nwatshikamba cooked a wolf and the dogs bark at the fire stones).

Nyadzawela vhanwe wa sea matshelo dzi do u wela- vho (laugh when it befell others tomorrow is your turn).

Nyalubwa luvhi a lu fuwelwi lu fuwelwa nga mubva kule a sa divhi thando ya lubwa (a bad dog is not reared except by one from far who does not know its habits).

Nyaluvhani shango nga vhuya ni si luvhe shango nga mufhetano (do homage well not through back biting others).

Nyambeni vha nyamba vha itani mudzimu ndi sa phasi wavho ndi tshi phasa wa makhadzi wanga wa lala (talk about me in vain for I worship my aunt's god and all goes well).

Nyamufuwi wa tshinyaladzi mufuwi wa vhatu ha rali u bvisa tshimeno (the cruel guardian, when subjecting people don't be cruel but give a smile).

Nyamutsha la tsha a tondwa naho a kodelwa thanga
u di ri tho ngo tondwa (he who is catered for
daily still say he is neglected).

Nyamutshimbili thi ambi-ambi ndi goda dzanga
nda tshimbila (walker I do not talk but pack
and go).

Nyamutumbane wo kona wa da mufumbu wo wana vhushelo
(Nyamutumbane did well by coming for bran got
a place to store).

Nyamuvhelehi setshela tshikumbuni si see nwana
wa munwe wa nga u sea da doma wau u do udzha sa
mbwa (parent don't laugh at another's child
as a fool for yours will bark like a dog).

Nyamuvhuya ha shai thando a sa vha mbava ndi
muloi (the good one does not lack an ulterior
motive if not a thief she is a witch).

Nyavhumbwa wa dagaila wa kanda vho u vhumbaho
(guided in difficulties and tramp over those
who guided you).

O hwala ngoma nga tshiombo (he has carried the
drum on a drumstick).

O laho funguvhu u vhoneala nga valuvalu (he who
has eaten a crow has guilty conscience).

Pandela tsilu u hume, tsilu li na mavuso mavhi
(chase a fool and return for he might prove to
be dangerous).

Pfene li anea luvhilo Mutonga u anea tshe a la
(baboon boast of its speed a Mutonga that is
foreigner, boast of what he has eaten).

Pfumo lo pombolowa muhala (there is peace).

Pfungwi a i fi (ear marked does not die).

Phale i wana musuku mutshei o ro fhira ngaho (goatskin skirt got a softener the shaper did so in passing).

Phambana-nadzo tshilalo tsha muvhuḁa (get-to-the-side like the hare's sleeping place).

Phanda ha ndau a hu iwi u si na tshikuni (to the front of the lion is not gone without glowing firewood).

Phanda i tshi da i ranga nga thotha (bold forehead starts from dented thinness of hair above the tempels).

Philiphise a i vhavhi ndi tshilonda tsha u ḁi todela (self burning of skin is not painful for is a wanted sore).

Phungo mmbi a i ḁi nga n'wana wa muthu (bad rumour is not brought about by anybody's child).

Ra'wedzi muswa mutshenela vha kule vha haya vha sala maswiswini (new moon that shines for those far away those at home remain in darkness).

Raudzingana a vhu seiwi ni ḁo vhuya na dzingana-vho (poverty is not laughed at for you may also become poor).

Ravele ndi rashaka lo mphani arali lo mpha musadzi nga li dzhie (Ravele is relative what have you given me, if you have given me a wife take her away).

Ri ḁe ndi mbiḁi ro vhona mavhala (we shall believe it to be a zebra after seeing the stripes).

Ri ḁo tenda nga mbudzi i tshi kunda nngwe (we shall believe it when the goat has defeated the tiger).

Ri do vhona hu yaho phuna na tshinoni (we shall see the end of a 'phuna' and the bird).

Ro fara tsimba nga ndevhe (we held the genet by its ears).

Ro vhamba maano ntsa yo no fhira (we planned a trap after the duiker has passed).

Shambo la munna li lovhela kule musadzi u fela nduni (a man's bone dies afar, a wife dies in the hut).

Shambo la mutshini li thumbuni (the bone of a dancer is in the stomach).

Shango a li ambi tshalo (the world does not tell its story).

Shango a li tahali hu tahala vhathu (the world is not worn-out but people).

Shango la shaya thovhele ndi mulano (a country without a chief has mutual killing).

Sila li funwa nga muambari (a woven cloth is liked by the wearer).

Sila lo tandwa u siho u tandulula li a kunda (the cloth woven in your absence to unweave is difficult).

Sunzi lo hwalaho a li seri mutanda (a loaded ant cannot go under a log).

Tahulela tshiunga tshi tshi hula tshi a u thavha (weed the prickly one when grown it pricks you).

Tibu ndi khali tsha mbiluni ya muwe a tshi ti-bulwi (open a pot but that in another's heart cannot be opened).

Thakha ya muhulu a i liwi nga muthu muthihi (herds of cattle of a rich one are not enjoyed by one man).

Thakha ya muhwe i naka i tshi liwa i tshi vhuya
ndi mitsutsu (herds of cattle from bridegroom
- in lobolla - is nice to have but to return
is difficult).

Thama ya seli ndi mavhulahise (a yonder friend
is cause of death).

Thanga-mavhudzi lupfumo a lu tanganyi (everybody
has got hair but riches cannot be shared equally).

Thangana-solo a i na lwendo (lack of agreement
has no journey).

Thavhanyedza i la mbudzi tsalela i la kholomo
(hurry eats a goat steady eats a cow).

Thevhe yo fhambana na mpato (luggage crosses
the carrier).

Thi vha funi vhathu u anda vho mpha luduna muni
malala lu tshi zhamba (I hate many people for
what type of a man have they given me that makes
noise all night).

Thoho a i lwi na mutsinga (the head does not
differ with the neck).

Thoho i si na nama u vhona nga yau (a head with
no meat is seen from yours).

Thoho thema i laya thoho tshena (black head
advises white head).

Thole ho lelwa yanu ya munwe i bvisa misevhe
(a young calf looked after is yours somebody's
is killed).

Thonga i pfi ndo vhadza a i pfi ndo doba (staff
is to be carved not picked).

Thonga thanzi a i vhavhi hu vhavha ya murahu
(the former beating is not painful but the latter).

Thonga ya kule a i vhulahi nowa (a faraway staff cannot kill a snake).

Thovhele ndi thanda ri tamba ri tshi hwela (the chief is a log that we climb while playing).

Tsha bvungwi tshi tshila nga tsha munangoni (that inside is alive because of that at the entrance).

Tsha kule tshi wanwa nga muhovhi (the farther one is got by he who pulls it nearer).

Tsha mulovha tsho vhuya tshifhefho tsho vhuya na mphwe dzatsho (that of yesterday is back as autumn is back with its sweet canes).

Tsha mu'we tshi a vhone (somebody's is seen).

Tsha mushavhi tshi dala tshikha (that of seller should be dirty).

Tsha mutoma tshi fhelela thohoni (that of the needy is finished still on the head).

Tshanda tshinwe tshi kona u komba ndilo (one hand can only take food from a wooden plate).

Tsha n'wakani tshi vhone nga a na ndalamo (that of next year is seen by the aged).

Tshau ndi tshe wa la tsho dzulaho ndi tsha Mambo (yours is what you have eaten the rest is the chief's).

Tshe mulomo wa amba ndi tshe mbilu ya amba-vho (what is said has been decided upon).

Tshe wa da iwe tshilavhi na murundo wa phofu u a nwa (what you have started little thing, you will also drink the elnd's urine).

Tshe wa lilela musanda wo tshi wana nungu ya denga yo no vha mukuloni (what you craved for at the chief's kraal you got for the 'denga' bead is around your neck).

Tshi do fhalala tshi songo tangwa (it will disperse before danced).

Tshidumbumukwe tshi konela ho swaho (whirlwind likes a burnt place).

Tshidzembe tsha mulima-tsimbe tshi di^hwa khombo nga mune watsho (the hoe used with difficulty is known its danger by the owner).

Tshidzimba tsha a si na mano litshani tshi sine tshi na mune watsho (the tshidzimba - samp cooked with powdered nuts - of he who lacks teeth let it rot for its owner is there).

Tshifho-tshifho mutshila wa mbevha a u afhuli ludongo (there it is, there it is, the tail of a mouse cannot break a clay basin).

Tshi hulaho tshi tshi lwa ndi ndau tshivhudzi tsha hula tsho hula (that which fights till death is a lion, a person gets old).

Tshiitamune a tshi vhavhi tshi vhavha mune watsho (self done is not painful).

Tshikalaha tsha notshi tshi ra muvula na vhana (the old bee flies around the pollen together with its kids).

Tshikwilikwili tshi tula tshinwau-nwau (sudden friendship breeds regret or hatred).

Tshila-mavu tshi na vhulelo mavu a liwa mongani (the eater of ground has a pouch, for ground is eaten in the groundnest of a stingless bee).

Tshilamba-u-vhudzwa ndi tshilila-u-vhona (refuse-to-be told is want-to-see).

Tshilavhi tshivhi ndi tsho dzhenaho itoni tsho dzhenaho thumbuni tsho lala (a bad thing is in the eye that in the stomach rests).

Tshililela tshi nana unga tshi tshi hula tshi u la thoho (the crying one when grown eats your head).

Tshilonda tsha muhulwane tshi bva mbungu (the sore of a great one gives worms).

Tshinakaho a tshi yi thambo tshi yaho thambo ndi mutshinyalo (nice one does not last what lasts is suffering).

Tshi na phepho a tshi sumbedzwi mulilo (that which feels cold cannot be shown the fire).

Tshipala mulilo tshi a dipalela (the one who scrape fire does so to his side).

Tshira-tshisevhi a tshi vhulahi muthu (seen-danger does not kill).

Tshi runwaho u fa a tshi fi (the one sent to die does not die).

Tshiselo tsha bva dzuwa tsho bva (a winnowing basket whose dzuwa is off cannot be mended).

Tshi si khawe a tshi vhavhi tshi vhavha mune watsho (pain in somebody is not painful for it is felt by the owner).

Tshisima tsha phanda tshi vhulahisa vhathu dora (the well ahead make people feel more thirsty).

Tshitaka tshe wa vhona nowa u di ri i tshe ngomu (a bush in which you saw a snake you presume it is still inside).

Tshitekeshi tshi tshothe tshi ri vhuambi hanga (a talkative alone boasts of oration).

Tshithavha-khому vhudzisa u sa do thavha na dzi si na lufu (the cattle slaughter ask before killing those with no death).

Tshithu divha wa sa divha ndi swiswi (a thing is to be known or else is darkness).

Tshithu tshi mukuloni tsho da hani tsho tunama tshi mukuloni wa khomba (why is a thing across in the throat of a lady).

Tshitoma tshi a tshidza tshuhulu a tshi tshidzi (small one saves the big one not).

Tshiuba tsho fhalala (the good one is scattered).

Tshivhona vhudzimu tshi vhona nga hatsho (the one who sees a private part sees from his).

Tshivhuya tsha mmbwa tshini namusi wa i fha munamba ya bvela nda i la zwinwe (what good is that of a dog after being given milk food once outside it eats other things).

Tshivhuyahuvhi nyamubiki a sa londi munna ndala u bika nga u pfa yawe (a bad come-back cook who does not care about the hungry husband who cooks only when she feels hungry).

Tshiweduwedu musu wa davha la hashu davha la fhela hu sala mavhengani (friendship during our davha - helping in work in a group - thereafter is hatred).

Tshokotshoko ha li muthu u liwa nga dzumbulukwane (noise does not kill for killing is sudden).

Tsho laho nyanwali nga tshi de tshi le na nne-vho (what killed my mother should come and kill me as well).

Tsima ye wa nea mmbwa u songo i londa u dala na mavu (a piece of food given to a dog don't be worried when it is full of ground).

Tsimba i fa maphaphadzi (a rockrabbit dies while moving around).

Tsimba ya lamba mbevha thumbuni ndi mitumbu (a rockrabbit that refuses a rat is satisfied).

Tsiwana i dzula vhutsini (an orphan sits in the smoke).

Tsiwana i laiwa ndilani (an orphan is advised on the way).

Tsiwana ya dzhena vhalembani musu i tshi lwala a i shidzhwa (an orphan amongst the Lemba when ill is killed).

U a dziwa Nembado mune wa lufhanga ri la nae (the owner of the axe can be stunged we share with the owner of the knife).

U amba livhi ndi uri livhuya li wane vhudzulo (to utter a bad word is to prepare a place for a good one).

U a nyumba tshirwamukula u nyumba tsho no fhira (he traps the bird tshirwamukula but he does so after it has passed).

U beba a hu na tsimbe (to bear has no wrestling).

U beba a hu na vhusiwana (to bear has no poverty).

U beba a si u ka muroho (to bear is not to collect vegetables).

U divha makhulu ndi u vhudzwa (you know your grandmother when told).

U divha tshithu ndi mbilu vhutsila ndi maṭo (to know a thing is memory craft is eyes).

U do la tsha mbaḁo a u nga li tsha lufhanga (you will get that of an axe not that of a knife).

U fha ndi u fhahea (to give is to store).

U gidima hu tshe u lenga (more haste less speed).

U isa marambo maḁweni (to take the bones to where they belong).

U kaḁa ḁawa na mbisi (to harvest beans together with unripe ones).

U kona gumba ndi u mila u ḁafuna li a silinga (better swallow an egg for chewing causes nausea).

U kungulusa tombo ndi u li isa vhudzuloni (to roll a stone is to take it to its place).

U lata ngoma hu a langanwa (to do away with initiation school is agreed upon).

U lema hu fhira u lotshelwa (to spoil is worse than bewitched).

U lovha ndi u tevhela nzhivha mutevhela ḁaḁu u do la mazhana (to waste is to follow a big dove he who follows a honeyguide will have the worms in the honey comb).

U luvha a hu na mapone (to pay homage has no blisters).

U naka a hu fani na u diḁwa (to be known is better than beauty).

U ḁala tshau ndi u laḁa (to sulk yours is to throw away).

U ḁembelela ha shamba a si u wa halo (the hanging of a muramba fruit does not predict its fall).

U posa ha mupfulaudzi a si u neta ha mavhoho (the throwing of a far-shooter does not tire the shoulders).

U sa pfa hu tunya mavhudzi (not to listen shaves the hair).

U shavha nowa ndi mushavhano (to run away from a snake is reciprocal).

U shonolola phombwe ndi u ya malaloni (to get a prostitute red handed is to go to his sleeping place).

U si dze muvhidzi tshivhidzelwa u sa tshi divhi (don't ignore the call when you do not know why).

U si nanele mupfufhi u lima fhasi ho mu edana (don't be alarmed at the short one ploughing he/she is near the ground).

U si vhone tshiswa wa lata tshilala (don't see a new thing and throw away an old one).

U si vhone tsimba u naiwa wa ri ndi lukhohe (don't take a wet genet for a slender mongoose).

U swa ha mbilu ndi u rula hayo (painful heart will have peace).

U songo pfuka thanda wa sea zwa phanda wo zwi vhone lini (don't go over a log and laugh when you do not know what lies ahead).

U songo nea mmbwa wo fara thamu (don't give a dog while holding a stick).

U songo vunda mmbwa mano (don't break a dog's teeth).

U tangulwa a si u rwiwa o' ndi tshanga tshi a vhuya (to be stripped is not to be beaten, he only said it is mine it must come back).

U tevhela vhahumbe vhathu vha si na ndevhe (to follow the naughty ones without ears).

U thanya hu a wedza-wedza (to be clever makes one fall into troubles).

U thutha tshitaka u vhea vhuralani (to cut the bush and put on the platform-inside a hut).

U tonga hu vunda khomba luvhabvu (swanking broke a lady's rib).

U tshi dza muro wa muvhuda ranga u ya tshilaloni (when not satisfied with the broth from a hare first get to its sleeping place).

U tshi fuwa muthu ranga nga mmbwa (when subjecting a person start with a dog).

U tshi tola mbilu ya wa hau u role mbado u reme tombo (to fathom a friend's heart take his axe and chop a stone).

U tswa a hu gudwi (stealing is not learnt).

U zwifha a hu na mapone (telling lies has no blisters).

U zwifha a hu zwimbeli (telling lies does not constipate).

Vha bikela vhuⁱngana vhu^sila vha vhoⁿa nga ma^to (they cook for doctorship craft is seen by eyes).

Vhahulwane ndi makole vha a sundana (great ones are clouds that shift).

Vha la nama vhaⁿdinda u enda vhu^siku ndi havho (they eat meat messengers walking at night is theirs).

Vha-la-na-nne ndi vha^vhulahi (those who eat together with me are killers).

Vhana vha munna vha kovha na thoho ya nzie (children of a father divide even a locust's head).

Vhandalala fuvhuvhu u do la vhufa ha tombo (hide brown lizard you will inherit the riches of a stone).

Vha tambelani nga muri wa u vhulaha khomola, mavu a ndila a do tambiswa nga nnyi (why waste poison khomola who is going to play with the ground on the way).

Vhathu ndi mapfura vha a doliwa (people are cream to be used on our bodies).

Vhida la musadzi li vuhadzi (a wife's grave is at the in-laws).

Who dzulaho vha kothisa bofu mmbwa (those well-to-do makes the blind bow to a dog).

Vhubva ha khosi vhu mulomoni (a chief's laziness is in the mouth).

Vhuhadzi ndi nama ya thole ya fhufhuma ri a fhunzhela (at the in-laws is like veal which when boiling over we use a spoon to keep the froth down).

Vhuhosi vhu tou bebelwa (chieftainship is born to).

Vhula-kale vhu a livhadza (eat long ago makes one to forget).

Vhutshilo ndi thai (life is a riddle).

Vhutulu ho la mufhomi (poison has devoured the trapper).

Wa fhiwa u see wa dziwa u see (laugh when given laugh when stinged).

Wa khukhuna luombeni thunda nda i a vhonala (steal along over the cliff the rump will be seen).

Wa kokodza luranga na mafhuri a a tevhela (you pull the creeper the pumpkins will follow).

Wa la nawa na vhanzhi u zwimbela dzi a talula
(eat beans with the rest but constipation is selective).

Wa li kukuna na thoni u do li lata na nama (chew a bone shyly you will throw it away with its meat).

Wa sa li pfa u vhudzwani u do li pfela vhulaloni
(if you do not heed it when told you will know it when asleep, that is in danger).

Wa sa ofha ndou thema a vha u sumbedzi (if you do not fear the elephant they do not show you the young one).

Wa sa ri vhudza u tshi ya u do ri vhudza u tshi vhuya
(you do not tell us when you go you will tell us when you come back).

Wa sa tshimbila u dzea khaladzi (if you do not travel you will marry your sister).

Wa tevhula wo dadza u olela ndi vhudenga (spill full collect half).

Wa tunda na a laho u ndi tsha di runga thevhe
(search for food with someone satisfied he says he is still sewing the bag).

Wa twa kha vanda linwe mulayo u tuwa na munwe
(stay at one place you will get one advice).

Wa vhangwa thuda na wa kule u vhangwa u tshi lavhelesa duvha
(strive over a giraffe with one from far, do so looking at the sun).

Wa vhangwa dongo wa funa luranga (hate the clay dish and love the pumpkin creeper).

Wa vhangwa shubi wa funa vowa (hate a fertile place and love the vowa vegetable).

Wa vha muḽi wa tshirema wa vhona sala u a shavha
(eater of the black you see a charcoal and run
away).

Wa wana mbulu we mbu-mbu-mbu mubva-murahu u mbulu
yanga (get a land iguana and hasitate the one
from behind says: my iguana).

Wa wana wa hau a tshi lila dzula fhasi u lile
nae (if you get a relative in trouble help him).

We thi laṽi ya rare ya muṽwe a u nga i vhoni (if
you do not heed your father's advice you won't
take any other).

Ya kanda kaṽwe i a rewa (tramp once and a trap
is set).

Ya longa khwanda yo nwa (once its hoof is inside
it has drunk).

Ya mudzimu i bva dziṽweni (of the lord comes
out of many).

Ya nkhangā ndi a ṽalula mulisa ha hangwi yawe
(if it puzzles me I will set it aside for a herboy
knows his).

Ya sa raha i do ḽadza (if it does not kick it
will fill).

Zwa madzanga zwi a toḽana (birds of a feather
flock together).

Zwa u sa diṽha muḽula u tshi aṽwa khavho (ignorance
when a maroela tree give long calabashes).

Zwi tshi fhela zwi nga ṽwando (it ends like dew).

Zwivhi zwi ye kule zwivhuya zwi de tsini (evil
away goodness near).

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