FORMS OF ADDRESS IN TSHIVENDA

BY

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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Stellenbosch.

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis 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.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the use of address form in **Tshivenda**. Chapter one concentrates on aims of study, data collection and the organisation of study.

Chapter two concentrates on various studies which deal with forms of address in different communities. They introduce forms of address as a routine between people who are embedded in the socio-cultural context of society.

Chapter three deals with the informal use of forms of address. This includes names, pronouns and kinship terms. Different names deal with **Tshivenda** names and Non-**Tshivenda** names, and the way they are used in different context as a form of address. The controversial use of a pronoun as a form of address is also taken into account as well as kinship terms as a form of address in family where forms are applied in informal situation. [Where the place is unstructured and they are applied in the traditional way.]

Chapter four investigates the formal use of address in a structured situation, this covers titles, occupations, special address forms and innovations. Titles are used in a more structured situation. They show social rank or official position such as Doctors, Professors etc. Occupational terms are connected with a person's job. These are terms like nurses, teachers etc. The special forms of address are used in certain occasions where the sender uses an unpopular form of address, uses new techniques and they are practised by elite class, who tries to change the status quo.

Chapter five gives the main conclusions of the thesis.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die gebruik van aanspreekvorme in **Tshivenda**. Hoofstuk een konsentreer op die doelstellings van die studie, die versameling van data en die organisasie van die studie.

Hoofstuk twee konsentreer op verskillende studies wat handel oor aanspreekvorme in verskillende gemeenskappe. Hulle sluit in aanspreekvorme soos gewoonlik gebruik tussen mense wat vas gewortel is in die sosio-kulturele konteks van die gemeenskap.

Hoofstuk drie handel oor die gebruik van informele aanspreekvorme. Dit sluit in name, voornaamwoorde en verwantskapsterme. Dit sluit in Venda en nie-Venda name in verskillende kontekste. Die gebruik van 'n voornaamwoord in aanspreekvorme word ook belangrik geag sowel as verwantskapsterme in familie waar vorme gebruik word in informele situasie.

Hoofstuk vier ondersoek die formele gebruik van aanspreekvorme in 'n strukturele situasie. Die sluit in titel, beroepe, spesiale vorme en innovasie. Titels word gebruik in 'n strukturele situasie. Hulle verwys na sosiale posisie of amptelike posisie soos dokters, professors ens. Die spesiale vorme word gebruik in omstandighede waar die sender die ongewone vorm gebruik vir die ontvanger. Innovatiewe vorme gebruik nuwe tegnieke en hulle word beoefen deur die hoër klas, wat probeer om die status quo te verander.

Hoofstuk vyf gee die bevindinge van die tesis.

ABSTRACT IN TSHIVENDA

Ili linwalo li khou todisisa kushumisele kwa ndila dza theshano kha Tshivenda. Ndima ya u ranga yo lavhelesa ndivho ya lino linwalwa. Ndima ya vhuvhili yo lavhelesa ngudo dzo fhambanaho dzo sedzaho ndila dza theshano kha tshakha dzo fhambanaho. Ndila idzi dza theshano dzi shumiswa nga munwe na munwe u bva tsikoni zwi tshi kwama matshilisano na mvelele ya lushaka. Ndima ya vhuraru i ri disela ndila ya theshano ine ya sa vhe fomala. Iyi i katela madzina, masala na madzina a vhushaka. Madzina hu katelwa a Tshivenda na a si a Tshivenda na kushumisele kwao kha vhudavhidzani ho fhambananaho. Kushumisele kwa masala sa inwe ndila ya u reshana na kone kwo dzhielwa ntha kathihi na madzina a vhushaka sa ndila ya u reshana mutani. Ndima ya vhuraru i todisisa theshano ya fomala. Hu katelwa thaithiki, madzina a tevhelaho mushumo wa muthu, theshano ya tshipentshala ho sedzwa fhethu, na theshano-tshandukiso. Thaithili i shumiswa nga maandesa kha fhethu ha fomala, yone i sumbedza maimo a vhaofisiri sa Dokotela, Muphurofesa na manwe-vho. Madzina a tshimbilelanaho na mushumo une muthu a shuma wone; sa nese, mudededzi na manwe-vho.

Theshano ya tshipenshala i shumiswa fhethu hu songo doweleaho hune muambi a shumisa theshano i songo doweleaho. Theshano-tshandukiso yone i shumiswa nga vhadivhalea, lune vhalala vha a amba uri vhaswa vha khou lingedza u shandukisa nyimele ya zwithu.

Ndila ya vhutanu ndi mvalatswinga ya lino linwalwa.

NDIVHUHO

Ndi tama u losha vhothe vho mvulelaho mahothi na u sa mphelela mbilu musi ndi tshi vha dalela nga dzimbudziso dzo fhambanaho, nda sa vhuye fhedzi. Vha nthula kha u talatadza uyu mushumo we wa vha u tshi nga thavha ya Mamutshire nga u hula. Lino linwalwa ndi tshiga tsha tsumbandila kha "**Bana Ba Thari Bolokang Bokwena".**

Ndi dovha nde soni kha vhaundi vhanga, munna-wa-vhane Vho-Matloga Gumani Samson na Vho-Matloga Maphakola Lydia.

Ndi vala nga u rwa zwanda, nda livhuwa ndau, lone livhanda Ralebona Malegu Elisabeth ene mme a vhananga Thabo, Nanna,Sukey na Sammy. Ndi ri ndi mishumo yanu ye ya nnea nungo dza u shuma na vhathu nga vhuthu.

Ndaa

(v)

NRF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my cordial thanks to my study leader, Prof.J.A.du Plessis, without whose expert supervision this study would not have been a reality. To him I say: **"Vha songo laṱa".**

Secondly, my heartfelt thanks go to Doctor Marianna Visser who encouraged me during the study of this thesis. To her I say: **"A vha ḓali, vha ḓala vha a tevhuwa".**

I am most grateful to my colleagues at David Luvhimba Secondary School who helped me with the ideas. In particular I would also like to acknowledge the support and help of the following persons: Mr Joseph Rannenyene, B.A(UNIN); Dr. Kaizer Rankhododo, PhD(Stell); Mr Nakampe Mashapa B.A(UNIN) and Malatjie Jerry Madumetsa. To them I say: **"Munwe muthihi a u ṱusi mathuthu"**

Fourthly, my thanks go to Mr Aaron Molefe, who ably typed the entire thesis.

Last, but not least, a special thank to my family; a wife, two daughters and four sons, and my mother who encouraged me to continue with the study during those moments of despair.

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Chapter 3: Informal address form

Chapter 4: Formal address form

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   AIM

The problem that will be investigated in this study is concerned with the issue of address forms in **Tshivenda**. In a preliminary study for this thesis, the literature indicates a clear multidisciplinary approach to the research on address forms in languages of the world. These address forms were studied from the viewpoints of **socio-linguistics**(Oyetade 1995,McGivney 1993, Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Ford 1964), the viewpoint of **linguistics** (Brown 1988, Dickey 1997), the viewpoint of **communication** (Fitch 1991), as well as the viewpoint of **culture** (Farghan and Shakir 1994, Radcliffe-Brown 1971). The aims of this study will include an investigation of the following question: how address forms are expressed in Tshivenda. A clear distinction will be drawn in the investigation of this problem between formal and informal address forms.

A second aim of the study is concerned with the **meaning of words**. The study will examine the relationship between the use of **names** and **other words in address** and in **reference**. The issue in question is concerned with: how the way that speaker A addresses B differs from the way that A refers to B and what the factors are that affect this difference, i.e. how does one extrapolate from referential to address usage and vice versa. There may thus be no close connection between the social meaning of a word when used as an address and the literal meaning of that word.

A third aim of the study is to explore the problem of power and solidarity in address forms. The question addresses how far the use of certain address forms reflect power over another in the degree that she is able to control the behaviour of the other. Power is a relationship between at least two persons that is non-reciprocal. Some address forms may have developed within this power relationship, especially towards a person of superior power. On the other hand, solidarity will be examined in address forms as a possible means of differentiating address among power equals.

In the last place, the study aims to investigate the issue of social honorifics in address forms. Relational social honorifics comprise i.a addressee honorifics, because people are concerned and sensitive about encoding social honorifics when the notion of face is involved in a dyadic interaction.

1.2   APPROACH

As is evident from the problem statement outlined above, that address forms can be studied within a range of theoretical frameworks. This study on address forms will only be concerned with the **lexical semantics** (Pustejovsky 1966) and **the pragmatics** of address forms. Within pragmatics the focus will be on the theory of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1978) where the issue of face has been the question of a considerable amount of research. This issue is specifically pertinent in the treatment of power and solidarity in address forms.

1.3   ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter 1 presents the introduction with an overview of the aims of the study.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of address forms.

Chapter 3 examines informal address forms in Tshivenda which include pronouns, names and kinship terms.

Chapter 4 investigates formal address forms in Tshivenda concerning titles, occupations, address forms dictated by specific situational contexts and possible innovations in address forms.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusions of the study.

1.4   DATA

The data for the study will be collected from consultants in Tshivenda within framework of chapter 3 and 4 above. These different address forms will then be analysed within the methods of lexical semantics and the theory of politeness, while taking into account the various aims of the study as given above.

1.5   SIGNIFICANCE

Address forms have not as yet been studied for any African language in South Africa. This study will constitute an example of how such studies can be undertaken and, specifically, it may form the basis of possible comparative studies on this subject in the African languages. It may also assist in developing and refining the theoretical framework on which this study is based and provide a novel way of examining address forms because **Tshivenda** is known as a language in which certain forms are extensively used to convey a sense of politeness e.g. the third person plural **vha** to refer to the second person address.

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CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE ON ADDRESS FORMS

2.1   BROWN AND GILLMAN (1960)

Brown and Gilman (1960:253) observe that pronouns have close association with two dimensions fundamental to the analysis of all social life. The two dimensions are of power and solidarity. The meaning and stylistic evaluation of address forms takes one into the study of literature, psychology, sociology as well as linguistics.

Brown and Gilman(1960) divided their article into five major sections, namely:

1. The general semantic origin of T and V.

2. Contemporary differences among French, Italian and German.

3. Semantics, social structure and ideology.

4. Group style with the pronouns of address.

5. The pronouns of address as expressions of transient attitudes.

The first three are concerned with the semantics of the pronouns of address. Semantics means the inclusion of pronoun used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee. The last two are concerned with the expressive style by which we mean covariation between the pronoun used and the characteristics of the person speaking. Gilman and Brown(254) state that the development of the European two singular pronouns of address begin with the Latin (**tu**) and (**vos**) and become: Italian `tu` and `voi` (with **lei** eventually displacing `voi`);French `tu` and `vous` Spanish `tu and `vos`.  German started with `du` and `Ihr` but `Ihr` was replaced by `er` and later `sie`; English speaker first used 'tho' and 'ye' and later replaced `ye` with `you`.  Symbols T and V are used (from Latin `tu` and `vos`) as generic designators for familiar and a polite pronoun in any language.

2.1.1 The general semantic evolution of T and V

Gilman and Brown (255) state that historically in Latin there was only `tu` in the singular and plural `vos` as a form of address to one person was first imposed on the emperor.

Nevertheless there are several theories about how this may have originated. By the fourth century there were two emperors called the Eastern one in Constantinople and Western one in Rome. Both emperors were addressed in plurality which was `vos`. The emperor was regarded as the honourable person and a mouthpiece or representative of their people. The `vos` as plural was also extended to the nobilities and the parents. The two researchers, namely, Brown and Gilman (1960) proposed two social factors of address forms, namely; power and solidarity.

<u>Power semantic</u>

Brown and Gilman (255) define power as a relationship between at least two persons. Power is non-reciprocal or asymmetrical in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area. Power is attached to seniority or authority or superiority of one interlocutor over another. The senior says T and receives V. Power is based on social factors such as age, gender, rank, physical strength, the institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army and within the family.

i)   (a)   age   =   elders   (b)   sex   =   husband

                           V ↑ | T   V ↑ | T

                           Youth   Wife
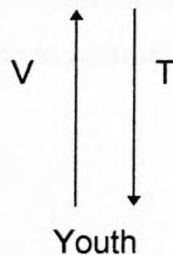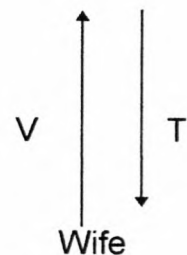
        (c)   rank   =   employer   (d)   wealth   =   rich/nobility

                           V ↑ | T   V ↑ | T

                           employee   poor/slave

6.

T

(e)   family   =   parents

V | T

children

(f)   physical strength   =   strong

V

weak
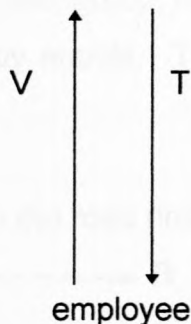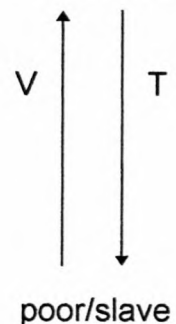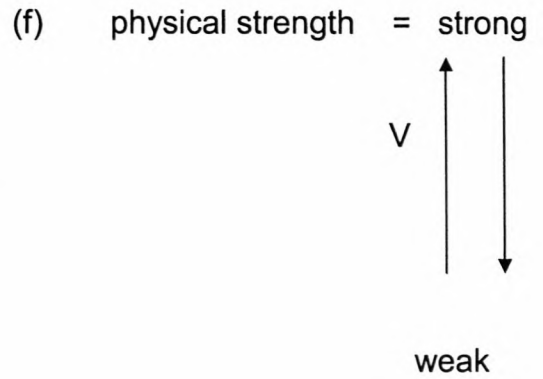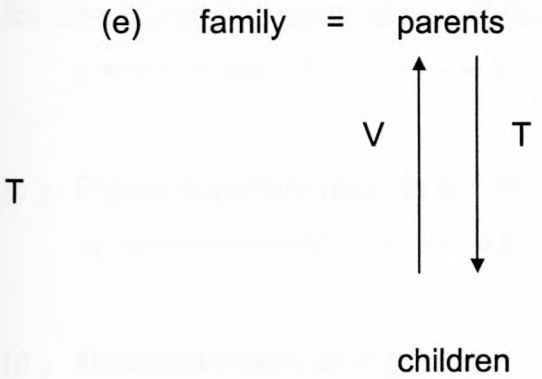
Medieval European societies (256) were not clearly structured. There were also norms of address for persons having equal power and the address was reciprocal. A person gives and receives the same form. Equals of the upper-classes exchanged V and equals among lower classes exchange T.

(a) equals of upper-classes

A
V
B

(b) equals of lower-classes.

A
T
B

There was no rule differentiating address among equals at first, but a distinction developed later on which is sometimes called the T of intimacy and the V of formality.

The Solidarity Semantic

Gilman and Brown (258) postulate that solidarity is a general relationship and it is symmetrical or reciprocal. Solidarity is used among power equals such as social class, religion, political party, peer group, family, sex and birth place. The two pronouns T and V are used in solidarity by equals. T is used by persons of immediate intimacy and V is used for formality; e.g.

(a) Old friends meet on the road (intimacy)

A ⟵——— T ———⟶ B
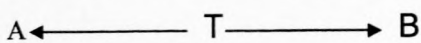
(b) Structured gathering at school (formality)

A ←————— T ————→ B
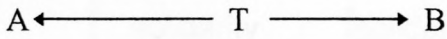
(c) Power superiors may be solidarity (258) (between parents)

A ←————— V ————→ B
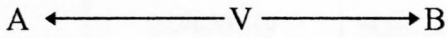
(d) Between elders sibling

A ←————— V ————→ B
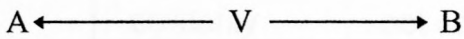
(e)   Not solidarity (between Inspector and a teacher)

(officials whom one seldom sees)

V

A ←——————————————→ B

T
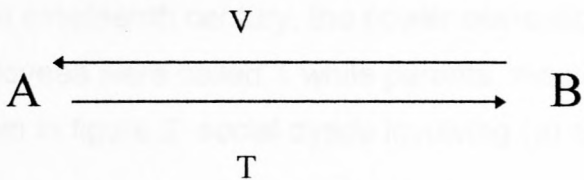
The following figures (a) and (b) show the two dimensional semantic (a) in equilibrium and
(b) under tension:
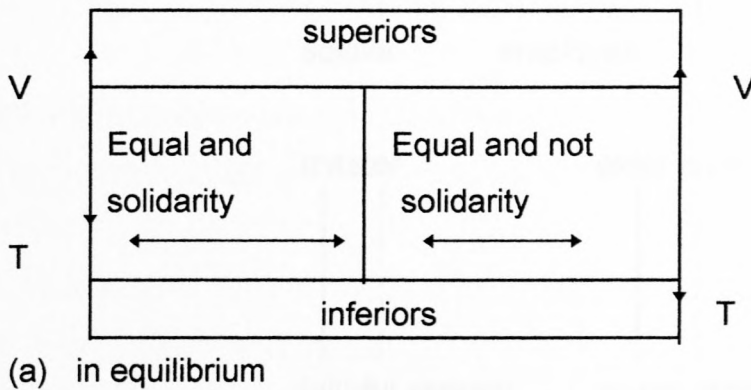
(a)   in equilibrium

The upper left, power indicates V and solidarity T.
For the lower right, power indicates T and solidarity V.

superior and solidarity	superior and not solidarity
Equal and solidarity ⟷ T	Equal and not solidarity ⟷ V
inferior and solidarity	Inferior and not solidarity
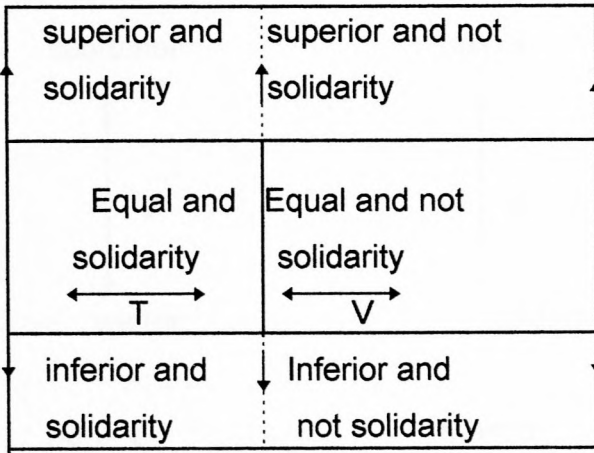
(b)   under tension

Figure 1. The two-dimensional semantic (a) in equilibrium and (b) under tension

In the nineteenth century, the power semantic prevailed and waiters, common soldiers and employees were called T while parents, masters and elder brothers were called V. This is shown in figure 2: social dyads involving (a) semantic conflict and (b) their resolution e.g.

customer   officer   employer

T V V   T V   V   T V V

waiter   soldier   employee

parent   master   elder brother

son   faithful servant   young brother

(a)

customer	officer	employer
↑	↑	↑
V	V	V
↓	↓	↓
waiter	soldier	employee

parent	master	elder brother
↑	↑	↑
T	T	T
↓	↓	↓
son	faithful servant	young brother
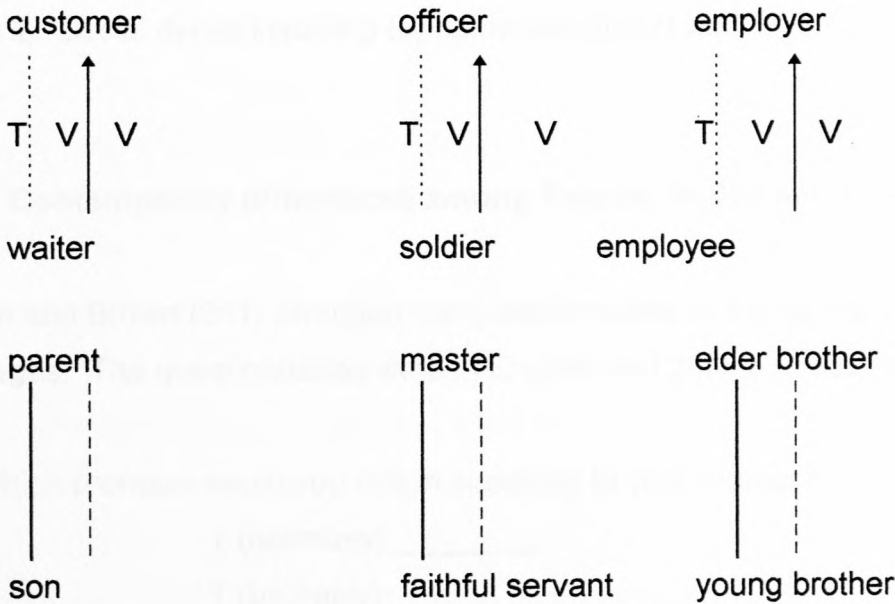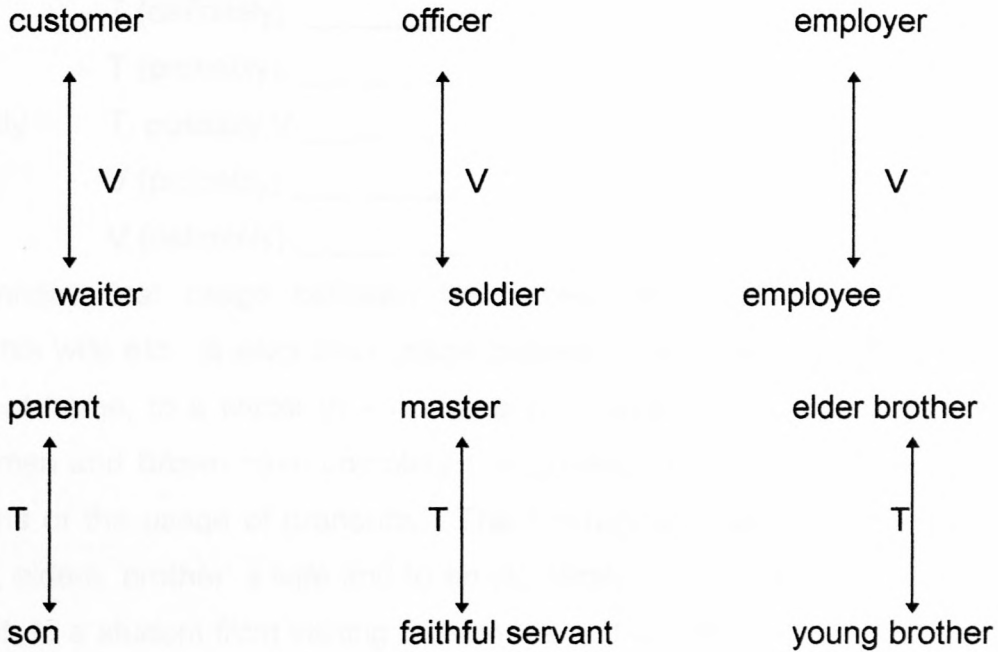
(b)

Figure 2. Social dyads involving (a) semantic conflict and (b) their resolution

2.1.2 Contemporary differences among French, Italian and German

Gilman and Brown (261) arranged the questionnaires to the native speaker of the three languages. The questionnaires were in English and 28 in number, e.g.

(a) Which pronoun would you use in speaking to your mother?

                 T (definitely) _____

                 T (probably) _____

   possibly   T, possibly V_____

                 V (probably) _____

                 V (definitely) _____

(b) Which would she use in speaking to you?

                    T (definitely) _____

                    T (probably) _____

possibly   T, possibly V _____

                    V (probably) _____

                    V (definitely) _____

The questionnaire test usage between the subject and his mother, his father, his grandfather, his wife etc. It asks also usage between the subject and fellow students at university or at home, to a waiter in a restaurant, between clerks in an office and fellow soldiers. Gilman and Brown have completed responses from 50 Frenchmen,20 Germans and 11 Italians of the usage of pronouns. The findings are that Germans say T to their grandfathers, elders, brother`s wife and to an old family servant. French say T to a male, fellow student, to a student from visiting in America and to a fellow clerk. Italians say T to a male fellow student, student from home visiting in America. Italians are very fond of using T than French and Germans. German T is used as solidarity of family relationship while French T is used as solidarity to some sort of shared fate. The Italian T is nearly used equal to the German in the family. In conclusion, there is a very abstract rule governing T and V which is the same for French, German and Italian. This rule governing the T and V is reciprocal that German attach family membership as the important attribute while French and Italians attach more weight to an acquired characteristic.

2.1.3 Semantic, social structure and ideology

Gilman and Brown(264) state that a historical study of the pronouns of address unlocks a set of semantic and social psychological correspondences. Gilman and Brown further state that the asymmetrical power semantic is distributed by birth right and is not much redistribution. The Italian pronoun **Lei** which displayed the older **voi** was firstly an abbreviation for ' **la vostra signoria**', 'your lordship' and in Spanish, **'vuestra Merced'** 'your grace' became the reverential '**usted**'.

In France, the non-reciprocal power semantic was favoured until the Revolution. After Revolution, the use of V was condemned meanwhile promoting the use of T as a universal reciprocal. In October 1973, Malbec made a speech against V. The T as a revolutionary pronoun became known e.g.

(a) V $\rightleftharpoons$ T become T $\longleftrightarrow$ T

On the other hand the European says T and requires V from the African and this was a humiliating custom to the African. In 1957, Robert Lacoste, the French minister staying in Algeria urged his people to avoid the practice of using V to the European e.g.

(b) European V $\rightleftarrows$ T African changed T $\longleftrightarrow$ T

Fox in his article argued that T to one and V to many is the normal and logical form of address in all languages e.g.

(c) Single $\xrightarrow{\quad V \quad}$ many

(d) Single $\xleftrightarrow{\quad T \quad}$ single

In South Africa, **Afrikaans** speakers state eight non-reciprocal power distinctions. These distinctions were used between **Afrikaans**-speaking (white) and the group of 'coloured' and 'blacks'. **Afrikaners** use T, while coloureds and blacks use neither T nor V e.g.

(e) Coloured: Meneer, kan ek `n koppie tee kry asseblief?
Master, can I have a cup of tea please?

(f) Black: My baas, kan ek `n geleentheid kry?
My boss, can I get a lift?

(g) Black: Miesies,kan ek `n brood vra?

Mistress, I am asking for bread.

Power distinctions were associated with racial segregation law in which non-whites were subject to humiliation. In India, the Gujerati and Hindu languages were very fond of using the non-reciprocal T and V between elder and younger brother and between husband and wife. Presently, the use of V is deteriorating while the progressive young Indian exchanges mutual T with his wife, e.g.

(h) Husband   V ⟵————→ T wife presently changed to

Husband T ⟵————→ wife
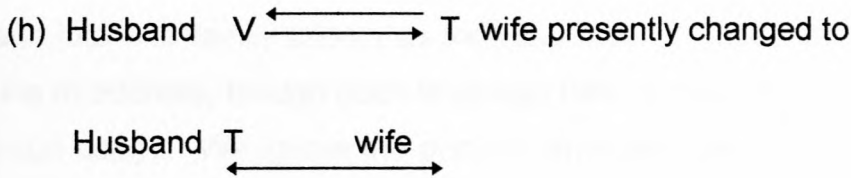
In addition of pronouns as address terms, there is the use of proper names and titles. Proper names and titles still operate today on non-reciprocal power pattern in America, Europe and Africa. The father calls his son by name but he is not expecting
the reciprocal.

	Father	son	
(i) John ↑	Teacher	student ↑	Mr
	Employer	employee	
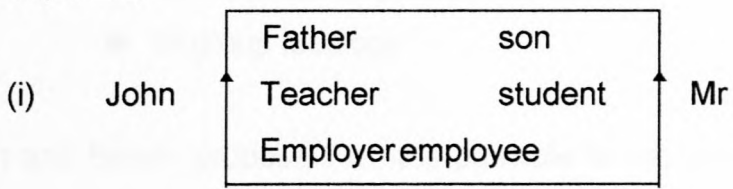
Power semantic is the order of the day.

The difference of power is all over in every society. Power can be expressed in the use of pronouns and by the choice of title. When people are face to face, they may avoid the use of names or title or surname and choose to use the relevant pronoun.

(j) Mr Smill: How are [you] my friend?

Prof. Danda: I am fine, thanks. How are [you]?

We are concerned about the meaning of address forms, their use in relationship together with their set of ideas attached to specific address form whether it is reciprocity or non-reciprocity.

2.1.4 Group style with the pronouns of address

Gilman and Brown (269) state that different styles are different ways of "doing the same thing" and their identification waits on some designation of the range of performances to be regarded as the "same thing". Gilman and Brown further state that the identification of style is relative to the identification of some constancy. Linguistics group English, French and Latin into one family known as Indo-European. These languages have two singular pronouns of address, though each language has an individual phonetic and semantic style in pronoun usage. We ignore the photetic style and use the generic T and V. Linguistic styles cover the characteristics of the performers. The interpretations of style must be statements:

- about communities of speakers
- of national character
- about social structure
- of group ideology

Gilman and Brown propose that it is possible to set constancy at the level of a particular language like English or French rather than a level of family language (Indo-European). In these languages there are variations in style and the usage of pronouns which may be accompanied by social status of the speaker. V is used to the nobility and its diffusion downward was always interpreted as a mark of good breeding.

2.1.5 The pronouns of address as expressions of transient attitudes

Gilman and Brown (273-276) propose that the choice of pronoun is recognized as normal for a group. Its interpretation is simply to the membership of the speaker in that group. This implies to a membership group which is often, very important and suggests a kind of

family life, level of education and a set of political ideas/views. The family life, level of education and a set of political ideas, are the features which determine actions over a long time. The use of pronouns of address in a static style by person does not determine the speaker's unique character, however, it can place one in one or another large category. The choice of a pronoun clearly breaks a group norm and perhaps the customary practice of the speaker. The variations of two speaker's attitudes are caused by their variations of address forms. If two men exchange the V of the upper class and the other gives T, this suggests that the other is inferior and this kind of difference expresses a short feeling or attitude. There are two great semantic dimensions governing T and V and they have also two primary kinds of expressive meaning. Therefore breaking the standard of power means that the speaker considered an addressee as his inferior, superior or equal, e.g.

(k) inferior
    superior or
    equal

$$A \xleftrightarrow[\quad T \quad]{\quad V \quad} B$$
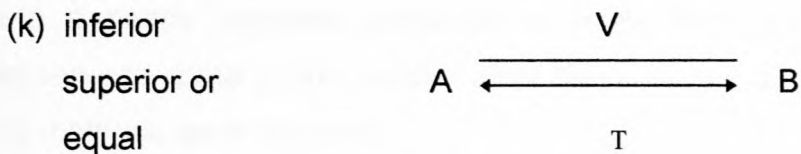
According to the speaker's own customary usage, the addressee is not what the pronoun implies. The breaking of the norms of solidarity means that the speaker thinks of the other as an outsider or as an intimate and sympathy is withdrawn or extended. Previously the use of T indicates contempt or anger and the V indicates admiration or respect. Gilman and Brown in the study of French pronouns finds that in the literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the power semantic had a primary factor in France, Granada and Italy. During that time, saying T when V is expected, the speaker treats the addressee like a servant or as child, e.g. Shakespeare.

(l) Caesor: Et tu, Brute?

Another usage of pronoun is of Racine in his drama. He used pronouns with perfect semantic consistency. V may be exchanged by the upper-class or equals, while lovers, brothers and sisters and husband and wife, none of them say T if he is of high rank.

Each high rank person has a sub-ordinate confidante to whom he says T and from whom he receives V. This pronouns show that there is pure non-reciprocal power semantic.

2.2   BROWN AND FORD (1964)

According to Brown and Ford (1964:234), when a person speaks to another, the choice of linguistic patterns is determined by the relation between interlocutors (the speakers and the addressees). The primary option in American English is the selection between the use of the first name (FN) and the title with the last name (TLN). Their use is not predictable from properties of the dyad only but also to the properties of the addressee and of the speaker. Besides FN and TLN, there are kinship terms of address, namely; dad, mom, sister, son, uncle, aunt which are also relational language. In American English, proper names constitute a nearly universal language of relationship and the semantic dimensions involved serve to relate to one another all of the members of the society. To prove this the following methods were observed.

2.2.1 Method

Materials

Brown and Ford (1964) gather four kinds of data about the address terms usage:

1. Usage in modern American plays: Thirty eight plays written by American authors have been observed. These American plays show the true norms of address and it is possible to check one writer against another. However, there are other kinds of data to catch possible inaccurancies in this set.

2. Actual usage in the Boston Business firm: For example, a man in a firm investigates linguistic address from his fellow workers. Address terms for 214 different dyads in which 82 different people are involved either as speakers or addressees.

3. Report usage of business executives: Each year of Alfred P Sloan Fellows were nominated. Those were business executives between 30 and 38 years of age. Those Sloan fellows were nominated by their respective employers to study for one year at the institute. Sloan fellows were used as informants and represented different parts of the country. Each man was requested to write down the full names and positions of four persons whom he was familiar with at his place of business. His selection includes one person equal to himself in the hierarchy with whom he was on close terms, one person equal to himself with whom he was on distant or formal terms, one person superior to himself in the organisation hierarchy and one person sub-ordinate to himself in the hierarchy. Each informant was asked to write down how he would customarily speak in greeting that person for the first time each day.

4. Recorded usage in Midwest: Observatives were made on 56 children in Midwest town and 56 children in Yoredale, England and matched to those in Midwest by sex and age. The findings were recorded and the materials we primarily concerned with a grammatical analysis of the kinds of 'mands' addressed to children.

Procedure

Record of address was done for each of the 38 plays, together with an identification of speaker and addressee and the method of study was a sort of controlled action (235). About one-third of the plays were first examined in an effort to discover rules that would summarize all of the instances of address they contained. The findings were then tested against a second set of plays and underwent some revision. The revised rules proved adequate to the description of all instances of address in a third and final set of plays. Additional data from a business firm, from Sloan fellows as well as from the Midwest records were used as supplementary checks on the rules experienced from the plays and also to test several particular suggestions based on known facts.

Major patterns of address

When one considers only the FN and TLN, there are three logically possible dyadic patterns, namely; reciprocal exchange of FN, the reciprocal exchange of TLN as well as the non-reciprocal pattern in which one person uses FN and receives TLN. Classifying these three classes: FN (e.g. Robert) familiar abbreviation (e.g. Rob), and diminutive forms (e.g. Robbie/Bobbie). First names (FN) in American English very seldom occur in full form (e.g. Robert, Gerald, Russel) they are either abbreviated (e.g. Bob, Gery, Russey) or diminutized (e.g. Bobbie, Gerrie, Russie). Female names are left unaltered. Titles include Mr, Mrs and Miss and occupational titles such as Dr, Senator, Major and so on.

Two reciprocal patterns

The majority of all dyads in the plays exchange FN (Mutual FN) and where the actual name is unknown, a generic first name is used, these include Mack, Jack, Joe, Buddy mostly used between taxi drivers. Mutual TLN is mostly found between newly introduced adults. The variation between the two forms is primarily determined by the degree of acquaintance and equality. FN and TLN are on a dimension that ranges from acquaintance to intimacy. The reciprocal FN between adults clearly indicates a much longer and closer acquaintance than it does in contemporary usage. This may be induced by shared values which may be derived from kinship, from identity of occupation, sex, nationality or from common fate or frequent contact. Reciprocal address has horizontal social relationship, e.g.

TLN $\longleftrightarrow$ TLN

or

FN $\longleftrightarrow$ FN
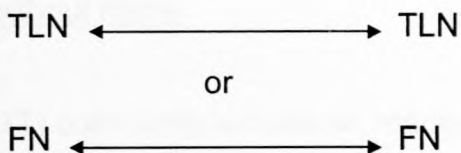
Non-reciprocal pattern

The non reciprocal pattern is asymmetrical, one says FN and receives TLN. Two kinds of relation can be observed, the first is a difference of age. Children say TLN to adults and

receive FN. The guaranteed variation is when the elder is 15 years older than the younger. The younger receives FN and gives TLN to his elder. The other is a difference of occupational status: the superior and the subordinate (e.g. master - servant, employer - employee). The superior says FN and receives TLN from the subordinate. The non-reciprocal form may be regarded as the vertical of social relationship.

<div align="center">

TLN

↑
|
|
|
|
↓

FN

</div>

Kinship terms of address in American English show a non-reciprocality of status. Members of ascending generations are commonly addressed with kinship titles (e.g. mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, uncle, aunt) and respond by calling their children, grandchildren, nephews and nieces by FN. Age and occupational status involved congruent variations on the two dimensions. Sometimes in the plays, the elder is an employee and the younger is an employer, the younger receives TLN and the elder receives FN: achieved personal attributes versus ascribed personal attributes. Occupation would prevail over age in the determination of deference.

2.2.2 Variant forms of address

<u>Title without name</u>

Titles (T) commonly include sir, madam, ma'am and miss. These forms are used like TLN, either reciprocally between new acquaintances or non-reciprocally by a person of lower class to a person of higher status. Title is a degree of less intimate and a degree more deferential than TLN. Title can be used reciprocally when the last name is not known. There is non-reciprocal military usage between ranks: the TLN may be used to

immediate superiors, whereas the T to remote colonels, generals, commanders and admirals though the name of these superior are well known. Ma'am is mostly used to mature women. School children in England use Miss to their teachers, whereas in Midwest, children use TLN.

Last name alone

Occasionally, last names are used where the FN has many syllables (polysyllabic) and has no familiar abbreviation. The last name is either a monosyltable or easily transformed into a monosyllable. Last name is a substitute for first name. Where the LN is not the usual form for an addressee it represents a degree of friendship greater than TLN but less than FN. In military usage, enlisted men receive the LN from officers when they are little acquainted, increased familiarity leads to the FN downward though not upward. Elders and professors begin letters to subordinates, colleagues whom they know fairly well: Dear Jones, Dear Jackson, Dear Johnson and the form is asymmetrical. The reciprocal LN is common between the newly appointed men until they become acquainted.

Multiple names

A speaker may use more than one form of the proper name for the same addressee sometimes saying TLN (e.g. Mr Johnson) or FN (e.g. Jack) or LN (e.g. Johnson) or NN (e.g. Jaggs) or sometimes creating phonetic variants of either FN (e.g. Jaciks), or NN (Jagglen). The use of MN in the plays suggests that this form represents a greater degree of friendship than the FN (for further information and tests, questionnaires, see 238).

A general system of address

Three major patterns shall be considered, namely; the mutual TLN, mutual FN and mutual T. The mutual TLN goes with distance or formality, the mutual FN with a slightly greater degree of friendship and the mutual T is an expression of increased friendship. In non-reciprocal address, the TLN is used to person of higher status and the FN to the person of lower status. One form expresses both distance and deference and the other form indicates both friendship and condescension. Between the two dyadic address patterns, there is a formally or logically possible alternative pattern. The pattern used mutually between friends could be used upward to superiors and the pattern used between distant acquaintances could be directed downward to subordinates. Indo-European languages particularly in French, the speaker chooses between two second person singular pronouns (2PS). The addressee may be addressed as **tu** or as **vous**, Germans use **du** and **sie**, Italians, **tu** and **lei**, and English of the past used **thou** and **ye** (see Brown and Gillman 1960). The fact is that these pronouns in all the languages studied follow the same abstract pattern as FN and TLN. T and V are used as generic designator for pronouns **tu**, or **du**, and **vous** or **sei** respectively. Mutual V is the form of address for adult `s new acquaintances; it begins where TLN begins and mutual T like mutual FN is an indication of increased friendship and is used by most Europeans. The non-reciprocal T & V was the form for those unequal in status with the superior receiving the V and the subordinate, the T. The non-reciprocal pattern in India to Scandinavia is the downward directed form which has been the intimate T and the upward directed the distant V. Lastly, we don't know whether this occurs in some non-Indo-European languages for example, the Japanese second person pronouns. However, the pattern applies to more than names, titles and pronouns (see 240). There is a general agreement or belief on the use of pronoun though they may differ in practice. The Sloan Fellows, invariable use the FN when greeting their business associates. These greetings include four classes of associates: equal and intimate, Equal and Distant, Superior and Subordinate (see 240). The three patterns: Two reciprocal patterns and non-reciprocal pattern can be considered by the following fig. of progressive model.

TLN

FN   TLN

FN

T

TLN   T

TLN

T = Title

TLN = Title plus last name

LN = Last name

FN = First name

MN = Multiple name

LN   TLN

LN

FN   LN

FN

MN   FN

MN
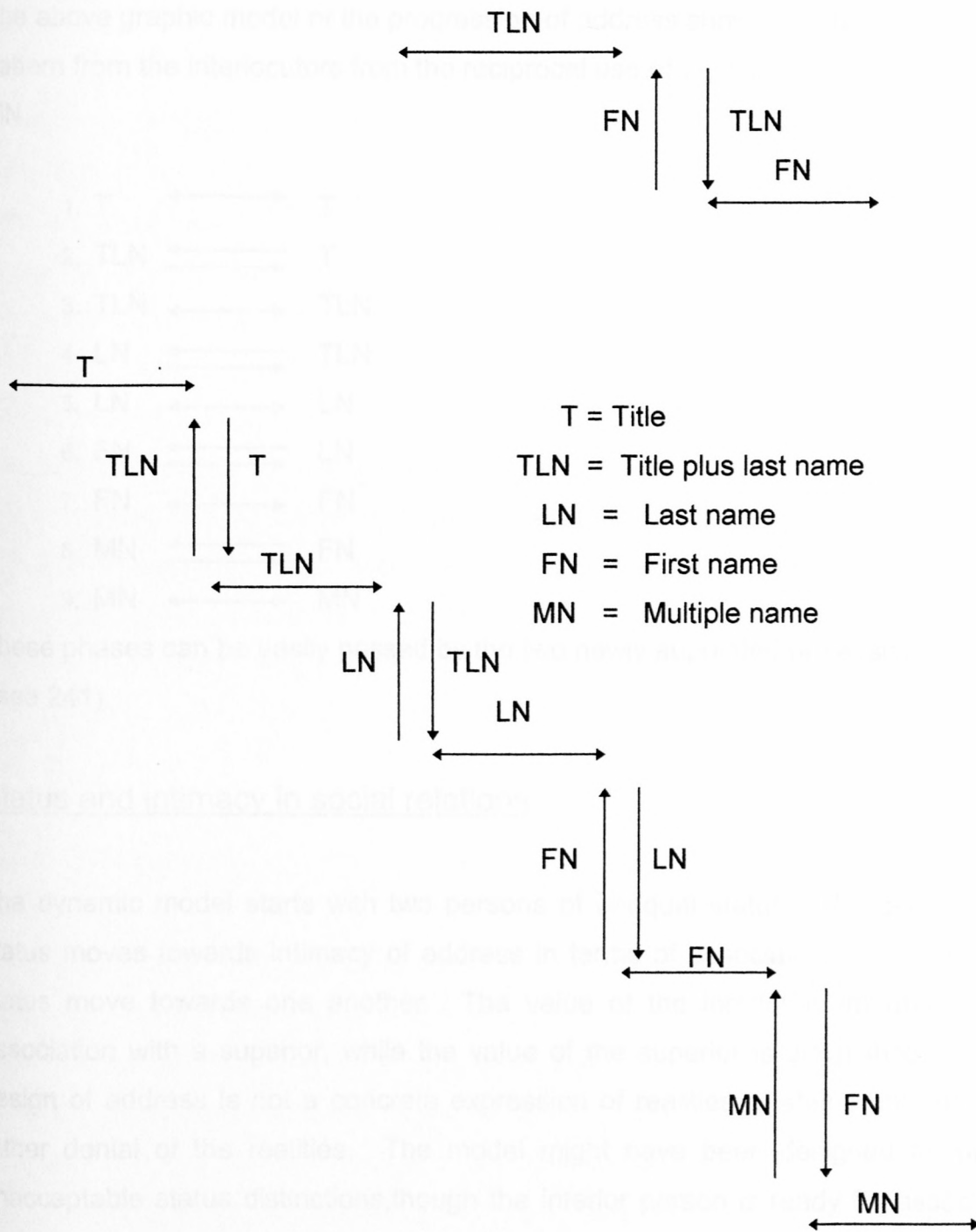
Figure 1

Graphic models of the progression of address

The above graphic model of the progression of address shows the dynamic of the address pattern from the interlocutors from the reciprocal use of the title to the reciprocal use of the MN.

1. T $\longleftrightarrow$ T
2. TLN $\Longleftarrow\Longrightarrow$ T
3. TLN $\longleftrightarrow$ TLN
4. LN $\Longleftarrow\Longrightarrow$ TLN
5. LN $\longleftrightarrow$ LN
6. FN $\Longleftarrow\Longrightarrow$ LN
7. FN $\longleftrightarrow$ FN
8. MN $\Longleftarrow\Longrightarrow$ FN
9. MN $\longleftrightarrow$ MN
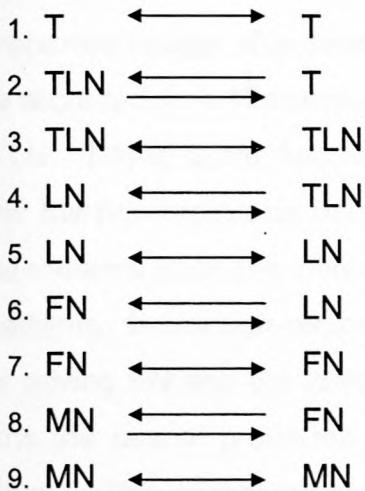
These phases can be easily passed by the two newly appointed professional employees. (see 241).

Status and intimacy in social relations

The dynamic model starts with two persons of unequal status. The person of superior status moves towards intimacy of address in terms of association. Persons of unequal status move towards one another. The value of the inferior is improved by intimate association with a superior, while the value of the superior is diminished. The abstract design of address is not a concrete expression of realities of status and intimacy but is rather denial of the realities. The model might have been designed to minimize the unacceptable status distinctions,though the inferior person is ready for association while the superior is not ready. The superior must be the pacesetter in progression to intimacy. The abstract patterns minimize the two dimensions: the horizontal of intimacy and the vertical of status. The Sloan Fellows who served as informants responded to two questions that concern non-linguistic moves toward intimacy. The question was answered with reference to each of the four persons listed by the informant: a superior, one a subordinate, one equal and Intimate, and one Equal and Distant (see243).

Summary

In American English, the semantic rules determining address are worked out from a varied collection of data that includes usage in American plays, actual usage in a Boston business firm, reported usage of business executives from various cities in the United States, and usage recorded in a Midwestern American town. The common address forms are the FN and TLN. These forms function in three sorts of dyadic pattern: the mutual TLN, mutual FN and the non-reciprocal use of TLN and FN. The semantic difference between the two Mutual patterns is on the intimacy dimension with Mutual FN being the more intimate of the two patterns. In the non-reciprocal pattern, a distinction is made in terms of status with the higher saying FN and the lower saying TLN. The practice of using the intimate form also governs the use of pronouns of address in many languages and in certain conventional greetings. The progression towards intimacy of unequal: the superior is always the pacesetter initiating new moves in that direction. The progression of address from acquaintance to friendship includes variant forms of address such as TLN and MN into the model.

2.3   FITCH (1991)

Fitch (1991: 254) tried to answer what kinds of resources and knowledge must be drawn upon for communication to take place. Fitch explained ten address terms in Colombian Spanish derived from the central term **madre** "mother". Fitch analyses both universal and cultural resources of address forms. Communication is a universal process which is culturally situated. Communication takes place in speech communities which differ in their social nature of persons and relationships between them. Fitch further states that communication practice is shaped and influenced by those who understand it. Ten forms of address terms **madre** (mother) are used by the Colombian in their daily talk. Fitch further proposes a model of personal address which points out linguistic feature. The model consists of four levels of balance between universal and cultural knowledge that convert language from literal to figurative meaning. The address term **madre** (mother) in

a Colombian culture ideology is described as tenderness, careness, strenthness, respectability as well as protection.

Previous Research and a Theory of Personal Address

Personal address terms are everywhere and reflect a universal communicative activity. Personal address performs a social function. Personal address covers interpersonal and social meanings and defines the relationship of the business organisation and academic departments. One of the earliest and arguable theory is that of Brown and Gillman who proposed the two dimensions of pronoun choice, namely; power and solidarity. Power is based on age, gender or rank while solidarity is on similarity of origin such as social class, religion and political party. According to the former theory address terms were based on age (distance in age between speaker and hearer), kinship relation, sex, status of hearer, history of relationship and topic. Cronkhite and Liska (1980) criticize the earliest studies of personal address due to fact that it was static, inherent to the speaker and separate entity from the topic, the situation and the enterests and goals of the listener. Deterministic theories state that when choice is made, it is influenced by age, gender as well as status of the speakers and hearers.

Metaphorical Dimensions of Personal Address

Native speakers, unlike linguistic analysts, recognize address terms as figurative rather than literal meaning. The Japanese adult **Takao** (257) addresses a small child who is a stranger as **"oniichan"** (elder brother). The child is smaller than the speaker and there is no biological connection and this theory would not be considered within Brown and Gilman's dimensions, namely; power and solidarity. Goffman (1974) draws the conclusion by making use of two frameworks which are primary and secondary. The primary framework means the literary meaning of the word while the secondary framework includes joking, deception, irony or metaphorical.

Fitch states that the view of Goffman is a meanness formulation of the universal status of figurative language with respect to culture-specific norms and values, but the connection (of Goffman's framework) is a positive step toward explaining how people recognize and interpret figurative speech.

A study of Mandre terms in Colombia

The article is aimed at cultural study of personal address rather than focusing on the demographic variables such as age, sex, and social class. The purpose of this essay is to investigate the meanings that are shared across those differences. Culture is seen as a system of beliefs, symbols and meanings. Culture is the gathering of ideas that answers global questions of what exists in the world, and why, for a particular group of people. Cultural meaning may be investigated by studying the cultural symbols. Fitch's study is divided into two phases, i.e. Phase I (gathering of primary data through interviews, observation and document analysis) and phase II (testing cultural themes through focus on group interviews).

PHASE I

PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Sampling plan and data categorization

Fitch (258) constructed a preliminary sampling framework to guide data collection based on background reading about modern Colombian society. Fitch specified many possible dimensions of settings, persons and roles that might affect personal address behaviour. Among these dimensions are included settings of work, play and family; regional background; same gender and cross-gender interaction; hierarchical status differences and equality; and length and depth of interpersonal relationship were included. These

data were categorized in three ways, namely; address terms, interpersonal actions performed through personal address and cultural premises indexed by personal address use. The data were collected in nine months of fieldwork in Bogota, the largest city and capital in Columbia, at school, a printing plant, a hospital, a free legal aid clinic, a family and couple counselling service.

Informants

Informants were interviewed about the usage of **Madre** terms. Several hours spent with informants. These informants were from diverse occupations, namely; one economist, one lawyer, one doorman etc. The average age of these informants were 36 years old. These informants represented all geographical regions of the country. There were nine males and five females. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed. Besides these interviews, about hundred documents were analyzed including newspapers, magazine articles, classroom materials, school buttetins, advertisements, letter of recommendation, professional newsletters, personal letters and several books written and published in Colombia were analysed.

Definition of Madre terms

It is found that address terms relating to the biological designation of **madre** (mother) occurs frequently. Fitch (259) focuses on **Madre** terms. Fitch states that they are a small set of closely related terms that take place in a daily talk. **Madre** is a subset which reflects on cultural and universal aspect, expressed literally as well as figuratively. **Madre** is based on female parent. **Madre** is the most formal, strictly biological term.

Mama is a small girl's approximation of **Madre**. From Mama and **Mandre** terms three variations are derived, namely:

- Diminutives (mamita, mami, mamacita, madrecita)
- Augmentative (mamasota)
- Addition of singular possessive pronoun (mi mama, mi mami, mi madre)

Mamita was used to a small girl by the teacher, e.g.

(1)   "Ven mamita, le hago el mono"

       (come here little mommy, I'll tie your bow)

'**Mamita**' was used as a common term of affection for little girls and one day she'll be a mother. We identified nine speech events selection by **madre** term.

Monstrar respeto: 'to show respect'.

Monstrar Carino: 'to show affection'.

Monstrar/crear confianza: 'to show or create trust'.

Pedir un Favor: ' to ask a favour'.

Conguetear: 'to throw verbal bouquets'.

Faltar respeto: 'to lack respect'.

Ser atrevido: 'to be daring/push'.

Ponerse Confianzudo: 'to get too chummy'.

Mentar la Madre: 'son of prostitute'.

Situated use and Interpretation of terms

In Colombia the usage of the address term **Madre** can be determined by the situation. Both male and female street vendors address female customers as **Madrecita**. The interaction of using **Madrecita** is to establish a friendly and trusting relation to both the seller and the buyer for persuation. Men use **mamicita** as a complimentary remark to young women who are unknown to them, its cultural interpretation is of high compliment. Three possibilities with one speech even, namely:

1. same speech event.
2. different speech event and
3. Protest for more favourable speech event (see Fitch (261) for more information.

Cultural Premises Embodied in Madre Term Use

Fitch (262) states that people arrange experience and beliefs into domains which are basically principle of ethnographic inquiry. By comparing and contrasting domains revealed in a language, researchers uncover the structural webs of meaning that arrange the shared worldview of a speech community. The speech events with names related to **madre** term form one system of interrelated domains. When searching the domains for symbolic dimensions of mother-ness culture premises are investigated. The symbolic dimensions of mother-ness happens in the comparative use of **madre** terms to different kinds of people in different settings.

PHASE II

In phase II, 50 questions were designed to solve the symbolic dimensions of **madre** terms. The questions were derived from data collected in Phase I of the study. The following questions were asked:

1. Is **madre** directed at a woman who is not a mother equivalent to '**tu**' or to usted?
2. What is in common between little girls and grown-up women because both are addressed as '**mamita**'?

Focus Group Procedure

Information from the following interviews helped as fundamental for formulating 20 cultural themes underlying Colombian interpersonal relationships. The themes underlying Colombian inter-personal relationships were explored in two focus groups of interviews, male economist aged 40, the other by a female informant aged 27. The two facilitators served as informants in phase I, and they were quite familiar with the procedures required in the interviews. Of 20 cultural theme candidates, three related to mothers, for an example:

1.   (a) A distance must be established between mothers and children for discipline to be maintained.

   (b) All women are mothers, primarily and always mothers.

   (c) Mothers are "good" women, faithful to the father of their children, and must therefore be honoured with deepest respect and protection.

To expand upon them, let us consider the following statement (b) from 24 years old female student.

2.   I don't know if that's true in a biological sense but it's sure the idea that society hands down to us. But - I don't know maybe it is true, I mean do you know any woman who don't want children? Even if they don't have any, they look around for someone to mother, a niece, a nephew, a friend. I think there may be something to that.

This statement indicates that "all women are mothers" primarily and always mothers. The lady's knowledge is based on her understanding of women's identity in the social world rather than the natural result.

Result: Colombian Understanding of "Mother"

Besides their biological relationship, **madre** terms involve the premises of careness, respect, affection and legitimate status among Colombians. The women who cannot bear children is referred to by husband in **madre** terms. The husband believes that she is a mother even if she bears no children, she keeps on receiving gifts on "Mother's day". The other important aspects of a woman's identity is her actual potential or motherhood. **Madre** terms (madre, mamita, mama, mami, mamiacita or madrecita) are utilized by husbands in a wide alternative range to their wives. All women are considered as mothers irrespective of their bearness of offspring. Mothers have 'natural' care of those around them, even against their will. Women cannot resist their desire to take care of people and to bring the wishes of others. Mother are considered as givers to children.

They are primarily responsible for bringing up offspring to be polite and well-mannered. A strick woman is regarded as "**una mala mama**" (a bad woman). Unlike fathers, mothers are authority figures, ruling through love. Addressing a female stranger as "mama" is interpreted as a compliment because the term envokes a legimate status. Mothers deserve respect and protection (see 265).

Cultural extensions of the meaning of "mother"

These cultural approaches that constitute the meaning of "mother" were revealed in talk to and about mothers and involved the use of **Madre** terms. The starting point differs with Goffman's account of metaphor. Goffman states that primary framework involves literal sense but in Colombian language the primary framework involves metaphorical extension, deception and irony which include figurative meaning. Colombians used **Mandre** terms in non-literally ways, e.g.

- Small girls were addressed as **mamita** by adults whether parents or strangers.

- Sales-person called female potential customers **madre** or **madrecita**.

- Adult men called their wives **madre**, even when the couple had no children.

Thus non-literal usages of **madre** terms were taken to be indicative of cultural meaning as well as to the extension of kin terms to fictive kin. Evaluation of the use of **madre** terms, suggested a 'pointing' function that relied on universal as well as cultural meaning.

Madre terms involved four levels of balance between universal and cultural knowledge brought to bear on construction of meaning.
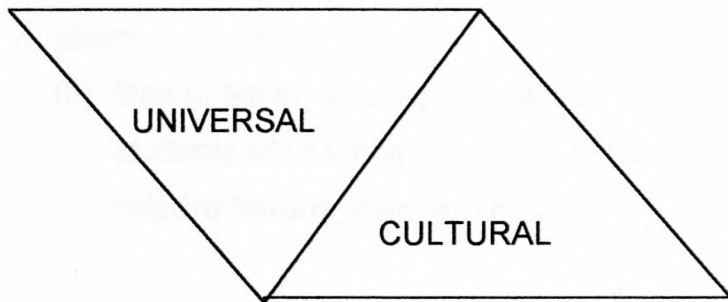
1. Biological relationship
2. Vicarious/potential biological relationship
3. Real or desired interpersonal relationship (power & solidarity)
4. Symbolic value attached to person (indexed by extension to other).

LEVELS OF BALANCE: UNIVERSAL VERSUS CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

LEVEL 1 - Represents the most universal, literal of **madre** terms: from a biological child to the biological parent.

LEVEL 2 - Represents the biological relationship, with a crucial transformation: e.g.

   (3) Male service person, around 40, to female stranger in her 50's:

      "No, **madre**, sorry but you can't park here. You have to move your car somewhere else.

LEVEL 3 - Represents a biological relationship, into interpersonal relationship (power & solidarity), e.g.

   (4) Male street vendor, age around 40, to female customer, age 25:

Ohhh, this looks lovely on you **madrecita**. The colours are
beautiful with your eyes.

(5) 25 year old female twin sister: "You have this exam tomorrow and tonight
you're going dancing? Nooooo, **mamita**, this is biiiig trouble.
"I'd better come along and keep you company"

LEVEL 4 - It represents the metaphorical usages of **madre** terms (symbolic value
attached to person), e.g.

(6) Man to father, a college professor: "You stay up all night grading so the
students will have an extra day to turn in their parents?" (laughter)
"**Madre Munoz**, that we'll call you".

CONCLUSION

The paper of Fitch observes the link between the universal linguistic resource of personal
address and cultural framework of beliefs about a class of personhood particularly the
mother as she is highly considered, protected as well as experienced in Colombian society.
Personal address functions as a pointing factor. It identifies who is being spoken to or
about the speaker's as well as communication behaviour tied to cultural context. It is a
place of contact between nature and culture. The basic human distinctions such as
closeness/distance and power/status deal with the cultural form ideas of selfhood and
interpersonal relationship. The relationship of personal address shifts from literal to
figurative in Colombian society. The more metaphorical the reference, the more cultural
knowledge is needed to understand particular address term usage. Though personhood
and interpersonal relationships are shaped within the universal semantics of power and
solidarity, [Brown & Gilman (1960)] they are not determined by them, however they may be
explained in any given speech community.

To support the argument, Fitch (270) states that ambiguity and fluidity exist in every
linguistic system allowing negotiation and redefinition of relationships through the use of
personal address. The first implication of this study suggests personal address is a

particularly useful basis for examining interpersonal relationship negotiation and expresses intentions and frame interpretations within cultural categories of speech action.

The second implication links personal address and other factors of communication behaviour, with regard to exploration of universal versus cultural aspects of meaning. Different levels of model from personal address may be extended to other linguistic forms and communicative processes such as politeness strategies as well as performance of speech acts. These theories of language usages are shaped by cultural context. Fitch concludes by stating that the metaphorical use of language must be included into formulations of universal/cultural elements of linguistic phenomena to explain that influence.

2.4   MCGIVNEY (1993)

McGivney (1993: 19 - 34) states that social relationships are of two categories, namely: "respectful" and "joking". Respect in the North-Eastern Bantu language is based on kinship and needs a public linguistic marker. Close generations, namely parents and children respect one another and use plural forms. Kin of the same generation, namely siblings, cousins and of alternate generation, namely grandparents and grandchildren "joke" with one another and address each other in the singular. Address forms in **Mijikenda** bring the generational identity and relative position in a well-defined social structure. Address form normatively covers the correct behaviour. McGivney states that pronouns of respect occur on a less-scale in unstructured Bantu societies. McGivney states that Brown and Gilman (1960) particular reasoning for the origin and spread of T/V respect systems needs to be removed by more socially convincing and general explanation for widespread facts namely:

- sociolinguistics
- pronouns of address
- T/V system
- Kenya languages
- Bantu

The two cardinal premises contemporary sociolinguistics are that:

(1) The normality and naturality of language covaries with speech situations.

(2) The multiplicity exchanges of speakers and addresses on a social and interpersonal information.

McGivney states that the speaker' competence is determined by the use of extralinguistic knowledge and standard rules, that can bring the information which is not clearly meaningful, grammatical as well as stylistically appropriate, but clearly formulated in terms of the social structures, social class that influence a given speech community.

Pronouns of respect and intimacy

McGivney (20) states that the field of address as well as norm and variations that occur cross-culturally influenced by the research of Brown and Gilman (1960) on pronouns of power and solidarity.   The focus of Brown and Gilman was based on Indo-European languages.   Brown and Gilman base their reasoning for the evolution and dispersal of differentiated 2nd person address forms in European languages and for the stimulus diffusion of their semantic system into adjacent language area. Since 1950's, the study of sociolinguistic rules of address has grown and data of Brown & Gilman is all over the world. McGivney extends and refines part of Brown and Gilman's hypothesis particularly in this paper where he makes contribution on Bantu subgroup of **Mijikenda**.

The Mijikenda

In the 1979 census, the **Mijekenda** was about ca 700,00 and formed the largest ethnic group in Kenya's coastal province.   **Mijikenda** is **Swahili** in origin and means "nine communities or groups", namely Giriana, Duruma, Digo, Chonyi, Rabai, Kambe, Kauna, Jibana as well as Ribe. The **Mijikenda** dialect composes of varieties that are closely related from 78-94 percent. Their mutual intelligibility between the dialects is influenced by awareness of identity carried in traditions of evolution and migration similar to all the subgroups. The subgroups use the following address system:

Table 1. Subject pronouns

person	Giriama	Chonyi	Swahili
Singular			
1. I am working	ninahenda kazi	(ni)nahenda kazi	ninafanya kazi
2. You	unahenda kazi	unahenda kazi	unafanya kazi
3. he/she	anahenda kazi	yunahenda kazi	anafanya kazi
Plural			
1. We	unahenda kazi	hunahenda kazi	tunafanya kazi
2. You	munahenda kazi	munahenda kazi	mnafanya kazi
3. they	manahenda kazi	Banahenda kazi	wanafanya kazi

Studying the systems above one may have an idea that there are less variations between these groups, particularly in the 2nd person singular pronoun of **Giriama** as well as **Chonyi**.

Pronouns in Mijikenda

McGivney states that addressing a single individual involves essentially a choice of singular or plural pronoun prefix. The term "pronoun" includes five main categories, namely:

- affirmative and negative subject pronoun prefix
- obligatory in the verb phrase
- corresponding 2nd -order object pronoun prefix
- independent personal pronouns and
- possessive pronouns

The subject pronoun concords differ phonetically between dialects and could be identified by one who knows Swahili or another Bantu languages.

The verb - structure is

(1) subject + tense + verb stem   noun

  Ni-   + -na - + - henda   kazi

  I (present) do work

  'I am working'

The independent personal pronouns which occur after a preposition or conjunction are non affixed forms and used for emphasis only.

(2)   Uwe,unahenda kazi ' you, you' re working'

Address in the North Eastern Bantu language area

McGivney postulates that in the languages of Eastern Africa, there are unusual differences in the pronouns of address, but absent mostly in **Swahili**.

Table 2. Independent pronouns

| | singular | | | Plural | | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Swahili	mimi	wewe	yeye	sisi	ninyi	wao
Giriama	mimi	uwe	iye	siswi	ninwi	ao aryatu
Kambe	mimi	uwe	iwe	siswi	ninwi	Babo
Jibana	mimi	uwe	iye	sisi	mwimwi	ao
Ribe/Rabai	mimi	uwe	iye	siswi	mwimwi	ao
Chonyi	mimi	uwe	iye	siswi	mwimwi	Babo, Baratu
Kauma	mimi	uwe	iye	siswi	ninwi	Babo, Baratu

Duruma	mimi	uwe	yiye	swiswi	mwimwi	ao
Digo	mimi	uwe	iye	sisi	mwimwi	aho
Pokomo	ami	awe	aje	asu	anyu	ao

The use of T/V address form occurs unpredictable in **Mijikenda** as well as in **Pokomo**.

Mijikenda address

The rules of address in **Mijikenda** are based on family relationship as well as on the people of common origin. Parents together with their grown children practice mutual respect which is reciprocal plurals of address. Children exchange a singular address form with their parents as well as their adjacent generation until they reach puberty. Kin or Affines of the same generation use reciprocal singular forms as well as the alternate generations. An individual's age and generation are governing factors, but age has role in the selection of pronouns.

Table 3. Norms of interaction and address

Generation	social expression	Linguistic expression	Metalinguistic expression
Adjacent	Respectful behaviour	Reciprocal plural	We "respect" each other. She is a "mother"
Same/ Joking Alternate	behaviour	Reciprocal singular	Bakari "jokes" with me. Don't "respect" me, I' m not your "father" or your "uncle".

Respect is to be used to uncles and aunts, even if they are younger than the speaker. Children were taught to joke with their alternate generation but to respect the non-alternate. The address patterns re-inforce the social norms of respect and the non-respectful joking relationship is between children and their parents. To address somebody correctly, one must first know their degree of kinship or affinity with the addressee, e.g.

    Adjacent generation

(3) Father: T eat food?

    Son: V are coming tomorrow.

    Alternate generation

(4) Son : T chased the rat

    Grandparents: T lie

The importance of correct address

McGivney stresses the importance and duties of the father and his position is overtly shown in his article. McGivney (25 - 27) states that in **Mijikenda** society, the biological, the social as well as the linguistic dimensions of the social order overlap in the close global form, as far as kin, social respect, address forms are mutually reinforcing systems. Every act of address places a member of the society in one position or another. The father receives indisputable respect and is regarded as '**mwenye mudzi**' 'head of the household'. He is obliged to ensure social stability and represents family in political, juridicial, economical and ritual situations. The father is the topman, the owner and guardian of the family property, the given and receiver of wealth.

In **Mijikenda**, everybody in the community is a known kin, affine or both. There are extensions of address forms which are predetermined; unlike T/V usage in European languages. Traditional **Mijikenda** family laid great stresses on "respect" as a proper form of behaviour and a set of attitudes to be learned as a part of the process of growing up.

Learning the linguistic ropes

McGivney (27) explains how infants and young children learn to respect other people in the kin or affine situation. Children are allowed to speak in the singular to their parents, until the age of 8 - 9 years. The children extend the singular pronoun to their siblings, cousins and grandparents, the singular use of pronoun is reciprocal. From the age of 9, children start to 'respect' one another and switch to plural form of address. It is the responsibility of the grandparents to teach children to respect others at the age of 9. Parents' brothers or sisters, namely, the child' uncles and aunts, expect to be addressed with a plural of respect from this age(from nine years). All address forms, whether it is T/V are reciprocated, e.g.

under the age of 9

(5) Child: T drink milk?

Aunt: T eat too much.

(6) Child: T sleep on the bed?

Uncle: T are a clever boy.

(7) Child : T cooked for me?

Mother: T ate my porridge.

Above the age of 9, T is switched to V:

(8) Child : V drink milk?

Aunt : V eat too much.

(9) Child : V sleep on the bed?

Uncle: V are a clever boy

(l0) Child : V cooked for me?

Mother: V ate my porridge.

The reciprocate V is extended to peer group, cousins, siblings, their own nephews and nieces.

Naming convention, the name of the grandfather is given to the first son and he is addressed semijocularly as baba, father and V by his own father, e.g.

(11) Son : V spare for me money.

Father: V know! I am pennyless.

A reciprocal use of a singular form of address may proceed to be used between a boy and his mother, after puberty, particularly if there is an especially close personal relationship, but this is avoided in the presents of the father.

In the absence of the father:

(l2) Son : T (you) took my table yesterday.

Mother: Because T (you) left it under the tree.

In the father's presence

(13) Son : V took my table.

Mother: Because V (you) left it under the tree.

Respect includes restriction or certain topics; namely, sexuality, taboo and style such as informality, joking relationship and speech acts. During funerals community switch to a singular form of address except between parents and children. The respect form of address is extended later in life to brother and father -in- law as well as to their kin and affines, e.g.

The intergenerational norms of address in **Mijikenda** (29):

Rule l.   Adjacent generations exchange plural respect forms (reciprocal V).

Rule 2.   All kin and affines of parents' generation (i.e. those with whom parents are familiar) receive the plural respect forms extended to parents (reciprocal V)

Rule 3.   Alternate generations exchange singular "joking" forms (reciprocal T).

Rule 4.   All members of speakers generation exchange.

Creative variation in address form

McGivney (29 -32) states that in **Mijikenda** society not everybody is known to one another at local level, but all members of the community are also somehow related. All individuals can therefore be located in a socio-generational matrix. "Unknown" persons are normally given a plural address form, until some appropriate group membership is established. In the case of differences in age, respectful titles such as '**tsawe**' 'grandfather' '**mutumia**' 'elder' or ' **tsangazi**' ' aunt' might be used.   To address a respectful person in an inappropriate place is regarded as a gaffe. Another contemporary is the switching between couples who normally used reciprocal singular. But during dances or funerals as well as ceremonial occasions they switch from T to V which was marked mutual respect.

        Couples:
(14) Wife   : T come here.
        Husband: T know I am still fixing something.

Couples in the ceremonial occasions (in the presence of other people):
(15)   Wife   : V come here
        Husband: V know I am still fixing something.

The father who usually practise mutual respect to his younger son may switch to singular, e.g. from V to T. This is a character of European languages in situations of conflict, e.g. threats or abuse. The patterns of intergenerational respect in **Mijikenda** areas differ from

those found in Africa in the sense that in **Mijikenda** joking and respect relationships are overlaid with a linguistic correlate which is quite absent elsewhere.

Metalinguistic reference to respect

There are clearly marked of respect and joking, in **Mijikenda** language (32). The **Mijikenda** have verbs **kutania** "to joke with" and **kuheshimu** "to respect", both verbs have refential and metalinguistic meaning. Besides these marked verbs, there are also lexical kinship term which locate a member either with T or V. In a stable micro-scale rural society, though not structured, there is no problem in determining the suitable address form, whether in respectful or in the intimacy. Problems can arise in classifying new corners to the neighbourhood or in a ceremonial occasions such as funerals, because they must first discover their actual degree of kinship or affinity. McGivney states the most common verb **kuheshimu** means "to respect". He made use of **Swahili** loanword '**kuheshimu**' and its reciprocality **kuheshimiwa** "be respected". The Swahili - Arabic stem has an influence in the **Mijikenda** language, though some Bantu homonyms are retained. The following are metalinguistic reference to pronoun of address:

(16)   Kuniheshimu? (chonyi)

   'Why don't you respect me? (i.e. use the polite V form)

(17)   Hunaheshimiana. (chonyi)

   'We respect each other' (address each other as V)

(18)   Kahu heshimiana (chonyi)

   'We don't respect each other ' (we use familiar T)

The opposite of the verb ' to respect' expresses the meaning 'to joke' that brings the binary of the joking/respect relationship and can use to describe language, e.g.

(19)   Kahuheshimian   = Hunatseana

'We don't respect each other = 'We joke with each other'

(i.e. we address each other in the singular)

or

kahutseana   = Hunatseana

'we don't joke with each other'= 'we joke with each other'.

(i.e. we address each other using V)

Some verbs exist to express the alternative joking relationship and its pronomial usage e.g.

(2O)   Usinitsee! (chonyi)

'Don't joke with me'. (i.e. dont address me familiarity)

(21)   Bakari yunanitsea (chonyi)

'Bakari jokes with me' (i.e. Bakani address me in a singular)

(22)   Yudzinitsea! (chonyi)

'He has been disrespectful to me!'

Metalinguistic reference of the verb ' to respect' or 'to joke' can be reinforced by invoking the kin relationship and corresponding term:

(23)   Usinitanie, si tsaweyo mino, ni babayo! (Ribe)

'Don't joke with me, I 'm not your grandfather, I 'm your father!'(i.e. don't treat me with undue familiarity, I 'm [like your] grandfather, I 'm [like your] father!).

(24)   Usiniheshimu, ni ndyuyo. (Ribe)

'Don't respect me, I 'm a brother' (i.e. no need to be formal, I 'm of your generation).

(25)   [Speaker is informant's "grandfather"]

Usiniheshimu, si babayo ama babayo muhoho! (Ribe)

'Don't respect me, I 'm not your father or your uncle'.

The verb **kumanya** 'to know/be acquainted' (with someone) can be used to express metalinguistic notion.

(26)   Kohumanyama (chonyi)

'We don't know each other' (i.e. we don't know what kin relatedness we have, and hence how to address each other correctly).

McGivney tells about the Ribe speaker who brought and American girlfriend home. His uncle asked: **He bu ni muche ama ni mama**? 'Is she a wife or a mother?' This shows that the uncle is in a dillemma of choice of using the singular or plural to greet the woman.

Pronouns of power and solidarity

McGivney (35) criticizes the Brown and Gilman's "two power" hypothesis that are particularized to what are suggested to be a rather general phenomenon. Brown and Gilman dealt with Indo-European languages which cannot account for differentiated address in **Mijikenda** or other non European languages. Brown and Levinson (1987) also argued that the pluralized You cannot cover the widespread distribution of languages. Kinship terms in **Mijikenda** imply group status and membership. Certain kinship terms co-occur with a respectfull plural while others co-occur with the singular. Plurality is not seen as an address for group membership. In **Mijikenda** everyone is respected (by adjacent generation) and joked with (own and alternate generations). McGivney agrees that even if he rejects Brown and Gilman's explanation for the evolution and diffusion of plurals of respect, he sees the semantic parallels that appear in Latin to be found in the **Mijikenda** domain. The plural address used by parents to their children from age of nine(9), carries a message of different type. Respect shown to a younger adjacent

generation is not attached to power because the younger ones are powerless and dependent. But this shows a recognition that children are approaching adolescence, becoming social person in their own right. Boys are the genetic inheritors of the paternal lineage, as well as the future elders of the group. Naming conventions show that the first born son of each wife "will be a father". Though Brown and Gilman show the use of T and V in the Indo-European languages it seems as if this happens all over the world in one way or another. In the case of **Mijikenda,** respect and joking is the order of the day.

CONCLUSION

The paper of McGivney postulates the form of address in **Mijikenda** showing the position of individual within a society. He states the importance of the father as a family head. He also states the use of plural to adjacent generation which help to minimize conflict. McGivney states the use of respect and joking. Respect is used in adjacent generation while joking is used in alternate generation in the kin and affines of the same generation. Though McGivney criticizes the particularization of T and V of Brown and Gilman, he agrees that the se T and V form the paraphases of non-European languages.

2.5   FARGHAL AND SHAKIR (1994)

Farghal and Shakir (1994: 240 - 252) examine the nature of Jordanian relational social honorifics by grouping these honorifics and shedding light on the socio - pragmatic constraints determining their use. These honorifics are divided into two major classes: kin of terms and title of honorifics, whereas distant honorifics are limited and employed among strangers, but affectionate one are mainly used among friends and relatives. The article demonstrates how elaborate and subtle interaction between language and social co-ordinates is in Jordanian Arabic.

1.   Introduction

Social honorifics encode social information in human interaction. Such information is listed in a use of pronouns and titles of address. The use of this address forms are determined by social situation in which the speech act occurs. Therefore, the choice of the first name(FN) Jack or title and Last Name(TLN) Mr Jackson which belong to the same individual in a matter of power and solidarity. The more the speaker is equal to the addressee, the more one would use Jack and the more distant/less equal the more one would call the addressee Mr Jackson. Power - Solidarity relations are dynamic because they may change in the presence or absent of referent. The power - solidarity relations may differ from one culture to another. For example, the '**tu**' you (25g)/**vous** 'you (2PL)' in French and the -**ka** 'you (25G)' / ' -**kum** you (2PL)' in the standard Arabic have a direct bearing on the power - solidarity parameter. The use of the plural **vous** and -**kum** 'you(2PL)' to address one individual indicates power of the addressee, whereas the choice of **tu** and '-**ka** (25G)' mitigates the power of addressee and promotes intimacy and solidarity between speaker and addressee. Two types of social honorifics exist: relationship and absolute. The mentioned examples so far are all relational, they depend on the social relationship between interlocutors. Absolute social honorifics are fixed forms reserved for authorised speakers and addressees. For example in Arabic, the use of the (IPP) pronoun **nahnu** 'we' by the king of Jordan is an absolute honorific restricted to him as the only "authorized" speaker and the use of titles of address, namely: Your honour, His Majesty, Professor, Doctor etc. are absolute social honorifics requiring authorized recipients for whom these titles are reserved.

2.   The present study

This article aims to connote relational social deixis in Arabic. This form of deixis finds itself primarily in a network of social honorifics that function to maintain and enrich human interaction at all levels. Arabic social honorifics shift from denotational signification which involves an absolute parameter, such as kin terms and titles of address towards

connotational signification which displays a relational parameter, such as kin terms and title of address. This is a shift from denotation (absolute parameter) to connotation (relational parameter). The relational social honorifics shows itself as an inseparable variable in our linguistic behaviour. Relational social honorifics are composed of three categories, namely: addressee, referent as well as bystander honorifics. Among these three, the most elaborate and developed category is that of addressee honorifics because interlocutors are sensitive and worried about encoding social honorifics when the interaction is in question. The addressee honorifics can be divided into two major classes, namely: kin of terms and title of address.

2.1   Kin terms

The most common relational social honorifics in Arabic are kin terms. These kin terms are used denotationally to designate family relations among relatives: (father - daughter, mother - son, brother - sister etc.). Honorifically, the kin terms are used connotationally to maintain and enrich social interaction among both related and unrelated participants. Functionally, kin honorific can be divided into two groups: distant kin vocatives and affectionate kin vocatives. Distant kin vocatives are social honorifics used to promote solidarity among strangers. The most common kin terms to strangers are:

ax	'brother'
uxt	'sister'
xal	'marternal uncle'
xalah	'maternal aunt
am	'paternal uncle'
ammih'paternal aunt'	
garabah	'relative'

The following casual summons are more or less, pragmatically equivalent to Excuse me, sir/ma'ma' in American English.

(1a)   ma'alas   ya   'ax

        if possible   voc   brother

(1b)   'ioa   samaht -I   ya   xalah
        if   allowed + you - FEM   voc   maternal aunt

(1c)   mumkin   ya   garabah
        possible   voc   relative

According to Farghal and Shakir (243) the utterances in (1) feature honorific kin terms as well as politeness formulas. These kin terms may function as politeness - enhancers by interacting with politeness formulas in polite requests.

(2a)   ma 'alas   'intaoirdagigah   ya   'ax
        if possible   wait   minutevoc   brother
        will   you   pleasewait   a minute

(2b)   'ba   samaht-t   ta'ti-ni 'ismic ya   xalah
        if allowed + you - FEM   give-me   name - your VOC maternal aunt

(2c)   mumkin   tug'ud   ya   garabah
        possible   sit + you   voc   relative
        will   you   please   sit   down

The utterance in (2) are doubly marked for politeness by using a politeness formula along with a social honorific. Greetings as absolute social honorifics are reinforced by kin terms as relational social honorifics, as in the greetings given in (3) below.

(3a)   kef   -ak   ya   'ax
        how   -you   voc   brother
        'How are you?'

(3b)   marahaba   ya   xalah

          hi   voc   maternal aunt

          'Hi!'

(3c)   sabah - il   xer   ya   garabah

          morning -DEF -   good voc   relative

          'Good morning'

The above kin terms can be used as command - mitigators in commands, as shown by utterance in (4) below.

(4a)   'ug 'ud   ya   'ax

          sit   voc   brother.

          'sit   down, will you?'

(4b)   'itla `Ibarra ya   xalah

          go   out   voc   martenal aunt

          'get out   of   here, will you?'

(4c)   'uskut ya   garabah

          be silent   voc   relative

          'keep quiet, will you?'

There are some distant kin honorifics that involve age - restrictions and sex - restrictions. Age restrictions can be observed with children who address adult male strangers as '**am moh**' 'paternal uncle' and use '**ammih**' 'paternal aunt' or **xalah** 'maternal aunt', when addressing adult female strangers, as in the two utterance in (5) below.

(5a)   wen - il-   mustasfa   xalah

          where - DEF hospital   maternal aunt

          'where is the hospital, please?'

Both children and adults use distant kin honorifics that coincide with affectionate kin honorifics. The dropping of vocative **marke ya** in adult - child/child - adult interactions may be attributed to the emotion factor, for example, see (6) below.

(6a) 'b'id   'an-il-bab   'am moh (adult - child)
       keep   off-DEF-door paternal uncle
       'keep off   the   door, please!'

(6b) ?b'id   'an - il bab   ya   'amm (adult - child)
       keep off DEF   door   voc   paternal uncle
       'keep off the door, please!'

(6c) 'b 'id 'an - il - bab ya   amm (adult - adult)

(6d) ? 'b'id 'an - il - bab 'ammoh (adult - adult)

The abnormal use of (6b) and (6d) is due to the violation of age - restrictions that is '**am moh**' is used only in adult - child interaction among strangers, while '**amm** is used only in adult interactions. These are emotionality signals of sexual detachment assuming roles that are largely depleted of sexuality (see (7) below).

(7a) nazzil - ni   hon   'ammoh (female youth - driver)
       drop - me   here   paternal uncle
       'Drop me here, please?'

(7b) 'nazzil - ni hon 'ammoh (male youth - driver)

(7c) nazzil - ni hon   ya   'amm (female youth - driver)

(8a) ? nazzil - ni hon   ya   xal (female youth - driver)
       drop - me here   voc   maternal uncle

'Drop me here, please'

(8b)　?nazzil - ni　hon　xaloh　(female youth - driver)

　　　drop - me　　here　maternal uncle

　　　'Drop me here, please'

(8c)　Nazzil - ni　hon　ya　xal　(male youth - driver)

　　　? Nazzil - ni　hon　xaloh　(male youth - driver)

The abnormality of (7b) is due to the fact that '**am moh**' cannot be appropriately employed as a distant social honorific by male youths, whereas it can be used by female youths for further information; for the usefulness of (7 &8) (see 246). Affectionate kin vocatives are social honorifics that are used to enhance intimacy among relatives and acquaintances, for example:

(9a)　'a 'ti - ni　　may　yammah (mother - child)

　　　give me　　　water　mother

　　　'Give me water, son/daughter!'

(9b)　wen　'abu - k　　yammah　(mother - son)

　　　where father -your　mother

　　　'where's your father, son?'

(9c)　'ugu 'd - I　yammah　(mother - daughter)

　　　sit - FEM　mother

　　　'sit　down　daughter!'

Secondly, all affectionate kin terms may be used honorifically among acquantances and relatives to show affection or closeness, for example:

(l0a)   (old   woman - boy/ male youth)

    wen   'umm - ak   ya   jiddih

    where mother-your voc   grandmother

    'where is your mother sonny?'

(l0b)   (old man /woman   - girl/female youth)

    'a   'ti - ni kursi ya   - bint - I

    give-me   chair voc   -daughter - my

    'Give me a chair, sweetie!'

Affectionate kin terms may be used to extend metaphorical preservation of denotationsl signification as in (11) below:

(11a) su   tisrab 'am moh   (child/youth - adult)

    what   drink-you   paternal uncle

    'what would you like to drink, sir?'

(11b) wen rayih   jiddoh (child/youth - old man)

    where   going   grandfather

    'where   are   you   going sir?`

2.2   Titles of address

Titles of address are commonly used as absolute honorifics requiring both authorized interlocutors, for example; 'doctor' requires that the addressee be either a medical doctor or a person who has a Ph.D. If this condition is not met, it can be infelicitious. Several titles of address can be used both absolutely and relationally. Thus title of address quality as relational social honorifics s well as to their status as absolute social honorifics, for example **hajji** reserved for an absolute social honorific for a man who has gone on pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia, and relationally, as a social honorific in addressing

any old man, whether he be a pilgrim or not. As relational social honorifics, titles of address can be divided into two classes: distant titles of address and affectionate titles of address. Distant titles of address are used to promote solidarity in interaction for different purposes, namely: summons, greetings, questions, and requests among strangers; for example, **'ustao'** 'teacher', **hajji** 'male pilgrim', **hajjih** 'female pilgrim', **abu - s - sabab** ' father of youths and **satir** 'smart' e.g.

       formal   casual summon (dress could be determining factor) 'ustao   'teacher, e.g.

(l2a)   'iod samaht ya   ustao (adult - adult)

       if allowed + you   voc   teacher

       'Excuse me, sir!'

       Informal greeting

(l2b)   kef - ak   ya - bu -s - sabab (youth - youth)

       how - you   roc - father - DEH   youths

       'How are   you,fellow?'

       Polite question hajjih, e.g.

(l2c)   wen   rayhih ya   hajjih (adult - old woman)

       where   going voc   pilgrim (FEM)

       'Where are you going,lady?'

       Polite request   satir

(12d) ma 'alas   inda ya   satir (adult - child)

       possible   be quiet   voc   smart

       'will   you   keep quiet, sonny?'

Affectionate titles are social honorifics that may be used to promote solidarity among acquaintances or strangers and absolute honorifics are indicative of high emotionality among intimates, between lovers or a mother and child. Henceforth a relational parameter is acquired, since male and female Jordanians may use them among

themselves for various interactive purpose; for example; '**ruri** my soul'; **habibi** 'my beloved', **umri** 'my age'; **hayati** 'my life' **hubbi** 'my love'; **yuni** 'my eyes'; 'see (13) below'

(13a) intaoir sway ya habib -I (male adult - male adult)
        wait (masc) little voc beloved-my
        'wait a minute love'.

(l3b) 'ujurt - ak ya yun -I (male adult - male adult)
        fare -your voc eyes - my
        'Your fare, love'.

(13c) su badd -ik ya 'um -I (female adult - female adult)
        What want - you voc age -my
        What do you want ,love?

The above examples (13) function as a polite request, a reminder, and a polite question, respectively. Farghal & Shakir 1994: observe that (136) may be uttered by bus conductor to absent-minded passenger, effectively reminding him to pay the fare and it employs a casual summons. The following example may be considered as infelicitous as a casual summon according to the Jordanians.

(14) ?ma 'alas ya habibi /'yuni/ 'umri
       possible vcoc my beloved/my eye/my age
       'Excuse me, love!'

Shakir and Farghal (249) state that Jordanians commonly employ distant kin terms rather than affectionate titles of address as social honorifics in casual summons. The above Jordanian social honorifics may correspond to affectionate in English as love, honey, sugar, darling and sex restriction are different. The adult Jordanians use affectionate honorifics with the same sex (among males) while adult English speakers use these honorifics appropriately across opposite sexes (adult male addressing adult female).

American and British condemned the practice among the speakers of the same sex (see (15) below.

(15a) (adult male - adult female)

      ?'intaori - ni   lahoahya   habitat - I

      wait (FEM) - me   moment   voc   beloved(FEM) -my

         'wait a   moment for me, love'

(15b) (adult male - adult male)

      'intaori - ni   lahoahya   habib -I

      wait (MASC) me moment   voc   beloved (MASC) - my

      ? ' Wait a moment for me, love?'

Sex - restrictions on the employment of affectionate honorifics relationally are a determining factor for their appropriateness in adult - adult interaction and they are neutralized in adult - child interaction in both Arabic and English, e.g. see (16) below.

(16a) (adult female - child male)

      xuo   hay   -it   - tuffahah   ya habib -i

      take   this   DEF - apple   voc   beloved (MASC) -my

      'Take this apple, love'

(16b) (adult female - child female)

      'What's your name, honey?'

Absolutely social honorific is commonly used in teknonyms or formulas such as 'abu' + proper name' (**abu - mhammad** 'father of Mohammed') or '**um** + proper name (e.g. **um - imhammad** 'mother of Mohammed) in Jordanian Arabic. It is also commonly used in addressing married people as a practical alternative to their absolute titles of address such as doctor, **phasha**, teacher etc. (see 250). The **abu** - / **um** - / formula described

above is considered as a relational social honorific verbal interaction among Jordanian may bring social honorifics like:

'abu -l - karam	'father of generosity'
'abu - l - ma'rifih	'father of knowledge'
'umm - il -'anagah	'mother of elegence'
'umm - io - oog	'mother of taste', see (17) below.

(17)   lah   ya   rijjal   intih   abu - l - karam

        No voc   man   you   father - DEF - generosity.

        'Don't you worry! You've been very hospitable.

Lastly, Jordanian Arabic features absolute social honorific that are used relationally in a flippant or ironical manner among relatives or friends (see 251)

(18a)   Zaman   ma   sufn -   ak   ya   basa (friend - friend)

         long time no see - you   voc   Pasha

         'Long time no see, big fellow!'

(18b)   Yallah 'al - fator   ya   bek (mother - son)

         come   to - breakfast   voc?

         'Breakfast is ready, sir!'

(19a)   'ma 'alas   ya   basa (stranger - stranger)

         possible   voc   pasha

         'Excuse me, sir!'

(19b)   ? tfaooal   'ijilis   ya   bek(waiter - customer)

         please   sit   voc

         'will   you   pleasesit   down?'

Examples (18a and 18b0 pragmatically succeed as flippancies or ironies among friends and relatives, and (l9a and 19b) prove to be infelicitious among strangers.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper is to count as a preliminary attempt to examine the nature of relational social honorifics in Jordan and grouping these honorifics in Jordanian Arabic shedding light on the pragmatic constraints governing their use. Jordanian honorifics have been explained to feature both distant and affectionate honorific. Distant honorifics are used among strangers only while affectionate ones are used among friends or relatives and sometimes among strangers. Both types of honorifics involve age and sex restrictions. The article clearly demonstrates how rich Jordanian Arabic is in relational social honorifics. The Arabic grammar will be unsuitable if it does not take account of the elaborate and subtle interaction between language and social co-ordinates. Lastly, the article carries messages to syllabus writers of Arabic as a foreign language without possessing a reasonable awareness of social honorifics especially relational ones, as they are not transparent to second language learners.

2.6   OYETADE (1995)

Oyetade (1995: 515) provided a descriptive analysis of the entire system of address forms in Yoruba, a Defoid language of the Niger - Congo phylum, spoken primarily in the Western part of Nigeria and the Republics of Benin anf Togo. Due to the findings from radio, TV and actual usage, Oyetade discovered that the choices made by interlocutors are lead by the perceived social relationship that exists between people. Among the Yoruba it is guided by age, social status and kinship, nevertheless social factors, namely, power and solidarity become the order of the day.

Oyetade (1995:   515) states that " address forms are words or expressions used to designate the person being talked to while talk is in progress". African languages received less attention when compared to European languages from researchers. Truly

speaking we have far more information concerning English, French. Italian, Spanish and German than any other African languages. Oyetade considered the study of Brown and Gilman (1960) which focused on the usage of the 2nd person pronoun in the Indo-European language. The study revealed that pronoun usage was controlled by two factors.

Power is the relationship between at least two persons, and it is non - reciprocal or asymmetrical in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area, therefore power is attached to seniority, authority, superiority of one interlocutor over another. This is influenced by social factors such as age (youth and elders), gender or sex (husband and wife), rank (employer and employee) etc.

Solidarity is a general relationship and is symmetrical on reciprocal and practised among equals, e.g. social class, religion, political party and peer group. Oyetade (516) studied the findings of Brown and Gilman in the usagee of T and V address forms in Indo - European languages. Power is asymmetrical or non-reciprocal: the superior uses T and gets V, and in terms of solidarity it is symmetrical or reciprocal. T and V can be used equally on both sides, e.g.

```
              A
              ↑
              |
solidarity   T | V
              |
              ↓
              B
```
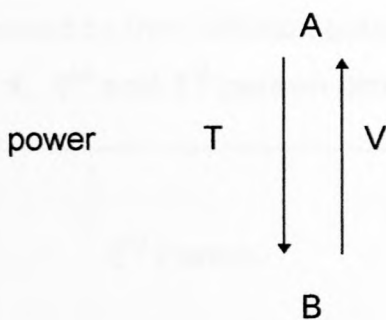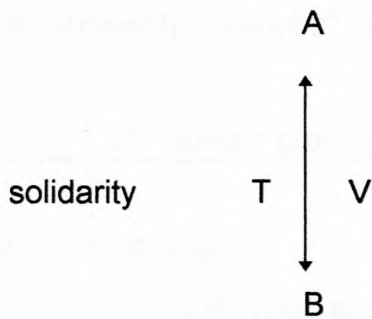
Power and solidarity semantics suggested by Brown and Gilman, have also been shown in the system of address by names, kinship terms, titles, occupations, situational constraints and innovations. The above listed address forms shall be dealt with in brief in the sections that follow.

1.   Pronouns

Pronouns are words used in place of a noun. Oyetade (1995: 519) states that "the 2nd and even the 3rd person pronouns perform a similar function in Yoruba. However, only the 2nd person pronoun is suggested as an address form, while the 3rd person pronoun is honorifically used in refering to a superior, either in status, strength and wealth. Oyetade (520) attributes a table showing the various forms of the 2nd and 3rd person pronoun as occasioned by their different grammatical functions.

Table 1. 2nd and 3rd person pronouns according to grammatic function

	2nd Person		3rd Person	
	singular	Plural	singular	Plural
subject	o	e	o'	won
object	o/e	yin	vowel of the verb	won
Qualifier	re/e	yin	re/e	won
pronomial	iwo	eyin	oun	awon

Table 2. Honorific use of 2nd and 3rd person pronouns

	2nd person pronoun	3rd person pronouns
subject	E ri wa You (Pl./Sg.) saw us	Won ri wa 'They/he/she saw us'
object	A ri yin 'We saw you(Pl/Sg)'	A ri won 'We saw them/him/her'
Qualifier	lle e yin 'Your house (pl/sg)'	ile e won 'Their/his/her house'
Pronominal	Eyin ni mo fe ' It is you (pl./sg.) I want	Awon ni mo fe 'It's them/him/her I want'.

Table 2 shows the honorific use of the 2nd and 3rd person pronouns, Oyetade further states that the above Yoruba pronouns are convincing when used outside of context. Oyetade suggests that those for 2nd person can be addressed to one person or more, and those for 3rd person can similarly refer to one or more persons. When used to refer to a person, they are used honorifically, but when used to address more than one person, they perform their normal grammatical function as plural pronouns, and he suggested that their semantic features will be +/-singular for each of them. In Yoruba, it is possible that the choice of 2nd and 3rd person pronouns tell them about the status of the participants and their reference in their speech act. This is determined by the status, age, gender and older person uses singular form T for a younger addressee and gets the plural honorific V in return. Power and solidarity are the main factors, e.g.

power   A

(V) plural form | | singular form (T)

                                  B

solidarity   A

singular form

B
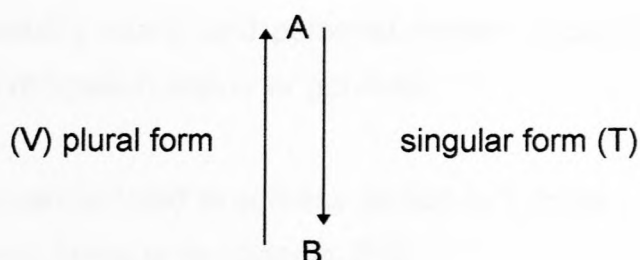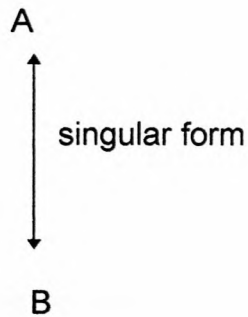
2.   Names

Oyetade (1995: 521) states that "most common form of address among the Yoruba is the name" (names are words by which a person is known and spoken to or about). In Yoruba six different types of names can be identified.

    (a)   Birth name (oruko abiso) is given to a child seven or eight days after his /her birth.

    (b)   A Christian or Muslim name

    (c)   An appellation which people may give themselves.

    (d)   Praise name (oruko) orik.

    (e)   Initial letters of two or three names.

    (f)   The family name

Personal name vs surname: The personal names include the first five types identified above, while the second category is made up of only family name. Each of the two categories/groups can be used as an address form. Choice depends on factors like age, status, intimacy, acquaintanceship, and the situation in which the speech event is taking place, and the speaker's intent, and personal names, appellation and praise names are regarded as names of 'speech status' or purpose.

The following forms can be used to address person in Yoruba:

    (i)   Personal name or its variants (PN)

(ii)   Title and surname or its variants (TSN)

(iii)   Full formal name (FFN)

(iv)   Surname only (see 522).

2.1   Personal Names (PN)

Oyetade (1993: 522) points out that "the reciprocal use of PN is the rule among friends, close associates, and members of the same peer (or age) group while the non-reciprocal counterpart deserves a measure of description". The two usages are determined by age, institutionalized status like kinship and priesthood. An elder person addresses a younger person by personal name, but this cannot be reversed to the elder person. If it is reversed the Yoruba regard it as impolite, rude and insulting to address the elders by name.

Oyetade (522) states that the Yoruba when addressing an older person with whom one is involved is dyadic relationship, one uses either a generic kinship term or a suitable honorific pronoun, e.g.

1.   baba 'father'   to an elderly man.

        Iya/mama   'mother'   to an elderly woman.

One can still use baba X or iya/mama X, where X implies the name of the addressee's child who is younger than the speaker, or about the same age, e.g.

2.   Chukwu's father/mother

        Ajao's father/mother

An addressee who is not as old as someone's parents but who is older than oneself is addressed as ('**egbon**' elder) or (**alagba**, lit) the owner of seniority e.g.

3.   egbon mi   'my elder'

        alagba mi   'my senior

2.2   Title and surname   (TSN)

Oyetade (524) observes that 'the practice of addressing people by TSN is foreign to the Yoruba, but it has come as a result of Western cultural influences. This is used in official domains as opposed to domestic or social domains of life. In official domains the reciprocal and non-reciprocal pattern of TSN are in use.

The reciprocal exchange of TSN:

4.   A. Mr Phaswa, come with some ideas.

   B. Mr Vele, I am still thinking about the best one.

The above reciprocal exchange of TSN is particularly used between officials who are not used to each other or at their first contact. After being familiar to each other, they may return to mutual exchange of PN:

5.   A. Phaswa, tell us about what you think.

   Vele, why can't we do research first?

Sometimes one may use TSN and gets PN:

   A. Mr Phaswa, research is going to delay our progress, it needs time.

   B. You see, Vele, if you want a quality thing, you need to have time.

Nevertheless you cannot guarantee the usage of TSN, as it is determined by situation, e.g. structural gathering. TSN is the rule regardless of the difference in age or rank of the participants. In the case of the American address forms, official status come first and it is followed by age, while in the Yoruba years comes first and rank comes last.

Official status first and age last (American):

6.   Older A: Mr Mukene (TSN), my boss, I am requesting a leave, my daughter is seriously ill.

   Younger B: No problem, Masaka, go home and see to it that your daughter is cured.

Age first and rank/status last (the Yoruba)

> 7. Older employee A: Mukene (PN) I am having a serious problem.
>
> Young employer B: Don't worry Mr Masaka, I'll assist you.

2.3 Full Formal Name (FFN)

Oyetade (524) suggests that "FFN type composed of two or three names i.e. birth name, Christian/Muslim name or both with the family name are used to address a person. These names may be used together with or without title, but it is not used in day - to - day dialogue. It is mostly practised in formal situations like school, hospital and law courts

At school - when teachers are making roll call, full names are used:

> 8. Okpara Paul Ajao
>
> Muisi   John   Willem

In law courts - when the accused or the complainant is requested to appear in court, full names together with title are used:

> 9. Mr Okpara Paul Ajao
>
> Mrs Muisi Annah Wilem

2.4 Surname only

Oyetade (525) suggests that this practice is found among primary and secondary school teachers to address or call their pupils by their names.

Work place - the superior uses surnames only to address their subordinate: this may reflect power over his pupils or sub-ordinates, e.g.

> 10. Superior A: You Botha, Mandela, Fish, Vonk and Las come to my office
>
> urgently.

Oyetade states that surnames are not personal names, they are family names which are used in formal situations.

3. Kinship terms

Oyetade (525) observes that kinship terms are widely used in extended family system among the Yoruba. Oyetade includes kinship terms discussed by Fedipe (1970):

11.	baba	'father'
	iya/mama	'mother'
	omo	'child'
	egbon	'elder' (see 526)
	aburo	'younger' (see 526)
	oko	'husband'
	iyawo	'wife'
	anti	'aunty, elder sister'
	buroda	'brother'

Neutral forms are mainly used in address

12.	alagba	'elder'
	arakunrin	'man'
	arabinrin	'woman'
	sisi	'girl'
	oremi	'my friend'

The above kinship terms have been extended beyond their fundamental use. Sibling and parent terms do not refer to one's biological kin. Oyetade observes that uncles and aunts or both the paternal and maternal sides are known as 'father' and 'mother. Respectively in Yoruba, e.g. When the addressee is older than the speaker's parent:

No relationship but addressee is older than the speaker, the possessive pronoun 'my' is not used.

13.   iya/mama   'mother'

      baba   'father'

A kind of relationship is accompanied by the possessive 'my' , 'mi' e.g.

14.   mama mi   'my mother'

      baba mi   'my father'

The possessive (my) 'mi' may be used where there is no relationship but to bring solidarity (look at 13 above)

One's parents generation:

15.   baba   'father'

      iya/mama   'mother'

One's elder generation:

16.   egbon   'elder paternal or maternal'

      buroda   'brother'

      anti   'elder sister'

Older than the addressee:

17.   omoo mi   'my child'

      sisi mi   'my girl'

Addressed to a person younger than one's age:

18.   aburo   'younger'

      omokunrin   'boy'

      omobinrin   'girl'

      sis   'girl'

      omage   'spinster'

How elders address married men and women:

19.   baba   aburo 'father of my junior'

        iya   aburo 'mother of my junior'

Nuclear family kinship terms:

20.   okoo mi   'my husband'

        iyawo mi   'my wife'

        omoo mi   'my child'

How the wife addresses her husband:

21.   balee mi   'my landlord'

        olowi ori mi   'the payer of my dowry'

        oluwa mi   'my owner/God'

Couples can use first - born name:

22.   iya okwonkwo   'mother of Okwonkwo'

        baba Okpara   'father of Okpara'

PN is the rule, and reciprocal among the siblings:

23.   Chukwu

        Raphael

        Muise

        Ajao

        Okpara

Parents use PN as above (23) for their children and receive kinship terms in return (see 17 above).

4.   Titles

Oyedate observes that people are also addressed by titles, these titles are used mostly in formal situations. These titles are used together with surname as in English, e.g.

24. Ogbeni Okwonkwo   'Mr Okwankwo'

Iyaafin Unoka   'Mrs Unoka'

Arabinrin Ajaho   'Madam Ajao'

Omowe Ajaho   'Doctor Ajao'

Ojogbon Okpara   'Professor Okpara'

However, these titles can also be used alone to strangers who are known or suspected to be Yoruba speaking:

25. Ogbeni   'Mr'

Iyaafin '   'Mrs'

arabinrin   'Madam'

Academic titles are used by students:

26. Omowe   'Doctor'

Ojogbon   'professor'

Traditional chieftaincy title "**onioye**" means the owner of -(prefix > **oni** - the owner of) Chiefs in council address one another by specific titles, e.g.

27. Balogum

Otun

Ekerin

Iyalode

Aro

Elder chief when addressed by younger chief, may be called **baba/iya**. These terms are attached to their titles, e.g.

28. baba wa Balogum   'our father Balogum'

Iya wa Ekerin 'our mother Ekerin'

Baba wa Otum   'Our father Otum'

The king uses title alone to address his chiefs as in (27) above.

5.   Occupation

Oyetade (529) observes that occupational terms are used to address people in Yoruba. Two types of occupations are observed, namely; traditional and western oriented. Traditional occupations can be prefixed with "**ONI-**" 'the performer of ' or 'the owner of'.

	28.	prefix	+	stem			
		ONI	+	ode	olode	'hunter'
		ONI	+	abgedo	alagbede	'blacksmith;
		ONI	+	aro	alaro	'dyer'
		ONI	+	isetona	onisona	'craftsman'
		ONI	+	ap	alape	'potter'
		ONI	+	ilu	onilu	'drummer
		ONI	+	ayan	alayan	'drummer

Kinship terms **baba** 'father' or **iya** 'mother' are added when younger members of the society are addressing tradespeople.

Modern types of occupation are used as names. Occupation names are used only to their practitioners. These names came from English and have been made to conform with the Yoruba sound system:

	30.	dokita	'doctor'
		noosi	'nurse'
		looya	'lawyer'
		tisa	'teacher'
		dereba	'driver'

6.   Situational constraints

Oyetade (530) postulates that certain forms are occasionally used as compelled by the environmental context to express a short communication intent:

> express the sharing of common fate.
>
> the mood of the moment
>
> the extent of one's vexation

We learn about the non-reciprocal use of names, or non - deferential pronoun, i.e. a person with power addresses sub-ordinates with their names or non-deferential pronouns, and the subordinate cannot return it. During traditional festivals, the subjects of a king may address him by name, this can be observed in the following songs sung during a traditional festivals, e.g.

3l.	Oloyede o ku ewu o.	Oloyede, congratulation on your escape from danger.
	Awodi I o ku ewu	'Mighty hawk' Congratulation on your escape from danger.
	Oleyede ko gbodo ku	'Oloyede must not die'
	Aba wa ko gbodo ku	'Our king must not die'
	A deboye ko gbodo ku	'Abeboye must not die'
	Aba wa ka gbodo ku	'Our king must not die'

The song concentrates the successful outing of the king from the inner chamber, where he had been before the commencement of the festival, (see 520). There is also what we can call poetic licence where the traditional poet praises kings, nobles and other people. One calls anybody by name, regardless of age or status, but this may be accompanied by apologetic formula, e.g.

32.	Onile mo bode ki ri to wole o	"Dear master of the house", I sought your permission before entering.
	agunala mo bode asuo	

Supa Akanbi!	Supo Akanbi!
Mapemo ba o loye	'Take no offence that I call you (sg) by na
mo pe o loruko	me even though I am well aware that you
	are a titled man.

Supo Akanbi!	Supo Akanbi
Kinni se to o le ma je mi	Why don't you answer me?
Iwo lara Oje oripetu	You (sg) are the native of Oje in Onpetu.

As soon as the praise is finished the post returns to normal way of addressing the elderly using **baba** or appropriate honorific pronouns. A wife may in certain occasions decide to call her husband by personal name, as an indication of surprise, unbelief, disgust or admiration, e.g.

33. Eric passing doctorate within a year is marvellous, really my husband. I am still surprised whether you (sg) are the truth.

A boss who appropriately gets honorific pronouns from a sub-ordinate may receive a non-deferential form on some occasion, e.g.

34. You, (sg) my boss, Eric you did a wonderful thing by letting me to rest after an excellent duty.

7.   Innovations

Oyetade (531) postulates that this happens among the modern, civilized elite class. The elite class is slowly moving away from the general norm with regard to deference. This is rejected by the elders who regard it as indiscipline or non -deference. Oyetade further states that the elders who wanted to retain their culture on tradition, say that the elite class want to "turn the whole world upside down" because they change the status quo. The elite call their parents or elder people by name, e.g.

35. Son: Jack, I want money to pay my depts.

Wives address their husbands with deference, but modern elite nowadays use PN reciprocally between husband and wife, and this brings mutual understanding between the couples, e.g.

36. Wife : Sammy, shall you cook for me?

Husband: Don't worry Sukey.

The husband uses mummy and gets daddy in return, e.g.

37. Husband : Mummy, just tell me about the volcano.

Wife : You see daddy, volcano is a dangerous thing.

University students in Yoruba disregard age differences when addressing each other. They mostly use names, unless the age differences is quite significant. Students show no difference to one another, the reason is that they share the same fate.

Initials are also used and this is the practice among the first generation of the educated elite, particularly teachers and this indicates intimacy and equality, e.g.

38. M.O.T

S.L.M

B.T.G

C.Q.F

S.S.G

Another use of mutual PN is the anglicized versions of personal names in a shortened form. This is the character of the younger generation, and it is used as an index of "civilization" and indicates the level of equality between the speaker and addressee, e.g.

39. Full form	shortened form	Anglicized form
Olubukola	'Bukola	Bukky
Olusegun	'segun	shegee/shegeto
Olu sola	'sola	sholly

Adebayo	'Bayo	Bayus
Aluwole	'Wole	Wosco/woleria
Akintunde	'Akin	Akins/Akinson

Kinship terms are undergoing innovations, kinship terms like daddy, mummy, uncle or brother have been loaned from English to Yoruba, but with altered usages.

A market women or hawkers of goods, address their educated customers as:

40. Daddy, don't you want this?

Mummy, this is special for you.

Uncle, take this for nothing.

Aunty, buy this for your kids.

CONCLUSION

We have discussed briefly the importance and different forms of address, like any other behavioural routines, which are deeply rooted in the socio-cultural context of a society. When a person speaks, he finds himself in a problem of choice. The form used to address another person is determined by the assessment of the relationship between the speakers. Oyetade (533) states that this is from the expected norm of behaviour

appropriate to the situation, and what the speaker wants to emphasize in the relationship with the addressee.

2.7   DICKEY (1997)

Dickey (1997:   255) examines the use of names and other words in address and in reference. The way that speaker A addresses B differs from the way that A refers to B. This article observes factors affecting this differences.

1. Background

At this juncture, researchers have done much in the field of sociolinguistics on forms of address. Most of them deal with the work of Brown and Gilman' s (1990) original study which concentrated on the use of address pronouns and T/V distinctions. The social meaning of a word when used as an address does not connect closely to what word's literal meaning. Another point is why addresses is some languages have derogatory literal meaning together with positive social meaning.

1.1 Terminology

To define these differences, attempts have been made to define 'meaning' used of an address. The meaning of address form is determined by its usage, while the usage of a word will include its usage as an address, therefore the difference between social and literal meaning will be impossible, the social is part of the literal meaning. Terms like 'literal' and 'social' may be replaced by 'lexical', 'referential' and 'address', the address meaning of a word is determined by its usage as an address, the referential meaning is determined by its usage when referring to people or things (in non-address contexts). The usefulness of this terminology is its ability to concentrate primarily on 'social factor' rather than 'literal one'. In English, various forms of a person's name are used: Jane Smith can be referred to as Jane or Mrs Smith and the choice of the two alternatives are determined socially rather than lexically. The choice between the same woman as Jane or as Mrs Smith and the choice is socially determined. Socio-linguisticts are concerned with the differences between referential and address meanings, for example, Madam in its referential meaning is a brother-keeper while it is polite in its address meaning. (see 256).

1.2 Practical applications

Dickey states that address meaning of a word cannot be assumed to be the same as its referential meaning. We cannot guarantee that if A refers to person B with certain word, A will also use that word in addressing B, nor that because A addresses B in a certain

way, A will also refer to B in a certain way, A will also refer to B in that way, for example, teachers can address each other using names (PN, TLN, surname or nickname)

Using PN (personal names):

Teacher A: Johannes, the principal wants to see you.

Teacher B: Thank you, Eric.

Using Surname:

Teacher A: Smith,the principal wants to see you.

Teacher B: Thank you, De Klerk.

Using Nicknames:

Teacher A: Jackie. Lend me your ear.

Teacher B: Just talk Joe, I will listen to you.

When the teacher A refers to B, speaking to the student, he switches to TLN, e. g.

Teacher A: John, tell Mr Smith that he is having a call.

Here the teacher is teaching the student to use the correct address when speaking to the teacher.

1.3   Referential and etymological meaning

Dickey states that the referential meaning of the word is determined by its use in non-address contexts for an example in English, Mr is used in reference only when attached to names and indicates an address or respect. Mr is historical related to the word Master.
Its entymological usage disappeared. The meaning of Mr, is no longer the same as that of Master. This is not a referential or vocative difference.

2.   Experimentation

Dickey states that the relationship between referential and vocative usage is not clearly seen and cannot easily be determined by introspection. Dickey conducts some investigation with some American and European students and academics. Dickey observes that the question of the changes in forms of address is very different from and much more complex than the issue one is addressing, namely the synchronic relationship between address and reference; the historical question and a pragmatic one. Diverse groups of informants are needed in order to provide data on the historical question.

2.1   Procedure for collection of data

Dickey presents the collection of information. Information was gathered by observation conducted over the course of two years. Interaction within families is included. The questionnaire-based interviews are used, the difference between the actual and reported usage is reduced. At first phase serious failures are observable between questionnaire and observation data. These failures are reduced by the phenomenon that interviews are short, informal, unscheduled and took place on neutral territory, and stopped when informants became restless. A total of 28 informants are interviewed, they range from 20 to 75 years.

2.2   Limits of experiment

Both address and reference differ according to the speaker and express the speaker's relationship to the addressee or person referred to. Each person receives a range of addresses according to the speaker and it is even possible for the same address to have different implication when used by different people, for an example: T pronoun may convey intimacy when used to the speaker's parents or very different when used to a domestic servant. Teachers address their students in one way in formal setting and another way in informal interaction.

Formal setting:

Teacher: Albert Smith, dust for me a chalkboard please?

The teacher uses both the name and surname in a classroom situation. When speakers refer to people unknown to their addressees, the term used in reference will be determined by the need to convey certain information, e.g.

> My mother
>
> Dora's husband
>
> James's teacher
>
> The man who own the grocery's store at the corner.

These depend on the factors rather than the relationship of vocative and referential usage.

3.   Results of the experiments

Information is concerned with two types of interaction, namely: family members and students and faculty in academic institutions. Information on interaction between non-academy university staff are collected and later discarded because of their incompleteness in their generations.

3.1   Family interaction

Family members of a younger generation than the speaker are addressed by first name (FN), a nickname (NN), or a term of endearment, e.g.

> First Name (FN)
>
>> Parent: Jack, make for me a cup of tea please!

> Nickname(NN)
>
>> Parent: Jackie, will you bring me water please?

> Term of endearment
>
>> Husband: Come here my darling.

Reference to younger family members is done by FN or NN regardless of the addressee, e.g.

> First Name:
>
>> Parent: John left at three o'clock.

> Nicknames:
>
>> Parent: Johnie left at three o'clock.

Unflattering names to younger children are used between the parents.

One informant refers to her two older children as brother and sister when speaking to the youngest child:

> Informant: Please leave your brother's book.

Family members of the same generation as the speaker are also addressed with FN, NN or endearment in case of spouse. Equality is the order of the day:

>> FN: John, come here!
>> NN: Johnny, you stole my pen.

> Endearment: (between spouse):
>> Darling, make for me tea please.

Forms of reference used towards the addressee have been different when he or she is a child. While she is still young:

>> Parents: Johnny, come here.
>>> Jacky go to bed.

> When she is matured:
>> Parent: Mr Johnson was here just now.

Family members of ascending generation are normally addressed with kinship terms, for an example how children address their parents:

> Child: Daddy, the teacher told us to bring along red pen.
>
> : Mother, you forgot to buy for me sweets.

The speaker will use the same kinship terms in reference as they would have used to address the older family member, but changes to use the kinship term by which the younger relative would have addressed the referent. E.g.

> Mother: Jimmy, my son , your father is still waiting for you inside the
>
> car.

3.2   Academic interaction

The essential dimension in the academic setting is concerned about position in the academic hierarchy with fundamental division being one of teacher and student. Most teachers use FN in addressing their student whether the teachers are graduate students or senior faculty members or undergraduate, for an example,

> Both graduate teachers and senior faculties:
>
> :Jimmy, will you mind collecting history
>
> books from the students?

Older faculty members in both Britain and American use title and last name (TLN) to students, e.g.

> Mr Smith ,will you accompany me to the restaurant?

Until a person acquaintance is established, British faculty members use TLN to all students particularly in formal settings, meeting with administrative official and switched to FN in informal settings.

Three main possibilities emerge concerning reference, namely, FN, TLN and FNLN and the last one is used when there might be doubts as to the identity of the student under discussion. FN is a common way for teachers to refer to students whether in speaking to a colleague, superior or other student.

> To the colleague:
>
> The teacher: Mr Dlodi I am not going to mark
> Thabo's book. That boy frustrated me in
> the classroom.

> To superior: Mr Principal, you must call Thabo into order, he is
> getting out of hand nowadays.

> To the student: Take this textbook and give it to Thabo.

However teachers who address students with TLN, have a tendency to refer to them with TLN as well. Teachers use nicknames for some of their students as little Johnny, little Jacky etc. These nicknames are used to refer to the student in talking to the colleagues.

> Teacher: Little Jacky used to sleep in the classroom while I was
> teaching.

FNLN can be used as intermediate level between FN and TLN in reference, being more formal than FN and less formal than TLN. FNLN is normally used at school by the educators addressing and referring to the educand:

> Educator: Jack Smith, give me a hand, please.
> Educator: Tell Jack Smith to come to the office, please.

Nicknames are used among friends but as a reference, particularly when the addressee is younger than the reference. In Britain there are common use of title with definite article and without the name of the referent e.g. Vice chancellor. Only graduate student, when talking about a reference of high status to addressee of lower status, use TLN in reference. The other possible form of reference is the use of the last name

alone with little, as Smith, Jackson (LN) and this type of reference is mostly used by men rather than women to superiors, inferiors or equals. Nickname (NN) are commonly used in academic than in family interaction and have three variants, namely; used primarily in address, used only in reference and those used generally (see 267). Nicknames which are diminutives of FN, as Julie or Jackie function as any one of the three types and the sort of nickname most likely to replace FN altogether in the community and Nicknames (NN) bearing less relationship to the person's name, such as Juno, Himself, or the fish are more likely to belong to the first or second type.

CONCLUSION

4.

Data from two widely different types of interaction produced similar results. The following are the specific factors which cause variations (see 269)

(a) In talking to people of lower status/age (student, children) about their elders/superiors, most speakers use in reference the term which their addressee would use in address to the referent.

(b)   In talking about an intimate acquaintance to people on less intimate terms with the referent and/or speaker, speakers avoid the use of nicknames or other intimate terms for the referent.

(c)   In talking to close associates about a referent having considerable power over and/or causing substantial trouble to both speaker and addressee speakers sometimes use nicknames which are avoided in address.

(d)   In talking to a superior, speakers sometimes use that superior's forms of reference.

When one wants to interpret the results in terms of the theories of Brown and Gilman (1960). One can link the first two with 'solidarity' and the second two is linked to 'power'.

4.1   Relationship to previous findings

divergence. Speakers may bring their speech pattern close to those of the addressee (convergence). The greater the speaker's need to gain other's social approval, the greater the degree of convergence.

Speaker   Speaker

convergence   Divergence

addressee   addressee
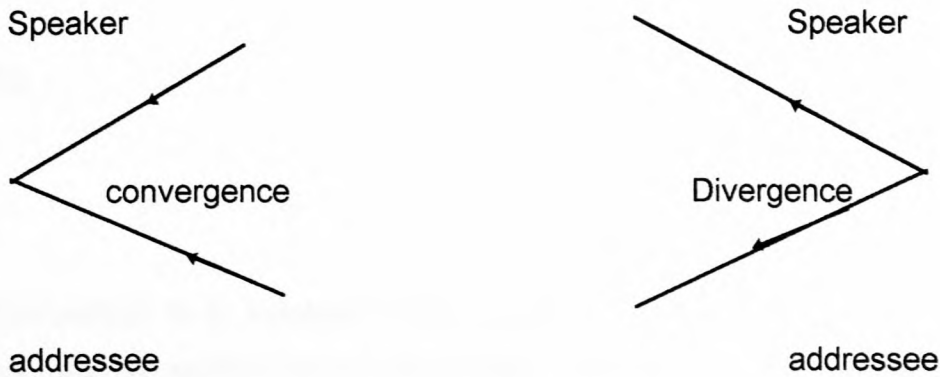
Sometimes a speaker may exaggerate differences in their speech (divergence). Students who have different ways of addressing the same teacher are likely to converge towards the more informal means of reference among themselves , e.g. Nicknames and names. Student who refers to a teacher with FN is perceived to have more status than the other student who refers to the same teacher with TLN and in discussion, the reference of the student with the lower status will converge towards that of the student with higher status. Parents and teachers converge towards children, but much less than the children converge towards them (see 27l). Dickey also experiments that parents converge towards what they want the children to produce in order to get the child to produce it, e.g. Daddy, father. Another example, teachers address each other using nicknames, names, surname or sometimes TLN but when they are talking to students, teachers use a title when they refer to colleagues. Dickey states that the studies of Luong together with Hartmann are explained by accommodation theory. The two researchers, Luong's and Hartmann's studies can be adjusted to suit the accommodation theory. Supporting their argument (Luong's and Hartmann's), children learn to talk by imitating their adults. There is a tendency that adults have to take the perspective of small children in referring to older relatives, in order to teach the children how to address those relatives correctly. The same factors to determine address and referent are in use in German, Vietnamese and English.

CHAPTER 3

INFORMAL ADDRESS FORM

3.1   NAMES

3.1.1 Aim

The aim of this section is to establish what names a **Venḓa** person may possibly have and how a person may be addressed in **Tshivenḓa**.   Names are words by which a person is known, spoken to or about.   Names distinguish people in the speech situations such as in a family, school, traditional courts, modern courts and hospitals.   Names in **Tshivenda** may be classified into two groups called the **Tshivenḓa** and non-**Tshivenḓa** names.   **Tshivenda** names include pre-birth names, postbirth names, **Venḓa** Christian names and modified ones.

3.1.2 Names in Tshivenḓa

3.1.2.1   <u>Tshivenda names</u>

3.1.2.1.1   *Pre-birth names*

These names are given to a child before birth, particularly the first-born child.   This is the cultural name because it is given to the mother and includes the name of the child.   For the mother, the prefix (nya) is added to the name of the child.   The name begins with the prefix **Nya** + personal name, e.g.   **Marubini > Nyamarubini**, **Tshinyalani**, **Mulambilu** and **Muhanganei** have a sarcastic meaning.

When names are given to people in **Tshivenda**, gender is not considered. Before a name is given, there must be a consensus or agreement between the husband's parents and sister. The name shall be given in terms of traditional or family events.

In **Venda** tradition, naming plays an important role and some particular/exact rules are followed when naming a new born baby. The name is given by the [**makhadzi**] 'father's sister'. There must be consensus between **makhadzi** and the father's parent and some rituals. The name is given to the child irrespective of the sex of the child. Depending upon different views, some names may be considered more appropriate for boys than for girls and vice versa. **Venda** names are characterised by sarcasm and irony. Many of these names are derived words from other categories such as verbs. The following derivations may give indication of the range of derivations of these names taken from **Ladzani**.

3.1.2.1.1.1   Personal names derived from verbs

Proper nouns in **Venda** may be derived from verbs. According to **Venda** tradition, these nouns have special anthropological consideration. Most of these names are given irrespective of the sex of the child.

(1)   a. [Dembe] (mighty) F/M

b.   This name is given to a baby whose mother suffered a lot during her pregnancy (by illness) so that the family even thought she might miscarry.

(2)   a. [Dzumba] (conceal) M
b. The name in (a) is that of a boy. Mostly this name is given by the aunt of the child who knows that this child does not belong to this family. The family is indirectly telling the mother to conceal this fact to the father of the child.

3.1.2.1.1.2   Person from classes with q-word phrase.

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may also be found from verbs with a question -word compliment, like the following examples:

(3)   a. Ndivhudzannyi (whom do I tell?) F

b. This name is given to a baby -girl. It is normally given to a child who was born after many relatives have passed away and they are asking each other whom to tell because they no longer have relatives.

(4)   a. Ndivhoniswani (What are you showing me?)

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex, by the relevent people in the family who indirectly send the message to the witches that are tormenting the family.

3.1.2.1.1.3   Person names derived from clauses containing negative intrasitive verbs.

(5)   a. Aifheli (it does not come to an end) F/M

b. The name in (a) is given to a child who was born when there is war in the country or when the family members were fighting. The message is indirectly directly through the name to those who are fighting.

(6)   a. Alufheli (it does not come to an end) F/M

b. The name in (a) is given to a child irrespective of its gender. This name is given to a child who was born when there is peace in the family. So the message of this name is that the love in this family will never come to an end.

3.1.2.1.1.4   Person names derived from negative copular clauses with the preposition -na.

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may also be derived from negative copular clauses with the proposition -**na**. Consider the following examples:

(7)   a. Thinavhuyo (I have nowhere to go) F/M.

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex, who was born when there were some problem in the family. The person whom the family is opposed would through this name, indirectly send the message to them implying 'I have nowhere to go' or ' I will not go anywhere'. Sometimes this name is given to a child whose parents suddenly died after his birth.

(8)   a. [Athinavhuyo] (I do not have a place to go) F.

b. This name is given to a baby girl who was born when there was no peace in the family, especially between the baby's mother and her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law directs the message to the daughter-in-law through the name of the child, saying 'I have nowhere to go'.

3.1.2.1.1.5   Person names derived from negative copular verb clause with preposition -**kha**.

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may also be derived from a negative copular verb clause with the preposition -**kha**, as shown in the following example:

(9)   a. Tshisikhawe (Things are not at her/him) FM

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex and serves as a warning to the family that things are not at her/him, i.e. at person to whom the name refers.

3.1.2.1.1.6   Person names derived from clauses with monotransitive morphologically simple negative verbs with object.

Names derived from clauses with morphologically simple monotransitive verbs in **Venda** can have a subject Agreement affix (AgrS) which can exhibit varios person, number and gender features, as demostrated in the following examples:

(10) a. Avhaathu (They have not yet started) F/M.

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex and mostly to one who had survived well since birth and never got sick because of being bewitched. Thus the family says through this name, 'this child is well because the witches have not yet started'.

(11) a. Athiathu (I have not started) F/M

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex, whose mother or one of the family members used to be troublesome, but it is now along time since that person has troubled them, so the child born in that family will be given this name to indicate that trouble has hot yet started.

3.1.2.1.1.7 Person name derived from clauses with negative monotransitive verbs with object agreement affix.

Proper nouns denoting person names derived from clauses with negative verbs in **Venda** which can have an objects agreement afix (AgrO) can exhibit various person, number and gender features, as shown in the following examples:

(12) a. Avhantodi (They do not want me) (F/M)

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex, but mostly to a baby girl while the family was expecting a baby boy. Sometimes this name is given to a child whose mother is not accepted by the family, or when the family thought the mother might have cheated on her husband.

(13)   a. Avhantendi (They do not allow me) (F/M)

        b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex and although he/she was born in wedlock, his/her father denies him/her.

3.1.2.1.1.8   Person names derived from clauses with morphologically simple monotransitive positive verbs with the progressive morpheme -sa.

Proper nouns denoting person names **Venḓa** may be derived from clauses with the progressive morpheme -**sa** as in the following examples:

(14)   a. Tshisaathu (That which is still starting) (F/M)

        b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex who was born when there was peace in the family because they expected problems in the family have not yet started, so the child is regarded as that which has not yet started.

(15)   a. Zwisaathu (while it (things) is still starting) F/M

        b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex. The meaning og this name is similar to that of [Tshisaathu] above.

3.1.2.1.1.9   Person names derived from clauses with negative passive verbs.

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may be also be derived from clauses with negative passive verbs, as demonstrated by the following examples.

(16)   a. Athifhurwi (I am not to be cheated/deceived) F/M

        b. This name is given to a child of whom the family thought the mother might have cheated on her husband. Thus the message is indirectly sent to her through the name of the child. 'You cannot deceive or cheat me'. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex.

(17) a. Athivhonwi (I do not want to be seen) F/M

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex. It is given to a child who was born with some disabilities.

3.1.2.1.1.10 Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may also be derived from neuter - passive verbs, as in the following examples:

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may also be derived from neuter-passive verbs, as in the following examples:

(18) a. Ailwei (it is unfightable) F/M

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex, who was born when the family was in turmoil and when no one could interfere in that fight. Thus they send a message through the child's name indirectly to those who are fighting, saying ' it cannot be fought'.

(19) a. [Avhafarei] (They cannot be touched) F/M

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex. The message is indirectly sent to the witches who were troubling the family for a long period, that the family are in fact untouchable.

3.1.2.1.1.11 Proper nouns denoting person names derived from clauses with reciprocal verb verbs.

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may also be derived from reciprocal verb clauses, as shown in the following example:

(20) a. Avhapfari (They do not understand each other) (F/M)

b. This name is given to a child, irresoective of its sex, who was born when the parents or the family were always fighting and misunderstanding each other.

3.1.2.1.1.12 Proper nouns denoting person names with applicative verbs.

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may also be derived from applicative verbs as demonstrated in the following examples:

(21) a. Thizwitevheli (I do not follow it) (F/M)

b. This name is given to a child, irrespective of its sex, who was born when one member of the family was in difficult. The person being troubled would say through the child's name, 'I do not care/follow it'.

(22) a. Thifulufheli (I do not have hope/trust/faith) (F/M)

b. This name is given to a child,irrespective of its sex, of whom the family suspects that it does not belong to their family, as the mother might have cheated on her husband.

3.1.2.1.1.13 Proper nouns denoting person names derived from imperative mood clauses.

Proper nouns denoting person names in Venda with social cultural considerations, may be derived from imperative mood clauses, as demonstrated by the following examples:

(23) a. Aluwani (grow-up) (F/M)

b. This name is given to a child, irrespective of sex,born in a family with few members, so the parents are told through this name to have more children so that the family could grow.

(24)   a. Balanganani (Get dispersed) (F/M)

b. This name is given to a child, irrespective of its sex. The message in this name is directed to the witches who might be lingering around the family to signify to them that it is now time for them to disperse, and they must not touch the new born baby.

3.1.2.1.1.14 Proper nouns denoting person names derived from hortative clauses.

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may also be derived from hortative clauses, as demonstrated by the following examples:

(25)   a. Avhafune (love them) (F/M)

b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex. The name refers to those who hate the mother of the baby and the message is 'love them even though they were treating you badly'.

3.1.2.1.1.15 Proper nouns denoting person names with the affixes **ra**- and **ro**-

Proper names denoting person names in **Venda** may also be derived with the affixes [**ra** - and **ro**-]. Those names with the affix **ra** - general denote male names only ,whereas those with the affix **ro** - denote both male and female names. Consider the following examples:

(26)   a. Ramaano (The one who is clever) (M)

b. This name is given to a baby boy who is regarded as vey clever. He is regarded as the one who will show insight of family matters because of his intelligence.

(27)   a. Ronewa (We have been given) (F/M)

        b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex. It is like a thanksgiving to

        God, stating that 'we have been given this child'.

3.1.2.1.1.16 Proper nouns denoting person names derived from compound nouns.

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** may be derived from compound nouns as demonstrated by the following examples:

(28)   a. Mulambilu (someone who is always complaining (F/M)

        b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex. It is generally given to a

        child born when the mother or family was complaining and grumbling because of

        something bad which happened in the family.

(29)   a. Tshisaphungo (someone who takes the rumour to go) (F/M)

        b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex. It is like sacasm or irony,

        as the message is sent indirectly to someone who is always spreading rumours

        about intimate family matters.

3.1.2.1.1.17 Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** with some social cultural considerations may also be found with the prefixes [nya - and nwa-] denoting female names. Consider the following examples:

(30)   a. Nyatshisevhe (The mother of Tshisevhe) (F)

        b. This name is given to a baby girl.

(31)   a. Nyamufuwi (The mother of Mufuwi) (F)

b. This name is given to a baby girl who is regarded as the person who will take care of the

people.

(32)　a. Nwafunyufunyu (The daughter of Funyufunyu)　(F)

　　　b. This name is given to a baby girl.

(33)　a. Nwasundani　(The daughter of Sundani)　(F)

　　　b. This name is given to a baby girl.

3.1.2.1.1.18　Proper nouns denoting person names derived from deverbal nouns.

3.1.2.1.1.18.1　　Deverbal nouns with class 9 prefix

Proper nouns denoting person names is **Venda** with some social cultural considerations may also be derived from deverbal nouns with class prefixes, as demonstrated by the following example:

(34)　a. Pfarelo　(Apology) (F/M)

　　　b. This name is given to a child irrespective of its sex and is actually meant to be an apology.　Sometimes the mother-in-law is indirectly telling the mother of the child to apologise to the family about the bad things she has done.

3.1.2.1.1.18.2　　Deverbal nouns with class 6 prefix

Proper nouns denoting person names in **Venda** with some social cultural consideration may be derived from deverbal nouns with the class 6 prefix, as in the following examples:

(35)　a. Mafharalala (someone who turns up unexpectedly/uninvited at occasion)　M.

　　　b. This name is given to a baby boy who was born when either his parents or one of the family members fell into things.

(36)   a. Mahabeledza (someone who forces) (M)

          b. This name is given to a baby boy whose mother or father forces something when the family said it would not work out.

3.1.2.1.1.20 Proper nouns denoting person names without meaning.

Some proper nouns denoting person names without meaning may be found in **Venda**. Consider the following examples where all the proper nouns are given to baby boys and are without meaning.

(37)   Maga (M)

(38)   Khakhu (M)

(39)   Bodoni (M)

(40)   Hadzhi (M)

(41)   Bologo (M)

3.1.2.2   Non-Tshivenda names

The non-**Tshivenda** names are post-birth names and they are given after the birth of the child. These are probably of European origin either from the Bible or typical English and **Afrikaans** names. The western civilisation influences the use of postbirth names. The European names are regarded as second names.

The non-**Tshivenḓa** may follow historical event or experience. The grandparents can give the child a European name because he/she has an experience with the European people. For example:

(42)   Jackson

Nelson

Aubrey

Albert

Patrick

Beauty

Hitler

These names are determined by historical events as seen by the husband's parents. The historical events may be related to some war or working together in the same companies.

Afrikaans names

The child may be given the **Afrikaans** names in **rememberance** of a certain experience with **Afrikaans** people:

(43)   Jan

Piet

Andries

Rachel

Willem

Bible names

Venda christians have changed to christianity. Some christians have knowledge about these names and others just imitate these names not knowing the names' meaning. In a christian family, names are given to children in accordance the parent's wish.

(44)   Mushesh   'Moses means a leader'

Parents would like their children to be leaders of tomorrow.

(45)   David   ' leader/warrior'

Parents want their children to display bravery skills.

(46)   Solomon   'cleverness'

The children are expected to have wisdom in the judgement of different situations.

3.1.2.3   Tshivenda Christian names

As indicated in the pre-birth names, the **Tshivenda** christian names are also derived from verbs.   Because these names are associated with christian religion, they bear positive meaning to the subjects.   The christian families use the **Tshivenda** Christian names to show their mutual relationship with God.   Names such as **Lufuno** (love), **Dakalo** (happiness), **Mpho** (gift) and **Thabelo** (prayer) mentioned names show that in a family setting there is love, happiness, and understanding.

(47)   Lufuno   'Love'

Love is reinforced in the family.

(48)   Dakalo   'happiness'

The birth of the child brought happiness in the family.

(49)   Ndivhuwo   'thanksgiving to God'.

(50)   Mpho   'gift'

A gift from God.

Tshivenda modified names

Some of the **Venda** names are modified by the couples. The couple needs to put forward their philosophy. Both husband and wife might ignore either European or traditional names for their children's names. The name is a component of different syllable.

(51)   Mutsa, from Nya-mu-tsa-nga-davhi-wa sa farelela davhi-u-a-wa.

Ascend

(52)   Ndoda'I came'

3.1.2.4   Praise names

Historically praise names are regarded as traditional names. Though praise names are used in different ways these days, they still perform the task of praising for a certain achievement. Praise names can be understood by a person who holds particular knowledge about the culture and historical background of a certain family or nation.   Due to the arrival of missionaries, people felt less inclined to bear praise names. Some people preferred christian names at the expense of **Tshivenda** names. **Mafela** and **Raselekoana** (1990: 65 -
72) state that praise names can be used by a grandparent to praise a grandchild for something which is appreciable. Among the **Venda** people, praise names can be applied to ordinary and non-ordinary persons. Praise names make a person who is praised feel very proud. It helps in understanding unknown things and people's historical background. A relationship is established between the praise names and the environment in which they are used. Praise names are not learnt in the formal education only but orally from one

generation to another. These names are special names given by the paternal family, husband's parents and a sister as a spokesperson in the family. The following praise names are given to ordinary people:

(53) Mushaathama: Mushaathama tsinde la mupfa
Person without friend.

(54) Langanani: Langanani vhaloi, vhadzimu vho langana kale.
'Agreement made between peopleand their gods'.

(55) Ravhutsi: Ravhutsi a vha mmbengi vhu tevhedza mulilo.
'There is no smoke without a fire'

3.1.2.5   Nicknames (NN)

Nicknames or term of endearment are regarded as terms of reference to young family members. According to Dickey (1997) nicknames used in addressing are also employed by the same speaker. Nicknames are normally used in the absence of the addressee. In some instances calling a person by a nickname might cause a conflict. Nicknames are recognised as either positive or negative. Nicknames such as little Jimmy, Agent of Satan, Son of the Devil and little monkey are negative ones. These negative nicknames are used in a formal situation by educators talking about learners who misbehave or passive listeners. The positive nicknames such as Roby or Jimmy are used in the presence of the addressee. Nicknames which are dimunitive (Julie or Jimmy) can replace personal names in a community. Nicknames can arise from the deeds, character, height, strength or colour of a person.

3.1.2.6   Tshivenda nicknames

Nicknames or terms of endearment in **Tshivenda** are used by elders in calling young ones. Nicknames are mostly utilized by friends, peers and between teachers and pupils. As it is rare for both parents and children to exchange nicknames, they (terms od endearment)

show affection between the two (parents and children). The following are examples of nicknames:

(56) Mantswu (Blacky)

'The person who is very black'.

(57) Mutshena 'Whitey'

'The person who is white in colour'.

(58) Mulapfakhole 'tallness'

'The person who is very tall'

(59) Mulomoni ' In the mouth'

'A person who is a liar'

(60) Randevhe 'owner of the ear'.

3.1.2.6 <u>Surnames</u>

Surnames are names held by all members of a particular family. Surnames are widely used in formal situations rather than in addressing people. In the past, **Venda** people did not have surnames, but bear totem names. The totem names serve a driving force behind distinguishing one family from other families. The totem name represents a branch of a tree where an offspring will be produced. Because the **Venda** people were hunters, warriors and shepherds in the past years, their surnames originated from these nouns. Surnames such as '**Ndou**' (Elephant), '**Mudau**' (Lion) and '**Mugwena**' (Crocodile) were used. Some of the

surnames arised due to the fact that people were moving from one place to another(**Maḑuwa**). Some were sellers (**vhakwevho**) and others were fond of arguing (**Ramunana**).

3.1.2.7 Titles

Among the **Venda** people, elders are treated with due deference or respect. This can be observed in formal meetings such as schools or companies. The **Venḑa** people use the adopted title from European languages such as Sir, Madam, Mrs, Miss, Rev, etc. This is the result of the social contact between the **Venḑa** and European people.

3.1.3 Term of address

3.1.3.1 Aim

The six categories pertaining to names which have been established above will now be considered with regard to form of address. Such address forms will be used in dyadic conversation between intimates, strangers, friends and superiors/subordinates.

3.1.3.2 Personal names

Personal names are more frequently used than surnames as a form of address. Personal names and surnames represent two broad groups that are used in the **Venda** language. The factors such as age, intimacy, acquaintanceship, the speaker's intent and the situation in which the speech act takes place determine the selection of personal names and surnames. In the **Venḑa**, language personal names yield two patterns of reciprocal and non-reciprocal exchange.

3.1.3.2.1 *Tshivenda names*

(a)   Intimates (Husband and wife or lovers)

One hot afternoon I listened to a couple talking to each other.   The husband would like to quench his thirst and their conversation was as follows:

(61a) Mavhungu: Mufumakadzi wanga, **Langanani**, ni nga nṋekedza madi, ndi na dora.
'My wife, Langanani, could you bring some water as I am thirsty, please?

(61b) Langanani: **Mavhungu**, madi a khou fhisesa. Ndi nga vha rengela nyamunaithi.
'Mavhungu, the water is too warm. Can I buy you a colddrink?

During the dialogue, the couple used personal names due to Western civilisation.   In the presence of the husband,s parents, they switch from personal names to father of X or mother of X.

(b)   Friends

Personal names are widely used among friends, close associates and members of the same peer group.   When friends discuss schoolwork, political or medical issues, personal names of **Tshivenḓa** origin are used as a form of address.

(62a) Mmbulaheni: **Masindi** no no pfa nga ha tshitumbulwa tshiswa tsha HIV?
Masindi, have you heard of the newly found drug against HIV?

(62b) Masindi: **Mmbulaheni**, dzina la itsho tshitumbulwa ndi mini

Mmbulaheni,what is the name of that drug?

(62c) Mmbulaheni: Kha pfe hafha, **Masindi**, AZT ndi mushonga wa u fhungudza
dwadze ḽa Aids.
Could you listen to me, Masindi, please? The AZT will try and
help in the spread of Aids.

Masindi and **Mmbulaheni** are names used by the interlocutors to address each other. The
reason may be the equality in age, education or religion.

(c) Superior and sub-ordinates

When a junior and a senior are involved in a dyadic relationship, a junior may use a generic
kinship term or an appropriate honorific pronoun. A junior person is always the recipient of a
personal name. By calling one's father or an elder with a name is regarded as undisciplined
behaviour by a child or junior. When the senior person speaks with a junior,their dialogue
takes place in this way:

(63a) Senior person: **Maṱodzi**, ni ḓo ya u khada kholomo dakani.
'Matodzi, will you fetch the cattle in the bush'.

(63b) Junior person: Ndi nga si kone, **baba/vhone**,ndi na mushumo.
'I cannot, daddy, as I am still working.

In the above sentences, the interlocutors do not belong to the same generation, the senior
person sends personal name, **Maṱodzi**, and he receives kinship term **baba** (father).

(d) Strangers

On one occasion, I was waiting at the busstop when a stranger arrived. The stranger did not have the right direction in which he ought to travel and he asked me to give him the direction. Because the two of us did not know each other, the stranger asked me in this manner.

(64a) Stranger: **Ṅwananga**, muthu a tshi ya Soekmekaar u namela bisi dza u yela ngafhi?

'My son, could you tell me the direction to Soekmekaar, please?

(64b) Myself: **Baba**, vha tshi ya Soekmekaar vha namela bisi ya Mabidi i no ' ⠄⠄ ⠄⠄ yela thungo dza vhukovhela.

'Well, my father, the Mabidi bus service is the only transport that would take you to Soekmekaar.

In the sentences above, it is understood that the stranger is older than myself. The stranger sends T and receives V in form of address. When the speakers are not acquainted with each other, kinship terms are exchanged. As the dialogue progresses, they can use either personal names or surnames.

One day the stranger (old man) wanted to know the well known traditional doctor who is staying at **Mamphagi** village.

(65a) Vho-Mulelu: Ndi matsheloni, **muduhulu**.

'Good morning, my grandchild'.

(65b) Bodoni: Ndi matsheloni avhudi, **gugu**. Vho vuwa hani?

'Fine, How are you my grandparent?

(65c) Vho-Mulelu: Ndi nne vho-Mulelu. Ndi bva vhudogwa. Ndi hafha ndi khou toda maine munwe a no pfi vho-Malukuta.

'I am Mr Mulelu from Vhuḓogwa. I am looking for a traditional doctor known as Mr Malukuta!

(65d) Bodoni: Nṋe ndi pfi Bodoni, **vho-Mulelu**. Ndi dzula henefha ha-Mamphagi. Nanga i no pfi vho-Malukuta i dzula hafho phanḓa ha muuno muhulwane.

'I am Bodoni and stay at Mamphagi village'.

'The witch-doctor, Mr Malukuta,stays next to that fig tree.'

(65e) Vho-Mulelu: Ndo livhuwa, **Bodoni**, Mudzimu a ni farise.

'Thank you, Bodoni. God be with you'.

The interlocutors used kinship terms when addressing each other such as **gugu** 'grandparent' and **muḓuhulu** 'grandchild'(above). After introducing each other,the senior is addressed as **Vho- Mulelu** 'Mr Mulelu and the junior as **Bodoni**. The senior received V (Mr Mulelu) and sends T to the junior.

3.1.3.2.2   *Non-Tshivenḓa names*

The Western civilization 's influence over the culture and tradition of **Venḓa** people made them to favour non-**Tshivenḓa** names.

(a)   Intimates (husband and wife)

The elite class changed the status quo. In the past, the wives had to show respect for their husbands. These days personal names are mostly exchanged between the couple.   To illustrate the change of respect by a wife, the conversation below will be relevent.

(66a) Wife: Ndi amba **Jack**, mukegulu vha kha di bva u founa. Vha khou amba uri

a vha vuwi, vho farwa nga duda.

'Jack, my mother -in -law has phoned us that she is not feeling well'.

(66b) Husband: Inwi **Suzan**, hone mukegulu vha ri duda ilo lo vha thoma lini?

'When did she become ill, Suzan?'

(b)   Friends

Among the **Venda** persons, friends prefer European names rather than **Tshivenda** ones. Usually one will find their discussion based on the following example:

(67a) Brian: Vhege ino ni a divha **Solomon** ri fanela u kunda Muila Young Tigers F.C

kha mutambo wa u bvisana.

'Solomon, this weekend we must beat Muila Young Tigers F.C in a

knockout soccer match'.

(67b) Solomon: Zwi a konda **Brian**, i a tambesa nahone i na vhalambedzi.

'Brian, it is very difficult to beat them as they have good players

and have been boasted by a sponsorship.

In the sentences above there is reciprocal use of non- **Tshivenda** personal names.

(c)   Superior/ subordinates

Respect is unquestionable among the **Venda** people. Superiority dominates their daily routine of life. When the honorific **vho-** is attached to European names, the authority of an elder over the yopung is emphasized. Besides superiority at home, the work place demands

the use of honorific **vho-** with non-**Tshivenḑa** names. To illustrate this fact further, the
dialogue below shows superiority:

(68a) Employer: Zwi khou konnda ano maḑuvha, mveledziso i khou tsa, **Joel**.

Hu khou tea u fhungudzwa vhashumi.

' Our company is going down the drain, Joel. I think the only

solutions is staff reductions'.

(68b) Employee: **Vho-Jack** izwi zwi do vhaisa vhashumi na mita yavho.

'Mr Jack, I think staff reduction will destroy the relationship

between workers and their families'.

(d) Strangers

The non-**Tshivenḑa** names are used by strangers when introducing one another rather than
Tshivenḑa names. The **Venḑa** names are regarded as embarrassing because they have a
negative meaning. The status or position which one attains in life makes people to shy away
from their **Venḑa** names. The two former friends meet after 15 years and they no longer know
each other. They were in the same queue at Standard Bank when one of the men wanted to
know whether he was on the relevant queue or not.

(69a) Matrodzi: Ndi masiari, **shaka ḽanga**

'Good afternoon, my relative'.

Fhedzisani: Ndi masiari avhuḑi , vho vuwa hani?

'Fine, thank you, How are you?'

(69b) Matodzi: Ndi nṋe Matodzi, hu tou nga ri a divhana.

'I am Matodzi, it seems as if we know each other.

(69c) Fhedzisani: Ee nne ndi Fhedzisani n̊wana wa vho Tshilavhana.

'Yes, I am Fhedzisani, the son of Mr Tshilavhana.'

(69d) Matodzi: Ndi inwi **Fhedzisani**, khonani yanga?

'Are you Fhedzisani, my friend?'

(69e) Fhedzisani: Ee, ndi nn̯e **Matodzi**

'Yes I am Matodzi'.

3.1.3.2.3 *Title*

Terms of address

The European languages have an influence on African languages in a number of ways. The European titles are used by **Venḏa** people in a structured meetings or formal situations such as school, insurance companies and public transport. Titles serve as a replacement for unknown surnames.

(a) Intimate

A newly married couple may use English titles in their form of address. Titles such as Mr and madam may be used by both the husband and wife. By using these titles, the couple shows affection and understanding between them.

(70a) Wife: **Mister**, vha nga si gidimele ngei butsharani vha ri dela na nama ya kholomo.

'Mr, will you go to the butchery and buy for us beef, please?'

(70b) Husband: A hu na thaidzo, madam. Nnekedzeni tshelede ndi ṱuwe li kha di
vhona.
'I do not mind. Please give me some money so that I can
go before the sun sets.'

(b) Friends

When old friends mature with age, they switch from personal names to titles. Their form of address is determined by the status or profession one has achieved in life. The conversation below will demonstrate their form of address.

(71a) Person 1: **Mister**, nikha di humbula tshiḽa tshifhinga ri tshi kha di dzhena
tshikolo. Ri tshi tswa vhuswa tsimuni ya vho-Gole.
'Do you remember mister, the time we stole porridge in Mr Gole's
field while we were at school?'

(71b) Person 2: Inwi na inwi, **mister**, ni humbela zwithu zwa kalesa, fhedzi ro vha
ri sa pfi. Ndi khwine nga uri inwi **mister** ni mudededzi ngeno nne
ndi mutshutshusi.
'You, mister, seem not to forget what we did in the past.
We were nothing but managed to be a teacher and a prosecutor'.

In the above sentences the two speakers are on the same level. There is a reciprocal exchange of **mister** among friends.

(c) Superior/Subordinates

Irrespective of age or status, senior and junior personnel use titles in addressing one another.

(72a) Manager: **Madam**, ndi humbela zwine na ṭahela ofisini yanu.

'Madam, can you write down all the materials you need in your office, please?'

(72b) Clerk: Ndo no nwala kale, **Sir** ndo vhea bammbiri henefho ḓafulani lavho.

'Sir, I have already written the list which is on your table.'

In the above sentences or dialogue, the two speakers exchange titles such as Madam and Sir. There is a non-reciprocal use of title.

(d) Strangers

One day I was in the minibus. The minibus was from Pietersburg to Thohoyandou. When we arrived at Thohoyandou, one of the passengers asked to be taken to Thohoyandou Lodge. She was joined by another lady who was older than her. Immediately they got out of the taxi, they started to indroduce themselves. The dialogue was as follows:

(73a) Younger: Na **vhone** vha khou ya hafho Thohoyandou Lodge?

'You are also going to Thohoyandou Lodge'.

(73b) Elder: Ee! Ndi khou ya hone.

'Yes, I am going there'.

(73c) Younger: Nne ndi Miss Maungedzo ndi bva Ha-Mulima.

'I am Miss Maungedzo from Mulima!'

(73d) Elder:　　　　Nne ndi pfi mistress Balanganani.　Ndi bva Ha-Sinthumule.

'I am mistress Balanganani from Sinthumule'.

(73e) Younger:　　　Ndi a tenda uri ri do diphina nga maanda **mistress vho-Balanganani**.

'I believe that we are going to enjoy ourselves mistress Balanganani'.

(73f) Elder:　　　　Hafha fhethu hu a takadza, miss Maungedzo, hu na zwithu zwinzhi zwine muthu a nga di mvumvusa ngazwo.

'This place is the best Miss Maungedzo.　There are lots of entertainment'.

In the above sentences, the younger first uses the pronoun '**vhone**' to address each other. After introducing each other, the senior sends miss and receives mistress together with the honorific '**vho**'.

3.1.3.2.4　*Surname*

This sub-topic is aimed at examining the use of surnames as a form of address.　The surnames or family names are used mostly in formal and respectful situation by the **Venda** people.　This is a practice used by primary and secondary teachers to address their learners by their surnames.　This signifies the seniority of the teachers over pupils.　Within a nuclear family, surname are used between couples, subordinates and superiors, friends and strangers.

(a)　　Intimates (husband and wife, lovers, couples)

Surnames are used by couples. The husband sends personal name to his wife and receives surname. In this form of address, the power and superiority is emphasized. I have experienced this form of address in quite a number of places. This happens between the newly-married couples, middle-aged couples and old-aged couples. One day I visited my father's brother during summer. We were under the tree and they(uncle and aunt) had a discussion about the achievement of their children at school.

(74a) Wife: **Mulaudzi**, ṅwana washu ha khou ya tshikoloni nga pfanelo.

'Mulaudzi, our child is not attending school regularly'.

(74b) Husband: **Masindi** ni ri mini? Ri tea u mu dzhiela vhukando.

'Masindi, what are you saying? We need to take some steps'.

Sometimes the honorific '**vho-**' is attached to a surname to show respect. This can be observed in the following dialogue.

(75a) Wife: **Vho-Mulaudzi**, ṅwaha u khou fhela thaidzo ya ṅwana washu, ri

tea u i dzhiela ṇtha.

'Mr Mulaudzi,the year is coming to an end and the matter of our

child raises a serious concern'.

(75b) Husband: **Masindi**, namusi ndi tea u amba nae uri a vhe ṅwana

nwana.

'Masindi, I must speak with him today and remedy the situation'.

In the above sentences the husband receives the honorific title '**vho-**' which shows respect and sends a surname to the wife.

(b)   <u>Friends</u>

When friends reached maturity in the past, they used mostly surnames. The situation has not changed tshese days as adolescent friends still prefer surnames rather than personal names.

(76a) Mashau: **Masia**, ri fanela u ṱavhanya u vhuya uri ri kone u ya bolani nga masiari.
'Masindi, we must hurry and attend the soccer match in the afternoon.'

(76b) Masia: Hai, **Mashau**, ndi nga si kone u ya bolani namusi. Ndi do vha ndi tshi khou vhala vhunga mulingo u tsini.
'No, Mashau, I cannot attend the soccer match today. I would like to study because examination is near?'

The two friends (above) exchange surnames when they address each other such as **Mashau** or **Masia**.

(c)   <u>Subordinates/Superior</u>

A young **Venḓa** child is not allowed to show disrespect to an elder. Respect seems to be an unquestionable aspect of life. Although the pupils receices surname by a teacher at school, he/she is obliged to add 'vho-' to the teacher's surname. This can be observed in the following dialogue.

(77a) Educator: **Malange**, maduvha ano inwi a ni tsha vhala, vhonani ni dzulela u feila mulingo munwe na munwe.

'Malange, you do not work hard these days because
you fail in each and every test?'

(77b) Educand: Ndi a linga **Vho-Ramunana**, zwi khou tou konda.

'Mr Ramunana, I try very hard but the tests are difficult'.

The teacher (above) addresses the pupil by surname while he (pupil) attaches trhe honorific
'**vho-**' to the teacher's surname.   Again the subordinates may use only surnames to show
solidarity.   The two colleagues, Munonoka and Tshishonga (below) have a discussion about
the teacher's union.

(78a) Educator 1:   **Tshishonga**, ni khou litsha dzangano lavhudi la SADTU, hafhu
SADTU ndi tshitangu tsha mudededzi.
'Tshishonga, you have left SADTU which is the most impressive
union.'

(78b) Educator 2:   **Munonoka**, dzangano lashu la NAPTOSA li na milayo u fhira
SADTU.
'Munonoka,our union ,NAPTOSA, has rules and regulations about
a good relationship between educators and educands than
SADTU.'

(d)   Strangers

Surname are also used by strangers as a form of address.   When they reach adulthood,
strangers introduce one another by means of surnames. The surnames make a person to feel
proud of himself.

There arrived a middle-aged salesman at our school. He found me in the office. As we were of the same age, he started to introduce himself.

(79a) Salesman: Ndi matsheloni,ndi nne Makhado, murengisi wa Genoves Ltd.

'Good morning, I am Makhado, a salesman from Genoves Ltd.

(79b) Myself: Ndi matsheloni avhudi, **Makhado**. Nne ndi Ndou, ndi shuma fhano sa mudededzi.

'Fine, thank you, Makhado. I am Ndou and work here as a teacher'.

(79c) Salesman: **Ndou**, nne ndi khou rengisa thundu ya nndu.

'Ndou, I sell bedroom furniture'.

(79d) Myself: **Makhado**, kha ri ndi vhone tsumbo.

'Makhado, let me see the sample.'

(e) Surname only

The other alternative is to use only the surname. This is the practice among primary and secondary school teachers to address or call their pupils by their surnames. This shows the seniority of the teacher over learners. For example, in the following dialogue, Teacher X is calling the pupil to come to the office.

(80) Teacher X: **Muila**, idani ofisini.

'Muila, come to my office, please!'

The superior officials have the tendency to use a surname only to address their subordinates officials. This shows the power of the superiors over subordinates, for example:

> (81) Employer Y: **Netshifhefhe**, iḓani ofisini yanga nga u ṱavhanya.
> 'Netshifhefhe, could you come to my office as soon as possible, please?'

The surname (in the above sentence) is used to the subordinate such as the teacher over the pupil or the employer over the employee.

(f)   Honorific vho- + surname

The use of honorific **vho** - together with a surname in **Tshivenḓa** is very old and it is more useful and considerate to **Vhavenḓa** people. Among the **Venḓa** people, elders are treated with due deference and respect. This can be observed in the **Venḓa** literature in formal and informal speech acts. Elders are addressed by honorific **vho-** ,but they send a personal name to the younger.   The honorific **vho-** is followed by a surname and it is mostly used in structured domains. The reciprocal and non- reciprocal pattern of the honorofic **vho-** together with surnames are operative. The elders who are equal in age or status or strangers who assume themselves as equals or similar use the reciprocal exchange of honorific **vho-** plus surname. In other cases,elders may use the honorific **vho-** plus surname
in official domains and change to surname or personal name in unofficial domains.   In **Tshivenḓa**, adults normally address each other by title and surname. The usage of honorific **vho** is dictated by situation of teacher's interaction with others.

> (82a) Tshishonga: **Vho Maḓuwa** ano maduvha vhana vha tshikolo a vha tsha langea.
> 'Mr Maduwa, learners are uncontrollable these days.

(82b)   Maduwa: Thaidzo i vhangwa nga mini, **vho -Tshishonga**?

'What is the cause of the problem, Mr Tshishonga?

After school, the two teachers change from calling each other **vho-Maduwa**, **vho-Tshishonga** (Mr Maduwa, Mr Tshishonga) to **Maduwa** or **Tshishonga**.

(83a) Tshishonga: He! **Maduwa**, a thi tami halwa namusi.

'Hi! Maduwa, I do not like to drink beer today.

(83b) Maduwa: **Tshishonga,** khamusi ni na ndulu.

' Tshishonga, maybe you have a bitter feeling of drinking.

The reciprocal honorific + surname in structured meetings is the rule regardless of the relative age or rank of the participants. This is contrary to the situation in American address forms where official status or rank seems to take precedence over age in addressing an older member of lower rank in an organization. The age takes the place of rank among the **Venda** people. In this situation, the use of honorific **vho-** with surname is the order of the day. The older member gives H + S to the younger boss who returns the same. The younger employer (below) warns the older employer about her performance which is deteroriating in the company:

(84a) Younger employer: **Vho-Mukheli**, ano maduvha a vha khou shuma zwavhudi.

'Mrs Mukheli, your work is not satisfactory

these days?'

(84b) Older employer: Vha amba ngoho **Vho-Mbedzi**. Ndi na thaidzo.

'You are right, Mrs Mbedzi. I have a problem.'

This pattern shows courtesy to superiors in an organisation. There is also the assymmetrical counterpart of honorific **vho-** with surname used between younger members of an establishment and their bosses. The boss receives honorific **vho-** + surname (H **vho-** + S) and sends PN or surname only, depending on the preference of each boss.

(g)   Surname + personal name (S + PN)

In the case of (S + PN) type, a surname together with a **Tshivenda** or non-**Tshivenda** name is used by the sender to the receiver. They may or may not be accompanied by honorific **vho-**. This pattern does not occur in a daily dialogue between interlocutors, but is invariably found in formal environment such as schools, hospitals as well as law courts. During roll call at school, the last name and a preferred first name are used without (H **vho-**). In the case of a roll call, the student responds by saying 'present'.

(85)   Teacher X of class Y: 'Maḓavha Jonathan' (present)

'Mashamba Daniel' (present)

'Muila Rudzani' (present)

'Nevondwe Masindi' (present)

'Tshishonga Dovhani' (present)

In law courts, the full names of a complainer, accused or a witness with the honorific **vho-** appear in the proceedings. First the H **vho-** + S + Personal name (full names). I attended a court where the accused was found guilty of beating the complainant.

(86)   **Vho - Phalaphala Balanganani Wellington** ino khothe i vha vhona mulandu
       u rwa vho- Maumela Bikani Basil, muhumbulo u wa u vhaisa.
       'Mr Phalaphala Balanganani Wellington, this court finds you guilty of beating Mr Maumela Bikani Basil with the intention of malicious bodily harm'.

A name together with a surname of a patient without (**Hvho-**) is used in hospitals. A first name together with a surname is used. When the doctor treats the patient, he reads the name as follows:

(87) Doctor: **Johannes Tshivhenga**, no vuwa hani?

'How are you, Johannes Tshivhenga?

3.2 PRONOUNS

3.2.1 Aim

The aim of this section is to examine which pronouns a **Venda** person may possible have, and how a person may be addressed by a pronoun in **Tshivenda**. It may be noted that earlier works on the grammar in **Tshivenda** presented a tabulation of pronouns. Because most of the researchers did not define the term pronoun fully, the old definition was only given. A pronoun is a word that is used in place of the noun. The word 'pro-'is a prefix which means before and 'noun' is a word used to name. Occasionally a pronoun comes after the noun showing emphasis or standing in place of the noun. Pink and Thomas define the poronoun as a word used in place of a noun. Different types of pronouns were mentioned which do not fall under the scope of our discussion. Our discussion will be based only on pronoun which are used to address people rather than all types of pronouns. Oyetade (1995) as one of the contemporary researchers views that pronouns perform a social function by signaling the disparity between the status of the speaker and an addressee apart from grammatical functions. The development of Latin and French pronouns of address form had started with '**tu**' and '**vous**' historically. The English language first used '**thou**' and '**ye**' and later replaced '**ye**' by 'you'.

3.2.2 Tshivenḓa Pronouns

Empty noun phrases coindexed with clities are used in **Tshivenda** language. Subjectival concord and objectival concords occur as prefix of the verb in morphology.

This can be observed in the following example.

(1) Vha - a- n - tse - a
'They laugh at me'.

Vha in the above sentence is a subject concord and refers to an empty subject and n is an objectival concord which refers to an empty object. No overt NP subject nor object occurs. In this case, the language uses the null. Subject or object parameter (pro - drop parameter) (PDP). The empty pronominal is phonologically indicated as Pro and has grammatical features of pronouns such as number and gender.

(2) vha - n - tse - a   [pro,]
'You laugh at me'

These empty phrases are indicated by pro coindexed with the objectival agreement(clitic) or with the subjectival agreement in inflection. The above sentence has the following structure:

121.

(3)

```
              CP
              |
            Agr SP
           /      \
         NP       Agr S
         |        /    \
        pro_i  AgrS     TP
               |       /   \
              [+2]    T    Agr OP
                          /     \
                        NP      AgrO
                        |      /    \
                      pro_j  Agro    VP
                             |      /  \
                          [+1PS]  NP    V '
                                  |    /  \
                                  t_i V    NP
                                      |    |
                                      se   t_j
```

(4)   a. Vhebkaka vha ti n tu mo se ...
       b. Vhebkaka AgrS [lysk] tu mo se ...

2PS (second person singular)

(4)   [Pro] [u-n-emo]
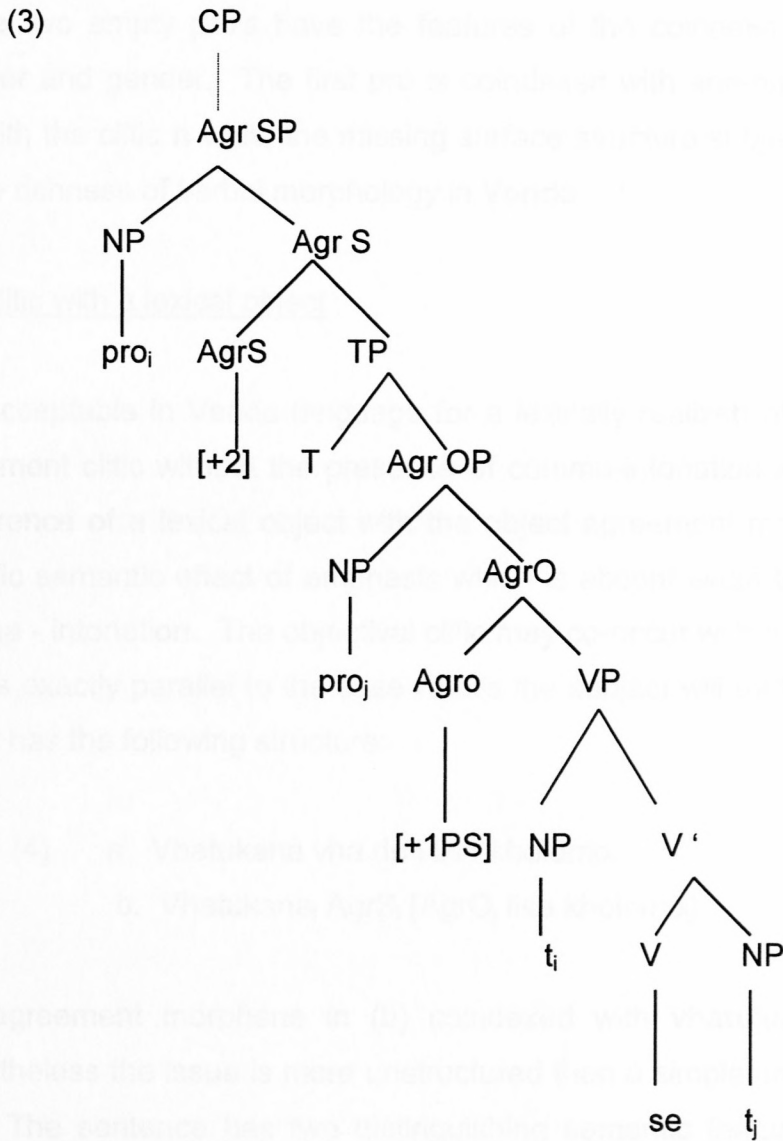
These two empty pro's have the features of the coindexed element, namely; the person, number and gender. The first pro is coindexed with agreement of class 2, and the second pro with the clitic **n** while the missing surface structure subject and object may be recovered by the richness of verbal morphology in **Venda**.

The clitic with a lexical object

It is acceptable in Venda language for a lexically realized object to coincide with the object agreement clitic without the presence of comma-intonation after the verb. This kind of co - occurrence of a lexical object with the object agreement morpheme is accompanied with a specific semantic effect of emphasis which is absent when the lexical object is preceded by comma - intonation. The objectival clitic may co-occur with an object that is lexically realized. This is exactly parallel to the case where the subject will be lexically realized. The sentence below has the following structure:

(4)   a. Vhatukana vha do i lisa kholomo.

       b. Vhatukana$_i$ AgrS$_i$ [AgrO$_j$ lisa kholomo$_i$]

The agreement morphene in (b) coindexed with **vhatukana** is **vha** and kholomo is **i**. Nevertheless the issue is more unstructured than a simple problem of agreement in the case of **i**. The sentence has two distinguishing semantic features of emphasis which are not present when the clitic is not used.

The second person with an empty pronoun

2PS (second person singular)

(5)   [Pro$_i$] [u$_i$--a-amba]

'You are talking'

2PP (second person plural)

(6)   [pro$_i$] [ni$_i$-a-amba]
        'You are talking'

In the two sentences above the subject concords [**u**] and [**ni**] coindexed with an empty pronoun. These concords are used to address people. The first example is used to address a person of a lower status while second person plural addresses higher persons or a group of people.

The second person with an absolute pronoun as a nominal modifier

(7)   2PS [pro iwe$_i$]   [u$_i$-a-amba]
        2PP [pro inwi$_i$]   [ni$_i$-a-amba]

(8)   class I [pro ene$_i$]   [u$_i$-a-mba]
        class 2 [pro vhone$_i$] [vha$_i$-a-amba]

The absolute pronouns appear with an empty pro and they are coindexed with concords. The subjectival concord (2PS) can be exchanged between friends depending on their friendship. 2PS is normally used by the superior addressing an inferior. It is mostly used by the **Lemba** people.

(9)   [Iwe$_i$] [u$_i$-bva-ngafhi?]
        'Where do you come from?'

(IO) U itani hafho?

'What are you doing?'

The subjectival concord (2PP) can be exchanged between people of equal status such as friends, lovers or superior addressing the subordinate.

(11) [Ni₁ bva ngafhi [inwi₁]?

'Where do you come from?'

(12) No vhuya lini khonani?

'When did you arrive, my friend?'

Thirdly: 3PP as class 2 [vha -] vha bva ngafhi?

The subject concord [**vha-**] is exchanged between people of high status or when the subordinate is addressing the superior, e.g.

(13) Person A: Vha do huma lini?

'When will you return?'

The honorific class (2) agreement prefix **vha** is exchanged to address people of high rank or the subordinate addressing the superior.

(14) Person B: [Vho₁] vuwa hani? [vhone₁]?

'How are you?'

The honorific prefix **vho-** is sometimes attached to the surname and used together with the class 2 [**vha**] agreement.

(15)   Vho-Visser, vha bva ngafhi?

'Mrs Visser, where do you come from?

The class 2 agreement may appear with the perfect tense: [vha + o —→vho]

(16)   Vho - Mulelu vho swika lini? (Perfect tense)

'Mr Mulelu, when did you arrive?

3.2.3 Pronoun as a form of address

Besides names, pronoun are used as a form of address between people.

A.   People in power relations: Superiors/subordinates

When the superior addresses the subordinate, he may use **ni** or **vha** depending on how he values the subordinates. If the subordinate is of a very low status, the superior sends **u/iwe**

Second person singular -
Principal/Grade O pupil

The principal below is addressing the grade O pupil. He wanted to know where the pupil is staying.

(I7)   [Iwe] [U dzula ngafhi?]

'Where do you stay?'

In the above sentence the principal addressed the pupil with **iwe** together with the second person singular [**u**].

The principal/grade 12 learner

In the sentence below, the principal uses the subject concord **ni** with **inwi** to address grade 12 learner. The principal sends **ni/inwi** and he is addressed by subject concord **vha** by the subordinates.

(18) a. The principal: [ni, ḓe ofisini yanga]

          'You must come to my office'

  b. Learner :   Vho -Phurisipala hu pfi vha ḓe mutanganoni

          'Mr Phurisipala, you must attend the meeting.'

The use of **iwe** with subjectival concord as a form of address is a controversial issue. The 2PS (**iwe**) with subjectival concord (**u**) is mostly used by **Lemba** people who live among the **Venda** people. When one addresses a superior using **iwe** with **u**, it is not an offence for the **Lemba** people.

(19) [iwe] [u - ri -mini malume] [mukalaha] [baba]?

   'What are you saying uncle, grandfather, daddy?'

The superior and subordinate may exchange 2PS [**u** -]

(2O) a. Makhulu: U sale u tshi valela kholomo muduhulu.

     'You must close the kraal'.

  b. Muḓuhulu: U songo vhilaela,izwo ndi mushumo wanga.

     'Do not worry. This is my duty'.

The fundamental use of **u/iwe** as a form of address has lost its function with the **Venda** people. The use of **u/iwe** depends on how one speaker values the other. Originally **u** was used to address the second person without considering the receiver's status. **Iwe** is used by

superiors in addressing their subordinates. For example, the book of creation, Genesis Chapter 2O has the following:

> God says:

(21)   a. U songo tswa.
> > 'Do not steal'.

> > b. U songo vhulaha.
> > > 'Do not kill'

> > c. U songo vha phombwe.
> > > 'Do not commit adultery'.

This leaves no doubt that **u/iwe** are used to address without considering status, age or gender. However, one may address second person by plural , e.g.

> Ni de matshelo.
>   ^
> 'You must come tomorrow'.

B.   People of equal status

People of equal status exchange the same pronoun as a form of address. They may exchange **iwe/u**, **ni/inwi** or **vho/vha** to each other.

(i)   Old friends

Old people normally exchange the concord **vha**. One day I was listening to my father talking to his friend, they exchanged **vha**.

> My father: **Vha** de na nama ya nguluvhe doroboni.
>   ^   ^   ^
> 'Please, bring along pork when you go to town'.

His friend: Zwi amba uri **vha** a i funa nama ya nguluvhe.

' It means that you like pork very much'.

(ii)   <u>Colleagues</u>

People of equal status also practice code switching depending upon the situation. In the professional situation they are obliged to respect each other as to set an example to the subordinates, namely; the pupils. Teachers at school make use of the honorific **vho** and the subject concord **vha** to each other. I used to listen to collegues discussing their daily problems at work:

Mr Liphogo: **Vho-** Rannenyeni, vho vhuya vha zwi vhona uri vhunzhi ha

vhasidzana vho dihwala?

'Mr Rannenyeni, have you realized that most of the girls

are pregnant?'

Mr Rannenyeni: Ee, **vho**-Liphogo, ri do ita hani ngauri muhasho uri

ri zwi tanganedze.

'Yes, what can we do Mr Liphogo because the

Department states that we must accept them'.

After school the two colleagues on their way home switch their address form: They now exchange the subject concord **ni** with or without pronoun **inwi**.

Mr Liphogo: **Ni** tshi fhedza u la **ni** de **ni** mphelekedze ri yo vhona ula ṅwana a

no lwala.

'After eating you must accompany me to visit that child who is ill.

Mr Rannenyeni: Iyani **ni** nothe, nne ndi na mushumo wa u vhala.
'Go alone, I would like to study'.

Even at the shebeen, the colleagues may use concord **u/iwe** to each other.

Mr Liphogo: **Iwe u** dina ngauri tshe wa renga goloi a **u** tsha renga na halwa.
'Since you bought a car, you no longer buy liquor'.

Mr Rannenyeni: **U** amba ngoho khonani. Thaidzo ndi ya uri zwithu zwi khou konḓa.
'You are correct my friend. Things are very difficult'.

(iii)   Youths

Youths also exchange the subject concord **ni**/pronoun **inwi** in a formal situation influencing others to respect them. Below they are advising each other in the classroom.

Thivhonali: **Ni** songo hangwa u lidza tsimbi muisi pheriodo i tshi fhela.
'Do not forget to ring the bell when the period is finished'.

Maungedzo: **Ni** amba uri nne ndi nga zwi kona zwa u ṱwa ndo sedza tsimbi nda litsha u vhala.
'You mean I must sacrifice my time instead of reading than ringing the bell.

When they play, they exchange the concord **u/iwe** to each other.

> Thivhonali: **Iwe u** fanela u guda u tamba bola **u** na milenzhe yo
>
> fanelaho bola.
>
> 'You must learn to play soccer because you are fit.'

> Maungedzo: Na **iwe u** nga di guda u tamba. Nne a thi na tshifhinga itsho.
>
> 'You can also learn how to play soccer. I do not have time for
>
> playing'.

(iv) <u>Kids</u>

Sometimes the kids use the concord **u** in their form of address.

> Gumani: Uri **u** nga nkunda iwe?
>
> 'You cannot defeat me.

> Khangwelo: Ndi ḓo **u** rwa.
>
> 'I will beat you'.

There is no rigid rule that we can agree upon concerning the usage of pronoun. In some occasions old people exchange **u/iwe**, **ni/inwi** or **vho/vha** .

C. <u>Peer group</u>

(i) <u>Old people</u>

When old people talk to each other in front of children, they have a tendency of respecting each other. They exchange **vho** or **vha** in the presence of children. One day old people were discussing their livestock:

> Vho- Mahasha: **Vho** ḽi vhona ḽiḽa ḽiphulu ḽanga ḽi na mutengo muhulu.
>
> 'Have you seen my ox? It is too expensive '.

> Vho-Raulinga: Vha tea uri vha ḽi rengise li tshee lo nona.
>
> 'You must sell it while it is still fat'.

When they are two in the situation, they switch to the concord **ni**/pronoun **inwi.**

> Vho-Mahasha: Inwi ni dina nga u tambudza mufumakadzi.
>
> 'Your problem is that you always abuse your wife.

> Vho-Raulinga: **Ni** a ḓivha uri ndi mini? Arali mufumakadzi a sa pfi
>
> u a rwiwa.
>
> 'If a wife does not listen, she must be beaten up.'

(ii)   Professional people

Professional people respect each other in a professional situation. This is a law which forces them to respect each other. Two school inspectors were discussing the achievement of their school in their circuit. They exchange **vha** in their form of address.

> Mr Marageni: **Vha** a vhona vho Raulani, vhadededzi vha ano maḓuvha
>
> a vha tsha shuma, vha a bvafha.
>
> 'Mr Raulani, teachers are very lazy these days.'

Mr Raulani: **Vha** amba ngoho. Tshavho ndi u dzavhaladza.

'You are quite right, Mr Marageni. They are always on strike.'

After duty the two inspectors switch the code and exchange the concord **ni**/pronoun **inwi**.

Mr Raulani: **Ni** a divha **inwi** Marageni. Hoyu mushumo wa u twa wo salana

na vhadededzi murahu u a konda.

'Mr Marageni, looking after the teacher's duty is too difficult'.

Mr Marageni: **Ni** amba ngoho liṅwe duvha ri do di rwisa.

' You are quite right. One day they will beat us.'

(iii)   <u>Young friends</u>

Young friends exchange either the concord **u** or **ni** depending on their friendship. Two classmates were speaking about their school work and used **u/iwe** or **ni/inwi**.

Muladelo: Ni songo hangwa u ṅwala tshuṅwahaya ya vho-Luvhomba.

'Do not forget to write the homework of Mr Luvhomba'.

Nnditsheni: Ni amba ila, ndo no i ṅwala.

'I have already written that homework'.

D.   <u>Strangers</u>

(i)   <u>Professional people</u>

Strangers who are professional people always exchange **vha** or perfect tense **vho**. There is no room to use **u/iwe** or **ni/inwi**. They always respect other because they have no

background of each other or have no time to know each other very well. If they work together, they might practice code switching. In this case, two principals were elected to assist in the region concerning the matter pertaining educating the learners. One principal is the chairperson and the other one his deputy.

> Mr Tshikota: Vho vuwa hani?
> 'How are you?'

E.   Imperative form of the verb

Imperative form of the verb may be used in addressing people. This is used by a senior commanding the subordinate. Normally imperatives cannot be used to instruct/command the senior/superior. When the imperative is directed to one person the suffix - i added to the verb stem, but if it is directed to more than one person the suffix - **ni** is added to the verb stem. One day the principal was chasing the pupil who has arrived late at school:

> (31)   The principal: Ṭuwa! [fhano tshikoloni]
>   'Leave this school premises'.

Later on ten pupils arrived and he also chased them.

> (32)   The principal : Ṭuwani! [fhano tshikoloni]
>   'Leave this school premises'

The formative **kha** may be used to address the superior by the subordinate or vice versa. It can also be used by people of equal status as a command.

F.   Superior addressing subordinate

When superior is addressing the subordinate, he uses the formative **kha**:

(33)   Kha - ai- de ngeno [enei].
                 ^
          'Come here'.

G.   Subordinate addressing the superior

When the subordinate is addressing the superior, he uses the formative **kha** together with the subject concord **vha** and the verb stem:

(34)   Kha vhai de ngeno   [vhonei]
                ^
          'Come here.'

H.   Equal status

The speaker may place himself on the same level with the receiver by using the concord **ri** (Ipp).

(35)   Kha ri ye ha havhoi [vhonei]
          'Let us go to your place'.

3.3   KINSHIP TERMS

3.3.1 Introduction

Kinship terms are widely used among the **Venda** people. The younger people avoids the use of personal names in addressing elder people. They use suitable kinship terms. There is no

teasing between people of adjacent generations such as parents and children. The parents address their children using either kinship term such as 'nwananga' [my child], personal name (PN) [Masindi, Maemu, Mashudu] or pronoun [ene, iwe] 'you'. Respect is unquestionable to elders by the children. They have kinship terms such as [mme] mummy and [khotsi] daddy. In Tshivenda one only jokes with the martenal relatives rather than the paternal ones. Nevertheless, power is the order of the day, particularly to [khotsimuhulu] father's elder brother, [khotsimunene] father's younger brother and [makhadzi] father's sister/aunt. One cannot address [khotsimunene], [khotsimuhulu] or makhadzi by name. In Tshivenda one can observe the following kinship terms which are relevant to the present discussion: lineage, collateral and in laws.

3.3.2 Kinship terms in Tshivenda

3.3.2.1 LINEAGE

[G + 4]   (1)

[G + 3]   (2)

[G + 2]   (3)

[G + I]   (4)

[G O]   EGO (5)

[G - 1]   (6)

[G - 2]   (7)

[G - 3]   (8)
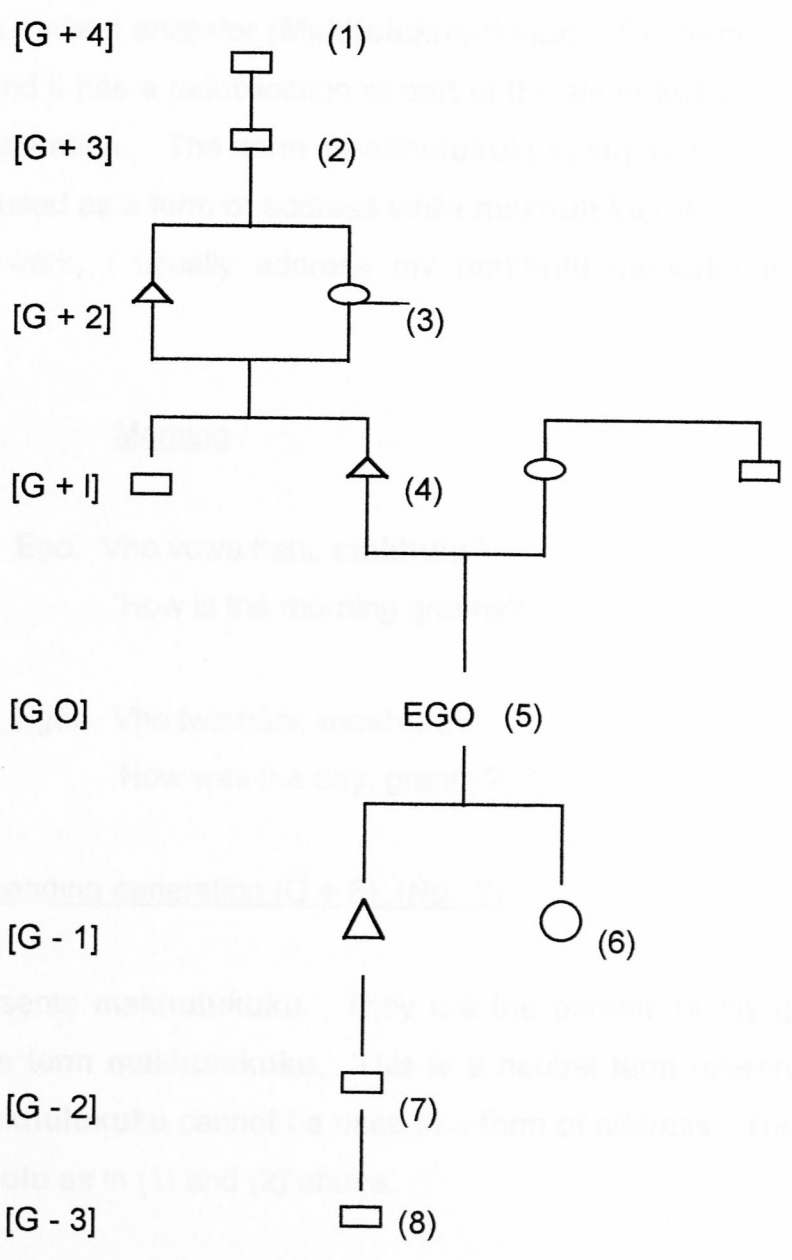
The fourth ascending Generation (G + 4) (No. 1)

It represents earliest ancestor (**Makhulukukukuku**). The term is neutral as far as gender is concerned and it has a reduplication of part of the stem(**.kuku**). The stem[**-kuku**] appears in the third generation. The term [**makhulukukukuku**] is not used in a form of address. **Makhulu** is used as a form of address while **makhulukukukuku** is a form of reference. When I come from work, I usually address my **makhulukukukuku** in the morning and in the afternoon.

<u>Morning</u>

(1) Ego: Vho vuwa hani, **makhulu**?
      'How is the morning granny?'

(2) Ego: Vho twa hani, **makhulu**?
      'How was the day, granny?'

The third ascending generation (G + 3) (No. 2)

(No. 2 represents **makhulukuku**. They are the parents of my grandparents and they are known by the term **makhulukuku**. This is a neutral term referring to both male or female. The term **makhulukuku** cannot be used in a form of address. The form of address for them is also **makhulu** as in (1) and (2) above.

The second ascending generation (G + 1) (No. 3)

These are my grandparents (my father's or mother's father or my parent's parents). My grandfather is [**makhulutshinna**] which is a combination of two nouns. [**Makhulu + tshinna**] = [**Makhulutshinna**] (masculine). This compound noun is used in reference and not in a form of address. In a form of address[**gugu**] or [**makhulu**] is used, e.g.

> (3)   Ego: Ndi masiari, **gugu/makhulu**.
>   'Good afternoon, granny'.

The same thing happens in case of [**makhulutshisadzi**] (feminine) like the masculine one is a compound noun formed by two nouns [**makhulu + tshisadzi**]. **Makhulutshisadzi** cannot be used as a form of address. [**Gugu**] or [**makhulu**] is mostly used as a form of address as in (3) above. With regard to generations such as (G + 4), (G + 3) as well as (G + 2), one is allowed to be familiar with them and even joke with them.

The first ascending generation (G + 1) (No. 4)

These are my parents i.e. [**khotsi**] which refers to my father and [**mme**] to my mother. Respect towards the father among the **Venda** people is unquestionable. [**Khotsi**] can be used in reference while [**baba**] (daddy) can only be used in a form of address.

> (4)   Ego: Vho vuwa hani, **baba**?
>   'How are you, daddy?'

The same is applied to [**mme**] (mother). **Mme** cannot be used as a form of address but it can be used as a form of reference. **Mmawe**(Mammy) can be used as a form of address, e.g.

> (5)   Ego: **Mmawe**, zwo da hani uri vha pfulutshelo muvhunduni uyu wa u vhifha?
>   'Mummy, what has influenced you to move to this ugly village?'

Ego's generation (G O) (No. 5)

This is my own generation and they include my brothers and sisters. However, they are determined/bifurcated by the gender of Ego. Due to the bifurcation, they are divided into two separate branches. Below is an example of bifurcation where kinship terms cross:

Ego is a male

| [Murathu] | [mukomana] | Ego | [khaladzi] |
| younger | older | | |

Ego is female

| [khaladzi] | Ego | [murathu] | [mukomana] |
| brother | | younger | older |
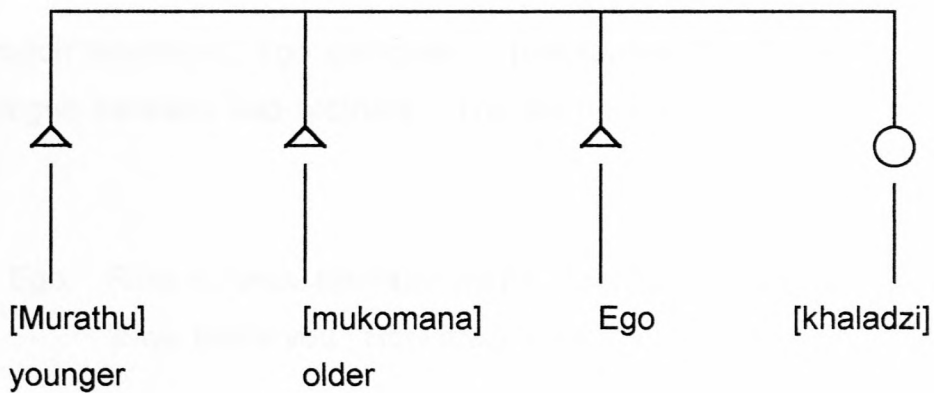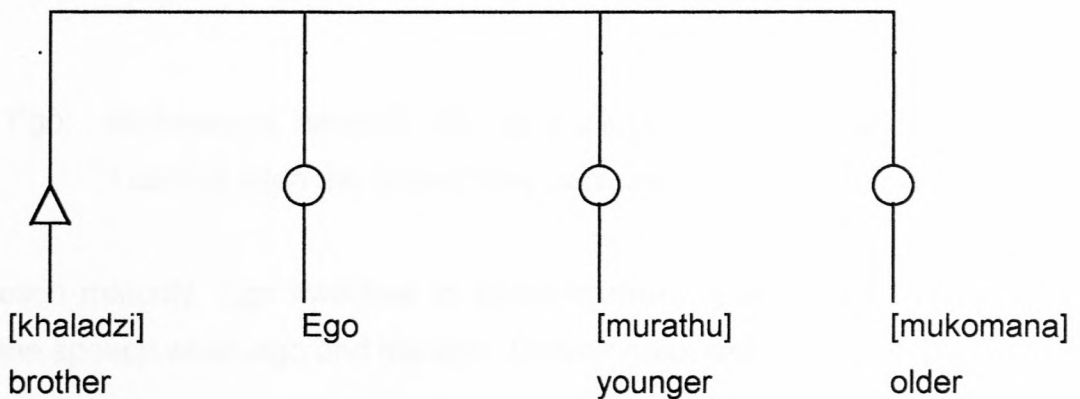
The first branch above is found when ego is a male. Ego has two terms for his brothers,namely, **murathu** (younger brother) and **mukomana** (elder brother). The sister of

Ego is **khaladzi**. The kinship terms such as **murathu**, **mukomana** and **khaladzi** can be used as a form of reference and address. The sequence of birth is very important in showing respect. The elder one mostly enjoys more respect than the younger one. Below Ego is speaking to his younger brother (**murathu**) about assisting one another in making a fence.

(6) Ego: **Murathu**, ndi khou humbela u thuswa kha u kokodza darata?

'Could you help me in erecting the fence, younger brother?'

When they reach adulthood, Ego switches to [**khotsimunene**] instead of **murathu**. Below follows a dialogue between two brothers. The younger one has just arrived from Gauteng Province.

(7) Ego: Rine ro vuwa, **khotsimunene**, ri nga vhudzisa inwi.

'Fine, thank you. How are you, young brother?'

When Ego speaks with his elder brother(**mukomana**), Ego addresses him as **mukomana** in an early stage. Below follow the dialogue between Ego and his brother about fetching the cattle.

(8) Ego: **Mukomana**, namusi a thi nga yi u khada kholomo ngauri ndi a lwala.

'I cannot fetch the cattle today because I am sick, brother.'

When they reach maturity, Ego switches to **khotsimuhulu** in addressing his elder brother. Here follows the speech when ego and his elder brother greet each other.

(9) Ego: 'Vhu ngafhi vhutshilo, **vho-khotsimuhulu**'.

'How is life, my elder brother?'

When ego speaks with his sister(**khaladzi**), he addresses her as **khaladzi** when they reach adulthood, ego switches to **makhadzi** (children's aunt)instead of **khaladzi**.

At an early stage

(10)   Ego: **Khaladzi** vha ngafhi mukegulu?
'Where is the old woman, my sister?'

At a later stage

(11)   Ego: **Makhadzi** vha ngafhi vhana hayani?
'Where are the children at home, aunt?'

The second branch above is used if Ego is a female. The terms for the sisters of Ego and her brother are the opposite of the terms when Ego is a male. Thus her brother is now **khaladzi**, her younger sister is [murathu] and her elder is [**mukomana**]. Consideration the two branches above, their terms are directly opposite. When Ego is addressing her brother [**khaladzi**], she uses [**khaladzi**] as a term of address. One day Ego requests her brother [**khaladzi**] to give her water:

(12)   Ego: **Khaladzi**, ndi humbela madi a u nwa, ndi na dora.
'Please, give me water to drink because I am thirsty.'

[**Murathu**] is used by an ego when she addresses her younger sister at an early stage. Below follows a request of Ego to her younger sister.

(13) Ego: [**Murathu**] ni tea u bika vhuswa luthihi nga duvha vhunga zwiliwa zwi tshi dura.

'My younger sister, you are supposed to cook porridge once a day because food is too expensive.

When Ego and her younger sister reach adulthood, Ego uses **mmane** rather than **murathu**. **Murathu** means younger one while **mmane** means younger mother to Ego's children:

(14) Ego: **Mmane**, mme a vha khou vuwa, vha vhuongeloni ha Groote Schuur.

'Aunt, our mother is ill at Groote Schuur hospital.'

Ego uses [**mukomana**] when she addresses her elder sister at an early age. Below follows a dialogue between the two sisters about family matters:

(15) Ego: **Mukomana**, ndi khou humbela uri ni vhudze khonani dzavho uri dzi songo tsha da u ita phosho ndi tshi khou vhala.
'Please, my sister, I request you to tell your friends not to come and make noise when I am studying.'

When they reach adulthood, the kinship term **mukomana** is switched to [**mmemuhulu**]. **Mmemuhulu** means the elder mother to Ego's children.

(16) Ego: **Mmemuhulu**, vha songo litsha vhana vha tshi ita zwine vha funa.
'My elder sister, do not allow children to do as they wish'.

First descending generation (G.1) (No. 6)

G - 1 represent Ego's children. Her son is **murwa** and her daughter is **musidzana**. When Ego refers to her children, she uses [**murwa**] (son) and [**musidzana**] (daughter). The two

kinship terms are seldom used as a form of address. As a form of address, [duka-duka] (duplication of [duka] son) and [gomba -gomba] (duplication of [gomba]) are used. Below, Ego speaks to her children about school matters.

(17) Ego: **Duka langa**, arali ni sa di dini ngei tshikoloni ni do disola vhutshilo hanu.
'My son, if you do not work hard at school, you will regret in future.'

(18) Ego: **Gomba-Gomba** langa, li khou shuma zwavhudi tshikoloni.
'My daughter, you are doing well at school.'

Second descending generation (G - 2) (No. 7)

[Muduhulu] is a neutral term for the Ego's grandchildren without considering gender. The term refers to granddaughter and grandson Ego could address them as **muduhulu**. Ego has a reciprocal relationship with grandchildren as jokes can be cracked.

(19) Ego: **[Muduhulu wanga]**, kha yo u khada kholomo dakani.
'Please my grandchild, go and fetch cattle in the bush.

(20) Ego: **[Muduhulu]** ndi todou mala musadzi wanu musi ni tshi lovha
'My grandchild, I would like to marry your wife when you pass away.

Third descending generation (G - 3) (No. 8)

The term refers to the children of Ego's grandchildren (**Muduhulwana**) and it is a neutral term with regard to gender. It has a diminutive suffix (-ana) which differentiate it from the term in (no.7). Ego address them as above (G - 2) (No. 7).

3.3.2.1   <u>COLLATERAL DESCENT</u>
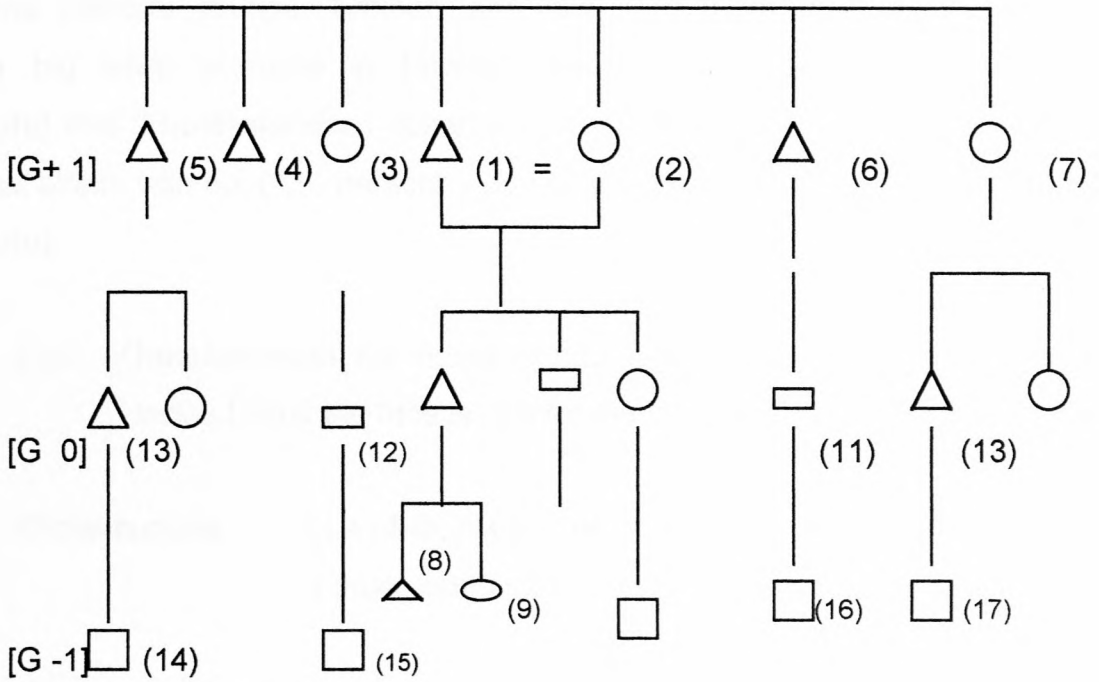
First ascending generation (G + 1)

(No. 1) and (No. 2) above refer to my father and mother. The brothers and siters of Ego's father are represented by No. (3, 4,5) above. No. (3) represents my father's sister i.e. **makhadzi**. As the respect towards an aunt [**makhadzi**] is unquestionable, one cannot joke with her. During ritual ceremony I spoke to my aunt in this way.

(21)   Ego: **Makhadzi**, avha vhana vha ri vha tshi khakha vha kaidzwe nga
                    nga pfanelo ndi vho nnyi?
                    'Aunt, who are those people who should be reprimanded after
                    committing mistakes?

No. (4,5) refer to my father's brothers. The feature of relative age serves to distinguish my father's brothers. The compound nouns **[khotsimuhulu]** (father's elder brother) and **khotsimunene** (father's younger brother) are used. In **[khotsimuhulu] muhulu** is an adjective for big while **munene** in **khotsimunene** is an adjective for small. Both **[khotsimuhulu]** and **[khotsimunene]** deserve respect as my father. When one discusses one's personal affairs with no. (4,5) persons , one distinguishes them as **[khotsimunene]** and **[khotsimuhulu]**.

(22)   Ego: **Khotsimunene**, ndi vhona uri ndo no vhina ndi nga wana mufarisi.

'Uncles,I think the time is ripe for me to marry.'

Khotsimunene: Li a pfala, **nwana wa mukomana wanga**.

'I urge you to continue with your decision.'

(23)   Ego: **Khotsimuhulu**, vha li vhona hani?

'Do you abide/agree with my decision, uncle?

The brother and sisters of my mother i.e. (No. 6 -7) above are my uncles and aunts. The relative age distinguishes the elders and juniors in a family (No.6) is my mother's brother **[malume]** (uncle) and (No. 7) is my mother's siter (aunt) **[Mmemuhulu]** is my mother's elder sister. The noun class 1(a) **[mme]** mother + adjective **[muhulu]** means big and mother's younger sister is **[mmane]**. One can joke with the material aunts and uncles.

Ego with [malume] (mother's brother):

(24)   Ego: **Malume**, ndi tama uri vha ntodele mushumo hangei Jo'burg.

'Uncle ,could you look a job for me in Johannesburg.'

Ego with [mmane] (mother's younger sister).

(25)　Ego:　**Mmane**,ndi khou humbela u thuswa nga tshelede ya dzibugu.

'Aunty, can you borrow me some money to buy books.'

Ego with [mmemuhulu]　(mother's elder sister)

(26)　Ego:　Vha songo vhilaela [**mmemuhulu**] ndi a tama u da,fhedzi bada dzavho dzo kumbiwa.

'I would like to visit you, aunt, but the road has been damaged/eroded by rain.'

Generation of Ego (G O)

My relatives are nephews,nieces and cousins are cross cross bifurcated as they appear in lineal descent. The children of (No. 11) and (No. 12) share the same term [**muzwala**]. The children of (No. 13) are my brothers [**mukomana**][**murathu**] and sisters[**khaladzi**]. I can joke freely with my cousins.

(27)　Ego:　**Muzwala**, ndi tama nwakani ni tshi ya tshikoloni.

'Cousin, I would like to see you going to school next year'.

With regard to the children of my father's brothers and my mother's sister, (No. 13) cannot joke with them. The terms murathu, **mukomana** and **khaladzi** in our tradition are used at an early stage and modified in adulthood as [**khotsimunene**] [**khotsimuhulu**] and **makhadzi** respectively.

First descending generation (G O)

The children of (No. 8 - 9) are regarded as my children (No. 8) is **murwa/mutuka** while (No. 9) is **musidzana**. Respect is unquestionable or a joking relationship is prohibited.

EGO IS A MALE

[Mukomana]   [murathu]   Ego   [khaladzi]

EGO IS A FEMALE

[Khaladzi]   Ego   {Murathu}   [Mukomana]
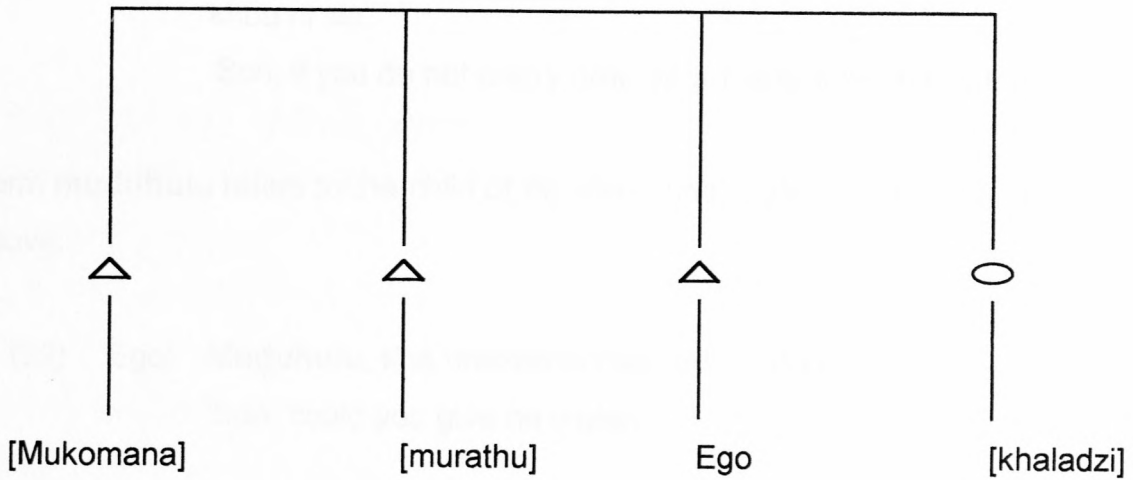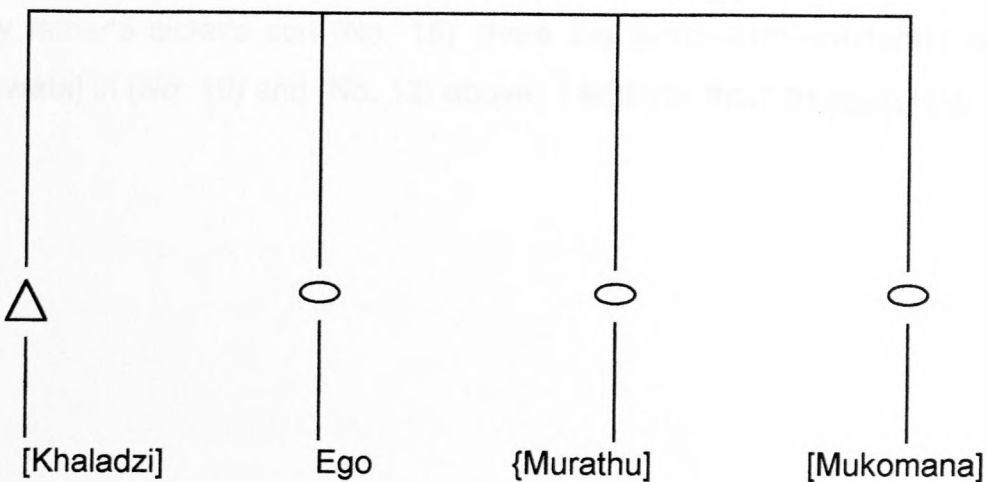
First descending generation (G -1)

The children of my brother (No. 8 -9) are regarded as my children. (No. 8) is **murwa/mutuka** and (No. 9) is **musidzana**. Joking relationship is prohibited or one would rather say respect is unquestionable.

> (28)   Ego: **Murwa**, arali ni kha di ita zwa u tamba ni sa mali, khonani dzanu dzi khou ni sia.
>
>   'Son, if you do not marry now, your friend will leave you behind.'

The term **muduhulu** refers to the child of my sister and is also used by my grandparents (No. 10) above:

> (29)   Ego: **Muḓuhulu**, kha nnekedze madi ndi na dora
>
>   'Son, could you give ne water.'

The children of my father's brother's son (No. 14) and the children of my mother's sister son (No. 17) are regarded as my children and they are referred to as [**vhana**] i.e [**murwa**] and [**musidzana**] as above. The children of my mother's brother's son (No. 16) and the children of my father's sister's son (No. 15) share the same term [**muzwalazwalane**] derived from [**muzwala**] in (No. 10) and (No. 12) above. I address them as <u>**muzwala.**</u>

3.3.2.2   (I)   IN - LAWS OF A MARRIED MAN
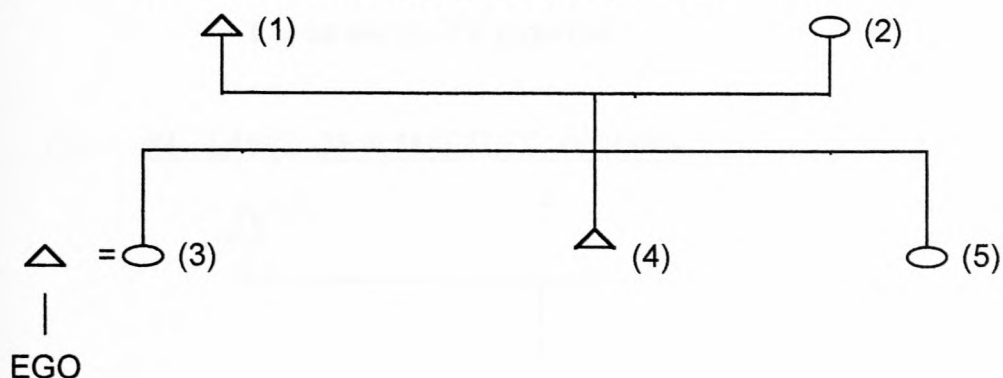
In Tshivenda culture if Ego is a married man and his wife [**musadzi**] is (No. 3). (No. 1) is Ego's father- in-law and (No. 2) is his mother -in - law. Ego shares the same term [**makhulu**] irrespective of gender. In order to promote respect, Ego is forbidden to talk directly to the wife's parents. A mediator is needed to allow a dialogue to take place. Ego's wife's brother (No. 4) is known as [**mulamu**, **malume** or **sivhara**]. When Ego talks to the wife's brother (No. 4), the two exchange [**mulamu** or **sivhara**] to each other. The two are talking about an inadequate rain.

    (30)   a. Ego: [**Mulamu**], nanwaha ro welwa nga gomelelo.
                        'There is a possibility of drought this year.'

          b. 4 :   Zwi divhiwa nga Mudzimu, **mulamu**.
                        'Only God knows everything.'

Ego's wife's younger sister (No. 4) is [**nyamusadzana**]. Ego is permitted to joke with [**nyamusadzana**] if she is not yet married.

    (31)   Ego: **Nyamusadzana**, kha de a vhone TV.

'Let us watch TV together.'

(ii) IN - LAWS OF A MARRIED WOMAN
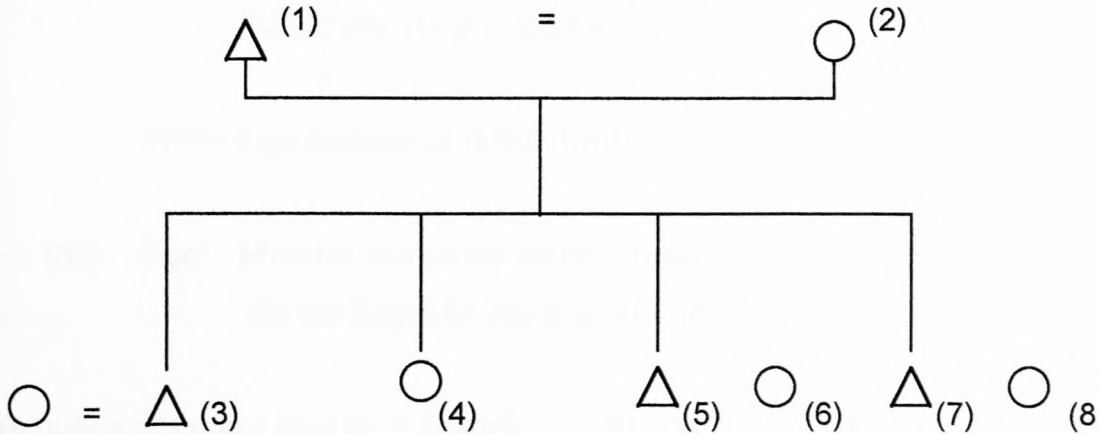
(No. 1) and (N0. 2) are Ego's husband's parents. They are called **mazwale** by the Ego, and (ego) she receives the same term of **mazwale**.

(32) Ego: Vho vuwa hani, **mazwale**?

'How are you, my in -laws?'

Ego (above) is the married woman and her husband is **munna** (No. 3). Her husband's sister (No. 4) is [**muhalivho** or **muvhuye**], the former one is used between Ego and the husband's sister. The husband's siter is always respected and she is the one who settles disputes between the couple:

(33) Ego: **Muhalivho**, ndi na ndala.

'I am hungry.'

Ego's husband's younger brother (No. 5) is **khotsimunene** and his wife (No. 6) is **mmane**.

(34) Ego: **Khotsimunene**, ndi humbela u fhanzelwa dzikhuni.

'Could you chop wood for me, please.'

When Ego addresses [**khotsimunene**]'s wife.

(35) Ego: **Mmane**,vha renge na matshesi.
'Do not forget to buy a box of matches at the shop.'

Ego's husband's elder brother is **khotsimuhulu** and his wife **mmemuhulu**. **Khotsimuhulu** is highly respected by Ego.

(36) Ego: **Khotsimuhulu**, ndi khou humbela u amba navho.
'Uncle, can I talk to you?'

Ego and [**mmemuhulu**]

(37) Ego: **Mmemuhulu**, ndi khou humbela u thuswa nga tshelede ya dzibugu.
'Aunty, can you lend me money to buy books.'

CHAPTER 4

FORMAL ADDRESS

The objective of this chapter is to identity what is considered as formal address form. This includes titles, occupations, special form and innovations.

4.1   TITLE

4.1.1 Aim

The aim of this section is to establish what titles a **Venda** person may possible have and how a person may addressed by title in **Tshivenda**. Title is a word or name such as 'Dr' which is given to someone to be used before their name as sign of rank or profession. Title is a sign of social rank, profession or official positions to interlocutors. Title is reciprocal or symmetrical and is mostly used in organised gathering such as schools, universities or conferences and other formal circumstances. (Faghal and Shakir 1996: 247) state that little can be used either to medical doctor as a person who has a Ph.D. By using a title unnecessary, it will be infelicitous. They further state distant and affectionate as two classes of address. Brown and Ford (1964 : 237) commonly use titles T such as sir, madam, ma'am and miss. Title is combined with surname as in English [Mr Muloiwa] while in addressing a stranger title is used alone. The use of title is accompanied by a word of respect.

4.1.2 Tshivenda Titles

Titles are also used in **Tshivenda**. This includes the honorific prefix, which is well known to the **Venda** people. In **Tshivenda**, the use of [Vho-] to superior by a junior is unquestionable. The honorific prefix [**Vho-**] in **Tshivenda** is taken from the class prefix of 2b [**vho-**]. The honorific prefix [**vho-**] in **Tshivenda** can be used simultaneously with traditional and English title.

4.1.2.1   The honorific Vho- with surname

The honorific [**Vho**] in **Tshivenda** is attached to a person's surname. The prefix [**Vho-**] is the prefix of class (2b) prefix and is used to indicate respect. In the use of [**Vho-**], there is a clear indication of a power relationship. The younger person sends a surname with [**vho-**] and receives a personal name or suitable pronoun form the elder person. The honorific prefix is used together with a surname.

(1)   Vho- Muila   'Mr or Mrs Muila.'

Vho- Mulima   'Mr or Mrs Mulima.'

Vho- Maduwa   'Mr or Mrs Maduwa.'

Vho- Tshishonga   'Mr or Mrs Tshishonga.'

Vho- Munonoka   'Mr or Mrs Munonoka'

In (1) above the **Venda** surnames with [**Vho-**] may refer to either a male or female depending on the context in which it is used. The prefix [**Vho-**] is written with a hyphen e.g [**Vho - Muila**]: in this written form the prefix will only refer to some form of respect for the addressee. If the prefix is written without the hyphen [**Vho Masindi**] it may have another meaning, i.e. it may refer to a group of people of the **Masindi**. In spoken language, this ambiguity can only be solved by taking into account the context in which this word with [**vho -**] is used. It is used in a formal setting of an address form to a single person or will understandably be interpreted as a sign of respect for the addressee.

4.1.2.2   The honorific Vho- with royal titles

4.1.2.2.1   [Thovhela] 'King']

The word [**Thovhela**] to the **Venda** people is controversial causing some argument in deciding whether the term can refer to male or female. **Venda** never experienced a female [**Thovhela**] 'Queen'. Unlike the **Pedi** people, they have Queen **Modjadji** 'The Rain Queen' and 'King' **Sekhukhune**. [**Thobela**] in the **Venda** people means greeting while [**Thobela**] in the **Venda** language is attached to a chief or chief of chiefs [**khosikhulu**].

Our discussion focuses on [**Thovhela**] as reference to a male king. [**Thovhela**] occupies a large territory and his subordinates are chiefs. All the chiefs of the **Venda** people fall under one king and take instruction from him. Without a king as the leader of a particular nation, the people will live in a disorderly fashion. In an interview process [**Thovhela**] is used. One day the king was interviewed in a radio. The honorific [**Vho-**] is attached to [**thovhela**] e.g. **Vhothovhela** and is used as a form of address, for example:

(2)   Interviewer: Vhothovhela, mvelelo ya vhavenda i khou

ngalangala.

'Your culture seems to be deteriorating Mr King.'

4.1.2.2.2   [Vhamusanda] Chief

This seems to be a derived word from [**musanda**] 'chief's place' with the prefix of class (2) [**vha-**] or it may be a possessive [**vha- a** → **vha**] i.e.   they of the chiefs place.   One might further state that the term is also derived from the verb stem. (-**sanda**) 'to hate' (What is evil).   The term composes of prefix [**mu-**] a verb root [-**sand-**] and a terminating vowel [-**a**].   The word [**musanda** refers to a person who hates evils or reconciles people with difference.   The word [**vhamusanda**] serves the same purpose of address to either a male or female chief.   A mediator is needed to promote a dialogue between the chief and ordinary people.   The word can refer to male and female chief, **vhamusanda** is used as a form of address including the honorific [**Vho -**].   All his/her subordinates address him/her as **vhamusanda Vho- Mulima**.

(3)   Subordinate: Vhamusanda Vho - Mulima lotsha hani?

'How are you Chief Mulima?'

Due to transformation process, [**vhamusanda**] is referred as a headman. Sometimes the headman is also called by a noun [**khosi**] is not used as a form of address to headman as it lowers this status of a leader. The headmen together with the chief can be distinguished by the world/term [**khosi**] which refers to a chief. **Khosi** cannot be used as a form of address one can not say.

    (4)   Subordinate: [Vho vuwa hani vhokhosi]

                 'How are you chief?'

4.1.2.2.3   [Khosi] 'Leader' (Chief)

Khosi refers to a male or female chief. **Khosi** is a noun of class (9) prefix [N-] + stem [-**khosi**] 'leader'. To the **Venda** people [**khosi**] means a [leader] for example:

    (5)   Khosi ya masunzi.

          Khosi ya magege.

As stated above, **khosi** is used only as a form of reference. All chiefs are addressed as [**vhamusanda**]. **Khosi** refers only to a chief while [**vhammusanda**] refers both a chief and a headman.

4.1.2.2.4   [Vhakoma]

The term **vhakoma** is a noun of class (2) prefix [**Vha-**] + stem [-**koma**].

[**Vhakoma**] can refer both a male or a female

The chief's wife is referred as [**vhakoma**] but is widely used in referring to males. In the case of males, the term [**vhakoma**] refers to a mediator between the chief and the subordinates or between the headman and the subordinates. The position of **vhakoma** can be given to a relative of the chief or ordinary person who is trusted by the chief. His duties agree to deliver information/messages from the royal kraal to the people or calls gatherings or meetings. As a mediator, [**vhakoma**] is addressed in the plural form. The

term [**vhakoma**] is used as a form of address by both superiors and subordinates together with the honorific [**Vho-**].

> (6)   Subordinate: Vhakoma Vho-Maake, ndo da u vhiga mulandu wa kholomo
> dza Ndifeleni dze dza la mavhele tsimuni yanga.
> 'Mr Vhakoma Maake, I have come to report the case about
> Ndifelani's cattle which ate my grains.'

4.1.2.2.5   [Gota] 'headman'

Gota refers to a headman and he is the subordinate of the chief.   The term [**Gota**] is formed by prefix in singular and the stem [-**gota**] a headman.   It refers to male only.   **Gota** is given to any relative of the chief or a trusted ordinary person.   The chief has the power to install or take the throne from the headman.   The headman looks after the 'minor' matter of the village and act as a foreman of the chief.   Their term [**Gota**] can be used as a form of referent and acquires the status of [**vhamusanda**] [**muhali**] or [**vhafuwi**] by the subordinates.   The headman could not be addressed like this:

> (7)   [Vho vuwa hani Vho-Gotha]
> 'How are you Mr Gota/headman.'

See 4.1.2.2.2

4.1.2.2.6   [Vhavenda]

The term **Vhavenda** is formed by 2 class prefix vha- and the noun stem - **venda**, which refers to the place of **vhavenda**.   But in the royal family is a title of high rank to a person and it deserves the right of pluralism .   It refers to the chief's father's brother (younger and older).   **Vhamusanda** has to be respected and the term refers to a male person. **Vhavenda** is used both as a form of referent and address.

When used the title **Vhavenda** is followed by honorific [**vho**-] and the surname. **Vhamusanda** title can be used alone.

(8) Headman: Vho vuwa hani Vhavenda?
'Vhavenda, how are you?'

4.1.2.2.7 Makhadzi 'Aunt'

[**Makhadzi**] is the 1(a) noun class and also a kinship term. It refers to the father's sister while in the royal family it means the chief's father's sister. She is addressed as [**makhadzi**] 'aunt' by all the people under the chief's jurisdiction irrespective of blood relationship [**makhadzi**] plays a role in crowning of a chief, settles dispute in the royal family and acts as a protagonist in time of ritual ceremonies to strengthen the chief's power. The honorific [**vho**-] is added to **makhadzi** when she is addressed, for example:

Khotsimunene: Vhomakhadzi line vha khou li amba li a pfala, mukololo o no
aluwa ndi khwine a tshi vhewa vhuhosini hawe.
'Aunt, you have spoken the final word in this matter. Because
he has matured, we should crown him as a chief.

4.1.2.2.8 [Khotsimunene] 'One's father's younger brother'

Even in the royal family, [**khotsimunene**] is a kinship term which refers to a father's younger brother. [**Khotsimunene**] plays a role of an advisor and a security to the chief in the royal family. When [**khotsimunene**] is accompanied by the honorific [**vho**-], it is used as a form of address and a reference.

(10) Vhakoma: Vhokhotsimunene ndi vhona uri hu tea u itwa sengo-sengo
la u bveledzisa shango.
'Uncle, I think we should contribute in the development of our
country.'

4.1.2.2.9   The Royal Council

The royal council is a committee that includes paternal relatives, namely, chief's brother, chief's sister, chief's children etc.   The committee composes of chairperson, deputy, secretary, treasurer and additional member.   The royal council helps to manage the territory and advises the chief in daily matters.   They are addressed as in 4.1.2.2.1 - 4.1.2.2.8.

4.1.2.2.10   [Ndumi]

[**Ndumi**] is derived from the prefix of class (9) **N** + verb stem [- **luma**] 'to bite'. [**n + luma > niluma > ndumi**]. **Ndumi** informs the chief about everything around him as he is crowned together with the chief.   As a word of reference, **ndumi** serves in the department of intelligence.   He is elected by chief's father younger brother [**makhotsimunene**] and chief's father's sister [**makhadzi**] among the chief's younger brother.

4.1.2.2.11   Vhakololo

Vhakololo refers to the children of the royal kraal in a plural form of class (2) [**vha-**]. As a neutral form of address, it does not specify gender issue.   Besides the term [**vhakololo**] [**mavoda**] 'daughter of chief' and [**madzhinda**] 'son of chief' are not used in addressing children of the royal family, personal names are used as a form of address.

4.1.2.3   Venda Traditional Titles with honorific - [Vho-]

There are traditional titles among the **Venda** people.   These titles are divided into two subsections, namely, title of status with **Venda** society and adopted foreign titles. The title of status with **Venda** society deals with address forms of people. The use of these titles in traditional ceremonies such as initiation, forefather ceremonies, witch doctors and herbalist title.

4.1.2.3.1 Initiation ceremonies

The initiation ceremonies are practised by both the male and female sexes in different ways. Respect of this ceremony is unquestionable. The female ceremony takes place in close door (house) while the male one involves a large number of initiates in a dense bush.

(a) <u>Male initiation ceremony</u>

This takes place in the bush. Young males are circumsized to reach the passage of manhood. They learn to live under harsh conditions, recite folklores by heart and modify the artistic aspect of life. There is a specific language used by both the elder and initiates chosen.

(I) **Maḓala** - Is an ordinary man selected by the chief. His tasks involve care of the surrounding and supervise the initiates. **Maḓala** is a noun of class I(a). When the honorific **[vho-]** together with a noun **[maḓala]** **[vhomaḓala]** is used, all people involved in the circumcision school are urged to respect him. The term **vhomaḓala** as an address form is used by both the superordinates (chiefs) and the subordinates during period.

> (11)   Vhutswu: Vhomaḓala,vhuliga vhu a theswa vhui toda phogwane
>
>   'Mr Maḓala, the initiates must be punished as they are
>
>   rebellious.

(II) **Ramalia** - Has the power over the initiates and initiated. This noun is derived from the **pedi** people vocabulary. The **Ramalia** titles are inherited from ancestors who were involved in such practice. He circumcized young male ones and also prevent the circumcision area by his powerful medicine. **Ramalia** takes responsibility in decision making. Because the initiation involves elder and junior males, the honorific **vho-** gives **Ramalia** the respect he deserves.

(12)   Madala: Vhoramalia hu na vhanwe vhana mutakalo wavho a si wavhudi.

Mr Ramalia, some of the initiates are not well.

(III)   **[Vhutswu]** 'initiated' - It is a name given to elders 'initiated males' who has recently passed the passage of manhood. They look after the care of the intitiates as they are hired by the parents initiates. The term **[vhutswu]** is formed by the prefix **vhu** - of class (14) and adjective[-**tswu**] 'blackness'. Respect is practised fully by the initiates. **Vhutswu** is used only when there are initiation ceremonies. The initiated **[vhutswu]** is addressed by his seniors and juniors as **[vhutswu]**.

(13)   Madala: Vhutswu u ita hanu ni tshi ya hayani zwi do ri nea thaidzo.

'We have a problem of those initiated who leave without permission.'

(IV)   **[Vhuliga]** 'Initiates' - Is a name given to the initiates. The noun **vhuliga** is formed by prefix **[vhu-]** of class (14), verb root -**ling**- 'to try' and a terminating vowel [-**a**]. The initiates are tried to resist al their weakness in solving matter.

(14)   Vhutswu: [Vhuliga a vhu de vhu khede]

'The initiates should be painted with a white ochre.'

(b)   Female initiation ceremony

(I)   **Vhusha** - takes place in the house. This can either involve a single person or a group of girls. These young girls are circumsized and taught the laws of womahood. The duration of the practice differs from one village to another. The leader of **vhusha** is called **[Nyamatei]**. **Nyamatei** together with the honorific **[vho-]** (**vho-Nyamatei**) means respect is unquestionable.

(15) Woman: Vho vuwa hani Vhonyamatei?

'How are you Nyamatei?'

(II) **Domba** - Is another initiation school for females. The females are taught how to behave in their womanhood. The leader of **Domba** is (**Nyamungodzwa**] [**nya**] is a woman prefix followed by a noun [**mungodzwa**]. [**Nyamungodzwa**] is used together with the honorific [vho-] e.g. **vhonyamungodzwa**.

(16) Woman: Vhonyamungodzwa ndi kale domba lo ima li tea u swa.

'Since it has been a long time this school took place, we

should close it now.'

4.1.2.3.2 Forefather/Ancestor ceremonies [Malombo]

The leader of [**malombo**] is [**matsige**]. **Matsige** is a term formed from word **matsige** of class (1a). The task of **matsige** is to beat the drums. **Matsige** occupies the highest rank in [**malombo**] and delivers his service of beating drums. **Malombo** serves as process of forgiveness, thanksgiving and asking for help.

(17) Woman: Vhomatsige vha tea u irwa ngoma vhatshini vha tou wa.

'Mr Matsige, you are expected to beat the drums in such a

way that people could fall.'

4.1.2.3.3 Witch-doctor [Nanga]

The term [**nanga**] is of class (9) [**Nanga**] refers to traditional doctors which on other occasion the traditional doctor are regarded as witch-doctors because they possess supernatural powers. They can heal the patients or bring misfortunes to others. There are different terms that refer to witch-doctors such as nanga, maine etc.

(I)   **Ṅanga** - this term refers to both female and male witch-doctor. Nanga is a person that can heal others using traditional medicine. [Nanga] is used as a form of referent, for example:

>   (18)   Muthannga: Ńanga yo fhira henefha.
>   'The witchcraft passed here.'

(II)   **Maine** is a of class (1a) and refers to both the female and male doctor. **Maine** is in charge and reliable to a particular family. **Maine** secures and protects members of the family and their settlements from witches. The honorific [**vho-**] is added to the word **maine**, for example: **Vhomaine**, and is used as such as a form of address.

>   (19)   Munna: Vhomaine, nwana ha khou vuwa.
>   'My child is very sick.'

(III)   **Dzolokwe**

This term refers to a specialist in traditional healing. It can be a male or female doctor. **Dzolokwe** has supernatural power and [**dzolokwe**] is used as form of referent. **Dzolokwe** is addressed as **vhomaine** (as above).

(IV)   **Herbalist**

This term refers to a person who grows, sells or specializes in herbs for medical purposes. The **Venda** people addresses the herbalist by the honorific [**vho-**] together with the surname as in

Besides the above terms, the following titles can be used by strangers or ordinary person to the head of a village. These terms are **muthomphei** and **muhulisei**.

(V)   **Muṭhomphei** is a term derived from the prefix of class (1) [**Mu-**] singular and the verb stem [**-thompha**] means to respect, and the term refers to male. The term refers to the person who is respected by the people. The person is being dignified by the honorific [**vho-**] [**vhomuṭhomphei**]. As a form of address, **muthomphei** can be used with or without surname.

(20)   Stranger: Vhomuṭhomphei, vha khou vhidzwa nga khotsi anga.

'My father is calling you, Mr honourable.'

(VI)   **Muhulisei**. The term is derived from the prefix of (1) **Mu-** and adjective stem **hulu** 'big' + [**-sa**] and the terminating vowel [**-i**], **muhulisei** refers to the respected person. **Muhulisei** is used together with or without [**vho-**].

With the honorific [vho-]

(21)   Vho Muhulisei, vha khou vhidzwa nga khotsi anga.

'You are being called, Mr honourable.'

Without the honorific [vho-]

(22)   Muhulisei, vha khou vhidzwa nga khotsi anga.

'You are being called, Honourable.'

4.1.2.3.2   Formal adapted European titles

The second subsection explains how the **Venda** adapted some words to express the formal English titles like Mr, Mrs, and miss. The word [**murena**] is equivalent to Mr or Sir and used to the son of the chief only. In Biblical terms, [**Murena**] refers to God or Lord. Again [**murena** is used by the subordinates or people of lower status to address their superiors/high status (owners and workers). The honorific [**vho-**] is added between [**murena**] and the surname of the addressee for example, [**Murena Vho-Raulinga**]. One day an official from the local government arrived at our village. One of the youth wanted

to know when will our village be electrified. The question was directed to the official from the government.

(23) Youth: Murena Vho Raulinga vha do dzhenisa lini mudagasi muvhunduni washu?

'Mr Raulinga, when will our village be electrified?'

The term 'Mrs' refers to a married woman(**mufumakadzi**). The word **mufumakadzi** is derived from the singular prefix of class (1) **Mu**- and the stem -**fuma**- and the female suffix -**kadzi** > **mufumakadzi**. When this term is used as an address form, the honorific **vho** - is compulsory e.g. [**mufumakadzi Vho- Maḓombolo**] . **Mufumakadzi vho-Maḓombolo** was one day invited by Phalaphala FM to speak about the **Venda** traditional dress.

(24) Phalaphala FM: Kha vha ri vhudze hafha mufumakadzi vho-Maḓombolo uri kale minwenda ya tshivenḓa yo vha i tshi ambarwa hani.

'Mrs Maḓomboro ,could you briefly tell us how the traditional dress were worn.'

The term 'miss' is for **mufumakadzana**. The dimunitive form [-**ana**] is added to **mufumakadzi** resulting into **mufumakadzana**. This word **mufumakadzana** does not have any specific meaning in **Venda**. When used in address form, the honorific prefix [**vho**-] does not appear. One day I heard the husband sending the wife's younger sister to fetch water for him.

(25) Husband: Mufumakadzana Vele ndi khou humbela maḓi.

'Miss Vele, could you give me water, please?'

Sometime [**Nyamusadzana**] is preferred instead of [**mufumakadzana**]

4.1.2.4 The honorific Vho- with academic titles

The honorific title [**vho**-] can be used with the academic title and the surname. Academic titles are mostly used at the universities. All the universities have formal hierachy of academic titles. These titles are coined to suit the **Venda** language.

(i)   [**Rekhitha**] 'Rector' is the principal/head of certain university , colleges, schools or religious institutions, refers to both male and female.

(ii)   [**Muthusa Rekhitha**] 'Vice-Rector' refers to male or female who act as an assistant assistant to or in place of somebody, refers to both male and female.

(iii)   [**Mukhantsela**] ' chancellor' is the chief administrative officer or honourary head of certain universities.

(iv)   [**Muredzhisitara**] 'Registrar' it refers to both male or femal and the chief administrative office in a university. Application of student are addressed to the registrar.

(v)   [**Muphurofesa**] 'Professor' is a university teacher of the highest grade or qualification. It refers both male or female professor.

(vi)   [**Dokotela**] 'Doctor' is a title which refers to both male or female person who has received the highest university degree.

(vii)   [**Mulekhitshara**] 'Lecturer', a person who gives lectures at a college or university.

(viii) [**Mutshudeni**] 'Student' , a person who is studying at a university or college.

The junior respects senior academics at university. Respect is the order of the day. The above mentioned titles are written in their chronological order to demonstrate their different tasks. One day I listened the conversation between Doctor Mphoyanga (lecturer) and Professor Phalaphala (HOD). The Doctor was quarelling about the allocation of duty. The title refers to both male and female. The honorific [**vho**-] is added between the title

and the surname for example, **Muphurofesa Vho-Phalaphala** and senior sends the title and surname.

(26a) Dr Mphoyanga: Muphorofesa Vho-Phalaphala vha nga tou shandukisa mafunzele a Tshivenḓa hu songo thoma ha vha na nyambedzano. Vha dzhia ino yunivesithi vha i ita ꞉꞉꞉, muḓi wavho.
'Prof Phalaphala, why should you change methods of teaching without consulting me? You take this university as your home.'

(26b) Prof. Phalaphala: Dokotela Mphoyanga sa ṱhoho ya muhasho ndo vhona zwo tea uri ri funze nga tshivenḓa.
'As a head of this department, I thought it necessary to teach Tshivenḓa in its language.

When [**vho-**] is added to the titles Dr or Professor, it results into **Dokotela Vho-Mphoyanga** and **Professor Vho-Phalaphala**. This shows that professor is superior to Doctor.

4.1.2.5   Honorific Vho- in the church

Hierarchy is also practised by members of different churches. Members have to respect all leaders/seniors in the church. Church titles are used together with the honorific prefix [**vho-**]. These church titles are used as a form of address.

(I)   [**Mupapa**] 'Pope' is the head of the Roman Catholic Church who is also the Bishop of Rome. The term refers to male because we never had of a female pope, for example:

Mupapa Vho-John Paul
'Pope John Paul'.

(II)   [**Mubishopo**] 'Bishop' - the term also refers to a male Bishop. Bishop is a

senior priest in charge of the work of the church in a city or dist

district.

'Mubishopo Vho - Miriri'.

(III)   [**Mudini**] 'Dean' - refers to a male dean, is a priest who supervises the other

priests in a church or a priest who is responsible for a number

of parishes.

(IV)   [**Mufunzi**] 'Priest' is a person appointed to perform religious duties and

ceremonies in the church.

When **mufunzi** is addressed, the plural prefix of class (2) [**vha** -] is used instead of the singular prefix of class (1) [**Mu**-]. The honorific **vho**- is added between the term and surname.

(28)   Vhafunzi Vho-Mashamba.

'Priest Mashamba'.

(V)   [**Sisita**] 'Sister' is a member of certain female religious order, e.g. nun.

Sisita Vho -Marandela.

'Sister Marandela.'

The **Venda** christian uses the honorific **Vho**- together with the title and the surname to the superior member of the church. One day I listened when the priest was requesting the Dean to deliver the Sunday message/script.

(29)   Mufunzi Khovhogo: Namusi a thi nga reri ndi do humbela Mudini Vho-

Tutulani uri farela mushumo.

'Could you deliver today's sermon on my behalf, Dean Forogo

please?'

4.1.2.6   Honorific [Vho-] in the security forces

Several security forces titles are used together with the honorific [**vho**-]. Ranks are the order of the day and are determined by security title. Each security title refers to both the male and female. The surname is used together with the honorific [**vho**-] and title e.g. [**mukaputeni Vho-Mushavhanamadi**]. When the seniors address the juniors, title and surname are used, for example, [**Mukonsitabulo**]. There are different ranks in the security services.

(I)   [**Mukhomishinari**] 'Commissioner' is a person responsible for managing security affairs of a country, and the person is considered to be a public official of high rank. In South Africa, there are national and provincial commissioners.

(30)   [Mukhomishinari Vho-Tshilavhana]
'Commissioner Tshilavhana'.

(II)   [**Mudairekhitha**] 'Director' is a person who directs or controls supervises or instructs a group of people working together. A director is a senior person that manages the affairs of a security service.

(31)   [Mudairekhitha vho-Mulelu]
'Director Mulelu.'

(III)   [**Musupuruthendede**] 'Superintendent' is a person who superintends. The word refers to a police officer above chief inspector.

(32)   [Musupuruthendede Vho-Raulinga]
'Superintendent Raulinga

(IV) **[Mukaputene]** 'Captain' the title is taken from the army, the word refers to the leader of a group, for example, group of police.

(33) [Mukaputeni Vho-Mushavhanamaḓi]
'Captain Mushavhanamaḓi.'

(V) **Muingameli/Tshipikiṱere]** 'Inspector' - the word is a title of a senior police officer who inspects a particular department in a security service.

(34) [Muingameli Vho-Netshifhefhe]
'Inspector Netshifhefhe.'

(VI) **[Musedzheni/Sedzheni]** 'Sergeant' is a title of a police officer with a rank below that of an inspector.

(35) Musedzheni vho-Ratombo
'Sergeant Ratombo'.

(VII) **[Mukonstabulu]** 'Constable' is a title of a police officer with a lower rank.

The above security ranks are organised in their order. Respect is the order of the day in the security services. The Juniors use the title, honorific **vho-** and the surname in talking to seniors. The seniors send title and surname to juniors.

(36) Constable: Mukaputeni Vho-Mushavhanamaḓi, u tambudzwa ha vhana hu khou nana.
'Captain Mushavhanamaḓi, the abuse is increasing rapidly.'

(37) Captain: [Ndi zwone hezwo Mukonstabulu Ligege]
'You are quite right, constable Ligege.'

4.1.2.7   Honorific [vho-] and the law

(I)   **[Muhaṱuli muhulwane na Muhatuli]** 'Chief judge and judge'. Even in the judiciary matters, titles are used together with the honorific **[vho-]**. The titles refer to both male and female and respect is the order of the day.   **[Muhaṱuli muhulwane]** 'Chief Judge', **[Muhaṱuli]** is a noun derived from verb, i.e. **[mu-]** is a singular prefix of class (1), **[-hatu-]** to 'judge' is a verb root and **[-i]** is a terminating vowel. **Muhulwane** is an adjective which means 'big', **[Muhaṱuli muhulwane]** is a title used in judiciary matters, it refers to a person above the judge who evaluate cases.   He decides in the lawcourt.   When somebody is guilty or not, the chief Judge makes a wise decision.   When the dialogue is in place, the judge addresses the Chief Judge as **[Muhaṱuli Muhulwane Vho-** Rambau] and receives **[Muhaṱuli** Malelo].

> (38)   Judge: Muhaṱuli Muhulwane Vho-Rambau vhugevhenga vhu khou
>
>   nana kha shango ḽashu.
>
>   'Crime is increasing in our country, Chief Judge Rambau.'

> (39)   Chief Judge: Ilo ndi ḽone Muhatuli Malelo.
>
>   'Judge Malelo, you are quite right.'

(II)   **[Madzhisitarata na Mutshutshusi]** 'Magistrates and prosecutors'. Magistrate acts as judge in the lowest courts while the prosecutor is a person who presecutes in court of law on behalf of the public. The use of power is unquestionable. The prosecutor respects the Magistrate with the honorific **[vho-]** and surname. In doing so, he receives his title and surname only, and the terms refers to both males and females.

> (40)   Mutshutshusi: [Madzhisitaraṱa vho-Munya] mulandu wa havha mukalaha
>
>   u a bvafhisa
>
>   'The case of an old man is boring, Magistrate Munyai.'

(41)   Madzhisitarata: U a bvafhisa ngauri iyi khalaha a i divhi na mafhungo ayo
Mutshutshisi Muhali.

'It is true prosecutor Muhali.   The old man does not have a
detailed account of event events.'

(III)   **[Muambeli muhulwane na Ramilayo]** 'Advocates and attorneys'. The advocate occupies the high rank than the attorney.   Are all lawyers who represent clients in lawcourts.   Power is also considered between advocates and attorney together the honorific **[vho-]** and surname while receiving the title and surname only.   The titles refer to both the male and female persons.

(42)   Attorney: Muadivokhathi Vho-Ṅwagu hoyu mulandu ndi muhulwane ri tea
u engedza masheleni.

'Advocate Ṅwagu, we should increase funds in this case.'

(43)   Advocate: Muathoni Mafhoho izwi ndi zwone ngauri na rine ri tea ula.

'It is true attorney Mafhoho, while attending this case we should
also eat.

4.1.2.8   Honorific vho- and politics

The Honorific **[vho-]** is also used in politics. The **Venḓa** language/**Tshivenḓa** dominates the respect of speaking. The junior member respect the senior member.

(I)   **[Muphurisidennde]** 'President' is the head of the state/country.

(II)   **[Minisiṱara Muhulwane]** 'Prime Minister' is the deputy president, he deputized in the absent of the president.

(III)   **[Minisiṱara]** 'Minister' is the head of his/her department.

(IV)   **[Murado wa Phalamennde]** 'Member of Paliament' is a member of low status in the cabinet.

The president receives from all members of the country. The President is respected and linked like a head of a family. When he is addressed, the word; President is followed by the honorific **[vho-]** together with surname.

(44)   Minister: Phuresidende Vho-Mandela ri khou tea u dzhenelela kha
                thaidzo dza Zimbabwe vhathu vha khou fhela.
                'President Mandela, we should intervene in the rescue mission of
                Zimbabwean people.'

4.1.2.9   Honorific [vho-] and the administration

Respect is also practised in the administrative offices power and respect play an important role in addressing seniors by the juniors. Below follow their sequence:

(45)   Director General   **[Mudairekhitha Dzhenerala]**
       Chief Director   **[Mudairekhitha Muhulwane]**
       Director   **[Mudairekhitha]**
       Secretary   **[Munwaleli]**
       Clerk

The clerk occupies the lowest status in the above hierarchy. The dialogue between the director and secretary shows that the secretary sends the title, honorific **[vho-]** together with the surname. He is the recipients of the title and surname only.

(46)   Secretary: Ndi amba mudairekhitha vho-Munzhedzi ri khou tea u wana
                comphiyutha dza ano maduvha.
                'Director Munzhedzi, we should install a new computer.'

(47) Director: Zwi a pfala munwaleli Lugisani.

'It is true secretary Lugisani'.

4.1.2.10 Honorific vho- and health

The exclusion of the honorific [**vho**-] among the **Venda** people is considered as a contempt of the tradition. The Health Department also demands the use of the honorific [**vho**-]. The respect is practised among the doctors, specialists, sisters, nurses and health workers. When a nurse speaks to the doctor, she includes the honorific **vho**- to show respect.

(48) Nurse: Dokotela vho-Mabatha hu tou nga a hu na vhukhwine kha uyu

mulwadze.

'Doctor Mabatha, the patient is not recovering.'

4.1.2.11 Honorific [vho-] and Employer and Employee

The employer also occupies the highest rank. He is suppose to be respected by his subordinates. The employer orders and controls all the duties of the employees. When an employee speaks with an employer, the use of the honorific **vho**- is the order of the day. One day I listened to the dialogue between an employer and employee. An employee was requesting a study leave.

(49) Employee: Minidzhere vho-Bodoni ndi khou humbela maduvha a u vhalela

mulingo.

'Manager Bodoni, I request some days to prepare for an

examination.'

4.1.2.12   Honorific Vho- and sport

For any organisation to function smoothly, respect is the order of the day in this planet. Sport as a mural activity demands the use of power. Sport is composed of:

(5O)   trainer - **mugudisi** - the one who teaches players.

Captain - **mulauli** - the one who controls players in the field of play.

Player - **mutambi** - the one who plays.

In order to achieve the objectives of the trainer, the captain controls and supervises the players. The players are obliged to show respect to both the trainer and the captain. Below there is a dialogue between the trainer and the captain of soccer about the player's matter. The captain includes the Honorific [**Vho**-] to the trainer.

(51)   Captain: Mugudisi Vho-Rabali, hu khou todea vhatamba phanda vhavhili u

thusa vhane ra vha navho.

'Trainer Rabali, we should buy two strikers to reinforce our squad.'

4.1.2.13   Honorific [Vho-] and school

The use of the honorific **vho**- to the **Venda** school is unquestionable. Respect promotes best result at school. The organograph of the school is determined by respect. The learners occupy the lowest status as compared to the inspectors (highest status).

[**Muingameli**] 'Inspector' - **Muingameli** is a term composed of the prefix class (1) [**Mu**-] and the verb stem [**-ingamela**] to look to something thoroughly or vividly or to inspect.

[Thoho ya tshikolo] 'Principal' - is composed of compound nouns. **[Thoho]** 'head' **[ya]** 'of' **[tshikolo]** 'school'. Is the head of an institution. He takes authority from the inspector and impose it to the learners and teacher.

[Mudededzi] 'Teacher' - is composed of the prefix of class (1) **[Mu-}** and the verb stem **[dededza]** 'to teach'. His duty is to teach the learners.

[Mugudiswa] 'Learner' - is a term composed of prefix of class (1) **[Mu-]** and the verb stem **[-guda]** 'to learn'. The learner occupies the lowest status. All the above titles disregard gender. The inspector deserves respect from the principal, teacher and learners. Below follow a dialogue between the principal and inspector. The principal was requesting the inspector to allow him to begin Grade O the following year.

(52) Principal: Muingameli Vho-Marageni, ndi humbela uri nwakani ri
tanganedze vhana vha gireidi 0.
'Inspector Marageni, we should enrol/admit grade 0 pupils.'

(53) Inspector: Ndi zwone phurisipala Tshikota, zwi do ita uri vha tavhanye u
fara vha gireidi I.
'The enrolment of grade 0 pupils will help in the catch-up of the learning process'.

4.1.2.14 Honorific vho-and committee

For any organisation, to succeed fruitfully, respect is unquestionable. A committee is composed of the chairperson, secretary, treasurer and additional members.

[**Mudzulatshidulo**] 'Chairperson' - the term is a compound noun derived from the prefix of class (I) [**Mu-**] + verb stem [**-dzula**] 'to sit' and prefix of class (7) [**Tshi-**] + stem [**-dulo**] 'seat'. The term 'chaiperson' in English is neutral as it refers to both the male and female persons. The chairperson directs the meeting and respected by both members of the committee and his constituency. He is addressed as [**mudzulatshidulo Vho -Mutshusi**].

[**Munwaleli**] 'secretary'. The term is a noun derived from a verb and is composed of the prefix of class (1), the verbroot [**-nwal-**] 'to write' [**-el-**] applied verbal extension and the terminating vowel [**-i**]. **Munwaleli** refers to the person who write for the group/person. The terms refers to both the male and female.

[**Mufaragwama**] 'Treasurer' - the term is compound noun which is formed from the prefix of class (1)[**Mu-**] verb stem[**-fara**] and the noun [**gwama**] which is a voiced from [**mukwama**] 'bag of something.' **Mufaragwama** refers to a person who keeps money of a certain organisation.

[**Mirado**] 'Members' - is a term formed from the prefix of class(4) [**Mi-**] and the stem [**-rado**] 'part'. A committee can be regarded as a body which consists of parts like head, hand, foot etc. **Murado** is a part of body and refers to both the male and female persons. **Murado** occupies the lowest rank in a committee, respecting those who are his superiors. When the chairperson is addressed by the members of the committee, the honorific [**vho-**] is added between the word chairperson and surname.

(54) Munwaleli: Mudzulatshidulo Vho Seubere, ndi khou humbela uri vha
      talutshedze nga ha vhudifari ha khorwana.
      'Chairperson Soubere, could you briefly outline the behaviour
      of all members of the committee.

(55) Mudzulatshidulo: Munwaleli, Libago a hu na zwine ndi nga talutshedza
      vhunga zwothe zwi zwa mvelele.

'Secretary Libago, I could not explain everything as this is our tradition.'

4.2 OCCUPATIONS

4.2.1 Aim

The use of an occupation term as a form of address to interlocutors depends upon the origin of the occupational term. Occupational terms are associated with a person's duty. Two categories of occupational terms are observed, namely; the **Tshivenda** and Non-**Tshivenda** (Western oriented) one. The former is never used as a form of address to the **Venda** people. Instead of using traditional occupational terms, a person may decide to use pronoun, kinship term, surname or personal name or the hinirific [**vho-**] together with surname. It seems as if addressing a builder or craftman as [**Ndaa, Mufhati** or **Ndaa, vhomufhati**] it would be taken as an insult or lowering somebody's dignity. Even if you find a builder building, one cannot say [**Ndaa mufhati**]. 'Greeting to you, builder' , but one rather say [**Ndaa, vhashumi**] 'Greetings to you, workers'.

4.2.2 Tshivenda occupational terms

The **Venda** people have occupational terms in their language. The terms follow the occupation of a person and may be derived from a verb:

1. [**Mufhati**] 'Craftsman' is a term formed by the prefix of class (1) [**Mu-**] from the verb root -**vhada** 'to do craftwood'. The term refers to both male and female in **Venda** language it means 'one who does craft'wood'.

2. [**Muluki**] ' Weaver' is a word formed by the prefix of class (1) [**Mu-**] and the verb root.

    [**-luka**] ' to weave'. The term refers to one who weaves.

3.   **[Mutombi]** 'brewer', this term is also formed by singular prefix of class (1)[**Mu-**] and the verb -**tomba**, 'to brew'.

Many of the **Venda** occupational terms are derived from verbs like the above and take the personal prefix of class (1) and (2); [**Mu-**] and [**vha-**], the verb root together with a suffix [-**i**]

		Prefix		Verb root		suffix
		Sin	plur			
4.	**[Mufhati]** 'builder'	Mu-	vha-	fhat-	'to build'	-i
5.	**[Muvhumbi]** 'potter'	Mu-	vha-	-vhumb-	'to pot'	-i
6.	**[Muimbi]** 'singer'	mu-	vha-	-imbi	'to sing'	-i
7.	**[Mubiki]** 'cooker'	mu-	vha-	-bik-	'to cook'	-i

The above terms can never be used in a form of address but can be used as a form of reference. In **Venda** language one cannot address a person as [**Ndaa, Mufhati**] 'greetings to you, builder' or [**Ndaa, Vhomuvhadi**] 'Greetings to you, craftsman. It would be thought of as lowering somebody's dignity. These terms can be used as a form of reference. **Venda** people can use occupational term to refer to a person.

8.   [Ula ene u tou vha mufhati vhukuma]
        'That one is an expert in building'.

4.2.3 Non-Tshivenḓa occupational terms

This has been adapted to the western civilization. The presence of Europeans in Africa brought new occupational terms such as:

[**Nese**] 'nurse' from English 'nurse', 'from health service'. The term is used as a form of address by the people in public. One day at the bus stop, a nurse arrived wearing the uniform, an ordinary person wanted to know the exact time of the bus .

9.   Stranger: [vho vuwa hani, Vho-Nese?]

      'Nurse, how are you?'

10.   Nurse: [Ndo vuwa, ndi vhudzisa ngeo.]

      'I am fine thank you, how are you?'

11.   Stranger: [Ndo vuwa Vho-Nese, ndi khou humbela tshifhinga]

      'I am well, I am requesting time, nurse.'

The person is using the honorific **vho**- together with the occupational terms. [**Thitshere**] from English 'teacher' (from education). The term **thitshere** is used as a form of address by people. I once arrived at school with an old woman. As soon as we arrived, the old woman addressed one gentleman who was well dressed:

12.   Old woman: [Ndi matsheloni, Vho- Thitshere]

      'Good morning teacher.'

The honorific [**vho-**] is added to the adopted word to show respect.

4.3   SPECIAL ADDRESS FORMS IN SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

4.3.1 Aim

This section is aimed at investigating the use and the importance of special address forms in specific occasions. In community meetings or graduation ceremony, the inferior takes an advantage by addressing the superior with non-deferent form. The senior or receiver accepts the non-deferent form and attaches positive meaning to it irrespective of who used it. Respect is unquestionable as power is the order of the day between subjects and chiefs, between youths and elders and between wife and husband. One feels encouraged, praised, supported and motivated by such a speech act. After such an occasion, the subordinate reverts to the normal use of address form because mutual understanding between power and solidarity is removed.

4.3.2 Special address forms in Tshivenda language

This form of address is also practised by the **Venda** people. When the king takes a throne during the traditional gatherings, the non-deferent form of address takes place. The poet uses poetic licence of using special name in praising the king. The special name such as pre-birth name indicates a joyful occasion and shows solidarity with the king. Regardless of age or status differences, this form of address can be accompanied by an apologectic formula:

> Iwe Mandela iwe mukoni, ndi a divha uri vha muthomphei.
> 'You Mandela you expert, I know that you are an honourable man.'

In the example above, the speaker uses the pronoun [**iwe**], which refers to a person of low status, but at the same person being apologetic by using [**muthomphei**] 'honourable man'. A younger one may use a singular non-deferent pronoun and pronominal to the elder during specific occasions. After the occasion the speaker reverted to the conventional way of using an appropriate term or honorific pronoun to address an elder.

In **Venḓa** culture a wife may not address her husband by name, but uses his personal name on special occasion. The use of personal name indicates situations of surprise, unbelief, disgust or even admiration. In other cases an employer who normally gets a deferent form his employee may receive a non-deferential form. This form of address happens when the employer has been appointed to a senior post, won the competition or passed a senior degree. The existence of special address forms are compelled by specific situations. These forms can be used on certain occasion where the superior can be addressed by a subordinate. During traditional meetings or non-traditional gathering, honourable person such as chiefs or elders are addressed by name. This shows encouragement, achievements, happiness or even admiration to seniors by juniors. Special address forms are used between the following people:

> (a)   Subject and Chief.
>
> (b)   Poet and the president.
>
> (c)   Youth and elder.
>
> (d)   Wife and husband.
>
> (e)   Employer and employee.
>
> (f)   Child and parent.

Between subject and chief

After ploughing the chief's field the subjects gather at the royal kraal to enjoy themselves with homemade beer. When the chief arrives, one of his subjects stands up and address the chief showing happiness as follows:

1.   Tshidala muhali   'You honourable warrior'.

    Iwe marunga dzi nndevhelaho   'You who fight one who wrongs you'.

    Iwe une we ifa nda fa   'You who ordered my death.'

    Khakha - u - mela   'You appear suddenly'.

    Iwe mbilalume, u no dzula bakoni   'You the rock-rabbit, who stay in cave'.

    Iwe tsha u fuka na tsha u adza,   'You appear suddenly'.

        Khe u sa fi nda wana vhuhosi.   'Can't you die I inherit everything.'

The above sentences show how the subject uses non-deferent form [**iwe**] to address chief. After an occasion mentioned above, the form of address return to normal usage.

At conference of traditional leaders

On occasion the former president was invited to the conference of traditional leaders. A future poet stood up and used special address form to Mandela. The poet began by saying [Mandela, **vhone vha tou vha Mudivhalea**] 'Mandela, you are an honourable man.'

2.　[Duvha le la u kovhelela u tshi li vhona]
　　'You saw the sun when it set'.

　　[Ndi duvha line la khou bva u tshi li vhona]
　　'You saw the sun when it dawn'.

　　[A hu na mutodzi we wa rothisa]
　　'We never see your tears'.

　　[Iwe Nelson Mandela tshithavhelo tsha ngozwi ntswu]
　　'You Nelson Mandela, a fighter for Blacks'.

In the above sentences, the poet used singular pronouns to address the former president on occasions such as the traditional conference, the poet has acquired a poetic licence to use a name or an unsuitable pronoun.

At graduation ceremony.

One Saturday at a graduation ceremony, the elder was conferred Master's degree in our village. The programme director was younger than post-graduate. The programme director in his remarks states something about the elder:

3.   P.D: Hoyu mukalaha ndi ene mbonetsheli. Ni tshedza tsha muvhundu washu
              Jackson, ni tshedza tshi vhonetshelaho.
              'This old man brought light. You are light to our village,Jackson you are the
              light that shines'.

The programme director, though he is younger, uses non-deferent form to the elder [**hoyu**] 'this one' and the singular personal pronoun on the other hand praising the elder.

Couples

To the **Venda** people, for a wife to respect the husband is cultural. If the husband's sister hears the wife addressing the husband with non-deferent form, she may call the wife to order. The husband won something and the wife was too excited about the money:

4.   Iwe kukalaha kwanga, ndi hone wo ri bvisa makandani.
      'You my old man, you have taken us out of povery'.

In the sentence above, the wife uses non-deferent form to her husband. She uses the first person singular pronoun [**iwe**] 'you' and a dimunitive prefix [**ku-**].

Employer and employee

In a company, the employee was promoted to be a chief director of the company and one of the employees use special address to congratulate him. The employee use singular personal pronoun to his subordinate:

5.   Employee: [Ndo zwi divha uri iwe u tou vha mazhakandila wa matshelo].
                  'I noticed that you are a future of tomorrow'.

Child and parent

The father bought a house in a suburb without telling the children. One day he drove them to the new house. When they arrived there, he told them that it is their new house. The children were too excited, a son responded by praising his father using a singular personal pronoun **iwe** to his father and the subject concord of the singular prefix [**u-**]

6.   Son: [Baba, iwe u tou vha mutondi washu].
            'You are a caring parent, Daddy'.

Special address forms in **Tshivenḓa** use the singular second person pronoun [**iwe**], the subjectional concord [**u**] and the singular prefix of class (1) [**Mu-**].

4.4   INNOVATION

4.4.1 Aim

This section is aimed at examining the change of pattern of address in **Tshivenḓa**. One will understand that each and every language change from one stage to another. This could be the result of western civilization. To innovate is to make changes. This might be the result of the elite class. The elite class is moving away from the traditional use of the language with regard to the pattern of address. The elite class have a tendency of calling elders, superior by name or by an inappropriate address of pronoun. This is against the elders who wanted to retain their tradition. The elders state that the elite class wanted to "turn the world upside down", they wanted to change the status quo. Solidarity is the order of the day. This can bring mutual understanding between the interlocutors,

because the use of non-reciprocal address forms limit the communication, since the interlocutors have no equal power.

4.4.2 Innovation in Tshivenḓa language

Innovation in **Venḓa** language is reciprocal or symmetrical. This reciprocality between interlocutors promote solidarity and encourages mutual understanding between the speakers. Among the **Venḓa** people innovation can be observed between the following people:

Couples

It is cultural among the **Venḓa** to respect the elders, parents and husband. It is also their custom that the husband is regarded with deep respect and addressed with deference by his wife. There is no hard and fast rule in implementing the traditional custom in the modern elite home. Names are used between couples and this promote solidarity and mutual understanding.

Children and parents

It is the **Venḓa** traditional custom for the child to respect the parent and this is also unquestionable. The cultural respect is acquired from early period of the childhood. At present the children call their parent by name or inappropriate pronoun.

Elder and youths

At present the youth has a tendency of calling the elders by name, this is mostly practised by youths in structured situation such as meeting where they wanted to avoid contradiction, but this usage is associated with positive meaning and promote mutual

understanding. Power is being replaced by solidarity. The youth sometimes use the honorific [**Vho-**] together with the personal name, e.g. [**Vho-Mashudu**].

INNOVATION IN KINSHIP TERMS

Venda kinship terms

The **Venda** kinship terms are undergoing innovations, e.g. [**mme, baba, malume, makhadzi, mukomana** and **makhulu**]; 'mother, father, uncle, aunt, brother, and grandparent': These kinship terms are used with altered meaning. This is mostly used in shops by salesperson and anywhere.

Non - Tshivenda kinship

The **Venda** people use certain kinship terms borrowed from English into the **Venda** language but with altered usages. These terms are daddy, mummy, uncle, aunty and brother. Some may be used from **Afrikaans** language, e.g. **oom, tante**. This shows clearly the recognition of the superiority of the addressee. This is also used in Market place by the hawkers persuading customer to buy their items and also used in a daily social contact with a stranger whom one assumes that the stranger is older than oneself.

4.4.3 Terms of address

Innovations are used as the form of address. This form of address is mostly used by the elite class. They address everybody by personal or inappropriate pronoun ignoring their custom. Besides that the elite class may use kinship form with altered meaning. This might be the influence of the western countries. The European people have a tendency of using one kinship term for several persons.

Couples

The **Venda** elite families are in process of changing their status quo. The couples use personal name when addressing each other, although this is against the norms of their tradition. According to the **Venda** tradition, the wife is expected to give respect to her husband.

1. Husband: [**Maemu**, nnekedzeni madi a u nwa ndo farwa nga dora].
              'Maemu give me water I am thirsty'.

2. Wife: [Afhio? Hafhu madi a khou fhisa inwi Nnditsheni]
              'Which one **Nnditsheni**? The water is warm'.

The couple use personal names when addressing each other. This brings solidarity and promotes mutual understanding between the couple. Personal name [**Maemu, Nnditsheni**] as a form of address is an influence from European people.

Between parent and children

It is considered undisciplined to address parents in an irregular way by the **Venda** people. Some elite do violate this custom and address their parents by personal name. This practice is influenced by European people. This usage is accompanied by the honorific [**vho-**] e.g. [vho-Thinavhuyo, vho- Mulelu etc.]

3. Child: [**Vho-Thinavhuyo** vha khou vhidzwa nga mukegulu].
           'Mrs Thinavhuyo, you are wanted by the old woman'.

The child addresses his parent by name [Vho-Thinavhuyo] and he adds by referring to his grandmother as [**mukegulu**] 'old woman' instead of grandmother. This type of address helps in creating a fair discussion

Youth and elders

In formal situation, youth used to address elders by name and elders accept it:

4.   Youth: **Masindi** kha talutshedze uri o ri dela na mini ngei thavhani.
            'Masindi, explain what you brought to us from the royal kraal'.

In a family meeting, this type of alteration helps to bring people together and on the same level.

Between strangers

This can also be used to address a stranger whom one has no relationship with. This alteration of kinship terms are used by Market hawkers who persuade the customer to buy their goods.

5.   Hawker 1:   [**Malume** kha vha rengele vhana miomva yavhudi nga mutengo wa fhasi].
            'Can you buy a bunch of banana at a low price'.

6.   Hawker 2:   [Arali vha rengela vhana idzi kherotse **makhadzi**, vha la idzi namusi matshelo vha do vha vha tshi kona u vhona zwa nwakani]
            'If you can buy this carrots for your children, they will see what tomorrow holds for them'.

In sentences above hawkers use kinship terms to strangers to which there is no relationship.

Hawker 1 uses [**malume**] uncle and Hawker 2 uses [**makhadzi**] aunt. The objective is to accommodate and attract their customers. This alteration is also used by a security officer at the parking area.

7. Security officer: **Mmawe**, vha nga paka goloi yavho henefha?

'Mother, can you park your car here?'

There is no relationship between the security officer and the lady, but the security officer uses kinship term[**mmawe**] 'mother', the aim is to promote the relationship of trust.

Tshivenda kinship

One kinship term of the **Venda** people is used with altered meaning to address different people. This is an influence from Western people. This is a practise to both known and unknown people (strangers).

8. [**Malume**] 'uncle/mother's brother'.

[Vho vuwa hani, **malume**?]
'How are you uncle?'

[Malume] 'uncle' refers to [khotsimunene] - father's younger brother.

[khotsimuhulu] - father's older brother.

[mutsina]   - stranger.

[stepfather]

9. [Makhadzi] 'aunty'/father's sister'.

[Ndi na ndala, **makhadzi**]
'I am hungry aunty'.

[Makhadzi] 'aunt' refers to [mmemuhulu] - mother's elder sister.

[mmane] - mother's younger sister.

[mutsinda] - stranger.

10.   [Mma/mme] 'mother'.

[**Mmawe** kha ri ndi vha vhudze mafhungo].
'Let me tell you some news mother'.

[Mma, mme] 'mother' refers to [mmane] - mother's younger sister.

[mmemuhulu]- mother's elder sister.

[makhadzi] - father's sister.

11.   [Baba] 'father'

[Baba vha khou tambudza vhana]
'You are abusing the children daddy'.

Non- Tshivenda kinship terms

Certain kinship terms in **Venda** are borrowed from English and **Afrikaans** languages, but
with altered meaning. This is influenced by the western people. This is also used in
market place by the hawkers to their customers, e.g.

12.   **Mummy** -   [mmemuhulu] mother's elder sister.

[mmane] mother 's younger sister.

[mutsinda] stranger

13.   **Uncle**   -   [khotsimuhulu] father's elder brother.

[khotsimunene] father's younger brother.

[mutsina] stranger.

14. **aunt** - [mmemuhulu] mother's elder sister

[mmane] mother's younger sister

15. **Daddy** - [malume] uncle/mother 's brother.

[khotsimunene] father's younger brother.

[khotsimuhulu] father's elder brother.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Address forms in **Tshivenda** may be approached from two different viewpoints, i.e. informal and formal address forms. In the case of informal address forms attention was given to three types: the use of names, pronouns and kinship terms in address forms. Firstly with regard to names in the following addresses forms: A **Venda** person may be addressed by six possible names, i.e **Tshivenda** names, Non-**Tshivenda** names, Titles, Surname, Nicknames and Praise names. These names were investigated in dyadic conversations of intimates, friends, strangers and superiors/subordinates. The result can be summarised in the following table:

Dyadic conversation

Type of names	Intimates	Friends	Strangers	Superiors	Subordinate
VENDA NAME	+	+	-	+	-
NON-TSHIVENDA NAMES	+	+	-	+	-
SURNAMES	-	+	+	+	-
NICKNAMES	+	+	-	+	-
PRAISE NAMES	+	+	-	+	-
TITLES	+	+	+	+	+

Table 1

With regard to the use of **Venda** and non - **Tshivenda** names, they can be used between intimates (husband and wife) and friends. These names cannot be used between strangers, since one cannot know the name of the strangers. These names can also be used by superior addressing the subordinates. The subordinate cannot address the superior by name because it is unacceptable to the **Venda** custom for the subordinate to address the superior by name. Surname as an address form can be used between friends and strangers (after introducing each other) and it is reciprocally used. It is asymmetrically used between intimates, the husband address the wife by name and he receives surname. It is also used non-reciprocally between the superior and the subordinate. The subordinate is addressed by the surname. Nicknames and praise names are used reciprocally between intimates and friends. They cannot be used to strangers, because one could not know the nickname or praise name of strangers. Also nicknames and praise names can be used by superior addressing the subordinate. It would be an insult for the subordinate to address the superior by nickname or praise name.

Titles are reciprocally used, they are used in all dyadic conversation that is between intimates, friends, strangers and superior together with subordinates. But in the case of superior and subordinate the titles used are non-reciprocal because the superior can send 'Miss' and receives 'Mrs' from the subordinate.

With regard to pronouns the following are the main findings of the use of pronoun in children form. A Venda person may be addressed by the possible pronouns **iwe** with **u,** **inwi** with **ni** and **vha**, were considered in dyadic conversation of power relationship, equal status, peer group and strangers. The findings can be shown in the following table.

PRONOUNS	POWER		EQUAL STATUS				PEER GROUP			STRANGER		
	SUPERIOR	SUBORDINATE	OLD FRIENDS	COLLEAGUES	YOUTHS	KIDS	OLD PEOPLE	PROFESSIONALS	YOUNG FRIENDS	PROFESSIONALS	OLD PEOPLE	YOUNG PEOPLE
2PS	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2PP	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
Vha	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-

Table 2

With regard to power relationship; the superior uses 2PS to the person of very low status, 2PP to a low status and class(2) agreement to the person whom he is working with, for example, when the principal is addressing the teacher. While the superior is being addressed by the honorific noun class prefix which is class 2(a) **vho-** or by an agreement morpheme **vha,** which may combine with the perfect tense morpheme **o** that is **vha + o** ⟶ **vho** .

In the case of people of equal status, friends exchange only the agreement morpheme **vha**. The environment which colleagues found themselves, determine their address form, they may exchange 2PS, 2PP or the agreement morpheme **vha**. With regard to youth their form of address are determined by the situation at formal place: they may exchange 2PP while in the informal place, reciprocates 2PS.

Peer group: With regard to old people and professional people their form of address are determined by the environment. In the presence of the children, old people reciprocate

an agreement morphene which is **vha**, but in the absence of children, they reciprocate the 2PP in their address form. Professional people uses **vha** in the formal situation and **ni** in an informal situation. Whereas young friends always exchange 2PP in their form of address.

<u>Strangers</u>: Professionals always exchange the agreement morphene **vha** in their form of address and this is also applied by old people, while young people reciprocate 2PP in their form of address.

Besides the use of pronoun, the imperative form of the verb is also used by superior to instruct the subordinate like **ṭuwa/ṭuwani**. And this can only be used as a form of address not as a referent.

Lastly, in an informal address form, kinship terms are used which include lineage and collateral descent. It is investigated with regard to reference and address form and its result can be tabulated as follows:

LINEAGE	REFERENCE FORM	ADDRESS FORM
Makhulukukukuku	+	-
Makhulukuku	+	-
Makhulu/Gugu	+	+
Makhulutshinna	+	-
Makhulutshisadzi	+	-
Khotsi	+	-
Baba	-/+	+
Mme	+	-
Mmawe	-/+	+
Murathu	+	+
Mukomana	+	+

LINEAGE	REFERENCE	ADDRESS FORM
Khaladzi	+	+
Khotsimunene	+	+
Khotsimuhulu	+	+
Makhadzi	+	+
Mmane	+	+
Mmemuhulu	+	+
Murwa	+	-
Musidzana	+	-
Duka-duka	+	+
Gomba-gomba	+	+
Muduhulu	+	+
Muduhulwana	+	-

Table 3

Some of the kinship above may be used both as a form of reference and a form of address, and some may be used only as a form of reference or as a form of address. **Makhulukukukuku** and **Makhulukuku** are used as a form of reference, in the case of address form, **makhulu** or **gugu** is used. **Makhulutshinna** and **makhulutshisadzi** are used as a form of reference, in address form **makhulu/gugu** is used. **Khotsi** and **Mme** are used as a form of reference, while **baba** and **mmawe** respectively are used in their place as a form address. **Murathu, Mukomana** together with **khaladzi** are used both as a form of reference and as a form of address. **Khotsimunene, khotsimuhulu** and **makhadzi** are used both as a form of address and a form of reference. **Mmane** and **Mmemuhulu** are also used both as a form of reference and as a form of address. **Murwa** and **Musidzana** are used only as a form of reference in their place, **duka-duka** and **gomba-gomba** respectively are used as a form of address. **Muduhulwana** is used only as a form of reference and in its place is **muduhulu** which is used as form of address.

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COLLATERAL DESCENT

KINSHIP TERMS	REFERENCE FORM	ADDRESS FORM
Khotsi	+	-
Mme	+	-
Makhadzi	+	+
Khotsimunene	+	+
Malume	+	+
Mmemuhulu	+	+
Mmane	+	+
Muzwala	+	+
Mukomana	+	+
Murathu	+	+
Khaladzi	+	+
Murwa/mutuka	+	-
Musidzana	+	-
Makhulu	+	+
Mulamu/sivhara	+	+
Musadzi	+	-
Munna	+	-
Muhalivho/muvhuye	+	+
Nyamusadzana	+	+
Mukwasha	+	-
Muzwalazwalane	+	-

Table 4

In the collateral, attention shall be given to those kinship terms that are not elaborated in the lineage above. **Malume** is used both as a form of address and as a form of reference.

Muzwala is also used as a form of address and a form of reference. **Mulamu/Sivhara** is also used both as a form of address and as a form of reference. Both **munna** and **musadzi** cannot be used as a form of address, but can be used as a form of reference. **Muvhuye** is used as a form of reference, while **muhalivho** is used as a form of address. **Nyamusadzana** is used both as a form of reference and also as a form of address. Both **mukwasha** and **muselwa** are used only as a form of reference, in the case of address form, **muduhulu** and **mazwale** are used respectively as a form of address.

In the case of formal forms of address, attention was given to four names, namely; Titles, Occupation, Special address forms and innovation. First with regard to titles, the following are the main findings of the use of titles in address forms. A **Venda** person may be addressed by the following possible titles:

TSHIVENDA TITLES

1.   The honorific **vho** - with surnames.
2.   The honorific **vho** - with royal titles.
3.   The honorific **vho** - with traditional titles.
4.   The honorific **vho** - with formal academic titles.
5.   The honorific **vho** - with academic titles.
6.   The honorific **vho** - in the church.
7.   The honorific **vho** - in the security forces.
8.   The honorific **vho** -and the law.
9.   The honorific **vho** - and politics.
10.   The honorific **vho** - and the administration.
11.   The honorific **vho** - and health.
12.   The honorific **vho** - between employer and employee.
13.   The honorific **vho** - and sport.
14.   The honorific **vho** - and school.
15.   The honorific **vho** - and committees.

THE HONORIFIC VHO- WITH	WITH HONORIFIC VHO-	FORM OF REFERENCE	FORM OF ADDRESS
1. The honorific vho- with surname			
1.1 Mulaudzi	+	+	+
1.2 Mbaimbai	+	+	+
1.3 Makwarela	+	+	+
1.4 Netshifhefhe	+	+	+
2. The honorific vho- with royal titles			
2.1 Thovhela	+	+	+
2.2 Vhamusanda	-	+	+
2.3 Khosi	-	+	-
2.4 Vhakoma	-	+	+
2.5 Gota	-	+	-
2.6 Vhavenda	-	+	+
2.7 Makhadzi	+	+	+
2.8 Khotsimunene	+	+	+
2.9 Vhakoma	-	+	+
2.10 Ndumi	-	+	-
2.11 Vhakololo	-	+	+
3. The honorific vho- with Traditional titles			
3.1 Madala	+	+	+
3.2 Vhutswu	-	+	-
3.3 Ramalia	+	+	+
3.4 Vhuliga	-	+	-

3.5	Nyamatei	+	+	+
3.6	Nyamungodzwa	+	+	+
3.7	Matsige	+	+	+
3.8	Nanga	-	+	-
3.9	Maine	+	+	+
3.10	Dzolokwe	-	+	-
3.11	Herbalist	+	+	-
3.12	Muthomphei	+	+	+
3.13	Muhulisei	-	+	+

4. Formal adapted European titles

4.1	Murena	+	+	+
4.2	Mufumakadzi	+	+	+
4.3	Mufumakadzana	-	+	-
4.4	Nyamusadzana	-	+	+

5. The honorific vho- with academic titles

5.1	Rekhitha	+	+	+
5.2	Muthusa Rekhitha	+	+	+
5.3	Mukhantsela	+	+	+
5.4	Muredzhesitara	+	+	+
5.5	Muphurofesa	+	+	+
5.6	Dokotela	+	+	+
5.7	Mulekitshara	+	+	+
5.8	Mutshudeni	-	+	+
5.9	Mudini	+	+	+

6. The honorific vho- in the church

6.1 Mupapa	+	+	+
6.2 Mubishopo	+	+	+
6.3 Mudini	+	+	+
6.4 Mufunzi	+	+	+
6.5 Sisita	+	+	+

7. The honorific vho-in the security forces

7.1 Mukhomishinari	+	+	+
7.2 Mudairekhitha	+	+	+
7.3 Musupuruthendede	+	+	+
7.4 Mukaputeni	+	+	-
7.5 Muingameli	+	+	+
7.6 Mukonstabulu	+	+	+

8. Honorific vho- and the law

8.1 Muhatuli muhulwane	+	+	+
8.2 Muhatuli	+	+	+
8.3 Madzhisitarata	+	+	+
8.4 Mutshutshusi	+	+	+
8.5 Ramilayo	+	+	+
8.6 Muambeli	+	+	+

9. Honorific vho- and politics

9.1 Muphurisidennde	+	+	+
9.2 Minisita muhulwane	+	-	+
9.3 Minisita	+	+	+
9.4 Murado wa Phalamennde	+	+	+
9.5 Muambeli wa Phalamennde	+	+	+

10. Honorific vho- and administration

10.1 Mudairekhitha Dzhenerala	+	+	+
10.2 Mudairekhitha muhulwane	+	+	+
10.3 Mudairekhitha	+	+	+
10.4 Munwaleli	+	+	+

11. Honorific vho- and health

11.1 Nnese	+	+	+
11.2 Musuphurithendede	+	+	+
11.3 Matironi	+	+	+
11.4 Sisita	+	+	+

12. Honorific vho- between employer and employee

12.1 Minidzhere/Mulanguli	+	+	+
12.2 Mushumeli	+	+	+

13. Honorific vho- and sport

13.1 Mugudisi	+	+	+
13.2 Mulauli	+	+	+
13.3 Mutambi	+	+	-

14. Honorific vho- and school

14.1 Muingameli	+	+	+
14.2 Thoho ya tshikolo	+	+	+

14.3	Muthusa thoho ya tshikolo	+	+	-
14.4	Thoho ya muhasho	+	+	-
14.5	Mudededzi	+	+	+
14.6	Mugudiswa	-	+	-

15. Honorific vho - and committee

15.1	Mudzulatshidulo	+	+	+
15.2	Muthusa- mudzulatshidulo	+	+	-
15.3	Mufaragwama	+	+	-
15.4	Munwaleli	+	+	+
15.5	Murado	+	+	-

Table 5

The **Venda** people use the honorific **vho-** together with the surname as a form of address and a form of reference. The honorific **vho-** can be used with some of the royal titles and some of the royal titles can be used as a form of reference not as a form of address. The following title cannot be preceded by the honorific **vho,** but they can be followed by title together with surname, e.g. **vhamusanda**, **vhakoma**, **gota**, **vhavenda**, **ndumi,** while **khosi, Gota** and **ndumi** cannot be used as an address form.

The honorific **vho-** with Traditional titles: **Madala, Ramalia, Nyamatei, Nyamungodzwa** can be used both as a form of reference and a form of address, while **vhutswu** and **vhuliga** can be used only as a form of reference. **Matsige, Maine, Muthomphei** and **Muhulisei** are used both as form of reference and form of address. While **Nanga, dzolokwe** are used only as a form of reference. In the case of formal adopted European titles; **Murena, Nyamusadzana** and **Mufumakadzi** are used as a form of address and a form of reference. While **mufumakadzana** is only used as a form of reference. In the case of academic titles, all of them can be used as a form of reference and as a form of

address. One rather say that all the church titles, security forces, law titles, politics titles, administration and health are used as a form of reference and a form address. In the case of employer and employee; **minidzhere/mulanguli** is used both as a form of address and a form of reference, while **mushumeli** is only used as a reference. Concerning sport: **mugudisi** and **mulauli** are used both as a form of address and a form of reference, while **mutambi** is used only as a form of reference. In the case of the school; **muingameli** and **mudededzi** are used as a form of address and Thoho ya tshikolo, **Muthusa thoho ya tshikolo**, Thoho ya muhasho and **mugudiswa** are used only as a form of reference. Lastly; in the case of the committee, **mudzulatshidulo** and **munwaleli** are used both as a form of reference.

The second formal form of address is the occupational terms composed of **Tshivenda** terms are Non-**Tshivenda** occupational address forms. The **Venda** one can be used as a form of referent while the Non-**Venda** are used as a form of reference and as a form of address. They can be shown as follows:

	FORM OF REFERENCE	FORM ADDRESS
1. Tshivenda occupational terms		
Muvhadi	+	-
Muluki	+	-
Mutombi	+	-
Mubiki	+	-
2. Non-Tshivenda occupational terms		
Nnese	+	+
Thitshere	+	+

Madzhisitarata	+	+
Mutshutshusi	+	+
Tshipikitere	+	+
Minidzhere	+	+

Table 6

In the case of special address forms, the person of low status is the only one who addresses the superior, and these special address forms are used only as a form of address, not as a form of reference. This can be observed in the following tabulation:

Dyadic conversation	FORM OF REFERENCE	FORM OF ADDRESS
1. Subject and chief	-	+
2. Poet and president	-	+
3. Subordinate and superior	-	+
4. Wife and husband	-	+
5. Employee and employer	-	+
6. Child and parents	-	+

Table 7

Finally, innovation is associated with positive meaning and promote mutual understanding and it is used only as a form of address, not as a form reference. It is accompanied by abnormal address form which is against the **Venda** culture for example when the wife address her husband by personal name. It is found in **Tshivenda** and

Non-**Tshivenda** kinship tense and is deserved in the following dyadic conversation between couples, parent and child, youth and elder and strangers:

		FORM OF REFERENCE	FORM OF ADDRESS
1.	Couples	-	+
2.	Parent and children	-	+
3.	Youth and elder	-	+
4.	Strangers	-	+

Table 8

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