

SOME LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS OF BEMBA:
A DIALECTOLOGICAL STUDY OF STANDARD BEMBA, LUUNDA AND
DUMBO

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Chibwe Ronald Lumwanga, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work, and that it has not been submitted for a degree at this university or any other, and that it does not include any published work or material from another dissertation or a thesis without acknowledgement.

Signed.....

Date.....

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Chibwe Ronald Lumwanga is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science of the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated some linguistic variations among three Bemba dialects, namely: Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo. Standard Bemba is classified by Guthrie (1948) as M42. It should be made clear that the dialect known as Luunda is different from Lunda, one of the languages spoken in North-western Province of Zambia, classified by Guthrie (1948) as L52. Standard Bemba is spoken in some districts of Northern and Muchinga Provinces, Luunda in Mwansabombwe, Mwense and Nchelenge Districts and Dumbo in Samfya District which includes Lubwe.

The study was conducted to identify differences and similarities at phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels of linguistic analysis, and also at lexical level.

The data were collected using nine (9) informants who were distributed as follows:

- Three (03) from Standard Bemba;
- Three (03) from Luunda; and
- Three (03) from Dumbo

Each of the informants was given a list of words, phrases and sentences written in English and asked to provide the equivalents in their dialects. Data from Standard Bemba and Luunda dialects were provided partly by the researcher's intuition and partly by the informants. Verification was used in order to ensure validity of data. As for Dumbo, the data given by one participant were checked and corrected where mistakes had been made; this was done by members of the group conferring. The data that was collected was later analysed in line with the objectives of the study, which were:

- To distinguish phonological variations between the dialects: Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo;
- To identify the morphological variations between the dialects: Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo;
- To establish some syntactic variations between the dialects: Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo; and
- To point out lexical variations between the dialects: Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo.

The study was informed by descriptive linguistics as it sought to describe the linguistic structures of the dialects under study. The study established that there were variations at the levels of linguistic analysis and at lexical level as indicated in the objectives.

The study found that there were more variations at lexical and phonological levels than there were at morphological and syntactic levels. The dialectal variations between Standard Bemba, on the one hand, and Luunda and Dumbo, on the other, were ascribed to divergence while the linguistic similarities between Luunda and Dumbo were attributed to convergence: Luunda and Dumbo are geographically closer to each other than Standard Bemba is to either of them.

DEDICATION

To my late parents: Mr. Duncan Lumwanga and Mrs. Milika Musonda Lumwanga, my wife Enes and the children.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADJ : Adjective

ASP	:	Aspect
BLB	:	British Library Board
C	:	Complement
CND	:	Cardinal Numeral Determiner
DD	:	Demonstrative Determiner
EPP	:	Emphatic Pre-prefix
FUT	:	Future
FV	:	Final Vowel
GP	:	Genitive Pronoun
ID	:	Interrogative Determiner
IPA	:	International Phonetic Alphabet
L	:	Luunda
Lit	:	Literal Meaning
LV	:	Linking Verb
N	:	Noun
ND	:	Numeral Determiner
NEG. M	:	Negative Marker
NST	:	Nominal Stem
᠋᠆	:	Dumbo
O	:	Object
OM	:	Object Marker
OND	:	Ordinal Numeral Determiner
PERS M	:	Persisitive Marker

PL	:	Plural
PL/HM	:	Plural or Honorific Marker
Pref	:	Prefix
Pres	:	Present
Pres. Perf	:	Present Perfect
PROG	:	Progressive
QW	:	Question Word
RM	:	Relative Marker
S	:	Subject
SG	:	Singular
SM	:	Subject Marker
ST	:	Stem
STDB	:	Standard Bemba
TM	:	Tense marker
V	:	Verb
VR	:	Verb Radical

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study entitled: ‘Some Linguistic Variations of Bemba Dialects: A Dialectological Study of Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo’. The chapter briefly discusses the background to Bemba language and the concepts of dialect and dialectology in general. The chapter also presents the statement of the problem, aim and objectives of the study, the significance of the study and the methodology used.

1.1 Background to the Bemba people and their language

The origin of the Bemba ethnic group of Zambia is known to be Kola, the name which is related to the present-day Angola. From Angola (Kola), the Bemba people migrated to the present day Democratic Republic of Congo due to conflicts. They became part of the Luba Empire. This is supported by Spitulnik and Kashoki (1996, 1998), who state that the Bemba people are an offshoot of the ancient Luba Empire.

The Bemba people speak a language known by their name, Bemba. The language is also known as IciBemba and is classified as M42 under Guthrie’s (1948) classification of Bantu Languages. Bemba falls under the Benue-Congo Family which is a branch of Niger Kordofanian (Spitulnik & Kashoki, 1996, 1998). The language is mainly spoken in Northern, Muchinga, Luapula and Copperbelt provinces of Zambia. It is also gaining ground in Lusaka and parts of Central province where it was rarely spoken in big numbers years ago. According to Census of Population and Housing (2010) Bemba was a widely used language of communication spoken by 33.5 percent of the population in the country. The report indicated that Bemba was spoken by a higher proportion of the population in five provinces namely: Central (31.8 percent), Copperbelt (83.9 percent), Luapula (71.3 percent), Muchinga (46.9 percent), and Northern (69.2 percent) provinces. Bemba is also spoken in parts of Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania.

Bemba has many dialects, but the major ones are Bemba (the standard form), Aushi, Bisa, Chishinga, Kunda, Lala, Luunda, Dumbo, Swaka, Tabwa and Unga. Each of these dialects is inherently associated with a distinct phonology, morphology, syntactic and lexical differences

(Spitulnik & Kashoki, 1996, 1998). Furthermore, each ethnic grouping that speak one of the above dialects has a culture and territory of its respective name.

1.1.1 Standard Bemba

Kashoki (1977) uses the terms rural Bemba and base form to refer to this dialect. This is the form of Bemba that has been adopted for official use in formal domains such as education and broadcasting. This dialect is mainly spoken in Mungwi, Mporokoso, Kasama and Luwingu Districts in Northern Province and in Mpika and Chinsali in Muchinga Province.

1.1.2 Dumbo

This dialect is spoken in Samfya District of Northern province of Zambia and particularly in the following chiefdoms: Mwewa (which includes Lubwe), Chitembo and Mwansakombe – all these areas are on the mainland while the remaining areas where the dialect is spoken include chiefs Mulongwe and Mbulu areas on Chishi Island on Lake Bangweulu.

1.1.3 Luunda

This dialect is spoken in Kazembe village, Mbereshi, Lufuba, Salanga and Mununshi of Mwansabombwe District. Other areas are Kanyembo and Kambwali in Nchelenge Districts and Musangu, Lukwesa, Lubunda, Kashiba and Mulunda in Mwense District of Luapula province of Zambia.

1.2 Dialect and dialectology

1.2.1 Dialect

The notion of dialect and language are somewhat problematic to define. In this regard, Mambwe (2008:3) argues that “there is no one definition of language and dialect which is watertight, thus linguists and non-linguists, alike, have their own way of defining language and dialect”. Thus, some linguists would view language as one which cuts across nationally as a medium of communication whereas a dialect would be viewed as one which is used for such purposes at a local level.

However, it has been argued that viewing language as national and dialect as local, would reduce some languages with several speakers but not nationally spread to mere dialects; this may not go well with many stakeholders who consider language as equal to a group of people.

Furthermore, this definition may be unacceptable as the term in some respects happens to carry negative connotations.

Asher (1999) in Mambwe (2008) points out that the term dialect has been used in linguistics, generally, to mean varieties of speech based on geographical locations. In this context, the term dialect is used in contrast to the term language. In addition, Chambers and Trudgill (1980) in Hachipola (1991:41) argue that:

In common usage a dialect is a substandard, low status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with peasantry, the working class or other groups lacking in prestige..... dialects are also often regarded as some kind of (often erroneous) deviation from norm-aberration of correct or standard form of language.

Akmaijan, Demers, Farmer and Harnish (2001) indicate that no human language is fixed, uniform or unvarying; all languages show internal variation. Actual usage varies from group to group, and speaker to speaker, in terms of pronunciation of a language, the choice of words and the meaning of those words, and even the use of syntactic constructions. For example, the speech of an American is noticeably different from the speech of the British, and the speech of these two groups in turn is distinct from the speech of the Australians. Where groups of speakers differ noticeably in their language, they are often said to speak different dialects of the language.

In addition, Asheli (2014: 27) states: “a dialect is defined as a subdivision that deviates from a main language”. He further points out that a dialect is a variety of language that is determined by users. Asheli (2014) provides types of dialects which are: regional or geographic dialects which identify themselves by the places in which they are found, social dialects which are varieties which are defined by social factors such as education, occupation, age, sex and other social factors. A language variety used by people of a lower class will be a social dialect.

Asheli (2014) states that Cockney is a good example of a social dialect of English language. It is spoken in the eastern part of London. In connection with this, Fromkin (2003) in Mambwe (2008) explains how the English regional dialects developed through their changes in pronunciation, for example words with an /r/. In southern England, the British were dropping their ‘r’s before consonants and at the end of words in the early eighteenth century. Words such as farm and farther were pronounced as [fa: m] and [fa: ðə] respectively.

There are two principles underlying social accounts of dialectal variations. The first is that all languages change over time, as new words are added to deal with new concepts or as contact with other languages and “phonetic drift” lead to modification in phonology. Secondly, the people who communicate with each other tend to speak similarly. On the contrary, the longer groups of people are isolated, for example by distance or geographical obstacles, the more their varieties will have changed (Spolsky, 1998).

1.2.2 Dialectology

Asheli (2014) defines dialectology as a systematic study of regional dialects and adds dialectal geography and linguistic geography as the other names for dialectology. Bright (1992: 900) states: ‘dialectology is a branch of linguistics which deals with the nature and distribution of variation in language’.

1.2.3 Approaches to dialectology

1.2.3.1 Traditional dialectology

Hachipola (1991) explains that this theory arose as a test and application of the principle of the Neogrammarian School. This school took the position that language change is orderly and that it is accessible to systematic investigation. Because the change is orderly, it must be rule-governed. To systematically account for the phenomenon of language change, neogrammarian postulated two important mechanisms: 1. Sound change 2. Analogy.

Sound change operates at two levels: the phonetic/ phonological levels while analogy operates primarily at the morphological and syntactic levels. One of the questions addressed by traditional dialectologists was whether or not dialectal boundaries existed or whether precise boundary bundles of isoglosses would emerge to mark them off. In Hachipola’s research and in mine, isoglosses were not used as they were not part of the objectives.

1.2.3.2 Sociolinguistic dialectology

This terminology is inclusive in perspective in that although dialects are said to be regional or geographical, linguists also use the term to refer to language variations that cannot be tied to any geographical area, social class or ethnic group. Rather, this simply indicates that speakers or users of language show some variation in the way they use elements of the language. In connection with this, Mambwe (2008), states that the advent of tape recorder in the 1960s meant that the recording of dialect speaker’s speech would enable dialectologists to analyse the

speech, a thing that was impossible in the traditional dialectology era. The combination of traditional dialectology and sociolinguistic dialectology is in use.

1.2.3.3 Linguistic dialectology

This type of dialectology is associated with the development of linguistic theories meant to deal with some linguistic aspects of dialects. Two of these theories are generative and structural dialectology. Generative dialectology is concerned with the application of concepts and findings from generative grammar, and more so from generative phonology (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980). On the other hand structural dialectology tries to show the patterns of relationship which link sets of forms from different dialects. It is always advisable that dialectologists apply any or a combination of these theories in order for them to obtain and analyse dialectal data.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The presence of dialects in Bemba language signifies the fact that Bemba is spoken somewhat differently in various geographical locations. Each of these dialects is identified with a distinct ethnic group, possessing its own culture and territory. For example, there is Dumbo of Samfya District and Luunda of Mwanabombwe and Nchelenge Districts of Luapula province in Zambia. Spitulnik and Kashoki (1996, 1998) have intimated that each dialect exhibits minor differences of pronunciation and phonology and very minor differences in morphology and vocabulary. However, this assertion is not backed up by any dedicated documentation with regard to the actual phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical variations among the dialects under study. In other words, no research has been conducted to identify or establish the differences and similarities that exist among the said dialects. Against this background, therefore, the statement of the problem in question form is: ‘what are the phonological, morphological and syntactic variations among the dialects under study?’

1.4 Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of the study was to establish the phonological, morphological and syntactic variations among the dialects under study.

1.4.1 Objectives

- To establish some phonological variations among the dialects concerned;
- To identify some morphological variations among the dialects under study;

- To establish some syntactic variations among the dialects under study; and
- To establish some lexical variations among three dialects concerned.

1.5 Research questions

- What are some phonological variations among Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo dialects?
- What are some morphological variations among Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo dialects?
- What are some syntactic variations among Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo dialects?
- What are some of the lexical variations among the dialects under study?

1.6 Significance of the study

The study is significant in many ways. First, the few dialectological works on Bemba language makes it necessary for the study to have been undertaken. It is hoped that the study will contribute to the general body of knowledge in the domain of Bantu linguistics. The study will also enlighten teachers, students and writers such as curriculum specialists on the variations of Bemba dialects. The study will also make a contribution to the general field of dialectology and in particular Bemba language.

1.7 Research methodology

1.7.1 Methodology

A research design may be qualitative or quantitative depending on whether it is statistical (i.e. numerical) or descriptive in nature. Mungenda and Mungenda (2003) observe that a research design tells the investigator whether she/he should use the qualitative, quantitative or triangulation method in the research process. The research procedures will, therefore, be dictated by the method employed. The research that requires the use of statistics is quantitative and that which is descriptive in nature is said to be qualitative. The research that makes use of both of these is known to have triangulated the two approaches.

1.7.1.2 Research design

This study uses a descriptive research design because it sought to describe the linguistic structure of the three Bemba dialects under study. In this regard, the study uses descriptive

linguistics as a guiding principle in the analysis of data. Descriptive linguistics has to do with describing the facts of linguistic structure of the language as known by a native speaker. Descriptive linguistics as a principle and approach to language study, aims to describe a language synchronically, at a particular time, not necessarily the present; one can describe the linguistic patterns of any period, (Crystal, 2008).

1.7.1.3 Study area

The research was conducted in Lubwe and its surrounding areas in Samfya District, Kazembe in Mwanabombwe District of Luapula Province, Chinsali in Muchinga Province and Kasama District in Northern Province.

1.7.1.4 Data collection

The data collection on the three dialects was done using a three hundred and seventy three English words and phrases. These were translated into the three dialects of Bemba to order to ease the identification of differences and similarities among the dialects. In addition, data were collected through observations and these were recorded in a notebook.

1.7.1.4.1 Primary sources of data

The researcher interviewed nine (9) informants, three (3) from each dialect under study in order to elicit information about phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences and similarities. The researcher conducted oral interviews and made use of observations to collect the facts. Furthermore, the data collected from these sources were verified with other native speakers of the dialects and in some cases, through introspection as the researcher is a native speaker of one of the dialects.

1.7.1.4.2 Secondary sources of data

Secondary data were obtained from the University of Zambia library where the researcher made use of journals, dissertations and theses. Other data were sourced from text books such as Bemba Pocket Dictionary, language in Zambia: Volume 1 Bemba and Kaonde, Cibemba synonyms, an Elementary Grammar of Ibibemba and many others. The researcher also made use of the internet.

1.7.1.4.3 Data collection procedure

Using the list of English words, phrases and sentences, the researcher asked the participants (the informants) to supply the equivalents in their respective Bemba dialect. The informants were also asked to pronounce the words and say sentences: this helped in phonetic transcription of words and in marking tone where it was required to do so. These processes provided data for the researcher to identify phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences and similarities between the dialects under investigation.

1.7.1.4.4 Data analysis

The process of analysing data involved identifying the similarities and differences at the phonological, morphological, syntactic levels. This was done in order to identify and establish the variations found among the dialects under study.

1.8 Operational definitions

(a) Standard Bemba: the standard norm or the variety that has been adopted for official use. This is the base or traditional form, the (spoken) language of rural population (Kashoki, 1977).

(b) Hordierial: a grammatical terminology which marks how far a situation or an event is from the moment of speaking. The word is derived from a Latin root 'hodie' meaning today.

(c) Prehordierial: before today

(d) Posthordierial: after today

(e) Descriptive linguistics: the study to do with description of the facts of linguistic usage as they are and not how they ought to be, with reference to some imagined ideal state.

(f) Synchronic description of linguistic patterns: the description of linguistic patterns at a theoretical point in time (i.e. past or present).

(g) Homomorphemic: of a phoneme, be part of the morphemic unit being dealt with

(h) Heteromorphemic: of a phoneme, stand apart from the morphemic unit being dealt with

(i) Regressive assimilation (sometimes known as anticipatory assimilation): a sound changes because of the following sound

(j) Progressive assimilation: one sound influences the following sound

(k) Postdetermination: in this study, this term refers to the process in which a determiner comes after the noun it is determining.

(l) Predetermination: in this study is the opposite of postdetermination, meaning that it is the process in which the determiner precedes the noun it is determining.

1.9 Limitation of the study

This study aimed at identifying and establishing the linguistic elements that are different and those that are similar in the dialects under study, using four levels of linguistic analysis, namely: phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis.

It is also important to indicate that the study was restricted to only three Bemba dialects which are Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo, and the linguistic material in these dialects was not dealt with exhaustively.

1.10 Structure of the dissertation

The study comprises eight chapters: Chapter One introduces the study; the second chapter presents literature review while Chapter Three discusses the basic structure of Bemba. The fourth chapter distinguishes phonological variations between the dialects: STDB, L and D, Chapter Five identifies morphological variations between the dialects under investigation, Chapter six establishes the syntactic variations between the dialects: STDB, L and D, Chapter seven points out the lexical variations between the dialects: STDB, L and D and Chapter eight gives the summary of the findings and discussions.

1.11 Summary

This chapter has introduced the study. It has discussed the concepts of dialect and dialectology. The chapter has also presented the statement of the problem, the aim and objectives of the study, the research questions and the significance of the study. The analytical framework, the operational definitions, the methodology, the limitations of the study and the structure of the dissertation have also been presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature on dialectology in general and in particular on Zambian languages. Although there are many studies on Zambian languages, very few have dealt with dialectology, especially in relation to dialectal variations. In this vein, the chapter focuses on the few related studies on dialectology on Zambian languages, in addition to studies done elsewhere. In order to put the study into perspective, a review of studies on Bemba language in general is provided.

2.1 Studies on Bemba

Bemba works, related to this study, include those by Spitunik and Kashoki (1996, 1998). In their work, Spitunik and Kashoki state that the Bemba dialects exhibit minor differences of pronunciation and phonology and very minor differences in morphology and vocabulary. However, their work was not a dedicated study on dialectal variations of the language thereby prompting a study such as this one.

The other notable study on Bemba includes Mann's (1999) study on Bemba Grammar. In his study, Mann (1999) establishes that Bemba has a phonological system which comprises eighteen (18) consonant sounds and five (5) vowel sounds. Mann further deals with the nominal system of Bemba and established that the language has a class system similar to many other Bantu languages. In particular, he states that Bemba has eighteen (18) noun classes. With regard to verbal morphology, Mann (1999) discusses subject and tense markers and tone patterns associated with the Bemba verb form. In addition, he discusses mood of the verb and types of words found in Bemba, besides components of a sentence. Mann's (1999) work is important to the current study as it provides a clear descriptive analysis of Bemba, which has been used to inform the analysis of the data in the study. However, Mann's work focuses only on Standard Bemba without saying anything on other dialects such as Luunda and Dumbo.

Hoch (1960) provides a vocabulary list of Bemba and English. The list is essentially a translation of Bemba words and phrases. This vocabulary list was relevant to the study as it was one of the sources of material used in the study. However, it does not contain any critical information on dialectal variations of the concerned dialects.

Kandeke (1990) presents work on Icibemba synonyms. The words are arranged in alphabetical order. In as much as the publication was useful in that it provided some base for analysis of Bemba structure particularly standard Bemba, the text did not deal with other dialects.

Sims (1959) deals with an elementary grammar of Icibemba. Among the several items dealt with are: the nouns classes, the pronoun, and the negative verbal particle, the modifying of the verb stem, the verb and conditionals.

Kashoki's (2006) study is another work relevant to the current study. In his study, Kashoki sought to find out how similar or dissimilar Bemba and Luunda were in terms of their vocabulary correspondences. The study was interested in testing the commonly held view that the two dialects are becoming like each other. Word borrowing has been the key issue and this is why investigations were conducted to ascertain the influence Congolese French and Swahili had on Luunda: a fairly extensive corpus of adoptives in Luunda was collected and this presented another rich source of information for the study.

Kashoki (2006) elucidates that Luunda as the other dialect in the study was a good choice based on three factors, namely: (i) Luunda was geographically separated from Bemba by two intervening dialects Mukulu and Chishinga, this constituted an interesting test case where dialects not in immediate contact were converging or diverging. The research observes that since Luunda is spoken along the Congolese border, there is likelihood of being exposed to strong culture and language contact.

Kashoki (2006) states that the study presented an intriguing contrast to Bemba whose culture and language contact was dissimilar. He indicates that it seemed important to measure the extent of Bemba's influence on Luunda since a considerable number of speakers continue to form part of immigrant labour force in Zambia's Copperbelt where town Bemba is widely acknowledged as *lingua franca*. The researcher's interest was to have basic vocabulary correspondence between Bemba and Luunda; this was so as to provide the necessary basic data for observing any subsequent changes that may have taken place in the vocabulary of the two dialects. To reformulate this, it should be stated that Kashoki's objective was to measure the degree of lexical convergence or divergence that may have occurred as a result of two dialects borrowing from other languages.

Kashoki (2006) indicates that since word borrowing normally occurs principally in areas where the recipient language is deficient in lexical repertoire, where it shows significant lexical

lacunae, the researcher set out to gather and compile data on stems of adoptives in Bemba and Luunda regarding the concepts not present in the dialects. The researcher adds that another important area where borrowing takes place are those instances where indigenous lexical items are wholly or partially displaced by adoptives whether because of prestige associated with them or because of their great usefulness or appropriateness in a contemporary setting seen to be preferred by the speaker of the borrowing language.

As can be gathered from the foregoing, there is a distinction between Kashoki's (2006) study and the current one in that Kashoki's study focused on borrowed words whereas the present study is concerned with identifying phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical variations with regard to indigenous linguistic material in the dialects under study.

Kangwa (2007) has conducted a study on English-derived loan words in Bemba. He points out that Bemba language has borrowed words from other languages such as English, Swahili and Kabanga. Kangwa indicates that it has become inevitable to borrow words since this enables language users to keep abreast of different domains of development in modern life. The thrust of the study was the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and some aspects of sociolinguistics of English-derived loanwords in Bemba. The particular study involved a corpus of nine hundred (900) items. In his findings, Kangwa (2007) states that since the syllable structure of English differs from that of Bemba, the aim of his research was to collect and study more data on English-derived loan words in Bemba. The research established that Bemba has borrowed many words from English, most of which are verbs and nouns. In this regard, the study established that substitution and deletion are the major strategies employed in English borrowed words in Bemba in order to satisfy the constraints on phonotactics and syllable structure in Bemba. In his study, Kangwa also establishes that stressed syllables in English are realised in Bemba by high tone.

Another study on Bemba is by Kashoki (1967) in which he attempts at establishing an inventory of phonemic contrasts in Ibibemba, both segmental and suprasegmental. This study was purely descriptive in nature. Among the concepts discussed are:

- (i) Bemba phonemic contrast, covering some ideas such as key symbols, phonemic chart for consonants, vowels, tonemes, allotones, and so on.
- (ii) Phonemic syllable structure, covering areas such as the Bemba phonemic syllable, phonemic status of syllabic nasals, phonemic status of [w] and [y], and so on.

- (iii) The distribution of phonemes, which includes consonant phonemes, two-consonant clusters and vowel clusters.

This study was found relevant to the current research as it partly dealt with aspects of the structure of the Bemba language which is crucial for the present one.

2.2. Studies on other Zambian languages

There are a few studies that have dealt with dialectology in Zambian languages. This section reviews a few of such studies. It should, however, be pointed out that not all these studies were entirely dialectological, but had some aspects of dialectology which were deemed relevant to the study.

For example, Nkolola (1997) discusses, as part of her study on Analysis of the Applied, Causative and Passive extensions in Tonga, some differences between Plateau Tonga and Valley Tonga with regard to /i/ changing to the semi-vowel /j/. She says the second way of accounting for /fi/ and /hi/ is simply to formulate a rule stating that in Plateau Tonga the segments /z/ and /s/ immediately preceding /y/ are phonetically realised by /fi/ and /hi/, respectively

(a) $z \rightarrow [fi] / \dots y$

(b) $s \rightarrow [hi] / \dots y$

She further explains that in Plateau Tonga, the sequences /zj/ and /sj/ are not attested and that whenever [zj] and [sj] occur in Valley Tonga, we have [fi] and [hi] respectively.

In addition, Nkolola (1997) states that both derived and non-derived [z] and [s] in the sequence [zj] and [sj] in the Valley Tonga corresponded to [fi], in Plateau Tonga as below:

Valley Tonga	Plateau Tonga
[yufuzya]	[yufuhja] to cause to sharpen
[yupenzya]	[yupenhja] to cause to suffer

Related to this study is Sibajene (2013) who investigated some linguistic differences between dialects of the Tonga language spoken in Zambia. Among other things, his study investigated the phonetic variations between Valley and Plateau Tonga. He establishes that Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga have the same inventory of vowels. The study reveals that both Valley and

Plateau Tonga manifest the same semi-vowels which are palatal approximant [j] and the labio-velar approximant [w]. Sibajene (2013) adds that some consonants which are found in Valley Tonga are not found in Plateau Tonga and vice versa. These are the phonemes that the two dialects do not share.

The researcher uses phonological rules as a tool to categorise the phonetic variations between the dialects under study. Sibajene (2013) states that glottalisation affects these phonemes: [f], [v], [ʃ], [s] and [z]. He points out that what is realised as a labio-dental fricative [f] in Valley Tonga is manifested as a glottal fricative [h] in Plateau Tonga. In the same manner, what is realised as voiced labio-dental [v] in valley Tonga is manifested as voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] in plateau Tonga.

The other observation made in this study was in morphological level: all nouns in Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga take a noun prefix. Further, Sibajene (2013) observes that Valley Tonga 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 Plateau Tonga uses class 3 singular prefix *mu-* and class 4 plural prefix *mi-*. It is indicated that although the nominal stem –*ni* is the same in both Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga, the noun class prefixes differ.

At syntactic level, Sibajene (2013) points out that the negation in Valley Tonga is usually marked by a negative verbal morpheme *ta* and the particle *pe* which occupies the terminal position; in Plateau Tonga negation is equally marked by a negative morpheme *ta* and the particle *te* in the final position. The researcher observes that in most cases Plateau Tonga *pe* can be omitted and the sentence can be grammatically correct.

At the lexical level, Sibajene (2013) indicates that of the two hundred and sixty (260) items utilised in the study, Valley Tonga does not share about 19.23% with any of Plateau Tonga dialects.

Related to Sibajene’s study is Lishimba (1982) who conducted a dialectological study on Luyana spoken in areas covering Kalabo, Mongu, Senanga and some parts of Sesheke, Kaoma and Lukulu Districts. According to Lisimba, this language is divided into two major dialect clusters, the eastern and western, established by lexical and phonological criteria. The eastern clusters, mostly spoken in Mongu and Senanga Districts comprise the dialects, namely: Mbumi, Mbowe, Kwangwa, Kwandi and Luyi (which has been replaced by Lozi). The western clusters,

spoken mainly in Kalabo Districts include Liuwa, Makoma, Mashi, Mbukushu, Mulonga, Mwenyi, Nyengo and Simaa.

The study focuses on dialectal variations with respect to morphophonemic, lexicon, grammar and tone.

Lisimba (1982) investigated synchronic phonology. Here the synchronic level tends to differentiate the Luyana dialects; for the following rule:

$n + l \rightarrow nd$, the following are manifested:

- (a) ndume \leftarrow lume (class 1a) 'braveman' (luyi)
- (b) ndowa \leftarrow lowa 'mud' (class 9/10) (Makoma, Mwenyi, Liuwa, Luena)

Besides, Lisimba (1982) explains that in Luyana dialects, the noun consists of a prefix and a stem, as is the case in other Bantu languages. Luyana dialects exhibit similarity in morphological structures as exemplified below:

- (a) ku – aba/ ma – 'armpit' (Kwangwa, Simaa)
- (b) Ku – eci/ me – 'moon' (Mwenyi, Simaa)

Regarding morphological level in Luyana, Lisimba (1982) indicates that the verb stem in Luyana can be identified if the prefix ku – is removed from the infinitive. It consists of a radical (the core of the verb which conveys meaning) and a suffix. Below are examples:

- (a) – f – 'die' (Luyi)
- (b) – mon – 'see' (Luyi)
- (c) – lil – 'cry' (Luyi)
- (d) mon – isis – a \rightarrow 'gaze' (Luyana)

In relation to Lisimba's study, Miti (1988) investigated the varieties of Chinyanja, namely: Chicewa, Chinsenga and Zambian Chingoni. The question addressed was that of internal classification in order to establish how close or how different those varieties are. Particular emphasis was put on tonal relationships of these varieties. In this study, the researcher adopted Autosegmental phonology with particular reference to Bantu tonology.

Among the several topics Miti investigated are tonological analysis of nouns in Chinsenga, Chingoni and Chicewa. The researcher observed that each of these varieties uses pitch to indicate lexical marking and to show grammatical relationships. It has been noted in this research that tonal variation plays a significant role in distinguishing one language variety from the other.

Miti (1988) observes that in all the Nyanja varieties, the basic tones are High and Low while Chinsenga and Chingoni are identical in their nominal tonal patterns. Chicewa, on the other hand splits into two varieties and these are Chicewa 1 and Chicewa 2. Miti points out that while lexical correspondences show no distinction between Chicewa 1 and Chicewa 2, tonal variation does. The study indicates that besides High and Low tone, surface falling and rising tones are found in Chinsenga and Chicewa 2 noun, respectively.

On tonological analysis of the verb, Miti (1988) indicates that Chicewa still subdivides into Chicewa 1 and Chicewa 2. It is further observed that Chinsenga also splits into Chinsenga 1 and Chinsenga 2; Chingoni is similar to Chinsenga 1. In Chinsenga, infinitive marker *ku* bears a H-tone whereas in Chicewa the infinitive marker is toneless, with an exception of monoconsonantal verbs.

Another study related to the current one is Mambwe's (2008). This study stands out among the few studies on dialectological variations in Zambian languages. In his study entitled: 'Some Linguistic Variation of Kaonde: A Dialectological study', Mambwe provides interesting findings. He notes that the dialects under study, namely: Standard Kaonde, Mumbwa dialect and Solwezi-lubango share the same morphological structure as all nouns take obligatory nominal prefixes. He observes that there could be more similarities among dialects of one language than there could be between two or more languages of the same family in terms of morphology. The study, however, reveals a few differences that noun prefixes exhibit. For example, noun class 7 in Mumbwa dialect is rendered as *chi-* as opposed to dialects Standard Kaonde and Solwezi-lubango which are consistent with standard Kaonde. Mambwe (2008) states that one of the reasons why Mumbwa variety has a slight difference in the morphological shape of its prefix is that it interacts closely with Ila language spoken by most of the people in the area where data were collected: Ila happens to use prefix *Chi* whose class is the same as the Kaonde dialects and whose semantic value is equally the same. The finding also reveals that there is a slight confusion on the use of the prefixes **ji-** and **ki-** in Mumbwa dialect whereas in Standard Kaonde and Solwezi-lubango dialects, the use of these prefixes is consistent. For

Mumbwa dialect, the prefix **ji** is added to some stems that take the prefix **ki-** in Standard Kaonde and Solwezi-lubango dialects and vice versa (Mambwe, 2008). The other findings on nominals are:

- (i) The plural for class 5 in Mumbwa dialect is different from that of Standard Kaonde and Solwezi-lubango dialects. The plural for dialect-**ji** prefix takes the prefix **ma-** of class 6 whereas the plural of **ki** in Standard Kaonde and Solwezi-lubango dialects takes the prefix in class 8.
- (ii) That all of the nouns collected, the roots are morphologically the same with an exception of cases where a lexical item is different, but with the same semantic value.
- (iii) In the root of the word *malwa* ‘beer’ in Standard Kaonde and Solwezi-lubango dialects, there is a difference with the root of the same word in Mumbwa dialect *bwalwa*: the difference is in the initial syllables.
- (iv) There is a difference in the root of the word ‘work’: in Standard Kaonde and Solwezi-lubango dialects it is *nkito* whereas for Mumbwa dialect, it is *nchito*.

Mambwe (2008) states that the morphological structure of the verb in Standard Kaonde is determined by the tense that it may take. The structure of prefixes and pre-prefixes that some verbs take in the three dialects show some differences. For example, for Standard Kaonde and Mumbwa dialects it is *Mbeene kujima* ‘I’m cultivating’ while for Solwezi-lubango dialect, it is *Njina kujima*. On possessives, Mambwe says all the dialects under study share the same morphological structure: prefix + genitive + stem.

The morphological structure of deictic pronouns/ demonstratives of the dialects under study is the same:

- (i) Pre-prefix + pronominal + stem.
- (ii) Pronominal prefix + stem.

On the syntactic level, the findings reveal that the basic word order – SVO is the same in the dialects under study.

With regard to phonology, Mambwe (2008) observes that the dialects have the same inventory of phonemes and more similarities in segmental phonology than in suprasegmental phonology. There are also similarities in the application of phonological rules among dialects under the study.

Although not on dialectology, MOE (1977) presents work on approved orthography of the seven Regional Official Languages of Zambia. This work discusses linguistic material in these languages. One of the most important stipulations in the Editor's note is on the accepted alphabets which include the velar sound which in Bemba is symbolised in writing as ɲ. This accounts for the use of this symbol in this study.

2.3 Non Zambian studies on dialectology

This section presents what some Non-Zambian scholars have done on dialectology. Crystal (1987) states that dialect geography or linguistic geography suggests a much wider regional scope for the subject. On the other hand, researching of the local usage of single village can be referred to as dialectology.

As has already been indicated in Chapter One, dialectologists have, in recent years, been paying more attention to social as well as geographical space in order to explain the extent of language variations. Factors such as age, sex, social class and ethnic groups are seen as crucial, alongside factors of a purely regional kind (Crystal, 1987).

Gumperz (1978) takes a different perspective on dialectology. He says that despite the fact that linguistic indices of diversity have undergone far reaching change in the metropolitan centres of modern industrial states many important dialectal differences remain and show no signs of disappearing; there has been increasing frequency or intensity of communication which is necessary for the disappearance of dialect boundaries, but it is by no means sufficient. He observes that in many areas of Europe, people of adjacent villages speak mutually intelligible dialects which are nonetheless set off by clear speech distinctions. Members of one community regularly communicate with members of the other, but each uses his own locally specific forms. Gumperz says that to use the others' dialects would be a breach of politeness – similar speech conventions are found in a North Indian village where many different caste groups have lived side by side for centuries. A long-term ethnography study focussing on dialect distribution, social organisation and interactional patterns reveal sharp phonological differences between the majority dialect spoken by the bulk of the local population and the three minor castes (Gumperz, 1978).

Gumperz explains that even in North American cities, where urbanising trends are advanced and the influence of standard style most pervasive, dialectal differences continue to play an important role. Students of Afro-American speech varieties coined the term 'dialect swamping'

to describe situations where the speech of American blacks, far from assimilating, is actually becoming more different from that of their white neighbours.

Kroch (1978) states that the thrust of the study is expressed in two-part hypothesis: first, the public prestige dialect of the elite in stratified community differs from the dialect of the non-elite strata in at least one phonologically systematic way. In particular, it characteristically resists normal processes of phonetic conditioning (both articulatory and perceptual) that the speech of the non-elite strata undergo. Kroch says that this tendency holds both for dynamic processes of inherent variations. Second, the cause of stratified phonological differentiation within a specific community is to be sought not in purely linguistic factors, but in ideology. Dominant social groups tend to mark themselves off symbolically as distinct from the group they dominate and interpret their symbol of distinctiveness as evidence of superior, moral and intellectual qualities. This tendency shows itself not only in speech style, but also in such other areas of social symbolism as dress, body carriage and food.

Kroch (1978) explains that in all these areas, dominant groups mark themselves off by introducing elaborate styles and by borrowing from external prestige groups; but in the case of pronunciation, they also mark their distinctiveness in a negative way of the low level variable processes of phonetic conditioning that characterise spoken language and that underlie regular phonological change.

Another position Kroch (1978) reveals is that there is another reason why prestige dialect would tend to resist phonological change. These dialects are maintained by social elites and elites are by and large conservative. The use of conservative linguistic forms is for them a symbol of their whole value system. Kroch (1978) indicates that the influence of literary language on spoken standard is one manifestation among others of a socially motivated inhibition of linguistic change. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that prestige dialects not only inhibit changes that violate written forms but also resist changes in such features as vowel quality long before those changes would cause noticeable contradiction between the written and the spoken forms.

Barbour (1987) presents an assumption with regard to dialects in West German: traditional dialects are restricted codes, having low level and limiting syntactic organisation and little motivation towards increasing vocabulary. He says that the important point to be considered is in what ways dialect is “restricted” in what ways it is, for example, syntactically or morphologically inferior to standard. It is noted that German dialects are generally of more

anisolating or analytical character than the standard, with fewer inflections, but, in compensation, with more rigid word order. Northern dialects may have fewer gender distinctions; Southern dialects may have fewer tense distinctions than the standard. On the other hand, traditional dialect may have a greater variety of subjunctive form than standard form. Barbour states that it seems difficult to make out any case for morphological or syntactic restriction in the dialects vis-à-vis the standard, unless one accepts the controversial view that a more isolating type of language is in a way restricted. Syntactically, it is possible that dialect speakers generally use simpler sentence structures, perhaps with fewer subordinate clauses. On the other hand, Barbour (1987) states that the traditional dialects, as linguistic systems, clearly possess the syntax of subordination. He states that traditional dialects have relatively a restricted vocabulary. Dialect is basically unsuited for certain types of communication because of some of its essential characteristics. This suggests that German dialects are, unlike the standard language, incapable of adding new lexicon to deal with new situations. Barbour adds that a dialect is by definition a form of language with a restricted range of communicational possibilities because of its restricted lexicon. This view is at variance with that of most linguists who see a dialect as identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures and not by a restricted social role.

Kohler (1967) sees dialectology as a continuum in such a way that when an idiolect has – at least in parts – been described, the same structural framework is then provisionally attributed to wider groups of varying size identified with reference to extra- linguistic, geographical or social criteria.

Sankoff (1973) labels the dialects in accordance with rule-ordering. He calls this generative grammar rule-ordering dialect differentiation. The author states that the work of Carden (26-28) in empirically investigating the intuition of American speakers regarding the distribution of rules involving the interaction of negatives and quantifiers provided illustrations: for sentences such as “All the boys didn’t arrive,” refer to the reading “None of the boys arrived” as representing the negative verb dialect, while the reading “Not all the boys arrived” represented the negative question dialect. The conclusion made from such illustration is that people’s interpretation differs under different testing circumstances.

On Black American English, Sankoff (1973) indicates that specific questions had been brought to the fore, relating to several classic issues in dialectology. The first had to do with the boundary problem – the relationship between the English spoken by Black and White

Americans, whether the dialects in question are discretely different and at what level of their structures, what the extent of differences is, and to what extent they are obscured by regional and class factors: divergent views were expressed on the subject. The last two questions had to do with the homogeneity issue. Educators who had shown that English spoken by lower class Black children was a legitimate variety and not simply “bad English” still needed advice and direction about the English to be taught in schools. The author says that controversy ensued over the issue of bi-dialectalism: should black children be taught standard American English as another variety, should they first be taught to read in their own dialect, to what extent is this feasible and desirable, and from whose point of view?

Dialects and variation, on this Gumperz (1978) establishes that geography (i.e. geographic distance) alone is not sufficient to explain linguistic and dialectal diversity and that social differences among people living in the same geographical area are the basis of many systematic speech differences. Thus social and geographical factors are shown to be interrelated in differentiating speakers. The author says it is important to note that degrees of geographical distance in dialectology have been traditionally equated with relative lack of contact of population or speakers, in itself a social factor, and showing isoglosses spreading out from centres of prestige and influence.

Trawick-Smith (2011) discusses British accents and dialects. He points out that the United Kingdom is probably the most dialect-obsessed nation in the world, with countless accents shaped by thousands of years; he says there are few English speaking nations with varieties of language in such a small space. Among the most important types of British English variations with regard to pronunciation, Trawick-Smith outlines the following:

1. Received Pronunciation (RP): this is the closest to Standard accent that has ever existed in the United Kingdom. It derives from London English and is non-regional. He points out that Received Pronunciation emerged from the 18th and 19th century aristocracy and has remained ‘gold standard’ ever since.

Furthermore, Trawick-Smith (2011) provides the features of Received Pronunciation which include:

- (a) Non-rhoticity, meaning the r at the end of words is not pronounced, for example ‘mother’ sounds like ‘muhthuh’

(b) Trap-bath, meaning that certain 'a' words like **bath**, **can't** and **dance** are pronounced with the broad – a in **father**.

Trawick-Smith also states that this fact differs from most American accents in which these words are pronounced with the short /a/ as in **cat**.

(c) Vowels tend to be a bit conservative unlike other accents in Southern England which have undergone significant vowel shifting over the past century.

2. Cockney

Trawick-Smith (2011) elucidates that Cockney is probably the most famous British pronunciation. He adds that this type of accent originated in the east end of London and that it shares many features with and influences other dialects in that region. Below are its features, as outlined by Trawick-Smith (2011):

(a) Raised vowel like in trap and cate: this sounds like 'trep', 'cet'

(b) Non-rhoticity (as explained under RP)

(c) Trap-bath (see explanation under RP)

(d) London vowel shift: The vowel sounds are shifted so that cockney 'day' is /dæi/ (close to American die) and cockney 'buy' verges near IPA [bɔi] (close to American 'boy').

(e) Glottal stopping: the letter is pronounced with the back of the throat (glottis) in between the vowels; hence 'better' becomes IPA beʔ ə: it sounds to outsiders like be'uh.

(f) L-vocalisation: The l at the end of the words often becomes vowel sound. Hence, pal can seem to sound like pow.

(g) The fronting: The th in words like think, this is pronounced with a more forward consonant depending on the word; for instance 'thing' become 'fing', 'this' becomes 'dis' and 'mother' becomes 'muhvah'.

3. Estuary English (South east British)

Estuary is an accent which has achieved status slightly similar to General American in the US. Its features can be heard around southeast England, East Anglia, and perhaps further afield. It is arguably creeping into Midlands and North (Trawick-Smith, 2011).

(a) It is similar to cockney, but in it (i.e. Estuary), speakers do not front the words or raise the vowel in trap. There are fewer hard-fast rules, however.

(b) Glottal stopping of t and l vocalisation are markers of this accent.

4. West Country (Southwest British)

West Country refers to a large swath of accents in the south England, starting about fifty miles west of London and extending to the Welsh border.

Features of West Country accent as outlined by Trawick-Smith (2011):

Rhoticity, meaning that the sound /r/ is pronounced after vowels; for example, whereas somebody from London would pronounce mother as ‘muthah’ somebody from Bristol would say muther r r, that is, the way people pronounce the word in America and Ireland.

Trawick-Smith points out that this is a large dialect area, and so ‘there’s tons of variation’.

5. Northern England English

These are the accents and dialects spoken north of Midlands, in cities like Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool. Related accents are also found in rural Yorkshire.

Trawick-Smith (2011) indicates that there are some unique dialect features, and these are outlined below:

(a) The foot-strut, merger, meaning that the syllable in ‘foot’ and ‘could’ is pronounced with the same syllable as strut and fudge (IPA u).

(b) Non rhoticity, except in some rural areas.

(c) The diphthong in the words like kite, ride is lengthened like IPA kæ: it, that is, it sounds a bit like ‘kaaait’.

The next dimension is British English grammatical variations discussed by the British Library Board and contained in HTM File, 418 KB. According to this source, grammar is a structure of language or dialect. It describes the way individual words change their forms such as when play becomes played to indicate an event in the past. Grammar also refers to the ways words are combined to form phrases or sentences.

The board explains that the construction 'she were wearing a mask' might sound unusual to some ears, but in some dialects in Northern England and The Midlands many speakers indicate the past of 'to be' by saying I were, you were, he/she/it were, we were and they were. This shows that the verb 'to be' is unmarked for person while speakers of Standard British English differentiate by using I was and he/she/it was.

The board states that some dialects, perhaps particularly those in Southeast of England, favour a similarly unmarked version using the singular form of the verb: you was, he, she and it was, we was and they was.

The British Library Board points out that all languages change overtime and vary according to place and social setting. It observes that grammatical variations in the structure of words, phrases or sentences can be established or identified by comparing the way English is spoken in different places and among social groups. The board states that one of the most common differences between dialects is the way in which past tenses are formed. Most English verbs have a simple past that is unmarked for person such as played, went, saw, did; we simply say, for example, I played, you played, she/he/it played, 'we played and they played and without making adjustment to the end of verb, unlike the case with many other European languages.'

The board points out that the verb 'to be' has two simple past forms in Standard English: I/he/she/it was and you/we/they were. Apart from the special case 'were' the distinction, therefore, is between singular 'was' and plural 'were'.

In some regional dialects, however, this pattern is not observed. In parts of the country, speakers use 'was' throughout while speakers elsewhere use 'were' exclusively. There are also other dialects where the two forms are used for the opposite function, that is, 'were' expressing singularity and 'was' plurality.

The British Library Board also presents a few points on lexical variation. It indicates that the use of the word 'happen' in the sentence 'Happen she were wearing a mask' is an example of lexical variation; the word happen, here, means perhaps. This usage of 'happen' probably

locates a speaker somewhere in an area centred on Pennines: Yorkshire, or Lancashire, or adjacent areas of the East Midlands. The board points out that the popular image of dialect speech tends to focus almost exclusively on dialect vocabulary and that although there was at one time greater regional variation in vocabulary across the United Kingdom, there remains a great deal of lexical diversity. This is demonstrated, for instance, by the variety of words used for 'bread roll' in different parts of the country. If one lives in Lancashire, one might buy barm cake, whilst people over the Pennines in Leeds would probably ask for a bread cake. At a baker's in Derby somebody might be offered a cob and on a visit to Coventry you might eat a batch, though each of these words refer to the same item, (BLB).

Guthrie (1970) presents classification of Bantu languages as well as comparative work on them. The researcher attaches relevance to Guthrie's work since the current study is also comparative. In Guthrie's study, we can identify a lot of similarities and differences based on radicals in Proto-Bantu. Concerning similarities, we have some examples. From the radical – bad- (Proto Bantu) which means shine, the languages: M42-Bemba, R11-Mbundu and S61-copi (Lenge) have the radical –bad-; differences can be seen in the following with regard to the radical-badi- which means side in Proto-Bantu:

- (a) L31a- Luba Kasai, the radical is -badi-; in
- (b) L33- Luba Katanga the radical is –baji-; whereas in
- (c) M42- Bemba, the radical is – βali-

Another similarity can be seen in relation to the proto-Bantu radical dungu meaning bead. Below are examples:

- (a) M42- Bemba: - lunḡu
- (b) M63- Ila: - lunḡu
- (c) N41- Nsenga:- lunḡu

The principle features of Bantu languages are so clearly marked as far as grammar is concerned. Therefore, knowledge of one materially facilitates the acquisition of the other (Werner, 1919). Werner states that the name Bantu was first introduced by Bleek who may have been called the father of the African philology. She indicates that it is one form of word for 'people' which is used throughout the languages of this family.

Werner (1919) points out that the Sudan languages which include Twi, Gã, Ewe and other spoken in West Africa have no grammatical inflections. The Bantu languages do indicate number, person, and in limited sense case for verbs, voice mood and tense are shown. The grammatical elements are usually reckoned as belonging to the class of agglutinative languages.

Werner (1919) explains that definite line is drawn between the living and the lifeless or the human or the non-human. The first mu- and the second ba- classes in every Bantu language consist of names denoting human beings. In addition, Werner gives a few examples of prefixes used in some Bantu languages. For example, in Mbundu (Angola), we have lu-bango→ lubango ‘stick’ (singular) and ma-lu-bango→ malubango ‘sticks’ (plural). Ka- is the sign of diminutive in Herero, Nyanja, Yao, Ila, Ganda, Pokomo, Giyama, Zigula, and many others. But Zulu, Ronga, Chwana and their cognate dialects have got rid of it altogether and express their diminutive by a suffix, perhaps under the influence of Hottentots language.

In Ganda, Werner indicates, where the plural of aka-ntu ‘a little thing’ is obu-ntu, the twelfth prefix has a distinct and very curious use; for example, we have otu-dzi ‘a single drop of water’ from ama-dzi and tu-nyu ‘a little salt’ from mu-nyu. This is used to individualise a single particle of something which has to be looked at in the mass like liquids, flour, grain, and many others.

In Nyanja, the diminutive plural is tu-; an example is: ka-mbalame ‘a little bird’ and its plural is tu-mbalame ‘little birds’.

The fourteenth class includes abstract nouns and names of materials which are either singular or plural. Examples are given in Zulu, Swahili and Nyanja:

- (a) ubu-ntu ‘human nature’ (Zulu)
- (b) u-tu ‘humna nature’ (Swahili)
- (c) ubu-si ‘honey’ (Zulu)
- (d) u-chi ‘honey’ (Nyanja)

Polomó (1980) has made several observations with regard to dialectal variations in Swahili. He notes that on Zanzibar, three distinct dialects co-exist: (a) Unguja, which has become the basis of standard Swahili and is originally the language of Zanzibar town and the central part of the

island (b) Handimu, also called Kae, is the dialect of the east and south of the island (c) Tumbatu is a sub-dialect spoken on the small island Tumbatu island and in Mkotoni Bay in the southwest of Zanzibar island.

Polomó observes that both Handimu and Tumbatu share a number of features with Pemba; for example, they preserve the older forms where Unguja innovates. Pemba, Tumbatu and Handimu have Kifyu and Zanzibar Kisu for knife. The three dialects maintain vy- where the cluster develops into z- in Ungaja. Pemba, Tumbatu and Handimu have vyaa but Zanzibar has zaa for bear (a child). Another phonetic distinction is that where the three Pemba, Tumbatu and Handimu has [s], Zanzibar will have [ʃ] as shown in this example: singo in the three but shingo in Standard Swahili for the English word neck; mosi in the three dialects, but moshi in Standard Swahili for the word smoke (English).

Polomó (1980) points out that Pemba goes its own way as opposed to the dialects of Zanzibar island, for instance in treatment of Bantu [c] which is reflected by [ʃ] (sh) in Pemba versus [tʃ] (ch) in the Zanzibar dialects; for example, sand in Bantu is canga, in Pemba mshanga and in Ungaja mchanga. In Bantu calabash or bottle is cupa, in Pemba shupa, in Tumbatu and Ungaja chupa. In Bantu ci is country side (village), in Pemba is shi, in Tumbatu is Muchi, in Hadimu chi and in Ungaja is nchi.

Polomó (1980) states that an important morphophonemic distinction is the preservation of the prefix ki- before vowel initial terms, for instance in Pemba kiuma ‘iron’, kielezo ‘float’ (of fishernet), kiakwe ‘his’, kiangu, ‘my’ whereas in Ungaja there are chuma, cheloza and chakwe and in Tumbatu chakwe and changu.

Polomó also indicates that for Zanzibar island dialects, Tumbatu appears to have preserved the Bantu prefix di class 5 in a number of cases; for example, dyipu abscess versus Pemba and Hadimu ipu with zero prefix and Standard Swahili jicho.

Prevocalic root initial and intervocalic –l- from Bantu d appears as –y-, for example in yaya ‘sleep’ (Standard Swahili lala← Bantu daad-). Vuyu ‘rain’ in Standard Swahili mvua and in Bantu buda.

Polomó (1980) provides characteristic features of Hadimu as outlined below:

(a) the lenition of /p/ to the voiced bilabial fricative [β] represented by [v], for example mvisi ‘cook’, Swahili: mpisi; vita ‘pass’, Swahili: pata; yavo ‘there’, Swahili: hapo

(b) future: *kachakufwa*, Swahili *atakufwa* ‘he will die’.

akagacha muwapa, Swahili: *akipotea utamta fula* ‘if he is lost, you will look for him.’

Polomó(1980) states that in Hadimu, the loss of initial *l* occurs in class 3/4 nouns like *mwango*, plural *miango* ‘doors’: Standard Swahili *mlango*; *mwomo* ‘mouth’, plural *miyomo* ‘lips’: Standard Swahili *mdomo*.

It is also observed that while it is *mliango* ‘door’ in Tumbatu and Pemba, the referent was *mwango* in comoran (Ngazija). *Mwomo* ‘mouth’ also occurs in the Northern Tikuu dialect (c.f. Guthrie, 1970: s.v. PB - domo). Hadimu shares the shift of *l* to *u* in the environment /a—m/ in the reflexes of Swahili *mfalme* ‘chief’ with Ngazija, but it also occurs in Tumbatu with the development of a glide between *a* and *u*: Hadimu/ Ngazija *mfaume*, Tumbatu *mfayume*.

Polomó (1980) observes that the dialects briefly described represent the primary regional differentiation within the Swahili linguistic area. He states that as the language spreads through education and political use, economic and cultural activities and through the media, new varieties are likely to develop.

Polomó notes a number of changes in meaning in Swahili in Mwanza area, for example: *kalua* (a sect of Indian fishermen), applying to a big boat, *mseto* literally: ‘marsh, mixture’, applying in politics to a coalition.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature relevant to the current study. It has reviewed some works on Bemba language in general and in particular those that touch on some dialectal variations. The study has also reviewed studies on other Zambian languages and non Zambian studies on dialectology. The chapter has established that there has never been a dedicated study designed to explore the linguistic variations and similarities of Bemba dialects under study. Furthermore, the study has demonstrated that dialects of the same language exhibit interesting linguistic variations and similarities at different levels of linguistic analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

A BASIC LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE OF BEMBA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the basic linguistic structure of Bemba. The focus is on aspects of phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. From the outset, it should be stated that this account of Bemba structure is not an exhaustive one, but it will act as a guide to data analysis and interpretation in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

3.1 Some phonological aspects of Bemba

Sloat, Taylor and Hoard (1978) define phonology as the science of speech sounds and sound patterns of a language. They state that each language of the world has its own sound system. By sound system they mean the set of sounds that occur in a given language, the permissible arrangement of these sounds in words and the rules or processes for adding, deleting or changing sounds.

Phonology is of two types, namely: (i) segmental phonology which deals with both consonantal and vowel segments (ii) suprasegmental phonology which has to do with prosodic features and these are tone, stress, length intonation. It should be indicated that in the present study the prosodic features that are applicable are tone and length since they are peculiar to Bantu languages, in general, and to the language under study, in particular. It is worth mentioning that these types of phonological and the phonological rules are crucial in the study of natural languages whether diachronically or synchronically. It should also be mentioned that this study has been conducted synchronically. In the section the follows, I provide the phonemes available in Bemba.

3.1.1. Consonantal and semi-vowel segments in Bemba

A consonant is a speech sound which is produced by significantly obstructing the flow of air (Trask, 2007). Consonant segments are classified into several types, different in the kind of obstruction involved. For example, a plosive results from the vocal tract being blocked completely, and then the closure is released suddenly like [d] whereas if the vocal tract is blocked completely and the closure is released slowly, producing friction noise, the result is an affricate, like [tʃ]. If the vocal tract is not completely blocked, but is reduced, instead, at some point to a

tiny opening through which the air is forced producing a friction noise, the result is a fricative (Trask, 2007).

Roach (1991) states that [j] and [w] are consonant sounds found at the beginning of words such as ‘yet’ and ‘wet’. He states that these consonants are semivowels or preferably approximants and adds that the most important thing to remember about these phonemes is that they are phonetically like vowels but phonologically like consonants. The observation made is that when we consider these segments from the phonetic perspective, the articulation of j is practically the same as that of a front close vowel such as [i:], but it is very short. In the same way w is closely similar to the high back [u:]. Despite this vowel-like character, we use them like consonants. For example, they only occur before vowel phonemes; this is a typically consonantal distribution (Roach, 1991). The table that follows provides a consonantal phonemic chart of Bemba.

Table1: Phonemic chart of consonants and semivowels in Bemba

	Bilabial	Labio-denta	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	labio velar
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative	β	F	S	ʃ			
Affricative				tʃ dʒ			
Lateral			l				
Approximant					j		w

What is shown below is the list of words containing consonant and semivowel segments as phonemes in Bemba.

/b/ a voiced bilabial plosive as in **imba** [imba] ‘sing’

/p/ a voiceless bilabial plosive as in **poosa** [po:sa] ‘throw’

/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal as in **maama** [ma:ma] ‘grandmother’

/d/ a voiced alveolar plosive as in **landa** [la:nda] ‘talk’

/k/ a voiceless velar plosive as in **kafya** [kafja] ‘heat’

/g/ a voiced velar plosive as in **panga** [pa:ŋga] ‘make, create’

/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal as in **iŋ**anda [iŋa:nda] ‘house’

/ɲ/ a voiced palatal nasal as in **iny**anje [iɲa:ɲdʒe] ‘maize’

/j/ a voiced palatal approximant as in **ya**ama [ja:ma] ‘uncle’

/β/ a voiceless bilabial fricative as in **b**ula [bula] ‘take’

/f/ a voiceless labio-dental fricative as in **fu**uta [fu: ta] ‘erase’

/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive as in **pu**uta [pu: ta] ‘blow the air’

/s/ a voiceless alveolar fricative as in **s**ala [sala] ‘choose’

/ʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar fricative as in **lunshi** [lu:ŋʃi] ‘housefly’

/tʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar affricate as in **in**cinga [intʃi:ŋga] ‘a bicycle’

/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral as in **i**landa [ila:nda] ‘cowpeas’

/dʒ/ a voiced postalveolar affricate as in **ukucen**jela [ukutʃe:ɲdʒela] ‘to be clever’

/w/ a voiced labio-velar approximant as in **w**ise [wise] ‘you should come’

Based on the table of consonants, Spitulnik and Kashoki (1996, 1998) observe that the segments **[b]**, **[d]** and **[ʃ]** are allophones of the phonemes /β/, /l/ and /s/ respectively. The consonant **[b]** occurs only when preceded by the homorganic nasal **[m]** as in **mb**wele [mbwe:le] ‘should I return?’ derived from N- (1st person singular) –bwel- (verb root), -e (subjunctive); where N becomes m in homorganic harmony with the following b. Spitulnik and Kashoki (1996, 1998) point out that the consonant **[d]** occurs only when preceded by homorganic nasal **[n]** as in **nde**eya [nde:ja] ‘should I go?’ (Derived from N- (1st person singular), -lee- (tense/aspect), -ya (verb root)). The postalveolar **[ʃ]** occurs before **[i]**. In addition, the consonants **[dʒ]** and **[g]** never occur word initially or between vowels; they are always preceded by a homorganic nasal in nasal clusters represented orthographically as nj and ng (e.g. **nj**eba [ɲdʒeba]) ‘tell me’ and **ng**upa [ŋgupa] ‘marry me’ (Spitulnik & Kashoki, 1996, 1998).

3.1.2 Vowel segments in Bemba

Bemba has five distinctive vowel phonemes. The table below presents the vowel phonemes of Bemba.

Table 2. Bemba vowel system

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i	u
MID	e	o
LOW		a

The distinctiveness of vowels consists in the fact that where there is a difference in one vowel between a minimal pair, a semantic difference is made between such a pair of words as illustrated below:

- (a) muno [muno] ‘in here’; mune [mune] ‘friend, companion’
- (b) umulimo [umulimo] ‘work, job’ ; umulimi [umulimi] ‘farmer’
- (c) limo [limo] ‘once, one time’; lima [lima] ‘cultivate’
- (d) lenga [le:ŋga] ‘draw’ ; langa [laŋga] ‘show’
- (e) fundi [fundi] ‘craftsman, expert or artisan’; funda [funda] ‘teach, educate or instruct’
- (f) pita [pita] ‘pass’; pata [pata] ‘hate, detest’
- (g) pesha [peʃa] ‘make (somebody) reach the end’; posha [poʃa] 1. ‘cure, heal’ 2. ‘greet’
- (h) angala [aŋgala] ‘play’; angula [aŋgula] ‘shout , make a shrill noise’
- (i) cena [tʃena] ‘play’; cona [tʃona] ‘cat’
- (j) tuna [tuna] ‘be blunt , be dull’; tona [tona] ‘drip, fall in droplets’
- (k) sanga [saŋga] ‘find, discover’; sunga [suŋga] ‘keep, take care of or look after’

The vowels in bold type exhibit distinctiveness of the vowels in Bemba as one word in each pair has a different meaning from that of the other.

3.1.3 The syllable structure in Bemba

It should be stated that the consonant and vowel phonemes play a big role (in language) by coming together to form syllables, words, phrases, clauses and sentences. Sloat, Taylor and Hoard (1978) indicate that, structurally, the syllable may be divided into three parts, the peak, the onset and the coda. What do the three terms mean? Here is what each mean. The onset of a syllable consists of all the segments that precede the peak and are tautosyllabic with it. The coda consists of all the tautosyllabic segments that follow the peak. The peak, also known as the nucleus, is the element of greater prominence in the syllable and is usually a vowel. Though in Bantu languages, which include Bemba, there are cases where a nucleus can be a syllabic nasal. There are two types of syllable. Sloat et al (1978) state that a syllable that has no coda is called an unchecked or open syllable and one with a coda is called a checked or closed syllable. It should be indicated that a syllable in the language under investigation is unchecked or open; this means that it ends in a nucleus. Below are illustrations.

(a) batatu ‘three people’: the word batatu has three syllables: ba/ta/tu

(b) mbalaminwe ‘ring’ the word mbalaminwe has four syllables as shown below:

mba/la/mi/nwe

an example of a syllabic nasal is shown below:

ngá [ŋgá] ‘if’ and níga [ńga] ‘what about?’ In the second word níga [ńga] the voiced velar nasal [ŋ] has tone indicating that it is a syllabic nasal.

3.1.4 Suprasegmental features in Bemba

This section briefly presents two suprasegmental features that are peculiar to Bantu languages which include Bemba. These suprasegmentals are tone and length.

3.1.4.1. Tone

Spitulnik and Kashoki (1996. 1998) state that Bemba is a tone language which has two basic tones, high (H) and low (L). H is marked with an acute accent while L is unmarked. They state that, as with most other Bantu languages, tone (a kind of musical pitch at the syllabic level) can be phonemic and is an important functional marker in Bemba, signalling semantic distinction between words.

Crystal (2008) defines tone as a term used in phonology to refer to the distinctive pitch level of a syllable.

Here are a few examples:

(a) ímbá [ímbá] ‘sing’

imbá [imbá] ‘dig’

(b) ulúpwá [ulúpwá] ‘family, relatives’

úlupwá [úlupwá] ‘eggplant’

Spitulnik and Kashoki (1996, 1998) indicate that tonal contrasts also exist at grammatical level. An example is signalling distinctions in tenses:

(a) bááfíkile [bá:fíkile] ‘they arrived yesterday’

(b) bááfikílélé [bá:fikílélé] ‘they (had) arrived (a long time ago)’

In actual speech, tonal patterns are said to be more complex; they interact with other morpho-syntactic, morpho-phonological and prosodic processes (Spitulnik & Kashoki, 1996, 1998).

The following provide further illustrations on tonality:

(a) tuléélýá [tulé:ljá] ‘we are eating’

(b) tuléelyá nshí? [tulê: ljánʃí] ‘what shall we eat?’

In the first example the tense/aspect marker-lee- carries a high tone while in the second it carries a falling tone (H followed by L).

In addition, a high tone can become a low tone at the end of a declarative sentence.

3.1.4.2. Length

This is the term used in phonetics to refer to the physical duration of a sound or utterance, and in phonology to refer to the relative durations of sounds and syllables when these are linguistically contrastive (Crystal, 2008).

Spitulnik and Kashoki (1996, 1998) state that there is semantic distinction between short and long vowels. The doubling of vowels represents vowel length. Here are some examples:

(a) ukupama [ukupama] ‘to be brave’ the vowel in syllable /pa/ is short

ukupama [ukupaa:ma] ‘to hide’ the vowel in the syllable /paa/ is long

(b) ukusela [ukusela] ‘to move’ the vowel in the syllable /se/ is short

ukuseela [ukuse:la] ‘to dangle; (of an article of clothing), to be loose’ the vowel in the syllable /see/ is long.

It is worth mentioning that a syllable before a nasal compound is always long and so is a syllable containing the semivowels y and w. The following are examples:

(a) ukupenda [ukupe:nda] ‘to count’

(b) ukulemba [ukule:mba] ‘to write’

(c) ukupyana [ukupja:na] ‘to succeed’

(d) ukwasuka [ukwa:suka] ‘to answer’

In examples (a) and (b) the vowels in the syllables /pe/ and /le/ are long because they immediately precede nasal compounds [-nd-] and [-mb-], respectively.

In examples (c) and (d) the vowels in the syllables /pya/ and /kwa/ are long because they immediately follow the semivowels [j] and [w], respectively.

Another point worth noting is that there is no need to write the vowel double before a nasal compound or after the semivowel y or w because the syllable is long.

3.2. Some morphological aspects of Bemba

This section deals with some morphological aspects of Bemba. Lyons (1970) refers to morphology as a level of structure between phonology and syntax. He says what is meant by morphology is to say it is complementary to syntax. He further states that morphology accounts for the internal structure or form of words (typically as sequence of morphemes).

This section briefly discusses some of the areas of Bemba morphology, key among them nouns and verbs.

3.2.1. The Structure of the noun in Bemba

Like most Bantu languages, Bemba has a complex noun class system which involves signification of pluralisation patterns, agreement marking and patterns with regard to pronominal reference.

Mann (1999) points out that every noun in Bemba belongs to a class. He uses the word class in the sense of agreement-class so that umu-ntu ‘person’ is in class 1 while aba-ntu ‘people’ is in class 2.

The noun consists of a class prefix and a stem, for example the noun umuntu has these parts: u-mu-ntu; the parts mu and ntu are a prefix and a stem, respectively while the first element u- is an augment. The same arrangement applies to the noun abantu (a-ba-ntu). The two nouns-umuntu ‘a person’ and abantu ‘people’ are a manifestation that the class system of nouns has a semantic content and that the nouns are regular patterns of singular and plural forms.

On agreement marking, the following examples show how the nouns agree with a numeral determiner, an adjective and a verb:

- (a) umu - ntu u - mo umu - tali a - aisa
 | | | | | | | |
 PREF ST PREF ST PREF ST 3rd PER. SGV. (PERF)
 (lit : person one tall has come)
- (b) aba - ntu ba - sano ba - suma ba - bwela
 | | | | | | | |
 PREF ST PREF ST PREF ST 3rd PER. PL V
 (lit: people five good have come back)

The table below shows the nominal class prefixes of Bemba. It should also be indicated that Bemba nouns with nominal prefixes take an augment which precedes the nominal prefix of a noun. An augment is a morpheme or particle that precedes a nominal prefix; it is usually identical to the vowel of the nominal prefix.

Table 3: Nominal class prefix of Bemba

Class Number	Augment	Noun Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	u	mu	u-mu-ntu → umuntu	person
1a	Ø	Ø	yaama	uncle
2	a	Ba	a-ba-ntu → abantu	people
2a	Ø	Baa	baa-maayo → baamaayo	my mother(honorific)
3	U	Mu	u-mu-ti → umuti	tree:medicine
4	I	Mi	i-mi-ti → imiti	trees;medicines
5	I	i	i-i—luba → iiluba	flower
	I	li	i-li-ino → iliino	tooth
5a	Ø	lii	lii-Tembo → liiTembo	funny Tembo
6	A	ma	a-ma-luba → amaluba	flowers
7	I	ci	i-ci-ntu → icintu	‘thing’
7a	Ø	cii	cii-Tembo → ciiTembo	funny Tembo (augmentation)
8	I	fi	i-fi-ntu → ifintu	‘things’
8a	Ø	fii	fii-Tembo → fiiTembo	funny Tembos
9	I	n	i-n-koko → inkoko	chicken
9a	Ø	Ø	paani	pan (borrowed noun)
10	I	n	i-n-koko → inkoko	chickens
11	U	lu	u-lu-kasa → ulukasa	foot
12	A	ka	a-ka-nu-a → akanwa	mouth
12a	Ø	kaa	kaa-kolwe → kaakolwe	small monkey
13	U	tu	u-tu-nu-a → utunwa	mouths
13a	Ø	tuu	tuu-Tembo → tuuTembo	funny little Tembos
14	U	bu	u-bu-ntu → ubuntu	humanity
14a	Ø	buu	buu-kateeka → buukateeka	presidency (state of being a ruler)
15	U	ku	u-ku-boko → ukuboko	arm
16	Ø	pa/pali	pa-mutenge → pamutenge pa-li-Bwalya → paliBwalya	on the roof on Bwalya
17	Ø	ku	ku-Kitwe → kuKitwe	to Kitwe
17a	Ø	kuli	kuli-baawiso → kulibawiso	to your father
18	Ø	mu	mu-ḡanda → muḡanda	in the house
18a	Ø	muli	muli-Bupe → muli Bupe	in Bupe

Nouns in Bemba, as is the case in most Bantu languages, are paired into singular and plural based on their prefixes and syntactic value. The following is an outline of the pairs as presented in Mann (1999): classes 1 and 2 denote human beings while class 3 and 4 tend to be animate, agentive or plant-like: umu-ti ‘tree’ imi-ti ‘trees’. Class 9 and 10 represent animals: in-kalamo ‘lion’, in-kalamo ‘lions’. On the other hand, things that are in pairs or multiples are denoted by

class 5 and 6: ii-luba ‘flower’ and ama-luba ‘flowers’. Nouns for long objects are in classes 10 and 11: ulu-sengo ‘horn’, in-sengo ‘horns’. Diminutives are in class 12 and 13: aka-ntu ‘small thing’, utu-ntu ‘small things’. Class 7 and 8 are for general classes for inanimate nouns for example: ici-ntu ‘thing’ and ifi-ntu ‘things’; these classes also denote augmentatives.

Nouns of abstract nature are denoted by class 14, an example is: ubu-ntu ‘humanity’ classes 15 and 6 represent body parts that are usually in pairs: uku-boko ‘arm’ ama-boko ‘arms’; uku-twi ‘ear’, ama-twi ‘ears’. Also under class 15 fall infinitives: uku-lya ‘to eat’, uku-angala ‘to play’, uku-sambilila ‘to learn’, and many others. Classes 16, 17 and 18 are locatives and here are a few examples of their use: class 16: pa-mutenge ‘on the roof’, pali-bemba ‘on the lake’. The locatives in class 17 are ku and kuli; examples are ku Ndola ‘to Ndola’ and kuli Mwamba ‘to Mwamba’. Class 18 has the locatives mu and muli; their use is illustrated in the following: mu-mushi ‘in the village’ and muli-Bwalya ‘in Bwalya’.

Mann (1999) indicates that some class prefixes have derivational semantic function; they either replace the basic class prefix or occur as a secondary prefix on the noun form. The locative prefixes function in analogous manner:

- (a) ku-mushi →ku mushi ‘to the village’
- (b) pa-a-muti →paa muti ‘on the medicine, or on the tree’
- (c) pa-a-kuboko→paa kuboko ‘on the arm’

3.2.2. The structure of the verb in Bemba

The verb in Bemba, like in most Bantu languages, is composed of several morphemes. Chanda (2007) indicates that the verb is the most complex part of speech in Bantu languages. He names the types of morphemes that occur in Bantu languages and these are: pre-prefix, prefix or subject marker, post prefix, tense marker, verb radical, extension, pre-ending, ending and post ending. These morphemes strung together qualify the Bantu languages to be agglutinative. Bemba, as a member of Bantu languages is also agglutinative. The following structures illustrate the Bemba verb:

ta-tu-lee-ba-send-il-a→ tatuleebasendela ‘we are not carrying for them.’

The meanings of the morphemes are:

-ta- pre-prefix performing a negative function

-tu- subject marker

-lee- tense marker (progressive aspect)

-ba- object marker

-send- verb radical ‘carry’

-il- extension morpheme (i.e. applied extension)

-a- final vowel

As can be seen from the above illustration, verb radical is the core element around which other morphemes revolve. Lishimba (1982) in Sibajene (2013) says the verbal radical is the core which is responsible for conveying the basic meaning of the verb unit.

Mambwe (2008) also indicates that the nucleus of the verbal morphology (in Kaonde) is the verb root which supports a number of prefixes and suffixes which have different functions.

On tense, Chanda (2007) states that an important feature of Bantu languages is that in many languages, the past is divided between the past of today and the past before today: these are called Hodiernal past and prehodiernal past. In Bemba prehodiernal past is subdivided into recent prehodiernal past and remote prehodiernal past (Chanda, 2007).

Mann (1999) makes some observations on the morphemes of the verbs. He states that every finite verb-form has a pronoun prefix that stands for the subject of the verb (the person or thing that the clause is about). This is illustrated below:

(a) ba - ali - is - a → baaliisa ‘they came’.

SM TM VR FV

ba in the verb stands for the subject.

All the verb forms, including the infinitive, may have a pronoun representing the direct object for example:

(a) m ‘me’ in m - pa - ini → mpeeni ‘give me’

OM VRPL/HM

Being an imperative, the verb does not show the subject marker.

(b) mu ‘she/he’ in ba - ali - mu - eb - a →baalimweba ‘they told him’.

SM	TM (PST)	OM	VR	FV

Mann (1999) points out that a finite verb form contains the root such as –fik- ‘arrive’ and –fum- ‘come from’ and the pronoun, one or more parts which together serve to indicate what is called tense of the verb, that is when the action happens, whether it is still going on.

For example, using the pronoun or subject marker –tu- ‘we’ and the root –fik- ‘arrive’ we may say:

(a) tu - a - fik - ile →twafikile ‘we arrived’ (some days ago)

SM	TM (PST)	VR	TM

(b) tu - a - fik - a →twafika ‘we have just arrived’

SM	TM(PRES)	VR	FV

(c) tu - ka - fik - a →tukafika ‘we will arrive’

SM	TM (FUT)	VR	FV

(d) tu - lee - fik - a →tuleefika ‘we are arriving’

SM	TM	VR	FV

(PROG/FUT)

(e) naa - tu - fik - a →naatufika ‘we have arrived’

TM	SM	VR	FV

(PRES. PERF.)

Mann (1999) states that there is always one of these tense signs at the end, after the root as in (a) and, in many tenses, there is another tense sign before the root: -a-, -ka- and –lee-, as in the examples above. If there is an object, the tense marker comes first as the example below shows:

tu - ka - ba - shindik - a →Tukabashindika ‘we will accompany them’

SM	TM	OM	VR	FV

It has also been noted, as in (e) that a few tenses have a tense-sign before the subject marker. It has also been noted that the last tense marker in (a)

tu - a - fik - ile → twafikile ‘we arrived’, this
 | | | |
 SM TM (PST) VR TM

-ile has a number of forms. For example, the verbs below are all in the same tense:

(a) tu- a - fum -ine → twafumine ‘we left’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR TM

(b) tu - a - end - ele → twaendele ‘we travelled’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR TM

(c) tu - a - kos - eshe → twakoseshe ‘we lit a fire’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR TM

It has also been observed that the ending is –ine– or –ene– instead of –ile– or –ele– if the root ends in m, n, ŋ or ny: there is nasal harmonization; the /l/ in –ile– is nasalised by the nasal /m/ in the verb radical –fum– (refer to example (a)). The ending is –ele– or –ene– instead of –ile– or –ine– if the previous vowel is a mid vowel /e/ (refer to example (b)).

On the other hand, the ending is –eshe– or –ishi– when the root normally ends in –y– or –sh–; we should get a clue from the way the verb root ends:

tu – a - kosh - a → twakosha ‘we have just lit’.
 | | | |
 SM TM VR FV

It should also be observed that the ending is not –ishe–, but –eshe– because of the mid vowel /o/ in the verb root –kosh– ‘light’ (refer to example (c)).

Mann (1999) indicates that the negative of the tenses usually start with ta-, but relative tenses and participles have –shi–, instead, placed immediately after the subject marker:

a - ba - shi - li - a → abashilya ‘who do not eat’
 | | | |
 RM SM NEG. M VR FV
 (PRES)

sh- is also used in place of ta- after the first person singular subject marker (1st per. sg. sm) n-, as the example below shows:

n - shi - ba - mon - a → nshibamona ‘I do not see them’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR TM

SM NEG. M OM VR FV

(PRES)

The subjunctive mood uses a special sign -i-, placed immediately after the subject marker, to mark the negative; examples are:

(a) tu - i - ya → twiya 'let us not go'
 | | |
 SM NEG. M VR

(b) ba - i - laa - ya → beelaaya 'they shouldn't be going'
 | | | |
 SM NEG. M TM VR

(PROG)

The discussion of the structure of the verb in Bemba has not been exhaustive, but it has provided some insight into how this word category is structured and how it operates.

3.2.2.1. Verbal extensions in Bemba

Nkolola (1997) points out that, 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. In line with this view, Kamfuli (2009) states that verbal extensions occupy a very important place in Bantu grammar, generally, and in Bemba, particularly, and this is why he says their place in X-bar schematic template of the Bantu syntax must be clearly established. In fact, Kamfuli's study on verbal extensions in Bemba is quite broad, and he has, among other things, ascertained the relevance of Government Binding Theory to Bemba Verbal Grammar.

For the present study, however, one of the concerns is to link verbal extensions in Bemba to the study of the three dialects, namely: Standard Bemba, Luunda and ꞑumbo.

Below are some verbal extensions in Bemba:

(i) Passive extensions

This indicates that the object of the verb has been acted upon by some agent; the object is a patient. This condition is stated by the verb radical. The morphemes are: **-u-** and **-w-**, here are examples:

- (a) u-ku-sek-a → ukuseka ‘to laugh’
 u-ku-sek—**u**-a → ukusek**wa** ‘to be laughed at’
- (b) u-ku-kakis-i-a → ukukakisha ‘have someone imprisoned’
 u-ku-kakisi-**w**-a → ukukakishi**wa** ‘be or get imprisoned’

(ii) Causative extension

In this extension, the morpheme attached to the verb radical indicates that the subject of the verb is made or caused to do something or perform an action stated by the verb. The morpheme is the super close **-i-**

- (a) u-ku-lek-a → ukuleka ‘to stop’
 u-ku-lek-i-a → u-ku-lesi-a → u-ku-le**ʃ**i-a → ukulesha [ukule**ʃ**a] ‘to cause somebody to stop from doing something’
- (b) u-ku-bomb-a → ukubomba ‘to work’
 u-ku-bomb-**i**-a → ukubom**fy**a ‘to cause something or somebody to do something’

In both examples, the stops /k/ and /b/ immediately preceding the super close /i/ have undergone spirantisation or fricativisation: [s] and [f], respectively. The resultant fricative [s] in example (a) has undergone palatalisation, changing from /s/ to [ʃ] because it has been influenced by the high front vowel [i].

(iii) Reciprocal extension

This is an extension that indicates that the action of the verb affects both the subject and the object of the verb to which it is attached. The extension morpheme is **-an-**, the extension is illustrated below:

- (a) u-ku-temu-a → ukutemwa ‘to love’
 u-ku-temu-**an**-a → ukutemw**ana** ‘to love each other’
- (b) u-ku-afu-a → ukwafwa ‘to help’

u-ku-afu-**an**-a → ukwafw**ana** ‘to help each other’

(iv) Intensive extension

The morpheme in this extension indicates intensification of the action of the verb to which it is affixed. The morphemes are: **-esh-** or **-ish-**. Below are examples of the use of this extension:

(a) u-ku-beleng-a → ukubelenga ‘to read’

u-ku-beleng-**esh**-a → ukubeleng**esha** ‘to read with greater concentration’

(b) u-ku-li-a → ukulya ‘to eat’

u-ku-li-**ish**-a → ukuli**iisha** ‘to eat too much’

(v) Frequentative extension

In this extension, the morpheme shows that the action of the verb to which it is attached is distributed widely as a consequence of repetition. The morpheme is **-aul-**. Illustrations of its use are provided below:

(a) u-ku-byal-a → ukubyala ‘to sow’

u-ku-byal-**aul**-a → ukubyal**aula** ‘to sow the seeds in many places’

(b) u-ku-ikat-a → ukwikata ‘to touch’

u-ku-ikat-**aul**-a → ukwikat**aula** ‘to touch in many places’

(vi) Applied extension

Also known as applicative extension is an extension in which the morpheme affixed to a verb radical indicates that the object of the verb has something done for them. In other words, the action is done on behalf of the object. The morpheme is **-il-**. Here are examples of its use:

(a) u-ku-min-a → ukumina ‘to swallow’

u-ku-min-**il**-a ukumin**ina** ‘to swallow on behalf of’

(b) u-ku-tem-a → ukutema ‘to cut trees’

u-ku-tem-il-a → ukutemena ‘to cut or chop a tree on behalf of somebody’

It has been observed that in both examples, nasal harmony has occurred: the /l/ in -il- has been nasalised to [n] by the preceding voiced bilabial nasal [m] in the verb radicals –min- ‘shallow’ and –tem- ‘cut’ in (a) and (b), respectively.

There is also vowel harmony in example (b) in which the mid front vowel [e] in the radical -tem- influences /i/ in -il- by converting it to the mid front vowel [e].

(vii) Neuter (Stative)

This extension expresses the state in which the object of the verb to which it is affixed is. The morpheme is –ik-. Its uses are illustrated below:

(a) u-ku-tul-a → ukutula ‘pierce, bore a hole’

u-ku-tul-ik-a → ukutulika ‘to be punctured and to remain in that state’

(b) u-ku-mon-a → ukumona ‘to see’

u-ku-mon-ik-a → ukumoneka ‘to be seen or visible and remain in the same state,’

It should, again, be indicated that the ‘i’ in –ik- has undergone vowel harmony, the mutation –ek- being influenced by the mid back vowel [o] in the radical –mon- ‘see’.

(viii) Reversive active extension

The extension shows that the action of the radical is undone or reversed. The morphemes are –ulul-, -olol-, -unun-, here are illustrations of their use:

(a) u-ku-pim-a → ukupima ‘to weigh or measure’

u-ku-pim-unun-a → ukupimununa ‘to undo the measuring or weighing’

(b) u-ku-pomb-a → ukupomba ‘to roll something’

u-ku-pomb-olol-a → ukupombolola ‘to unroll something’

(ix) Completive extension

This extension shows that an action of the verb to which it is attached is the full accomplishment; the action is done for good. The morpheme of this extension is –ilil-; its

variants are: ‘-el~~el~~-’, ‘-in~~in~~-’ and ‘-en~~en~~-’ as a result of morphophonological rules such as vowel harmony and nasal harmony. Here are examples of this extension:

(a) u-ku-send-a → ukusenda ‘to take or carry’

u-ku-send-**el~~el~~**-a → ukusend**elele**a ‘to take for good’

(b) u-ku-is-ilil-a → ukwis**ilil**a → ukwish**ilil**a ‘to come for good’

In the examples, the phonological processes have occurred and these are vowel harmony in the example under (a): the *i*s in –ilil- have been converted to the mid front vowel [e] because of the influence of the mid vowel [e] in the verb radical –send- ‘take; carry’.

There has been palatalisation of the voiceless alveolar fricative [s]: [s] has been converted to the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] as a result of its being immediately followed by the high front vowel [i], formalised thus: [s] → [ʃ] / — [i]

The discussion has been on verbal extensions in Bemba and it should be made clear that the list of them has not been exhausted.

3.3 Some syntactic aspects of Bemba

As already indicated in the previous sections, the study does not intend to give a detailed account of Bemba syntax. This section, however, discusses briefly the general syntax with regard to word order in Bemba.

Lyons (1970) defines syntax as the level at which the linguist accounts for the way words (the primary units) are put together to form sentences. He states that every sentence has what is referred to as a particular arrangement of the ultimate constituents, the minimal grammatical elements of which it is composed. Every sentence has, therefore, what we will refer to as a linear structure.

Crystal (2008) adds, ‘syntax is the study of the interrelationships between elements of sentence structure in sequence’. Furthermore, Chanda (2007) elucidates that the term word order is used to refer to the sequential arrangement of words in larger units. He points out that Bantu languages are basically SVO languages: generally the subject comes first, followed by the verb which is followed by the object.

The following are some of the basic word order types in Bemba. I begin with the word order in the noun phrase:

(1) abantu babili

$\begin{array}{cc} | & | \\ \text{N} & \text{CND} \end{array}$

[lit: people two] ‘two people’

This noun phrase is made up of a noun (N) abantu ‘people’ followed by the cardinal numeral determiner babili ‘two’ (CND).

This arrangement of syntactic elements is postdetermination.

2 (a) inama shitatu ishisuma

$\begin{array}{ccc} | & | & | \\ \text{N} & \text{CND} & \text{ADJ} \end{array}$

[lit: animal three that are good] ‘three good animals’

The noun inama ‘animals’ is followed by the cardinal numeral determiner shitatu ‘three’ which is followed by the adjective ishisuma ‘good’

(b) inama ishisuma shitatu

$\begin{array}{ccc} | & | & | \\ \text{N} & \text{ADJ} & \text{CND} \end{array}$

[lit: animals that are good three] ‘three good animals’

The noun inama ‘animals’ is followed by the adjective ishisuma ‘good’ which is followed by the cardinal numeral determiner shitatu ‘three’

3 (a) umukashana ulya umusuma

$\begin{array}{ccc} | & | & | \\ \text{N} & \text{DD} & \text{ADJ} \end{array}$

[lit: the girl that that is good] ‘that good girl’

The noun umukashana ‘girl’ is followed by the demonstrative determiner ulya ‘that’ which is followed by the adjective umusuma ‘good’

(b) umukashana umusuma ulya

$\begin{array}{ccc} | & | & | \end{array}$

N ADJ DD

[lit: the girl that is good that] ‘that good girl’

The noun umukashana ‘girl’ is followed by the adjective umusuma ‘good’ which is followed by the demonstrative determiner ulya ‘that’

4 (a) imbwa shine ishakali
 | | |
 N CND ADJ

[lit: dogs four that are fierce] ‘four fierce dogs’

The noun imbwa ‘dog’ is followed by the cardinal numeral determiner shine ‘four’ which is followed by the adjective ishakali ‘fierce’

(b) imbwa ishakali shitatu
 | | |
 N ADJ CND

[lit: dogs that are fierce three] ‘three fierce dogs’

The noun imbwa ‘dogs’ is followed by the adjective ishakali ‘fierce’ which is followed by the cardinal numeral determiner shitatu ‘three’.

5 baana nshi?
 | |
 N ID

[lit: children which] ‘which children’

The noun baana ‘children’ is followed by the interrogative determiner nshi? ‘which’

6 (a) umwaume wa ntanshi
 | | |
 N GP OND

[lit: man of first] ‘the first man’

The noun umwaume ‘man’ is followed by the genitive pronoun wa ‘of’ which is followed by the ordinal numeral determiner ntanshi ‘first’

(b) wa ntanshi umwaume
 | | |

GP OND N

[of first man] ‘the first man’

The genitive pronoun wa ‘of’ is followed by the ordinal numeral determiner ntanshi ‘first’ which is followed by the noun umwaume ‘man’.

7 umo umuntu ‘one person’
 | |
 CND N

In this noun phrase the cardinal numeral determiner umo ‘one’ precedes the noun umuntu ‘person’. This is an example of predetermination like the case is in English.

Some of the word-order types in the Bemba noun phrase have been discussed. The next section presents possible types of word order featuring verb phrases in Bemba:

1 bakafundisha baatuma Bwalya
 | | |
 S V O

[lit: teacher he has sent Bwalya] ‘the teacher has sent Bwalya’

The subject-verb- object word order is commonly used in Bemba and its dialects. There are instances where this order can be rearranged; for example, instead of SVO, OVS can be used as illustrated below:

2 Bwalya baamutuma bakafundisha
 | | |
 O V S

[lit: Bwalyahe has sent him the teacher] ‘the teacher has sent Bwalya’

This rearrangement of syntactic elements where a word is fronted is known as fronting or topicalisation. Crystal (2008) indicates that topicalisation takes place when a constituent is moved to the front of a sentence so that it functions as topic. The example above has Bwalya as the initial syntactic element. This prominent position lays emphasis on Bwalya; speakers’ choice of words is done to convey an appropriate meaning to the listeners.

3 itaba Mwansa naalya
 | | |

O S V

[lit: the cob of maize Mwansa has eaten] ‘Mwansa has eaten the cob of maize’

Again, from the basic pattern SVO, there is a derived syntactic pattern OSV, probably to give emphasis to the object of the sentence.

4 Hamasaka ni nikafundisha

 | | |
 S LV C

[lit: Hamasaka he is a teacher] ‘Hamasaka is a teacher’

The use of the element **ni** ‘he is’ which can be regarded as a linking verb makes it possible for the sentence to contain a complement. The Bemba construction is identical to the English one in terms of syntactic patterning. The subject Hamasaka is followed by the linking verb **ni** ‘he is’ which is followed by the complement kafundisha ‘teacher’

5 imfula ileeloka

 | |
 S V

[lit: rain it is raining] ‘it is raining’

In the above sentence, the subject imfula ‘rain’ is followed by the verb ileeloka ‘it is raining’

6 ta balya ubwali bakanabesa

 | | | |
 NEG.M V O S

[lit: not he does eat nsima he chief] ‘the chief does not eat nsima’

The construction (VOS) is another possible construction in Bemba and its dialects.

7 abantu ifyakusosa balasosa

 | | |
 S O V

[lit: people that which is said they say] ‘people talk a lot’

The syntactic pattern in (7) is a possible construction in Bemba.

Question words can either be used in the initial position, that is, immediately before a verb or it can follow the verb as the examples below show:

(a) finshi muleefwaya?

 | |

QW V

[lit: what you are looking for?] ‘what are you looking for?’

(b) muleefwaya finshi?

 | |
 V QW

[lit: you are looking for what?] ‘ what are you looking for?’

This word order type with question words is syntactically correct and acceptable though the different positions of question words may carry a difference in meaning or emphasis.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has briefly discussed the basic structure of Bemba. It has presented three levels of linguistic analysis, namely: phonology, morphology and syntax. In morphology, the chapter has dealt with the consonants, vowels and semivowels, syllable structure, tone and length. Under morphology, the structure of the noun and the verb has been discussed, and finally in syntax the basic word order has been presented.

The next chapter distinguishes the phonological variations between the dialects under investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR

PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL VARIATIONS OF STANDARD BEMBA, LUUNDA AND DUMBO

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter has briefly discussed the structure of Bemba. The analysis and interpretation of the findings in this chapter is set against the background provided in Chapter Three. This chapter endeavours to address the first objective of the study and this is to distinguish phonological variations among the three dialects: STDB, L and D. In other words the study seeks to present the phonological variations between these dialects. It should be mentioned that the purpose in this study is not to present an extensive phonological analysis but to deal with what is manageable within the scope of this study.

4.1 Segmental phonology

4.1.1. Vowels

It is evident from the findings that the dialects under study have the same inventory of vowels. There are five vowels, namely: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. The following are examples of words from the dialects in which these vowels are used.

[i] is a high front vowel, as a in the following examples:

- 1 (a) **icikumpilo** [itʃiku: mpilo] ‘slasher’
- (b) **icikwempulo** [itʃikwe: mpulo] ‘slasher’
- (c) **ici kwempu** [itʃikwe: mpu] ‘slasher’

[e] is a mid front vowel, as shown in the words below:

- 2 (a) **umukwelu** [umukwe: lu] sauce made from peanut butter
- (b) **umusweswe** [umuswe: swe] sauce made from peanut butter

[a] is a low back vowel, as indicated in the words below:

- 3 (a) **nkoma-matwi** [ŋkomamatwi] deaf person
- (b) **nkomya-matwi** [ŋkomja: matwi] deaf person

[o] is a mid back vowel, as illustrated in the following words:

- 4 (a) **ulumono** [ulumono] ‘caster bean’
- (b) **ulubuto** [uluβuto] ‘seed’
- (c) **uluko** [uluko] ‘papyrus’
- (d) **icooni** [itʃo: ni] ‘bird’

[u] is a high back vowel, as shown in the words below:

- 5 (a) **musalu** [musalu] ‘vegetable’
 (b) **cibulu** [tʃiβulu] ‘dumb person’
 (c) **icuuni** [itʃu: ni] ‘bird’
 (d) **intifu** [intifu] ‘hiccup’
 (e) **umundiku** [umu: ndiku] ‘hiccup’
 (f) **umundikundiku** [umu: ndiku: ndiku] ‘hiccup’

It is evident from the findings that the quality of vowel segments is the same in the dialects under investigation.

4.1.2 Consonants and semi-vowels

The revelation from the study is that consonant segments as well as semi-vowels are the same for the dialects under study. The following is the table of consonants and semi-vowels:

Table 4: Phonemic chart of consonants and semi-vowels in STDB, L and D

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	POST ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	LABIO VELAR
plosive	p b		t d			k g	
Nasal		m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
fricative	β	f	s	ʃ			
affricate				tʃ dʒ			
Lateral			l				
Approximant					j		w

The following are some of the words in which the consonants and semi-vowels occur in the dialects under study:

/p/ a voiceless bilabial plosive as in the following examples:

- 6 (a) **ukwapa** [ukwa: pa] ‘armpit’
 (b) **ukupempula** [ukupe: mpula] to visit someone

/b/ a voiced bilabial plosive as in:

- 7 (a) **imbata** [imbata] ‘duck’
 (b) **imbushi** [imbuʃi] ‘goat’

/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal as in:

- 8 (a) **amakanga** [amaka: ŋga] ‘guinea fowl’
 (b) **amani** [amani] ‘eggs’

/β/ a voiceless bilabial fricative as in:

9 (a) **ubusanshi** [uβusa: nʃi] ‘bed’

(b) **umusebo** [umuseβo] ‘road’

/f/ a voiceless labio-dental fricative as in:

10 (a) **imbafi** [imbafi] ‘wooden axe’

(b) **ulufine** [ulufine] ‘pimple’

/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive as in:

11 (a) **ubutanda** [uβuta:nda] ‘mat made out of reeds’

(b) **imfuti** [imfuti] ‘gun’

/d/ a voiced alveolar plosive as in:

12 (a) **indupe** [indupe] ‘winnowing baskets’

(b) **impindi** [impi:ndi] ‘time’

/n/ a voiced alveolar nasal as in:

13 (a) **insupa** [insupa] ‘calabash’

(b) **inkondo** [iŋko:ndo] ‘war’

/s/ a voiceless alveolar fricative as in:

14 (a) **isaya** [isaja] ‘cheek’

(b) **isabi** [isabi] ‘fish’

/ʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar fricative as in:

15 (a) **umukoshi** [umukoʃi] ‘neck’

(b) **umushi** [umuʃi] ‘village’

/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral as in:

16 (a) **ulukasa** [ulukasa] ‘foot’

(b) **icilafi** [itʃilafi] ‘forgetfulness’

/tʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar affricate as in:

17 (a) **icisansa** [itʃisa:nsa] ‘hand’

(b) **icipangano** [itʃipa:ŋgano] ‘agreement’

/dʒ/ a voiced postalveolar affricate as in:

18 (a) **injinga** [iŋdʒi:ŋga] ‘bicycle’

(b) **inyanje** [iŋa:ŋdʒe] ‘maize’

(c) **injela** [iŋdʒela] ‘a key of kalimba or hand piano’

/ɲ/ a voiced palatal nasal as in:

19 (a) **inyimbo** [iɲi: mbo] ‘songs’

(b) **inyanje** [iɲa: ndʒe] ‘maize’

/j/ a voiced palatal approximant as in:

20 (a) ukulya [ukulja] ‘to eat’

(b) yaama [ja:ma] ‘uncle’

/k/ a voiceless velar plosive as in:

21 (a) kasuli [kasuli] ‘last born’

(b) amasaka [amasaka] ‘sorghum’

/g/ a voiced velar plosive as in:

22 (a) insengu [inse:ŋgu] ‘bamboo’

(b) ukusunguluka [ukusu:ŋguluka] ‘dissolve’

(c) ukusungulika [ukusu:ŋgulika] ‘to dissolve’

/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal as in:

23 (a) iŋanda [iŋa:nda] ‘house’

(b) iŋanu [iŋanu] ‘wheat’

/w/ a voiced labio-velar approximant as in:

24 (a) kuwe [kuwe] ‘a coward or chicken-hearted person’

(b) akabwibwi [akabwi:bwi] ‘mosquito’

(c) muŋwiŋwi [mu: ŋwi:ŋwi] ‘mosquito’

4.1.3 Some salient phonological variations of Bemba dialects: Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo

This section presents some phonological variations involving palatalisation, postalveolarisation, nasal assimilation, homomorphemic and heteromorphemic phonemes. Phonological similarities are also discussed, besides those that have already been presented on the inventory of vowels, consonants and semi-vowels. The similarities involve phonological rules, which include allophonic, and morphophonological rules, and syllable structure.

It is important to point out that in the analysis and interpretation of the data, some phonological rules are to be used as a tool to label phonetic variations. The researcher is in agreement with Sibajene’s (2013) observations that by using such rules there are no claims that any of the phonemes in the dialects are derived from the others. Sibajene’s observations are apt because describing linguistic variations does not amount to regarding any dialect as being superior to others. The objective is to describe the variations and ascertain how the dialects compare with each other.

4.1.3.1 Some phonological variations between Standard Bemba, Luunda and Dumbo involving palatalisation

Palatalisation occurs in STDB with regard to the voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. Palatalisation is the process of making a non palatal segment palatal: it is an assimilation process in which a speech sound is produced by raising the tongue towards the hard palate. Two of the verbal extensions which are affected by palatalisation are causative and intensive forms.

The study reveals that in causative form, the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] is manifested as a voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in environment before the voiced palatal approximant [j]. It is noticed that the voiceless alveolar fricative [ʃ] is palatalised to the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in STDB as a result of its being homorganic with the palatal approximant [j]. On the other hand, the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] before the voiced palatal approximant is not palatalised in L and D. The phonological rule for STDB illustrates the variation as follows:

[s] → [ʃ]/ — [j]: ukulesia → ukulesja/ → [ukuleʃa] STDB

The following table shows the phonetic variation between STDB on the one hand, and L and D, on the other hand.

Table 5: Phonetic variation involving palatalisation in causative form

Gloss	STDB Pronunciation	L and D Pronunciation
cause something to stop	ukulesha [ukuleʃa]	[ukulesja]
cause something to fly	ukupupusha [ukupupuʃa]	[ukupupusja]
cause something to burst	ukupoosha [ukupo:ʃa]	[ukupo: sja]
cause somebody to resemble	ukupasha [ukupafʃa]	[ukupasja]
cause somebody to vomit	ukulusha [ukuluʃa]	[ukulusja]

Earlier, it has been established that semivocalisation of the high front vowel [i] preceding the low back vowel [a] has occurred, leading to palatalisation of the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in STDB.

As has already been indicated, palatalisation affects also intensive form of the verb as formalized below:

[s] → [ʃ]/ — [j]: ukuliisia → ukuliisja/ → [ukuli:ʃa] STDB

The following table shows the phonetic differences between STDB, on the one hand, and L and D, on the other hand.

Table 6: Phonetic differences involving palatalisation in intensive verb form

Gloss	STDB Pronunciation	L and D Pronunciation
to eat too much	ukulisha [ukuli:ʃa]	[ukuli:sja]
to laugh too much	ukusekesha [ukusekeʃa]	[ukusekesja]
to read too much	ukubelengsha [ukuβele:ŋgeʃa]	[ukuβele:ŋgesja]
to talk too much	ukulandisha [ukula:ndiʃa]	[ukula:ndisja]
to cook too much	ukwipikisha [ukwi:pikiʃa]	[ukwi:pikisja]
to jump too much	ukutoloksha [ukutolokeʃa]	[ukutolokesja]

From the table above, it is clear that there are phonetic variations regarding palatalisation in intensive form of verbs. The findings from the study is that in STDB, both regressive (or anticipatory) and progressive nasal assimilation occur. In this process, the voiced alveolar nasal [n] representing the first person singular pronoun is realised as the voiced bilabial nasal [m] in the environment before the voiced bilabial plosive [b]. This is regressive assimilation. In turn, the voiced bilabial plosive [b] is realised as a voiced bilabial nasal [m]: this is progressive nasal assimilation. The result of these two processes is [mm] which is reducible to a voiced bilabial nasal [m]. The phonological rules are formalised to show anticipatory and progressive nasal assimilation:

[n] → [m]/ — [b] and [b] → [m]/ [m] —

It is observed that the progressive nasal assimilation for the voiced bilabial plosive [b] does not occur in L and D, in this regard. The table below shows the phonetic differences involving nasal assimilation processes.

Table 7: The phonetic differences involving nasal assimilation processes

Gloss	STDB Pronunciation	L and D Pronunciation
to work for me	ukummbela → ukumbela [ukumo: mbela]	ukumbela [uku: mbo: mbela]
to see me	ukummona → ukumona [ukumona]	ukumbona [uku: mbona]
to use me	ukummomfya → úkumómfyá [úkumó: mfjá]	úkumbómfyá [úku: mbó: mfjá]
to make me wet	ukummomfya → ukúómómfyá [ukúómó: mfjá]	ukúmbómfyá [ukú: mbó: mfjá]

From the examples in the table above, it should be restated that both anticipatory (regressive) and progressive nasal assimilation processes occur in STDB whereas in L and D only regressive nasal assimilation occurs.

It has been revealed from the study that in STDB, the voiceless velar plosive [k] is realized as the voiceless post alveolar affricative [tʃ] if it is homomorphemic with the mid front vowel [e] or the high front vowel [i]. Homomorphemic, here, means that the phoneme which is indicated is part of the morphemic unit being dealt with. The formalised phonological rule for STDB is used to illustrate the mutation:

[k] → [tʃ]/ — [e] or [i].

It has been noticed that the voiceless velar plosive [k] is not manifested as [tʃ] in such a phonetic environment in L and D.

The following table illustrates the phonetic variation between STDB, on the one hand, and L and D, on the other.

Table 8: Phonetic variations between the dialects under study involving [tʃ] and [k]

Gloss	Morphology	STDB Pronunciation	L and D Pronunciation
to cut with something sharp, e.g. a knife	u- ku – kek – a	[ukutʃeka]	[ukukeka]
a pole supporting a roof	u – lu – kesi	[ulutʃeʃi]	[ulukesi]
salt	u – mu – kele	[umutʃele]	[umukele]
tail	u – mu – kila	[umutʃila]	[umukila]
smell of fish	u – lu – ke	[ulutʃe]	[uluke]

It has also emerged from the study that the same rule applies to the voiced velar plosive [g] if it is homomorphemic with the mid front vowel [e] or the high front vowel [i]; it manifests as the voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ]. A phonological rule is formalised as below:

[g] → [dʒ]/ — [e] or [i]

It has been noticed that the dialects under investigation pronounce the words in the table below in line with this rule.

Table 9: Phonetic similarities involving [dʒ]

Gloss	Morphology	STDB, L, D Pronunciation
to do the right thing for	u – ku – lungik – il – a	[ukulu: ɲdʒikila]
to do first on behalf of	u – ku – tangil – a	[ukuta: ɲdʒilila]
to start earlier; do first or before others	u – ku – bangil – a	[ukuβa: ɲdʒilila]

The similarities shown in the table above provide a strong link to the phonetic variations shown in the next table.

The other revelation from the findings is that if the voiced velar plosive [g] is heteromorphemic with the mid front vowel [e] or the high front vowel [i], it does not manifest as the voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ]. In other words, it maintains its phonetic shape [g]. Heteromorphemic means that the mid front vowel [e] or high front vowel [i] is not part of the morphemic unit in consideration. The rule is formalised below:

$$[g] \rightarrow [dʒ] / \text{---} \sim \begin{smallmatrix} e \\ i \end{smallmatrix}$$

(heteromorphemic [e] or [i]): the symbol ~ means except or not.

Table 10: Phonetic differences involving [g] and [dʒ]

Gloss	Morphology	STDB Pronunciation	L and D Pronunciation
to solve the problem for someone	u – ku – sang – il – a	[ukusa: ŋgila]	[ukusa: ɲdʒila]
to keep for someone	u – ku – sung – il – a	[ukusu: ŋgila]	[ukusu: ɲdʒila]
to smoke fish or meat for someone	u – ku – kang – il – a	[ukuka: ŋgila]	[ukuka: ɲdʒila]
to make something for someone	u – ku – pang – il – a	[ukupa: ŋgila]	[ukupa: ɲdʒila]

From the table above, it can be noted that the voiced velar plosive [g] is not realised as the voiced postalveolar affricate in the environment where the mid front vowel [e] or high front vowel [i] is heteromorphemic with it [i.e. g] whereas in L and D, the voiced velar plosive [g] manifests as [dʒ] in the same phonetic environment.

It is also evident from the investigation that there is postalveolarisation of the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in the environment before the high front vowel [i] in STDB while in L and D, this is not the case. We formalise a phonological rule to show postalveolarisation in STDB: [s] → [ʃ] / --- [i]

The following table shows the phonetic differences between the dialects under study:

Table 11: Phonetic differences involving postalveolarisation

Gloss	STDB Pronunciation	L, D Pronunciation
beggar	umupushi [umupuʃi]	umupusi [umupusi]
a kind of big rat found in plains	insenshi [inse:nʃi]	insensi [inse:nsi]
hunter	umulunshi [umulu:nʃi]	umulunsi [umulu:nsi]
that which is fresh	ilibishi [iliβi:ʃi]	ilibisi [iliβisi]
a nurse of a baby	umuleshi [umuleʃi]	umulesi [umulesi]

From the table above, it can be noticed that the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] has been postalveolarised to the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in STDB while in L and D it remains the same [s].

The study has also established that there are phonetic variations between the dialects under investigation in relation to some of the items from the lexicon. The table below presents some words in which the phonetic variations are manifested based on rules of insertion and deletion and others mentioned below.

Table 12: Some phonetic variations between STDB, L and D

Gloss	STDB Pronunciation	L Pronunciation	D Pronunciation
drunkard	[tʃikolwa]	[tʃakolwa]	[tʃakolwa]
start; to be startled	[ukutilimuka]	[ukutulumuka]	[ukutulumuka]
a pair of tongs	[ulumano]	[itʃimano]	[itʃima:nto]
sneeze	[ulupasu]	[ulutesu]	[ulutasu]
small anthill	[ifwa:sa]	[ifwe:sa]	[ifwe:sa]
apex of a roof	akaso:nʃi	[inso:nsi]	[akaso:nsi]
to drown	[ukunwe:na]	[ukunwi:na]	[ukunwi:na]
bird	[itʃu:ni]	[itʃo:ni]	[itʃo: ni]
dissolve	[ukusu:ŋguluka]	[ukusu:ŋgulika]	[ukusu:ŋgulika]
nail	[umusomali]	[umusumali]	[umusumali]
deaf person	[nkomamatwi]	[nkomja:matwi]	[nkomja:matwi]
a bait	[ljambi]	[itʃa:mbi]	[itʃa:mbo]
thumb	[itʃikumo]	[itʃi:ŋkumwa]	[itʃi:ŋkumja]
duck	[imbata]	[itʃibata]	[itʃibata]
bicycle	[intʃi:ŋga]	[indʒi:ŋga]	[indʒi:ŋga]
slasher	[itʃiku:mpilo]	[itʃikwe:mpulo]	[itʃkwe:mpu]
salt	[umutʃele]	[umukele]	umukele

The above table can be explained through phonological rules of deletion, insertion, semivocalisation (gliding) as well as de-postalveolarisation.

In the table above, it will be noticed that in the STDB word cikolwa [**tʃikolwa**] ‘drunkard’, the L and ɪ form syncopically deletes the high front vowel [i] and in place of that epenthetically inserts the low back vowel [a] and consequently realises the form cakolwa [**tʃakolwa**].

The other change involves the STDB word ukutilimuka [**ukutilimuka**] ‘to be startled’ from which the L and ɪ form syncopically deletes the high-front vowel [i] in the environment after the voiceless alveolar plosive [t]. There is another syncopic deletion of the high front vowel in the same word [**ukutilimuka**] in the environment after the voiced alveolar lateral [l]. In the spaces of the deleted segments, the L and ɪ variant epenthetically inserts the high back vowel [u] in the environment after the voiceless alveolar plosive [t] and the voiced alveolar lateral [l] to realise the word ukutulumuka [**ukutulumuka**].

It is observed that the /l/ form epenthetically deletes from the STDB word ulumano [**ulumano**] ‘a pair of tongs’ the high back vowel [u] and syncopically deletes the voiced alveolar lateral [l] and the high back vowel [u]; in the spaces of the deleted segments, the L form prothetically inserts the high front vowel [i] and epenthetically inserts the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] and the high front [i] in this sequence to realise the variant icimano [**itʃimano**].

It is noticed that the ɪ form epenthetically inserts the voiceless alveolar plosive [t] in the environment after the voiced alveolar nasal [n] in the L word icimano [**itʃimano**] and so realises the form icimanto [**itʃima:nto**].

It has also emerged from the data that in the STDB word ulupasu [**ulupasu**] ‘sneeze’ (noun), the L form syncopically deletes the voiceless bilabial plosive [p] and the low back vowel [a], and in these spaces epenthetically inserts the voiceless alveolar plosive [t] and the mid front vowel [e], in this order, to have the form ulutesu [**ulutesu**] whereas the ɪ form syncopically deletes in the L word ulutesu [**ulutesu**] the mid front vowel [e] in the environment after the voiceless alveolar plosive [t] and epenthetically inserts the low back vowel [a] in the environment after the voiceless alveolar plosive [t] to realise the form ulutasu [**ulutasu**].

It has also been established that in the STDB word ifwasa [**ifwasa**] ‘small anthill’, the L and ɪ form induces syncopation of the low back vowel [a] in the environment after the voiced labio-

velar approximant and epenthesis of the mid front vowel [e] in the environment after the voiced labio-velar approximant [w] to have the form which manifests as ifwesa [**ifwe:sa**].

It is also observed that in the STDB word akasonshi [**akaso:nʃi**] ‘apex of a roof’, the L form apthetically deletes the low back vowel [a] and syncopically the voiceless velar plosive [k] and the low back vowel [a] and in spaces of the deleted segments, prothetically inserts the high front vowel [i] and epenthetically the voiced alveolar nasal [n] and induces the de-postalveolarisation of the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] to realise the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in the environment before the high front vowel [i] to realise the word insonsi [**inso:nsi**] while the D form de-postalveolarises the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in the STDB form to realise the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in the environment before the high front vowel, and the resultant D form manifests as akasonsi [**akaso:nsi**].

In the STDB word ukunwena [**ukunwe:na**] ‘to drown’, the L and D form syncopically deletes the mid front vowel [e] in the environment after the voiced labio-velar approximant [w] and epenthetically inserts the high front vowel [i] in the environment after the voiced labio-velar approximant [w] to realise the word ukunwina [**ukunwi:na**].

From the findings, it has been observed that in the STDB word icuuni [**itʃu:ni**] ‘bird’, the L and D form induces syncopation of the long high back vowel [u:] in the environment after the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] and epenthetically inserts the long mid back vowel [o:] to realise the form icooni [**itʃo: ni**].

The study has revealed that the word ukusunguluka ‘to dissolve’ in STDB is pronounced as [**ukusu:ŋguluka**], but the L and D form syncopically deletes the high back vowel [u] in the environment after the voiced alveolar lateral [l] and epenthetically inserts the high front vowel in the environment after the voiced alveolar lateral [l] to realise the form ukusungulika [**ukusu:ŋgulika**].

It is, again, noticed in the data that in the STDB word umusomali [**umusomali**] ‘nail’ the L and D form syncopically deletes the mid back vowel [o] in the environment after the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] and epenthetically inserts the high back vowel [u] in the environment after the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] to realise the form umusumali [**umusumali**].

The study has revealed that in the STDB word nkoma-matwi [**ŋkomamatwi**] ‘deaf person’, L and ɒ form epenthetically inserts the high front vowel [i] in the environment before the low back vowel [a] in the second syllable of the word. It is noticed that the inserted vowel bleeds semivocalisation and, therefore, the realised form for L and ɒ is nkomya-matwi [**ŋkomja:matwi**].

From the data, it is observed that the L form epenthetically deletes the voiced alveolar lateral [l] and the voiced palatal approximant [j] in the STDB word lyambi [lja: mbi] ‘a bait’ and prothetically inserts the high front vowel [i] and epenthetically the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] in the environment before the low back vowel [a] to realise the form icambi [**itʃa:mbi**]; from the L word, the ɒ form apocopically deletes the high front vowel [i] and in this space inserts the mid back vowel [o] to realize the form icambo [itʃa:mbo].

In the STDB icikumo [**itʃikumo**] ‘thumb’, the L form epenthetically inserts the voiced alveolar nasal [n] in the environment before the voiceless velar plosive [k] and the voiced labio-velar approximant [w] in the environment after the voiced bilabial nasal [m] and apocopically deletes the midback vowel [o] and inserts in this space the low back vowel [a] to realise the form icinkumwa [**itʃi:ŋkumwa**]. On the other hand, it is clear from the study that the ɒ form induces syncopic deletion of the voiced labio-velar approximant [w] in the L form in the environment after the voiced bilabial nasal [m] and epenthetically inserts the voiced palatal approximant [j] in the environment after the voiced bilabial nasal [m] to realise the form that manifests as icinkumya [**itʃi:ŋkumja**].

Another observation from the study is that L and ɒ form syncopically deletes the voiced bilabial nasal [m] in the STDB word imbata [**imbata**] ‘duck’ and epenthetically inserts the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] and the high front vowel [i] in this order in the environment before the voiced bilabial plosive [b] to realise the form icibata [**itʃibata**].

It is also evident that in the STDB word incinga [intʃi:ŋga] ‘bicycle’ the L and ɒ form syncopically deletes the voiced alveolar nasal [n] and the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] in the environment before the high front vowel and epenthetically inserts the voiced palatal nasal [ɲ] and the voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] to realise the form injinga [**ɪndʒi:ŋga**].

It has also been revealed that in the STDB word icikumpilo [**itʃiku:mpilo**] ‘slasher’, the L variant epenthetically inserts the mid front vowel [e] in the environment after the high back vowel [u] and, consequently, this process bleeds semivocalisation of the high back vowel [u]. The L form syncopically deletes the high front vowel [i] in the environment after the voiceless

bilabial plosive [p] and epenthetically inserts the high back vowel [u] in the environment after the voiceless bilabial plosive [p] to realise the form *icikwempulo* [**itʃikwe: mpulo**].

On the other hand, *ɪ* form apocopically deletes the mid back vowel [o] and syncopically the voiced alveolar lateral [l] in the environment after the high back vowel [u] in the L word realising the form *icikwempu* [**itʃikwe: mpu**]. It has also been observed that in the STDB word *umucele* [umutʃele] ‘salt’, the L and *ɪ* form syncopically deletes the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] in the environment before the mid front vowel [e] and epenthetically inserts the voiceless velar plosive [k] to realize the form *umukele* [**umukele**]. In other words, there is velarisation of the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ].

4.1.3.2 Some phonological variations between the three dialects: phonological rules

The previous section has presented some phonological differences in the dialects under study. This one outlines some phonological similarities between the dialects. It has been noticed that there are similarities in both segmental and suprasegmental phonology. It has also been observed from the findings that all the dialects under investigation undergo the same phonological changes which are dictated by phonological rules.

4.1.3.2.1 Phonological rules

4.1.3.2.1.1 Allophonic rules

These have to do with a phoneme having a number of phonetic variations depending on its position in a word. A phonemic symbol is actually a cover symbol for a range of different sounds (phones) that occur in actual speech. All the sound segments/phones for which a particular phoneme is a cover symbol are its phonemes, which are sometimes called positional variants. The following are some of the allophonic rules that identify some phonological similarities:

4.1.3.2.1.1.1 Allophonic rules operating on vowels

Vowel lengthening after a semivowel:

This rule is about the process of lengthening a vowel immediately following a semivowel. The condition for this rule is that the vowel should be word-internal, but not word-final.

VOWEL: V → [+LONG]/ [-VOC, CONS] —

The following are examples:

- 1 (a) *ukwenda* [ukwe:nda] ‘to walk’
- (b) *ukweshu* [ukwe:ʃa] ‘to try’ (STDB)
- (c) *ukunwisya* [ukunwi:sja] ‘to make someone drink’ (L, *ɪ*)
- (d) *ukupyanga* [ukupja:nga] ‘to sweep’

Despite the differences in lexis in (1b) and (1c) there is similarity in the application of the rule.

Vowel lengthening before nasal complexes

$V \rightarrow [+LONG]/ \text{---} [+NAS] [+CONS]$

The rule stipulates that a vowel immediately preceding a nasal complex such as mb, mf, nd, nt should be lengthened. The condition for fulfilling this rule is word-internal. The following examples attest to the stipulation:

2 (a) **impombo** [impo:mbo] ‘duiker’

(b) **inkumba** [inku:mba] ‘pig’

(c) **ukupomba** [ukup:mba] ‘to roll up’

(d) **ukubamba** [ukuba:mba] ‘to succeed in catching fish or hunting an animal’

It is evident from the finding that the application of this allophonic rule is the same in the dialects under study.

4.1.3.2.1.1.2 Allophonic rules operating on consonants

Allophones of [l]

It has been established from the findings that the voiced alveolar lateral [l] has two allophones in all the three dialects. It is realised as a voiced alveolar plosive [d] if preceded by a voiced alveolar nasal [n] and manifests as [l] elsewhere as shown in the example below:

3 (a) **ndalya** [ndalja] ‘I eat’

(b) **ndeelya** [nde:lja] ‘I am eating’

(c) **ndabamona** [ndaβamona] ‘I see them’

The Phonetic realisation of [β]

It is revealed that in all the three dialects, the bilabial fricative [β] has two allophones realized as such elsewhere and as a voiced bilabial plosive provided that it is preceded by the voiced bilabial nasal [m].

It is observed that the words in the list below are pronounced in the same way in the dialects under study:

4 (a) **bunda** [βu:nda] ‘name of a person’

(b) **inombe** [ino:mbe] ‘cattle’

(c) **samba** [sa:mba] ‘wash’

(d) **Bangweulu** [βa:ŋgwe:ulu] ‘name of a lake’

(e) **Mwansabombwe** [Mwa:nsaβo:mbwe] ‘name of a district’

The following part presents some morphophonological rules

4.1.3.2.1.2 Morphophonological rules

It has emerged from the study that the application of these rules is the same for the dialects under study. These rules explain the morphophonological process that occurs as a result of interface of morphological and phonological elements at some level. A brief outline of three of these rules, namely: semivocalisation, coalescence and vowel harmony is given below.

4.1.3.2.1.2.1 Semivocalisation/ gliding

Semivocalisation or gliding is a morphophonological process by which semivowels or glides are formed. It is noticed that this process is applicable to the dialects under investigation: the high back vowel [u] is realised as a voiced labio-velar approximant [w] in the environment before another vowel except the high back vowel [u].

In the same way, the high front vowel [i] is realised as a voiced palatal approximant [j] in the environment before a vowel, with an exception of the high front vowel [i]. The phonological rules are formalised below:

$u \rightarrow w / \text{ — } [i, e, a, o]$

$i \rightarrow y / \text{ — } [e, a, o, u]$

Here are some examples on semivocalisation/ gliding:

5 (a) **umu** – **inshi** → **umwinshi** [umwi:nʃi] ‘pestle’ (STDB)

umu – **insi** → **umwinsi** [umwi:nsi] ‘pestle’ (L,D)

(b) **umu** – **ele** → **umwele** [umwe:le] ‘knife’

(c) **imi** – **ungu** → **imyungu** [imju:ngu] ‘gourd/ marrow’

(d) **imi** – **aka** → **imyaka** [imja:ka] ‘years’

4.1.3.2.1.2.2 Coalescence of vowels

This is the morphophonological process by which units that are separate at one level of representation are realised by a form in which there is no corresponding boundary (Mathew, 2005).

The following are illustrations:

6 (a) **a** – **ma** – **ulu** → **amoolu** [amo: lu] ‘legs’

(b) **a** – **ma** – **ino** → **ameeno** [ame: no] ‘teeth’

4.1.3.2.1.2.3 Vowel harmony

In the applied extension, the preceding mid vowel, either the mid back vowel [o] or the mid front vowel [e], in the radical causes the high front vowel [i] in the applied morpheme – il – to be realised as the mid front vowel [e]. The semantic value of the morpheme – il – is do for or behalf of. The application of this rule is shown below:

7 (a) u – ku – seep – a → ukuseepa ‘to harvest millet’

Applied form: u – ku – seep – il – a → ukuseepela [ukuse:pela] ‘to harvest millet for someone’

(b) u – ku – poos – a → ukupoosa [ukupo:sa] ‘to throw something’

Applied form: u – ku – poos – il – a → ukupoosela [ukupo:sela] ‘to throw something on behalf of someone’

It has been established that the rules outlined above are applicable to the dialects under study. In the next part we briefly discuss the syllable structure of Bemba.

4.1.3.2.2 Syllable structure of Bemba

As a phonological unit, a syllable is made up of one or more phonemes; it has a nucleus, usually a vowel which is an obligatory element though in most Bantu languages, including Bemba, a syllabic nasal can be treated as a nucleus. As indicated in chapter three, a syllable is divided into three parts: the peak (nucleus), the onset and the coda. The onset holds an initial position and coda the terminal one while the peak or the nucleus is in the medial position. The peak or nucleus is an element of greater prominence in a syllable.

Sloat, et al (1978) indicates that a syllable that has no coda is called unchecked or open syllable, and one with coda is called a checked or closed syllable.

It is observed that the language under investigation has unchecked or open syllable. A syllable in the dialects under study is open as indicate below:

8 (a) kalebwe [kaleβwe] ‘potatoe leaves’

This word has three syllables: ka/ le/ bwe

(b) amacungwa [amatʃu: ŋgwa] ‘oranges’

The word has four syllables: a/ ma/ cu/ ngwa

(c) icibilika [itʃiβilika] ‘water melon’

This word contains five syllables: i/ ci/ bi/ li/ ka

The next section presents some findings on suprasegmental phonology.

4.2 Suprasegmental phonology

The previous section has presented some variations in segmental phonology. This section shows some variations in suprasegmental phonology which has been defined as the analysis of features extending over more than one phonetic segment such as stress, intonation, rhythm, tone and length. The language under investigation is a tone language. Tone in phonology refers to the distinctive pitch level of a syllable (Crystal, 2008).

There are two contrastive tones, namely: high tone (H) and low tone (L). In the dialects under investigation, two suprasegmental features which are tone and length have been identified.

4.2.1 Some similarities involving tone in STDB, L and D

It has emerged from the study that these dialects have the same number of tone, namely: two level tones, high (H) and low (L) and contour tones which feature only as a combination of the tones on long syllables; there are rising tone (R) and falling tone (F). Tone can mark contrast in the lexicon and this is the same in the three dialects as illustrated below:

- 9 (a) úkulúká [úkulúká] ‘to vomit’
(b) ukúlúká [ukúlúká] ‘to plat hair’
(c) itábá [ítáβá] ‘a cob of maize’
(d) ítába [ítáβa] ‘answer a call’
(e) umúténgo [umúté:ŋgo] ‘price’
(f) úmuténgo [úmuté:sŋgo] ‘forest’

From the examples above it has been observed that there are similarities in the use of tone between the dialects under study.

4.2.2 Some similarities in tone involving remote past in STDB, L and D

- 10 (a) twanwéné [twa:nwé:né] ‘we drank’
(b) twanwíné [twa:nwí:né] ‘we drank’
(c) báfikílé [βáfikílé] ‘they arrived’
(d) namwéné [namwéné] ‘I saw’
(e) áikéélé [áiké: lé] ‘she/ he stayed’

It has also been observed from the findings that verbs falling under remote past tense have the same tone in the dialects under study.

4.2.3 Variations involving tone on some words

The following table exhibits some variations involving tone

Table 13: Variations involving tone on some words

Gloss	STDB: tone on some words	L and D: tone on some words
Needle	[inǃí: ndánó]	[ínsi: ndánó]
is it so?/ indeed!	[mwá: ndíní]	[mwa: ndíní]
Especially	[sánasána]	[sanásaná]
Butterfly	[itǃípelébéǃa]	[itǃípelébéǃsja]

It has been noticed in the table above that there are some variations in tone on some words in the dialects under study.

The section below presents some variations in tone involving tense.

4.2.4 Some Variations in tone involving tense

The findings establish that tone plays a role in distinguishing meaning in relation to tense in the dialects under study. The table below illustrates some variations in tone involving tense.

Table 14: Variations in tone involving tense

Gloss	Tense	STDB Tense marking tones	L and D tense marking tones
we danced	recent past (e.g. yesterday)	[twá: tǃí: ndile]	[twá: tǃí: ndílé]
we danced	remote past (e.g. last year)	[twá: tǃí: ndílé]	[twá: tǃí: ndílé]
we said	recent past (e.g. yesterday)	[twá: lá: ndile]	[twá: la: ndílé]
we said	remote past (e.g. last year)	[twá: la: ndílé]	[twá: la: ndílé]
they arrived	recent past (e.g. two days ago)	[ǃá: fíkile]	[ǃá: fíkílé]
they arrived	remote past (e.g. three years ago)	[ǃá: fíkílé]	[ǃá: fíkílé]

It has been observed in the table above that tone marking for the past tense is distinctive in STDB: there is tone-marking for recent past and for remote past while in L and D tone-marking for past tense is not distinctive; that is, whether recent or remote past, tone marking is the same for L and D.

4.2.5 Length of vowels in the dialects STDB, L and D

The length of vowels in IciBemba is distinctive, meaning that there is semantic contrast which arises from one vowel being short and the other long as shown in the minimal pairs below:

11 (a) *icibi* [itʃiβi] ‘something bad’

iciibi [itʃi: βi] ‘door’

(b) *ukuseka* [ukuseka] ‘to laugh’

ukuseeka [ukuse:ka] ‘to be ubiquitous’

(c) *amala* [amala] ‘bowels’

amaala [ama:la] ‘finger nails’

(d) *ukufuta* [ukufuta] ‘to compensate’

ukufuuta [ukufu:ta] ‘to rub out; erase’

(e) *ukusala* [ukusala] ‘to choose’

ukusaala [ukusa:la] ‘to capitulate’

From the examples above, it is noticed that the first word has a short vowel while the second has a long one. There is similarity in vowel length between the dialects under study.

4.1.3. Summary

To conclude, it can be stated that there are phonetic variations between the dialects under investigation: STDB, L and D. Based on the data, these are variations involving palatalisation in causative and intensive verb forms, nasal assimilation, [tʃ] in relation to [k] and [g] in relation to [dʒ], postalveolarisation, phonological rules of insertion and deletion and tone marking.

The study has also revealed that there are some phonetic similarities between STDB, L and D: they use the same vowels and almost the same consonants. There are also similarities in the application of allophonic and morphophonological rules, the use of syllable structure, tone and vowel length.

The study has also established that there are more variations between STDB, on the one hand and L and D, on the other than there are between L and D. There is more closeness between L and D with regard to phonetic and phonological similarities.

CHAPTER FIVE

MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATIONS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter presents some morphological variations in line with the second objective: to identify morphological variations between the dialects under investigation in relation to nominal morphology and verbal morphology. In specific terms, the analysis of nominal prefixes, nominal stems and verbal morphology, (which includes verbal extensions), is carried out.

5.1 Nominal morphology

It has been established in this study that most of the nouns in the dialects under study take a prefix, just like most Bantu languages do. It is also evident from the study that there are differences in nominal class prefixes as well as in the nominal stems between the dialects under investigations.

The study manifests the variations in three categories, namely: nouns which have different nominal prefixes, but same nominal stems, nouns with the same nominal prefixes, but with different nominal stems and nouns with different nominal prefixes and different nominal stems.

The study reveals that STDB uses m- classes 9 and 10 for singular and plural, respectively in the word -bata ‘duck’ whereas L and D use class 7 singular prefix ci- and class 8 plural prefix fi- in the same word. Further revelation is that though the nominal stem is the same in the dialects under investigation, there is a variation in the nominal class prefixes. As indicated earlier, an augment precedes a nominal prefix in most Bemba nouns. The illustrations of the variations are given below:

STDB

1. i-m-bata ‘duck’

SG pref. class 9 – NST

i-m-bata ‘ducks’

PL pref. Class 10 – NST

L and D

i-ci-bata ‘duck’

SG. Pref. Class 7 – NST

i-fi-bata ‘ducks’

PL. pref. Class 8 – NST

In the word for hair, STDB has class 3 nominal prefix mu -, singular only before the nominal stem – shishi whereas L and D use class 4 nominal prefix mi-, plural only before the same

nominal stem. In other words, STDB realises the singular form only but L and D realise the plural form only in the same word. Here are the illustrations:

STDB

2. u-mu-shishi ‘hair’

SG. Pref. class 3, singular only – NST

L and D

i-mi-sisi ‘hair’

PL. pref. class 4, plural only – NST

For the word for apex of a roof, STDB and D take the nominal prefix class 12 ka- for the singular form and nominal prefix tu- for the plural form before the nominal stem -sonshi. On the other hand, L uses the nominal prefix class 9 n- for the singular form and the nominal prefix class 10 n- for the plural form before the nominal stem -sonshi as shown below:

STDB and D

3. a-ka-sonshi ‘apex of a roof’

SG. Pref. class 12 – NST

u-tu-sonshi ‘apex of the roofs’

PL. pref. class 13 – NST

It has been observed that the nominal stem for D is -sonsi

L

i-n-sonsi ‘apex of a roof’

SG. Pref. class 9 – NST

i-n-sonsi ‘apexes of roofs’

PL. pref class 10 – NST

In the illustration below, it can be noted that STDB uses the nominal prefix class 11 lu- for the singular form and the nominal prefix class 10 m- for the plural form before the nominal stem -mano ‘a pair of tongs’. L and D, on the other hand, use the nominal prefix class 7 ci- for the

singular form and the nominal prefix class 8 fi- for the plural form before the same nominal stem.

STDB

4. u-lu-mano ‘a pair of tongs’

|

SG. Pref. class 11 – NST

i-m-mano ‘pairs of tongs’

|

SG. Pref. class 10 – NST

There is the fusion of mm into m, and therefore the normal spelling for plural is imano ‘pairs of tongs’

L and D

i-ci-mano ‘a pair of tongs’

|

SG. pref. class 7 – NST

i-fi-mano ‘pairs of tongs’

|

PL. pref. class 8 – NST

There is a slight variation in the NST: for L it is -mano and for D it is -manto. It has emerged from the study that for the word lust or a craving for meat, STDB has nominal prefix class 7 ci- for the singular form only before the nominal stem -kasha ‘lust or craving for meat’ whereas L and D take the nominal prefix class 9 n- for the singular form only before the same nominal stem as illustrated below:

STDB and L

5. i-ci-kasha (STDB)/ ici-kasia (L) ‘lust or craving for meat’

|

SG. Pref. class 7 – NST

STDB and L realise only the singular for this word.

ᑎ

i-n-kasia

|

SG. Pref. class 9 – NST

ᑎ realises only the singular form for this word.

It is clear from the study that STDB and ᑎ realise the nominal prefix class 3 mu- for the singular of the word -lolani ‘mirror’ and the nominal prefix class 4 mi- for the plural of the same word.

For L, it has emerged from the study that the nominal prefix for the singular form of the same word is class 7 ci- and the nominal prefix for the plural is class 8 fi- before the same NST. Below are the illustrations:

STDB and ᑎ

6. u-**mu**-lolani ‘mirror’

|

SG. pref. class 3 – NST

i-mi-lolani ‘mirror’

|

PL. pref. class 4 – NST

L

i-ci-lola ‘mirror’

|

SG. pref. class 7 – NST

i-fi-lola ‘mirrors’

|

PL. pref. class 8 – NST

It can be noted that the L variant does not have the ending -nias part of the nominal stem. It has also been observed that some nouns in the dialects under investigations share the nominal prefixes, but have different nominal stems.

STDB

7. u-mu-sao ‘pillow’

|

SG. pref. class 3 – NST

i-mi-sao ‘pillows’

|

PL. pref. class 4 – NST

L and ɒ

u-mu-samino ‘pillow’

|

SG. pref. class 3 – NST

i-mi-samino ‘pillows’

|

PL. pref. class 4 – NST

In the illustrations above, it is noticed that in STDB, on the one hand, and L and ɒ, on the other, the nominal prefixes for both singular and plural are the same, but the nominal stems are different. This is also the case in the following examples:

STDB and ɒ

8. i-m-bale ‘plate’

|

SG. pref. class 9 – NST

i-m-bale ‘plates’

|

PL. pref. class 10 – NS

L

i-n-sani ‘plate’

|

SG. pref. class 9 – NS

i-n-sani ‘plates’

|

PL. pref. class 10 – NS

The singular nominal prefix class 3 mu- and plural nominal prefix class 4 mi- are the same for the dialects under study, but there is a slight variation with regard to the nominal stem between STDB and L, on the one hand, and ɒ, on the other, as examples below show:

STDB and L

9. u-mu-iko ‘pallet; stirring stick’

SG. pref. class 3 - NST

i-mi-iko ‘pallets, stirring sticks’

PL. pref. class 4 – NST

ᑃ

u-mu-inko ‘pallet; stirring stick’

SG. pref. class 3 – NST

It is observed that there is semivocalisation in the noun: /u/ converts to /w/ in the environment before /i/; this is formalised thus: /u/ → /w/ / — /i/.

i-mi-nko ‘pallets; stirring sticks’

PL. pref. class 4 – NST

The slight variation observed is that the nominal stem for STDB and L is -iko while it is -inko for ᑃ.

For the word pot, the nominal prefixes, both singular and plural are the same in the dialects under investigation: class 3 mu- and class 4 mi- for singular and plural, respectively. Again, we notice that there is a slight variation in terms of the nominal stem; as illustrated below:

STDB and L

10. u-mu-pika ‘pot’

SG. pref. class 3 – NST

i-mi-pika ‘pots’

PL. pref. class 4 – NST

ᑃ

u-mu-ipika

PL. pref. class 3 – NST

There is semivocalisation in the noun seeing that /u/ glides to /w/ in the environment before /i/; here is formalisation of the rule:

/u/ → /w/ / — /i/. As can be seen under STDB and L, there is no semivocalisation with regards to this noun.

i-mi-ipika ‘pots’

PL. pref. class 4 – NST

It has also been observed that the vowel in STDB and L plural nominal prefix is short: [imipika] whereas for the D variant it is long: [imi:pika].

For the word for sauce made from peanut butter, the nominal prefix is singular only, mu- class 3 for the dialects under study. The prefix, in this regard, is the same, but nominal stems are different as shown in the examples below:

STDB and L

11. u-mu-sweswe ‘sauce made from peanut butter’

SG. pref. class 3 – NST

The dialects usually realise the singular form for the noun.

D

u-mu-kwelu ‘sauce made from peanut butter’

SG. pref. class 3 – NST

From the data, it can be observed that the use of the plural nominal prefix signifies varieties of this sauce:

STDB and L: i-mi-sweswe

D: i-mi-kwelu. These forms are usually not used.

The word chin in the dialects under investigation has the nominal prefix class 12 ka- for singular form; the plural form of the word is realised by the nominal prefix class 13 tu- in the

dialects under study. It is noticed that there are slight variations in the nominal stems of the word as illustrated below:

STDB

12. a-ka-lefulefu ‘chin’

SG. pref. class 12 – NST

u-tu-lefulefu ‘chins’

PL. pref. class 13 – NST

L

a-ka-telefu ‘chin’

SG. pref. class 12 – NST

u-tu-telefu ‘chins’

PL. pref. class 13 – NST

D

a-ka-nefu ‘chin’

SG. pref. class 12 – NST

u-tu-nefu ‘chins’

PL. pref. class 13 – NST

It is evident that the three dialects use the same singular and plural prefixes though they exhibit minor variation in their nominal stems. There is similarity in the words for water melon, mat made from papyrus, a rodent that lives in the plains and firefly in relation to the nominal prefixes, but with variations in the nominal stems of the words as examples below show:

STDB

13. i-ci-bimbi (cacisungu)

SG. pref. class 7- NST

i-fi-bimbi (fyacisungu)

PL. pref. class 8 – NST

L

i-ci-bilika

SG, pref. class 7 – NST

i-fi-bilika

PL, pref. class 8 – NST

D

i-ci-kabi

SG, pref. class 7 – NST

i-fi-kabi

PL, pref. class 8 – NST

STDB and L

14. i-i-futu ‘a rodent that lives in the plains’

SG, pref. class 5 – NST

a-ma-futu ‘rodents that live in the plains’

PL, pref. class 6 – NST

D

i-i-sesi ‘a rodent that lives in the plains’

SG, pref. class 5 – NST

a-ma-sesi

PL, pref. class 6 – NST

L

15. i-ci-lako ‘a mat made from papyrus’

SG, pref. class 7 – NST

i-fi-lako ‘mats made from papyrus’

PL, pref. class – NST

᠒

i-ci-seesa ‘a mat made from papyrus’

|

SG. pref. class 7 – NST

i-fi-seesa ‘mats made from papyrus’

|

PL. pref. class 8 – NST

STDB

16. a-ka-beshamililo ‘fire-fly’

|

SG. pref. class 12 – NST

u-tu-beshamulilo ‘fire-flies’

|

PL. pref. class 13 – NST

L and ᠒

a-ka-ntemya

|

SG. pref. class 12 – NST

u-tu-ntemya

|

PL. pref. class 13 – NST

From the data, it has also been established that there are variations between dialects under investigation with regard to both the nominal prefixes and nominal stems. In other words, the nouns do not share both the nominal prefixes and nominal stems as exemplified below:

STDB

17. i-mi-shembe ‘bamboo’

|

PL. pref. class 4 – NST: used in plural only

L and ᠒

u-lu-sengu ‘bamboo’

|

SG. pref. class 11 – NST

i-n-sengu ‘bamboos’

|

PL. pref. class 10 – NST

It is clear that in both examples the nouns do not share either the nominal prefix or the nominal stem. It is also observed that in the illustration under STDB, only the plural form is realised whereas in the example under L and ɪ both singular and plural forms are realised.

For the word elbow, STDB uses the nominal prefixes class 9 and 10 for singular and plural forms, respectively, but for L and ɪ the singular nominal prefix is class 12 ka – and the plural form is class 13 tu-; the nominal stem for STDB is different from that of L and ɪ. The illustrations are given below:

STDB

18. i-n-konkoni ‘elbow’
 |
 SG. pref. class 9 – NST
 i-n-konkoni ‘elbows’
 |
 PL. pref. class 10 – NST

L and ɪ

a-ka-boyo ‘elbow’
 |
 SG. pref. class 12 – NST
 u-tu-boyo ‘elbows’
 |
 PL. pref. class 13 – NST

5.2 Verbal morphology

In chapter three, it was pointed out that the structure of the verb in most Bantu languages is made up of several morphemes. This section analyses the structure of the verb in the dialects under study. But first, something should be mentioned on the verb.

In general terms, the shape of the verb is determined by the parameters, namely: polarity, absolutivity and relativity, aspect, tense and mood. Mood is the grammatical distinction in the verb forms expressing the speaker’s attitude in what he is saying (Mwape, 1994). A verb may be used to make a statement (indicative mood), to express a wish or a supposition (subjunctive mood), to issue a command (imperative mood) and to indicate a condition or a possibility (conditional or potential mood).

The infinitive is marked by the prefix uku ‘to’ and behaves like a noun or a verb. Concerning tense, the terminology hodiernal should be explained. It is a grammatical terminology which marks how far a situation or an event is from the moment of speaking. Hodiernal is derived from a Latin root ‘Hodie’ meaning today. Related to this are the words prehodiernal and posthodiernal which mean before today and after today, respectively. In many Bantu languages a verb form is used for ‘today’ events and another for ‘before today’ events regardless of their current relevance (Crystal, 2008).

The study has established that the verbal structure of STDB, L and D are basically the same although there are minor dialectal variations. These variations are shown in the following tenses:

Prehodiernal progressive past

STDB

19. n - alee-lim- a → naleelima ‘I was cultivating’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR FV

L and D

20. n-aliku-lim- a → nalikulima ‘I was cultivating’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR FV

From the examples above, it is noticed that the morpheme marking prehodiernal progressive past are different: -alee- for STDB and -aliku- for L and D.

Future tense

There is future tense for today in the dialects under study and this is in two parts: immediate future of today and a more remote future of today. Below are dialectal variations in hodiernal remote future.

STDB

21. n-lee- bomb- a → ndeebomba ‘I will do the job today’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR FV

L and ɪ

22. n-koo-bomb- a → nkoobomba ‘I will do this job today’

SM TM VR FV

In example (21) above, it is observed that the /l/ in the tense marker has been pre-nasalised to [d], becoming alveolar pre-nasalised stop: **ndee-** [nde: - -].

It is also noted that there is a variation in the markers of hodiernal remote future: -lee- for STDB and -koo- for L and ɪ.

Hodiernal progressive future from today: in this tense, the action or event commences on the day and progresses into the future. It has emerged from the study that there is a dialectal variation with regard to the use of this tense as illustrated below:

STDB

23. tu-akulaa-mu- afw-a → twakulaamwafwa ‘we will be helping her/ him’

SM TM OM VR FV

L and ɪ

24. tu-akulaaku- mu- afw-a → twakulaakumwafwa ‘we will be helping her/ him’

SM TM OM VR FV

Note that in both examples semivocalisation of /u/ in the subject and object markers occurs as a result of it immediately preceding the vowel /a/, and the formula can be formalised as”:

/u/ → /w/ / — /a/

The study also reveals that there is an addition of -ku- to the tense marker in example (24), and this creates a variation of the verbal structure in (23).

Posthodiernal remote future:

Progressive aspect

Under this tense, it was evident that the tense marker for STDB is -kalaa- whereas for L and ɪ it is -kalaaku-. This is shown in the following:

STDB

25. ba-kalaa- send- a → bakalaasenda ‘they will be carrying’

SM TM VR FV

26. ba- kalaaku-send-a → bakalaakusenda ‘they will be carrying’

SM TM VR FV

The negative of this verb structure is expressed with the use of ‘ta’ preceding the subject marker, with the exception of 1st person singular subject marker ‘n’ which takes -sh- followed by -akale- as illustrated below:

STDB

27. ta - a - kale - is - a → taakaleisa ‘she/ he will not be coming’

NEG. M SM TM VR FR

L and ɪ

28. ta - a-kaleku - is - a → taakalekwisa ‘she/he will not be coming’

NEG. M SM TM VR FV

STDB

29. n - sh - akale-bomb - a → nshakalebomba ‘I will not be working’

SM NEG. M TM VR FV

L and ɪ

30. n- sh - akaleku- bomb-a → nshakalekubomba ‘I will not be working’

SM NEG. M TM VR FV

In the two examples under L and ɪ, i.e. No. (28) and (30), the /u/ in the tense marker -kaleku- has glided to /w/ in the environment before /i/ in the verb radical -is-. This is formalised in the formula: /u/ → /w/ / — /i/.

It is also noticed that the position of negative markers in (27) and (28) is different from the position of negative markers in (29) and (30) in the sense that in (27) and (28), the negative marker *ta-* precedes the subject marker *-a-* whereas in (29) and (30), the negative marker *-sh-* is preceded by the subject marker *n-*. The subject marker *-a-* ‘he/she’ is 3rd person singular pronoun while the subject marker *n-* ‘I’ is 1st person singular pronoun.

Present tense: progressive aspect

This is also known as the present continuous tense. It has been established from the study that this tense shares the tense markers with hodiernal remote future and these are: *-lee-* for STDB and *-koo-* for L and D; this is illustrated in the following:

STDB

31. *ba-lee - li - a - nomba* → *baleelya nomba* ‘they are eating now’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR FV

L and D

32. *ba-koo - li - a - nomba* ‘they are eating now’
 | | | |
 SM TM VR FV

It is noticed, again, that in both examples (31) and (32), semivocalisation has taken place: the /i/ in the verb radical *-li-* has glided to /y/ in the environment before the vowel /a/. This is formalised in the statement below:

/i/ → /y/ / — /a/.

Persistent aspect:

This is the aspect in which the verbs take the morpheme – *cili* – which means still. Such verbs denote the idea that the action or the state expressed by them is still in progress.

In connection with this datum, the study has revealed that there is a minor dialectal variation as indicated below:

STDB

33. *tu- cili - tu - lee - lemb-a* → *tucilituleelemba* ‘we are still writing’
 | | | | | |
 SM PERS.M SM TM VR FV

L and ɪ

34. tu - cili - tu - koo-lemb-a → tucilitukoolemba ‘we are still writing’

SM PERS M SM TM VR FV

L

35. tu - cili - lemb - a → tucililemba ‘we are still writing’

SM PERS M VR FV

From the above illustrations, it can be noticed that the persistive marker is infixed between the subject markers which denote the same referent. It has also been noted that there is the variation in the tense markers: -lee- for STDB and -koo- for L and ɪ. The study has also observed that there is an alternative verb for L in this category as shown in example (35).

The following illustrations are on morphological structure of verbal extensions in STDB, L and ɪ. Verbal extensions were briefly discussed in chapter three, and the morphemes in bold are the extensions.

Passive extensions

This shows that the object of the verb has been acted upon by some agent; the object is a patient. The morphemes are **-u-** and **-w-**

STDB

36. (a) u-ku-kak-a → ukukaka ‘to imprison someone’

(b) u-ku-kakisi-w-a → /ukukakisi**wa**/ → ukukakishi**wa** [ukukaki**ʃiwa**].

It is noticed that /s/ changes to /ʃ/ in the environment before /i/ and this is formalised as:

/s/ → [ʃ]/— /i/.

[ukukakisi**wa**] → [ukukaki**ʃiwa**] ‘to be imprisoned’

L and ɪ

37. u-ku-kak-a → ukukaka ‘to imprison’

u-ku-kakisi-w-a → /ukukakisi**wa**/ → [ukukakisi**wa**] ‘to be imprisoned’.

In this verb extension, the study has established that palatalisation occurs in STDB, but this does not occur in L and ɪ, as examples (36) and (37) show. Palatalisation is a process of making non palatal phonetic segment palatal. It is an assimilation process whereby a speech sound is articulated by raising the tongue towards the hard palate (Crystal, 2008). In the example under

STDB, the [s] is palatalised because of the influence of the high front vowel [i] which it immediately precedes: [si]. In the case of L and D, the process of palatalisation does not take place as shown in example (37) above, and therefore, this signals a dialectal variation.

Causative extension

In this extension, the morpheme attached to the verb radical indicates that the subject of the verb is made or caused to do something stated by the verb. The morpheme is a super-close -i-

STDB

38. u-ku-lek-a → ukuleka ‘to stop’

u-ku-lek-i-a → /ukulesya/: this is converted to [ukulesja]. The voiceless alveolar fricative [s] changes to the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] and in the process the voiceless palatal approximant [j] is deleted and therefore the resultant pronunciation is [ukuleʃa] ‘to cause somebody to stop doing something’.

L and D

39. u-ku-lek-a → ukuleka ‘to stop’

u-ku-lek-i-a → /ukulesya/: this is converted to [ukulesja]: it has been noticed that the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] does not change to the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in the environment before the voiced palatal approximant [j]. It is, therefore, clear from the study that there is a dialectal variation between the dialects under study when the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is involved in the process of palatalisation.

Reciprocal

In this extension the action of the verb affects both the subject and object of the verb. The morpheme is -an-. The extension is illustrated below:

STDB

40. u-ku-temw-a → ukutemwa ‘to love’

u-ku-temw-an-a → ukutemwana ‘to love each other’

L and D

41. u-ku-temw-a → ukutemwa ‘to love’

u-ku-temw-an-a → ukutemwana ‘to love each other’

It has emerged from the study that there is no dialectal variation in this verb extension as examples (40) and (41) show.

Intensive extension

The morpheme in this extension indicates intensification of the action of the verb to which it is attached. The morpheme is **-esh-** or **-ish-**. The usage is shown below:

STDB

42. u-ku-beleng-a → ukubelenga ‘to read’

u-ku-beleng-**esh**-a → ukubeleng**esha** [ukubele:ŋgeʃa] ‘to read with greater concentration; to study harder or too much’.

L and D

43. u-ku-beleng-a → ukubelenga ‘to read’

u-ku-beleng-**esh**-a → ukubeleng**esya** [ukubele:ŋgesja] ‘to read with greater concentration; to study harder or too much’.

In the STDB verb of intensification, the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] is used whereas in the L and D verb of intensification the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] is manifested. The revelation from the two examples is that there is a dialectal variation between the dialects under study.

Frequentative extension

This is an extension in which the morpheme shows that the action of the verb is distributed widely as a consequence of repetition. The morpheme is: **-aul-**. Illustrations are given below:

STDB

44. u-ku-ikat-a → ukwikata ‘to touch’

u-ku-ikat-**aul**-a → ukwikata**aula** ‘to touch in many places’

L and D

45. u-ku-ikat-a → ukwikata ‘to touch’

u-ku-ikat-**aul**-a → ukwikata**aula** ‘to touch in many places’

It is revealed from the study that there is similarity between the dialects under study with regard to this verbal extension. It has also been observed that semivocalisation has occurred in the verb: /u/ has glided to /w/, formalised thus:

/u/ → /w/ / — /i/: u-**ku**-ikat-aul → uk**wi**taula

Applied extension

This is also known as applicative extension. In this extension the morpheme affixed to a verb radical indicates that the object of the verb has something done for them: the action is done on behalf of the object. The morpheme is **-il-**. Below are examples:

STDB

46. u-ku-tem-a → ukutema ‘to cut (a tree)’

u-ku-tem-**il**-a → ukutem**ena** ‘to cut for or on behalf of’

L and D

47. u-ku-tem-a → ukutema ‘to cut (a tree)’

u-ku-tem-**il**-a → ukutem**ena** ‘to cut a (tree) for or on behalf’

It is evident from the study that there is similarity in this verb extension between the dialects under study. It is also noticed that the phonological processes of nasalisation and vowel harmonisation have occurred: the voiced palatal approximant [ɹ] in **-il-** has been nasalised to the voiced alveolar nasal [n] by the preceding voiced bilabial nasal [m] in the verb radical **-tem-** ‘cut’. Simultaneously, the high front vowel [i] in **-il-** has been harmonised to the mid front vowel [e] by the preceding mid front vowel [e] in the verb radical **-tem-** ‘cut’.

Neuter or stative

This extension expresses the state in which the object of the verb to which it is attached is. The morpheme is **-ik-**. The illustration of its use is given below:

STDB

48. u-ku-mon-a → ukumona ‘to see’

u-ku-mon-**ik**-a → ukumon**eka** ‘to be seen or visible and remain in the same state’.

The revelation from the study is that there is similarity between the dialects under study in relation to this verbal extension. It has also been noticed that the high front vowel [i] in **-ik-** has undergone vowel harmony, the **-ek-** being induced by the mid back vowel [o] in the verb radical **-mon-** ‘see’.

Reversive active extension

In this extension, the action of the radical is reversed. The morphemes are **-ulul**, **olol**, **-unun-**.

The illustrations of their use provided below:

STDB

49. u-ku-pomb-a → ukupomba ‘to roll something’

u-ku-pomb-**olol**-a → ukupomb**olola** ‘to unroll something’

L and ɒ

50. u-ku-pomb-a → ukupomba ‘to roll something’

u-ku-pomb-**olol**-a → ukupomb**olola** ‘to unroll something’

It has been established from the data collected that there is no dialectal variation in this verbal extension.

Compleitive extension

This extension demonstrates that an action is done for good. The morpheme of this extension is **-ilil-** and its variants are: ‘**-el-el-**’, ‘**-in-in-**’ and ‘**-en-en-**’ as results of morphophonological rules such as vowel harmony and nasal harmony. The following are examples of the uses of this extension:

STDB

51. (a) u-ku-send-a → ukusenda ‘to take or carry’

u-ku-send-**el-el**-a → ukusende**lelela** ‘to carry or take for good’

(b) u-ku-is-a → ukwisa ‘to come’

u-ku-is-**ilil**-a → /ukwis**ilila**/ → [ukwi:**ilila**] ‘to come for good’

L and ɒ

(a) u-ku-send-a → ukusenda ‘to take or to carry’

u-ku-send-**el-el**-a → ukusende**lelela** ‘to take or carry for good’

(b) u-ku-is-a → ukwisa ‘to come’

u-ku-is-**ilil**-a → /ukwis**ilila**/ → [ukwi:**ilila**] ‘to come for good’

It has been noticed in the examples that some phonological processes have occurred. There is vowel harmony in example (a) under STDB and under L and ɒ. In both cases, the *i*_s in **-ilil-**

have been converted to the mid front vowel [e] owing to the influence of the mid front vowel [e] in the verb radical – send – ‘take or carry’.

There is also semivocalisation in example (b): the high back vowel /u/ glides to /w/ in the verb u-ku-is-a → ukwisa / ukwisa/ → [ukwi:sa] ‘to come’. Here is formalisation of the process:
/u/ → /w/ /— /i/

It has also been noticed that palatalisation has taken place in STDB. The voiceless alveolar fricative [s] has been converted to the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] as a result of it being immediately followed by the high front vowel [i]: [si] → [ʃi]. On the contrary, no palatalisation has occurred in the L and D example. It is, therefore, clear that there is a dialectal variation in this verbal extension.

5.3 Summary

From the data presented on nominal morphology, it is clear that there are some dialectal variations. Some of the data have demonstrated that there are variations in relation to nominal prefixes only. Other examples have shown that there are dialectal variations in terms of nominal stems only while other items have manifested dialectal differences in both nominal prefixes and nominal stems.

With regard to verb morphology, it has emerged that there are also a few dialectal variations between STDB, on the one hand, and L and D, on the other. In terms of both nominal and verb morphology, the study has established that there is closeness between L and D dialects, their linguistic convergence being attributed to their geographical proximity while STDB exhibits some degree of linguistic divergence owing to geographical distance.

CHAPTER SIX

SYNTACTIC VARIATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses the third objective which is to establish the syntactic variations between the dialects: STDB, L and D. It aims to find out whether the basic word order of subject verb object or subject verb complement in a simple sentence is the same for the dialects under investigation. In other words, the study has to establish whether word order is the same or not in declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences as well as in constructions under the subjunctive mood and in noun phrases.

Word order is shown under the aforementioned categories.

6.1 Word order in declarative sentences

Present progressive/ remote hodiernal future

- 1 (a) Mutale na Edah baleelya isabi (SVO)



[lit: Mutale and Edah they are eating fish] ‘Mutale and Edah are eating fish’ (STDB)

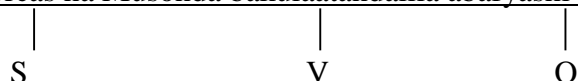
- (b) Mutale na Edah bakoolya isabi (SVO)



[lit: Mutale and Edah they are eating fish] ‘Mutale and Edah are eating fish’ (L and D)

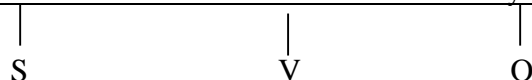
(Hodiernal) Progressive future: from today

- 2 (a) Dorcas na Musonda bakulaatandalila abafyashi babo (SVO)



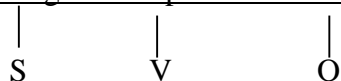
[lit: Dorcas and Musonda they will be visiting their parents] ‘Dorcas and Musonda will be visiting their parents’ (STDB)

- (b) Dorcas na Musonda bakalaakutandalila abafyashi babo (SVO)



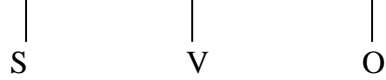
[lit: Dorcas and Musonda they will be to visit their parents] ‘Dorcas and Musonda will be visiting their parents’ (L and D)

- (c) Mulenga akulaapeela abantu bakwe (SVO)



[lit: Mulenga he will be giving his people] ‘Mulenga will be giving his people’ (STDB)

(d) Mulenga akalaakupeela abantu bakwe (SVO)

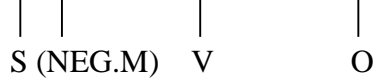


[lit: Mulega he will be to give his people] 'Mulenga will be giving his people' (L and D)

Negative declarative sentences

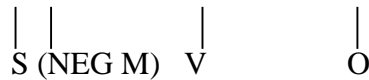
(Hodiernal) progressive future: from today

3 (a) n-sh-akulaabapeela abantu bakwe (SVO)



[lit: I not will be them give people his] 'I will not be giving his people' (STDB)

(b) n-sh-akulaakubapeela abantu bakwe (SVO)



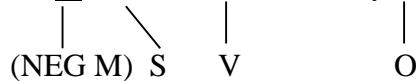
[lit: I not will be to them give people his] 'I will not be giving his people' (L and D)

(c) ta-mw-akulaaimba inyimbo ishi (SVO)



[lit: not you (pl.) will be sing songs these] 'You will not be singing these songs' (STDB)

(d) ta-mw-akulaakwimba inyimbo ishi (SVO)



[lit: not you (pl.) will be to sing songs these] 'You will not be singing these songs' (L and D)

Posthodiernal remote future: progressive aspect

4 (a) Mwansa akalaa leetaimpiya (SVO)



[lit: Mwansa he will be bringing money] 'Mwansa will be bringing the money' (STDB)

(b) Mwansa akalaakuleeta impiya (SVO)



[lit: Mwansa he will be to bring the money] 'Mwansa will be bringing the money' (L and D)

Present progressive tense

5 (a) bwali-n-deelya (OSV)

O S V

[lit: nsima I am eating] 'I am eating nsima' (STDB)

(b) bwali-n-koolya (OSV)

O S V

[lit: nsima I am eating] 'I am eating nsima' (L and D)

Posthodiearnal remote future progressive aspect

6 (a) icakulya Musonda akalaapekanya (OSV)

O S V

[lit: food Musonda she will be preparing] 'Musonda will be preparing food' (STDB)

(b) icakulya Musonda akalaakupekanya (OSV)

O S V

[lit: food Musonda she will be to prepare] 'Musonda will be preparing food' (L and D)

Subject- linking verb – complement construction as illustrated:

7 (a) Derrick ni kateya wamupila (SVC)

S LV C

[lit: Derrick he is player of football] 'Derrick is a football player'

(b) cilya caloci-kankala (SVC)

S LV C

[lit: that country it is rich] 'That country is rich'

It is evident from the findings that the dialects under investigation share the following word order types: subject verb object (SVO), object subject verb (OSV) and subject verb complement (SVC) as illustrated above. It has also been established that the permissibility of the afore-mentioned word order types or patterns is ascribed to topicalisation which has been defined by Crystal (2008) as the movement of a syntactic constituent to the front of a sentence so that it can function as a topic.

The next section is on imperative construction.

6.2 Word order in imperative sentences

Unlike declarative sentences which issue statements, imperative sentences refer to sentence types which are typically used in the expression of command. The imperative has only one tense, that is the present. Future imperative is expressed through the subjunctive mood. It has been revealed from the study that the imperative mood is categorised into three: namely; the simple imperative, the motional imperative and the emphatic imperative.

It has emerged from the study that word order in the imperative sentences is the same for the dialects under study.

Simple imperative

In this type, the speaker expects the addressee to obey the command immediately. From the data, it's clear that this is the same for all the dialects under study as shown below:

8 (a) nwesha umwana umusunga (VOO)

| | |
V O_i O_d

‘Give the baby porridge’ (STDB)

(b) nwisya umwana umusunga (VOO)

| | |
V O_i O_d

‘Give the baby porridge’

It is noticed that the subject in each of the examples in 7 is not stated.

Motional imperative

It has been observed that in this type of imperative, there is an anticipated movement of the addressee before she/ he executes the command. The illustration is presented below:

9 (a) kalembeni kalata (VO)

| |
V O

‘Go and write a letter’

From the examples given above, it is observed that word order is the same for the dialects under study.

Emphatic imperative

In this type of imperative, there is intensification of a command which is expressed through the use of the pre-fix *shi-*: there is insistence on the addressee by the speaker to obey the command as shown in the examples below:

10 (a) shi-mpelako amenshi (OVO)

| | | |
EPP O_i V O_d

‘Do give me water’

(b) shi belengeni amepusho

| | |
EPP V O

‘Do read the questions’

From the examples above, it is observed that the dialects under study have the same word order.

The next section is on subjunctive mood

6.3 Word order in subjunctive mood

This refers to verb form or sentence/ clause types used in the expression of many kinds of clauses of subordination for a range of attitudes including tentativeness, vagueness, and uncertainty and so on. Mwape (1994) points out that under subjunctive mood a wish or a supposition is expressed. The following examples show word order under posthodiearnal progressive tense:

11 (a) mukaleetema imiti (VO)

| |
V O

‘You should be cutting trees’ (STDB)

(b) mukaleekutema imiti (VO)

| |
V O

‘You should be cutting trees’ (L and D)

It is noticed that there is an inclusion (i.e. adjunction) of the infix -ku- in the L and D construction. The study reveals that the word order is the same for the dialects under investigation.

Negative in subjunctive mood

It is evident that the initial **be-** in the verbs expresses negation in the dialects under study as exemplified below:

12 (a) bekalaatema miti (VO)

| |
V O

‘They should not be cutting trees’ (STDB)

(b) bekalaakutema ifimuti (VO)



‘They should not be cutting trees’ (L and D)

It has emerged that word order is the same in the subjunctive mood for the dialects under investigation.

In the next section, word order is shown in interrogative sentences.

6.4 Word order in interrogative sentences

Interrogative is a term used in grammatical classification of sentence types and usually seen in contrast to declarative. It refers to verb forms or sentence/ clause types typically used in expression of question, for example the subject-verb inversion in English (Crystal, 2008).

It should be mentioned that in this type of sentence, the dialects under investigation use a number of question words. In some languages some question words are always in the sentence-initial position, in others always in the sentence-final position while in others they are optionally in the sentence-initial position or in the sentence final position. The study was restricted to finding out the positions of these question words: cindo, findo, kando, tundo and nindo in L and D and cinshi, finshi, kanshi, tunshi and ninshi in STDB.

It has been established from the study that Luunda-Dumbo question words, namely: cindo, findo, kando, tundo and nindo most commonly occupy sentence-initial position whereas the Standard Bemba equivalents, namely: cinshi, finshi, kanshi, tunshi, with the exception of ninshi occupy both sentence-initial and sentence final positions as shown below:

13 (a) baleemupeela finshi?



[lit: they are him/her giving what?]

‘What are they giving him/her’ (STDB)

The question word occupies sentence-final position

(b) finshi baleemupeela?



[lit: what they are him/her giving?]

‘What are they giving him/her?’ (STDB)

The question word occupies sentence-initial position

(c) findo bakoomupeela?

QW V

[lit: what they are him/her giving?]

‘What are they giving him/her?’ (L and D)

It has been observed from the study that the question word most commonly occupies sentence-initial position.

14 (a) mwamuleetela cinshi?

V QW

[you – pl – have him/her brought for what?]

‘What have you brought for him/ her?’ (STDB)

It is noticed notice that in the above example, the question word occupies sentence-final position

(b) cinshi mwamuleetela?

QW V

[lit: for what you – pl – have him/her brought?]

‘What have you brought for him/her’ (STDB)

In the above example, the question word occupies sentence-initial position.

(c) cindo mwamuleetela?

QW V

[lit: for what you – pl – have him/her brought?]

‘What have you brought for him/her?’ (L and D)

According to the findings, the question word most commonly occupies the initial position.

15 (a) wasendele kanshi?

V QW

[lit: you – sg – took what?]

‘What did you take?’ (STDB)

The question word in the above example occupies sentence-final position.

(b) kanshi wasendele?

QW V

[lit: what you – sg – took?]

‘What did you take?’ (STDB)

In the above interrogative sentence the question word occupies sentence-initial position.

(c) kando wasendele?

QW V

[lit: what you – sg – took?]

‘What did you take?’ (L and D)

It has emerged from the study that the question word most commonly occupies sentence-initial position.

16 (a) Maria aleebaala tunshi?

S V QW (o)

[lit: Maria she is spreading what?]

‘What is Maria spreading?’ (STDB)

It is observed that in the sentence above, the question word takes sentence-final position.

(b) tunshi Maria aleebaala?

QW (o) S V

[lit: what Maria she is spreading?]

‘What is Maria spreading?’ (STDB)

The question word in the above example takes sentence-initial position.

(c) tundo Maria akoobaala?

QW S V

[lit: what Maria she is spreading?]

‘What is Maria spreading?’ (L and D)

The observation in the study is that the question word in the sentence above most commonly takes sentence-initial position.

17 (a) Derrick aleesosa ninshi?

S V QW

It is noticed that the interrogative sentence is not grammatically acceptable due to the position occupied by the question word *ninshi*.

In this case, the first syllable of the question word has to be truncated or deleted in order to render the sentence grammatically acceptable; hence, the following version is correct:

Derrick aleesosa nshi?
 | | |
 S V QW

[lit: Derrick he is saying what?]

‘What is Derrick saying?’ (STDB)

It is observed that sentence-final is the right position for the question word nshi.

(b) ninshi Derrick aleesosa?
 | | |
 QW S V

[lit: what Derrick he is saying?]

‘What is Derrick saying?’ (STDB)

It is clear from the example above that the right position for the question word **ninshi** is sentence initial.

(c) nindo Derrick akoososa?
 | | |
 QW S V

[lit: what Derrick he is saying?]

‘What is Derrick saying?’ (L and D)

It has been established from the study that sentence-initial is the most commonly acceptable and used position for the question word nindo.

6.5 Word order in noun phrases

Word order in noun phrases was briefly discussed in chapter three. Using this as a framework, we have established from our study that word order is the same for the dialects under investigation. The researcher restricted the investigation to numeral determination, demonstrative determination and modification by adjectives. The following are the illustrations:

Cardinal numeral determination

18 (a) imbata shibili
 | |
 N CND

[lit: ducks two]

‘Two ducks’ (STDB)

(b) ifibata fibili
 | |
 N CND

[lit: ducks two]

‘Two ducks’ (L and D)

(c) shibili imbata
 | |
 CND N

[lit: two ducks]

‘Two ducks’ (STDB)

(d) fibili ifibata
 | |
 CND N

[lit: two ducks]

‘Two ducks’ (L and D)

It has been noticed that in the above examples, there are combinations of nouns and cardinal numeral determiners which denote determination of the concepts. In examples (18a) and (18b), there are nouns preceding a cardinal numeral determiner. This process is cardinal numeral postdetermination. On the other hand, the order of words in examples (18c) and (18d) is a cardinal numeral determiner preceding the noun: this is cardinal numeral predetermination. It has emerged from the findings that this change in word order is attributable to emphasis placed on the first constituent of the phrase. In the following section, determination by ordinal numerals is illustrated.

Ordinal numeral determination

19 (a) inwena yapakubala
 | |
 N OND

[lit: crocodile of the first]

‘The first crocodile’ (STDB and D)

(b) icibokolo capakubala
 | |
 N OND

[lit: crocodile of the first]

‘The first crocodile’ (L)

(c) yapakubala inwena

OND N

[it: of the first crocodile]

‘The first crocodile’ (STDB and D)

(d) capakubala icibokolo

OND N

[lit: of the first crocodile]

‘The first crocodile’ (L)

In examples (19a) and (19b), ordinal numeral determiners come after the nouns; this is postdetermination whereas in (19c) and (19d) ordinal numerals precede the nouns; this is predetermination. The revelation from the study, therefore, is that these types of word order are the same for the dialects under study. As already indicated, the change of word order in the noun phrase is dictated by the wish to lay emphasis on the initial constituent.

Below, word order under demonstrative determination is shown.

Demonstrative determination

The role of the determiners in this category is to indicate somebody, something or a concept.

Here are the examples:

20 (a) imisomali ilya

N DD

[lit: nails those]

‘Those nails’ (STDB)

(b) imisumali ilya

ND D

[lit: nails those]

‘Those nails’ (L and D)

(c) ilya misomali

DD N

‘Those nails’ (STDB)

(d) ilya misumali

DD N

‘Those nails’ (L and D)

It has been observed that the nouns in examples (20c) and (20d) have dropped their augments. Once again, the shuffling of the constituents in the noun phrases is attributed to a shift in emphasis.

To sum up, it should be stated that in determination, items which co-occur with nouns to express a wide range of semantic contrast such as quantity or number, demonstration, interrogation, distribution (and so on) are of significance.

In the section below, some illustrations on modification are shown.

Modification

This refers to structural dependence of one grammatical unit upon another but with different restriction in the scope of the term being introduced by different approaches (Crystal, 2008).

Some examples are given below:

21 (a) isumbu ilipya (i.e. isumbwilya)

N ADJ

[lit: a fishing net which is new]

‘A new fishing net’ (STDB and D)

(b) ubukonde ubupya

N ADJ

[it: a fishing net which is new]

‘A new fishing net’ (L)

(c) ilipya isumbu (i.e. ilipyeesumbu)

ADJ N

[lit: which is new fishing net]

‘A new fishing net’ (STDB and D)

(d) ubupya ubukonde

ADJ N

[lit: which is new fishing net]

‘A new fishing net’

It is noticed that there is semivocalisation in example (21a) *isumbwilipya* ‘a new fishing net’ and coalescence in example (21c) *ilipyeesumbu* ‘a new fishing net’.

6.5 Summary

It has been established from the study that there are similarities between STDB, L and D in relation to word order of subject verb object, subject verb complement, object subject verb, verb object object, object verb object and verb object. In addition, the dialects under study have the same word order in noun phrases.

On the other hand, it has been established from the study that there are variations in word order of some question words between STDB, on the one hand, and L and D on the other. The revelation is that there is more closeness between L and D.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LEXICAL VARIATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents lexical variations among the three dialects: STDB, L and D. Essentially, the chapter attends to objective four of the study, which is to establish the lexical variations of the three Bemba dialects involved. The lexical items upon which the analysis of this chapter relies are based on seven semantic fields, namely: house-hold related terms, names of domesticated animals and birds, human body parts-related terms, kinship-related terms, agriculture-related terms, fishing-related terms and miscellaneous-group terms. There are in total three hundred and sixty one words/expressions used.

The analysis of lexical items in this chapter is done in reference to Proto-Bantu, an hypothetical parent language of all Bantu languages. This language provides a reference point for the lexical comparisons done in the chapter. Proto-Bantu was hypothesised by Guthrie (1948) in order to provide possible origins of the Bantu language family.

7.1 Lexical items that Standard Bemba does not share with Luunda and Dumbo

It has been established from the study that there are lexical items STDB does not share with L and D, and out of these there are those with Proto-Bantu origin. This entails that those not having Proto-Bantu origin may have been borrowed from other languages or coined as a result of language contact.

Lexical variations have been identified in seven semantic fields, namely: house-hold related terms, domesticated animals and birds-related terms, human-body parts related terms, kinship related terms, agricultural related terms, fishing related terms, and miscellaneous group-related terms.

Below, there are comparisons between STDB, L and D with regard to some of the lexical items based on the afore-mentioned semantic fields.

Table 15: Examples of household related terms that STDB has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB
pillow	-	umusao [umusao]
mat made out of papyrus	-	akafwilifwili [akafwi: lifwi:li]
slasher	-	icikumpilo [itʃiku:mpilo]
peanut butter	-	icikonko [itʃiko:ŋko]

Table 16: Examples of household-related terms that L has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L
plate	-	insani [insani]
mat made out of papyrus	-	icilako [itʃilako]
ring	- pete	nindaminwe [ini:ndami:nwe]
mirror	-	icilola [itʃilola]

Table 17: Examples of house-hold related terms that D has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	D
mat made out of papyrus	-	iciseesa [itʃise:sa]
pot	- yongo	umwipika [umwi:pika]
sauce made from peanut butter	-	umukwelu [umukwe:lu]
broom	-	icipyango [itʃipja:ŋgo]

It has been noted that only two of the lexical items in household-related terms in the tables above have Proto-Bantu equivalents. There is a probability that all the terms in the tables came through language contact or borrowing.

In the tables that follow, there are some lexical items which STDB does not share with L and D in the category of domesticated animals and birds.

Table 18: Examples of domesticated animals and birds-related lexical items that STDB has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB
cat	-	cona [tʃona]
duck	-	imbata [imbata]

From the table above, it is observed that the two lexical items belonging to STDB do not seem to have Proto-Bantu origin.

7.2 Some lexical items each of the dialects under study has alone in human body parts-related category

The tables 19, 20 and 21 below present some lexical items found in individual dialects under the semantic category of human body parts related terms.

Table 19: Examples of human body parts-related terms that STDB has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB
elbow	-kokoda	icikubukubu [itʃikubukubu]
elbow	-kokoda	inkonkoni [iŋko:ŋkoni]
chin	-	akalefulefu [akalefulefu]
stomach	-pu	icifu [itʃifu]
finger nail	-yada	ulwala [ulwa:la]
thumb	-	icikumo [itʃikumo]
firstfinger	-	inkofola musunga [iŋko:mfo:la musu:ŋga]
backbone	-	umongololo [umo:ŋgololo]

Table 20: Examples of human body parts-related terms that L has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	akatelefu [akatelefu]
thumb	-	icinkumwa [itʃi:ŋkumwa]
backbone	-	umungololo [umu:ŋgololo]
ankle	-	ulusokoso [ulusokoso]
littlefinger	-	akamindwa [akami:ndwa]

Table 21: Examples of human body parts-related terms that D has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	D
chin	-	akanefu [akanefu]
thumb	-	icinkumya [itʃi:ŋkumja]
backbone	-	umungolokoto [umu:ŋgolokoto]

From the tables presented above, the study establishes that only STDB has some of the lexical terms from Proto-Bantu, and these terms are *icikubukubu* and *inkonkoni* which are synonyms and their proto-Bantu equivalent is –kokoda meaning elbow; icifu its Proto-Bantu equivalent is –pu‘stomach’.

Lastly, the term *ulwala* has the Proto-Bantu equivalent –yada ‘fingernail’. There seems to be a link between these terms and their Proto-Bantu equivalents.

7.3 Some lexical items STDB does not share with L and D in kinship-related category

Based on the collected data, the table below shows two lexical items that STDB does not share with L and D in the category of kinship-related terms.

Table 22: Examples of kinship-related terms that STDB has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB
great grand child	-	icishikulula [itʃɪʃikulula]
descendants	-	uluko [uluko]

From the table above, it can be observed that the two lexical items in the semantic category of kinship-related terms do not have Proto-Bantu origin.

7.4 Some lexical items each of the dialects under study has alone in agriculture-related category

The table 23 shows some of the agriculture-related terms found in individual dialects under investigation.

Table 23: Examples of agriculture-related terms that STDB has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB
maize	-	inyanje [ɪna:ndʒe]
cassava	-	kalundwe [kalu:ndwe]
irish potatoes	-	imbatata [imbatata]
potatoe leaves	-	kalebwe [kalebwe]
mango	-	yembe [je:mbe]
lemon	-	kantu [ka:ntu]
lemon	-	ilindimu [ili:ndimu]
wheat	-	iṅanu [iṅanu]
marrow/gourd leaves	-	kacesha [katʃeʃa]
bunch of bananas	-	umusemo [umusemo]

Table 24: Examples of agriculture –related terms L has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L
irish potatoes	-	imbatatisi [imbatatisi]
bean leaves	-	cinkamba [tʃi:ŋka:mba]
water melon	-	icibilika [itʃibilika]
wheat	-	ingano [iŋgano]

Table 25: Examples of agriculture-related terms that D has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	D
irish potatoes	-	icilasi [itʃilasi]
water melon	-	icikabi [itʃikabi]
tomato	-	mantimanti [ma:ntima:nti]
wheat	-	inganu [iŋganu]

From the tables 23, 24 and 25, it can be observed that all the agriculture-related terms shown do not have Proto-Bantu equivalents, but it should be pointed out that although the term *umusemo* ‘bunch of bananas’ does not have Proto-Bantu equivalent, the lexical term *inkonde* ‘banana’ to which it is related do have the Proto-Bantu equivalent –*konde* meaning banana. Furthermore, it has also been established that the lexical variation with regard to the dialectal variants for wheat is negligible: *iganu* (STDB), *ingano* (L), and *inganu* (D).

7.5 Some of the fishing-related terms found in individual dialects under study independently

The tables that follow show some of the fishing-related terms found in individual dialects under study.

Table 26: Examples of fishing-related terms that STDB has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB
fishermen	-	umulondo [umulo:ndo]
a bait on a fishing hook	-yambo	lyambi [lja:mbi]
to wade	-	ukutubula [ukutubula]

Table 27: Examples of fishing-related terms that L has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L
fisherman	-	umusila [umusila]
a bait on a fishing hook	-yambo	icambi [itʃa: mbi]
to wade	-	ukukubula [ukukubula]
fisherman's helper	-	umutyana [umutja:na]
tigerfish	-	imanda [ima:nda]
thin-faced bream	-	makobo [makobo]
leech	-cando	umunsundu [umu:nsu:ndu]

Table 28: Examples of fishing-related terms that D has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	D
fisherman	-	umupalu [umupalu]
a bait on a fishing hook	-yambo	icambo [itʃa:mbo]
to wade	-	ukutofola [ukutofola]
fisherman's helper	-	umuswa [umuswa]
tiger fish	-	insanga [insa:ŋga]
thin-faced bream	-	polwe [polwe]
hump-back bream	-	insangula [insa:ŋgula]

From the tables 26, 27 and 28, it is clear that the word for 'bait' has the Proto-Bantu equivalent *-yambo*. This is also the case for the word *umunsundu* 'leech' (L), its Proto-Bantu equivalent being *-cando*. It is further established that most of the words in the tables showing fishing-related terms lack proto-Bantu origin. There is great probability that the words for bait originated from Proto-Bantu.

7.6 Some of the miscellaneous group-related terms found in each of the dialects under study

The tables 29 to 31 below present miscellaneous group-related lexical items found in each of the dialects under investigation.

Table 29: Examples of miscellaneous group-related terms that STDB has alone

Gloss	Poto-Bantu	STDB
bird	-yoni	icuuni [itʃu:ni]
to make somebody drink	-nu-	ukunweshā [ukunwe:ʃa]
to drown	-nu-	ukunwena [ukunwe:na]
palace	-ganda	isano [isano]
bamboo	-dang	imishembe [imife:mbe]
mosquito	-bo	muṅwiṅwi [mu:ṅwi:ṅwi]
mosquito	-bo	ulubwibwi [ulubwi:bwi]
medicine	-gaṅga	indawi [indawi]
medicine	-gaṅga	indawa [indawa]
civet cat	-tuṅgo	sumbwe [su:mbwe]
sea eagle	-pongo	nkwashi [ṅkwa:ʃi]
to mix	-buang	ukupatinkanya [ukupati:ṅka:na]
doctor	-gaṅga	muṅanga [muṅa:ṅga]
drunkard	-kodo-	cikolwa [tʃikolwa]
drunkard	-kodo-	inkoleshi [iṅkoleʃi]

Table 30: Examples of miscellaneous group-related terms that L has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L
bundle of grass	-	umupo [umupo]
shade	-	icinfute [itʃi:mfute]
hiccup (n.)	-	umundiku [umu:ndiku]
sneeze (n.)	-	ulutesu [ulutesu]
a pair of tongs	-	icimano [itʃimano]
mosquito	-bo	akalamba [akala:mba]
mosquito	-bo	akabwibwi [akabwi:bwi]

Table 31: Examples of miscellaneous group-related terms that D has alone

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	D
bundle of grass, etc	-	umwansi [umwa:nsi]
sneeze (n.)	-	ulutasu [ulutasu]
a pair of tongs	-	icimanto [itʃima:nto]
rodent that lives in plains	-bende	isesi [isesi]
mosquito	-bo	akosu [akosu]
pot	-yongo	umwipika [umwi:pika]

From the tables 29 to 31 with miscellaneous group-related terms, it is evident that STDB predominates in having Proto-Bantu equivalents; all the fifteen lexical items presented in the table for STDB have Proto-Bantu equivalents whereas only two out of the seven L lexical items and three out of the six D presented terms have Proto-Bantu equivalents. Under STDB, the words for bird, drink, drown; palace, doctor and drunkard seem to have Proto-Bantu origin.

It is also observed that the words for drunkard *cikolwa* and *inkoleshi* which are nouns in STDB are linked to the Proto-Bantu infinitive *-kodo-* which means to be intoxicated.

7.7 Some of the lexical items that L and D share

The table below shows a household-related lexical item that L shares with D only. This is based on the data collected.

Table 32: An example of household-related terms that L shares with D only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L and D
peanut butter	-	icimpondwa [itʃi:mpo:ndwa]

From the table above, it can be noted that there is only one lexical item that L shares with D based on the data collected in this semantic category. It has been observed that the lexical item does not have Proto-Bantu origin.

In addition, it has emerged from the data collected that L shares two lexical terms with D in domesticated animals and birds-related semantic field. These are shown in the table below.

Table 33: Examples of domesticated animals and birds-related terms that L shares with D

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L and D
duck	-	icibata [it ibata]
cat	-	pusi [pusi]

From the table above it can be observed that the two lexical items in this semantic category do not have Proto-Bantu origin. Besides, it has been established from the data that L shares three lexical items with D in the semantic category of human body parts-related terms. These terms are presented in the table below.

Table 34: Examples of human body parts-related terms that L shares with D

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L and D
stomach	-pu	ifumo [ifumo]
shoulder	-tuudu	ukupeeja [ukupe:ja]
elbow	-kokoda	akaboyo [akaboyo]

It can be noted that the three lexical items in table 34 have Proto-Bantu equivalents. Based on the data, there are two agriculture-related terms that L shares with D only. Below is an illustration in table 35.

Table 35: Examples of agriculture-related terms that L and D share

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L and D
cassava	-	tute [tute]
potato leaves	-	kalembula [kale:mbula]

From the table above, it is clear that the lexical items do not have Proto-Bantu origin. Probably, this could be attributed to language contact or vocabulary borrowing phenomenon.

The following table presents some fishing-related lexical items that L shares with D.

Table 36: Examples of fishing-related term that L shares with D only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L and D
sein net	-	umukwau [umukwa:u]
sheep head; bottle nose	-	ulububu [ulububu]
ctenopoma multisipins	-	inkomo [iŋkomo]
schilbe mystus	-	impata [impata]
petrocephalus catastom	-	cise [tʃise]
heterobranchus longifilis	-	sampa [sa: mpa]
banded bream; tilapia sparrmani	-	icituku [itʃituku]
barbs spp2		umumbulwe [umu: mbulwe]

The table above contains names of different types of fish. It is clear that the terms do not have Proto-Bantu origin.

The table below presents some of the lexical items L share with D in miscellaneous group-related category.

Table 37: Examples of miscellaneous group-related terms L shares with D only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	L and D
to dissolve	-	ukusungulika [ukusu:ŋgulika]
to drown	-nu-	ukunwina [uku:nwi:na]
to make somebody drink	-nu-	ukunwisha [uku:nwi:sja]
to mix; to blend	-buanga-	ukupatankanya [ukupata:ŋka:ŋa]
to mix; to blend	-buanga-	ukutobenkanya [ukutobe:ŋka:ŋa]
deaf person	-	nkomyamatwi [ŋkomja:matwi]
bird	-yoni	icooni [itʃo:ni]
doctor	-ganga	shinanga [ʃiŋa:ŋga]
palace	-ganda	icipango [itʃipa:ŋgo]
civet-cat	-tunngo	impaka [impaka]
sea eagle	-ponngo	lubambe [luba:mbe]
bamboo	-dang	insengu [inse:ŋgu]

It has been observed from the table above that out of the twelve lexical items that have been presented, ten have Proto-Bantu equivalents. Ukunwina ‘to drown’, ukunwisha ‘to make somebody drink’, icooni ‘bird’, shiqanga ‘doctor’ have Proto-Bantu origin.

7.8 Some of the lexical items that STDB shares with L

There are lexical items that STDB shares with L. Some of the household- related terms the two dialects share are shown in the table 38.

Table 38: Examples of household-related terms STDB shares with L only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and L
broom	-	iceswa [itʃeswa]
pot	-yongo	umupika [umupika]
sauce made from peanut butter	-	umusweswe [umuswe:swe]

From the table above, it is evident that only one lexical item *umupika* ‘pot’ has Proto-Bantu equivalent, but it does not seem to have originated from Proto-Bantu.

Below is the table showing the lexical items that STDB shares with L in the semantic field of agriculture-related terms; this is based on the data collected.

Table 39: An example of agriculture-related terms which STDB shares with L only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and L
tomato	-	matimati [matimati]

It is clear from the table above that the term does not have Proto-Bantu origin. Based on the data collected, the table below shows one lexical item that STDB shares with L in fishing-related terms.

Table 40: An example of fishing-related terms which STDB shares with L only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and L
place where boats and canoes are landed	-	icabu [itʃabu]

From table 40, it is evident that the lexical item does not have any connection with Proto-Bantu.

The table below shows some lexical items that STDB shares with L in miscellaneous group-related category.

Table 41: Examples of miscellaneous group-related terms that STDB shares with L only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and L
(of amounts) become small; diminish	--keep-	ukutuba [ukutuba]
rodent that lives in plains	-bende	ifutu [ifutu]
craving for meat; lust	-	icikasha [itʃikaʃa] STDB icikasia [itʃikasja] L

From table 41, it can be noted that two of the lexical items have Proto-Bantu equivalents, but it is not clear whether they originated from Proto-Bantu.

7.9 Some of the lexical items that STDB shares with D

Tables 42 to 49 present some lexical items that STDB shares with D in household-related terms, human bodyparts-related terms, agriculture-related terms, fishing-related terms and miscellaneous group-related categories.

Based on the data, there are no lexical items shared between STDB-and-D in terms of domesticated animals and birds-related and kinship-related terms.

Table 42: Examples of household-related terms that STDB shares with D only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and D
plate	-	imbale [imbale]
ring	-pete	imbalamine [imbalami:nwe]

It is clear from the table above that the two lexical items do not have Proto-Bantu origin though *imbalaminwe* ‘ring’ has a Proto-Bantu equivalent.

The table below shows some lexical items shared by STDB and ǀ in human body parts-related terms.

Table 43: Examples of human body parts-related terms that STDB shares with ǀ only

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and ǀ
ankle	-	inkolokoso [iŋkolokoso]
third finger	-	cikonka katengesha [tʃiko:ŋkaka:nte:ŋgeʃa] (STDB) [tʃiko:ŋkaka:nte:ŋgesja] (ǀ)
little finger	-	akatengesha [aka:nte:ŋgeʃa] (STDB) [aka:nte:ŋgesja] (ǀ)

From the table above, it is established that the lexical items do not have Proto-Bantu origin.

The table below shows a lexical item shared by STDB and ǀ in agriculture-related category.

Table 44: An example of agriculture-related terms shared by STDB and ǀ

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and ǀ
leaves of beans	-	cimpapila [tʃimpapila]

The lexical item in the table above has no connection with Proto-Bantu. The following table exhibits some fishing-related terms that STDB shares with ǀ only.

Table 45: Examples of fishing-related terms that STDB and ǀ share

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and ǀ
fishing net	-	isumbu [isu:mbu]
floods/ inundation	-	ilyeshi [iljeʃi] (STDB) [iljesi] (ǀ)
leech	-condo	umusundu [umusundu]
crocodile	-	iŋwena [iŋwena]

The table above shows that there is only one lexical item *umusundu* ‘leech’ which has a Proto-Bantu equivalent. Despite having this equivalent, umusundu does not seem to have originated from Proto-Bantu; it may have come about through language contact or borrowing.

Based on the collected data, there is only one lexical item that STDB shares with D in the miscellaneous group-related category.

Table 46: An example of miscellaneous group-related terms shared by STDB and D

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB and D
(of amount) get small; diminish	-keep-	ukupopa [ukupopa]

In the table above, it can be observed that the lexical item ukupopa has the Proto-Bantu equivalent which does not seem to relate to it morphologically.

The tables that follow present some of the lexical items that STDB, L and D share. The first are household-related terms shared by the dialects under investigation.

Table 47: Examples of household-related terms shared by STDB, L and D

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB, L and D
sickle	-	icikwakwa [itʃikwa:kwa]
axe	-temo	isembe [ise:mbe]
honey	-yoke	ubuci [ubuci]
sandals	-deat-	indyato [indja:to]
knife	-yede	umwele [umwe:le]
milk	-beede	umukaka [umukaka]

From the table above, it is clear that two of the lexical items have Proto-Bantu origin. For example, the words for knife, umwele and sandals, indyato. The Proto-Bantu term deat is a verb meaning to tread or to put one’s feet down while one is stepping or walking. The Proto-Bantu word deat must have undergone a morphophonological transformation such that it gave rise to the present-day lexical item indyato which is a noun. In other words, the word indyato should be a derived noun. The same must have happened for the term umwele ‘knife’: the Proto-Bantu term *yede* must have undergone morphophonological mutation. The rest of the terms may have come about through language contact or borrowing.

In the table below, we show some of the lexical items shared by STDB, L and D in domesticated animals and birds-related terms.

Table 48: Examples of domesticated animals and birds-related terms that STDB, L and D share

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB, L and D
chicken	-koko	inkoko [iŋkoko]
cattle	-gombe	iŋombe [iŋo:mbe]
dog	-boa	imbwa [imbwa]
goat	-bod	imbushi [imbuʃi] STDB imbusi [imbusi] L, D
domesticated pigeon/dove	-konda	inkunda [iŋku:nda]
guinea fowl	-kaŋga	ikanga [ika:ŋga]

From the table above, it is manifested that all the lexical items have Proto-Bantu origin.

The table that follows shows some of the terms that are shared by STDB, L and D in human body parts-related terms.

Table 49: Examples of human body parts-related terms shared by STDB, L and D

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB, L, D
armpit	-yapa	ukwapa [ukwa:pa]
tooth	-yino	iliino [ili:no]
breast	-beede	ibeele [ibe:le]
nose	-jodo	umoona [umo:na]
skin	-kanda	inkanda [iŋka:nda]
arm	-boko	ukuboko [ukuboko]
back	-yima	inuma [inuma]
mouth	-nua	akanwa [akanwa]

It is evident from the table above that all the lexical items shown, with the exception of the word for nose, have Proto-Bantu origin.

The table below presents lexical items shared by STDB, L and D in kinship-related category.

Table 50: Examples of kinship-related terms shared by STDB, L and D

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB, L and D
mother	-maama	mayo [ma:jo]
nephew/niece	-	umwipwa [umwi:pwa]
husband	-dome	umulume [umulume]
child	-yana	umwana [umwa:na]
father	-taata	taata [ta:ta]

From the table above, it is clear that all the lexical items, but for the word for nephew or niece, have Proto-Bantu origin. The table below exhibits some lexical items shared by STDB, L and D in agriculture-related category.

Table 51: Examples of agriculture-related terms that STDB, L and D share

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB, L and D
banana	-konde	inkonde [iŋko:nde]
castor bean	-bono	ulumono [ulumono]
seed	-boto	ulubuto [ulubuto]
vegetable	-boga	musalu [musalu]
orange	-	icungwa [itʃu:ŋgwa]

It has emerged from the table above that the words for banana, castor bean and seed have Proto-Bantu origin; the other two, for vegetable and orange do not seem to have Proto-Bantu origin. The table below shows some of the lexical items that are shared by STDB, L and D in fishing-related terms.

Table 52: Examples of fishing-related terms that are shared by STDB, L and D

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB, L and D
fish	-cu	isabi [isabi]
oar/paddle	-kapi	inkafi [iŋkafi]
canoe/boat	-yato	ubwato [ubwa:to]
rope	-	umwando [umwa:ndo]
fish trap	-	umoono [umo:no]

From the table above, it is revealed that the words for canoe or boat and oar or paddle have Proto-Bantu origin while those for fish, rope and fish trap do not seem to be of Proto-Bantu origin.

The table below shows some of the lexical items shared by STDB, L and D in miscellaneous group-related category.

Table 53: Examples of miscellaneous group-related terms shared by STDB, L and D

Gloss	Proto-Bantu	STDB, L and D
to start/ begin something	-bad-	ukubala [ukubala]
to split into thin lats	-pand-	ukupandaula [ukupanda:ula]
to gather; to crowd	-kong-	ukukolongana [ukukolo:ngana]
agreement	-	icipangano [itʃipa:ngano]
driver	-	namutekenya [namutekeɲa]
spider web	-bobe	tandabube [ta:ndabube]
beer	-yadoe	ubwalwa [ubwa:lwa]
medicine	-ganga	umuti [umuti]
obedience	-	icumfwila [itʃu:mfwila]

From the table above, it has been observed that the words for start or begin, split into thin lats, gather or crowd, spider web and beer have Proto-Bantu origin whereas the rest do not seem to have originated from Proto-Bantu; they may have come from language contact or borrowing.

7.10 Summary

This chapter has established that there is a relationship between Proto-Bantu and the dialects under investigation. It has also been established that two hundred and three (203) lexical items out of the total of three hundred sixty one (361) have Proto-Bantu equivalents. Out of those Proto-Bantu equivalents, fifty two (52) lexical items are believed to have originated from Proto-Bantu. Of the fifty two, there are ten (10) from STDB, six (6) are shared by L and D, thirty four (34) are shared by STDB, L and D and one (1) each from L and D. It has been noted that one hundred and fifty eight (158) lexical items do not have Proto-Bantu equivalents.

In the lexical analysis, it has been revealed that there are lexical items that each dialect under this study has alone. It has also been manifested that there are lexical items that L and D share and those that STDB share with L and STDB with D. It has also been noted that there are

lexical items that the three dialects share. The study has revealed that there is linguistic convergence between L and D and linguistic divergence between STDB, on the one hand, and L and D on the other.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings and discussions of the study. This is done by taking into consideration the three levels of linguistic analysis, which are: phonology, morphology, syntax including lexis.

8.1 Phonological variations

Phonological variations have been identified between the dialects under study. These variations have been observed in palatalisation in relation to causative and intensive forms of verbs. Dialectal variations have also been manifested in the following: nasal assimilation, the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] versus the voiceless velar plosive [k] and the voiced velar plosive [g] versus the voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ].

Further, the study has revealed dialectal variations with regard to the application of phonological rules of insertion and deletion. Also, some of the variations in tone-marking have been identified between the dialects under study: STDB in comparison with L and ɪ.

From the data, it has further emerged that there are some phonetic similarities between STDB, L and ɪ in the use of vowels and the majority of consonants. Similarities have also been identified in the application of allophonic and morphophonological rules and the use of syllable structure, tone and length.

It has emerged from the study that there are more variations between STDB, on the one hand, and L and ɪ, on the other than there are between L and ɪ. This is attributed to the paradigms of convergence and divergence. Since L and ɪ are geographically close to each other, there is linguistic convergence of them; with regard to STDB, there is some degree of linguistic divergence since there is more geographical distance between it, on the one hand, and L and ɪ, on the other than there is between L and ɪ.

8.2 Morphological variations

It has been established that most of the nouns in the dialects under investigation take a nominal prefix. It is clear from the findings that there are a few variations in nominal class prefixes as

well as nominal stems between the dialects under study. The study manifests the variations in three categories, namely: nouns which have different nominal prefixes, but have the same nominal stems, nouns with the same nominal prefixes, but have different nominal stems and nouns with different nominal prefixes and nominal stems. For example, the study has revealed that STDB uses m- classes 9 and 10 for singular and plural, respectively in the word –bata ‘duck’ whereas L and D use class 7 singular prefix ci- and class 8 plural prefix fi- in the same word. The revelation, therefore, is that although the nominal stem is the same, there is a variation in the nominal class prefix.

It has also emerged that in the word for hair, STDB has class 3 nominal prefix mu-, singular only before the nominal stem –shishi whereas L and D use class 4 nominal prefix, plural only before the same nominal stem, but for a slight phonetic variation, -sisi (NST). In other words, STDB realises the singular form only while L and D realise the plural form only in the same word.

It has also been observed that some nouns in the dialects under study share the nominal prefixes, but have different nominal stems. For example, for the word for pillow, STDB uses the nominal stem –sao whereas L and D use –samino, but for both nominal stems, class 3 singular nominal prefix mu- is used and the words are umusao for STDB and umusamino for L and D. The plural prefix, class 4 -mi- is also used.

From the data, it has also been established that there are variations between the dialects under investigation in relation to both nominal prefixes and the nominal stems: some nouns do not share both the nominal prefixes and nominal stems, as illustrated here: For the word *bamboo*, STDB uses the nominal prefix mi- and the nominal stem –shembe whereas L and D use classes 9 and 10 nominal prefix n- and the nominal stem –sengu; the words are imishembe (STDB) and insengu (L and D).

It is also evident in this study that the verbal structure of STDB, L and D is basically the same although there are a few minor dialectal variations. For example, where a STDB speaker said: *naleelima* ‘I was cultivating’ in prehodiernal progressive past, a L or D speaker would say: *nalikulima* ‘I was cultivating’. The difference is in the progressive aspect markers: **-lee-** for STDB and **-liku-** for L and D.

Moreover, dialectal variations are identified in verbal extensions. For example, in causative and completive extensions, the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in STDB is palatalised to the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] whereas in L and D this process does not occur.

To sum up, it should be stated that there is linguistic convergence of the two dialects, namely: L and D seeing that the two are closer to each other than STDB is to either of them in terms of geological distance, implying that there is some degree of linguistic divergence with regard to STDB.

8.3 Syntactic variations

It has emerged from the findings that there are more similarities than differences between STDB, L and D in this linguistic level vis-à-vis the word order of subject verb object or subject verb complement and the word order in noun phrases. The study has also revealed that there are similarities between the dialects with regard to constructions under declarative and imperative sentences. However, it is clear from the data that there are some variations under subjunctive mood and interrogation. Once again, the study has observed more linguistic closeness between L and D.

8.4 Lexical variations

It is manifest from the study that there is a link between Proto-Bantu and the dialects under investigation. Based on the data, it has emerged that some of the lexical items under study have Proto-Bantu equivalents and out of these a few have Proto-Bantu origin. This is a testimony that the dialects under study are part of the Bantu languages family. Based on the semantic categories, namely, household, domesticated animals and birds, human body parts, kinship, agriculture, fishing and miscellaneous group related categories, the study has established that there are lexical items which each of the dialects under study has alone. It has also been observed that there are lexical items that STDB shares with L and those it shares with D.

In addition, there are lexical items that L and D share and those that all the three dialects share. Out of all this sharing, the highest number of lexical items is shared by the three dialects seconded by that shared by L and D. In fact, the shared categories enumerated above as well as the lexical items each of the dialects has alone reflect dialectal variations.

The study has also noted that the highest sharing of lexical items between two of the dialects under study is between L and D: this is a signal of linguistic convergence attributed to geographical proximity of the two dialects.

8.5 Recommendations

Considering that the study has not dealt with every detail of linguistic analysis involving the dialects of Bemba and that it was limited to only three out of many other Bemba dialects, it is recommended that further research be conducted to cover as many Bemba dialects as possible so that more dialectal variations can be brought forth. For example, a dialectological study could be conducted on dialects such as *Unga* and *Kabende* of Samfya and Lunga Districts or *Shila* and *Bwile* of Nchelenge and Chiengi Districts, respectively or *Ushi* of Mansa and *Chishinga* of Kawambwa. It is also recommended that dialectological studies be conducted between Bemba spoken in Chinsali, Mporokoso, Mungwi Districts, and that spoken in the border areas such as Mokambo of DR Congo on the border with the Copperbelt or Kasenga and Mpweto on the border with Luapula Province or Tanzanian border with Zambia.

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APPENDICES
APENDIX A: LEXIS

HOUSEHOLD - RELATED TERMS

NO.	ENGLISH	STANDARD BEMBA	LUUNDA	DUMBO
1	sieve	ulunyungo inyungo (pl.)	ulunyungo inyungo	ulunyungo inyungo
2	pillow	umusao; imisao (pl.) umusamino; imisamino (pl.)	umusamino imisamino	umusamino; akakunkunsho
3	wooden axe	imbafi	imbafi	imbafi
4	plate	imbale	insane	imbale
5	mortal for pounding	ibende amabende (pl.)	ibende amabende (pl.)	ibende/umusiki amabende/imishiki icinkolobondo (long)
6	pestle	umwinshi iminshi (pl.)	umwinsi iminsi (pl.)	umwinsi iminsi (pl.)
7	bed	ubusanshi amasanshi (pl.)	ubusansi amasansi (pl.)	ubusansi amasansi (pl.) ubulili, amalili (pl.)
8	knife	umwele imyele (pl.)	umwele imyele (pl.)	umwele imyele (pl.)

9	water	ameenshi	ameensi	ameensi
10	broom	iceswa ifyeswa	iceswa ifyeswa	icipyango ifipyango (pl.)
11	chair	umupando imipando (pl.)	umupando imipando (pl.) icipuna,ifipuna(pl)	umupando imipando (pl.)
12	mat made out of reeds	ubutanda amatanda (pl.)	ubutanda amatanda (pl.)	ubutanda amatanda (pl.)
13	mat made out of papyrus	akafwilifwili utufwilifwili (pl.)	icilako ifilako (pl.)	iciseesa ifiseesa (pl.)
14	sickle	icikwakwa ifikwakwa (pl.)	icikwakwa ifikwakwa (pl.)	icikwakwa ifikwakwa (pl.)
15	slasher	icikumpilo ifikumpilo (pl.)	icikwempulo ifikwempulo (pl.)	icikwempu ifikwempu (pl.)
16	winnowing basket	ulupe indupe (pl.)	ulupe indupe (pl.)	ulupe indupe (pl.)
17	calabash	insupa	insupa	insupa
18	pallet/ stirring stick	umwiko/ umwinko imiko/ iminko (pl.)	umwiko/ umwinko imiko/ iminko (pl.)	umwinko iminko (pl.)
19	salt	umucele	umukele	umukele umunyu

20	shoes	insapato	insapato	insapato
21	mirror	umulolani imilolani (pl.)	icilola ifilola (pl.)	umulolani imilolani (pl.)
22	egg	ilini amani (pl.)	ilini amani (pl.)	ilini amani (pl.)
23	cassava powder	ubunga bwa kalundwe	ubunga bwa tute	ubunga bwa tute
24	mealie powder	ubunga bwa nyanje	ubunga bwa mataba	ubunga bwa mataba
25	radio	icilimba ifilimba (pl.)	icilimba ifilimba (pl.)	icilimba ifilimba (pl.)
26	basket made of bamboo	umuseke imiseke (pl.)	icipe icapikulwa ifipe ifyapikulwa	impupo
27	door	iciibi ifiibi (pl.)	iciibi ifiibi (pl.)	iciibi, ifiibi (pl.) iciseko, ifiseko (pl.)
28	clay pot for storing water	umutondo imitondo (pl.)	umutondo imitondo (pl.)	umutondo imitondo (pl.)
29	pot	umupika imipika (pl.)	umupika imipika (pl.)	umwipika imiipika (pl.)
30	axe	isembe amasembe (pl.)	isembe amasembe (pl.)	isembe amasembe (pl.)

31	clay pot for cooking	inongo	inongo	inongo
32	key	ulufungulo imfungulo (pl)	ulufungulo imfungulo (pl)	ulufungulo imfungulo (pl)
33	relish	umunani	umunani	umunani
34	bread	umukate imikate (pl.)	umukate imikate (pl.)	umukate imikate (pl.)
35	milk	umukaka, ishiba	umukaka	umukaka
36	sauce made from peanut butter	umusweswe	umusweswe	umukwelu umusweswe
37	cooking oil	amafuta ya kwipikila	amafuta ya kwipikilia	amafuta ya kwipikila
38	fire place	ishiko amashiko (pl.)	ishiko amashiko (pl.)	ishiko amashiko (pl.)
39	bottle	umusukupala imisukupala (pl.)	umusukupala imisukupala (pl.)	umusukupala imisukupala (pl.)
40	fire wood	ulukuni inkuni (pl.)	ulukuni inkuni (pl.)	ulukuni inkuni (pl.)
41	cup	inkomaki	inkomaki	inkomaki
42	umbrella	umwamfuli imyamfuli (pl.)	umwamfuli imyamfuli (pl.)	umwamfuli imyamfuli (pl.)

43	fire	umulilo	umulilo	umulilo
44	needle	inyeleti; akeela; inshindano	inshindano; inyeleti	inshindano; inyeleti; akabililo
45	toothbrush	umuswaki imiswa (pl.)	umuswaki imiswa (pl.)	umuswaki imiswa (pl.)
46	scissors	makashi	mukashi	mukashi
47	bicycle	incinga amacinga (pl.)	injinga/ amajinga(pl)	injinga amajinga (pl.)
48	verandah	ulukungu ulukolo	ulukungu inkungu (pl.)	ulukungu/ ulukolo
49	sitting room	umuputule wa kutushishamo	pakati ka ng'anda	umuputule wa kutushishamo
50	peanut butter	icikonko	icimpondwa	icimpondwa
51	honey	ubuci	ubuci	ubuci
52	neck tie	inkoolo	inkoolo	inkoolo
53	television set	icitunshitunshi	icitunshitunshi	icitunshitunshi
54	mush	inshima ubwali	inshima ubwali	ubwali
55	sandal	indyato/inkwabilo	indyato/ inkwabilo	indyato/ inkwabilo
56	ring	imbalamina	inindamina	imbalamina

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS AND BIRDS – RELATED TERMS

No.	ENGLISH	STANDARD BEMBA	LUUNDA	DUMBO
1	chicken	inkoko	inkoko	inkoko
2	hen	inkoko iikota	inkoko iikota	inkoko iikota
3	cock	mukolwe	mukolwe	mukolwe
4	cattle	ijombe	ijombe	ijombe
5	pig	inkumba	inkumba	inkumba
6	dog	imbwa	imbwa	imbwa
7	goat	imbushi	imbushi	imbushi
8	cat	cona/ pushi	pusi	pusi
9	sheep	impanga	impanga	impanga
10	duck	imbata	icibata ifibata (pl.)	icibata ifibata (pl.)
11	pigeon/ dove	inkunda	inkunda	inkunda
12	guinea fowl	ikanga amakanga (pl.)	ikanga amakanga (pl.)	ikanga amakanga (pl.)
13	rabit/ hare	kalulu	kalulu	kalulu

HUMAN BODY PARTS-RELATED TERMS

No.	ENGLISH	STANDARD BEMBA	LUUNDA	DUMBO
1	hair	umushishi	imisisi	imisisi
2	head	umutwe imitwe (pl.)	umutwe imitwe (pl.)	umutwe imitwe (pl.)
3	face	impumi	impumi	impumi
4	chin	akalefulefu utulefulefu (pl.)	akatelefu ututelefu (pl.)	akanefu utunefu (pl.)
5	lip	umulomo imilomo (pl.)	umulomo imilomo (pl.)	umulomo imilomo (pl.)
6	tongue	ululimi indimi (pl.)	ululimi indimi (pl.)	ululimi indimi (pl.)
7	tooth	iliino ameeno (pl.)	iliino ameeno (pl.)	iliino ameeno (pl.)
8	skin	inkanda	inkanda	inkanda
9	neck	umukoshi imikoshi (pl.)	umukoshi imikoshi (pl.)	umukoshi imikoshi (pl.)
10	breast	ibele amabele (pl.)	ibele amabele (pl.)	ibele amabele (pl.)
11	nose	umoona imyona (pl.)	umoona imyona (pl.)	umoona imyona (pl.)
12	stomach	icifu, ifufu (pl.)	ifumo	ifumo

13	mouth	akanwa	akanwa	akanwa
14	chest	icifuba ififuba (pl.)	icifuba ififuba (pl.)	icifuba ififuba (pl.)
15	ear	ukutwi amatwi (pl.)	ukutwi amatwi (pl.)	ukutwi amatwi (pl.)
16	eye	ilinso ameenso (pl.)	ilinso ameenso (pl.)	ilinso ameenso (pl.)
17	gum	iciponshi ifiponshi (pl.)	iciponshi ifiponshi (pl.)	iciponshi ifiponshi (pl.)
18	cheek	isaya amasaya (pl.)	itobo/isaya amatobo (pl.)	isaya amasaya (pl.)
19	thigh	itanta amatanta (pl.)	itanta amatanta (pl.)	itanta amatanta (pl.)
20	hip	ulutungu intungu (pl.)	ulutungu intungu (pl.)	ulutungu intungu (pl.)
21	calf (of leg)	ulusafu insafu (pl.)	ulusafu insafu (pl.)	ulusafu insafu (pl.)
22	leg	ukuulu amoolu (pl.)	ukuulu amoolu (pl.)	ukuulu amoolu (pl.)
23	foot	ulukasa inkasa (pl.)	ulukasa inkasa (pl.)	ulukasa inkasa (pl.)
24	toe	icikondo	icikondo	icikondo

		ifikondo (pl.)	ifikondo (pl.)	ifikondo (pl.)
25	finger nail	ulwala ingala (pl.)	ilyala amaala (pl.)	ilyala amaala (pl.)
26	finger	umunwe iminwe (pl.)	umunwe iminwe (pl.)	umunwe iminwe (pl.)
27	thumb	icikumo ifikumo (pl.)	icinkumwa ifinkumwa (pl.)	icinkumya ifinkumya (pl.)
28	first finger	inkofola musunga cisontabantu	inkompola musungu	inkompola musungu
29	armpit	ukwapa amaapa (pl.)	ukwapa amaapa (pl.)	ukwapa amaapa (pl.)
30	shoulder	ukubeya amabeya (pl.)	icipeeya ifipeeya (pl.)	icipeeya ifipeeya
31	back	inuma	inuma	inuma
32	backbone	umongololo imingololo (pl.)	umungolo imingololo (pl.)	umungolokoto imingolokoto (pl.)
33	eye lid	icipa ca palinso/ icikumbi ca linso	icipenipeni ifipenipeni (pl.)	icipenipeni ifipenipeni (pl.)
34	eye lashes	ulukopyo inkopyo (pl.)	ulukopyo inkopyo (pl.)	ulukopyo inkopyo (pl.)
35	waist	umusana imisana (pl.)	umusana imisana (pl.)	umusana imisana (pl.)

36	occipital bone/ back of head	ulukobo/ akantembwa	ulukobo/ akantembwa	ulukobo inkobo (pl.)
37	a physical obstruction on the eye	icibubi	icibubi	icibubi
38	second finger	munwe nkalamba/ umunwe wa pakati	umunwe nkalamba	umunwe wa pakati
39	third finger	cikonka ka ntengesha	cikonka kamindwa	cikonkaka- ntengesya
40	little finger	akantengesha utuntengesha (pl.)	akamindwa utumindwa (pl.)	akantengesya/ akamindwa
41	hand	icisansa ifisansa (pl.)	icisansa ifisansa (pl.)	icisansa ifisansa (pl.)
42	heel	icitende ca lukasa	akashinsili utushinsili (pl.)	akashinsili utushinsili (pl.)
43	ankle	inkolokoso	ulusokoso	inkolokoso
44	arm	ukuboko amaboko (pl.)	ukuboko amaboko (pl.)	ukuboko amaboko (pl.)
45	elbow	inkonkoni/ icikubukubu	akaboyo utuboyo (pl.)	akaboyo utuboyo (pl.)
46	knee	ikufi amakufi (pl.)	ikufi amakufi (pl.)	ikufi amakufi (pl.)

KINSHIP – RELATED TERMS

N O.	ENGLISH	STANDARD BEMBA	LUUNDA	DUMBO
1	family	ulupwa uluko	ulupwa (uluko)	ulupwa uluko
2	grandfather	shikulu	shikulu	shikulu
3	grandmother	maama	maama	maama
4	father	taata	taata	taata
5	mother	mayo	mayo	mayo
6	son	umwana umwaume	umwana umwaume	umwana umwaume
7	daughter	umwana umwanakasi	umwana umwanakasi	umwana umwanakasi
8	cousin	umufyala	umufyala	umufyala
9	nephew	umwipwa umwaume	umwipwa umwaume	umwipwa umwaume
10	niece	umwipwa umwanakashi	umwipwa umwanakasi	umwipwa umwanakasi
11	brother	munyina	munyina, wesu	wesu, munyina
12	sister	inkashi	inkasi	inkasi
13	elder brother	munyina mukalamba	umukalamba wandi umwaume	munyina nkalamba
14	elder sister	inkashi nkalamba	umukalamba wandi umwanakasi	bankasi yandi nkalamba
15	younger brother	munyina mwaice umwaume	umwaice wandi umwaume	umwaice wandi umwaume

16	younger sister	inkashi iyandi umwaice	umwaice wandi umwanakashi	umwaice wandi umwanakashi
17	paternal aunt	maayosenge	maayosenge	maayosenge
18	maternal aunt	maayo mukalamba/mwaice	maayo mukalamba/mwaice	maayo mukalamba/mwaice
19	paternal uncle	taata mukalamba/ mwaice	taata mukalamba/ mwaice	taata mukalamba/ mwaice
20	wife	umukashi	umukashi	umukashi
21	husband	umulume lumbwe	umulume	umulume
22	grandson	umwishikulu mwaume	umwisikulu mwaume	umwisikulu mwaume
23	granddaughter	umwishikulu mwanakashi	umwisikulu mwanakasi	umwisikulu mwanakasi
24	brother-in law	bukwe/mulamu mwaume	bukwe/mulamu mwaume	mulamu umwaume
25	sister-in law	bukwe/ mulamu mwanakashi	bukwe/ mulamu mwanakasi	mulamu mwanakasi
26	father-in law	taatafyala amako	taatafyala; amakoyaume; abapongosi baume	taatafyala; abapongosi abaume
27	mother- inlaw	maayofyala amako	maayofyala amakoyanakasi	maayofyala, abapongosi abanakasi
28	great grandson	icishikulula caume	icishikululwa caume	icishikululwa caume

29	great granddaughter	icishikulula canakashi	icishikululwa canakasi	icishikululwa canakasi
30	maternal uncle	yaama	yaama	yaama
31	brother-in marriage	cufi mwaume cufi munandi	cufi mwaume	cufi mwaume
32	sister-in law	cufi mwanakashi cufi munandi	cufi mwanakasi	cufi mwanakasi
33	descendant	uluko	abana kufyalwa	abana ba cibwela
34	totem	umukowa imikowa	umukowa imikowa (pl.)	umukowa imikowa (pl.)
35	ancestors/ forefather (s)	icikolwe ifikolwe (pl.)	icikolwe ifikolwe (pl.)	icikolwe ifikolwe (pl.)
36	fiancée	nkobekela	nkobekela	nkobekela
37	parent (s)	umufyashi abafyashi	umufyasi abafyasi (pl.)	umufyasi abafyasi (pl.)
38	child (ren)	umwana abaana (pl.)	umwana abaana (pl.)	umwana abaana (pl.)
39	fiancé	lumbwe	lumbwe	lumbwe
40	father	taata	taata	taata

AGRICULTURE – RELATED TERMS

NO.	ENGLISH	STANDARD BEMBA	LUUNDA	DUMBO
1	maize	inyanje (amataba)	amataba (icitonga)	amataba
2	cassava (manioc)	kalundwe	tute	tute kalundwe
3	sugarcane	icisali	icisali	icisali icisakonde
4	sweet potato	icumbu	icumbu (kandolo)	icumbu kandolo
5	irish potatoes	imbatata	imbatatisi	icilasi
6	pumpkin	icipushi	icipusi	icipusi
7	millet	amale	amale	amale
8	sorghum	amasaka	amasaka	amasaka
9	cocoa yap	icilungwa	icilungwa	icilungwa
10	guava	ipeela	ipeela	ipeela
11	banana	inkonde	inkonde	inkonde
12	pumpkin leaves	cibwabwa	cibwabwa	cibwabwa
13	potato leaves	kalebwe	kalembula	kalembula
14	cassava leaves	katapa	katapa	katapa
15	beans	cilemba	cilemba	cilemba
16	mango	yembe	umwembe	umwembe

17	bean leaves	cimpapila	cinkamba	cimpapila
18	cucumber	icibimbi	icibimbi	icibimbi
19	water melon	icibimbi ca cisungu	icibilika	icikabi
20	tomato	matimati	matimati	mantimanti
21	onion	kanyense	kanyense	kanyense
22	monkey nuts	insunsami	intoyo; inkalanga insunsami	intoyo inkalanga insunsami
23	groundnuts	imbalala	imbalala	imbalala
24	cowpeas	ilanda	ilanda	ilanda
25	rice	umupunga	umupunga	umupungu
26	orange	icungwa amacungwa (pl.)	icungwa amacungwa (pl.)	icungwa amacungwa (pl.)
27	lemon	kantu ilindimu	indium	indimu
28	pawpaw	ipapayo	ipapao	ipapau
29	wheat	ijanu	ingano	inganu
30	pepper/ hot chillis	impilipili	impilipili	impilipili
31	marrow/ gourd	umungu imyungu (pl.)	umungu imyungu (pl.)	umungu imyungu (pl.)
32	palm tree (grown for oil)	ingashi	ingasi	ingasi

33	sunflower	ilubalyakasuba	ilubalyakasuba	ilubalyakasuba
34	pineapple	icinanashi ifinanashi (pl.)	icinanasi ifinanasi (pl.)	icinanasi ifinanasi (pl.)
35	castor bean	ulumono imono (pl.)	ulumono imono (pl.)	ulumono imono (pl.)
36	vegetables	musalu	musalu	musalu
37	fertiliser	umufundo	umufundo	umufundo
38	seed	ulubuto imbuto (pl.)	ulubuto imbuto (pl.)	ulubuto imbuto (pl.)
39	cowpea leaves	kaceesha	sonsolo	sonsolo
40	marrow/ gourd leaves	lungulungu	lungulungu	lungulungu
41	crop	icisabo icilimwa	icilimwa, icisabo	icisabo, icilimwa
42	bundle of banana	musemo(wa nkonde)	umuswa wankonde	umuswa wankonde
43	sow	ukubyala	ukubyala	ukubyala

FISHING – RELATED TERMS (adopted from Fisheries Board of Lake Bangweulu)

N O.	ENGLISH	STANDARD BEMBA	LUUNDA	DUMBO
1	fish	isabi	isabi	isabi
2	canoe	ubwato amaato (pl.)	ubwato amaato (pl.)	ubwato amaato (pl.)
3	oar	inkafi	inkafi	inkafi
4	fishing camp	–	inkambi	imitanda yabapalu
5	fishing basket	ulwanga	intende ulwanga	ulwanga
6	fishing net	isumbu amasumbu (pl.)	ubukonde amakonde (pl.)	isumbu amasumbu (pl.)
7	floaters (s) on a fishing net	ikoloko amakoloko (pl.)	ikoloko amakoloko (pl.)	ikoloko amakoloko (pl.)
8	fishing hook	indobo	indobani	indobani
9	fisherman	umulondo wesabi	umusila umupalu we sabi	umupalu we sabi umulondo
10	rope/ bark fibre string	umwando	umwando	umwando
11	a passage made by movement of a canoe on the vegetative portion of water	–	inkumba	inkumba

12	a plate used to bail water out of a canoe or a boat	–	icipilo ifipilo (pl.)	icipililo ifipililo (pl.)
13	a fisherman's helper	–	umutyana abatyana (pl.)	umuswa abaswa (pl.)
14	roasted fresh fish	–	iciloli ifiloli (pl.)	umusomo imisomo (pl.)
15	a long dry bamboo used to push a canoe or a boat on the water	–	umubando imibando (pl.)	umubale imibale (pl.)
16	catching fish by using fishing baskets	ukwela	ukusenga ukwela	ukwela ukusaya
17	catching fish using fishing hooks	ukuloba	ukuloba	ukuloba
18	hooks on the rope used to catch fish	–	ingoshi	intanti
19	bait	lyambi	icambi ifyambi (pl.)	icambo ifyambo (pl.)
20	fish trap	umoono	umoono imyono (pl.)	umoono imyono (pl.)
21	spear	ifumo amafumo (pl.)	umusumbo ifumo	myela umusumbo

22	leaves used to poison fish in order to catch them	ububa	ububa	ububa
23	sein net (used to catch fish)	—	umukwau cosa	umukwau
24	green-headed bream	—	pale	cilelya nkamba
25	cat fish clatius gariepinus	umuta imita (pl.)	umuta imita (pl.)	umuta imita (pl.)
26	clarias theodora (small bubble fish)	umulonge	umulonge	umulonge
27	bottlenose/ sheephead (mormyrus longilostris)	—	ulububu	ulububu
28	humpback bream tylochromis bangwelensis	—	ulutembwa	insangula
29	cornish jack mormyrops deliciosus	—	umulobe	lombolombo
30	tigerfish (hydrocinus vittatus)	—	imanda	insanga
31	thin-faced bream		makobo	polwe

	(serranochromis angusticeps)	–		
32	sun-dried opened fish	–	icipate	musama
33	torpedo robber (alestes macrophthalmus)	–	umusebele, umubanse	ulumanse, imanse
34	yellow-belly bream (serranochromis robustus)	–	insukwi	insuku, umuliba
35	ctenopoma multisipinis	–	inkomo	inkomo
36	banded bream (tilapia sparrmani)	–	cituku	cituku
37	petrocephalus catastom.	–	cise	cise
38	barbs spp2	–	umumbulwe	umumbulwe
39	synodonits nigromaculatus	–	bongwe	bongo cinyimba kalakwe
40	schilbe mystus	–	impata	impata
41	heterobranchus longifilis	–	sampa	sampa
42	chrysichthysmabusi	–	akabombola	imfusu

43	leech	umusundu	umunsundu	umusundu
44	floods (innundation)	ilyeshi	ulubundo	ilyeshi
45	to wade	ukutubula	ukukubula	ukutofola
46	harbour/ a place where boats/ canoes are landed	icabu	icabu	peeswe
47	river	umumana	umumana	umumana
48	lake	beemba	beemba	beemba
49	crocodile	ijwena	icibokolo	ijwena

MISCELLANEOUS – GROUP TERMS

NO.	ENGLISH	STANDARD BEMBA	LUUNDA	DUMBO
1	deaf person	nkoma-matwi	nkomya-matwi	nkomya-matwi
2	dumb person	cibulu	cibulu	cibulu
3	nail	umusomali	umusumali	umusumali
4	dissolve	ukusunguluka	ukusungulika	ukusungulika
5	bird	icuuni	icooni	icooni
6	cause to drink	ukunwesha	ukunwisya	ukunwisya
7	to drown	ukunwena	ukunwina	ukunwina
8	drum	ijoma	ijoma	ijoma
9	papyrus	uluko	uluko	uluko
10	a pad on which a load rests on the head, etc	ijana	ijana	ijana
11	apex of a roof	akasonshi insonshi	insonsi	akasonsi

12	verandah	ulukungu; ulukolo	ulukungu	ulukungu mumbali ya ng'anda
13	wealth	icuuma	icuuma	icuuma
14	sitting room	umuputule wakutushishapo	pakati ng'anda	umuputule wakutushishamo
15	pile/heap	umwina imiina (pl.)	umupili imipili (pl.)	umwina umupili (pl.)
16	bundle	umwanshi/ icifinga	umupo(wacani) icikako (cankuni)	umwansi
17	driver	namutekenya	namutekenya	namutekenya
18	tie (verb)	ukukaka ukufyenta ukwamfya	ukukaka; ukufyenta	ukukaka ukufyenta
19	shade	icintelelwe	icintelelwe icimfute	icintelelwe
20	shadow	icinshingwa	icinshingwa	icinshingwa
21	suckle/ breastfeed	ukoonsha	ukoonsya	ukoonsya
22	visitor	umweni umutandashi	umweni	umweni
23	begin/ start	ukutendeka ukutampa ukwamba	ukutendeka ukutampa ukwamba	ukutendeka ukutampa ukwamba

		ukubala; ukubalilapo	ukubala; ukubalilapo	ukubala; ukubalilapo
24	provoke	ukusonsomba ukubala; ukubalamuna ukutala; ukutampa ukutendeka	ukusonsomba ukubala; ukubalamuna ukutala; ukutampa ukutendeka	ukusonsomba ukubala; ukubalamuna ukutala; ukutampa ukutendeka
25	wake up/ rise get up	ukubuuka; ukwima; ukushibuka	ukubuuka; ukwima; ukusibuka	ukubuuka; ukwima; ukusibuka
26	to turn something round or inside out	ukupilibula ukufukula ukusenamuna	ukupilibula ukufukula ukusenamuna	ukupilibula uku fukula ukusenamuna
27	dizziness giddiness	ulunshingwa ulunshingu ulunshungu	ulunshingwa	ulunshingwa
28	mania for prying into other people's business	ulunsokoto ulufwaila	ulukutikila	ulunkutikila
29	split into thin lats	ukulepula ukusanta ukupandaula ukutanta	ukulepula ukusanta ukutanta ukupandaula	ukulepula ukutanta ukupandaula ukusantaula

30	no	aawe nakalya iyoo	aawe nakalya iyoo	aawe nakalya nakana wapi
31	mix;blend	ukupatinkanya ukutobenkanya	ukupatankanya ukutobenkanya ukusankanya	ukusankanya ukupatankanya ukutobenkanya
32	be happy/ contented	ukutemwa; ukwanga ukucankwa; ukusekela ukusansamuka ukubekwa; ukupanapana	ukutemwa; ukusekela ukucankwa; ukusansamuka ukubekwa; ukupanapana	ukutemwa; ukusekela ukucankwa; ukusansamuka ukubekwa;
33	gather/ crowd	ukutulumana ukulongana ukukolongana	ukutulumana ukulongana ukukolongana	ukulongana ukukolongana
34	forgetfulness	icilafi	icilafi	icilafi
35	rainbow	umukolamfula	umukolamfula	umukolamfula
36	agreement/ contract	icipangano	icipangano	icipangano
37	beloved person/ one	umutemwikwa umutemwishi	umutemwikwa umutemwisi	umutemwikwa umutemwisi
38	envoy/ messenger	inkombe,	inkombe,	inkombe,

		intumi	intumi	intumi
39	obedience	ubupete icumfwila ukubela	ubupete icumfwila ukubela	icumfwila ukubela
40	tradition	icishilano ifishilano (pl.)	icisilano ifisilano (pl.)	icisilano ifisilano (pl.)
41	well (noun)	icisima ifisima (pl.)	icisima ifisima (pl.)	icisima ifisima (pl.)
42	thing	icintu ifintu (pl.)	ikintu ifintu (pl.)	ikintu ifintu (pl.)
43	spiderweb	tandabube	tandabube	tandabube
44	chew	ukusheta	ukusyeta	ukusyeta
45	eat	ukulya	ukulya	ukulya
46	small anthill	ifwasa	ifwesa	ifwesa
47	village	umushi imishi (pl.)	umusi imisi	umusi imisi
48	beer	ubwalwa	ubwalwa	ubwalwa
49	medicine	indawa/ indawi umuti	umuti imiti (pl.)	umuti imiti (pl.)
50	time	intanga impindi inshita	insita impindi	insita impindi

51	war	inkondo ibuta ubulwi	inkondo ubulwi ubuta	inkondo ubulwi ubuta
52	cotton thread	tonge	tonge	insiko
53	lizard	mulinso	malinso	malinso
54	doctor	mujanga shing'anga	siyanga	siyanga
55	locust	makanta	makanta	makanta
56	branches of trees for the fitemene	ifisako ifibula	ifibula	ifibula ifisako
57	palace	isano	icipango	icipango
58	to be very stout; fat and short	ukufingimana ukutuntumana	ukufingimana ukutuntumana	ukuba umutuntunshi ukufingimana
59	to hide oneself	ukufisama ukubelama	ukufisama ukubelama	ukufisama ukubelama
60	road	umusebo imisebo (pl.)	umusebo imisebo (pl.)	umusebo imisebo (pl.)
61	traveller	umulendo abalendo (pl.)	umulendo abalendo (pl.)	umulendo abalendo (pl.)
62	firefly	akabeshamulilo	akantemya	akantemya
63	again	kabili kabinge	kabili kabinge	kabili

64	last born	kabinda kasuli	kabinda kasuli	kabinda kasuli
65	thief	umugo impupu pompwe lalankwibe	umugo umupupu pompwe lalankwibe	umugo mutongo mukukulu pompwe lalankwibe
66	shepherd	kacema kakumba	kacema kakumba	kacema kakumba
67	quickly	bwangu bwangu	bwangu bwangu	bwangu bwangu
68	so and so	kantwa; ntwen kampanda, ntwani ntwenokane	kantwa; ntwen kampanda, ntwani ntwenokane	kantwa; ntwen kampanda ntwani
69	liar	wabufi kapupilisha kacilafilingo macelecese	wabufi kapupilisya kacilafilingo	wabufi; matetaula makesaule kacilafilingo
70	village headman	mwinemushi	mwinemusi umukulu waa mushi	umukulu wa musu
71	hunter	fundi umulunshi	umulunsi fundi	fundi umulunsi

72	gun	imfuti	imfuti	imfuti
73	trap (for rats)	akaliba	akaliba	akaliba akampanika
74	chief's constable	kapaso	kapaso	kapaso
75	baby	akanya akacece	akanya akacece	akanya akacece
76	hiccup	ntifu ntiku	mundiku mundikundiku	mundikundiku
77	diminish	ukutuba ukucepelako	ukucepelako ukutuba	ukupopa ukucepelako
78	sneeze (noun)	ulupasu ulutesu	ulutesu	ulutasu ulutesu
79	greatly	apakalamba sana, apakulu nganshi	apakalamba, apakalamba- ngansi	sana, nganshi, apakalamba, apakulu
80	sew	bila	bila	bila
81	a pair oftongs	ulumano	icimano	icimanto
82	pimple	ulufine akapumba	ulufine	ulufine
83	start/ be startled	ukutilimuka ukwebeka	ukutulumuka ukwebeka	ukutulumuka ukwebeka

84	rodent that lives in plains	ifutu	ifutu	isesi
85	motorcycle	mpumpumpu	mpumpumpu icitukutuku	icitukutuku
86	bamboo	imishembe	insengu	insengu
87	temporary storage structure	umukuta	umukuta	umusakuta wa kusungilamo
88	mosquito	muḡwīḡwi lubwibwi	akalamba akabwibwi	akosu utusu (pl.)
89	people with similar ideas or beliefs	ulukuta	ulukuta	ulukuta
90	path	inshila	inshila akalolo	akalolo
91	road	umusebo	umusebo	umusebo
92	scream or shout for help	kutamutule obola	kuta mutule obola; punda mutule	punda mutule
93	hospital	icipatala	icipatala icipatela	icipatala
94	shrill cries of welcome, joy or jubilation	utupundu	utupundu	utupundu
95	blacksmith	kafula	kafula	kafula

		mufushi	mufushi	
96	orphan	ndelwa Kashiwa	umwanawansiwa	umwanawansiwa
97	to heal	ukundapa ukuposha	ukundapa ukuposha	ukundapa
98	to handle with care; bind loosely	ukuyeyekesha ukunenekela ukutentemba	ukunenekela ukutentemba	ukunenekela ukutentemba
99	agree; come to an understanding; reconcile	ukumfwana ukuwikishanya	ukumfwana ukuwikisyanya ukubwesyanya	ukubwesyanya ukumfwana
100	pull up	ukutupula ukunukula	ukutupula ukunukula	ukunukula
101	twigs of dry wood	tusansu tubabankoko	tusansu	tusanshi
102	Sneeze (v.)	ukutesemuna ukutesula	ukutesemuna ukutesula	ukutesula
103	get lower; bend down, stoop	ukwinama ukukokako ukufuukako	ukwinama ukufuukako ukukokako	ukufuukako
104	pay a visit	ukutandala ukupempula	ukutandala ukupempula	ukutandala ukupempula
105	civet-cat	sumbwe	impaka	impaka

		impaka		
106	a rattling instrument used for evocating spirits	polopopwe lukusu	umunsakai	umunsakai
107	be worm-eaten or full of weevils	ukusumpwa ukupesa	ukusumpwa ukupesa	ukupeswa ukusumpwa
108	peck	ukusoba ukusompa ukukompa	ukusoba ukusompa ukukompa ukusonsobola	ukusonsobola ukusoba
109	debts; borrowed goods	imisha inkongole	imisha inkongole	inkongole imisha
110	avoid a blow or missile	ukuleya ukuleluka	ukuleya ukuleluka	ukuleya ukusempuka ukuleluka
111	climb	ukukwela ukunina	ukukwela ukunina	ukunina ukukwela
112	a coward; a chicken hearted person	kuuwe camwenso bebele	kuuwe camwenso	kuuwe camwenso
113	sea eagle	cembe nkwashi	cembe lubambe	cembe lubambe
114	craving for meat; lust	icikasha bukasha	icikasha	inkasha
115	drunkard	cikolwa	cakolwa	cakolwa

		inkoleshi cakolwa		
116	to cut down	ukutema	ukutema	ukutema

APENDIX B

USE OF TONE

Some examples of words carrying the same tone in STDB, L and D

- (i) a. isémbé ‘axe’ b. ùmwándo ‘rope’ c. infúmu ‘chief’
d. ulukásá ‘foot’ e. inkwábílo ‘sandals’ f. ibúmba ‘crowd’
g. úkwélá ‘catching fish’ h. ífwesa ‘small anthill’ i. íbumba ‘clay’
j. ukwéla ‘winnowing’ k. tandabúbe ‘cobweb’ l. akápangá ‘bush’
m. ínkombé ‘emissary’ n. íyandá ‘house’ o. ákapángá ‘small lamb’
p. úbwalwá ‘beer’ q. inshíla ‘path’ r. umúténgo ‘price’
s. umwándo ‘rope’ t. umúsebó ‘road’ u. úmuténgo ‘forest’
v. beembá ‘lake’ w. bémba ‘language’
- (ii) a. icílúmwálúmwa ‘royal dance’ b. umúmána ‘river’ c. úkulúká ‘to vomit’
d. icínkwasá ‘royal dance’ e. ícishíma ‘well’ (STDB) f. ukúlúká ‘to plait hair’
g. úmondó ‘talking drum’ h. umúsélo ‘Hammock’ i. umútómbokó ‘royal dance’
j. icínkumbí ‘wooden drum’ k. ináma ‘bend’ l. kontámá ‘bend the neck’
m. itába ‘maize’ n. kumúkoló ‘name of a place’ o. isábí ‘fish’
p. ítába ‘answer the call’ q. inámá ‘animal’ r. amátò ‘canoes’
s. amákólokó ‘floaters’ t. ícisíma ‘well’ (L,D) u. áamáátó ‘canoe/boat’

APENDIX C

Subjunctive Mood

The expressions in bold writing in the second table illustrate the differences between STDB, on the one hand, and L and D, on the other. The sections where there is no bold writing show the similarities between the dialects under study.

TABLE on Subjunctive Moods: Standard Bemba.

TENSE	ASPECT	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Present/Hodiernal Future	punctual	beese ‘they should come’	beisa ‘they should not come’
	progressive	baleeisa ‘they should be coming’	belaaisa they should not be coming’
Posthodiernal Future	punctual	bakeese ‘they should come’	bekeesa ‘they should not come’
	progressive	bakaleeisa ‘they should be coming’	bekalaaisa ‘they should not be coming’
Present/ Hodiernal future	punctual	beese ‘they should come’	beisa ‘they must not come’
	habitual	baleeisa ‘they should be coming’	belaaisa ‘they should not be coming’
Posthodiernal Future	punctual	bakalye ‘they should eat’	bekalya ‘they should not eat’
	habitual	bakaleelya ‘they should be eating’	bekalaalya ‘they should not be eating’

TABLE on Subjunctive Mood: Luunda and Dumbo

TENSE	ASPECT	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Present/Hodiernal Future	Panctual	beese ‘they should come’	beisa ‘they should n’t come’
	progressive	bakooisa/baleekwisa ‘they should be coming’	belaakwisa they shouldn’t be coming’
Posthodiernal Future	Panctual	bakeese ‘they should come’	bekeesa ‘they should not come’
	progressive	bakaleekwisa ‘they should be coming’	bekalaakwisa ‘they should not be coming’
Present/ Hodiernal future	Panctual	beese ‘they should come’	beisa ‘they must not come’
	Habitual	bakooisa/baleekwisa ‘they should be coming’	belaakwisa ‘they should not be coming’
Posthodiernal Future	Panctual	bakalye ‘they should eat’	bekalya ‘they should not eat’
	Habitual	bakaleekulya ‘they should be eating’	bekalaakulya ‘they should not be eating’

APENDIX D

The verb to be in all the dialects under study is the same

Pro – a – li	Past tense	Negative
a. n – a – li → nali	‘I was’	nshali ‘I wasn’t’
b. u – a – li → wali	‘you were’	tawali ‘you weren’t’
c. a – a – li → aali	‘she was’	taali ‘she wasn’t’
d. mu – a – li → mwali	‘you were’	tamwali ‘you weren’t’
e. ba – a – li → baali	‘they were’	tabaali ‘they weren’t’
f. ci – a – li → cali	‘it was’	tacali ‘it wasn’t’
g. fi – a – li → fyali	‘they were’	tafyali ‘they weren’t’
h. ku – a – li → kwali	‘there was/were’	takwali ‘there wasn’t/ weren’t’
i. pa – a – li → paali	‘there were /was’	tapaali ‘there wasn’t/ weren’t’
j. mu – a – li → mwali	‘there was/were’	tamwali ‘there wasn’t/ weren’t’

A few example sentences with verb ‘to be’ are given below:

k. nalipa Nsagaluba school uyu mwaka ‘I was at Nsagaluba school last year.’

l. walikwi masoshi? ‘where were you the other day?’

m. twali pa Salanga bonse ‘we were together at Salanga.’

n. mwali abantu mwa kashiba ‘there were hundreds of people in kashiba.’

o. abana bakalamba baalikwi? ‘where were the big children?’

Pro – aci – ba	PAST TENSE	NEGATIVE
a. n – aci – ba → naciba kwisano	‘I was at the palace’	nshaciba ‘I wasn’t’
b. u – aci – ba → waciba kwi?	‘where were you?’	tawaciba ‘you weren’t’
c. a – aci – ba → aaciba muno	‘she was in here’	taciba ‘she wasn’t’

d. mu – a – aci – ba → mwaciba ukutali ‘you were far.’ tamwaciba ‘you weren’t’

= mwacibookutali ‘you were far away’ tamwaciba ‘you weren’t’ –

e. tu – aci – ba → twaciba kumusumba ‘we were at the palace’ tatwacibawe ‘we weren’t’

f. ba – aci – ba → baaciba kunuma ‘they were behind’ tabaaciba ‘they weren’t’

Pro – li

PRESENT

NEGATIVE

gva. n – li → ndi ‘I’m’ nshili ‘I am not.’

b. u – li → uli kwi? ‘where are you?’ tauli ‘you aren’t.’

c. a – li → alikunuma ‘she is behind’ tali ‘he isn’t.’

d. tu li → tuli fye ‘we are alright’ tatuli ‘we aren’t.’

TABLE on Verb to be (continued)

	PRESENT: Pro – ka – ba	PRESENT: gloss	NEGATIVE
(a)	n – ka – ba → nkaba kwa Kabundafyela School uyu mulungu.	I will be at Kabundafyela School next week.	nshakabe kwa Kabundafyela School uyu mulungu ‘I will not be at Kabundafyela School next week.’
(b)	u – ka – ba → ukaba pa St. Clement’s ngawakwata amatoni ayapamulu.	you will be at St. Clement’s Secondary school if you score high marks.	tawakabe pa St. Clement’s ngataukwete amatoni ayasuma ‘you will not be at St. Clements Secondary School if you don’t score high marks.’
(c)	tu – ka – ba → tukaba nankwe kwisano kwa Chitimukulu.	we shall be with her at Chitimukulu’s Palace.	tatwakabe nankwe kwisano kwa Chitimukulu ‘we shall not be with her at Chitimukulu’s Palace.’

(d)	mu – ka – ba → mukaba abengi.	you will be many.	tamwakabe abengi ‘you will not be many.’
(e)	ci – ka – ba → cikaba icansansa nga napwisha aya masambililo	it will be gratifying if I complete this Master’s Programme.	tacakabe icansansa nganshipwile aya masambililo ‘it will not be gratifying if I don’t complete this Master’s Programme.’