

AN OUTLINE OF CHITONGA

GRAMMAR

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FOREWORD

There has been a lack of up to date descriptive grammars of Zambian languages suitable for use, either as teaching or as learning aids, at all levels of the Zambian education system. This lack has been keenly felt by teachers and learners alike. Many of the grammars that are available could be said to be inadequate or inappropriate in several respects. The oldest ones were written at a time when Latin or European languages generally were considered to be the prototype of all grammars, and thus they tended to be patterned in their arrangement, description and the terminology employed on Latin-based grammatical rules. Others were written in a style and language which presented serious problems of comprehension even to teachers. In a good many cases, the actual examples cited were unnatural, forced or not in accord with accepted usage. At the present moment many of these works have long been out of print.

In order to put in the hands of the teachers and learners grammatical descriptions which reflected more nearly the structural facts of their language, during 1970-71, the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Zambia attempted to provide comprehensible grammatical descriptions of the seven Zambian languages officially prescribed for use in education, broadcasting and literacy programmes. The authors who volunteered or were approached to write them were specifically instructed to employ a comprehensible style and to keep technical terminology to the absolute minimum. The general reader was clearly in mind. It is hoped that with the publishing now of the grammatical outlines of *iciBemba*, *siLozi*, *ciNyanja* and *chiTonga* the original intention of providing grammatical descriptions of appeal

to a wide audience, both lay and professional, will have been achieved.

As originally conceived, seven grammatical sketches representing all the seven officially approved Zambian languages, plus sketches of Town Bemba and Town Tonga, were to have been published as Part One in a projected three-part volume of **Language in Zambia**, incorporating the findings of the Zambia Language Survey. In the event, it was found necessary in the interest of reducing bulk and cost to abandon the original plan and to arrange to publish the sketches separately. Indeed, publishing them separately has the advantage of making them available in a convenient, less bulky size suitable for both teacher and student handling.

The Institute for African Studies (now the Institute of Economic and Social Research), University of Zambia, published in 1977 **Language in Zambia: Grammatical Sketches**, Volume 1, containing grammatical sketches or outlines of *iciBemba* and *kiKaonde* by Michael Mann and JL Wright respectively, plus a sketch of the main characteristics of Town Bemba by Mubanga E Kashoki. The plan at the time was to publish subsequently two follow-up volumes: first, Volume 2, to contain sketches of *siLozi* and *Lunda* and *Luvale* and second, Volume 3, to contain sketches of *ciNyanja* and *chiTonga*. In the event this plan was not adhered to. Only one volume was published in accordance with the original plan and this has been out of print for some time now.

It is in part for these reasons that it has been considered necessary to attend to the unfinished business initiated some two decades ago. Also, and more pertinently, the need for pedagogical and reference grammars of Zambian

languages continues to be keenly felt. The matter has now been made more urgent following the recent (1996) decision of the Zambian Government to revert to the earlier policy of using local (i.e. Zambian) languages plus English as a media of instruction. As now re-arranged, in order to achieve what is felt to be a more logical arrangement, four grammatical sketches of *iciBemba*, *siLozi*, *ciNyanja* and *chiTonga* have been published.

Co-sponsored by the Institute for African Studies, (the present Institute of Economic and Social Research, University of Zambia), the main volume, **Language in Zambia**, was published in 1978 by the International African Institute (IAI) partly subsidised by funds from the Ford Foundation. The Institute gratefully acknowledges the permission granted by the Foundation, the sponsors of the language survey of which the material published herein is a partial outcome, to have the sketches published separately. Gratitude is also due to the authors of the sketches for their contribution in a field in which much remains to be done.

Other acknowledgements are due to Bookworld Publishers for publishing the sketches in collaboration with the Institute; to the editors of **Language in Zambia**, Sirarpi Ohannessian and Mubanga E Kashoki, for carrying out the bulk of the necessary initial editorial work; to Dr. Tom Gorman who was detailed to bring a general stylistic consistency to the sketches; and to the secretarial Institute staff for preparing the typescript. Above all, the eventual publication of the sketches owes much to the Zambian Government, in particular the Ministry of Education, and to the University of Zambia for their interest and support and for providing a conducive environment in which fruitful research work could take place during the life of the Survey of

Language Use and Language Teaching in Zambia.

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PEOPLE AND DIALECTS

The language name **Chitonga*** ((i)ci-Tonga) covers a number of varieties spoken mainly in Southern Zambia by people who call themselves (i)bá-Tonga. In the classification of Bantu languages by Guthrie (1971:57) it is given as M.64 in the Lenje-Tonga group. It is closely related to other languages spoken in the vicinity, notably Ila to the west and Lenje and Sala to the north and east. The number of Tonga speakers is currently estimated at 800,000.

Within the Tonga area ((i)bú-Tonga), there are dialectal differences in sound system, grammar and vocabulary. The greatest differences are between north and south, the so-called 'Plateau' and 'Gwembe Valley' varieties, but there is some east-west variation as well.

SOUND SYSTEM AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Speakers of different dialects often use the same spelling to represent different sounds, for instance, the spelling *sy* represents Southern [sy] and northern [h^y], the latter sometimes spelt *hy* or *h*. Italicised letters show orthographic (spelling) symbols; those in square brackets show pronunciation (phones). In explaining sound alternations ('sound-changes'), symbols in slashes /.../ show the underlying sounds, or phonemes. Since every vowel in Chitonga is the nucleus of a separate syllable, double vowels rather than length signs are used in phonetic brackets.

* In conformity with the 1977 Official Orthography the editor has substituted Chitonga for Tonga (which is the term used by Hazel Carter): Tonga is used here as an adjective except before grammar and orthography, where Chitonga is retained.

Sounds are presented in alphabetical order of the current spelling system, but with vowels first. The context of a symbol, whether it is initial (at the beginning), between vowels or adjacent to other consonant symbols, may determine its interpretation. For instance, the symbol *b* represents one sound if initial or between vowels, another if preceded by *m*, and yet a third when doubled as *bb*.

Much work remains to be done on Tonga sounds. Some may be described in more than one way e.g. *f(w)*. In some cases more analysis is needed to be sure of the features, e.g. the various pronunciations of *l*, the phenomenon of partial devoicing as in *bb*, and the occurrence of murmur ('breathy voice'). The following should only be taken as a provisional description.

Tone-marking and the meaning of 'depressor consonant' are explained on pages 15 and 18 respectively. Murmur is represented by two dots beneath the symbol of the murmured sound, thus [ẉ]; see further on page 9. A list of terms used to describe sounds is given at the end of this outline.

Chitonga orthography includes a number of **digraphs**, a device in spelling where two characters represent one sound, such as *nh* for [ŋ] and *ny* for [ɲ]. There are also **trigraphs**, three letters representing one sound, as *mvw* for [w̃] (where *m* represents the nasalisation). True sequences of consonants are dealt with on pages 13-15.

VOWELS

- a** [a] a low central vowel: *imaanga* [imaanga] ‘twins’.
- e** [e] a mid front unrounded vowel; *ipepe* [ipepe] ‘feather’. It tends to be lower when it is the last syllable in a word with high tone: *ndimé* [ndimæ] ‘it is I’.
- i** [i] a high front unrounded vowel: *ímíindi* [ímíindi] ‘shins’.
- o** [o] a mid back rounded vowel: *bóobo* [bóoɔ] ‘thus, like that’.
- u** [u] a high back rounded vowel: *isusu* [isusu] ‘hair (of head)’.

Note: the vowel **a** forms a pattern with the high vowels **i** and **u** in the Vowel Harmony system (see page 12) and with the back vowels **u** and **o** in the nasalisation system (see page 14).

CONSONANTS

- b** [b], a voiced bilabial¹ plosive when following *m*: *ulaamba* [ulaamba] ‘you speak’;
- [β] or [b], a voiced bilabial fricative² or light plosive when word-initial, *bóobu* [bóoβu] or [bóobu] ‘thus, like this’, or between vowels, *ibantu* [iβantu] or [ibantu] ‘people’, or between vowel and approximant³: *íkúbyala* [íyúβyala] or [íyúbyala] ‘to sow’.
- bb** [bb] or [bp], a reinforced⁴ voiced or half-voiced bilabial plosive: *ulabbala* [ulabbala] ‘you sg are reading’. **bb** is a depressor consonant and may have murmur rather than true voicing: [bb̥] or [bp̥].

¹ made with the lips touching each other.

² the air passage is narrowed so that there is audible friction.

³ sound without friction or plosion.

⁴ uttered with force.

c [c] or [č], a voiceless palatal¹ plosive or palato-alveolar² affricate when following written *n*: *íncili* [íncili] or [ínčili] ‘mortar’;

[j], a voiced palatal fricative when initial or between vowels: *icintu* [ijintu] ‘thing’.

cc [cc] or [čč], a reinforced voiceless palatal plosive or palato-alveolar affricate: *ccitá* [ccitá] or [ččitá] ‘I don’t know’.

d [d], a voiced alveolar plosive when following *n*: *icilúndu* [íjílúndu] ‘hill, hillock’;

[dd] or [dt], a reinforced voiced or half-voiced alveolar plosive when initial, or between vowels, or between vowel and approximant: *doonó* [ddoonó] or [dtoonó] ‘until; perhaps’; *idilwe* [iddilwe] or [idtilwe] ‘funeral’; *ilúdwēba* [ílúddwēβa] or [ílúdtwēβa] ‘whistle’. In these contexts **d** is a depressor consonant and may have murmur rather than true voicing: [d̥d̥] or [d̥t̥].

f(w) [w̥], [h^w], can be described as either a voiceless labio-velar³ approximant, or a labialised voiceless glottal⁴ fricative, i.e. [h] with lip-rounding, or ‘voiceless w’ as in English ‘which’: *ááfwíífwí* [ááw̥ííw̥í], [ááh^wíh^wí] ‘near’, *icífúwa* [íjífúw̥uwa], [íjífúh^wuwa] ‘bone’. Preceding *m* represents nasalisation of the consonant, and often of the preceding and following vowels: *imúlámfu* [ímúláw̥fũ] ‘tall (person)’; *ímáámfwá* [ímááw̥fã] ‘epilepsy’. **w** is often not written when *u* or *o* follows: *ikufwooma* or *ikufooma* ‘to hiss’; *ímáfuta* ‘oil, fat’.

g [g], a voiced velar plosive after written *n*: *inguzu* [inguzu] ‘strength’;

¹ articulated at or near the central upper part of the mouth

² articulated between the teeth ridge and the hard palate

³ in which both the lips and the velum (soft palate) are involved

⁴ articulated in the glottis, the opening between the vocal cords

[gg] or [gk], a reinforced voiced or half-voiced velar plosive when initial, or between vowels, or between vowel and approximant: *gágayila!* [ggággayila] or [gkágkayila] 'hammer in!' *igondo* [íggondo], [ígkondo] 'knee', *ilúgwalo* [ilúggwalo], [ilúgkwalo] 'letter'. In these contexts **g** is a depressor consonant and may have murmur rather than true voicing: [gg̤] or [gk̤].

h [h]: the symbol **h** is sometimes used in an alternative *hy* spelling for the northern pronunciation of *sy*, and to represent the [h] alternative in *séna~héna*, a question indicator. See also *nh*.

j [j] or [j̥], a voiced palatal plosive or palato-alveolar affricate, when following written *n*: *ibunjaka* [iβun̥jaya] or [iβun̥jaya] 'gossip';

[j̥j̥] or [j̥j̥̥], a reinforced voiced or half-voiced palatal plosive or palato-alveolar affricate, when initial, between vowels, or between vowel and approximant: *jáya!* [j̥j̥áya] or [j̥j̥áya] 'kill!', *ijulu* [ij̥j̥ulu] or [ij̥j̥ulu] 'sky', *ijwi* [ij̥j̥wi] or [ij̥j̥wi] 'voice, word'. In the latter case **j** is a depressor consonant, and may have murmur rather than true voicing: [j̥̤], [j̥̤̥]; **nj** also appears to be a depressor in some instances.

k [k], a voiceless velar plosive after written *n*: *inkumo* [in̥kumo] 'forehead'; [γ], a voiced velar fricative when initial or between vowels, or between vowel and approximant: *káapa* [γáápa] 'grandfather', *ikúkaka* [íγúγaya] 'to refuse', *ikwiita* [íγwiita] 'to call'.

kk [kk], a reinforced voiceless velar plosive: *íikko* [íj̥ikko] 'fireplace'.

l [l] or [ɾ], a voiced alveolar lateral¹ approximant or alveolar flap; sometimes with a retroflex² articulation -- [ɭ] or [ɽ]; *ikulila* [iyulila] or [iyurira] ‘to weep’.

m [m], a bilabial nasal when before a vowel, or a bilabial plosive, *imámpamba* [ímámpamba] ‘buttermilk’, or *y* or *w*: *ikúmyankuta* [iyúmyaŋkuta] ‘to lick’; **m** before written *f* or *v* represents nasalisation of the preceding vowel and following consonant; see *f(w)*, *v(w)*.

n [n], an alveolar nasal when before a vowel *náa* [náa] ‘whether, if’, or *w*: *bosánwe* [βosánwe] ‘five (people, animals)’, or an alveolar consonant, *ikúlundula* [iyúlundula] ‘to run’, *imunsi* [imunsi] ‘pestle’;

[ɲ], a palatal nasal when a palatal consonant follows: *incínga* [ɲcínga] ‘bicycle’ ([ínčínga] when *c* is palato-alveolar); *ikunyemenwa* [iyuɲemenwa] ‘to be got angry with’;

[ŋ], a velar nasal when a velar consonant follows: *inkanka* [ɲkanka] ‘peg’, *ánga* [áŋga] ‘as if, like’.

The symbol **n** written before *sy*, *zy* in the northern dialect also represents nasalisation of the preceding vowel and the following consonant and vowel.

nh [ŋ], a velar nasal: *inhánda* [ɲhánda] ‘house’. Some writers use the phonetic character, as *ɲanda*.

ny [ɲ], a palatal nasal: *inyeele* [ɲeele] ‘trumpet’.

p [p], a voiceless bilabial plosive: *imapopwe* [imapopxe] ‘maize, mealies, corn’.

¹ the mouth passage is blocked in the middle by the tongue

² uttered with the tongue curled back against the hard palate

s [s], a voiceless alveolar fricative: *isusu* [isusu] ‘hair (of head)’; see also **h** and **sy**.

sy [sy] or [y], [h^y], in the south [sy], a voiceless alveolar fricative followed by [y]; elsewhere [y] or [hy], a sound which can be described as either a voiceless palatal approximant, or a palatalised voiceless glottal fricative, i.e. ‘voiceless y’ as in English ‘huge’: *ilúsyomo* [ilúsyomo] or [ilúyomo]~[ilúh^yomo] ‘hope’. In the north, **nsy** represents a nasalised variant of the consonant; the nasalisation may also extend to one or both of the vowels either side: *ikulansya* [iɣulãỹã] ‘to lengthen’.

t [t], a voiceless alveolar plosive: *ímútéte* [ímútéte] ‘younger sibling of same sex as referent person’.

v(w) [w], [h^w], can be described as either a labio-velar approximant with murmur (breathy voice), or a voiced labialised glottal fricative: *ímávu* [ímáw̥u] or [ímáh^wu] ‘earth, soil’. **w** is often not written when **o** or **u** follows: *ikuvobela* ‘to applaud’; *ikuvuba* ‘to tame; to become rich’. Preceding **m** represents nasalisation of the consonant, and often of the preceding and following vowels: *icimvule* [iĩĩw̥ũle]~[iĩĩh^wũle] ‘shadow’; *íkúmvwa* [íyũw̥ã]~[íyũh^wã] ‘to hear’.

w [w] a voiced labio-velar approximant when initial; between vowels, or following a velar consonant: *wáála!* [wáála] ‘throw!’, *ímúwo* [ímúwo] ‘wind, breeze’, *igwezo* [igwezo] ‘shoulder’, *icisekwe* [ijiseywe] ‘cage’, *icinkwa* [ijĩnkwa] ‘bread’;

[x] a voiceless velar fricative after **p**: *ipupwa* [ipupxa] ‘lung’;

[ɣ] a voiced velar fricative after *b* and *bb*: *imbwa* [ímbya] ‘dog’, *ibbwe* [ibbye] ‘stone’;

[ɥ], [y^w], a rounded palatal approximant, alternatively described as a labialised palatal approximant when following palatal consonants other than the approximant [y]: *ijwi* [íjɥi]~[íjy^wi] ‘word’; some speakers have this pronunciation after alveolars also: *inswi* [ínsɥi]~[ínsy^wi] ‘fish’.

All varieties of *w* are accompanied by more or less lip-rounding. The symbol *w* is also written after the characters *f* and *v* to indicate lip-rounding; see *f(w)* and *v(w)* above.

y [y], a palatal approximant (except in the digraphs *hy*, *ny*, *sy*, *zy*): *ikuyanda* [íyuyanda] ‘to like, to love’; *ikunyemya* [íyupemya] ‘to make angry’. [y] tends to be quite long when following another consonant: *ikúlya* [íyúlya] ‘to eat’ sounds almost as if it consisted of four syllables.

z [z̤], an alveolar fricative with murmur when following *n*: *inzila* [in̤zila]; [z̤z̤] or [z̤s], a reinforced alveolar fricative with murmur or initial murmur, when word-initial or between vowels, or between vowel and approximant: *zima!* [z̤z̤íma] or [z̤síma] ‘extinguish!’, *Leza* [lez̤za] or [lez̤sa] ‘God’, *ízwi* [íz̤wi] ‘knee’ (not the *zy* digraph, q.v.). Both *nz* and *z* are depressors.

zy [zy] or [y], [ɸ^y], an alveolar fricative with murmur followed by [y] (Southern), and elsewhere a sound variously described as a murmured palatal approximant, or a palatalised murmured glottal fricative (northern): *ilusinizyo* [ilusiniz̤^yo] or [ilusinyo]~[ilusinf̤^yo] ‘truth’. In the north, *nzy* represents nasalisation of the consonant, the nasalisation may extend to one

or both of the vowels either side: *ikubinzya* [iyuβĩyā] ‘to cause to hurry’.

Notes:

- i) Voiceless plosives (or stops) [p], [t], [k] have some aspiration upon release of closure.
- ii) For phonetic description I have retained the term **reinforced** (Hopgood 1953:56) for the ‘greater force of articulation’ displayed by consonants such as *bb*, which may result in loss of voicing or murmur during the latter part of the articulation. The doubled character is also retained, there being no other satisfactory means of representation.¹
- iii) Palatal consonants have strong palatal on- and off-glides: *kúnjila* [kú^ynjila] ‘to enter’; hence also the pronunciation of *w* after a palatal: *íjwi* [íjjuⁱ] ‘voice, word’.

Murmur or ‘Breathy Voice’

The consonants *bb, d, g, j, v, z*; are or may be accompanied by murmur, also known as ‘breathy voice’, a kind of ‘roaring’ produced by partial closure of the vocal chords. Trying to imitate an owl’s call, or produce a ‘ghostly’ effect, often results in this voice quality. It is represented by two dots beneath the symbol of the murmured sound, thus [w̥]. Murmur is also characteristic of certain grammatical processes; for instance, the nasal prefixed to a noun or relative verb to give it stability (the meaning ‘it is’ or ‘they are’) will have murmur added:

<i>ibantu</i> ‘(the) people’	<i>ṁbantu</i> [ṁbantu] ‘they are people’
<i>ncóttýánda</i> ‘what we want’	<i>ṁcóttýánda</i> [ṁcóttýánda] ‘it is what we want’

¹ The term **geminate** is used for the abstract or underlying representation of (surface) reinforced consonants.

This is not indicated in the current orthography.

Murmured sounds cannot be uttered on a high pitch, therefore a high tone on a vowel adjacent to a murmured ('depressor') consonant will have either rising or falling pitch, according to which side of the vowel the murmured consonant lies; in many cases the high pitch is lowered altogether:

múlimónzi? [^ˈ \ /] or [^ˈ _ _] 'what kind of work?'

In the present work, 'lowered' high tone will be shown as [[˘]]: *múlimònzí?* See further on page 18.

SOUND ALTERNATIONS ('changes' or phonotactics)

Sounds of course do not 'change', but they may be replaced by different sounds as a result of being adjacent to particular vowels or consonants, or for other phonological reasons.

Vowel Sequences

Vowel alternations take place regularly within words:

/tulaenda/ is pronounced and spelt as *tuleenda* 'we walk, we are walking' and less often at word juncture:

básúne + abábwa is often pronounced *básún' aabábwa* 'oxen and dogs' (but not usually written so)

The results of these processes vary as between north and south. In the following, bracketed forms are those found mainly in the south; this dialect sometimes shows different results for word-internal and word-junctural cases.

Regular Alternations

Sequence	Replacement	Example			
/u/+ /a/	> waa	/ku+amba/	>	kwaamba	'to state, to speak'
/u/+ /e/	> wee	/ku+enda/	>	kweenda	'to walk, to travel'
/u/+ /i/	> wii	/ku+inda/	>	kwiinda	'to pass, to surpass'
/u/+ /o/	> oo	/ku+ona/	>	koona	'to sleep'
/a/+ /e/	> ee	/tu+la+enda/	>	tuleenda	'we walk'
(/a/+ /i/	> ii	/tu+la+inka/	>	tuliinka	'we go'
	ee	kútebba+ínkuni	>	kútebb' éénkuni	'to gather firewood')
/a/+ /o/	> oo	/tu+la+ona/	>	tuloona	'we slept'
(/a/+ /u/	> uu	/tu+la+ula/	>	tuluula	'we buy')
/i/+ /a/	> yaa	/ká+bi+á-bi/	>	kábyáábi	'very badly'
/i/+ /e/	> yee	/mi+endo/	>	myeendo	'legs'
/i/+ /o/	> yoo	/kú+li+okezya/	>	kúlyookezya	'to rest oneself'
/i/+ /u/	> yuu	/mi+unda/	>	myuunda	'gardens, fields'

There are different replacements for excluded sequences, see page 13,

/ci+ u/	> cuu	/ndi+aká+ci+ula/	>	ndakácuula	'I bought it'
	(not *cyuu)				

The replacement vowel does not always show compensatory doubling, particularly at the juncture of prefix and noun stem, and of subject prefix or verb form marker:

/imu+abi/	>	imwaabi	'generous person'
but /ímú+ána/	>	ímwána	'child'

/ndi+aka+amba/ > *ndakaamba* 'I stated'

Less Common Alternations

These are principally found at word-juncture; some have more than one realisation:

/o/ + /a/ > *waa* /e/ + /a/ > (y)*aa*

/o/ + /e/ > *wee* /e/ + /i/ > (y)*ii*

/o/ + /i/ > *wii* /e/ + /o/ > (y)*oo*

/o/ + /u/ > *oo* /e/ + /u/ > (y)*uu*

músúne úúsíya > [músún(y)uúsíya] 'an ox which is black'

See also *Nasalisation* on page 13.

Vowel Harmony

The vowels of Tonga are divided into two 'harmony sets':

- i) the high and low vowels *i, u, a*
- ii) the mid vowels *e, o*.

When certain elements come together within one word, the vowel of the 'additional' elements may vary, according to the set to which the root vowel of the base word belongs. For example, in *ku-ul-il-a* 'to buy for' and *kú-let-el-a* 'to bring for', *-il-* and *-el-* both mean 'for'; *-il-* is used when the vowel of the verb root is from the high/low set (i) and *-el-* is used when the verb root vowel is from the mid set (ii).

Consonant and Consonant+Vowel Sequences and Alternations

Homorganic Nasals

A nasal consonant is homorganic to (has the same place of articulation as) an immediately following consonant:

mpangá 'I make' *ntantá* 'I climb' *nkombá* [ɲkombá] 'I implore'
mbalá 'I read' *ndontá* 'I poke' *ngayá* [ɲgayá] 'I grind'

Permitted and Excluded Sequences

The only consonants that may follow non-nasal consonants are the approximants *w* and *y*:

ikúbweza 'lift, pick up' *ikútwa* 'to pound' *icilwi* 'heap'
ikúbyala 'to sow' *ikutya* 'to pour' *ícilyo* 'food'

and see examples under *w* and *y* on pages 7-8. There are also exceptions to sequences with *y*, e.g. **cy* and **jy* are not permitted.

Prenasalisation of Consonants

Occurrence of a nasal before another consonant may result in the replacement of one or either of both sounds. As shown in pages 3-8, some consonant symbols have differing values when written between vowels and when after a nasal symbol. This reflects the replacement of some consonants when a nasal precedes, e.g. *k* stands for [ɣ] in *ikukolota* 'to borrow' but for [k] in *nkolótá* 'I borrow'. Further replacements are:

bb > *b* *ikúbbala* 'to carry (child)' *mbalá* 'I carry'
kk > *k* *ikukkala* 'to live, to dwell' *nkalá* 'I dwell'
l > *d* *ikulima* 'to cultivate, to plough' *ndimá* 'I cultivate'

A nasal consonant symbol preceding *f(w)* or *v(w)* and in the north, *sy* and *zy* also, represents nasalisation of the preceding vowel, of the consonant and to some extent of the following vowel. Prenasalisation may therefore be said to result in replacement of the nasal by such nasalisation. See pages 3-8 under the cited symbols.

Nasal Deletion

An initial nasal preceding a voiceless consonant is often deleted in speech:

ncitá~ccitá 'I don't know'

Nasal + Vowel: Meinhof's Rule

Some grammatical units consisting of a nasal, such as the 1st person singular 'I' subject prefix in some verb forms, show insertion of a consonant when they precede vowels or the approximants *w* and *y*. The capital N in the following stands for 'nasal consonant, unspecified as to articulation.'

N before *u, o, a, w* > *ng*: *-abila* 'lend' *ngábile* 'that I may lend'

-weza 'hunt' *ngwéze* 'that I may hunt'

N before *i, e, y* > *nj*: *-ibauka* 'float' *njibáúke* 'that I may float'

Note that in verb stems beginning with *y*, *y* is deleted after *nj*:

-yowa 'breathe' *njówe* 'that I may breathe'

If however the verb root itself contains a nasal + consonant sequence, the first sequence drops the inserted consonant, though the nasal still has its articulation:

-amba 'speak' *nhámbe* 'that I may speak' [ɲámbe]

-enda 'walk' *nyénde* 'that I may walk'

-yanda 'want' *nyánde* 'that I may want'

This is a phenomenon found in some other Bantu languages and known as Meinhof's Rule. It seems to be dying out in Chitonga; many people now say *njandá* 'I want' instead of *nyandá*.

Consonant Harmony

Consonant harmony operates in much the same way as Vowel Harmony. An element to which it applies will contain *n* when the verb root includes a *single* nasal consonant (*m, n, nh, ny*) and *l* if it does not. An example is the verb root extension shown on page 12:

	-ula 'buy'	-ul-il-a 'buy for'
but	-lima 'plough'	-lim-in-a 'plough for'
	-leta 'bring'	-let-el-a 'bring for'
but	-lema 'be heavy'	-lem-en-a 'be heavy for'

TONAL SYSTEM

Tonga is a tonal language, although in most written and printed texts the tones are not indicated.

High and Low Tones; Neutral and Determinant Tonemes

Basically there are two surface tones, high (H) and low (L). H is marked with acute accent (´), except in the case of 'down-stepped H' (symbolised as S; see page 17), which is marked with superscript vertical line (´̣). L is left unmarked, apart from lowered H, marked by grave accent (`); see page 18.

<i>níndákásíka</i> 'when I arrived'	[- - - - _] (HHHHL)
<i>tulamubona</i> 'we see you (pl)'	[- - - - _] (LLLLL)
<i>básínkondo</i> 'enemies'	[- - _ _] (HSLL)
<i>nóbákágúsyá</i> 'when they took out'	[- - - - _] (HHLHL:/á/lowered to [à])

Many pairs or sets of homographic words (i.e. those spelt the same) are distinguished only by tone-pattern. The differences in meaning may be lexical (vocabulary) or grammatical (as verb tense or mood):

búlumbu ‘reward’

bákámúbona ‘they saw him’

bulumbu ‘foreign country’

bákámubona ‘they saw you (pl)’

wacíta ‘you (sg) did’

níndákásika ‘when I arrived’

wácita ‘(s)he did’

nindakasika ‘if I had arrived’

wacíta ‘you (sg) having done (future)’

nindakasika ‘I should have arrived’

In analysing the tonal system, an underlying level of **Neutral** and **Determinant** tonemes is identified. This type of analysis will not be shown in detail here. Roughly speaking, a Determinant causes the appearance of H on the Neutral syllables preceding itself, while a Neutral does not. There are however different rules for nominals and verbals, and other constructs such as ‘zero Determinants’ have to be set up to account for the surface tones, together with rules for neutralisation and combination.

The Tonal Syllable

The tone-bearing elements are vowels; there are no **surface**¹ consonants which bear contrastive tone. Typically the pitch of the vowel is carried over on to any immediately following consonant or consonant cluster. This can be clearly heard when a cluster includes [y]: *íkúlya* sounds like [*íyúliya*], although it consists of three syllables only. The chief exception to this is the case of depressor consonants, which cannot be pronounced on a high pitch (see page 18).

¹ i.e. referring to actual sound

Tone Sequences

Downdrift

Each successive L in a sentence is lower in pitch than the L before it, whether or not there is an intervening H or a succession of Hs:

kuno kumunzi [- - - -] 'here at home'
tabanásika [- - - -] 'they have not arrived yet'

This feature is known as 'downdrift'.

Crescendo

In a sequence of Hs, the pitch is generally level, but the final H of the sequence is often slightly higher in pitch and louder; this is termed 'crescendo':

ncótwákálánga [- - - -] 'what we looked at'

Downstep

This refers to cases in which the second of two Hs is lower in **pitch** than the first, but still counts as a high *tone*:

sínkondo 'enemy' [- - -] (*sí-* is H)
básínkondo 'enemies' [- - -] (*-sí-* is still H, higher than the following L, though lower in pitch than *bá-*)

There are two common sources of downstep: a deleted L between two Hs, and a raised L between two Hs. (There are also other sources, not described here.)

Raising

If a L occurs between two Hs, it is generally raised to the pitch level of the second H, resulting in a downstepped H:

nindakámúbona > *nindàkámúbona* 'if I had seen him/her'

Depressor consonants however block raising (see following section).

Lowering: Effect of Depressor Consonants

As mentioned on page 9 the consonants *bb, d, g, j, v(w), z*, which have associated murmur or breathy voice are termed **depressors**. They cannot be uttered on a high pitch, and have certain effects on the pitch of adjacent H vowels. If a depressor follows a H vowel, and is itself followed by a L vowel, the pitch of the H vowel will 'swoop' down to allow the depressor to be on a low pitch:

ikúmvwá 'to hear' will be pronounced [- ɿ -]

Similarly a depressor initial in a word preceding a H vowel will cause its pitch to be rising rather than level high:

zyándízimína 'I can't find them' [/ ɿ - -]
(lit. 'they are lost to me')

A depressor will also block the operation of raising:

íziná lyángu 'my name' [/ - - -]

cf. *íkkúkó lyángu* 'my shoulder (-blade)' [- - - -]

In a sequence of three or more Hs, if a depressor occurs in any syllable other than the first and last of the sequence, the preceding vowel is lowered:

nóbákágúsya > *nóbákàgúsya* 'when they took out'

MORPHOLOGY

NOMINALS

The category of nominal includes nouns, adjectives, pronouns and demonstratives.

Nouns

Nouns typically consist of two segments (morphemes), a noun prefix (NP) and a stem, e.g. the noun *mu-ntu* 'person' has the prefix *mu-* and the stem *-ntu*.

The prefix may be replaced, for instance to show plurality, as in *ba-ntu* 'people'.

In some contexts an Initial Vowel (IV) is attached to the prefix: this is usually *i-*:

(*i-mu-ntu*, *i-ba-ntu*).

There are some classes which do not take the Initial Vowel.

The nouns of Chitonga are arranged in eighteen noun classes, numbered individually. The noun class is a system of agreement consisting of a set of concordial elements; in the following example, the bolded elements are the concord carriers:

músímbi ***múpáti*** *wángu wakali kuyandá kúkwatwa*

'girl elder of-me she-was wanting to-be-married'

(my elder sister was about to be married)

Three of the classes, the locatives 16, 17 and 18, may be attached to other nouns:

i-mu-nzi 'home', *ku-mu-nzi* 'to/at home'.

When pre-prefixed in this way, the locative does not have IV.

In general the prefix is a good guide to the class of the noun. However, sometimes two or more classes may have the same shape prefix, and conversely, nouns with different prefixes may share the same system of concord. Classes 1, 3 and 18 all have the prefix *mu-*: *mu-ntu* 'person' (Class 1), *mu-nzi* 'homestead, village' (Class 3) and *mú-cí-si* 'in the country' (Class 18). The main classes sometimes have sub-divisions consisting of nouns controlling the concord system of the class, but having a different (sometimes no) prefix: *tááta* 'my father' takes concords of Class 1, but it does not have the (*i*)*mu-* prefix, so is said to be in Class 1a.

Classes are generally paired singular and plural:

mu-ntu is a Class 1 noun, with *ba-ntu*, the plural, in Class 2.

The most common singular/plural class pairings are: 1/2, 1/6, 3/4, 5/6, 9/10, 9/6, 11/10, 11/6, 12/13, 14/6, 15/6. There are however many 'one-class' nouns; (*i*)*n-sima* 'stiff maize porridge' is in Class 9 and has no 'plural', while *má-futa* 'fat, oil' is in Class 6 and has no corresponding 'singular'. Several of the classes may also be used to give additional connotations, such as diminutive, as in *ka-sankwa* 'little boy', Class 12, derived from *mu-sankwa* 'boy', Class 1.

In the following table, the boundary of prefix and stem is hyphenated where possible, but some classes (e.g. 5) show fusion of prefix and stem, the 'prefix' being an effect on the initial stem consonant. Prefixes may take different forms

(allomorphs) when certain vowels follow.

Table of Noun Classes

All classes, save 1a, 2a, 2b and the locatives 16-18 when attached to other nouns, have potential initial vowel. The IV is included here for Classes 5, 9 and 10 nouns, as otherwise it is impossible to show the tone class.

Class

1	<i>mu-ntu</i>	<i>mú-símbi</i>	<i>mú-súne</i>	<i>mwé-enzu</i>	<i>mw-ána</i>	<i>mo-ofu</i>
	person	girl	ox	stranger	child	blind person
2	<i>ba-ntu</i>	<i>bá-símbi</i>	<i>bá-súne</i>	<i>bé-enzu</i>	<i>b-ána</i>	<i>bo-ofu</i>
	people	girls	oxen	strangers	children	blind people

Classes 1 and 2 contain mostly nouns referring to human beings and animals.

1a	<i>tááta</i>	<i>ciwena</i>	<i>sinkondo</i>	<i>namaumbwe</i>
	my father	crocodile	enemy	graveyard
			cf. (i)n-kondo	ma-umbwe
			war	graves

Class 1a contains many nouns referring to kinfolk and animals, and derivatives in *si-* and *na-*.

2a	<i>bá-tááta</i>	<i>ba-ciwena</i>	<i>bá-sinkondo</i>	<i>ba-namaumbwe</i>	<i>bá-nyína</i>
	my father	crocodiles	enemies	graveyards	his/her/their mother

Class 2a serves also as 'honorific plural'.

2b	<i>bámá-táta</i>	<i>bámá-kúwa</i> (sg. <i>mú-kúwa</i> Class 1)			<i>bámá-nyína</i>
	fathers	Europeans			their mothers

Class 2b serves as plural for honorific usages of Class 2a.

3	<i>mú-sámu</i>	<i>mu-unda</i>	<i>mwí-ini</i>	<i>mw-ézi</i>	<i>m-oyo</i>	<i>mó-ono</i>
	tree	garden	handle	moon, month	heart	fish-basket

4	<i>mí-sámu</i>	<i>myu-unda</i>	<i>mí-ini</i>	<i>my-ézi</i>	<i>my-oyo</i>	<i>myó-ono</i>
	trees	gardens	handles	months	hearts	fish-baskets

Classes 3/4 contain most names of trees.

5	<i>(i)b-bwe</i>	<i>(i)j-ánza</i>	<i>(i)g-uwo</i>	<i>(i)dilwe</i>	<i>(i)s(y)okwe</i>	<i>(i)l-ínyo</i>
	stone	hand	wind	funeral	bushland	tooth

Class 5 does not have a syllabic prefix for most nouns; the sign of the class is consonant alternation or zero.

6	<i>ma-bwe</i>	<i>má-ánza</i>	<i>má-uwo</i>	<i>ma-lilwe</i>	<i>ma-s(y)okwe</i>	<i>m-ényo</i>
	stones	hands	winds	funerals	bushlands	teeth

Class 6 serves as plural for several classes other than 5, e.g.:

	<i>má-ngisi</i>	<i>má-ánda</i>	<i>ma-bazu</i>	<i>má-áto</i>	<i>má-boko</i>	
	Englishmen	houses	sides, districts	boats	arms, hands	
cf:	<i>mú-ngisi</i>	<i>nh-ánda</i>	<i>lu-bazu</i>	<i>bw-áto</i>	<i>kú-boko</i>	
	Englishman	house	side, district	boat	arm, hand	
	(Class 1)	(Class 9)	(Class 11)	(Class 14)	(Class 15)	
7	<i>ci-ntu</i>	<i>ci-sani</i>	<i>ca-ano</i>	<i>co-olwe</i>	<i>ce-elo</i>	<i>c-ámba</i>
	thing	cloth	story	good luck (no plural)	spirit	chest, courage
8	<i>z(y)i-ntu</i>	<i>z(y)i-sani</i>	<i>zya-ano</i>	<i>zye-elo</i>	<i>zy-ámba</i>	
	things	cloths	stories	spirits	chests	

Class 7 (and to some extent Class 8) is an impersonal class.

9	<i>(i)n-seke</i>	<i>(i)m-póngo</i>	<i>(i)ng-ala</i>	<i>(i)nh-ombe</i>	<i>(i)n-sima</i>
	hen	goat	crest	head of cattle	stiff maize porridge
					(no plural)
10	<i>(i)n-seke</i>	<i>(i)m-póngo</i>	<i>(i)ng-ala</i>	<i>(i)nh-ombe</i>	<i>(i)nh-anzi</i>
	hens	goats	crests	cattle	cracks (sg. Class 11)

Classes 9/10 contain many names of animals.

11	<i>lu-yando</i>	<i>lú-bono</i>	<i>lwe-endo</i>	<i>ló-ozí</i>	<i>lw-íz(y)i</i>	<i>lwa-anzi</i>
	love	property	journey	bark string	river	crack

Many Class 11 nouns are abstracts from verbs; some have plurals in Class 10 or Class 6.

12	<i>ka-ambo</i>	<i>ka-mbizi</i>	<i>ká-símbi</i>	<i>ke-embe</i>	<i>ko-oye</i>	<i>k-ána</i>
	reason	whirlwind	little girl	axe	string	little child
13	<i>twa-ambo</i>	<i>tu-mbizi</i>	<i>tú-símbi</i>	<i>twe-embe</i>	<i>to-oye</i>	<i>tw-ána</i>
	reasons	whirlwinds	little girls	axes	strings	little children

Class 12 is also a 'manner' class: *ká-botu* 'well'. Both Classes 12 and 13 can be used as diminutives.

14	<i>bu-su</i>	<i>bú-Tonga</i>	<i>bú-botu</i>	<i>bw-áto</i>	<i>bo-ofu</i>	<i>bw-ízu</i>
	flour, meal	Tongaland	goodness	boat	blindness	grass

Many Class 14 nouns refer to collectives or abstracts; plurals are usually in Class 6 (e.g. *bwáto*, pl. *mááto*).

15	<i>kú-twi</i>	<i>kú-boko</i>	<i>ku-yanda</i>	<i>kwa-amba</i>	<i>kwe-enda</i>	<i>ko-ona</i>
	ear	arm, hand	to love/like	to state	to walk	to sleep

All verb infinitives are in Class 15; pls. are usually in Cl. 6 (e.g. *kúboko*, pl. *máboko*).
Classes 16-18 are locatives, which may be attached to nouns in other classes:

16	<i>a-tala</i>	<i>á-n-si</i>	<i>á-n-ze</i>	<i>á-mú-twe</i>	<i>a-ka-ambo</i>
	on top	on the ground	outside	on the head	for the reason
17	<i>ku-mbo</i>	<i>kú-n-si</i>	<i>kú-n-ze</i>	<i>kú-lé</i>	<i>ku-mu-nzi</i>
	westward	to the ground	outside	far away	homewards
18	<i>mú-sule</i>	<i>mú-n-si</i>	<i>mú-cl-si</i>	<i>mú-mú-twe</i>	<i>mu-mu-nzi</i>
	after	near	in the country	in the head	in the home/village

Noun Formation Processes

Nouns can be formed by change of class:

imwámi 'chief' (Class 1), *ibwámi* 'chieftainship' (Class 14).

Others can be formed from verbs, and by prefixation of 'formatives' to other

nouns; they may also include compounding. Some examples are:

<i>imu-limi</i>	'farmer' (Class 1)	<	<i>iku-lima</i>	'to cultivate, plough'
<i>imú-bbi</i>	'thief' (Class 1)	<	<i>ikú-bba</i>	'to steal'
<i>im-bezo</i>	'adze' (Class 9)	<	<i>iku-beza</i>	'carve, do carpentry'
<i>ilwe-endo</i>	'journey' (Class 11)	<	<i>ikwe-enda</i>	'walk, travel'
<i>si-kúkolwa</i>	'drunkard' (Class 1a)	<	<i>ikú-kolwa</i>	'to get drunk'
<i>sí-nkondo</i>	'enemy' (Class 1a)	<	<i>in-kondo</i>	'war'
<i>syáatáámbi</i>	'a mute' (Class 1a)	<	<i>taámbi</i>	's/he does not speak'
<i>na-bútema</i>	'widow' (Class 1a)	<	<i>ibú-tema</i>	'solitude of widowhood or celibacy'
<i>na-maumbwe</i>	'graveyard' (Class 1a)	cf.	<i>icu-umbwe</i>	'grave'
<i>ici-sinka-mulomo</i>	'bribe' (Class 7)	<	<i>iku-sinka</i>	'to stop up' + <i>imu-lomo</i> 'mouth'
<i>imú-lábyá-mvula</i>	'lightning tree'	<	<i>ikú-labya</i>	'to cause lightning to flash' + <i>imvula</i> 'rain'.

Stabilisation (Copulative Forms, Noun Predicates)

Stabilisation is a process by which a noun, adjective or other form is made into a predicate, i.e. an indicative statement equivalent to English 'it is ---' or 'they are ---'. An example is *ibantu* 'people' > *mbantu* 'they are people'. Various authors have used different terms for this, as shown in the paragraph heading.

There are several kinds of stabilisation element or process in Chitonga, conveying different degrees of emphasis. For nouns there are two types of stabilisation:

a) indefinite or unrestricted

This indicates that the object is a member of a certain category or species; the Stabilising Element (SE1) is basically a **nasal with murmur** prefixed to the noun without IV:

m̩-muntu 's/he is a person, an African'

m̩-bantu 'they are people'

n̩-cisani 'it is a cloth'

Class 1a has *n̩gu-* with L tone except before *si-*,

n̩gu-ciwena 'it's a crocodile'

n̩gu-ní? 'who is it?'

n̩gú-sínkondo 'he is an enemy'

Class 2a has *m̩baa-*:

m̩baaciwena 'they are crocodiles'

m̩baá-ní? 'who are they?'

m̩baá-sínkondo 'they are enemies'

Class 5 has *n̩di-*, taking on the tone of the IV:

n̩di-bbwe 'it's a stone'

Classes 9 and 10 have *n̩i-*, taking on the tone of the IV

n̩i-mpóngo 'it's a goat'

b) definite or restricted

This states that the object is a particular member of the category or species. Here the stabiliser is SE2, a syllable with H tone, beginning with a nasal and again with murmur, each class having its own stabiliser:

ngó-muntu 's/he is the person' *mbá-bantu-ṁbí-bantu* 'they are the people'

ṁjé-mpòngo 'it is the goat' *ṁdé-bbwe* 'it is the stone'

ṁkó-kwaamba (kuti) 'it is to say (that), that is.'

The south has different vowels in some classes:

ṁgú-muntu.

Other forms of stabilisation will be described with the categories to which they apply. The table below gives the major forms. Murmur is shown only for the initial nasal; the occurrence of murmur elsewhere is not yet clear.

Stabilised infinitives are frequently used instead of a past tense in narrative: e.g. *waló ṁkúsisa bányína múcílúndu* 'he hid his mother in a hillock'

Table of Stabilising Elements

<i>Class/ person</i>	<i>SE1</i>	<i>SE2a</i>	<i>SE2b</i>	<i>SE3</i>	<i>SE4</i>
Class 1:					
1st sg		<i>ṁdé-</i>			
2nd sg		<i>ṁdó-</i>			
3rd sg	<i>ṁ-</i>	<i>ngó-</i>	<i>ṁgú-</i>	<i>ṁgu-</i>	<i>ṁgóngu-</i>

<i>Class/ person</i>	<i>SE1</i>	<i>SE2a</i>	<i>SE2b</i>	<i>SE3</i>	<i>SE4</i>
Class 2:					
1st pl		<i>ndé-</i>			
2nd pl		<i>ndé-</i>			
3rd pl	<i>m-</i>	<i>mbá-/mbí-</i>	<i>mbá-</i>	<i>m̄ba-</i>	<i>m̄bímba-</i>
3	<i>m-</i>	<i>ngó-</i>	<i>ngú-</i>	<i>ngu-</i>	<i>ngóngu-</i>
4	<i>m-</i>	<i>njé-</i>	<i>njí-</i>	<i>nji-</i>	<i>njénji-</i>
5	<i>ndí-</i>	<i>ndé-</i>	<i>ndé-</i>	<i>ndi-</i>	<i>ndéndi-</i>
6	<i>m-</i>	<i>ngá-</i>	<i>ngá-</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngánga-</i>
7	<i>n-</i>	<i>ncé-</i>	<i>ncé-</i>	<i>nci-</i>	<i>ncénci-</i>
8	<i>n-</i>	<i>nz(y)é-</i>	<i>nz(y)é-</i>	<i>nz(y)i-</i>	<i>nz(y)énz(i)-</i>
9	<i>ni-</i>	<i>njé-</i>	<i>njí-</i>	<i>nji-</i>	<i>njénji-</i>
10	<i>ní-</i>	<i>nz(y)é-</i>	<i>nz(y)é-</i>	<i>nz(y)i-</i>	<i>nz(y)énz(i)-</i>
11	<i>n(d)-</i>	<i>ndó-</i>	<i>ndó-</i>	<i>ndu-</i>	<i>ndóndu-</i>
12	<i>n-</i>	<i>nká-</i>	<i>nká-</i>	<i>nka-</i>	<i>nkánka-</i>
13	<i>n-</i>	<i>ntó-</i>	<i>ntó-</i>	<i>ntu-</i>	<i>ntóntu-</i>
14	<i>m-</i>	<i>mbó-</i>	<i>mbó-</i>	<i>m̄bu-</i>	<i>m̄bómbu-</i>
15	<i>n-</i>	<i>nkó-</i>	<i>nkó-</i>	<i>nku-</i>	<i>nkónku-</i>
16	<i>mp-</i>	<i>mpá-</i>	<i>mpá-</i>	<i>mpa-</i>	<i>mpámpa-</i>
17	<i>n-</i>	<i>nkó-</i>	<i>nkó-</i>	<i>nkú-</i>	<i>nkónku-</i>
18	<i>m-</i>	<i>mó-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mómu-</i>

SE2b is basically SE2a with the vowel assimilating to the following one in quality.

c) negative stabilisation is with *téés(y)i* for all persons and classes, with affirmative SE in some cases, e.g. for the definite:

<i>téési musankwa oyo pé</i>	‘it’s not that boy’
<i>téési ndimé nddícíctá</i>	‘it’s not I that did it’
<i>téési kúli¹ ndúwé</i>	‘it’s not (up) to you’

or with negative of *-li* ‘be’ (see page 68):

tali muntu, ngusókwé wamuntu ‘he’s not a human, he’s a monkey of a man’

Class Concordial Elements in the Nominal System

As stated above, a noun class consists of a set of concordial elements, including pronouns, demonstratives and elements linking the noun to adjectives and verbs (as subject or object), and to other nouns (as possessed or possessor). There follows a listing and illustration of the categories of concordial elements, beginning with the nominals (adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns) followed by class concordial elements in the verbal system.

Adjectives

An adjective consists of a stem to which is attached the adjectival prefix (AP) of the noun controlling its agreement,

<i>-botu</i>	‘good’
<i>múntú múbotu</i>	‘a good person’
<i>cíntú cíbotu</i>	‘a good thing’.

There are several groups of adjectives, classified according to the AP series they take. (See table on page 37). Some groups include stems with demonstrative

¹ Grammatically (*i*)*kúli* is the Subjective Relative verb form of *-li* ‘be’, meaning literally ‘where is’.

meaning. If they can be divided into prefix and stem, they are included in this section, rather than with pronouns, demonstratives and vocatives. (see below page 38) Further, the section on numerals includes information on non-adjectival numbers, ‘number of times’ and ordinals (e.g. first, second etc.).

Stems with AP1 (Adjectival Prefix I)

In the first group the adjectival prefix is generally identical with the noun prefix (NP). The allomorph of the prefix will depend on the first sound of the adjectival stem; it may not be identical with the prefix of the noun it qualifies. Thus *myu-undá ml-nji* ‘many fields’ and *sumó b-botu* ‘a good spear’ (where *sumo* has zero prefix).

There are, however, two exceptions to the general pattern of identity of AP and NP.

i) Class 10 has *z(y)i-* instead of a nasal:

mpóngo z(y)ibotu ‘fine goats’

ii) Class 5 has *li-* in Northern Tonga, while in Southern Tonga the adjectival prefix is identical with the noun prefix:

‘a good spear’ is *sumó líbotu* in the north,
sumó bbotu in the south.

These prefixes may have IV and can be used without accompanying noun, especially when there is a ‘class meaning’:

(i)*mú-páti* ‘an adult (person), an important (person)’

(i)*ci-botu* ‘a good thing’.

Class 12 forms not in agreement with a noun correspond to adverbs in English:

ká-botu ‘well’.

The 1st and 2nd persons ('I, you sg, we, you pl') do not have APs of this kind; the prefix of Class 1 is used for the singular persons as well as 'he' and 'she', and that of Class 2 for plural persons as well as 'they':

ndí múpáti 'I am (an) adult (person)'

mwakáli bábotu 'you were good (people)'

See also **Vocative prefixes** on page 41. Some other kinds of adjectives do include forms for the persons, see below.

The tonal behaviour of a noun + adjective sequence depends not only on the tonal structure of each element, but also on where the emphasis lies, whether on the noun, or on the adjective. If the emphasis is on the adjective, the structure behaves as one word, with a Determinant in the adjective raising all underlying Neutral syllables:

/muntu+mubotu/ > *múntú múbotu* 'a **good person**'

/muntu+imubotu/ > *muntú múbotu* 'a **good person**'

If on the other hand the emphasis is on the noun, there is no such interaction; the only effect will be to transfer a H from an Initial Vowel which has not surfaced:

(i)muntu+(i)múbotu i.e. > *muntú múbotu* 'a **good person**'

Adjectives of this kind are stabilised in the same way as nouns:

eeci cisani ñcibotu 'this cloth is good'

eeci cisani ñcéctbotu 'this cloth is the good one'

eelí sumo ñdí-bbotu 'this spear is good'

eelí sumo ndé-bbotu 'this spear is the good one'

Numerals and -ónse, -ngáyé

Only the numerals 1-5 are adjectival stems. There are two series, each with a separate set of prefixes:

	(a)	(b)
'one'	-mwé	-mwi
'two'	-bíle, -o	-bili
'three'	-tátwe	-tatu
'four'	-né	-ne
'five'	-sánwe	-sanu

Set (a) has Adjectival Prefix 2 and is not found stabilised, while Set (b) has AP1 and can be stabilised like a noun:

<i>bantu botátwe</i>	'three people' (Class 2, Set (a))
<i>batatu</i>	'three (people)' (Class 2, Set (b))
<i>mbatatu</i>	'there are three of them, lit. they are three' (Class 2, Set (b) stabilised with SE3).

The (a) numerals, as also the stems *-ónse* 'all, every' and *-ngáyé?* 'how many?'¹ have forms for persons as well as classes:

<i>nyo-ónse</i>	'all of you'
<i>bantu bo-ngáyé?</i>	'how many people?'

But *-ngáyé búyó* has the idiomatic meaning 'only a few'.

The stem *-mwé* ('one') also means 'the same', as in the phrase *antu omwé* 'at the same place, together' usually pronounced and written *antoomwé*. This usage is distinguished from 'one' by the latter's being accompanied by *búyó* 'only.'

These can be used pronominally:

¹ Collins 1962:97 classifies *-ónse* and *-ngáyé* as 'sub-numerals'; he also segments them differently, regarding the first *-o-* as part of the stem.

lyoónse

‘always’

In a series of adjectives, the numeral follows others:

mílónge mípáti yotátwe

‘rivers large three’ = ‘three large rivers’

The numerals 6-9 are usually expressed as a combination of 5 plus, in a number of ways; the following are common:

9: *bantu bosánwe múlí bane* ‘five people in which there are four’

6: *bantu bosánwe amuntu omwé búyo* ‘five people and only one person’

bantu bosánwe aúmwi ‘five people and another’

bantú bákánka ‘people who begin (i.e. who begin another group of five)’

‘Ten’ and ‘hundred’ are nouns, usually found with *-li* ‘be’; ten also forms the bases for multiples thereof:

bantú bálí kkumi ‘people who are a ten’

impóngé zyílí m̀̀kumi obílo ‘goats which are two tens = twenty goats’

English-based numerals, frequently heard, are used in the same way:

bána bálí síkisi ‘children who are six (in number)’

Number of times is expressed by means of the prefixes of Class 12 (sg)

ko-mwé (búyó) ‘once (only)’

and Class 13 (pl):

to-bílo ‘twice’ *to-ngáyé?* ‘how often?’

'Always' however is in Class 5: *Iyo-ónse* (see p. 32).

Ordinal numerals consist of a possessive prefix (see page 35) attached to a stem of the same shape as the Set (b) numerals, but having the tone-pattern of Set (a):

ibúzubá bwàbìli 'the second day' *ikà-bìli* 'the second time'

Stems with AP3: *-mbi*, *-lí?*, *-mwí*¹

-mwí 'some, one, certain, other'

-mbi 'other, different'

-lí? 'which?'

These stems have a prefix series with an IV which is typically *i-* for all but Classes 3, 6 and 16. The tone of the prefix varies with the stem, and whether or not pre-prefixes such as *a-* 'and, with' are added. *-mwí* may precede or follow the controlling noun, while the others normally follow it:

múcámba camuntu umwí 'into the breast of a certain person'

bamwí bantu 'some people'

bumwí búzuba 'one day...'

abámwi bantu 'and some people'

wákáyá kúcisi címbi 'he went to another country'

kúcisi cílí? 'to which country?'

This group may be used pronominally, notably with prefixes of a class with 'class meaning', such as 'time' for Class 5 and 'place' for Class 17;

Class 5 *li-mwí* 'finally' Class 17 *(i)kú-lí?* 'where(at)?'

alí-mwi 'again, also' *(i)kú-mbi* 'elsewhere'

(i)lí-lí? 'when?'

¹ *-mwí* and *-mbi* are also classified as 'sub-numerals' by Collins 1962:97.

Stabilisation is as for nouns:

<i>ɲ-kùlí nkóbàkkála?</i>	‘where is it that they live?’
<i>ɲkó-kùlí?</i>	‘it’s where ?’

Stems with AP4a and 4b: -no, -(l)ya

The stem *-no* ‘this in which I am/we are’ is more often used of space and time; *-(l)ya* ‘that previously mentioned, that already known’ retains the *l* when the prefix consists of vowels only:

(e)ci-ya but *(u)u-lya*

The prefix series AP4a is identical in shape with AP3, except for having a different IV:

(e)li-no ‘now’ but *(i)li-mwí* (see page 37).

Both prefix and stem are basically L in tone in both cases (unless the stem takes the H from an elided IV). These adjectives may come either after or before the noun; in the latter case, emphasis is given to the adjective.

<i>císi cino</i>	‘this country (which we are in)’
<i>ecinó císi</i>	‘ this country’

<i>muntu ulya</i>	‘the afore-mentioned person’
<i>uulya muntu</i>	‘ that person (that you know of)’

Stabilisation is with SE2b:

<i>ícísi ɲcé-cino</i>	‘this country (we are in) is the one’
<i>ɲgú-ulya muntu</i>	‘he’s the person (we’ve mentioned)’

With AP4b, the forms are pronominal, used especially as objects after a ‘weak’ verbal, i.e. with emphasis on the object:

índá wáano unywé máanzi 'pass by here (where I am) and drink some water'

kocítá bóbuya 'do it like that (as I've told you)'

This is stabilised with SE3:

eci cipeto ñci-cécliyá cámlpáyiló wámwámi

'this tax is that very (one of the) tribute to the chief'

Stem with AP5: -likke

This stem means 'alone', and has prefixes for persons as well as classes:

en-dikke 'I alone'

nyo-likke 'you pl alone'

ba-likke 'they alone (persons)'

Apparently there is no stabilised form, the stabilised pronoun of Series 1b (see pp. 38-9) being followed by the appropriate form:

ñduwé o-likke ngwéyánda 'it's you you-alone that I love'

Possessive Prefixes and Stems

Possession is expressed by means of a possessive prefix (PP) attached to a noun or to a pronominal possessive stem (PS) representing the possessor, and agreeing in noun class with the noun representing the object possessed. The possessive prefix, like the noun prefix, may have initial vowel attached or omitted:

myuunda íya-bantu or *myúúndá ya-bantu* 'fields of the people'

mpóngo ízya-bantu or *mpóngo zyá-bantu* 'goats of the people'

The Class 7 PP attached to a Class 15 infinitive has an adverbial meaning:

(i) *cakútaanguna* 'firstly'

(i) *cakúfwambaana* 'quickly'

The PP attached to a PS:

myúúndá yà-ngu 'my fields' *mpóngo zyesu* (< /zya-isu/) 'our goats'

There are PPs for all main noun classes, and PSs for all classes and persons; see Table of Prefix Series and Possessive Stems below. For stabilisation, there is an unemphatic form, using the 'murmured nasal' as for nouns

ṅcángu 'it's mine',

but more often the emphatic form, with SE2a, is used:

eeyi miinda njé-yàngu 'these fields are mine'

Negative stabilisation is with *téés(y)i*:

téési wákwe 'it's not his (child)'

The Class 5 PP attached to a PS has a meaning difficult to express in English;

Mebo lwángu ndayééyá kuti... 'As for me, I thought that...'

Table of Adjectival Prefix Series and Possessive Concorde

Class/ person	AP1	AP2	AP3	AP4a	AP4b	AP5	Possessive prefix	Possessive stem
Class 1:								
1st sg						<i>en-</i>		<i>-ngu</i>
2nd sg						<i>o-</i>		<i>-ko</i>
3rd sg	<i>mu-</i>	<i>(w)o-</i>	<i>uu-</i>	<i>uu-</i>	<i>yúu-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>iwa-</i>	<i>-kwe</i>
Class 2:								
1st pl		<i>to-</i>				<i>to-, tu-</i>		<i>-(i)su</i>
2nd pl		<i>nyo-</i>				<i>nyo-</i>		<i>-nu</i>
3rd pl	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bo-</i>	<i>iba-</i>	<i>aba-</i>	<i>bába-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>iba-</i>	<i>-bo</i>
Class:								
3	<i>mu-</i>	<i>wo-</i>	<i>uu-</i>	<i>uu-</i>	<i>yúu-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>iwa-</i>	<i>-wó</i>
4	<i>mi-</i>	<i>yo-</i>	<i>ii-</i>	<i>ii-</i>	<i>(y)ii-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>iya-</i>	<i>-yó</i>
5	<i>Ø-/G-/((li-)</i>	<i>lyo-</i>	<i>ili-</i>	<i>eli-</i>	<i>léli-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>ilya-</i>	<i>-lyó</i>
6	<i>ma-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>aa-</i>	<i>aa-</i>	<i>yáa-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>áa-</i>	<i>-ó</i>
7	<i>ci-</i>	<i>co-</i>	<i>ici-</i>	<i>eci-</i>	<i>céci-</i>	<i>ci-</i>	<i>ica-</i>	<i>-có</i>
8	<i>(z(y)i-)</i>	<i>zyo-</i>	<i>iz(y)i-</i>	<i>ez(y)i-</i>	<i>zéz(y)i-</i>	<i>z(y)i-</i>	<i>izya-</i>	<i>-zyó</i>
9	<i>N-</i>	<i>yo-</i>	<i>ii-</i>	<i>ii-</i>	<i>(y)ii-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>iya-</i>	<i>-yó</i>
10	<i>N-</i>	<i>zyo-</i>	<i>iz(y)i-</i>	<i>ez(y)i-</i>	<i>zéz(y)i-</i>	<i>z(y)i-</i>	<i>izya-</i>	<i>-zyó</i>
11	<i>lu-/lw-</i>	<i>lo-</i>	<i>ilu-</i>	<i>olu-</i>	<i>lólú-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>ilwa-</i>	<i>-ló</i>
12	<i>ka-/k-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>ika-</i>	<i>aka-</i>	<i>káka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ika-</i>	<i>-tó</i>
13	<i>tu-/tw-</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>itu-</i>	<i>otu-</i>	<i>tótú-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>itwa-</i>	<i>-kó</i>
14	<i>bu-/bw-</i>	<i>bo-</i>	<i>ibu-</i>	<i>obu-</i>	<i>bóbú-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>ibwa-</i>	<i>-bó</i>
15	<i>ku-/kw-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>iku-</i>	<i>oku-</i>	<i>kóku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ikwa-</i>	<i>-kó</i>
16	<i>a-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>aa-</i>	<i>aa-</i>	<i>wáa-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>áa-</i>	<i>-ó</i>
17	<i>ku-/kw-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>iku-</i>	<i>oku-</i>	<i>kóku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ikwa-</i>	<i>-kó</i>
18	<i>mu-/mw-</i>	<i>mo-</i>	<i>imu-</i>	<i>omu-</i>	<i>mómú-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>imwa-</i>	<i>-mó</i>

Pronouns, Demonstratives and Vocatives

The forms in this section are such as cannot be segmented into prefix and stem throughout the series. Those which can be so segmented have been dealt with above. Some series of pronouns and/or demonstratives have distinct forms for persons as well as classes. The vocative affixes apply to persons only. Generally a demonstrative can function as a pronoun, but there are several series which function only as pronouns. Most have both unemphatic and emphatic/restrictive stabilisation.

Series 1a and 1b pronouns

Series 1a is pronominal, with forms for all persons and classes:

imé, mebo 'I' *waló* 's/he' *caló* 'it (Class 7)'

The link element *a-* 'and, with' (see page 43) can be attached to this series:

a-mébo 'I also' *a-wálo* 'and her/him' *a-cálo* 'with it'

a-mébo has alternative forms *a-mbébo*~*a-mbéyo*

There is also a short form:

awé 'with him/her' *acó* 'with it'

There does not appear to be a stabilised form.

Series 1b consists of emphatic pronouns:

ndimé 'I, me' *nguwé* 'her, him' *ncicó* 'it'

Stabilisation is similar to that of nouns: the unemphatic form has murmured initial nasal, and emphatic stabilisation is by means of SE2a:

ndimé 'it is I, it's me'

ndé-ndimé 'it's really me'

ngó-nguwé

‘he’s really the one’.

The addition of the suffixes *-na* or *-nya* to the pronoun gives the meaning ‘the/that very (same)’:

ndilyóna

‘at that very moment’

mpoón(y)a

‘at that very time/place, then, immediately’

mbubóna mbúli mbólúcitwa ‘in the very same way as (how) it is done’

(*lu-* agreeing with *líyándó lwáko* ‘thy will’)

(In Class 16 there is fusion: *mpawó + n(y)a > mpoóna*.) There are several variants of this, e.g. *-ena*:

mbubwéna

‘in that very way’

nkukwéna

‘to the very same place’

The stem *-múnya* can be used with a variant of the pronoun consisting of the first syllable only:

ngumúnya

‘the very same person’

ncimúnya

‘the very same thing’

mbumúnya

‘the very same way’

There is insufficient data to give information on stabilisation of the variant forms.

Series 2a and 2b demonstrative adjectives/pronouns

These have the meaning ‘this/that near the speaker’. There are forms for classes but not for 1st and 2nd persons (as there are for series 1a and 1b pronouns).

Series 2a has the general shape (V)VCV:

(o)oyu muntu

'this/that person (near me)'

As an adjective, it may precede or follow the noun, but when a noun stands as preverbal subject, the demonstrative usually precedes the noun;

ooyú mwána wakandaambila 'this child told me'

as post-verbal object the demonstrative normally follows the noun:

kúpa banyama aba zintu ezi 'to give these animals these things'

Stabilisation is with SE2a, and often has the meaning 'here is/are':

ḡká-aka katiba 'here's a little dish'

ncáákácltá mwámi ḡcé-eci 'what the chief did is this, here's what the chief did'

Series 2b demonstrative pronouns

These are used to emphasise an object after a 'weak' verbal form (see page 45)

nyandá yóoyu 'I want **this one**'

and with *a-* 'and, with' attached; with the same meaning as Series 2a:

ooyu ayóoyu 'this one and **this one**'

Unemphatic stabilisation is by means of SE3,

ḡngu-yóoyu 'it's this one, this is the one'

emphatic stabilisation is with SE4:

ḡgóngu-yóoyu 'it's **this** one, this is the very one'

Series 3a and 3b demonstrative adjectives/pronouns

These have the meaning 'that/those nearer to the person addressed than to the speaker'. The forms are as for Series 2a, but with final vowel *-o*.

ooyó mwána, mwána oyo ‘that child’

Stabilisation is as for Series 2a:

ngó-oyo ‘that is s/he; there he is’

Series 3b are demonstrative pronouns, with meanings as for Series 3a and usage as for Series 2b. Forms are as for Series 2b, but with final vowel *-o*:

nyandá yóoyo ‘I want **that one**’

ayóoyo ‘and that one’

ngu-yóoyo ‘it’s that one, that’s the one’

ngóngú-yóoyo ‘it’s **that** one, that’s the very one’

Vocative Prefixes

These refer to 1st and 2nd persons only and are attached to complete nouns:

tó-bápáti ‘we adults’

nó-bátúmbu term of address to a woman who has given birth
(< *-tumbuka* ‘give birth’; 2nd person honorific plural)

With *-ini* attached, the meaning ‘self’ is added:

ndé-mwíni ‘I myself’, *ó-mwíni* ‘you yourself’ sg

Table of Pronouns, Demonstratives and Vocative Affixes

Series:	1a	1b	2a	2b	3a	3b	Vocative
Class 1:							
1st sg	<i>imé, mebo</i>	<i>ndimé</i>					<i>nde-</i>
2nd sg	<i>iwé, webo</i>	<i>nduwé</i>					<i>o-</i>
3rd sg	<i>waló, yebo, lákwe¹</i>	<i>nguwé</i>	<i>ooyu</i>	<i>yóoyu</i>	<i>ooyo</i>	<i>yóoyo</i>	
Class 2:							
1st pl	<i>iswé, swebo</i>	<i>ndiswé</i>					<i>to-</i>
2nd pl	<i>inywé, nywebo</i>	<i>ndinywé</i>					<i>no-</i>
3rd pl	<i>baló</i>	<i>mbabó</i>	<i>aaba</i>	<i>báaba</i>	<i>aabo</i>	<i>báabo</i>	
Class 3							
	<i>waló</i>	<i>nguwó</i>	<i>ooyu</i>	<i>yóoyu</i>	<i>ooyu</i>	<i>yóoyo</i>	
4	<i>yaló</i>	<i>njiyó</i>	<i>eeyi</i>	<i>yéeyi</i>	<i>eeyo</i>	<i>yéeyo</i>	
5	<i>lyaló</i>	<i>ndilyó</i>	<i>eeli</i>	<i>léeli</i>	<i>eelyo</i>	<i>léelyo</i>	
6	<i>aló</i>	<i>ngawó</i>	<i>aaya</i>	<i>yáaya</i>	<i>aayo</i>	<i>yáayo</i>	
7	<i>caló</i>	<i>ncicó</i>	<i>eeci</i>	<i>céeci</i>	<i>eeco</i>	<i>céeco</i>	
8	<i>zyaló</i>	<i>nzizyó</i>	<i>eez(y)i</i>	<i>zéez(y)i</i>	<i>eezyo</i>	<i>zéez(y)i</i>	
9	<i>yaló</i>	<i>njiyó</i>	<i>eeyi</i>	<i>yéeyi</i>	<i>eeyo</i>	<i>yéeyo</i>	
10	<i>zyaló</i>	<i>nzizyó</i>	<i>eez(y)i</i>	<i>zéez(y)i</i>	<i>eezyo</i>	<i>zéez(y)i</i>	
11	<i>lwaló</i>	<i>nduló</i>	<i>oolu</i>	<i>lóolu</i>	<i>oolo</i>	<i>lóolo</i>	
12	<i>kaló</i>	<i>nkakó</i>	<i>aaka</i>	<i>káaka</i>	<i>aako</i>	<i>káako</i>	
13	<i>twaló</i>	<i>ntutó</i>	<i>ootu</i>	<i>tóotu</i>	<i>ooto</i>	<i>tóoto</i>	
14	<i>bwaló</i>	<i>mbubó</i>	<i>oobu</i>	<i>bóobu</i>	<i>oobo</i>	<i>bóobo</i>	
15	<i>kwaló</i>	<i>nkukó</i>	<i>ooku</i>	<i>kóoku</i>	<i>ooko</i>	<i>kóoko</i>	
16	<i>aló</i>	<i>mpawó</i>	<i>aawa</i>	<i>wáawa</i>	<i>aawo</i>	<i>wáawo</i>	
17	<i>kwaló</i>	<i>nkukó</i>	<i>ooku</i>	<i>kóoku</i>	<i>ooko</i>	<i>kóoko</i>	
18	<i>mwaló</i>	<i>mumó</i>	<i>oomu</i>	<i>móomo</i>	<i>oomo</i>	<i>móomu</i>	

¹ Only with *a-* affixed; see page 43.

The pronouns of some classes have meaning even when not controlled by a noun of that class (see Table of Noun Classes on pages 21-23 for indications of 'class meanings'):

Classes 1/2 refer usually to humans: *wakati kúli mbabó* 'he said to them'.

Class 5 is the 'time' class: *(e)elyo* 'then'. ('Now' is *(e)lino*, see adjectives with AP4a.)

Class 14 refers to manner: *mbubó* 'thus, so'; *mbómbu-bóobo* 'it's absolutely right'; *nákámána kúcitá bóobu* 'when he finished doing thus'

Classes 16-18 refer to place or time: *(a)awa, wáawa* 'here', *mpawó* 'thereon, thereat'; *ikúzwá awo* 'after that (lit. to come from there)'.

Nominal Affixes

These are attached to nominals, but do not form part of the class concord system.

i) Link element a- 'and, with, by'

The tone of *a-* is always L, but that of the noun varies according to the tone class:

banyama a-bantu 'people **and** animals'

twambo...twakali kuluulwa a-milomo 'matters...were related **by** [word of] mouth'

a-nsima 'with maize porridge' (*insima*)

When attached to the infinitive verbal noun, *a-* expresses a consecutive:

wákámúbweza a-kúpa bána bákwe

'he picked him [the hare] up **and** gave [him] to his children'

See also page 69 for use of *a-* in expressing 'have'.

ii) *-nzi?* ‘what kind of?’

For tonal reasons which will not be described here, *-nzi?* attached to a noun raises any L tones behind it, but, since it contains a depressor, it lowers (or prevents raising of) the vowel immediately preceding:

(i) *múlimònzí?* ‘what kind of work?’ (< (i) *mulimo*)

mbásúnenzí? ‘what kind of oxen are they?’ (< (i) *básúne*)

This is also the stem of an adjective-pronoun, meaning ‘what kind of ... in the X¹ class?’

ncínzí? ‘what kind of (thing) is it? what is it?’ (thing in class 7)

See also page 54 for table: **Class Concords in the Verbal System.**

VERBALS

Tonga verbs show the typical Bantu structure of affixes attached round a lexical core, called a radical or root, e.g. *-tum-* ‘send’. A verb form may consist of one word, or it may combine with an auxiliary to make a compound. A typical one-word form is *tiibákátumá* ‘they did not send’, consisting of the following elements:

<i>tii-</i>	negative marker
<i>-b-</i>	contracted subject prefix of Class 2 ‘they’
<i>-áká-</i>	tense marker, prehodiernal past (before today)
<i>-túm-</i>	verb root, ‘send’
<i>-á</i>	final vowel (part of tense marker)

Compound verbs are formed with an auxiliary

¹ X stands for whichever may be the class number of the adjective or pronoun.

bakáli kútuma 'they were sending' (-li 'be').

However, these are often written as one word:

bakálikútuma

Strong and Weak Forms

A striking feature of the Tonga verbal system is the existence of a 'strong' and a 'weak' variant for many verb forms. The strong form emphasises the verb, the weak form emphasises the following item:

strong: *balátumá lúgwalo* 'they are **sending** a letter'

weak: *batúmá lúgwalo* 'they are sending **a letter**'

Strong and weak forms differ in tone-pattern and occasionally in shape. (In analytic tonal studies, the 'weak' verb form is regarded as tonally linked to the following word.)

Verbal Root, Stem and Infinitive

The verbal infinitive is a Class 15 noun basically composed of Class 15 noun prefix + root + -a:

(i)ku-sal-a 'to choose, choosing' (i)kú-tum-a 'to send, sending'

The root and the final vowel together form the stem. A few verbs however do not have final -a:

(i)ku-ti 'to say'.

There are two major tone-classes, one with first stem syllable Neutral (N) and the other with Determinant (D) on the first root vowel. The two verbs shown above are respectively N (*ikusala*) and D (*ikútuma*). The infinitive may also include a negative element -ta- and/or an object concord:

<i>(i)kú-ta-sal-a</i>	‘not to choose’
<i>(i)ku-mu-sal-a</i>	‘to choose him/her’
<i>(i)kú-ta-mu-sal-a</i>	‘not to choose him/her’

The infinitive, being a noun, has the full range of class concords, can function as subject and object of a verb and take all nominal affixes:

ikwíiyá kwácikólo nkúyumu, akwálo kwíiyá kwákaindi kwákáli kúyumu
 ‘school learning is hard, and (it) also the education of olden times was hard’

ndakátalíká kumuyeeya ‘I began to think of her’

tandilángi akundilanga pé ‘he never even looks at me’

(lit. he does not look at me and (to) look at me, no)

Sound alternations where the root is vowel-commencing, e.g. *kweenda, kooná*, have already been discussed on page 10.

Verb Root Extensions

A verb may show additions to the root which modify the meaning, e.g. *-sal-w-a* ‘be chosen’; these are **root** or **verbal extensions**. An unextended root is said to be **simplex**. The most common extensions are shown below; there are often allomorphs following the rules of Vowel Harmony and Consonant Harmony. Verbs are quoted as stems without Class 15 NP.

Passive:	<i>-sal-w-a</i> ‘be chosen’	<i>(-sala</i> ‘choose’)
	<i>-sway-igw-a</i> ‘be visited’	<i>(-swaya</i> ‘visit’)
	<i>-l-igw-a</i> ‘be eaten’	<i>(-lya</i> ‘eat’)
	<i>-penz(y)-egw-a</i> ‘be made to suffer’	<i>(-penzya</i> ‘make suffer’)

The Passive is the only extension not to precede the Completive Suffix (see below, page 60.)

ba-lí-kónd-ed-w-e 'they are pleased' (-*kond-w-a* 'become pleased')

Relational (also known as **Applied**, **Prepositional** or **Directive**): this gives the meaning 'in relation to' and is often translated into English by prepositions.

-*amb-il-a* 'speak to' (-*amba* 'state, speak')

-*let-el-a* 'bring for/to' (-*leta* 'bring')

-*nyem-en-a* 'get angry with' (-*nyema* 'get angry')

-*l-id-a* 'eat from' (-*lya* 'eat')

-*kas(y)-izy-a* 'prevent for' (-*kasya* 'prevent, forbid')

fusion: -*pandul-wid-a* 'explain to' (-*pandulula* 'explain')

The Relational and Passive may be combined:

-*jik-il-w-a* 'be cooked for, have someone cook for one' (-*jika* 'cook')

-*tol-el-w-a* 'be taken from, have taken from one' (-*tola* 'take away')

-*fw-id-w-a* 'be died on, be bereaved' (-*fwa* 'die')

Causative I: gives the meanings 'cause to do or be done' or 'use for doing':

-*nyem-y-a* 'make angry' (-*nyema* 'become angry')

-*jat-y-a* 'seize with' (-*jata* 'seize, hold')

-*li-sy-a* 'feed' (-*lya* 'eat')

fusion: -*penzya* 'make distressed, trouble' (-*penga* 'be in distress')

-*isya* 'cause to learn or be learnt, teach' (-*iya* 'learn')

A special usage of the Causative is with reduplication of the root and the reflexive object concord *-li-*, meaning 'pretend to do':

fusion: *-li-lanzya-lanzya* 'pretend to be looking' (*-langa* 'look')

Causative II¹:

-ul-isy-a 'sell, cause to buy/be bought' (*-ula* 'buy')

-sek-esy-a 'cheer, amuse' (*-seka* 'laugh')

Reciprocal-Associative: gives the meaning 'do to each other' or 'do together'.

-yand-an-a 'love each other' (*-yanda* 'love, like')

-z(y)ib-an-a 'know each other' (*-z(y)iba* 'know')

The Reciprocal-Associative can be combined with the Relational:

-bej-el-an-a 'tell lies about each other' (*-beja* 'tell lies')

and with the Relational and Causative I:

-jok-el-an-y-a 'cause to return to each other, reconcile' (*-joka* 'return (intr)')

Intensive:

-yand-isy-a 'love very much, like very much' (*-yanda* 'love, like')

-yoow-esy-a 'be terrified' (*-yoowa* 'be afraid')

Reduplicated, it expresses even greater intensity:

-yand-is(y)isy-a 'love very much indeed'

The Perfective, and the Perfective + Causative, also indicate intensity, see below.

¹ According to Fortune 1977:4.2.6.3.2., writing on the equivalent forms in Shona (a language adjacent to and closely related to Tonga), this 'long' form has different connotations from the 'short' Causative I. Of Causative I he says: 'this extension indicates one of two things, either that someone is made to act or that someone is made to be acted on. Thus the causality is not so much direct as indirect action by an agent upon another agent causing it to act or be acted on....a further implication is that things are used as instruments, whereas Causative II 'indicates a participation by an agent in some activity, a personal participation involving action by an agent on someone or something.' It is not clear whether or not these remarks apply equally to Chitonga, but they provide a basis for further research.

Neuter-Potential: this is a 'passive without agent', also with potential meaning:

<i>-mway-ik-a</i> 'scatter (intr)'	(<i>-mwaya</i> 'scatter (tr)')
<i>-bon-ek-a</i> 'be visible, seem'	(<i>-bona</i> 'see')

Perfective also called **Persistive:** this has the meaning 'to the utmost':

<i>-unk-ilil-a</i> 'go away forever, get lost'	(<i>-unka</i> 'go away')
<i>-sek-elel-a</i> 'rejoice'	(<i>-seka</i> 'laugh')
<i>-yum-inin-a</i> 'dry up completely'	(<i>-yuma</i> 'become dry')
<i>-on-enen-a</i> 'sleep overnight in the bush (in wait for game)'	(<i>-ona</i> 'sleep')

The Perfective can be combined with other extensions such as the Passive, Associative-Reciprocal and Causative I:

<i>-ang-ilil-w-a</i> 'be tightly bound up'	(<i>-anga</i> 'bind, tie')
<i>-lek-elel-an-a</i> 'forgive each other'	(<i>-leka</i> 'let go')
fusion: <i>-lang-ilizy-a</i> 'stare at (lit. cause to be looked at to the utmost)'	(<i>-langa</i> 'look at')

Reversive and **Neuter Reversive:** the simple Reversive occurs less often than the reduplicated form (identical in shape with the Repetitive, see below). This reverses the meaning:

<i>-jal-ul-a</i> 'open'	(<i>-jala</i> 'shut')
<i>-yub-ulul-a</i> 'reveal'	(<i>-yuba</i> 'hide')
<i>-sam-unun-a</i> 'take off (clothes), undress'	(<i>-sama</i> 'put on clothes')

In the Neuter Reversive *l/n* is replaced by *k* (see also transitive and intransitive pairings below on page 50):

<i>-kotam-uk-a</i> 'unbend, straighten up (intr)'	(<i>-kotama</i> 'bend, bow (intr)')
<i>-vung-uluk-a</i> 'unfold (intr)'	(<i>-vunga</i> 'fold up (tr)')

<i>l/k</i>	<i>-sumpula</i> ‘lift up, improve (tr)’	<i>-sumpuka</i> ‘be lifted up; advance (intr), improve (intr)’
	<i>-sosolola</i> ‘move out of the way (tr)’	<i>-sosoloka</i> ‘move out of the way (intr)’
<i>n/k</i>	<i>-bbabbanuna</i> ‘peel off (tr)’	<i>-bbabbanuka</i> ‘peel off (intr)’
	<i>-enzemuna</i> ‘melt (tr)’	<i>-enzemuka</i> ‘melt (intr)’

Class Concords in the Verbal System

Class concords function in the verbal system as subject prefixes (including relative subject prefixes), object concords and relative object prefixes.

Verbal Subject Prefix (SP)

In nearly all verbal forms this is an obligatory element which indicates or agrees with the subject of the verb:

tu-latuma ‘we send’ *bantu ba-látuma* ‘the people (they) send’

There are contracted variants when the next element begins with a vowel:

tw-akátuma ‘we chose’

Some verb forms have special SPs; negative forms for the three singular persons are often quite different from the affirmative:

n-datuma ‘I send’ but *nsye-tumi pé* ‘I don’t send’

Tonally 1st and 2nd persons are Neutral, all others Determinant; this may lead to different tone-patterns:

u-latuma ‘you sg send’ *u-látuma* ‘s/he sends’

w-akátuma ‘you sg sent’ *w-ákátuma* ‘s/he sent’

Relative Subject Prefix (RSP)

A relative verbal is partly like a verb and partly like a noun (hence the term **nomino-verbal**). Class prefixes in this series may have IV as do nouns:

(ú)ú-tù má 's/he who sends' (i)wá-kátù má 's/he who sent'

1st and 2nd persons have the 'vocative' pre-prefix attached (see page 41; a pre-prefix is any element attached before the class prefix), and may be stabilised:

nó-tú-sála 'we who choose' ó-ó-tabonwi 'you who are not seen'¹

ngú-ú-tù má 'it is s/he who sends, s/he is the one who sends'

Verbal Object Concord (OC)

This immediately precedes the verb root in a verbal form, and indicates or agrees with the object of the verb:

tula-mu-tuma 'we send **him**'

ulá-ci-tuma 'he sends it (object in Class 7)'

cá-ndá-alila 'it's baffled **me**, it's too much for **me**' /ndí+a/>ndáa
(showing vowel replacement)

(i)kú-li-bonya 'to show **oneself**' (reflexive OC)

Singular persons are Neutral, all others Determinant; this may lead to different tone-patterns:

balá-mú-tuma 'they send him/her' balá-mu-tuma 'they send you pl'

Relative Object Concord (ROC)

This is pre-prefixed to an Objective (Indirect) Relative verbal form, and can be stabilised by addition of murmur to the initial nasal:

ncó-tùtù má 'what we send' (impersonal use of Class 7)

ilúgwalo ndú-twákátù má 'the letter **which** we sent'

¹ Part of a greeting to a person one has not seen for some time: *Wabónwa, óótabonwi akúbonwa pé* 'You are seen, you who are not seen by being seen' = 'long time no see.'

ṅcó-tùtùma 'it is what we send'

ilúgwalo ṅdú-twákátùmá 'a letter is what we sent'

There are various allomorphs, according to dialect, tense and the SP following:

ilúgwalo ndwí-ndákátùmá 'the letter that I sent'

ilúgwalo ndwá-ákátùmá 'the letter that s/he sent'

ilúgwalo ndwé-tùma 'the letter I send' (fusion with SP)

In the following table, where more than one variant is given for SP and RSP, the final form in any column is the 'contracted' variant, i.e. that found before immediately following vowel.

Table of Class Concords in the Verbal System

Class/person	Subject Prefix	Relative Subject Prefix	Object Concord	Relative Object Concord
Class 1:				
1st sg	<i>n-/ndi-/nd-</i>	<i>(n)ee(n)-/in(d)-</i>	<i>-ndi-</i>	
2nd sg	<i>u-/w-</i>	<i>(n)oo-</i>	<i>-ku-</i>	
3rd sg	<i>u-/w-</i>	<i>uu-/iw-</i>	<i>-mu-</i>	<i>ngó-/ngú-</i>
Class 2:				
1st pl	<i>tu-/tw-</i>	<i>notu-/notw-</i>	<i>-tu-</i>	
2nd pl	<i>mu-/mw-</i>	<i>nomu-/nomw-</i>	<i>-mu-</i>	
3rd pl	<i>ba-/b-</i>	<i>iba-/ib-</i>	<i>-ba-</i>	<i>mbó-/mbí-</i>
Class:				
3	<i>u-/w-</i>	<i>uu-/iw-</i>	<i>-u-</i>	<i>ngó-/ngú-</i>
4	<i>i-/y-</i>	<i>ii-/iy-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>njó-/nji-</i>
5	<i>li-/ly-</i>	<i>ili-/ily-</i>	<i>-li-</i>	<i>ndyó-/ndí-</i>
6	<i>a-/Ø-</i>	<i>aa-/a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>ngó-/ngi-</i>
7	<i>ci-/c-</i>	<i>ici-</i>	<i>-ci-</i>	<i>ncó-/ncí-</i>
8	<i>z(y)i-/zy-</i>	<i>iz(y)i-</i>	<i>-z(y)i-</i>	<i>nzyó-/nzyí-</i>
9	<i>i-</i>	<i>ii-/iy-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>njó-/nji-</i>
10	<i>y-</i>	<i>iz(y)i-/izy-</i>	<i>-z(y)i-</i>	<i>nzyó-/nzyí-</i>
11	<i>lu-/lw-</i>	<i>ilu-/ilw-</i>	<i>-lu-</i>	<i>ndó-/ndú-</i>
12	<i>ka-/k-</i>	<i>ika-/ik-</i>	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>nkó-/nkí-</i>
13	<i>tu-/tw-</i>	<i>itu-/itw-</i>	<i>-tu-</i>	<i>ntó-/ntú-</i>
14	<i>bu-/bw-</i>	<i>ibu-/ibw-</i>	<i>-bu-</i>	<i>mbó-/mbú-</i>
15	<i>ku-/kw-</i>	<i>iku-/ikw-</i>	<i>-ku-</i>	<i>nkó-/nkú-</i>
16	<i>a-/Ø-</i>	<i>aa-/a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>mpó-/mpú-</i>
17	<i>ku-/kw-</i>	<i>iku-/ikw-</i>	<i>-ku-</i>	<i>nkó-/nkú-</i>
18	<i>mu-/mw-</i>	<i>imu-/imw-</i>	<i>-mu-</i>	<i>mó-/mú-</i>
Reflexive			<i>-li-</i>	

Notes:

- i) In some verb forms, the SP is Neutral (N) for 1st and 2nd persons and Determinant (D) for all others; in other cases, all SPs are tonally identical.
- ii) The OC is N for all singular persons including Class 1 (3rd person sg) and D for plural persons and classes 2-18.
- iii) There are special forms for singular persons in negative forms:

Present: *ns(y)e-* 'I' (Southern *(n)si-*), *to-* 'you sg', *ta-* 's/he'

Past tenses: *ns(y)iind-* 'I', *too-* 'you sg', *taa-* 's/he'.

See also the Hortative form page 59. The Relative Object Concord too has variant forms as explained above.

TYPES OF VERB FORM

Verb forms may consist of one word only, such as *twakátuma* 'we sent', or of more than one word, such as *túyá kútuma* 'we shall send', though even these are sometimes written as one word. The dialects differ in some instances; Southern Tonga use a one-word form for the future: *túyóótuma* 'we shall send'.

A verb form is said to have one or more of the three features **tense**, **aspect** and **mood**. **Tense** means the time-reference: Present, Past of Today, Past of before Today, Future. The Tonga verb system includes two past tenses, one for events on the day of speaking (Near or Hodiernal Past), and another for events before today (Remote or Prehodiernal Past):

twatúma 'we sent (today)' but *twakátuma* 'we sent (before today)'.

Aspect indicates the duration, completion or quality of the action or state, for example Progressive (in progress), Completive ('Perfect'):

twakáli kútuma ‘we were sending’ is Progressive

tulítumide ‘we have sent’ is Completive.

Mood is less easy to define, but in Chitonga includes Indicative, Relative, Imperative, Conditional, Hortative, Subjunctive and Participial. There are so many Chitonga verb forms that complete exemplification is impossible here; below are illustrated some of the most common.

The tone-pattern depends on a number of factors: the tonal class of the root, of the subject prefix, of the object concord if any, and whether it is a ‘strong’ or ‘weak’ variant. The complete pattern set is shown for the Present/Future Indicative only. Forms are hyphenated to show the various elements in their make-up:

tu-la-sal-a ‘we choose, are choosing’ consists of the SP *-tu-*, tense marker *-la-*, verb root *-sal-* and final vowel *-a-* which is a second part of the tense marker.

Present/Future

This refers to the present or near future, and includes a ‘progressive’ meaning ‘be doing’.

Strong:	<i>tu-la-sal-a</i>	‘we choose, are choosing, shall choose (soon)’
	<i>tu-la-mu-sal-a</i>	‘we choose him’
	<i>tu-la-mu-sal-a</i>	‘we choose you pl’
	<i>ba-la-sal-a</i>	‘they choose, are choosing, will soon choose’
	<i>ba-la-mu-sal-a</i>	‘they choose him’
	<i>ba-lá-mu-sal-a</i>	‘they choose you pl’

tu-la-tum-a 'we send, are sending, will soon send'

tu-la-mu-tum-a 'we send him'

tu-la-mu-tum-a 'we send you pl'

ba-lá-tum-a 'they send, are sending, will soon send'

ba-lá-mú-tum-a 'they send him'

ba-lá-mu-tum-a 'they send you pl'

Weak: *tu-sal-á* 'we choose...' **(Emphasis on object;**
ba-sál-á 'they choose...' **N and D verbs alike)**

Negative *ta-tu-sál-i* 'we do not choose' **No differences**
Strong *ta-tu-mú-sál-i* 'we do not choose him' **correlated with SP**
(Present *ta-tu-mú-sál-i* 'we do not choose you pl'
meaning)

ta-tu-tum-i 'we do not send'

ta-tu-mú-tum-i 'we do not send him'

ta-tu-mu-tum-i 'we do not send you pl'

Negative *ta-tu-sál-i* 'we do not choose...' **No differences**
Present **for SP; no OC**
Weak: *ta-tu-túm-i* 'we do not send...' **forms recorded**

Negative *ta-tu-ká-sál-i* 'we are not going to choose' **No weak forms**
Future: *ta-tu-ká-mú-sál-i* 'we are not going to choose him' **recorded**
ta-tu-ká-mù-sál-i 'we are not going to choose you pl'

<i>ta-tu-ká-tum-i</i>	‘we are not going to send’
<i>ta-tu-ká-mú-tum-i</i>	‘we are not going to send him’
<i>ta-tu-ká-mu-tum-i</i>	‘we are not going to send you’

Near or Hodiernal Past

This tense refers to events which took place on the day of speaking:

<i>tw-a-sal-a</i>	‘we chose (today)’
<i>tii-tw-á-sál-a</i>	‘we did not come (today)’

It is also used in narrative for events before the day of speaking.

Remote or Prehodiernal Past¹

This refers to events before the day of speaking:

<i>tw-aka-sal-a</i>	‘we chose’
<i>tii-tw-áká-sál-a</i>	‘we did not choose’.

Future

A future meaning is expressed in several ways in addition to the *-la-a* tense. For instance, there are two compound tenses, one with *-ya* ‘go’ and the other with *-z(y)i* ‘come’:

<i>tu-ya ku-sala</i>	‘we shall come, we are going to choose’
<i>tu-zyi ku-boola</i>	‘we shall come, lit. we are coming to choose’

The Southern dialect has one-word forms: *tu-yoo-sal-a*, *tu-zoo-bool-a*.

Imperative

This expresses a command. There are two forms:

- i) the simple verb stem: *sála!* ‘choose!’
- ii) a more common form with *k-o-* for singular and *ka-mu-* for plural:

¹ The terms ‘Hodiernal’ and ‘Prehodiernal’ are taken from Collins 1962.

k-o-sál-a, ka-mu-sál-a! 'choose!'

Negative: *(m)u-tá-sál-i* 'don't choose'

This may include an element *-ci-* meaning 'still, keep on doing':

ka-mu-cí-yá 'keep going'

Subjunctive

This form expresses wish, intended result, etc. and is often used after *kuti* 'that':

(kuti) tu-sál-e '(so that) we may choose'

Negative: *tu-tá-sál-i* 'that we may not choose'

An interesting usage is as a temporal past:

tu-mán-e 'when we had finished'

bu-cé 'when it (day, *bú-zuba*) dawned' = 'the next day'

Sometimes there is a hortative meaning:

e.g. *tu-sál-e* 'let's choose'

The element *-ka-* is inserted to imply distance in time or space:

kamucíyá mu-ká-sík-e 'keep going so that you may eventually arrive' is said to someone going away.

This also shows the Subjunctive as a 'sequential command'.

Another use is in a compound tense with *-ti* (lit. 'say'):

ndakátí (n)tànte 'I was about to climb'

Hortative

This means to 'let ... do':

á-tù-sál-e 'let us choose'

í-ln-túm-e 'let me send'

Negative: *tu-tá-sál-i* 'let us not choose'

in-tá-tum-i 'let me not send'

The Hortative may serve as a polite command:

á-mù-ndi-gwásy-e 'please help me'

Completives

These are used to express **completed action**:

tu-li-cit-ide 'we have done'

Completives also express **state**, especially with verbs meaning 'to become ...' and imply emphasis or contradiction: 'yes, we **have** done it (though you say we haven't)'.¹

u-li-sondok-ede 'he has gone mad, he is mad' (-*sondoka* 'go mad')

inhombe zi-lí-vúl-ide 'the cattle are numerous'¹ (-*vula* 'become numerous')

Completives have added to the root a suffix *-ide~ede* (according to Vowel Harmony) and in the western, Ila-influenced dialects *-ile~ele*. Some speakers also practise Consonant Harmony:

-langa 'look' > *-lang-ide, -lang-ile*

-sondoka 'go mad' > *-sondok-ede, -sondok-ele*

-nyema 'get angry' > *-nyem-ede, -nyem-ene*

However, many verbs have special completive forms:

-bona 'see' > *-bwene* *-kkala* 'sit, live' > *-kkede*

-ima 'stand up' > *-imvwi* *-z(y)iba* 'know' > *-z(y)i*

-jata 'catch' > *-jisi* *-z(y)ibana* 'know each other' > *-z(y)ibene*

The forms shown above, with marker *-li-*, are **Present Completives**. Weak and negative forms omit *-li-*:

Strong: *tu-li-jisi* 'we have caught; we have'

¹ Also means 'they're all there; there aren't any missing.'

Weak	<i>tu-jísi nhombe</i>	‘we have cattle ’
Negative	<i>ta-tu-láng-ìdé</i>	‘we haven’t looked’

Past markers can be inserted to form **Past Completives** (or **Pluperfects**):

	<i>tw-a(ká)-lí-imvwi</i>	‘we were standing’
Negative:	<i>tii-tw-á(ká)-láng-ìdé</i>	‘we had not looked’

Negative Inceptives

These have the meaning ‘not yet’; the marker is *-níngá-* or *-ná-*

<i>ta-tu-níngá-sal-a</i> , <i>ta-tu-ná-sal-a</i>	‘we have not yet chosen’
<i>tii-tw-áká-n(íng)á-sal-a</i>	‘we had not yet chosen’

The participial form of this (see page 63 for participles) comes to mean ‘before’:

<i>ká-tù-tá-níngá-sal-a</i>	‘we having not yet chosen, before we choose/chose’
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Relative Forms

There are two kinds of these: the Subjective or Direct

<i>úúsála</i>	‘(s/he) who chooses’
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and the Objective or Indirect:

<i>ngótúsála</i>	‘(s/he) whom we choose’
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See also **Inverted Relative** on page 73.

Subjective (Direct) Relative

The Relative Subject Prefix (RSP) (see page 52) is used, and the rest of the verb may differ in shape and tone pattern from the corresponding indicative form.

Examples show the Class 2 (3rd person) RSP:

Present/Future:	<i>(i)bá-sál-a</i>	‘they who choose’
Negative:	<i>(i)bá-tà-sál-i</i>	‘they who do not choose’
Near Past:	<i>(i)b-à-sál-a</i>	‘they who chose (today)’
Negative:	<i>(i)b-à-tá-sál-a</i>	‘they who did not choose (today)’
Remote Past:	<i>(i)b-áká-sál-a</i>	‘they who chose (before today)’
Negative:	<i>(i)b-à-tá-ká-sál-a</i>	‘they who did not choose (before today)’

As previously mentioned, all relative forms can be stabilised, basically by SE2a, but with vowel alternations where relevant, and with *téés(y)i* for the negative:

<i>m̄bi-bá-sál-a, m̄bá-bá-sál-a</i>	‘they are the ones who choose’
<i>ngú-ú-tùm-á</i>	‘s/he is the one who sends’

Objective (Indirect) Relative

The Relative Object Prefix (or pre-prefix, ROP) is attached to a form of the verb which again may differ in shape or tone-pattern from both the corresponding indicative and the subjective relative. The forms below have ROP of Class 7, used impersonally to mean ‘what’:

Present/Future:	<i>ncó-tù-sál-a</i>	‘what we choose’
Negative:	<i>ncó-tù-tá-sál-i</i>	‘what we do not choose’
Near Past:	<i>ncí-tw-á-sál-a</i>	‘what we chose (today)’
Negative:	<i>ncí-tw-á-tá-sál-a</i>	‘what we did not choose (today)’
Remote Past:	<i>ncí-tw-áká-sál-a</i>	‘what we chose (before today)’
Negative:	<i>ncí-tw-á-tá-ká-sál-a</i>	‘what we did not choose (before today)’

Examples of other classes with meaning in the absence of a controlling noun:

<i>nkótùkkála</i>	‘where we live’ (Class 17, locative)
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mbótwákásika

‘as we arrived’ (Class 14, manner)

This is stabilised by SE1, i.e. murmur on the initial nasal, and by *téés(y)i* for the negative:

eeci ñcítwákásála

‘this is what we chose’ (Class 7, impersonal, ‘thing’)

téési nkwékútóla pé

‘it’s not where I’m taking you’ (Class 17, locative)

Participles

Three important participial forms are the Present, the Future Past and the Negative Inceptive:

Present/Future: *ká-tù-sál-a*

‘we choosing’

Negative: *ká-tù-tá-sál-i*

‘we not choosing’

Future Past: *tw-á-sál-a*

‘we having (in the future) chosen’

Negative: *tw-á-tá-sál-a*

‘we not having chosen’

Negative Inceptive: *ká-tù-tá-n(ing)á-sal-a* ‘we not yet having chosen’

The Present Participle expresses action, etc. going on (or not) at the same time as the ‘point of reference’ verb:

bátujana ká-tù-bélék-a

‘they found us working’

ibantu tabakómeni ká-bà-tá-sánnw-i ‘humans don’t grow without being fed’

and may be used instead of the Hortative:

ká-tù-cíta zyoónse amaanu

‘let’s do everything sensibly (with sense)’

The Future Past expresses something which has happened before the referent verb, usually either Present/Future or Imperative:

twátéma ziyako, tulasyá díndi

'we having cut poles, we dig a trench' = 'when we've cut...'

wámána bóobo, kobóola kúli ndimé

'you having finished that, come to me' = 'when you've finished...'

kosélúka wásíka aLusaka

'get down [off the train] you having arrived at Lusaka' = 'when you've reached...'

The Future Past Participle does not refer to the Past other than in these contexts; the Subjunctive serves for this when the verb is in the past, see page 59, and see also Temporal Forms below. The Negative Inceptive expresses 'before', whatever the tense of the referent verb:

wákámáná mázuba otátwe kátáníngábona mulimo pé.

'he spent three days he not yet having found work' = 'before finding work'

utáunki kábátáníngásika

'don't go they not yet having arrived' = 'before they arrive'

Other uses of the participles will be illustrated in the following sections.

bu- + verb stem

In terms of Tonga grammar, this is a nomino-verbal. As second element in a compound tense it can be functionally classed as a participle:

kásimbi kalaya káya bu-seka 'the little girl goes along laughing'

bakali kuza bwa-ambaula 'they were coming along chatting'

Temporal Forms

Present and Past tenses have pre-prefixes:

nó- for Present;

nó-tù-sál-a 'when we choose'

and *ní-* (with variants) for Past tenses;

ní-tw-áká-sál-a 'when we chose'

in all other respects they are identical with Objective Relatives.

No negative forms are recorded. As shown on page 59, the Subjunctive can be used as a past temporal. The Future, or more correctly, the Future Past, can be expressed by the Future Past Participle, see above.

Conditionals

There are two kinds of condition, Real and Unreal¹:

Real: *kuti wányéma, balákúsesa* 'if you've got angry, they fine you'

Unreal: *nimwandijaya, nindamupenzya kuceelo* 'if you had killed me, I would have harried you as a ghost'

nibalí kúzyiba, níbali kuleka 'if they (only) knew (better), they would stop'

In the first case, the condition can be fulfilled; in the second and third, it has not happened and, in the third case, is unlikely to happen. In both cases there are two clauses, an 'if' clause ('protasis'), stating the condition, and a 'then' clause ('apodosis') stating the result in the case of fulfilment of the condition. The clauses can be in any order, cf. the following, where the apodosis comes first:

ibána balalila kuti báúmwa 'children cry if they're beaten'

The **Real Conditional** generally refers to present or future time; it is introduced

¹ These are terms from Palmer 1965:72, 132-3; many others have been used, such as Simple and Modified (Collins 1962:122), Impossible/Hypothetical (Hopgood 1953:220), Fulfilled and Unfulfilled, etc.

by *kuti*. A condition simultaneous with the result is expressed by the Present Participle,

kuti kóyànda, tulakonzya kulindila ‘if you like, we can wait’

kuti kótáyáandi kusampuka...koúmúna!

‘if you don’t want to be humiliated... be quiet!’

but if the condition is to precede the result the Future Past Participle is used:

kuti muntu wájáya mwéènzyinyína, talékelelwi pé

‘if a person has killed his fellow-human, he is not acquitted’

‘If’ in the sense of ‘whether’ is *náa*, which on present data takes indicative verb forms:

kúbuzya kubantu kuti náa balímúzi muntú útégwá Mútinta

‘to ask of people (that) whether they know (him/her) a person called Mutinta’

Two types of verb form are used in the **Unreal Conditional**: one set for the ‘if’ clause (protasis) and another for the ‘then’ clause (‘apodosis’) stating what the result would be/would have been if the condition were/had been fulfilled. The ‘if’ clause verb forms begin with *no~ni-*:

‘If’ Present/Future:	<i>no-tu-sál-a</i>	‘if we were to choose’
Negative:	<i>no-tu-tá-sál-i</i>	‘if we were not to choose’
Near Past:	<i>ni-tw-a-sal-a</i>	‘if we had chosen (today)’
Negative:	<i>ni-tw-a-ta-sal-a</i>	‘if we had not chosen (today)’
Remote Past:	<i>ni-tw-aka-sal-a</i>	‘if we had chosen (before today)’
Negative:	<i>ni-tw-ata-ka-sal-a</i>	‘if we had not chosen (before today)’

For the Present/Future, one way is to follow the particle *ínga* by the Present/Future, or by the past of *-li* + infinitive, for the Progressive; *ínga* can be roughly translated by ‘maybe’, and gives the meaning of ‘should, would’ to the following verb:

ínga tu-la-sal-a ‘we would choose’

The past ‘then’ clause forms have *ní-* prefixed:

Near Past: *ní-tw-a-sal-a* ‘then we would have chosen (today)’

Negative: *ní-tw-a-ta-sal-a* ‘then we would not have chosen (today)’

Remote Past: *ní-tw-a-ka-sal-a* ‘then we would have chosen (before today)’

Negative: *ní-tw-a-ta-ka-sal-a* ‘then we would not have chosen (before today)’

There are now three forms spelt the same but distinguished (sometimes!) by tone:

‘If’: *ni-tw-aka-sal-a* ‘if we had chosen’

‘Then’: *ní-tw-aka-sal-a* ‘then we would have chosen’

Temporal: *ní-tw-áká-sál-a* ‘when we chose’

The ‘if’ forms can be used without a ‘then’ clause:

músámu nu-u-bót-á búti ‘however good the medicine may be’

***-li* ‘be’**

‘Be’ is expressed in a number of ways, one being the verb *-li*, which has past and future tenses (including relative forms and participles), but lacks some other forms.

The affirmative tenses of *-li* show different tonal behaviour according to what

follows. If it is a non-locative noun or adjective, or an infinitive, the *-li* forms one tonal word with the succeeding one:

tu-li bantu 'we are people; we are Africans'
 but *tú-lí báTonga* 'we are Tonga people'

tw-aka-li kusala 'we were choosing'
 but *tw-aká-lí kútuma* 'we were sending'

This also illustrates the use of *-li* + infinitive to make progressive tenses. Here the Remote Past is shown, and other tenses can be used. (In the Present, however, the *-li mu-ku-* construction is preferred.)

-li is always 'weak' before a locative:

tú-lí mù-nhánda 'we're in the house'
tw-aká-lí mù-kútuma 'we were [engaged] in sending'

when in the negative:

ta-tu-lí bàməkúwa 'we're not Europeans'

and with locatives meaning 'there was/were':

kw-áká-lí bantu 'there were some people'
kulí ncéyánda 'there's something I want'

If a pronominal stem (usually locative) is suffixed to the Present, *-li* is omitted:

ta-ba-wó 'they're not here/there'

The Objective Relative with locative Relative Object Concord expresses 'presence' and 'existence':

mpó-mù-lí? 'are you present, do you exist?' (a greeting)

mpé-n-dì, báiyi 'I'm here, teacher' (said by schoolchild at roll call)

nkó-bà-lí bantu bamwi 'there are some people...'

ino mwá-à-lí maanu múmútwe oyo 'is there any sense in that head?'

The presence or otherwise of murmur on the initial *m-* is uncertain.

The regular verb *-ba* substitutes for the 'missing' forms and is an alternative for existing ones:

kuti tu-b-é 'that we may be (lit. become)'

no-ci-bá cinkwa, ni-i-bá nsima 'whether it be bread, or (whether it be) *nsima*'

no-ku-b-á kuti '(even) if it be that..., although'

no-ku-b-á bóobo 'even so, nonetheless'

mbó-bà-b-éde 'how they are (lit. have become)'

'Have'

The most common ways of expressing 'have' in the sense of possession, in addition to the possessive concord system, are:

- i) *-li a-* (*-laa*) and *-ba a-* (*-baa*), literally 'be with' and 'become with'; the bracketed forms are often found in written Chitonga:

tulaa coolwe 'we are lucky (lit. we are with good luck)'

wakali a-nguzu, wakalaa nguzu 'he was with strength, he had strength'

sunu ndabá acoolwe 'today I've been lucky (lit. I have become with good luck)'

- ii) *-jisi*, the Completive of *-jata* 'catch, hold' hence 'obtain'. Since the emphasis is usually on the following noun, the weak form is more prevalent:

bajísí nhàndà mbotu 'they have a fine house'

<i>nsyejísí ciindi pé</i>	'I haven't got time'
<i>bákájísí maanú mánji</i>	'they had much wisdom'

iii) the verb stem *-kwé*, in the negative:

<i>tabakwé bányína</i>	'they have no mother'
<i>úútàkwé maanu</i>	'someone without sense (lit. he who does not have wisdom)'

with a locative SP the meaning is/are 'there is not':

<i>taakwé cilyo</i>	'there isn't any food'
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With a following infinitive, *-kwé* forms a Negative Future tense:

<i>nsyekwé kákúluma pé</i>	'I'm not going to bite you'
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iv) *-(ny)ina*, a verb stem with the meaning 'have not, not be'; *-nyina* is Southern:

<i>kw-íná, ku-nyíná</i>	'there isn't, there aren't'
<i>kákúnyíná mǎpenzi</i>	'there not being difficulties (without difficulty)'

-kwé and *-(ny)ina*, sometimes followed by *a-* 'and, with', are used to make expressions meaning 'never, nobody, nowhere, nothing' etc., which if negated mean 'always, everybody, everywhere, everything':

<i>taakwé náákávùwá pé</i>	'there is not when he answered (he never answered)'
<i>kunyína ábácaala muminzi pé</i>	'there is not who stayed at home (no-one stayed home)'
<i>kunyína ancíndákábóná</i>	'there is not (with) what I saw (I saw nothing)'

kunyíná wátákánditúkíla pé 'there is not who did not scold me
(everyone scolded me)'

PARTICLES

These are words which do not fit into either nominal or verbal categories. They may function as adverbs, conjunctions, interjectives (exclamations) or ideophones, or in the structure of questions. Some common particles are:

<i>ántéla, ambwéni</i>	'perhaps'	<i>lokó</i>	'very much' (Southern)
<i>bíyá</i>	'very much'	<i>náa</i>	'whether, if'
<i>búyó, bíyó</i>	'only'	<i>onó</i>	'now, well now'
<i>ccítá, ncítá</i>	'I don't know'	<i>pési, péle</i>	'but'
<i>ínga</i>	'perhaps'		

Interjectives or exclamations

Some common interjectives are:

<i>ácu!</i>	'my goodness!'	<i>ná?</i>	'is it not so?'
<i>ená?</i>	'is that so? indeed!'	<i>mááwè!</i>	'oh dear! oh mother!'
<i>íí!</i>	'yes!'	<i>pé!</i>	'no!'
<i>inzyá!</i>	'yes indeed!'	<i>péépé!</i>	'not at all!'
		<i>tau!</i>	'no!'

See also page 76 for *íí pé*.

Ideophones

These are also called **phonæsthetic particles**. They express qualities, sounds (and silence), colours, actions and states in a very vivid way. They are often, but not exclusively, found with verbs of similar meaning.

<i>kulasiya 'mbi'!</i>	'it is absolutely pitch-black' (- <i>siya</i> 'be black')
<i>wátontola 'siko'!</i>	'she was bitterly cold' (- <i>tontola</i> 'be cold')
<i>'vuu!' wakainda</i>	'suddenly he was gone' (- <i>inda</i> 'pass by')
<i>munzi oónse 'gágábálé'!</i>	'the whole village [was] open-mouthed in astonishment'

For question particles see below, page 74.

SYNTAX

This section is limited to a few of the more salient points of Tonga syntax.

WORD ORDER

A subject nominal may precede or follow an indicative verb if there is no object nominal:

(i)mwána ulalila OR *ulalilá mwána* 'the child is crying'

and an object nominal may follow or precede the verb; in the latter case there is often an OC in the verb agreeing with the object nominal:

ujísí nsima 'she has *nsima*'

bána ndakábasiya 'the children, I left them behind'

The precise connotations of different word orders have not yet been well studied. A weak verbal, as already shown, throws emphasis on to the object; the object nominal cannot then precede the verb. In the typical 'topic-and-comment' structure, a nominal precedes a sentence of which it is neither subject nor object, though it may be grammatically connected:

maanu muláajisi, pési tamwaábélesyi pé 'sense you have it, but you don't use it'

umwí mwána ndamúpa [mapopwe] oné 'one child, I gave him four

(maize-cobs)'

Relatives, Temporals

Objects normally follow an Objective Relative:

ncíndálí kúbàaúminá bàna 'what I was beating them for, the children'
= 'why I was beating the children'

A temporal may have a noun subject before or after the verb:

(i)zuba nilyákátánta OR *nilyákátántà zuba*

'when the sun rose high'

náákázwa múntólóngo Máánya

'when he came out of prison Maanya' = 'when Maanya came out of prison'

Inverted Relative

When an Objective Relative has a nominal subject, the construction becomes rather clumsy:

múmúlóngá oyo móbátéka méénda bákaintu

'in that river in which they draw water women' = 'in the river from which women draw water'

therefore it is often replaced by an 'inverted' form in which the 'real world' object is the grammatical subject, the verb is a Subjective Relative, and the 'real world' subject is the grammatical object:

bóngò bwanú bwákámupá Mwámi

'your brain which gave you the Lord' = 'your brain which the Lord gave you'

májwi aya ákáámba kásimbi

'these words which said the little girl' = 'these words which the little girl'

said'

ibána balyá clyo cibáulila úsyi

'the children eat the food which buys for them their father' = 'the food which their father buys for them'

This is particularly common where time, location, manner and the impersonal, are concerned:

sunú lyákásika kúlemba

'today that has arrived writing' = 'now that we have writing'

mutalá mwákáli bàna

'on top, where was the children' = 'on top, where the children were'

kúyá nkumúnya okó kwákafwidá munyama

'to go the very [place] where died at the animal' = 'to go to the very [place] at which the animal died'

kúbbilá bwákáyá bamwí

'to sink as sank the others' = 'to sink as the others sank'

níndákálembá cákáamba lúgwalo

'when I read what said the letter' = 'when I read what the letter said'

QUESTIONS

There are questions which can be answered with 'yes' or 'no' -- 'yes-no' questions -- and those which contain a question word such as 'where?' -- WH-questions in English, since most question words begin with 'wh'.

i) *héna~séna* and *sá* form a 'yes-no' question from a statement:

héna ulaboola or *ulaboola héna?* 'are you coming?'

ii) *tée, tíi?* 'is it not the case that...?' and *nú?* 'is it not so?' also give yes-no interrogative meaning to a sentence:

tée ooyu ngu-tááta?

'isn't this (person) Father?'

ulasobana ná?

'you're kidding, aren't you?'

iii) *ino* initiates a question with an interrogative word or affix ('WH question'):

ino nguni?

'who is it?'

ino babóólá lllí?

'when are they coming?'

ino uyándànzí?

'what do you want?'

The chief question words, stems and affixes are:

búti?

'how?'

kái?

'why?'

-lí?:

'which?'

(i)lílí?

'when?'

(i)kúli?

'where(-to, -at)?'

(á)áli?

'where(-on, -at)?'

(i)múli?

'where(-in)?'

-ní?

'who(m)?' (usually stabilised, see *ino nguni?* above; also attached to pronouns: *nduwé-ní?* 'who are you?')

-nzi?

'what?' attached to verbs; 'what kind of?' attached to nouns or with a class prefix: *ncínzi* 'what kind of thing is it?'

ín-zí? (Class 9) 'what?'

Note especially the use of *ka-ambo* 'reason', in expressions for 'why?'

ino nkáámbònzí?

'what is the reason? why?'

nkáámbònzí nkótatumi mbabó kumapopwe?

‘the reason is what that you don’t send *them* to the mealies?’ = ‘why don’t you send *them* to the mealies?’

and *ḡkáámbó/akáámbó kakuti*

‘it is/because of the fact that...’

The Relational Extension with *-nzí?* is also used to express ‘why?’:

íno twalékélànzí kùmuzinga?

‘we desisted for what to attack him?’ = ‘why didn’t we set upon him?’

mubáúminànzí bàna?

‘you are beating them for what, the children?’ = ‘why are you beating the children?’

A negative ‘yes-no’ question is answered according to whether or not the responder agrees with what has been said:

héna tocíyáandi pé? ‘don’t you like it?’

Ans. 1) *íí* ‘yes (you’re right = I don’t like it)’

2) *íí pé* ‘yes, no (you’re right, I don’t)’

3) *péépé* ‘no (you’re wrong, I do)’

LIST OF TERMS

- allomorph:* one of a group of actual forms by which a morpheme is realised; for instance the Object Concord for the 2nd person singular is /ku/, with allomorphs *-ku-*, *-kwV-* and *-ko-*, depending on the context (*ku-ku-yanda* 'to like you', *ku-kwa-ambila* 'to tell you', *kú-kó-opa* 'to embrace you').
- allophone:* one of a group of actual sounds by which a phoneme (q.v.) is realised; the phoneme /w/ has many allophones, such as [x], [ɣ] and [ŋ], in different environments. See page 7 under *w*.
- alveolar:* pronounced with the tongue on the teeth-ridge just behind the upper teeth, as [t] and [s].
- approximant:* sound in the pronunciation of which the articulator (such as the tongue) approaches or touches the place of articulation without producing friction or plosion; [w], [y] and [l] are approximants.
- aspiration:* puff of air accompanying or immediately following a sound; *p* and *t* before a vowel are pronounced with slight aspiration, as [p^h] and [t^h].
- back:* term used in classifying vowels articulated with the back of the tongue raised; [u] and [o] are back vowels.
- bilabial:* made with the lips touching each other; [m] and [b] are bilabials.
- breathy voice:* breath issues through partially closed vocal cords; see page 9.
- central:* term describing a vowel in which either the tongue is not raised at all, or the central tongue area only is raised; [a] is phonetically a central vowel in Chitonga (but phonologically patterns mostly with back vowels).

- consonant:* sound during the production of which there is some obstruction of the air path; in Chitonga, a consonant may not be the nucleus of a syllable, i.e. there are no syllabic consonants (as there are in ciNyanja); [t], [s] and [y] are all consonants.
- crescendo:* raising of the pitch of the last of a series of high tones; see page 17.
- depressor:* consonant, usually with breathy voice or murmur, which cannot be pronounced on a high pitch, and hence may have effects on the pitch of adjacent sounds; [z̤] is a depressor in Tonga, see page 18.
- digraph:* two letters written to represent one sound, such as *nh* representing [ŋ].
- downdrift:* gradual descent of pitch of low tones during a phrase or sentence; see page 17.
- flap:* sound made by tapping the slightly curled tongue-tip sharply against the point of articulation; *r* is sometimes an alveolar flap in Chitonga. Symbolised by ‘fish-hook *r*’, namely [ɾ].
- fricative:* the air passage is narrowed so that there is audible friction; [s] is a fricative.
- front:* said of a vowel during the pronunciation of which the front area of the tongue is raised; [i] and [e] are front vowels.
- geminate:* a doubled consonant at underlying phonological level, e.g. *bb*.
- gemination:* doubling of a consonant.
- harmony:* a principle by which certain sounds in a word must share a common feature, as nasality of consonants, and backness or frontness of vowels. See pages 12 and 15.
- high:* describing a vowel where the tongue has a considerable degree

- of raising; [i] and [u] are high vowels.
- homographic:* written with the same vowel and consonant symbols, as *inseke* 'hen' and *inseke* 'seed'.
- homorganic:* pronounced at the same point of articulation; e.g. [n] and [t] are homorganic, being both alveolars, pronounced with the tongue touching the teeth-ridge.
- labialised:* with added lip-rounding; shown as [ʷ] after the primary symbol, e.g. [hʷ].
- glottal:* articulated in the glottis, the opening between the vocal cords; [h] is a glottal fricative.
- labio-velar:* in which both the lips and the velum (soft palate) are involved. In Chitonga, [w] is the only labio-velar, an approximant in which the lips are rounded and the back of the tongue is raised towards the velum.
- lateral:* the mouth passage is blocked in the middle by the tongue, while the air comes through by one or both sides of the tongue; *l* in Chitonga can be pronounced as [l].
- low:* said of a vowel during which the tongue is not raised; [a] is the only low vowel in Chitonga.
- mid:* a vowel during which the tongue is neither high nor low, but midway between; [e] and [o] are mid vowels in Chitonga.
- morpheme:* an abstract concept or construct representing the different actual surface forms of an element with common meaning; the marker for the Present/Future Indicative can be symbolised as /la/, having the allomorphs *-la-*, *-le-*, *-lo-*, *-da-*, *-de-*, *-do-* (*tu-la-yanda* 'we like', *tu-le-enda* 'we walk', *tu-lo-ona* 'we sleep', *n-da-yanda* 'I want, etc.).

- murmur*: see *breathy voice*.
- nasal*: sound made with the velum or soft palate lowered to allow the air to come through the nose; [n] and [m] are nasal consonants.
- nasalisation*: lowering of the soft palate to allow air to pass through the nose; shown as [~] over the consonant or vowel symbol. The term 'nasalised' is normally used of sounds whose primary articulation is other than nasal; e.g. nasalised consonants such as *mv* [w̃] and vowels as in *ímúlámfu* [ímúlāw̃ũ] 'tall (person)'
- palatal*: articulated at or near the hard palate, the central upper part of the mouth, between the teeth ridge and the velum; [y] is a palatal approximant.
- palato-alveolar*: articulated between the teeth-ridge and the hard palate, as English 'sh' in 'ship'. In Chitonga many sounds may have either a palatal or palato-alveolar articulation, as *c* in *íncili* 'mortar'.
- phone*: actual speech sound; *phonetics* is the study of actual speech sounds, how they are made, their characteristics and classification.
- phoneme*: an abstract concept or construct under which one or more speech sounds may be grouped as having the same value in the sound system; symbolised by a character within slashes. In Chitonga the /k/ phoneme groups together [ɣ] and [k], as in *ímúkali* [ímúɣali] 'fierce (person)' and *ínkali* [ɪŋkali] 'fierce (goat, sheep, etc.)'.
- phonological*: relating to the sound *system* of a language, as opposed to simply listing, describing and classifying the sounds. Phonologists study topics such as which sounds may and may not combine in

sequence, what happens when sounds do combine, and analysis in terms of phonemes.

pitch: the aspect of a sound which depends principally on the fundamental frequency (cycles per second). A woman's voice normally has higher pitch than a man's.

plosive: sound made by closing the air passage off completely; the air builds up behind the closure, so that when the closure is released, there is a slight explosion. In Tonga [p] and [d] are plosives.

prenasalisation: preceding a sound by a nasal, as *nkaká* 'I refuse' from the stem *-kaka* 'refuse'.

realisation: made real; in phonology and phonetics, the uttering of a particular member of a phoneme as a phone.

reinforced: uttered with considerable force, which may sometimes include length (of closure, for plosives); *bb* is a reinforced consonant in Chitonga.

retroflex: uttered with the tongue curled back against the hard palate; Tonga *l* is sometimes pronounced this way, when it is phonetically symbolised [ʎ], or [ɽ] if flapped.

rounded: accompanied by lip-rounding.

surface: refers to actual sounds, as opposed to the mental constructs used during analysis of a sound system; all symbols written in square brackets, such as [g], represent surface sounds.

tonal system: a systematic use of voice pitch in which the elements are *tones*, each syllable bearing (in Chitonga) one of two contrastive tones, high (H) or low (L). 'High' and 'low' are relative terms; H is higher than any L in the immediate vicinity, and L is lower

than any H in the immediate vicinity. Note that 'tone' is rather abstract, an interpretation of pitch; one cannot 'hear' a tone, but only the pitch on which it is pronounced. (In the same way, one cannot 'hear' a phoneme, only the actual phone by which it is realised.) See also pages 15-18.

trigraph: three letters written to represent a single sound, as *mfw* for [w̥].

underlying: relating to the mental constructs set up to systematise a sound system or grammar, as phonemes, morphemes and the rules governing their realisation as surface sounds and forms.

velar: the point of articulation is the velum, or soft palate (which may be raised or lowered to stop or to allow passage of air through the nose). [g] is a velar plosive, and [ŋ] a velar fricative.

voice: produced by vibration of the vocal cords; [b] in *kulamba* 'anoint' is a *voiced* sound, [p] in *ku-lampa* 'be long, be high' is *voiceless*.

vowel: a sound during the production of which the air passage is not obstructed; [i] and [a] are vowels.

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