

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study entitled ‘A Dialectological Study of Tonga’. It briefly discusses the background to Tonga in general and two Tonga dialects, Plateau Tonga and Valley Tonga. The chapter also presents a brief discussion on the concepts of dialect and dialectology. Thereafter, the chapter presents the statement of the problem, the aim of the study, the objectives, the research questions, and the significance of the study. The chapter also presents the theoretical perspectives and the operational definitions. Thereafter, it discusses the methodological framework. Under methodology, data collection and data analysis techniques are outlined. The chapter ends by presenting the limitations of the study, the structure of the dissertation and the summary.

1.1 Background to Tonga

Tonga, which is also known as ciTonga, is one of the Bantu languages. It is spoken in the Southern Province of Zambia and in some parts of Zimbabwe especially around the Gokwe North, Gokwe South, Nkayi, Nyaminyami and Victoria Falls areas. This is according to some Zimbabweans that were spoken to. It is spoken by a Bantu ethnic group called Batonga. In the classification of Bantu languages by Guthrie (1975:57) as cited by Carter (2002:1), Tonga falls under the Bantu language family in zone M64 in the Lenje-Tonga group. Tonga is also spoken in the Central Province in some parts of Kabwe rural and in some parts of Mumbwa district. The language is closely related to other languages such as Ila spoken in Namwala and Itezhi-tezhi districts, and Lenje and Sala spoken in some parts of Central Province.

Within the language, there are dialectal variations at phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels. The greatest variations are said to be between the plateau variety spoken on the plateau in Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo districts on one hand and the valley variety spoken in Siavonga, Gwembe and Sinazongwe districts on the other hand (refer also to Thompson 1989, Hopgood 1992 and Carter 2002). It is these

phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical variations that this investigation focuses on.

1.2 The Concepts of Dialect and Dialectology

1.2.1 Dialect

The word dialect is a derivative of the Greek word *dialectos*. The definition of the term has proved to be quite problematic among many linguists and non linguists. Mambwe (2008) says that some linguists define language as national, and dialect as local. The pitfall of defining language as national and a dialect as local is that it would reduce some languages with several users to mere dialects and this would certainly not be welcome because the term would carry certain negative connotations. The terminology ‘dialect’ in linguistics generally refers to a variety of speech based on geographical locations (Asher 1999). According to Chambers and Trudgill (1980) a dialect is a subdivision of a particular language. This implies that a language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects. According to Ulrich Ammon in Bright (1992:349) a dialect is:

“a language such that (i) there is at least one other language with which it has a degree of similarity; (ii) there is no language which is regionally included within it as a proper part; and (iii) neither its writing system nor its pronunciation nor its lexicon nor its syntax is officially normalized.”

Fromkin and Hyams (2003) define dialects as mutually intelligible forms of a language that have systematic ways of differences. This view, therefore, looks upon language as a collection of forms of dialects. The variations of these forms of language are known as dialectal variations, (Mambwe 2008). The present study uses the definition coined by Fromkin and Hyams (2003) because the definition presupposes that Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga are mutually intelligible forms of Tonga and that speakers of Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga can understand each other, whereas speakers of two or more languages cannot understand each other.

1.2.2 Dialectology

According to Bright (1992:900) dialectology is a branch of linguistics which focuses on the nature and distribution of variation in language. Britain (2005) asserts that dialectology is the study of the way sounds, words and grammatical forms vary within a language. He also says that the term is usually employed to describe the study of accents (the varying sounds used within a language) and dialects (the differing grammatical structures and words used).

From the foregoing definitions, it is evident that dialectology deals with the nature or form and distribution of accents and dialects. On the whole, dialectology focuses on the geographical distribution of different accents and dialects, although it has also begun to investigate sociolects such as age, gender and position in society (Britain 2005).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The need to conduct an investigation into some aspects of linguistic variations of Tonga has been prompted by lack of dialectological studies of Tonga. Tonga is spoken differently by people that are found on the Gwembe Valley and those on the plateau. Carter (2002:1) asserts that “within the Tonga area, **(i)bu-Tonga**, there are dialectal differences in sound system, grammar and vocabulary. The greatest differences are between north and south, the so-called ‘Plateau’ and ‘Gwembe Valley’ varieties, but there is some east-west variation as well.” Carter (2002) merely acknowledges the fact that there are variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga and does not provide details on the levels of variation. Hopgood (1992) equally merely acknowledges that a certain amount of variation in pronunciation, grammar and lexis is found in different parts of the country. Hopgood (1992:x) says, “Hitherto it has been customary to speak of the two chief dialects of Chitonga as Plateau Chitonga and Valley Chitonga...” Thompson (1989:vi) also adds, “Like many living languages, Chitonga has dialects in pronunciation...one finds frequent reference to such terms as ‘Plateau Tonga’, ‘Valley Tonga’, ‘Western Tonga’ etc.” The studies mentioned above merely assert that there are dialectal differences in Tonga, particularly between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga. These Tonga dialects have not been fully investigated so as to ascertain their levels of

phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical variation. In question form the problem under investigation is: what are the levels of phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical variation between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga?

1.4 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study was to conduct a dialectological study of Plateau Tonga and Valley Tonga from a linguistic point of view. The study aimed at identifying phonetic, morphological and syntactic variations. The study also aimed at establishing the linguistic nature of lexical differences between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- (i) To identify phonetic variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga,
- (ii) To point out morphological variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga,
- (iii) To distinguish syntactic variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga, and
- (iv) To establish lexical differences between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga.

1.6 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following four questions in line with the above stated objectives:

- (i) What are the phonetic variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga?
- (ii) What morphological differences do Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga exhibit?
- (iii) What are the levels of syntactic variation between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga?
- (iv) What lexical differences exist between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga?

1.7 Significance of the Study

This dialectological study is significant in the sense that it may contribute knowledge to the area of theoretical linguistics of Bantu languages in general and Zambian languages in particular. Additionally, the study may enlighten Zambian languages teachers, translators, news readers and writers, curriculum developers and language planners on

some linguistic variations between the two dialects. By and large, the study may contribute to the general body of knowledge in the realm of sociolinguistic dialectology.

1.8 Theoretical Perspectives

A dialectological study may be conducted for different purposes. For instance, one may undertake a dialectological study with a view to compiling a dialect atlas. At times the purpose might be to show how the dialects have diverged from a single language or how they converged from two or more distinct languages. The purpose of the study determines the theoretical model of dialectology that one will use. The purpose of this study is not to undertake a comparative analysis of VT and PT but to merely identify or point out what features are found in each dialect.

This study is informed by descriptive linguistics using the approaches of generative dialectology, structuralist dialectology and traditional dialectology. This study does not employ concepts of auto-segmental or non-linear models of linguistic analysis simply because the study is not dealing with tonal variation between the two major dialects.

1.8.1 Descriptive Linguistics

Descriptive linguistics is a branch of linguistics in which linguists describe and explain features of language without making subjective judgements on whether a particular feature is right or wrong. Since the inception of linguistics as a discipline, linguistic scholars have been concerned with describing and documenting languages previously unknown to science. Descriptive linguistics started with scholars such as Franz Boas in the early 1900s and became the main branch within American linguistics until the rise of formal structural linguistics in the mid-20th century. The rise of American descriptive linguistics was necessitated by the concern with describing the languages of indigenous people that were rapidly moving toward extinction. The ethnographic focus of the original Boasian type of descriptive linguistics gave birth to the development of disciplines such as Sociolinguistics and Anthropological linguistics which investigate the relations between language and culture.

The term 'descriptive' is usually used synonymously with the term 'synchronic'. In synchronic linguistics, linguists observe and analyse a given language at a particular stage of its historical development. The opposite of synchronic linguistics is diachronic linguistics. In diachronic linguistics, linguists study the history of evolution of languages through the comparative method. The aim of diachronic linguistics is to classify languages in language families descending from a common ancestor. The shift in focus from diachronic linguistics to a synchronic perspective started with Ferdinand de Saussure in the early 1900s and became predominant in western linguistics with Noam Chomsky's emphasis on the study of the synchronic aspects of language. In descriptive linguistics, linguists observe and analyze a particular language at a specific stage of its historical development. According to Matthews (1997:367) a synchronic description of a language is accordingly an account of its structure either at present or at some particular moment in the past, considered in abstraction from its history. According to www.thefreedictionary.com/phonology (2012), descriptive linguistics refers to a description at a given point of time of a language with respect to its phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics without value judgements. Therefore, descriptive linguistics is the work of objectively analyzing and describing how a given language is spoken or how it was spoken in the past by a group of people in a speech community. For a linguistic description to be considered descriptively adequate, it has to achieve one or more of the following goals of descriptive linguistics:

- A description of the phonology of the language in question,
- A description of the morphology of words that belong to the language in question,
- A description of the syntax of well-formed sentences of the language,
- A documentation of the vocabulary of the language in question,
- A reproduction of a few genuine texts.

This study employs the descriptive linguistics approach to merely point out the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical variations that obtain between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga. The study is synchronic in that it is concerned with the description of the dialects as they are spoken and used at the present moment. Our analysis is also purely descriptive in that it was not the intention of the researcher to make

any subjective judgements on whether any of the dialects under investigation are correct or wrong. Instead data is presented as observed in the dialects.

1.8.2 Generative Dialectology

Generative dialectology is the application of concepts and findings from generative grammar, particularly from generative phonology, to the description and comparison of dialects (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:45). The concept of generative grammar was formulated by Noam Chomsky in the early 1950s as a set of rules which, when applied, indicated precisely what a sentence was and what it was not in a given language. Generative grammar was an abstract device interpreted as ‘generating’ or ‘producing’ a set of strings or sequence of units. For instance, a ‘sentence’ was formally a string generated by a set of rules and a ‘language’ was defined as a set of sentences (Matthews 1997).

Generative phonology is the treatment of phonology and morphology as developed by Morris Halle and others from the end of 1950s. Generative dialectology presupposes a two-level approach to generative phonology. The first level consists of phonological forms in which lexical items are listed in the lexicon. The second level comprises phonological rules. Each phonological rule is seen as an instruction to change, add, delete or re-arrange the features of a given underlying form in order to come up with a surface form which is the actual pronunciation (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:39). Forms that are involved in alternations of various kinds appear in the lexicon in only one form, the other forms are the result of the application of a set of ordered phonological rules (ibid). Generative dialectology assumes that dialects differ in the phonological rules that apply to the underlying forms, the environment in which the rules apply and the order in which they apply (ibid). To illustrate this, Chambers and Trudgill (1980) use dialects of Modern Greek. They use four of the phonological rules for northern Greek dialects. These rules are:

1. High vowel loss: unstressed /i/ and /u/ are lost.
2. Voicing assimilation:
 - (a) Voiceless stops become voiced before voiced stops.

- (b) Voiced stops become voiceless before voiceless stops.
3. Vowel epenthesis: when the final consonant of a word-final cluster is a nasal, /i/ is inserted before the nasal.
 4. Rounding: /i/ becomes /u/ before a following labial consonant.

From the underlying form [ðikosmu] ‘my own’, Chambers and Trudgill (1980) account for four different pronunciations found in northern Greek dialects in terms of which rules apply and in which order they apply.

	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>Thessaly</i>	<i>Epirus</i>	<i>Euboea</i>
Underlying form:	[ðikosm]	[ðikosmu]	[ðikosmu]	[ðikosmu]
Rules applying:	1. [ðksm] 2. [θkzm] 3. [θkozim]	1. [ðkosm] 2. [θkozm] 3. [θkozim]	1.[ðkosm] 3. [ðkosim] 2. [θkosim]	1.[ðkosm] 3.[ðkosim] 2. [θkosim]
		4. [θkzum]		4.[θkosum]
Surface form:	[θkozim]	[θkozum]	[θkosim]	[θkosum]

In the **Macedonia** dialect only three phonological rules apply in the following order:

Rule 1: deletion rule /i/ → [Ø]

Rule 2: (a) voicing rule /s/ → [z] (b) devoicing rule /ð/ → [θ]

Rule 3: epenthetic insertion Ø → [i]/—nasal

In the **Thessaly** dialect all the four rules apply in the following order:

Rule 1: deletion rule /i/ → [Ø]

Rule 2: (a) voicing rule /s/ → [z] (b) devoicing rule /ð/ → [θ]

Rule 3: epenthetic insertion Ø → [i]/—nasal

Rule 4: rounding rule /i/ → [u]

In the **Epirus** dialect three phonological rules apply in the order that follows:

Rule 1: deletion rule /i/ → [∅]

Rule 3: epenthetic rule ∅ → [i]/ — nasal

Rule 2: (b) devoicing rule /ð/ → [θ]

In the **Euboea** dialect four rules apply as follows:

Rule 1: deletion rule /i/ → [∅]

Rule 3: epenthetic insertion ∅ → [i]/ — nasal

Rule 2: (b) devoicing rule /ð/ → [θ]

Rule 4: rounding rule /i/ → [u]

This study attempts to identify or point out phonological and morphological variations between VT and PT by applying concepts from generative dialectology. We also hasten to mention that it is only through the use of phonetic plausibility strategy that we regard the VT phonemes as basic from which the PT phonemes are derived by means of some phonological rules.

1.8.3 Structural Dialectology

Structural dialectology is a theory which was developed by U. Weinreich and others in the 1950s (Matthews 1997). Structuralist dialectology is concerned with the making of inventories of variations when dealing with sound system and the general patterns of distribution (Chambers and Trudgill 1980).

1.8.4 Traditional Dialectology

A systematic manner of studying dialects started well over a century ago as traditional dialectology. According to Miti (1988), traditional dialectology may be summarized as being item-centered because it tends to treat linguistic forms in isolation. The approach concentrated on the historical changes of features in the same dialect over a particular stretch of time. Traditional dialectology concentrates on spatial lexical variation. Lexical

variation refers to words used to refer to the same thing in different places (refer to Britain 2005). The earliest dialectological studies aimed at drawing up linguistic atlases that showed the geographical distribution of various dialect forms. Such research was motivated by the desire to challenge the notion in historical linguistics at that time that all sound changes were regular and limitless. Dialectologists showed the widely varying and seemingly haphazard distributions of dialect forms, and this demonstrated that linguistic changes were often irregular and did not affect all words equally. This fact was confirmed by the dialect landscapes of Europe which particularly showed variability within small areas, and the dialectologists' task was to plot this rich diversity on linguistic maps (Britain 2005). This investigation utilizes the concept of spatial lexical variation in identifying lexical variation between VT and PT using a list of basic vocabulary items.

1.9 Operational Definitions

Some of the terms utilized in the study are defined below.

(a) *Phonology* is the study of speech sounds and sound patterns displayed by natural human languages.

(b) *Morphology* is the third level of linguistic analysis concerned with the grammar of word formation and the manner in which words divide into smaller units known as morphemes.

(c) *Syntax* is a branch of linguistics which is concerned with the study of the arrangement of words in sentences.

(d) *Lexis* refers to the vocabulary of a language.

(e) *Valley Tonga* refers to Tonga spoken along the Zambezi Valley in Siavonga, Gwembe and Sinazongwe districts of Zambia.

(f) *Plateau Tonga* refers to Tonga spoken on the plateau in Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo districts of Zambia.

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Introduction

A study design is either qualitative or quantitative. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990:17) qualitative research is “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification.” The qualitative research approach is able to capture individuals’ points of view because qualitative investigators are able to get closer to the actor perspective through interviewing and observation (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:6). Also Mugenda and Mugenda (1999:197) assert that “by using qualitative method, researchers are able to collect data and explain phenomena more deeply and exhaustively.” This study used qualitative approach in the collection and analysis of data because it was not seeking numerical data which is arrived at by quantitative means. It was seeking data based on people’s own spoken or written words. Since the primary sources of data were human beings, the data given was in form of views or emerging themes which would have been difficult to divide into parts that yield characteristics that are measurable (Mugenda and Mugenda 1999). Additionally, the data that was elicited from respondents was analysed by way of making general statements on how categories or themes of data are related. Data collection and analysis were undertaken simultaneously. This study intended to determine what things exist rather than to determine how many such things there are. Hence it focused on determining what phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical variations exhibited between the dialects under investigation rather than focus on how many such variations there are. However, some quantitative approach technique was used in calculating percentages of lexical items that VT does not share with any of the PT dialects, lexical items that VT shares with some of the PT dialects and lexical items which are shared across all the dialects considered in the study.

1.10.2 Study Area

Study area refers to the exact location where the study is conducted. This research was partly based in Siavonga district of Zambia for the collection of data on Valley Tonga

and partly in Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo districts of Zambia for the collection of data on Plateau Tonga.

1.10.3 Data Collection Instruments

Data collection instruments comprise interview schedules, questionnaires, recorders and other already existing data. Data collection instruments directly relate to the results of a study and thus their reliability and validity is of great importance. Our study utilized a two hundred and sixty modified Swadesh word list. The Swadesh word list is a list of basic vocabulary of about one hundred to one thousand words used in comparative linguistics. According to http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki:Swadesh_list (2012), Swadesh lists are usually used in lexicostatistics (quantitative language relatedness assessment) and glottochronology (language divergence dating). The Swadesh word list provides a better yardstick in identifying lexical variations because it contains all basic words that are used to express universal concepts. It is chosen for its universal availability in as many languages as possible. The list is named after the 1950s United States linguist Morris Swadesh.

The use of a Swadesh word list in our present study is not aimed at a historical reconstruction of the dialects under investigation. The interest of this study is in the variations between similar languages, that is, VT and PT and hence the Swadesh list has been utilized only as a tool to help us generate the basic vocabulary from which we could determine the phonetic, morphological and lexical variations between the dialects.

The list has been modified in this study in order to generally suit the African setting and particularly the Zambian situation because in its original structure it contains vocabulary items such as 'ice' and 'snow' which are not applicable to most Bantu languages. The researcher was of the view that two hundred and sixty basic vocabulary items were sufficient to collect reliable and valid data needed for phonological, lexical and morphological analysis. The choice of the number was also based on the assumption that if the list was too big, it would become less basic and this might lead to distortion of data. On this, Hillary (2009:17) argues that the larger the list, the less basic it becomes and the

more room it gives to skewing or distortion. The Swadesh word list as modified and used for this study is provided in appendix A.

The study also utilized a list of one hundred sentences drawn from Hopgood (1992), Thompson (1989) and from a novel written by Mweemba (1980). The texts by Hopgood (1992), Thompson (1989) and the novel by Mweemba (1980) were chosen because they contain various sentences and illustrations based on different areas of syntax that the study was focusing on. The sentences from the three texts provided a corpus that was used to identify syntactic and some morphological variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga. The study also used an interview schedule and a recorder. The sentence list and the interview schedule are provided below in appendices B and G respectively.

1.10.4 Data Collection

1.10.4.1 Primary Sources of Data

Since the study was about variations between VT and PT, the researcher targeted native speakers of VT and PT as the primary sources of data. Two native speakers for VT, two native speakers for the Mazabuka dialect, two for the Monze dialect, two for the Choma dialect and two for the Kalomo dialect were chosen as informants. Since the word list and the sentence list were in English, there was need to skillfully select informants who were native speakers of VT and PT dialects and who were literate enough to translate the basic English vocabulary and sentences into their respective dialects. The researcher also preferred adults of about forty years and above on account of the fact that young people are considered not to be very competent in their native languages and would therefore distort the data. On the other hand, adults speak the 'purer' forms of languages.

1.10.4.2 Secondary Sources of Data

The modified Swadesh word list of basic vocabulary items and the sentence list from Tonga grammar books by Hopgood (1992), Thompson (1989) and from a Tonga novel by Mweemba (1980) acted as secondary sources of data.

1.10.4.3 Data Collection Procedure

The 260 modified Swadesh word list of basic vocabulary items was distributed to native speakers of VT and PT who were purposively sampled. Firstly, the informants were asked to supply the equivalents in their respective Tonga dialects in the written form. Secondly, at a later stage, the informants were asked to pronounce the words that they had come up with. This was done during face to face interviews. The informants' pronunciations were recorded to facilitate transcription by the researcher. The word list provided the data base for the identification of phonological, morphological and lexical variations. The sentence list, which was also in English, was equally distributed to the respondents who were then asked to translate the sentences into their respective dialects in the written form. The sentence list formed the data base for the researcher to identify mainly the syntactic, some morphological and lexical differences between VT and PT dialects. The sentence list was also used to identify some phonological aspects which could not surface from vocabulary items which were mainly uttered in isolation.

1.10.5 Data Analysis

In the qualitative research approach, data analysis begins while data collection is going on (Mugenda and Mugenda 1999). In this study data analysis commenced in the field during data collection. The first step involved sorting out of data according to dialects and type of data, that is, word list and sentence list separately. Being a native speaker of the language under investigation, the researcher also utilized the native speaker intuition to distinguish between correct and wrong data collected. In support of the native speaker intuition, Nkolola (1997:6) cites Atkinson et al (1982) who say that if

“the linguist is a native speaker of the language he is investigating, he will be able to distinguish between well-formed and ill-formed strings of words...”

Secondly, all the collected data was put according to the four levels of linguistic analysis applied in the study, that is, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. Comparisons between VT and PT were made at each level of linguistic analysis with reference to the objectives of the study. Tables were used to clearly indicate phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences that were revealed.

1.11 Limitations of the Study.

As already pointed out under the subheading of ‘theoretical perspectives’, a dialectological study may be conducted for different purposes: to compile a dialect atlas; to show how dialects have diverged from a single language or how they have converged from two or more distinct languages. This particular study is not aimed at undertaking a comparative analysis of the dialects in question but to simply point out what features are found in each dialect.

Hillary (2009:11) cites Batibo (1998) who says there are many methods of determining relationships between languages. For example, there is the comparative method and the lexicostatistical method. The comparative method is used to compare languages in order to determine whether and how the languages have developed from a common ancestor. The lexicostatistical approach uses lists of vocabulary cognates to determine the degree of relatedness between languages. However, although our study makes use of a list of basic vocabulary items, it does not employ the lexicostatistical method or comparative method. Our study merely employs the descriptive linguistic approach using concepts of generative dialectology, structural dialectology and traditional dialectology to identify variations and similarities between VT and PT.

There are many dialectal variations within Tonga, the major ones being VT and PT. VT includes the Siavonga, Gwembe, and Sinazongwe varieties. PT includes the Mazabuka, Monze, Choma, and Kalomo varieties. This study is limited to the VT spoken in Siavonga. Due to its scope, the study could not practically make use of the Gwembe and Sinazongwe varieties. It is also a known fact that even within the Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo dialects there are further sub-dialects which usually derive their names from their respective chiefdoms. This study could not utilize all the sub-dialects found in Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo. Therefore, the PT dialects used in this study were generalized.

1.12 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured into five chapters. Chapter One is the introduction of the whole study. The chapter also presents the methodological framework. Chapter Two

outlines the literature that was reviewed so as to put the present study into focus. Chapter Three discusses the basic structure of Tonga with respect to the four levels of linguistic analysis considered in the study which are phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. Chapter Four presents the findings, data analysis and interpretation. Chapter Five outlines the summary of the study and makes recommendations for further research.

1.13 Summary

This chapter has introduced the study. It has outlined the concepts of ‘dialect’ and ‘dialectology’. The chapter has also presented the statement of the problem, the aim of the study, the objectives, the research questions and the significance of the study. In addition, the chapter has presented the theoretical perspectives of the study and the operational definitions. This was followed by the methodological framework, the limitations of the study and the structure of the dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents information on dialectological investigations conducted on other languages. The chapter begins by outlining some of the linguistic works that have been produced on Tonga. Thereafter, the chapter discusses other dialectological studies.

2.1 Studies on Tonga

Although a few texts have been written about the Tonga language, this section does not present an exhaustive list of studies on Tonga. This is because it was rather difficult to access some of the Tonga texts. It was particularly difficult to access the works by the following scholars: Hachipola, Syamujaye, Hamutete, Siachitema, Torend, J (1931) *An English Bantu Botatwe Dictionary*. However, some of the notable ones that were reviewed include *Tonga Grammar* by Collins (1962). This text was useful in the discussion of nominal and verbal morphology. The text comprises fifteen chapters. Each chapter deals with a particular aspect of grammar. For instance, Chapter one deals with preliminaries and references to the grammatical aspects. Chapters two and three deal with word classes, in particular the nouns and adjectives. Chapters four, five, six, eight and nine discuss the verbals and adverbials. Chapter seven discusses the prepositional affixes. Chapter ten is based on pronominals. Chapter eleven focuses on the concept of demonstratives. Chapter twelve focuses on the concept of numerals. Chapter thirteen discusses the relative clauses. Chapters fourteen and fifteen deal with other subordinate clauses and conditional sentences respectively. In the text, we observe that Collins (1962) does not discuss dialectal differences that obtain in Tonga. The only reference to Tonga dialects is found in the introduction when students of Tonga grammar are advised to get some knowledge of dialectal variants by reading *A Practical Introduction to Tonga* by C.R.Hopgood.

The other text referred to is a *Chitonga-English Phrase-Book* authored by Thompson (1989). In this text, English words, phrases and sentences are translated into Tonga

equivalents. This text was useful as it offered some information in terms of variation between VT and PT at lexical level. Some vocabulary words used in the text were from VT and others from PT. The text also provided part of a corpus of sentences that were used to distinguish syntactic variations between VT and PT.

The other notable work is *A Practical Introduction to Chitonga* written by Hopgood (1992). This text is more of a guide to the teaching of Tonga grammar. The text is divided into seventy lessons. Each lesson begins with a sentence drill after which there is some discussion on some aspects of pronunciation. At the beginning of the text, Hopgood (1992) acknowledges that dialectal variations in Tonga do exist. He further states that most of the illustrative sentences in the text are written in Valley Tonga because the valley dialect is considered the standard form by most writers. The text has some relevant information on Valley Tonga in that the translation of the English sentences is mostly in the Valley Tonga variety. The study utilized this Tonga grammar book by extracting sentences that formed part of the sentence list that was distributed to the native speakers of VT and PT for translation into their respective dialects. The text also provided some phonological data as it also deals with some aspects of pronunciation.

Another piece of work worth mentioning is *An Outline of Chitonga Grammar* written by Carter (2002). This text concentrates on the sound system and orthography. It also discusses some aspects of Tonga morphology and syntax, though not in detail. Carter (2002), like Hopgood (1992), merely states that there are dialectal variations in sound, grammar and vocabulary within Tonga. The text does not provide any detailed examples of the dialectal differences. The text was only useful in the discussion of the concept of noun classes in Tonga. There are other scholars such as Nkolola (1997), Jimaima (2008) and Musale (2009) that have conducted studies on Tonga. Nkolola (1997) conducted an investigation on verb extensions in Tonga. In her study she mentions that there are dialect clusters in Tonga and that the major ones are Valley Tonga spoken in Gwembe, Sinazongwe and Siavonga, and Plateau Tonga spoken in the plateau area of Choma, Kalomo, Mazabuka, Monze districts (p.2). The researcher mentions phonetics as one of the areas in which some notable differences between VT and PT are found. However,

since the study was dedicated to verbal extensions, it does not provide much detail on the dialectal variations between VT and PT.

Jimaima (2008) carried out research on the concepts of determination and modification in English and Tonga. The study does not make mention of dialectal differences in Tonga. Musale (2009), like Jimaima (2008), does not discuss Tonga dialects in her study of the grammar of compound nouns in Tonga.

From the few texts that have been reviewed on Tonga, it is evident that there has not been any detailed study conducted specifically to deal with the topic of dialects in Tonga.

2.2 Dialectological Studies on Other Languages

Owing to very scanty literature on Tonga dialects, the literature review for this study was heavily dependent on dialectological studies that have been carried out on other languages, the notable one being the study on Kaonde. This is so because the study on Kaonde dialects is quite recent, and is on a Zambian Bantu language. The other languages referred to in the study include English, Malay, Yoruba, Lumasaaba, Swahili, Botswana Bantu languages, Luyana and Zambian Chinyanja varieties.

In their study of English dialects, Fromkin and Hyams (2003) illustrate how English dialects regionally developed their changes in the pronunciation of words which contain an `r'. The study revealed that in Southern England, for instance, the British were dropping their /r/ before consonantal sounds and at the end of words in the 18th century and that words such as *farm*, *farther* and *father* were pronounced as [fa:m], [fa:ðə] and [fa:ðə] respectively. The study observed that the /r/ dropping rule became more popular later among early settlers in New England and the Southern Atlantic Seaboard. Fromkin and Hyams (ibid) further noted that as people interacted socially between New England colonies and London and Southerners, the rule of /r/ dropping became more and more pronounced. This, Fromkin says, accounts for the reason why the English dialect spoken in Boston and New York has maintained the /r/ dropping rule. However, even when the /r/ dropping rule was prominent among the Southerners, there were settlers who came from Northern England where the /r/ had been maintained and the tendency moved

towards the west with the /r/. Fromkin and Hyams (2003) went on to point out variations among American English dialects at phonological level. For instance, while some pronounce the words *caught* [kot] with the vowel /o/ and *cat* [kat] with /a/, others pronounce them as [kat] with /a/. Also, while some people pronounce *Mary*, *marry* and *merry* the same, others articulate them differently as [meri], [mæri] [mɔri]. Fromkin and Hyams (2003) further revealed phonological variations between British and American English. They noted that sixty four percent of Americans pronounced the initial vowel in 'data' as [e] and thirty five percent as [æ]. This was in sharp contrast with the ninety two percent of the British pronouncing the vowel as [e] and only eight percent with [æ]. The researchers further noted that in the high class British English dialect, [h] is pronounced at the beginning of a word in both *head* and *herb* but in American English dialects, the [h] is pronounced in the word *herb*. In some British English dialects, the [h] is usually deleted from most words where it is pronounced in American English dialects. For instance, the words *house* and *host* are articulated as [aws] and [ost] respectively. There are other instances of phonological variations between American English and British English which are too numerous to mention herein.

In his study conducted on the dialect of New Mills in the North-West Derbyshire, Fyne (2005) presents a few dialectal variations of the English language. At the syntactic level, the study revealed some of the following variations: In interrogatives, there is a greater use of *what* in the New Mills dialect corresponding to several interrogatives used in Standard English. For instance, there is the use of *what* in the dialect instead of *which*, which is the Standard English- (i) *what pub are you going to?* [which pub are you going to?]; (ii) *what bus are you getting?* [which bus are you catching?]; (iii) *what mill were you at?* [which mill did you work at?]. There is also the use of *what* in the New Mills dialect, corresponding to Standard English *why*: (i) *what did you do that for?* [why did you do that?]; (ii) *what are you going there for?* [why are you going there?]. Fyne (2005) further observes that the dialect uses *what* rather than *how + determiner of quantity*: (i) *what hours did you work last week?* [how many hours did you work last week?] (ii) *what did that cost you?* [how much did that cost?] (p.148). Fyne (2005) further reveals that multiple negation, usually double negation, is common on a dialectal level and evidently widespread, not only in England, but in varieties of English elsewhere. Examples from

the New Mills dialect are (i) *I never knew nought about it* [I didn't know anything about it]; (ii) *we didn't go nowhere in them days* [we didn't go anywhere in those days]; (iii) *they wouldn't go back neither* [they wouldn't go back either] (p.211).

At the morphological level, Fyne (ibid) revealed among other things that the derivational suffix **-en** in adjectives formed from a noun + suffix **-en** (which means 'made of') is sometimes omitted. For example, *they built a wood bridge first* [wooden]. Similarly, the suffix **-ous** in words of French origin is also deleted in one or two instances- e.g., *it's poison* [it's poisonous]. Fyne (ibid) notes also that superlative forms are often used in the New Mills dialect when a comparison is actually made between two entities (i.e. in situations where a comparative morpheme is used in Standard English. For example, *it's the shortest of the two* [it's the shorter of the two]; *it's the nearest of the two* [it's the nearer of the two] (p.148-149).

Fyne (ibid) further identifies lexical variations between the New Mills English dialect and the Standard English. He used a list of words from Standard English to elicit other dialectal forms. For instance, in addition to the standard response of the form *nose* recorded at all the Derbyshire localities, *snitch* was elicited in New Mills. In addition to the standard form *left-handed*, *bang-handed* and *cack-handed* were elicited from the older respondents in the New Mills dialect. The standard form *active* elicited both *wick* and *agile* in New Mills. In addition to the standard form *mouth*, *kisser* and *gob* were elicited from the older informants in New Mills. For the head word *bread roll*, considerable variation was encountered with this form. Many informants responded with two or more variants. *Bap*, *cob*, *barn-cake* and *muffin* were all elicited from the majority of the informants in New Mills. For the standard form *borrow*, without exception, all the informants responded with *borrow* (p.227-234).

According to Mahdzan (2007) the Malay language is a member of the Western group of the Austronesian family. It is the native language of the Deutro-Malay or modern Malays. People in Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei speak Malay as their first or second language. Malay has many dialects ranging from Batavia to Kelantanese. Each dialect has its own sound, such that a native speaker of the language can tell a dialect from another.

Mahdzan (2007) carried out a comparative study of the standard Malay spoken in Malaysia (Bahasa Malaysia) and the standard Malay spoken in Indonesia (Bahasa Indonesia). To help her identify the phonological differences between the two dialects, she used two twenty-year old females, one from Malaysia and the other one from Indonesia. The study revealed that there were three major differences at the phonological level. The first variation involved elision or reduction of the sound [a] to [ə] (the schwa). The other variation was about the vowel reduction of the sound [u] to [o]. The third difference involved the deletion of /r/ in word-final position. Mahdzan (2007) observed that when the speaker from Malaysia was observed talking, she maintained the vowel reduction rule of [a] to [ə]. It was observed that the truncation rule changed [a] to [ə] in word-final position of the words: *ada* ‘have’, *apa* ‘what’, *dua* ‘two’, *kenapa* ‘why’, *kita* ‘we’, *saya* ‘I’ and *siapa* ‘who’ to come up with: [adə] ‘have’, [apə] ‘what’, [duə] ‘two’, [kenapə] ‘why’, [kitə] ‘we’, [sayə] ‘I’ and [siapə] ‘who’. However, when the speaker of Indonesian Malay was observed, Mahdzan noted that the trend was different. Mahdzan observed that the words with /a/ in word final-word position retained their true pronunciation as *ada*, *apa*, *dua*, *kenapa*, *kita*, *saya*, and *siapa* whose glosses are ‘have’, ‘what’, ‘two’, ‘why’, ‘we’, ‘I’ and ‘who’ respectively. Mahdzan also noted that whenever the vowel /u/ was between two consonants and appeared as the final syllable, the Bahasa Malaysia speaker reduced the /u/ to /o/. This, Mahdzan observed when the speaker was pronouncing the words: *telur* ‘egg’, *batuk* ‘cough’, *gemuk* ‘fat’, *hancur* ‘broken’ and *takut* ‘fear’. Mahdzan noted that the Bahasa Malaysia speaker produced the words as *telor* ‘egg’, *batok* ‘cough’, *gemok* ‘fat’, *hancor* ‘broken’ and *takot* ‘fear’. On the other hand, the study revealed that the Bahasa Indonesia speaker naturally and phonologically maintained the words as they were spelt, that is, telur, batuk, gemuk, hancur, and takut. Another interesting phonological feature of the Bahasa Malaysia dialect was the truncation of /r/ in word-final position. Mahdzan observed that the Bahasa Malaysia respondent dropped the /r/ in her pronunciation of the words: *telur*, ‘egg’ *hancur*, ‘broken’ and *pasar* ‘market’ and came up with: telo-, hanco-, and paso-. The Bahasa Indonesia speaker, however, retained the /r/ in word-final position in her speech.

According to www.thefreencyclopedia.com/yoruba (November 2011), the Yoruba language of the Yorubaland of Nigeria consists of several dialects. These can be classified into three major dialect areas: Northwest, Central and Southeast.

The North-West Yoruba dialect is historically part of the Oyo Empire. In this dialect, the Proto-Yoruba /gh/, the velar fricative [ɣ] and /gw/ have merged into /w/, the upper vowels /i/ and /u/ were raised and merged with /i/ and /u/, resulting in a vowel system with seven oral and three nasal vowels.

The South-East Yoruba was more or less likely associated with the expansion of the Benin Empire after 1450 AD. In contrast with the North-West Yoruba, the South-East Yoruba has retained the /gh/ and /gw/ contrast, while it has lowered the nasal vowels /in/ and /un/ to /en/ and /on/ respectively. This dialect has collapsed the second and third person plural pronominal forms where *á, án, wá* can mean either [you (pl) came] or [they came]. North-West Yoruba dialect has *e wá* [you (pl) came] and *wón wá* [they came], respectively.

Central Yoruba dialect forms a transitional area in the sense that the lexicon has so much in common with the North-West Yoruba. The vowel system of the Central Yoruba is the least innovating (i.e. it is the most stable) of the three dialect groups. This dialect group has retained nine oral-vowel contrasts and six or seven nasal vowels, and has an extensive vowel harmony system. In addition to the three major Yoruba dialect groups, there is Literary Yoruba which is also known as Standard Yoruba or Yoruba Koine or Common Yoruba. This is the written form of the language, the standard variety learnt at school and spoken by news readers on radio. Literary Yoruba traces its origin from the 1850s when the first African Bishop, Samuel A. Crowther, published a Yoruba grammar and began his translation of the Bible. Although Standard Yoruba is largely based on the North-West Yoruba dialects, it shares several features with other dialects. It equally has some features peculiar to itself. For instance, it has a simplified vowel harmony system. It also includes foreign structures such as calques from English which originated in early translations of religious works.

According to Brown (1972) Lumasaaba is a Bantu language spoken in eastern Uganda by the Basigu people. In his study, Brown divided the linguistic community into two regions; southern and northern. In each region, he focused on the phonetic differences of each dialect. In the southern dialect, he established three major areas: (a) central area which he called Lusoba, (b) the mountain area which he called Manjiya, and (c) Lubutu. The study revealed that in the central area of Lusoba and Manjiya, the velar plosive [k] is realised as a palatal affricate [tʃ] before all front vowels. In Lubutu, [k] is realised as a uvular fricative [x] in all environments. However, when it occurs before /i/ in Class 7 prefixes, it is realised as a voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. In the same Lubutu dialect, the other velar consonants [g] and [ŋ] are realised as slightly fronted velars or palatals [j] and [ɲ]. In all the southern accents, the alveolar fricative [z] is realised as [tʃ] except in Manjiya and Lubutu where it is realised as [z] if /z/ allows a nasal prefix. Brown (ibid) further revealed some local variation within the northern dialect. He noted that the northern dialect is more homogeneous than the southern dialect. He observed that in some areas speakers tend to pronounce [βilio] ‘food’ as [βidio] whereas in other areas [βilio] is pronounced as [βilyo]. Brown (ibid) identified three accent areas in the northern dialect: Lufumbo, Luwalasi and Luhungu. The study observed that in Lufumbo and Luhungu the velar consonants /k/ and /g/ are fronted to palatals [tʃ] and [j] before all front vowels and plosives are realised as palatal affricates. In Luwalasi accent area, the velar consonants /k/ and /g/ are only slightly fronted in this context and are affricated to [tʃ] and [dʒ]. He further observed that the Luwalasi /k/ as in /ki-naga/ is pronounced as [kinaga] ‘a pipe’, where the quality of the [k] is similar to that of the [k] of an English speaker pronouncing the word ‘key’. The study further revealed that in Luhungu /z/ is realised as /z/ always, and /j/, following a nasal prefix is realised as /z/ when it occurs in nominal stems but as [j] when it occurs in verbal stems. The same phonological rule applies to Lufumbo except in the speech of some people where Luhungu has the fricative [z], they have the affricate [dʒ].

Edgar and Hill (1980) discuss some of the dialectal differences of Swahili in their report on a survey of language in Tanzania. For instance, in the Mrima dialect which is spoken

in Bangamoyo, Dar-es-salaam and Tanga, the following linguistic variations were revealed: the use of /l/ for /r/ as in *balua* for *barua* which means ‘letter’, the use of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ instead of the post alveolar fricative /sh/ as in *sauri* for *shauri* which means ‘plan council’. The Mrima dialect also realises occasional devoicing of the velar /g/ as in *kiza* for *giza* ‘darkness’. The dialect also observes some occasional palatalization of the velar /k/ to [tʃ] before front vowels /i/ and /e/ for example in *kucheti* [kutʃeti] for *kuketi* [kuketi] [stay or sit]. The Mrima dialect has a tendency of inserting /u/ after /m/ before consonants for example, *mutu* for *mtu* ‘person’. Edgar and Hill (ibid) further noted that there are features that include the epenthetic insertion of /l/ or /r/ in various series of two vowels for instance in the word *njara* for *njaa* ‘hunger’. There is also the use of **ya** in place of **la** which is in concord with Class 5, for instance, *soka yakuri* [an axe for firewood], *jiko yake* [his/her kitchen]. Most of the Mrima dialect features are shared by Mgao, another dialect of Swahili spoken in Kilwa. However, Edgar and Hill (ibid) observed that the two dialects, Mrima and Mgao, also display some grammatical and lexical variations. Some of the typical Mrima forms are *kugwia* (kugwira) for *kukamata* [seize], *kitumba* for *kanda* [fisherman’s basket] and *kuima* for *kusimama* [to stand].

According to Batibo (1997), the Botswana Bantu languages which are comprised of Setswana, Sekgalagadi, Ikalanga, Thimbukushu, Setswapong, Sebirwa, Shiyeyi, Icisubiya and Otjiherero, are part of the 700 or so languages spoken in eastern, central and southern Africa, which have developed from an ancestral language which is hypothetically known as Proto-Bantu. According to Batibo (ibid) the ancestral Bantu is presumed to have broken off into southward and south-east ward waves of migration. Batibo (ibid) cites Guthrie (1967-71), Heine (1973), Coupez et al (1975) and Ehret (1996) as having recognized two major streams of Bantu languages. These are Western Bantu and Eastern Bantu. The Western Bantu stream went directly south through the Congo forest to what is present called Gabon, Congo, Angola and Namibia. According to Guthrie (1967-71) in Batibo (1997), Otjiherero and Shiyeyi evolved from the Western Bantu stream. The Eastern Bantu stream went south-east towards the Great lakes region and scattered into the whole of eastern Africa. The south-east extension of Eastern Bantu moved into the

present Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and the rest of southern Africa. Batibo (ibid) says the main thrust of this expansion is what constitutes Southern Bantu, with five main branches which are Nguni (IsiZulu, IsiXhosa, IsiNdebele, SiSwati), Sotho-Tswana (Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, Selozi, Sekgalagadi), Nhambane (Chopi, Tonga, etc.), Tsonga (Ronga, Tswa) and Venda. Batibo says there are other branches of South Eastern Bantu to which the other languages of central and southern Africa, such as Shona, Chewa, Senga, and Nyanja belong (p.22). Batibo (1997) carried out a comparative study of the Botswana Bantu languages using a carefully selected list of 250 basic vocabulary items from Common (Proto) Bantu and Eastern Bantu. Batibo's study aimed at investigating the degree of genetic relationship between the Bantu languages of Botswana. The study revealed that the Southern Bantu languages namely Setswana, Sebirwa, Setswapong and Sekgalagadi have a very high degree of relationship. The degree of relationship between Ikalanga, Thimbukushu, Shiyeyi, Otjiherero and Icisubiya is low. The study observed that the lowest percentages are between Otjiherero and the other languages. According to Guthrie (1967-71) in Batibo (1997) Otjiherero is more related to the Western Bantu stream than it is to the Eastern Bantu stream. On the other hand, Shiyeyi, which is classified as a Western Bantu language by Guthrie (1967-71) has relatively high percentages of similarity with the other Eastern Bantu languages. Batibo (ibid) says this could be either because Shiyeyi has adopted some Eastern Bantu characteristics through the concept of convergence or because it may be an Eastern Bantu language in reality and that it is just wrongly placed as part of Western Bantu. Batibo (ibid) further observes that Shiyeyi has a higher relationship with Icisubiya than it has with Otjiherero.

When Proto-Bantu and Eastern Bantu vocabulary was used to test how much of it had been retained by the Botswana Bantu languages, Batibo (ibid) observed the following:

(a) The fact that Icisubiya and Shiyeyi have the highest percentages of retained Proto-Bantu/Eastern Bantu vocabulary confirms not only their Eastern Bantu base, but also their proximity to the north Eastern Bantu nucleus as implied by Ehret (1996) as cited in Batibo (1997).

(b) Ikalanga, which belongs to Shona Bantu, has also retained many features from Eastern Bantu.

(c) The other groups have much lower percentages of relationship with Proto-Bantu/Eastern Bantu. This was attributed partly to their distances from the Eastern Bantu nucleus and partly because of influences from other languages.

(d) In the case of Otjiherero, which is classified as Western Bantu, it could be said that it has no or little Eastern Bantu vocabulary hence the very low figure (p.25).

Batibo's study is important in as far as our present study is concerned because our study also attempts to identify some of the variations and similarities that exist between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. Our study equally makes use of a selected list of 260 basic vocabulary items to identify lexical, phonological and morphological differences between VT and PT and to some extent among PT dialects. However, instead of using a lexicostatistical approach to data analysis, our present study makes use of the descriptive linguistic approach to analyse and interpret the data.

Lisimba (1982) carried out a comparative study on Luyana dialects of Kwangwa, Mwenyi, Makoma group of (Kabinga, Mwanamambo and Simunga), Likolo, Nyengo, Luyi, Mashi and Mbukushu, Mulonga, Liuwa, Kwandi and Mbowe. According to Guthrie (1948) in Lisimba (1982) Luyana belongs to the Bantu family of zone K, Group 30. The study focused on dialectal variations with respect to morphophonemics, grammar, lexicon and tone. To collect data, Lisimba (1982) used a questionnaire of vocabulary items adopted from Swadesh word list. The word list was categorized into nominals, verbals and miscellaneous terms. The lexicostatistical approach was used to analyse the data. The overall finding of the study was that there are dialectal variations among the Luyana dialects at various levels of linguistic analysis. In terms of phonology, for instance, Lisimba (ibid) observed that vowels are realized as /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ in all the dialects except Simunga 1 and 2 and Mbukushu where the back vowels /o/ and /u/ are nasalized when following the combination /hw-/. With regard to consonants, the study revealed that consonants in Luyana exhibit more variations between dialects than vowels do, especially in the Liuwa dialect. Among other phonological differences, for instance,

the study revealed that the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ is realized as /p/ in the western and southern borderline dialects of Makoma, Nyengo, Simaa, Mashi and Mbukushu, and as [β] in the rest of the dialects. The study also observed that the voiceless glottal fricative [h] often appears to be intrusive Lisimba (1982:51). For instance, the word for ‘milk’ is *mawe* /ma-we/ < /ma+ ue/ in Kwadi, Kwangwa, Mbumi, Mbowe, Lui, Mulonga but as *mahwe* /ma-hue/ in Mashi, Mbukushu and Simaa. The word for ‘millet’ is *maangu* /ma-angu/ in Kwadi, Kwangwa, Lui, Makoma and Mulonga, but it is realized as *mahangu* /ma-hangu/ in Mashi, Mbukushu and Simaa. Lisimba (ibid) also observed that the voiced prenasalised alveolar affricate /nj/ is realized as /nd-/. For instance, the word for ‘hunger’ is realized as *ndala* in Lui and Mbumi, and as *nzala* in Makoma, as *nḁala* in Mbukushu, as *nḁara* in Mulonga 1 and as *njala* in Nyengo. Although our present study employs the use of a list of basic vocabulary items, it does not use lexicostatistics to analyse data but rather uses the descriptive linguistics approach to identify and analyse the dialectal variations between VT and PT.

Miti (1988) conducted a dialectological study of Zambian Chinyanja varieties of Chicewa, Chinsenga and Chingoni. The study aimed at establishing how close or different the varieties were in terms of tonal relationships. To collect data Miti (ibid) used a questionnaire of 1000 vocabulary items and 100 sentences. The overall finding of the research was that tonal data revealed five varieties which are Cewa 1, Cewa 2, Nsenga 1, Nsenga 2 and Ngoni. The study revealed that Nsenga and Ngoni are tonally identical but showed differences in terms of lexicostatistics. Miti (ibid) employed the theory of generative phonology, specifically the ‘Autosegmental Phonology’, to analyse the data. Similarly, our study makes use of a 260 word-list of basic vocabulary items and 100 sentences to collect phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical data. However, the study employs the descriptive linguistics approach to analyse the data. Additionally, whilst Miti (1988) focused on tonal variations in the Zambian Nyanja varieties, our present study focuses on general phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical variations between VT and PT.

In his study of Kaonde dialects, Mambwe (2008) investigates the Kaonde dialects spoken in Solwezi west in Chief Mukumbi’s area, Mumbwa in Chief Mumba’s area and

Kasempa. The Kasempa dialect was used as the standard dialect. The study revealed that the three dialects manifest dialectal variations at various levels of linguistic analysis. The study also revealed that the Mumbwa dialect displayed much more variations in relation to the Kasempa and Solwezi dialects. At the morphological level, the study revealed that all nouns in the dialects take a noun prefix. However, there are differences in the nominal stems between Kasempa and Solwezi dialects on one hand and the Mumbwa dialect on the other hand. For example, the Kasempa and Solwezi dialects use the form *mu-kyengya* (sg) [name of a wild tree] and *mi-kyengya* (pl) whilst the Mumbwa dialect has *mu-chenja* (sg) and *mi-chenja* (pl). The other example is *mu-chi* [medicine] and *mi-chi* [medicines] in Kasempa and Solwezi dialects. In the Mumbwa dialect it is *mu-ti* [medicine] and *mi-ti* [medicines]. In the Mumbwa dialect a bush is known as *mu-nje* whereas in the Kasempa and Solwezi dialects it is called *mu-ngye*.

The study revealed that the class 7 noun prefix in the Mumbwa dialect is rendered as **chi-** as opposed to the Kasempa and Solwezi dialects which use **ki-**. Examples:

1. Kasempa and Solwezi: **ki-**zhilo [door], **ki-**lujo [right hand]
2. Mumbwa: **chi-**zhilo [door], **chi-**lujo [right hand].

At the syntactic level, Mambwe notes that the basic word order of Subject Verb Object (SVO) and Subject Verb Complement (SVC) in simple sentences is the same in the three dialects under study. However, the findings revealed that negation in the Kasempa and Solwezi dialects is doubly marked with **kechi-** and **ne-** which occur sentence initially and sentence finally respectively. So, the basic word order in Kasempa and Solwezi Kaonde is NEG SVO NEG.

3. **kechi** wayukile kunzubu **ne** [s/he did not know the house].

In the Mumbwa dialect, negation is singly marked with a particle **nshi** which takes the sentence initial position. The basic word order for simple negation in this dialect is NEG SVO. For example,

4. **nshi** wayukile kunzubu [s/he did not know the house no].

At the phonological level, the study revealed some phonological variations between the Solwezi dialect on one hand and the Kasempa and Mumbwa dialects on the other hand. The table below shows some of the sampled examples.

Table 1: Some Phonological Variations between Some Kaonde Dialects (Mambwe 2008)

Gloss	Kasempa dialect	Mumbwa dialect	Solwezi dialect
‘to jump’	kukiiluka	kuchiluka	kuukiiluka
‘to eat’	kuja	kuja	kuuja

From the table above, it is observed that in the Solwezi dialect, the pronunciation of long penultimate vowels tends to be relatively longer than that of Kasempa and Mumbwa dialects.

The study further noted that in the Mumbwa dialect the vowel /i/ is inserted before a noun, making the resultant structure a verbless sentence. This is seen below:

5. $\emptyset \rightarrow [i]/-$ mpwa \rightarrow impwa: [It is an egg plant.]

In the Kasempa and Solwezi dialects, the vowel /i/ is elided before a noun.

Thus $[i] \rightarrow \emptyset/-$ noun as in

6. \emptyset -mpwa: [It is an egg plant.]

7. \emptyset -kabwa: [It is a dog.]

In the Kasempa Kaonde, a pig is ‘ngulu’ while in the Solwezi dialect, it is ‘nguli’. The vowel [u] in the Kasempa dialect changes to [i] in the Solwezi Kaonde. Mambwe (ibid) also observed that the sound [tʃ] occurs elsewhere other than word initially in the Kasempa and Solwezi Kaonde but in the Mumbwa variety, the same sound [tʃ] occurs anywhere including word initially.

At the lexical level, Mambwe (2008) used about a hundred words/phrases in order to establish differences and similarities between the Kaonde dialects considered in the study. The following table presents a few sampled examples.

Table 2: Some Lexical Variations between Some Kaonde Dialects (Mambwe 2008)

Gloss	Kasempa Kaonde	Mumbwa Kaonde	Solwezi Kaonde
‘family’	kisemi	lupwa	kisemi
‘pig’	ngulu	nkumba	nguli
‘blood’	mashi	mashi	maashi
‘to be annoyed’	kuzhingila	kuzhingila	kuzuwa

From the table above, the findings of the study revealed that there are more variations in lexis between the Kasempa dialect and the Mumbwa dialect than there are variations between the Kasempa and Solwezi dialects.

This study demonstrated that there are far more vocabulary variations among the three dialects than there are differences at the other levels of linguistic analysis. Most importantly, the study demonstrated that there are some linguistic variations at almost all levels of linguistic analysis in Kaonde.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has presented the literature review for the present study. It has referred to some of the studies conducted on Tonga by Thompson (1989), Hopgood (1992), Nkolola (1997), Carter (2002), Jimaima (2008) and Musale (2009). The chapter has also referred to dialectological studies conducted on other languages such as English by Fromkin and Hyams (2003), Fyne (2005), Malay by Mahdzan (2007), Lumasaaba by Brown (1972), Yoruba of Nigeria as outlined on the web page www.thefreeencyclopedia.com/yoruba (November, 2011), Swahili by Edgar and Hill (1980), Botswana Bantu languages by Batibo (1997), Luyana by Lisimba (1982), Chinyanja by Miti (1988) and Kaonde by Mambwe (2008). The chapter has shown that although the available literature on Tonga could not provide sufficient data on Tonga dialects, other pieces of literature that were reviewed on dialects in other languages were quite helpful in providing a gist of what the study sought to investigate and the situation that prevails in other languages.

CHAPTER THREE

A BASIC STRUCTURE OF TONGA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the structure of Tonga. It focuses on the phonology, morphology and syntax of Tonga. However, it is important to note that the chapter is not a comprehensive account of Tonga. It should, therefore be taken as a general guide to the analysis of the findings of the study. The chapter has three major sections: phonology, morphology and syntax.

3.1 Some Phonological Aspects of Tonga

This section presents some phonological aspects of Tonga. The section is not a detailed analysis of phonology but rather a brief account of Tonga phonology. Matthews (1997:278) defines phonology as “the study of the sound system of individual languages and of the nature of such systems generally.” Phonology is concerned with the manner in which the sounds and suprasegmental features defined by phonetics are actually put to use in natural human languages. More precisely, phonology is concerned with the study of the speech sounds and patterns displayed by sounds and prosodic features in natural human languages. Phonology covers the study of suprasegmentals (tone, length, stress and intonation), syllables, phonotactics and phonological processes and rules. Venturing into a phonological analysis of a language requires that a language be phonologically investigated from either a diachronic or synchronic point of view. In linguistics, a diachronic study of a language is the study of a language over a period of time. Diachronic linguistics is contrasted with synchronic linguistics which is the study of a language at a given point of time. The time studied may be either present or a particular point of time in the past. This follows therefore that synchronic phonology, which is also known as phonemics, is the study of the sounds and sound patterns of a language at a particular point in time. Diachronic phonology is the study of the development of the sounds and sound patterns of a language over a period of time. This section briefly discusses the phonological structure of Tonga from a synchronic standpoint. The phonological system of Tonga comprises both segments and suprasegments. A segment is

any speech sound without all suprasegmental features. The segment combines with other segments to form a sequence of sounds. All phonemes are segments. A phoneme is the smallest distinct sound unit in a given language (Matthews 1997). The term ‘suprasegment’ refers to the prosodic features or diacritic marks that are superimposed on the segmental units of sound. Our discussion of the phonological aspects of Tonga is focused on a presentation of the consonantal and vowel phonemes, suprasegmental phonemes and syllable structure of Tonga.

3.1.1 Consonantal Phonemes and Semi-vowels in Tonga

We define consonants from two points of view, that is, phonetically and phonologically. In phonetic terms consonants are sounds that are produced with partial or complete obstruction of air flow at some point in the vocal tract. In phonological terms a consonant is a phonological unit which forms part of a syllable other than its nucleus (Matthews 1997:69). According to Matthews (1997) a semi-vowel is a sound unit which is phonetically like a vowel but whose place in syllable structure is characteristically that of a consonant. There are two semi-vowels in Tonga: a palatal approximant [j] as in *kuyeeya* [□u^hje:ja] ‘to think’ and a labio-velar approximant [w] as in *kuwa* [□uwa] ‘to fall’. The table below shows the consonantal phonemes and semi-vowels in Tonga some of which are found in VT and others in PT. However, the report shall in due course provide separate phonemic charts for VT and PT when dealing with phonetic variations that were identified in the study.

Table 3: Phonemic Chart of the Consonants and Semi-vowels in Tonga (adopted from Carter 2002 and Hopgood 1992)

	bilabial		labio dental		alveolar		post alveolar		palatal	velar	labio velar	glottal
plosive	p	b			t	d				k	g	
nasal		m				n			□	ŋ		
fricative		β	f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ		□		h
affricate							□	□				□
lateral						l						
approximant									j		w	

In order to show that the outlined consonants and semi-vowels are distinct segments in Tonga, a minimal pair test is conducted. A minimal pair is a pair of words from the same language, that differ by only a single categorical phoneme, and that are recognized by speakers of the language as being two different words. The following are some of the minimal pairs in which the outlined consonantal phonemes and semi-vowels occur:

/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral, as in mulilo [mulilo] ‘fire’

/d/ a voiced alveolar plosive, as in mulido [mulido] ‘manner of eating’

/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal as in mume [mume] ‘dew’

/p/ a voiceless bilabial plosive as in mupe [mupe] ‘Give him/her’

/n/ a voiced alveolar nasal, as in munwe [munwe] ‘finger’

/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive, as in mutwe [mutwe] ‘head’

/s/ a voiceless alveolar fricative, as in kusuma [□usuma] ‘to sew’

/z/ a voiced alveolar fricative, as in kuzuma [□uzuma] ‘to thunder’

/ɰ/ a voiced velar fricative, as in **kukamba** [ɰuɰamba] ‘to clap’

/g/ a voiced velar plosive as in **kugamba** [ɰugamba] ‘to be surprised’

/b/ a voiced bilabial plosive, as in **kubbala** [ɰubala] ‘to put on one’s back’

/β/ a voiced bilabial fricative, as in **kubala** [ɰuβala] ‘to read/count’

/t/ (as already described above) as in **kutuma** [ɰutuma] ‘to send’

/s/ (as already described above) as in **kusuma** [ɰusuma] ‘to sew’

/d/ (as already described above) as in **kudula** [ɰudula] ‘to be expensive’

/t/ (as already described above) as in **kutula** [ɰutula] ‘to lay/put something down’

/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal, as in **ng’ombe** [ŋombe] ‘cow’

/g/ (as already described above) as in **gombe** [gombe] ‘a rather abnormally big cow’

/ɲ/ a voiced palatal nasal, as in **kuponya** [ɰupoɲa] ‘to cause to cure’

/n/ (as already described above) as in **kupona** [ɰupona] ‘to be cured or be well’

/tʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar affricate, as in **kuccisa** [ɰutʃisa] ‘to iron’

/ɰ/ a voiced lax postalveolar fricative, as in **kucisa** [ɰuɰisa] ‘to be painful’

/dʒ/ a voiced postalveolar affricate, as in **jamba** [dʒamba] ‘a hoe’

/ɰ/ (as already described above) as in **camba** [ɰamba] ‘a chest’

/f/ a voiceless labio-dental fricative, as in **kufumba** [kufumba] (VT), ‘to burrow/dig a hole in the ground’

/v/ a voiced labio-dental fricative, as in **kuvwumba** [kuvumba] (VT) ‘to cover’

/h/ a voiceless glottal fricative, as in **kufumba** [ɰuhumba] (PT) ‘burrow/dig a hole in the ground’

/ʔ/ a voiced glottal fricative, as in *kuvwumba* [ʔuʔumba] (PT) ‘to cover’

/k/ a voiceless velar plosive, as in *kukkala* [ʔukala] ‘to sit/stay/live’

/g/ as already described above, as in *kugala* [ʔugala] ‘to name or to identify something’

/w/ a voiced labio-velar approximant, as in *kuwa* [ʔuwa] ‘to fall

/β/ (as already described above) as in *kuβa* [ʔuβa] ‘to be’

/ʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar fricative, as in *kusyamba* [ʔuʃamba] ‘to pinch’

/j/ a voiced palatal approximant, as in *kuyamba* [ʔujamba] ‘to swim’

3.1.2 Tonga Vowel Phonemes

According to Matthews (1997) a vowel is a sound produced with open approximation and that characteristically forms the nucleus of a syllable, for example [a] in [pa] ‘give’ or [e] in [pe] ‘no’. Tonga has five distinct vowels phonemically. The table below presents the vowels in Tonga.

Table 4: Tonga Vowels

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low		a

The following minimal pairs show some of the words in which the vowels occur.

/a/ a low back vowel, as in *mata* [mata] ‘plaster’ (v)

/e/ a mid front vowel, as in *mate* [mate] ‘saliva’

/i/ a high front vowel, as in *kubila* [ʔuβila] ‘to boil’

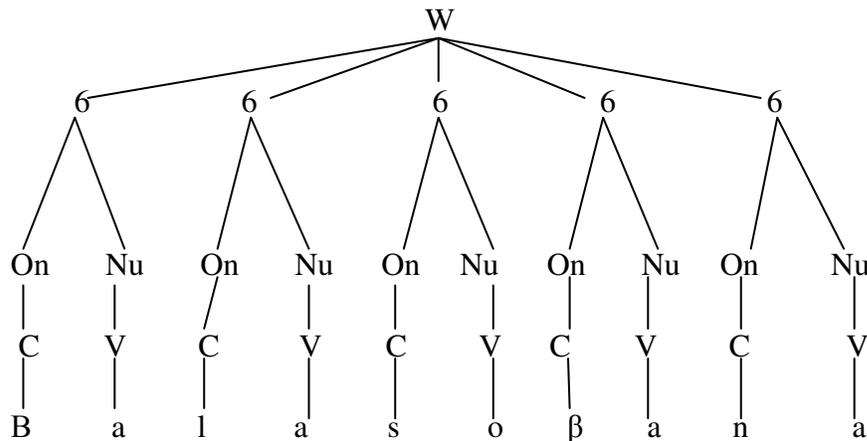
/o/ a mid back vowel, as in *kubola* [kʊβola] ‘to rot’

/u/ a high back vowel, as in *kubula* [kʊβula] ‘to lack/ to be short of’

3.1.3 Tonga Syllable Structure

A syllable is a phonological unit comprising a vowel or other unit that can be produced in isolation, either alone or accompanied by one or more less sonorous units (Matthews 1997). A syllable consists of a syllable nucleus, which is either a vowel or a syllabic consonant, an obligatory constituent in most languages. The nucleus is usually preceded by a phoneme or phonemes. This phoneme is known as the onset. The nucleus could then be followed by another sound unit called the coda. The nucleus and the coda are grouped together to form a sub-syllabic unit known as a rhyme. There are two types of syllables: open and closed syllables. Open or free syllables are those that are coda-less, that is, they end in a vowel. Conversely, closed syllables are those which have a coda, that is, they end in a consonant. Tonga belongs to Bantu languages that have no coda because the syllable structure in this language is basically open.

The syllable formula in phonotactics is described as follows: a word is made up of a certain number of syllables whose minimum is one. The syllable structure is: $6 \longrightarrow (On)+Nu+(cd)$. For instance, the word (W) *balasobana* (they are playing) can be divided into five syllables as shown in the tree diagram as below:



3.1.4 Tonga Suprasegmental Phonemes

Suprasegmental phonemes deal with sound features which extend over more than one segment. These sound features are tone, length, stress and intonation. This section briefly highlights two prosodic features found in Tonga. These are tone and length.

3.1.4.1 Tone

Tone is a phonetic or phonological unit which belongs to a set primarily distinguished by changes in pitch in order to distinguish lexical or grammatical meaning in a tonal language. A tonal language is one in which each syllable is characterized phonologically by a distinct tone or sequence of tones Matthews (1997:379). Tonga is a tonal language although in most written and printed texts the tones are not reflected. Tonga realises two basic tones, high (H) and low (L). High tone is marked with an acute accent (´) over tone-bearing elements which are vowels or syllabic consonants. Low tone is unmarked. High and low tones in Tonga can distinguish the meaning of two lexical items with the same spelling as illustrated below;

kùyáká ‘to build’

kuyaka ‘to burn in flames’

kùyándá ‘to spread’ (used of root spreading)

kuyanda ‘to like/love/want’

In Tonga, similarly, tone can distinguish the meaning of two grammatical items with identical words. This is illustrated in the following one-word clauses of ‘condition’ and ‘time’ respectively;

nòbàkàsikà ‘if they had arrived’

nóbákásíkà ‘when they arrived’

3.1.4.2 Length

In suprasegmental phonology, length is a feature of sounds that are relatively longer than other sounds. There are long vowels as well as long consonants, which are also known as geminates. In Tonga length concerns vowels. Vowel length is the perceived long duration of a vowel. Length in Tonga plays a significant role in distinguishing the lexical meaning of some words. The following words illustrate this:

kuyuna [□ujuna] ‘to appear for a short spell’

kuyuuna [□uju:na] ‘to shake softly from side to side’

bowa [βowa] (*collective.*) ‘mushrooms’

boowa [βo:wa] ‘cowardice’

kwamba [□wamba] ‘scratch (usually with nails/claws)’

kwaamba [□wa:mba] ‘to say/state’.

kubola [□uβola] ‘to rot’

kuboola [□uβo:la] ‘to come’.

3.2 Some Morphological Aspects of Tonga

This section presents some morphological aspects of Tonga. The section, like the phonology section, is not a detailed account of Tonga morphology. In this section, we only briefly discuss the structure of nouns and the verb in Tonga. The noun and the verb have been singled out because they are cardinal in the analysis of the results of the study with respect to the second objective of the study which is to point out morphological variations between VT and PT.

3.2.1 The Structure of the Noun in Tonga

A Tonga noun consists of two main components; a prefix and a stem as opposed to some Bantu languages such as Bemba, Rwanda and Nkore which usually have a vowel augment before the prefix. In the word forms *mubwa* ‘dog’, *babwa* ‘dogs’ *cibwa* ‘a fierce looking dog’ and *zyibwa* ‘fierce looking dogs’, the stem is **-bwa** and the prefixes are **mu-**, **ba-**, **ci-** and **zyi-**. The prefixes **mu-** and **ci-** show singularity whereas **ba-** and **zyi-** show plurality. It can therefore be concluded that the stem **-bwa** is the main element of the word form from which various word forms of the same kind are derived by the process of prefixation. The bi-morphemic structure of nouns in Tonga can be formalised as NOUN=PREFIX + STEM. However, we should hasten to mention that although the structure of the noun in Tonga is basically bi-morphemic, there are instances where an initial vowel (IV) is attached to the noun prefix. This IV is used as a determiner to express definiteness or emphasis. It is interesting to note that the IV is invariable regardless of any noun class. The IV is always **i-** as shown in the examples below:

imuntu /i-mu-ntu/ [imuntu] ‘the person’

ibabwa /i-ba-bwa/ [iβaβwa] ‘the dogs’

Tonga is characterized by an elaborate noun class system. We discuss this in the next section.

3.2.1.1 Noun Classes in Tonga

A noun class is a system in which a class to which a noun is assigned is reflected in the forms that are taken by other elements syntactically related to it (Matthews 1997:248). Tonga realizes 18 noun classes based on the prefixes they take and their semantic characteristics. The table below shows the nominal class prefixes in Tonga.

Table 5: Nominal Class Prefixes in Tonga

Class Number	Noun Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	mu-	mu-simbi [musimbi]	‘girl’
1a	∅-	taata [ta:ta]	‘father’ (n)
2	ba-	ba-simbi [βasimbi]	‘girls’
2a	ba-	ba-taata [βata:ta]	‘my father’
3	mu-	mu-longa [mulonga]	‘river’
4	mi-	mi-longa [milonga]	‘rivers’
5	li-	li-no [lino]	‘tooth’
6	ma-	meno [meno] (→ ma+ ino)	‘teeth’
7	ci-	ci-ntu [□intu]	‘thing’
8	zi	zi-ntu [zintu] (VT) and [ñintu] (PT)	‘things’
9	n-	n-kuku [ŋku□u]	‘chicken’
10	n-	n-kuku [ŋku□u]	‘chickens’
11	lu-	lu-yando [lujando]	‘love’
12	ka-	ka-bwa [□aβwa]	‘small dog’
13	tu-	tu-bwa [tuβwa]	‘small dogs’
14	bu-	bu-yoofwu [βujo:fu]	‘fear’
15	ku-	ku-yanda [□ujanda]	‘to like/love’
16	a-	a-mutwe [mutwe]	‘on the head’
17	ku-	ku-munzi [□umunzi]	‘at/to/the village’
18	mu-	mu-ciba [mu□iβa]	‘in the cattle kraal’

Like in most Bantu languages, noun classes in Tonga are generally paired into singular and plural categories based on their prefixes and semantic characteristics. The following are the pairs of nouns in Tonga.

Class 1 and Class 2: These are often called the ‘human classes’ because their membership consists almost entirely of nouns that denote human beings including the terms *mu-*

ntu/ba-ntu [muntu]/[βantu] for person/persons. In this pair, class 1 denotes nouns in singular form while class 2 denotes the plural form of the members. This pair also includes nouns that denote some animals, for example *mu-nyama/ba-nyama* [muɲama]/[βaɲama] ‘animal/animals’.

Class 1a and Class 2a: Class 1a is singular and class 2a is plural. This pair includes, among others, nouns that refer to animals and kinship, for example: *Ø-ciwena/ba-ciwena* [ɟiwena]/ [βaɟiwena] ‘crocodile/crocodiles’. Class 2a is also referred to as the honorific class, that is, the class is used to express respect for someone as in *Ø-taata/ba-taata* [ta:ta]/ [βata:ta] ‘father/my father’.

Class 3 and Class 4: Class 3 refers to singular members and class 4 is for members in the plural form. This pair contains, among others, most names of trees such as *mu-banga/mi-banga* [muβaŋga]/[miβaŋga] ‘mubanga tree/ mubanga trees’, and some body parts such as *asmu-twe/mi-twe* [mutwe]/[mitwe] ‘head/heads’.

Class 5 and Class 6: In this pair class 5 is singular and class 6 is plural. The pair includes, among others, names of objects that appear in pairs or collections in particular body parts, for example *li-no/me-no* [lino]/[meno] (→ ma+ino) ‘tooth/teeth’, and *li-so/me-so* [liso]/[meso] → (ma+iso) ‘eye/eyes’. In the plural class, the vowels [a] and [i] coalesce to form [e]. According to Matthews (1997), coalescence or fusion is a morphophonemic process by which separate units at one level of representation are realized by a form in which there is no corresponding boundary.

Class 7 and Class 8: Class 7 denotes members in the singular form and class 8 denotes members in the plural form. These classes are for miscellaneous terms such as *ci-indi/zi-indi* [tʃi:ndi]/[zi:ndi] (VT) [ɰi:ndi]/[ɰi:ndi] (PT) ‘time/times’ and *ci-kko/zi-kko* [tʃiko]/[ziko] (VT) [ɰiko]/[ɰiko] (PT) ‘fire place/fire places’. This is also a perjorative pair, that is, the classes are also used to refer to nouns that are perceived to be bad, ugly or big as in *ci-bwa* [ɰiβwa] ‘an ugly, fierce, and or big looking dog’ and *zibwa* [ɰiβwa] ‘ugly, fierce or big looking dogs’.

Class 9 and Class 10: This pair contains names that denote animals and birds such as *n-kuku/n-kuku* [ŋku□u]/[ŋku□u] ‘chicken/chickens’, and *m-pongo/mpongo* [mponɡo]/[mponɡo] ‘goat/goats’. In this pair, class 9 is singular and class 10 is plural.

Class 11: This class is for miscellaneous terms that denote nouns that are usually uncountable, for example *lu-yando* [lujando] ‘love’ (n) and *lu-suko* [lusu□o] ‘dust’.

Class 12 and Class 13: In this pair, class 12 refers to members that are singular and class 13 denotes members in plural form. The pair is for names that denote small things. The classes are either diminutive or eulogistic, for instance *ka-sankwa/tu-sankwa* [□asaŋkwa]/[tusaŋkwa] ‘little boy/little boys’ and *ka-samu/tu-samu* [□asamu]/[tusamu] ‘a small stick/small sticks’.

Class 14 and Class 6: The pair is for collectives or abstract nouns, for example *bu-umi/ma-umi* [βu:mi]/[maumi] ‘life/lives’, *bu-lowa/ma-lowa* [βulowa]/[malowa] ‘blood/pools of blood’. Class 14 is the singular class and class 6 is the plural class.

Class 15 and Class 6: These classes are used to denote some body parts that are usually in pairs, for example *ku-boko/ma-boko* [□uβo□o]/[maβo□o] ‘arm/arms’, *ku-ulu/ma-ulu* [□u:lu]/[maulu] ‘leg/legs’. Class 15 represents the singular nouns and class 6 represents the plural nouns. Class 15 is also used for all verb infinitives such as *ku-yanda* [□ujanda] ‘to like/love’, *ku-nywa* [□uŋwa] ‘to drink’. When class 15 is used for a verb infinitive, it has no plural form in class 6.

Classes 16, 17 and 18 are locative classes, for example:

Class 16: *a-tala* [atala] ‘on top’, *a-kati* [a□ati] ‘in between or in the middle’

Class 17: *ku-munzi* [□umunzi] ‘at/to the village’, *ku-Mazabuka* [□umazaβu□a] ‘to/in Mazabuka’.

Class 18: *mu-cisi* [muɟisi] ‘in the country’, *mu-ng’anda* [muŋanda] ‘in the house’.

3.2.2 The Structure of the Verb in Tonga

Verbs in Tonga illustrate the typical Bantu language structure of affixes attached to a lexical core called a radical or a root. According to Lisimba (1982:147), a radical is “the core of the verb which is responsible for conveying the basic meaning of the verbal unit.” Tonga verbal morphology is agglutinative in nature. Agglutination is a process by which words are easily divided into separate morphemes or segments with separate grammatical functions (Matthews 1997). In agglutinative languages such as Bantu languages, words are made of different morphemes strung together. A Tonga verb can consist of one word comprising different types of morphemes or affixes such as preprefix, prefix, post prefix, tense sign, object marker, radical, extension, pre-ending, ending and post ending. The following is a typical one word verbal form in Tonga: **tibakamubelekela** [tiβa□amuβele□ela] [they did not work for him/her]. This verbal form consists of the following morphemes;

- ti-** preprefix denoting negation
- ba-** subject prefix of class 2 ‘they’
- ka-** tense marker
- mu-** object marker ‘him/her’
- belek-** radical/root ‘work’
- el-** applied extension denoting action done for/on behalf of
- a** final vowel

From the example above, we observe that the nucleus of the verbal morphology in Tonga is the verb root or radical to which affixes with different grammatical functions are attached. It is also observed that when a verb appears in a sentence, the radical is usually prefixed with the subject or object marker and tense marker. Having provided an example of a typical verbal form in Tonga, we now briefly discuss some verbal extensions in Tonga.

3.2.2.1 Verb Extensions

In Bantu languages, a verbal form may show additions of other elements or morphemes to the root to modify the meaning. These additions are known as verbal extensions (Nkolola1997). Some of the verb extensions in Tonga are as follows:

(a) Applied Extension

The applied verbal extension denotes the meaning of an action being done for or on behalf of someone or something. The morphemes for applied extension in Tonga are **-il-**, **-el-** and **-in-** or **-en-** (Nkolola 1997). We show the morphemes in the examples below;

(i) ku-sal-a [□usala] ‘to choose’

ku-sal-**il**-a [□usalila] ‘to choose for’

(ii) ku-belek-a [□uβele□a] ‘to work’

ku-belek-**el**-a [□uβele□ela] ‘to work for/work on behalf of’

(iii) ku-lim-a [□ulima] ‘to cultivate’

ku-lim-**in**-a [□ulimina] ‘to cultivate for’

(iv) ku-bona [□uβona] ‘to see’

ku-bon-**en**-a [□uβonena] ‘to see for’

(b) Causative Extension

This verbal extension denotes the meaning of ‘to cause someone or something to do something’. The morpheme for the causative verb extension is the vowel **-i-** which glides to **-y-** before the final vowel (Nkolola 1997). We illustrate this below:

(i) ku-lemb-a [□ulemba] ‘to write’

ku-lemb-**i**-a (kulembya) [□ulembja] ‘to cause to write’

(ii) ku-um-a [□u:ma] ‘to beat’

ku-um-**i**-a (kuumya) [□u:mja] ‘to cause to beat’

For other shapes of the causative extension, refer to Nkolola (1997).

(c) **Passive Extension**

The passive verbal extension denotes an action done to someone by someone/something. The morpheme for this verb extension in Tonga is the vowel **-u-** which undergoes semivocalisation/gliding to become **-w-** before the final vowel (Nkolola 1997). The extension is illustrated below:

(i) ku-um-a [□u:ma] ‘to beat’

ku-um-**u**-a (kuumwa) [□u:mwa] ‘to be beaten’

(ii) ku-jik-a [□udʒi□a] ‘to cook’

ku-jik-**u**-a (kujikwa) [□udʒi□wa] ‘to be cooked’

Check Nkolola (1997) for other forms of the passive such as the **-igu-**.

(d) **Reversive Active Extension**

This is when the action denoted by the verb is neutralized or reversed by somebody or something. In Tonga, the morpheme for this type of verb extension is **-ulul-** or **-unun-**. The following words illustrate this type of verb extension;

(i) ku-vung-a [□uvuŋga] ‘to fold something’

ku-vung-**ulul**-a [□uvuŋgulula] ‘to unfold something’

(ii) ku-sam-a [□usama] ‘to dress/ wear/ put on’

ku-sam-**unun**-a [□usamununa] ‘to undress/ take off a piece of clothing’

(e) **Reversive Stative Extension**

In this type of verb extension, the action denoted by the verb takes place by itself, that is, there may be no agent involved in the action. In the reversive stative, the verb does not have a direct object. We illustrate it below:

(i) ku-ang-a (kwaanga) [□wa:ŋga] ‘to tie’

ku-ang-**unuk**-a (kwaangunuka) [□wa:ŋgunu□a] ‘to become untied’

(ii) ku-pomp-a [□upompa] ‘to inflate’

ku-pomp-**uluk**-a (kupompoloka) [□upompolo□a] ‘to become deflated’

(f) **Reciprocal Extension**

In this type of verbal extension, the action denoted by the verb is done to each other. It is one of the most frequent verbal extensions in Tonga. The morpheme for the extension is **-an-**. The extension is illustrated below:

(i) ku-bon-a [□uβona] ‘to see’

ku-bon-**an**-a [□uβonana] ‘to see each other’

(ii) ku-súl-á [kusúlá] ‘to hate’ (VT)

ku-súl-**án**-a [kusúlána] ‘to hate each other’ (VT)

We tone marked this particular VT item because the unmarked form of the word has another meaning of ‘to fart’.

(iii) ku-yand-a [□ujanda] ‘to love/like’

ku-yand-**an**-a [□ujandana] ‘to love/like each other’

(g) **Intensive Extension**

In the intensive verb extension, the action denoted by the verb is expressed with intensity and quickness. The morpheme **-isy-** is used to form the verbal extension. For example;

(i) wakaseka (u-aka-sek-a) [waʔaseʔa] ‘s/he laughed’

wakasekesya (u-aka-sek-isy-a) [waʔaseʔesja] ‘s/he laughed very much’

(ii) ku-end-a (kweenda) [ʔwe:nda] ‘to walk’

ku-end-isy-a (kweendesya) [ʔwe:ndesja] ‘to walk very quickly’

(h) Repetitive Extension

The repetitive verb extension denotes an action that is done over and over again. In this type, the verb root or radical is extended by reduplication. Reduplication is a morphological process by which the root or stem of a word or part of it is repeated. The following examples illustrate this type of extension.

(i) ku-lil-a [ʔulila] ‘to cry’

ku-lil-alil-a [ʔulilalila] ‘to cry often’

(ii) ku-bona [ʔuβona] ‘to see’

ku-bon-an-**abon**-an-a [ʔuβonanaβonana] ‘to see each other frequently’

The above are some of the verbal extensions in Tonga. For a comprehensive analysis of the applied, causative, and passive verb extension, refer to Nkolola (1997).

3.3 Some Syntactic Aspects of Tonga

This section of Chapter Three deals with the basic syntactic structure of Tonga. Like the foregoing sections, this section is not an exegesis of the syntax of the language under study. It is rather a brief account of the general syntax of Tonga vis-à-vis the basic word order.

Syntax is the study of how words and morphemes combine to form larger units. It is concerned with how words and morphemes are placed in a linear order, how they group into larger and patterned units to form phrases and clauses. Syntax is also concerned with how phrases and clauses relate to one another in order to form hierarchical structures within structures (Nurse and Hinesbusch 1993). With respect to linear order, all

languages have more than one way of ordering their syntactic units. They have a basic word order serving as the most common way of expressing or asserting a proposition or an idea (Nurse and Hinesbusch 1993). Tonga, like its language phylum members, has the following basic word order for its simple statement or declarative sentences: subject (S), verb (V) and object (O) (SVO) and subject (S), verb (V) and complement (C) (SVC). The following sentences illustrate the basic word order in Tonga:

1. Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobile
 S V O

[lit: Chimuka- he-stole- sheep -two]

‘Chimuka stole two sheep’

2. ooyu mukuli ulalema kapati
 S V C

[lit: this-load-it-is-heavy-very]

‘This load is very heavy’

The above examples illustrate that the basic word order in Tonga is subject, verb and object (SVO) and subject, verb and complement (SVC). In addition to the basic word order that has been outlined, there are other less common word orders that obtain in Tonga. These additional word orders are as a result of topicalization. Topicalization refers to the process of forming a derived construction in which one element is a topic (Matthews 1997). Topicalization involves indicating what the sentence is about, placing the emphasis on a particular section of the sentence. Other factors that call for other word orders include specialized functions such as forming negative sentences and asking questions (Nurse and Hinesbusch 1993). In Tonga, the following word orders are possible depending on how a speaker packages the semantic information associated with

the sentence: OSV, OVS, SOV, VOS and VS. Each word order is exemplified in the sentences below.

3. Mbelele zyobilo Chimuka wakabba

 | | |
 O S V

[lit: sheep-two-Chimuka-he-stole]

‘Chimuka stole two sheep’

4. Mbelele zyobilo wakabba Chimuka

 | | |
 O V S

[lit: sheep-two-he-stole-Chimuka]

‘Chimuka stole two sheep’

5. Chimuka, mbelele zyobilo wakabba

 | | |
 S O V

[lit: Chimuka-sheep-two-he-stole]

‘Chimuka stole two sheep’

6. wakabba mbelele zyobilo Chimuka

 | | |
 V O S

[lit: he-stole-sheep-two-Chimuka]

‘Chimuka stole two sheep’

7. ulalema mukuli ooyu

 | |
 V S

[lit: it-is-heavy-load-this]

‘This load is heavy’

In negatives, the basic word order of SVO does not change except that a sentence will be marked by the negative verbal morpheme **ta-** and the particle **pe** which occurs in sentence final position. The negative particle could still be omitted without losing the meaning of the sentence. The basic word order for simple negation in Tonga is S Neg+SM+V O Neg (Subject Negative+Subject Marker+Verb Object Negative). We enclose the particle **pe** in brackets to show that it can be an optional element. We illustrate the simple negation in the following sentence:

8. banene ta-ba-fwebi-tombwe (pe)
| | | | | |
S Neg SM V O Neg

[lit: my grandmother-she-do-not-smoke tobacco-no]

‘My grandmother does not smoke tobacco’

9. mukuli ooyu-ta-u-lemi-pe
| | | | |
S NegSM V Neg

[lit: load-this-it-is-not-heavy-no]

‘This load is not heavy’

In interrogatives, the word order does not change except that a sentence will be marked by interrogative particles. These question markers occupy sentence initial or sentence final position or both. The following sentences illustrate this;

10 sena Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobile
| | | |
Q S V O

[lit: did-Chimuka-he-stole-sheep-two]

‘Did Chimuka steal two sheep?’

11. Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobilo **sena**
 | | | |
 S V O Q

[lit: Chimuka-he-stole-sheep-two-did he]

‘Did Chimuka steal two sheep?’

12. Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobilo **na**
 | | | |
 S V O Q

[lit: Chimuka-he-stole-sheep-two-did -he]

‘Did Chimuka steal two sheep?’

13. **sena** Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobilo **na**
 | | | | |
 Q S V O Q

[lit: did-Chimuka-he-stole-sheep-two-did-he]

‘Did Chimuka steal two sheep?’

In imperatives, where the subject of the verb is not overtly shown, the same basic word order is realised. In the following sentence, the empty brackets are for the subject which is not overtly marked but is understood.

14. () utainki kucikolo sunu
 | | | |
 S V A A

[lit: you-not-go-to-school-today]

‘Don’t go to school today’

3.4 Summary

This chapter has outlined the fundamentals of the linguistic structure of Tonga. It has focused its attention on three levels of linguistic analysis which are phonology, morphology and syntax. Under phonology, the chapter has briefly discussed the consonants, semi vowels, vowels, syllable structure and tone and length. In terms of morphology, the chapter has briefly outlined the structure of the noun and the verb. Under the syntactic level of analysis, the concept of basic word order in Tonga has been discussed. The next chapter is dedicated to the discussion and interpretation of the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

In Chapter Three, a brief linguistic account of Tonga has been given. It is against this background that this chapter analyses and interprets the findings of the study. The chapter analyses and interprets the findings in line with the objectives of the study by focusing on each level of linguistic analysis highlighted in Chapter Three. These levels of linguistic analysis are phonology, morphology and syntax. The lexical level follows thereafter. The chapter takes into account all the dialects under investigation, that is, VT and PT dialects of Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo. The chapter highlights some linguistic variations and similarities that are in the dialects. The chapter presents the analysis and the interpretation of the findings based on the word list and the sentences that were used to collect data (refer to appendices A-F).

4.1 Phonological Level

4.1.0 Introduction

As pointed out in Chapter One, phonology deals with speech sounds and patterns that are displayed by natural languages. This section attempts to address the first objective of the study which is to identify phonetic and phonological variations between VT and PT. The section presents a descriptive analysis of the phonetic variations and similarities between VT and PT only with respect to the sound systems manifested in the dialects. Hence it is not the intention of this study to delve into all the areas of phonological analysis. This, therefore, means that we only discuss the phonetic variations and similarities between the dialects.

4.1.1 Vowels

From the investigation, it has been noted that both VT and PT have the same inventory of vowels. These are the five vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/. We illustrate these vowels in minimal pairs as follows:

[i] is a high front vowel, as in kulila[□ulila] ‘to cry’

[e] is a mid front vowel, as in kulela[□ulela] ‘to nurse or to rule’

[a] is a low back vowel, as in kulanga [□ulaŋga] ‘to look’

[o] is a mid back vowel, as in kulonga [□uloŋga] ‘to relocate’

[u] is a high back vowel, as in kuluma [□uluma] ‘to bite’ contrasted, for instance, with kuloma [□uloma] ‘to be humble’. Hence our investigation has revealed that the two dialects do not manifest any differences with respect to their vowel systems.

4.1.2 Consonants and Semi-vowels

With regard to semi-vowels, the study has revealed that both VT and PT manifest the same semi-vowels which are the palatal approximant [j] and the labio-velar approximant [w]. However, the study has revealed that some consonants that are found in VT are not found in PT and vice versa. The VT and PT phonemic charts below show that there are phonemes that the two dialects do not share. The study has observed that VT has the following phonemes.

Table 6: Phonemic Chart of the Consonants and Semi-vowels in Valley Tonga

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	Post alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
plosive	p b		t d			k g	
nasal		m		n			ŋ
fricative	β	f v	s z	ʃ			
affricate				tʃ dʒ			
lateral				l			
approximant					j		w

The following are some of the minimal pairs in which the VT phonemes occur.

/p/ a voiceless bilabial plosive, as in **kupa** [kupa] ‘to give’/

/b/ a voiced bilabial plosive, as in **kubba** [kuba] ‘to steal’

/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal, as in **muzolwani** [muzolwani] ‘friend’

/β/ a voiced bilabial fricative, as in **buzolwani** [βuzolwani] ‘friendship’

/f/ a voiceless labio-dental fricative, as in **kufwumba** [kufumba] ‘to make a hole in the ground’

/v/ a voiced labio-dental fricative, as in **kuvwumba** [kuvumba] ‘to thatch/to cover’

/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral, as in **kuluba** [kuluβa] ‘to forget’

/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive, as in **kutuba** [kutuβa] ‘to be white’

/d/ a voiced alveolar plosive, as in **kudeluka** [kudeluka] ‘to be torn’

/s/ a voiceless alveolar fricative, as in **kuseluka** [kuseluka] ‘to go down/disembark’

/tʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar affricate, as in **cipanga** [tʃipaŋga] ‘knife’ (n)

/z/ a voiced alveolar fricative, as in **zipanga** [zipaŋga] ‘knives’

/dʒ/ a voiced postalveolar affricate, as in **kujaya** [kudʒaja] ‘to kill’

/g/ a voiced velar plosive, as in **kugaya** [kugaja] ‘to grind’

/k/ a voiceless velar plosive, as in **kama** [kama] ‘milk’ (v)

/ŋ/ a voiced palatal nasal, as in **nyama** [ŋama] ‘meat’

/j/ a voiced palatal approximant, as in **kuyamba** [kujamba] ‘to swim’

/s/ (as already described above) as in **kusamba** [kusamba] ‘to bathe’

/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal, as in **ng’ombe** [ŋombe] ‘cattle’

/t/ (as already described above) as in **tombe** [tombe] ‘dirt’

/w/ a voiced labio-velar approximant, as in **awo** [awo] ‘there’

/n/ a voiced alveolar nasal, as in **ano** [ano] ‘here’

/ʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar fricative, as in **kusyamba** [kuʃamba] ‘to pinch’

/t/ (as already described above) as in **kutamba** [kutamba] ‘to invite’

The above are the consonantal phonemes and semi-vowels that are found in VT. The following table shows the consonants and semi-vowels that are found in PT.

Table 7: Phonemic Chart of the Consonants and Semi-vowels in Plateau Tonga

	bilabial		alveolar		post alveolar	palatal	velar	labio- velar	glottal
plosive	p	b	t	d			k	g	
nasal		m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
fricative		β	s	z	ʃ ʂ		χ		h ʕ
affricate					tʃ dʒ				
lateral				l					
approximant						j		w	

The following are some of the minimal pairs in which PT phonemes occur:

/p/ a voiceless bilabial plosive, as in **kupima** [χupima] ‘to examine’ (e.g. a patient)

/z/ a voiced alveolar fricative, as in **kuzima** [χuzima] ‘to extinguish a fire’

/b/ a voiced bilabial plosive, as in **kubba** [χuba] ‘to steal’

/β/ a voiced bilabial fricative, as in **kuba** [χuβa] ‘to become/to be’

/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal, as in kusama [□usama] ‘to dress/wear’

/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral, as in kusala [□usala] ‘to choose/elect’

/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive, as in kutula [□utula] ‘to lay/put something down’

/d/ a voiced alveolar plosive, as in kudula [□udula] ‘to be expensive’

/n/ a voiced alveolar nasal, as in kunona [□unona] ‘to be sweet’

/ɲ/ a voiced palatal nasal, as in kunyona [□uɲona] ‘to make/negotiate a corner’

/j/ a voiced palatal approximant, as in kuyuba [□ujuβa] (intransitive verb) ‘to hide’

/s/ a voiceless alveolar fricative, as in kusuba [□usuβa] ‘to urinate’

/h/ a voiceless glottal fricative, as in kufwumba [□uhumba] ‘to dig a hole in the ground’

/□/ a voiced glottal fricative, as in kuvwumba [□u□umba] ‘to thatch/cover’

/k/ a voiceless velar plosive, as in **kk**ala [kala] ‘sit/stay/live’

/□/ a voiced velar fricative, as in **k**ala [□ala] ‘a small intestine’

/g/ a voiced velar plosive, as in kugonka [□ugonka] ‘to cut’

/t/ (as already described above) as in kutonka [□utonka] ‘to push’

/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal, as in **ng**’ombe [ŋombe] ‘cattle’

/t/ (as already described above) as in tombe [tombe] ‘dirt’

/tʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar affricate, as in **cc**ita [□ita] ‘I don’t know’

/j/ a voiced lax postalveolar fricative, as in cita [□ita] (v) ‘do’

/□/ a voiced postalveolar affricate, as in **j**amba [□amba] ‘a hoe’

/t/ (as already described above) as in **t**amba [tamba] ‘invite’

/w/ a voiced labio-velar approximant, as in *kuweza* [□uweza] ‘to hunt’

/β/ (as already described above) as in *kubeza* [□uβeza] ‘to carve’.

From the two phonemic charts presented above, we observe that both VT and PT share the following phonemes: /p/, /b/, /m/, /β/, /t/, /d/, /n/, /l/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ŋ/, /j/, /ŋ/, /k/, /g/ and /w/. However, it is observed that VT does not have the glottal fricatives and that PT does not have labio-dental fricatives. The study has revealed that in VT what are realized as labio-dental fricatives [f] and [v] as in *kufwa* [kufwa] ‘to die’ and *kuvumba* [kuvumba] ‘to cover/thatch’ are manifested as glottal fricatives [h] and [□] in PT, as in *kufwa* [□uhwa] ‘to die’ and *kuvumba* [□u□umba] ‘to cover/thatch’. From the PT phonemic chart we observe that PT has a voiced lax postalveolar fricative [j] and a voiced velar fricative [□], which are not found in VT. These are manifested as [tʃ] and [k] in VT respectively. This is illustrated in the following examples:

Buci [βuji] ‘honey’ in PT is manifested as [βutʃi] in VT.

Kama [□ama] ‘milk’ (v) in PT is manifested as [kama] in VT.

At this point it is worth mentioning that in terms of spelling, PT uses the VT spelling. The VT spelling is, to some extent, considered the standard written form of Tonga and the PT pronunciation may be regarded as the standard spoken form of Tonga.

4.1.3 Phonetic Variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga

In discussing the phonetic differences between VT and PT, we begin by outlining the phonemes that are involved. The following phonemes are involved: [f], [v], [h], [□], [□], [s], [z], [k], [□], [□] and [□]. To some extent the phonetic differences between VT and PT could be explained in the context of some phonological rules. These include glottalisation, fricativisation, lateralization and coalescence. We use the concept of phonological rules loosely in our study and analysis. What this means therefore is that by the use of these phonological rules we are not claiming that any of the phonemes in the dialects are derived from the other. We have used the label of phonological rules as a tool

for categorizing the phonetic variations between the dialects under study by implication. As per the approach adopted for this study, that is, descriptive linguistics, we do not make any claim as to which dialect comes from the other. We merely discuss these and provide instances of words where they are manifested.

The study has observed that glottalisation affects the following phonemes: [f], [v], [ɸ], [s] and [z]. The study has revealed that what is realized as a labio-dental fricative [f] in VT is manifested as a glottal fricative [h] in PT. We can formalize a phonological rule to show the glottalisation as follows: [f] → [h]. The following table shows the phonetic difference between VT and PT involving the voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] and the voiceless glottal fricative [h].

Table 8: Phonetic Differences Involving [f] and [h]

Gloss	VT Pronunciation	PT Pronunciation
die (v)	[fwa]	[hwa]
bone (n)	[fuwa]	[huwa]
cow dung (n)	[mafumba]	[mahumba]
fat (n)	[mafuta]	[mahuta]
blind person	[mo:fu]	[mo:hu]

From the table above, it is observed that the labio-dental fricative [f] is glottalized in PT to be manifested as a voiceless glottal fricative [h].

The study has observed that what is realized as a voiced labio-dental [v] in VT is manifested as a voiced glottal fricative [ɸ] in PT. Thus [v] → [ɸ]. The following table shows the phonetic difference between VT and PT involving the voiced labio-dental fricative [v] and the voiced glottal fricative [ɸ].

Table 9: Phonetic Differences between [v] and [ɸ]

Gloss	VT Pronunciation	PT Pronunciation
elephant	[zovu]	[zoɸu]
hear (v)	[mvwa]	[ɸwa]
uncover (v)	[vumbula]	[ɸumbula]
thatch (v)	[vumba]	[ɸumba]

From the data presented in the table above, we observe that the labio-dental fricative [v] is glottalized in PT to manifest a voiced glottal fricative [ɸ].

The study has also revealed that what is realized as a voiceless postalveolar fricative [ɸ] in VT is manifested as a voiceless glottal fricative [h] in PT. We formulate the following phonological rule to illustrate the change as [ɸ] → [h]. The resultant glottal fricative is followed by a semi-vowel. We can represent this semi-vowel insertion using the following phonological rule $\emptyset \rightarrow [j]/h-$. The examples in the table below illustrate this phoneme difference between VT and PT.

Table 10: Phonetic Differences Involving [ɸ] and [h]

Gloss	VT Pronunciation	PT Pronunciation
small	[ɸo:nto]	[hjo:nto]
lion	[ɸu:mbwa]	[hju:mbwa]
dig (v)	[ɸa]	[hja]
bush	[ɸokwe]	[hjoɸwe]

From the table above, we observe that the voiceless postalveolar fricative manifests as a voiceless glottal fricative in PT. This is particularly the case for the Mazabuka and Monze dialects of PT. However, the Choma and Kalomo dialects use the VT phoneme [ɸ]. Thus in Choma and Kalomo dialects [hjo:nto] ‘small’ will be pronounced as

[o:nto], [hju:mbwa] ‘lion’ will be pronounced as [u:mbwa], [hja] ‘dig’ will be manifested as [a], and [hjo we] ‘bush’ will be realised as [o we] in most cases.

The study has also revealed that the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] is manifested as a voiceless glottal fricative in word initial position for some names of people in PT. Therefore we can formalize a phonological rule which illustrates this difference as follows [s] → [h]. The table below shows some of the names of people in which the alveolar fricative [s] is manifested as a glottal fricative [h] in PT.

Table 11: Phonetic Differences Involving [s] and [h]

Gloss	Tonga name	VT Pronunciation	PT Pronunciation
name of person	Sibajene	[siβa ene]	[hiβa ene]
name of person	Simoonga	[simo:ŋga]	[himo:ŋga]
name of person	Simuyaba	[simuyaβa]	[himujaβa]
name of person	Seejani	[se: ani]	[he: ani]
name of person	Siakawwipa	[sjakawwipa]	[ha: a wipa]
name of person	Sichilema	[sitfilema]	[hi ilema]
name of person	Siantobolo	[sjantobolo]	[ha:ntobolo]

From the table above, we observe that the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] is glottalized to manifest a voiceless glottal fricative [h] in PT pronunciation.

Our study further revealed that the voiced alveolar fricative [z] is manifested as a voiced glottal fricative [ʔ] in PT. Thus [z] → [ʔ]. However, this does not apply in all environments. There are environments in which the voiced alveolar fricative is maintained. From the pronunciations presented in the table below, we present this phonetic difference between VT and PT.

Table 12: Phonetic Differences Involving [z] and [ʔ]

Gloss	VT Pronunciation	PT Pronunciation
give birth	[zjala]	[ʔjala]
those	[e:zjo]	[e:ʔjo]
things	[zintu]	[ʔintu]
to know	[kuziβa]	[ʔuʔiβa]

From the table above we observe that in PT the alveolar fricative /z/ is glottalized to manifest the glottal fricative [ʔ].

Our study has also revealed instances of fricativisation between VT and PT. Fricativisation affects the following phonemes: [k], [ʔ], [tʃ] and [ɟ]. We have observed that what manifests as a voiceless velar plosive [k] in VT is manifested as a voiced velar fricative [ʔ] in PT generally. The fricativisation is represented by the following phonological rule [k] → [ʔ]. The table below shows how the phoneme /k/ was pronounced as [k] by VT native speakers and as [ʔ] by PT native speakers.

Table 13: Phonetic Differences Involving [k] and [ʔ]

Gloss	VT Pronunciation	PT Pronunciation
milk (v)	[kama]	[ʔama]
ear (n)	[kutwi]	[ʔutwi]
wake up (v)	[βuka]	[βuʔa]
bee (n)	[nzuki]	[nzuʔi]

From the table above we observe that the voiceless velar plosive undergoes lenition or weakening known as spirantization or stop fricativisation. However, the phoneme /k/ is

still realised as [k] in PT in certain words such as *kkala* [k^hala] ‘sit’, *cikko* [jiko] ‘fireplace’. It is also realised as /k/ after the nasal [n] in words such as *nkolo* [ŋkolo] ‘breast(s)’, *nkasaalo* [ŋkasa:lo] ‘sweat (n)’

In VT, what is manifested as a voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] is manifested as a voiced lax postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in PT generally. The phonological rule for this difference is formalized as [tʃ] → [ʃ]. In the table below, the study shows how some of the words from the word list were differently pronounced along these lines by VT and PT speakers.

Table 14: Phonetic Differences Involving [tʃ] and [ʃ]

Gloss	VT Pronunciation	PT Pronunciation
honey (n)	[βutʃi]	[βuʃi]
time (n)	[tʃi:ndi]	[ʃi:ndi]
fire place (n)	[tʃiko]	[ʃiko]
this	[e:tʃi]	[e:ʃi]

From the data presented in the table above, we observe that what manifests as a voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] in VT is manifested as a voiced lax postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in PT. However, the study observed that for a certain number of words in PT, the phoneme /tʃ/ is still realised as [tʃ]. These include words such as *ccita* [tʃita] [I don’t know], *ccisa* [tʃisa] ‘iron’ (v). The phoneme is also realised as [tʃ] when it occurs after the nasal /n/ in words such as *ncibotu* [ntʃiβotu] [it’s good/nice], [intʃili] ‘a mortar’, [ntʃiŋga] ‘bicycle’.

4.1.4 Phonetic Variations between Plateau Tonga Dialects

The study has also revealed that there are some phonetic variations between the PT dialects that were considered in the study. The table below provides some words in which these phonetic variations between the PT dialects are manifested.

Table: 15 Some Phonetic Variations between Plateau Tonga Dialects.

Gloss	Maz. Pronunciation	Monz. Pronunciation	Chm. Pronunciation	Klm. Pronunciation
armpit (n)	[ŋkwa:pa]	[ŋkwa]	[ŋkwa]	[ŋkwa]
now	[ino]	[ono]	[eno]	[eno]
salt (n)	[muŋo]	[mwino]	[muŋo]	[muŋo]
short	[hwa:hwi]	[hwi:hwi]	[hwa:hwi]	[hwa:hwi]
tear (v)	[zaula]	[zapula]	[zapula]	[zapula]
watch (v)	[eβelela]	[eβeleŋja]	[eβela]	[eβela]
knee (n)	[go:ŋko]	[gondo]	[gondo]	[zwi]
you	[jeβo]	[weβo]	[jeβo]	[jeβo]
brain	[βoŋgo]	[βoŋgo]	[βo:ŋgo]	[βo:ŋgo]
star (n)	[ŋeŋezi]	[ŋeŋezi]	[ŋeŋe:zi]	[ŋeŋe:zi]
mud	[maŋkanda]	[maŋkandja]	[maŋkandja]	[maŋkandja]
cross over	[zaβu□a]	[zaβu□a]	[zuβu□a]	[zuβu□a]
eye (n)	[liso]	[liso]	[linhjo]	[linhjo]
sand (n)	[muse:ŋga]	[muse:ŋga]	[mseŋga]	[museŋga]
day after tomorrow	[zona]	[zona]	[hjana]	[hjana]
split (v)	[pandula]	[pandula]	[andula]	[andula]
bad	[βi]	[βi]	[bi]	[bi]
hair	[susu]	[susu]	[ʃuʃu]	[ʃuʃu]
tears (n)	[misozi]	[misozi]	[mihjofhi]	[mihjofhi]
moon	[mwezi]	[mwezi]	[mwe:zi]	[mwe:zi]
grass	[βwizu]	[βwizu]	[βuŋju]	[βuŋju]

Our study revealed that there are some phonological rules that are involved in the phonetic variations between the PT dialects. These phonological rules include insertion or

addition rules, deletion rules, semivocalization or gliding, vowel lengthening and vowel raising. We discuss these rules based on the data presented in the table above.

From the data above we observe, for instance, that in the word *-no* ‘now’ the Mazabuka variety prothetically inserts the high front vowel /i/ to realize *ino* [ino]. The Monze dialect inserts the mid back vowel [o] before the alveolar nasal to realize *ono* [ono] whereas the Choma and Kalomo dialects prothetically insert the mid front vowel /e/ to realize *eno* [eno]. In the word *andula* ‘split’ (v), the Mazabuka and Monze dialects prothetically insert the voiceless bilabial plosive [p] to realize *pandula* [pandula]. In phonology, Prothesis refers to the insertion of a segment word-initially (Matthews 1997).

From the same data in the table above, it is observed, for instance, that in the word *nkwa* [ŋkwa] ‘armpit’ the Mazabuka form manifests an epenthetic insertion of a voiceless bilabial plosive [p] before the low back vowel [a] to realise *nkwaapa* [ŋkwa:pa]. The word *liso* ‘eye (n)’ in the Choma and Kalomo dialects is phonologically manifested as [lihjo]. The Choma and Kalomo dialects have added some segments to the word. The form that is realized after the epenthetic insertions is *lisyo*. When this is achieved, the alveolar fricative [s] is manifested as [h] before the palatal approximant [j] and the mid back vowel [o]. The word *zona* ‘day after tomorrow’ is phonologically manifested as [ɸjona] in the Choma and kalomo dialects. The phonological processes involved to realize [ɸjona] are the glottalization of the alveolar fricative [z] to realize the glottal fricative [ɸ] and the epenthetic insertion of [j] before the mid back vowel [o]. In phonology, epenthesis is the addition or insertion of a segment word-medially or inside a word (Matthews 1997).

In the word *zapula* [zapula] ‘to tear’ the Mazabuka form syncopically deletes the voiceless bilabial plosive [p] to manifest [zaula]. Thus [p] → [∅] / — [u] in this environment. For the word *ebelezya* [eβeleɸja] ‘watch’ (v), the Choma and Kalomo dialects syncopically delete the mid front vowel [e], the glottal fricative [ɸ] and the palatal approximant [j] after the lateral [l] to be manifested as *ebela* [eβela]. In the word *mankandya* ‘mud’, the Mazabuka dialect applies a syncopic elision of the palatal

approximant [j] before the final vowel [a] to be manifested as *mankanda* [maŋkanda]. In phonology, syncope refers to the deletion or elision of a segment word-medially (Matthews 1997).

In the word *munyo* (→ mu+ino) [muŋo] ‘salt’, the Monze dialect glides the high back vowel [u] to be manifested as a semi-vowel [w] before the high front vowel [i] and manifests the palatal nasal [ɲ] as an alveolar nasal [n] to realize *mwino* [mwino].

The word *bongo* ‘brain’ in Choma dialect is pronounced as [βo:ŋgo]. Thus, the first mid back vowel [o] is lengthened before the velar nasal [ŋ] to realize [o:]. The word *nyenyezi* (n) ‘star’ also experiences vowel lengthening in the Choma and Kalomo dialects where the second mid front vowel [e] after the first palatal nasal [ɲ] becomes relatively longer than the mid front vowel in the Mazabuka and Monze varieties. Equally, for the word *musenga* (n) ‘sand’, the Mazabuka and Monze dialects lengthen the mid front vowel [e] between [s] and [ŋ] to be manifested as [muse:ŋga]. In *zabuka* ‘cross over (a river)’, the Choma and Kalomo dialects use the high back vowel [u] after the alveolar fricative [z] to be manifested as *zubuka* [zuβu□a]. The low back vowel becomes a high back vowel under the process known as vowel raising.

The study also observed that there are other phonological rules involved on a smaller scale in the phonetic variations between PT dialects. These include velarization, labialization and fortition. We have observed, for instance, that in the word *yebo* [jeβo] ‘you’, the Monze dialect velarizes and labializes the palatal approximant [j] to form the labio-velar approximant [w] before the mid front vowel [e] to realize *webo* [weβo].

From the data in the table above, it is observed that the root *-bi* [bi] ‘bad’ is phonologically manifested as [bi] in the Choma and Kalomo dialects and as [βi] in the Mazabuka and Monze dialects. In the latter dialects the bilabial plosive [b] undergoes fricativization, that is, the phoneme is no longer a bilabial stop or plosive but a fricative.

In conclusion, the study has revealed that there are phonetic variations between VT and PT involving the phonemes: [f], [h], [v], [□], [s], [z], [ʃ], [k], [□], [tʃ] and [ɟ]. We have

observed that glottalization and fricativisation play a major role in the phonetic differences exhibited between VT and PT. The study has also revealed that there are some phonetic variations between the PT dialects considered in the research. The phonetic differences between PT dialects involve insertion and deletion of segments. Phonetically, there are more variations between VT and PT than there are variations between the PT dialects. Among the PT dialects, the study has noted that phonetically there are close similarities between the Mazabuka and Monze dialects and that there are equally close similarities between the Choma and Kalomo dialects. This is probably because the Mazabuka and Monze dialect areas are geographically close to each other just as the Choma dialect area is close to the Kalomo dialect area.

4.2 Morphological Level

4.2.0 Introduction

Morphology is the third level of linguistic analysis. It is concerned with the internal structure of words. Morphology deals with the manner in which words divide into morphemes. In relation to the second objective of the study, which is to point out morphological variations between VT and PT, this section is restricted to the presentation of some of the morphological differences and similarities manifested in the nominal and verbal structure of the dialects under investigation. Specifically the analysis looks at nominal prefixes and verbal extensions.

4.2.1 Nominal Morphology

The study has revealed that all nouns in both VT and PT take a noun prefix. This is because all Bantu languages have a similar structure. The study has, however, revealed that in some cases there are dialectal differences in noun class prefixes even though the nominal stem is the same. The research has revealed that there are some nouns in VT and PT which share the same nominal stem but have different noun prefixes. The nouns discussed below were found to have the same nominal stem but have different prefixes and hence belong to different noun classes. The noun prefixes involved are: **ci-** (class 7), **zi-** (class 8), **mu-** (class 3), **mi-** (class 4), **lu-** (class 11), **mu-** (class 1), **ba-** (class 2), **n-** (class 9), **n-** (class 10), **ø-** (class 5), **ma-** (class 6) and **ka-** (class 12).

We have observed that the VT dialect uses class 7 singular prefix **ci-** and class 8 plural prefix **zi-** in the word **-ni** ‘liver’. On the other hand, it is observed that PT uses the class 3 singular prefix **mu-** and class 4 plural prefix **mi-**. It is observed that although the nominal stem **-ni** is the same in both VT and PT, the noun class prefixes differ. We illustrate this variation below.

1. VT: ci- ni [tʃini] ‘liver’	zi- ni [zini]
SG.Pref.Class7-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref. Class 8-Nominal Stem
PT: mu- ni [muni] ‘liver’	mi- ni [mini]
SG pref.Class 3-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref.Class 4-Nominal Stem

For the word for ‘cattle kraal’, the VT dialect has class 11 prefix **lu-** before the nominal stem **-ba** for singular form whereas the PT dialects use class 7 prefix **ci-** for singular and class 8 prefix **zyi-** for the plural form of the word. We further note that the VT does not realize the plural form of the word. The words are illustrated below.

2. VT: lu- ba [luβa] ‘cattle kraal’	lu- ba [luβa]
SG pref.Class 11-Nominal Stem	SG Pref. Class 11-Nominal Stem
PT: ci- ba [ʃiβa] ‘cattle kraal’	zyi- ba [ziβa]
SG.Pref.Class 7-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref.Class 8-Nominal Stem

3. VT: mu- swi [mu-swi] ‘fish’	ba- swi [βa-swi]
SG.Pref.Class1-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref.Class 2-Nominal Stem
PT: n- swi [n-swi] ‘fish’	n- swi [n-swi]
SG.Pref.Class 9-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref.Class10-Nominal Stem

In the fourth example below, we have observed that the VT dialect uses the class 7 prefix **ci-** for the singular form and the class 8 prefix **zi-** for the plural form before the nominal stem **-popwe**. However, for the same word the PT dialects use a zero prefix \emptyset - for the singular form and realize class 6 prefix **ma-** in the plural form of the word. This is illustrated below.

4. VT: ci- popwe [tʃipopwe] ‘maize’	zi- popwe [zipopwe]
SG.Pref.Class 7-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref.Class 8-Nominal Stem
PT: \emptyset -popwe [popwe] ‘maize’	ma- popwe [mapopwe]
SG. \emptyset -Pref.Class 5-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref.Class 6-Nominal Stem

In the word for ‘urine’, the study has revealed that VT uses class 3 prefix **mu-** before the nominal stem **-nsyu**. On the other hand, the PT dialects realize class 4 prefix **mi-** before the same nominal stem. Therefore we note that in VT ‘urine’ is always singular whereas in PT it is always plural. We illustrate the variation below.

5. VT: mu- nsyu [munʃu] ‘urine’	mu- nsyu [munʃu]
SG.Pref.Class 3-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref. Class 3-Nominal Stem
PT: mi- nsyu [minhju] ‘urine’	mi- nsyu [minhju]
SG.Pref.Class 4-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref. Class 4-Nominal Stem

In the word for ‘skin’, it is observed that the VT dialect realizes class 11 prefix **lu-** before the nominal stem **-kanda** ‘skin’ for either singular or plural forms of the word whilst the PT dialects of Mazabuka and Monze have class 7 prefix **ci-** for the singular form and class 8 prefix **zyi-** for the plural form of the word. This nominal prefix variation is shown below.

6. VT: lu- kanda [lukanda] ‘skin’	lu- kanda [lukanda]
SG.Pref.Class 11-Nominal Stem	SG.Pref.Class 11-Nominal Stem

PT **ci**-kanda [ji□anda] ‘skin’ **zyi**-kanda [□i□anda]

SG.Pref.Class 7-Nominal Stem

PL.Pref.Class 8-Nominal Stem

In the word for ‘milk’ it is observed that the VT dialect realizes class 6 prefix **ma**- before the stem **-kupa** ‘milk’ (n) whereas the PT has class 3 prefix **mu**-. It appears in VT ‘milk’ is always plural whereas in PT it is always singular. This is illustrated below.

7. VT: **ma**-kupa [makupa] ‘milk’

ma-kupa [makupa]

PL.Pref.Class 6-Nominal Stem

PL.Pref.Class 6-Nominal Stem

PT: **mu**-kupa [mu□upa] ‘milk’

mu-kupa [mu□upa]

SG.Pref.Class 3-Nominal Stem

SG.Pref.Class 3-Nominal Stem

In the word **-zovu** ‘elephant’, we observe that VT employs class 9 prefix **n**- and class 10 prefix **n**- for the singular and plural forms of the word respectively. On the other hand, the PT dialects realize class 1 prefix **mu**- for the singular form and class 2 prefix **ba**- for the plural form of the noun.

8. VT: **n**-zovu [nzovu] ‘elephant’

n-zovu

SG.Pref.Class 9-Nominal Stem

PL.Pref.Class 10-Nominal Stem

PT: **mu**-zovu [muzo□u] ‘elephant’

ba-zovu [βazo□u]

SG.Pref.Class 1-Nominal Stem

PL.Pref.Class 2-Nominal Stem

In the word **-suko** ‘dust’, it was revealed that the VT dialect has a zero prefix before the nominal stem for the singular form of the word. The PT dialects of Mazabuka and Monze realize class 12 prefix **ka**- before the nominal stem for the singular form whereas the Choma and Kalomo dialects use class 11 prefix **lu**- before the nominal stem **-suko** for the singular form of the word. We also take note of another interesting discovery and variation that seems to go against the expected categorization of nouns with respect to their singular and plural categories. Since *kasuko* [□asu□o] is singular, we would expect

tusuko [tusu□o] as the plural form but this is not case. The word for ‘dust’ has no plural form in both VT and PT. This variation is illustrated below.

9.VT: Ø-suko [suko] ‘dust’	Ø-suko [suko]
SG.Ø-Pref.Class 5-Nominal Stem	SG.ø-Pref.Class 5-Nominal Stem
PT: (i) ka -suko [□asu□o] ‘dust’	ka -suko [□asu□o] (for Maz./Monz.)
SG. Pref.Class12-Nominal Stem	SG.Pref.Class 12-Nominal Stem
(ii) lu -suko [lusu□o] ‘dust’	lu -suko [lusu□o](for Chm./ Klm.)
SG.Pref.Class11-Nominal Stem	SG.Pref.Class 11-Nominal Stem

In the tenth example below, it is observed that the VT dialect utilizes class 11 prefix **lu-** before the nominal stem **-luli** ‘roof’ to realize the singular form of the word, and class 10 prefix **n-** to realize the plural form *n-duli* ‘roofs’. On the other hand, we observe that the PT dialects use class 7 prefix **ci-** for the singular form and class 8 prefix **zyi-** for the plural form of the noun.

10. VT: lu -luli [lululi] ‘roof’	n -duli [nduli]
SG.Pref.Class 11-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref.Class 10-Nominal Stem
PT: ci -luli [jiluli] ‘roof’	zyi -luli [□iluli]
SG.Pref.Class 7-Nominal Stem	PL.Pref.Class 8-Nominal Stem

In addition to the variations between VT and PT generally, the researcher also observed some morphological variations between the PT dialects that were involved in the study. For instance the word for ‘cow dung manure’ is *mafwumba* [mahumba] in the Mazabuka, Monze and Choma dialects. In the Kalomo dialect, class 14 prefix **bu-** is used before the nominal stem **-fwumba** to realize *bufwumba* [βuhumba].

In the Kalomo dialect the word *-nzi* ‘house fly’ is used whereas the Mazabuka, Monze and Choma dialects add a morpheme *-ni-* which is reduplicated to realise *nzinini* /-nzi-ni-ni/ [nzinini].

The examples presented above, although few, have clearly demonstrated that there are some variations between VT and PT with regard to nominal morphology. The study has revealed that there are nouns in VT and PT which share the same nominal stem but realize different noun class prefixes. The classes where there are some differences are: class 7, class 8, class 3, class 4, class 11, class 1, class 2, class 9, class 10, class 5, class 6 and class 12. The study has also revealed some minor nominal differences between the PT dialects.

4.2.2 Verbal Morphology

As already indicated in Chapter Three, the Bantu basic verbal structure comprises a root or radical and affixes. According to Miti (1988) the affixes may include a subject marker, object marker, tense marker and various verbal derivational suffixes. The study has observed that the verbal structure of VT and PT is basically similar morphologically. The study has revealed that both dialects manifest similarities in subject marking, object marking, tense marking, and verb extensions. We illustrate the subject marking, tense marking and object marking in the following examples:

(a) *VT subject marking and tense marking*

(i) balalwana: **ba-la-lwan-a** [balalwana] ‘they fight/they are fighting’



(ii) wakabba: **u-aka-bb-a** [wakaba] ‘s/he stole’



We notice that in (ii) above the vowel /u/ becomes /w/ via gliding before the vowel /a/.

(b) *PT subject marking and tense marking*

(i) balalwana: **ba-la-lwan-a** [βalalwana] ‘they fight/they are fighting’
 SMTM RAD FV

(ii) wakabba: **u-aka-bb-a** [waɰaba] ‘s/he stole’
 SMTMRAD FV

(a) *VT object marking*

(i) tabakamuboni: **ta-ba-ka-mu-bon-i** [taβakamuβoni] ‘they won’t see him/her’
 Neg SM TM OM RAD FV

(ii) wakiitola: **u-aka-i-tol-a** [waki:tola] ‘s/he took it’
 SM TM OM RAD FV

In (ii) above we observe that the vowel [a] undergoes truncation and the next vowel [i] is lengthened via compensatory lengthening.

(b) *PT object marking*

(i) tabakamuboni: **ta-ba-ka-mu-bon-i** [taβaɰamuβoni] ‘they won’t see him/her’
 Neg SM TM OM RAD FV

(ii) wakiitola: **u-aka-i-tol-a** [waɰi:tola] ‘s/he took it’
 SM TM OM RAD FV

In (ii) above we again observe that the vowel [a] undergoes deletion and the next vowel [i] is lengthened via compensatory lengthening.

The following examples illustrate the morphological structure of verbal extensions in VT and PT. These verbal extensions have briefly been explained in Chapter Three. The underlined morphemes are the extensions.

1 (a) *VT applied extension*

(i) ku-ul-a [ku:la] ‘to buy’

ku-ul-il-a [ku:lila] ‘to buy for’

(ii) ku-kam- a [kukama] ‘to milk’

ku-kam-in-a [kukamina] ‘to milk for’

(b) *PT applied extension*

(i) ku-ul-a [□u:la] ‘to buy’

ku-ul-il-a [□u:lila] ‘to buy for’

(ii) ku-kam-a [□u□ama] ‘to milk’

ku-kam-in-a [□u□amina] ‘to milk for’

2(a) *VT causative extension*

(i) ku-kop-a [kukopa] ‘to stir’

ku-kop-i-a (kukopya) [kukopja] ‘to cause to stir’

(ii) ku-sam-a [kusama] ‘to dress/ wear/put on piece of clothing’

ku-sam-i-a (kusamya) [kusamja] ‘to cause to wear/put on’

(b) *PT causative extension*

(i) ku-kop-a [□u□opa] ‘to stir’

ku-kop-i-a (kukopya) [□u□opja] ‘to cause to stir’

(ii)ku-sam-a [□usama] ‘to wear/put on’

ku-sam-i-a (kusamya) [□usamja] ‘to cause to wear/put on’

In the causative verbal extension, it is observed that the extension morpheme which is the vowel /i/ undergoes a morphophonological process known as semivocalization or gliding. Semivocalization is a morphophonemic process that results in the formation of glides or semi-vowels (Matthews 1997) and (Nkolola 1997).

3 (a) *VT passive extension*

(i) ku-vumb-a [kuvumba] ‘to thatch’

ku-vumb-u-a (kuvumbwa) [kuvumbwa] ‘to be thatched’

(ii) ku-labil-a [kulaβila] ‘to taste’

ku-labil-u-a (kulabilwa) [kulaβilwa] ‘to be tasted’

(b) *PT passive extension*

(i) ku-vumb-a [□u□umba] ‘to thatch’

ku-vumb-u-a (kuvumbwa) [□u□umbwa] ‘to be thatched’

(ii) ku-labil-a [□ulaβila] ‘to taste’

ku-labil-u-a (kulabilwa) [□ulaβilwa] ‘to be tasted’

In the passive extension, the extension morpheme **-u-** glides into a semi-vowel **-w-** before the final vowel.

4 (a) *VT reversive active extension*

(i) ku-ang-a [kwa:ŋga] ‘to tie’

ku-ang-unun-a [kwa:ŋgununa] ‘to untie’

(b) *PT reversive active extension*

(i) ku-ang-a [□wa:ŋga] ‘to tie’

ku-ang-ulul-a [kwa:ŋgulula] ‘to untie’

From example 4, it is worth noting that whereas the VT dialect uses the alveolar nasal /n/ in the extension (-unun-), the PT dialects use lateral /l/ (-ulul-). However, in some instances this may not apply. For example in the illustrations below both dialects manifest the reversive form -unun-

VT: (ii) ku-sum-a [kusuma] ‘to sew’

ku-sum-unun-a [kusumununa] ‘to unsew’

PT: (ii) ku-sum-a [kusuma] ‘to sew’

ku-sum-unun-a [kusumununa] ‘to unsew’

5 (a) *VT reversive stative extension*

(i) ku-sum-a [kusuma] ‘to sew’

ku-sum-unuk-a [kusumunuka] ‘to be unsewn’

(b) *PT reversive stative extension*

(i) ku-sum-a [kusuma] ‘to sew’

ku-sum-unuk-a [kusumunuka] ‘to be unsewn’

In the extension for ‘to be untied’ the VT dialect uses -unuk- whereas the PT dialects manifest the form -uluk- for the reversive stative extension. We illustrate this below.

VT: (ii) ku-ang-a [kwa:ŋga] ‘to tie’

ku-ang-unuk-a [kwa:ŋgunuka] ‘to be untied’

PT:(ii) ku-ang-a [kwa:ŋga] ‘to tie’

ku-ang-uluk-a [kwa:ŋgulu] ‘to be untied’

6 (a) *VT reciprocal extension*

(i) ku-sek-a [kuseka] ‘to laugh’

ku-sek-an-a [kusekana] ‘to laugh at each other’

(ii) ku-sway-a [kuswaja] ‘to visit’

ku-sway-an-a [kuswajana] ‘to visit each other’

(b) *PT reciprocal extension*

(i) ku-sek-a [□use□a] ‘to laugh’

ku-sek-an-a [□use□ana] ‘to laugh at each other’

(ii) ku-sway-a [□uswaja] ‘to visit’

ku-sway-an-a [□uswajana] ‘to visit each other’

7 (a) *VT intensive extension*

(i) ku-lil-a [kulila] ‘to cry’

ku-lil-is-i-a (kulilisya) [kuliliʃa] ‘to cry very much’

(ii) ku-yum-a [kujuma] ‘to dry’

ku-yum-is-i-a (kuyumisya) [kujumiʃa] ‘to be very dry’

(b) *PT intensive extension*

(i) ku-lil-a [□ulila] ‘to cry’

ku-lil-is-i-a [□ulihja] ‘to cry very much’

(ii) ku-yum-a [□ujuma] ‘to be dry’

ku-yum-is-i-a (kuyumisya) [□uyumihya] ‘to be very dry’

We observe a morphonological difference in the verbal extensions reflected in example 7.

It is observed that in PT dialects the vowel /i/ glides to form /y/ before the fina vowel.

8 (a) *VT repetitive extension*

(i) ku-fwep-a [kufwepa] ‘to smoke’

ku-fwep-afwep-a [kufwepafwepa] ‘to smoke often’

(ii) ku-zimb-a [kuzimba] ‘to swell’

ku-zimb-azimb-a [kuzimbazimba] ‘to swell frequently’

(b) *PT repetitive extension*

(i) ku-fweb-a [□uhweβa] ‘to smoke’

ku-fweb-afweb-a [□uhweβahweβa] ‘to smoke frequently’

(ii) ku-zimb-a [□uzimba] ‘to swell’

ku-zimb-azimb-a [□uzimbazimba] ‘to swell often’

From the data presented in the above examples, it is observed that the morphological structure of verbs in both VT and PT is basically similar. The study has revealed that Subject Marking, Tense Marking and Object Marking, and most of the structure of verbal extensions are similar in both dialects. Minor variations have been noticed with regard to the reversion active, and the reversion stative verb extensions.

4.3 Syntactic Level

4.3.0 Introduction

As already stated in Chapter One, syntax is concerned with how morphemes and words are placed in a linear pattern in order to form phrases and sentences. This section is an attempt to address the third objective which seeks to distinguish syntactic variations between VT and PT. The section is restricted to the presentation of the syntactic differences and similarities with regard to *simple negation*, *‘yes-no’ question marking*, and *question tag formation* in the dialects under investigation. In order to identify the

syntactic variations between VT and PT, and among the PT dialects, the researcher used a sentence list of one hundred sentences. Most of the sentences were drawn from Hopgood (1992) and Thompson (1989). The two texts have sentences with various expressions drawn from various situations. Other sentences were drawn from a Tonga novel authored by Mweemba (1980). The researcher’s interest at this level of linguistic analysis was to identify how VT and PT dialects express concepts of: negation, ‘yes-no’ question marking, and question tag formation. The reason for choosing these concepts is that it is an area where there are some variations syntactically.

The researcher observed that the basic word order of SVO in simple sentences is basically the same in VT and PT. For example,

The VT Dialect:

batonga balalima kulya kunji.
 | | |
 S V O

[lit:the-Tonga-they-cultivate-eating-to-many]

‘the Tonga people grow plenty of food’

The PT Dialects:

batonga balalima zyakulya zinji
 | | |
 S V O

[lit: the-Tonga-they-cultivate-of-to-eat-many]

‘the Tonga people grow plenty of food’

4.3.1 Simple Negation

The findings of the study show that negation in VT is usually marked with a negative verbal morpheme **ta-** and the particle **pe** which occupies sentence final position. The negative particle **pe** can still be left out without losing the meaning of the sentence. For

this reason, the particle is enclosed in brackets as an optional element. This is illustrated by the sentence below.

The VT Dialect:

(i) baneene ta-ba-fwepi tombwe (pe)
 | | | | | |
 S Neg +SM+V O (Neg)

[lit:my grandmother-she-does-not-smoke-tobacco-no]

‘my grandmother does not smoke tobacco’

The basic word order for simple negation in VT is S Neg+SM+VO (Neg).

The findings show that negation in the PT dialects is equally usually marked with a negative verbal morpheme **ta-** and the negative particle **pe** occurring sentence finally. In most instances the negative particle **pe** can be left out and the sentence could still be grammatically correct. The negative particle **pe** is there for purposes of emphasis and for this reason we enclose the particle in brackets as optional. The sentences below illustrate the simple negation in the PT dialects:

The Maz. Dialect:

(ii) bakaapa ta-ba-fwebi tombwe (pe)
 | | | | | |
 S Neg+SM+V O (Neg)

[lit:my grandmother-she-does-not-smoke-tobacco-no]

‘My grandmother does not smoke tobacco’

The Monz. Dialect:

(iii) bankaaka ta-ba-fwebi tombwe (pe)
 | | | | | |
 S Neg+SM+V O (Neg)

[lit:my-grandmother-she-does-not-smoke-tobacco-no]

‘my grandmother does not smoke tobacco’

The Chm. And Klm. Dialects:

(iv) banene ta-ba-fwebi tombwe (pe)
 | | | | | |
 S Neg+SM+V O (Neg)

‘my grandmother does not smoke tobacco’

The basic word order for simple negative sentences in the PT dialects can be formalized as S Neg+SM+V O (Neg). The negative markers for the dialects considered in the study are summarized in the table below:

Table 16: Negative Markers in Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga Dialects

Position of neg. particle	VT neg. particle	Maz. neg. particle	Monz. neg. particle	Chm.neg. particle	Klm neg. particle
sentence medially	ta-	ta-	ta-	ta-	ta-
sentence finally	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe

The findings of the study have however revealed that there are some syntactic differences in the expression of ‘yes-no’ question marking and question tag formation. We discuss these below.

4.3.2 ‘Yes-No’ Question Marking

The findings of the study have revealed that in VT the marker for a ‘yes-no’ question is the word **senā** which occupies sentence initial or sentence final position. Sometimes the question marker co-occurs with the particle **na** which always occupies sentence final position. It is also possible for the particle **na** to occur alone as the question marker. It has also been observed that the Choma and Kalomo dialects realise the same question marker as that of VT as shown in the examples below involving the sentence (are you tired).

The VT Dialect:

(i) **sena** wadekela?

[lit: are-you-tired]

(ii) wadekela **sena**?

[lit: you-are-tired-are-you]

(iii) **sena** wadekela **na**?

[lit: are-you-tired-are-you]

(iv) wadekela **na**?

[lit: you-are-tired-are-you]

The Chm.and Klm. Dialects:

(i) **sena** wakatala?

[lit: are-you-tired]

(ii) wakatala **sena**?

[lit :you-are-tired-are you]

(iii) **sena** wakatala **na**?

[lit: are-you-tired-are-you]

(iv) wakatala **na**?

[lit: you-are-tired-are-you]

In the Mazabuka and Monze dialects, the question marker for a ‘yes-no’ question is phonetically and orthographically realized by the word **hena**. This could equally be realized with the final interrogative particle ‘**na**’. We illustrate this with the question (are you tired?)

The Maz. Dialect:

(i) **hena** walema?

[lit: are-you-tired]

(ii) walema **hena**?

[lit: you-are-tired-are-you]

(iii) **hena** walema **na**?

[lit: are-you-tired-are-you]

(iv) walema **na**?

[lit: you-are-tired-are-you]

The Monz. Dialect:

(i) **hena** wakatala?

[lit: are-you-tired]

(ii) wakatala **hena**?

[lit: you-are-tired-are-you]

(iii) **hena** wakatala **na**?

[lit: are-you-tired-are-you]

(iv) wakatala **na**?

[lit: you-are-tired-are-you]

4.3.3 Question Tag Formation

The study revealed that question tag formation in the dialects investigated was different. In VT it is expressed by the tag **tee mbumbubo na** [lit: is it not it?]. We illustrate this with the sentence (you are Tonga, aren't you?).

The VT Dialect:

(i) uli mu Tonga, **tee mbumbubo na?**

[lit: you-are-Tonga-is-it-not-it]

In the Mazabuka and Monze dialects, the concept of question tags is expressed by two words which are: **tabusi hena**. These two words can sometimes switch positions to realize **hena tabusi**. We illustrate this below.

The Maz.and Monz. Dialects:

(ii) uli mu Tonga, **tabusi hena?**

[lit: you-are-Tonga-it-is-not-is-it]

[you are Tonga, aren't you?] or

(iii) uli mu Tonga, **hena tabusi?**

[lit: you-are-Tonga-is-it-not-it]

In the Choma and Kalomo dialects, the concept of question tag formation is expressed by the tag **embo na** after the positive statement. The word **embo** [is it not] can still occur alone to express the question tag. This is illustrated below.

The Chm. and Klm.Dialects:

(iv) uli mu Tonga, **embo na?**

[lit: you-are-Tonga-is-it-not-it]

(v) uli mu Tonga, **embo?**

[lit: you-are-Tonga-is-it-not]

4.4 Lexical Level

4.4.0 Introduction

This section deals with objective number (iv) which is to establish lexical differences between VT and PT. It presents the variations and similarities of the vocabularies of VT and PT dialects. In order to do this, a modified Swadesh word list was used to identify lexical variations between VT and PT. A Swadesh list is a word list of basic vocabulary items of about one hundred to one thousand words used in lexicostatistics or vocabulary correspondences in order to determine the degree of relatedness between language varieties or dialects of the same language (Miti 1988). Our study utilized a 260 word list of basic vocabulary items to collect the lexical data. The word list was distributed to the native speakers of VT and PT for translation into their respective dialects in the written form.

Our study has revealed that there are: (a) lexical items which VT does not share with any of the PT dialects, (b) lexical items which VT shares with some PT dialects and (c) lexical items that are shared across all the dialects considered in the study. We discuss these vocabulary items below.

4.4.1 Lexical items Valley Tongadoes not share with Plateau Tonga Dialects

The study has revealed that from the 260 vocabulary items utilized in the study, VT does not share about 19.23% with any of the PT dialects. Of these items only a few (about 9 items) seem to have come from Proto Bantu. The rest of the items (about 41) do not seem to have been inherited from Proto Bantu. These may have been borrowed from other Ur Bantu languages through the concept of language contact and borrowing. The table below shows the lexical items inherited from Proto Bantu but which VT does not share with any of the PT dialects investigated in the study.

Table 17: Examples of Lexical Items Inherited from Proto Bantu by VT

Gloss	ProtoBantu	VT
old	-kodo	kulukulu[kulukulu]
blood	-gadi	ganzi [ganzi]
man (n)	-dome	mwaalumi [mwa:lumi]
woman	-kadi	mwanakazi [mwanakazi]

tongue	-dem	lulimi [lulimi]
plant	-bead	byala [βjala]
small	-niini	niini [ni:ni]

From the table above it is observed that VT has some Proto Bantu origins for the lexical items which it has alone.

Our study further revealed that there were differences observed in the semantic categories of human body parts-related terms, house hold-related terms, agricultural-related terms, and some miscellaneous terms such as verbs that denote human activities. The table below shows some of the vocabulary items which VT has alone in the semantic field of human body parts-related items:

Table 18: Examples of Human Body Parts-related Terms that VT Has Alone

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Monz./Chm./Klm. PT
belly	-da	bula [βula]	da [da]
blood	-gadi	ganzi [ganzi]	bulowa [βulowa]
chest	-todo	kaango [ka:ŋgo]	camba [ɟamba]
knee	-du	zwi [zwi]	gondo [gondo]
lungs	--	mapunga[mapuŋga]	mafufwe [mafufwe]
tongue	-dem	lulimi [lulimi]	mulaka [mula□a]

From the table above, it is observed that VT retains slightly more lexical items inherited from Proto Bantu than PT does in the category of ‘human body parts-related terms.

In the table below, we show some of the lexical items in the category of house hold-related terms which the VT dialect does not share with any of the PT dialects which are Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo dialects.

Table 19: Examples of House hold-related Terms that VT Has Alone

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Monz./Chm./Klm. PT
roof poles	--	makankala [makankala]	masomo [masomo]
spear	-tumo	ng'umba [ɲumba]	sumo [sumo]
dog	-boa	munkala [muɲkala]	mubwa [muβwa]
beer	-dogu	bukande [βukande]	bukoko [βu□o□o]
axe	-temo	kaleba [kaleβa]	keembe [□e:mbe]
knife	-poko/beedi	cipanga [tʃipaŋga]	cipeni/cipoko [ʃipeni]/ʃipo□o]

From the table above, it is observed that PT retains more of the Proto Bantu forms than VT. We can only assume that the vocabulary items utilized by VT were borrowed from other languages through language contact.

The table below shows some of the items which VT does not share with PT under the semantic category of agricultural-related terms.

Table 20: Examples of Agricultural-related Terms that VT Has Alone

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Monz./Chm./Klm. PT
plant (v)	-bead	byala [βjala]	syanga [hjaŋga]
ground nuts	--	ndongwe [ndoŋgwe]	nyemu [□emu]
feathers	-cada	minimba [minimba]	mapepe [mapepe]
grass	-yani	syokwe [□okwe]	bwizu [βwizu]
calf	-gombe	munamani [munamani]	moombe [mo:mbe]

From the table above, we have observed that out of the 5 lexical items that have been sampled, only the VT term for ‘plant’ and the PT term for ‘calf’ seem to have been inherited from Proto Bantu. The rest are not Proto Bantu forms.

In the table below we outline some of the miscellaneous terms involving verbs that the VT dialect does not share with the PT dialects.

Table 21: Examples of Miscellaneous Terms Involving Verbs that VT Has Alone

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Monz./Chm./Klm PT
come	-yij	za [za]	boola [βo:la]
tear	--	delula [delula]	zapula/zaula [zapula]/[zaula]
faint	--	wizuka [wizuka]	netuka [netu□a]
crawl	--	yavula [javula]	kalaba [□alaβa]
tired (be)	-dem	dekela [dekela]	katala/lema [□atala]/[lema]
tell	-gamb	buzya [βuzja]	ambila [ambila]
watch	--	langilizya[langilizja]	ebela/ebelezya [eβela]/[eβeleŋja]

From the table above we have again observed that most of the lexical items do not seem to have come from Proto Bantu.

From table 17 above, we have also noticed that there are very few lexical items in the category of kinship- related terms that VT has alone. These are *mwaalumi* [mwa:lumi] and *mwanakazi* [mwanakazi] for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ respectively. It is also observed that both lexical items were inherited from Proto Bantu’s *-dome* ‘man’ and *-kadi* ‘woman’.

Our study has further revealed that there are miscellaneous terms that include nouns and adjectives that VT does not share with any of the PT dialects. We present some of these vocabulary items in the table below.

Table 22: Examples of Miscellaneous Terms Involving Nouns and Adjectives that VT Has Alone

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Monz./Chm./Klm PT
crocodile	-goena	ntale [ntale]	ciwena [ɟiwena]
cloud	-dunde	joba [ɔɔβa]	kkumbi [kumbi]
lizard	-bambe	syadyolo [ʃadjolo]	ntombela [ntombela]
lion	-cimba	mulavu [mulavu]	syuumbwa [hju:mbwa]
mud	--	matipa [matipa]	mankandya [maŋkandja]
shoulder	-pega	gwezyo [gwezjo]	kkuko/pekete [kuɔo]/[peɔete]
small	-niini	niini [ni:ni]	syoonto [hjo:nto]
thin (be)	-yond	nyana [ɲana]	koka/kotela [ɔoɔa]/[ɔotela]
how?	--	biyeni [bijeni]	buti [βuti]
again	--	lubo [luβo]	alimwi [alimwi]

From the table above, we have noticed that there are more variations between VT and PT.

4.4.2 Lexical items Valley Tonga shares with some Plateau Tonga Dialects

In terms of phonetic variations, we observed that VT stands alone in relation to PT. In terms of lexical variations, however, the study has revealed that there are vocabulary items which VT shares with some of the PT dialects. This section discusses these lexical items.

We observed that from the 260 vocabulary items utilized in the study, about 12.31% of the items are shared between VT and some PT dialects. It was also observed that most of the items are shared between VT and the PT dialects of Choma and Kalomo. The table below shows some of the lexical items that VT shares with the PT dialects of Choma and Kalomo and not with the PT dialects of Mazabuka and Monze.

Table 23: Examples of Lexical Items that VT Shares with the Choma and Kalomo Dialects

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Chm/Klm PT	Maz./Monz. PT
water	-yiba	maanzi [ma:nzi]	maanzi [ma:nzi]	meenda [me:nda]
chew	-takun	nyeela [nje:la]	nyeela [nje:la]	tafuna [tahuna]
go	-ge	ya [ja]	ya [ja]	unka [uŋka]
pull	-dut	kwela[kwela]	kwela [□wela]	duda [duda]
ripen	--	bizwa [βizwa]	bizwa [βizwa]	pya [pja]
split	-pand	andula [andula]	andula [andula]	pandula [pandula]
tomorrow	--	juunza [□u:nza]	junza [□unza]	cifumo [jifumo]
get wet	-dob	teta [teta]	teta [teta]	nama [nama]
grandmother	-kaaka	banene [βanene]	banene [βanene]	bakaapa/bankaaka [βa□a:pa]/[βaŋka:□a]
grandfather	-kaaka	syane [□anene]	syane [□anene]	bakaapa/bankaaka [βa□a:pa]/[βaŋka:□a]
bull	-voko	poho [po□o]	poho [po□o]	mucende [mujende]

From the data in the table above, it is observed that most of the vocabulary items that VT shares with the PT dialects of Choma and Kalomo do not seem to have been inherited from Proto Bantu except for the term *andula* ‘split’ while most of those that are shared by the PT dialects of Mazabuka and Monze are closer to Proto Bantu forms. The concept of proximity between VT and the Choma and Kalomo dialects may be a factor for the close

affinity lexically. The shared non Proto Bantu lexical items between VT and the PT dialects of Choma and Kalomo could be as a result of language contact and borrowing.

Our study has also revealed that there are a few lexical items which VT shares with the PT dialects of Mazabuka and Monze and not with the PT dialects of Choma and Kalomo. We show the lexical items in the table below.

Table 24: Examples of Lexical Items that VT Shares with the Mazabuka and Monze Dialects

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Monz.PT	Chm./Klm. PT
breathe	-peem	yoya [joja]	yoya [joja]	yeeka [je:□a]
burn	-teem	umpa [umpa]	umpa [umpa]	tenta [tenta]
sore	-donda	cilonda [tʃilonda]	cilonda [jilonda]	cicisa [jijisa]
cattle kraal	--	luba [luβa]	ciba [jiβa]	cimpatu [jimpati]
weeds	-cakod (to weed)	syokwe [□okwe]	sokwe [so□we]	nsaku [nsa□u]

From the table above, we can observe that most of the shared items between VT and the Mazabuka and Monze dialects do not seem to have come from Proto Bantu origins. The implication is that the dialects under study have borrowed most lexical items from other languages. The term *-londa* for ‘sore’ seems to be the only Proto Bantu origin.

From the word list the study has revealed that there are some lexical items that VT shares with the PT dialects of Monze, Choma and Kalomo and not with the Mazabuka dialect. We show the lexical items in the table below.

Table 25: Examples of Lexical Items that VT Shares with the Monze, Choma and Kalomo Dialects

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Monz/Chm/Klm	Maz. PT

cover (v)	-kunek	vumba [vumba]	vumba [ʋumba]	vunika [ʋuniʋa]
uncover	--	vumbula [vumbula]	vumbula [ʋumbula]	vununa [ʋununa]
maize	--	popwe [popwe]	popwe [popwe]	poka [poʋa]
spit (v)	-tu	swida [swida]	swida [swida]	sipa [sipa]

From the above table, we again observe that most of the vocabulary items that are not shared across all the dialects do not seem to have originated from Proto Bantu.

Our study further revealed that there are lexical items that VT shares with the PT dialects of Mazabuka, Choma and Kalomo and not with the PT dialect of Monze. The table below shows the vocabulary items concerned.

Table 26: Examples of Lexical Items that VT Shares with the Mazabuka, Choma and Kalomo Dialects

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Chm./Klm.PT	Monz.PT
red	-goda	salala [salala]	salala [salala]	subila [suβila]
salt	-yinyo	munyo [muŋo]	munyo [muŋo]	mwino [mwino]
cross over a river	-jabok	zabuka [zaβuka]	zabuka/zubuka [zaβuʋa]/[zuβuʋa]	landuka [landuʋa]
you (singular)	-be	yebo [jeβo]	yebo [jeβo]	webo [weβo]

4.4.3 Lexical Items Valley Tonga Shares with All the Plateau Tonga Dialects

From the word list of 260 lexical items, our study revealed that about 178 lexical items are shared across all the dialects considered in the research representing 68.46% of the shared items. The study has revealed that out of the 178 vocabulary items that are shared between VT and all the PT dialects, 117 items seem to have been inherited from Proto Bantu. This represents about 66% of the shared items coming from Proto Bantu. Our

study has revealed that more similarities were in verbs that describe everyday activities, in miscellaneous terms involving nouns and adjectives that denote things such as wild animals, geographical features and certain qualities. More similarities were also observed in lexical items that denote body parts, numerals, agricultural related terms, house hold related terms and kinship related terms. In the table below we show a few of the shared lexical items retained from Proto Bantu.

Table 27: Examples of Shared Lexical Items between VT and PT Inherited from Proto Bantu

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Monz./Chm./Klm. Dialects
laugh	-cek	-seka [seka]	-seka [seka]
eat	-de	-lya [lja]	-lya [lja]
cry	-ded	-lila [lila]	-lila [lila]
walk	-gend	-enda [enda]	-enda [enda]
sit	-kad	-kkala [kala]	-kkala [kala]
hunger	-jada	nzala [nzala]	nzala [nzala]
thirst	-yota	nyota [ota]	nyota [ota]
elephant	-jogu	nzovu [nzovu]	muzovu [muzovu]
sky	-gudu	julu [ulu]	julu [ulu]
all	-yonce	-oonse [o:nse]	-oonse [o:nse]
river	-donga	mulonga [mulonga]	mulonga [mulonga]
beard	-dedu	cilezu [tʃilezu]	malezu [malezu]
cheek	-caya	saya [saja]	saya [saja]
ear	-tu	kutwi [kutwi]	kutwi [utwi]
neck	-kingo	nsingo [nsingo]	nsingo [nsingo]
thigh	-bedo	cibelo [tʃibelo]	cibelo [jibelo]
three	-tatu	-tatwe [tatwu]	-tatwe [tatwe]
five	-taanu	-sanwe [sanwe]	-sanwe [sanwe]
father (n)	-taata	taata [ta:ta]	taata [ta:ta]

mother	-maama	baama [βa:ma]	baama [βa:ma]
child	-yana	mwana [mwana]	mwana [mwana]
cultivate	-dem	-lima [lima]	-lima [lima]
milk (v)	-kam	-kama [kama]	-kama [□ama]

Most of the lexical items in the table above belong to the core or basic vocabulary of a language. According to Gudschinsky (1956) as cited in Miti (1988:68), one of the basic assumptions of lexicostatistics is that some parts of the vocabulary of any given human language are assumed to be less subject to change than other parts. This represents the basic vocabulary of the language. The basic vocabulary of any language includes words such as pronouns, numerals, body parts, certain human activities and geographical features (ibid).

Our study has revealed that out of the 178 shared lexical items about 61 items do not seem to have Proto Bantu origins. This represents about 34% of the shared items not coming from Proto Bantu. The table below shows some vocabulary items which are similar in VT and all the PT dialects under study but are different from Proto Bantu.

Table 28: Examples of Shared Lexical Items between VT and PT Not Inherited from Proto Bantu

Gloss	Proto Bantu	VT	Maz./Monz./Chm./Klm.PT
goat	-budi	mpongo [mponŋgo]	mpongo [mponŋgo]
dust (n)	-kongo	suko [suko]	kasuko/lusuko [□asu□o]/[lusu□o]
breast	-beed	nkolo [ŋkolo]	nkolo [ŋkolo]
heart	-tema	moyo [mojo]	moyo [mojo]
louse	-da	njina [n□ina]	njina [n□ina]
tree	-te	samu [samu]	samu [samu]
to fall	-pon	kuwa [kuwa]	kuwa [□uwa]
to grow up	-kud or mela	-komena [komena]	-komena [□omena]

wear	-duad	-sama [sama]	-sama [sama]
think	-gan	-yeeya [je:ja]	-yeeya [je:ja]
dig	-cemb	-sya [ʃa]	-sya [ʃa]
cold	-pod	tontola [tontola]	tontola [tontola]

The items that are shared across all the dialects but are not inherited from Proto Bantu could be variants of Proto Bantu or could be from Ur-Bantu. The items could even be as a result of language contact and borrowing.

4.4.4 Dialect Relationship with Proto Bantu Forms

From the word list of 260 vocabulary items, 206 items were identified with their Proto Bantu equivalents. For the remaining 54 lexical items, we could not find the Proto Bantu equivalents. Out of the identified Proto Bantu forms, the PT dialect of Mazabuka retained 67.96%, Monze 66.99%, Choma and Kalomo dialects retained 66.01% whereas the VT dialect retained 65.04%.

From the data presented in the tables 18 to 26 above, it is observed that there are far more variations at lexical level between VT and PT than there are variations at other levels of linguistic analysis considered in the study. The variations between VT and PT can be attributed to the geographical location of dialects. The VT variety, which is spoken along the Gwembe Valley, better still, Zambezi Valley is geographically farther from PT dialects and therefore there is not much interaction with PT dialects. Mambwe (2008:83) cites Chambers and Trudgill (1980) who say that, “if we travel from village to village, in a particular direction, we notice linguistic differences which distinguish one village from another...the farther we get from our starting point the larger the differences become.” When applied to our study, the assertion by Chambers and Trudgill (1980) in Mambwe (2008) implies that the farther we move geographically from the VT dialect areas towards the PT dialect area, the larger the variations between VT and PT become. The study has further revealed that there are some lexical variations between the Plateau Tonga dialects. The study also revealed that the Mazabuka and Monze dialects are close in terms of vocabulary just as the Choma and Kalomo dialects are. The Mazabuka and Monze

dialects share about 89.61% of the 260 lexical items whereas the Choma and Kalomo dialects share about 96.92% of the vocabulary items. This closeness in vocabulary is attributed to the concept of convergence. In linguistics, convergence is a historical process through which languages in contact become more similar in structure (Matthews 1997). Mambwe (2008) points out that if two dialects interact, they tend to influence each other not only socially and culturally but also linguistically.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has analysed and interpreted the data in line with the objectives of the study. In analyzing the data, the chapter has applied four levels of linguistic analysis which are phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. The findings of the study reveal that there are far more vocabulary differences between the VT and the PT dialects followed by phonetic, syntactic, and morphological variations in this order. Additionally, the findings of the study have revealed that there are some minor lexical variations between the PT dialects considered in the study. The chapter has mentioned that the Mazabuka and Monze dialect areas are close to each other and therefore exhibit more similarities. The Choma and Kalomo dialect areas equally exhibit more similarities because they are also close to each other geographically. Convergence was cited as the factor responsible for the similarities between the PT dialects. Divergence was cited as the factor for the variations between the VT and the PT dialects. The next chapter concludes the whole study and makes recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is a summary of both the findings and the discussion of the study. The chapter does this by taking into account the four levels of linguistic analysis applied in the study. These include phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels. The brief discussion is followed by some recommendations for further research.

5.1 Summary

5.1.1 Phonological Level

At the phonological level, the study revealed that vowels and semi-vowels are realized as [i], [e], [a], [o], [u], [j] and [w] in both VT and PT dialects. The study revealed a number of variations between VT and PT with regard to consonants. Phonemes /f/ and /v/ are found in VT and not in PT. It was also observed that the phonemes /h/ and /□/ are found in PT and not in VT. The study revealed that what are realized as labio-dental fricatives [f] and [v] in VT are manifested as glottal fricatives [h] and [□] in all the PT dialects. The study further revealed that the postalveolar affricate [ʃ] which is orthographically written as *sy-* is phonologically manifested as [h] in PT dialects. The study further revealed that the phoneme /s/ is sometimes manifested as [h] in PT dialects. This is usually the case when pronouncing names such as *Simoonga* [himo:ŋga], *Simuyaba* [himujaβa]. Other revelations of the study were that [z] is generally manifested as [□] in PT dialects, for example the word *zintu* ‘things’ is [□intu] in PT. It was also observed that the velar plosive [k] is generally spirantized in PT to be manifested as a voiced velar fricative [□].

We further observed that what is manifested as a voiceless postalveolar affricative [tʃ] in VT is manifested as a voiced lax postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in PT generally. However, in certain words such as *ccita* [tʃita] [I don't know] and *kuccisa* [□utʃisa] 'to iron', the affricate [tʃ] is manifested by PT dialects.

5.1.2 Morphological Level

With regard to morphology, the findings of the study showed that generally the morphological structure of nouns and verbs was found to be similar in both VT and PT. However, some differences were noted in respect to noun classes. The study observed that there are nouns in both VT and PT which share the same nominal stem but realize different noun prefixes. For instance, the stem **-ba** 'cattle kraal' in VT is preceded by the class 11 prefix **lu-** to realize /lu-ba/ [luβa] in the singular form of the word whereas the same nominal stem is preceded by the class 7 prefix **ci-** in the PT dialects of Mazabuka and Monze to realize /ci-ba/ [ʃiβa] as the singular form, and the class 8 prefix **zyi-** to come up with /zyi-ba/ [□iβa] as the plural form. The nominal stem **-nsyu** 'urine' in VT is preceded by the class 3 prefix **mu-** whereas the PT dialects use the class 4 prefix **mi-** before the stem.

In terms of verbal morphology, it was revealed that the morphological structure of verbal extensions considered in the study was basically the same in VT and PT. Both dialects exhibited similar verbal extension morphemes: **-il-**, **-el-**, **-in-** or **-en-** (for the applied), **-i-** and **-isi-** (for the causative), **-u-** and **-igu-** (for the passive), **-ulul-** and **-unun-** (for the reversive active), **-unuk-** and **-uluk-** (for the reversive stative), **-an-** (for the reciprocal), and **-is-** (for the intensive extension).

Generally it was observed that there are few variations between VT and PT at this level as compared to lexical and phonetic or phonological levels.

5.1.3 Syntactic Level

At the syntactic level of linguistic analysis, it was observed that both VT and PT dialects express simple negation with a negative verbal morpheme **ta-** and the particle **pe** (which

occurs at sentence final position) giving us a basic word order of S Neg+SM+V O (Neg). However, some syntactic differences between VT and PT were revealed. For instance, for a 'yes-no' question, it was observed that VT and the PT dialects of Choma and Kalomo use the word **sena** which can occupy sentence initial or sentence final position whereas the Mazabuka and Monze dialects realize the word **hena** in terms of pronunciation and spelling, also occupying sentence initial or sentence final position.

Another syntactic difference that was noted was in the words used for question tag formation. The study revealed that VT realizes **tee mbumbubo na** after a positive statement while the Mazabuka and Monze dialects use the words **tabusi hena**. The Choma and Kalomo dialects use **embo na** after a positive statement.

5.1.4 Lexical Level

At the lexical level of linguistic analysis, the study revealed overallly that there are variations between the VT and the PT dialects. Our study has revealed that there are lexical items which the VT dialect does not share with the PT dialects and some which the VT dialect shares with some PT dialects. The study also revealed striking similarities between VT and all the PT dialects in certain semantic fields such as the numerals, in verbs that denote everyday human activities and in body parts. It was also observed that most of the shared words in these categories were inherited from Proto Bantu. It was also revealed that there are lexical items that are shared across all the dialects considered in the study but do not seem to have been inherited from the Proto Bantu forms but probably from non Bantu languages as a result of language contact and borrowing.

The differences between the VT and the PT dialects were attributed to the geographical location of the dialects. The VT dialect is geographically farther from the PT dialects. There is not much interaction between the two dialects due to the concept of divergence. The study also revealed that there are some lexical variations between the PT dialects. However, the study has revealed that the Mazabuka and Monze dialects are quite close in terms of vocabulary just as the Choma and Kalomo dialects are. The closeness in vocabulary is attributed to the concept of convergence as opposed to divergence.

5.2 Recommendations

Our study employed the theoretical frameworks of Generative Dialectology, Traditional Dialectology and Structural Dialectology to identify dialectal variations between VT and PT. There is need to carry out a similar study from another theoretical framework point of view such as the lexicostatistical approach or the comparative method to determine whether this would have an effect on the results.

One aspect where one would, perhaps, expect to elicit many differences is the tonal level. This particular study did not consider tonal variations between VT and PT. Therefore, there is a greater need to conduct a similar study from an Autosegmental Phonology stand point in order to establish variations that exist at tonal level.

As pointed out under the limitations of the study, there are other sub-dialects of Tonga that we have not examined in our study that would be worth taking into account for further research. Therefore, it is highly recommended that a dialectological study of Tonga which is wider than the current one be conducted to include: (a) other varieties of VT such as those of Gwembe and Sinazongwe dialect areas, (b) sub-dialects within the Mazabuka, Monze, Choma, and Kalomo dialect areas.

Additionally, Tonga is a cross-border language. Therefore, there is need to conduct a dialectological study of cross-border variations to cover Tonga dialects spoken in the Gokwe North, Gokwe South, Nkayi, Nyaminyami and Victoria Falls areas of Zimbabwe so that conclusions to be made would be based on all forms of Tonga. Furthermore, such a larger scope of study could be a starting point for the creation of a linguistic atlas for Tonga. In addition, linguists should be urged to conduct dialectological studies of Bantu languages in general and Zambian languages in particular. If this was done, it would widen the teaching and learning material base for Bantu languages generally and Zambian languages particularly.

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APPENDIX A

260 ITEM-WORD LIST TRANSLATED INTO TONGA DIALECTS

S/N	Gloss	Proto Bantu	Valley Tonga	Mazabuka Dialect	Monze Dialect	Choma Dialect	Kalomo Dialect
1	all	-yonce	-oonse	-oonse	-oonse	-oonse	-oonse
2	many	-yinge	-nji	-nji	-nji	-nji	-nji
3	ancestral spirits	-dimo	mizimo	mizimo	mizimo	mizimo	mizimo
4	animal	-yama	munyama	munyama	munyama	munyama	munyama
5	meat	-yama	nyama	nyama	nyama	-nyama	nyama
6	roof poles	-	makankala	masomo	masomo	masomo	masomo
7	crocodile	-goena	ntale	ciwena	ciwena	ciwena	ciwena
8	water (n)	-yiba	maanzi	meenda	meenda	maanzi	maanzi
9	spear (n)	-tumo	ng'umba	sumo	sumo	sumo	syumo
10	dog	-boa	munkala	mubwa	mubwa	mubwa	mubwa
11	cow	-gombe	ng'ombe	ng'ombe	ng'ombe	ng'ombe	ng'ombe
12	goat	-budi	mpongo	mpongo	mpongo	mpongo	mpongo
13	pig	- gudube	ngulube	ngulube	ngulube	ngulube	ngulube
14	hen	-	nseke	nseke	nseke	nseke	nseke
15	elephant	-jogu	nzovwu	muzovwu	muzovwu	muzovwu	muzovwu
16	hyena	-	suntwe	suntwe	suntwe	suntwe	suntwe
17	snake (n)	-joka	muzoka	nzoka	nzoka	nzoka	nzoka
18	armpit	-yapa	-nkwa	-nkwaapa	nkwa	-nkwa	-nkwa
19	behind	-	musyule	munsi	munsi	musyule	munsi
20	bad	-be	-bi	-bi	-bi	-bi	-bbi
21	skin (n)	-kanda	lukanda	cikanda	cikanda	lukanda	cikanda
22	bathe (v)	-yog	samba	samba	samba	samba	samba
23	swim (v)	-	-yamba	-saya	dubbwa	yaamba	yaamba
24	beard	-dedu	cilezu	malezu	malezu	malezu	cilezu
25	beat	-	uma	uma	uma	uma	uma
26	bee	-juki	nzuki	nzuki	nzuki	nzuki	nzuki
27	belly	-da	bula	-da	-da	-da	-da
28	beer	-dogu	bukande	bukoko	bukoko	bukoko	bukoko
29	big	-nene	pati	pati	-pati	-pati	-pati

30	old	-kudu	-kulukulu	-cembele	-cembele	-cembele	-cembele
31	bird	-yoni	-yuni	-yuni	-yuni	-yuni	-yuni
32	bite (v)	-dum	luma	luma	luma	luma	luma
33	black	-yidu	-siya	-siya	-siya	-siya	-siya
34	white	-yedo	-tuba	-tuba	-tuba	-tuba	-tuba
35	red	-goda	-salala	-salala	-subila	-salala	-salala
36	blind person	-poku	moofwu	moofwu	moofwu	moofwu	moofwu
37	blood	-gadi	ganzi	bulowa	bulowa	bulowa	bulowa
38	body	-bidi	mubili	mubili	mubili	mubili	mubili
39	bone	-kupa	cifwuwa	cifwuwa	cifwuwa	cifwuwa	cifwuwa
40	brain	-yongo	bongo	bongo	bongo	bongo	bongo
41	breast	-beede	nkolo	nkolo	nkolo	nkolo	nkolo
42	tree	-te	-samu	-samu	-samu	-samu	-samu
43	branch (n)	-tabi	mutabi	mutabi	mutabi	mutabi	mutabi
44	breathe	-peem	yoya	yoya	yoya	yeeka	yeeka
45	nose (n)	-puna	mpemo	mpemo	mpemo	mpemo	mpemo
46	burn (v)	-teem	umpa	umpa	umpa	tenta	tenta
47	buy (v)	-gud	ula	ula	ula	ula	ula
48	pay (v)	-	bbadala	bbadela	bbadela	bbadela	bbadela
49	catch (v)	-yank	jata	jata	jata	jata	jata
50	cheek	-caya	saya	saya	saya	saya	saya
51	chest (n)	-todo	kaango	camba	camba	camba	camba
52	chew	-takun	nyeela	tafuna	tafuna	nyeela	nyeela
53	child	-yana	mwana	mwana	mwana	mwana	mwana
54	cloud (n)	-dunde	joba	kkumbi	kkumbi	kkumbi	kkumbi
55	sky	-gudu	julu	-julu	julu	julu	julu
56	on top	-	aatala	atala	atala	atala	atala
57	cold	-pod	-tontola	-tontola	-tontola	-tontola	-tontola
58	come	-yij	-za	boola	boola	boola	boola
59	go (v)	-ge	-ya	-unka	unka	-ya	-ya
60	walk (v)	-gend	-enda	-enda	-enda	-enda	-enda
61	come down	-	seluka	seluka	seluka	seluka	seluka
62	wake up	-damuk	buka	buka	buka	buka	buka
63	cook (v)	-yipeek	jika	jika	jika	jika	jika
64	count (v)	-bad	bala	bala	bala	bala	bala
65	cover(v)	-kunek	vumba	vunika	vumba	vumba	vumba
66	uncover	-	vwumbula	vwununa	vwumbula	vwumbula	vwumbula

67	cultivate	-dem	-lima	-lima	-lima	-lima	-lima
68	dig (v)	-cemb	-sya	-sya	-sya	-sya	-sya
69	cut (v)	-ten	-gonka	-zutula	nyongola	tenda	gonka
70	cry (v)	-ded	-lila	-lila	-lila	-lila	-lila
71	day	-cuko	buzuba	buzuba	buzuba	buzuba	buzuba
72	night	-tiko	mansiku	masiku	masiku	masiku	masiku
73	sun (n)	-joba	zuba	-zuba	-zuba	-zuba	-zuba
74	die	-ku	-fwa	-fwa	-fwa	-fwa	-fwa
75	dream(v)	-doot	-lota	-lota	-lota	-lota	-lota
76	drink(v)	-nu	-nywa	-nywa	-nywa	-nywa	-nywa
77	eat	-de	-lya	-lya	-lya	-lya	-lya
78	doze off	-	gunka	-umfwula	-fwukula	-guna	-guna
79	dry (be)	-yum	-yuma	-yuma	-yuma	-yuma	-yuma
80	dust (n)	-kongo	suko	kasuko	kasuko	-lusuko	-lusuko
81	ear	-tu	-kutwi	kutwi	-kutwi	-kutwi	-kutwi
82	voice (n)	-joi	-jwi	-jwi	-jwi	-jwi	-jwi
83	hear	-yig	-mvwa	-mvwa	-mvwa	-mvwa	-mvwa
84	land(n)	-	-nyika	-nyika	-nyika	-nyika	-nyika
85	egg	-ge	-ji	-ji	-ji	-ji	-ji
86	extinguish	-dim	-zima	-zima	-zima	-zima	-zima
87	eye (n)	-yico	liso	liso	liso	linsyo	linsyo
88	eye lash	-kope	nkoye	nkoye	nkoye	nkoye	nkoye
89	to fall	-pon	kuwa	kuwa	kuwa	kuwa	kuwa
90	to stand	-yem	kwiimikila	kwiimikila	kwiima	kwiima	kwiimikila
91	fat (n)	-kuta	mafuta	mafuta	mafuta	mafuta	mafuta
92	father (n)	-taata	taata	-taata	-taata	-taata	-taata
93	mother (n)	-maama	baama	baama	babaama	baama	baama
94	fear(v)	-yogop	yoowa	yoowa	yoowa	-yoowa	yoowa
95	fear (n)	-yoma	buyoofwu	buyoofwu	buyoofwu	buyoofwu	buyoofwu
96	feathers (n)	-cada	minimba	mapepe	mapepe	mapepe	mapepe
97	wing (n)	-papa	-bbaba	-bbaba	-bbaba	-bbaba	-bbaba
98	fly (v)	-guduk	-uluka	-uluka	-uluka	-uluka	-uluka
99	finger (n)	-noe	kanwe	munwe	munwe	munwe	munwe
100	hand (n)	-kaca	-janza	-janza	-janza	-janza	-janza
101	fire (n)	-dedo	mulilo	mulilo	mulilo	mulilo	mulilo
102	fire wood	-koni	-nkuni	-nkuni	-nkuni	-nkuni	-nkuni
103	fire place	-giko	cikko	cikko	cikko	cikko	cikko
104	ashes	-tu	dyota	mulota	-twe	-twe	-twe
105	one	-mu	-mwe	-mwe	-mwe	-mwe	-mwe

106	two	-bidi	-bilo	-bilo	-bile	-bile	-bile
107	three	-tatu	-tatwe	-tatwe	-tatwe	-tatwe	-tatwe
108	four	-nee	-ne	-ne	-ne	-ne	-ne
109	five	-taanu	sanwe	-sanwe	-sanwe	-sanwe	-sanwe
110	ten	-kumi	kkumi	kkumi	kkumi	kkumi	kkumi
111	fish (n)	-cu	muswi	-nswi	-nswi	-nswi	-nswi
112	flower(n)	-duba	duba	luba	-lubaluba	lubaluba	-luba
113	foot (n)	-tende	cituta	cimpata	-tende	cifwumba	-tende
114	leg	-godo	kuulu	kuulu	kuulu	kuulu	kuulu
115	frog	-yoda	culwa	cula	cula	cula	cula
116	lizard	-bambe	syadyolo	nazwaambi	syantoo- mbela	-ntombela	-ntombela
117	give	-pa	-pa	-pa	-pa	-pa	-pa
118	give birth	-biad	-zyala	-zyala	-zyala	-zyala	-zyala
119	grass	-yani	syokwe	bwizu	bwizu	bwizu	buzyu
120	grow up	-kud	komena	komena	komena	komena	komena
121	hair	-coke	-susu	masusu	masusu	masusu	-susu
122	head (n)	-tu	mutwe	mutwe	mutwe	mutwe	mutwe
123	heart	-tema	moyo	moyo	moyo	moyo	moyo
124	hat	-	ngowani	nzyeete	nzyeete	mvwuse	mvwuse
125	heavy	-dem	-lemu	-lemu	-lemu	-lemu	-lemu
126	here	-	aano	ano	ano	aano	aano
127	hide (v)	-pica	-sisa	-sisa	-sisa	-sisa	-sisa
128	honey	-yoke	buci	buci	buci	buci	buci
129	house (n)	-ganda	-ng'nda	-ng'anda	-ng'nda	-ng'anda	-ng'anda
130	house fly	-gi	-nzi	-nzinini	nzinini	-nzinini	-nzi
131	hunger	-jada	nzala	nzala	nzala	nzala	nzala
132	jump(v)	-kedok	swatuka	sotoka	sotoka	sotoka	sotoka
133	kidney	-	-nsa	-nsa	-nsa	-nsa	-nsa
134	kill(v)	-bulag	-jaya	-jaya	-jaya	-jaya	-jaya
135	knee	-du	-zwi	goonko	gondo	gondo	gondo
136	know	-yijeb	-ziba	-zyiba	-zyiba	-zyiba	-zyiba
137	laugh (v)	-cek	-seka	-seka	-seka	-seka	-seka
138	leaf (n)	-yani	-tu	-tewu	-tuvwu	-tewo	-tewo
139	lion	-cimba	mulavu	syuumbwa	syuumbwa	syuumbwa	syuumbwa
140	liver	-	cini	muni	muni	muni	muni
141	locust	-gige	cikwikwi	nsozi	nsozi	mpaso	cikwikwi
142	long	-da	lamfu	lamfu	lamfu	lamfu	lamfu
143	louse	-da	njina	njina	njina	njina	njina

144	love(v)	-yend	-yanda	-yanda	-yanda	-yanda	-yanda
145	want (v)	-yend	-yanda	-yanda	-yanda	-yanda	-yanda
146	lungs	-	mapunga	mafwufwe	mafwufwe	mapwaapwa	mafwufwe
147	man (n)	-dome	mwaalumi	mulombwan a	mulombw -ana	mulombwan a	mulombw- ana
148	woman	-kadi	mwanakaz i	mukaintu	mukaintu	mukaintu	mukaintu
149	milk(v)	-kam	kama	kama	kama	kama	kama
150	calf	-gombe	munamani	moombe	moombe	moombe	moombe
151	moon	-yedi	mweezi	mwezi	mwezi	mweezi	mweezi
152	mountain	-	mulundu	mulundu	mulundu	mulundu	mulundu
153	mouth(n)	-nua	mulomo	mulomo	mulomo	mulomo	mulomo
154	tongue	-dem	lulimi	mulaka	mulaka	mulaka	mulaka
155	mud	-	matipa	mankanda	ntimba	mankandya	mankandya
156	name (n)	-gina	zina	zyina	zyina	zyina	zyina
157	neck (n)	-kingo	nsingo	nsingo	nsingo	nsingo	nsingo
158	now	-	ino	ino	ono	eno	eno
159	person	-ntu	muntu	muntu	muntu	muntu	muntu
160	plant (v)	-bead	byala	syanga	syanga	syanga	syanga
161	uproot	-	nonkola	jwa	jwa	pumbula	zyula
162	play(v)	-	sobana	sobana	sobana	sobana	sobana
163	pull (v)	-dut	kwela	duda	duda	kwela	kwela
164	push (v)	-tind	tonta	tonka	tonka	tonka	tonka
165	rain (n)	-buda	mvula	mvula	mvula	mvula	mvula
166	rib (n)	-badu	kapango	bambo	bambo	bambo	bambo
167	ripen	-	bizwa	pya	pya	bizwa	bizwa
168	river	-donga	mulonga	mulonga	mulonga	mulonga	mulonga
169	root (n)	-di	muyanda	muyanda	muyunda	muyanda	muyanda
170	rope	-	lukole	ntambo	ntambo	ntambo	ntambo
171	rot (v)	-bod	bola	bola	bola	bola	bola
172	saliva	-te	mate	mate	mate	mate	mate
173	urine	-cu	munsyu	minsyu	minsyu	minsyu	minsyu
174	spit (v)	-tu	swida	sipa	swida	swida	swida
175	salt (n)	-yinyo	munyo	munyo	mwino	munyo	munyo
176	sand (n)	-ceke	museenga	museenga	museenga	musenga	musenga
177	soil (n)	-bu	bulongo	bulongo	bulongo	bulongo	bulongo
178	seed (n)	-buto	nseke	nseke	nseke	nseke	nseke
179	send	-tum	tuma	tuma	tuma	tuma	tuma
180	sew	-tum	suma	suma	suma	suma	suma

181	shiver (v)	-didim	zazama	zuzuma	bimba	bimba	bimba
182	shoulder (n)	-pega	gwezyo	pekete	kkuko	kkuko	kkuko
183	shut	-dib	jala	jala	jala	jala	jala
184	sick (be)	-	ciswa	ciswa	ciswa	ciswa	ciswa
185	sit	-kad	kkala	kkala	kkala	kkala	kala
186	sleep (v)	-gon	ona	ona	ona	ona	ona
187	small	-niini	niini	syoonto	syoonto	syoonto	syoonto
188	thin (be)	-yond	nyana	koka	koka	kotela	kotela
189	short	-kupe	fwiifwi	fwaafwi	fwiifwi	fwaafwi	fwaafwi
190	smell (v)	-nunk	nunka	nunka	nunka	nunka	nunka
191	smoke(n)	-yoki	busi	busi	busi	busi	busi
192	speak	-gamba	ambuula	ambaula	ambaula	ambaula	ambaula
193	tell	-	buzya	ambila	ambila	ambila	ambila
194	vomit(v)	-dok	luka	luka	luka	luka	luka
195	split (v)	-pand	andula	pandula	pandula	andula	andula
196	sore	-dond	cilonda	cilonda	cilonda	cicisa	cicisa
197	stab (v)	-	yasa	yasa	yasa	yasa	yasa
198	star(n)	nyenye di	nyenyezi	nyenyezi	nyenyezi	nyenyeezi	yenyeezi
199	stir (v)	-	kopa	kopa	kopa	kopa	kopa
200	steal	-yib	bba	bba	bba	bba	bba
201	strength	-gudu	nguzu	nguzu	nguzu	nguzu	nguzu
202	suck (v)	-yonk	nyonka	nyonka	nyonka	nyonka	nyonka
203	swallow(v)	-mid	mena	mena	mena	mena	mena
204	sweat(n)	-dap	nkasaalo	nkasaalo	nkasaalo	nkasaalo	nkasaalo
205	swell (v)	-bimb	zimba	zimba	zimba	zimba	zimba
206	tail (n)	-keda	mucila	mucila	mucila	mucila	mucila
207	tears (n)	-yicodi	misozi	misozi	misozi	misozi	misozi
208	thigh	-bedo	cibelo	cibelo	cibelo	cibelo	cibelo
209	things	-ntu	zintu	zyintu	zyintu	zyintu	zyintu
210	think	-gan	yeeya	yeeya	yeeya	yeeya	yeeya
211	thirst (n)	-yota	nyota	nyota	nyota	nyota	nyota
212	this	-no	eeci	eci	eci	eeci	eeci
213	that	-dea	eeciya	eciya	ciya	eeciya	eeciya
214	these	-	eezi	ezyi	eezyi	eezyi	eezyi
215	those	-	eezyo	ezyo	eezyo	eezyo	eezyo
216	tie (v)	-gang	anga	anga	anga	anga	anga
217	time (n)	-	ciindi	ciindi	ciindi	ciindi	ciindi

218	taste (v)	-	labila	labila	labila	labila	labila
219	tomorrow	-	juunza	cifwumo	cifwumo	junza	junza
220	day after tomorrow		zoonza	zona	zona	zyona	zyona
221	yesterday	-jo	jilo	jilo	jilo	jilo	jilo
222	today	-deenu	sunu	sunu	sunu	sunu	sunu
223	tear (v)	-	delula	zaula	zapula	zapula	zapula
224	thatch (v)	-bimba	vwumba	vwumba	vwumba	vwumba	vwumba
225	tooth	-yino	linyoy	linyoy	lino	lino	lino
226	touch(v)	-papat	guma	jata	jata	jata	jata
227	try (v)	-	sola	sola	sola	sola	sola
228	village	-gi	munzi	munzi	munzi	munzi	munzi
229	visit (v)	-	swaya	swaya	swaya	swaya	swaya
230	visitor	-	mweenzu	mweenzu	mweenzu	mweenzu	mweenzu
231	wear (v)	-duad	sama	sama	sama	sama	sama
232	get wet	-dob	teta	nama	nama	teta	teta
233	what?	-	nzi?	nzi?	nzi?	nzi?	nzi/
234	when?	-	lili?	lili?	lili?	lili?	lili?
235	where?	-	kuli?	kuli?	kuli?	kuli?	kuli?
236	how?	-	biyeni?	buti	buti	buti	buti?
237	wind (n)	-pepo	guwo	muwo	muwo	muwo	muwo
238	witch (n)	-dogi	mulozi	mulozi	mulozi	mulozi	mulozi
239	work (n)	-demo	mbeleku	mulimo	mulimo	mulimo	mulimo
240	maize	-	zyipopwe	mapoka	mapopwe	mapopwe	mapopwe
241	axe (n)	-temo	kaleba	keembe	keembe	keembe	keembe
242	kraal	-tanga	luba	ciba	ciba	cimpat	cimpat
243	knife (n)	-poko	cipanga	cipeni	cipeni	cipoko	cipoko
244	wood pecker	-	camugoma-goma	simugoma-mpako	simugoma-mpako	simugoma-mpako	simugoma-mpako
245	parrot (n)	-	mankwela	cinkwele	cinkwele	cinkwele	cinkwenga
246	again	-	lubo	alimwi	alimwi	alimwi	alimwi
247	cow dung	-	mafwumb a	mafwumba	mafwumb a	mafwumba	bufwumba
248	faint (v)	-	wizuka	netuka	netuka	netuka	netuka
249	crawl (v)	-	yavwula	kalaba	kalaba	kalaba	kalaba
250	grand mother	-kaaka	baneene	bakaapa	bankaaka	banene	banene
251	grandfather	-kaaka	syaneene	bakaapa	bankaaka	basyaneene	syaneene

252	tired (be)	-dem	kudekela	kulema	kukatala	kukatala	kukatala
253	to marry	-bad	kukwa	kutwala	kutwala	kukwata	kukwata
254	pay bride price	-	-sela	-bbadela	-kwa	lunga	lunga
255	bull (n)	-	poho	mucende	mucende	poho	poho
256	cross a river	-jabuk	zabuka	zabuka	landuka	zubuka	zubuka
257	weeds (n)	-	syokwe	sokwe	sokwe	nsaku	nsaku
258	ground nuts	-	ndongwe	nyemu	nyemu	nyemu	nyemu
259	watch (v)	-	langilizya	ebelela	ebelezya	ebela	ebela
260	you	be/yino	yebo	yebo	webo	yebo	yebo

APPENDIX B

SENTENCE LIST TRANSLATED INTO THE VALLEY TONGA

1. Chimuka stole two sheep. [Chimuka wakabba imbelele zyobile.]
2. This load is very heavy. [Ooyu mukuli ulalema loko.]
3. Are the oxen grazing? [Sena basune balacela na?]
4. Don't go to school today. [Utiinki kucikolo sunu.]
5. Come back early. [Upiluke kufwambaana.]
6. What are those children doing? [Ino banaabo batyani?]
7. My grandfather smokes tobacco. [Syanele ulafwepa tombwe.]
8. I don't see. [Tandiboni pe.]
9. No, he doesn't see. [Pe, taboni pe.]
10. Then I went to the river to draw water. [Kumane ndakiinka kumulonga kukuteka meenda.]
11. These boys always fight day and night. [Balombe aaba balalwana lyoonse masiku esikati.]
12. This is how it is, isn't it? [Oobu mbucibede, tee mbumbubo na?]
13. We will eat. [Tuyakulya.]
14. What do you want? [Uyandaa nzi?]
15. The boys had not seen it. [Balombe tebakanacibona pe.]
16. You are Tonga, aren't you? [Uli mu Tonga, tee mbumbubo na?]
17. You will not see them again. [Tukababoni lubo pe.]
18. No, I did not propose love to her. [Pe, teendakamwambuuzya pe.]
19. How do we do it? [Ino tulacicita biyeni?]
20. Mukandeke, that is useless. You are still a girl, you are not married. That man has not married you yet. Therefore, we can't leave a girl as beautiful as you are just because we have been told that you already have someone. [Eeco Mukandeke tacikwe mulimo. Yebo ucili musimbi, tokwetwe pe. Ooyo mwaalumi tanakukukwata pe. Aboobo,

tatukonzyi kuleka musimbi mubotu mbuli nduwe akaambo kakuti twaambilwa kuti ulijisi kale mwaalumi uuyanda kukukwata.]

21. Oh, no, Mr Mujubeki, I can't give you a reliable reply now. It's better you give me time to think. Equally, a girl also needs to find time to reflect. Please, give me time to think about this. [Aa, pe, pe, ba Mujubeki, tandikonzyi kumupa bwiinguzi bulondokede ino pe. mundipe ciindi cakulyeeya nkaambo alakwe musimbi weelede kujana ciindi cakuyeeya. Akaka, mundipe ciindi cakuyeeya makani aaya.]

22. Well you have spoken the truth. I'll now leave you alone so that you can think about this. When you are through, write me a letter and give it to the children from our village to bring. [Cabota, waamba masimpe. ino ndilakusiya olikke kuteegwa uyeeye. Wamana ulembe lugwalo, upe bana bazwa kumunzi wesu balulete.]

23. No, not in the house. [Pe,pe, kuleka mung'anda pe.]

24. Is what you are telling us the truth? [Sena ncutwaambila ncamasimpe na?]

25. Do you remember that I had been arrested? Yes, when you had stolen a chicken. [Sena uliyeyede kuti ndakalisungidwe? Iiyi, ciindi nuwakabba inkuku.]

26. There is no relish today. [Taakwe cisyu sunu.]

27. Are your children going to Chisamba? No, they are not. Sena bana bako balaya ku Chisamba? Pe, bana tabainki.]

28. Had your masuku fruit softened? No, it was still hard. [Sena masuku aako akalibombede? Pe, akacili makoto.]

29. Have you brought water? Yes, I have brought. [Sena waleta meenda? Iiyi, ndaleta.]

30. Shall I throw? Yes, throw, I'm ready now. [Ngwaale? Iiyi, waala, ndalibambila ino.]

31. Didn't you see my husband there? No, I didn't see him. [Senatokookamubona mwaalumi wangu kuya? Pe, teendakamubona pe.]

32. Are these things for sale? No, they are not. [Sena zintu eezyi zyakusambala na?Pe, zintu eezyi tazili zyakusambala.]

33. Let us both go. No, I'm going alone. [Atwiinke tobilo. pe, ndeenda endikke.]

34. Are you also going? Yes, I'm going. [Sena ayebo ulaya? Iiyi, ndaya.]

35. His oxen are bigger than mine, aren't they? [Basune bakwe mbapati kwiinda bangu, tee mbumbubo na?]

36. Are the men not drinking this week? No, the men are not. [Sena baalumi tabalimukunywa ino nsondo? Pe, baalumi tabalimukunywa ino nsondo.]
37. Do you want to sell your cows? [Sena muyanda kusambala ing'ombe zyenu?]
38. Are your clothes new? [Sena zisani zyako nzinywana na?]
39. Is this citenge expensive? [Sena citenge eeci ciladula na?]
40. Yes of course! [iiyibiya!]
41. Not at all! [pe biya!]
42. Do you like reading? [Sena ulayanda kubala?]
43. Yes, reading is enjoyable. [Iiyi, nkubotu kubala.]
44. Do you own a lot of books? [Sena ulijisi mabbuku manji?]
45. Yes, I have a lot of books. [Iiyi, ndijisi mabbuku manji.]
46. That book is not expensive. [Eelyo ibbuku taliduli.]
47. Are the boys ploughing today? [Sena balombe balalima sunu?]
48. No, the boys are not ploughing today. [Pe, balombe tabalimi sunu.]
49. Am I late? [Sena ndamuka?]
50. Are you tired? [Sena wadekela na?]
51. Are you hungry? [Sena mwafwa inzala na?]
52. It's your fault, isn't it? [Mulandu wako, tee mbumbubo na?]
53. Is the hospital near? [Sena cibbadela cilaafwi?]
54. Is this hen brooding? No, this hen is not brooding. [Senainkuku eeyi ilakumba? Pe, inkuku eeyi tiikumbi pe.]
55. No, these people are not Christians. [Pe, aaba bantu tee baKristo pe.]
56. Does your grandmother smoke? [Sena banene bako balafwepa na?]
57. No, my grandmother does not smoke. [Pe, banene tabafwepi pe.]
58. Do you want something? [Sena kuli ncomuyanda na?]
59. Are you thirsty? [Sena mwafwa inyota?]
60. This is cow's milk, isn't it? [Mukupa ooyu ngwa ng'ombe, tee mbumbubo na?]
61. This is good food, isn't it? [Eeci cakulya ncinono, tee mbumbubo na?]
62. Is that the leg that was bitten by a snake? Yes, this is the one that was bitten. I would have died had it not been for the help of God and native medicines. [Sena nkokuulu oko]

kwakalumidwe inzoka? Iiyi, nkokwakalumidwe. Ndakali mulufwu. Leza nguwakandigwasya, amisamu yabantu.]

63. Have your children any mealie-meal at home? No, they haven't, it's all finished.

[Sena bana bako balijisi ibusu kung'anda? Pe, bana tabajisi ibusu, bwamana boonse.]

64. Do you want to buy some chickens? Yes, I do. [Sena ulayanda kuula inkuku? Iiyi, ndayanda.]

65. There is no toilet here. [Taakwe icimbuzi kuno.]

66. There is no firewood today. [Taakwe inkuni sunu pe.]

67. Do you want us to go away? [Sena muyanda kuti twinke?]

68. Do you want us to wait? [Sena muyanda kuti tulindle?]

69. Are you going today? [Sena mulaya sunu?]

70. Have you already been examined by the doctor? No, I'm still waiting. [Sena mwapimwa kale amusilisi na? Pe, ndicilindila.]

71. Do you speak Lozi? Yes, I speak Lozi well. I used to work in Mongu. [Sena mulambuula ci Lozi? Iiyi, ndaambuula kabotu. Ndakali kubeleka ku Mongu.]

72. My younger brother does not work. [Muce wangu mulombe tabeleki.]

73. There is no one at home. All the people have gone into their fields. [Taakwe muntu kung'anda. Boonse bantu baya mu myuunda yabo.]

74. Is there no one to escort me? [Sena taakwe undisindikila na?]

75. Is there no water in the well? [Sena taakwe meenda mumugodi?]

76. There is no maize in the storage bin. It has been eaten by mice. [Taakwe zipopwe mubutala. Zyakaligwa mbeba.]

77. There are no crops to take to the show. [Taakwe zilimwa zyakutola kumeebezyo.]

78. Is it you who shared the honey among yourselves? No, it was not us. [Sena ndinywe mwakaabana buci? Pe, endiswe pe.]

79. Is it very painful? [Sena cilacisa loko?]

80. These sugar canes are very long. [Eeyi minsale milamfwu loko.]

81. Thank you very much. [Twalumba loko.]

82. It's extremely bad. [Ncibbi loko.]

83. This is a very good village here. [Munzi uno mubotu loko.]

84. These villages here have very many children. [Minzi ino ilijisi bana banji loko.]

85. These people are very clever. [Aaba bantu balipanukide loko.]
86. It is very bad to laugh at old people. [Ncibbi loko kuseka ibantu bakulukulu.]
87. His father is extremely angry today. [Bausyi bakalede loko sunu.]
88. My father smokes a lot. [Bataata balafwepa loko.]
89. This road is very bad. [Ooyu mugwagwa mubi loko.]
90. These sheep are very thin. [Eezi imbelele zilinyanide loko.]
91. This goat is very sick. [Impongo eeyi ilaciswa loko.]
92. This axe was very sharp. [Aaka kaleba kakalikubosya loko.]
93. No, this load is not heavy. [Pe, mukuli ooyu tuulemi pe.]
94. The child is crying. [Mwana ulalila.]
95. The boy is sick. [Mulombe ulaciswa.]
96. No, Syasikabole did not take his gun. [Pe, Syasikabole takaitolede intobolo yakwe pe.]
97. The guinea-fowls have eaten up my ground nuts. [Inkanga zyalya inyemu zyangu.]
98. The child ate the beans. [Imwana wakalya inyangu.]
99. Your calf is very fat. [Munamani wako ulineneede loko.]
100. The Batonga grow plenty of food. [Batonga balalima kulya kunji.]

APPENDIX C

SENTENCE LIST TRANSLATED INTO THE MAZABUKA DIALECT

1. Chimuka stole two sheep. [Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobilo.]
2. This load is very heavy. [Ooyu mukuli ulalema kapati.]
3. Are the oxen grazing? [Henabasune balacela?]
4. Don't go to school today. [Utaunki kucikolo sunu.]
5. Come back early. [Ujoke kufwambaana.]
6. What are those children doing? [Ino banaabo batyani?]
7. My grandfather smokes tobacco. [Bakaapa balafweba tombwe.]
8. I don't see. [Tandiboni pe]
9. No, he doesn't see. [Taaku, taboni pe]
10. Then I went to the river to draw water. [Mpoona ndakaunka kumulonga kukuteka meenda.]
11. These boys always fight day and night. [Aaba basankwa balalwana lyoonse masiku amasikati.]
12. This is how it is, isn't it? [Oobu mbocibede, tabusi hena?]
13. We will eat. [Tuyakulya.]
14. What do you want? [Uyanda nzi?]
15. The boys had not seen it. [Basankwa taakunibakacibwene.]
16. You are Tonga, aren't you? [Uli muTonga, tabusi hena?]
17. You will not see them again. [Taakunoyakubabona alimwi.]
18. No, I did not propose love to her. [Taaku, tindakamuyanda.]
19. How do we do it? [Ino tulacicita buti?]
20. Mukandeke, that is useless. You are still a girl, you are not married. That man has not married you yet. Therefore, we can't leave a girl as beautiful as you are just because we have been told that you already have someone. [Mukandeke, tacibeleki eeco. Uli

musimbi, totwelwe. Uuya musankwa takutwele. Nkikaako, inga tiitwaleka musimbi mubotu mbuli ndiwe akaambo kakuti ulaa musankwa.]

21. Oh, no, Mr Mujubeki, I can't give you a reliable reply now. It's better you give me to think. Equally, a girl also needs to find time to reflect. Please, give me time to think about this. [Ma, taaku, ba Mujubeki, inga tiindamwaambila ino. Ncibotu kuti mwandipa ciindi ndiyeeye. Musimbi weelede kujana ciindi cakuyeeya. Kaka, mundipe ciindi ndiyeeye.]

22. Well, you have spoken the truth. I'll now leave you alone so that you can think about this. When you are through, write me a letter and give it to the children from our village to bring. [Ncibotu, waamba masimpe. Ino ndilakusiya olikke uyeeye. Wamana undilembele lugwalo, upe bana bazwa kumunzi kwesu balete.]

23. No, not in the house. [Taaku, kuleka mung'anda pe.]

24. Is what you are telling us the truth? [Hena ncotwaambila ncamasimpe?]

25. Do you remember that I had been arrested? Yes, when you had stolen a chicken. [Hena ulayeeya kuti ndakalaangidwe? Inzya, liya nookabbide nkuku.]

26. There is no relish today. [Taaku cisyu sunu.]

27. Are your children going to Chisamba? [No, they are not. [Hena bana bako balaunka ku Chisamba? Taaku, bana tabaunki.]

28. Had your masuku fruit softened? No, it was still hard. [Henamasuku aako akalibombede? Taaku, akacili mayumu.]

29. Have you brought water? Yes, I have brought. [Henawaleta meenda? Inzya, ndaleta.]

30. Shall I throw? Yes, throw, I'm ready now. [Ndifuse? Inzya, fusa, ndalibambila ino.]

31. Didn't you see my husband there? No, I didn't see him. [Hena tonokamubona musankwa wangu kuya? Taaku, tindakamubona.]

32. Are these things for sale? No, they are not. [Hena zyintu eezyi zyakusambala? Taaku, zyintu eezyi tazili zyakusambala.]

33. Let us both go. No, I'm going alone. [Atuunke tobilo. Taaku, ndaunka ndilikke.]

34. Are you also going? Yes, I'm going. [Hena andiwe ulaunka? Inzya, ndaunka.]

35. His oxen are bigger than mine, aren't they? [Basune bakwe mbapati kwiinda bangu, tabusi hena?]

36. Are the men not drinking this week? No, the men are not. [Hena basankwa tabanywi nsondo ino? Taaku, basankwa tabanywi ino nsondo.]

37. Do you want to sell your cows? [Hena muyanda kusambala ng'ombe zyanu?]
38. Are your clothes new? [Hena zyisani zyako nzinyowani?]
39. Is this citenge expensive? [Hena ciladula citenge eeci?]
40. Yes of course! [Inzya biya!]
41. Not at all! [Taaku biya!]
42. Do you like reading? [Hena ulayanda kubala?]
43. Yes, reading is enjoyable. [Inzya, kubala nkubotu.]
44. Do you own a lot of books? [Hena ulijisi mabbuku manji?]
45. Yes, I have a lot of books. [Inzya, ndijisi mabbuku manji.]
46. That book is not expensive. [Eelyo bbuku taliduli.]
47. Are the boys ploughing today? [Hena basankwa balalima sunu?]
48. No, the boys are not ploughing today. [Taaku, basankwa tabalimi sunu pe.]
49. Am I late? [Henandamuka?]
50. Are you tired? [Walema hena?]
51. Are you hungry? [Hena mwafwa nzala?]
52. It's your fault, isn't it? [Mulandu wako, tabusi hena?]
53. Is the hospital near? [Hena cibbadela cilaafwaafwi?]
54. Is this hen brooding? No, this hen is not brooding. [Hena nkuku eeyi ilakumba? Taaku, eeyi nkuku tiikumbi pe.]
55. No, these people are not Christians. [Taaku, aaba bantu tabali bana Kristo.]
56. Does your grandmother smoke? [Hena bakaapa bako balafweba?]
57. No, my grandmother does not smoke. [Taaku, bakaapa tabafwebi pe.]
58. Do you want something? [Kuli ncomuyanda hena.]
59. Are you thirsty? [Hena mwafwa nyota?]
60. This is cow's milk, isn't it? [Ooyu mukupa wang'ombe, tabusi hena?]
61. This is good food, isn't it? [Eeci cakulya ncibotu, hena tabusi?]
62. Is that the leg that was bitten by a snake? Yes, this is the one that was bitten. I would have died had it not been for the help of God and native medicines. [Hena nkokuulu oko kwakalumidwe nzoka? Inzya, nkokwakalumidwe. Ndatikafwe. Leza nguwakandigwasya, amisamu yabantu.]

63. Have your children any mealie-meal at home? No, they haven't, it's all finished. [Hena bana bako balijisi busu kung'anda? Taaku, bana tabajisi busu, bwakamana boonse.]
64. Do you want to buy some chickens? Yes, I do. [Hena ulayanda kuula nkuku? Inzya, ndayanda.]
65. There is no toilet here. [Taaku, cimbuzi kuno.]
66. There is no firewood today. [Taaku nkuni sunu.]
67. Do you want us to go away? [Hena muyanda kuti tuunke?]
68. Do you want us to wait? [Hena muyanda kuti tulindile?]
69. Are you going today? [Mulaunka sunu hena?]
70. Have you already been examined by the doctor? No, I'm still waiting. [Hena mwapimwa kale adokotela? Taaku, ndicilindila.]
71. Do you speak Lozi? Yes, I speak Lozi well. I used to work in Mongu. [Hena mulaambaula ci Lozi? Inzya, ndaambaula kabotu. Ndakalikubeleka ku Mongu.]
72. My younger brother does not work. [Musyoonto wangu tabeleki.]
73. There is no one at home. All the people have gone into their fields. [Taaku uliko ku ng'anda. Boonse bantu baunka mu myuunda yabo.]
74. Is there no one to escort me? [Hena taaku utindisindikile na?]
75. Is there no water in the well? [Henataaku meenda mumugodi?]
76. There is no maize in the storage bin. It has been eaten by mice. [Taaku mapoka mubutala. Akaligwa mbeba.]
77. There are no crops to take to the show. [Taakuzyisyango zyakutola kumeebeebe.]
78. Is it you who shared the honey among yourselves? No, it was not us. [Hena ndunywe mwakaabana buci? Taaku, tatulindiswe pe.]
79. Is it very painful? [Hena cilacisa kapati/maningi?]
80. These sugar canes are very long. [Eeyi minsale milamfwu kapati/maningi.]
81. Thank you very much. [Twalumba kapati/maningi.]
82. It's extremely bad. [Ncibi kapati/maningi.]
83. This is a very good village here. [Munzi uno mubotu kapati/maningi.]
84. These villages here have very many children. [Minzi ino ilijisi bana banji kapati/maningi.]

85. These people are very clever. [Aaba bantu balicenjede kapati/maningi.]
86. It is very bad to laugh at old people. [Ncibi kapati/maningi kuseka ba cembele.]
87. His father is extremely angry today. [Bausyi balinyemedede kapati/maningi sunu.]
88. My father smokes a lot. [Bataata balafweba kapati/maningi.]
89. This road is very bad. [Ooyu mugwagwa mubi kapati/maningi.]
90. These sheep are very thin. [Mbelele eezi zilikokede kapati/maningi.]
91. This goat is very sick. [Eeyi mpongo ilaciswa kapati/maningi.]
92. This axe was very sharp. [Aaka keembe kakalikubosya kapati/maningi.]
93. No, this load is not heavy. [Taaku, ooyu mukuli tuulemi.]
94. The child is crying. [Mwana ulalila.]
95. The boy is sick. [Musankwa ulaciswa.]
96. No, Syasikabole did not take his gun. [Taaku, Syasikabole tanaakaitola ntobolo yakwe.]
97. The guinea-fowls have eaten up my ground nuts. [Inkanga zyalya nyemu zyangu.]
98. The child ate the beans. [Mwana wakalya nyabo.]
99. Your calf is very fat. [Moombe wako ulineneede kapati/maningi.]
100. The Batonga grow plenty of food. [Batonga balalima zyakulya zinji.]

APPENDIX D

SENTENCE LIST TRANSLATED INTO THE MONZE DIALECT

1. Chimuka stole two sheep. [Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobilo.]
2. This load is very heavy. [Ooyu mukuli ulalema kapati/maningi.]
3. Are the oxen grazing? [Hena basune balacelan a?]
4. Don't go to school today. [Utaunki kucikolo sunu.]
5. Come back early. [Ujoke kufwambaana.]
6. What are those children doing? [Ino banaabo batyani?]
7. My grandfather smokes tobacco. [Bakaapa balafweba tombwe.]
8. I don't see. [Tandiboni.]
9. No, he doesn't see. [Peepe, tabonipe.]
10. Then I went to the river to draw water. [Mpoona ndakaunka kumulonga kukuteka meenda.]
11. These boys always fight day and night. [Aaba basankwa balalwana lyoonse masiku amasikati.]
12. This is how it is, isn't it? [Oobu mbocibede, tabusi hena?]
13. We will eat. [Tuyakulya.]
14. What do you want? [Uyanda nzi?]
15. The boys had not seen it. [Basankwa tiiakacibwene.]

16. You are Tonga, aren't you? [Uli muTonga, tabusi hena?]
17. You will not see them again. [Tokababoni alimwi.]
18. No, I did not propose love to her. [Peepe, tiindakamwaambauzya pe.]
19. How do we do it? [Ino tulacicita buti?]
20. Mukandeke, that is useless. You are still a girl, you are not married. That man has not married you yet. Therefore, we can't leave a girl as beautiful as you are just because we have been told that you already have someone. [Mukandeke, eeco cinyina mulimo. Ucili musimbi, totwelwe. Uuya musankwa tanakutwala pe. Aboobo, tatukonzyi kuleka musimbi mubotu mbuli nduwe akaambo kakuti twaambilwa kuti ulijisi kale musankwa umbi.]
21. Oh, no, Mr Mujubeki, I can't give you a reliable reply now. It's better you give me to think. Equally, a girl also needs to find time to reflect. Please, give me time to think about this. [Ma, nee, ba Mujubeki, nsekonzyi kupa bwiinguzi bumaninine ono. Ncibotu kuti mwandipa ciindi ndiyeeye nkaambo awalo musimbi weelede kujana ciindi cakuliyeeya. Kaka, mundipe ciindi cakuliyeeya ku kaambo aaka.]
22. Well, you have spoken the truth. I'll now leave you alone so that you can think about this. When you are through, write me a letter and give it to the children from our village to bring. [Ncibotu, waamba masimpe. Ono ndakusiya olikke kutegwa uliyeeye. Wamana undilembele lugwalo, upe bana bazwa kumunzi kwesu balulete.]
23. No, not in the house. [Peepe/nee, kutali mung'anda.]
24. Is what you are telling us the truth? [Hena ngotwaambila ngamasimpe na?]
25. Do you remember that I had been arrested? Yes, when you had stolen a chicken. [Hena uliyeeyede kuti ndakalaangilwe? Inzya, liya nookabbile nkuku.]
26. There is no relish today. [Kunyina cisyu sunu.]
27. Are your children going to Chisamba? [No, they are not. [Hena bana bako balaunka ku Chisamba? Peepe, bana tabaunki.]

28. Had your masuku fruit softened? No, it was still hard. [Hena masuku aako akalibombele? Peepe, akacili mayumu.]
29. Have you brought water? Yes, I have brought. [Hena waleta meenda? Inzya, ndaleta.]
30. Shall I throw? Yes, throw, I'm ready now. [Ndifuse? Inzya, fusa, ndalibambila ono.]
31. Didn't you see my husband there? No, I didn't see him. [Hena tonokamubona musankwa wangu kuya? Peepe, tiindakamubona pe.]
32. Are these things for sale? No, they are not. [Hena zyintu eezyi zyakuuzya? Peepe, zyintu eezyi tazili zyakuuzya.]
33. Let us both go. No, I'm going alone. [Atuunke tobilo. peepe, ndaunka ndilikke.]
34. Are you also going? Yes, I'm going. [Hena andiwe ulaunka? Inzya, ndaunka.]
35. His oxen are bigger than mine, aren't they? [Basune bakwe mbapati kwiinda bangu, tabusi hena?]
36. Are the men not drinking this week? No, the men are not. [Hena basankwa tabanywi nsondo ino? Peepe, basankwa tabanywi ino nsondo.]
37. Do you want to sell your cows? [Hena muyanda kuuzya ng'ombe zyanu?]
38. Are your clothes new? [Hena zyxisani zyako nzinyowani?]
39. Is this citenge expensive? [Hena ciladula citenge eeci?]
40. Yes of course! [inzya biya!]
41. Not at all! [peepe biya!]
42. Do you like reading? [Hena ulayanda kubala?]
43. Yes, reading is enjoyable. [Inzya, kubala nkubotu.]
44. Do you own a lot of books? [Hena ulijisi mabbuku manji?]
45. Yes, I have a lot of books. [Inzya, ndijisi mabbuku manji.]

46. That book is not expensive. [Eelyo bbuku taliduli.]
47. Are the boys ploughing today? [Hena basankwa balalima sunu?]
48. No, the boys are not ploughing today. [Peepe, basankwa tabalimi sunu pe.]
49. Am I late? [Hena ndamuka?]
50. Are you tired? [Wakatala hena?]
51. Are you hungry? [Hena mwafwa nzala?]
52. It's your fault, isn't it? [Mulandu wako, tabusi hena?]
53. Is the hospital near? [Hena cibbadela cilaafwaafwi?]
54. Is this hen brooding? No, this hen is not brooding. [Hena nkuku eeyi ilakumba? Peepe, eeyi nkuku tiikumbi pe.]
55. No, these people are not Christians. [Peepe, aaba bantu tabali bana Kristo pe.]
56. Does your grandmother smoke? [Hena bankaaka bako balafweba tombwe?]
57. No, my grandmother does not smoke. [Peepe, bankaaka tabafwebi tombwe pe.]
58. Do you want something? [Kuli ncomuyanda hena.]
59. Are you thirsty? [Hena mwafwa nyota?]
60. This is cow's milk, isn't it? [Ooyu mukupa wang'ombe, tabusi hena?]
61. This is good food, isn't it? [Eeci cakulya ncibotu, hena tabusi?]
62. Is that the leg that was bitten by a snake? Yes, this is the one that was bitten. I would have died had it not been for the help of God and native medicines. [Hena nkokuulu oko kwakalumidwe nzoka? Inzya, nkonkuko. Ndatikafwe. Leza nguwakandigwasya, amisamu yabantu.]

63. Have your children any mealie-meal at home? No, they haven't, it's all finished. [Hena bana bako balijisi busu kung'anda? Peepe, bana tabajisi busu, bwakamana boonse.]
64. Do you want to buy some chickens? Yes, I do. [Hena ulayanda kuula nkuku? inzya, ndayanda.]
65. There is no toilet here. [Kunyina, cimbuzi kuno.]
66. There is no firewood today. [Kunyina nkuni sunu.]
67. Do you want us to go away? [Henamuyanda kuti tuunke?]
68. Do you want us to wait? [Hena muyanda kuti tulindile?]
69. Are you going today? [Mulaunka sunu hena?]
70. Have you already been examined by the doctor? No, I'm still waiting. [Hena mwapimwa kale adokotela? peepe, ndicilindila.]
71. Do you speak Lozi? Yes, I speak Lozi well. I used to work in Mongu. [Hena mulaambaula ci Lozi?Inzya, ndaambaula kabotu.Ndakalikubeleka ku Mongu.]
72. My younger brother does not work. [Musyoonto wangu tabeleki.]
73. There is no one at home. All the people have gone into their fields. [Kunyina uliko ku ng'anda. Boonse bantu baunka mu myuunda yabo.]
74. Is there no one to escort me? [Hena kunyina utindisindikile na?]
75. Is there no water in the well? [Henakunyina meenda mumugodi?]
76. There is no maize in the storage bin. It has been eaten by mice. [Kunyina mapopwe mubutala. Akaligwa mbeba.]
77. There are no crops to take to the show. [Kunynazyisyango zyakutola kumeebebe.]
78. Is it you who shared the honey among yourselves? No, it was not us. [Hena ndinywe mwakaabana buci? Peepe,teesyindiswe pe.]

79. Is it very painful? [Hena cilacisa kapati/maningi?]
80. These sugar canes are very long. [Eeyi minsale milamfwu kapati/maningi.]
81. Thank you very much. [Twalumba kapati/maningi.]
82. It's extremely bad. [Ncibi kapati/maningi.]
83. This is a very good village here. [Munzi uno mubotu kapati/maningi.]
84. These villages here have very many children. [Minzi ino ilijisi bana banji kapati/maningi.]
85. These people are very clever. [Aaba bantu balicenjede kapati/maningi.]
86. It is very bad to laugh at old people. [Ncibi kapati/maningi kuseka ba macembele.]
87. His father is extremely angry today. [Bausyi balinyemedede kapati/maningi sunu.]
88. My father smokes a lot. [Bataata balafweba kapati/maningi.]
89. This road is very bad. [Ooyu mugwagwa mubi kapati/maningi.]
90. These sheep are very thin. [Mbelele eezi zilikokele kapati/maningi.]
91. This goat is very sick. [Eeyi mpongo ilaciswa kapati/maningi.]
92. This axe was very sharp. [Aaka keembe kakalikubosya kapati/maningi.]
93. No, this load is not heavy. [Peepe, ooyu mukuli tuulemi pe.]
94. The child is crying. [Mwana ulalila.]
95. The boy is sick. [Musankwa ulaciswa.]
96. No, Syasikabole did not take his gun. [Peepe, Syasikabole tanaakaitola ntobolo yakwe pe.]
97. The guinea-fowls have eaten up my ground nuts. [Inkanga zyalya nyemu zyangu.]
98. The child ate the beans. [Mwana wakalya nyabo.]

99. Your calf is very fat. [Moombe wako ulineneele kapati/maningi.]

100. The Batonga grow plenty of food. [Batonga balalima zyakulya zinji.]

APPENDIX E

SENTENCE LIST TRANSLATED INTO THE CHOMA DIALECT

1. Chimuka stole two sheep. [Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobile.]
2. This load is very heavy. [Ooyu mukuli ulalema kapati/maningi.]
3. Are the oxen grazing? [Senabasune balacela na?]
4. Don't go to school today. [Utainki kucikolo sunu.]
5. Come back early. [Ufwambaane kupiluka.]
6. What are those children doing? [Ino banaabo batyeni?]
7. My grandfather smokes tobacco. [Syanene ulafweba tombwe.]
8. I don't see. [Nseboni.]
9. No, he doesn't see. [Peepe, taboni pe.]
10. Then I went to the river to draw water. [Mpoonya ndakainka kumulonga kukuteka maanzi.]
11. These boys always fight day and night. [Aaba basankwa lyoonse balalwana masiku amasikati.]
12. This is how it is, isn't it? [Oobu mbocibede, embo na?]
13. We will eat. [Tuyoolya.]
14. What do you want? [Uyanda nzi?]
15. The boys had not seen it. [Basankwa tiibakacibwene.]
16. You are Tonga, aren't you? [Uli muTonga, embo na?]
17. You will not see them again. [Tokababoni limbi pe.]
18. No, I did not propose love to her. [Peepe, tindakamwaambauzya pe.]
19. How do we do it? [Ino tulacicita buti?]

20. Mukandeke, that is useless. You are still a girl, you are not married. That man has not married you yet. Therefore, we can't leave a girl as beautiful as you are just because we have been told that you already have someone. [Mukandeke, eeco tacibeleki. Ucili musimbi, tonakwatwa pe. Uulya musankwa tanakukukwata pe. Aboobo, tatukonzyi kuleka musimbi mubotu mbuli nduwe akaambo kakuti twaambilwa kuti ulijisi kale musankwa.]

21. Oh, no, Mr Mujubeki, I can't give you a reliable reply now. It's better you give me time to think. Equally, a girl also needs to find time to reflect. Please, give me time to think about this. [Ma, peee, ba Mujubeki, nsekonzyi kupa bwiinguzi bukwene eno. Ncibotu kuti mwandipa ciindi ndikaliiyeeye nkaambo awalo musimbi uleelede kujana ciindi cakuliiyeeya. Kaka, amundipe ciindi cakuliiyeeya.]

22. Well, you have spoken the truth. I'll now leave you alone so that you can think about this. When you are through, write me a letter and give it to the children from our village to bring. [Cabota, waamba masimpe. Eno ndilakusiya olikke uliiyeeye. Wamana undilembele lugwalo, ubape bana bazwa kumunzi wesu balulete.]

23. No, not in the house. [Peepe, kutali mung'anda pe.]

24. Is what you are telling us the truth? [Sena ncotwaambila ncamasimpe na?]

25. Do you remember that I had been arrested? Yes, when you had stolen a chicken. [Sena ulayeeeyede kuti ndakalaangidwe? Iiyi, eliya nookabbide nkuku.]

26. There is no relish today. [Kwiina cisyu sunu.]

27. Are your children going to Chisamba? No, they are not. [Sena bana bako balainka ku Chisamba? Peepe, bana tabayi pe.]

28. Had your masuku fruit softened? No, it was still hard. [Senamasuku aako akalibombede? Peepe, akacili makoto.]

29. Have you brought water? Yes, I have brought. [Senawaleta maanzi na? Iiyi, ndaleta.]

30. Shall I throw? Yes, throw, I'm ready now. [Ndifuse? Iiyi, fusa, ndalibamba eeno.]

31. Didn't you see my husband there? No, I didn't see him. [Sena tokamubwene mulumi wangu kuya? Peepe, nsikamubwene pe.]

32. Are these things for sale? No, they are not. [Sena zyintu eezyi zyakuuzya? Peepe, zyintu eezyi tazili zyakuuzya pe.]

33. Let us both go. No, I'm going alone. [Atwiinke tobile. Peepe, ndayinka endikke.]

34. Are you also going? Yes, I'm going. [Sena anduwe ulayinka? Iiyi, ndayinka.]
35. His oxen are bigger than mine, aren't they? [Basune bakwe mbapati kwiinda bangu, embo na?]
36. Are the men not drinking this week? No, the men are not. [Sena balombwana tabanywi nsondo ino? Peepe, balombwana tabanywi pe.]
37. Do you want to sell your cows? [Sena muyanda kuuzya ng'ombe zyanu?]
38. Are your clothes new? [Sena zyxisani zyako nzinyowana?]
39. Is this citenge expensive? [Sena ciladula citenge eeci?]
40. Yes of course! [iyyi buya!]
41. Not at all! [peepe buya!]
42. Do you like reading? [Sena ulayanda kubala?]
43. Yes, reading is enjoyable. [Iiyi, kubala nkubotu.]
44. Do you own a lot of books? [Sena ulijisi mabbuku manji?]
45. Yes, I have a lot of books. [Iiyi, ndijisi mabbuku manji.]
46. That book is not expensive. [Eelyo bbuku taliduli pe.]
47. Are the boys ploughing today? [Sena basankwa balalima sunu na?]
48. No, the boys are not ploughing today. [Peepe, basankwa sunu tabalimi pe.]
49. Am I late? [Sena ndamuka na?]
50. Are you tired? [Sena wakatala na?]
51. Are you hungry? [Sena mwafwa nzala na?]
52. It's your fault, isn't it? [Mulandu wako, embo na?]
53. Is the hospital near? [Sena cibbadela cilaafwaafwi?]
54. Is this hen brooding? No, this hen is not brooding. [Sena nkuku eeyi ilakumba? Peepe, eeyi nkuku tiikumbi pe.]
55. No, these people are not Christians. [Peepe, aaba bantu tabali bana Kristo pe.]
56. Does your grandmother smoke? [Sena banene bako balafweba tombwe na?]
57. No, my grandmother does not smoke. [Peepe, banene tabafwebi tombwe pe.]
58. Do you want something? [Sena kuli ncomuyanda?]
59. Are you thirsty? [Sena mwafwa nyota?]
60. This is cow's milk, isn't it? [Ooyu mukupa ngwa ng'ombe, embo na?]
61. This is good food, isn't it? [Eeci cakulya ncibotu, embo na?]

62. Is that the leg that was bitten by a snake? Yes, this is the one that was bitten. I would have died had it not been for the help of God and native medicines. [Sena nkokuulu oko kwakalumidwe nzoka? Iiyi, nkokwakalumidwe.Ndakalindafwa. Leza nguwakandigwasya alimwi amisamu yabantu.]
63. Have your children any mealie-meal at home? No, they haven't, it's all finished. [Sena bana bako balijisi busu kung'anda? Peepe, bana tabajisi busu pe, bwakamana boonse.]
64. Do you want to buy some chickens? Yes, I do. [Sena ulayanda kuula nkuku? Iiyi, ndayanda.]
65. There is no toilet here. [Kwiina, cimbuzi kuno pe.]
66. There is no firewood today. [Kwiina nkuni sunu.]
67. Do you want us to go away? [Sena muyanda kuti twiinke?]
68. Do you want us to wait? [Sena muyanda kuti tulindile?]
69. Are you going today? [Mulayinka sunu sena?]
70. Have you already been examined by the doctor? No, I'm still waiting. [Sena mwapimwa kale adokotela? Peepe, ndicilindila.]
71. Do you speak Lozi? Yes, I speak Lozi well. I used to work in Mongu. [Sena mulaambaula ci Lozi? Iiyi, ndilaambaula kabotu. Ndakalikubeleka ku Mongu.]
72. My younger brother does not work.[Musyoonto wangu musankwa tabeleki pe.]
73. There is no one at home. All the people have gone into their fields. [Kwiina uliko ku ng'anda. Boonse bantu baya mu myuunda yabo.]
74. Is there no one to escort me? [Sena kwiina uutindisindikile na?]
75. Is there no water in the well? [Senakwiina maanzi mumugodi?]
76. There is no maize in the storage bin. It has been eaten by mice. [Kwiina mapopwe mubutala. Akaligwa mbeba.]
77. There are no crops to take to the show. [Kwiinazyisyango zyakutola kumeebeebe.]
78. Is it you who shared the honey among yourselves? No, it was not us. [Sena ndinywe mwakaabana buci? Peepe, endiswe pe.]
79. Is it very painful? [Sena cilacisa kapati/maningi?]
80. These sugar canes are very long. [Eeyi minsale milamfwu kapati/maningi.]
81. Thank you very much. [Twalumba kapati/maningi.]

82. It's extremely bad. [Ncibbi kapati/maningi.]
83. This is a very good village here. [Munzi uno mubotu kapati/maningi.]
84. These villages here have very many children. [Minzi ino ilijisi bana banji kapati/maningi.]
85. These people are very clever. [Aaba bantu balicenjede kapati/maningi.]
86. It is very bad to laugh at old people. [Ncibbi kapati/maningi kuseka ba macembele.]
87. His father is extremely angry today. [Bausyi balinyemedede kapati/maningi sunu.]
88. My father smokes a lot. [Bataata balafweba kapati/maningi.]
89. This road is very bad. [Ooyu mugwagwa mubi kapati/maningi.]
90. These sheep are very thin. [Mbelele eezi zilikotede kapati/maningi.]
91. This goat is very sick. [Eeyi mpongo ilaciswa kapati/maningi.]
92. This axe was very sharp. [Aaka keembe kakalikubosya kapati/maningi.]
93. No, this load is not heavy. [Peepe, mukuli ooyu tuulemi pe.]
94. The child is crying. [Mwana ulalila.]/ [ulalila mwana]
95. The boy is sick. [Musankwa ulaciswa.]
96. No, Syasikabole did not take his gun. [Peepe, Syasikabole tanaakaitola ntobolo yakwe pe.]
97. The guinea-fowls have eaten up my ground nuts. [Inkanga zyalya nyemu zyangu.]
98. The child ate the beans. [Mwana wakalya bunyangu.]
99. Your calf is very fat. [Moombe kako kalineneede kapati/maningi.]
100. The Batonga grow plenty of food. [Batonga balalima zyakulya zinji.]

APPENDIX F

SENTENCE LIST TRANSLATED INTO THE KALOMO DIALECT

1. Chimuka stole two sheep. [Chimuka wakabba mbelele zyobile.]
2. This load is very heavy. [ooyu mukuli ulalema kapati/maningi.]
3. Are the oxen grazing? [Sena basune balacela na?]
4. Don't go to school today. [Utainki kucikolo sunu.]
5. Come back early. [Ufwambaane kupiluka.]
6. What are those children doing? [Ino banaabo batyeni?]
7. My grandfather smokes tobacco. [Syanene ulafweba tombwe.]
8. I don't see. [Nseboni.]
9. No, he doesn't see. [Peepe, taboni pe.]
10. Then I went to the river to draw water. [Mpoonya ndakainka kumulonga kukuteka maanzi.]
11. These boys always fight day and night. [Aaba basankwa lyoonse balalwana masiku amasikati.]
12. This is how it is, isn't it? [Oobu mbocibede, embo na?]
13. We will eat. [Tuyoolya.]
14. What do you want? [Uyanda nzi?]
15. The boys had not seen it. [Basankwa tiibakacibwene.]
16. You are Tonga, aren't you? [Uli muTonga, embo na?]
17. You will not see them again. [Tokababoni limbi pe.]
18. No, I did not propose love to her. [Peepe, tindakamwaambauzya pe.]
19. How do we do it? [Ino tulacicita buti?]
20. Mukandeke, that is useless. You are still a girl, you are not married. That man has not married you yet. Therefore, we can't leave a girl as beautiful as you are just because we have been told that you already have someone. [Mukandeke, eeco tacibeleki. Ucili

musimbi, tonakwatwa pe. Uulya musankwa tanakukukwata pe. Aboobo, tatukonzyi kuleka musimbi mubotu mbuli nduwe akaambo kakuti twaambilwa kuti ulijisi kale musankwa.]

21. Oh, no, Mr Mujubeki, I can't give you a reliable reply now. It's better you give me time to think. Equally, a girl also needs to find time to reflect. Please, give me time to think about this. [Maa, peepe, ba Mujubeki, nsekonzyi kupa bwiinguzi bukwene eno. Ncibotu kuti mwandipa ciindi ndikaliiyee nkaambo awalo musimbi uleelede kujana ciindi cakuliyeeya. Kaka, amundipe ciindi cakuliyeeya kukaambo aaka.]

22. Well, you have spoken the truth. I'll now leave you alone so that you can think about this. When you are through, write me a letter and give it to the children from our village to bring. [Cabota, waamba masimpe. Eno ndilakusiya olikke kutegwa uliyeeye. Wamana undilembele lugwalo, ubape bana bazwa kumunzi wesu balulete.]

23. No, not in the house. [Peepe, kutali mung'anda pe.]

24. Is what you are telling us the truth? [Sena ncotwaambila ncamasimpe na?]

25. Do you remember that I had been arrested? Yes, when you had stolen a chicken. [Sena ulayeeeyede kuti ndakalaangidwe? Iiyi, eliya nookabbide nkuku.]

26. There is no relish today. [Kwiina cisyu sunu.]

27. Are your children going to Chisamba? [No, they are not. [Sena bana bako balainka ku Chisamba? Peepe, bana tabayi pe.]

28. Had your masuku fruit softened? No, it was still hard. [Senamasuku aako akalibombede? Peepe, akacili makoto.]

29. Have you brought water? Yes, I have brought. [Sena waleta maanzi? Iiyi, ndaleta.]

30. Shall I throw? Yes, throw, I'm ready now. [Ndifuse? Iiyi, fusa, ndalibamba eeno.]

31. Didn't you see my husband there? No, I didn't see him. [Sena tokamubwene mulumi wangu kuya? Peepe, nsikamubwene pe.]

32. Are these things for sale? No, they are not. [Sena zyintu eezyi zyakusambala? Peepe, zyintu eezyi tazili zyakuuzya pe.]

33. Let us both go. No, I'm going alone. [Atwiinke tobile. Peepe, ndayinka endikke.]

34. Are you also going? Yes, I'm going. [Sena anduwe ulayinka? Iiyi, ndayinka.]

35. His oxen are bigger than mine, aren't they? [Basune bakwe mbapati kwiinda bangu, embo na?]

36. Are the men not drinking this week? No, the men are not. [Sena balombwana tabanywi nsondo ino? Peepe, balombwana tabanywi pe.]
37. Do you want to sell your cows? [Sena muyanda kusambala ng'ombe zyanu?]
38. Are your clothes new? [Sena zyxisani zyako nzinyowana?]
39. Is this citenge expensive? [Sena ciladula citenge eeci?]
40. Yes of course! [Iiyi buya!]
41. Not at all! [peepe buya!]
42. Do you like reading? [Sena ulayanda kubala?]
43. Yes, reading is enjoyable. [Iiyi, kubala nkubotu.]
44. Do you own a lot of books? [Sena ulijisi mabbuku manji?]
45. Yes, I have a lot of books. [Iiyi, ndijisi mabbuku manji.]
46. That book is not expensive. [Eelyo bbuku taliduli pe.]
47. Are the boys ploughing today? [Sena basankwa balalima sunu na?]
48. No, the boys are not ploughing today. [Peepe, basankwa tabalimi sunu pe.]
49. Am I late? [Senandamuka na?]
50. Are you tired? [Sena wakatala na?]
51. Are you hungry? [Sena mwafwa nzala na?]
52. It's your fault, isn't it? [Mulandu wako, embo na?]
53. Is the hospital near? [Sena cibbadela cilaafwaafwi?]
54. Is this hen brooding? No, this hen is not brooding. [Sena nkuku eeyi ilakumba? Peepe, eeyi nkuku tiikumbi pe.]
55. No, these people are not Christians. [Peepe, aaba bantu tabali ba Kristo pe.]
56. Does your grandmother smoke? [Sena banene bako balafweba tombwe na?]
57. No, my grandmother does not smoke. [Peepe, banene tabafwebi tombwe pe.]
58. Do you want something? [Kuli ncomuyanda sena.]
59. Are you thirsty? [Sena mwafwa nyota?]
60. This is cow's milk, isn't it? [Ooyu mukupa wang'ombe, embo na?]
61. This is good food, isn't it? [Eeci cakulya ncibotu, embo na?]
62. Is that the leg that was bitten by a snake? Yes, this is the one that was bitten. I would have died had it not been for the help of God and native medicines. [Sena nkokuulu oko]

kwakalumidwe nzoka? Iiyi, nkokwakalumidwe. Ndakatifwe. Leza nguwakandigwasya, amisamu yabantu.]

63. Have your children any mealie-meal at home? No, they haven't, it's all finished. [Sena bana bako balijisi busu kung'anda? Peepe, bana tabajisi busu pe, bwakamana boonse.]

64. Do you want to buy some chickens? Yes, I do. [Sena ulayanda kuula nkuku? iiyi, ndayanda.]

65. There is no toilet here. [Kwiina, cimbuzi kuno pe.]

66. There is no firewood today. [Kwiina nkuni sunu.]

67. Do you want us to go away? [Sena muyanda kuti twiinke?]

68. Do you want us to wait? [Sena muyanda kuti tulindile?]

69. Are you going today? [Mulayinka sunu sena?]

70. Have you already been examined by the doctor? No, I'm still waiting. [Sena mwapimwa kale adokotela? Peepe, ndicilindila.]

71. Do you speak Lozi? Yes, I speak Lozi well. I used to work in Mongu. [Sena mulaambaula ci Lozi? Iiyi, ndilaambaula kabotu. Ndakalikubeleka ku Mongu.]

72. My younger brother does not work. [Musyoonto wangu tabeleki pe.]

73. There is no one at home. All the people have gone into their fields. [Kwiina uliko ku ng'anda. Boonse bantu bayinka mu myuunda yabo.]

74. Is there no one to escort me? [Sena kwiina undisindikila na?]

75. Is there no water in the well? [Senakwiina maanzi mumugodi?]

76. There is no maize in the storage bin. It has been eaten by mice. [Kwiina mapopwe mubutala. Akaligwa mbeba.]

77. There are no crops to take to the show. [Kwiina zyisyango zyakutola kumeebeebe.]

78. Is it you who shared the honey among yourselves? No, it was not us. [Sena ndinywe mwakaabana buci? Peepe, endiswe pe.]

79. Is it very painful? [Sena cilacisa kapati/maningi?]

80. These sugar canes are very long. [Eeyi minsale milamfwu kapati/maningi.]

81. Thank you very much. [Twalumba kapati/maningi.]

82. It's extremely bad. [Ncibbi kapati/maningi.]

83. This is a very good village here. [Munzi uno mubotu kapati/maningi.]

84. These villages here have very many children. [Minzi ino ilijisi bana banji kapati/maningi.]
85. These people are very clever. [Aaba bantu balicenjede kapati/maningi.]
86. It is very bad to laugh at old people. [Ncibbi kapati/maningi kuseka ba macembele.]
87. His father is extremely angry today. [Bausyi balinyemedede kapati/maningi sunu.]
88. My father smokes a lot. [Bataata balafweba kapati/maningi.]
89. This road is very bad. [Ooyu mugwagwa mubbi kapati/maningi.]
90. These sheep are very thin. [Mbelele eezi zilikotede kapati/maningi.]
91. This goat is very sick. [Eeyi mpongo ilaciswa kapati/maningi.]
92. This axe was very sharp. [Aaka keembe kakalikubosya kapati/maningi.]
93. No, this load is not heavy. [Peepe, ooyu mukuli tuulemi pe.]
94. The child is crying. [Mwana ulalila.]/ [ulalila mwana]
95. The boy is sick. [Musankwa ulaciswa.]
96. No, Syasikabole did not take his gun. [Peepe, Syasikabole tanaakaitola ntobolo yakwe pe.]
97. The guinea-fowls have eaten up my ground nuts. [Inkanga zyalya nyemu zyangu.]
98. The child ate the beans. [Mwana wakalya bunyangu.]
99. Your calf is very fat. [Moombe wako ulineneede kapati/maningi.]
100. The Batonga grow plenty of food. [Batonga balalima zyakulya zinji.]

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

You translated these words from English into your Tonga dialect. Could you now go through the words and pronounce each Tonga word for me.