Morphosyntax of Tonga Nicknames

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Abstract: - Many studies on nicknames of people have focussed on the social functions that these names perform. The structure of these names, particularly in Tonga, has not received adequate attention. Thus, little is known about the relationship between the structure of nicknames and their semantics. In this article, we analyse Tonga nicknames structurally, and demonstrate that their structure contribute significantly or at least has influence on their meaning. The paper specifically focuses on the morphology and syntax of Tonga nicknames. We adopt a diachronic perspective in the analysis and argue that Tonga nicknames are coined by bringing together different types of morphemes and word categories. The study argues that in order to appreciate the semantic import of Tonga nicknames, an appreciation of their morphosyntax is needed.

Key words: Morphosyntax, Tonga personal nicknames, Morpheme, Word categories

List of Abbreviations

AdjS. - Adjectival stem

CL - Class

GEN - Genitive

N- Noun

NM- Nominal marker

NS - Noun stem

Poss. - Possessee

Prep.- Preposition

I. INTRODUCTION

any studies on personal nicknames focus on either the any studies on personal measurements of these names (cf Hang'ombe & Siantumbu, 2018; Guma, 2001; Mashiri 1999, 2004; and McDowell, 1981). As far as we can tell, the morphosyntactic aspects of Tonga personal nicknames and how such aspects enhance the semantic aspect of these names have received little scholarly attention. The available study which analyses the grammar of Tonga nicknames is Hang'ombe (2015), which concentrates on the morphology of nicknames and argues that it enhances the meaning of the names. This study leaves out the syntactic aspect yet both the morphological and syntactical aspects contribute to the semantic import of the names. A cursory look at Tonga nicknames shows that these names are formed by combining lexical items that can morphosyntactically. We argue that the grammatical meaning is pre-requisite to the understanding of the meaning of the nicknames. That is to say, the meaning(s) of nicknames can be

well understood by looking at their structure morphosyntactically.

Some studies on the structure of personal names in other languages include Yakubu (2012) who analyses of the syntactic structure on Agutu personal names. The study demonstrates that structurally Agatu personal names are words, phrases, clauses as well as sentences, which are calqued or desententialized. Desententializing or calquing is "the process of nominalization, which involves writing or reducing a whole phrase or sentence to form a single noun" (Yukubu, 2012:84). Ubahakwe's (1981) study notes that African names reflect the grammar of the language of the users. This means African names reflect many grammatical categories of the languages they are named in, such as phonology, morphology and syntax. This study is concerned with the morphology and syntax of the Tonga nicknames.

Kerem (2011:15) opines that to understand the structure of Jaba personal names, it is essential to have fair knowledge of the grammatical structure of Jaba language. Kerem (2011) concludes that Jaba personal names reflect the following syntactic structure: noun, verb, adjective or combination of two of these or all the three. In the light of Kerem's conclusion, this study seeks to analyse Tonga nicknames so as to bring out their morphosyntactic structure. Further, the study demonstrates that knowledge of the morphosyntactic structure of the nicknames is very important in understanding the meaning(s) of the names.

Other studies that inform our study are Musale (2009), Mphasha (2006) and Machaba (2002) which all focus on the structure of names. The first two studies are concerned with nouns in general while the last one focuses on the structure of names of homesteads in South Africa. These studies demonstrate that names can be analysed grammatically, though they do not argue for the importance of their grammatical aspects in connection to their semantics.

II. THE TONGA LANGUAGE

Tonga (M64) according to Guthrie (1948) is a cross border language spoken in Zambia and Zimbabwe. In Zambia, Tonga is one of the seven Regional Official Languages (see Marten and Kula, 2008); while in Zimbabwe it has just emerged from the status of marginalized languages where it was considered a minority language until 2016 when the national constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe recognised it officially as one of the languages in the country. The analysed nicknames in this study were collected from the Tonga society in Zambia's Southern Province in Choma district, Mbabala.

Just like other Bantu languages, Tonga has an elaborate noun class system with eighteen classes. The Tonga noun classes are presented in Table 1:

Table 1: Tonga Noun Classes

Class	Prefix
1	mu
1a	Ø
2	βа
3	mu
4	mi
5	li
6	ma
7	c(h)i
8	zi
9	n/m
9 a	Ø
10	n/m
11	lu
12	ka
13	tu
14	βu
15	ku
16	a
17	ku
18	mu

Adopted from Carter, 2002:24; Musale, 2009:10-11

All proper nouns, personal nicknames inclusive, belong to class 1a with zero class prefix (\emptyset) . In this paper, we analyse and discuss the various morphemes and/or words that make up Tonga personal nicknames.

III. STRUCTURE OF TONGA NICKNAMES

In this section we analyse the nicknames and show the various components that they are made up of. The semantic content or function of each component is also given. In other words, it is shown in the analysis how the constituent components of the names are related to the meaning of each name. It is important to note that all the analysed nicknames belong to class 1a, hence their class prefix is Ø. This means that the analysis focuses on the stem. Ordinarily, stems of nouns may not be analysable further, but this study demonstrates that it is possible to analyse the stems of Tonga nicknames. This possibility results from the fact that these stems are made up of many morphemes. In fact they can be regarded as complex stems.

1. Cibwacamazakala

Cibwacamazakala 'a huge dog of fur' is a compound made up of two words cibwa 'big/huge dog' a noun and camazakala 'of fur', an adjective. The name is a calqued form of the saying cibwacamazakala kuluma tacitoboli 'a furred dog's bit is strong'. This expression is used to praise someone or oneself for being extraordinarily brave. The phrase camazakala 'furred or of fur' invokes a sense of a viciousness and brevity. The noun cibwa 'huge/ugly dog' is made up of class 7 prefix ci- and the noun stem -bwa 'a dog'. The use of class prefix 7 which is sometimes used perioratively class in Tonga, instead of class 1 where an ordinary dog would be categorized, denotes that it is not a common 'a dog' but an extraordinary one. Thus, in the description of the dog, camazakala, we see the extraordinary aspect of the dog i.e it is like a lion because it is strong, vicious and brave. The adjective camazakala comes from the noun mazakala 'fur'. The morpheme ca- 'of' is a genitive form which serves as a concord morpheme with class 1 prefix ci- in cibwa. The prefix ma- is from class 6, sometimes with a perjorative and/or augmentative denotation in Tonga.

Ci-bwa+ca-ma-zakala

CL7-NS + GEN-CL6-NS

[Lit: A huge dog of fur]

'A strong and vicious dog'

Cibwacamazakala is a noun phrase headed by the noun cibwa 'huge dog' while camazakala 'of fur' is an adjective describing the noun. The name can also be regarded as a verb less sentence where the genitive-like form ca- serves as a state-of-being verbal marker.

This nickname is given to a person, usually a male, who is exceptionally strong, courageous and feared. As such, this is not an ordinary person.

2. Cisombabeendeenda

This nickname cisombabeendeenda 'one who gives food to travellers/passersby' is a calqued form of the expression cisomba bantu beendeenda 'one who gives food to travellers/passersby' made up of two nouns: cisomba 'one who serves (food)' and beendeenda 'passersby'. Thus, the nickname is formed by compounding. The noun cisomba is made up of class 7 prefix ci- which turns the verb somba into a noun stem. On the other hand, beendeenda < ba-enda-enda is a noun in class 2 with ba- prefix. The stem of this noun enda 'travel' is reduplicated to give beendeenda, where there is hiatus between the firsts and second syllable, and between the third and fourth syllable in the deep structure. The hiatus is resolved by deletion which is accompanied by compensatory lengthening. In cisombabeendeenda, cisomba is used as a noun phrase while beendenda is used as an adjective.

Ci-somba+ba-endeenda

 $CL7\text{-}\ NS + CL2 - NS^{reduplicated}$

[Lit: One who gives food to travellers]

'A sexually immoral person'

The nickname is used to refer to a person who is believed to be sexually immoral. Such a person, given an opportunity, will have sex with any person of the opposite sex. The word *kusomba* 'to give food' connotes generosity, ability to share or 'arms giving'. In this nickname, the word 'food' is used figuratively to mean sex.

3. Muzyaanyina

The nickname Muzyaanyina 'one who came with the mother' is made up of the morpheme mu- 'one who', the verb zya 'come', the conjunction a 'with' and the noun nyina 'mother'. It can be calqued as muzya 'one who came'.

Mu-zya+ a-n-yina

CL1-NS+ Prep. - CL9-NS

[Lit: One who came with his/her mother]

'A step son/daughter'

Muzyaanyina is an expression made up of two nouns: the nouns Muzya and nyina which are joined by the preposition a.

4. Kajubamazuba

Kajubamazuba 'one who cuts days short' is made up of the verb *juba* 'cut' and the noun *mazuba* 'days'. Class 12 prefix *ka*- is prefixed to the verb juba, changing it into a noun:

Ka-juba+ma-zuba

CL12-NS+CL6 -NS

[Lit: One who cuts days]

'A witch or wizard'

The verb *juba* is turned into a noun phrase by prefixing the nominal morpheme *ka*- 'one who', and *mazuba* becomes an adjective describing *kajuba* 'one who cuts'. While both *kajuba* and *mazuba* are nouns, *mazuba* can be taken to be the object of the verb *juba*.

The nickname is given to witches or wizards because of their ability to 'cut short' one's days of life; their ability to kill.

5. Mutobelanjanji

Mutobelenjanji 'one who follows the rail line' is made up of the verb tobela 'follow' and the noun njanji 'rail line'. Class 1 prefix mu- 'one who' is prefixed to the verb tobela to form the noun phrase mutobela 'one who follows'. The noun njanji is the object of the verb tobela which plays an adjectival role when the verb tobela is nominalised by prefixing mu-.

mu-tobela+n-janji

CL1-NS+CL9-NS

[Lit: One who follows the rail line]

'A sexually immoral person'

Before the nominal morpheme *mu*- is supplied, *njanji* 'rail line' is an object for the verb *tobela* 'follow'. Once the nominal morpheme has been supplied, the verb *tobela* changes to a noun phrase *Mutobela* 'one who follows'. Once we have the noun phrase, the object *njanji* 'rail line' becomes an adjective telling more about what *Mutobela* follows.

The nickname is given to people, mostly women, who are sexually immoral and move from town to town offering sex for money.

6. Hacivwulemwangu

This nickname is made up of a verb expressing state of being civwule 'let it be more', the preposition mu- 'in' and the possessive pronoun angu 'mine'. The morpheme ha- 'one [who is found of or who always wants]' is prefixed to the verb civwule to give the noun phrase Hacivwule 'One is fond or always whish that it be more'. In Tonga, the morpheme ha- or sia-, depending on the Tonga variety, expresses fondness or ownership. In the name Hang'ombe < ha-ng'ombe, for example, where ng'ombe means cattle, the morpheme hasignifies fondness or ownership. Thus, the name Hang'ombe means 'one who is fond or owns cattle'. The preposition -mu-and possessive pronoun -angu becomes the object:

Ha-civwule+mu-angu

NM-V+CL1-AdjS.

[Lit: One who is fond of or always wants a bigger

share]

'A selfish person'

The noun phrase *hacivwulemwangu* is headed by the noun *hacivule* 'one wants to have a bigger share' with the possessive *mwangu* 'in mine i.e, in my plate' acting as an adjective telling us more about the noun *Hacivwule*.

The nickname is given to a selfish person; one who puts his or herself first at the expense of others. Such a person is greedy, stingy and does not want to share.

7. Mweelanyika

The nickname *Mweelanyika* 'one who fits in the world' is sometimes calqued as *Mweela*. *Mweelayika* is a clause made up of the verb *ela* 'fit' and the noun *nyika* 'world'. To the verb *ela*, a nominal morpheme mu- 'one who' is prefixed to give the name *Mweela* < *Mu-ela* 'one who fits'.

Mu-ela+n-yika

NM-NS+CL10-NS

[Lit: One who fits in the world]

'A witchdoctor'

The noun *nyika* 'the world' works as an adjective telling us more about *Mweela*.

Mweelanyika is a nickname common among traditional healers. They are usually revered and respected in most societies they go because they are believed to have very strong magical powers.

8. Shimbilombe

The nickname is made up of the noun *shimbi* 'huge/strong girl' from the noun *musimbi* 'girl' and the noun *lombe* 'huge/strong boy' from the noun *mulombe* 'boy'. Without the class prefix, /s/ is hardened to /ʃ/ hence *shimbi* instead of *simbi*. The hardening of the sounds reinforces the sense of strength that the nickname invokes. In this nickname, *-lombe* is an adjective describing the kind of *Shimbi* is; for example, a female with male characteristics, for instance, as hardworking, strong or courageous as a male.

Shimbi+lombe

N + N

[Lit: A girl boy]

'A female with male characteristics'

Shimbilombe is a nickname given to a female with male prows. Such a woman is a regarded as a great achiever among the Tonga people.

9. Mulalapondo

Mulalapondo is made up of the verb *lala* 'sleep' and the objective noun *pondo* 'a shrub-like tree'. The nominal morpheme *mu*- is prefixed to verb *lala* 'sleep' to give the noun *Mulala* 'one who sleeps'. The noun *pondo* in this case serves as an adjective telling us more about *Mulala*.

Mu-lala+Ø-pondo

CL1-NS+CL9a-NS

[Lit: One who sleeps in the shrub]

'An extraordinarily courageous person'

The nickname *Mulalapondo* is given to a courageous person, one who takes high risks and is strong-willed.

10. Mukabalombe

Mukabalombe is made up of the phrase expressing marital possession muka- 'wife/husband of' with the noun indicating the possessor balombe 'boys/men'. The noun indicating possessor is in class 2, a plural or honorific class as the case maybe. The structure of the nickname is as follows:

Muka+ba-lombe

POSS+CL2-NS

[Lit: Wife of boys/men]

'A sexually immoral girl/woman'

There is a relationship of possessee and possessor between words *Muka* and *balombe*.

The nickname is used to describe a woman who has many sex relationship hence *mukabalombe* 'wife of **men**' and not *mukamulombe* 'wife of a **man**'. In other words, the nickname is given to a prostitute.

11. Kalimanzila

Kalimanzila is made up of the verb *lima* 'plough' and the noun *nzila* 'path/road' which is the object of the verb *lima*. To the verb *lima* 'plough', the nominal morpheme *ka*- 'one who' is prefixed to give the name *Kalima* 'one who ploughs'.

Ka-lima + n-zila

CL12-NS+CL9-NS.

[Lit: One who ploughs the path/road]

'A very mobile person'

Kalalima 'one who ploughs' is noun while the object *nzila* 'path/road' serves as an adjective telling us more about *Kalima*.

The nickname is given to a person who rarely stays at home but moves from one place to the other either to visit relatives or to do business. Usually the nickname is given to men. *Hamweendomunzila*

Hamweendomunzila is made up of the noun mweendo 'leg' and the noun nzila 'road'. The nominal morpheme ha- 'one whose' is prefixed to Mweendo 'leg' to give the noun Hamweendo 'one whose leg'. Hamweendo is joined to nzila by the locative prefix mu- 'in', giving the nickname Hamweendomunzila 'one whose leg is ever on the road'.

Ha-mu-endo+mu-nzila

NM-CL3-NS+CL18-NS

[Lit: One whose leg is ever on the road'

'A very mobile person'

Hamweendo 'one whose leg' is a noun phrase while the prepositional phrase *munzila* 'on the road' serves as an adjective giving more information about *Hamweendo*.

The nickname Hamweendomunzila is given to a person, usually a man, who is extremely mobile.

12. Kanamujanza

The nickname *Kanamujanza* is made up of the noun *kana* 'baby' and the noun *janza* 'hand'. The two nouns are joined together by the locative prefix *mu*-'in'.

Ka-ana+mu-janza

CL12-NS+CL18-NS

[Lit: A baby in the hand]

'A perennially sick child'

The preposition phrase *mujanza* 'in the hand' describes the noun phrase *Kana* 'small child'.

The nickname is used for a child who is perennially sick; a child with ill-health.

13. Hampoto

The nickname *Hamponto* is made up of the noun *mpoto* 'pot' to which the nominal morpheme *ha*-'one fond of' is prefixed.

Ha-m-poto

NM-CL10-NS

'One fond of pots'

Hampoto is given to a male who likes cooking. This behaviour is peculiar to men because cooking, among the Tonga is known to be a chore for women.

There are many other nicknames with similar structure to example (15). These include Hangombe < ha-n-gombe 'one fond of cattle', Hangoma < ha-n-goma 'one fond of the drums', *Hakasipa* < *ha-ka-sipa* 'one fond of bathing/washing soap', Hamukoka < ha-mu-koka 'one fond of mukoka tree', Hampongo < ha-m-pongo 'one fond of goats', Hantete < ha*n-tente* 'one fond of fresh meet', *Hamanyemu < ha-ma-nyemu* 'one fond of groundnuts', Hankombo < ha-n-kombo 'one with a big belly button', Hankondo < ha-n-kondo 'one fond of war', Hamabbesu < ha-ma-bbesu 'one fond of frayed clothes', Hantobolo < ha-ntobolo 'one fond of a gun'. In all these examples, there are three components that make up the name: the nominal morpheme, class prefix and the noun stem. Going by our analysis, the names are actually phrases. Nicknames in this category are given following the fondness one has with something. It is worth noting that there are many nicknames of this nature in Tonga.

IV. DISCUSSION

The nicknames analysed in this study show that there is striking relationship between the structure of the names and their semantic content. In other words, the structure of the nicknames determines or at least enhances the semantic output of the names. It could be argued, therefore, that for one to understand and appreciate the onomastic meaning of Tonga nicknames, one should have a fair knowledge of the structure of Tonga words, or the grammar of the Tonga language. This is because the grammar of Tonga nicknames is not different from the grammar of the Tonga language. In fact, the grammar of Tonga nicknames is informed by or reflects the grammar of the Tonga language. This is consistent with Ubahakwe's (1981) conclusion that the structure of Igbo names reflects the structure of Igbo language.

It can also be noted from the analysed data that there are different morphemes that combine to form Tonga nicknames. Predominantly, the names are a product of compounding. To the compound, one or two morphemes are added. In cases where the nickname is made up of a verb plus any other word category, a morpheme which we have called *nominal morpheme* is prefixed to the verb, giving a deverbal. We called it the nominal morpheme because it not a class prefix,

but its attachment leads any native Tonga speaker to categorise the form to which it is attached as a noun or nounlike form.

Basically, the nicknames are a product of both derivational and inflectional processes. This goes to say that nicknames formation itself is a very complex process in Tonga. It is this complexity which allows Tonga nicknames to perform various illocutionary acts or at least to serve important social roles (see Hang'ombe & Siantumbu, 2018).

The analysed data also demonstrate that Tonga nicknames are actually adjectival; they describe the outstanding character of the bearer. This observation is in line with Kahari's (1990:283) conclusion that Shona nicknames are "descriptive, summing up the individual's character, physical shape and idiosyncrasies". The descriptive nature of these nicknamess is reinforced by the syntactic arrangement of the nicknames, whereby the second part of the name plays an adjectival role, qualifying/describing the first part. This applies to cases, which are in fact predominant judging from our data, where a nickname is made up of two words or phrases. In our analysis, we observed that the descriptive aspect in Tonga nicknames is so outstanding. Thus Tonga nicknames can be said to have a strong descriptive backing in the literal sense; not in the sense Meiring (2010) defines the concept descriptive backing. The fact that Tonga nicknames are adjectives also locks with the purpose of nicknames which Mashiri (1990:2004) believes is to alert other community members to a certain characteristic of the bearer so as to either be careful or praise and appreciate him or her.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we have analysed and shown the various components that make up Tonga nicknames. We have shown that nicknames are made up of morphemes and lexical items which when they combine have syntactic functions. The paper has also shown that some nicknames are calqued forms of sentences and statements commenting on life in general while others about the individual. In this way, one may conclude that what are referred to as nicknames are not actually names but rather are descriptions of people. The bestowers' desired descriptions are made possible by attaching different types of morphemes to nouns, verbs and other word categories.

Guided by the names analysed in the study, a summary of morphemes and word categories involved in nicknames formulation in Tonga can be given as follows:

Morphemes: Noun class prefixes and stems, genitive markers, a morpheme serving as a preposition, the nominal morpheme ha-, a morpheme or expression signifying possessee.

Word categories: *Nouns, adjective, pronouns (genitive and possessive.*

Looking at these morphemes and word categories, it appears that both derivational and inflectional morphemes are involved in nicknames formation in Tonga. Thus, nicknames formation in Tonga involves derivational and inflectional processes. This implies that nicknames formation is complex in Tonga, given that derivational and inflectional processes themselves are complex, to a point where there is usually no agreement as to whether a given process is derivational or inflectional (See Mkanganwi, 2002).

It can also be concluded that the structure of Tonga nicknames transcends that of ordinary word categories such as nouns and verbs. While the structure of these word categories seems clear-cut and straight forward, that of nicknames does not seem so. For example, it is not common to find stems of nouns reduplicated. Reduplication is more pronounced in verbs in Tonga. However, one finds that there are reduplicated noun stems in Tonga nicknames (see example 2). This is not to forget that what we are regarding as a noun, thereby noun stem, may not be regarded so by others, given the disagreement on what may be regarded as derivational or inflectional morpheme.

In our view, this complex nature of the structure of nicknames makes their onomastic output (meaning/function) more strong.

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