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The so-called Coloured people of South Africa: Modern anthroponymic reconstruction?

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The so-called Coloured people of South Africa:
Modern anthroponymic reconstruction?

Abstract: The Dutch explorers set foot on land, now called South Africa in 1652, and various groups of slaves were imported that gradually resulted in a particular group of people coming together that interacted. They were named *Coloureds*, simply because of the lack of accurate historical data regarding their origin.

This contribution focuses on the so-called Coloureds and their naming practices in modern-day South Africa. It attempts to highlight the modern reconstruction of first names since 1994 in democratic South Africa, and by so doing claiming a new identity slowly but surely.

The data used in this contribution was collected from local newspapers as well as from questionnaires by university students. They have become known as individuals

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carrying unusual and innovative first names. An Addendum to illustrate this phenomenon is included.

Keywords: Onomastics, anthroponymy, Coloureds in South Africa, democracy 1994, innovative first names.

Les appelés *Coloureds* en Afrique du Sud :
une reconstruction moderne de l'anthroponymie ?

Résumé : En 1652, les explorateurs hollandais entraient pour la première fois dans la terre qu'on appelle actuellement l'Afrique du Sud. Ils importaient des groupes d'esclaves d'origines différentes qui peu à peu commençaient à interagir, et qu'on appelait tous de façon générique des « Coloureds ». L'histoire des origines individuelles de ces esclaves devenait de la sorte impossible à reconstituer.

La contribution se centre sur les ainsi appelés *Coloureds* et leurs pratiques anthroponymiques en Afrique du Sud démocratique d'aujourd'hui, et elle essaie de faire de la lumière sur la reconstruction moderne des prénoms qui à la longue peut mener à une identité innovatrice.

Les données de cette contribution ont été collectées à partir de la presse locale ainsi que de questionnaires répondus par des étudiants universitaires qui portent des prénoms considérés comme extraordinaires et innovants. Une annexe illustre ces phénomènes.

Mots-clés : Onomastique, anthroponymie, *Coloureds* en Afrique du Sud, démocratie 1994, prénoms innovants.

Die sogenannten Farbigen (Coloureds) in Südafrika:
Moderne anthroponymische Rekonstruktion?

Zusammenfassung: Im Jahr 1652 betraten holländische Seefahrer erstmals das Land, das man heute Südafrika nennt. Sie importierten verschiedene Gruppen von Sklaven, die nach und nach untereinander Kontakt aufnahmen, und die man schließlich alle als „Coloureds" bezeichnete, weil man ihre ursprüngliche Herkunft schlicht nicht mehr nachvollziehen konnte.

Der Beitrag fokussiert auf die sogenannten Farbigen (Coloureds) und die Praxis ihrer Namengebung im heutigen Südafrika, wobei versucht wird, die moderne Rekonstruktion von Vornamen im demokratischen Südafrika nach 1994 zu beleuchten, die langsam aber sicher zu einer neuen Identität führen kann.

Die Daten dieses Beitrags wurden aus Lokalzeitungen sowie aus Fragebögen von Universitätsstudenten gewonnen, die einen als ungewöhnlich und innovativ geltenden Vornamen tragen. Ein Anhang illustriert dieses Phänomen.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Namenforschung, Onomastik, Personennamenforschung, Farbige (Coloureds) in Südafrika, Demokratie 1994, innovative Vornamen.

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The so-called Coloured people of South Africa: Modern anthroponymic reconstruction?

BERTIE NEETHLING

1. Introduction

The population of South Africa numbers nearly 59 million, as estimated by Statistics South Africa (2019). The estimation is made by using the cohort-component method: a base population is estimated being consistent with known demographic characteristics of the country. The cohort base population is projected into the future according to the anticipated components of change.

Many South Africans would simply like to be referred to as *South African* and nothing else, except perhaps the language that is spoken, i.e. *an English-speaking South African* or *a Zulu-speaking South African*. The present day South African government, however, still prefers to categorise the population in four major groupings: (Black) African, Coloured, Indian/Asian and White (see Statistics South Africa 2019). Many South Africans challenge this classification. The term *black* is often used as a substitute for all Africans, and then everybody is often included except white South Africans. To confirm and illustrate this, the current South African president, Cyril Ramaphosa, recently (April 27, 2020) encouraged *black* and *white* to fight the corona virus. No other "colour" or ethnicity was mentioned. Some other groups that exist, like the Coloured community, are seemingly simply not recognised, although they outnumber the white South Africans.

The (Black) African population outweighs all the others, constituting 80.7% of the total. The second largest group, the Coloureds, which is the focus of this contribution, constitutes 8.8%, with the Whites coming in at 7.9%. The estimated Coloured population total comes to 5,176,750 people (Statistics South Africa 2019: 6).

2. History of the so-called Coloureds

The history of the multicultural and multilingual South Africa is fairly complex. There is currently still controversy as to who were the first people in the southern part of the country i.e. in and around Cape Town, before colonialism set in. Various groups are claiming to have been First World people roaming around the country, mainly known as hunter-gatherers. They are often referred to as Khoi(khoi) or San (Bushmen). Raper (2014: 381) states

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the following: "[…] the Bushmen (also called the San) and Hottentots (also called Khoikhoi) are the true indigenous inhabitants of Southern Africa".

When the Dutch explorers, representing the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) under the leadership of Jan van Riebeeck set foot on land in the south in 1652, they interacted with the Khoi and the San, but also realised they needed extra workforce in order to cultivate the area, and feeding those on passing ships. Various groups of slaves were imported, initially from Batavia and Madagascar, but later also from Indonesia, India, Angola and Mozambique. Eventually a particular group of people came together and interacted consisting of the Khoi and San, the Dutch white settlers, the various slave groups, and later on the British colonialists.

As this particular mixed group (mainly excluding the Dutch white settlers as well as the Khoi and San) developed over many centuries, they were labelled as Coloureds, simply because of the lack of accurate historical data and hence the lack of a suitable ethnic term. Some groups among the Coloureds claim that they are descendants from the Khoi which might be true but extremely difficult to prove.

They currently form a significant population group, although they are still not comfortable with this inappropriate ethnonym, which from an onomastic perspective, is nonsensical. The purpose of this contribution is to highlight the modern reconstruction of first names among the Coloureds, and by so doing, claiming a new identity slowly but surely.

3. Present-day Coloureds

Although Coloureds are nowadays found all over South Africa, the focus of this contribution will be on Cape Coloureds, the majority population in the province of the Western Cape. They are Afrikaans or English speaking, and the majority are generally bilingual. Some parents still speak Afrikaans to one another but English to their children, arguing that English as a global language may be beneficial to the children's education. Some Cape Coloureds may code switch, speaking a patois of Afrikaans and English called *Kaapse Afrikaans* or *Afrikaaps*. The third major language in the Western Cape is Xhosa, but only a minority of the Coloureds speak it, particularly when there was close interaction in their younger years. A very important feature of the Cape Coloureds is that quite a significant number of them are affiliated to the Islam religion. In effect that means that many carry Muslim given names and surnames. Those names are not taken into account for this study, as they have already been examined in another article (Neethling 2012).

The term *Coloured* (Afrikaans *Kleurling*), literally meaning 'a person of colour', is essentially nonsensical. All people across the world are Coloureds, ranging from very light-skinned ('white') to extremely dark-skinned ('black').

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The other Afrikaans term *Bruinmense*, literally 'brown people' is more appropriate because 'brown' is the dominating skin colour featuring in this group. In 2008, a so-called BBI (Bruin Belange Inisiatief, 'Coloured Concerns Initiative') was established in the Western Cape under the leadership of a well-known personality, Dr. Danny Titus (see Rossouw 2008). The use of the term *bruin* seemingly only attracted Afrikaans speaking Coloureds. Few English-speaking Coloureds use the colour term *brown*.

It does appear as if the term *Coloured* (Afrikaans *Kleurling*), how nonsensical it might be, remains the prominent and most used one.[1] Martin (1998: 523) argues that if that section of the South African population continues to be called Coloured or call themselves with that term, it is because "systematic and recurring practices of designation and separation have cemented a distinctive community from heterogeneous elements". The Group Areas Act of 1950 also played a significant role in this respect.

Generally speaking, the term *Coloured* in South Africa is assigned to an ethnic group composed primarily of persons of mixed race. The Coloured community in South Africa could then also be considered as an ethnonym. Koopman (2016: 251) refers to the term *ethnonym* as it appears in the onomastic terminology list on the website of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS). The *List of key onomastic terms* (ICOS Terminology Group 2019) defines it as follows:

> Ethnonym – proper name of an ethnic group (a tribe, a folk, a clan etc.), or a member of this group, e.g. *Italians, Bavarians, Croat, Frenchman, Zulu*.

Koopman suggests that there is a lack of standardization and general agreement about ethnonymy among onomastic scholars (ibid.), but the definition above is considered appropriate regarding the Coloureds.

"Although Cape Coloureds form a minority group within South Africa, they are the predominant population group in the Western Cape" (*Wikipedia*). The ancestry of the Coloured people, although not always recognised as such, is wonderfully mosaic and was shaped by existing conditions at the place known as Cape Town and surrounds nowadays. Venter's (1974, see Prologue and pp. 1–22) valuable work covers all the influences playing a part in the shaping of the heterogeneous ethnic group with diverse ancestral links. As a corollary, the following ethnic groups are or may be represented in the ancestry of the Coloureds: Khoi and San people, Bantu-speaking Africans, various European groups, as well as Asian people (usually slaves imported by the Dutch East Indies) from various countries, such as India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Madagascar and

[1] Because of the controversy around this classificatory term, it is common practice to find the term *Coloured* represented in inverted commas or preceded by *so-called* in various sources. In this contribution the inverted commas or the phrase *so-called* will not be used, without thereby suggesting that the term as a racial or ethnic label is supported.

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Mozambique. The ancestry may also have been a combination of any of these.

One can only guess at the possible confusion that may exist when current Coloureds try to establish their origin and ancestry because of the lack of data from the early times, as well as the variety of possibilities. Their origin is complex and in many cases leads to uncertainty among Coloureds. Because of the complexity and all the possible variables, the early ancestors did not record the ancestry accurately, thereby adding to the developing confusion.

4. Identity challenges

In June 1926, a letter writer to the Rand Daily Mail in Johannesburg, Philip Stanley, posed the following question: "Can any man commit a greater crime than be born *Coloured* in South Africa?" (see Venter 1974: 1). At that time it was considered a major problem, and to some extent, it still is today.

Once assigned to this particular group named as Coloured, the members invented specific lifestyles which gave form, content and substance to otherwise scattered pockets of people. These lifestyles and traditions helped the Coloured group to bond into a community allowing outsiders to this invented community to identify it as a singularly different entity within the mosaic of South African population groups (see Martin 1998: 524). It was considered problematic, particularly from within the Coloured community.

The award-winning film *I'm Not Black, I'm Coloured – Identity Crisis at the Cape of Good Hope* (Monde World Films 2009) is one of the first historical documentary films to explore the legacy of Apartheid through the viewpoint of the Cape Coloured community. It included interviews with elders, pastors, members of Parliament, students and everyday people struggling to find their identity in the new South Africa. It provides one with what appears to be a fairly accurate version of the recent history of the Coloureds, and how events gradually shaped them, to such an extent that many still view themselves as outsiders, not fitting into the old apartheid system, nor fitting into the new democratic South Africa. A song in the film repeatedly carries the following line: "[…] the only sin, is the colour of my skin". Early on in the film a couple expressed their discomfort: "We don't know who we are, and where we come from". It is clear that many Coloureds do not feel comfortable in South Africa, although they have been here for many centuries. Their complicated history, not properly documented and involving many ethnic groups in their ancestry, makes it extremely difficult to come to grips with "their" reality and to have strong opinions about their identity.

A more recent contribution by Lindsay Johns (2013) in the local newspaper the Cape Argus with the resounding title *Say it loud! I'm coloured and proud* is worth noting because of its positive stand. He affirms the mixing of blood, which he calls *métissage*, giving rise to the Coloureds. He argues that

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race is a "debilitating social construct used to divide, conquer, and ultimately dissipate […] common humanity". According to Johns, many Coloureds today, young and old, consciously choose to define themselves exclusively as Coloured, both racially and politically, so that colouredness functions as a homogeneous, all-consuming social and racial entity, which serves as a means of self-protection. If the term 'Coloured' could be interpreted in that way, it would become much more acceptable. Johns further argues that colouredness has been unpalatable both to the old Afrikaner regime, and now to the unashamedly Afrocentric ANC (African National Congress, the current SA government). He concludes that it is high time that "[…] coloured people were permitted to proudly embrace their colouredness, and not be browbeaten by linguistic fascism and tedious political correctness into renouncing aspects of their identity, heritage, and culture that don't fit in with others' expedient narratives".

In post-1994 South Africa there appear to be symptoms of an attitude change, demonstrating a resilience among the Coloureds, and reflecting an undeniable reservoir of creativity, with their hopes and anxieties anchored in the "new South Africa". This ties in with the views expressed by Johns (2013). Many members of the group are now rediscovering a "coloured identity" and presenting it as a contribution to South African culture as a whole. A very recent contribution is the book by Yusuf Daniels (2019). The title is somewhat ironic but also amusing: *Living Coloured (Because Black and White were already taken)*. The language used in the book is predominantly English, but the author also regularly uses Afrikaans.

5. Data collection

The data for this study comes from two sources: a questionnaire at the University of the Western Cape, as well as names from regular clips from *Die Burger*, an Afrikaans daily newspaper in the Western Cape, as well as other magazines and television programmes.

The University of the Western Cape (UWC), located in Cape Town and established in 1970, has a great significance for the Coloured community, as it accommodated only Coloured students before the end of apartheid in 1994. This study is a part of the project at UWC with the title *Exploring the link between name and identity: A UWC Profile*. For the project, a questionnaire including several questions of informants' personal names was distributed among the UWC students in 2007. The questionnaire was aimed at the total student population and it was quite wide-ranging. Eventually 824 questionnaires were returned, and 368 came from the Coloured students who either had English or Afrikaans as their mother tongue and hence they were the biggest "ethnic" group represented in the questionnaire.

Die Burger has a strong focus on so-called individuals or groups,

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particularly Coloured schools. Various schools, mostly primary ones, are invited to visit Cape Town where they will learn about the history of the city, as well as enjoy all the attractions the city offers. The names of the schools are published, with a photo of the learners (from both primary and high schools) placed in the newspaper with their first and family names listed. For the researcher, even though not part of that ethnic group, it was easy to identify the learners as part of the Coloured community. Random names appearing in the mentioned newspaper are also included. The newspaper also published the names of rugby players representing the province. It was also easy to identify those players that formed part of the Coloured community. All the name bearers were born in the new South Africa after the first full democratic elections of 1994.

6. Naming practices

Current first name practices among the Coloureds appear to be innovative, unconventional, and unique. This is clear among both male and female.

There appear to be some similarities between personal (first) names in the United States among Afro-American communities and the Coloureds of South Africa (see Neethling 2009). It is not that obvious what the reasons for that might be, although one could speculate. The same difficulties and uncertainties around the exact heritage and origin exist in both groups. The Afro-Americans hold onto their "African" heritage and connection in referring to themselves as *Afro*. Although the clarity of the context is rather blurred many so-called Afro-Americans have never set a foot in Africa. Both groups, however, had to undergo very trying times for a long time: slavery in the USA, particularly in the south, was rife before it was ended. The Coloureds as outlined earlier also suffered at the hands of the apartheid government, and battled to find their own identity in the old as well as the new South Africa. In more modern times, the Coloureds were exposed to American television programmes. They could understand English and hence could follow the programmes. The impact of the American pop culture in the entertainment world as disseminated by television is probably higher than one thinks. This may have played a role in the name-giving practices among the Coloureds.

Fryer & Levitt (2004) published a research paper with the title *The causes and consequences of distinctly Black names.* They described how the Afro-American first names changed quite remarkably over the last 20 years, after they had originally shared their first names with the white Americans. However, in their expansive research paper they only mentioned seven "new" or innovative Afro-American names, i.e. *DeShawn*, *Tyrone*, *Reginald*, *Shanice*, *Precious*, *Kiara* and *Deja*. In their data for white Americans, they also mentioned seven fairly well-known white American names, i.e. *Connor*, *Cody*, *Jake*, *Molly*, *Emily*, *Abigail* and *Caitlin.* They then illustrated how the Afro-

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American names dominated their occurrence in the current USA when compared with the white names. *Molly*, however, was the name that dominated amongst the whites (2248 with only 9 Blacks). It was actually disappointing to mention only these few names in their significant contribution. The term *Distinctly Black Names* as suggested in the title is not appropriate, seeing that it is not supported in the text. Another title would have been more appropriate in the research paper.

Levitt & Dubner (2005: 3) conclude that the likely parent in the USA to give a child a distinctly black name is "an unmarried, low-income, undereducated, teenage mother from a black neighbourhood who has a distinctly black name herself". This somewhat negative description might also be applicable to some Coloured South African mothers, but certainly not to all of them. Bloothooft & Onland (2011) argue that there are socio-economic determinants playing a role in general name-giving in the Netherlands (between 1982 and 2005). These include low income and education levels compared with high income and high education levels, as well as conservative and religious parents who preferred traditional names compared with more trendy parents preferring shorter and more modern names. These factors may still play a role amongst the Coloureds in South Africa, but it appears as if the lifestyle conditions are changing.

Zax (2008) pursues this matter by saying that Afro-Americans tend to "buck" more common names. He uses the names of the athletes representing the USA at the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing to reflect this: *Tayshaun*, *Deron*, *Rau'shee*, *Raynell*, *Deontay*, *Taraje*, *Jozy*, *Kerron*, *Hyleas*, *Chaunte*, *Bershawn*, *Lashawu*, *Sanya*, *Trevell*, *Sheena*, *Ogonna* and *Dremiel*. The situation is probably still the same among Afro-Americans today.

In the study by Balbach (2018) she also follows the history and the development of the African American first names in the USA from the beginning of slavery, i.e. the early seventeenth century until modern times. Her research was published in German in three sections with the interesting German title *Von Agustin über Tom zu DaShawn – Zur Geschichte und Entwicklung so genannter 'Black Names' in den US* [From *Agustin* over *Tom* to *DaShawn* – Towards the history and development of the so-called Black Names in the US]. Her research initially simply compared the Afro-American first names with the first names of white Americans (like Fryer & Levitt 2004), and she supplemented the research with her own observations and findings. Both parties, the Afro-Americans and the white Americans shared the same names, but in the 20th and 21st century it became clear that the Afro-Americans moved away from the tradition of the white Americans with the introduction of innovative new names. She also provided family names (= surnames) from both Afro-American and white Americans. The work by Balbach coincided to some extent with this study on the Coloured names in South Africa.

These new and unusual names nowadays have a unique form or appearance and are definitely not common among white Americans. Zax (2008: 1) also refers to the fact that boys' names are less unconventional compared to the girls. He

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prefers to call the rise of such names as "onomastic inventiveness" and confirms that "black Americans have spearheaded and continued to lead the trend of creative naming in this country" (Zax 2008: 1). This gave rise to the title of this contribution, because the Coloureds also need to be accredited with this "achievement" of reconstructing names. To support his view, Zax (2008: 3) randomly chooses some names from Dinwiddie-Boyd's baby-naming book (1994), and comments:

> […] the catchy Maneesha and Tavonda, the magisterial Orencio and Percelle, or the evocative Lakazia and Swanzetta. They are names emerging from a tradition of linguistic and musical invention much like those that gave us jazz and rap. And they are names that have paved the way for Americans of all classes and colors to begin to loosen up a stodgy culture of traditional name giving.

He is backed up by Satran (quoted in Morris 2007: 2) as follows: "'Celebrity culture and ethnic diversity have made people much more eager to look for a wide range of names of their own. The thinking is if you have a special name, that makes you a special person'".

It is precisely this attitude found nowadays amongst many Coloureds who seem to be saying: "I have a special name, and that indeed, makes me special".

7. Unique and unusual Coloured names

Many cultural or ethnic groups are characterised by what appears to be a finite anthroponymic database. That is the reason why many names reappear. It is as if the choices, although vast, are somewhat limited. In white circles of South Africa, particularly Afrikaans-speaking ones, first names are often passed on from generation to generation. Combinations of father's and mother's names are nowadays also invented, but it is not on such a grand scale. English names from white English-speaking groups are generally extremely common and often repeated by non-familial members. In the Bantu language groups, personal names are semantically transparent, i.e. they carry meaning. This meaning is usually extremely positive. That effectively means that a great number of those popular names are carried by many speakers.

The Coloureds are now displaying new invented or unique names that appear to be unconventional given what transpired in the early years. There is no etymology to explore, and besides the unusual form and spelling, as well as the correct pronunciation, all leading up to the uniqueness of the name, there is little one could add. It remains a very subjective exercise to assess a name as unusual. Some of these names may have been in existence for some time, particularly all across South Africa. In a South African context, however, these names seemingly do not appear amongst other Afrikaans or English-speaking groups, nor among Indian descendants or (Black) African groups, but only among the Coloureds.

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It is assumed that many parents (or single mothers) in the Coloured community are keen to name their newborn after famous TV stars and then mostly after characters in American programmes (see Neethling 2009: 69). This, and going beyond that, has become a kind of convention among the Coloureds. It appears as if the name givers try to make sure that the name does not exist. Although the name carrier might be Afrikaans-speaking and carry an Afrikaans family name, the first name tends to lean towards English. The uniqueness may also play a significant role regarding identity, notably self-identity. As much as the Afro-Americans are leading the way in the USA regarding innovative name-giving, so are the Coloureds, whether English or Afrikaans speaking, at the forefront of "creative naming" in South Africa.

At the back as an Addendum follows a random list of alphabetical names, female and male, that reflects names considered as unique, innovative or unusual. There are many more in the data basis and the data is growing. Unusual names, to be found in the daily newspaper *Die Burger*, in various magazines and on television, are constantly added to the data basis. This judgement, of course, is personal. Currently, including the Addendum, there are 183 male names, 161 female ones, and 30 hyphenated ones. They are increasing day by day, i.e. these numbers will never remain stable. There is no yardstick to measure them by: they simply appear unusual and are recognised as such. As a lecturer at UWC for 30 years, the researcher documented new and innovative names, particularly during 1995 and 2010. The names were also collected from UWC graduation programmes. Nowadays, the number is growing as indicated above.

The respondents from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) had an opportunity to comment on the perceived link between their name and identity (see Neethling 2009: 72–73). From the Addendum list, the following respondents had this to say:

> Sherene: "My name plays an important role in my identity, because a good name defines who you are and how people see you."
> Leorah: "My name defines who I am, strong and compassionate."
> Elarna: "My name is a reflection of my uniqueness and I consider myself to be really unique."
> Cheriece: "To a large extent, because my spelling of my name is unique, just like my personality. Very different and original, true to my identity."
> Fredeline: "Ek is net so uniek soos my naam daarom sien ek dat my naam my persoonlikheid reflekteer" [I am as unique as my name and hence see my name as reflecting my personality] (translated by the author).
> Seronda: "A name says a lot about who you are; what kind of person you are."
> Fredine: "My name is my identity. It is the name that was given to me, and I am happy with it."

These respondents, all of them female, are clearly of the opinion that

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there is a strong link between name and identity, and the uniqueness aspect is emphasised. The fact that the Coloured community is keen on these invented names is referred to tongue-in-cheek by the male respondent Gershwill. As to the link between name and identity, he remarks dryly: "(It is a) True reflection as only coloured people will have a name like *Gershwill*."

There is not much else to say about these names: there is no etymology to explore, and there are only a few pointers in terms of structure, particularly regarding suffixes, to assist in determining whether it is a male or female name. In many examples, this information was often lacking. A case in point: the name *Hendogay* provided a headache regarding gender. It was eventually classified as 'male', but purely based on speculation.

There are not many pointers regarding the gender of the name. If a name ended on *-o*, it was likely to be male. That also applies to *-will*/*-winn*. There seems to be more pointers regarding female names. If a name ended on *-line*/*-een*/*-ene*/*-lynn*, it was female. Other common female endings are *-a*, *-ia*, *-ita* and *-nique*.

One does not know if the names of the parents or other family members played a role. It is not impossible, but unlikely. A possible case as example: The parents, a Coloured couple, were named *Deon* and *Bianca*. The two names are very well-known in Afrikaans speaking circles. They then had two boys: the youngest was named *Elgeno*, and the elder *Willbiano*. Using one's imagination freely, it looks as if the parents' names may have partially featured in the boys' names: the *e-*, *o-* and *n-* in Deon's name for the youngest and the *-bia* in Bianca's name for the older boy. The *o-* ending is typical for males. The *will-* however, is inexplicable unless derived from *William*. One is left with two very unusual names for the two boys. They are not in the Addendum but could be added.

8. Hyphenated names

Hyphenated names, i.e. a name or part of a name, followed by a hyphen, and then usually another full name, have also become popular. They have always been around in the Coloured community, but not as often as in current times. There are, however, a few in the Addendum. It is noticeable, however, that they are usually not as unique or unusual as those without a hyphen. It also appears as if females carry such names more regularly than males. One may then assume that hyphenated names are generally considered as more gender-specific. Regarding pronunciation, such names are often shortened by omitting either part, beginning or end, or perhaps also shortening the longest part. For the purpose of this contribution, the uniqueness lies in the hyphen.

A few examples of such names are *Adri-Ann*, *Amy-Kay*, *Cara-Lee*, *Cindy-Ann*, *Chanté-Lee*, *Clementia-Lee*, *Jamy-lee*, *Jordan-leigh*, *Juli-Ann*, *Kelly-Ann*, *Keesha-Ann*, *Laura-Lee*, *Lee-Ann*, *Lee-Quinn*, *Lesley-Ann*, *Michae-Lynn*, *Petru-lee*, *Sarah-Jane*, *Sue-Kay*, *Teene-Rose*, *Toslee-Ann*, *Tracy-lee* and *Wilmy-Rose* for females, and *Du-wayne*, *Lee-Roy*, *Keith-Roy*, *Peter-Juan*, *Austin-Lee*, *Hughan-*

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Lee, *Brent-Lee* and *Randall-John* for males.

The name *Lee* appears in ten examples of the relatively short list, either as the first component (3 times) or the second one (7 times). There are only eight male names in the sample, with *Lee* also appearing as the initial name in one example. In the female names, *Lee* appears four times as the last name and twice as the first name. *Lee* is written with a capital letter four times in the female names, and three times in the lower case. In the male names *Lee* appears only once as the first name and three times as the last name. A variant of *Lee/lee*, pronounced in the same way but written as *leigh*, appears in one female example, written in lower case. *Lee/leigh* is one-syllabled. There are others in the Addendum.

Another popular name in the hyphenated names is the female name *Ann*. It appears eight times in the last position. It is probably popular because it is also one-syllabled. *Roy* appears twice in the last position among the males.

9. Surnames

Identifying a Coloured as one if a name appears in isolation without a surname, is at times difficult unless it is specified. A photo may suggest that the person(s) in the photograph is/are Coloureds, but one can easily make a mistake. The complexion of Coloureds varies from extremely light, even white, through all the brown shades until dark-brown, nearly black.

Certain surnames are often linked to the Coloured ethnicity. Some month names appear as surnames. The common ones are *January*, *February*, *Maart* (Afrikaans for 'March'), *April*, *July*/*Julie*(*s*), *Augustus* (Afrikaans for 'August'), *September*, *October* and *November*. The most common explanation is that the ancestor was likely to be a slave, arriving at the Cape of Good Hope in the late 16th century. The month date of his arrival, e.g. *February*, was probably given by the slave owners, probably to identify and remember them better. Eventually, this given "surname" served as the family name and the name bearer and his generation would carry that month name as his surname in all the years to come. The month surname of Coloureds is still today very common and has survived. An exquisite first name, carefully thought out, is often linked to a month name. It does not seem to currently bother the name givers or the name bearers. The month names are intrinsically linked to the Coloured community, and many Coloureds today still carry month names as surnames. A month surname reminds one that one is dealing with a Coloured individual.

There are also other typical Coloured surnames which serve as identity indicators and assist in identifying a name bearer. Many of these were probably derived from the early Dutch speakers. Some have obvious meanings in Afrikaans, but others are problematic to explain. Surnames like the following are typical Coloured ones: *Adonis*, *Witbooi*, *Swartbooi*, *Rondganger*, *Jantjies*, *Gelant*, *Kiewiet(s)*, *Willems*, *Africa*, *Fransman*, *Stoffels*, *Moses*, *Fortuin*, *Baartman*, *Tiemie*, *Jafta*, *Windvogel*, *Grootboom*, *Gysman*, *Goeda*, *Ferris*, *Stuurman*, *Leeuw*, *Draai*, *Adonis*,

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Kayster, *Vaaltyn*, *Ruiters*, *Papier*, *Olifant*, *Speelman*, *Fillies*, *Plaatjies*, *Grootetjie and Blommetjies*. They all appear in the name data basis and clearly have a Dutch or Afrikaans origin. If an "unconventional" first name is followed by one of these surnames, one can be reasonably sure that one is dealing with a Coloured. The etymology of these surnames is extremely difficult to come by, although some can be translated easily (into English) from the Afrikaans ones. Animal names sometimes feature from e.g. *Kiewiet*(*s*) 'a small bird', to *Olifant* 'elephant'. One simply has to speculate about their origin.

At the same time, last names or surnames well-known in the English-speaking world are also common among the Coloureds e.g. *Williams*, *Jeffreys*, *Young*, *Jacobs*, *Isaacs* and *Andrews.* There are many more. Despite the English link, they may have Afrikaans as their mother tongue.

In a way it is ironical to have the exotic, unusual and innovative name linked to many of these typical and old-fashioned surnames. To a sensitive listener or reader, the first name does not fit so well with the surname, but this does not seem to be a concerning aspect. Changing a family name takes more effort than assigning evocative names to newly born children. It appears as if parents (and their children) are quite content with their surnames, probably linked to their dated ancestry, but not with the first names. In that name giving process they seem to have a free hand, and it looks as if they want to outdo one another.

10. Conclusion

The trend of innovative anthroponymy, i.e. personal names amongst Coloureds is likely to proceed. Carefully noting new names in newspapers, magazines, television programmes and supermarket cashiers, suggests that new and innovative personal names are growing. Many respondents when asked about their names, whether it carries meaning, who gave it to them, etc. all proudly speak about their "new" name. Linking up with the theme *Personal names and cultural reconstructions,* it might be considered as a modern way of reconstructing the first names given the lack of historical data. They are recognised as a separate ethnic grouping, mainly Afrikaans- or English- speaking. It is likely that the ethnic term *Coloured* will continue to exist. As argued before, it is a nonsensical onomastic term which needs to be changed but it is currently so engrained in the South African society that it is unlikely to happen.

The creation of innovative first names might be seen as a step to counter the unhappiness regarding the ethnonym, i.e. Coloured. One specific context in modern-day South Africa that teems with unusual and innovative first names, regardless of the older family surnames, is the sporting context, notably cricket and rugby. Both sports are popular among the Coloureds. It certainly appears as if the old-fashioned first names that appeared in pre-democracy times, have vanished. The innovative ones are currently the dominating ones among the younger Coloured community.

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Addendum

Male names

Aldrin	Deslin	Jevano	Ridley
Almo	Devane	Jeslin	Riguad
Ammizini	Divian	Jesmoné	Roché
Anslin	Diviane	Jobry	Rovaldo
Anwill	Devin	Jolin	Ruwayne
Ashchaldo	Devon	Joshluwin	Sergeal
Ashrick	Drandon	Joshwin	Shaye
Aydin &	Duran	Juarno	Shaygan
Aywin	Duwayne	Juull	Sheraldo
Baydu	Egon	Keelen	Shilton
Boldwin	Elbey	Kenzo	Stravino
Cade	Embrose	Kerwan	Sylvino
Cantona	Elton	Kimo	Teswill
Cavan	Ethan	Kirvan	Teszio
Celino	Ferlin	Kyle	Tevin
Chadwill	Fyzel	Lezaine	Tharquinn
Chadyan	Gershwin	Magin	Thirstan
Chantle	Gethin	Marquin	Thomorico
Chase	Grantham	Matall	T'Keeno
Chergin	Granville	Matthewunn	Tyrell
Cherwin	Granwill	Naelon	Tyrick
Chesley	Hendogay	Nevan	Virnol
Cheslyn	Jabian	Nito	Wagren
Chesray	Jadrian	Oktovian	Wheneno
Cheswyn	Jaen	Orderick	Whenlin
Daniello	Janilo	Orenthal	Winsley
Danzil	Jay-Cee (JC)	Percival	Xavier
Dawin	Jay-Dee (JD)	Prevann	Zain
Deangelo	Jayden	Qden	Zarion
Declan	Jaywin	Regiano	Zenwill

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Female names

Abriane
Adri-Jo
Albenaise
Andrecia
Beaulinda
Berladine
Bernnique
Berryline
Bilquicha
Brightiette
Caitlin
Calcey
Camenita
Cara-Lee
Carlynne
Cerisse
Chambré
Chandré
Chanique
Charmoney
Charney
Charnessa
Charnine
Chenique
Cheriece
Chine
Chrismedine
Cristolique
Delvina
Demicia
Denay
Devonesha
Elarna
Elchandré
Elistene
Eljenay
Elteachia
Equlie
FaithLee
Faythé
Feodossia
Fezlynn
Florika
Fredeline
Fredine
Gayno
Gerwen
Gracelynne
Illizaan
Izonia
Jade
Jadene
Jaiden
Jamie-Lee
Janome
Jaquin
Jaydee
Jefrodeen
Jodi
Joeylene
Johnelize
Jomanic
Jooeane
Joyal
Juvony
Juzelle
Juzelri
Katelyn
Kaylin
Keziah
Khareece
Kihara
Kleeshay
Lecreche
Leighton
Leorah
Loumic
Micola
Merisha
Micarla
Miché
Micola
Nazley
Nephanté
Oceane-Leigh
Oriël
Q-Lynn
Robinesia
Romantha
Roshé
Sadane
Sasha-Lee
Seronda
Sha-lian
Shamira
Shanidina
Shanine
Shareline
Sharna
Shazia
SheEarl
Sherene
Sheryllize
Shindre-Lee
Shirney
Sinette
Tarnay
Taylië
Tesmoqie
Thomaslishia
Tiyana-Lee
Vasthi
Veneatha
Verinque
Vernitha
Viloshnee
Virgeli-Lee
Waylynn
Whenlin
Willandré
Wilmarie
Xanthea
Zaden
Zephany
Zerlina
Zoe
Zoedene

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