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.

SIGNATURE

DATE
Relational nouns are dependent on one another in terms of how they themselves denote e.g. brother and neigbour 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 [± sibling] and hierarchical relations with two distingualising semantic features: [± dependent] and [± 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.
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 relasionale naamwoorde in Xhosa behandel word. Die studie het gefokus op horisontale verhoudings met 'n semantiese kenmerk van [± verwantskap] en hiërargiese verhoudings met twee onderskeie semantiese kenmerke: [±afhanklik] en [± 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.
I am greatly indebted to Professor JA du Plessis, my supervisor, for his guidance and encouragement during the course of this study. Prof du Plessis sacrificed part of his leisure time in order to help me to complete this thesis. I gained much from his expert knowledge of African languages. To him I say “Ungadinwa nangomso”

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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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[G + 3]} & \quad \square \quad (1) \\
\text{[G + 2]} & \quad \Delta \quad = \quad \bigcirc \quad (3) \\
\text{[G + 1]} & \quad \square \quad \Delta \quad = \quad \bigcirc \quad (5) \\
\text{[G 0]} & \quad \Delta \quad \square \quad \bigcirc \quad (6)
\end{align*}
\]
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 \([ G \ 0 ]\).

2) Sex: the symbol \([ C \ ]\) refers to a neutral term which may be male or female e.g. EGO is indicated as \([ C \ ]\). The other two symbols refer to a male \([ A \ ]\) and to a female \([ O \ ]\).

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive forms</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utatomkhulu (my / our grandfather)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyikhomkhulu (your grandfather)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyisemkhulu (his / her grandfather)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umakhulu (my / our grandmother)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unyokokhulu (your grandmother)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uninakhulu (his / her grandmother)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive forms</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utata (my / our father)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyikho (your father)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uyise (his / her father)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umama (my / our mother)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unyoko (your mother)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unina (his / her mother)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 fathers'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 0)

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. Igam 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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Umsa + [ kwa + ithu ]</th>
<th>Umsakwethu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Umsa + kwethu</td>
<td>Umsakwethu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>My younger sister</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Umsa + kwethu</th>
<th>Umsakwethu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>My younger sister</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Umnakwethu
Noun + possessive:

\[ \text{[Um} + \text{kwa} + \text{ithu }] > \text{Umnakwethu} \]

\[ My \ brother \]

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”:

\[ \text{kwa} + \text{ithu} > \text{kwethu} \]

Usisophakathi
Noun + relative:

\[ \text{Usis(i)} + \text{ophakathi} > \text{Usisophakathi} \]

\[ My \ middle \ sister \]

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.

Usisophakathi
Noun + adjective

\[ \text{Usis(l)} + \text{omdala} > \text{Usisomdala} \]

\[ My \ elder \ sister \]

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 nокuba 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 "usisi" 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.*

**Iqibelo / 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.
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**

![Diagram of collateral descent]

**Explanation of terms**

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

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

Ut(a) + ophakathi $\rightarrow$ 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) Udale + uabawo > udadobawo
   My father's sister

(ii) Udale + uabawo > udabawo
   My father's sister

(iii) Udale + utata > udatata
   My father's sister
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:

\[
\text{Uda(de)} + (u)bawo > \quad \text{udabawo}
\]

\[
\text{My father's sister}
\]

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".

\[
\text{Uda(de)} + (u)tata > \quad \text{udatata}
\]

\[
\text{My father's sister}
\]

**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

| Utata | Utatomdala | Utatophakathi | Utatomncinci | Udadobawo |

MNA
(EGO)

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Umakazi</td>
<td>My aunt / my mother’s sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unyokokazi</td>
<td>(Your mother’s sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uninakazi</td>
<td>(His / her mother’s sister)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:**

![Family Tree Diagram]

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, umninaw and udade:

Umkhuluwa : Lo ngumfana ozalwa ngumfo waboata omdala kunam.

(This is my elder brother born of my father’s brother)

Umninawa : Lo ngumfana ozalwa ngumfo waboata 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 waboata nokuba ingakanani na.

(This is my brother born of my father’s brother, irrespective of age)

Udade: Le yintombi ezalwa ngumfo waboata 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 waboata 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:

Utata

Utatomncinci / utatophakathi / utatomdala

MNA

1. Umsakwethu
2. Udadewethu

Umnakwethu

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 intombokwazi
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 intombokwazi
ozalwa ngudadobawo.
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:

- MNA
- Umfowethu
  - Umntwana
  - Intombi
  - Unyana

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" (netphews, 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**

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  MNA
```

```
  O        △
  /\        |
 O  Umtshana  umtshana
```

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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:

\[ \text{\triangle} \, \text{Umkhwe} \quad = \quad \circ \, \text{Umkhwekazi} \]
\[ \text{\triangle} \quad = \quad \circ \, \text{Unkosikazi} \quad \circ \, \text{Umlanya} \quad \circ \, \text{Umlanyakazi} \quad \square \, \text{Usibali} \]
Umkhwe : Le yindoda enditshate intombi yayo.
(This is the man whose daughter I have married (my father-in-law)

Umkhwekazi : Lo ngunina wenkosikazi yam.
(This is my wife’s mother (my mother-in-law)

Unkosikazi : Lo ngumfazi enditshate naye.
(This is the woman to whom I am married.
(My own wife)

Umlanya : Lo ngunakwabo nkosikazi yam.
(This is my wife’s brother. My brother-in-law)

Umlanyakazi : Lo ngudadewabo nkosikazi wam.
(This is my wife’s sister.)

Usibali : Le yintombi okanye umfana enditshate udade wabo.
(This is my sister-in-law / my brother-in-law)

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun + gender suffix:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Umlanya + kazi &gt; Umlanyakazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My sister-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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)
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 konyeni 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 ]
[ + kinship ]
[ + dependent ]

a. Umzali (parent)
   Umntwana (child)

b. Ubawo (father)
   Unyana (son)

c. Indoda (man)
   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 | [ + dependent ]
-Ugqirha (doctor) | *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 | [ + dependent ]
-Inqununu (principal) | 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 ]

Umongameli / ipresidenti (president) Inkumbuso (prime minister)

+ dependent 

Umphathiswa (minister)

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

7.2.2.8 Traditional politics

[ - dependent ]

Ikumkani / ingotya
(king / paramount chief)

[ + dependent ]

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 ]

Umhlalingaphambili / Usositulo
(Chairperson)

[ + dependent ]

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.
7.2.10 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.

7.2.11 Municipality

[ - dependent ]

Usodolaphu (mayor)

[ + dependent ]

Unobhala (town clerk)

Amalungu (members of the town council)

Abahlali (town dwellers)

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

7.2.12 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”
"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 / u gxibha / ingxwayi – ngxwayi
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 - Uzwathi
*A badly stature person / body misshapen

Colour
Antonyms denoting oppositeness of colour:

Ikrebhe krebhe - Umthsunyela
*A beautiful light complexioned woman

Appearance
Antonyms denoting oppositeness of appearance:

Itso / uchwenene - Ixavu / ixaxavithi
*A well dressed neat man An untidily dressed man

Physical advantaged / disadvantaged persons
Antonyms denoting physically advantaged or disadvantaged persons:

Umqethengu - Umlwelwe
*A healthy person A cripple / an invalid

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

[ + adult ] [ - adult ]
Indoda Umfana
*A man A young man
Umfana Inkwenkwe
*A young man A boy
Intombi Intombazana
*An old girl A young girl
Iqina / Igqala
A middle-aged man

Umfana / Ityenyana
A young man

Ixhego / Impobole
An old man

Umfana / Ityenyana
A young man

Ixhegwazana
An old woman

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 / idlophanyapha
A troublesome person who is ever violent

Ilunga / Ilulama / llungisa
A meek person

Uqhwangu
A violent person

Ithamba
A meek person
**Habits**

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of habits:

**Itsolo / Uchwenene**
A neat well dressed person

**Isizizi / Inyundululu**
A disgrace

**Ivliza / Iuthwaxu**
A lazy person

**Inxila / Indlamanzi**
A drunkard

**Isirhovu / Irhawabangana**
A gluttonous man

**Irhethurhethu**
A talkative person

**Ithasafathsafa / Umchithachithi**
A wasteful person

**Ixelagu / Ithaxalala**
An untidy person

**Iqathalala / Ixelegu**
A dirty and clumsily dressed person

**Ubunyulu / Ubumsulwa**
Chastity

**Umkhuthali / Isikhuthali**
A diligent person

**Ingcathu**
A sober man

**Inono / Ihomba**
A neat person

**Inxila / Indiamanzi**
A drunkard

**Isirhovu / Irhawabangana**
A gluttonous man

**Irhethurhethu**
A talkative person

**Ithasafathsafa / Umchithachithi**
A wasteful person

**Ixelagu / Ithaxalala**
An untidy person

**Ubunyulu / Ubumsulwa**
Chastity

**Umkhuthali / Isikhuthali**
A diligent person

**Ingcathu**
A sober man

**Inono / Ihomba**
A neat person

**Skills**

Antonyms denoting oppositeness of human skills / talents:

**Iggala / 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

**Uliilo**
Crying

**Ukuhlala**
To be idle

**Ukuthula**
Quietness
7.4.3 Communication

Talking
Antonyms denoting oppositeness in communication:

Unxibelelwano  Uqhabalako
Communication  Disunity

Impikiswano  Isivumelwano
Argument  Agreement

Incoko  Ukuthula
Talk  Silence

Report
Antonyms denoting oppositeness of report:

Amarhe  Ubunyaniso
Rumour  Truth

Advice
Antonyms denoting oppositeness in advising:

Icebiso  Ukulahlekisa
Advice  Misleading

Complaint
Antonyms denoting opposites of complaint:

Isikhalazo  Ukwaneliseka
Complaint  Satisfaction
Inkcaso  Ukuvuma
Objection  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*

- **Intsasa**
  - *Morning*

- **Ubusuku**
  - *Night*

- **Ubusika**
  - *Winter*

- **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:

- **Indoda**
  - *Man*

- **Umfazi**
  - *Woman*

- **Umfana**
  - *A young man*

- **Intombi**
  - *A girl*
Utata
My father

Inkwenkwe
A boy

A.
[ + male ]
[ - kinship ]
Indoda
Man
Umfana
Young man

B.
[ + male ]
[ - kinship ]
[ - azana ]
Ixhego
An old man

C.
[ - male ]
[ - kinship ]
[ - kazi ]
Utitshala
A male teacher

Umama
My mother

Intombazana
A young girl

Umfazi
Woman

Intombi
Girl

Ixhewazana
An old woman

Iqhajazana
A bold woman

Ihlwentshazana
A poor woman

Igagwazana
A bold and a talkative woman

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

D.
[ + male ]
[ + kinship ]
Utatomkhulu
My grandfather

Utata
My father

Unyana
Son

Ubawo
My father

Animals
[ + male ]

Umqhagi
Cock

Inkunzi
A bull

Inja
Dog

Umhlobokazi
A female friend

Umfundisikazi
A Minister's wife

Ixhegokazi
An old woman

Umongikazi
A female nurse

UmXhosakazi
A Xhosa woman

Ikrotikazi
A heroine

[ - male ]
[ + kinship ]
Umakhulu
My grandmother

Umanca
My mother

Intombi
Daughter

Udadobawo
My father's sister

[ - male ]

Isikhukukazi
Hen

Imazi
A cow

Injakazi
A bitch
Wealth
Antonyms denoting oppositeness in wealth / material possessions:

Ihlwempu / Isilambi
Ijacu / Ildavu
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) andigorha (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 / U gxibha, 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**:

Isiqu shumba, Umagumede, Usambuntsuntsu, Imbishimbishi.

A bid 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, Isiqu shulu.

A stout and a badly built bodied man.
Emaciated: \text{Uqhova, Irhoqorhoqo.}\phantom{a} An emaciated person.

Dwarf: \text{isithwenya, Uhili, Unusakatyana ingqithi}\phantom{a} A very short man.

Thin: \text{Iqathalala, ingceke-ngceke}\phantom{a} A thin man.

7.5.2 \textbf{Synonyms denoting physically disadvantaged persons:}

Cripple: \text{Isilima, isidalwa, imbedlenge}\phantom{a} A cripple.

Blind: \text{Imfama, Impumputhela}\phantom{a} A blind man.

7.5.3 \textbf{Synonyms denoting body parts:}

Protruding eyes: \text{uqhumehlo, Uphuhlumehlo}\phantom{a} A man with big protruding eyes.

Bushy beard: \text{Usamfumfu, Usigxabhayi}\phantom{a} A man with a bushy beard.

7.5.4 \textbf{Synonyms denoting body position:}

Misshaped: \text{Iqhombonqa, Indada, Unomasele}\phantom{a} A person with a body misshape.

7.5.5 \textbf{Synonyms denoting colour:}

Pitch-black: \text{Umthsunyela, Umthsumnyama}\phantom{a} A pitch-black person.
### Synonyms denoting appearance:

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

### Synonyms denoting age as a human physical feature:

**Old aged man:**  
*Inkathavu, inkothovu, Intothololo, Impuphusi, Impobole, Inkonde, Ingwevu, lxhego, 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, iltyendyana, Igatyana*  
A young man.

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

**Very young age:**  
*Usana, Imveku, Imvambilini*  
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, udyakalashe
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, Ixumbulu,
- 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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 1</th>
<th>Item 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imela, Isitshetshe</td>
<td>Ifadukhwe, Isisuli-zitya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>Dish cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Icephe, Igxebeka</td>
<td>Ukhuko, Isandlalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoon</td>
<td>Sleeping mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imbiza, ungxawu</td>
<td>Ifatyi, Umphongolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>Cask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingobezi, Umnyazi</td>
<td>Ityesi, Ibhokisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woven basket</td>
<td>Box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umphanda, Ingqayi</td>
<td>Isibane, Isikhanyiso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay pot</td>
<td>Lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iketile, Itipoti</td>
<td>Ifalokhwe, Incula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kettle</td>
<td>Fork – for eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibhotile, Imbondlela</td>
<td>Isitya, isikotile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Dish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 1</th>
<th>Item 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ikhuba, Ipuluwa</td>
<td>Irhengqe, Isekile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plough</td>
<td>Sickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izembe, isixengxe</td>
<td>Ierhe, Isiqwakanisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axe</td>
<td>Harrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikhuba, Igaba</td>
<td>peki, Igaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoe</td>
<td>Hoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, Indlu, Isakhiwo
A cross-beam of a hut Building

Icawa, Ityalike Uphahla, Intungo
Church, temple Roof

Inyango, Ikoyi, Uvimba Igumbi, Ikameli
Granary Room

Ucango, Umnyango Itshimili, Ikosteni
Door 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

Isambatho, Ingubo
Garment

Umzi, Ikhaya
Home

Ityeya, Ifenishala
Furniture

Izivatho, Izambatho
Clothes

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, Udломdlayo
Liquor

Non-intoxicating liquids:

Isonka, Ilofu
Bread

Isonkana, Iqebengwana, Ikeki
Cake

7.5.18 Body parts

Synonyms denoting body parts:

Unyawo, Inqina
Foot

Umqola, Intamo
Throat

Isifuba, Ugaga
Breast

iligxa, Igxalaba, Isiphanga
Shoulder

Umqolo, Umhlana
Back

Iphaplu, Umphunga
Lung

Ubhontsi, Usithupha
Thumb

Udakada, Ubende
Spleen
Umbala, Imbande
Shin bone

Umsila, Itshoba
Tail

Ibele, Ingono
Nipple of the breast

Idolo, iilive
Knee cap

Intshebe, lindevu
Beard

Inkaba, Ugqongo
Navel

A protruding navel is called “ugqongo”

7.5.19 Professional

Synonyms denoting profession:

Utitshala, Ititshala, umfundisi-ntsapho
Teacher

Umcuphi, Untamnani
Detective

Umongikazi, inesi
Nurse

Umbeleksi, Umzalisikazi
Mid-wife

Igwetha, 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

**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, lhankomo
Swallow

Ilulwane, Intaka-mpuku
Bat

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

Isabonkalo, Uno jubalaza
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, Ikhalane
Tick

Ivivingane, 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

**Ukwhekhwe, Ijininda**
Scab

**Isithuthwane, Idumbe**
Epilepsy

**Utyatyazo, Uhambiseko, Urhudo**
Cholera

**Incilikithi, Isiyezi**
Dizziness
7.5.24 **Event**
The following synonyms denote events:

**Ulilo, Isikhalo**  
Crying

**Intshabalaliso, Imbubhiso**  
Destruction

**Ifandesi, Intengiso**  
Sale

**Isiganeko, Isehleko**  
Happening

**Uleqo, Uqqatso**  
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

**Ingcibi, Umalusi**  
Culture:

**IsiBhulu, iAfrikansi**  
Afrikaans

**Circumciser**
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.

Umthulantabeni, 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 yokuthavalala
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:

ingxoxo, Impikiswa
Argument

Uxibelelwano, Unxulumano
Communication

UBukholwane, Ubudlelwane
Intimacy

Umyalezo, Ilizwi, Udaba
Message
Narrative:

Iletu, Incwadi
Letter

Intsomi, Imbali
Folk-tale

Umbongo, Isicengcelezo
Poem / recitation

Imbali, Intshumayelo
Narration

Report:

Amarhe, Umingimini
Rumors

Ingxelo, Isaziso
Report

Umbiko, Umphanga
Report about one's death

Advice:

Intlebendwane, ukujinda
Gossiping

Icebo, Iqhinga
Plan

Icebiso, Isilumkiso
Warning

Ukucebisa, Ukuvusa
Advising, Alerting

Umyalelo, Ilizwi
Order

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 

Ulonwabo, Uvuyo, Imihlali  
Happiness 

Ulangazelelo, Uthakazeleleo  
Desire 

Inceba, Imfesane  
Compassion 

Bad feelings: 

Umsindo, Ugcwamevu  
Anger 

Uthiyo, Inzondo  
Hatred 

Uloyika, Ukunkwantya  
Fear 

Ixhala, Uloyiko  
Worry 

Isithukuthezi, Umvandedwa  
Loneliness 

Insxaki, Inkohla  
Problem 

7.2.28  
**Cognition** 
The following synonyms denote cognition: 

Ingqondo, Ubukrele-krele bengqondo  
Mind, intellect 

Ingcinga, 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

**Igqiza labantu, Isihlwele sabantu**
A group of many people

7.5.30 Time, Place

The following synonyms denote time and place:

**Time:**

- Isifingo, umso
  - Dawn
- Urhatya, Ungcwalazi
  - Evening
- Intsana, Umso
  - Morning

**Place:**

- eMonti, KwaGompo
  - East London
- Ekapa, eCape Town
  - Cape Town
- eBhayi, eMambozana, ePort Elizabeth
  - Port Elizabeth
- eThekwini, eMdubane, eDurban
  - Durban
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)
Lintombi (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 “lintombi” (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), “inkwenkwel” (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 ]:
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 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.


