

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OSHIWAMBO COMBAT NAMES FOR THE PEOPLE'S
LIBERATION ARMY OF NAMIBIA (PLAN) FIGHTERS DURING THE ARMED
LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF NAMIBIA (1966-1989)

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS IN OSHIWAMBO STUDIES

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

BY

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APRIL 2020

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ABSTRACT

The study is based on the anthroponomastics approach and investigated the significance of Oshiwambo combat names for the People Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) freedom fighters during the armed liberation struggle for Namibia's independence. There is no comprehensive study that focused on the origin and significance of Oshiwambo combat names, hence, this study was conducted to investigate the significance, origin and meanings of Oshiwambo combat names for the former PLAN combatants. In addition, the study investigated the motive behind these names and the role they played during the Namibian liberation struggle. The study adopted two theories. The first theory is that of Brunner and Kellner (1989) which deals with the liberation from all forms of oppression, animated by commitment of freedom, happiness and a rational ordering of society. This theory enabled the analysis of techniques of persuasion and communication behind names and how they reinforced the evolutionary mood, providing motivation and boosting their morale in the struggle towards independence. The second theory is Frege and Russel's (1975) descriptive theory of reference, which postulates that the meaning or semantic content of proper names is identical to the descriptions associated with it by the speaker. This theory helped in understanding the meaning of a name and to understand that the association between a name and its associated description is established by the speaker of a language of a certain speech community. The study employed the qualitative design which helped the researcher to analyze the combat names provided by the former PLAN combatants. Both purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select the sample of hundred names. The names were presented and analyzed into different categories. The study revealed that the former PLAN combatants named themselves and their names played a significant role during the liberation struggle. Also, the names helped to conceal their identities and protected them

from enemy agents or informers. The combat names inspired and encouraged them in many ways, for instance, to face war challenges such as hunger, thirst and working long distances. The study contributes to the onomastics understanding, and it provides a large corpus of combat names that could be used for further research. Suggestions for further research are made based on the female combat names which are few.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CANU	Caprivi African National Union
G1	Group1
G2	Group 2
G3	Group 3
OPC	Ovambo People's congress
OPO	Ovambo People's Organization
PLAN	People Liberation Army of Namibia
SADF	South African Defence Force
SWALA	South West Africa Liberation Army
SWANLA	South West Africa Native Labour Association
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
UN	United Nation
UNAM	University of Namibia
WWI	First World War

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, praises and thanks to God, the almighty for his shower of blessings throughout my research work. My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor Doctor Ellen Ndeshi Namhila who consistently allowed this study to be my own work. Thank you for the useful comments and engagement through the learning process. Doctor Nelson Mlambo and Dr. Elizabeth Ndeukumwa Ngololo, thank you for your encouragement, as well as your motivation. You really kept me going throughout the journey. I would also like to thank Dr. Petrus Mbenzi for his support and guidance, and for his valuable comments that strengthen my work. This project would not be a success without late Simon Dhimbulukweni Lumbu's helping hand. I wish you were here to see the work we have started.

I am extremely grateful to my parents for their love, support, care, prayers and sacrifices for educating and preparing me for my future. I am who I am today because of your effort and guidance. I always remember your motivational words and I could not have done it without you. You are my role models! A Heartfelt thanks to my awesome family for the support. You are always there at the time of my needs both mentally and physically. I thank God for giving me a wonderful family.

I would like to acknowledge Mr. Johannes Uushona, Mrs Martha Uushona and Mrs Kornelia Mboshono Tileinge-Mhanda for their endless encouragement, as well as their mental support. You really played a significant role when there were obstacles and when the journey got tough. Mr. Edward Tangeni Shikesho and Ms.Veiwe Mojao, thank you for being second readers for this thesis. I am gratefully for your valuable comments. Your time and your efforts will forever be cherished. Sofia Kavelishimwe and Saara Ndahafa Nepunda, Teeleleni Taliya Shaimemanya,

Atanasiu Mario Ananias, Lahja Kaendapeke David and Eunike Petrus, thank you very much for the academic direction and thank you for the information you made available.

To all the former PLAN fighters who have participated in the research, thank you for sharing your ideas on the subject. Without your passionate participation and input, the thesis could not have been successfully conducted.

My appreciation also goes to Miina Nelao Katondoka for the love and support. I am grateful for the library you have provided me in your house during the course of my study. In addition, I would like to acknowledge Abraham Amakali, for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement through my years of study. This accomplishment would not have been possible without you.

Lastly, I would like to thank Ms. Anneli Nghikembua for editing my work. Mrs Johanna Ndapanda Asino and the entire Namutuni staff, thank you for understanding me. You really made it possible to compile this thesis. To all my friends, thank you for your encouragements and for always being there for me.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my loving parents, my brothers, my sisters and my niece Selma Ndahepuluka Katokele because they all believe that without hard work, nothing grows but weeds.

DECLARATION

I Lucia Nepunda, hereby declare that this study is a true reflection of my research, and that this work, or any part therefore has not been submitted for a degree at any institution of higher learning.

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Lucia Nepunda

Date

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study is an anthroponomastic investigation of the significance, origin and the meanings of Oshiwambo combat names for freedom fighters of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) during the liberation struggle for independence. Name-giving has been a part and parcel of Oshiwambo tradition and remains to this day the most significant and celebrated ancient tradition. Immediately after birth, the father cheerfully gives an acclamation "Tatei! okashike kookanhu" the father proudly exclaim what gender is this child, is it a boy or a girl before pronouncing the name of his child. Name giving was the most awaited proud moment in the life of the Aawambo fathers. The name usually symbolizes a significant place of the clan lineage, an affirmation of the friendship or good neighbourliness, a memorable occasion associated with pride, strength or success. Once the father pronounces the name, anyone present is welcomed to also name the child. For instance, the baby could be named Nadula if he/she is born whilst still raining or Nelao if the mother and child survived a difficult birth. In addition, the Aawambo bestow names to animals, plants, mountains, places or anything that they came across.

The Aawambo, amongst them, Kaxumba kaNdola and Theofilus Hamutumbangela who become politically conscious about the need to fight against colonialism, formed an underground political movement in the early 1950s under the name, *Nghuwoyepongo oKalunga hei tondoka*. "cry of an orphan receives God's divine intervention" The name *Nghuwoyepongo* derives from the people's experiences of the implementation of the indirect rule in Owambo where the traditional leaders

were becoming willing tools for the colonial administration and turned their backs on the people they were appointed to serve. People were left like “a child without parents” because the traditional leaders who were supposed to protect their hopes and aspirations chastised them for advocating for freedom. The liberation struggle for Namibia’s independence which formed the genesis to this study of Oshiwambo combat names was pioneered by an underground political movement that wrote petitions to the United Nations under the signature of *Nghuwoyepongo*. This underground movement pressurized the traditional leaders and their colonial masters. They sensitized the people through passive resistance, such as songs, for example: *Ounyuni wonena, tau kongo omboloto, tau landifa po oshiwana*, (today’s world is money driven and could sell the whole nation for a loaf of bread) and the bestowal of names such as *Nghuwoyepongo* that provided hope for overcoming the colonialism regime. *Nghuwoyepongo* survived a long time without being detected by the colonial police that went around villages searching for him, as a person, while it was an organization. These names that were given expressed themes such as suffering, revolts and desire for dawn of independence (Mbenzi, 2009).

The philosophy advocated by *Nghuwoyepongo* permeated the modern liberation struggle as the People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) combatants used different tactics to dismantle the shackles of colonialism, and one of the strategies they used in their guerrilla warfare was the use of combat names. Many of the PLAN fighters were only known by their combat names during the liberation struggle. Experience has shown that the South African Defence Force and police despite systematic search and the use of informants, newspapers advertisement of rewards for the head of Eliaser Tuhadeleni took ten months (from August 1966 to June 1967) before his arrest. While they look for Eliaser Tuhadeleni, many people knew him as Kaxumba kaNdola and while they thought Kaxumba kaNdola and Eliaser Tuhadeleni were two distinct persons it was one and

the same. There were even people who thought that Kaxumba kaNdola was a myth created to confuse and create supernatural powers on the struggle for independence. Names were from the very beginning of the liberation struggle used as tool to confuse the enemy. Theofelus Hamutumbangela was well known as (Nghuwo yepongo), Abel Ileni Hasholo “Ngobenouwayo”, Sam Shikongeni “Mbwangela”, John Otto Nankudhu “Koshiwanda”, Patric Israel Iyambo “Lungada”, Simeon Lineekela Shixungileni “Kambo”, Devarius Nghihepa Lamek “Shekupamba shokOputu”, Simson Nambuli Naholo “Kashinakahondjaomeva”, Michael Nghiwanapo “Shiponga” to name just a few. The civilian population that provided support to the combatants during the liberation struggle only discovered after independence that these names were not their real names, but they were pseudonyms used to hide their identities and protect them and families from enemies. The Namibian historical context under which these names were given is highlighted to provide a better understanding of the study.

It was a long journey for Namibia to gain its independence in 1990. Namibia was colonized by the German empire from 1884 to 1915. Germany ruled Namibia with an iron fist and their administration was characterized by wars with the colonized community, including the genocidal war against the Nama and Herero people of Namibia. During the First World War (WWI), the Union of South Africa under British rule attacked German South West Africa, and defeated Germany. The country was then placed under military occupation until 1920. From 1945, Namibia became a League of Nations mandated territory to be administered by South Africa. Instead of preparing the Namibians for self-rule, South Africa tried to annex Namibia as its 5th province and later introduced apartheid as a government policy. Several apartheid laws were passed in South Africa and enforced in Namibia. People, especially students and the youth resisted against such laws. Those who dared to resist against apartheid were beaten, expelled

from school or jobs, jailed and some were killed. The cruelty, violation of human rights, oppression and suppression of the rights of the people of Namibia forced the people to rise. An underground organization called Nghuwoyepongo was formed in early 1950s. In 1957, Namibians mainly contract workers in Cape Town established the Ovambo People's Congress (OPC) with the aim of fighting the exploitative contract labour system administered by South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA) and the colonial regime. Two years later, Herero Chief Council, South West Africa National Union (SWANU), Ovambo People Organization (OPO) and Caprivi African National Union (CANU) were formed both with the main objectives; to end the South African colonial administration and the placing of South West Africa under the UN Trusteeship system.

In 1960, members of OPO and SWANU formed a new organization, South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Later, CANU members also joined. SWAPO formed a military wing which was initially called the South West Africa Liberation Army (SWALA) in 1964 and started soliciting military training from independent Africa countries, the Soviet Union and China. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania allocated to SWAPO a place called Kongwa in Morogoro for military activities. SWAPO members who received military training returned to Kongwa to train other Namibians. Slowly SWAPO built up its military contingent in Kongwa with combatants mainly trained in Egypt, Ghana, Tanzania, the Soviet Union and China. SWAPO started organizing small groups of its military units that penetrated Namibia from the North East to Northern Namibia. Group one (G1) led by John Otto Nankudhu arrived at the house of Tatekulu Eliaser Tuhadeleni, popularly known as Kaxumba Kandola in early 1965, followed by Group two (G2) and Group three (G3) which arrived in 1966. It is in G1, G2 and G3 where combatants became popular and were known by their combat names. Examples were,

Lungada (Patrick Iyambo), *Kambo* (Simeon Shixungileni) and *Kashuku* (Julius Shilongo Munyika). Following the Tanga Consultative Congress of 1969/70 which established a detailed SWAPO structure, SWALA was transformed into People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). Large groups of PLAN combatants entered Namibia directly through Angola to fight the enemy using the guerrilla warfare. The PLAN combatants used different tactics to dismantle colonialism in Namibia. One of the tactic they used was combat names which is the focal point of this study.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Combat names are personal names, and personal names are important in any culture or society. They are the markers of identity. In addition, the researcher is an Oshiwambo speaker and has the background knowledge for drawing the correct meanings in this language. Combat names were used to express the brutality and oppression that the former freedom fighters were going through and, at the same time, express course of action. These names reflect a need to mobilize and act with a purpose to free the nation from the colonial yoke (Mbenzi 2009). Researchers, such as Obeng (2000) and Namakalu (2004) agree that combatants used combat names to conceal their identities. But none of these researchers account for the origin and significance of the combat names.

Studies of this nature are not extensive in Namibia, however, a closer study was carried out by Mbenzi (2009) who investigated Oshiwambo revolutionary names in terms of their meanings and circumstances under which they were given. Mbenzi's study however did not focus on combat names. Also, his study included names of civilians who remained in the country which, therefore, does not give a reliable perspective on the use of combat names by members of PLAN who were actively involved in the combat mission. Hence, the present study investigated the

significance, origin and meaning of the Oshiwambo combat names of PLAN combatants who participated in the guerrilla war between 1966 and 1989, and the contributions (if any) of these names to the liberation struggle of Namibia. Oshiwambo combat names are chosen as study subject because there is a dearth of literature on Oshiwambo combat names in Namibia. This motivated the need for this study.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The primary objective of this study was to investigate the significance of combat names. The sub objectives were:

- a) To identify, collect and analyze the role and significance of combat names used by PLAN combatants during the liberation struggle of Namibia.
- b) To investigate the circumstances under which these names were given.
- c) To describe the morphological structure of combat names.
- d) To categorize the names according to their meanings.

1.4 Significance of the study

It is hoped that this study would contribute to onomastic understanding, and would produce a large corpus of combat names that could be used for further research. Additionally, the findings of this research could promote debate and understanding of combat names used by PLAN combatants as part of the history of the liberation struggle. Ultimately, the findings of this study could be used to explain the significance, meaning and origin of names of people in post-colonial era. The study might motivate further research in the onomastic of Oshiwambo combat names as

used PLAN during the liberation struggle of Namibia. Furthermore, it is expected that the study would provide relevant materials for the documentation of Namibian history.

1.5 Limitation of the study

The study focused on hundred (100) Oshiwambo combat names of former PLAN combatants who participated in the armed struggle for the liberation of Namibia. According to Uulenga (2019), the total number of combat names is forty thousand (40, 000). Although one would like to study the whole population, it is however not possible thus settled for a sample. Some of the PLAN combatants might refuse to reveal their combat names and their meanings.

1.6 Delimitation of the study

Although there were combat names used by ordinary civilians, this study only focused on 100 Oshiwambo combat names used by the PLAN combatants during the liberation struggle. The non-Oshiwambo combat names for example: “no time”, “danger, and names for a foreign person like “McNamara” were not studied because they did not form part of this study.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the background of the study. It looked at how the Aawambo people bestowed names in general and how colonialism drove people to create combat names, and these names were pseudonyms which were used to hide their identities and protect them from enemies. The chapter also looked at the statement of the problem, study objectives, significance of the study, limitation and delimitation of the study.

1.8 Organisation of the study

This study is structured into five chapters. Chapter one provides the introduction and background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, significance, limitations and

delimitations of the study. Chapter two deals with the relevant literature review in which subtopics such as definition of combat names, functions, categories and the morphological structure of Oshiwambo combat names are discussed and analysed. This review also deals with the theoretical framework in which the Critical theory and Descriptive theory of reference are discussed. The Critical theory is concerned with liberation from all forms of oppression, whereas, the Descriptive theory of reference has to do with the meanings of names.

Chapter three highlights the procedures and methodology used in this study. A qualitative research design was used to collect and analyse data. Purposive sampling was adopted in the study. In order to analyse data, content analysis method was used.

Chapter four presents the analysis and discussion of combat names based on different categories. In addition, the significance and meanings of Oshiwambo combat names and the morphological structure of names is also presented in this chapter. Chapter five concludes the study and offer future recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature that is relevant to the study. Literature review help identify the gaps, weaknesses and controversies in existing knowledge on combat names. Since there is a dearth of literature on combat names in Namibia, literature from other countries served as reference points. Of late, only one study (Mbenzi, 2009) on revolutionary names has been conducted in Namibia. Mbenzi investigated the meanings of the revolutionary names, the circumstances under which the names were given and the categories of these names. However, Mbenzi's study did not only focus on revolutionary names but included names of civilians who remained in Namibia and who were not part of the armed forces which, therefore, does not give a detailed perspective on the use of combat names in exile.

The chapter consists of the following subsections: definition of combat names, functions, categories, morphological structure, and lastly it looks at the theoretical perspectives. Researchers such as Obeng (2001) uses a term "political name" to refer to combat names, Mbenzi (2009) uses "revolutionary names", Brinkman, (2004) and Pfukwa (2008) used "war names" to define combat names. All these terms are appropriate but in this study the term "combat names" is used because the term has been used in several literatures (for instance Namhila, 2003; Namakalu, 2004) on the liberation struggle of Namibia.

2.1 Definition of the term combat name

Although there are various definitions for this concept, in this study only four definitions have been selected. This is because they are suitable for the study on liberation struggle. Combat names have been defined in several works by Namhila (2003) and Namakalu (2004) however, other authors used different terms such as political names, revolutionary names and war names to refer to the same concept.

Makoni (2010, p. 198) defines combat names “as names given to the fighters themselves or labeling of those against whom the combatants are fighting.” Although Makoni (2010) defines combat names, the second part of his explanation “labeling of those against whom the combatants are fighting” does not focus on combat names but he refers to the political opponents, which is not a focus point of this study. In addition, Pfukwa (2008, p. 50) reveals that a war name “is a specific type of nickname that evolve from a war situation and it can be taken as pseudonym”. In line with Pfukwa, David (2016, p. 166) refers to combat names “as nicknames adopted by combatants during the periods of armed conflict”. According to Pfukwa (2007), the war names could be taken as pseudonyms. He further explains that a pseudonym is used more widely in literature than *nom de guerre* (which means “war name” in French language) but could in some times, carry the same meaning and explains that pseudonym is a nickname that one gives to oneself.

The four definitions which are provided above, assisted me to formulate a definition that is suitable to the study. It became clear that combat name is pseudonym assigned to a PLAN combatant going for combat action. These combat names are meant to conceal the identity of the combatant and to protect himself/ herself, his/ her comrades his/her family from being discovered by enemy or by the enemy agents. The names were often drawn from inspiring

readers or ironic members of liberation struggle to instill courage and inspiration and fight until victory.

From these definitions it became clear that combat names are nicknames that developed during war to conceal combatant's identities and hide themselves from their enemies.

2.2 Characteristics of a combat name

Names in general including combat names has unique characters which reflect a person and his or her characters. One man says, edhina ekugidho “ names as links”, and most of the combatants choose combat names which reflect their characters.

A name is extremely important and identifies a person. It is also how other people identify a person. War naming practices are based on exactly the same principles as those names in peace. War names like other names in peacetime, are texts that provide a dialogue in which the names are engaged with society at large (Brinkman, 2004).

Furthermore, Brinkman states that many combat names had the obvious relation to the context of war and soldiering. Appearance was often a criterion for choosing a combat name. A name could be chosen on the basis of the function that a person had.

Names given by others might form part of a “hidden transcript” in which the less superior group criticizes the powerful. Many colonial officials received nicknames describing their attitudes, personalities or commenting on their physical appearance (Scott, 1990). Not all nicknames are intended to negatively comment on people, also in the colonial context, many combatants received names that merely reflect their characters or described them in a positive manner. Similarly, this situation happens during war time, heroic and martial qualities of the fighters could be stressed through praise names. Ferme (2001) highlights that, these names might be

given by others, but they could also be a form of positive self-description. Whereas, praise names express boat of prowess already achieved, a war name might also refer to a wish or a model.

Brinkman (2004, p. 15) states that, “a combat name had to be at once familiar and strange”. Combat names had to fit within a frame of reference of popular heroes and contemporary terms yet it had to be novel enough not to be hackneyed or threadbare. To mark the new context and personal changes, many soldiers wore exotic dresses, chose new hairstyles and adopted foreign names. This study is in agreement that combat names should be familiar to other combatants but not to their opponents. The combat names need to be known and shared among other combatants because they were used to conceal their identities. They should also be strange in a way, that is, they should be unique, unfamiliar and different from one another (Brinkman, 2004).

Mastery (2016, p. 167) highlights that, “war names are regulated by two principles; First they can either be conferred upon a character or self-selected, both the bearer and fellow combatants must accept the names as being suitable for the individual”. However, self-elected names might be ultimately unsuitable for the comrades including the commanding officer. They might not accept that the names chosen by the combatants accurately represent them as soldiers. Mastery (2016) further explains that some soldiers modified and changed their combat names after they recognize that their names do not communicate what they desired. Mastery concludes that, the selection of war names is a collaborative process and could be contentious.

In contrast to Mastery, Brinkman (2004, p. 144) explains that in Angola, combatants changed their war names since their commander explained to them that:

If in the bush you keep on using the names with which they used to call you at home, the Portuguese will kill all your relatives. They will say that you guys have been looking for you in the bush. If they find your parents, they will kill them both; therefore you must use names which are not known by the Portuguese and not recorded in their books.

The second guideline is that war names should be unique to ensure their effectiveness. The names might be similar to one another, as with the ‘characters commander’ and ‘strike commander’, but they definitely should not duplicate any existing nicknames. The obvious narratological reason is those war names are proper names. Kripke (1980) regards combat names as “rigid designator”, in other words, these names could not be changed. Another reason is that, combat names could become banal through overuse. Interestingly, combatants were not allowed to share the same war names or adopt the nicknames previously used by a now- dead soldiers. This is to avoid bringing back memories of the past (Pfukwa, 2007).

In contrary to Pfukwa, the PLAN combatants adopted the pseudonym previously used by dead soldiers. In most cases, they named themselves after prominent readers or commanders who were committed, inspired them, and played the significant roles in their lives.

Mastery (2016) states that, conventions vary widely and the combat names that appear in child soldier narratives are quite diverse. In the Western context, a standard practice involves reference to a distinct character trait such as soldiers appearance, former profession or other memorable characteristics. In many instances, these names are ordinary, uninteresting and relatively self-evident. Another common norm is the incorporation of military rank. In normal circumstances, rank is indicated by a title that denotes the soldier’s narratives; war names that are based on these

titles are rarely accurate even among non-state groups that generously award ranks. Sometimes a lower ranked soldier uses a war name that implies a higher status.

Those who adopt this style of war names are neither constrained nor enabled by these titles, which would ordinarily come with certain responsibilities and privileges Mastery (2016). They are not necessarily aspirational either some ambitious characters still adopt titles of relatively lower rank. He further explains that, the style of a war name is inspirational as their namesakes are admired for their military successes. For example, a combat name *Denga nokuendelela*, which was very motivating and inspiring other combatants to fight harder and win the battles.

During the liberation struggle for the independence of Angola, not all guerrillas were allowed to choose their own names; some were given names by their compatriots. Pepetela (1994, pp. 69-79) suggests that “in most cases, new guerrillas received names from their unit. The baptism of a guerrilla was always a subject for lengthy discussions. The process of naming others often included collective names for the fighting groups. Such groups’ attribution could form part of the construction of the enemy and in these cases expressed negative feelings”. To this end, combat names should have unique and martial qualities, which describe their appearance and the role they played in the liberation struggle.

2.3 Function of combat names

Combat names played a major role like other names in general, and behind them there are great numbers of social attitudes and perceptions. One man says, *edhina ekogidho* “name as a link”. This is true because the names of PLAN combatants reflected their success during the liberation struggle.

Upon joining the liberation struggle, guerrillas were compelled to assume new names, mainly to hide their identities as well as protecting their families from the enemy forces (Pfukwa, 2008). These names played a significant role during the liberation struggle in different countries as well as during the Namibia liberation struggle. These names highlighted the goals to be achieved during the liberation struggle.

Tungamirai (1995, p. 210) explains why the guerrillas took up Chimurenga (war) names (as cited Pfukwa & Barnes, 2010)

These names reflected their new political awareness and their new role in the armed struggle. Combatants could not operate using their original names as they would have endangered their families who might have been victimized by the Rhodesian security forces

Barnes and Pfukwa (2010) state that the combat names (or *nom de guerre*) could be viewed as a specific type of nickname that evolves from a war situation.

The names assigned reflect a “discourse” about the hopes and aspirations of the combatants. However, it appears that the underlying principles of naming in war are not significantly different from those during peace time. In addition, war names practices have implications for language planning, language ideologies and contextualization.

Pongweni (1983) discusses combat names in Shona society in Zimbabwe during the liberation war era by noting that such names addressed political opposition and gave voice to freedom fighters who did not control mass media and other public avenues. Pongweni further explains that these names are developed in the environment of conflict and are vital chronicle of popular resistance. They are powerful resistance and could encapsulate an experience in the past or could

threaten an action in the future. The situation described by Pongweni is similar to what happened to the Aawambo during the liberation struggle.

Several members of the People Liberation Army of Namibia were given combat names, but after independence they reverted back to their birth names (Mbenzi, 2009). The names they received prior to independence involved aggression, for example, *Dengombulu* (beat the Boer). Mbenzi (2009) acknowledges that the Aawambo who became conscious of colonialism began sensitizing other people through passive resistance activities such as singing and bestowal of names that negated colonialism and repressive laws. The names that were given expressed themes such as suffering, revolts, desire for the dawn of independence and intercession for peace and stability.

Mbenzi (2009) further explains that, many Namibians were inspired to cross the borders and went to fight for the independence of their country. During the liberation of Namibia, PLAN fighters (People's Liberation Army of Namibia) used various strategies to dismantle the shackles of colonialism. One of the strategies they used in their guerrilla warfare tactic was to conceal their identity. They gave themselves names which negated colonialism. Pongweni (1983) concurs with Mbenzi (2009) that, "combatants used combat names to conceal their identity.

Firstly, the guerrillas changed their names to take a *nom de guerre* and these would seem to have been required for their protection and for their family members. Secondly, the freedom fighters did not adopt just any name that came to their minds. Instead, they chose names that reflected their new political awareness and their role in the revolutionary armed struggle designed to bring about a new dispensation (Pfukwa, 2008).

Mbenzi (2009, p. 166) acknowledges that, “the Oshiwambo revolutionary names were also used in everyday conversation by family members to sensitize the people about the gravity of the situation during the colonial era. The combatants give one another such names to conceal their identity and to avoid being arrested by the colonial forces”. In addition, a combatant could change the name as often as he / she likes. He further explains that revolutionary names were also used as praise names to those fighters who successfully defeated the enemies for example the name (*Shikulo shapandulilwe*) a powerful person who was admired.

David (2016, p. 166) states that “combat names have several functions; they act as unique identifiers, signal their statuses as combatant, and so on”. The adoption of war names is a complex process regulated by informal rules that yield diverse examples and in some cases contextual information from within a narrative and the historical circumstances on which names are based provide rich respective texts.

The study concurs with Makoni’s reasoning, because even among the Aawambo people could be renamed or given names at a later stage because of different circumstances and reasons. For example, the significant role a person plays in the family, as in the name *Ukweteoshila* meaning (the person who is guiding others). A child could also be renamed if his or her character is doubting the name-giver. For example, a child who cries too much could be renamed because people might think of descendants or ancestors in the family who might be disturbing the child. Chivero, Chiwara, Kadenge and Mabugu (2014, p. 1233) reveal that, “the meaning and function of the names given to the children or used by adults during the liberation struggle are significant since they highlight the situation, the ideologies, the aspirations and above all the goals that needed to be achieved during the liberation struggle”. Examples of names that were used by

liberation war heroes in Zimbabwe include *Mabhunumuchapera* (Boers shall be wiped), *Chazezesachachauya* (the feared have arrived), among many others. The use of these names was important because of safety and ideological reasons (Pfukwa, 2007; 2008).

Although the naming of freedom fighters and children born during the liberation struggle generally conform to the principles that guide the naming practices during peace times, it is worth noting that these names reflect the tribulations, ideologies, and the difficulties associated with war (Pfukwa, 2003; 2007). All the issues were neatly encapsulated in the names given to the freedom fighters. The naming of children born during the liberation struggle as emphasized by Pfukwa is not the focus of this study. Chivero *et al* (2014) mentions that the names given to the liberation fighters were designed to reflect a new life experience that the liberation fighters were undergoing. This is reflected by the names that they chose to use during the war. In the case of PLAN fighters, they gave themselves names

Several researchers such as Pongweni (1983), Pfukwa (2007; 2008), Obeng (2001), Brinkman (2004), and Mbenzi (2009) agree that combat names disguise combatant's identities as well as protecting their families from the enemies' forces. Pfukwa (2007, p. 114) urges that, "among the guerrillas concealing an identity was also a process of creating a new identity. The process of renaming opened up new possibilities, new identities, new values, reshaping ideologies and creating new concepts of self as well as redefining the groups within which the self-operated".

Each war name was given to fulfill certain functions that went beyond simple reference. Moreover, Pfukwa (2008) observes that, in claiming new identities the war names interrogated the existing system, its religious practices, social systems, and cultural traditions that often

marginalized a portion of its population and relegated to second class citizens. Renaming became a process of repossession continuously re-writing new identities and claiming socio-cultural space.

Pfukwa (2012) conducted a study on Chimurenga war names as parodic critique of imperialism and found out that some war names provided political jokes in the view of the Bakhtinian theory of carnivals and the carnivalesque where texts that glorify, mock parody, scatologize, crown or decrown are presented through names. This carnivalesque form of politics provides a circle that portrays hidden dialogue between the oppressed and their marginalized discourse, and the regime and its dominant autocratic discourse. These names provided subversive humour and a rebellious political tone that mocked the Rhodesian administration, thereby affecting both social and political changes during the colonial era.

Pfukwa (2012) observes that, guerrilla's combat names, for various reasons often had connotations of a complex political nature. Combat names provide the mirror image of the enactment of the liberation struggle. These names are framed within the wider Chimurenga War (the Zimbabwean war of liberation) context of the relationship between the language and war. A norm de guerre plays an integral role on a soldier's personality. A guerrilla's new name becomes an inner changing experience towards the transmutation of one's inner personality, hence an apt expression of their new identity. Brinkman (2004) sums up this argument when he says, names thus form an idiom that "sets parameters of biography". It is for this reason that readers could identify so closely with the intricacies of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle.

Pfukwa (2012) explains that war names are psychoanalytically significant in motivating and producing self-fulfilling prophecies. They invoked the spirit of revolt, which propelled cadres into a long arduous and painful metamorphosis. Naming becomes a discovery of the possible ontological contract, heightened by the political consciousness whose insights are prophetic and revolutionary. Pfukwa (2003) expresses that, the war name was “a social environment within which the name is found” (p. 16). The combat names concealed identities and were indicators of the sociocultural background of the guerrillas. They were a medium through which feelings were expressed as shown by some of the ethnic slurs that reflect the bitterness of the conflict. They effectively blurred regional and ethnic identities and were strong statements of resistance and new ideology (Pfukwa, 2003).

Pfukwa (2007, p. 124) states that “the combat names expressed an ideological position that narrated a historical past that had been expropriated by the colonial power”. By taking up new names the guerrillas were taking a step in reclaiming and redefining cultural spaces. They adopted names which were unheard of in the colonial period in order to shape new identities. They acquired new meanings, new orientations and new values.

Combat names were part of the “grand narrative” that marginalized those who were ruled. Through the renaming process, the guerrilla sought to rewrite these colonial narratives which supported the government of the day (Channels, 1995; 2005). The fiction of Daniel Carney (1980) are good illustration of the “grand narrative” of the colonial period.

To this end, the process of renaming opened up to new possibilities, new attributes, and values, reshaping ideology and creating new concepts of the self. Combat names were designed to reflect new life experience that the combatants were going through and this is reflected by the names that they chose to use during the liberation struggle.

2.3.1 Name and identity

On the primary function of names, Brennen (2000, p. 144) defines identity as, “a relatively stable self-picture, which consists of the opinions, attitudes habits and beliefs that last relatively unchanged over long periods of time”. Dundes (1983, p. 239) defines identity in this manner:

[It] connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others.

Joseph (2004) and Dundes (1983) (as cited in Pfukwa, 2007) agree that identity is a reciprocal process that operates at two levels:

How the individual or group projects or perceives itself

How the reader or recipient perceives the projected identity

The self has an image it perceives and seeks to project: this is the projected identity. The recipient or the public have their own perceptions, and this is what Joseph (2004) calls receptive process in identity. The two processes do not necessarily share the same perspective. The concept of identity is closely linked to the activity of name giving. Joseph (2004) points out that being named is an ‘enacted identity’. This is how others perceive the self or the group. Naming oneself could be viewed as an act of self-perception, self-concept or self-praise. To name is to own and control and by naming the name-giver could claim social and political space over the name (Holland, 1990).

Pfukwa (2007, p. 121) states:

“Naming and renaming becomes an act of claiming and rewriting an identity. To name the self is a declaration of independence from wider social control and it is a

choice in identity. Whether society accepts this self-chosen identity is quite another matter”.

Names including combat names express a whole way of life, religious practices, social systems and cultural traditions. A name could also be a social peg that expresses cultural or social systems and cultural traditions and it could also be a social peg that expresses a cultural or social perspective of the name-giver or the owner of the name, so naming and renaming become an act of claiming and rewriting an identity. To name the self is a declaration of independence from wider social control and it is a choice in identity (Pfukwa, 2007).

In the case of nicknames, it has been suggested that identities are perpetually deferred as the nicknames are often unstable, in a state of perpetual flux (Allen, 1983). Nicknames are a form of popular expression which is difficult to freeze into some static orthographic form and still retain its connotative qualities. Similarly, the combat name is dynamic rather than static, changing with different circumstances. Brinkman (2004, p. 144) expresses the same view that, “combatants changed their combat names as many times as they move to different units for security reasons”. Oshiwambo names are usually static and hardly change, but they might change depending on the circumstance in which the parents would find themselves. For example, a child who cries continuously from birth could force parents to rename him or her by listing ancestor’s names in their family especially (those who were the head of the family and played significant roles).

2.3.2 Onomastic erasure

The process of taking up combat names was an act of erasure, an attempt to delete an identity derived from the past in order to replace it with a new identity. The combat name brought new attributes that supersede or erase the existing ones. Taking up a combat name could be seen as an attempt to erase a colonial past, an erasure of all connections with the past, and simultaneously

concealing identity in a war situation (Pfukwa, 2007). Pfukwa and Barnes (2010) further state that interviews with some combatants confirmed that by taking up combat names erasure was intended.

The two processes of onomastic erasure and concealing identity are linked; they are two sides of the same coin. Based on this view, a combat name is an act of restricting an existing configuration in order to put a new set of onomastic relations in its place. By adopting new names, it is not only erasing attributes of the combatant's original names but ushering in a new set of characteristics (Pfukwa, 2007). This process should not be seen as destruction, but rather as a redefinition, restricting and reshaping of concepts at new levels (Lucy, 2004). Identities are constantly being rebuilt, modified and reshaped as the function of the name is fulfilled or modified. As the function changes, the meaning of the name changes, in some cases the name falls away, in others it retains its phonological and morphological properties but loses its semantic properties (Pfukwa, 2003).

Pfukwa (2007, p. 118) points out that, "as an act of onomastic erasure the combat name deleted a whole history and in some cases a whole culture". Sometimes the combat names deleted various identities and became an act of renaming and opening up new identities that took up the ideals of Chimurenga and the struggle against the colonial power. Pfukwa further explains that a nickname is not permanent. Being part of a language, it carries the dynamics of language change and language contact. Onomastic erasure is a perpetual process where cultures and ideologies impose themselves on those already existing bringing in their own identities.

2.3.3 Combat names and language links

There is a close relationship between the society and a language in which names are found. Names form an important part of a language. Raper (1983, p. 1) explains that “language might be used to describe as a social instrument used by members of society to communicate with one another”. In case of names, including combat names within African communities, names are used as channels of communication. This is what happened during Namibia liberation struggle. Some combat names were used as communicative tools to express their unpleasant feeling as it appears in the following names: *Nadilwifwe* (Let them be fought against), *Fikamenitulweni* (Stand up so that we could fight) (Mbenzi, 2009). Raper (1987, p. 78) maintains that, “names are an integral part of the language and a primary function of a language is to communicate”. Machaba (2005, p. 29) expresses that, “although names are found in a language, they do not only function as linguistic items, but as a social and psychological matter”. The fact that naming is not simply a linguistic matter, but a social and a psychological matter, is demonstrated by various naming practices adopted by people from different cultural and religious backgrounds.

Makoni and Pfukwa (2010, p. 199) highlights that, “during wartime, language undergoes rapid changes as new words are added to the language or old words acquire new meanings associated with war experiences”. New words are introduced into the language as part of “code-language”. Brinkman (2004, p.3) explains that this furtive language is often used “to prevent the enemy from knowing about war strategies and plans”. Language change also occurs in the past because of the deployment of old words or terms to new contexts and the creation of new linguistic configurations made up of multiple languages. The process of creating new words or expressions, as well as modifying old ones, or selecting among alternative forms, is part of corpus planning. In most cases, corpus planning aims to develop the resources of a language so

that it becomes an appropriate medium of communicating new concepts which could not be communicated using the existing repertoire of words in the language.

Corpus planning like any other form of language is typically a top-down activity. Yet combat naming practices create opportunities for corpus planning from below, as the act of naming is an instance of ground-level practices. From the applied linguistic perspectives, naming practices during wartimes are an indication corpus planning. Thus, studying combat names not only provides insight into language planning, but also offers significant insight into an encompassing social and political history (Ferme, 2001). This research views combat names from quintessential triad of discourse- identity- ideology. Combat names discursively construct a particular identity and ideologies of a language (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Blommaert, 2005; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006).

2.3.4 Metaphoric names as combat names

A metaphor is a direct comparison between two things and this comparison is implied rather than stated directly. Metaphor is a figure of speech which is used to create images or mind pictures in order to express ourselves visually, imaginatively and powerfully (Lutrin & Pincus, 2002). Figurative language such as metaphor and personification deviates from the literal meaning of words for the sake of more interesting writing. It evokes comparison, heightens emphasis, and clarifies a new way of stating an idea or description. The term “figuratively speaking” derives from figurative language, just as “literally speaking”.

Mbenzi (2009, p. 67) maintains that, “metaphoric names are names that refer to a thing in order to emphasize similar qualities with a bearer of the name”. In Oshiwambo, certain animals are

believed to possess certain qualities. Some animals are regarded as weak, whereas, others are regarded as powerful. An elephant is regarded as powerful. It is also regarded as a fearless animal or a powerful one. Mbenzi (2009) further explains that one PLAN fighter was named *Kandjambwena* (a small elephant) because he was fearless and never retreated during crossfire. Another fighter bore the name *Mambondwe* (Wasps).

Wasps are likened to aggressive people in Oshiwambo and they could conspire against an enemy. This name makes a reference to the conspirator against the colonial rule. The Namibians fought against oppression both inside and outside the country. The other metaphorical names which were used are *Kangwe* (small leopard) and *Kambwa* (a puppy). The diminutive- “ka” is used to express admiration. A tiger is considered aggressive and cruel and a dog is kept to attack enemies. It seems these names were given as a way of self-encouragement. In self praises of Aawambo, names of animals often crop up. It was, therefore not strange to use animals’ names to depict and bravery and determination of the PLAN fighters.

2.4 Categories of combat names

This section presents the names in different categories following a classification developed from other studies. Obeng (2001, p. 69) explains “that in African societies, as in most societies, excellence in political services or public life and a distinguished military career are highly valued and very much appreciated”. On the other hand, civil strife political turmoil, and the oppressive behavior of people in public office are highly detested. It comes as no surprise that several African personal names relate to political service (including military accomplishments) to the community as well as to wars and strife. Obeng categorizes combat names into four categories namely:

- a) Military prowess titles used as proper names
- b) Names referring to political strength or to power (impregnability)
- c) Combat names based on performance at war
- d) Names related to wealth

a) Military prowess titles used as proper names

According to Obeng (2001), names under this category include expressions describing patriotism, war, including excellence in warfare, and the names of important figures associated with such wars, important historical sites, and desertion from the traditional political or military warrior. As the sub-heading, such names might have in the past been used as praise names. Presently, they are used as proper names. Brinkman (2004, p. 151) expresses the same view that “during wartime, heroic and martial qualities of the fighters could be stressed through praise names which might be given by others, but they could also be a form of positive self-description.”

b) Names referring to political strength

Obeng (2001) states that there are political titles used as names based on the name-bearers’ political strength. Such names fall into the following categories:

i) Those related to the action of the name-bearers

Names under this category depict the bearers as dependable, reliable, awesome, and resolved to conquer, impregnable, and strong.

ii) Animal- based political strength anthroponomy

Obeng (2001, p. 76) points out that “names in this category are metaphorical”. Similarly, these names refer to some animals which are believed to possess certain qualities and are regarded as

being strong and fearless (Mbenzi, 2009). For example, *elephant* (the mighty-one), *tiger* (the destroyer), and *leopard* (the fearsome) that relate to animals show similarities in strength between the name bearers and the animal after whom they are named. These names are given to a warrior who fights with speed and by that brings fear on his pursued enemy. The freedom fighter makes the enemy suffer through strangulation and should therefore not be dared by the enemy. Obeng (2001) further explains that a person named after the elephant shows how his sheer strength and size allows him to conquer at will. The researcher concurs with Mbenzi (2009) that names referring to the animals are regarded as being strong and fearless, and these animals possess the same qualities with some of the Oshiwambo combat names example the name *Nghoshi* “lion”.

Pfukwa (2007) stresses that the guerrillas spent most of the time in the bush where they became part of that environment and they were collectively referred to as *vana vevhu* “children of the soil”. They turned natural environment into a valuable resource. Lan (1985, p. 171) traces the origin of *vana vevhu* by pointing out that guerrillas lived:

. . . Deep in the forest like wild semi-human creatures so profoundly at one with nature and all the wild animals that live were able to perceive the secret meanings contained in their behaviour. . . Of their own volition, they gave their support to the guerrillas either actively, or, like hares and elephants who led guerrillas through the bush, and birds, tortoises and snakes that gave advance warning of the outcome of their missions, or passively like lions and snakes who allowed guerrillas free untroubled passage through the forest.

Animals played a tremendous role in guiding and warning the PLAN fighters throughout the bush. In most cases, they give a warning sign to people when there is danger. This is not only happened during the liberation struggle, but in life in general, they are doing so.

Pfukwa (2003) makes similar observations on this relationship between guerrillas and the natural environment. Some species of wildlife such as baboons and eagles were important indicators of the state of the environment and were harbingers of pending danger. Pfukwa explains how baboons were used as sentinels in Mozambican camps in the last stage of the war. Similarly, Gumbo (1995) gives a good example of how guerrillas were warned by the eagle of the impending doom and emphasized that during the heated discussions, there were four eagles which flew directly in the sky and they appeared to have a battle of their own, clawing at each other. The eagles were an indication of an omen and it conveys the powers and message of spirit. They bestow freedom and courage to look ahead. The behaviour of the eagle described above could be attributed to simple superstition, but there were also a good reason for considering the eagle as part of the guerrilla's radar system. Some guerrillas took up the names of big game such as the lion is thin, lion beast of the bush, baboon, leopard, and rhino were also taken by some guerrillas. Pongweni (1983, p. 50) captures the inspirational force of the rhino in the following passage:

The black rhino is a particularly hostile animal, powerful, swift in attacking intruders in its domain, and generally awe-inspiring. The naming of people after animals is the most explicitly metaphorical aspect of the whole exercise. Whether or not there is some resemblance between the two is mostly immaterial: the man is given the animal tag because he shares some behavioural peculiarity with that animal.

Similarly, the name *Shumba* (lion) suggests the majestic power of the lion as king of the beast. There is also some totemic significance in some animal names selected by the guerrillas. It is possible that some guerrillas who took up animal names were celebrating totems. Similarly, there are some Oshiwambo combat names that are metaphorical and also represented by animals such as *Nghoshi* (lion), *Ndjaba* (elephant), *Kangwe* (leopard). These names also show similarities in strength between the name bearers and the animals after which they are named (Mbenzi, 2009).

c) Combat names based on performance at war

There are combat names that are based solely on performance at war. Some names under this category have historical significance in the Ankan nation (Obeng, 2001). There are also some Oshiwambo combat names corresponding with this title, name such as *Shikulo shapandulilwe* (Powerful person who was admired). These combat names were also used as praise for fighters who successfully defeated the enemies.

d) Names relating to commanders of military battalions

Obeng, (2001) highlights that these names are predominantly male names since the positions they refer to were traditionally held by men. Nowadays, women hold such positions and use the male titles. Names in this category are compounds and have the word chief/ commander as the last unit of the compound as it appears in Oshiwambo combat name *Kakukutu komatanga* (a commander who was leading others). Although the names might be used as military titles, the first units of this compound noun could be used as personal names on some occasions. Similarly, Oshiwambo combat names are also categorized into different categories namely:

2.4.1 Proverbial names

Some combat names are derived from proverbs and these names show how language is used to talk about culture and how culture informs language. Chivelo *et al.* (2014, p. 1238) explains that “proverbial names are derived from proverbs. A proverb is a straightforward and real saying commonly well-known and repeated. It expresses a truth based on common wisdom”. Proverbial names depict the sorrow and bitterness that the parents endure after giving birth and these names portray some aspects of life and the conflicts that ensue in human relation. Proverbial names express the realities of the situation at hand, either the disappointment or the joy of the parents (Agyekum, 2006).

Names are deeply rooted in the languages and cultures of the African people and it is impossible to fully understand the names without a thorough knowledge of various African societies, a point also articulated by Oduyoye (1987) and Suzman (1994). Context is also significant in understanding and using African proverbial names because the names are products of experiences undergone by the name-givers. Oyetade (1997) claims that proverbial names have tremendous significance in African communication especially indirect communication. By choosing a particular proverb name, the name-giver could convey a message meant either for the name-bearer or other members of the society.

2.4.2 Praise names

It is explained by Mbenzi (2009) that SWAPO soldiers could not easily be hunted down because they travelled under different *nom de guerres*. The combat names were also used as a praise for fighters who successfully defeated the enemies, for example: *Shikulo sha Pandulilwe* (A PLAN fighter who was honored for his job well done).

2.4.3 Names which express suffering

According to Mbenzi (2009) there are combat names which reveal suffering combatants went through. These names refer to the events which took place during the liberation struggle of Namibia, as it appears in the following example:

Nailote- “Let it cease”. The name expresses the desire for the cessation of hostilities. The PLAN fighters were fed up with war, therefore they called for the implementation of a ceasefire through this type of name.

2.4.4 Combat names which express revolt

Mbenzi (2009, p. 69) expresses that, “there are several names which call upon the colonized people of Namibia to rebel against operation and exploitation by the colonial regime”. The following names reflect the demand that people should rise in rebellion:

Oongaku dhomutondi –“The shoes of enemy.” The name of the fighter who was good at following the tracks of the enemies.

Nadhitope-“Let the explosion of the guns be heard.” This name contains a serious call on the Namibians to take up arms and fight against the colonial forces.

Dengombulu –“beat a Boer.” The name was bestowed upon a PLAN fighter who often defeated the Boers. This PLAN fighter was regarded as a sharp shooter. It is a call to PLAN fighters to become aggressive in tracking down the Boers.

Nadhilwithwe “Let us fight them.” This combat name was coined as self- encouragement among the PLAN fighters. It simply means that they should vigorously strive to fight the Boers until

their last bullet was spent. According to (Mbenzi, 2009) *Nadhilwithwe* is an elliptical name because the subject marker “nadhi” refers to the deleted subject which is – Oombulu (Boers).

2.5 Morphological structure of combat names

2.5.1 Definition of morphology

Mandende (2009) defines morphology as the study of the structure of words. It is a branch of linguistics dealing with the forms and formation of words. Obeng and Obeng (2006), defines morphology as the study of word or morphemes. It is concerned with inflections or the process of adding (prefixes and suffixes) to a base word, plurals, tenses etc. Nida (1976), Aronoff (1979) Kosch (1997), and Zungu (1999) add that morphology is the study of the internal structure of words and that it also shows how morphemes are systematically arranged to create the meaning of a word. Therefore, morphology is the important part of grammar/linguistics that specializes in the study of the anatomy of word categories found in all languages of the universe.

Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003) studies the morphological aspect of Aawambo personal names in general and acknowledges that in African languages, the name-forming process is typically derivational. Koopman (1979) notes that names are derived from some primary source in the language, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, noun phrases and clauses (as cited in Maunumaa, 2003, p. 271). Obeng (2001) studied morphological analysis of Akan political anthroponomy and Mandende (2009) studied the morphological analysis of Tshivenda personal names in general which is almost similar to what Maunumaa have presented. Yet there has not been a study that investigates the morphological analysis of Oshiwambo combat names. In this research, an attempt is made to fill this gap.

Mandende (2009) studied the morphological analysis of Vhavenda personal names and observed that these names are derived from different word categories. Similarly, Koopman (1979b), Obeng (2001) and Maunumaa (2003) agree with Mandende's statement that personal names are derived from different word categories namely: nouns, verbs, phrases, compounds and many others.

2.5.2 Structure of military prowess titles used as proper names

Obeng (2001) studied the Akan political anthroponyms and pointed out that, "these names have varied structural characteristics ranging from simple noun stem to phrases, clauses, and sentences" (p. 72). Obeng added that an observation of the military prowess titles used as proper names suggests that some of the morphosyntactic structures could be identified as follows:

- a) Sentences with null subjects do not have an overt subject in the surface structure; thus, the subject is implicit and such subject could in the underlying form be realized as either the third person singular subject prefix, s/he and first person plural prefix.
- b) Simple sentences with SVO (subject, verb, and object) structure: Names with this kind of sentence structure usually have the third person singular pronoun prefix as the subject. Similarly, some Oshiwambo combat names are derived from different sentences with the subject, verb and object, as it appear in the name Ondjaba ya lika komwe "An elephant being beaten by the mosquito".
- c) Complex sentence: names in this category have an initial conditional clause followed by the main clause. The subject prefixes in both clauses are deleted at the surface structure.
- d) Compound words made up of two or more roots.
- e) Names derived from simple words.

2.5.3 Names referring to political strength (action based political strength)

Obeng (2001) clearly states that structurally, action-based political strength anthroponyms might be phrasal compounds or complete sentences with an overt subject prefix s/he, a verb or verbs, and a complement/object. Names in this case could contain a serial verb construction. Names in this category also depict the name bearers as dependable, reliable, awesome, and resolved to conquer, impregnable, and strong. Obeng adds that these names are morphologically structured by the subject- verb- object (SVO), affix- noun- affix, subject-verb-object-pp (preposition of place), subject-verb-adverb, subject-verb-verb, noun-verb-affix etc.

2.5.4 Animal-based political strength anthroponyms

Names in this category relate to animals and show similarities in strength between the bearers and the animal after which the combatants are named. Most of the names in this category are derived from nouns and verb- noun (Obeng, 2001).

2.5.5 Political anthroponyms based on performance at war

Obeng (2001, p. 78) explains that, “combat names in this category are based solely on performance at war and some names under this category are historically significant among Akan people”. In addition, these names emphasize the military supremacy and sound a note of warning to other leaders to refrain from engaging the combatants at war because they do so at their own peril or risk. Morphological structure of these names is from affix-verb-perfect tense-verb-noun, plural-noun, affix-verb-tense-verb, noun, adjective-adjective, subject-verb-plural-object, subject-verb-verb-object.

It is important to note that personal names including combat names are an indispensable part of the language. In order to understand their meaning, the structure of the different word categories from which they are formed and their background should be taken into consideration. Though

combat names are universally used to label and identify combatants, the component of meaning could also not be ignored, particularly when one is studying African personal names.

2.6. Theoretical Frameworks

The main objective of this section is to provide the theoretical background to the concept of onomastics, particularly anthroponymy. Only the aspects that are related to personal names are discussed. The section outlines the theories that underpinned this study namely, the Critical theory and Descriptive theory of reference. Both theories acted as lenses in the onomastic discipline.

Since the aim of the study is to investigate the significance and meaning of Oshiwambo combat names, Critical theory helped to analyse the techniques of persuasion and the type of message being communicated, and how they reinforced the revolutionary mood, motivation tools and how they boosted the morale of the combatants. The Descriptive theory of reference help understand the semantic meaning of these names and their descriptions.

2.6.1 Critical theory

This theory is concerned with liberation from all forms of oppression, animated by commitment to freedom, happiness, and a rational ordering of society. Namibia was ruled by South Africa through a policy of Apartheid underpinned by separate development for whites, coloured and so called natives. The natives were denied access to proper services such as health and education. Their labour was exploited for the service to whites. Their right was violated and oppressed. They had no right to express opinions without a risk of arrest, jail, torture and even death. They fled the country in to exile and started organising themselves into groups of guerrillas units which penetrated the country.

Since the aim of the study is to investigate the significance and meaning of Oshiwambo combat names, the theory helped analyse the techniques of persuasion and communication behind these names and how they reinforced the revolutionary mood, providing motivation and boosting their morale in the struggle towards independence.

This theory is attempted to develop a normative of “real democracy” that was contrasted with actual political forms of liberation societies. A democratic society would be national, because in it, individuals could gain “conscious control” over social processes that affect them and their life chances. To the extent that such an aim is possible, it requires human beings to become “producer of their social life in its totality” (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 244).

Critical theory is a philosophical out-look which is concerned mainly with revealing, through scholarly investigation, the social stratification and power relation. The Critical theorists naturally align themselves with the interest of marginalised groups and view their task as uncovering oppression forces through dialectical analysis aimed at shedding light on the underlying struggles between opposing forces. As argued by Littlejohn (2002, p. 210), “only by becoming aware of the opposing forces in a struggle for power can individuals be liberated and free to change the existing order. Otherwise, they will remain alienated from one another and co-opted into their own oppression”. A natural outcome of the broad, emancipatory orientation of Critical theory is that it is multidisciplinary in its scope, combining perspectives drawn from political economy, sociology, cultural theory, philosophy, anthropology, and history (Bronner & Kellner 1989).

2.6.2 Descriptive theory of reference

Descriptive theory of reference urges that the referent of a proper name consists of unique properties, necessarily delivered by the definite description attributed to that referent. The theory holds that meaning of a proper name is the same as its definite description because both share common properties that are uniquely attributed to the referent. In other words, a proper name abbreviates a definite description. The association between a name and its associated description is established by the speaker of a language of a certain speech community. This theory could also be called replacement theory because the description might replace a proper name with its corresponding definite description (Frege & Russell, 1957).

Devitt and Sterelny (1999) notes that, descriptive theory of reference can be interpreted as a theory of understanding, to understand an expression is to know its meaning, and the meaning is expressed by the appropriate description or cluster of description. Strawson (1959) suggests that the meaning of a name is not expressed by a single defined description, but rather by a cluster of descriptions associated somehow more loosely with the name by the speaker. Strawson further states that in the philosophy of a language, the descriptive theory of reference is the view that the meaning or semantic content of proper names is identical to the descriptions associated with it by the speaker while their referents are determined to be objects that satisfy these descriptions.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter firstly looked at the definitions of combat names by different scholars, characteristics of combat names, functions, name and identity, how onomastic is erased by adopting nicknames, how combat names linked to the language, combat names and figurative

language, categories of names, morphological analysis of combat names and lastly theoretical frame work.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of the study was to investigate the significance of Oshiwambo combat names for the PLAN fighters during the armed liberation struggle of Namibia. This chapter, therefore, highlighted the procedures and methodology that were used to carry out the present study. The chapter specifically focuses on the research design, population, samples, research instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis as well as research ethics.

3.2 Research design

This study employed a qualitative research approach. This is so because, qualitative research focuses on meaning-making by human. In other words, it involves an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons that govern human behavior (Neuman, 2001). The qualitative research design was considered suitable for this study because data was collected only from a sample representative of the population and no variable was manipulated. Unstructured questions were used through an in-depth interview with the selected former PLAN fighters from the Ministry of Safety and Security and Ministry of Defence.

3.3 Population

Neuman (2011) defines population as the abstract idea of a large group of many cases from which a researcher draws a sample and to which results could be generalized. The targeted population for this study consisted of all the Oshiwambo combat names for the former PLAN fighters who engaged in combat during the Namibian liberation struggle.

3.4 Sampling

A sample consists of a small set of cases a researcher selects from a large pool and generalizes to the population (Kothari, 2004). The study used purposive sampling techniques to select the sample. A sample of 100 names were collected from 20 former PLAN fighters purposively selected from the members of Namibian Police, special field force as well as members of the Namibian Defence Force. Purposive sampling was used and it was relevant for this study because it enabled the researcher to select a sample based on the purpose of the study and knowledge of population about the significance and meaning of Oshiwambo combat names which were adopted by the former PLAN fighters during the Namibian liberation struggle.

The chosen subjects had the required characteristics that informed the study and this was done using the researcher's expert knowledge of population and selected such a sample in a non-random manner. Therefore, the former PLAN fighters were sampled purposively because they have knowledge and deep understanding about the significance, origin and meanings of Oshiwambo combat names. Snowball sampling was also employed in the study, in which a small sample was selected and later on it was expanded.

The former PLAN fighters identified other members who were also engaged in combat and were interviewed. The participants provided their combat names and their meanings. In this way, the sample kept growing like snowball. Potter (1996) explains that during the interview, the researcher asks for names of additional people to talk to, thereby expanding the initial list of interviewees. By using this technique, the interviewer starts with a small list but gathers momentum and weight as the research proceeds. In other words, the techniques yield its study sample through referrals made among a group of people who know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest.

3.5 Research instruments

An unstructured interview was used to collect information from the participants and to gain deeper understanding of the significance and meanings of Oshiwambo combat names. The researcher used interview guides which were developed based on the interviewee's background, significance, meanings, circumstances under which the names were given, when the combatants chose names, name bearer, and most importantly the reasons why the former PLAN fighters developed a culture of giving themselves combat names. A digital voice recorder with the permission from the participants to record one-on-one interviews was used. Both structured and semi-structured questions were intended to elicit views, thoughts and opinions from the participants. In addition, the researcher also took notes as some participants refused to be recorded.

3.6 Data collection procedures

Two ministries in Khomas Region, namely Ministry of Safety and Security and Ministry of Defence were studied. The researcher wrote request letters for permission to conduct a fieldwork at the two ministries. Permission from Lt. General of Namibian Police and Executive Director in the Ministry of Defence was sought. The two ministries identified ten staff members who were in combat zones and used combat names. The researcher made appointments with respondents during working hours, one-on-one interviewees took place and ethical considerations were adhered to. The identity of the researcher, as well as purpose of the study was disclosed to the respondents prior to their taking part in the study. Each member was asked to give his or her combat name and they were also asked to provide four or more combat names for other former PLAN fighters which they could recall.

3.7 Data analysis

The qualitative data obtained were analyzed and presented using the content analysis method in which data were allocated into different categories and themes. The analysis of the narratives of the former PLAN fighters interview focused on the significance and meanings of Oshiwambo combat names, the role played by the names during Namibian liberation struggle, why the former PLAN fighters named themselves and the circumstances under which these names were give. A conclusion was drawn based on the significance and meaning of combat names.

3.8 Research ethics

Firstly, an ethical clearance letter from the School of Postgraduate Studies at the University of Namibia was obtained prior to conducting this study. Thereafter, a letter was written to the Lt. General of the Namibian Police Force and Executive Director in the Ministry of Defence in Windhoek, asking for permission to carry out the study. Before data were collected from the participants, the purpose of the study was clearly explained to the participants. In addition, participants had to consent to the study. The rights to anonymity and confidentiality was ensured.

The participants were also informed that their participation is voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any given time. In addition, they were also informed that the interview schedules and information gathered would be for the purpose of completing the research. During the interview process, the participant's identity was protected and due diligence was taken to ensure that no harm was caused to participants. All works used have been acknowledged throughout the study. The data collected would be safely stored for future reference.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the methodology adopted to carry out this study. In order to clearly understand the phenomenon understand, a qualitative research method was adopted. This method was used to elicit in-depth information about the meaning and significance of Oshiwambo combat names. The next chapter focuses on the research results and finding as well as discussion on the significance and meaning of combat names derived from the data collected from the participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyzes data gathered from former PLAN fighters from the Ministry of Safety and Security and Ministry of Defence. The analysis and discussion of the results were based on ten categories namely, praise name, proverbial, metaphorical, names expressing revolts, names hoping for independence, sufferings, motivational names, inspirational names, warning names and commander's names. The discussion includes how the PLAN fighters adopted the names, who named them, what the name implies, the significance of the names, and the circumstances under which the names were adopted, dropped or kept after the liberation struggle. The names presented in this chapter are those collected from a sample of hundred names. The morphological structure of the names is presented in order to understand how the combat names are derived from different word class such as nouns, verbs, verb phrases, negative phrases and sentences.

4.2 Presentation of the results from the interviews

Based on the information provided by the SWAPO Headquarters' office, there are 40 000 PLAN combatants alive. From this total, only twenty former PLAN fighters were purposively selected from the members of the Namibian Police, under Special Field Force section, as well as members of the Namibian Defence Force. The two ministries were selected because most of the former PLAN fighters are still employees. The table below demonstrates the total numbers of names collected from the two ministries.

Table 4.2.1 Names per source

SOURCE	NUMBER	SEX		PERCENTAGE (%) OF NAMES COLLECTED
		M	F	
Ministry of Defence	12	8	4	60
Ministry of Safety and Security (Special Field Force)	8	3	5	40

According to table 4.2.1, the Ministry of Defence provided more numbers of combat names compared to the Ministry of Safety and Security. More names were collected from males than females, whereas, at the Ministry of Safety and Security more names were provided by the females respondents. This does not mean that the total numbers of male employees in the Ministry of Defence is more than the total numbers of female or vice versa. It might be the case, however for this study, the willingness to participate in the study was solely based on the participants. Many participants who took part in the study were very humble and shared their war experience in a professional manner. The female combatants were however a bit uncomfortable. Former PLAN fighters were equally motivated to pursue the armed liberation and they travelled long distances; moving from place to another to liberate Namibia through the barrel of the gun. During the war, PLAN fighters used different tactics to liberate Namibia from the colonial oppression. One of the strategies used in the guerrilla warfare was to conceal their identities (Mbenzi, 2009; Namakalu, 2004).

4.2 Analysis and discussion of combat names per category

4.2.1 Praise names

These names are referred to as praise names for those who vow to defeat the enemies and for their admiration in various situations during war. These names also encouraged the combatants to face various war challenges and most importantly, they made them whom they are today. The names honored them for the commitment and hard work.

Koopman (1987) explains that praise names are common in African societies especially for men. Such names are used to show respect and admiration in various situations, and are typically created by the person self or by his peers. Some combat names we regarded as praise name and these names were used to acknowledge combatants work during the Namibian liberation. In the Oshiwambo language, praise names are regarded as a sign of power. It is not only human beings that are given praise names, animals as well. During war time, praise names were more common and were often given for acts of bravery (Mbenzi, 2009). During war, combat names played a significant role and among those names are the praise names which former PLAN fighters named themselves to conceal their identities. In this category, there are names such as *Shikuloshapandulilwe* and *Nandemutumapokafi*, *Nandemuumbakumuyashe*. These are discussed below.

4.2.1.1 *Shikuloshapanduliwe*- “A PLAN fighter who was honored for his excellent work”.

The name refers to the PLAN fighter who performed well during the war and he was acknowledged for his work. He took the name after he arrived in Angola in 1966. He joined the liberation struggle at a tender age like many young Namibians who joined SWAPO to liberate Namibian from the yoke of colonialism. He named himself *Shikuloshapandulilwe* because before he joined the armed liberation struggle, he managed to shoot and wounded his two enemies in

the attack at Oshikango near Angola. When he went in to exile the same year, he decided to pick up such name referring back to his excellent work when he wounded the two South African enemies. The name really encouraged him to fight fiercely. The main reason to choose a name was to conceal his identity. Due to the critical situation of the war, they were forced to name themselves names which helped them to remain determined and committed. He dropped the name after independence.

4.2.1.2 *Nandemutumapokafi Nandemuumbakumuyashe-* “**He will not die even you send or shoot him**”. The participant took this name upon arrival in Angola in 1979. The name refers to himself that he was strong enough to defeat the enemies. He narrated that he was very committed and well-motivated to fight against his enemies and win them. He further stated that, they only had one aim, which was to fight and free their motherland. The name motivated him to face his enemies and helped him to remain determined. He chose these names because upon arrival in Angola, the situation was very unpleasant thus, the name served as an encouragement to defeat the enemy. He dropped his names after the war.

4.2.2 Metaphorical names

Metaphorical names are names derived from metaphors. According to Lurtin and Pincus (2002), a metaphor is a figure of speech, which refers to one person or object. Mbenzi (2009) explains metaphorical names as names that refer to a thing in order to emphasize similar qualities with a bearer of that name. A metaphor describes something in an imaginative way by referring to something else that has the same qualities with that a person wants to express. It implies comparison between two unlike entities, as distinguished from simile. In Oshiwambo dialects, there are some metaphorical combat names that relate to certain animals to show similarities in strength between the name bearer and the animals and the animals after whom they are named.

This concurs with Pongweni (1983), Obeng (2001) and Mbenzi (2009) who also stated that metaphoric names were used to show the political strength or to compare the same qualities of combatants with certain animals. The following names show the metaphorical names:

4.2.2.1 Nghoshi- “Lion”

The respondent took up the name Nghoshi when he arrived in Angola in 1979. He named himself because no one could be named or given a name by others. The main reason for the name was to conceal his identity and his name played a significant role during the liberation struggle because he believes that a lion is the world’s king, most powerful and aggressive animal. He considers himself a powerful PLAN fighter who defeated the South African soldiers during the struggle and his name really encouraged him to remain committed. A lion represent his clan, which is Ovakwaanime/ lion clan. He is very proud of his name and believes that the lion is a powerful animal. He did not drop his name and his friends, who were together in exile, are still using his combat name. He loves his name because it encouraged him and kept him going throughout the liberation struggle.

4.2.2.2 Hambido- “leopard”

The participant took up the name Kangwe when he arrived at the Information centre in Angola in 1979. Since there was no one to assign names to others, he named himself Kangwe. The main reason for the name was to conceal his identity and protect him from his enemies because he could be in danger if he disclose his really name and his family back home might be killed. He picked up this name because he was inspired by the tiger’s power; it is strong, fearless and dangerous. He considers himself a fearless PLAN fighter who was committed and determined to defeat his enemies. His name was an inspiration and it encouraged him to make meaningful

contributions towards the independence of Namibia. He did not drop his name thus still uses it because the name helped him and it contributed to the Namibia struggle. It also encouraged him to fight fearlessly during the struggle.

4.2.3 Proverbial names

Oshiwambo names are derived from different word categories and form proverb. Names under this category shows how language is used and they depict the sorrow and bitterness people go through in life. Referring back to Section 2.4.1, proverbial names express the realities of the situation at hand either the disappointment or unpleasant situation which portray some aspects of life and the conflicts that ensure in human relation. Obeng (2001) states that, the indirectness involved in the creation of the proverbial names is motivated by the fact that in African societies, indirectness is an acceptable and comprehensible mode of communication. Expressing one's feelings indirectly, is therefore, neither considered a deliberate attempt by the speaker to be vague or an act of insincerity. Indirectness, besides helping to avoid open confrontation, it also helps to maintain some degree of cordial relationship among the members of the society. During war, some PLAN fighters took up the proverbial names to express their feelings through indirect communication as indicated by the following name:

4.2.3.1 *Lyeendoongulaoliitolaoshima*, shortened (*Lyeendoongula*) meaning “an **early bird catches a worm**”.

The respondent took up the name to conceal his identity upon arrival in Angola in 1974. It was a culture during war that combatants should drop their official names and adopt combat names. The enemies are not supposed to know their real names. As already mentioned, using their real names would have them easily killed or their family member. The respondent's proverbial name

means that a person must act early to be successful. He believes that if the PLAN fighters act or prepare themselves immediately before their enemies, they would be successful and win. The name was an inspiration and promising to all PLAN fighters to remain observant during the battle. He picked up this name because it suited the censorious situation he found himself in. He did not drop his name; his wives and relatives still use it at home. The participant further stated that would never drop his name because the meaning of the name suits every situation in life.

4.2.4 Names expressing revolts

As Mbenzi (2009) explained, revolt names were a sign of taking violent action against the opponents. PLAN fighters were really oppressed in many ways, they suffered, and most of them sacrificed their lives during the liberation struggle. The war situation was very hectic and it forced some former PLAN fighters to pick up names which express revolts as shown by the following names:

4.2.4.1 *Naditope*- “Let the guns fire explode”

He bestowed the name upon himself after arriving at the Information center in Angola in 1979. The name means that the combatants’ guns must explode thereby killing the enemies. Due to the critical war situation, some combatants decided to take up names as a sign of taking violent action against their opponents. The aim of the name was to hide the combatant’s identities and protect their families back home from enemies. Despite the significant role played by the name during the liberation struggle, the name helped the participant to be committed and it boosts their confidence. The participant indicated that he did not experience PLAN fighters changing their names as they moved from one battle unit to another. He dropped his name after the independence because its aim was fulfilled.

4.2.4.2 *Dengaombulu*- “Beat the boer”

The respondents took up the name *Dengaombulu* upon arrival in Angola in 1981. He affirmed that he chose this name to hide his identity and to protect his family members from danger. The name was a sign of expression of feeling, suffering, and oppression, which the PLAN fighters went through. The combatants took up this name to express his feelings and at the same time; the name encouraged him to engage in the battle and defeat the enemy. The participant explained that, during the liberation struggle he did not experience a combatant being named by others. They were given an opportunity to assign themselves names, which they found comfortable. After independence, he dropped the name simply because the war ended.

4.2.4.4 *Mwetunyeta*- “You robbed us”

The participants took up the name when he arrived in Angola in 1978. He explained that the main reason for the combat name was to conceal identity. The name implies how sad the combatant was and how he felt about their land which was taken by the South Africans and how they killed their innocent people who were fighting for their land. The name was an indirect communication to the opponents, expressing how he felt about the other Namibians for being robbed their land by the colonisers. On the other hand, the name was motivation and self-encouragement which kept him going throughout the struggle. After the war, he dropped the name.

4.2.5 Names expressing hope for independence and freedom

The war took much longer and more costly in life. Namibians spent many years in exile fighting harder to liberate their country and by doing so, they took up names, which express hope for independence such as *Nalimanguluke* and *Findano*

4.2.5.1 *Nalimanguluke*- “Let it be free”

The respondent took up the name when she arrived in Angola in 1977. She named herself because every combatant has to name him or herself. Each ex-combatant named him or herself. They picked up their preferable names, and the main reason for the names was merely to conceal identity. Her name played a tremendous role during the liberation struggle because it gave her hope and kept her moving throughout the liberation struggle. They engaged themselves in the fight to liberate their country from colonial yoke.

4.2.2.5 *Ingashilota*- “The war will come to an end”

The combatant named himself “*Ingashilota*” upon arrival at the Information center in Angola in 1977. The reason for the name was to conceal identity and protect herself from enemies because once the enemies know his real name, he could be in danger as well as his family members back home. His name expresses hope that the war would end one day. The name was a form of encouragement and gave her power to engage more fiercely in the fight. His name played a major role in her life and helped him to remain focused and patiently waiting for the freedom and independence of their country. She still loves his name and he would still keep it, because it made him to be a person who he is today. She picked up the name due to the critical situation which they found themselves.

4.2.6 Names that express suffering

These names were expression to what lay heavy on people’s hearts and minds, the separation of their loved ones, homesickness, and many challenges of war forced them to take up names such as *Nadilwifwe*- “Let’s fight them” *Mahomato*- very armed person for a battle.

4.2.6.1 *Nadilwifwe*- “Let’s fight them”

The participant named himself upon arrival at the Information center in Angola in 1977. There was a culture of adopting the combat names; therefore, he named himself *Nadilwifwe* refers to the Boers who colonized them. He felt that the Boers robbed them of their land, they killed the innocent Namibians therefore, they committed themselves and defeated them. He explained that the circumstances under which the names were adopted depend on the situation they found themselves. He dropped his names after independence because it fulfill its aim.

4.2.6.2 *Mahomato*- “fully armed for a battle”

The respondent took up the name upon arrival at the Information center in Angola in 1977. They were addressed by one of the military commanders and combat rules were presented. Their identity documents were taken away and were instructed to choose their combat names. He called himself “Mahomato” because he considers himself as a combative PLAN fighter who was armed and ready for the battle. He was ready to free his motherland. The name stimulated him and it kept him going throughout the battle. He was very confident that they would free the country and that is what they did. He indicated that he is still use his name and loves it because it keeps him determined.

4.2.7 Motivational names

These are the name that gives courage and keeps the person going. Some PLAN fighters decided to name themselves names which inspired and motivated them during the liberation struggle. Former PLAN fighters were very committed, inspired and showed their participation in the liberation struggle. They used many ways to dismantle the South African colonialism and most importantly, they were highly motivated to fight their enemy. Some PLAN fighters chose

the motivational names as it appears in the subsection below. These names motivated them throughout the battle journey.

4.2.7.1 *Omufituwanyengaodula*-“A jungle unshaken by the rain”

The respondent named herself when she arrived in Angola in 1976. No one was named by others, therefore she chose her preferable name “*Oufituwanyengaodula*”. She maintains that she is very stubborn and undermines her enemies; therefore, the motive behind the name is the power in her, which made her to be unshaken. This name arises from the serious situation in which she found herself, where by combatants were intimidated and harassed by their enemies. The name motivated her not to give up but fight for independence. She loves her name and her children call her by the combat name, which sometimes evokes memories of the liberation struggle.

4.2.7.2 *Ondjabayalikakomwe*- “An elephant beaten by the mosquitoes”

The participant named himself *Ondjabayalikakomwe*, which literally means that the enemies have no effect on him, they are nothing to him and he could defeat them. He chose the name to conceal his identity because once the enemies know his real name he could be in danger. The participant arrived in Angola in 1974, the war situation was very hectic and to him fighting was an exceptional circumstance rather than the norm. The PLAN fighters were determined and eager to fight their enemies, therefore he decided to name himself because his enemies were nothing to him. The name was a motivation and self-encouraging which kept him moving throughout the battle journey. He added that no one was named by their superior, either by other soldiers, everyone named him or herself. They chose their names depending on the circumstance in which they found themselves. He still loves his name and would keep it because it contributed to the Namibian liberation struggle.

4.2.7.3 Nakudilonga- “Faster thinker”

The name expresses how quick the combatant could think and how they could use different tactics to win over the enemy. Upon arrival in Angola in 1978, the respondent named himself “*Nakudilonga*”. He chose the name because the war was very harsh; he thus decided to be wise and more creative in finding other war tactics, which they could use to win their opponent. He took up this name because in combat, a soldier needs to be wise in order to make the right decisions. He always tried to be more creative and think fast in finding new solutions from scratch. His name motivated him in many ways to be more creative in thinking and to find ways of facing challenges. He did not drop his name after the war; he is still use his name at work and is still regards himself as a creative person. He says that his name was a big motivation, which kept him stronger.

4.2.8 Inspirational names

Inspirational names implies the strong feelings, confidence, desires and determination on people. Many former PLAN fighters were inspired by prominent leaders, commanders and their supervisors in different ways. They respect the leaders for being exemplary and shaping their lives during the liberation struggle. The names made them who they are today. The names are discussed below.

4.2.8.1 Tobias Hainyeko- “A prominent guerrilla fighter and former commander of PLAN”

He chose the name to conceal his identity and protect other combatants from danger. The name really encouraged him and kept him going during the struggle. He changed his name from *Shekupambashokoputu*- “Link by Portugal” to *Tobias Hainyeko* when he moved from Oshatotwa 1 to Oshatotwa 2 training Centre. He named himself after a prominent guerrilla fighter who

served as the first commander of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia during the fight for independence. He was one of the first SWAPO members to volunteer for military training. He was inspired by tremendous courage and leadership qualities of Hainyeko. This name inspired him in many ways. Before he went in exile, he was a cattle herder and whenever he was looking after cattle, he used to carry his radio and listened to nice programs and revolutionary songs, which kept him going throughout the day. There was repetitive and inspiring song about late Tobias Hainyeko, which says "*Ngeno aame nda file ponhele yoye Hailwa*" which simply means, "I wish I could die on your behalf comrade." He felt that Hainyeko was more important than him, he was a brave fighter and he brought all trained cadres together. He established the first guerrilla force for the liberation struggle of our country. His name really inspired him in many ways.

4.2.8.2 Mandume yaNdemufayo- "The former king of Oukwanyama"

A former PLAN fighter named himself after a prominent leader and former king of Oukwanyama for his bravery. The reason being that, he wanted to hide his identities from his opponents. Mandume was an epic leader among other great leaders on the African continent that were against all forms of colonialism. He was inspired by the king's bravery thus took up the name.

4.2.9 Warning names

According to Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2003), a warning is a statement or an event telling somebody that something bad or unpleasant might happen in the future. Some combat names acted as warning and alerted the enemies to be aware and be prepared. This is evident in the names below.

4.2.9.1 Kalandulwa- "Whom one cannot follow"

The respondent named himself when he arrived at the Information centre in Angola in 1982. He was instructed by one of the commander to give himself a name because in war; combatants were not allowed to use their official names but they need to use combat names to hide their identities. The motive behind this name was to inform the enemy not to follow him because he is dangerous and he could destroy them. He did not drop his name after the war because he felt that it mobilised the liberation struggle and it boosts his moral.

4.2.10 Commander's name

According to Obeng (2001), names under this category are mostly for men even though nowadays there are women who took up this title. This is also what is happening with the Oshiwambo combat names because in the olden days it only applies to men who hold this position. Lately, gender balance is playing a major role and balancing the whole situation which made women to take up men's titles as it appears in the name given below:

2.2.10.1 Kakukutu komatanga- "Commander in chief"

The respondents took the name when she arrived in Angola in 1985. The main reason was to conceal her identity. The name refers to a person or a commander leading the group. The former PLAN combatant maintains that she named herself after a former commander of a women council at Tobias Hainyeko training center who was in charge of PLAN fighters. She reminded PLAN fighters to remain vigilant and determined at all times to win. In addition to controlling and supervising her soldiers, due to her superior rank and senior position, she conducted herself in an exemplary manner.

4.2.11 Summary

This section presented the result from the interview, the analysis and discussion of the names. Names are divided into different categories and analysed accordingly, which made it easier for discussion. One man says, a name is a link, which is true because the former PLAN fighter's combat names reflect their characteristics and their behaviors toward their enemies.

4.3 Morphological analysis of combat names

Researchers such as Maunumaa (2003), Obeng and Obeng (2006), Mandende (2009) studied the morphology of names and conclude that names are derived from some primary source in the language, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, noun phrases and clauses. Morphology is the study of words and how they are formed and their relationship to other words in the same language. Morphology analyses the structure of words such as affixes, prefixes, suffixes, stem and roots. It also looks at the part of speech, intonation and stress (Mandende, 2009). The next sections demonstrates names derived from different word classes such as nouns, verbs, verb phrases, negative phrases and sentences. In each word class, only few examples are given.

4.3.1 Combat names derived from nouns

Combat names are personal names and personal names fall under proper nouns. Proper nouns are names used for individuals, places and organizations. They are always written or spelled with capital letters. Lutrin and Pincus (2002) define a noun as a word used to identify any class of people, places, or things. Nouns make up the large class of words in most languages. They are divided into different categories namely, common, proper, collective, attribute nouns just to mention a few. The section below demonstrates how different combat names were derived.

4.3.1.1 *Mundilo waNepuka*- “Burning fire of Nepuka”

Both *Mundilo* and *Nepuka* are proper nouns, while “wa”- which is attached to *Nepuka* is a possessive concord which is showing the ownership (possessive pronouns). *Mundilo waNepuka* – burning fiery of *Nepuka* could also be a type of sentence which falls under the statement.

4.3.1.2 *Namuxwika*- “A type of worm which can burn people’s skin”

This name is derived from the root verb *xwika* which mean to burn. *Na*-is the prefix while *mu*- is the subject marker.

4.3.1.3 *Nghoshi*- “A lion”- this name is a noun without a prefix or suffixes attached to it.

4.3.2 Combat names derived from verbs

Lutrin and Pincus (2002) state that, verbs are words, which are used to describe an action, state, or occurrence, and forming part of the predicate of a sentence. They are the action words in a sentence that describe what the subject is doing. Along with nouns, they are the main part of a sentence or phrase. In fact, without verb, full thoughts could not be properly conveyed. Sometimes a verb could be a sentence by itself in case a person is instructing or giving a command or imperative form. In Oshiwambo language, there are some names which are derived from verbs.

4.3.2.1 *Ndjingaandjinga*- “keep on shaking”

This name is formed from the verb root. Through this combat name, PLAN fighters were encouraged to keep on fighting until they defeat the enemies. In Oshiwambo dialect, there is a proverb says “*Uhakendabala ku findi*”-meaning that if you do not try to do something, you would never succeed. The combatants were informed to try their best and keep on fighting to defeat their enemies.

4.3.2.2 *Mwangela*-“Start”

This name is derived from the verb, and the verb carries the meaning of the sentence. They show the action carried by the sentence. This name has two shapes, it is a verb and at the same time it is a command sentence. The name is in a form of imperative verbs that create an imperative sentence and gives a command or an instruction to the PLAN combatants to start the fight. The name was an appeal to the former PLAN fighters not to waste time to fight, because the enemy was among them. The name *Mbwangela* which is analysed in this subsection has “double duty” for word formation and sentence formation, and the combination of these two words form morphosyntax.

4.3.2.3 *Shitomeka*- “set it alight”

This combat name is formed from the verb root *-tomeka* (set a light), plus the prefix *shi*. *Tomeka* is the subject marker. The name was a warning to the enemies to be ready for the combat and be alert that there is a PLAN fighter who would defeat them.

4.3.4 Combat names derived from adjectives

An adjective is a word which qualifies or describes nouns and pronouns. They add interest and colour to a sentence by describing or giving more information (Lutrin & Pincus, 2002). Is a word whose main syntactic role is to modify a noun or a noun phrase. Its semantic role is to change information given by the noun. They are one of the main parts of speech of the English language, although historically they were classed together with a noun.

4.3.4.1 *Shalula*- “It becomes bitter”

This name is formed from the prefix *sha* and the verb *-lula*. The prefix and verb together form the adjective. The name referred to the harsh situation of the war. The liberation struggle was long and bitter (ya Toivo, 1968). The name bearer named himself in reference to the pain and

suffering experienced during war situations. The name was also used among other PLAN fighters as a way to motivate others to fight harder and with determination.

4.3.4.2 *Kalofwela*- “An expert in fighting”

This is formed by the imperative verb *lofwela* and prefix diminutive *ka*. The prefix *ka* which comes before the root verb is a diminutive which has been modified to convey a slighter degree of its root meaning and to convey the smallness of the object.

4.3.5. Combat names derived from verb phrases

Lutrin and Pincus (2002) explains that a verb phrase is that part of the sentence that indicates the action to be performed. It consists of a main verb plus one or more helping verbs. It complements objects, or other modifiers and syntactically functions as a verb. Paulos (1990) maintains that in Tshivenda personal names a verb and consists of a number of morphemes that are in a sense “put together”. These might be, for example, a subject concord, which refers to the subject of the verb, a tense marker or formative. It expresses certain tense, an object concord which refers to some or other objects; a verb root that expresses the basic meaning of other action and a suffix which comes at the end. It sometimes gives some indication of the verb. What Paulos (1990) stated is also applicable in Oshiwambo and the name could be built up through the combination of different morpheme. According to Roxburgh (1980), verbs perform a predicative function in the sentence. They must incorporate at least a radical and a tense suffix, and might also have conjugational prefixes, concordial affixes, pre-suffixal extensions, and post-suffixal enclitic.

4.3.5.1 *Teelelenitaliya*- “Wait for independence, it will come”

This name is formed from the verb stem *teelela*- (wait) the word *teelele* loss a vowel *e* and become *teelela*, *-e* is a terminal suffix and *-ni* is an imperative suffix, *-tali* is the subject concord

of class three, and *ya* is the verb. The name means that people must “wait for independence, it will come”.

4.3.5.2 *Shikongashikukongeyo*- “If you are looking for trouble, you will get it back in return”

The name is formed by the prefix *shi*, verb *konga*, prefix *-shi*, subject concord *-ku* and verb *konge*. The name aimed to warn the enemies that if they are looking for the trouble, they would get it.

4.3.6 Combat names derived from negative phrases

Guerini (2005) expresses that naming in African societies represent a form of indirect and implicit communication with the community at large. This allows the expression of potentially embarrassing surroundings, feelings and thought to avoid direct confrontation, which might compromise the relationship among members in a group or in a speech community. According to Mandende (2009), personal names that are found in this category bear a resemblance to those that are found under personal names derived from a possessive and a noun. These names convey the message that mostly reflect social issues between the name-giver and his/her surroundings. The name-giver reminds the community about the treatment that he/she received , usually bad treatment. In Oshiwambo culture, name giving is impacted by many different factors. When people criticize one another, it is more common in Ovawambo to bestow a name of a child with negative feeling to remind the guilty party of what he or she did. Nkumane (1999) agrees that name giving provides an outlet for the regulation of social relations in the communities. It allowed people to communicate their feelings indirectly, without overt confrontation and possible conflict.

4.3.6.1 *Kamudulunge*- “You cannot defeat me”

The name is formed by the negative formative *kamu*, verb stem- *dulu*, and *nge* which indicate the personal pronoun. The name bearer refers to enemies that they could not defeat him because he considers himself as a powerful and fearless combatant who could not be challenged nor defeated.

4.3.6.2 Kapenaombili- “No peace”

This type of personal name is formed by the negative formative *kape*, verb stem *-na*, and the noun- *ombili*. The name reflects the critical situation in which the former PLAN fighter found himself. The combatants were very busy and wanted to rescue others from danger.

4.3.6.3 Kalandulwa- “One whom you cannot follow”

This combat name is formed by the negative formative *ka* and verb *-landulwa* (*follow*). The name refers to the South African soldiers, and at the same time, it was a warning that they must not follow the former PLAN fighters.

4.3.8 Combat names are derived from sentences

Jones and Farness (2002) define a sentence as a group of words that expresses a complete thought. A complete sentence always contains a verb, expresses a complete idea and makes sense standing alone. Every word in a sentence serves a specific purpose According to the rules of grammar; sentence structure could sometimes be quite complicated.

A sentence consists of three parts but the basic parts of it are the subject and predicate. The subject of a sentence is the person, place, or thing that is performing the action of the sentence. The subject represents what the sentence is about and the simple subject usually contains a noun or pronoun. It could include modifying words, phrases or clauses. The predicate expresses action or being within the sentence.

The simple predicate consists of the verb and again it consists of modifying words, phrases, or clauses. The object consists of direct and indirect object. The direct object receives the action of the sentence and is usually a noun or pronoun while the indirect object indicates to whom or for whom the action of the sentence is being done. In Oshiwambo, some combat names are derived from sentences, proverbs, idioms as illustrated below:

4.3.8.1 *Omufituwanyengaodula*- “A jungle unshaken by the rain”

This name is formed by three main parts of the sentence, which is the subject, verb, predicate and the direct object. *Omufitu-* is the subject, which indicates the main idea of the sentence, *wanyenga-* is a predicate which contain a verb and a completer (help the sentence to make a complete thought), and *odula* is the object which completes the meaning of the sentence. In this case, the object is direct because it completes the meaning of the verb. The motive behind the name is that, the name bearer is very stubborn and undermines her enemies, therefore, the power in her made her to be unshaken.

4.3.8.2 *Lyeendongulaoliitolaoshima*- “An early bird catches the warm”

This combat name is formed by the three main structure of the sentence, which is the same as the one formed in the name *Omufituwanyengaodula*, as illustrated in section 4.3.8.1. *Lyeendaongula-* is the subject, and it represents something which performs the job *oliitoola* is the predicate which contains the verb and the direct object is *oshima*. The subject *Lyeendaongula* lost the vowel *a*, which is between consonant *d* and vowel *o* to become *Lyeendongula*. This process according to Fivaz (2003) is called consonantalisation, in that, some vowel sequences are subject to a process quite distinct from assimilation, when the first vowel of the sequence is replaced by a consonant (semi-vowels). The name is proverbial, which is a call to the former PLAN fighters to act and prepare themselves before their enemies attack them.

4.3.8.3 Ondjabayalikakomwe “An elephant bitten by the mosquito”

This combat name is formed by the object- *ondjaba*, predicate- *ya lika* and the subject- *omwe*. The position of the subject and the object could be changed or swapped. But the predicate's position does not change. This name is also in the form of passive voice, where by the *object* becomes the *subject* and is having the action done to it. The subject is acted upon and the receiver of the action is being emphasized. The whole idea of this name was that the combatant undermines the enemies and they have no effect neither harm on him. The name was an inspiration and self-encouragement throughout the journey of the battle.

4.3.9 Conclusion

This section looked at morphological structure of Oshiwambo names and how they are derived from different word classes, phrases and sentences. It is clear that Oshiwambo combat names are structured from different word classes such as nouns verbs, verb phrases, compounds, and sentences. People use language to communicate to one another and express themselves via words. Words play a tremendous role and form phrases, clauses and sentences. If there are no words, there would be no sentences and no meaning. Both language and culture could not be divorced because they support one another.

This chapter firstly looked at the interviews, data analysis and discussion, different categories of combat names such as praise names, proverbial names, metaphoric names, names expressing revolts, names hopping for independence, suffering, and commander names. Lastly, the chapter looked at how combat names are morphological structured.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief summary of previous chapters, including the major aspects, which are explored. The chapter also provides recommendations for future study.

5.2 Summary of discussion

The study investigates the significance of Oshiwambo combat names for the PLAN fighters during the armed liberation struggle. The study aimed to analyse the role of combat names during the liberation struggle. The former PLAN fighters used many tactics to dismantle the yoke of colonialism and one of the tactic that they used is the adoption of combat names, which mostly contributed to the liberation struggle of Namibia. Combat names played a significant role during the liberation struggle, by helping combatants to conceal their identities and protecting themselves from enemies.

The former PLAN fighters developed a culture of using combat names to provide security by protecting their identities. This tactic saved them from being arrested because; the captives do not disclose information about their fellow combatants in the camp. These names helped provide security for everyone. It was revealed that these names were not only combat names, but also praise names, which inspired them to fight harder in order to defeat the enemy. The combat names made the lives of combatants easier because their enemies did not know them by their real names. If their names could be known, then it could be easier for the enemies to trace them as well as their family members. Combat names inspired, encouraged and motivated the former PLAN fighters in many ways. Their names gave them courage to face the war challenges. They

were motivated to fight selflessly until they have defeated their enemies. The study used to theories namely; critical theory and descriptive theory of reference. The researcher used Critical theory to examine the techniques of persuasion and motive of the names, and how they reinforced the revolutionary mood. The study also used the descriptive theory of reference in other words the semantic theory, which deals with the meaning of the names. This theory helped the researcher to understand that the meaning of proper names is exactly the same with the description associated with it by the speaker.

The study revealed that former PLAN fighters chose names with the meanings reflecting the war situation. The names helped and kept them going throughout the liberation struggle. Some combat names symbolize strength, bravery and power. They are regarded as being powerful just like the animals they are named after. It appears that some combat names are metaphorical, proverbial, while some are derived from different words categories example noun, proper nouns, verbs, sentences and phrases. The names mobilized them to fight with courage and determination until they liberate the country. It was confirmed that, ninety percentage of the combatants did not change their combat names when they moved from one unit to another.

Literature review reveals different practices in other countries, that is, combat names were often given by other combatants or group or commanders. In Namibia, combatants named themselves except Mukwahepo (woman-soldier-mother) whose name was unilaterally changed from Mukwanangobe (her paternal totem) to Mukwahepo (*mukwa* referring to ‘belonging’ and *hepo* which comes from the word *oluhepo* to mean “*oluhepo*”- one who belongs to a poor clan. The other soldiers used to call her Mukwahepo, to tease her because of her situation. She was the only woman amongst men in a military training camp. Although she proudly announced her

combat name *Namumbaduka* – a morning star, it was never used. She thus maintained the name Mukwahepo. She became Mkwahopo then and forever.

It was also confirmed that forty percentages of the PLAN fighters kept their combat names after independence, despite having achieved their purpose. Most of the combat names reflect aggression towards the enemy, and many of the names were in the form of imperative verbs, such as *Nadidengwe* (Let us beat them), *Nadifindwe*, (Let them be defeated) and many others. The study also revealed that Oshiwambo combat names are derived from different word class, and it was concluded that names are words that have meanings.

The other objective was to investigate the circumstances under which the combat names were given. It was made clear that combatants assigned themselves combat names. Since it was a culture during war to adopt the combat names, former PLAN fighters gave themselves names, which suited them. The situation under which the names were adopted depended on the war situation. As it is well known that war situations is very critical, the combatants tried to give themselves names which reflect on their situation. Some names express revolt, suffering and some were motivating and encouraging them to face the war challenges.

The study also reveals that some combatants used same combat names, and this could be the case because different PLAN fighters operated in different units or camps, and they could crush on the same idea. The study also confirmed that there were some combatants who used same combat names but provided different meanings. The study concludes that there are those who are still using their combat names after independence, and they use them with their family members, or when they are together with other comrades but not with the general public. The researcher obtained the data from the interviews, which was the primary source. The qualitative research

design was considered suitable for the study. The data from the interview was summarized, interpreted and analysed accordingly. During the data collection, there were some problems encountered namely:

- Eight percentages of the interviewees declined to be recorded by the voice recorder as it was planned and it was very difficult for the researcher to capture the data to the degree of reliability.
- Since the interviewees declined the recording, the researcher took field notes, which took time.
- Female interviewees were uncomfortable to share their combat names and war experience.

After data collection from the interviewees, results are presented and analysed. The percentage numbers of the names collected per source is given in a table and names were categorized accordingly.

5.3 Recommendations for further research

- This study recommends that future studies could explore other non-Oshiwambo combat names of former PLAN fighters.
- More combat names still need to be collected, since this study only collected hundred names.
- Female combat names are few; therefore, they need to be researched to contribute to the corpus of combat names.
- The sample of the study was only limited to the PLAN fighters who are still active in the Ministry of Safety and Security and Ministry of Defence. Therefore, the combat

names for the retired members and PLAN combatants who are still working and retired in different ministries, together with those who are not employed in different regions must be researched.

- Only twenty PLAN fighters who were interviewed from the two ministries, therefore more combatants could still be interviewed to share their combat names.

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APPENDECIS

APPENDIX 1: Ethical clearance certificate

APPENDIX 2: A request letter for permission to conduct field work (Ministry of Defence)

APPENDIX 3: A request letter for permission to conduct field work (Ministry of Safety and Security)

APPENDIX 4: A permission letter for conducting field work (Ministry of Defence)

APPENDIX 5: A permission letter for conducting field work (Ministry of Safety and Security)

APPENDIX 6: Interview guide

APPENDIX 7: Interviews

APPENDIX 8: Glossary

APPENDIX: 1 Ethical clearance certificate



UNAM
UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: FHSS/502/2019

Date: 11 October, 2019

This Ethical Clearance Certificate is issued by the University of Namibia Research Ethics Committee (UREC) in accordance with the University of Namibia's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines. Ethical approval is given in respect of undertakings contained in the Research Project outlined below. This Certificate is issued on the recommendations of the ethical evaluation done by the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee sitting with the Postgraduate Studies Committee.

Title of Project: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OSHIWAMBO COMBAT NAMES FOR THE PEOPLE LIBERATION ARMY OF NAMIBIA (PLAN) FIGHTERS DURING THE ARMED LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF NAMIBIA

Researcher: LUCIA NEPUNDA

Student Number 9995455

Faculty: Humanities and Social Sciences

Supervisor (s) : Dr. E. Namhila

Take note of the following:

- (a) Any significant changes in the conditions or undertakings outlined in the approved Proposal must be communicated to the UREC. An application to make amendments may be necessary.
- (b) Any breaches of ethical undertakings or practices that have an impact on ethical conduct of the research must be reported to the UREC.
- (c) The Principal Researcher must report issues of ethical compliance to the UREC (through the Chairperson of the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee) at the end of the Project or as may be requested by UREC.
- (d) The UREC retains the right to:
 - (i). withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance if any unethical practices (as outlined in the Research Ethics Policy) have been detected or suspected,
 - (ii). request for an ethical compliance report at any point during the course of the research.

UREC wishes you the best in your research.

Dr. J.E. de Villiers: Chairperson

Ms. P. Claassen: Secretary

APPENDIX 2: A request letter for permission to conduct field work (Ministry of Defence)

OFFICE OF THE PRO-VICE CHANCELLOR
Dr Ellen Ndeshi Namhila: Pro-Vice Chancellor: Administration & Finance
University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia
340 Mandume Ndemufayo Avenue, Pioneers Park
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REAR-ADMIRAL PETER HAFENI VILHO
Executive Director
Ministry of Defence
Private Bag 13307
WINDHOEK

8 May 2019

Dear Rear-Admiral Peter Hafeni Vilho

SUBJECT: REQUESTING FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT FIELD WORK – RESEARCH

I, Dr. Ellen Ndeshi Namhila Pro-Vice Chancellor for Administration and Resource Mobilization at the University of Namibia is supervising Ms. Lucia Nepunda student number 9995455 and contact number is 0812350981. Ms. Lucia Nepunda is a registered student for the academic year 2019 pursuing a Master's Degree in Arts in African Language at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. The topic of her study is "The significance of Oshiwambo combat names for the PLAN Fighters during the Liberation Struggle of Namibia".

1. This study aims to collect narratives from former PLAN Fighters about the meaning and significance of Oshiwambo Combatants' names used during the liberation struggle of Namibia.
2. This study will record all interviews using a voice recorder. All participants in this study is going to be protected, as their identities will be concealed unless they choose to reveal their identities. All recordings will be shared with participants upon completion of the study.
3. One of the study requirements is to interview 10 members of the former PLAN fighter who were engaged in combat from the ministry in total.

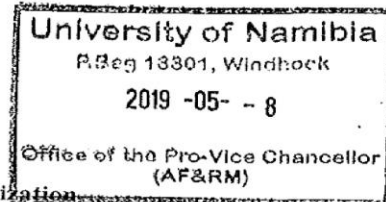
Ms. Nepunda has completed her coursework and her proposal is approved. In order to complete her studies she needs to do her fieldwork and data processing.

The university believes in nation building through education. Thus, I humbly request your assistance in completing questions posted to you by the student.

Yours in education and development.

Dr. Ellen Ndeshi Namhila
Supervisor

Pro-Vice Chancellor for Administration and Resource Mobilization



APPENDIX 3: A request letter for permission to conduct field work (Ministry of Safety and Security)

OFFICE OF THE PRO-VICE CHANCELLOR
Dr. Ellen Ndeshi Namhila: Pro-Vice Chancellor: Administration & Finance
University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia
340 Mandume Ndemufayo Avenue, Pioneers Park
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Lt. Gen. Sebastian Ndeitunga
Inspector General
Namibian Police Force
Private Bag 12024
Auspanplaz
WINDHOEK

8 May 2019

Dear Lt. Gen. Sebastian Ndeitunga

SUBJECT: REQUISTING FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT FIELD WORK – RESEARCH

I, Dr. Ellen Ndeshi Namhila Pro-Vice Chancellor for Administration and Resource Mobilization at the University of Namibia is supervising Ms. Lucia Nepunda student number 9995455 and contact number is 0812350981. Ms. Lucia Nepunda is a registered student for the academic year 2019 pursuing a Master's Degree in Arts in African Language at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. The topic of her study is "The significance of Oshiwambo combat names for the PLAN Fighters during the Liberation Struggle of Namibia".

1. This study aims to collect narratives from former PLAN Fighters about the meaning and significance of Oshiwambo Combatants' names used during the liberation struggle of Namibia.
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3. One of the study requirements is to interview 10 members of the former PLAN fighter who were engaged in combat from the ministry in total.

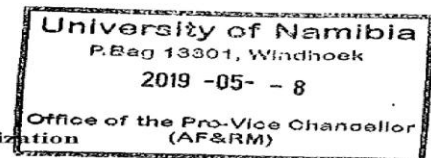
Ms. Nepunda has completed her coursework and her proposal is approved. In order to complete her studies she needs to do her fieldwork and data processing.

The university believes in nation building through education. Thus, I humbly request your assistance in completing questions posted to you by the student.

Yours in education and development.

Dr. Ellen Ndeshi Namhila
Supervisor

Pro-Vice Chancellor for Administration and Resource Mobilization



APPENDIX 4: A permission letter for conducting field work (Ministry of Defence)



REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Tel: (+26461) 2049111 x 2080
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Private Bag 13307
WINDHOEK

16 May 2019

Enquiries: Brig Gen AN Nambahu

Our Ref.: PS/3/2/5/18 Our Ref.:

Dr Ellen Ndeshi Namhila
Pro-Vice Chancellor: Administration & Finance
University of Namibia
Private Bag 13301
Windhoek

Dear Dr Namhila

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT FIELD WORK-RESEARCH

This correspondence serves to acknowledge with appreciation receipt of your letter dated 08 May 2019 on the above subject matter and to inform that, permission has been granted to Ms Lucia Nepunda to conduct her field work- research with the topic of "the significance of Oshiwambo combat names for the PLAN Fighters during the Liberation Struggle of Namibia" in the Ministry of Defence.

MOD members and staff members are requested to assist her in her search for the required data that will enable her to complete her studies. Kindly inform Ms Lucia Nepunda to make an appointment with the Chief of Staff Human Resources at 061-2042228 with regards to the identification of Ex PLAN Fighters and further administration arrangements pertaining to her interviews.

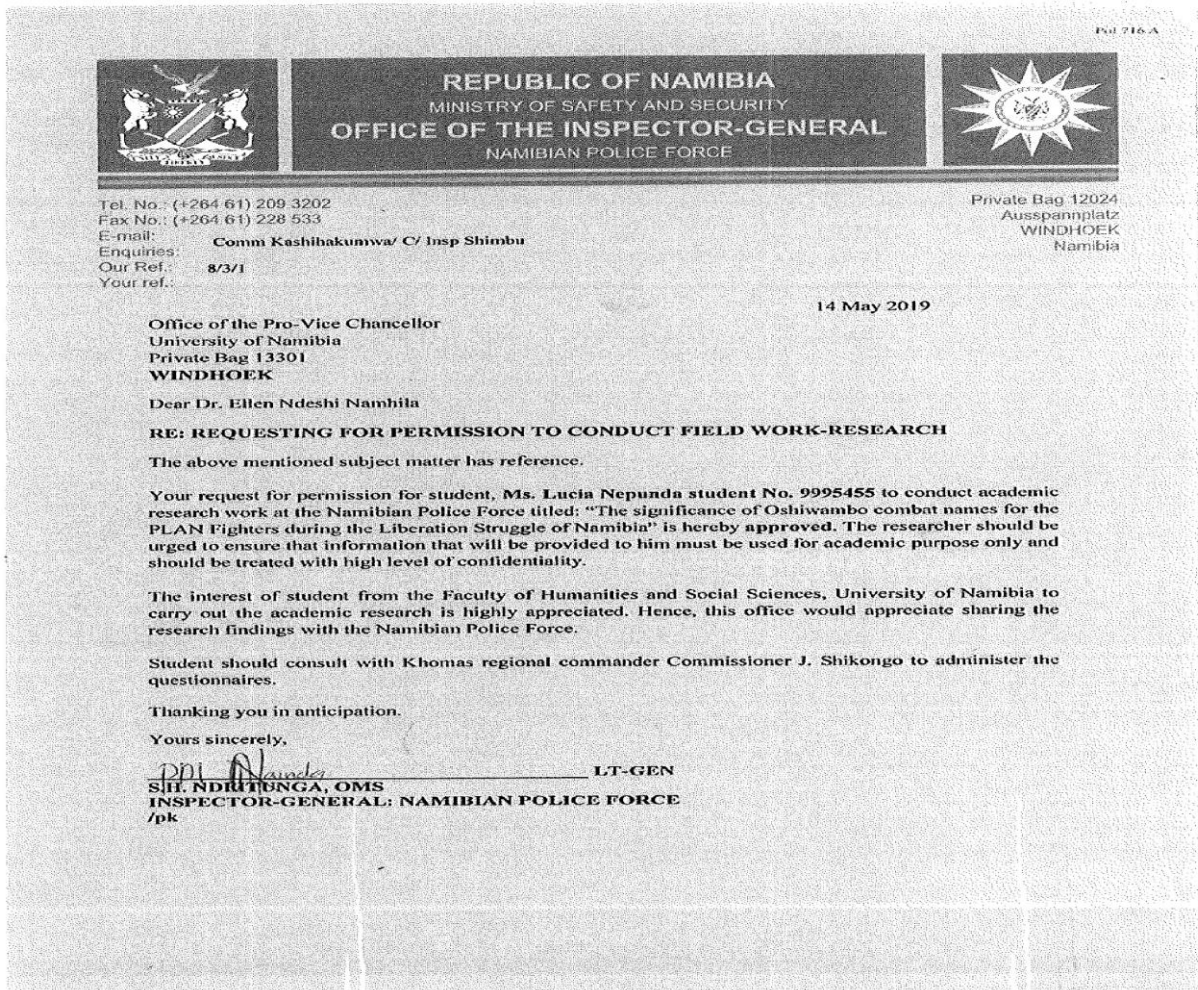
Yours Sincerely

**Rear Admiral Peter H Vilho
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**



All official Correspondence must be addressed to the Permanent Secretary

APPENDIX 5: A permission letter for conducting field work (Ministry of Safety and Security)



APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Before the interview conducted, the participants were informed about the purpose of the study. The researcher made time to create a rapport and covering ethical issues such as confidentiality, privacy and getting permission to public findings.

Semi-structured interview for participants

The interview consists of two main sections. Firstly the combat name and the circumstances under which the name was adopted and where it was used. Secondly, some combat names that the interviewee can recall. The interview schedule was a semi-structured one and it followed the guidelines of Nanus (1999) & Johnstone (2000) among others. The researcher asked more open-ended questions, allowing for a discussion with the interviewee rather than a straightforward questions and answer format. The follow up questions were also asked, to gain a more in-depth understanding.

Section 1: The combat name

- How the combatants got the name
- Who named them
- The role these names played during the liberation struggle (the significance of the name)
- Circumstances under which the names were given
- Changes (if any) to the names during the war
- Was the name kept or dropped after the Independence?

- The meaning of the name

Section 2: combat names for other former PLAN fighters and their meanings

- The interviewees were asked to give five or more names they can recall.
- They were also asked to give the meanings of the names which they provided.

APPENDIX 7

INTERVIEWS

The interview consists of two parts: Firstly, the combat name and its meaning, the significance of the name and the role it played during the liberation struggle, the situation under which the name was given and how it was used. Secondly, some other combat names the respondents remembered. Before the interview start, the researcher explained the purpose of the interview and ethical issues such as anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent. The researcher also provided the permission letter to conduct the research. Twenty participants in total were interviewed from the two Ministries such as Ministry of Safety and Security and Ministry of Defence. The interviewees provided their combat names and their meanings as well as other PLAN fighter's combat names they remembered. The following is an analysis of combat names.

1. Mundilo waNepuka- “Burning fire of Nepuka”

The participants named himself on arrival at the Information centre in Angola in 1978. He narrated that every combatant named himself or herself the name which suited them He did not experience a combatant being named by others or dropped his or her names as they moved from unit to another. He maintains that he adopted his name to conceal his identity and to protect his relatives from danger. His name played a role during the liberation struggle in a way that it encouraged him to fight harder and won his opponent (South African) because he believed that fire is very dangerous and it can burn and destroy a person. His name was a challenge to his opponent because he believed that they can be in danger once they moved closer to him. He was one of military commanders and after the war, he did not drop his name, he still loves it and it is

still being used by his children. He believes that a fire is a natural thing and his name did not offend anybody, therefore Mundilo will remain his name.

Names, literally translation and meaning provided by the interviewee

Namuxwika- “A type of worm which can burn people’s skin”

The interviewee means that he is dangerous in shooting and can destroy his enemies.

Kalandulwa- “A person who cannot be followed”

The interviewee maintains that the combatant refers to his enemy that they cannot follow him, he will shoot or either destroy them.

Nalimanguluke- “Let it be free”

He means that the country must be free from colonial yoke.

Waponyo wa efele mwene- “If the gun missed what it supposed to shoot, it is up to the owner.”

Luvadi- “lightning”

The name informs the opponents that they must be careful, he is dangerous.

2. Shekupamba shokOputu “Link by Portugal”

The guerrilla fighter named himself this name because Namibian had been in Angola fighting to liberate their country and since he was involved in the combat, he believed that he belonged to those who were involved in combat. For him Portugal is Angola where the battle took place. When he arrived at the Information centre in 1975, he was told by one of the military commanders to name himself. He chose the name to conceal his identity and protect other

combatants from danger. The name really encouraged him and kept him going during the battle of the struggle. He changed his name when he moved from Oshatotwa 1 to Oshatotwa 2 training Centre and he renamed himself Tobias Hainyeko. He named himself after a prominent guerrilla fighter who served as the first commander of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia during the war of Independence and he was one of the first SWAPO members to volunteer for military training. He was inspired by tremendous courage and leadership qualities of Hainyeko. This name inspired him in many ways. Before he went into exile, he was a cattle herder and whenever he was looking after animals, he used to carry his radio and listened to nice programs and revolutionary songs which kept him going throughout the day. There was a repetitive and inspiring song about late Tobias Hainyeko, which says "**Ngeno aame nda file ponhele yoye hailwa**" which simply means, "I wish I could die on your behalf comrade." He felt that Hainyeko was more important than him. He was a brave fighter and he brought all trained cadres together and he established the first guerrilla force for the liberation struggle of our country. His name really inspired him.

Names and meaning provided by the interviewee

The interviewee explained that some former PLAN fighters named themselves after some prominent leaders for their bravery, while others named themselves after supportive countries like Cuba and Soviet Union. He gave the following names:

Mandume ya Ndemufayo- Who was Oukwanyama king and an epic leader among other great leaders on the African continent that were against all forms of colonialism. The former PLAN fighter named himself after the late king because he was inspired by his bravery.

Nandemutumapokafi, nandemuumbakumuyashe "he will not die even you sent or shoot him"

This name was an inspiration to the owner and it demoralized his opponents. It also mobilized the independence and motivated him to keep fighting.

Kaumbeko olufo oloye- “Go and fight, it is your turn.”

The participant stated that the name means that he secretly went to collect information from different activities around the bush, now it is his turn to go and fight.

Hambido- “Tiger”

The name was bestowed upon a PLAN fighter who considered himself as a dangerous and fearless combatant. The name symbolizes courage and power. The former PLAN fighter regards himself as a fearless fighter who was determined and well-motivated by the name to fight and free his country.

3. **Kapenaefimbo-** No time

The combatant respondent indicated that she took up the name when she arrived in Angola in 1977. She says, she named herself because no one had the right to name other PLAN fighters. Each and every ex-combatant named themselves. They picked up the names which perfectly suited them, and the main reason for the name was merely to conceal identity. The name played a tremendous role during the liberation struggle because it means that there was no time to be wasted in combat, therefore they had to engage seriously in the combat, and free their country from colonial yoke. She picked up the name due to the critical situation which they found themselves and she dropped the name after independence because it fulfilled its aim.

Names and meaning provided by the interviewee

Mbwangela- “Start”

This was an appeal to the PLAN fighters to start the fight. They did not need to wait time because the enemy is among them.

Kalofwela – “an expert in fighting”

The name was bestowed to the guerrilla fighter who defeats the enemy.

Halwoodi- “a person who seriously engages in a fight.”

A PLAN fighter who regard himself as a strong person who defeats the enemy.

4. **Nghoshi**/ “A lion”

He took up the name the name Nghoshi when he arrived in Angola in 1979. He named himself because no one could be named or given a name by others. The main reason for the name was to conceal his identity, and he took up this name because it represents his totem. His name played a significant role during the liberation struggle because he believes that a lion is the world’s king, most powerful and aggressive animal. He considers himself as a powerful PLAN fighter who defeated the South African during the battle. He did not drop his name and his friends who were together in exile are still using his combat name. He loves his name because it represents his clan and it encouraged him and kept him going throughout the liberation struggle’s journey.

Names and meanings provided by the interviewee

Mutotela nodibo- “runs to him with a stick fighting”

The name appries the enemy that they must be prepared when they are facing him. The opponent must be well prepared to defeat him, otherwise he will show them how they must fight.

Onoka- “Black mamba”

The name informs the enemy how dangerous the PLAN fighter is. He considers himself as a very dangerous PLAN fighter who might destroy the enemies very fast.

Ndaleleondangala- “I spent sleepless night”

A name notifies the colonizer that a PLAN fighter spent sleepless nights because he is always ready to fight his enemies and he want to liberate his country. He believes that soldiers don't sleep in a battle.

Inamutila- “Do not be afraid”

The name encouraged the PLAN fighters not to worry about the situation they found themselves in, but they must remain focus and determined to win her enemies.

5. **Hainyeko-** “A name of the military training commander Tobias Hainyeko”

Up on arrival in war zone, one of the military commanders briefed him about combat rules before he took away his identity documents. He told him to name himself a combat name which he preferred. He named himself after a first former and brave commander Tobias Hainyeko. He chose this name because before he had gone into exile he heard a good history of this commander, and his work really inspired him. The name played a significant role and really contributed to the liberation of this country because he believed that he went into his name sake's foot print and fight harder to free their motherland. Other PLAN combatants used to call him **Commander**, because they respect him the same way they respected his name sake. He also believed that a name is a link and he copied the same characters of this brave PLAN commander. He explains that the circumstances in which combat names were given depended on the war situation in which they found themselves. They chose the names depending on the war situations.

He did not change his combat name during his stay in the struggle, but if the situations force me to change, he can do so. After the independence, most PLAN fighters dropped their combat names and they lost their values because they fulfilled the main aim of the liberation struggle. Although others dropped their names, he still prefers his name and his relatives and friend used to call him commander.

Names and meanings provided by the interviewee

Naditope- “Let them explode”

The name hold a serious call to the PLAN fighters to takes up arms and fighter harder against the colonial forces.

Shalula- “It becomes bitter”

This name refers to the hard and critical situation the war situation was. The interviewee explains that the liberation struggle that brought independence to Namibia was bitter, and the situation required them to fight with courage to liberate the country to shake off the heavy yoke of colonialism.

Kakukutu komatanga- “Commander in chief”

The name refers to a person leading the group. The interviewee maintains that the name was for her best friend, who was a commander of a women council at Tobias Hainyeko training Centre who was in charge of PLAN fighters. She reminded them to remain vigilant and determined at all times to win their enemies. In addition to controlling and supervising her soldiers, due to her superior rank and senior position, she conducted herself in an exemplary manner.

Ngoya- “Forest”

The name bearer considers himself as a forest where they were fighting.

6. Omufituwanyengaodula- “A jungle unshaken by the rain”

The respondent named herself upon arrival at the Information centre in Angola in 1976. No one was named by others, therefore she chose “**Omufituwanyengaodula**”. She maintains that she is very stubborn and undermines her enemies, therefore the motive behind the name is the power in her, which made her to be unshaken. She named herself such a name due to the serious situation in which she found herself. The name highly contributed to the liberation struggle because it really encouraged her and she did not give up until they won the independence. She loves her name and her children call her by that name which sometimes makes her to evoke memories of war situation.

Names meanings given by the interviewees

Luvadi- “Lightning”

The name express how dangerous the person is. The interviewee explains that the electric storm does not necessarily mean electric storm for the rain, but he refers to himself as a dangerous PLAN fighter who could burn and destroy the enemies with his gun.

Kalofwela- “Expert in fighting”

It refers to a talented combatant in shooting, who always defeating the enemies.

Nadidengwe- “Let’s beat them”

The name is informing the colonisers that they would be defeated

Kalandulwa- “Whom one cannot follow”

The interviewee explains that the name refers to the dangerous and fearless guerrilla fighter who participated in the guerilla warfare. A name was a warning to the enemies that they should not follow him because he is dangerous and he can kill them.

7. Shitenyasheyoka- “The serpent’s in law”

The respondent named himself upon arrival at the Information centre in Angola in 1979. The name refers to the courage and determination of a snake. The merely aim of the name was to hide the identity. The name bearer compares his characters with a snake. Despite the significant role played by the name during the liberation struggle, the name helped him to take risk of facing danger. He did not experience PLAN fighters changing their names as they moved from one battle unit to another. He dropped his name after the independence.

Names and meaning provided by the interviewee

Mutwewateka- “Broken head”

He named himself this name because he never withdrew until the last bullet was spent.

Mungululayashiyako- “A big gun”

This name refers to the big gun which never fails a person in the battle.

Ndjingaandjinga- “Keep on shaking”

The name means that a PLAN fighter remains unshaken whatever the situation is. He doesn’t give up even if the enemy defeated some of his colleagues.

Mekondjo- “In the battle”

The name was just an encouragement to the guerrilla fighters to keep on fighting until they win their enemy.

8. Shitamedu- “duck deep into the soil”

He took his name upon arrival in Angola in 1979. The name refers to their enemies whom he doesn't want to see otherwise he will destroy them and he decided not to live the stone unturned. He narrated that he was very committed and well-motivated to fight against his enemies and win them. He further states that they only had one aim which was to fight and free their motherland. The name motivated him to face his enemies and it mobilized the liberation struggle in different ways. He chose this name because upon his arrival the situation was very unpleasant and encouraged himself with that name to win against the enemy. He dropped his name after the war.

Names and meaning provided by the interviewee

Shikongashikukongeyo –“If you look for trouble, you will get it back in return.”

It refers to the enemy who provoked the PLAN fighters. Therefore they had to get what they had looked for.

Omutwiweembulu- “A person who wound the boers”

The name bearer was praising himself for his bereavement and defeating the boers.

Nadifindwe- “Let them be defeated”.

He means that the enemies which they fought against must be defeated. The name was a self-encouragement to the PLAN fighters to fight with determination.

Ingashilota- “The war will end”

The name was an expression of hope that the war would come to an end.

9. Lyeendongulaolitoolaoshima- “Early bird catches the war”

He took up the name to conceal his identity upon arrival on the war zone in 1974. He says his name is a proverbial name which means that a person must act early to be successful. He believes that if the PLAN fighters act or prepare themselves immediately before their enemies, they would be successful and win them. The name was an inspiration and promising to all PLAN fighters to remain observant during the battle. He picked up this name because it suited the censorious situation he found himself. He did not drop his name and his wives and his relatives still use it at home. He will never drop it because the meaning of the name suits every situation in life.

Names and meaning given by the interviewee

Tashiyanashiye- “Whatever is coming must come”

The name was an indication of how ready the PLAN fighters were. The interviewee expresses that combatants were very ready to fight and were fearless. They were determined to fight no matter how the situation was. The name was an inspiration and self-encouragement to them.

Mbwangela- “Start”

The name means that once one finds his or her enemy he or he need to act fast, the earlier the better.

Tamutalele- “You shall see”

The name bearer was sneering at his opponent that they had to see them they are prepared to fight.

Shilulu- “A spectre”

The name refers to the warning of an unfavorable circumstances coming on the way the enemy’s way.

10. **Ondjabayalikakomwe-** “An elephant being bitten by the mosquito”

He named himself Ondjabayalikakomwe meaning the enemies have no effect to him, they are nothing to him and he can defeat them. He chose the name to conceal his identity and impede the enemy. Up on his arrival in Angola 1974, the war situation was very hectic and to him fighting was exceptional circumstance rather than the norm. The PLAN fighters were determined and eager to fight their enemies, therefore he decided to name himself such a name because his enemies were nothing to him. The name was a motivation and self-encouragement which kept him moving throughout the battle journey. He adds that no one was named by their superior, either by other soldiers, everyone named him or herself. They chose their names depending on the circumstance they found themselves in. He still loves his name and he will keep his name because it contributed to the Namibian liberation.

Names and meaning provided by the interviewee

Kalilifa- “hazardous plant which burn the skin”

The interviewee explained that the name bearer named himself this name because he considered himself as a dangerous guerrilla fighter who is an expert in shooting. The name was a warning to the enemies to be careful about him.

Naitwikile- “Let it continue”

The name means that the war must continue to defeat the enemy. The interviewee explains that they did not want to return home with empty hands.

Mbulukotoka- “Boers be careful”

The name was a warning to the enemy to be careful and get ready for the battle. The guerrilla fighters were ready to challenge them.

Kayavala- “A violent person”

This name was used by the courageous guerrilla fighter who was one of the commanders at Tobias Hainyeko training centre. The name means that the combatant is fearless and he does not get afraid of facing challenges.

11. **Mambodwe-** “Wasps”

He took up the name Mambodwe upon arrival in Angola in 1981. He affirmed he chose this name to hide his identity and to protect his family members back home. His name was a self-encouragement to win the South African. He believed in himself and he hoped that he could sting the enemies with his powerful gun. He says that since his stay in the battle, he did not experience a combatant being named by others. They were given an opportunity to name themselves the names they are comfortable with. After the independence, he dropped the name simply because the war had come to an end.

Names and meaning provided by the interviewee

Shafuixuna- “Miraculous”

The name refers to the unbelievable situation which the combatants found themselves in. The war situation was very difficult to manage, but they tried their best to defeat the enemy.

Embwadakondjelandiba- “Dogs fighting for the rabbit”

The name refers to both PLAN fighters and opponents, when they faced one another. The interviewee confirmed that if the people are in the battle, they are fighting either to win or to lose.

Nailote- “Let the war stop”

The name expresses the suffering and how people were stressed by the coloniser.

Kamutwevandu- “The person who is hardly sleep during the night.”

The name expresses how a soldier must be ready for the battle every time.

12. **Wodibotadengeweonga**- “It does not matter how small the weapon is, the person can still fight.”

He took up the name when he arrived in Angola in 1978 which was shortened “**Wodibo**”. He explained that the main reason for the combat name was to hide his identity. The war situation did not permit the combatants to use their official names, it was a culture in war for combatants to drop their official names and adopt the combat names because their enemies were not supposed to know their official names because they can kill them or endanger their family members back home. The name was significant to him and it mobilized him to remain focus during the battle. He says that whatever weapon he was using in the battle it helped him to win the battle. It does not matter what type of weapon the person is using but what matters is the self-confidence the person has. He dropped the names after the war.

Names and meanings provided by the interviewee

Lungada- “A type of bird”

Lungada was the name of a true icon of the liberation struggle (Patrick Iyambo) and a fighter of the first battle which took place at Omugulugwombashe in 1966. The former PLAN fighter named himself after this bird because it is a bird which never fails to wake up early and this bird is very important among Ovawambo because it wake them early morning with its golden voice. It is like an alarm to them to wake up and do dairy work. The combatant chose this name because he always had a responsibility to wake other combatants to prepare for the battle. The name-bearer was inspired by brave fighter Patric Iyambo who was committed to the cause of South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO).

Napaendelelwe- “Let it happen fast”

This name means that PLAN fighters must act and prepare themselves very fast for the battle.

Nopoudjuunopimatapaanye- “A problem solver, who is fearless and brave.”

The interviewee explains that this combatant refers to himself as a problem solver who can manage the difficult situation.

Haulamba- “Hyena”

The name bearer named herself “Haulamba” because she belongs to Ovakwanekamba clan and she believes that people who belong to this clan are highly energetic and they are good at taking charge of situations.

13. Mahomato- “A very armed person for a battle”

The respondent narrated that upon arrival at the Information centre in Angola in 1985, they were addressed by one of the military commanders about the combat rules. Their identity documents were taken away and they were instructed to name themselves. He named himself “Mahomato” because he considered himself as a combative PLAN fighter who was hoping to free his motherland. The name stimulated him and it kept him going throughout the battle. He was very confident that they would free the country and is what they did. He is still using his name and he loves it because it keeps him determined.

Names and meanings provided by the interviewee

Shiponga- “Danger”

He named himself after the guerrilla fighter and military Commander of the People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and military officer Ruben Danger Ashipala. He inspired him because he is fearless and brave Combatant. He considered himself as a dangerous combatant to his enemies and he was confident that he can manage the battle. He was inspired by his bravely.

Fikamenitulweni- “Stand up so that we can fight”

He named himself this name due to the critical war situation he found himself in. He was driven by the love of his country, and he was always determined to see the freedom of his country. The name was a call to the other combatants to stand up and fight the enemy.

Shikuloshapandulilwe- “A PLAN fighter who was acknowledged for his work.”

The name refers to the PLAN fighter who performed well during the war and he was acknowledged for his work.

Ningenituyenitukalweni “Let’s get ready to go fight”.

This name is shortened “Ningenituyeni” which was an instruction to the PLAN fighter to prepared for the war.

14. **Hanyati**- “A warrior person”

He named himself “Hanyati” upon arrival at the Information centre at Angola in 1977. The reason for the name was to conceal identity and protect himself from enemies. His name was an inspiration which helped him to react quickly always and to be a quick thinker because the situation on the battle field was always changing and one had to make the right decision in a limited amount of time. He still loves his name and will still keep it, because it made him to be a person who he is today.

Epolodi- “A cruel person and violent”

The name was a big threat to the enemies and it was a self-encouragement to the combatants.

Ondume yomomufitu- “A wild and strange animal”

The combatant refers himself as a dangerous person and fearless combatant who is determined to combat the enemy.

Nalimanguluke- “Let it be free”

The name bearer expresses how people were eager for the freedom.

Mawila- “A morning star”

The name refers to the PLAN combatant who never fails to wake up early because he was very determined and believes that the earlier the better.

15. Nakudilonga- “Fast thinker”

The name means how quick the combatant could think on how they could use different tactics to win the enemy. Upon arrival in Angola at 1978, he named himself “Nakudilonga”. He chose the name because the situation of the war was very harsh and he decided to be wise and more creative to find some other war tactic which they could use to win their opponent. He took up this name because in combat, a soldier needs to be initiative to be able to make right decision, although no one instructed him to do so it was a priceless quality. He always tried to be more creative and think fast to find new solutions from scratch. His name motivated him in many ways to be more creative in thinking and to find ways of facing challenges. He did not drop his name after the war, he is still using his name at work and he is still regarding himself as a creative person. He says that his name was a big motivation to him which helped him to remain stronger.

Names and meaning provided by the interviewee

Ndjudo- “Heavier and tough person”

A PLAN fighter who has a potential to fight harder and cannot be defeated.

Waendamaihauu- “A burnt tree which never fall”

He considers himself strong and committed because he was wounded in different battles, but he is still strong still he can fight.

Kamudulunge- “You will not defeat me”

He considers himself as a powerful and fearless combatant who cannot be challenged neither defeated.

Findano- Victory

The interviewee highlights that combatant named herself this name because she felt that she can win the battle. The name was an encouragement to challenge the battle.

16. **Kapenambili-** “No peace”

She named herself “Kapenaombili” after she arrived in Angola in 1986. The situation was very serious and need immediate action. Due to the situation she found herself, she decided to name herself that name. She explains that soldiers were very busy and they really want to rescue others from danger. She was eager to join others to fight and win the South African. She dropped the name after independence because the name fulfilled its aim.

Names and meaning provided by the interviewee

Pilamenako- “Go away”

The name instructed the enemies to go away because they colonized and killed their people.

Shifufuta- “A gun”

The combatant refers to himself as a firearm that can bring down his enemy.

Lixwineni- “Be afraid”

The combatant refers to his enemies to be frightened before he can destroy them.

17. **Kakulumbwati-** “A PLAN fighter”

He took the name after he arrived in Angola in 1974. He joined the liberation struggle at his tender age like many young Namibia who joined SWAPO to liberate Namibian from the yoke of

colonialism. The name Kakulumbwati is derived from the name Oshikulumbwati, a big stick which is used to bit someone and it more used in a fight. The Combatant referred to himself that he was very powerful and determined to won the fight. He named himself after the People Liberation Army of Namibia's fighters who were committed and well-motivated to fight and free the country. This name was an inspiration to him because the PLAN fighters play a tremendous role during the liberation struggle. The main reason to choose a name was to conceal his identity. He dropped the name after independence.

Names and meanings provided by the Interviewee

Shikufinde- “A person who defeats you”

The name expresses self-encouragement among the PLAN fighters.

Shalula- “It became bitter”

The name expresses how difficult the battle was. The interviewee claims that the warfare was harsh where many people lost their lives. It was not easy, it required encouragement and determination.

Tate-okwati- “Father said”

The name was a self-motivation to the Combatant, and he always follows his father's advice because before he went into exile, his father always used to warn him that a man do not need to be defeated. He followed his father's advice that he should fight until he defeat his enemies.

Nakada- The interviewee did not provide the meaning but he expresses that the combatant named himself after Nakada ka Shikololo who was one of the Northern west front PLAN commander who passed away in Cassinga massacre battle in 1978.

18. **Ngobenouwawayo** – “A Cow and its beauty”

He named himself up on his arrival at Angola in 1979. His name Ngobenouwawayo represents his totem clan. He says that he respect his Ovakwanangobe clan because they brought him on earth and he is very proud to be a member of that clan. His name helped him to conceal his identity and it encouraged him throughout the battle because he behaved in selfless manners and cooperated with other PLAN fighters to liberate the country. He did not drop his name. His relatives and friends still call him Ngobenouwawayo.

Names and meanings provided by the interviewee

Shitomeka- “A person who may burn others”

The interviewee confirms that this name was a self-motivation to the combatant because he considers himself as a dangerous person.

Halwoodi- A name given to a person who defeats others and always determined to fight.

Eenghakudomutondi- “Shoes of the enemy.”

A PLAN fighter named himself this name because he was good to follow the foot print of the enemy. The name was an encouragement to face the enemies.

Kaumbwandjebo- “A person who cannot be shot by the gun”

According to the interviewee the combatant was praising himself that no one can shot and defeat him.

19. **Umbanokudipaa**- “Shoot to kill”

He took the name after he arrived at Angola in 1976. Up on his arrival he noticed the dangerous situation which mobilized him to name himself “Umbanokudipaa”. He says that in war no one was given a name, each soldier chose his or her preferable combat name. If they happened to choose names with nasty meaning, then the army commanders had to ask them to abandon them with immediate effect and choose another one. He chose this name because of the colonial inequity he left home, this situation drove him to take up arms to free his beloved land. He was very eager to fight and his name motivated him to defeat his enemies. His name really contributed to the liberation struggle and it was an inspiration. He dropped it after the war, because the meaning of the name could bring a fear among his relatives and Namibian nation at large.

Names and meanings provided by the interviewee

Naitwikile-“Let the war continue”

The interviewee mentions that the combatant was eager to fight to defeat the enemy.

Shaduva- “Critical”

He named himself this name referred to the difficulty situation they found themselves in. He decided to name himself which was kept him determined because the situation required immediate action.

Keukeni- “Look behind”

The name was a warning which was instructing the Combatant to look behind always because they could not know the time their enemies could attacked them.

Kamukwatange- “You cannot catch me”

The combatant chose this name which was a warning to the enemies that they could not catch neither defeat him. The name was a self-motivation which helped and mobilised her to defeated the enemy.

20. **Mbindangolo-** “A type of grass”

This name is derived from the proverb **Ombidangolo ihayi lyatwa epwanga**, literally means, one must achieve something after he have done something. The combatant named himself this name after upon his arrival in Angola in 1979. He chose this name to conceal his identity and very important to protected himself from his enemies. He believed that he would defeat the enemies and liberate his country because they went to fight and he had brought the freedom when he came back home. To him coming home with empty hands was a taboo to him. He did not dropped his name because it fits daily life situations.

Names and meanings provided by the interviewee

Ndafatate-“I am like my father”

He chose his name because of his brave characters which is identical to those of his father. His father was a brave, determined and never defeated by anyone. He took up this name because he was inspired by his father and throughout the battle he was determined and fought firmly to liberate Namibia. He favours his name and it always gives him courage.

Shitunaihahadwa- A mole should not be disturbed

She named herself this name referred to the enemies that they must not prove her, they might looked for trouble.

Hanhapo- “Fast runner”

The Combatant named himself this name, referred to his enemies that they would not catch him because he could run faster. His name motivated and helped him to defeat the enemies.

Kadila- “A bird”

He joined war at his tender age and he named himself after a bird. The name means that although he is small, he is powerful and well-motivated to defeat his enemy. His name helped him to face the war challenges.

The interviewees provide their combat names as well as for other Combatant they could remember. They also provide their meaning, and the reason why they chose them. They made it clear that the main reason was to conceal their identities and protect themselves and their families from danger. Out of these names only some which are selected and put in different categories.

Former PLAN fighters did not only chose names that came into their minds, instead, they chose names that reflected their new political awareness and their role in the revolutionary armed struggle designed to bring about changes.

APPENDIX 8

A Glossary of Combat names

The glossary provided here is in collaboration with the translation provided by the former PLAN fighters and they are in alphabetical list. Some of the names already appeared in the different categories presented in chapter four.

1. **Eenghakudomutondi**- “Shoes of the enemy.”
2. **Embwadakondjelandiba**- “Dogs fighting for the rabbit”
3. **Epolodi**- “A cruel person and violent”
4. **Fikamentulweni**- “Stand up so that we can fight”
5. **Findano**- Victory
6. **Hainyeko**- “A name of the military training commander Tobias Hainyeko”
7. **Halwoodi**- “a person who seriously engages in a fight.”
8. **Halwoodi**- A name given to a person who defeats others and always determined to fight.
9. **Hambido**- “Leopard” (Hambido is a name given to the leopard in animal fables)
10. **Kapenaefimbo**- No time
11. **Hamutwemukukutu**- “A stubborn person”
12. **Hanhapo**- “Fast runner”
13. **Hanyati**- “A warrior person”
14. **Haulamba**- “Hyena”
15. **Inamutila**- “Do not be afraid”
16. **Ingashilota**- “The war will end”
17. **Kadila**- “A bird”

18. **Kakukutu komatanga**- “Commander in chief”
19. **Kakulumbwati**- “A PLAN fighter”
20. **Kalandulwa**- “A person who cannot be followed”
21. **Kalandulwa**- “One who cannot follow”
22. **Kalilifa**- “hazardous plant which burn the skin”
23. **Kalofwela** – “An expert in fighting”
24. **Kalofwela**- “Expert in fighting”
25. **Kambeko olufo oloye**- “Go and fight, it is your turn.”
26. **Kamudulenge**- “You will not defeat me”
27. **Kamukwatange**- “You cannot catch me”
28. **Kamutwevandu**- “The person who is hardly sleep during the night.”
29. **Kapenambili**- “No peace”
30. **Kaumbwandjebo**- “A person who cannot be shot by the gun”
31. **Kayavala**- “A violent person”
32. **Keukeni**- “Look behind
33. **Lixwineni**- “Be afraid”
34. **Lungada**- “A type of bird”
35. **Luvadi**- “Lightining”
36. **Lyeendongulaolitoolaoshima**- “An early bird catches the worm”
37. **Mahomato**- “A very armed person for a battle”
38. **Mambodwe**- “Wasps”
39. **Mandume ya Ndemufayo**- “Who was Oukwanyama king and an epic leader among other great leaders on the African continent that were against all forms of colonialism.”

40. **Mawila**- “A morning star”
41. **Mbindangolo**- “A type of grass”
42. **Mbulukotoka**- “Boers be careful”
43. **Mbwangela**- “Attack”
44. **Mbwangela**- “Start”
45. **Mekondjo**- “In the battle”
46. **Mundilo waNepuka**- “Burning fire of Nepuka”
47. **Mungululayashiyako**- “A big gun”
48. **Mutotela nodibo**- “runs to him with a stickfighting”
49. **Mutwewateka**- “Broken head”
50. **Nadidengwe**- “Let’s beat them”
51. **Nadifindwe**- “Let them be defeated”.
52. **Naditope**- “Let the gun blaze”
53. **Nailote**- “Let the war stop”
54. **Naitwikile**- “Let it continue”
55. **Naitwikile**-“Let the war continue”
56. **Nakada**- “One of the PLAN commander”
57. **Nakudilonga**- “Fast thinker”
58. **Nalimanguluke**- “Let it be free”
59. **Nalimanguluke**- “Let it be free”
60. **Namuxwika**- “A type of worm which can burn people skin”
61. **Nandemutumapokafi, nandemuumbakumuyashe** “He will not die even you sent or shoot him”

62. **Napaendelelwe**- “Let it happen fast”
63. **Ndafatate**-“I am like my father”
64. **Ndaleleondangala**- “I spent sleepless night”
65. **Ndjingaandjinga**- “Keep on shaking”
66. **Ndjudo**- “heavier and tough person”
67. **Nghoshi/ Kafute kaNenganga**- “A lion”
68. **Ngobenouwawayo** – “A cow and its beauty”
69. **Ngoya**- “Forest”
70. **Ningenituyenitukalweni** “Let’s get ready to go fight”.
71. **Nopoudjuunopomatapaanye**- “A problem solver, who is fearless and brave.”
72. **Omufituwanyengaodula**- “A jungle unshaken by the rain”
73. **Omutwiweembulu**- “A person who wound the boers”
74. **Ondjabayalikakomwe**- “An elephant bitten by the mosquito”
75. **Ondume yomomufitu**- “A wild and strange animal”
76. **Onoka**- “Black mamba”
77. **Pilamenako**- “Go away”
78. **Shaduva**- “Critical”
79. **Shafuixuna**- “Miraculous”
80. **Shalula**- “It became bitter”
81. **Shalula**- “It becomes bitter”
82. **Shekupamba shokOputu** “Link by Portugal”
83. **Shifufuta**- “A gun”
84. **Shikongashikukongeyo** –“If you look for trouble, you will get it back in return.”

85. **Shikufinde**- “A person who defeats you”
86. **Shikuloshapandulilwe**- “A PLAN fighter who was acknowledged for his work.”
87. **Shilulu**- “A spectre”
88. **Shiponga**- “Danger”
89. **Shitamedu**- “duck deep into the soil”
90. **Shitenyasheyoka**- “The serpent’s in law”
91. **Shitomeka**- “Set a light”
92. **Shitunaihahadwa**- “Do not look for trouble”
93. **Tamutalele**- “You shall see”
94. **Tashiyanashiye**- “Whatever is coming must come”
95. **Tate-okwati**- “Father said”
96. **Umbanokudipaa**- “Shoot to kill”
97. **Waendamaihauu**- “A weak person is difficult to fall”
98. **Waponyo wa efele mwene**- “If the gun missed what it supposed to shoot, it is up to the owner.”
99. **Luvadi**- “Lightning”
100. **Wodibotadengeweonga**- “It does not matter how small the weapon is, the person can still fight.”