

RELATIONAL NOUNS IN XHOSA

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any University for a degree.

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SUMMARY

Relational nouns are dependent on one another in terms of how they themselves denote e.g. brother and neighbour denote individually standing in relation to at least one other individual in specific nouns. This study has established how relational nouns are treated in Xhosa. The study has focused on horizontal relations with a semantic feature of [\pm sibling] and hierarchical relations with two distinguishing semantic features: [\pm dependent] and [\pm kinship]. According to these two types of relations the study has then been divided into two main sections, i.e. non-kinship relational nouns with vertical and horizontal relation with and without any dependency. The second part concentrated on kinship terms with emphasis on names such as marriage, lineal and collateral descent and in-laws. Various semantic features for kinship terms have been developed.

OPSOMMING

Relasionele naamwoorde is afhanklik van mekaar in terme van hoedanig hulle self betekenis aandui, bv. Broer en buurman dui individue aan wat in verhouding staan met ten minste een ander individu op spesifieke maniere. Hierdie studie het vasgestel hoe relasionele naamwoorde in Xhosa behandel word. Die studie het gefokus op horisontale verhoudings met 'n semantiese kenmerk van [\pm verwantskap] en hiërargiese verhoudings met twee onderskeie semantiese kenmerke: [\pm afhanklik] en [\pm verwantskap]. Volgens hierdie twee tipes verhoudings is die studie verdeel in twee hoofafdelings, dit is relasionele naamwoorde met geen verwantskap met vertikale en horisontale verhoudings met en sonder enige afhanklikheid. Die tweede deel konsentreer op verwantskapsterme met nadruk op sake soos die huwelik, bloedverwante in die regstreekse linie en in die syline sowel as die aangetroude familie. Verskeie semantiese kenmerke vir verwantskapsterme is ontwikkel.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Summary.....	I
Opsomming.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Aim	1
1.2 Marriage.....	1
1.3 Kinship	1
1.4 Relational nouns	2
1.5 Synonyms and antonyms.....	2
CHAPTER 2 : MARRIAGE	
2.1 Aim	4
2.2 Qualification for marriage	4
2.3 Arrangements for marriage.....	5
2.4 Purpose of ikhazi	6
2.5 Forms of marriage.....	6
2.6 Prohibited marriage	8
2.7 Polygamy.....	8
CHAPTER 3 : KINSHIP	
3.1 The meaning of kinship	9
3.2 Kinship terms.....	9
3.3 Kinship systems	10
3.4 Semantic features	11
3.5 Abbreviations for kinship terms	13
CHAPTER 4 : LINEAL DESCENT	
4.1 Aim	15
4.2 Scheme for lineal descent.....	15

4.3	Ascending generation	16
4.3.1	Third ascending generation	16
4.3.2	Second ascending generation	18
4.3.3	First ascending generation	21
4.4	The generation of EGO	22
4.4.1	EGO is a male	22
4.4.2	EGO is a female	24
4.4.3	EGO is a male or female	27
4.5	Descending generation	29
4.5.1	First descending generation	29
4.5.2	Second descending generation	30

CHAPTER 5 : COLLATERAL DESCENT

5.1	Aim	31
5.2	Scheme for collateral descent	31
5.3	First descending generation	32
5.3.1	Brothers and sisters of my father	32
5.3.1.1	Brothers of my father	32
5.3.1.2	Sisters of my father	36
5.3.2	Brothers and sisters of my mother	38
5.3.2.1	Brothers of my mother	38
5.3.2.2	Sisters of my mother	39
5.4	The generation of EGO	40
5.4.1	Children of my father's brother	41
5.4.2	Children of my father's sister	44
5.4.3	Children of my mother's brother	44
5.4.4	Children of my mother's sister	45
5.5	First descending generation	46
5.5.1	Children of my brother	46
5.5.2	Children of my sister	47

CHAPTER 6 : IN-LAWS

6.1	Aim	49
-----	-----------	----

6.2	Second descending generation.....	49
6.3	In-laws of a married man	49
6.4	In-laws of a married woman	53
6.5	Summary.....	57

CHAPTER 7 : RELATIONAL NOUNS

7.1	Aim	59
7.2	Vertical relations of dependency.....	59
	7.2.1 Kinship terms.....	59
	7.2.2 Non-kinship terms/situations.....	60
7.3	Horizontal relations with no dependency.....	63
7.4	Antonyms	64
7.5	Synonyms.....	73
7.6	Horizontal and vertical relations	94
7.7	No dependency	95
7.8	Summary.....	95

CHAPTER 8 : CONCLUSIONS.....97

BIBLIOGRAPHY98

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM

The main goal of this thesis is to give a clear perspective and a detailed description of the subject of relational nouns in Xhosa.

Xhosa relational nouns may denote kinship or they may refer to various positions: occupational positions, political positions, social positions, legal positions and religious positions. These relational nouns may also denote oppositeness and similarity of meaning. Antonyms and synonyms are characterised by semantic relation.

These aims will be dealt with under various sections below:

1.2 MARRIAGE

In Chapter 2 the institution of marriage will receive attention since it forms the basis of a kinship structure. The following aspects concerning marriage will be given a closer look:

- 1.2.1 Qualification of an individual for marriage in a Xhosa society
- 1.2.2 Arrangements for marriage
- 1.2.3 Importance of the bride price (ikhazi / ilabola)
- 1.2.4 The procedure followed in customary marriage
- 1.2.5 Forms of marriage in a Xhosa society
- 1.2.6 The prohibited form of marriage

1.3 KINSHIP

The following semantic features play a vital role in the subject of kinship in Xhosa and therefore will be given a closer look:

- 1.3.1 Lineage
- 1.3.2 Collateral descent
- 1.3.3 In-laws

1.3.4 Bifurcation

1.3.5 Generation

1.3.6 Sex

1.4 RELATIONAL NOUNS

The relational nouns will be divided into kinship terms and non-kinship terms, and the following forms of relation will be distinguished:

- Vertical relations of dependency
- Horizontal relations with no dependency
- Horizontal and vertical relations
- No dependency

1.5 SYNONYMS AND ANTONYMS

Synonyms and antonyms will be classified according to lexical semantics or into groups according to their characteristic grammatical behaviours. Various groups of synonyms and antonyms may denote the following:

- Physical features
- Body position
- Colour
- Appearance
- Physical advantaged / disadvantaged persons
- Age
- Psychological features
- Behaviour
- Habits
- Skills
- Events
- Communication
- Report
- Advice

CHAPTER 2

MARRIAGE

2.1 AIM

Marriage is the single most important aspect in the kinship system of the Xhosa. Without the institution of marriage, no kinship structure could be envisaged. Furthermore, the family unit which is the result of the marriage is the essence of Xhosa social life and it brings about change in the status of men : through marriage they acquire full citizenship and the women attain the highest status through matrimony which enhances their social and legal position.

The following aspects concerning marriage have a profound influence on the kinship system of the Xhosa: Patrilineal descent: Ascending and descending generations in the kinship structure go through the male lineage.

Patrilocal marriage: Upon her marriage a wife falls under the guardianship of the husband.

Exogamous marriage: People with the same **isiduko** or patrilineal clan name are not allowed to marry because they are blood relatives, descended from a common ancestor.

2.2 QUALIFICATION FOR MARRIAGE

Amongst the Xhosas including Hlubis both the young man and the girl must pass through the puberty stage and undergo initiation before they can be wedded (**batshatiswe**). The husband on his part must have undergone initiation in the form of circumcision (**ulwaluko**) before he can get married. After his return from the initiation school (**esuthwini**) a young man is free to get married.

The girl on her part must also have undergone initiation in the form of **intonjane**. At the initiation school (**esuthwini**) the young man is given tuition on various matters including the type of behaviour expected of him so that he can be of service to the society.

The same applies to the girl at **intonjane**. She is given tuition on female matters including the type of behaviour expected of her since she is mature. **Intonjane** is a ritual ceremony organized for a girl who has reached adulthood. It is a ceremony, which is intended to let it, be known that the girl has reached a marriageable stage. Now, any young man is free to propose marriage to her.

2.3 ARRANGEMENT FOR MARRIAGE

Amongst the Hlubis a young man who has reached a marriageable stage must first of all propose marriage to a girl of his own choice. Once his proposal for marriage has been accepted, the young man must tell his parents (**abazali**) his intentions about the girl. His father will call a meeting of his family men (**imilowo**) and present the request of his son to them. It is at this meeting whereby men called **oonozakuzaku** (messengers) will be selected by the family of the man (**imilowo**).

Then imilowo will send **oonozakuzaku** (messengers) to the home of their prospective daughter-in-law (**umolokazana**) to negotiate the marriage of the two partners.

On reaching the home of their prospective daughter-in-law **oonozakuzaku** will stand near the cattle kraal (**ngasebuhlanti**), until the owner of the home comes to them and asks about their intentions.

Immediately the father of the girl calls his family men (**imilowo**) to come and give a reply to **oonozakuzaku** for their request.

Once **oonozakuzaku** have been accepted at this home they are told about **ikhazi / ilobola** (dowry / cattle) to be given to the parents of the girl. Then **oonozakuzaku** are requested to produce “**uswazi**” which they have been using in driving the cattle that form **ikhazi / ilobola** to this home of the girl before any further discussions can continue on this matter.

Generally, the term “**uswazi**” means a stick, but the context in which it is used here means brandy (liquor). Then the two families will be related by marriage. According to the Xhosa or Hlubi tradition **ikhazi / ilobola** may amount up to ten herd of cattle or more if the girl is educated.

On the first day of their visit to the home of the girl **oonozakuzaku** must pay **inkomo yesinyaniso**. With this beast they assure the parents of the girl that they really intend to marry their daughter; and they are not joking when they say that they want to become related to the family of the girl by marriage. There is also another special beast called “**ubuso bentombi**” (the face of the girl) which **oonozakuzaku** must bring along when they come to the home of the girl for the second time to pay **ikhazi**. This beast is the payment by their son for having let himself be attracted by the beauty of their daughter.

Abakhozi (the parents of the girl) on their part, slaughter a goat – called “**isivumo**” for **oonozakuzaku** as an indication that they have accepted their son to marry their daughter and be their son-in-law. **Oonozakuzaku** will continue to come to the home of the girl about the issue of **ikhazi** until they have paid all that is required by the parents of the girl in the form of **ikhazi / ilobola**.

2.4 PURPOSE OF IKHAZI

According to the Xhosa or Hlubi custom, **ilobola / ikhazi** serves as a compensation to the father of the girl for bringing up the child or for losing his child through marriage.

Secondly it is the only way by which their daughter can become a member of the family of the husband together with her children that are still to be born.

Thirdly it serves as a contract in the marriage of the two couples.

Fourthly it is a means of forming a bond of relationship between the two families since they will be related by marriage.

Lastly, it is strongly believed that the husband will always value his wife for whom he has paid heavily in the form of **ikhazi / ilobola**.

2.5 FORMS OF MARRIAGE

Amongst the Xhosa people including Hlubis there are two types of marriage.

There is a Christian marriage, which is solemnized by the minister of religion in church. For this type of marriage, a marriage certificate is issued as a contract between the two married couples.

There is also marriage by customary law. Here the marriage is contracted by payment of **ilobola / ikhazi**. The bond of marriage between the two partners is strengthened by the veterans from both families with their wise warnings to the marrying couple.

In the case of marriage by customary law certain procedures have to be followed.

Marriage by customary law will only take place if **oonozakuzaku** have fully paid **ikhazi / ilobola** required by the parents of the girl. On a day agreed upon by the two families, the bride's party (**uduli**) accompanies the bride to the bridegroom's home where marriage will take place on the following day. The bride's party (**uduli**) will leave in the morning and arrive at the bridegroom's home at sunset.

When the people of **uduli** approach the home of the bridegroom they will stop near a nearby hill or mountain until they are seen by their in-laws (**abakhozi**). Then a beast / goat called "**umathulantabeni**" is slaughtered for the bride's party. **Umathulantabeni** is for bringing **uduli** down from the hill or mountain to the home of the bridegroom.

On their arrival at the bridegroom's home **uduli** is accommodated in a hut called **edulini**. Then **uduli** is given a goat to slaughter. The next day is the day for marriage (**umtshato**) and **umdudo** (marriage dance) which takes place in the cattle kraal. The bride and the bridegroom get into the cattle kraal being naked on the upper part of the body and kneel down on the old kraal manure (**umthonyama**). Then the bride and the bridegroom are armed for the new life they have entered into with wise words and warnings by the veterans from both families. Thereafter the people enjoy themselves with drinking beer, eating meat and dancing (**bayaduda**).

When all is done **uduli** returns home leaving **umakoti** (the new bride) at her new home. Before **uduli** leaves, the in-laws of the bride give the bride a new name by which they are to call her. The name may be Nokhaya, Nofezile, Nothembile, Nophumzile and Nokwakha. Such names mostly appear in a compound noun with "**-no-**".

2.6 PROHIBITED MARRIAGE

Amongst the Hlubis there are clans such as Rhadebe, Masliya, Dlomo, Xaba, Nala, Masoka and many others, and it's taboo for the children of the same clan to get married.

For example, Makhaya of Dlomo clan cannot marry Nomvuzo who also belongs to Dlomo clan. A man cannot marry from his paternal or maternal clan. According to Xhosa and Hlubi tradition this is taken as incest (**umbulo**). A girl and a young man from different clans and families can marry since they are not related. For example, Sisa who belongs to Rhadebe clan can marry Thobeka of Xaba clan because they are not related.

2.7 POLYGAMY

In polygamous marriages a man may have as many wives as he can afford to pay **ilobola**. Such marriages have an influence on Xhosa social life and also the underlying principles of family law and the law of inheritance. The whole Umzi system is based on the system of polygamous marriages.

Amongst the Xhosa people polygamy is a sign of a higher status and wealth. Polygamy is mostly practiced by kings, chiefs and rich people.

A polygamist who has two wives has the great wife (**umfazi omkhulu**) and the junior wife (**umfazi omnicinci**).

CHAPTER 3

KINSHIP

3.1 THE MEANING OF KINSHIP

People bound together in groups by various kinds of bonds are generally regarded as kindred. They may be related genealogically, socially and linguistically. Societies differ vastly in kinship structures. In some communities descent is established patrilineally, that is, according to patrilineal line of descent while in other communities, descent is matrilineal, that is, according to matrilineal line of descent. Each society may be linguistically unique. It may be characterized with jargon regarding kinship terms. It is thus advisable to resort to the more commonly used terms in order to avoid a winding explanation of kinship terms.

3.2 KINSHIP TERMS

Upon closer scrutiny, we find many kinship terms. For instance, consanguineous kin are people related through blood. Affinal kin are people related through the social or legal bonds such as marriage. Every person therefore has, on one hand, a consanguineous and on the other hand, affinal kin.

In a society where one of the two lines of descent is ignored, we speak of unilateral or unilineal groupings. If it is the maternal line of descent that is ignored, then we speak of a patrilineal kinship system.

Broadly speaking therefore there are three different systems according to which kinship can be determined: bilineal, matrilineal and patrilineal kinship systems.

If a common ancestor is the binder among a group of people, we refer to them as cognates and when this common ancestor is a male, we speak of agnatic kin. If the common ancestor is a female, they are called uterine kin or matrilineal kin. Those who branch out from the main group, i.e. uncles and cousins are called collateral kind.

3.3 KINSHIP SYSTEMS

As far as kinship systems are concerned a distinction is made between a descriptive kinship system and a classificatory kinship system.

(a) Descriptive system of kinship

According to this system every kind of relative is indicated by a distinct and a special kinship term.

(b) Classificatory system of kinship

Among certain people, we find this system applicable in the family and also used outside the family. For instance, the father's brothers are also addressed and treated as fathers. The mother's sisters are also addressed and treated as mothers. In this sense, children of mother's brother and mother's sister therefore become brothers and sisters.

Kinship is therefore a system of human relationship derived from marriage and descent. It is a social approach to the study of culture.

Basic kinship terms refer to the nuclear family and grow out of marriage and parenthood: husband, wife, son, daughter, mother, father, brother and sister. These terms may be extended outward in a lineage, e.g. grandfather, nephew, niece, etc. They may designate secondary affinal relatives; i.e. relatives through marriage who are called in-laws.

Kinship is one of the universal characteristics in human society. The use of kinship terms does not recognize personal names. The use of kinship terms goes far beyond the mode of address. They are studied by anthropologists not merely as so many words inviting linguistic analysis and comparison but as correlates of social custom.

Broadly speaking, the use of a specific kinship designation, e.g. the maternal as distinguished from paternal, indicates that the two may receive differential treatment from their nephews and nieces.

Sometimes the very essence of a social fabric may be demonstrably connected with the mode of classifying kin.

In classifying kinship terminologies, one should recognize the local categories of relationships such as:

- 1) The difference between persons of the same or of separate generations;
- 2) The difference between lineal and collateral relationships or between kin in one's own line of descent and kin in parallel lines;
- 3) The difference of age within one generation;
- 4) The sex of the relative;
- 5) The sex of the speaker;
- 6) The sex of the connecting relative;
- 7) The distinction between blood relatives and relatives through marriage and
- 8) The condition of the life of the connecting relative.

The scientific study of kinship terminology recognizes that the relationship terms

- 1) Have a wide range of application that extends to religious, political, fraternal, military; revolutionary and secret societies;
- 2) Contain clues to the linguistic, psychological and structural components of the social systems in which they occur, and
- 3) Can be used as tools in studying the history of social and cultural institutions.

Based on kinship therefore are primary or elementary social groupings. This may involve local groupings. These are also associated with growth of communities. Other groupings are not necessarily based on blood relationships. These arise because of incidental factors, i.e. characteristic interests or common functions that certain persons have in common within a given community. Such secondary social groupings include age groups, sex groups, occupational groups and societies or associations.

3.4 SEMANTIC FEATURES

The following semantic features play a vital role in kinship:

- 3.4.1 Lineage: it is a lineal descent in which the relatives are in a direct line of descent, e.g. grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren. This descent group traces its descent from a common ancestor: patrilineal if descent is traced through the male only and matrilineal if through females only.

- 3.4.2 Collateral descent: In a collateral descent the relatives are outside the direct line of descent, but are related horizontally. They are of common descent unit by a different lineage, e.g. uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces.
- 3.4.3 Bifurcation: Relatives of an equivalent degree of relationship may be related to Ego either through a male connecting relative or through a female relative, i.e. they are bifurcated by the sex of the intervening relative. Thus bifurcation refers to a division into two branches which may either cross or be parallel. This involves the relatives on my father's and mother's side. The children of my father's brothers and my children are also involved under bifurcation.
- 3.4.4 In-laws: In-laws are the people who are related by marriage, e.g. father-in-law; daughter-in-law; brother-in-law; sister-in-law.
- 3.4.5 Generation: This is a single step in descent. In kinship terminology the following steps in descent are recognized:
- Second ascending generation, i.e. the generation of grandparents.
 - First ascending generation, i.e. the generation of parents.
 - The generation of Ego, i.e. my brothers, sisters and I.
 - First descending generation, i.e. the generation of the children of my brothers and my own children.
 - Second descending generation, i.e. the generation of grandchildren.
- 3.4.6 Sex: Sex means male or female.
- 3.4.7 Exogamous marriage: This is marriage outside your own clan.
- 3.4.8 Patrilineal, i.e. tracing descent / kinship through the male line only.
- 3.4.9 Matrilineal; i.e. tracing descent / kinship through the female line only.
- 3.4.10 Patrilocal residence, i.e. residence by a married couple in the home of the husband's family.

- 3.4.11 Matrilocal residence, i.e. a residence of a married couple in the home of the wife's relatives.
- 3.4.12 Affinal kin: These are relatives by marriage.
- 3.4.13 Polygamy: Marriage of one man with two or more wives.

3.5 ABBREVIATIONS FOR KINSHIP TERMS

The semantic features denoting kin types are abbreviated as follows:

F	=	father (utata)
M	=	mother (umama)
B	=	brother (umfowethu)
S	=	sister (udade / udadewethu)
D	=	daughter (intombi)
S	=	son (unyana)
Bs	=	brother's son (unyana)
Bd	=	brother's daughter (inrombi)
FSs	=	father's son's son (umzukulwana / grandson)
FDd	=	father's daughter's daughter (umzukulwana / granddaughter)
MDs	=	mother's daughter's son (umzukulwana / grandson)
MDd	=	mother's daughter's daughter (umzukulwana / granddaughter)
FFF	=	father's father's father (ukhokho / ancestor)
FFM	=	father's father's mother (ukhokho / ancestor)
FF	=	father's father (utatomkhulu / grandfather)
MM	=	mother's mother (umakhulu / grandmother)
FB	=	father's brother (utata / uncle)
FS	=	father's sister (udadobawo / aunt)
FBs	=	father's brother's son (ukayise / my brother)
FBd	=	father's brother's daughter (udade / my sister)
MB	=	mother's brother (umalume / uncle)
MS	=	mother's sister (umakazi / my aunt)
MSs	=	mother's sister's son (ukanina / cousin)
MSd	=	mother's sister's daughter (ukanina / cousin)

MBs	=	mother's brother's son (umza / umzala / cousin)
FSs	=	father's sister's son (umza / umzala / cousin)
FSd	=	father's sister's daughter (umza / umzala / cousin)
Ss	=	sister's son (umtshana / nephew)
Sd	=	sister's daughter (umtshana / niece)
HF	=	husband's father (ubawozala / father-in-law)
HM	=	husband's mother (umazala / mother-in-law)
HS	=	husband's sister (indodakazi / sister-in-law)
SW	=	son's wife (umolokazana / daughter-in-law)
DH	=	daughter's husband (umkhwenyana / son-in-law)
WF	=	wife's father (umkhwe / father-in-law)
WM	=	wife's mother (umkhwekazi / mother-in-law)
WS	=	wife's sister (umlanyakazi / usibali / sister-in-law)
WB	=	wife's brother (umlanya / usibali / brother-in-law)
SWF	=	sons' wife's father (umkhozi)
SWM	=	son's wife's mother (umkhozi)

CHAPTER 4

LINEAL DESCENT

4.1 AIM

This section focuses on the importance of lineage and marriage in tracing descent.

In a system of kinship and marriage two persons are relatives or kin when one is descended from the other, e.g. a child is descended from a parent. The elementary family is the basic unit of a kinship structure. The relationships of kinship are traced through a person's parents. In the case of lineage we thus find lineal descent in which the relatives are in a direct line of descent. In the case of Xhosa society one finds unilineal descent through males, i.e. patrilineal descent.

In this section the descent will be traced through the members of the nuclear family: they form a unilineal descent group. The discussion will focus on the various generation groups within this kinship structure.

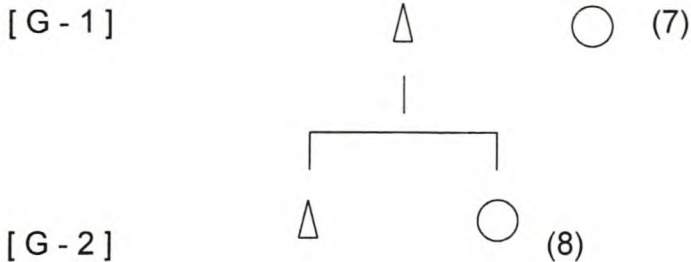
4.2 SCHEME FOR LINEAL DESCENT

[G + 3] □ (1)

[G + 2] (2) △ = ○ (3)

[G + 1] □ (4) △ = ○ (5)

[G 0] △ □ ○ (6)



Explanation of symbols

- 1) [G] = generation. The [+] sign refers to an ascending generation and Xhosa have a maximum of three ascending generations. The [-] sign refers to a descending generation of which Xhosa has two. These generations are in relation to EGO, i.e. myself, which is indicated as [G O].
- 2) Sex: the symbol [\square] refers to a neutral term which may be male or female e.g. EGO is indicated as [\square]. The other two symbols refer to a male [\triangle] and to a female [\circ].
- 3) The symbol [=] indicates that the two people are married.
- 4) The vertical lines [|] indicate that those people have a common descent, e.g. no (2) is descended from no (1)
- 5) The horizontal lines [—] indicate all the relations of a descendant e.g. all the brothers and sisters or sons and daughters.
- 6) The brothers and sisters of EGO in no (6) are bifurcated because the terms referring to them are different depending on whether EGO is a male or female.

4.3 ASCENDING GENERATION

4.3.1 Third ascending generation (G + 3)

Term No 1: Ukhokho (ancestor)

The term "**ukhokho**" refers to my father's father's father and all his brothers and sisters. The term "**ukhokho**" in Xhosa refers to both male and female, i.e. my grandfather's or my grandmother's parents. For example, my father's mother's mother is also called "**ukhokho**", as well as my mother's mother's mother or my mother's mother's father. Thus, the term is neutral as far as gender is concerned.

Sometimes the possessive with "**utatomkhulu**" and "**umakhulu**" may be used preceded by the words "**utata**" and "**umama**" to describe that "**ukhokho**" is the father of my grandfather or the mother of my grandmother:

Utata ka+ (u)tatomkhulu

> Utata katatomkhulu

The father of my grandfather

Umama ka + (u) tatomKhulu

> Umama katatomkhulu

My grandfather's mother

Umama ka + (u)makhulu

> Umama kamakhulu

The mother of my grandmother

Alternatively, the nouns "**uyise**" and "**unina**" may be used with the possessive of "**utatomkhulu**" or "**umakhulu**" to convey the same semantic interpretation.

Uyise ka (u)tatomkhulu

> Uyise katatomkhulu (ukhokho)

The mother of my grandfather

Uyise ka + (u)makhulu

> Uyise kamakhulu (ukhokho)

The father of my grandmother

Unina ka + (u)makhulu

> Unina kamakhulu

The mother of my grandmother

Importance of ukhokho

It is only the male **khokho** (male ancestor) that may be important in the family. If the male ancestor was a prominent figure in the family and society, for example, being a hero, a

king, a chief or being a man who contributed to the history of the tribe, his name may be used by his descendants as their surname.

4.3.2 Second ascending generation (G + 2)

Term No 2: Utatomkhulu

Firstly the term "**utatomkhulu**" refers to a male. Secondly the term "**utatomkhulu**" refers to my father's father and all his brothers.

The following phrases may be used to describe who "**tatomkhulu**" is:

Utata katata

My father's father

Uyise katata

My father's father

Here my relationship with "**utatomkhulu**" is that of being my own grandfather or my paternal grandfather. Again the term "**utatomkhulu**" may refer to my mother's father / maternal grandfather and all his brothers.

A phrase with a possessive may be used to describe the maternal grandmother:

Utata kamama

My mother's father

Uyise kamama

My mother's father

Here my relationship with "**utatomkhulu**" is that he is my maternal grandfather.

Term No 3: Umakhulu (grandmother)

Firstly, the term "**umakhulu**" refers to a female.

Secondly, the term "**umakhulu**" refers to my mother's mother and all her sisters.

Thirdly, the term "**umakhulu**" may refer to my father's mother and all her sisters.

A phrase with a possessive may be used to describe my paternal grandmother.

Umama katata

My father's mother

Unina katata

My father's mother

Use of utatomkhulu in terms of address:

- 1) The term "**utatomkhulu**" is used to address my father's father irrespective of age.
- 2) The term "**utatomkhulu**" is used to address all the brothers of my father's father.
- 3) The term "**utatomkhulu**" is used to address all the brothers of my mother's mother.
- 4) The term "**utatomkhulu**" is used to address elderly people in the society who deserve to be called "**tatomkhulu**" according to their age.
- 5) The term "**utatomkhulu**" is used by mothers of babies or children in a playful manner to admire their babies for the progress they are making in growth, e.g. Utatomkhulu sekwazi ukuhamba *The grandfather has learnt how to walk*

Utatomkhulu sethetha

Grandfather has started talking

Literally, the mother is not referring to an old man, but is referring to a child.

Use of the term "umakhulu" in terms of address:

- 1) The term "**umakhulu**" is used to address my father's mother.
- 2) The term "**umakhulu**" is used to address my mother's mother and all her sisters.
- 3) The term "**umakhulu**" is used to address all my father's mother's sisters.
- 4) The term "**umakhulu**" is used to address all my father's father's sisters.
- 5) The term "**umakhulu**" is used to address all elderly people in the society.
- 6) The term "**umakhulu**" is used by mothers of babies or children in a lawful manner to admire their babies for the progress they are making in growth, e.g. Umakhulu sekwazi ukuhamba *The grandmother has learnt how to walk*

Literally, the mother is not referring to an old woman, but is referring to a child.

Derivation of the terms "utatomkhulu" and "umakhulu":

The terms "**utatomkhulu**" and "**umakhulu**" are compound nouns formed from two parts of speech through compounding.

Dake (1971) describes compounding as a process whereby two or more words are brought together to form a compound noun.

The compound noun "**utatomkhulu**" has been formed in the following way:

Noun + adjective:

Utat(a) + omkhulu > utatomkhulu (grandfather)

Here the noun "**utata**" has been compounded with an adjective "**omkhulu**" which has an adjectival agreement, and there has been the elision of the final vowel of the noun "**utata**".

With the compound noun "**utatomkhulu**" there is adjectival agreement before the adjective stem "**-khulu**".

The compound noun "**umakhulu**" has also been formed in the following way:

Noun + adjective:

Uma + khulu > umakhulu (grandmother)

Here the noun "**uma**" has been compounded with an adjective stem "**-khulu**", and there is no adjectival agreement.

Possessive forms

Terms like "**utatomkhulu**" and "**umakhulu**" have possessive forms indicating first, second and third persons in the following manner:

<u>Possessive forms</u>	<u>Person</u>
Utatomkhulu (my / our grandfather)	1
Uyikhomkhulu (your grandfather)	2
Uyisemkhulu (his / her grandfather)	3
Umakhulu (my / our grandmother)	1
Unyokokhulu (your grandmother)	2
Uninakhulu (his / her grandmother)	3

4.3.3 First ascending generation

Term No 4: Utata

Term No 5: Umama

- (i) The term "**utata**" refers to my own father:
 Utata
My father
- (ii) The term "**umama**" refers to my own mother:
 Umama
My mother

Possessive forms

Kinship terms like "**utata**" and "**umama**" have possessive forms indicating relationships according to the first, second and third persons.

<u>Possessive forms</u>	<u>Person</u>
Utata (my / our father)	1
Uyikho (your father)	2
Uyise (his / her father)	3
Umama (my / our mother)	1
Unyoko (your mother)	2
Unina (his / her mother)	3

Use of the term "utata" in terms of address:

- 1) I use the term "**utata**" to address my own father.
- 2) I use the term "**utata**" to address all my father's brothers.
- 3) All my brothers and sisters use the term "**utata**" to address all my father's brothers.
- 4) All the children of my father's brothers use the term "**utata**" to address my father.
- 5) I use the term "**utata**" to address all the elderly people in the society, who deserve to be called "**tata**" according to their age.

Use of the term "umama" in terms of address:

- 1) I use the term "**umama**" to address my own mother.
- 2) I use the term "**umama**" to address all my father's brother's wives.
- 3) All my brothers and sisters use the term "**umama**" to address my own mother.
- 4) All the children of my father's brothers use the term "**umama**" to address my mother.
- 5) I use the term "**umama**" to address all the elderly people in the society, who deserve to be called "**mama**" according to their age.

4.4 THE GENERATION OF EGO (G O)

The terms refer to no 6 in the table above. This is my own generation and they include my brothers and sisters. However, they are bifurcated by the sex of EGO and thus they are divided into two branches:

4.4.1 EGO is a male (mna ndiyindoda)

I as a male have the following siblings:

My brothers: umninawa, umkhuluwa, and umfowethu

Umninawa: Lo ngumfana oza emva kwam. Igama lakhe nguVelile.
This is my younger brother. His name is Velile.

Umkhuluwa: Lo ngumfana endiza emva kwakhe. Igama lakhe nguZola.
This is my elder brother. His name is Zola.

Umfowethu: Le yinkwenkwe / ngumfana / yindoda endizalwa nayo.
This is my own brother, irrespective of age.

Umninawa, uVelile nomkhuluwa uZola ngabafawethu

My younger brother, Velile and my elder brother, Zola are my brothers.

NB: Bonke abantwana babafo wabotata abangamadoda ngabafowethu

All the male children of my father's brothers are my brothers (ngabafawethu).

Derivation of the word: "umfowethu"

The word "**umfowethu**" is a compound noun formed from a noun and a possessive phrase:

Noun + possessive:**Umfo + wa + ithu > umfowethu**

My brother

Here the vowel of the possessive **wa-** has coalesced with the vowel of the possessive "**ithu**":

wa + ithu > wethu

Umfo + wa + ithu > umfowethu

My brother

Umfo + wethu > umfowethu

My brother

Use of the term "umninawa" in terms of address

1. I use the term "**umninawa**" to address my younger brother.
2. I use the term "**umninawa**" to address any son of my father's brothers who is younger than myself.

Use of the term "umkhuluwa" in terms of address

1. I use the term "**umkhuluwa**" to address my own elder brother.
2. I use the term "**umkhuluwa**" to address any son of my father's brothers who is older than myself.

Legal status of "umkhuluwa"

Umkhuluwa has a legal status because he is the heir. My father's estate becomes his after my father's death. By law he must marry before **umninawa** marries. It is traditionally unacceptable for **umninawa** to marry before **umkhuluwa** marries because **umninawa** is younger than **umkhuluwa**.

My sister: udade

Udade: Le yintombi endizalwa nayo, mna ndiyindoda nokuba incinane okanye indala kunam.
This is my own sister irrespective of age and I being a man.

Use of the term "udade" in terms of address

1. I use the term "**udade**" to address my own sister irrespective of age.
2. I use the term "**udade**" to address the daughters of my father's brothers.
3. I use the term "**udade**" to address any female of my age or younger in the society just as a sign of respect.

4.4.2 EGO is a female (mna ndilibhinqa)**Njengebhinqa ndizalwa naba bantu balandelayo:**

I as a female have the following brothers and sisters:

My brother: umnakwethu

Umnakwethu: Le ngumfana endizalwa naye nokuba mncinane okanye mdala
This is my own brother whether he is younger or older than me.

*I always call him "**mnakwethu**"*

My sisters:

I as a female have the following females who are my own sisters:

Umsakwethu: Le yintombi endizalwa nayo kodwa yona incinane kunam ngokuzalwa.
This is my own younger sister.

Usisophakathi: Le yintombi endizalwa nayo ephakathi kwentombi ezintathu nangaphezulu. Le ntombi indala kunam.
This is my own middle sister out of three or more girls. She is older than myself and that is why I call her "sisi".

Umafungwashe / usisomdala: Le yintombi yamazibulo ekhaya.
This is the girl who is my father's and my mother's Firstborn.

Use of the "umafungwashe" in terms of address

1. I use the term "**umafungwashe**" when I address my eldest sister.
2. I always use the term "**umafungwashe**" when I swear / bet. **ukufunga** (to bet / swear)

If the name of **umafungwashe** is Nomvuzo her brothers will always say "**ndifunga nNomvuzo**" (*I bet on the name of Nomvuzo*).

The noun "**umafungwashe**" refers to someone whose name is always used in betting. When you bet on one's name you mean that you are sure of what you say or what you are to do.

Derivation of the term "umafungwashe"

The term "**umafungwashe**" is a compound noun formed from different parts of speech:

Noun + verb + affix:

Uma + funga + she >

umafungwashe

Someone whose name is always used for swearing.

Here the noun "uma-" has been compounded with the verb "-funga-" and the suffix "-she". The suffix 'she' is used in Xhosa to indicate an outstanding characteristic of a person. For example, "unkanishe" is one who is very stubborn and "ulwimishe" is one who does not keep any secret.

Legal status of umafungwashe

If **umafungwashe** has a brother she has no legal status. If she has no brother she has a legal status because she becomes the heiress.

The classification of the three sisters, i.e. **umsakwethu**, **usisophakathi** and **umafungwashe** is governed by birth, and that is why they are classified according to age.

Derivation of the terms "umsakwethu", "usisophakathi" and "usisomdala"

All the above terms are compound nouns, which have been formed through the process of compounding in the following ways:

Umsakwethu

Noun + possessive:

Umsa + [kwa + ithu] > Umsakwethu

Umsa + kwethu > Umsakwethu

My younger sister

In the formation of the noun "**umsakwethu**" there is coalescence of the vowel of the possessive **kwa** and the vowel of the possessive stem **ithu**:

Kwa + ithu > kwethu

Noun + possessive

Umsa + kwethu > Umsakwethu

My younger sister

UmnakwethuNoun + possessive:

[Um + kwa + ithu] > Umnakwethu
My brother

In the formation of the noun “**umnakwethu**” there is coalescence of the vowel of the possessive “**kwa**” and the vowel of the possessive stem “**ithu**”

:

kwa + ithu > kwethuNoun + possessive

Umna + kwethu > Umnakwethu
My brother

UsisophakathiNoun + relative :

Usis(i) + ophakathi > Usisophakathi
My middle sister

Here the noun “**usisi**” has been compounded with the relative “**ophakathi**” and the final vowel of the noun “**usisi**” has been elided. In this word “**usisophakathi**” there is agreement.

UsisophakathiNoun + adjective

Usis(l) + omdala > Usisomdala
My elder sister

The final vowel of the noun “**usisi**” has been elided before the adjective “**omdala**”. Here is agreement.

4.4.3 EGO is male or female

I as a male or female have the following brothers and sisters:

Umntakwethu: Le yindoda okanye intombi endizalwa nayo ngumama notata nokuba ingakanani na.
This is my sibling, man or woman.

Usisi : Le yintombi endizalwa nayo endala kunam.
This is my sister who is older than myself.

Derivation of the term "umntakwethu"

The term "**umntakwethu**" is a compound noun formed from a noun and a possessive through the process of compounding:

Noun + possessive :

Umnta + [kwa + ithu] > umntakwethu

Here there is coalescence of the vowel of the possessive **kwa** and the possessive stem **ithu**:

kwa + ithu > kwethu

Noun + possessive

Umnta + kwethu > umntakwethu

Use of the term "umntakwethu" in terms of address :

1. I use the term "**umntakwethu**" to address my mother's and my father's child irrespective of age and sex.
2. I use the term "**umntakwethu**" to address the son / daughter of my father's brothers.
3. The term "**umntakwethu**" is generally used by lovers when calling each other.

Derivation of the term "usisi"

The term "**usisi**" is a borrowed word from Afrikaans. **Usisi** (sister).

Use of the term "ususi" in terms of address

1. I use the term "**usisi**" to address my own elder sister.

2. I use the term "**usisi**" to address the daughters of my father's brothers, who are older than me.
3. I generally use the term "**usisi**" to address any woman in the society who is older than me.

4.5 DESCENDING GENERATION

4.5.1 First descending generation (G - 1)

As EGO I am married and I have children of different sexes and I use the following terms referring to children:

Umntwana (child) : Lo nguntwana omncinci ozelwe ndim ndiyindoda okanye ndingumfazi.

This is a young child born of me being the mother or father irrespective of sex.

Unyana (son) : Le yinkwenkwe ezalwa ndim.

This is my own son.

Intombi : Le yintombi ezalwa ndim.

This is my own daughter.

Izibulo (first born) : Lo ngumntwana endimzele kuqala oyinkwenkwe okanye intombazana.

This is my first born irrespective of sex.

Igqibelo / ithunjana (last born):

Lo ngumntwana wokugqibela oyinkwenkwe okanye oyintombi

This is my last born irrespective of sex.

Amawele (twins) : Aba ngabantwana endibazele ngamininye.

These are the children to whom I gave birth on the same day.

Imfusi : Lo ngumntwana wam owalekela amawele.

This is my child who comes after the twins.

The legal status of "izibulo" (first born)

In a Xhosa society **izibulo** has a legal status. If it is a male he becomes the heir. His father's estate will be his after his father's death.

His mother and sisters will become his dependents after his father's death.

His younger brothers who have not started working will also be his dependents.

The importance of "amawele" in Xhosa society

Amawele (twins) in Xhosa society have no definite status. They are only used to improve the harvest of the pumpkins. They are allowed to pluck off some leaves of the young pumpkins. This will result in a good yield of pumpkins. The Xhosas have a strong belief in this.

Neutral terms

The following words have no sex distinction. They refer to both male and female:

Izibulo (first born)

igqibelo / untondo / ithunjana (last born)

Umntwana (a child)

Amawele (twins)

Imfusi (a child who is born after the twins)

4.5.2 Second descending generation

Umzukulwana: Lo ngumntwana wonyana wam okanye wentombi yam.
Nokuba uyinkwenkwe okanye intombazana.
This is my son's child or my daughter's child irrespective of sex.

CHAPTER 5

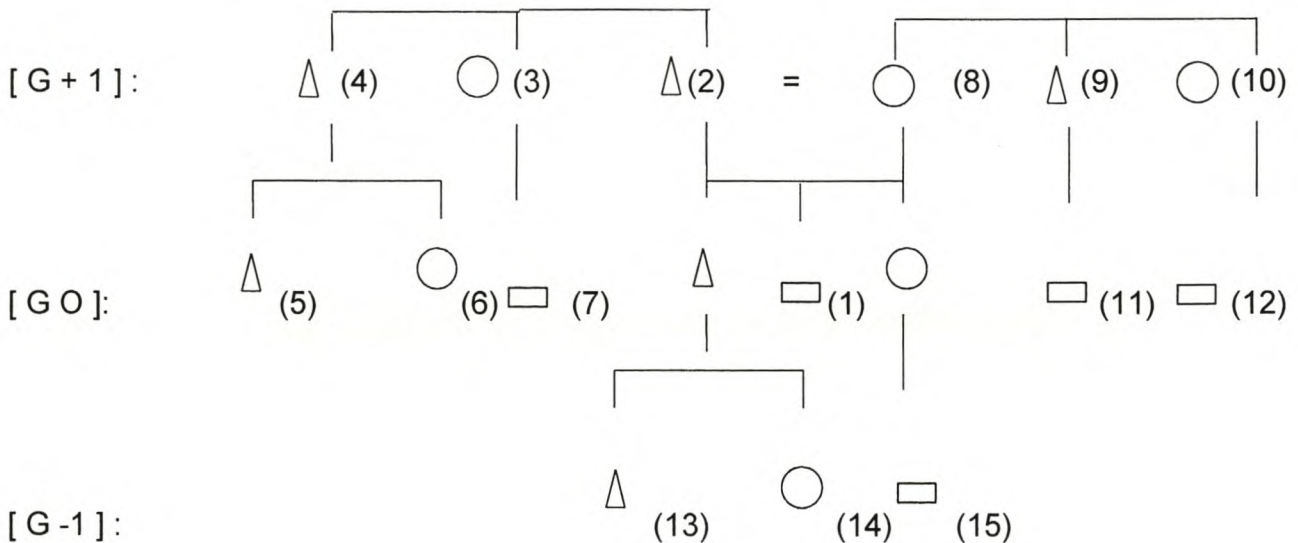
COLLATERAL DESCENT

5.1 AIM

The aim in this chapter is to consider collateral descent in which the relatives are outside the direct line of descent. They are of common descent but by a different lineage, i.e. they are descended from the same person but through different sons or daughters e.g. uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews and nieces.

In the case of collateral descent attention will be given to the generation of ego as well as one ascending and one descending generation.

5.2 SCHEME FOR COLLATERAL DESCENT



Explanation of terms

As in the case of lineal descent, the symbols have the same reference:

[G] = generation. The first descending generation refers to the brothers and sisters of my father and mother. My own generation [G] includes my nephews, nieces and cousins, i.e. the children of the brothers and sisters of my father and mother. The first descending

generation includes the children of my brother and sister. EGO is indicated as no (1) in the scheme above.

5.3 FIRST ASCENDING GENERATION

This generation includes brothers and sisters of my father and mother.

5.3.1 Brothers and sisters of my father

My father is indicated as no (2) in the scheme above.

5.3.1.1 Brothers of my father

My father's brothers are indicated as no (4) above and they are:

- A **utatomdala**
- B **Utatophakathi**
- C **Utatomncinci**

A. Utatomdala

The term "utatomdala" in terms of reference

- (i) The term "**utatomdala**" refers to a male.
- (ii) The term "**utatomdala**" refers to my father's elder brother (**umkhuluwa**)

Derivation of the term "utatomdala"

The term "**utatomdala**" is a compound noun, which has been formed through compounding two parts of speech in the following way:

Noun + adjective:

Utata(a) + omdala > **utatomdala**
My father's elder brother

In the formation of the compound noun "**utatomdala**" there has been elision of the final vowel of the noun "**utata**" before the adjective.

Possessive forms

The possessive forms of "**utatomdala**" for the first, second and third persons can be shown in the following ways:

Utatomdala (My father's elder brother)

Uyihlomdala (Your father's elder brother)

Uyisemdala (His/her father's elder brother)

Use of the term "utatomdala" in terms of address

1. I use the term "**utatomdala**" to address my father's elder brother.
2. My brothers and sisters use the term "**utatomdala**" to address my father's elder brother.
3. The children of my father's brothers use the term "**utatomdala**" to address their fathers' elder brother.

The role of "utatomdala" in the family

1. **Utatomdala** is the head of the family.
2. **Utatomdala** sees to it that the members of the family observe all the customs and traditions.
3. All his brothers and sisters are his underlings and must respect him.
4. If the grandfather is no longer alive he is the man who must conduct all the ritual ceremonies of the family.
5. **Utatomdala** has a legal status because he is the heir.
6. His brothers and sisters regard him as their father.
7. His married sisters will present their cases to him if they have problems with their husbands and their in-laws.

B. Utatophakathi**The term "utatophakathi" in terms of reference**

1. The term "**utatophakathi**" refers to my father's middle brother.
2. The term "**utatophakathi**" denotes that **tatophakathi's** position is between **utatomncinci** and **utatomdala**.

Derivation of the term "utatophakathi"

The term "**utatophakathi**" is a compound noun, which has been formed through compounding of a noun and a relative.

Noun + relative**Utat(a) + ophakathi > utatophakathi**

In the process of compounding this noun there has been elision of the final vowel of the noun "**utata**" before the relative.

Possessive forms

The possessive forms of "**utatophakathi**" for the first, second and third persons can be shown in the following way:

Utatophakathi	(My father's middle brother)
Uyihlophakathi	(Your father's middle brother)
Uyisophakathi	(His / her father's middle brother)

Use of the term "utatophakathi" in terms of address

1. I use the term "**utatophakathi**" to address my father's middle brother.
2. My brothers and sisters use the term "**utatophakathi**" to address my father's middle brother.
3. The children of my father's brothers use the term "**utatophakathi**" to address my father's middle brother.

Legal status of utatophakathi

Utatophakathi has no legal status in the family because of his position of birth.

C. Utatomncinci

The term "**utatomncinci**" in terms of reference:

1. The term **utatomncinci** refers to a male because of the noun "**utata**" in the compound noun "**utatomncinci**"
2. Secondly, it refers to my father's younger brother. The adjective contained in the compound noun indicates that the father we are talking about is young (**ncinci**).

Derivation of the term "utatomncinci"

The term "**utatomncinci**" resulted from the compounding of the two words in the following way:

Noun + adjective :

Utat(a) + omncinci > utatomncinci

Here the final vowel of the noun "**utata**" has been elided before the adjective.

Possessive forms

The term "**utatomncinci**" may have the following possessive forms for the first, second and third persons:

Utatomncinci	(My / our father's younger brother)
Uyihlomncinci	(Your father's younger brother)
Uyisemncinci	(His / her father's younger brother)

Use of the term "utatomncinci" in terms of address

1. I used the term "**utatomncinci**" to address my father's younger brother.

2. My brothers and sisters use the term "**utatomncinci**" to address my father's younger brother.
3. The children of my father's brothers use the term "**utatomncinci**" to address my father's younger brother.

The legal status of "**utatomncinci**"

Utatomncinci has no legal status in the family because he is the last born.

5.3.1.2 Sisters of my father

The sisters of my father are indicated as no (3) in the scheme above:

Udadobawo / udabawo / udatata

1. The term "**udadobawo**" refers to a female.
2. It refers to a special female who is my father's sister irrespective of age.
3. Sometimes **udadobawo** is described as the female father because of her patrilineal birth. She is not loved by children because she is strict just like a man.

Derivation of the terms "udadobawo / udabawo / udatata"

Udabawo is a compound noun, which has been formed by compounding two nouns, which show oppositeness of sex gender:

Noun + noun:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|---|
| (i) | Udade + ubawo > | udadobawo
<i>My father's sister</i> |
| (ii) | Udade + ubawo > | udabawo
<i>My father's sister</i> |
| (iii) | Udade + utata > | udatata
<i>My father's sister</i> |

In example (i) the final vowel of the first noun has been changed to "o". The initial vowel of the second noun has been elided.

In example (ii) the last syllable of the first noun "udade" has been elided. Again the initial vowel of the second noun "ubawo" has been elided:

Uda(de) + (u)bawo > udabawo
My father's sister

In example (iii) there has been elision of the last syllable of the first noun "udade" and the elision of the initial vowel of the second noun "utata".

Uda(de) + (u)tata > udatata
My father's sister

Possessive forms

The possessive forms of the term "udadobawo" for the first, second and third persons can be shown in the following way:

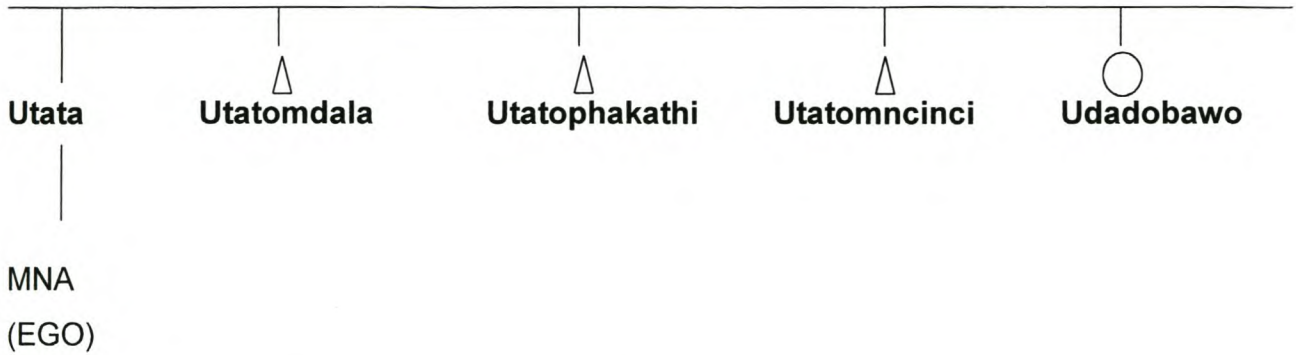
Udadobawo (My father's sister)
Udadeboyihlo (Your father's sister)
Udadeboyise (His / her father's sister)

Use of the term "udadobawo" in the term of address

1. I use the term "udadobawo" to address my father's sister.
2. My brothers and sisters use the term "udadobawo" to address my father's sister.
3. All the children of my father's brothers use the term "udadobawo" to address my father's sister.

The importance of udadobawo in the family:

Udadobawo is not very important in the family except that she is known to be a disciplinarian of the children:

My father's brothers and sisters**5.3.2 Brothers and sisters of my mother****5.3.2.1 Brothers of my mother**

My mother's brother is indicated as no (9) in the scheme.

Umalume in terms of reference

1. The term “**umalume**” refers to a male.
2. The term “**umalume**” refers to a special male who is my mother's brother.
3. I regard “**umalume**” as my maternal father.
4. His love for me is that of a mother to her child.

Possessive forms

The possessive forms of the term “**umalume**” for the first, second and third persons can be shown in the following way:

Umalume	(My / our uncle)
Unyokolume	(Your uncle)
Uninalume	(His / her uncle)

Use of the term “umalume” in terms of address

1. I use the term **umalume**” in terms to address my mother's brother.
2. My brothers and sisters use the term “**umalume**” to address my mother's brother.
3. The children of my father's brothers use the term “**umalume**” to address my mother's brother.

The importance of umalume

According to African tradition “**umalume**” is important because he represents the maternal grandfather. He has to attend to the problems of his sister (i.e. my mother) as well as to the problems of his nephews and nieces (**abatshana**). He is a link between my maternal home and my paternal home. He must always work in co-operation with these two families. Whenever a ceremony is held on behalf of his sister’s children, **umalume** must donate money, goat or an ox depending on the type of the ceremony.

Umalume plays the role of a father and a grandfather to the children of his sister (i.e. my mother and her sisters). He always behaves as a father to the children of his sisters and to his sisters as well.

5.3.2.2 Sisters of my mother

Umakazi :

She is indicated in no (10) in the scheme above.

1. The term “**makes**” refers to a female.
2. The term “**umakazi**” refers to my mother’s sister.

Derivation of the term “umakazi”

The noun “**umakazi**” has been formed through the process of affixation in the following way:

Noun + affix:

Uma + kazi > **Umakazi**
My aunt who is my mother’s sister

The gender affix –**kazi** has been suffixed to the noun “**uma**”

The importance of the suffix –kazi in the noun “umakazi”

1. The suffix –**kazi** gives “**umakazi**” a special status, i.e. that of being the mother of her children as well as being the mother of her sister’s children.
2. The suffix –**kazi** differentiates **umakazi** (my mother’s sister) from **umama / uma** (my mother).

3. The suffix **-kazi** differentiates **umakazi** from other general mother's in the society.

Use of the term "umakazi" in terms of address

1. I use the term "**umakazi**" to address my mother's sister.
2. My brothers and sisters use the term "**umakazi**" to address my mother's sister.
3. The children of my father's brothers use the term "**umakazi**" to address my mother's sister.

Possessive forms

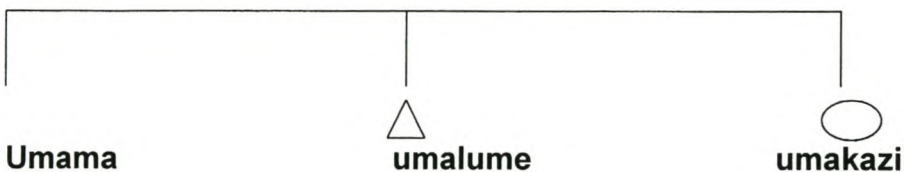
The possessive forms of the term "**umakazi**" for the first, second and third persons can be shown in the following way:

Umakazi	My aunt / my mother's sister)
Unyokokazi	(Your mother's sister)
Uninakazi	(His / her mother's sister)

The importance of umakazi

Umakazi is only important to the children of her sisters. To them she is their second mother.

My mother's brothers and sisters:



MNA
(EGO)

A.4 THE GENERATION OF EGO

EGO is indicated as no (1) in the scheme above.

This generation involves the children of my father's brothers and sisters. It also involves the children of my mother's brother and sister.

5.4.1 Children of my father's brother

The children of my father's brother (no 5 and 6) are regarded as my own brothers and sisters. These terms are thus also bifurcated:

A. EGO is male

Umkhuluwa, umninawa and udade:

Umkhuluwa : Lo ngumfana ozalwa ngumfo wabotata omdala kunam.
(*This is my elder brother born of my father's brother*)

Umninawa : Lo ngumfana ozalwa ngumfo wabotata omncinane kunam.
(*This is my younger brother, born of my father's brother*)

To me **umkhuluwa** and **umninawa** are **ookayise**.

Ukayise / umntakwethu : Lo ngumfana ozalwa ngumfo wabotata nokuba ingakanani na.
(*This is my brother born of my father's brother, irrespective of age*)

Udade: Le yintombi ezalwa ngumfo wabotata nokuba ingakanani na.
(*This is my sister born of my father's brother, irrespective of age*).

B. EGO is female

Umnakwethu, udadewethu, umsakwethu

Umnakwethu : Lo ngumfana ozalwa ngumfo wabotata nokuba mdala okanye mncinane kunam.
(*This is my brother born of my father's brother, irrespective of age*).

Udadewethu : Le yintombi ezalwa ngumfo wabotata endala kunam.
(*This is my elder sister born of my father's brother*)

Umsakwethu : Le yintombi ezalwa ngumfo wabotata encinane kunam.
(*This is my younger sister born of my father's brother*)

Derivation of the following terms:

Umnakwethu

Ukayise

Umntakwethu

Udadewethu

Umsakwethu

The above terms are compound nouns, which have been formed through the process of compounding. Two words have been compounded to form a noun:

(i) **Noun + possessive:**

Umna + kwa + ithu

> **Umna + kwethu > umnakwethu**

Here the noun “**umna**” has been compounded with the possessive concord “**-kwa-**” and the possessive stem “**-thu**”.

The vowel of the possessive “**-kwa-**” has coalesced with the vowel of the possessive stem “**ithu**”.

(ii) **U + ka + uyise > ukayise**

My father's brother's son

Here the initial vowel “**u**” has been compounded with the possessive concord “**ka**” and a noun “**uyise**”.

The initial vowel of the noun **uyise** has been elided.

(iii) Umnta + kwa + ithu> **Umnta + kwethu** > **umntakwethu***My father's brother's son*

The noun “**umnta**” has been compounded with the possessive concord “**-kwa-**” and the possessive stem “**-ithu**”.

The vowel of the possessive concord “**-kwa-**” has coalesced with the vowel of the possessive stem “**-ithu**”.

Kwa + ithu > **kwethu**(iv) Udade + wa + ithu > Udadewethu*My older sister*

Here the noun “**udade**” has been compounded with a possessive concord “**wa**” and the possessive stem “**-ithu**”.

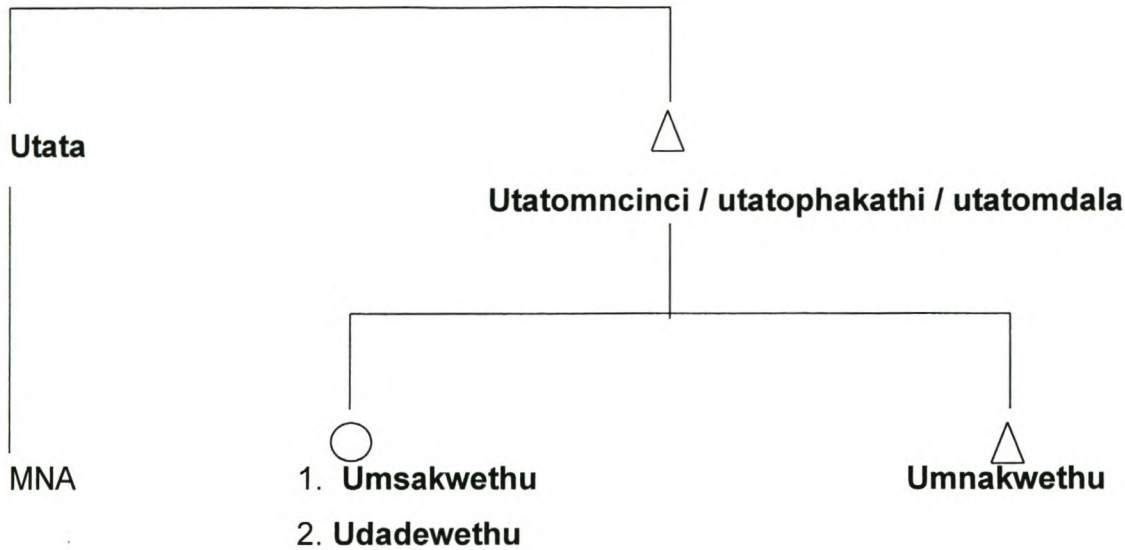
The vowel of the possessive concord “**wa**” has coalesced with the vowel of the possessive stem “**-ithu**” and became “**e**”.

Udade + wethu > **udadewethu***My older sister*(v) Umsa + kwa + ithu > Umsakwethu*My younger sister*

The noun “**umsa**” has been compounded with a possessive concord “**kwa**” and the possessive stem “**ithu**”.

The vowel of the possessive concord “**kwa**” has coalesced with the vowel of the possessive stem “**ithu**” and became “**e**”.

Kwa + ithu > **kwethu****Umsa + kwethu** > **umsakwethu***My younger sister*

Children of my father's brother:**5.4.2 Children of my father's sister**

These children have been indicated as no (7) in the scheme above.

I as Ego call the children of my father's sister "**umza / umzala**" (cousin). We are related through my father's family. They are my close relatives and I cannot marry them.

Umza / umzala : Lo ngumntwana oyinkwenkwe okanye intombazana ozalwa ngudadobawo.
(This is my father's sister's child who is a boy or a girl)

5.4.3 Children of my mother's brother

See No (11) in the scheme above.

These children of my mother's brother are related to me through my mother's side. Their father and mother belong to the same nuclear family. I call my mother's brother's child "**mza / mzala**" (cousin).

Umza / umzala (cousin) : Lo ngumntwana oyinkwenkwe okanye intombazana ozalwa ngudadobawo.

(This is my mother's brother's child who is a girl or a boy)

I take “**umza/umzala**” as my own brother or sister because of our close relationship.

The term “umza / umzala” in terms of reference

1. The term “**umza / umzala**” refers to a male or female.
2. The term “**umza / umzala**” refers to my mother's brother's child irrespective of sex.
3. The term “**umza / umzala**” also refers to my father's sister's child. This term is thus equivalent.

Use of the term “umza” in terms of address

1. I use the term “**umza / umzala**” to address my mother's brother's child.
2. I use the term “**umza / umzala**” to address my father's sister's child.
3. My brothers and sisters use the term “**umza / umzala**” to address my mother's brother's child.
4. My brothers and sisters use the term “**umza / umzala**” to address my father's sister's child.

5.4.4 Children of my mother's sister

See no (12) above.

I as Ego call the child of my mother's sister “**ukanina**” since we are born from the same maternal family. All the children of my mother's sister are my relatives and I cannot marry them.

Ukanina : Lo ngunyana okanye intombi kamakazi
(This is the son or daughter of my mother's sister)

The term “**ukanina**” only refers to my mother's sister's sons and daughters.

5.5 FIRST DESCENDING GENERATION

This generation involves the children of my brothers and sisters. To me the children of my brothers are taken as my own children. They are my sons and daughters. They belong to my paternal family just as my brothers and I.

5.5.1 Children of my brother

See no. (13) and (14) above:

(i) Male / female
Umntwana

(ii) Male
Unyana

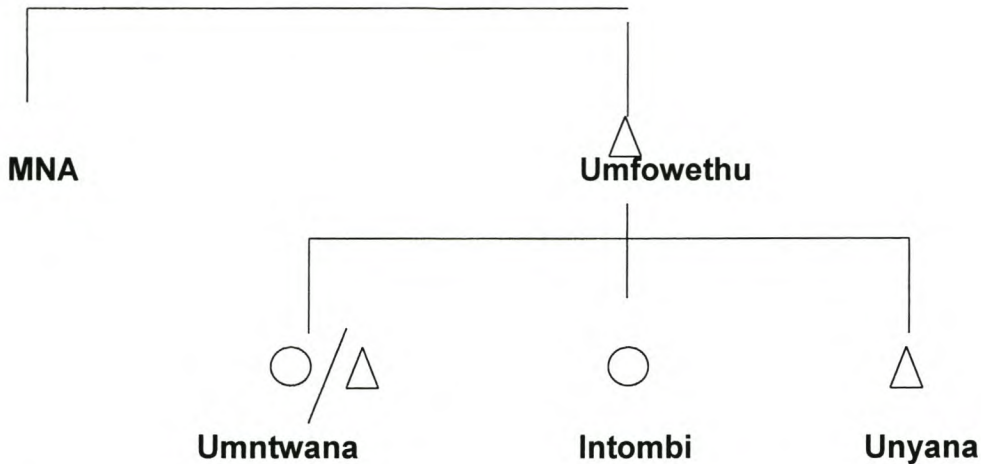
(iii) Female
Intombi

Umntwana (child) : Lo ngumntu osemncinci nokuba ngunyana okanye intombi.
(This is a very young person. He may be a boy or a girl)

Unyana (son) : Le yinkwenkwe ezalwa ndim okanye ngumfowethu.
(This is my own son or my brother's son)

Intombi (daughter) : Le yintombi ezalwa ndim okanye ezalwa ngumfowethu.
(This is my own daughter or my brother's daughter)

In Xhosa the terms “**unyana**” and “**intombi**” are used to address your own sons and daughters as well as the sons and daughters of your brothers.

My brother's children:**5.5.2 Children of my sister**

See no. (15) in the scheme for lineal descent.

I as Ego call the children of my sister “**abatshana**” (nephews, nieces). They also call me “**malume**” (uncle). I regard **abatshana** as my children.

Umntwana (nephew, niece): Lo ngumntwana kadade oyintombazana okanye
oyinkwenkwe.
(*This is my sister's child irrespective of sex.*)

The term “umtshana” in terms of reference

1. The term “**umtshana**” refers to a child of my sister.
2. The term “**umtshana**” is neutral with regard to gender and thus refers to both a male or a female.

The term “umtshana” in terms of address

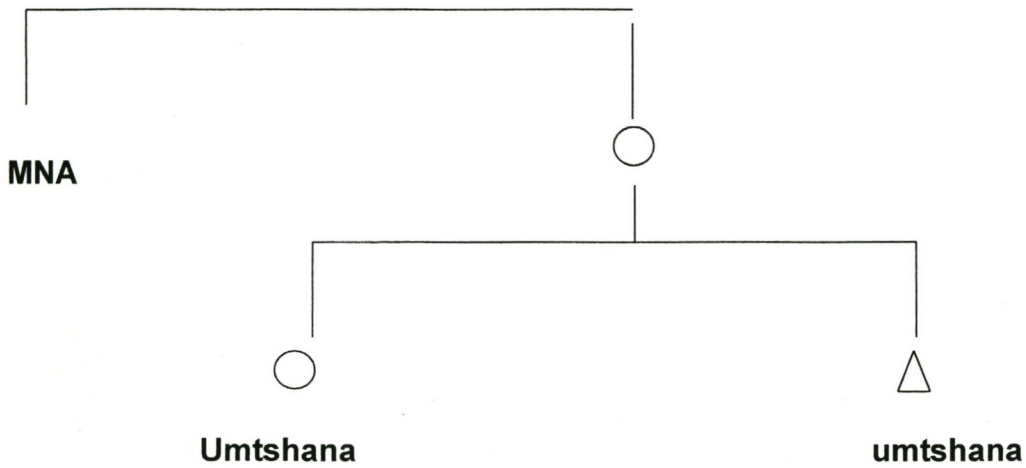
1. I use the term “**umtshana**” to address my sister's child.
2. My brothers use the term “**umtshana**” to address my sister's child.
3. My father's brothers' sons use the term “**umtshana**” to address my sister's child.
4. My wife uses the term “**umtshana**” to address my sister's child.

5. The wives of my father's brothers; sons use the term "**umtshana**" to address my sister's child.

Importance of "umtshana"

Umtshana is very much loved by his/her maternal family;

Children of my sister



CHAPTER 6

IN-LAWS

6.1 AIM

The aim of this chapter is to look at the in-laws of a married man as well as those of a married woman.

6.2 SECOND ASCENDING GENERATION

The second ascending generation of all the in-laws has the same kinship terms as my own grandparents, i.e. **utatomkhulu** (grandfather) and **umakhulu** (grandmother).

6.3 IN-LAWS OF A MARRIED MAN

A. First ascending generation

This generation includes the following persons:

Umkhwe (father-in-law)

Umkhwekazi (mother-in-law)

B. The generation of EGO

The generation of Ego includes the following persons:

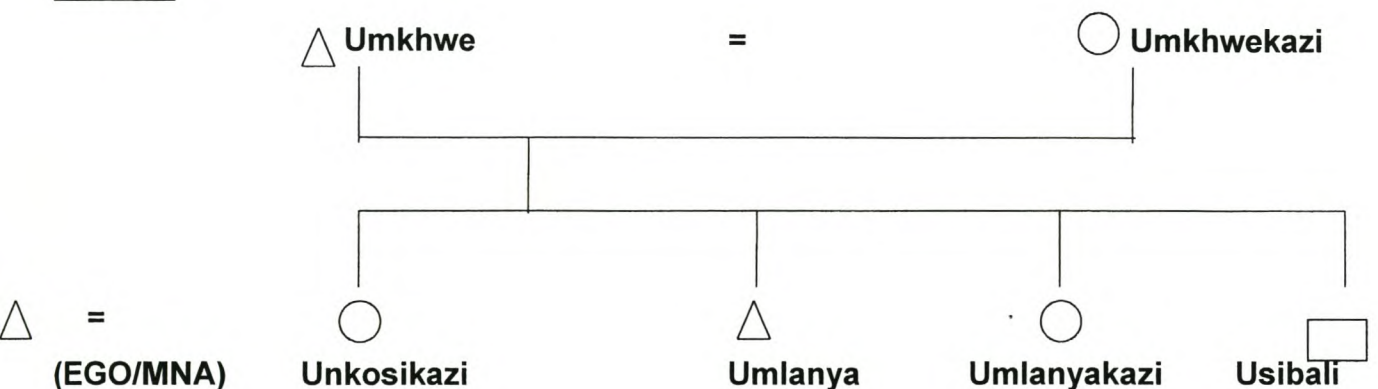
Unkosikazi (my wife/Ego's wife)

Umlanya (brother-in-law)

Umlanyakazi (sister-in-law)

Usibali (brother-in-law / sister-in-law)

Scheme:



Umkhwe	:	Le yindoda enditshate intombi yayo. <i>(This is the man whose daughter I have married (my father-in-law))</i>
Umkhwekazi	:	Lo ngunina wenkosikazi yam. <i>(This is my wife's mother (my mother-in-law))</i>
Unkosikazi	:	Lo ngumfazi enditshate naye. <i>(This is the woman to whom I am married. (My own wife))</i>
Umlanya	:	Lo ngunakwabo nkosikazi yam. <i>(This is my wife's brother. My brother-in-law).</i>
Umlanyakazi	:	Lo ngudadewabo nkosikazi wam. <i>(This is my wife's sister.)</i>
Usibali	:	Le yintombi okanye umfana enditshate udade wabo. <i>(This is my sister-in-law / my brother-in-law)</i>

The term “umkhwe” in terms of reference

1. The term “**umkhwe**” refers to a male.
2. The term “**umkhwe**” only refers to the father of my wife.
3. The term “**umkhwe**” refers to the fathers of my brother's wives.

Use of the term “umkhwe” in terms of address

1. I use the term “**umkhwe**” to address my wife's father.
2. My brothers use the term “**umkhwe**” to address my father-in-law's brothers' wives.
3. The sons of my father's brothers use the term “**umkhwe**” to address my wife's father.

Possessive form

The possessive form of “**umkhwe**” for the second and third persons is formed by letting the term “**umkhwe**” be followed by possessive formed from the possessive stems “**kho**” and “**khe**”.

- (i) **Umkhwe** (my father-in-law)
- (ii) **umkhwe wakho** (your father-in-law)
- (iii) **Umkhwe wakhe** (his father-in-law)

The importance of umkhwe

According to Xhosa custom “**umkhwe**” is the father of his son-in-law in every respect, and the son-in-law on his part fully takes “**umkhwe**” as his father. **Umkhwe** loves his son-in-law more than he loves his own son.

The term “umkhwekazi” in terms of reference

1. The term “**umkhwekazi**” refers to a female.
2. The term “**umkhwekazi**” only refers to the mother of my wife.

Derivation of the term “umkhwekazi”

The noun “**umkhwekazi**” has been formed by suffixing the gender suffix **-kazi** to the noun **umkhwe** :

Noun + suffix:

Umkhwe + kazi >	Umkhwekazi
	My mother-in-law

The suffix **-kazi** differentiates **umkhwe** (father-in-law) who is a male from **umkhwekazi** (mother-in-law) who is a female.

Use of the term “umkhwekazi” in terms of address

1. I use the term “**umkhwekazi**” to address my wife’s mother.
2. I use the term “**umkhwekazi**” to address the wives of the brothers of my father-in-law.

3. My brothers use the term **“umkhwekazi”** to address my wife’s mother.
4. My father’s brother’s sons use the term **“umkhwekazi”** to address my wife’s mother.

Importance of umkhwekazi

In African society **“umkhwekazi”** is much loved by her son-in-law. You may find that some of the children of her son-in-law are brought up by her. She is also very much loved by the children of her son-in-law, and she too loves them.

Derivation of the term “umlanyakazi”

“Umlanyakazi” is a noun denoting feminine gender. This noun has been turned into feminine gender by suffixing the gender suffix **“-kazi”** to the noun **“umlanya”**:

Noun + gender suffix:

Umlanya + kazi > Umlanyakazi
My sister-in-law

The term “umlanyakazi” in terms of reference

1. The term **“umlanyakazi”** refers to a female.
2. The term **“umlanyakazi”** refers to my wife’s sister.

Use of the term “umlanyakazi” in terms of address

1. I use the term **“umlanyakazi”** to address my wife’s sister.
2. My brothers and sisters use the term **“umlanyakazi”** to address the sister of my wife.
3. The sons and daughters of my father’s brothers use the term **“umlanyakazi”** to address my wife’s sister.

The term “umlanya” in terms of reference

1. The term **“umlanya”** refers to a male.
2. The term **“umlanya”** refers to my wife’s brother.

Use of the term “umlanya” in terms of address

1. I use the term “**umlanya**” to address my wife’s brother.
2. My brothers and sisters use the term “**umlanya**” to address the brother of my wife.
3. The sons and daughters of my father’s brothers use the term “**umlanya**” to address my wife’s brother.

The term “usibali” in terms of reference

1. The term “**usibali**” refers to a male or female.
2. The term “**usibali**” refers to a male or female who is my wife’s brother or sister.

Use of the term “usibali” in terms of address

1. I use the term “**usibali**” to address a male or female whose sister I have married.
2. My brothers and sisters use the term “**usibali**” to address the brothers and sisters of my wife.
3. The sons and daughters of my father’s brothers use the term “**usibali**” to address my wife’s brother or sister.

The terms **usibali**, **Umlanya** and **umlanyakazi** are only used by people who are related by marriage. They are special names by which the related persons call one another.

6.4 IN-LAWS OF A MARRIED WOMAN

A. First ascending generation

The first ascending generation includes the following persons:

Ubawozala (father-in-law)

Umazala (mother-in-law)

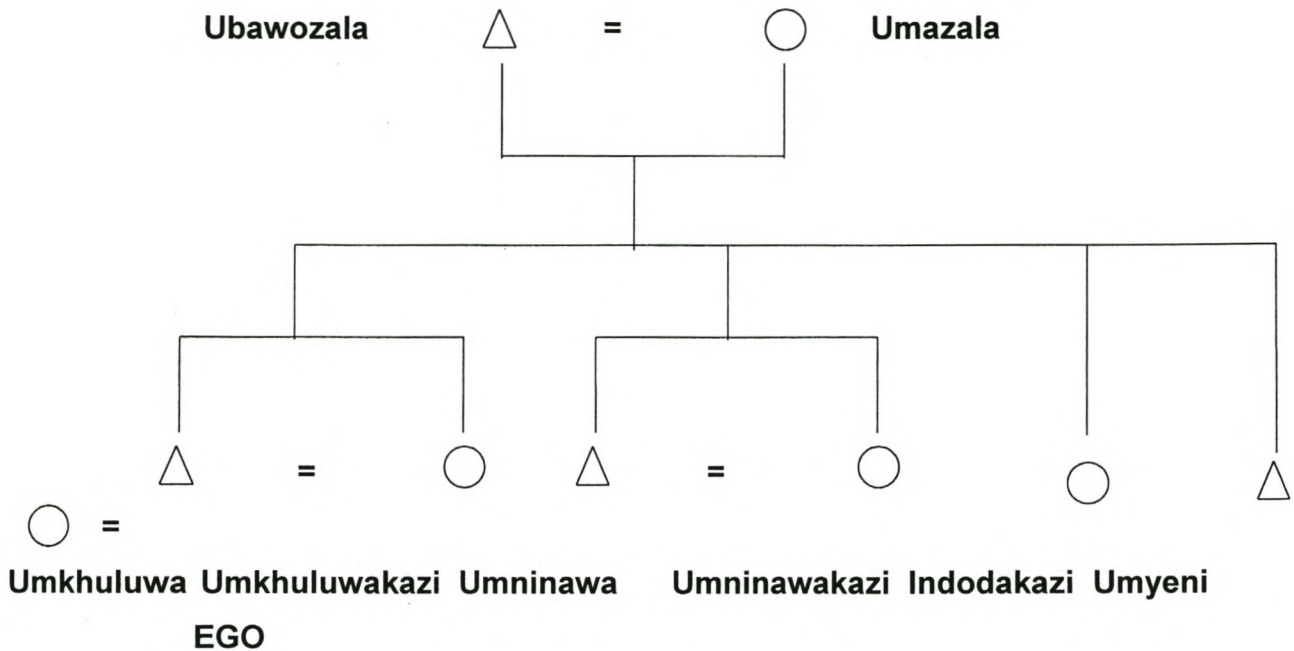
B. THE GENERATION OF EGO

The generation of Ego includes the following persons:

Umyeni (my husband)

Indodakazi (my husband’s sister)

- Umninawa** (my younger brother-in-law)
Umninawakazi (the wife of my younger brother-in-law)
Umkhuluwa (my husband's elder brother)
Umkhuluwakazi (my husband's elder brother's wife)



- Ubawozala** : Lo nguyise wendoda enditshate nayo.
(This is the father of my husband)
- Umazala** : Lo ngumama wendoda enditshate nayo.
(This is my mother of my husband)
- Umyeni** : Le yindoda enditshate nayo.
(This is the man to whom I am married – my husband)
- Indodakazi** : Le yintombi engudadewabo ndoda yam.
(This is my husband's sister)
- Umninawa** : Le yindoda / umfana oza emva komyeni wam.
(This is my husband's younger brother)

Umninawakazi : Lo ngumfazi womninawa wendoda yam.
(*This is the wife of my husband's younger brother.*)

Umkhuluwa : Le yindoda / umfana omdala konomyeni wam.
(*This is my husband's elder brother*)

Umkhuluwakazi : Lo ngumfazi womkhuluwa wendoda yam.
(*This is the wife of my husband's elder brother*)

The term “ubawozala” in terms of reference

1. The term “**ubawozala**” refers to a male.
2. The term “**ubawozala**” refers to my husband's father.
3. The term “**ubawozala**” refers to the brother of my husband's father.

Use of the term “ubawozala” in terms of address

1. I use the term “**ubawozala**” to address my husband's father.
2. I use the term “**ubawozala**” to address the brothers of my husband's father.
3. The daughter-in-law of my husband's father's brother use the term “**ubawozala**” to address my husband's father.

In a Xhosa society it is a very serious case to call your father-in-law by his proper name. An act of this nature can lead to the expulsion of a woman from her in-laws or her parents may be charged a beast for the misconduct of their daughter. A married woman is expected to call her father-in-law “**bawozala**” whenever she addresses him.

Derivation of the term “ubawozala”

Ubawozala is a compound noun, which has been formed by compounding a noun and a verb:

Noun + verb:

Ubawo + zala (give birth) > **Ubawozala**
My father-in-law

According to the Xhosa custom once the son gets married his father and mother are taken as people who have given birth to a new child, the daughter-in-law, hence the father is called **bawozala** i.e. the father who has given birth and the mother “**mazala**”, the mother who has given birth.

Possessive forms

The possessive forms of “**ubawozala**” for the first, second and third persons can be shown in the following way:

Ubawozala (My father-in-law)

Uyihlozala (Your father-in-law)

Uyisezala (Her / their father-in-law)

The importance of ubawozala and his legal status

Ubawozala is an important figure in any home. He is the head of the home. His son will remain a child to him as long as he is still alive. Ritual ceremonies for his grandchildren are conducted by him. He is respected by his family.

The term “umazala” in terms of reference

1. The term “**umazala**” refers to a female.
2. The term “**umazala**” refers to a woman who is my husband’s mother.

Use of the term “umazala” in terms of address

1. I use the term “**umazala**” to address my husband’s mother.
2. The wives of the brothers of my husband use the term “**umazala**” to address my husband’s mother.
3. I use the term “**umazala**” to address the wives of the brothers of my husband’s father.

Derivation of the term “umazala”

Umazala is a compound noun formed by compounding a noun and a verb.

Noun + verb:

Uma + zala > Umazala
My husband's mother

Possessive forms

The possessive forms of “**umazala**” for the first, second and third persons can be shown in the following way:

Umazala (my mother-in-law)

Unyokozala (your mother-in-law)

Uninazala (her mother-in-law)

The importance of umazala

Umazala is important in the family because she is the person who guides **umolokazana** (daughter-in-law) on marriage matters. She sees to it that her grandchildren are brought up in a proper way.

6.5 SUMMARY

In the Xhosa society marriage forms the basis of a kinship structure. Through marriage men acquire full citizenship. Marriage also enhances the social and legal position of women in a Xhosa society.

Kinship and marriage are important in tracing descent. When descent is traced through the male line only, we speak of patrilineal descent, and matrilineal descent if through female line only.

In a kinship system people are classified primarily on the basis of relationship through descent and marriage. People related through blood are called consanguineous kin or relatives.

Relatives sharing a common ancestor but in different descent lines are called collateral kin or relatives.

Relatives through marriage are called in-laws. There are in-laws of a married man, and the in-laws of a married woman. The people for both in-laws are called by special kinship names.

CHAPTER 7

RELATIONAL NOUNS

7.1 AIM

The main objective of this chapter is to show that in our everyday life situations there is always equality in status as well as inequality in status amongst the people. This difference and equality in status starts from the family to a medical situation, school, society, sport, government, traditional politics, business sector, legal courts, church, initiation school, municipality or at any work situation, hence we have horizontal relations and vertical relations of Xhosa relational nouns. Xhosa relational nouns show the above mentioned forms of relation.

7.2 VERTICAL RELATIONS OF DEPENDENCY

In vertical relations of dependency persons are not equal in status. The status level of one is above that one of the other. One of the persons is a dependent object or an underling of the other, while the other one with a higher status is independent. In the case of vertical / hierarchical relations one may distinguish two features of [± dependent] and [± kinship]

Kinship terms and non-kinship terms may show vertical relation of dependency.

7.2.1 Kinship terms

[+ kinship]

[- dependent]

a. **Umzali** (parent)

b. **Ubawo** (father)

c. **Indoda** (man)

[+ kinship]

[+ dependent]

Umntwana (child)

Unyana (son)

Umfazi (wife)

In (a) **Umzali** (parent) and **umntwana** (child) denote vertical relation. The noun **umntwana** (child) is the dependent object in relation and behaves differently from **umzali** (parent) who is an independent individual.

In (b) **ubawo** (father) and **unyana** (son) denote vertical relation. The noun **unyana** (son) is the dependent of **ubawo** (father) in relation, and behaves differently from **ubawo** (father) who is an independent individual.

Again the examples **umfazi** (wife) and **indoda** (man) denote a vertical relation. The noun **umfazi** (wife) is the dependent of **indoda** (man / husband), and behaves differently from **indoda** (man / husband) who is an independent individual.

See chapters 3 and 4 above.

7.2.2 Non-kinship terms / situations

7.2.2.1 Medical situations

[- dependent]

Ugqirha (doctor)

[+ dependent]

Umongikazi (nurse)

Umongikazi (nurse) and **ugqirha** (doctor) denote hierarchical relation. The noun **umongikazi** (nurse) is the dependent object in relation, and behaves differently from **ugqirha** (doctor) who is an independent individual.

7.2.2.2 School situation

[- dependent]

Inqununu (principal)

Iintloko zamacandelo

(heads of departments)

Iititshala (teachers)

Abasebenzi (labourers)

Abafundi (learners)

[+ dependent]

Isekela – nqununu (deputy-principal)

Inqununu (principal) and **isekela – nqununu**, **iintloko zamacandelo**, **iititshala**, **abasebenzi** and **abafundi** denote vertical relations. The nouns **isekela – nqununu**, **iintloko zamacandelo**, **iititshala**, **abasebenzi** (labourers) and **abafundi** (learners) are the dependent objects in relation, and behave differently from **inqununu** who is an independent individual.

7.2.2.3 Business situation

[- dependent]

Umqeshi (employer)

[+ dependent]

Umqeshwa (employee)

Umqeshi (employer) and **Umqeshwa** (employee) denote vertical relation. The noun **umqeshwa** (employee) is the dependent object in relation, and behaves differently from **umqeshi** (employer) who is the independent individual.

7.2.2.4 Sport

[- dependent]

Umqeqeshi (trainer)

[+ dependent]

Abadlali (players)

Umqeqeshi (trainer) and **abadlali** (players) denote hierarchical vertical relation. The noun **abadlali** (players) is the dependent object in relation, and **umqeqeshi** (trainer) is independent and superior to **abadlali** (players) in status.

7.2.2.5 Legal Courts

[- dependent]

Umantyi (magistrate)

[+ dependent]

Umtshutshisi (prosecutor)

Umantyi (magistrate) and **umtshutshisi** (prosecutor) denote vertical relation. **Umtshutshisi** (prosecutor) is the dependent object in relation, and behaves differently from **umantyi** (magistrate) who is the independent individual.

7.2.2.6 Religious / church situation

[- dependent]

Umfundisi (minister)

[+ dependent]

Irhamente (congregation)

Umfundisi (minister) and **irhamente** (congregation), denote vertical relation. The noun **irhamente** (congregation) is the dependent object in relation and behaves differently from **umfundisi** (minister) who is the superior independent individual.

7.2.2.7 Government

[- dependent]

[+ dependent]

Umongameli / ipresidenti (president) **Inkulumbuso** (prime minister)**Umphathiswa** (minister)

Umongameli (president), **inkulumbuso** (prime minister) and **umphathiswa** (minister) denote hierarchical relation. The status of **umongameli** (president) is higher than that of **inkulumbuso** (prime minister) and **umphathiswa** (minister). **Umongameli**, **inkulumbuso** and **umphathiswa** denote hierarchical relation. The nouns **inkulumbuso** (prime minister) and **umphathiswa** (minister) are the dependents in relation, while **umongameli** (president) is the independent individual.

7.2.2.8 Traditional politics

[- dependent]

[+ dependent]

Ikumkani / ingotya

(king / paramount chief)

Inkosi (Chief)**Isibonda** (Headman)**Unozithetyana** (sub-headman)**Amaphakathi** (councilors)**Abantu** (people)

Ikumkani, **inkosi**, **isibonda**, **unozithetyana**, **amaphakathi** and **abantu** denote hierarchical relation. The status of **ikumkani** (king / paramount chief) is the highest. All other persons from **inkosi** (chief) down to **abantu** (people) are the dependent objects in relation, and behave differently from **ikumkani** (king) who is the independent individual.

7.2.2.9 Committees

[- dependent]

[+ dependent]

Umhlalingaphambili / Usositulo

(Chairperson)

Unobhala (secretary)**Unongxowa** (treasurer)**Umalungu** (members)

Umhlalingaphambili (chairperson), **unobhala** (secretary), **unongxowa** (treasurer) and **umalungu** (members) denote hierarchical relation. All these persons are dependent on **umhlalingaphambili** (chairperson) who is the independent individual.

7.2.2.10 Initiation school for circumcision

[- dependent]

Ikhankatha / usuthu

(Guardian of circumcision)

[+ dependent]

Usosuthu (head initiate)**Ingcibi** (circumciser)**Abakhwetha** (initiates)

Ikhankatha, **usosuthu**, **ingcibi** and **abakhwetha** denote hierarchical relation. **Ikhankatha** is superior in status and the rest of the persons are his dependents.

7.2.2.11 Municipality

[- dependent]

Usodolaphu (mayor)

[+ dependent]

Unobhala (town clerk)**Amalungu** (members of the town council)**Abahlali** (town dwellers)

The status of **usodolaphu** is higher than that of the rest of the people like **unobhala**, **amalungu** and **abahlali**.

7.2.2.12 Witchcraft

[- dependent]

Igqirha (witch doctor)

[+ dependent]

Ihlakani (a person who accompanies the Witch doctor and carries his bags)**Isigogo** (witch doctor's patient)

Ihlakani is the dependent of **igqirha** who is the independent individual. The status of **igqirha** is higher than that of **ihlakani**.

7.3 HORIZONTAL RELATIONS WITH NO DEPENDENCY

Horizontal relations with no dependency exist between the words that are antonyms and synonyms. In other words, antonyms and synonyms are characterized by horizontal relations with no dependency. Words, which are antonyms only, relate to one another in

oppositeness of meaning, and words, which are synonyms, relate to one another in similarity of meaning.

7.4 ANTONYMS

Fromkin (1983) defines antonyms as words that are opposite in meaning. Ironically, the basic property of two words, which are antonyms, is that they share all but one semantic property. The property they do not share is present in one and absent in the other. For two words to be antonyms, they must be semantically very similar.

Todd (1987), another writer describes an antonym as a term applied to the sense relation involving oppositeness of meaning. For example, words such as “tallness” (**ubude**) and “blackness” (**ubumnyama**) are not antonyms because they do not show oppositeness of meaning. “Tallness” (**ubude**) possesses a semantic property involving height and “blackness” (**ubumnyama**) possesses a semantic property-involving colour. Words like “bigness” (**ubukhulu**) and “smallness” (**ubuncinane**) are antonyms because they are relational in oppositeness of meaning.

Words, which are antonyms, are characterized by semantic relation. In Xhosa the term “antonym” refers collectively to all types of oppositeness. In Xhosa there are graded and ungraded antonyms and converseness.

- A. Graded antonyms: Graded antonyms are those antonyms which have degrees of difference, for example, “big” (**khulu**) and small (**ncinane**), “tall” (**de**) and “short” (**futshane**). In other words, “big” and “small”, “tall” and “short” can only be interpreted in terms of “bigger”, “smaller”, taller” or “shorter” than something which is established as a norm for comparison.
- B. Ungraded antonyms: This term refers to the relationship between pairs of words in which the denial of one implies the assertion of the other, for instance, “**indoda**” (man) and “**umfazi**” (woman), “**indoda**”(male) and “**ibhinqa**” (female).
- C. Converseness: Crystal (1985) describes converseness as a term often used in semantics to refer to a SENSE relation between lexical items. Converse terms display a type of oppositeness of meaning, illustrated by such pairs as “purchase”

(intengo); “Sale” **(intengiso)**; “parent” **(umzali)**; “child” **(umntwana)** and “employer” **(umqeshi)**, “employee” **(umqeshwa)**.

“Purchase” **(intengo)** is said to be a converse of “sale” **(intengiso)** and *vice versa*. This type of relationship shows an interdependence of meaning, such that one member of the pair presupposes the other member. In this respect, “converseness” contrasts with ungraded antonyms where there is no such symmetry of dependence, and with the technical sense of antonym, where there is gradation between the opposites.

CLASSIFICATION OF XHOSA ANTONYMS

In Xhosa graded antonyms, ungraded antonyms and converseness can be classified into the following types according to lexical semantics:

7.4.1 Humans

Physical features

Antonyms denoting body shape / build:

Isigantsontso / isigeledwane	-	Iqathalala / ingceke – ngceke
A strong and a muscular bodied man		A thin man
Igxibha / ugxibha / ingxwayi – ngxwayi	-	Umsakatyana / uhili / isithvenya
A tall and a hefty man		A dwarf / short man
Ingxilimbela / intsuduba	-	Uqhovu / urhoqorhoqo
A stout and a badly built bodied man		An emaciated man
Ufafa	-	Isiqingqi
A tall slender bodied man		A short fat man
Isiqushumba / umagumede	-	Iqathalala / ingceke – ngceke
A bid and a well built bodied man		A thin man / a small bodied man

Body position

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of body position:

Iqhombonqa

*A badly statured person /
body misshape*

Uzwathi

A well-statured person

Colour

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of colour:

Ikrebhe krebhe

*A beautiful light complexioned
woman*

Umthsunyela

An ugly pitch-black woman

Appearance

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of appearance:

Itsolo / uchwenene

A well dressed neat man

Ixavu / ixaxavithi

An untidily dressed man

Physical advantaged / disadvantaged persons

Antonyms denoting physically advantaged or disadvantaged persons:

Umqethengu

A healthy person

Umlwelwe

A cripple / an invalid

Age

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of age as a human physical feature. Two features [+ adult] and [- adult] distinguish the ages:

[+ adult]

Indoda

A man

Umfana

A young man

Intombi

An old girl

[- adult]

Umfana

A young man

Inkwenkwe

A boy

Intombazana

A young girl

Iqina / Igqala*A middle-aged man***Ixhego / Impobole***An old man***Ixhegwazana***An old woman***Umfana / Ityendyana***A young man***Umfana / Ityendyana***A young man***Umtshakazi***A young woman***Psychological features**

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of psychological features:

Isazi / Ingqondi*An intelligent person***Isiyatha / Isidenge***A foolish person***Ithamba / Ilunga***A meek person***Indlobongela / Indlavini***A wild person***Behaviour**

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of behaviour:

Ikroti / Ikhalipha / Igorha*A hero***Igwala / ityutyusi***A coward***Inene***A well behaved man***Indlavini***A misbehaving man***Isikhohlakali***A cruel person***Ilulama***A meek and a kind person***Ithenjwa***A trustworthy person***Irhumsha***A crook***Isibhovubhovu / idlophantyapha***A troublesome person who is ever violent***Ilunga / Ilulama / Ilungisa***A meek person***Uqhwangu***A violent person***Ithamba***A meek person*

Habits

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of habits:

Itsolo / Uchwenene

A neat well dressed person

Isikizi / Inyundululu

A disgrace

Ivila / Uthwaxu

A lazy person

Inxila / Indlamanzi

A drunkard

Isirhovu / Irhwabangu

A gluttonous man

Irhethurhethu

A talkative person

Ithsafathsafa / Umchithachithi

A wasteful person

Ixelegu / Ithaxalala

An untidy person

Iqathalala / ixelegu

A dirty and clumsily dressed person

Ubunyulu / ubumsulwa

Chastity

Umkhuthali / Isikhuthali

A diligent person

Ingcathu

A sober man

Ingcathu

One who eats sparingly

Isithuli

A quiet person

Umqoqoshi / Umlondolozhi

A thrifty person

Inono / Ihomba

A neat person

Skills

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of human skills / talents:

Igqala / Umakhwekhwethe

An experienced man / an expert

Ichule / Igcisa

A skilled person

Ichule / Igcisa

A skillful / tactful person

Iqobola

An inexperienced man / novice

Iqobola / Igangxa

An unskilled person

Iqhitalu / Itatasholo

A clumsy person

Events

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of events:

Ukusebenza

Working

Ulilo

Crying

Ukuhlala

To be idle

Ukuthula

Quietness

Umgwebo*Judgement***Ukhwazo***Shouting***Uxolelo***Forgiveness***Usebezo***Whispering***7.4.3 Communication****Talking**

Antonyms denoting oppositeness in communication:

Unxibelelwano*Communication***Impikiswano***Argument***Incoko***Talk***Uqhabalako***Disunity***Isivumelwano***Agreement***Ukuthula***Silence***Report**

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of report:

Amarhe*Rumour***Ubunyaniso***Truth***Advice**

Antonyms denoting oppositeness in advising:

Icebiso*Advice***Ukulahlekisa***Misleading***Complaint**

Antonyms denoting opposites of complaint:

Isikhalazo*Complaint***Ukwaneliseka***Satisfaction***Inkcaso***Objection***Ukuvuma***Acceptance*

7.4.4 Feelings

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of feelings:

Ithamsanqa

Luck

Ububele

Friendliness

Uthando

Love

Ulonwabo

Happiness

Ilishwa

Misfortune

Ulunya

Unfriendliness

Uluncya Uthiyo / intiyo

Hatred

Usizi

Sorrow

Time

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of time:

Imini

Day

Ihlobo

Summer

Ubusuku

Night

Ubusika

Winter

Intsasa

Morning

Urhatya

Evening

7.4.5 Sex gender

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of sex gender. In the case of oppositeness of gender one distinguishes the following features:

[+ male]

Indoda

Man

[- male]

Umfazi

Woman

[+ kinship]

Umfana

A young man

[- kinship]

Intombi

A girl

[+ kinship]

Utata*My father*

[+ kinship]

Umama*My mother*

[+ azana]

Inkwenkwe*A boy*

[+ azana]

Intombazana*A young girl*

A. [+ male]

[- kinship]

Indoda*Man***Umfana***Young man*

[- male]

[- kinship]

Umfazi*Woman***Intombi***Girl*

B. [+ male]

[- kinship]

[- azana]

Ixhego*An old man*

[- male]

[- kinship]

[+ azana]

Ixhegwazana*An old woman***Inkwenkwe***A boy***Iqhaji***A bold man***Ihlempu***A poor man***Igagu***A bold and a talkative man***Intombazana***A young girl***Iqhajazana***A bold woman***Ihlwentshazana***A poor woman***Igagwazana***A bold and a talkative woman*

C. [- male]

[- kinship]

[- kazi]

Utitshala*A male teacher*

[- male]

[- kinship]

[+ kazi]

Utitshalakazi*A female teacher*

Umhlobo*A friend***Umfundisi***A minister***Ixhego***An old man***Umongi***A male nurse***UmXhosa***A Xhosa man***Ikroti***A hero***Umhlobokazi***A female friend***Umfundisikazi***A Minister's wife***Ixhegokazi***An old woman***Umongikazi***A female nurse***UmXhosakazi***A Xhosa woman***Ikrotikazi***A heroine*

D. [+ male]

[+ kinship]

Utatomkhulu*My grandfather***Utata***My father***Unyana***Son***Ubawo***My father*

[- male]

[+ kinship]

Umakhulu*My grandmother***Umanca***My mother***Intombi***Daughter***Udadobawo***My father's sister***Animals**

E. [+ male]

Umqhagi*Cock***Inkunzi***A bull***Inja***Dog*

[- male]

Isikhukukazi*Hen***Imazi***A cow***Injakazi***A bitch*

Wealth

Antonyms denoting oppositeness in wealth / material possessions:

Ihlwempu / Isilambi

Ijacu / Idlavu

A poor man

Isityebi / Isinhanha / isinonophu /

Isihandiba

A rich man

7.5 SYNONYMS

Words, which are synonymous, are characterised by a horizontal relation with no dependency. Synonyms as relational words relate to one another in similarity of meaning.

Crystal (1985) defines synonym as a term used in semantics to refer to a major type of SENSE relation between lexical items: lexical items, which have the same meaning, are synonyms.

For two items to be synonymous, it does not mean that they should be identical in meaning.

Synonyms can be said to occur if items are close enough in their meaning to allow a choice to be made between them in some contexts, without there being any difference for the meaning of the sentence as a whole.

The words, which are synonyms, are characterised by semantic relations.

Fromkin (1983) defines semantics as the study of the linguistic meaning of words, phrases and sentences. In short, semantics is concerned with the meaning relations between words, for example, the words **ikroti** (hero) and **igorha** (hero) relate to one another as synonyms because they give similar meaning.

Du Plessis (1999) states that a synonym is a relation between words rather than concepts. Two expressions are synonymous if substituting one for the other in all contexts does not change the true value of the sentence where substitution is made.

CLASSIFICATION OF XHOSA SYNONYMS

In Xhosa synonyms as relational words are classified into the following groups according to lexical semantics:

Synonyms denoting body shape / build

Strong and muscular :

**Isigantsontso, isiganyonyo,
Isigeledwane, Isiqololwane, Intsingalala**

All the synonyms refer to a strong-bodied man. The man is strong and muscular.

Tall and hefty :

**Igxibha / Ugxibha, Ingximbela,
Ingxwenga, Ingxwayi-ngxwayi**

A tall and a hefty man.

Tall and slender :

**Ufafa, Uzwathi, Uswazi, ingxangxosi,
Intathambana.**

A tall slender bodied man.

Big / well-built ;

**Isiqushumba, Umagumede,
Usambuntsuntsu, Imbishimbishi.**

A big and a well-built bodied man.

Well-built and beautiful :

**Ikrebhe-krebhe, Iqum-qumana,
Isibhudlu-bhudlwana.**

A well built bodied young beautiful woman / lady.

Bad shape :

There are synonyms denoting the following bad body shapes :

Stout :

Ingxilimbela, Intsuduba, Isiqushulu.

A stout and a badly built bodied man.

Emaciated : **Uqhova, Irhoqorhoqo.**

An emaciated person.

Dwarf : **isithwenya, Uhili, Unusakatyana ingqithi**

A very short man.

Thin : **Iqathalala, ingceke-ngceke**

A thin man.

7.5.2 Synonyms denoting physically disadvantaged persons:

Cripple : **Isilima, isidalwa, imbedlence**

A cripple.

Blind : **Imfama, Impumputhela**

A blind man.

7.5.3 Synonyms denoting body parts :

Protruding eyes : **uqhumehlo, Uphuhlumehlo**

A man with big protruding eyes.

Bushy beard : **Usamfumfu, Usigxabhayi**

A man with a bushy beard.

7.5.4 Synonyms denoting body position :

Misshaped : **Iqhombonqa, Indada, Unomasele**

A person with a body misshape.

7.5.5 Synonyms denoting colour :

Pitch-black : **Umthsunyela, Umthsumnyama**

A pitch-black person.

7.5.6 Synonyms denoting appearance :

Well-dressed : **Itsolo, Isigcodolo, Isicibala, Uchwenene, Ihomba**
A well-dressed neat man.

7.5.7 Synonyms denoting age as a human physical feature :

old aged man : **Inkathavu, inkothovu, Intothololo, Impuphusi, Impobole, Inkonde, Ingwevu, Ixhego, Utatomkhulu**
An old man.

Old aged woman ; **Ixhegokazi, Umakhulu, Ixhegwazana, Isalukazi**
An old woman.

Middle-aged man : **Iqina, Igqala**
A middle-aged man.

Young-aged man : **Umfana, Ityendyana, Igatyana**
A young man.

Younger age : **Inkwenkwe, Ityhagi**
A boy.

Very young age ; **Usana, Imveku, Invambilini**
A baby.

Young married woman : **Umtshakazi, Umakhoti**
A young newly married woman.

7.5.8 Synonyms denoting human skills / talents

Skilled person :	Ichule, Igcisa, Ingcali, Incutshe A skilled person.
Unskilled person :	Iqobola, Iqhitala, I-athalala, Igangxa An unskilled person.
Experienced person :	Umakhwekhwethe, Ingcaphephe, Igqala An expert.
Clumsy person :	Iqhitala, Itatasholo An unskilled and a clumsy person.

7.5.9 Synonyms denoting wealth / material possessions :

Poor person :	Ihlwempu, isilambi, Ijacu, Inikiniki, Idlavu. A poor man.
Rich person :	Isityebi, Isinhanha, isihandiba, Isinonophu A rich man.

7.5.10 Synonyms denoting human psychological features :

Good :	Isazi, Ingqondi, Inkcuba-buchopho A clever and intelligent person.
Bad ; Retarded :	Itemtem, I-athalala One who is retarded in growth.
Half-wit :	Intsina, Umhlahlavu One who is a half-wit.

Stupid :	Isiyatha, Isibhanxa, Isidenge, isihupepe, Isityhakala, Isimuncu, Uthwaxu, Inkamisa A very stupid person.
Foolish / mad :	Uthonqo, isibhanxa, Igeza A foolish or mad person.
Undecided / unreliable :	Isithingathinga, lwexuwexu, Usithubeni One who is undecided and unreliable.

7.5.11 Synonyms denoting good behaviour of a human being :

Brave :	Ikroti, Ikhalipha, Igorha, Iqhaji A brave person.
Gentle :	Inene, Uchwenene, Itsolo, Isigcodolo A neat gentleman.
Good :	Ilunga, Ilungisa, Isilulami, Ithamba A meek person.
Kind :	Ububele, Ubuntu, Ubundlezane Kindness

7.5.12 Synonyms denoting bad behaviour of man :

Troublesome :	Isibhovubhovu, Idlophantyapha, Isibhoxi, isibhongobhiyane, Isijamankungwini A troublesome and a provocative person.
Deceitful :	Irhumsha, Umaqhingashe, Uthsothsi, Itshivela, udyakalash A cheater / crook

Cunning : **Iqokolo, Iqhophololo, Urheme, Irhoboqwane**
An expert in cheating other people.

Quick-tempered : **Isiqhwaga, Isirhalarhume, Isijamankungwini**
A person who quickly becomes angry and likes to fight.

Tempestuous : **Uqhwangu, Isibhovubhovu**
A violent person.

Cruel : **Isikhohlakali, Isirhalarhume**
A fierce wrathful man.

7.5.13 Synonyms denoting bad habits :

Dirty ; **Iqathalala, Ixelegu, Ixumbululu, iqaqasholo**
An untidy person.

Disgusting : **Isikizi, Inyundululu**
Something disgraceful.

7.5.14 Synonyms denoting prominency :

Prominent : **Ingangamsha, Inganga, Ingangalala, Isikhakhamela**
A man of a high position / a prominent man

7.5.15 Artifacts

Synonyms denoting the following artifacts which are used for various purposes:

Household : These artifacts include the following items used within the household:

Imela, Isitshetshe

Knife

Ifadukhwe, Isisuli-zitya

Dish cloth

Icephe, Igxebeka

Spoon

Ukhuko, Isandlalo

Sleeping mat

Imbiza, ungxawu

Pot

Ifatyi, Umphongolo

Cask

Ingobezi, Umnyazi

Woven basket

Ityesi, Ibhokisi

Box

Umphanda, Ingqayi

Clay pot

Isibane, Isikhanyiso

Lamp

Iketile, Itipoti

Kettle

Ifalokhwe, Incula

Fork – for eating

Ibhotile, Imbondlela

Bottle

Isitya, isikotile

Dish

Garden : These artifacts include tools / equipment used in the garden:

Ikhuba, Ipuluwa

Plough

Irhengqe, Isekile

Sickle

Izembe, isixengxe

Axe

Ierhe, Isiqwakanisi

Harrow

I

Ikhuba, Igaba

Hoe

peki, Igaba

Hoe

Music ; These artifacts are for producing music and they include the following musical instruments :

Ixilongo, Isigodlo

Bugle

Ipiyano, Uhadi

Piano

Inkinge, Umrhubhe, Ifidyoli

Fiddle

Building: These artifacts refer to buildings and all that constitutes a building :

Intsika, Umqadi,

A cross-beam of a hut

Indlu, Isakhiwo

Building

Icawa, Ityalike

Church, temple

Uphahla, Intungo

Roof

Inyango, Ikoyi, Uvimba

Granary

Igumbi, Ikameli

Room

Ucango, Umnyango

Door

Itshimili, Ikosteni

Chimney

Vehicle : These types of artifacts refer to the means of transport :

ilori, Isigadla

Lorry

Ibhasi, Uduladula

Bus

Isithuthi, Inqwelo-mafutha

Vehicle

Inqwelo-moya, Umashini wakuphapha

Aeroplane

Uphephela, Inqwebo-ntaka

Helicopter

Inqanawa, Isikhephe

Ship

Uloliwe, Itreni

Train

7.5.16 Possession, Property

Synonyms denoting possession or property :

Impahla, Imfuyo

Livestock

Clothes

Umzi, Ikhaya

Home

Isambatho, Ingubo

Garment

Izivatho, Izambatho

Clothes

Ityeya, Ifenishala

Furniture

Impahla, Izinxibo**Ipeni, Idobilityi**

Penny

7.5.17 Food

Synonyms denoting food are classified into the following groups :

Food (**ukutya**) ;

Umkhupha, Isigezanga

Mealie bread

Isidudu, Ipapa

Porridge

Itshizi, Isonka samasi

Cheese

Umngqusho, Isitampu

Samp

Isonka, Ilofu

Bread

Isonkana, Iqebengwana, Ikeki

Cake

Intoxicating liquids :

Igrangqa, Ibranti

Brandy

Umqombothi, Umabilebanda

Sorghum beer

Utywala, Udlomdlayo

Liquor

Non-intoxicating liquids :

Isiselo, Idrinki

Cool drink

Ubisi, Intusi, Amasi

Milk

7.5.18 Body parts

Synonyms denoting body parts:

Unyawo, Inqina

Foot

Isifuba, Ugaga

Breast

Umqolo, Umhlana

Back

Ubhontsi, Usithupha

Thumb

Umqola, Intamo

Throat

iligxa, Igxalaba, Isiphanga

Shoulder

Iphaplu, Umphunga

Lung

Udakada, Ubende

Spleen

Umbala, Imbande

Shin bone

Idolo, ilive

Knee cap

Umsila, Itshoba

Tail

Intshebe, lindevu

Beard

Ibele, Ingono

Nipple of the breast

Inkaba, Uggongo

Navel

A protruding navel is called “**uggongo**”**7.5.19 Professional**

Synonyms denoting profession:

Utitshala, Ititshala, umfundisi-ntsapho

Teacher

Umcuphi, Untamnani

Detective

Umongikazi, inesi

Nurse

Umbelekisi, Umzalisikazi

Mid-wife

Igqwetha, Umthetheli

Lawyer

Umfundisi, Umaneli

Minister of religion

Umakhi, Umeselani

Builder

Umqabi, Umzobi

Artist

Ichule, Ingcaphephe

An expert

7.5.20 **Plants**

Synonyms denoting the following groups of plants :

Domestic : There are synonyms denoting the following plants for domestic use :

Umbona, Utiya

Mealies

Iphitshi, Ipesika

Peach

Amazimba, Amabele

Sorghum

Intongomane, Inqoba

Monkey-nut

Ithanga, Iphuzi

Pumpkin

Wild : There are synonyms denoting the following wild plants :

Isityalo, Isilimo

Crop

Intsangu, Umya

Dagga / Cannabis

Umxoxozi, Ivatala

Water melon

Umhlaba, Ikhala

Aloe

Imfe, Izele

Sugar – cane

Ingca, Utyani

Grass

Umoba, Imfe

Sugar cane

Umfuno, Ihlamvu

Herb

7.5.21 **Animals**

Synonyms denoting animals are classified into the following groups :

Domestic : There are synonyms denoting the following domestic animals :

Inkuku, Ityiphu

Fowl

Ibhokhwe, Imbuzi

Goat

Igusha, Imvu

Sheep

Irhanisi, ilowe

Goose

Itakane, Ixhwane

Lamb

Imbongolo, Idonki

Donki

Ithole, Ukonyana

Calf

ihagu, Ingulube

Pig

Wild carnivore : There are synonyms denoting the following carnivorous animals :

Ingonyama, Ibhubesi

Lion

Ingcuka, Ixhwili

Hyena

Ingada, Imbodla

Wild cat

Udyakalashe, Impungutye

Jackal

Impala, Imbodla

Wild cat

Wild herbivore : There are synonyms denoting the following wild herbivorous animals:

Umvundla, Intenetya

Hare

Flying: There are synonyms denoting the following flying animals :

Inkuku, Ityiphu

Fowl

Isikhova, Isihulukulu

Owl

Irhanisi, Ilowe

Goose

Unonqane, Unogqazy

Grass warbler

Inkonjane, Ihlankomo

Swallow

Ilulwane, Intaka-mpuku

Bat

Animal : water: There are synonyms denoting the following aquatic animals :

Isabonkalo, Unojubalaza

Tad pole

Umhegane, Ipalanga

Eel

Ixoxo, Isele

Frog

Animal : insects : There are synonyms denoting the following insects :

Intakumba, Idzedze

Flea

Imbovane, Intubi

Ant

Ibhabhathane, Ibhadi

Butterfly

Umkhaza, Ikhhalane

Tick

Ilivingane, Inundu

Clothes moth

7.5.22 Acts, action

Game and sport ; The following are the synonyms denoting game and sport :

Umbalekiso, iathilethiki

Athletics

Isoka, Ibhola ekhatywayo

Soccer

Umthambo, Idrili

Physical training

Umdlalo, Umboniso

Play

umjuxuzo, Ukujayiva

Jiving

7.5.23 States

Illness: The following synonyms denote the following states of illness:

Imofu, Umbefu

Asthma

Icesika, Ifiva

Fever

Ukhwekhwe, Ijininda

Scab

Imasisi, Injinana

Measles

Isithuthwane, Idumbe

Epilepsy

Ukhutyo, Ithwabe

Hiccough

Utyatyazo, Uhambiseko, Urhudo

Cholera

Isifo senuphynga, Isifo sephepha

TB

Incilikithi, Isiyezi

Dizziness

Umkhuhlane, Ingqele

Cold

Isicaphucaphu, Izothe

Nauseousness

7.5.24 Event

The following synonyms denote events:

Ulilo, Isikhalo

Crying

Intshabalaliso, Imbubhiso

Destruction

Ifandesi, Intengiso

Sale

Isiganeko, Isehleko

Happening

Uleqo, Ugqatso

Racing

Unyulo, Ukhetho

Election

Ukucula, Ukuvuma

Singing

Ikhonsathi, Umnyhadala womculo

Concert

Ukusebenza, Ukuxelenga

Working

7.5.25 Society

language, culture : The following synonyms denote language and culture :

Language :

IsiTaliyane, IsiLatini

Latin

IsiNgesi, IsiLungu

English language

Culture:

Ingcibi, Umalusi

Circumciser

IsiBhulu, iAfrikansi

Afrikaans

Izibhaco, Imibhaco

Xhosa women's tradition attire

Umdudo, Umtyhulubo

A traditional dance for marriage

Isuthu, Ibhuma, Ithonto

A hut for the circumcised lads

Umdudo, Umtshato wesiNtu

Customary marriage

Ukojisa, Ukosisa

A custom of slaughtering goats for the circumcised lads on the eighth day after circumcision.

Umathulantabeni, umvakocango

A goat or beast slaughtered for the bride's party / **Uduli**

Ileqe, Ugqatso

A custom of chasing oxen

Umngqungu, Inkubabelongwe

A girl who remains with the bride for some days when the bride's party . **uduli** returns home.

Inkomo yamabhayi, Inkomo yokuthavala

A beast paid for incest

Usosuthu, Umnini-suthu

The head lad

Amachaza, Amadikazi

Unmarried female parents

Ukushwama, Ukugcumla

Celebration for the eating of the first fruit of the year.

7.5.26 Communication

Synonyms denoting the following forms of communication :

Talking:

Unxibelelwano, Unxulumano

Communication

ingxoxo, Impikiswano

Argument

Ubukholwane, Ubudlelwane

Intimacy

Ukuncokola, Ukuthetha

Talking

Umyalezo, Ilizwi, Udaba

Message

Narrative :

Iletu, Incwadi

Letter

Intsomi, Imbali

Folk-tale

Umbongo, Isicengcelezo

Poem / recitation

Imbali , Intshumayelo

Narration

Report:

Amarhe, Umingimngi

Rumors

Ingxelo, Isaziso

Report

Umbiko, Umphanga

Report about one's death

Intlebendwane, ukujinda

Gossiping

Advice :

Icebo, Iqhinga

Plan

Icebiso, Isilumkiso

Warning

Ukucebisa, Ukuvusa

Advising, Alerting

Umyalelo, Ilizwi

Order

Complaint :

isikhalazo, Isikrokro

Complaint, dissatisfaction

Inkcaso, Ulwalo

Objection / refusal

7.5.27 Feeling

There are synonyms denoting the following types of feelings:

Good feelings :

Incasa, Isongo

Taste

Isisa, Ububele

Generosity

Umonde, Inzondelelo

Patience

Isihelegu, ilishwa, Ishwangusha

Misfortune

Ulonwabo, Uvuyo, Imihlali

Happiness

Uthiyo, Inzondo

Hatred

Ulangazelelo, Uthakazeleleo

Desire

Uloyika, Ukunkwantya

Fear

Inceba, Imfesane

Compassion

Ixhala, Uloyiko

Worry

Bad feelings:

Isithukuthezi, Umvandedwa

Loneliness

Umsindo, Ugcwamevu

Anger

Ingxaki, Inkohla

Problem

7.2.28 Cognition

The following synonyms denote cognition :

Inggondo, Ubukrele-krele bengqondo

Mind, intellect

Inginga, Uluvo

Thought

Ulwazi, Amava

Knowledge

7.5.29 Partitives

In Xhosa synonymous partitives are used to express quantity:

Umhlambi weenkomo, Iqela leenkomo

A herd of cattle

Intlaninge yabantu, Inkitha yabantu

A group of people

Iggiza labantu, Isihlwele sabantu

A group of many people

7.5.30 Time, Place

The following synonyms denote time and place :

Time:

Isifingo, umso

Dawn

Ixesha, ithuba

Time, period

Urhatya, Ungcwalazi

Evening

Mandulo, Ntlandlolo

Olden time

Intsana, Umso

Morning

Imini emaqanda, Imini enkulu

Midday

Place :

eMonti, KwaGompo

East London

eBhayi, eMambozana, ePort Elizabeth

Port Elizabeth

Ekapa, eCape Town

Cape Town

eThekwini, eMdubane, eDurban

Durban

EGcuwa, eButterworth

Butterworth

EXorha, eElliotdale

Elliotdale

7.6 HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL RELATIONS

A horizontal relation is a type of relation where persons are equal in status. On the other hand a vertical relation is a type of relation where persons are not equal in status. This type of relation is characterized by two features [- dependent] and [+ dependent].

7.6.1 Horizontal Relation

The relation that exists between the following persons is a horizontal relation because there is no link between them such as marriage:

[- dependent]

Indoda (man)**Abafana** (young men)**Ixhego** (old man)**Inkwenkwe** (boy)

[- dependent]

Umfazi (woman)**Iintombi** (girls)**Ixhegokazi** (old woman)**Intombazana** (young girl)

The noun **indoda** (man) may refer to any man in the community, street, who has nothing to do with “**umfazi**” (woman). The nouns “**abafana**” (young men) and “**iintombi**” (girls) may refer to any person in the society, who has nothing to do with each other. The same applies to nouns “**ixhego**” (old man) and “**ixhegokazi**” (old woman), “**inkwenkwe**” (boy) and “**intombazana**” (young girl).

7.6.2 Vertical relation

The type of relation which exists between the following persons is a vertical relation because they are married though in 7.6.1 above it was a horizontal relation, and is characterized by two features of [- dependent] and [+ dependent] :

[- dependent]

Indoda**Umfana****Ixhego**

[+ dependent]

Umfazi (man, woman)**Intombi** (young man, girl)**Ixhegokazi** (old man, old woman)

Once **Umfazi** (woman) becomes a dependent of **indoda** (man) through marriage, the type of relation, which exists between them, is a vertical relation, and the same applies to **umfana** (young man) and **intombi** (girl), **ixhego** (old man) and **ixhegokazi** (old woman).

7.7 NO DEPENDENCY

With the following persons there is neither dependency nor relation. Each person is just independent:

Ummelwane	(neighbour)
Umhlobo	(friend)
Umntu	(person)
Umhambi	(traveller)
Umbhali	(writer)
Umqhubi	(driver)

In the above examples **ummelwane** (neighbour) is an independent person who has nothing to do with **umhlobo** (friend). The same applies to the nouns **umntu** (person) and **umhambi** (traveller), **umbhali** (writer) and **umqhubi** (driver).

7.8 SUMMARY

Xhosa relational nouns show equality as well as inequality in status amongst the people. Equality as well as inequality in status are determined by the type of relations that exist amongst the people.

Synonyms and antonyms, which fall under relational nouns, are characterized by horizontal relations with no dependency.

Again synonyms and antonyms can be classified into groups according to lexical semantics or according to their characteristic grammatical behaviours.

Xhosa relational nouns are classified into kinship terms and non-kinship terms.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 1 briefly describes the aim of this thesis. An outline of the aspects that are to be dealt with in the thesis is given.

In chapter 2 the importance of marriage which forms the basis of a kinship structure in a Xhosa society is stressed.

In chapter 3, 4, 5 and 6 the various values of kinship have received attention: Lineage, Collaterally, In-laws

In chapter 7 the issue of relational nouns has received attention. Relational nouns have been divided into kinship terms and non-kinship terms.

When dealing with kinship terms and non-kinship terms, the following forms of relation have been identified as the common situations in the life of a man :

- ❖ Vertical relations of dependency, i.e. a situation where persons are not equal in status. One of the two persons is a dependent of the other.
- ❖ Horizontal relations with no dependency, i.e. a situation where persons are equal in status, and none of them are a dependent of the other.
- ❖ Horizontal and vertical relations, i.e. a situation where persons are equal in status, e.g. a woman and a man who are not married, and a situation where persons are not equal in status, e.g. a man and woman who are a married couple. The woman becomes the dependent of the man.
- ❖ No dependency, i.e. a situation where there is neither dependency nor relation between persons.

In chapter 7 synonyms and antonyms have been classified according to lexical semantics or according to their characteristic grammatical behaviours.

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