

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TONGA AND ILA**

**BY**

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## APPROVAL

This Dissertation of Harriet Hambizi is approved as fulfilling in 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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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my family; my children, Munachoonga, Mulundumina and Chuuzha Kandundwe, whom I gave little attention to during the time of the studies. I entirely did this for you! My mother, Esther Muzyamba and father, Benia Hambizi, for their unconditional love, guidance and mentorship, that have helped me to get to this point. To my brothers and sisters who are too many to mention, your unwavering support has awarded you all the best positions in my heart.

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## ABSTRACT

This study investigated some linguistic variations of the two languages namely, Ila spoken in Namwala, Itezhi-Tezhi, Mumbwa districts in the central parts of Zambia and Tonga spoken in Gwembe, Sinazongwe and Maamba districts in the southern and central parts of Zambia. The aim of the study was to establish the linguistic variations and similarities in terms of the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical parameters between the two languages under study. The data were collected using qualitative method. It was collected through using the eight informants. Four were from Namwala District in Maala and banamwaze areas. The other four informants were from Sinazongwe, Maamba and Gwembe Districts in Southern province. Participants were given lists of words and sentences in English each one of them. They were asked to provide the equivalents in each given language. Data from Tonga were provided through the researcher's intuition being a first language speaker. The Data was verified by three other speakers of Tonga as first language. Ila was provided through the Native speakers of the language and was verified by the other two speakers of Ila as first language. Introspection was also used as the researcher is conversant with Ila. Furthermore, the Data were then recorded on digital recorder and later were transcribed. The researcher used a notebook to record words and sentences that were captured by observations. The data analysis of all the data collected was conducted in line with the objectives of the study of the two languages. Thereafter, the findings were analysed and later interpreted according to the levels of linguistic analysis applied in the study. The major findings of the study were that Tonga manifested variations and similarities at various levels of linguistic analysis in relation to Ila. There are few differences between Ila spoken in Namwala and Tonga spoken in Maamba, Gwembe and Sinazongwe districts. In addition, the study found that there were lexical differences exhibited among the two languages, followed by syntactic and phonological variations which were found to be few between the two languages. Tonga and Ila shared more similarities in terms of their morphological structure and lexical. Among others, one of the major recommendations made was that a large scale study, beyond the current one on comparative of Tonga and Ila languages be carried out in order to include other languages from Lake Tanganyika and Zimbabwe so that the conclusions to be made would be based on all forms of the Tonga and Ila languages therefore.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 General overview**

This study is a comparative one. It seeks to compare Tonga (M64) and Ila (M63) languages. Therefore, the current chapter introduces the study in which the two languages are compared from a linguistic point of view. The chapter begins by providing a background to the study and moves on to present the statement of the problem.

#### **1.1 Background to Tonga and Ila**

Tonga is one of the Bantu languages spoken in the Southern and some parts of Central Provinces of Zambia. It is also spoken in some parts of Zimbabwe especially around the Gokwe North, Gokwe South, Nkayi, Nyaminyami and in the areas of Victoria Falls. Tonga is spoken by a Bantu ethnic group called Batonga (Guthrie, 1975:57). In the classification of Bantu languages, Tonga falls under the Bantu language family in zone M64 in the Lenje-Tonga group. Tonga language is closely related to other languages such as Ila (M63) spoken in Namwala and Itezhi-tezhi Districts, and Lenje and Sala spoken in some parts of Central Province. Therefore, there are variations at phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels between Tonga and Ila languages. It is this area that the study intends to investigate.

##### **1.1.1 The Tonga people**

As earlier pointed out, the Tonga speaking people are traditionally found in Southern province and their mainstay economic activities are farming and cattle rearing. These people speak a language called Tonga. Over the years, some Tonga speaking people have migrated to some parts of Central province, which include Mumbwa and Mkushi areas mainly for the purposes of farming. These people speak a language Tonga as a language manifests itself in two main dialects, which include Plateau and Valley Tonga. Valley Tonga is regarded as the standard dialect and it is this dialect that will be compared to Ila. There are other related dialects of Tonga, which include Toka and Leya (Ng'andu, 2022).

### **1.1.2 The Ila people**

The Ila people are the traditional inhabitants of Namwala district in Southern Province and engage mostly in cattle keeping, fishing and subsistence farming. In his account, Lisimba (1982) explains that the Ila are emphatic that their ancestral home was beside Lake Tanganyika and that there are cultural links to support this claim. It can also be added that the Ila are closely related in language and culture to their more numerous Tonga neighbors in Southern Province, which is the principal region for the Ila. These people are mainly found in Namwala, Itezhi-Tezhi and Mumbwa districts. The Ila-speaking peoples and their neighbours on all sides belong to the Bantu subdivision of the Africans, and their ancestors in remote times must have come down from the southern Sudan. It may be judged from linguistic evidence, to separate lines of immigration. The Ba-Ila in the mainstay belong to the Eastern Bantu, and came into their present domain on the crest of a wave of emigration from the north-east, from the country around the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, where the Bantu found a new mother land, a second focus and radius of development. But they have been evidently influenced by, and to some extent intermixed with, peoples of another section, which, after passing from the north-east through the Congo territory towards the west coast, curled back again towards the Centre of the continent in a south-easterly direction.

The Tonga and Ila people have similar cultures and speak languages that share certain linguistic similarities in their speech. In fact, Hachipola (1991) has argued that these two lects must have one ancestor language but undergone linguistic changes over time, which could explain the closeness of the two. However, these similarities and perhaps their differences have not been fully described at all levels of linguistic analysis in order to appreciate the extent to which the two could be said to be similar or dissimilar.

### **1.2 Statement of the problem**

There were certain observable linguistic similarities and differences between Ila and Tonga, which made some scholars such as Doke (1945) and Guthrie (1948), classify them as belonging to one language group. Other scholars that have considered such variations, such as Sibajene (2013) and Ng'andu (2022) focus on other Tonga dailects such as Valley Tonga, Plateau Tonga, Toka and Leya but did not factor in Ila in their comparative studies. Notwithstanding these

previous works by Doke and Guthrie that culminated into the classification of these two as belonging to one language group, there has never been a full description (of phonology, morphology and syntax) of the languages. Therefore, it was necessary to provide a linguistic description of the two languages in order to account for the sound, word and sentence variations between them so that their level of linguistic convergence or divergence is clearly established.

### **1.3 Aim of the study**

The aim of the study was to render a linguistic description of the Tonga and Ila languages in order to ascertain the linguistic distance between them.

### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

This study was guided by the following objectives:

- i. To describe aspects of phonological/sound variations between Tonga and Ila;
- ii. To describe some aspects of morphological/word formation variations between Tonga and Ila;
- iii. To establish the variations at word level between Tonga and Ila; and
- iv. To account for the variations of sentence construction between Tonga and Ila.

### **1.5 Research questions**

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

- (i) How do the sound systems of Ila and Tonga differ?
- (ii) What aspects of morphology/word formation processes vary between Tonga and Ila?
- (iii) What aspects of selected vocabularies of the two languages vary? and
- (iv) How are the sentences in Tonga and Ila constructed?

### **1.6 Significance of the study**

This comparative study was significant in the sense that it contributed to the general body of knowledge in the area of African linguistics and Zambian languages in particular. It builds on works such as that of Sibajene (2013), Ng'andu (2022), Mambwe (2008), Musumali (2017) who

looked at dialects of Tonga, Kaonde on one hand, and Lunda and Luvale languages on the other. This study was important because it rendered a linguistic description of the two languages in order to account for level of closeness between the two languages. Apart from similar studies as stated, no study has looked at the closeness between Tonga and Ila.

## **1.7 Theoretical perspectives**

### **1.7.1 Traditional Dialectology**

This theory emerged as a test application in the late 1800s in the Neogrammarian school. The theory argues that language change is orderly and therefore can be systematically investigated. The theory further assumes that in order to systematically investigate language, it must be rule governed. Thus, in order to render an account of language change, Neogrammarians proposed two important mechanisms: sound change and analogy. While sound change operates at the phonetic/phonological level, analogy operates at the level of morphology and syntax. With regard to sound change, the notion of regularity was crucial in explaining the patterns of sound changes within a speech community and between speech communities. The assumption was that the conditions that affect sound change are purely phonetic ones and that the direction of sound change is the same for all members of a speech community and that all the words in which sounds undergoing a change in the same phonetic environment are affected in the same way (Bynon,1977). The underlying assumption in traditional dialectology is that the two languages or lects being investigated must have had one parent language. This is true to Ila and Tonga as seen attested by Doke and Guthrie who classified the two as belonging to one language group. Therefore, the investigation would be to establish sound variations based on possible sound changes that might have taken place over. This theory will be used in order to describe the sound changes between Tonga and Ila. The analogy aspect of the theory will be used to describe morphological and syntactic changes between the two languages.

### **1.7.2 Comparative method**

This study is largely informed by the comparative method. The comparative method is based on the following assumptions:

#### **(a) Relatedness hypothesis**

This hypothesis states that if two or more languages resemble each other to such an extent that they are not accountable for by borrowing or chance then the resemblance can only be explained by historical connection. That is to say, the resemblances can be said to be later developments of an earlier parent language. The languages that are presumed to be descendants of a single parent language, or proto-language, are called daughter languages. Any feature present in common must have been present in the parent language. Those features that disagree can be attributed to borrowing.

#### **(b) Regularity hypothesis**

This can enable us to reconstruct the forms in the parent language. The comparative method mainly investigates words with similar meanings and form in languages suspected of being related by common ancestry in order to discover the sound correspondences and reconstruct the parent language. One usually compares sounds in particular positions and environments of words suspected of being cognates (that is words that are suspected of having descended from the same proto-language and have the same form and meaning). In the actual establishment of the sound correspondences, the researcher must consider the phonetic environments in which the correspondences occur. If it can be established that two or more correspondences occur in contrasting environments the researcher, then reconstructs one segment for contrasting sets. Reconstruction of all of the parent language proceeds after the sound correspondences have been established.

In essence, comparative method collects language cognates of the languages being compared and uses them as a basis for further analysis in determining the extent to which the languages being compared vary or whether they emerge from the same mother language. However, the focus of this study is not to reconstruct the parent language of the two languages under study but to use

the framework in establishing how distant the two are from each other and at what levels of linguistic analysis.

This theory will compliment the Traditional dialectology theory by accounting for sound variations that exist between the two languages. This will be done by first, establishing language cognates particularly those with similar meanings or sounds and thereafter account for the observed differences and similarities between the two languages.

### **1.8 Limitations of the Study**

As already pointed out under the subheading of ‘theoretical perspectives’, a comparative study may be conducted for different purposes: to compile an atlas; to show how languages have diverged from a single language or how they have converged from two or more distinct languages. This particular study was aimed at undertaking a comparative analysis of Tonga with Ila in question and to simply point out what features are found in each language.

There are many language variations within Tonga, the major ones being Tonga and Plateau Tonga. Valley Tonga includes the Siavonga, Gwembe, and Sinazongwe varieties. PT includes the Mazabuka, Monze, Choma, and Kalomo varieties. It is also a known fact that even within the Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo languages, there are further sub-languages that usually derive their names from their respective chiefdoms. This study will not utilize all the sub-languages found in Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo. But rather the study uses Plateau Tonga to compare with Ila language.

### **1.9 The structure of the dissertation**

This study has been prearranged in seven chapters. Therefore, the first chapter announces the investigation. The second chapter presents the literature review, the third chapter argues the basic linguistic structure of the Tonga and Ila Languages with objective 1. Chapter four objective 2, Chapter five objective 3 and Chapter six objective 4. This will be before discussing the analysis and interpretation of the data in chapter seven. Finally, chapter eight draws conclusions based on the entire study and provides recommendations.

## **1.10 Summary**

The chapter has presented the title of the study and has concisely delivered some background information of the two languages under study, these are: Tonga and Ila. The study has also stressed some significant definitions of the terms comparative. It has provided some historical perspectives of the the discipline of the comparative. The rest of the chapter has given the statement of the problem, the significance of the study, the aim and objectives and the methodology used and has also pointed out the limitations of the the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 General overview

Literature in the area under study is scanty. There is only one study by Hachipola (1991) that has particularly considered the linguistic comparison between Tonga and Ila together with other six lects. Even with this one, its scope has been limited to one aspect of linguistic analysis namely, phonology. Thus, this chapter will review works that are slightly related to the study in addition to Hachipola's.

#### 2.1 Linguistic studies on Tonga

From the literature reviewed, the only study which has a semblance to the current one as mentioned above is Hachipola's (1991). The aim of Hachipola's study was to provide a historical comparative of Plateau Tonga and seven lects, which included Ila. This was done by first establishing the phonemic inventories of the languages under study and then systematically comparing the sounds of the lects with a view to establishing the parent language. The study was relevant to the current one in one major way. It deals with a comparative of the sound systems between Plateau Tonga on one hand and seven other lects including Ila on the other. However, the study does not address other levels of linguistic analysis such as morphology and syntax which this study does. It also used Plateau Tonga as the reference point while the current one addresses Valley Tonga in relation to Ila. Hachipola's study was also important because of the theoretical position it had advanced in addressing the comparative aspect of the study. For example, the study applies the traditional dialectology and the comparative methods, which are key in comparing languages, assumed to have a single parent language. The study by Hachipola (1991) shows that the comparison of Tonga-Shona there are three tone classes in Tonga compared to four in Shona. The author discovered that the 'hy' in Tonga plateau was rendered as 'sh' in Ila language.

Hachipola (1991) observes that in Ila, the vowel /i/ in *kwiwe* can be seen as an allomorph of the class 5 prefix (i) in this lect. However, Hachipola further reveals that the locative prefixes in plateau Tonga are: class 16 a-; class 17 ku-; class 18 mu- and /i/ in Ila. The author indicates that

the cognate 'all' meaning 'onse' in Tonga and Ila languages can be found in Chichewa language as 'onse' in Bemba language as 'onse' in Kaonde language as 'onse' and in Luvale language as 'ose'. He further indicates that there is some variation in the usage of the noun 'ashes' in Tonga language and Ila language whereby the former call it 'twe' while latter call it 'itwe'. He also noted some differences in the usage of the term 'back' as a locative prefix in which in Tonga language it is 'kuhyule' while in Ila language it is 'kumanuma' or 'kunuma' or 'inuma'. Hachipola (1990) also noticed some variations in the usage of the noun 'belly' in which among the Tonga speaking people it known as 'da' but it is called 'ihu' among the Ila speaking people. Another noticeable difference is the usage of the adverb 'big' whereby the Tonga speaking people say 'cipati' while the Ila speaking people say 'cikando'.

The author also highlighted the difference in the usage of the noun 'bird' between the two languages in which the Tonga speaking people call it 'muyuni' while the Ila speaking people call it 'muzuni'. These variations and many other were catalogued in his study. The study shows that the variations were at word level between the two languages. However, a perusal of this study reveals that the author did not account for the variations of sentence construction between Tonga and Ila languages. Be this as it may, the author contends that it is not certain which language between the two have borrowed from the other because the lexical items with /z/ corresponding to /y/ in other Tonga lects are basic like 'bird' in 'muzuni' and 'to breath' in 'kuzoza' in Ila in comparison to 'muyuni' and 'kuyoya' in Tonga.

Owing to scanty literature, which deals with linguistic comparisons between Tonga and other related languages, this study reviewed studies that had some relevance to the current one. To this effect, the most important works in Tonga are the two grammars by Collins (1962) and Hopgood (1992). Collins (1962) provides some structure of the grammar of Tonga by addressing the nominal and adjectives of Tonga. This is largely done following Guthrie's (1948) classification of Bantu languages in which the nominal and adjectival structures of Bantu languages have been highlighted. For example, the fact that Tonga nouns like many Bantu languages have the structure Prefix + root as in *ba-ntu* where *ba-* is the prefix and *-ntu* is the root. Similarly, he provides the structure for adjectives which largely follows the structure of nouns. Collins does the same with other aspects of the grammar of Tonga by describing the verbal complex system, adverbs, demonstratives, pronominal, demonstratives, and numeral and relative clauses. Collins

grammatical description of the language to some extent provides some insights to the current study particularly with regard to relative clauses and the verbal system.

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

Jimaima (2008a) examined the syntactic processes of determination and modification as they apply to English and Tonga by carrying out a contrastive analysis of the two processes in the two languages. In this regard, the major findings of the study are that the structure of the determiner phrase in English is different from that of Tonga in terms of word order, which perhaps could be obvious due to the fact that the two languages are very different from each other. The study results indicate that the nature of determiners and modifiers in Tonga is influenced by the noun class system so that a given determiner/modifier agrees with a given noun not only in number and class, but also in the feature inanimate/animate.

The results of Jimaima's (2008a) study also reveal that possessives in Tonga especially those that denote consanguinity show instances of incorporation. It is also shown that Tonga shows an instance of an adherence to the parametric choice between head-first and head-last parameters when it comes to demonstratives. The study demonstrates that demonstratives can either be post or pre nominal. The study further shows that Tonga unlike English does not realize definiteness and indefiniteness by article but rather by the speech context. While the study is an attempt to contrast some linguistic phenomena between English and Tonga, none is applying to Ila. Neither were the phonological and morphological variations made in this study. In as much as

the study provides a comparative model for the current one, its scope is far different from the current one.

The study by Jimaima (2014b) comparatively analysed the syntax, semantics and pragmatic functions of conditional clauses in Tonga and English. Under the semantic analysis, it has been learnt that in the Tonga, zero conditional, there is the prominence of when than the kuti (if). The study has shown that Tonga has several conditional markers such as: kuti, naa, wa, noo, ni, ba, twa) equivalent to the English If. It also established whether there are differences and similarities in the syntax, semantics and pragmatic functions of conditional clauses of both languages.

Chibwe (2014) attests that in Bemba, the 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. The author postulates that either question words in Bemba can be used in the initial position, that is, immediately before a verb or it can follow the verb. Morphologically, Chibwe (2014) posits 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 has been established that most of the nouns in the dialects take a nominal prefix. Chibwe (2014) established that there are phonetic variations between the dialects under in relation to some of the items from the lexicon. The author concludes the morphophonological process that occurs as a result of interface of morphological and phonological elements at some level.

The study by Ng'andu (2022) shows that there were some variations that had been observed in the semantic categories which have been mentioned above in Tonga, Toka and Leya dialects. The study deduced that there were a lot of lexical similarities among the dialect under study, followed by the differences among them. The study also, deduced that there were more similarities between Tonga and Leya dialects than there were with Toka and the other two mentioned dialects. The author indicates that this is because Toka and Leya dialects are geographically closer to each other, thereby, reducing the linguistic variations between them.

Cacciafoco and Cavallaro (2023:24) opine that “It is a well-known and documented fact that languages are constantly changing. Change is normal in the development of a language and happens at every linguistic level: phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic and semantic.”

Sibajene's (2013) study on dialectal variations of Valley and Plateau Tonga was yet another important study to the current one. This study considered the linguistic variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga from the perspective of phonology, morphology, lexicology and syntax. He established that the two largely vary from the perspective of phonology and to some extent the vocabularies shared between them.

At the phonological level, the study by Sibajene (2013) revealed that vowels and semi-vowels are realized as [i], [e], [a], [o], [u], [j] and [w] in both Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga dialects. However, the study revealed a number of variations between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga with regard to consonants. With regard to morphology, the findings of the study showed that generally the morphological structure of nouns and verbs were found to be similar in both Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga. However, some differences were noted in respect to noun classes. The study observed that there are nouns in both Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga, which share the same nominal stem but realize different noun prefixes. However, at the lexical level of linguistic analysis, the study revealed overallly that there are variations between the Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga dialects. Further, the study has revealed that there are lexical items, which the Valley Tonga dialect does not share with the Plateau Tonga dialects and some, which the Valley Tonga dialect shares with some Plateau Tonga dialects.

The study also revealed striking similarities between Valley Tonga and all the Plateau Tonga dialects in certain semantic fields such as the numerals, in verbs that denote everyday human activities and in body parts. Cacciafoco & Cavallaro (2023:25) delineate that "Languages change at the sound level, word level, sentence level, and meaning level. These changes can be due to either internal or external factors. Internal factors are those that occur within a speech community, generally among monolingual speakers, who adopt new ways of saying things according to social factors (e.g age, gender, social class). External factors are those that are induced by contact with speakers of other languages."

At the syntactic level of linguistic analysis, Sibajene (2013) observed that both Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga dialects express simple negation with a negative verbal morpheme *ta-* and the particle *pe* (which occurs at sentence final position) giving us a basic word order of S Neg+SM+V O (Neg). However, some syntactic differences between Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga were revealed. For instance, for a 'yes-no' question, it was observed that Valley Tonga

and Plateau Tonga dialects of Choma and Kalomo use the word *sena* which can occupy sentence initial or sentence final position whereas the Mazabuka and Monze dialects realize the word *hena* in terms of pronunciation and spelling, also occupying sentence initial or sentence final position. Another syntactic difference that was noted was in the words used for question tag formation. The study revealed that Valley Tonga realizes *tee mbumbubo na* after a positive statement while the Mazabuka and Monze dialects use the words *tabusi hena*. The Choma and Kalomo dialects use *embo na* after a positive statement.

Related to this study was Mambwe's (2008) study on linguistic variation of three Kaonde dialects namely Standard Kaonde, Lubango and Kaonde-Ila. Mambwe's study established that the three dialects differences were largely caused by geographical distances between them and that pronunciation was the main underlying point of variation between the three. However, it had to be mentioned that these two studies are dialectological in nature because they study dialects in the same language while the current one studies two different languages. Mambwe (2008) reveals that the morphological structure of a number of nouns and some constructions were generally the same in Kaonde, Lubango and Kaonde-Ila though there were some variations with respect to the shapes of some class of prefixes. However, Mambwe (2008) indicates that at syntactic level the Kaonde, Lubango and Kaonde-Ila share the same basic word order with differences with regard to negative constructions. At lexical level, the study differences.

Another study, which is related to the current one, was Musumali's (2017) study on Lunda and Luvale. In this study, Musumali's main aim was to show that the two languages though classified as two different languages were essentially dialects of one language. Musumali used a lexicostatistical method in order to arrive at the percentages of shared linguistic items between the two languages. He concludes that the two languages shared more similarities than differences and confirms his hypothesis that the two can be regarded to be dialects of the same language. However, while Musumali's study was useful, the purpose of the current one is not to arrive at the percentages of shared items between the two languages but simply to render a description of the variations between the two languages under study. From the few texts that have been reviewed on Tonga, it is evident that there has not been any detailed study conducted specifically to deal with the topic of language variations between Tonga and another related language.

While Tonga seems to have received some attention from linguists over the years, Ila has received from little. The only notable grammar book to be written on Ila is one written by Edwin Smith (1907.) The work provides some basic grammatical issues of the Ila language ranging from phonological to syntactic aspects of the language. The handbook addresses the phonological system of the language, the nominal class system and the syntax. In addition, the book provides some information on Ila sayings and tales. Although this work is an important piece of literature with regard to the Ila language, it has its own weaknesses possibly emanating from the language barriers that the researcher might have faced at the time of research.

Other studies on Tonga have focused on exploring linguistic phenomena of the language. For example, Jimaima's (2008) study focused on determination and modification in Tonga and related it to that of English. He revealed that the two languages apply these two concepts differently. Another example is that of Nkolola (1997) where she investigated verbal extensions in Tonga. Hopgood (1992) provides an outline of Tonga where grammatical aspects of the language are highlighted. Similarly, Thompson (1989) introduces the language, which is mainly written for pedagogical purposes.

Chitebeta (2019) investigated the inter-relatedness of Ila, Kaonde, Lenje, Nyanja, Sala, Soli and Tonga. The author established that the percentage of the degree of inter-relatedness between Tonga and Ila stood at 76 percent. This is partly because Ila people are made to use Tonga at school thereby enhancing the high percentage of inter-relatedness between the two (Tonga and Ila).

## **2.2 Summary**

Literature review has referred to some of the studies that have some relevance to the current one. From this literature, it is clear that there is scanty literature that deals with the issues that the current study seeks to deal with. However, a few studies have provided some insights to the current one by highlighting both theoretical and methodological aspects crucial for the current study. Hachipola's (1992) study and Musumali's are more relevant to the study as they deal with comparative studies involving more than two languages similar to this one. Other dialectological studies were also relevant as they applied comparative method in establishing variations

between/among dialects of the same language. Of particular relevance is Sibajene and Mambwe's studies.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 General overview**

This study was informed by the qualitative approach to research. Qualitative research is “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification.” (Strauss and Corbin (1990:17). In addition, according to Mugenda (1999:197), he asserts, “by using qualitative method, researchers are able to collect data and explain phenomena more deeply and exhaustively. Thus, this approach informed the process of methodology design which included data collection and analysis processes. The approach was used because the study did not seek numerical data, which is arrived at by quantitative means. The kind of data to be collected and analysed in this study was based on people’s own spoken or written words.

#### **3.1 Research design**

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), a research design is defined as a blueprint plan that a researcher uses in the research process. Ghosh (2013:206) adds that a research design can be defined as “a plan of the proposed research work. A research model or design represents a compromise dictated by mainly practical considerations.” Research design provides the glue that holds the research project together. It outlines how the research will be conducted and how the results will be arrived at. This study will use a descriptive design. This is a scientific method which involves observing and describing the behavior of phenomena without influencing it in any way. Descriptive design enables the researcher to study phenomena in its naturally occurring environments without any form of manipulation to suit the researcher’s desired outcomes. In this regard, the current study used a descriptive design because the study was observing the linguistic phenomena of Tonga and Ila in its natural environments. This was collected from the native speakers of the languages, before describing the features observed in order to draw conclusions based on the research objectives.

### **3.1.2 Study area and sample size**

The study was conducted in two main areas, one in which Tonga is predominantly spoken and another in which Ila is spoken. Thus, Maamba, Sinazongwe and Gwembe districts were chosen as research sites for Tonga while Namwala district in Maala village, Baambwe and Banamwaze were chosen as a site for Ila.

The sample size of the study was eight, four from each language. Out of the eight, four were females and the other four were males. All the respondents were above 30 years of age. The assumption is that by this age the speaker would have fully developed their native speaking abilities although it is possible that a person can reach this stage quite early in life. The gender aspect was taken into consideration because language can sometimes display vocabularies that are gender specific, which can only be obtained if both genders were targeted.

### **3.1.3. Sampling technique and procedure**

The study applied purposive sampling technique in order to select the required sample size of the study. The purposive sampling technique was aimed at identifying only those participants who are believed to be native speakers of Ila and Tonga respectively. This is important because native speakers are linguistically more competent in providing the required data in the study. Therefore, the condition for one to have a chance of selection is purely based on one being able to natively speak the languages involved.

The first group to be selected was from the Tonga speaking areas. This was done by first identifying the villages where native speakers were found, introducing the topic to the headman who in turn assisted in identifying possible speakers that could take part in the study. The second group was selected from the Ila speaking area. The same procedure used in selecting the Tonga speakers was used.

## **3.2 Data collection methods**

The data collection process was conducted using three main methods as follows:

### **3.2.1 Semi-structured interviews**

A semi-structured interview is an interview in which questions are predetermined. However, the interviewer is at liberty to ask for clarifications and further questions seeking more answers (Griffie, 2012). This implies that an interview can follow a list of questions but still have to follow up questions in the same space of an interview. Thus, all the eight selected respondents in study were interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide. The interviews evolved around pronunciations and sentence structure in the two languages.

### **3.2.2 Direct observations**

This method enables the researcher to collect data from very natural contexts with little or no interference in the process. Direct observation entails that the researcher will directly observe people or speakers of the language use the language and take note of anything peculiar and relevant to the study. The researcher can then use what has been observed to ask further questions in order to have a full understanding of the situation at hand. This was another way that enabled the researcher to get first hand information from the research sites.

### **3.2.3 Data collection instruments**

#### **3.2.3.1 Voice recorder**

The voice recorder was used for recording all face-to-face semi-structured interview sessions with the eight individual respondents. This record is important especially for data that constitute pronunciations of words and sentences in the languages under study.

#### **3.2.3.2 Notebook**

The notebook was used to write down all the relevant data picked up from the interview and other related notes that were important in the process of analysis. This was also used to record data obtained from direct observations. The notebook was used to record data obtained from secondary sources such as the library and other written sources of information.

### **3.2.3.3 Semi-structured interview guide**

This was a set of questions that were asked to respondents. In addition to this guide, a Swadesh list containing over 300 words of language's basic vocabulary was used to guide the process of interview. The Swadesh word list provides a better yardstick in identifying lexical variations because it has all basic words that are used to express concepts that are universal. It was chosen for its universal availability in as many languages as possible. For respondents who were unable to understand English, the word lists were translated and then respondents were asked to say out these in context of sentences in order to gain a deeper understanding of how the words are actually used and the different variations that they can produce.

### **3.3. Data Collection Procedure**

This process started with collection of secondary data mainly from the library. However, the actual primary data collection process was conducted into two phases. The first two months (first phase) were spent in Tonga speaking areas while the other two months (second phase) was spent in Ila speaking areas. Before starting the process of data collection, ethics clearance was sought from the Ethics Committee of the University of Zambia. Once clearance has been granted the researcher visited the research sites. The visits started with visiting the headmen in the different villages where data was collected from in order to get clearance and possible assistance ere the carry out semi-structured interviews with the respondents. The identified respondents were informed about the scope of the study and the objectives in order to obtain informed consent.

After obtaining consent, the interviews proceeded. The interviews were guided mainly by a Swadesh list and a semi-structured interview guide. The interviews were recorded using the voice recorder and other aspects of the interview were recorded in a notebook. In the process of interviews, clarifications were sought in order to ensure quality of data to be obtained.

### **3.4 Data analysis**

In the qualitative research approach, data analysis begins while data collection is going on (Mugenda and Mugenda 1999). In this study data analysis will commence in the field during data collection. The first step will involve sorting out of data according to languages and type of data, that is, word list and sentence list separately. Being a native and conversant speaker of the

languages under investigation, the researcher will also utilize the native speaker intuition to distinguish between correct and wrong data collected. In support of the native speaker intuition, Nkolola (1997:6) cites Atkinson et al (1982) who states that:

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

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

### **3.5 Ethical considerations**

The ethical issues such as confidentiality, protection of the participants from harm, informed consent, and participant’s right to privacy was considered at the time of collection, analysis and publication of this study. Berg (2001:57) posits that “confidentiality is an active attempt to remove from the research records any elements that might indicate the subjects’ identities. In a literal sense, anonymity means that the subjects remain nameless.” Lipson (1994) in Creswell (2007) has grouped ethical issues into informed consent procedures; deception or covert activities; confidentiality toward participants, sponsors, and colleagues; benefits of research to participants over risks; and participant requests that go beyond social norms.

However, the data that was collected from the participants will never and will not be exposed to unofficial persons at all. In addition, the study will further protect participants from risks of psychology abuse, harm and embarrassment by not exposing them to psychological pressure unnecessarily. The participants were informed briefly about the purpose of the research. They were told about their right to withdraw at any time according to their wish.

### **3.6 Summary**

This chapter has provided the methodology used in the study. The chapter revealed that the study was informed by the qualitative approach. Thus, this approach informed the process of methodology design which included data collection and analysis processes. The approach was used because the study did not seek numerical data, which is arrived at by quantitative means. The kind of data to be collected and analysed in this study was based on people's own spoken or written words. This study used a descriptive design. Descriptive design enables the researcher to study phenomena in its naturally occurring environments without any form of manipulation to suit the researcher's desired outcomes. The data were collected from the native speakers of the Ila and Tonga, before describing the features observed in order to draw conclusions based on the research objectives.

The study was conducted in two main areas, one in which Tonga is predominantly spoken and another in which Ila is spoken. Thus, Maamba, Sinazongwe and Gwembe districts were chosen as research sites for Tonga while Namwala district in Maala village, Baambwe and Banamwaze were chosen as a site for Ila. The sample size of the study was eight, four from each language. Out of the eight, four were females and the other four were males. The next chapter seeks to explore the basic grammatical structures of Tonga with particular focus on the phonological, morphological and syntactical levels of the language under review.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE BASIC GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF TONGA

#### 4.0 General overview

This chapter provides the basic structure of Tonga. The idea is to establish a base upon which a comparison between Tonga and Ila would be made. Tonga was chosen to be the base because the language has a standard variety and sufficiently described than Ila is. Thus, the chapter focuses on some grammatical aspects of Tonga vis-à-vis phonology, morphology and syntax.

#### 4.1 The phonology of Tonga

This section focuses on some aspects of the phonology of Tonga. In particular, the section deals with the sounds found in Tonga. The sounds of Tonga include consonants, vowels and semi-vowels. There are twenty consonants, five vowels and two semi-vowels.

##### 4.1.1 Tonga Consonants

As pointed out above, Tonga has twenty consonantal phonemes as follows: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /β/, /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /ç/ and /l/. The Table (2) below shows the phonemic consonants available in Tonga based on their place and manner of articulation.

On the other hand, semi –vowels are two, /w/ and /y/. The table below shows the consonantal phonemes and semi-vowels in Tonga.

**Table 1: Consonants and Semi-Vowels Phonemic Chart in Tonga**

	Bilabial	Labial-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative	b	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ			
Affricative				tʃ dʒ			
Lateral			l				
Approximant					j		w

The list below provides words which contain consonant and semivowel segments as phonemes in Tonga.

/b/ a voiced bilabial plosive as in *mbapati* [mbapati] ‘she/he is old’

/p/ a voiceless bilabial plosive as in *patila* [patila] ‘stuck’

/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal as in *muntu* [muntu] ‘person or human being’

/d/ a voiced alveolar plosive as in *mudima* [mudima] ‘darkness’

/k/ a voiceless velar plosive as in *cikko* [ʃiko] ‘fire place’

/g/ a voiced velar plosive as in *gonka* [goŋka] ‘cut’

/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal as in *nganda* [ŋanda] ‘house’

/ɲ/ a voiced palatal nasal as in *nyenzezi* [ɲenzezi] ‘star’

/j/ a voiced palatal approximant as in *yeeya* [je:ja] ‘think’

/β/ a voiceless bilabial fricative as in *bukali* [βuɣali] ‘fierce’

/f/ a voiceless labio-dental fricative as in *fwuma* [fwuma] ‘get up early’

/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive as in *tamba* [tamba] ‘invite/call’

/s/ a voiceless alveolar fricative as in *sokwe* [soɣue] ‘monkey or bush’

/ʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar fricative as in *syanene* [ʃjanene] ‘grandfather’

/ɣ/ a voiced velar fricative, as in *kama* [ɣama] ‘milk’ (cow or goat)

/tʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar affricate as in *cilalema* [tʃilalema] ‘it is heavy’

/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral as in *lumba* [lumba] ‘be thankful’

/dʒ/ a voiced postalveolar affricate as in *jembwe* [dʒembwe] ‘a big he goat’

/v/ a voiced labial-dental fricative as in *vwumba* [vu:mba] ‘cover’

/w/ a voiced labio-velar approximant as in *wainka* [wainka] ‘s/he has gone’

/z/ a voiced alveolar fricative as in *zintu* [zintu] ‘things’

Native speakers of a given language perceive one phoneme in the language as a single distinctive sound and are both unaware of the allophone variations that are used to pronounce single phonemes. For instance, the phone /b/ is realised as [b] if it occurs after a nasal sound /m/ and realised as [β] elsewhere. For example, the Tonga word *mbaaba*, transcribed as [mba: βa] ‘here they are’. Also, the /b/ is realised as a bilabial plosive [b] when it is followed by another phoneme /b/. For instance, in the word *Bbaba* [baβa] ‘wing’. The phone /k/ is realised as a voiced velar fricative as in *kama* [ɣama] ‘milk’ and a voiced velar plosive when it is followed by another /k/ as in *kkala* [kala] ‘sit’.

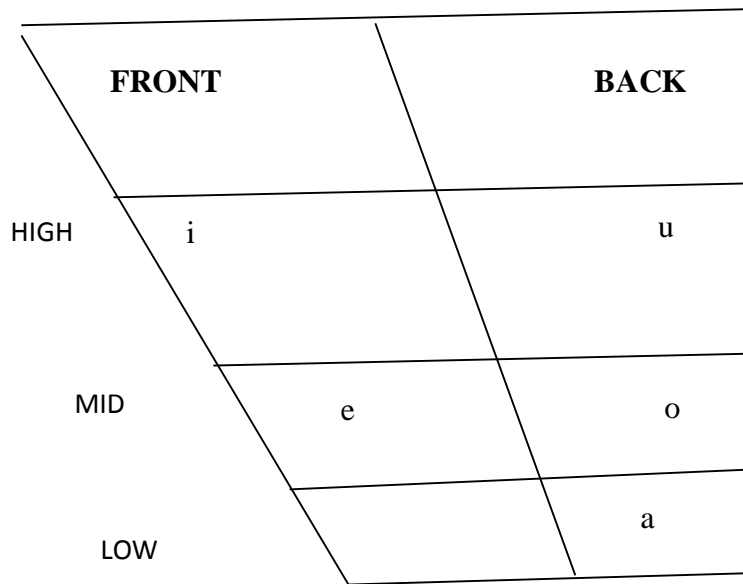
The phoneme /n/ becomes a velar nasal /ŋ/ if it is followed by the sound /g/ as in *Ng’anda* [ŋanda] ‘house’, /n/ becomes a palatal nasal /ɲ/, if it is followed by the phoneme [y]. As in *Nyenyezi* [ɲeɲezi] ‘star’, /s/ becomes the sound post alveolar fricative /ʃ/ if it is followed by the

phoneme [y] as in *Syaanene* [ʃj:anene] ‘grandfather’, /J/ becomes a post-alveolar fricative /dʒ/ when it is followed by a vowel as in *Jamba* [dʒamba] ‘hoe’, /c/ becomes a post alveolar fricative /tʃ/ when it is followed by a vowel in *Cipati* [tʃipati] ‘it is big’, and /y/ becomes a palatal approximant /j/ when it is followed by a vowel as in *Yeeya* [je:ja] ‘to think’.

#### 4.1.2 Vowel Segments in Tonga

As pointed out above, Tonga has five vowel sounds which have a phonemic status and these are as follows: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. The chart below, illustrates the five vowel sound system of Tonga.

**Table 2: Tonga vowel system**



These five vowel phonemes have phonemic status as demonstrated in the minimal pair sets below:

1. *Mulumu* [mulumi] ‘husband’  
*Mulimo* [mulimo] ‘work or job’  
*Mulimi* [mulimi] ‘farmer’

2. *Lala* [lala] ‘sleep’  
*Lila* [lila] ‘cry’  
*Lela* [lela] ‘nurse’  
*Lula* [lu:la] ‘bitter’
  
3. *Munzi* [munzi] ‘village’  
*Minzi* [minzi] ‘villages’
  
4. *Jala* [dʒala] ‘close’  
*Jula* [dʒula] ‘open’  
*Jila* [dʒila] ‘enter’
  
5. *Sama* [sama] ‘put on’  
*Suma* [suma] ‘sew’  
*Sumo* [sumo] ‘spear’
  
6. *Mucende* [muʃende] ‘bull or strong man’  
*Macende* [maʃende] ‘scrotum’
  
7. *Kubula* [kuβula] ‘to lack’  
*Kubila* [kuβila] ‘to boil’

From the examples above, it can be noticed that with the changes of the phonemes, results into a totally different word and meaning.

Tonga realizes two basic tones, and these are high (H) and low (L). High tone is marked with an acute accent over tone-bearing elements which are vowels or syllabic consonants. Low tone is unmarked. The high and low tones can distinguish different meaning of a word. Roach’s (1991:136) affirms the above statement that, “...there are many ways in which languages in which tone can determine the meaning of a word, and changing from one tone to another can completely change the meaning”. Below are some of such words:

8. *Kusia* [ɣusia] ‘to leave behind’  
*Kusia* [ɣúsia] ‘to be dark’
9. *Kusula* [ɣusula] ‘to fart’  
*Kusula* [ɣúsúla] ‘ignore someone or something completely’
10. *Mwezi* [muezi] ‘moon’  
*Mwezi* [múezi] ‘month’

Like in many Bantu languages spoken in Southern Africa, tone can also distinguish the meaning of two or more grammatical items with identical words. The following are some of the examples showing the condition and time clauses, respectively.

11. *Nobakayandana* [noβayájándána] ‘when they fell in love’ (time).  
*Nobakayandana* [nobáyájándána?] ‘if they had fallen in love?’ (condition).
12. *Nobakayaka* [noβayájáyá] ‘when they built’ (time).  
*Nobakayaka* [nobáyáyáyá?] ‘if they had built’ (condition).
13. *Ndaijaya* [ndi:ɖájá] ‘I have killed it’ (present tense)  
*Ndaijaya* [ndí:ɖájá] ‘I will kill it’ (future tense)

In phonetics, length or quantity is a feature of sounds that have distinctive extended duration compared with other sounds. There is a contrastive semantic distinction between short and long vowels. When vowels are doubled, they represent vowel length. Below are some examples to show what has been said above.

14. *Boola* [βo:la] ‘come’  
*Bola* [βola] ‘rot’
15. *Zyaala* [zj:ala] ‘toes’  
*Zyala* [zjala] ‘to give birth’

16. *Suus* [su:su] ‘six pence (old currency)  
*Susu* [susu] ‘hair’
17. *Mweezi* [mue:zi] ‘a vast plantation’  
*Mwezi* [muezi] ‘month’  
*Mwezi* [muezi] ‘moon’
18. *Muunda* [mu:nda] ‘field’  
*Munda* [munda] ‘in the house’
19. *Buus* [bu:su] ‘sorrowful’  
*Busu* [busu] ‘meali-meal’

Long vowels may also result from the fusion of two vowels across morpheme boundaries. Semi-vocalisation is a vowel like sound that acts like a consonant in that it serves the same function in a syllable carrying the same amount of prominence as a consonant relative to a true vowel which is the nucleus of the syllable. In most languages, and Tonga in particular, the phonemes are /w/ and /y/ are the semi-vowels.

Below are some examples that show the gliding process.

20. /*ku-enda*/ becomes *kweenda* which is pronounced as [ɣue:nda] ‘walk’. The /u/ and the /e/ give rise to a glide /w/ and therefore pronounced as *kweenda*.
21. /*ku-ita*/ becomes *kwita* which is pronounced as [ɣuita] ‘call’. The /u/ and the /i/ give rise to a glide /w/ and therefore, pronounced as *kwita*.
22. /*mu-ana*/ becomes *mwana* which is pronounced as [muana] ‘child’. The /u/ and the /a/ give rise to a glide /w/ therefore pronounced as *mwana*.
23. /*si-aneene*/ becomes *syaneene* which is pronounced as [ʃjane:ne] ‘grandfather’. The /i/ and the /a/ give rise to a glide /y/, therefore pronounced as *syaneene*.
24. /*zi-ala*/ becomes *zyala* which is pronounced as [zjala] ‘to give birth’. The /i/ and the /a/ give rise to a glide /y/, therefore pronounced as *zyala*.

In phonetics and historical linguistics, fusion, or coalescence, is the merger of features from two or more segments into a single segment. Vowel coalescence is extremely common. The resulting vowel is often long, and either between the two original vowels in vowel space, as in [ai] → [e:] → [e] and [au] → [o:] → [o]. Some examples have been shown below in light with what has been discussed:

25. *Meso* /ma-iso/ [meso] ‘eyes’

*Meno* /ma-ino/ [meno] ‘teeth

## 4.2 The Syllable Structure of Tonga

Tonga has no coda because the syllable structure in this language is basically open. These types are illustrated as open and are of four main types: V, CV, NCV, and NCGV (where V = vowel (long or short), C = consonant, N = nasal, G = glide (w or y)). For example; *-ita*, i/ta / ‘call’ *-i* (V) can stand as a syllable on its own as shown above. *Ta* syllable has a CV. *Mbaaba* /m/ba:/βa/ ‘here they are’. The /m/ (N) is acting as a vowel or a nucleus for it is a syllabic nasal. *Nsenatalika* has six vowels and these are n/se/na/ta/li/ya, *kulya* /yu/lj/a/ ‘to eat’. The /i/ and the /a/ give rise to gliding vowel /y/ (G). *Mwezi* /m/ue/zi ‘moon’ the /u/ and the /e/ give rise to a gliding vowel /w/ (G).

## 4.3 The Basic Morphological Structure of Tonga

Like most other Bantu languages, Tonga has a very elaborate noun class system which involves pluralization patterns, agreement marking, and patterns of pronominal reference. There are 18 different classes in Tonga: 13 basic classes, 2 subclasses, and 3 locative classes. Each noun class is indicated by a class prefix, typically which are; NCGV, VCV, VC, or V and the co-occurring agreement markers on adjectives, numerals and verbs.

### 4.3.1 The Structure of the Noun in Tonga

In word formation, Tonga consists of only two components which are the root or the stem and the prefix. A prefix may take more than one singular and plural form of prefix. According to the prefix used, does the connotation of the noun vary? The combination of these components is

called bi-morphemic. For instance, in this word formation; *-simbi /mu-simbi/* (girl), *basimbi /ba-simbi/* (girls), *zisimb /zi-simbi/* (ugly/big girls), *cisimbi /ci-simbi/* (ugly/big girl), *kasimbi /ka-simbi/* (beautiful/small girl) and */tu-simbi/*, (beautiful/small girls). In the above words *mu*, *ba*, *zi*, *ci*, *ka*, and *tu* are all prefixes. *Mu*, *ci* and *ka* denote a singular form while *ba*, *zi* and *tu* denote plural form. This shows that there is an agreement between the stem and the root which is *simbi* with its prefix. This can be shown as follows:

26. *Ba* (pref PL) *simbi* (root)

27. *Zi* (pref PL) *simbi* (root)

28. *Ci* (pref SG) *simbi* (root)

29. *Ka* (pref SG) *simbi* (root)

30. *Tu* (pref PL) *simbi* (root)

31. *Mu* (pref SG) *simbi* (root)

In as much as Tonga is a bi-morphemic, at times an initial vowel (IV) is attached to the prefix. The initial vowel shows emphasis. The initial vowel is the /i/ sound as in *imusimbi /i-mu-simb-i/* ‘the girl’. Another example is *icintolo /i-ci-ntol-o/* ‘the shop’.

32. a *i-* (IV)

*mu-* (Pref)

*simb-* (R)

*i-*(FV)

33. *i-* (IV)

*ci-* (pref)

*ntol-* (stem)

*o-* (FV)

Tonga has 18 noun classes based on the prefixes they take and their semantic features. It is important to bear in mind that Tonga takes an initial vowel or an augment that precedes the nominal prefix. The table below outlines the noun prefixes of Tonga.

**Table 3: The Nominal Class Prefixes in Tonga**

CLASS NUMBER	NOUN PREFIX	EXAMPLES	GLOSS
1	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu- nyama</i> [muŋama]	Big animal
1a	$\emptyset$ -	<i>mu-lumi</i> [mulumi]	Husband
2	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba- nyama</i> [baŋama]	Animals
2a	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba-lumi</i> [βalumi]	My husband
3	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-longa</i> [muloŋga]	River
4	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mi-longa</i> [miloŋga]	Rivers
5	<i>li-</i>	<i>li-no</i> [lino]	Tooth
6	<i>ma-</i>	<i>meno</i> [ma-i-no]	Teeth
7	<i>ci-</i>	<i>ci-kko</i> [tʃko]	Place of fire
8	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-kko</i> [ziko]	Places of fire
9	<i>n-</i>	<i>n -kanga</i> [nkaŋga]	Guinea fowl
10	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-kanga</i> [nkaŋga]	Guinea fowls
11	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lu-umuno</i> [lu:muno]	Peace
12	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-yuni</i> [ɣajuni]	A small bird
13	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-yuni</i> [tujuni]	Small birds
14	<i>bu-</i>	<i>bu-songo</i> [βusoŋgo]	Being intelligent
15	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-ulu</i> [ɣu:lu]	Leg
16	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-cibelo</i> [aʃiβelo]	On the thigh
17	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-cintolo</i> [ɣuʃintolo]	To/ at the shop
18	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-nganda</i> [muŋanda]	Inside the house

The above table shows noun prefixes with the nouns that are in agreement with them. Classes 1 and 2 are noun classes, which denote human beings because the nouns in there belong to human

beings. Class 1 denote nouns in singular while class 2 denotes the plural form. Apart from human beings, the aforesaid classes have animals belonging to those classes. For instance, in class 1, there are examples like *mu-lumi* [mulumi] ‘husband’ and in class 2 show the plural form as in *ba-lumi* [βalumi], showing respect. That is what is called honorific. Another one is *mu-nyama* [mujama] ‘animal’, showing the singular form while in class 2 it is *ba-nyama* [bajama] ‘animals’, showing the plural form.

Classes 3 and 4 denote singular for class 3 and plural form for class 4. The members found in these classes are nonpersonal like trees and some body parts. For instance, *mu-longa* [mulonga] ‘river’ for class 3 and *mi-longa* [milonga] ‘rivers’ for class 4. Just like in classes 3 and 4, classes 5 and 6 denote singular and plural form. Singular form for class 5 and plural form for class 6. These classes contain objects that appear in pairs or collection of body parts as in *li-so* [liso] ‘eye’ which is singular belonging to class 5 and *me-so* /ma:iso/ [me:so] ‘eyes’ that is plural belonging to class 6.

Classes 7 and 8 denote other things or miscellaneous things such as fire and other things that are seen to be bad. For example, *ci-longo* [ʃlongo] ‘anthill’ denoting the singular form and belonging to class 7 and *zi-longo* [zilongo] ‘anthills’ belonging to class 8 and denoting the plural form. Animals and birds belong to classes 9 and 10. These are *n-kanga* [nkanga] ‘guinea fowl/guinea fowls’, *n-kwidimba* [nkwidimba] ‘pigeon/pigeons’. The same word shows singular and plural form for classes 9 and 10 respectively. Also *ng’ombe* [ŋombe] ‘cow/cows’ denoting the singular and plural form.

The members of class 11 are miscellaneous things and uncountable nouns such as *lu-yando* [lujando] ‘love’, *lu-sulano* [lusulano] ‘hatred’ and *lu-langilo* [lulangilo] ‘expectation’. Classes 12 and 13 have members which denote small things. There is singular for class 12 and plural form for class 13. Some examples are as follows; *ka-longa* [yalonga] ‘a small river’, belonging to class 12 which is singular, and *tu-longa* [tulonga] ‘small rivers’, belonging to class 13 and showing the plural form. *Kaana* [ya:na] ‘a small child/baby’ and *twaana* [tua:na], ‘small child/babies’.

Classes 14 and 6 denote collective and abstract nouns. For instance, *lu-zyalo* [luzj:alo] ‘kindness’ which is the abstract noun and *ma-nzi* [manzi] ‘water’, a collective noun. For classes 15 and 6, its members are those of the body parts such as *ku-ulu* [yu:lu] ‘leg’ and also used for the verb infinitive.

Finally, classes 16, 17 and 18 have members which show locative nouns such as on top, in the middle or even behind. Some examples are *a-bulo* [aβulo] ‘on the bed’, for class 16, *ku-dolopo* [kudolopo] ‘to town’, for class 17 and *mu-yika* [muɲiɣa] ‘in the world’, for class 18.

From the above discussion, it can be deduced that there must be an agreement between the prefix and the stem or root in order to form a meaningful word. Also, some nouns of other classes are augmentative, giving an idea of greatness though they are few in number.

#### **4.3.2 The structure of the verb in Tonga**

Tonga follows the standard Bantu language structure. A single word may incorporate a subject-marker, a tense-marker, a direct object, and even an indirect object, combined with the verb root itself. Agglutinative language is a type of language where words are made up of different types of morphemes to determine their meaning. What makes these languages different from others, is that if one removes the morphemes from the word, they will be able to stand on their own. Mostly, agglutinative languages start with a word root and create small meaning parts. The following structure shows the Tonga verb and how agglutinating it is in nature. For example, *tibakamubona* –*ti-ba-ka-mu-bon-a* ‘not-did-they-him/her-see, meaning ‘they did not see her’. The affixes can further be illustrated as follows;

*-ti-* pre-prefix denoting negation

*-ba-* subject prefix second person pronoun of second class ‘they’

*-ka-* tense marker

*-mu-* object marker ‘him/her’

*-bon-* radical root ‘see’

-a- final vowel.

Some observations on the morphemes of the verbs have been made and Mann's (1999) 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). The following example shows this on the word *ba-ka-mu-bon-a* (*bakamubona*) they-him/her-see 'they saw him'.

-ba- SM, second person pronoun 'they'

-ka- TM

-mu- OM

-bon- RV 'see'

-a- FV

Some more examples are given to illustrate the concord between the radical verb and its affixes:

34. *Balazyana. Ba -la -zyan -a. 'they are dancing'*

SM TM RV FV

35. *Ulalila. U -la -lil -a. 'S/he is crying'*

SM TM RV FV

36. *Waciyanda. U -aci -y and -a. 's/he has liked it'*

SM OM RV FV

Most of Tonga verbs end in *-a*. The simplest form of the verb is found in the second person singular of the present imperative. When the final vowel is removed from this form, we get the verb root, and it is to this root form that additions are either prefixed or suffixed as in the example; *balamubona ba-la-mu-bon-a* they-will-him/her-see meaning 'they will see him/her. The affixes are as shown below:

*ba-* SM ‘they’

*la-* TM

*mu-* OM

*bon-* RV ‘see’

*a-* FV

Identification of an object in the following words or/ and sentence will be done.

37. <i>Tabakocijaya.</i>	<u>Ta</u>	- <u>ba</u>	- <i>ko</i>	- <u>ci</u>	- <u>jay</u>	- <u>a</u>
	Neg	SM		O	RD	FV

Not-will-it-kill ‘They will not kill it.’

Just as discussed above, the word root or radical root creates new meaningful words by it being attached to the subject marker, the object marker and the tense marker. Having seen the typical Tonga verb and how agglutinating it is, a discussion of some verbal extension of the language under study was done below.

#### **4.3.2.1 Verbal Extensions in Tonga**

Verbal extension is an integral part of verbal morphology in most Bantu languages. A suffix is inserted between the root and final vowel. Alexandre’s (1981) points out that “verbal extensions, namely suffixes, placed between the stem and the final inflection of a verb, in order to ‘extend’ the radical and form verbal derivatives, are a common phenomenon that typically characterizes Bantu languages. It modifies the meaning of the basic verb. More common verbal extensions are applicative, causative, passive, reversive and stative. Others with less predictable surface forms are intensive and positional. Combinations of up to four extensions are common. In such a multiple extension, the lexical content correlates with the position of the suffix. More grammatical extensions like passive tend to occur before the final vowel, and more lexical ones in proximity to the root. Below, are some of the verbal extensions in Tonga were discussed:

(a) **Applied Extension**

The applied verbal extension denotes the meaning of an action being done for or on behalf of someone or something. Verbs with applied extension indicate the process or action takes place for or on behalf of something or someone such as the examples below.

38. *Kwiimba. Ku-iimb-a* [ɣui:mba] ‘to sing’

*Kwiimbila. Kui-imb-il-a* [ɣui:mbila] ‘to sing for’ (on behalf of)’

39. *Kulila. K u-lil-a* [ɣulila] ‘to cry’

*Kulilila. Ku-lil -il-a* [ɣulilila] ‘to cry for’ (on behalf of)

40. *Kuuzya Ku-uzi-a* [ɣu:zja] ‘to sell’

*Kuuzizya Ku-uzi-zi-a* [ɣu:zizja] ‘to sell for’ (on behalf of)

It can therefore be concluded that when using applied verbal extension, the meaning can be expressed as follows:

- Action to the benefit of
- Action by oneself
- Action on behalf of someone or something
- Action to the disadvantage of someone or something

(b) **Causative Extension**

In linguistics, a causative is a valence increasing operation that indicates that a subject either causes someone or something else to do or causes a change in state of a non volition event. Mostly, it brings in a new argument (the causer), into a transitive clause, with the originally subject becoming the object. All languages have ways to express causation but differ in their means. Some languages also have morphological devices such as inflection that change verbs into their causative forms. Tonga is such a language. In the Tonga verbal extension, the vowel /i/ glides to /y/ before the final vowel. Below are some examples showing causative extension:

41. *Kuuma. Ku-um-a* [yu:ma] ‘to beat’  
*Kuumya. Ku –um –i -a* [yu:mja] ‘to cause to beat’
42. *Kukopa. Ku-kop-a* [ɣuɣopa] ‘to stir’  
*Kukopya. ku-kop-i-a* [ɣuɣopja] ‘to cause to stir’
43. *Kuluka. Ku-luk-a* [ɣuluyɑ] ‘to vomit’  
*Kulukya. Ku-luk-i-a* [ɣuluyja] ‘to cause to vomit’

The causative verbal extension can be deduced as the following:

- Action caused by someone or something
- Subject becomes the object
- Something causes a change in a state of a non violation event.

### (c) **Passive Extension**

The passive marker eliminates the object of a transitive verb with the subject being acted on by a verb. The passive indicates that the subject is acted upon by the agent just like the passive voice in English. The passive verbal extension denotes an action done to someone by someone or something. Nkolola’s (1997) states “The morpheme for this verb extension in Tonga is the vowel **u** which undergoes semivocalisation/gliding to become **w** before the final vowel”. Below are some examples showing the passive verbal extensions in Tonga.

44. *Kuuma. Ku-um-a* [yu:ma] ‘to beat’  
*Kuumwa. Ku-um-u-a* [yu:mua] ‘to be beaten’
45. *Kweeba. Ku-eb-a* [ɣue:βa] ‘to watch’  
*Kwebwa. Ku-eb-u-a* [ɣueβua] ‘to be watched’
46. *Kuluma. Ku –lum –a* [ɣulumɑ] ‘to bite’  
*Kulumwa Ku –lum –u –a* [ɣulumua] ‘to be beaten’

Having discussed the above, it can be deduced that in passive verbal extension indicates:

- The subject is acted on by the agent.
- The agent becomes the subject
- It is not possible to express the agent in a passive clause

#### (d) Reversive Action Extension

This form indicates that the action of the verb is undone. This means that an entire reversal of the action takes place. The morphemes used to show the total reversible action in Tonga are *unun* and *ulul* as in the examples below:

47. *Kusama. Ku-sam-a* [yusama] ‘to wear’

*Kusamununa. Ku-sam-unun-a* [yusamununa] ‘to unwear/ to undress’

48. *Kusyanga. Ku-si-ang-a* [yusjanga] ‘to plant’

*Kusyangukula Ku-si-ang-ulul-a* [yusjangukula] ‘to implant’

In the above it can be deduced that in the reversive verbal extension;

- There is the entire reversal of the action
- Someone or thing is made to undo what s/he has done.

#### (e) Reversive Stative Extension

This verbal extension indicates position or posture. Lodhi’s (2002:7), states, “it indicates the reversal of the action or process indicated by the verb to which it is affixed”. The verb denoted by the verb takes place by itself, that is, there may be no agent involved in the action adds Sibajene’s (2013). This means that the verb does not have a direct object.

49. *Kuuma Ku-um-a* [yu:ma] ‘to beat’

*Kutaumwa Ku-ta-umu-a* [yu:taumua] ‘to be unbeaten’

In the above discussion, it has been shown that the reversive verbal extension:

- Indicates position or posture
- The stative extension is a dead stative

(f) **Reciprocal Extension**

The reciprocal verbal extension is used for actions performed by a multiple of people on each other or together with each other. The verbal extensions are *an* and *in*. This form indicates that the action is reciprocated done to one another.

50. *Kuyanda. Ku-yand-a* [ɣujanda] ‘to love’

*Kuyandana. Ku-yand-an-a* [ɣujandana] ‘to love each other’

51. *Kulwana Ku-luan-a* [ɣuluana] ‘to fight’

*Kulwanina. Ku-luan-in-a* [ɣuluanina] ‘to fight for each other’

From the discussion above it is seen that the reciprocative verbal extension is performed by:

- Multiple people on each other
- Together with each other

(g) **Intensive Extension**

This form indicates intensity or quickness of action. Baumbach’s (1988:210) “indicates that an action is performed with intensity/thoroughness/quickness, or sometimes with extensiveness”. The intensifying element is generally the same as the causative one but it does not contract as the latter does. Intensive verbal extension is also known as intensive causative. Below are some examples showing the intensive verbal extension. The verbal extension is *si*.

52. *Kuseka. Ku-sek- a* [ɣuseɣa] ‘to laugh’

*Kusekesya Ku-sek-si-a* [ɣuseɣesja] ‘to laugh very much’

*Kulya. Ku-li-a* [ɣulila] ‘to eat’

*Kulisya. Ku-li-si-a* [ɣulisja] ‘to eat very much’

From the discussion above it is easy to deduce that the intensive verbal extension indicates that an action is performed:

- With intensity, thoroughness and quickness.
- At times with extensiveness.

#### (h) Repetitive Extension

The repetitive verbal extension shows an action that is done over and over again. This means that an action is done more often or frequently. This type of root is extended by reduplication. Reduplication in linguistics is a morphological process in which the root or stem of a word (or part of it) or even the whole word is repeated exactly or with a slight change. Some examples showing the repetitive verbal extension are illustrated below:

53. *Kunywa. Ku -nyw-a* [ɣɔɲua] ‘to drink’

*Kunywanywa. Ku-nyu anyu-a* [ɣɔɲuapua] ‘to drink often’

54. *Kuswaya. Ku-suay-a* [ɣusuaja] ‘to visit’

*Kuswayaswaya. Ku-suay-asuay-a* [ɣusuajasuaja] ‘to visit frequently’

From the discussion above it has been shown that the repetitive verbal extension indicates:

- Actions that are done often or frequently.

#### 4.4 The Basic Syntactic Structure of Tonga

This section briefly discusses the general syntactic aspects with regard to the word order in Tonga. Like the previous section, it does not provide a complete discussion of syntax of the language. It studies the structure and types of sentences such as questions or commands, of clauses, such as relative or adverbial clauses, and of phrases such as prepositional or verbal phrases.

Sentences often start with a subject, followed by a predicate (verb in the simplest sentences) and contain an object or a complement (or both), which shows, for example, what is being acted upon. The following examples below show the simplest sentences:

55. *Baama balikulya. Baama bali - ku - lya.*

S

V

Lit. Mother- Cl.2a-is (pst cont)- eat.

Act. ‘My mother was eating.’

56. *BaTonga mbantu babotu. Ba -Tonga mba - ntu ba- botu.*

S V O

Lit. Cl.2a-Tonga-are-people-Cl.2a-good.

Act. 'Tonga are good people.'

57. *Ndakaula ndyatilo isiya yacikutu. Nda-ka-ula ndyatilo i-siya ya-ci-kutu*

S V O

Lit. I-buy (pst)-shoes-black-of-leather.

Act. 'I bought a pair of black leather shoes.'

58. *Wakacipilusya cipekupeku nakabona kuti cakalifwinde.*

U-aka-ci-pilusya ci- pekupeku naka-bona kuti cili-fwinde

S V O

Lit. S/he-it-return (pst)-television-after-s/he-see-that-it-is-damage.

Act. 'She returned the television after she noticed that it was damaged.'

The sentences above, follows a subject-verb-object pattern. Also adverbs and adjectives take their places in front of what they are modifying. The object follows the verb, and the prepositional phrase.

Negating and questioning are basic human needs, which are encoded grammatically by negation and by the interrogative, respectively, states Dawning and Locke's (2006:21). Also, sentence negation is known as sentential negation, clausal negation, and nexal negation. Sentence negation is commonly indicated in Tonga by the negative particle *ta* or *ti*.

59. *Bataata tabayandi kubeleka. Ba -taata ta -ba -yandi ku -beleka.*

S Neg V

Lit: My-father-not-want-to-work. Act: 'My father does not want to work.'

60. *Baama tibainka kukubeleka nkaambo tabalimvwinde kabotu.*

*Baama ti -ba inka kuku -beleka nkambo ta -ba -limvwinde ka -botu.*

S Neg V O Neg

Lit. Mother-not-go-for-work-because-not-Cl.2a-feel (prst. cont)-well.

Act. 'My mother did not go for work because she is not feeling well.'

Kissock and Iyortsum's (1982:2) define a question mark as "questions are statements for which a reply is expected". The questions marks in Tonga can be found at the beginning or end of a sentence. The question mark mostly used is *sena*. Below are some illustrations of what has been discussed above:

61. *Sena ulaboola? Sena u - la boola?*

Q S V

Lit.Are-you-come-(prst. Cont)

Act. 'Are you coming?'

Or

*Ulaboola sena? U -la boola sena?*

S V Q

Lit. You-come-are (prst. cont)?

Act. 'Are you coming?'

62. *Sena walya kale? Sena u -alya kale?*

Q S V

Lit. Have -you-eat (pst. part)-already?

Act. 'Have you eaten already?'

Or

*Walya kale sena? U alya kale sena?*

S V Q

Lit: You-eat (pst. part)-already-have?

Act: 'Have you eaten already?'

The question marker for interrogatives (IQM) in the VT dialect are: *nguni* 'who', *nzi* 'what', *kuli* 'where', *lili* 'when' *biyeni* 'how'. These interrogatives can be found at the beginning, middle and end of sentences. Some examples are shown below:

63. *Nguni wauma mwana? Nguni uma mwana?*

IQM V O

Lit. Who-beat (prst cont)-child?

Act. 'Who is beating the child'

Or

*Uma mwana nguni? uma mwana nguni?*

V O IQM

Lit. Beat- (prst cont)-child-who?

Act. 'Who is beating the child?'

64. *Cinzi cocita? Ci -nzi co - cita?*

S IQM V

Lit. You-what-is (prst cont)-do?

Act. 'What are you doing?'

Or

*Cocita cinzi? Co - cita ci - nzi?*  
V S IQM

Lit. Do-you- what?

Act. 'What are you doing?'

65. *Balikuli baama? Ba - li - kuli baama?*  
V IQM S

Lit. Cl.2a-is-where-mother?

Act. 'Where is my mother?'

Or

*Baama balikuli? Baama ba li - kuli?*  
S V IQM

Lit. Mother-Cl.2a-is-where?

Act. 'Where is my mother?'

66. *Baneene bayakuswaya lili? Ba - neene baya -ku -swaya lili?*  
S V IQM

Lit. Cl.2a-Grandmother- Cl.2a-is-visit (prst cont.)-when?

Act. 'When is grandmother visiting?'

Or

*Bayakuswaya lili baneene? Baya -ku - swaya lili ba -neene?*

V IQM S

Lit. Cl.2a-Is-visit (prst cont.)-when-Cl.2a-grandmother?

Act. 'When is grandmother visiting?'

67. *Ncito ili biyeni? Ncito i -li biyeni?*

S V IQM

Lit. Work-is-how?

Act. 'How is work?'

Or

*Ili Ili biyeni ncito? I -li biyeni ncito?*

V IQM S

Lit. Is-how-work?

Act. 'How is work?'

Question tags are the short questions that we put on at the end of sentences. They can be an indicator of politeness, hedging, consensus seeking, emphasis and irony. Question tags can either be real questions where you want to know the answer or simply asking for agreement when we already know the answer. Below are some examples showing some question tags in Tonga.

68. *Mulajika, tee mbombubo na? Mu -la - jika, tee mbombubo na?*

S V QT

Lit. You-cook (fut ts), is-it-not-it?

Act. 'You will cook, won't you?'

69. *Toli mutonga, tee mbombubo na? To - li mu -Tonga, tee mbombubo na?*

Neg V S QT

Lit. Not-is-Tonga, is-it-not-it?

Act. 'You are not Tonga, are you?'

70. *Mucizi wako tanasika, tee mbumbubo na?*

*Mu - cizi wako ta - na - sika, tee mbumbubo na?*

S Neg V QT

Lit. Your-sister-yours-not-come, is-it-not-it?

Act. 'Your sister hasn't come, has she?'

If the answer is not known, a rising intonation is used. If the answer is already known a falling intonation is used.

In English Language, if the sentence is positive, the question tag is negative and vice versa. However, in Tonga, whether the sentence is positive or negative, the question tag is the same *-tee mbombubo na* (is it not it).

#### 4.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the major linguistic structure of Tonga. It focused on the major linguistic levels which are phonology, morphology and syntax. Under phonology, the vowels and the phonological rules mainly on the gliding and coalescence were discussed. Also, discussed were the consonants and semivowels of the language and lastly, the syllabic structure of Tonga ending with the tone and length. On the morphological aspects, the structure of the noun of Tonga and its nominal class prefixes were discussed. In addition, discussed were the verbal structure and its verbal extensions. The chapter concluded by discussing some syntactic aspects of Tonga.

The following chapters are mainly dedicated to the discussion and interpretation of the findings of the study.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOUND SYSTEM OF TONGA AND ILA

#### 5.0 General overview

This chapter presents the first part of the findings and discussions of the study. The chapter focuses on the phonological similarities and differences between the two languages. The first part begins with the phonemic aspects while the second part focuses on phonetic variations that exist between the two. The final part concludes with the syllable structure.

#### 5.1 Phonemic aspects of Tonga and Ila

##### 5.1.1 Inventory of consonantal phonemes

From the findings as shown in the phonemic tables (1) and (2) below, Tonga has 20 consonants and two semi-vowels while Ila has 19 with their attendant phonetic variants. Ila equally has two semi-vowels (approximants) namely /w/ and /y/ as shown in the tables below.

**Table 4: Phonemic inventory of Tonga**

	Bilabial	labio-dental	Alveolar	Post alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
plosive	p b		t d			k g		
nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
fricative	β	f v	s z	ʃ				h
affricate				tʃ dʒ				
lateral			l					
approximant					j		w	

**Table 5: Phonemic inventory of Ila**

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	ɲ
Fricative	b	f v	s z	ʃ			
Affricate				tʃ dʒ			
Lateral			l				
Approximant					j		w

The inventories of consonants for both languages show that some consonants are not shared between the two languages, for example; /g/, /dʒ/ are found in Tonga while /ʒ/ does not exist in Tonga but does exist in the Ila language.

To illustrate that the above consonants and semi-vowels in Tonga and Ila have phonemic status in the languages, see the following table (6):

**Table 6: Words in Tonga and Ila illustrating the phonemic status of consonants and semi-vowels**

<b>Tonga</b>	<b>Ila</b>
/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral, as in mulilo [mulilo] ‘fire’	/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral, as in mulilo [mulilo] ‘fire’
/d/ a voiced alveolar plosive, as in mulido [mulido] ‘manner of eating’	/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral, as in mulilo [mulilo] ‘manner of eating’
/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal as in mume [mume] ‘dew’	/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal as in lume [lume] ‘dew’
/p/ a voiceless bilabial plosive as in mupe [mupe] ‘Give him/her’	/p/ a voiceless bilabial plosive as in mupe [mupe] ‘Give him/her’
/n/ a voiced alveolar nasal, as in munwe [munwe] ‘finger’	/n/ a voiced alveolar nasal, as in munwe [munwe] ‘finger’
/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive, as in mutwe [mutwe] ‘head’	/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive, as in mutwe [mutwi] ‘head’
/s/ a voiceless alveolar fricative, as in kusuma [yusuma] ‘to sew’	/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive as in kutunga [yutunga] to sew”
/z/ a voiced alveolar fricative, as in kuzuma	/z/ a voiced alveolar fricative, as in kuzuma

[yuzuma] ‘to thunder’	[yuzuma] ‘to thunder’
/g/ a voiced velar plosive as in kugamba [yugamba] ‘to be surprised’	/zh/ a voiced post alveolar affricate as in kuzhingwa [yuzhingwa] to be surprised.
/k/ a voiced velar fricative, as in kukamba [yuyamba] ‘to clap’	/k/ a voiced velar fricative, as in kukamba [yuyamba] ‘to clap’
/b/ a voiced bilabial plosive, as in kubbala [yubala] ‘to put on one’s back’	/β/ a voiceless bilabial fricative, as in kubala [yubala] ‘to put on one’s back’
/t/ (as already described above) as in kutuma [yutuma] ‘to send’	/t/ (as already described above) as in kutuma [yutuma] ‘to send’
/j/ a voiced palatal approximant, as in kuyamba [yujamba] ‘to swim’	/s/ a voiceless alveolar fricative, as in [yusamba] ‘to swim’
/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive, as in mutwe [mutwe] ‘head’	/t/ a voiceless alveolar plosive, as in mutwi [mutwi] ‘head’
/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal as in Mpemo [mpemo] ‘nose’	/n/ a voiced alveolar nasal as in Nango [nanɔŋo] ‘nose’
/w/ a voiced labio-velar approximant, as in kuwa [yuwa] ‘to fall	/w/ a voiced labio-velar approximant, as in kuwa [yuwa] ‘to fall

/d/ (as already described above) as in kudula [ɣudula] ‘to be expensive’	/d/ (as already described above) as in kudula [ɣudula] ‘to be expensive’
/ŋ/ a voiced palatal nasal, as in kuponya [[ɣuɲona] ‘to cause to cure’	/ŋ/ a voiced palatal nasal, as in kuponya [ɣuɲona] ‘to cause to cure’
/g/ (as already described above) a voiced velar plosive as in gombe [gombe] ‘a rather abnormally big cow’	/g/ (as already described above) as in gombe [gombe] ‘a rather abnormally big cow’
/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal, as in ng’ombe [ŋombe] ‘cow’	/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal, as in ng’ombe [ŋombe] ‘cow’
/tʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar affricate, as in kuccisa [ɣutʃisa] ‘to iron’	/tʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar affricate, as in kuccisa [ɣutʃisa] ‘to iron’
/β/ a voiced bilabial fricative, as in kubala [ɣuβala] ‘to read/count’	/β/ a voiced bilabial fricative, as in kubala [ɣuβala] ‘to read/count’
/ɣ/ a voiced lax postalveolar fricative, as in kucisa [ɣutʃisa] ‘to be painful’	/ɣ/ a voiced lax postalveolar fricative, as in kucisa [ɣutʃisa] ‘to be painful’
/ dʒ / a voiced post alveolar affricate, as in jamba [ dʒamba] ‘a hoe’	/j/ a voiced palatal approximant as in yamba [jamba] ‘a hoe’
/t/ (as already described above) as in kutula [ɣutula] ‘to lay/put something down’	/t/ (as already described above) as in kutula [ɣutula] ‘to lay/put something down’
/n/ (as already described above) as in kupona [ɣuɲona] ‘to be cured or be well’	/n/ (as already described above) as in kupona [ɣuɲona] ‘to be cured or be well’
/tʃ/ (as already described above) as in camba [tʃamba] ‘a chest’	/tʃ/(as already described above) as in camba [tʃamba] ‘a chest’

<p>/f/ a voiceless labio-dental fricative, as in kufumba [ɣufumba] ‘to burrow/dig a hole in the ground’</p> <p>/v/ a voiced labio-dental fricative, as in kuvwumba [ɣuvumba] ‘to cover’</p>	<p>/f/ a voiceless labio-dental fricative, as in kufumba [ɣufumba] ‘to burrow/dig a hole in the ground’</p> <p>/v/ a voiced labio-dental fricative, as in kuvwumba [ɣuvumba] ‘to cover’</p>
<p>/ɣ/ a voiceless velar p /ɣ/ a voiceless velar plosive, as in kukkala [ɣukala] ‘to sit/stay/live’</p>	<p>/ɣ/ a voiceless velar plosive, as in kukkala[ɣukala] ‘to sit/stay/live’</p>
<p>/g/ a voiced velar plosive as in kugala [ɣugala] ‘to name’</p> <p>or to identify something’</p>	<p>/β// a voiced bilabial fricative asin kubanda [ɣuβanda] ‘to name’</p>
<p>/β/ (as already described above) as in kuβa [ɣuβa] ‘to be’</p>	<p>/β/ (as already described above) as in kuβa [ɣuβa] ‘to be’</p>
<p>/ʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar fricative, as in kusyamba [ɣuʃamba] ‘to pinch’</p>	<p>/ʃ/ a voiceless postalveolar fricative, as in kushamba [ɣuʃamba] ‘to pinch’</p>

## 5.2 Phonemic analysis of Tonga and Ila

The study reveals that both Tonga and Ila are closely related to each other phonemically. However, some minimal distinctions were noticed. The discussion below endeavors to bring out the phonemic similarities and differences of the two languages.

To start with, both Tonga and Ila have the bilabial plosives [p, b]. These are manifested in the Tonga and Ila words such as *cipatela* and *cibbadela* ‘hospital’ in Ila and Tonga, respectively. Additionally, all the possible plosives are present in the languages as shown in tables (1) and (2) above.

Furthermore, there are a few noticeable variations between the two, mainly involving the phonemes /s/ and /z/. For example, the phoneme /s/ in all linguistic environments in Tonga does not have any variant while the same has variants in Ila. In this language, the phoneme /s/ has two variants namely /ʃ/ when immediately followed by the vowel /i/ and /s/ anywhere else, for example; *kusika* [yusika] ‘to come’ in Tonga and *kushika* [kuʃika] ‘to come’ in Ila. Table 4 below provides additional examples.

**Table 7: Phonetic realization of [s] and [ʃ]**

GLOSS	TONGA	ILA
to come	<i>Kusika</i> [yusika]	<i>Kushika</i> [kuʃika]
neck	<i>nsingo</i> [nsi:ngo]	<i>nshingo</i> [nʃi:ngo]
fog	<i>sikunku</i> [siyũnyũ]	<i>shikunku</i> [ʃiyũnyũ]
nshima	<i>nsima</i> [nsima]	<i>nshima</i> [nʃima]
country	<i>cisi</i> [cisi]	<i>ccishi</i> [ʃiʃi]
smoke	<i>busi</i> [βusi]	<i>bushi</i> [βuʃi]
personal name	<i>simoonga</i> [simo:ŋga]	<i>shimoonga</i> [ʃimo:ŋga]
personal name	<i>siakavwipa</i> [sjakavwipa]	<i>shakavwipa</i> [ʃakavwipa]

As observed from above words, the realization of /s/ in Ila is /ʃ/ written as ‘sh’, for example; *kusika* ‘to come’ in Tonga and *kushika* ‘to come’ in Ila, *nsingo* ‘neck’ in Tonga and *nshingo* ‘neck’ in Ila, *sikunku* ‘fog’ in Tonga and *shikunku* ‘fog’ in Ila, *nsima* ‘nshima’ in Tonga and *nshima* ‘nshima’ in Ila, *Cisi* ‘country’ in Tonga and *cishi* ‘country’ in Ila, *busi* ‘smoke’ in Tonga and *bushi* ‘smoke’ in Ila.

Similarly, the phoneme /z/ has no other perceivable variants in Tonga while in Ila it has two variants namely [ʒ] in the same linguistic environments as that of Tonga when followed by /i/ and /z/ elsewhere. For example, in the following similar words for water ‘maanzi’ in Tonga and

meenzhi in Ila, the /z/ sound has been rendered in Ila as [ʒ] while in Tonga as [z]. The following table (5) provides additional examples in which the phoneme /z/ phoneme is realized in the two languages:

**Table 8: The realization of the sounds [z] and [ʒ] in Tonga and Ila**

<b>Tonga</b>	<b>Gross</b>	<b>Ila</b>	<b>Gross</b>
nzila [nzila]	road	nzhila [nʒila]	road
bazyali [bazjali]	parents	bazhali [bazali]	parents
ncinzi [ncinzi]	what?	ncinzhi [ncinʒi]	what?
kuziba [yuziβa]	to know	kuzhiba [yuziβa]	to know
munzi [munzi]	village	munzhi [munʒi]	village
maanzi [ma:nzi]	water	meenzhi [me:nʒi]	water
nyenyeezi [ɲeɲeezi]	star	ntongwezhi [ntongweʒi]	star
mazina /mazyina [mazina] [mazyina]	names	mazhina [mazina]	names

### 5.3. Lexico-phonological comparisons between Tonga and Ila

The study has further established that Tonga and Ila show slight differences in the manner they present sounds in their similar lexical. For example, similar words will be differentiated by the replacement of one sound. In this case the phoneme /e/ in Tonga will be replaced by /i/ in Ila in words such as: *mutwe* 'head' in Tonga and *mutwi* 'head' in Ila while the words that are similar like *meso* 'eyes' in Tonga and *menso* 'eyes' in Ila will only differ in the exclusion of one sound [n] as in *meso* 'eye' in Tonga has /n/ omitted between /e/ and /s/ in the word *meso*. Furthermore, the words which are similar like *'moyo'* 'heart' in Tonga and *'mozo'* 'heart' in Ila will only differ in the manner in which the [j] sound has been rendered in Ila with /z/.

In addition, in the word for hoe 'jamba' [dʒamba] in Tonga, the affricate [dʒ] will be replaced by the semi vowel [j] as 'yamba' [jamba] in Ila where the initial sounds are different e.g. [dʒ] and [j], in Tonga and Ila, respectively.

Furthermore, words which are similar like *'muyanda'* [mujanda] 'root' in Tonga and *'muzanda'* [muzanda] 'root' in Ila will only differ in the sounds [j] and [z], respectively. The realization of the plosive [b] in Tonga is replaced by the sound [p] in Ila as in the word for *cibbadela* [cibadela] 'hospital' in Tonga and *cipatela* [cipatela] 'hospital' in Ila.

### 5.4. Some phonological processes in the two languages

Phonological processes help to explain the phonological changes that sounds undergo when they occur in specific phonetic environments. These processes come up because of the combinations of phonemes or sounds into meaningful categories or units. Phonological processes are accounted for through allophonic and morphophonological rules.

### 5.4.1 Allophonic Rules

These are rules that account for the distribution of sounds in their respective phonetic environments. For example, the phoneme /b/ in Tonga can be realized differently depending on the position in which it is found. For example, it is realized as a stop/plosive /b/ in *bbola* ‘ball’ and as a fricative [β] as in *basibbuku* ‘headman’. This means that in *bbola* the phoneme /b/ is voiced in the initial position and voiceless in the initial position in the word *basibbuku*. The said positions are what is called phonetic environments and the different phonetic realizations are what are known as allophones.

However, Ila has rather different realisations of /b/ in the same phonetic environments as Tonga. For example, the word for book is rendered as *buka* /βuka/ in which the phoneme /b/ is a voiceless fricative while the language can also have /b/ as a voiced stop as in the word *bashibbuku* /βaʃibuku/ ‘headman’.

### 5.4.2 Morphophonological Rules

These are rules, which explain the morphophonological processes that occur because of the interface of morphophonological and phonological effects at some level. There are two types of morphophonological rules namely, glide formation and coalescence.

The findings show that both languages use the two processes: glide formation to form semi-vowels and coalescence for fusing two different sounds into one unit.

#### 5.4.2.1 Glide formation or semi-vocalisation

This is a morphophonological process in which semi-vowels are formed when different vowels follow each other. For example, in the word ‘mwaka’, the prefix *mu-* when combined with the root ‘-aka’ ‘name’ /u/ and /a/ form a glide /w/ hence the resultant word *mwaka*. In the similar way, /mu-ezi/ which is pronounced as *mwezi* comes as a result of glide formation in which /u/ and /e/ forms a glide /w/ thereby having *mwezi*.

### 5.4.2.2 Coalescence or fusion

According to Matthews (2005), coalescence or fusion is a morphophonological process by which units that are separate at one level of representation are realized by a form in which there is no corresponding boundary. The study reveals that in both Tonga and Ila, some vowels are coalesced or fused into a single long vowel. The following words illustrate this fact:

71.

(a) *meso* 'eyes' > /ma-iso/ > [meso] tonga

(b) *menso* 'eyes' > /ma-inso/ > [menso] ila

(c) *meno* 'teeth' > /ma-ino/ > [meno] tonga

(d) *meno* 'teeth' > /ma-ino/ > [meno] ila

The study also reveals differences in the manner in which some phonemes are used in similar lexemes of the two languages. For example, the rendering of 'e' in Tonga will be 'i' in Ila as in: *mutwe* 'head' in Tonga and *mutwi* 'head' in Ila while the words that are similar *meso* 'eyes' in Tonga and *menso* 'eyes' in Ila will only differ in that the word *meso* 'eye' in Tonga has 'n' omitted between 'e' and 's' in the word *meso*. Furthermore, the words which are similar like 'moyo' 'heart' in Tonga and 'mozo' 'heart' in Ila will only differ in the manner in which the [j] sound has been rendered in Ila with [z] while in Tonga a [j].

The rendering of [dʒ] in Tonga will be [j] in Ila in some words, for example, [jamba] 'hoe' in Tonga and [jamba] 'hoe' in Ila while the other two similar words *nsima* 'pap' in Tonga and *nshima* 'nshima' in Ila differ in the presentation of the [s] sound in which [s] when followed by vowels such as [i] and [e] in Ila is realized as [ʃ] manner that the word in Tonga [nsima].

Furthermore, words which are similar like *muyanda* 'root' in Tonga and *muzanda* 'root' in Ila will only differ in the manner in which the [j] sound has been rendered in Ila with [z] while in Tonga a [j]. The rendering of [b] 'bb' in Tonga is [p] in Ila for instance, *cibbadela* 'hospital' in Tonga and *cipatela* 'hospital' in Ila, while the words which are similar like *ciyuni* 'bird' in Tonga and *cizuni* 'bird' in Ila will only differ in the manner in which [j] sound has been rendered in Ila

with [z] while in Tonga a [ʒ]. The rendering of [j] in Tonga is [ʒ] in Ila e.g *ciyuni* 'bird' in Tonga and *cizuni* 'bird' in Ila.

In addition, like *cuuno* 'chair' in Tonga and *cuuna* in Ila will only differ in the manner in which 'o' sound has been rendered in Ila with an 'a' while in Tonga an 'o'. The rendering of 'v' in Tonga as *tuvu* will be pronounced as 'h' in Ila for example, *tuhu* in Ila while in written it comes out as 'tuvu'.

The findings seem to be consistent in showing slight sound variations in words that are similar between the two languages as illustrated below.

**Table 9: Lexical similarities involving [dʒ] and [ʒ]**

Gloss	Tonga	Ila
To return	<i>kujoka</i> [kudʒoka]	<i>Kuzhoka</i> [kuʒoka]
To uproot	<i>Kujwa</i> [kudʒwa]	<i>Kuzhula</i> [kuʒula]

**Table 10: Lexical similarities involving [dʒ] and [j]**

Gloss	Tonga	Ila
To cook	<i>kujika</i> [kudʒika]	<i>Kuyika</i> [kujika]

**Table 11: lexical similarities involving [s] and [ʃ]**

Gloss	Tonga	Ila
to come	<i>kusika</i> [kusika]	<i>kushika</i> [kufika]
Neck	<i>nsingo</i> [nsingo]	<i>nshingo</i> [nfingo]
Fog	<i>sikunku</i> [sikunku]	<i>shikunku</i> [ʃikunku]
Nshima	<i>nsima</i> [nsima]	<i>nshima</i> [nfima]
Country	<i>cisi</i> [cisi]	<i>cishi</i> [cifi]
Smoke	<i>busi</i> [busi]	<i>bushi</i> [bufi]

As observed from above words in the table, the sound /s/ in Tonga will be realized as [s], for example, kusika ‘to come’ in Tonga and as [ʃ] in [kuʃika] ‘to come’ in Ila.

### 5.5. Inventory of vowel phonemes in Tonga and Ila

The findings show that both languages share the same five vowel system which is common among most Bantu languages as in the tables below.

**Table 12: Tonga and Ila vowels**

<b>High</b>	<b>Front</b>	<b>Back</b>
<b>Mid</b>	i	u
<b>Low</b>	e	o
	a	a

The five vowels have phonemic status in the two languages as illustrated through some of the words in Tonga and Ila as in the words below:

/a/ a low back vowel, as in *mala* [mala] ‘nails’ (*Tonga and Ila*)

/e/ a mid-front vowel, as in *mate* [mate] ‘saliva’ (*Tonga and Ila*)

/i/ a high front vowel, as in *kubika* [yʊβika] ‘to put’ (*Tonga and Ila*)

/o/ a mid-back vowel, as in *kubota* [yʊβota] ‘to be beautiful’ (*Tonga and Ila*)

/u/ a high back vowel, as in *kubuka* [yʊβuka] ‘to wake up’ (*Tonga and Ila*)

## 5.6 The Syllable Structure in Tonga and Ila

The findings show that both Tonga and Ila share the same syllable structure. The syllable structure of both languages being an open one. This is the type in which words or syllables end in a vowel. The following structures were found prevalent in the two languages:

Consonant Vowel = CV

Consonant Vowel Consonant Vowel = CVCV

Consonant Semi-vowel Vowel = CSVV

The following are actual examples in which the above structures have been used in both Tonga and Ila:

**Table 13: Examples of Tonga and Ila syllable structure**

<b>Tonga</b>	<b>Ila</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Syllable structure</b>
pe	pe	‘no’	CV
Tata	Tata	‘father’	CVCV
swe-ka	swe-ka	‘leaking’ (two syllables = swe + ka)	CSV V + CV

## 5.7 Suprasegmental variation in Tonga and Ila

The findings show that both Tonga and Ila use tone and length for grammatical and lexical purposes as discussed below:

### 5.7.1 Tone

From the findings, Tonga and Ila realises two basic tones namely, high (H) and low (L). High and low tones in Tonga and Ila can distinguish the meaning of two lexical/grammatical items with the similar linguistic elements as illustrated below:

**Table 14: Minimals in Tonga and Ila**

No.	Gloss	Tonga	Ila
1.	-nails	<i>ma lá</i>	<i>ma lá</i>
	-small intestines	<i>mala</i>	<i>mala</i>
2.	‘failed activity’	<i>kùsáyá</i>	<i>Kùsáyá</i>
	-‘on the cheek’	<i>kusaya</i>	<i>Tama</i>
3.	- ‘if they had chosen’	<i>nòbàkàsalà</i>	<i>Nòbàkàsalà</i>
	-‘when they chose’	<i>nóbákásalà</i>	<i>nóbákásalà</i>
4.	- ‘if they had cried’	<i>nóbákálilà</i>	<i>nóbákálilà</i>
	‘when they cried’	<i>nóbákálilà</i>	<i>nóbákálilà</i>

As shown above, in Tonga and Ila, tone can differentiate the meaning of the two grammatical elements with identical linguistic elements as seen in 3 and 4 above. Another prosodic feature that the two languages share is length as discussed below.

### 5.7.2 Length

The investigation has established that length in Tonga and Ila can be used to contrast meanings of two or more lexical items as in the examples below. There are long vowels as well as long consonants, which are also called geminates.

It is observed that, in Tonga and Ila length concerns vowels. Vowel length is the observed long duration of a vowel. Length in Tonga and Ila plays a substantial role in differentiating the lexical meaning of some words. The following words demonstrate this:

72.

Tonga/Ila: *mali* [mali] ‘money’

Tonga/Ila: *maali* [ma:li] ‘polygamy’

Tonga/Ila: *kwela* [ʋwela] ‘pull’

Tonga/Ila: *kweela* [ʋwe:la] ‘to fit’

Tonga/Ila: *kona* [ʋona] ‘inherit’

Tonga/Ila: *koona* [ʋo:na] ‘to sleep’.

Tonga/Ila: *sweka* [sweka] ‘drip’

Tonga: *sweeka* [swe: ka] ‘get lost’.

Tonga/ Ila *Zimina*, *zhimina* ‘get lost’ or ‘die’ in Tonga and Ila respectively.

## **5.8 Summary**

This chapter has explored the phonological/sound variations that exist between Tonga and Ila languages. At the centre of this discussion were some phonological aspects that exist between the Tonga and Ila languages. Equally, some consonantal phonemes and semi-vowels of these languages have been covered. The Tonga and Ila structures also formed part of the analysis. The discussion has been concluded with a section on suprasegmental variations between the two languages involving tone and length.

## CHAPTER SIX

### MORPHOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL VARIATIONS BETWEEN TONGA AND ILA

#### 6.0 General overview

This chapter focuses on some morphological and lexical aspects of Tonga and Ila languages. The first part of the chapter deals with morphological aspects and the second part focuses on lexical aspects which will then be compared between the two languages. The discussion of morphology will be dealt with according to the structure of selected word classes.

#### 6.1 The noun class system

In discussing the structure of nouns, the noun class system is key. Therefore, the discussion surrounding the the structure of nouns will be centred around the noun class system. The noun class system is a system in which nouns are given classes based on their semantics. These classes are paired and expressed by nominal prefixes. The study has established that there are 18 nominal class prefixes for Tonga and Ila languages. Before the noun classes are discussed, the general structure of the noun is presented.

##### 6.1.1 The structure of the noun

The study has revealed that the general structure of the noun in Tonga and Ila languages exhibits a bi-morphemic structure, for instance, one word (noun) can have three word forms, *muntu*, *bantu*, *cintu* and *zintu* whose stem is *-ntu*. The word forms have a bi-morphemic structure, which is formulated as follows:

#### PREFIX + STEM

Thus, *mu-*, *ba-* and *ci-* are prefixes and *-ntu* is a stem. The prefixes, on one hand, convey information relating to number and gender. On the other hand, the stem is the essential element, which conveys the core meaning and the type of word from which a sequence of words is derived by the addition of one or more prefixes. A stem to which a noun prefix is attached is called a nominal stem or radical in Bantu morphology. Therefore, the stem *-ntu* is a nominal stem in this regard.

Although most of the nouns are bi-morphemic, there are a number of cases where a further prefix, which may mark either diminutive or augmentation, is added to an already prefixed noun in many Bantu languages, (Mchombo, Spencer, 2001:518). This is not true with Tonga and Ila languages as in example below.

**Table 15: Diminutives in Tonga and Ila**

<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>TONGA</b>	<b>ILA</b>
‘small person’	<i>ka-ntu</i>	<i>Ka-ntu</i>
‘small persons’	<i>tu-ntu</i>	<i>tu-ntu</i>

NB: While class 12 prefix is used to refer to small or little things, in Tonga, the prefix *ka-* can be used as a diminutive prefix to derogatively refer to small bodied person/s. In such cases, the referents often feel offended.

### **6.1.2 Noun classes**

As pointed out above, nouns in Tonga and Ila are classified according to classes as shown below. A noun class is defined as a grammatical system that some languages overtly categorize nouns. The following table presents noun classes of Tonga and Ila languages.

**Table 16: Noun classes in Tonga**

1	mu-	<i>mu-simbi</i> [musimbi]	'girl'
1a		<i>taata</i> [ta:ta]	'father' (n)
2	ba-	<i>ba-simbi</i> [basimbi]	'girls'
2a	ba-	<i>ba-taata</i> [bata:ta]	'my father'
3	mu-	<i>mu-longa</i> [mulonga]	'river'
4	mi-	<i>mi-longa</i> [milonga]	'rivers'
5	li-	<i>li-no</i> [lino]	'tooth'
6	ma-	<i>meno</i> [meno](ma+ ino)	'teeth'
7	ci-	<i>ci-ntu</i> [intu]	'thing'
8	zi-	<i>zi-ntu</i> [zintu]	'things'
9	n-	<i>n-kuku</i> [nkuku]	'chicken'
10	n-	<i>n-kuku</i> [nkuku]	'chickens'
11	lu-	<i>lu-yando</i> [luyando]	'Love'
12	ka-	<i>ka-bwa</i> [kabwa]	'small dog'
13	tu-	<i>tu-bwa</i> [tuwa]	'small dogs'
14	bu-	<i>bu-lwazi</i> [bulwazi]	'disease'
15	ku-	<i>ku-yanda</i> [kuyanda]	'to love/to like'
16	a-	<i>a-mpemo</i> [mpemo]	'on nose'
17	ku-	<i>ku-munzi</i> [kumunzi]	'To/at/ the village'
18	mu-	<i>mu-ciba</i> [muciba]	'in the cattle kraal'

**Table 17: Noun classes in Ila**

Class number	Noun prefix	Example	Gloss
1	mu-	<i>mu-shimbi</i> [ <i>mushimbi</i> ]	'girl'
1a		<i>taata</i> [ <i>ta:ta</i> ]	'father'
2	ba-	<i>ba-shimbi</i> [ <i>bashimbi</i> ]	'girl'
2a		<i>taata</i> [ <i>ta:ta</i> ]	'my father'
3	mu-	<i>mu-longa</i> [ <i>mu-longa</i> ]	'river'
4	mi-	<i>mi-longa</i> [ <i>milonga</i> ]	'rivers'
5	li-	<i>li-no</i> [ <i>lino</i> ]	'tooth'
6	ma-	<i>meno</i> [ <i>meno</i> ] ( <i>ma+ino</i> )	'teeth'
7	ci-	<i>ci-ntu</i> [ <i>cintu</i> ]	'Thing'
8	zi-	<i>shi-ntu</i> [ <i>zhintu</i> ]	'things'
9	n-	<i>n-kuku</i> [ <i>nkuku</i> ]	'Chicken'
10	n-	<i>n-kuku</i> [ <i>nkuku</i> ]	'chickens'
11	lu-	<i>lu-zando</i> [ <i>luzando</i> ]	'love'
12	ka-	<i>ka-bwa</i> [ <i>kabwa</i> ]	'dog'
13	tu-	<i>tu-bwa</i> [ <i>tubwa</i> ]	'small dogs'
14	bu-	<i>bu-kandu</i> [ <i>bukandu</i> ]	'fear'
15	-ku	<i>ku-zanda</i> [ <i>kuzanda</i> ]	'to like/love'
16	a-	<i>a-nango</i> [ <i>anango</i> ]	'on nose'
17	ku-	<i>ku-munzhi</i> [ <i>kumunzhi</i> ]	'To/at/ the village'
18	mu-	<i>mu-luba</i> [ <i>muluba</i> ]	'in the cattle kraal'

The above tables illustrate that both Tonga and Ila share the same nominal class system. For example, both have 18 noun classes and both have similar nominal class prefixes.

The study has revealed further that, while Tonga and Ila show similarities in the genitive markers and stems for possessive pronouns, they show some unique contrasts in terms of prefixes assigned to the stems which in turn affect the resultant possessive pronoun which undergoes the

process of gliding. For example, Tonga assigns class 8 to stems of possessive pronouns as in Table (18) below while Ila assigns class 10 (n-) to similar forms as in Table (15) in which glide formation is not possible.

**Table 18: The Structure of possessive pronouns in Tonga**

Prefix and class	Genitive marker	Stem	Possessive pronoun
zi- (cl 8)	a -	-bo 'theirs'	zi-a-bo =zyabo 'theirs' (3 <sup>rd</sup> pl)
zi- (cl 8)	e -	-su 'ours'	zi-e-su =zyesu 'ours' (1 <sup>st</sup> pl)
zi- (cl 8)	a -	-kwe 'his/her	zi-a-kwe =zyakwe 'his/hers (3 <sup>rd</sup> sg)
zi- (cl 8)	e -	nu 'yours'	zi-e-nu =zyenu 'yours' (3 <sup>rd</sup> pl)
zi- (cl 8)	a -	ngu 'mine'	zi-a-ngu =zyangu =' mine' (1 <sup>st</sup> sg)

While nasalization is equally used in Tonga in the formation of some possessive pronouns, this is accompanied by glide formation. In the case of Ila, nasalization of possessive pronouns does not co-occur with glide formation. The following examples in tables 18 and 19 serve to illustrate the point.

**Table 19: Possessive pronouns with nasalized prefixes in Tonga**

Prefix and class	Genitive marker	Stem	Possessive pronoun with glide formation
n (cl 10 )	a -	-bo 'theirs'	n-zi-zi-a-bo =nzizyabo 'it is theirs' (3 <sup>rd</sup> pl)
n (cl 10 )	e -	-su 'ours'	n-zi-zi-e-su =nzizyesu 'it is ours' (1 <sup>st</sup> pl)
n (cl 10 )	a -	-kwe 'his/her	n-zi-zi-a-kwe =nzizyakwe 'it is his/hers (3 <sup>rd</sup> SG)
n (cl 10 )	e -	nu 'yours'	n-zi-zi-e-nu =nzizyenu 'it is yours' (3 <sup>rd</sup> pl)
n (cl 10 )	a -	ngu 'mine'	n-zi-zi-a-ngu =nzizyangu ='they are mine' (1 <sup>st</sup> SG)

The morphological structure of the possessive pronouns in Tonga has a copy prefix of the main prefix *zi-*. This behavior of prefixes was not observed in Ila. The study further shows that in cases where Ila nasalises the possessive pronominal stem, the pre-prefix *-sh-* [ʃ] is involved.

**Table 20: The structure of possessive pronouns in Ila**

Prefix and class	Genitive marker	Stem	Possessive pronoun and morphological process
n (cl 10 )	a -	bo ‘theirs’	n-sh-a-bo ‘it is theirs’ (3 <sup>rd</sup> pl)
n (cl 10 )	e -	su ‘ours’	n-sh-e-su ‘(1 <sup>st</sup> pl) ‘it is ours’
n ( cl 10)	a -	kwe ‘ his/hers	n-sh-a-kwe ‘it is hers/his (3 <sup>rd</sup> sg)
n ( cl 10)	e -	nu ‘yours’	n-sh-e-nu (3 <sup>rd</sup> pl)
n ( cl 10)	a –	ngu ‘mine’	n-sh-a-ngu ‘they are mine’ ( 1 <sup>st</sup> SG)
n (cl 10)	i-	ngu ‘mine’	n-ci-a-ngu →Cangu ‘it is mine vowel reduction/loss

Note that the morphological structure of the above forms is Prefix+Pre-prefix+genitive pronoun+stem.

**Table 21: The structure of possessive pronouns in Ila**

Prefix and class	Genitive marker	Stem	Possessive pronoun
n (cl 10 )	a -	bo ‘theirs’	n-sh-a-bo ‘it is theirs’ (3 <sup>rd</sup> pl)
n (cl 10 )	e -	su ‘ours’	n-sh-e-su ‘(1 <sup>st</sup> pl) ‘it is ours’
n ( cl 10)	a -	kwe ‘ his/hers	n-sh-a-kwe ‘it is hers/his (3 <sup>rd</sup> sg)
n ( cl 10)	e -	nu ‘yours’	n-sh-e-nu (3 <sup>rd</sup> pl)
n ( cl 10)	a –	ngu ‘mine’	n-sh-a-ngu ‘they are mine’ ( 1 <sup>st</sup> sg)
n (cl7)	i-	ngu ‘mine’	n-ci-a-ngu → cangu ‘it is mine vowel reduction/loss

## 6.2 The Structure of the verb in Tonga and Ila

In agglutinative languages such as Bantu languages, words are made of different morphemes strung together. A Tonga and Ila verb can consist of one word encompassing different types of morphemes or affixes such as preprefix, prefix, post prefix, tense sign, object marker, radical, extension, pre-ending, ending and post ending. The following is a typical one-word verbal form in Tonga:

*tibakamutebulila* [tiβakamuteβulila] ‘they did not harvest for him/her’.

The above verbal form consists of the following morphemes:

*ti-* preprefix denoting negation

*-ba-* subject prefix of class 2 ‘they’

*-ka-* tense marker

*-mu-* object marker ‘him/her’

*-tebul-* radical/root ‘harvest’

*-il-* applied extension denoting action done for/on behalf of

*-a* final vowel

Compare the above to the verb in Ila:

*bainani-* preprefix denoting negation

*-ba-* subject prefix of class 2 ‘they’

*-ka-* tense marker

*-mu-* object marker ‘him/her’

*-tebul-* radical/root ‘harvest’

-il- applied extension denoting action done for/on behalf of

-a final vowel

As exemplified above, the Bantu basic structure of a verbal form contains a root or radical and affixes. The affixes may include a subject marker, object marker, tense marker, and various verbal derivational suffixes miti (1988.) The study has perceived that the verbal structure of Tonga and Ila is mostly similar morphologically. Therefore, the study has discovered that both languages manifest similarities in subject marking, object marking, tense marking, and verb extensions. The subject marking, tense marking and object marking are exemplified as below:

### 6.2.1 Tonga and Ila subject marking and tense marking

The following verbal form in Tonga and Ila illustrates the different parts that typically makes it up.

71. **Tonga:** *wakabba:* **u-a-ka-bb-a** [wakaba] ‘s/he stole’

SM TM RAD FV

72. **Ila:** *wakkeba:* **u-a-kke-β-a** [wakkeβa] ‘s/he stole’

SM TM RAD FV

It can be observed that in (a) and (b) above, subject vowel /u/ becomes /w/ through gliding before the vowel /a/.

### 6.2.2 Subject marking and tense marking

The examples below show that both Tonga and Ila have the same way of marking for both subject and tense.

73. **(a)Tonga:** *Balafweba:* **ba-la-fweb-a** [βalafweβa] ‘they are smoking’

SM TM RAD FV

**(b)Ila:** *Balafweba:* **ba-la-fweb-a** [βalafweβa] ‘they are smoking’

SM TM RAD FV

### 6.2.3 Tonga and Ila object marking

74. (a) Tonga/Ila: *tabakamutol-i ta ba ka- mu tol-i* [taβakamutoli] ‘they will not take ‘her/him  
Neg SM TM OM RAD FV

(b) **Tonga/Ila:** *wakiibona u-a-ki-i-bon-a* /waki:bona/ s/he saw it.  
SM TM OM RAD FV

In the above word, it is observed that the vowel [a] undergoes truncation and the following vowel [i] is lengthened through compensatory lengthening.

(c) **Tonga/Ila:** *wakileta u-aka-i-let-a* /waki: leta/ ‘s/he brought it’  
SM TM OM RAD-FV

It is observed again in (iii) that the vowel /a/ undergoes deletion and the following vowel /i/ is lengthened through compensatory lengthening.

### 6.2.4 Negation in Tonga and Ila

The study has shown that Tonga and Ila assign their negative forms in the same way. However, the only difference lies in the markers they each use to show negative forms of a sentence. While Tonga only uses one negative marker *ta-*, Ila uses two negative markers *ta-* and *nshi-* as in the examples below.

74. (a) **Tonga:** *ta-ndi-lemb-i tandilembi* 'I don't write'

NEG SM RAD FV

(b) Ila: *nshi-lemb-i* ('I don't write

NEG write FV

75. (a) Tonga: *ta-tu-lemb-i* 'We don't write'

NEG-SM-write- FV

(b) Ila: *ta-tu-lemb-i*, 'we don't write'

NEG-ba- write-FV

76. (a) Tonga: *ta-ba-lemb-i*, 'they don't write'

NEG-SM -write-FV

(b) Ila: *ta-ba-lemb-i*, 'they don't write'

NEG-SM-write- FV

77. (a) Tonga: *ta-ndi-l-i* 'I don't eat'

NEG-SM-eat-FV,

(b) Ila: *n-shi-ly-i* 'i do not eat'

NEG-SM-eat-FV

### 6.3 Verb Extensions

The study has shown that there are different verb extensions that can attach to the radical. These are:

#### 6.3.1 Applied Extension

Applied verbal extension denotes the meaning of an act being done for or on behalf of someone or something. Morphemes for applied extension in Tonga are *-il-*, *-el-* and *-in-* or *-en-* (Nkolola 1997). The study shows that these extensions are equally present in Ila language with a few variations. The following are some examples of applied extensions in Tonga as used in the context of words (extensions have been bolded):

78. (i) *ku-kam-a* [ɣuyama] 'to milk'

*ku-kam-**in**-a* [ɣuyamina] 'to milk for'

- (ii) *ku-sek-a* [yuseya] ‘to laugh’  
*ku-sek-el-a* [yuseyela] ‘to laugh for’
- (iii) *ku-pon-a* [yupona] ‘to live’  
*ku-po-en-a* [yuponena] ‘to live for’
- (iv) Tonga: *ku-sin-a* ‘to strangle’  
*ku-sin-in-a* ‘to strangle for’
- (v) Ila: *ku-shin-a* ‘to strangle’  
*ku-shin-in-a* ‘to strangle for’

### 6.3.2 Causative Extension

Verbal extension denotes the meaning of ‘to cause someone or something to do Something’. Therefore, the morpheme for the causative verb extension is the vowel -i- which glides to -y- before the final vowel (Nkolola 1997). This is demonstrated as below:

79.

- (i) *ku-lem-a* [yulema] ‘to be heavy’  
*ku-lem-i-a* /kulemya/ [yulemja] ‘to cause to be heavy’
- (ii) Tonga: *ku-lamp-a* ‘to be tall’  
*ku-lamp-i-a* /kulampja/ [kulampya] ‘to cause to be tall’
- (iii) Ila: *ku-lamp-a* ‘to be tall’  
*ku-lamp-i-a* /kulampja/ [kulampya] ‘to cause to be tall’

Cf. Nkolola (1997)

### 6.3.3 Passive Extension

Passive verbal extension denotes an action done to someone by someone/something. The morpheme for this verb extension in Tonga language is the vowel -u- which undergoes semi-vocalisation/gliding to become -w- before the final vowel (Nkolola 1997). This extension is exemplified as below:

80. (i) *ku-tum-a* [ɣutuma] ‘to send’

*ku-tum-u-a* /kutumwa/ [ɣutumwa] ‘to be sent’

(ii) *ku-ul-a* /kuula/ [ɣu:la] ‘to buy’

*ku-ul-u-a* /kuulwa/ [ɣu:lwa] ‘to be bought’

(iii) Tonga: *ku-gamb-a* [ɣugamba] ‘to surprised’

*Ku-gamb-u-a* /kugambwa/ [ɣugambwa] ‘to be surprised’

(iv) Ila *ku-zhing-a* [kuzhinga] ‘to surprised’

*ku-zhing-u-a* [kuzhingwa] to be surprised’

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

### 6.3.4 Reversive Active Extension

This means that the action denoted by the verb is neutralized or reversed by somebody or something. Therefore, in Tonga and Ila, the morpheme for this type of verb extension is *-ulul-* or *-unun-*.

The words below explain this type of verb extension:

81. (i) Tonga: *ku-jik-a* [ɣujika] ‘to cook’

*ku-jik-ulul-a* [ɣujikulula] ‘to cook again’

Ila: *ku-ik-a* [kw:ika] ‘to cook’

*ku-ik-ulul-a* [kw:ikulula] ‘to cook again’

(ii) Tonga: *ku-ang-a* [kwaanga] ‘to tie’

*Ku-ang-unun-a* [kwaangununa] ‘to untie’

Ila: *ku-ang-a* [kwaanga] ‘to tie’

*Ku-ang-unun-a* [kwaangununa] ‘to untie’

### 6.3.5 Reversive Stative Extension

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

82. (i) Tonga/Ila: *ku-pomp-a* [yupompa] ‘to inflate’

*ku-pomp-uluk-a* /kupompoloka/ [yupompoloɛa] ‘to become deflated’

(ii) Tonga/Ila: *ku-ang-a* /kwaanga/ [ɣwa:ŋga] ‘to tie’

*ku-ang-unuk-a* /kwaangunuka/ [ɣwa:ŋgunuɣa] ‘to become untied’

### 6.3.6 Reciprocal Extension

This is the type of the verbal extension where the action denoted by the verb is done to each other. Therefore, it is one of the most common verbal extensions in Tonga and Ila languages. The morpheme for the extension is *-an-*. This type of extension is exemplified shown below:

83. (i) Tonga/Ila: *ku-lot-a* [yulota] ‘to dream’

*ku-lot-an-a* [yulotana] ‘to dream each other’

(ii) Tonga/Ila: *ku-sul-a* [kusula] ‘to fart’

*ku-sulil-an-a* [kusulilana] ‘to fart for each’

(iii) Tonga/Ila: *ku-sek-a* [yuseka] ‘to laugh’

*ku-sekel-an-a* [yuseyelana] ‘to laugh to each other’

### 6.3.7 Intensive Extension

In this type of intensive verb extension, the action denoted by the verb is expressed with intensity and quickness. For example, the morpheme *-isy-* is used to form the verbal extension. This is demonstrated as follows:

84. (i) Tonga: *wakalila* /u-aka-lil-a [wayalila] ‘s/he cried’

*wakalilisya* (u-aḡa-lil-isy-a) [wayalilisja] ‘s/he cried very much’

Ila: *wakalila* (u-aka-lil-a) [wayalila] ‘s/he cried’

*wakalilisha* (u-aka-lil-ish-a) [wayalilisha] ‘s/he cried very much’

(ii) Tonga: *ku-end-a* /kweenda/ [ywe:nda] ‘to walk’

*ku-end-isy-a* /kweendesya/ [ywe:ndesja] ‘to walk very quickly’

Ila: *ku-end-a* /kweenda/ [ywe:nda] ‘to walk’

*ku-end-ish-a* /kweendesha/ [ywe:ndesha] ‘to walk very quickly’

### 6.3.8 Repetitive Extension

This is the repetitive verb extension which denotes an action that is done all over again. The verb root or radical is extended by reduplication in this type. The Reduplication is a morphological process by which the root or stem of a word or part of it is repeated or brought back several times. This type of extension is demonstrated as below:

85.

(i) Tonga/Ila: *ku-kan-an-a* [kukanana] ‘to talk’

*ku-kan-ana-aka-an-a* [kukananakanana] ‘to talk frequently’

(ii) Tonga/Ila: ku-lil-a [yulila] ‘to cry’

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

#### 6.4 Lexical variations between Tonga and Ila

The study has shown some few variations in terms of lexical between the two languages. The following tables have been organized according to different semantic fields in which different or the same words are used to refer to either concrete or abstract entities in the two languages.

**Table 22: Household Related Terms**

English gloss	Tonga	Ila
Blanket	<i>ngubo/ndumba</i>	<i>Ngubo</i>
Milk	<i>Mukupu</i>	<i>Mukupu</i>
Water	<i>Maanzi</i>	<i>meenzhi</i>
Beer	<i>Bukande</i>	<i>Mukuku</i>
Cookingstick	<i>Mungo</i>	<i>muunsho</i>
Cloth	<i>Cisani</i>	<i>Cisani</i>
Bed	<i>Bulo</i>	<i>Bulo</i>
Medicine	<i>Munsamu</i>	<i>musamu</i>
Firewood	<i>Nkuni</i>	<i>Nkuni</i>
Pot	<i>mupika/mpoto</i>	<i>Mpoto</i>
Plate	<i>mutiba/mbale</i>	<i>Mbale</i>
Polls	<i>Masomo</i>	<i>Masomo</i>
Belt	<i>lutambo/lukanda</i>	<i>Ntambo</i>

**Table 23: Some Kingship Related Fields**

<b>glish gloss</b>	<b>Tonga</b>	<b>Ila</b>
Elder brother	mupati wangu mulobwana	mukando wangu mulombwana
In-law	Mulamu	Mulamu
Nephew/niece	Mujwa	Mujwa
Friend	Mweenzuma	Mweenzuma
Mother	Baama	Baama
Grandfather	Syaanene	Nkambo
Causin	Mweenima	Mweenima
Uncle	Acisya	Acisha
Father	Taata	Taata
Family	Mukwasyi	Mukwashi
Brother	Mucizyi	Mucizhi
Child	Mwana	Mwana
Father-in-law	Mupongozi	Mupongozhi
Mother-in-law	Mupongozi	Mupongozhi

**Table 24: Some Agricultural –Related Terms**

<b>English gloss</b>	<b>Tonga</b>	<b>Ila</b>
kraal	<i>ciba</i>	<i>ciba</i>
feather	<i>minimba/mapepe</i>	<i>mapepe</i>
sheep	<i>mbelele</i>	<i>mbelele</i>
fruit	<i>mucelo</i>	<i>mucelo</i>
cow	<i>ng'mbe</i>	<i>ng'mbe</i>
hoe	<i>jamba</i>	<i>yamba</i>
beans	<i>nyangu</i>	<i>nyangu</i>
seed	<i>mbuto</i>	<i>mbuto</i>
sickle	<i>sikela</i>	<i>cheko</i>
chickenhouse	<i>cidumba</i>	<i>cidumba</i>
shepherd	<i>mweembezi</i>	<i>mweembezhi</i>
pig	<i>ngulube</i>	<i>ngulube</i>
pumpkins	<i>myuungu</i>	<i>shipushi</i>
goat	<i>mpongo</i>	<i>mpongo</i>
duck	<i>dada</i>	<i>dada</i>
chicken	<i>nkuku</i>	<i>nkuku</i>
sweetpotatoes	<i>cimbwali</i>	<i>mbata</i>
maize	<i>mapopwe</i>	<i>mapopwe</i>
farm	<i>muunda</i>	<i>muunda</i>
sorghum	<i>maila</i>	<i>maila</i>
millet	<i>nzembwe</i>	<i>nzembwe</i>
groundnuts	<i>ndongwe/nyemu</i>	<i>nyemu</i>
grass	<i>syokwe /bwizu</i>	<i>shokwe/bwizu</i>
axe	<i>kaleba/kaleba</i>	<i>keembe</i>

**Table 25: Some Human Body Parts Related**

<b>English gloss</b>	<b>Tonga</b>	<b>Ila</b>
Eyes	<i>Meso</i>	<i>Menso</i>
Toes	<i>Tunwe</i>	<i>tunwe/tukumo</i>
Hands	<i>Maanza</i>	<i>matashi</i>
Blisters	<i>mabbanza/matwiza</i>	<i>matuza</i>
Tongue	<i>Mulaka</i>	<i>mulaka</i>
Chest	<i>Kaango/camba</i>	<i>camba</i>
Neck	<i>Nsingo</i>	<i>nshingo</i>
Nose	<i>Mpemo</i>	<i>nango</i>
Lips	<i>Milomo</i>	<i>milomo</i>
Teeth	<i>Menyo</i>	<i>Meno</i>
Ears	<i>Matwi</i>	<i>matwi</i>
Hair	<i>Masusu/boya</i>	<i>Masusu/boza</i>
Head	<i>Mutwe</i>	<i>Mutwi</i>
Ribs	<i>mapango/mabambo</i>	<i>Nvwabuti</i>
Heart	<i>Moyo</i>	<i>Mozo</i>
Stomach	<i>Mwida</i>	<i>Mwifwu</i>
Blood	<i>ganzi/bulowa</i>	<i>Bulowa</i>

**Table 26: Miscellaneous Terms**

<b>English gloss</b>	<b>Tonga</b>	<b>Ila</b>
Case	<i>Mulandu</i>	<i>Mulandu</i>
Leader	<i>Musololi</i>	<i>Musololi</i>
Teacher	<i>Mwiiyi</i>	<i>Mwiiyi</i>
Path	<i>Kazila</i>	<i>Kazhila</i>
Storm	<i>muwo/luwo</i>	<i>muwo/luwo</i>
Star	<i>Nyenyezi</i>	<i>Ntongwezhi</i>
Wing	<i>Bbaba</i>	<i>Baba</i>
Hole	<i>Mugodi</i>	<i>Mukoti</i>
Jump	<i>Sotoka</i>	<i>Sotoka</i>
Court	<i>Nkuta</i>	<i>Nkuta</i>
To eat	<i>Kulya</i>	<i>Kulya</i>
A fight	<i>Bwaanzi</i>	<i>Bwaanzhi</i>
To be annoyed	<i>Kunyema</i>	<i>Kulemana</i>
Visitor	<i>Mweenzu</i>	<i>Mweenzu</i>
Patient	<i>Mulwazi</i>	<i>Mulwazhi</i>
Fishingnet	<i>kalobo/siko</i>	<i>Kalobo</i>

**Table 27: shows ten selected numerals:**

Numera l										
Glose	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten
Proto- bantu	-mó	- buli	-catu, -tatu	-na, -ne	- caanu, -taanu					- kume, -kumi
Ila	- mwi	- bile	- tatwe	-ne	-sanwe	Cisambomw e	- Cilob a	- Lusel e	- Fuk a	- kkumi
Tonga	- mw e	- bilo	- tatwe	-ne	-sanwe	Cisambomw e	- Cilob a	- Lusel e	- Fuk a	- kkumi

What has been presented in the above table are simply stems of Proto-bantu, Ila and Tonga numerals. There are noticeable similarities and differences in Tonga and Ila numerals as follows: commonalities established are –tatwe, -ne, -sanwe and –kkumi while differences are:-bile, -bilo, –mwi, and –mwe.

### 6.5 Summary

This chapter has considered some morphological aspects and lexical of Tonga and Ila. This has been done by considering the noun class systems of the two that are largely the same. The chapter has also illustrated some variations that exist between the two in terms of morphological structures. The chapter has concluded with some lexical variations between the two languages and has concluded that there are in fact more similarities between the two languages that enhances mutual intelligibility between the two.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE SYNTAX OF TONGA AND ILA

#### 7.0 General overview

This chapter on objective four accounts for the variations of sentence structure between Tonga and Ila. In focusing on syntax, the chapter focuses on the configurational pattern of sentences in both Tonga and Ila. This is done according to the types of sentences namely, declarative, interrogative and exclamative. The study has shown that the two languages share a common subject-verb-object (SVO) word ordering in sentences.

#### 7.1 Declarative sentences

In declarative sentences, the study shows that both Tonga and Ila share the SVO sentence structure as follows:

86. (a) **Tonga:** *Mutinta wacinywa cibwantu.*

S        V        O

Lit: 'Mutinta has drank traditional drink'. Actual: 'Mutinta has drank the traditional drink'. S-V-O

(a) **Ila:** *Mutinta wacinwa cibwantu*

S        V        O

lit 'Mutinta has drank traditional drink'. Actual: 'Mutinta has drank the sweet beer'. SVO

87. (a) **Tonga:** *Joko wamuuma musimbi*

S        V        O

Lit: Joko has beaten girl'.

Actual: 'Joko has beaten the girl'

S        V        O

**Ila:** *Joko wamuuma mushimbi* 'lit Joko has beaten girl'.

S      V      O

Actual: 'Joko has beaten the girl'

S      V      O

88. (a) **Tonga:** *Mwaanga walembe lugwalo*.

S                  V      O

Lit: 'Mwaanga has written letter'

'Mwaanga has written a letter'

S                  V      O

**Ila:** *Mwaanga walembe lung'walo*.

S                  V      O

Lit: 'Mwaanga has written letter'

'Mwaanga has written a letter'

S                  V      O

As seen from the above examples, Tonga and Ila, like other Bantu languages, follow the SVO structure of words in a sentence. This, however, has to be understood as preference of the speaker or writer. This means that the ordering of words might vary from one individual to another. The order might be VOS or any other as the speaker intends to do. It must be noted that the word order in both languages is the same with regard to declarative sentences except for a few differences as shown in the examples given above. For instance, **Tonga:** *Mutinta wacinywa cibwantu*. Lit: 'Mutinta has drunk traditional drink'. 'Mutinta has drunk the sweet beer'.

**Ila:** *Mutinta wacinywa cibwantu.* Lit 'Mutinta has drank traditional drink'. 'Mutinta has drank tradtonal drink'.

## 7.2 Exclamatory sentences

Exclamatory sentences are sentences that express some idea of surprise, strong emotion such as happiness. The following are examples of exclamatory sentences both in Tonga and Ila.

88. (a) **Tonga:** *Muntu walimbwa motokala!*

S                    V        O

Lit: 'person hit car'

The person has been hit by the car'

S                    V        O

Ila: *Muntu walimbwa mota!*

S        V            O

Lit: 'person hit car'

The person has been hit by the car'

S                    V        O

89. (a) **Tonga:** *Mwiyi wasika acikolo!*

S                    V        O

Lit: 'teacher has arrived at school'

The teacher has arrived at school'

S                    V        O

**Ila:** *Mwiiyi washika acikolo!*

S V O

Lit: 'teacher has arrived at school!'

The teacher has arrived at school'

S V O

90. (a) **Tonga:** *Ndeke yawa ansi.*

S V O

Lit: 'Aeroplane has fallen down on the ground!'

The aeroplane has crashed on the ground!

S V O

(b) **Ila:** *Indeke yawa anshi!* 'Aeroplane has fallen down!'

S V O

The aeroplane has fallen down on the ground!

S V O

91. (a) **Tonga:** *Moonga waumwa bbwe!*

S V O

Lit: stone has hit Moonga!

The stone has hit Moonga!

S V O

Ila: *Moonga waumwa ibwe!*

S V O

Lit: Moonga has been hit by stone!

Moonga has been hit by the stone!

S V O

92. (a) Tonga: *Muleya walya poizoni!*

S V O

Lit: Muleya has eaten poison!

Muleya has eaten the poison'

S V O

Ila: *Muleya walya poizon!*

S V O

Lit: Muleya has eaten poison!

Muleya has eaten the poison'

S V O

93. (a) Tonga: *Cimuumu waimba nyimbo!*

S V O

Lit: deaf has sang song!

The deaf has sang a song!

S V O

(c) Ila: *Ushaataambi waimba lwiimbo!*

S            V            O

Lit: deaf has sang song!

The deaf has sang a song!

S            V            O

With reference to exclamatory sentences, the word order is the same as shown in the sentences above. Also, there are a number of similarities in both Tonga and Ila lexical items except for very minimal noticeable differences. For example, where Tonga uses 'bbwe', Ila uses 'bwe'. This means that the Tonga rendition of the same lexical item has a hard sound signalled by double /b/ while Ila has soft sound indicated by single /b/. This point has already been made in the foregoing.

### 7.3 Interrogative sentences

An interrogative sentence is a type of sentence that asks a question, as opposed to sentences that make a statement, deliver a command, or express an exclamation. Interrogative sentences are typically marked by inversions of the subject and predicate; that is, the first verb in a verb phrase appears before the subject.

94.(a) **Tonga:** *Wakaabika kuli mali?*

Lit: 'you put where money'

Where did you put the money?

S    V    O

**Ila:** *Wakaabika kwi mali?*

'Lit: 'you put where money'

Where did you put the money?

S    V    O

95. (a) **Tonga:** *Nguni ngoyanda kwaambaula awalo?*

Lit: 'It is who you want to talk with?

Whom do you want to talk with?

O        S        V

**Ila:** *Nguni nguzanda kwaamba aze?*

Lit: 'it is who you want to talk with?

Whom do you want to talk with?

O        S        V

96. (a) **Tonga:** *Ncinzi ncoyanda kuzwidilizya mubuumibwako?*

Lit: 'it is what you want to achieve in life yours.

What do you want to achieve in your life?

S        V        O

**Ila:** *Ncinzhi ncuuzanda kuya kucita mubumi bwako?*

Lit: 'It is what you want to achieve in life yours?

What do you want to achieve in your life?

S        V        O

97. (a) **Tonga:** *Nguni wafusa bbwe aciluli cang'anda?*

Lit: 'who has thrown a stone on the roof?

*Nguni wafusa bbwe aciluli cang'anda?*

S        V        O

**Ila:** *Nguni wafusa ibwe aciluli cang'anda?*

S        V                    O

(d)

98. (a) **Tonga:** *Ncinzi Ncondiyowela?*

Lit: 'It is what you are scared of me?

What are you scared of me?

S        V        O

*Ila:* *Ncinzhi ncuuntiila ume?*

Lit: 'it is what you are scared of me?

Why are you scared of me?

S        V        O

From the sentences above, it can be noticed that the form of interrogative sentences in both Tonga and Ila has the same order except for particular noticeable insertions. For example, Tonga has an insertion of /u/ while Ila has an insertion of /i/ in the construction "what is your name?" as in '*Nduwe ni zina*' and '*Ndiwe ni zhina*' respectively. Note also that while Ila has an insertion of voiceless fricative /h/ which is not present in Tonga. In other words, some vowels like /i/ are preceded by the voiceless fricative in Ila unlike in Tonga.

### 7.3 Imperative sentences

The study has shown that the two languages have the same word order in all imperative sentence types of SVO as in the examples below.

99. (a) **Tonga:** *Munachoonga, jala mulyango.*

S                    V        O

Lit ‘Munachoonga, please close door.’ ‘Close the door’.

(b) Ila: *Munachoonga, yala mulyango.*

S V O

Lit ‘*Munachoonga, close door.*’

S V O

100. (a) Tonga: *Mutinta cebuka kusyule lyako!*

Lit: ‘Mutinta look out behind you!’

S V O

(b) Ila: *Mutinta cebuka kunuma lyako!*

Lit ‘Mutinta look out behind you!’

S V O

101.(a) Tonga: *a-mu-ndi-vune!*

Lit: ‘somebody save me!’

S V O

(b) Ila: *amunvune!*

Lit: ‘somebody save me!’

S V O

#### 7.4 Question marking in Tonga and Ila

The findings of the study show that question marking in Tonga and Ila is characterized by the use of **-sena-** and **-sa-** respectively. This is particularly true of the ‘**yes-no**’ questions which occupy either the initial or final positions in all sentences. Incidentally, there are instances when

there is an insertion of the particle **-na-** in order to express emphasis in Tonga which co-occurs with **-sena-**. The study further reveals that it is possible for the particle **-na-** to use it alone to signal question marking. However, there is also an insertion of the particle **-ndo-** in Ila in the expression of emphasis in the final position of a sentence.

102. **Tonga:** *Sena wafwa nzala?* ‘Are you hungry?’

**Ila:** *Sa wafwa nzala?* ‘Are you hungry?’

[literal translation: have- you-died-hunger?]

**Tonga:** *Sena ulainka kumulonga?* ‘Are you going to the river?’

**Ila:** *Sa ulaya kumulonga?* ‘Are you going to the river?’]

[Literal translation: Are you going to the river, are you?’

**Tonga:** *Sena ulasika, na? / Sena ulaboola, na?* ‘Are you coming?’

**Ila:** *Sa ulashika, ndo? / Sa ulazhiza, ndo?* ‘Are you coming?’

[Literal translation: are-you-coming-are-you]

It should, however, be brought to the fore that the particles *-sa-* and *-ndo-* can still be omitted without the meaning of the sentence being altered.

It has been revealed that question tag formation in Tonga and Ila is differently expressed in the two languages under investigation. Question tag formation in Tonga and Ila is differently expressed by using *sena mbombubo* and *sa imbubo*, respectively. The illustration of this state of affairs is as follows:

103. **Tonga:** *Ulandiyanda, sena mbombubo?*

**Ila:** *Ulanzanda, sa imbubo?*

[Literal translation: You-love-me-is-it-not-it]

## 7.5 Negative inceptives (Neg In) in Tonga and Ila

The study has revealed that Tonga and Ila use different forms in expressing negative inceptives for the English equivalent of ‘not yet’. For example, Tonga uses the marker *-ninga* while Ila uses the marker *na-* as in the examples below:

104. **Tonga:** *tatuninga sala, ta-tu-ninga-sal-a* ta-tu-na-sal-a ‘we have not yet chosen’

Neg SM Neg In RAD FV

**Ila:** *tatuna kusala, ta-tu-na-ku-sal-a* ‘we have not yet chosen’

Neg SM Neg In INF RAD FV

Tonga: *tiitwakana sala, tii-tw-aka-na-sal-a* ‘we had not yet chosen’

Tonga: *tiitwaninga sala, tii-twa-ninga-sal-a* ‘we had not yet chosen’

Ila: *katutana kusala, ka-tu-ta-na-sal-a* ‘we had not yet chosen’

It can be noticed that in Ila, they do not have *-ninga* but *-tuna*.

Tonga and Ila is differently expressed by using *sena mbombubo* and *sa imbubo* respectively. The illustration of this state of affairs is as follows:

Tonga: *Ulandiyanda, sena mbombubo?*

Ila: *Ulanzanda, sa imbubo?*

[Literal translation: You-love-me-is-it-not-it]

## 7.5 Summary

The study shows that both Tonga and Ila share the SVO sentence structure. This, however, has to be understood as preference of the speaker or writer. With reference to exclamatory sentences, it has been shown that the word order is the same as shown in both Tonga and Ila. While it has been demonstrated that there are also a number of similarities in both Tonga and Ila in lexical

items, the study shows that there are very minimal noticeable differences. The study reveals that the form of interrogative sentences in both Tonga and Ila has the same order except for particular noticeable insertions. The study has shown that the two languages have the same word order in all imperative sentence types of SVO. The findings of the study show that question marking in Tonga and Ila is characterized by the use of **-sena-** and **-sa-** respectively. This is particularly true of the **'yes-no'** questions which occupy either the initial or final positions in all sentences. The study has revealed that Tonga and Ila use different forms in expressing negative inceptives for the English equivalent of 'not yet'.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 8.0 General overview

This section is a summary of both the results and the discussion of the study. The section does this by compelling into account the four levels of linguistic analysis applied in the study. Subsequently these are phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels. Brief discussion is monitored by some recommendations for more investigation.

#### 8.1 Summary

This study was a comparative study of the Tonga and the Ila. It sought to answer the following questions in line with the above stated objectives: How do the sound systems of Ila and Tonga differ? What aspects of morphology/word formation processes vary between Tonga and Ila?; What aspects of selected vocabularies of the two languages vary?; and How are the sentences in Tonga and Ila constructed? The study was conducted in two main areas, one in which Tonga is predominantly spoken and another in which Ila is spoken. Thus, Maamba, Sinazongwe and Gwembe districts were chosen as research sites for Tonga while Namwala district in Maala village, Baambwe and Banamwaze were chosen as a site for Ila. The sample size of the study was eight, four from each language. Out of the eight, four were females and the other four were males. The study applied purposive sampling technique in order to select the required sample size of the study. Data collection methods included semi-structured interviews and direct observations. Data collection instruments involved a voice recorder, notebook and semi-structured interview guide. The study was qualitative in nature.

In analyzing data, the researcher started by sorting out data according to languages and type of data in terms of word list and sentence list and this was done separately. Further, the researcher had to put all the collected data were according to the four levels of linguistic analysis that applied to the study, that is, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. The researcher made comparisons between Tonga and Ila at each level of linguistic analysis with reference to the objectives of the study.

From the findings of the study, it has been revealed that Tonga has 20 consonants and two semi-vowels while Ila has 19 with their attendant phonetic variants. It has also been established that Ila equally has two semi-vowels (approximants) namely /w/ and /y/. Similarly, in the inventories of consonants for both languages, show some consonants are not shared between the two languages, for example; /g/, /dʒ/ are found in Tonga while /ʒ/ does not exist in Tonga but does exist in the Ila language. The study reveals that both Tonga and Ila are closely related to each other phonemically. However, some minimal distinctions were noticed. The study has further established that Tonga and Ila show slight differences in the manner they present sounds in their similar lexical.

The study also reveals differences in the manner in which some phonemes are used in similar lexemes of the two languages. The findings show that both languages share the same five vowel system which is common among most Bantu languages. The findings show that both Tonga and Ila share the same syllable structure. The findings show that both Tonga and Ila use tone and length for grammatical and lexical purposes.

The study has revealed that the general structure of the noun in Tonga and Ila languages exhibits a bi-morphemic structure. It has been noticed that the nucleus of the verbal morphology in Tonga and Ila is the verb root or radical to which affixes with dissimilar grammatical functions are attached. It has been specified in the study that morphologically, the deictic pronoun is of two types in the two languages.

From the phonological perspective, the study revealed that vowels and semi-vowels are realized as [i], [e], [a], [o], [u], [j] and [w] in both Tonga and Ila.

In the study, it was discovered that both languages under consideration; Tonga and Ila, are closely related to each other phonemically. However, some minimal distinctions were noticed. If one looks at the lexical similarities involving [z] and [zh], one can discover that there were more similarities than differences in the two languages. By extension, the study results show that there are lexical similarities involving [s] and [sh] whereby ‘s’ in Tonga is ‘sh’ in Ila.

The study results show that Tonga and Ila, like other bantu languages, obey the SVO structure of words in a sentence. It is also important to mention that the rendering of '-sy'- in Tonga will be 'sh'-in Ila.

In this study it has been demonstrated that Tonga and Ila embrace the different types of sentences in terms of declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory sentences. Generally, declarative sentences give information in a statement form or simply declares something. With reference to exclamatory sentences, it has been demonstrated that the word order is the same in both Tonga and Ila. It has also been noticed that the form of interrogative sentences in both Tonga and Ila has the same order except for particular noticeable insertions. In some cases, where differences are noticeable, it has been demonstrated that there are the segmental variations though the word forms might be the same. The study results again show that the form of imperative sentences in both Tonga and Ila has the same word order except for particular noticeable insertions. The findings of the study demonstrate that simple negation is characterized by the use of the negative verbal morpheme **ta**-in Tonga and **nshi**- in Ila. The findings of the study show that question marking in Tonga and Ila is characterized by the use of **-sena-** and **-sa-** respectively. It has been revealed that question tag formation in Tonga and Ila is differently expressed in the two languages under investigation. The study also shows that Tonga and Ila have simple negation can be depicted from positive to negative sentences in the future tense using the particles **-ta-** and **-nshi-** respectively. The study reveals that there is expression of simple negation in the past tense through the use of the particles **-ta-** in both Tonga and Ila while **-ka-** shows the past tense. However, there is the use of the **-wina-** in Ila to depict negation. The study established that the particle **-ta-** shows negation while the particle **-ka-** demonstrates past tense.

### 8.1.1 Phonological Level

On the phonological level, the study discovered that vowels and semi-vowels are realized as [i], [e], [a], [o], [u], [j] and [w] in both Tonga and Ila. The study presented an amount of variations between Tonga and Ila with respect to consonants. A Phoneme /j/ is found in Tonga and not in Ila, example: Jamba 'hoe' in Tonga and yamba in Ila. Therefore, the rendering of 'j' in Tonga will be 'y' in Ila. It was also observed that the phonemes /sh/ and /zh/ are found in Ila and not in

Tonga. The study revealed that what are realized as labio-dental fricatives [f] and [v] in Tonga are present in Ila as well.

The study further revealed that the postalveolar affricate [ʃ] which is orthographically written as sy- is available in Tonga and not in Ila. In Ila it is present but phonologically manifested as sh- such as in the word for ‘things’ it is rendered as shintu. The study further revealed that the phoneme /s/ present in Tonga but is manifested differently in Ila. In Ila it is manifested as /sh/. For example, in Tonga simuyobe is rendered shimuyobe in Ila.

This is usually the case when pronouncing names such as Simoonga [simo: ŋga], Simuyaba [simujaβa]. Some of the revelations of the study were that [z] is generally manifested differently in Tonga and Ila. For example, the word zintu ‘things’ is [ɛintu], while in Ila it is rendered shintu [ʃintu]. Furthermore, it was observed that the velar plosive [k] is generally spirantised in Tonga to be manifested as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. This is also to be expected in Ila depending on the varieties and speaker needs.

It was further observed that what is manifested as a voiceless postalveolar affricative [tʃ] in Tonga is manifested as a voiced lax postalveolar fricative [ʒ] in Tonga generally. However, in certain words such as ccita [tʃita] [I do not know] and kuccisa [ɛutʃisa] ‘to iron’, the affricate [tʃ] is manifested by both Tonga and Ila languages.

A synoptic view of the analysis of a comparative study of the Tonga and Ila at the three levels of phonological, morphological, and Syntactic has revealed the following;

### **8.1.2 Morphological Level**

With respect to morphology, the results of the study showed that generally the morphological structure of nouns and verbs was found to be similar in both Tonga and Ila.

However, some differences were noted in respect to noun classes. The study observed that there are nouns in both Tonga and Ila, which share the same nominal stem but realized different noun prefixes. For instance, the stem -ntu ‘things’ in Tonga is preceded by the class 8 prefix zyi- to realize /zyi-ntu/ [zyi-ntu] in the plural form of the word whereas the same nominal stem is preceded by the class 8 prefix shi- in Ila /shi-ntu/ [shi-ntu]. The same instance is common when

the stems are different but same prefixes. For example, the word for disease in Tonga is rendered *bulwazi* /βulwazi/ while in Ila it is rendered as *bulwazhi*/βulwazhi/. It can be seen that the prefixes are the same /βu/, which is in class 14. The stems are different which are /-lwazi/ and /-lwazhi/ in Tonga and Ila respectively. The plural rendering of the two words for disease is to be preceded by /ma-/ which is in class 6, and still take on the same nominal stems as shown above; /-lwazi/ and /-lwazhi/ in tonga and Ila respectively.

In terms of verbal morphology, it was revealed that the morphological structure of verbal extensions considered in the study was basically the same in Tonga and Ila. Both languages exhibited similar verbal extension morphemes: -il-, -el-, -in- or -en-(for the applied category), -i- and -isi-(for the causative category), -u- and -igu- (for the passive category), -ulul- and -unun- (for the reversive active category), -unuk- and -uluk- (for the reversive stative category), -an- (for the reciprocal category ), and -is- (for the intensive extension category). Commonly, it was perceived that there are few variations between Tonga and Ila at this level just as there are variations with regard to lexical and phonetic or phonological levels.

### **8.1.3 Syntactic Level**

At the syntactic level of linguistic analysis, it was perceived that both Tonga and Ila express simple negation. For Tonga, it uses a negative verbal morpheme *ta-* and the particle *pe*, which occurs at sentence final position thereby giving us a basic word order of S Neg+SM+V O (Neg). Ila uses *nshi-* as its negative verbal morpheme and the particle *ndiina* at the end of the sentence final position thereby giving us a basic word order of S Neg+SM+V O (Neg). *pe* and *ndiina* are used in Tonga and Ila respectively at the final position of a negative sentence purely for emphasis' sake.

However, some syntactic differences between Tonga and Ila were revealed. For instance, for a 'yes-no' question, it was observed that Tonga uses *sena* which can occupy sentence initial or sentence final position in terms of pronunciation and spelling, also occupying sentence initial or sentence final position. For Ila, for a yes or no question it uses *sa* which can occupy sentence initial or sentence final position in terms of pronunciation and spelling, also occupying sentence initial or sentence final position.

Another syntactic difference that was noted was in the words used for question tag formation. The study disclosed that Tonga uses *tee mbumbubo na* after a positive statement while Ila uses the words *sa imbubo*.

#### **8.1.4 Lexical Level**

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

The study has revealed that Tonga and Ila are quite close in terms of their vocabulary which makes them mutually intelligible to speakers of the languages. The closeness in vocabulary is attributed to the concept of convergence as opposed to divergence. Therefore, it could be concluded that although Tonga and Ila may be considered as languages, they could in fact be dialects of the same language given their shared similarities.

#### **8.2 Recommendations**

The study carried a comparative study of Tonga and Ila. It is extremely recommended that a comparative study of Tonga and Ila wider than the current one be conducted. It has been revealed that in some cases Ila people seems to pronounce /h/ instead of /v/ for example in a name like; 'Kavwima' as 'Kahwima'. For this cause, therefore, it is recommendable that future research or studies in this language area should endeavour to settle these uncertain characteristics like what this study has done. Therefore, it is discovered that, Ila might be a dialect of Tonga because most of the words in Ila are pronounced in the same way as words are pronounced in Plateau Tonga which is one of the two main dialects of Tonga. Furthermore, most of the levels of linguistic analysis have revealed that there are more similarities than differences found in the two

languages. Therefore, this requires the researcher to propose that Ila must be a dialect of Tonga. Regardless of Ila revealing some likely dialects inside itself, this has to be assumed as common just like tonga discloses such occurrences such as in the case of the two main dialects of Tonga known as plateau and valley. Generally, Tonga and Ila share what is known as mutual intelligibility between them. Hence, this means that the speakers in the two groups languages gladly comprehend one another with easiness.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Comparisons of English, Tonga and Ila

To come	Kusika	Kushika
Neck	Nsingo	Nshingo
Fog	Sikunku	Shikunku
Nshima	Nsima	Nshima
Country	Cisi	Cishi
Smoke	Busi	Bushi
Left	Cimwensi	Cimonsho
Back	Sule	Numa
Few	Zisyoonto	Shishoonto
To dig	Kusya	Kusha
To block	Kusinka	Kushinka
Black	Kusiya	Kushiya
Behind	Musule	Munuma/kunuma
Night	Masiku	Mashiku
Lizard	Syantombela	Intombela
Grass	Bwizu	Bwizu
Lion	Syuumbwa	Shuumbwa
Cast	Gusya	Kusha
Pinch	Syamba	Shamba
Sneeze	Kwesyemuka	Kushamita
Squeeze	Sina	Shina
Leave it	Cisiye	Cishiye
Sand	Musenga	Musenga
Water	Maanzi	Meenzhi
Road	Nzila	Nzhila
Parents	Bazyali	Bazhali
Stars	Nyenyeezi	Ntongwezhi

Names	Mazina	Mazhina
Shepherd	Mweembezi	Mweembezhi
Patient	Mulwazi	Mulwazhi
What	Ncinzi	Ncinzhi
To know	Kuzyiba	Kuzhiba
To scratch	Kukwazya	Kukwanya
To stand	Kwiima	Kuzhima
To bury	Kuzikka	Kuzhikka
Moon	Mwezi	Mwezhi
To swell	Kuzimba	Kuzhimba
Ancestral spirits	Muzimo	Muzhimo
Come	Koza	Kkweza
Extinguish	Zima	Zhima
To give birth	Kuzyala	Kuzhala
Housefly	Nzinini	Inzhi
Uproot	Zyula	Zhula
Shiver	Zyangama	Zhangama
Tears	Misozi	Misozhi
Shoulder	Gwezo	Kkuko

Village	Munzi	Munzhi
What	Nzi	Nzhi
Watch	Ebela	Ebela
Witch	Mulozi	Mulozhi
Drive	Kweenzya	Kweenzha
Dance	Zyana	Zhana
Ask	Buzya	Buzha
Pick	Bweza	Zemuna
Grind	Ziya	Zhiya

Bury	Zikka	Zhikka
Fall	Wa	Wa
Bind	Angaa	Anga
Bite	Luma	Luma
Bring	Leta	Leta
Burst	Kwaanduka	Kwaanduka
Burn	Umpa	Umpa
Break	Tyola	Kkonona
Drag	Kwela	Kwela
Drink	Nywa	Nwa
Draw	Swena	Sena
Drive	Enzya	Enzha
Drip	Sweka	Sweka
Move	Swena	Sena
Dive	Kuliwaala	Kuliwaala
Travel	Enda	Enda
Find	Jana	Yana
Fly	Uluka	Uluka
Float	Ibuka	Empa
Get	Bweza	Bweza

Sorgam	Miila/maila	Muceme
Blisters	Mabbanza/matwiza	Matuza
Kraal	Cimpat/ciba/	Luba
To get annoyed	Kunyema	Kulemana
Yard	Lubuwa	Lubanza
Left	Cimwensi	Cimonsho
Stars	Nyenyeezi	Ntongwezhi
I	Mebo/me	Ume
You	Yebo	Uwe
You (plural)	Nywebo	Umwe
This	Eci	Cechi
That	Ciya	Celya
There	Kuya	Kolya
Who	Ngwani	Nguni
Back	Sule	Numa
Where	Kuli	Ukwi
When	Lili	Liliye
How	Buti	Buti/Achani
All	Zyoonse	Shoonse

Many	Zyinji	Shinji-shinji
Some	Zimwi	Shimwi
Few	Zisyonto	Shishoonto/shongaana
Other	Zimwi	Shimwi
One	Komwe	Komwi
Two	Tobilo	Tobile
Three	Totatwe	Totatwe
Four	Tone	Tone
Five	Tosanwe	Tosanwe
Big	Cipati	Cikando
Long	Cilamfwu	Cilamfwu
Father	Bataata	Taata
Leaf	Tuvu	Tuvu
Meat	Nyama	Buzani
Bone	Cifwuwa	Cifwuwa
Fat	Futa	ifuta/isambo
Egg	Ji	Yi
Horn	Luja	Luya
Hair	Masusu/boya/susu	Masusu/boza/isusu

Knee	Zwi	inungo.
Back	Sule	Numa
To drink	Kunywa	Kunwa
To suck	Kunyonka	Kunonka
To spit	Kuswida	Kufwila
To breathe	Kuyoya	Kuzoza
To know	Kuzyiba	Kuzhiba
To think	Kuyeeya	Kutelaika/kuzeeza
To fear	Kuyoowa	Kutiya
To die	Kufwa	Kufwa
To kill	Kujaya	Kuyaya
To fight	Kulwana	Kulwa
To scratch	Kukwezya	Kukwenya
To dig	Kusya	Kusha
Mother	Baama	Baama
To stand	Kwiima	Kuzhima
To sew	Kusuma	Kutunga
To float	Kwiibuka	Kweempa
Moon	Mwezi	Mwezhi

Rain	Mvula	Mhula
Salt	Munyo	Mwino
Stone	Bbwe	iBwe
Sand	Vu	iHu/
Dust	Lusuko	Lufwuko
Earth	Nyika	Inshi
Red	Kusalala	Kusubila
Rotten	Cibolede	Chibozhi
Dry	Ciyumu	Cizumu
Near	Afwaafwi	Afwaafwi
To return	Kujoka	Kuzhoka
Bury	Kuzikka	Kuzhika
To say bye	Kulaya	Kulazha
Ancestral spirit	Mizimu/mizimo	Mizhimu
Roof poles	Makankala	Masomo
Dog	Munkala/mubwa	Mubwa/munkala
Bad	Bija/Kubija	Kubiya
Beard	Cilezu	Milehu
Big	Pati	Cikando

Old	Kulukulu	Cikulukulu/cakalekale
Doze off	Gunka/fwukula	Kufwukula
Dig	KuSya	kuSha
Night	Mansiku/masiku	Mashiku
Strong	Yuma	kuZuma
Voice	Jwi	iZwi
Catch	Jata	kuKwata
Dry	Yuma	Kuzuma
Hear	Nvwa/swiilila	Pupulala/teelela
Extinguish	Zima	Zhima
Mother	Baama	Baama
Wing	Bbaba	Ibaba
Frog	Cula	Kabombwe
Lizard	Syantombela	Ntombela
Give birth	Zyala	Zhala
Grass	Bwizu	Bwizu
Hat	Ngowani	Mfuse
Honey	Buci	Buci
Kill	Jaya	Yaya

Know	Ziba	Zhiba
Lion	Mulavu/syuumbwa	Mulahu/shuumbwa/Shaanza
The cheek	Saya	Tama
Mud	Ntimba	Bulongo/ntimba
Love	Luyando	Luzando
Lever	Lumano	Lumano
Now	Ino	Ninzho
Pull	Duda	Kwela
Spit	Swida	Fwila
Shoulder	Gwezo	Kuko/funzhi
Shut	Jala	Yala
Sick	Ciswa	Sata
Steal	Bba	Kwiba
Strength	Nguzu	Nsana
Sweat	Nkasaalo	Ibe
Tears	Misozi	Misozhi
Things	Zyintu	Shintu
Tomorrow	Juunza	Zona

Day after tomorrow	Zona	Bwelimwi
These	Ezi	Sheshi
Yesterday	Jilo	Zona
Today	Sunu	Bwasunu
Tooth	Linyo	Lino
Touch	Guma	Kwaampa
Village	Munzi	Munzhi
Visitor	Mweenzu	Mweenzu
Get wet	Teta	Lopa
Witch	Mulozi	Mulozhi
Woodpecker	Simugomampako	Shimukonkomona
Watch	Langa	Langa
Groundnuts	Ndongwe	Nyemu
Cowdung	Mafwumba	Mafwumba
To marry	Kukwata	Kutwala
Grandfather	Syaanene	Kaaka
Maize	Zyipopwe	Mapopwe
Pay bride price	Kukwa	Kukwa

Bury	Zikka	Zhika
Fall	Wa	Wa
Bind	Angaa	Anga
Bite	Luma	Luma
Bring	Leta	Leta
Burst	Kwaanduka	Kwaanduka
Burn	Umpa	Tenta
Break	Tyola	Konona
Drag	Kwela	Kwela
Drink	Nywa	Nwa
Draw	Swena	Swena/sena
Drive	Enzya	Enzha
Drip	Sweka	Sweka
Move	Swena	Swena
Dive	Kuliwaala	Kuliwaala
Travel	Enda	Enda
Find	Jana	Yana
Fly	Uluka	Uluka
Float	Ibuka	Empa

Get	Bweza	Bweza/zemuna
Tell	Ambila	Shimwina/ambila
Give	Pa	Pa
Cast	Gusya	Kkusya
Make	Panga	Panga
Rub	Buwa	Buwa/nanika
Grip	Jatilila	Kkwatilila
Go	Koya	Koya
Walk	Enda	Enda
Cry	Lila	Lila
Dance	Zyana	Zhana
Slash	Kwapa	Kwapa
Pinch	Syamba	Shamba
Chop	Kosola/juba	Kosola
Sound	Zuma	Huuma
Thunder	Zuma	Ndindima
Climb	Kkwela	Liza
Cleave	Namatila	Kakatila
Tie	Anga	Anga

Come	Koza	Kkweza
Craw	Yavula	Kkalaba
Sing	Imba	Imba
Speak	Amba	Amba
Smile	Mweta-mweta	Mwena-mwena
Put	Bikka	Bikka
Lay	Lala	Ona
Run	Zuza/lunduka	Lukkanka
Grind	Ziya	Zhiya
Sneeze	Esemuka	Shamita
Leak from container	Sweka	Swekka
Ride	Ccovwa	Ccohwa
Scratch	Kwezya/kwazya	Kkwanya
Shiver	Kankama/zyangama	Zhangama/Kkankama
Flow	Kunka	Kkunka
Roar	Vuluma/vwuta	Huluma
See	Bona	Bona
Swim	Dubbwa	Samba
Sit	Kkala	Kkala

Sink	Bbila	Bila
Boil	Bila	Bila
Separate	Andaanya	Andaanya
Shine	Mweka	Mwekka
Shoot	Yasa	Yasa
Scream	Kwiila	Kkwiila
Write	Lemba	Lemba
Shake	Zungaanya	Zungaanya
Tremble	Zyangama	Zhangama
Cut	Kosola/juba	Tenda/kosola
Tear	Zapula/delula	Zapula/
Swallow	Mena	Mina
Shut/close	Jala	Yala
Punch	Uma	Uma
Melt	Enzemuka	Sungunuka
Greeze/smear	Nanika/lamba	Nanikka
Spread	Yala	Zala
Jump	Sotoka	Sotokka
Ask	Buzya	Buzha

Suck	Nyonka	Nonka
Take	Bweza	Bweza
Yell	Ongolola	Ompolola
Grow	Byala	Minza/shanga
Eat	Lya	Lya
Turn	Nyona/zyuuluka	Chindulukka
Fold	Vunga/peta	vunga
Help	Gwasya	Yovwa
Think	Yeeya	Telaikka
Dress up	Sama	Sama
Look	Langa	Langa
Cover	Vumba	Vumba/Vwika
Cross	Kosola	Kosola
Learn	Iya	Iya
Hunt	Vwima/weza	Weza/vwima
Laugh	Seka	Seka
Vomit	Luka	Lukka
Plait	Luka/pesa	Lukka/pesa
Spit	Swida	Fwila

Bite	Luma	Luma
Kill	Jaya	Yaya
Hit	Uma	Uma
Stab	Yasa	Yasa
Push	Tonka	Tonka
Breathe	Yoya	Zoza
Count	Bala	Bala
Throw	Sowa	Sowa
Play	Sobana	Sobana
Sew	Suma	Tunga/sasa
Squeeze	Sina	Shina
Pot	Mupika/mpoto	Mpoto
Axe	Keembe	Keembe
Door	Citendele/kkoma	Ccitendele
Plate	Mutiba/mbede	Mutiba
Dog	Mubwa	Mubwa
Crocodile	Ntale/Ciwena	Ciwena/Ntale
Meat	Nyama	Buzani
Roofpoles	Makankala	Masomo

Bird	Muyuni	Muzuni
Ancestral spirits	Mizimo	Mizhimu
Beard	Cilezu	Cilevu
Sky	Julu	Zeulu
Bone	Fuwa	Fuwa
Beer	Bukoko/bukande	Mukkukku
Voice	Jwi	Zwi
Cheek	Saya	Tama
Land	Nyika	Inshi
Egg	Ji	yi
Fat	Futa	Futa
Father	Taata	Taata
Mother	Baama	Baama
Feathers	Mapepe	Mapepe
Wing	Bbaba	Baba
Finger	Kanwe	Kanwe
Night	Masiku	Mashiku
Hand	Janza/maboko	Tashi
Fog	Cula	Kabombwe

Lizard	Syaantombela	Ntombela
Grass	Bwizu	Bwizu
Hat	Ngowani	Mfuse
Honey	Buci	Bucci
Housefly	Nzinini	Inzhi
Lion	Syuumbwa	Shuumbwa
Liver	Cini/muni	Muni
Mud	Ntimba	Ntimba
Root	Muyanda	Muzanda
Sand	Museenga	Museenga
Shoulder	Gwezo/kuko	kuko/ccifwunzhi
Sweat	Nkasaalo	Ibe
Tears	Misozi	Misozhi
Things	Zintu/Zyintu	Shintu
Tooth	Linyo	Lino
Village	Munzi	Munzhi
Visitor	Mweenzu	Mweenzu
Witch	Mulozi	Mulozhi
Maize	Mapopwe/zipopwe	Mapopwe

Groundnuts	Ndongwe/Nyemu	Nyemu
Grandfather	Syaanene	Kaaka/Nkambo
Cowdang	Mafwumba	Mafumba
Woodpeker	Simugomampako	Shimukkonkomona
Sheep	Mbelele	Mbelele
Cow	Ngombe	Ngombe
Chicken	Nkuku	Nkuku
Lips	Milomo	Milomo
Ears	Matwi	Matwi
Eyes	Meso	Menso
Head	Mutwe	Mutwi
Hair	Masusu/susu	Masusu/isusu
Tongue	Mulaka/lulimi	Lulimi/mulakka
Chest	Camba	Lwango/ccamba
Heart	Moyo	Monzo
Legs	Maulu / Matende	Matende
Neck	Nsingo	Nshingo
Ribs	Mampango	Nvwabuti
Nose	Mpemo	Nango

Stomach	Da	Ifwu
Field	Muunda	Muunda
Toes	Tunwe	Tukumo
Seed	Mbuto	Mbuto
Hoe	Jamba	Yamba
Sorgam	Maila/miila	Mucceme
Beans	Nyangu	Nyangu
Sickle	Jekeso	Cceko
Sweetpotatoes	Cimbwali	Mbata
Fingermillet	Nzembwe	Maase
Chair	Cuuno	Cuuna
Bed	Bulo	Bulo
Blanket	Ngubo/ndumba	Ngubo
Cookingstick	Muungo	Muunsho
Firewood	Nkuni	Nkuni
Cloth	Cisani	Cisani
Belts	Ntambo/lukole	Lutambo
Blisters	Matwiza	Matuza
Kraal	Luba/cimpat/mulaka/bbondo	Luba/caata

Gourd	Munkuli/cinkuli	Munkuli/cinkuli
Country	Cisi	Cishi
Goat	Mpongo	Mpongo
Ducks	Dada	Dada
Teachers	Bamayi	Bamaayi
Medicine	Munsamu	Musamu
Chief	Mwami	Mwami
Chickenhouse	Cilugu	Citembo
Parents	Bazyali	Bazhali
Relish	Cisyu	Ccilisho
Milk	Mukupu	Mukupu
Hospital	Cibbadela	Ccipatela
Work	Ncito	Mulimo
Shepard	Mweembezi	Mweembezi
Case	Mulandu/kaambo	Mulandu/kaambo
Court	Nkuta	Nkuta
Water	Maanzi	Meenzhi
Money	Mali	Mali
Yard	Lubuwa	Lubanza

Rivers	Milonga	Milonga
Friend	Mweenzuma	Mweenzuma
Smoke	Busi	Bushi
Tails	Micila	Micila
Stars	Nyenyeezi	Ntongwezhi
Blood	Bulowa/ganzi	Bulowa
Fishingnet	Kyandi/kausabwe	Kyandi
Hole	Dindi	Cilindi
Storm	Guwo	Ikkunku
Tails	Micila	Miccila
Stones	Mabwe	Mabwe
Fruits	Micelo	Micelo
Polls	Masamu	Masamu
A fight	Nkondo/lumamba	Nkondo
Names	Mazina	Mazhina
Left	Lumwensi	Ccimonsho
Right	Lulyo	Ccilyo
Pig	Ngulube	Ngulube
Patient	Mulwazi	Mulwazhi

Bait	Kalobyo	Kalobo
Beautiful	Kubota	Kubota
Warm	Kukasaala	Kukasaala
Happy	Komana/botelwa	Botelwa
Smooth	Teteete	Bonvwu-bonvwu
Funny	Bufwuba-fwuba	Bulimbushi
Scared	Kuyoowa	Kuzoowa
Angry	Kunyema	Kulemana
Smart	Bulondo	Bulondo
Young	Musyoonto	Musyoonto

## Appendix B: The List of Tonga Phrases/Sentences and Its English Glosses

1. Tonga: Ndakaliboteledwe. 'I was happy.'

Ila: Ndakaa kubotelelwe. 'I was happy.'

2. Tonga: Wakapailide wakali Mweemba. 'The one who prayed was Mweemba.'

Ila: Wakaakupailile kali Mweemba. 'The one who prayed was Mweemba.'

3. Tonga: Tulalima. 'We are cultivating.'

Ila: Tulaakulima. 'We are cultivating.'

4. Tonga: Twakaswaangana. 'We met.'

Ila: Twakaswaangana. 'We met.'

5. Tonga: Bakaswaangana. 'They met.'

Ila: Bakaswaangana. 'They met.'

6. Tonga: Bakalikulila. 'They were crying.'

Ila: Kabalila. 'They were crying.'

7. Tonga: Tulaseka. 'We are laughing.'

Ila: Tulaakuseka. 'We are laughing.'

8. Tonga: Twakaseka. 'We laughed.'

Ila: Twakaseka. 'We laughed.'

9. Tonga: Twakalikuseka. 'We were laughing.'

Ila: Twakaakuseka. 'We were laughing.'

10. Tonga: Tulazyana. 'We are dancing.'

Ila: Tulakuzhana. 'We are dancing.'

11. Tonga: Tendalota kabotu sunu. 'I have not dreamt well today.'

**Ila:** Ndiina kulota kabotu bwesunu. 'I have not dreamt well today.'

12. Tonga: Wakainka. 'He/She went.'

Ila: Wakaya 'He/She went.'

13. Tonga: Uloona abulo/ulilede abulo. 'He/She is sleeping on the bed.'

Ila: Ulilele abulo/uloona abulo. 'He/she is sleeping on the bed.'

14. Tonga: Ndakalila. 'I cried.'

Ila: Ndakalila. 'I cried.'

15. Tonga: Ndaunka kumuunda. 'I went to the field.'

Ila: Ndakiile kumuunda. 'I went to the field.'

16. Tonga: Baama bakajika kabotu 'Mum cooked well.'

Ila: Baama bakaika kabotu. 'Mum cooked well.'

17. Tonga: Eciya nciabo. 'That is theirs.'

Ila: Celya ncabo. 'that is theirs.'

18. Tonga: Eciya cisani nciteteete. 'That cloth is fine.'

Ila: Celya cisani ncibomvwu-bomvwu. 'That cloth is fine.'

19. Tonga: Ndakatuma Josefa kumulonga. 'I sent Joseph to the river.'

Ila: Ndakatuma Josefa kumulonga. 'I sent Joseph to the river.'

20. Tonga: Uloona acuuno. 'He/She is sleeping on the chair.'

- Ila: Uloona acuuna. 'He/She is sleeping on the chair.'
21. Tonga: Ndali kucikombelo. 'I went to church.'
- Ila: Ndaakuli kucikombelo. 'I went to church.'
22. Tonga: Lweendo wakajika kabotu. 'Lweendo cooked well.'
- Ila: Lweendo wakaika kabotu. 'Lweendo cooked well.'
23. Tonga: Bakalila. 'They cried.'
- Ila: Bakalila. 'They cried.'
24. Tonga: Wakabeleka canguzu/kapati. 'She/He worked very hard.'
- Ila: Wakasebeza cansana. 'She/He worked very hard.'
25. Tonga: Tacili kabotu kubba. 'It is not good to steal.'
- Ila: Tacili kabotu kwiba. 'It is not good to steal.'
26. Tonga: Uuno mwaka twalima kapati. 'This year we have cultivated a lot.'
- Ila: Weno mwaka twalima cinicini. 'This year we have cultivated a lot.'
27. Tonga: Ndilapyaanga/ndilakukula. 'I am sweeping.'
- Ila: Ndakupyaanga/ndakukukula. 'I am sweeping.'
28. Tonga: Ulapyaanga. 'He or She is sweeping.'
- Ila: Ulakupyaanga. 'He or She is sweeping.'
29. Tonga: Tulapyaanga. 'We are sweeping.'
- Ila: Tulakupyaanga. 'We are sweeping.'
30. Tonga: Balapyaanga. 'They are sweeping.'
- Ila: Balaakupyaanga. 'They are sweeping.'
31. Tonga: Tandiyandi kuti aboole. 'I do not want him/her to come.'
- Ila: Nshizanda kwamba azhize. 'I do not want him/her to come.'
32. Tonga: Tatuyandi kuti aboole. 'We do not want him/her to come.'
- Ila: Tatuzanda kwamba ati azhize. 'We do not want him/her to come.'
33. Tonga: Tabayandi kuti aboole. 'They do not want him/her to come.'
- Ila: tabazanda kwamba ati azhize. 'They do not want him/her to come.'
34. Tonga: Tindakaboola/Tindaaboola kaambo ndakali cisidwe. 'I did not come because i was sick.'
- Ila: Ndina indakazhiza nkaambo ndakaakusatile. 'I did not come because i was sick.'

35. Tonga: ḡanda yadilika nkaambo tiyakayakidwe kabotu. 'The house has collapsed because it was not built well.'

Ila: ḡanda yadilika nkaambo ina niyakaakuzakilwe kabotu. 'The house has collapsed because it was not built well.'

36. Tonga: Tindakajisi/Tindaajisi meenda manji. 'I did not have enough water.'

Ila: Ndina indakukwete meenzhi manji-manji. 'I did not have enough water.'

37. Tonga: Taakajisi meenda manji. 'He/She did not have enough water.'

Ila: Wina nakakukwete meenzhi manji-manji 'He/She did not have enough water.'

38. Tonga: Utasiki kucikombelo. 'Do not come to church.'

Ila: Utashika kucikombelo. 'Do not come to church.'

39. Tonga: Waambaula kabotu. 'He/She is speaking well.'

Ila: Ubandika kabotu. 'He/She is speaking well.'

40. Tonga: Bape basyaanene bako. 'Give your grandfather.'

Ila: Bape bankambo yako. 'Give your grandfather.'

41. Tonga: bape banene bako. 'Give your grandmother.'

Ila: Bape bankambo yako. 'Give your grandmother.'

42. Tonga: Tindakazyi kuti mubbi. 'I did not know that he was a thief.'

Ila: Ndina indakakwizhi ati muteu. 'I did not know that he was a thief.'

43. Tonga: Ndilalima muunda. 'I cultivate the field.'

Ila: Ndaakulima muunda. 'I cultivate the field.'

44. Tonga: Ulima muunda. 'He/She cultivates the field.'

Ila: Ulaakulima muunda. 'He/She cultivates the field.'

45. Tonga: Tulalima muunda. 'We cultivate the field.'

Ila: tulaakulima muunda. 'We cultivate the field.'

46. Tonga: Balalima muunda. 'They cultivate the field.'

Ila: Balaakulima muunda. 'They cultivate the field.'

47. Tonga: Ndilima muunda. 'I am cultivating the field.'

Ila: ndaakulima muunda. 'I am cultivating the field.'

48. Tonga: ulima muunda. 'she/he is cultivating the field.'

Ila: ulaakulima muunda. 'she/he is cultivating the field.'

49. Tonga: Tulima muunda. ‘We are cultivating the field.’  
 Ila: Tulaakulima muunda. ‘We are cultivating the field.’
50. Tonga: Balima muunda. ‘They are cultivating the field.’  
 Ila: Balaakulima muunda. ‘They are cultivating the field.’
51. Tonga: Ndinoolima muunda. ‘I will be cultivating the field.’  
 Ila: Ndilakulima muunda. ‘I will be cultivating the field.’
52. Tonga: Unoolima muunda. ‘He/She will be cultivating the field.’  
 Ila: ulaakulima muunda ‘He/She will be cultivating the field.’
53. Tonga: Banoolima muunda. ‘They will be cultivating the field.’  
 Ila: Balaakulima muunda. ‘They will be cultivating the field.’
54. Tonga: ndiyakulima muunda. ‘I will cultivate the field.’  
 Ila: ndakaulima muunda. ‘I will cultivate the field.’
55. Tonga: uyakulima/uyoolima muunda. ‘She/He will cultivate the field.’  
 Ila: Ulakaulima muunda. ‘She/He will cultivate the field.’
56. Tonga: Tonga: Bayakuulima muunda. ‘They will cultivate the field.’  
 Ila: Balakaulima muunda. ‘They will cultivate the field.’
57. Tonga: Ndiyakuulima muunda. ‘I will cultivate the field.’  
 Ila: Ndakaulima muunda. ‘I will cultivate the field.’
58. Tonga: Bayooulima muunda. ‘They will cultivate the field.’  
 Ila: Balakaulima muunda. ‘They will cultivate the field.’
59. Tonga: Tuyooulima muunda. ‘We will cultivate the field.’  
 Ila: Tulakaulima muunda. ‘We will cultivate the field.’
60. Tonga: Ndaulima muunda. ‘I have cultivated the field.’  
 Ila: Ndaulima muunda. ‘I have cultivated the field.’
61. Tonga: Waulima muunda. ‘He/She has cultivated the field.’  
 Ila: Waulima muunda. ‘He/She has cultivated the field.’
62. Tonga: Baulima muunda. ‘They have cultivated the field.’  
 Ila: Baulima muunda. ‘They have cultivated the field.’
63. Tonga: Twaulima muunda. ‘We have cultivated the field.’  
 Ila: Twaulima muunda. ‘We have cultivated the field.’
64. Tonga: Ndakaulima muunda. ‘I cultivated the field.’

Ila: Ndakaulima muunda ‘I cultivated the field’

65. Tonga: Wakaulima muunda ‘She/He cultivated the field’

Ila: Wakaulima muunda ‘She/He cultivated the field’

66. Tonga: Bakaulima muunda ‘They cultivated the field’

Ila: Bakaulima muunda ‘They cultivated the field’

67. Tonga: Ndakaikukula nda ‘I swept the house’

Ila: Ndakaikukula nanda ‘I swept the house’

68. Tonga: Wakaikukula nanda. ‘He/She swept the house.’

Ila: Wakaikukula nanda. ‘He/She swept the house.’

69. Tonga: Bakaikukula nanda. ‘They swept the house.’

Ila: Bakaikukula nanda. ‘They swept the house.’

70. Tonga: Twakaikukula nanda. ‘We swept the house.’

Ila: Twakaikukula nanda. ‘We swept the house.’

71. Tonga: Ndakakwaambila kuti mukaintu ooyu tasyomeki. ‘I told you that this woman is not honest.’

Ila: Ndakakushimwina ati wezu mukaintu wina nashomeka. ‘I told you that this woman is not honest.’

72. Tonga: Ndakakwaambila kuti ooyu mukaintu ngwamasimpe ‘I told you that this woman is of truth.’

Ila: Ndakakushimwina ukwaamba ati wezu mukaintu wina masimpe ‘I told you that this woman is of truth.’

73. Tonga: Wakakwaambila nzi? ‘What did he/she tell you?’

Ila: Wakakushimwina inzhi? ‘What did he/she tell you?’

74. Tonga: Wakamwaambila nzi? ‘What did she/he tell you?’

Ila: Wakakushimwina nzhi? ‘What did she/he tell you?’

75. Tonga: Nkaambo nzi ncotakandaambila kuti mulwazi? ‘Why did you not tell me that he was a patient?’

Ila: Ncinzhi ncuwatakanshimwina ukwaamba ati mulwazi? ‘Why did you not tell me that he was a patient?’

76. Tonga: Tindakazyi kuti mulwazi ‘I did not know that he was a patient’

Ila: Ndina indakakwizhi ukwaamba ati kali mulwazhi ‘I did not know that he was a patient.’

77. Tonga: Tindakazi kuti wakali kundisowela ciindi. ‘I didn’t know that he was wasting.’

Ila: Ndina indakakwizhi ukwamba ati kandisowela ciindi. ‘I didn’t know that he was wasting.’

78. Tonga: Koya ukamwaambile aboole sunu . ‘Go and tell him/her to come today.’

Ila: Kuya ukamushimwine azhize usunu. ‘Go and tell him/her to come today.’

79. Tonga: Atweende kumunzi. ‘Let us go to the village.’

Ila: Atuye kumunzhi ‘Let us go to the village.’

80. Tonga: Ndamwaambila kale kuti aboole sunu. ‘I have already told him/her that he should come today.’

Ila: Ndakamushimwina kale ukwaamba ati azhize usunu. ‘I have already told him/her that he should come today.’

81. Tonga: Tindamwaambila nkaambo ndala mulimo. ‘I did not tell him/her because I had work.’

Ila: Ndina indamushimwina nkaambo ndaakukwete mulimo. ‘I did not tell him/her because I had work.’

82. Tonga: Mbubo koya umwaambile lino/Ino. ‘That is fine, now go and tell him/her.’

Ila: Imbubo kuya umushimwine ninzho. ‘That is fine, now go and tell him/her.’

83. Tonga: Tayandi kuti aboole. ‘He/She does not want him/her to come.’

Ila: Tazanda kwaamba azhize. ‘He/She does not want him/her to come.’

84. Tonga: Tabayandi kuti aboole. ‘They do not want him/her to come.’

Ila: Tabazanda kwaamba azhize. ‘They do not want him/her to come.’

85. Tonga: wakali kulila. ‘He/Her was crying.’

Ila: kalila. ‘He/Her was crying.’

86. Tonga: tajisi mali. ‘He/She does not have money.’

Ila: Wina mali. ‘he/she does not have money.’

87. Tonga: uwasya ngubo/mapai. ‘he/she is washing the blankets.’

- Ila: Ulakuwasya ngubo. 'He/She is washing the blankets.'
89. Tonga: Bbuku lyangu lyasweeka. 'My book is lost.'
- Ila: Buka lyangu lyazhimina. 'My book is lost.'
90. Tonga: Ngonguwe 'it is this', 'This is he' 'she' 'it.'
- Ila: Ngonguwe 'it is this', 'This is he' 'she' 'it.'
91. Tonga: Ngooyu 'it is this' 'This is he' 'it.'
- Ila: Nguwezu 'it is this' 'This is he' 'it.'
92. Tonga: Nguulya 'it is yonder' 'Yonder is he' it.'
- Ila: Nguwelya. 'it is yonder' 'Yonder is he' it.'
93. Tonga: Mubwa wangu wajaya umpe. 'My dog has killed a wild dog.'
- Ila: Mubwa wangu wayayaumpe. 'My dog has killed a wild dog.'
94. Tonga: Munyama mukali mubi. 'The angry animal is bad.'
- Ila: Munyama mukali mubyabi. 'The angry animal is bad.'
95. Tonga: Iwe, koza tulye insima. 'You! Come here and let us eat nshima.'
- Ila: Uwe, kweza tulye inshima. 'You! Come here and let us eat nshima.'
96. Tonga: Munyama nzi uulya ueenda okuya? Munyati. 'What is that animal walking along there? It is the buffalo.'
- Ila: Munyama nzhi welya uliyakweenda kolya? Munyati. 'What is that animal walking along there? It is the buffalo.'
97. Tonga: Eelyo bbuku taliduli 'That book is not expensive.'
- Ila: Lelyo buka taliduli 'That book is not expensive.'
98. Tonga: Sena uyanda kuuzya cimbayambaya cako? 'Do you want to sell your car?'
- Ila: Sa ulazanda kusambala mota wako? 'Do you want to sell your car?'
99. Tonga: Sena kuli ncoyanda? 'Do you want something?'
- Ila: Sa kuli ncuuzanda? 'Do you want something?'
100. Tonga: Sena wanyema? 'Are you angry?'
- Ila: Sa walemana? 'Are you angry?'

## Appendix C: Proto Bantu

S/n	GLOSS	PROTO BANTU	TONGA	PROTO BANTU	ILA
1.	Head (n)	-tu	Mutwe	-tu	Mutwi
2.	Ashes	-tu	Dyota	-tu	Mulota/twe
3.	Eye (n)	-yico	Liso	-yico	Linso
4.	Heart	-tema	Moyo	-tema	Monzo
5.	Grandfather	-kaaka	Syanene	-kaaka	Nkambo
6.	Knife	-poko	Cipanga	-poko	Cipeni
7.	Grandmother	-kaaka	Baneene	-kaaka	bankaaka
8.	Tired	-dem	Kudekela	-dem	kukatala
9.	To marry	-bad	Kukwa	-bad	Kutwala
10.	Root (n)	-di	Muyanda	-di	muzanda
11.	Bird	-yoni	-yuni	-yoni	Zuni
12.	Old	-nene	Pati	-	Kando
13.	Leaf	-yani	-tu	-yani	Tuvwu
14.	Neck (n)	-nkingo	Nsingo	-nkingo	Nshingo