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A DISCUSSION OF HLONIPHA LANGUAGE
AMONG THE XHOSA

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that this article is my own work,
both in conception and execution.

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I chose them among many other informants who willingly helped in providing many hlonipha terms because of their profound knowledge of the hlonipha language.

I have had to avail myself of a short holiday journey to the Cape to collect the information used to compile this article.

In addition, I have consulted various works on Hlonipha, one of which is concerned with the life and customs of the Zulu.

My heart felt thanks to the various authors whose works I consulted is reflected fully in the references in the body of this article.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

Hlonipha Custom.

0.1. Among the Nguni social groups revolve around the father who is the head of the family. The father is thereby highly respected and this respect is extended to everything connected with the family even his forebears are thus revered.

Schapera briefly says this about this aspect:

.....the newly-founded family normally takes up its residence among the relatives of the husband and the chief control over the children belongs by custom and in the law to the Father and his Kin. (Schapera p. 71):

So great is the father's position in a family that nothing is done without his knowledge.

This is supported by Vilakazi when he says:-

.....this means that the father is the real boss.....fed and generally made to feel important. (Vilakazi p. 31).

Meaning of the term.

0.2. Hlonipha in the true sense of the word means respect given to people and things connected with them. This custom among the Nguni, is found in all age-groups, men and women alike.

Schapera expresses himself about this aspect as follows:

.....is undoubtedly the head of the family and has complete authority. Respect, deference, and even awe, are noticeable in the behaviour of his children towards him. The same characteristic may be found also in the behaviour of the wife toward the husband. (Schapera p. 71).

There are distinguished authors who have tried to bring up more facts about the meaning of the term, Hlonipha. Krige expressing Hlonipha says:-

.....towards relatives in law is largely bound up with the custom Hlonipha. This word literally means to have shame or to shun through bashfulness, and affects women to a greater extent

than men. A married women hlonipha's her father-in-law. This means that in their presence she must cover her body from armpits and shoulder blade downwards to cover her breasts.....while standing or walking outside their kraals. (Krige p. 30).

A very interesting account is given by Kunene in an article on Hlonipha among the Southern Sotho:indicate the custom by which a married woman.....she must avoid all sounds related phonetically or morphophonemically to the names of her in laws. (Kunene p.p. 158 - 182).

Women Hlonipha.

0.3. Accompanying this Hlonipha of actions is the Hlonipha of speech which has of late become a language among the Xhosa women folk.

Krige clarifies this further as follows:-

"A woman may not use the name (this does not affect the Isibongo, or sib name) of the above-mentioned relatives-in-law nor any word must be used containing the radical of such a name. Another word must be used instead and so the speech of the women differs considerably from that of the men." (Krige p. 30).

From the above quotation one sees that it is the women who use Hlonipha and that having to avoid calling their in-laws and even more distant relatives by their personal names, difficulties in finding appropriate Hlonipha terms arise. Nevertheless, they provide substitutes for the prohibited sounds.

Do men also use Hlonipha as a language?

0.4. Yes, men also use Hlonipha but theirs does not develop, nor does it affect the language to any noticeable extent because they hlonipha only on special occasions, e.g. when attending the initiation school, whereas, women use Hlonipha language incessantly. Krige also supports this statement in the following quotation:-

"The custom of Hlonipha appears to men too, only in their case it is not so strict". (Krige p. 31). Therefore the account given will

will be strictly confined to the Hlonipha Language of the women-folk comprising the main text of this article.

How does Hlonipha develop into a Bantu Language?

1.1. Among women Hlonipha has gained such ground that it has become a language. They use it at the homes of their husbands to which they are joined. It appears as a direct command that if ever they fail to observe it and make a slip, some supernatural powers would punish them.

This is explained in Jordan's book showing the punishment Thembeke got for disregarding Hlonipha:-

"Hayi Jola, uthetha ngesihelegu wena.....
kuthiwe sisiqalekiso.....ndibhubhe nesizwe
sakowethu.....(Jordan p 178).

Is Hlonipha a standardised Language?

1.2. This question echoes what Kunene says in his article on Hlonipha.....them here as we feel that these questions will invariably be asked in any study on Hlonipha Language. (Kunene p.p. 159 to 182).

There are no specifically standardised Hlonipha terms. One finds these differ from clan to clan. One clan using this term, the other using that term. Hence, this richness of the Hlonipha Language is in a wide range of synonyms. This is well-answered in the information I got when I interviewed Mrs E. Mkonwana, on Hlonipha as a language:-

"Ukuhlonipha ngokwentetho ekwendeni umendi kufuneka ezihloniphile izinto ezithile angazibizi ngamagama azo aqhelekileyo." At the home of her in-laws it is essential that a married woman avoids certain things, and avoids to name them by their usual names, thus, she uses different names or terms instead. This is done with respect to the relatives of her husband or her chief's relations.

COINAGE OF HlonIPHA TERMS.

2.1. The previously-mentioned paragraph explains how the Hlonipha terms came about to constitute a language of Xhosa. Therefore it observes all the grammar rules of Xhosa as a language.

Derivations of Hlonipha words.

2.2. According to the information I got from my informants, most Hlonipha terms originate from certain sources. Nevertheless, there are some cases where they failed to give a reasonable explanation of their origin. However, a wide Hlonipha vocabulary forming the glossary at the end of this article is reflected.

Analysis of Hlonipha words.

2.3. There are words derived from the observations and deeds of the people:-
example:- Isonka Hloniphaed - isiqhusheko (bread).

To quote Mrs Damane:-

"Kudala isonka kwaXhosa sasisenziwa ngokuxova intlama yotywala, ibunjwe kakuhle, iqhushekwe ngaphantsi kwamalahle abomvu phantsi kothuthu. Sihlale ngaphantsi side sivuthwe. Kuba sivuthiswa kukuqhushekwa emalahleni abomvu anothuthu sisi biza isiqhusheko ngesenzo eso sokuqhusheka. Lavela apho ke eli gama isiqhusheko. Ka kulho emzini ogama linokuyelela kweli isonka, umendi akayi kulibiza isonka, uya kusebenzisa igama isiqhusheko.

Originally among the Xhosa bread was made by kneading the remains of kaffir beer after the liquid had been drained. This is moulded into shape and pushed under the red coals covered with ash and baked. The act of covering the bread is ukuqhusheka. Hence, from this action the women folk coined a Hlonipha term for bread avoiding to utter the sound found in the word "isonka", being similar to the personal name of her in-laws. Hence the newly-coined word is "isiqhusheko".

The use of Synonyms.

2.4. Synonyms are used in various localities for the same thing. For bread, the words are used:-

Isiboma
Iqeke
Iqete

The noun "indlela".

3.1. Ndlela literally means the road.

The Hlonipha word coined is inyathelo. What happened here is the changing of the radical ndl to ny.

It originates from the verb ukunyathela which is obviously associated with the noun indlela because one nyathelas on the road, so a noun inyathelo is coined as a substitute for the prohibited word which refers to Ndlela who is the family head.

Many words are coined in this way for the women can find at the spur of the moment a suitable word to escape that which takes the place of syllables that are forbidden. This echoes what van Rooyen says in his article on Hlonipha among the Zulu:-

.....substitutes for the avoided sound.....feeling or instinct.
(van Rooyen p. 42).

One may substitute indlela by using inyathuko a synonym for inyathelo;- as well as the following:-

Ingaqo
Imbadu
Imbudu
Impathulo

The noun Ilanga.

3.2. It is common practise to watch it rise. The verb ukuphakama means to rise, hence from this is derived the hlonipha term for sun impakama.

Another is itshisa from the verb burn.
Isotha is the synonym for sun from the verb ukothe
ilanga, a common practice in winter is to bask at
the sun. Hence the sun in hlonipha language is
called isotha. Other synonyms are:-

Igala

Igcina

Icama

Isicido

However, there are no traces for their
derivation, but all have the same meaning. These
are readily coined when necessity demands such.

The noun Iganda.

3.3. Iganda means egg - has various synonyms with
several derivations: ihlangozo, meaning that which
shakes from the verb ukuhlongoza, to shake, hence,
ihlangozo that which shakes inside.

Ityumza from the ideophone to break as when
something delicate when dropped breaks iyatyumka.

Hence, the egg is hloniphaed ityumza

ityubuka

ityika

The origin of these two synonyms is inexplic-
able but are used in some localities:-

Igawusi

Iyangaza, for egg.

This may be associated with what is called
hyponymy.

This coinage of new words as substituting for
prohibited ones is re-iterated by Ziervogel in the
very interesting account he gives as follows:

.....commenses to hlonipha in earnest,

If the kraal head of that place is Mabele, they
call him Makheswa. Eventually she grows up.....

.....She will not use Mabele for sorghum
but will speak of emakheswa.

(Ziervogel p.p. 89 - 99).

The use of borrowed words.

4.1. After tapping every available source for hlonipha terms, the women resort to borrowing from various sources. These will be arranged as follows:

- (i) Borrowings from the isikhwetha language.
- (ii) Borrowings from the English language.
- (iii) Borrowings from the Afrikaans language.
- (iv) Borrowings from other Nguni languages for example; Zulu and Swazi.
- (v) Borrowings from Southern Sotho.

These borrowings are reflected in the following examples chronologically as arranged below:-

The noun amanzi (water) is hloniphaed;

Imvotho

Umlambo

In addition to the several synonyms used for water the women folk have borrowed the term amacamu from the isikhwetha language. Other borrowed words are the following:-

Isigqwathi or

Isiqwathi or

Isiqwadi all meaning umfazi (woman).

Ibhokhwe usual Xhosa word but inggeke hloniphaed term for goat.

Ilepile, iwake, or iwaku, hlonipha language for spoon but still borrow ingora from the isikhwetha language.

Women use amagibiselo for amagada (sods) but borrow isigaxa hlonipha term from the isikhwetha language. The abakhwetha at the circumcision apply fat on their bodies (ifutha) but hloniphaed icham, which women borrow.

Borrowings from English.

4.2. This is evident from the following examples. The usual word for salt is ityuwa but hloniphaed:-

iwakethe

isicwayiselo

isongo

isawuti, borrowed from the English language, (salt)

Usual Xhosa word ingawa hloniphaed, ipepu borrowed from pipe.

Usual Xhosa word ihagu hloniphaed ipiki borrowed from pig.

Usual Xhosa word ipolisa hloniphaed unotshekemu borrowed from the act of one marching (left, right) hloniphaed (tsheku-tshaku), hence, unotshekemu.

Usual Xhosa word itapile influence of Tekela language borrowed from English (potato).

Usual Xhosa word idonki hloniphaed imbongolo borrowed from donkey.

Borrowings from Afrikaans.

4.3. Usual Xhosa word ihashe hloniphaed ipere from perd.

Usual Xhosa word idonki hloniphaed i-esile from esel.

Usual Xhosa word ityuwa hloniphaed isawuti borrowed from sout.

Usual Xhosa word imela hloniphaed isitshetshe borrowed from mmes.

Usual Xhosa word ikati hloniphaed ikitsi borrowed from kati.

Borrowings from other Nguni languages.

4.4. Intlumayo for imboty is an instance of another kind of word. Intlumayo is a Zulu and Swazi word for a certain kind of bean which is probably an old Xhosa word but no longer used except in Hlonipha. The same applies for inombe which is derived from the common Bantu stem for bovine. Other Hlonipha terms are:-

Inkatsha

Inzema

Imeta

The noun umfazi is hloniphaed umfati (Swazi) for woman.

The noun ilanga is hloniphaed isishiso derived from the Zulu verb ukushisa (to burn).

The noun umolokazana (a young wife) is hloniphaed molokatana which is Swazi.

Further examples commonly used.

4.5. Prof. Myburgh clarifies this point by saying:-
.....bahloniphe igama likababa.....
bebancane ngeke bababize. (Myburgh par. 756, p. 176).

From this list of Hlonipha words given, one sees that there is also a comparison with other Nguni languages for example:-

"umlilo", is the prohibited word for personal name
"uMlilwana", hloniphaed "umbaso".

"Ingalo" prohibited word for "uNgalo" hloniphaed
"umbambelo".

"Ibele" prohibited word for personal noun
"uMabele" hloniphaed "icentwa".

Isicathulo (Zulu) is the hlonipha term borrowed from isihlangu (shoe).

5.1. Hlonipha terms derived from consonant changes.

There are hlonipha terms derived by means of a change of the consonant avoiding the prohibited sounds:-

Uqaqqa, the click sound q changes into b as in the Hlonipha term ubababa avoiding uqaqqa.

Imoto Hloniphaed imoto t changes to sh.

Iaitena Hloniphaed isiyena t changes into y.

Itapile Hloniphaed iyapile t changes to y.

Ibhokhwe Hloniphaed itsokhwe bh changes to ts.

Umnyango Hloniphaed entsango or entsangweni
ny changes to ts.

Hlonipha terms based on:-

- 6.1. (a) Passives
- (b) Diminutives
- (c) Locatives.

These will be discussed below respectively:-

(a) UThandani is a personal name but from it comes thandwa (to be loved).

The Hlonipha word for thanda is nanza from it comes nanzwa, as unanzwa ngubani? Meaning by whom are you loved? The prohibited syllable here is t which is substituted by the term na, ndi of thanda is avoided by using nz for nanzwa (Passive).

(b) The use of Diminutives.

6.2. These are suffixed to the noun-stems:-

-ana-

-anyana-

-azana- (feminine suffix)

Usual Xhosa words.

Hlonipha terms.

Igada

Intsundwane or
ixangwane
(a small-sod)

Ummelwana

Umyokomana
(neighbour)

Umolokazana

Umngetyazana
(a daughter-
in-law) or
Umolokatana
(Swazi)

Intombi

Inazana (a little
girl)

Intombazana

Intshikana
(a little girl)

Indodakazi

Inongokazi,
inyentsakazi,
incentsakazi,
ityeshakazi,
all meaning
(sister-in-law)

Intaka

Incamazana
(a small bird)
or incanyazane
(a very small
bird).

Umntwana

Umdyana or
umjwana or
umyhana
(a small child).

Umfana

Umtsibana
(a young man).

Umooni

Unkenkeshana
(a sinner).

USolanga (personal noun)

UTshilibana
(a man called
Tshilibana avoiding
uLanga).

(c) The use of Locatives.

6.3. These in Hlonipha Language are formed in the same way as in the Xhosa Language.

Final -a- and -e- become -emi-, for example:-

<u>Usual Xhosa words.</u>		<u>Hloniphaed terms.</u>
Umtya (string)	= Emtyeni /Intekelezo=	Entekelezweni
Ityuwa (salt)	= Etyuweni /Isongo	=Esongweni
Ixhego (an old man)=	Exhegwini/Itshixa	=Etshixweni
Inyanga (moon)	= Enyangeni/Intwaso	=Entwasweni

Palatalization occurs in the locative case as well as in the Diminutive forms of nouns, e.g.:-

ph	becomes	tsh
b	"	ty
m	"	ny
mp	"	ntsh
mb	"	nj
d	"	j

Examples exhibiting above-mentioned changes:-

<u>Sounds.</u>	<u>Usual Xhosa words.</u>	<u>Hloniphaed.</u>
d = j	Indlebe = Endlebeni	Imbudu = Embujwini
mb = nj	Indlu = Endlwini	Inkumba = Enkunjeni
b = ty	Idobo = Edotyeni	Iyobo = Eyotyweni
m = ny	Igada = Egadeni	Inkume- = Enkunya- nkume nkynyweni
ph = tsh	Iqabaza = Eqabazeni	Ichapha- = Echatscha- za zeni

6.4. Palatalization occurs also in the Passive Voice of verbs and in the Diminutive forms of nouns:-

<u>Usual Xhosa words.</u>	<u>Hloniphaed.</u>
Ukuthetha = Ukuthethwa	Ukukhuluma = Ukukhulunywa
Ubisa = Ubisana	Ulimba = Ulinjana
Umcephe = Umcetshana	Umgqebe = Umgqejana
	Umgqephe = Umgq ^{or} etshana
Intaka = Intakana	Incamazane = Incanyazane

Some Hlonipha terms are derived from De-ideophonic nouns and verbs. Examples of prohibited noun stems and verb stems are:-

<u>Usual Xhosa words.</u>	<u>Hloniphaed.</u>
Jonga from Ukujonga	Ukugxelesha (casual glances)
Ukukhangela	Ukulozela (to admire)

The noun umbangisa is a Hlonipha term for destruction originating from the ideophone ukuthi bhanga (to destroy), for the usual Xhosa ideophone ukuthi cimi (to extinguish).

The use of Interjectives.

6.5. This device is closely related to the nouns formed under Deverbative nouns but there is a slight difference in use. The former is used with reference to nouns, the latter is used referring to verbs. The Xhosa examples are very limited, hence, borrowing from Zulu:-

"Ukuthi cezu' (noun coined) "Icezulo", from the act of splitting off or chipping. Van Rooyen in his article on Hlonipha also states the above-mentioned point.

"Umkhonto" (spear) is the usual Xhosa and Zulu word, Hloniphaed Umbenyo from Benye (to glitter or shine). (UNISA p. 40) (Limi No. 5 Jan. 1968)

The use of Derivatives.

6.6. This is another device used to form new Hlonipha words, by which Schapera gives a clear account, thus, the verbal derivatives, a feature of Semitic and Hamitic languages are very numerous in Bantu, where by changing the verbal suffix, passive, neuter, causative, applied reciprocal, intensive, reversive, extensive, associative, perfective, and other derivative forms are regularly made. The following examples are from Xhosa and will illustrate:-

Thanda -(love)
Thandela- (love for)
Thandisa- (cause to love)
Thandana- (love one another)
Thandeka- (be loved)
Thandwa - (be loved)

(Schapera p. 311).

Taking the Hlonipha term ~~for~~ Thanda - (love) being Nanza - (love), we have the following verbal forms:-

Nanza - love
Nanzela - love for
Nanzisa - cause to love
Nanzana - love one another
Nanzeka - be lovable
Nanzwa - be loved

POLYSEMY:

6.7. Many Hlonipha words are coined using this device examples. Igawulo for izenbe, derived from the act of chopping (ukugawula - to chop), hence the noun igawulo (axe), is coined under Hlonipha Language.

Ixabelo is a synonym for igawulo (axe) from the act of cutting into small pieces. In Xhosa there are many Hlonipha words derived from various shades of meaning whereby several words may be used for one meaning.

The Hlonipha word coined for axe is inqamla, derived from the act of cutting iqinga - to cut into small pieces which may roll all over the place, hence Hlonipha iqingqa.

Itamla from inqamla - cutting into small pieces.

Ingxabelo, Isixabelo, or Ilexabelo from ukuxabela - to split apart.

Icezulo (axe) from ideophone ukuthi cezu.

Itsheca from the act of ukutsheca - to cut into pieces (itshekezo).

Anehlo (eyes) have many Hlonipha terms used in different localities:-

Amalozelo
Amagawuko
Amagabuko
Amakhangelo
Amabaluko

Inyanga (moon) Hlonipha terms:-

Inyongo
Intwaso
Inkwezi
Intwasa

Usual Xhosa words.

Ihashe (horse)

Hlonipha terms.

Ikhwelo
Ingqalasha
Inqandulu
Ipere

<u>Usual Xhosa words.</u>	<u>Hlonipha terms.</u>
Ihashe (horse)	Ikhwelo
	Ingqalasha
	Inqandulu
	Ipere
	Ipeli
	Iphala
	Ingqangala
Amasi (sour milk)	Amayengele or
	Umyithi
Igumbi (a room)	Iyumbi or isithelo
Utywala (kaffir-beer)	Iyolisa,
	Imfinca
	Ijiki
	Ijixi
	Umolulo
	Unkontyankontya

In this way a wide Hlonipha vocabulary is made.

SEMANTICS.

6.8. Various shades of meanings of Hlonipha words fall under Semantics. This was proved by comparing the meanings of the vocabulary list of words I obtained from the old women respectively.

The fact that throughout the Matyantya and Ntseia villages these terms were commonly used proved that different Hlonipha terms are coined meaning one thing. This accounts for the many used to enrich the Hlonipha Language:-

Synonyms for 'ukhuni' (wood) are:-

Isigwayi

Intyodi

Intyoti

Synonyms for 'indoda' (man) Hloniphaed:-

Ityesha

Incentsa

Ihonga

Inyentsa

Inkwenkwe (boy) Hloniphaed:-

Ityhagi

Umlisa

Inqalathi

Ibhokhwe (goat) Hloniphaed:-

Itsokhwe

Imbuzi

Intyithama

Ityindyithi

Ithole Hloniphaed:-

Ihuka

Amahuka ayakraza means amathole ayanya (the calves are milking).

Amaluma for amazinyo from ukuluma (to bite).

Isikohle or isimundelo for isitya	(dish)
Isimhalelo for isitya from ukumhala	(to eat)
Umtsango or emtsangweni for umnyango	(door)
Ibaso for iziko	(fire-place)
Umbaso for umlilo	(fire)
Imvotho for amanzi	(water)
Amayila for amanzi	(water)
Amawaku for amanzi	(water)
Amakhelela for amanzi	(water)
Amagcaza for amanzi	(water)
Amacambu for amanzi	(water)
Amanteku for amanzi	(water)
Ukudyakula imvotho for ukukha amanzi	(to draw water)

Synonyms for 'ukhkhangelela' (to look) Hloniphaed terms.

Ukulondla (to look)

Ukulunguza (to peep)

Ukulozela (to gaze)

Ukugxâlesha (to make casual glances)

Usual Xhosa words.

Hloniphaed.

Igusha	Invuma (a sheep) or isikapu.
Ingubo	Isityatho or isambatho (blanket)
Imbiza	Inteleke (pot) or Upotyî (small pot)
Indlebe	Imvangayi (ears)
Ukuqhuma	Ukuthaphuka (to smoke)
Umsi	Umthaphuko (smoke)
Imali	Iqhosha or Ityobongo
	Inkence all meaning (money)
Ukukhonza	Ukubusa (to reign)
Uxam	Uyam (crocodile)

Ixhego	Ishixa (an old man)
Ithafa	Iyafa (an open space)
Umsesana	Umyeyana (ring)

7.1. By using the Negative forms of words as in the following examples:-

HLONIPHAED.

Ukujonga	Ukungagxeleshi
Ukutyeba	Ukunganoni
Ukuthetha	Ukungakhulumi
Ukuphela	Ukungasinyi

7.2. Newly derived words from previous existing words (archaic).

For imfene (baboon) the Hloniphaed term is imbuzi-mawa a compound word newly formed from existing words.

For ixhwele (witch-doctor) Hloniphaed isithaka-yeza compound word newly formed from existing words.

Vala-cango is the Hloniphaed term for unocango (door-keeper).

Inkukhu Hloniphaed impanda-mazala from the verb ukuphanda (to scratch) amazala (the soil) borrowed from Zulu.

The influence of Ur-Bantu on Hlonipha.

7.3. From the few examples of Hlonipha terms arising from Ur-Bantu one notices a close resemblance with other Nguni languages. From these examples it is possible that the Ur-Bantu plosives p, t, k, had to undergo slight changes in Xhosa except in cases where k, is followed by the primary vowel i. The change affected k, which became g, influenced by i (and also l). The Xhosa women-folk in their language are aware of this shift in sound and are therefore conscious of this outdated phenomenon when coining new Hlonipha terms.

It is true from the few examples common to Hlonipha that velar sounds become sibilants. This shows variety in Hlonipha, hence, the richness of the language characterised by the wide Hlonipha vocabulary.

Just as it is possible to convert velar sounds to sibilants and that examples of Hlonipha terms prove that since velars can be converted into sibilants so is this possible for the opposite to take place. Hence, with this flexibility in sound shifting any variant of a velar consonant such as nasal aspirated sounds, etc., can be converted to any variant of a sibilant.

What is very interesting is the tendency of the new sounds that are coined which are ejective usually helped by the use of alveolar nasal sounds which have exactly these changes on a following consonant:- Examples:-

Ingcangula > cangula (meaning knife)
Inkubusha (a bag) > khubu
Intandelo (a string) > thande (meaning wind)
Ikhubekiso (a stone) > ukubeka (to put)
Inkence (money) > khence (to jingle)
Intekelezo (a string) > ukuthi theke (to form a ring)
Ikholwa (a believer) > tsholwa (believe)
Ikhwela (horse) > tshwela (climb)
Umshebe (light) > unthebe (a ray of light)

7.4. The influence of Hlonipha terms on the structure of Current Bantu Languages.

Every language group has its different forms of speech according to the different types of people and their various localities. This is clearly shown in the works of:-

Ndlovu - "Slang" and

Nkabinde - "Zulu Adaptations to New situations."

Existing within that group :-

Tsotsism, women speech, e.g. "wodade" Slang, colloquialism, speech by children - "mama", "tata", dialects all these forms of speech have had a significant influence on the development of the Xhosa language.

Likewise, Hlonipha Language seems to have a very strong influence.

CONCLUSION:-

Perhaps in future this influence will be more felt than at present. The fear is clear that it might dominate and result in serious repercussions which might be detrimental to the Xhosa Language, unless stringent measures are taken to curb the

the women folk from coining more Hlonipha terms which may confuse many (students in particular) who have the welfare of the Bantu Languages at heart. The fact that many students in the B.A., curriculum study Bantu Languages and go beyond to the Honours level, shows much interest and that with co-operation in the development of Xhosa as a language. Intensive study, consistent hardwork and the high standard set by this Department under UNISA, many of the weaknesses creeping into the Xhosa language through the Hlonipha language, may be rooted out.

Glossary:

Below, a list of Hlonipha terms with their Xhosa and English equivalents is given. All these terms I got from my two informants: Mrs E. Mkonwana and Mrs N. Damane.

G L O S S A R Y.

<u>Hlonipha terms (nouns).</u>	<u>Usual Xhosa words.</u>	<u>English.</u>
Amabeko	Amatye	Stones
Amabhinqa	Abafazi	Women
Amachumiso	Amagakuva	Pimples.
Amaduko	Amatye	Stones
Amadludaka	Amalulwane	Bats
Amagabuko	Amehlo	Eyes
Amagawuko	"	"
Amagcaze	Amanzi	Water
Amagengqa	Amehlo	Eyes
Amakhangelo	"	"
Amakhanka	Izinja	Dogs
Amakhiitha	Amaxhego	Old men
Amakhubekiso	Amatye	Stones
Amanunga	Amanzi	Water
Amanyhalasha	Amahashe	Horses
Amanyengele	Amasi	Sour-milk
Amaphahla	Amaweke	Twins
Amatsabuko	Amehlo	Eyes
Amatshixa	Amaxhego	Old men
Amaweke	Amanzi	Water
Amayila	"	"
Buthuma	Lala	Sleep
Hlandla	Qala	Begin
Ibenge	Inja	Dog

Ibetha	Inja	Dog
Ibhinqa	Umfazi	Woman
Ichumiso	Iqhakuva	pimple
Iduko	Ilitye	Stone
I-esile	Idonki	Donkey
Ifoza	Icuba	Tobacco
Ihonga	Indoda	Man
Igengqa	Ilitye	Stone
Ijiki	Utywala	Kaffir-beer
Ijiyi	"	"
Ikhankya	Inja	Dog
Ikhitha	Ixhego	Old man
Ikhubekiso	Ilitye	Stone
Imbuswa	Inkabi	an Ox
Imbadu	Indlela	Path
Imbudu	"	"
Imhowu	Ikati	Cat
Imoshe	Imoto	Motor-car
Impahlazi	Indevu	Beard
Impathulo	Indlela	Road
Impoba	Intloko	Head
Impi	Umkhosi	Regiment
Imvotho	Amanzi	Water
Incamazane	Intaka	Bird
Incentsa	Indoda	Man
Ingaqo	Indlela	Road
Ingcangula	Imela	Knife
Ingxaka	Impuku	Mouse
Ingxashala	Inkawu	Monkey
Ingxangxatho	Inkobe	Boiled mealies
Inkubusha	Ingxowa	a Bag
Inkumba	Indlu	House
Inkwezi	Inyanga	Moon
Inongakazi	Indodakazi	Daughter-in-law
Inombe	Inkomo	Cow
Intandelo	Intambo	Rope
Intekelezo	Umtya	String
Intlumayo	Imbotyi	Bean
Inqalathi	Inkwenkwe	Boy
Intshiki	Intombi	Girl
Inyathelo	Indlela	Road
Inyentsa	Indoda	Man
Intyithama	Ibhokhwe	Goat
Ipepu	Inqawa	Pipe
Ipere	Ihashe	Horse

Iphahla	Iwele	Twin
Iqabaka	Umkhenkce	Ice
Iqeke	Isonka	Bread
Iqete	Isonka	Bread
Isambatho	Ingubo	Blanket
Isibeko	Ilitye	Stone
Isibizo	Isimemo	Invitation
Isichotho	Isiphango	Hail-storm
Isicwayiselo	Ityuwa	Salt
Isigibiselo	Ilitye	Stone
Isikhonde	Isinqe	the Waist
Isikotile	Isitya	Dish
Isililelo	Ilitye	Stone
Isilevu	Intshebe	Chin
Isilozelo	Isipili	Mirror
Isimalelo	Isitya	Dish
Isimundelo	Isitya	Dish
Isiqhusheko	Isonka	Bread
Isisilelo	Isithebe	Grass-mat
Isithaka-yeza	Ixhwele	Witch-doctor
Isityido	Isililo	a Cry
Isithetshe	Imela	Knife
Isityoboko	Ukhuko	Grass-mat
Isiwuma	Isiphango	Hail-storm
Isiyena	Isitena	Brick
Ithala	Indlu	House
Itsabuko	Iliso	Eye
Ityhagi	Inkwenkwe	Boy
Ityesha	Indoda	Man
Ityhontsi	Intloko	Head
Ival-cango	Umgcini-cango	Door-keeper
Iyafa	Ithafa	Open space
Iyapile	Itapile	Potato
Izamiso	Iphini	Wooden spoon
Khuluma	Thetha	Speak
Lekenca	Khotha	Lick
Mweke	Mhlophe	White
Ubababa	Uqaqqa	Weed
Ububaluko	Ubuso	Face
Ububele	Inceba	Kindness
Ubugaluko	Ubuso	Face
Ubuhushi	Imbovane	Ant
Ubunameka	Ubulongo	Cow-dung
Ubuwolela	Ubulongo	Cow-dung
Ucumse	Imbola	Red-ocher

Udludaka	Ilulwane	Bat
U-eleshe	Umbona	Mielies
Ukubiza	Ukumema	to Invite
Ukubusa	Ukuphatha	to Rule
Ukucakatha	Ukuwela	to Cross
Ukucoka	Ukuphala	to Cool down
Uku-eka	Ukuqhekeka	Disintergrate
Ukugamatha	Ukuthakatha	to Bewitch
Ukujula	Ukuphosa	to Throw
Ukukhuluma	Ukuthetha	to Speak
Ukukwiqiza	Ukuginya	to swallow
Ukulenca	Ukukhotha	to Lick
Ukumokothe	Ukukhuluma	to Chew
Ukunamuka	Ukukhula	to Grow
Ukuncontsa	Ukujoja	to Smell
Ukunona	Ukutyeba	Become fat
Ukuqinisa	Ukomelaza	to Strengthen
Ukusinya	Ukuphela	to End
Ukutyida	Ukulila	to Cry
Ukutyoboka	Ukufa	to Die
Ukutyondyotha	Ukumonela	to be jealous
Ukutyuma	Ukuluma	to Bite
Ukutyuda	Ukukhaba	to Kick
Ukuwongulula	Ukuvula	to Open
Ukuyayabuga	Ukuthandabuza	to Doubt
Ukondela	Ukusondela	Come nearer
Umambatho	Ingubo	Blanket
Umbemba	Inxeba	Wound
Umfati	Umfazi	Woman
Umfula	Umlambo	River
Umgethe	Ihlathi	Forest
Umginyo	Umqala	Throat
Umkhanyiso	Umbane	Lightning
Umlingani	Iqebane	Friend
Umlisa	Inkwenkwe	Boy
Umlisane	Iqegu	a Stallion
Umnyithi	Amasi	Sour-milk
Umolokatana	Molokazana	Young wife
Umopha	Igazi	Blood
Umtsibana	Umfana	a Young man
Umwetala	Utywala	Kaffir-beer
Umwela	Umlambo	River
Umwholulo	Utywala	Kaffir-beer
Umnyhana	Umntwana	a Child
Umyeyana	Umsesana	a Ring

Unxubulo	Unyawo	Foot
Unotshekemu	Ipilisa	a Policeman
Utyena	Umbona	Kielies
Utiya	Umbona	Kielies
Uyam	Uxam	Crocodile

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