The Use of Allusion in Tonga Work Songs: Its Social and Economic Implications

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Abstract

This article sets out to examine the use of allusion in selected Tonga work songs. Whereas there is extensive and impressive documentation about the Tonga people and their culture, their history, and even their literature, by authors like Elizabeth Colson, there is hardly any documentation on the use of allusion and its social implications in Tonga work songs. Therefore, this study gives utter attention to one poetic element – the allusion, in the Tonga work songs and argues that allusion reflects the Tonga people's social and economic activities through work songs. The study mainly used the qualitative method to collect data from respondents. This article is a brain child of research work which was conducted in two ways namely, through desk research and field research in three districts of Southern Province in Zambia. A total of 35 work songs were collected through interview guide, questionnaires, and Focus Group Discussions. The study revealed that Tonga work songs help lighten the work, comment on perpetual unpalatable social tendencies, communicate values of hard work, social cohesion, and objectives and share memories of the past other than culture transmission to the young generation. The study also revealed that Tonga Work songs are rich in Poetic elements such as allusion that inculcate a sense of self-responsibility among others. The study further reveals that allusion in Tonga work songs reflects Tonga people's past and their agricultural inclination, a reflection of Tonga's main economic activity. What comes out of this study also is that there are hardly any allusions to Tonga's paramountcy of chiefs like in other tribes in southern Africa.

Keywords: Tonga, Work songs, Poetic element, Social meaning/implication, Allusion

Introduction

The use of allusion in Tonga work songs is one aspect that has escaped most literary scholars who have attempted to write about the Tonga people of Southern Province of Zambia. Therefore, this article argues that allusion reflects the Tonga people's social and economic activities through work songs. The Tongas have a wide range of songs sung when performing any given task. Mapanza (1990), posits that the Tonga people were largely pastoral and that today their economy consists of crop production on a large scale. Much of the life of the Tonga people of southern Zambia is reflected in songs. Among the Tonga people, songs are sung in many situations such as religious occasions: rain-making rituals, and ritual dances known as *bamoomb*a (the dance done by people with familiar spirits); funerals, weddings,

beer-parties, work, and concerts. The work songs are drawn from the oral tradition just like folk tales, riddles and folk tales (Chilala 2011).

Most of the situations stated above do have specific songs that cannot be sung during other occasions. However, more often than not one finds other songs that are sung in most other situations. A song occupies a special niche in the lives of the Tonga people and as Mulokozi (1999) indicates, song/poetry is an ever-present and often essential aspect of the life of the African from the cradle to the grave. Most song types are shared by all the societies in Southern Africa, though the tunes, artistic techniques, and content may differ, depending on the needs and outlook of each particular society. A number of poetic elements are used in the composition of the songs but most Bantu –speaking societies do not emphasise the rules of rhyme.

Therefore, this article will concentrate on the use of allusion and its social and economic meaning in Tonga work songs among other poetic elements used in the composition of the work songs. Bukagile and Yogo (2012), define Allusion as a figure of speech that makes a brief reference to a historical or literary figure, event or object. It is said to be usually indirect or brief references to well-known characters or events. Roberts and Jacobs (1998), on the other hand submit that allusion like symbolism enriches meaning, which is the adaptation and assimilation of unacknowledged brief quotations from other works references to historical events and any aspect of human culture – art, music, literature, and so on. Further, Roberts and Jacobs indicate that allusion is a means of recognising both the literary tradition and the broader cultural environment of which the poem is a part. In addition, it assumes a common bond of knowledge between the poet and the reader. On the other hand, allusion compliments the past, and on the other, it salutes the reader who is able to recognise it and find its new meaning in its new context. Pasco (2002), submits that allusion has been around long enough, almost since the beginning of communication and that one might argue that communication is impossible without some sort of allusion. Chilala (2018), opines that 'allusion has a wide range of applicability.' He argues that there is a possibility to have literary allusions in a literary text and also possible to have a non-literary allusion in a literary text. Sutherland (2011), adds that allusion can be intra-or extra-literary, meaning it can refer to things inside books or outside them. Irwin (2001), adds that 'allusions are often covert; they may even be concealed.' In view of the foregoing, it may be argued that there are no limits on the source and application of allusion even in Tonga work songs.

It is hoped that studying allusion in Tonga work songs will reveal a wider spectrum of themes hidden about the way of life of the Tonga of Southern province in Zambia. Analysing actual songs (performances) is vital in oral art because sometimes a message may not be in the words of a song but in the gestures of the performer. The study as a whole aims at making a further contribution to the enthusiastic efforts that have been made before in Zambian oral literature by other literary scholars such as Mapanza (1990), Takara (2008), Moyo (1978), Chibbalo (1983) and Milimo (1978) among others.

Literature Review

Different scholars have undertaken studies or rather written on allusion with regard to work songs. The researcher read a variety of documents that include journals, theses, presentations and books that have dealt with work songs and the use of allusions. Literary work showed that some scholarly work has been done on Tonga songs other than work songs. Mapanza (1990), collected initiation songs, that is, *Nkolola* songs of the Tonga people analysed them in their social context and discussed their composition, performance, dance, music, literary aspects and their relationship to poetry. Among other poetic/literary elements that Mapanza analysed in *Nkolola* songs is allusion although he did not go in detail as he treated it as an appendage of other major aspects such as imagery, metaphor, and eulogues that took much of his attention in his analysis.

This inadequately covered aspect leaves room for the current study to fit in. Mapanza (1990) indicates that allusion is another linguistic item which *Nkolola* songs utilise adding texture to language. The use of such language leaves the audience to make conclusions about the meaning of songs delivered before it. What a performer does is to give a context in which an allusion is effected and the listener has to figure out the meaning. Inter-locutory remarks in songs that Mapanza (1990) analysed, for instance, may be taken as names at a glance. The contexts in which the words are uttered, however, reveals a hidden meaning. For instance, the phrase "*waala katenge*" (throw the Chitenge) in one of the songs he analysed, alludes to the performer's uncontrolled sexual activities which have led him into trouble of having to look for wealth to pay for charges.

Mapanza (1990)'s findings further show that in some performances, there are allusions which an auditor does not need to keep guessing as to what the meaning of a song is. These are allusions that are made explicit by a performer's gestures. Most allusions discussed pertain to sexual life though he is quick to point out that it does not indicate sexual obsession among the Tonga, but it is the occasion that allows such use of language which otherwise is not loosely employed. The apparent significance is that of publicising the maturity of an initiate who hence-forth can be sexually active.

The study also revealed that there are also allusions that refer to other things that occupy the mind of an average Tonga. The proverbial expression *Cibuye tapi* (floor does not give), for instance, alludes to the fruits the performer's family enjoys as a result of their sweat on the fields – if they sat home on the 'floor' doing nothing, the family would have nothing. Mapanza concludes that as a verbal language, the songs exploit literary stylistic devices like imagery, idiomatic expressions, and allusions which are powerful expressive tools. Hence, this article comes in to examine how Tongas use allusion in work songs which has not been adequately addressed by Mapanza (1990) who concentrated more on other poetic elements. This is significant in exposing the meaning being communicated through this poetic element as they work.

Here, it also becomes logical to use an example from Bemba culture as both languages are part of the Bantu group of languages. Takara (2008), analysed Bemba work songs and indicated that joint singing songs co-ordinate the action and lead the workers to feel and work as part of a co-operative group, not as separate individuals. Takara (2008), further analysed the songs from the poetic elements point of view though on a limited scale. She concluded that the literary elements engaged in Bemba work songs were basic as they focused on rhythm, refrains, and chorus. Takara further argues that although poetry uses much of imagery, allusions, similes and metaphors, and songs are regarded as a special literary genre, Bemba work songs were devoid of these devices. She attributed this scenario to the simplicity of the work being performed. Takara did not throw her analytical weight so much on the literary forms. She concentrated her research on functions and symbolism from the sociological angle. Very little was done on the literary bedrock and as such one would be compelled to conclude that she was tempted to dwell more on sociological aspects at the expense of taking a literary path in her approach and analysis. The analysis of literary elements was overshadowed by the sociological perspective.

Mitchell (1956), documented an analysis of certain aspects of social relationship among Africans in the towns of Northern Rhodesia. In doing this, he specifically looked at the songs of the *Kalela* dance on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. He recorded fourteen stanzas of the *Kalela* Dance songs in 1951. One of the outstanding features of the *Kalela* dance was that it was purely a tribal dance, in the sense that the team was composed of Bisa tribesmen and they set out to eulogise the Bisa in general, and their chief Matipa in particular. The interesting thing about the Bisa cosmopolitanisms in comparison to Tonga's predominantly agrarian work songs is that they have little to do with work-related themes. As for the Tongas, there are rare urban songs because most songs sung by labourers are nostalgic in nature. They are sung by Tongas whose upbringing was in the rural areas but they migrated to urban towns in search of employment. In sugar cane plantations in Mazabuka, for instance, cane cutters sing songs that refer to their village set up. At the same time, Tonga cosmopolitan songs do not make reference to their chiefs or social relationships in a town set up like the Bisa songs do. Mitchell adds that the clothing they wore and the language they used in their songs served to sink their identity as a tribal group and to merge them with the Copperbelt African population as a whole.

Mitchell's (1956) study revealed that the stanzas in the songs were sung in the Bemba of the Copperbelt, in which many allusions to anglicisms such as 'shite' for 'city', '*sipili*' for 'speed', '*ufwafwa*' for 'slavery' were used. Words from 'kitchen kaffir' (Chilapalapa) and allusions to the urban situations in one way or another were evident in the songs. All this gives songs a sophisticated flavour that is lost in translation. The study further revealed that the *Kalela* dance songs were significant in the sense that they reflect the life led by the people on the Copperbelt, and, moreover, they indicate, by their almost Chaucerian omission of references to tribal life and their concentration on that of urban areas, the changing nature of the social

outlook of the people. For instance, the richness of allusion in the *Kalela* dance songs can be seen in their reference to the good qualities of the paramountcy of chiefs such as Chief Mwewa, Kopa, Matipa and many others and indeed allusions to their preoccupation are common in the songs of *Kalela* dance.

Moreover, the mention of the Lwena language in the song below alludes to the common stereotype of the Lwena and Luvale peoples who were greatly despised by other tribes on the Copperbelt:

> I sing in Henga, I sing in Luba,
> I sing in Zulu and Sotho
> I take Nyamwanga and Soli and put them together,
> I stopped the Lwena language for it is very common,
> The Nyakyusa and Kasai and Mbwela languages
> Are the remaining languages.

Mitchell (1956), indicates that there is an element of self-praise in the songs of the *Kalela* dancers and that the songs are a clear recognition of the ethnic diversity of urban populations. He argues that the most significant feature of the *Kalela* is that it is essentially a tribal dance. *Kalela* and its songs emphasise the unity of Bisa against all. Finally, what comes out of Mitchell's (1956) study of the *Kalela* dance songs is that they use a great deal of allusion even though the songs are not about work. Therefore, Mitchell's (1956) study complements the current study on the use of allusion and its social implications in Tonga work songs.

Chilala (2018), examined the allusive potency of a comic Zambian character, Dorika. In this study, Chilala (2018), demonstrates the power of allusion par excellence in the portraiture of Dorika, the comic character. Chilala (2018), identifies the possible reasons the character has acquired potency when used as an allusion. The study evaluated two case studies centred on the Zambian parliament. The findings indicated, among others, that Dorika has metamorphosed from being a fictional character to a potent metaphor with allusive capacity largely because the metaphor of Dorika as a prostitute has been widely disseminated in Zambia. The study further revealed that Dorika the character has evolved from being merely a fictional character to a powerful metaphor with a life of its independent of the life of its creator. As such, Dorika is a hyperreal, a simulacrum, a semiotic sign bearing negative perceptions of Dorika as a woman of loose morals, a prostitute, a commodified symbol of illicit sex, a femme fatale and unmarriageable woman. Chilala (2018) concludes that 'to be called Dorika is to be insulted; it is to be called a prostitute or a woman of loose morals' and that the comic character possesses phenomenal allusive potency.

Whereas Chilala's (2018) study focuses on the possible reasons the character, Dorika has acquired potency when used as an allusion, and the present study leans on the social implications of allusion in Tonga work songs. However, Chilala's (2018) study plays a key role in beefing up the analysis of allusion as a literary device in selected Tonga work songs.

Statement of the Problem

A number of scholars have written extensively and impressively about the Tonga people and their culture, their history, and even their literature. For instance, Lubbungu (2016) has documented the origin, history and present-day status of the Citonga language in Zambia while Elizabeth Colson has substantially written about the Tonga people's culture in the Southern province of Zambia. However, there is hardly any documentation on the use of allusion and its social and economic implications in Tonga work songs except for Mapanza (1990) who analysed the initiation songs of the Tonga people of Southern Zambia. Even so, he partially looked at the use of allusion in the Nkolola songs.

Aim of the Study

The primary aim of this article is to explore the social and economic implications of allusion in Tonga work songs.

Methodology

This study was conducted in two ways:

Through Desk Research: A desk research was conducted to find out what has been done in the field of oral literature and work song studies in particular. It enabled the researcher to peruse through works written on work songs and on oral literature and this, in turn, helped the researcher to consolidate his research problem. The desk research also enabled the researcher to collect more data to add to what the researcher obtained from the field.

Field Research: The field research was done in two stages, pilot survey and main fieldwork.

Pilot Survey (Study): Zailinawah *et al.* (2006), underscore the importance of conducting a pilot study in a research project. Hence, the researcher and the enlisted research assistants undertook this stage to familiarise themselves with the respondents and the areas of study. The pilot study also helped the researcher to survey the kind of data they would use in the main research programme. Therefore, the pilot study gave the researcher an opportunity to improve the methodology during the main field work.

The Main Fieldwork: The fieldwork was undertaken in three districts of Southern Province of Zambia, namely Choma, Pemba, and Monze. The districts were picked at random to represent other districts. The researcher felt that since oral literature and work songs, in particular, are based on the lives and experiences of a people, there would be no significant differences between data from different districts of the

Southern province. A total of 100 respondents were sampled from the three districts. In some areas, the researcher used friends or relatives to help him approach members of the community and select appropriate informants. This helped to build a rapport with the informants. The researcher also enlisted the help of one local person per research area as research assistants. The informants of both sexes were of various ages. This was necessitated by the fact that oral literature and work songs are used by all the people in the society. The researchers collected all data on different types of work songs without selecting any particular type. The sorting out was done after the researcher felt that he had acquired a representative sample of the data required.

The study to collect songs of the Tonga people mainly used the qualitative approach. The researcher employed the research methods used by anthropologists when they need to collect data. The study opted to use ethnomethodology as a research strategy. This entails that a combination of data collection methods such as observation, asking questions, self-administered questionnaires and focus group discussion were adopted as would befit any qualitative research.

Findings

The study, through literature review, revealed that the use of allusion in regard to its social meaning in Tonga work songs has not been given necessary attention by most scholars who attempted to study poetic elements in work songs. Allusion has been overshadowed by bias toward other poetic elements such as imagery, metaphors, rhythm and many others. The only scholar who attempted to analyse allusion among other elements in a little bit detail is Mapanza (1990) in his analysis of initiation songs of the Tonga people of southern Zambia. Mapanza tried to show, though on a limited scale, how allusion is used among the Tongas especially in the area of disapproval of certain social tendencies such as laziness, unfaithfulness, and sexual escapades. He analysed words and phrases in the work songs such as "Cibuye Tapi" (floor does not give), "Coonoona" (sleep anyhow) and "Ciyalabulo" (prostitute) to allude to the act of spreading a bed –sexual allusion.

The findings confirm Roberts and Jacobs (1998)'s assertion that alusions may be drawn from just about any area of life, history, and art. For instance, the phrase "wakauma mwaanda" (he made a hundred) alludes to the number of bags of maize a farmer was able to produce and sell. One can see that the earlier allusions were drawn from a social life point of view while the latter was drawn from the economic viewpoint. Although Mapanza (1990) gave the social context in which these allusions were used, he did not go an extra mile in bringing out the social implications of these allusions among the Tonga people. The current study, therefore, complements Mapanza's work by giving more detail to the use of allusion in Tonga work songs collected from the field. From the songs analysed, there is a considerable indication that allusion in Tonga work songs occupies a special niche. For instance, the song below shows how allusion is used in Tonga work songs:

Leader	:	*Luungu lwangu lwasonsa milibo, Luungu lwangu x2*
		My Pumpkin plants are fully grown, my pumpkin plants x2
All	:	*Lwasonsa milibo*
		They have even sprouted
Leader	:	*Luungu lwangu*
		My pumpkin plants
All	:	*They have sprouted*
CHORUS		
Leader	:	*Lwayandalala x 2*
		They have spread all over
All	:	*Lwasonsa milibo x 2*
		They have sprouted

In view of the fact that the Tonga people are agriculture-oriented, allusions used in work songs are drawn from that angle as indicated in the song above. The song is sung in a wedding context and expresses joy/happiness and gratitude over the marriage of a son or daughter. The song is sung either during the preparatory work for the wedding or on a material day. What is interesting and unique about this song is that the entire song is an allusion to the child who has grown and ready to enter the nuptial chamber. This kind of allusion is an exact replica of Robert and Jacob (1998)'s description of allusion. They submit that allusions may also be longer, consisting of extensive phrases or also of descriptions or situations. The entire song in the case above gives a description of the child who has reached maturity. The song also instills pride in a parent who in a way managed to bring up a child that far. The contexts are of course different in the sense that the song is agrarian in nature but sung in a wedding context.

The songs reinforce the ethos of hard work, the necessity of making the most of time available for tendering the plant and appreciate its full growth by alluding to the child who has matured and gets married in a dignified manner. By making the allusion '*luungu lwangu lwasonsa milibo'* (my pumpkin plants are fully grown), the singer emphasises the joy derived from the effort put in to bring up the child to maturity in a responsible and respectable manner. Socially, this allusion inculcates a sense of hard work, responsibility, and dedication in order to reap the desired product, that is, children who will grow responsibly and marry in a socially acceptable manner. The further implication of this allusion is that hard work and having a sense of self-responsibility brings pride and satisfaction at the end. Just as a farmer enjoys and feels proud of seeing his/her pumpkin plants grow fully, a parent equally derives joy and happiness in seeing their children grow responsibly and get married in a socially dignified manner.

The study further revealed that allusion in Tonga work songs is used to remind the Tonga people to appreciate their historical events. The Tonga people have a history of migrating to Zimbabwe and South Africa for work in the past. As such,

there are songs they sing to remind them of such history. The song that follows is sung whenever one is harvesting the crop as long as the produce in worthy praising:

Cayina cikafu cizwa mumunda
Sweet is the food from the field
Kamuza mulange nywebo x2
Come and see x2
Ndolu ndolu ndolu ndolundolu x2
Refrain
Here it is x2
Wazyimina kaili ....., wazyimina kaili .....ndemwana mutaka nduweni?
Lost in slavery, lost in slavery, who are you prodigal son?
Ndime Jeke.
I am Jeke
Nobasune bakwa Mafuta mwacizyiba cinamoofu
Oxen of mafuta you have known the job
Zapuleni kuNewspaperYayinda page maamaaa
Check from newspapers/magazines for more information about agriculture.

Basically, the song above falls under modernity when industrialisation and mining were at their peak. Initially, as indicated earlier, Tonga people would travel to Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) and South Africa in search of employment as domestic servants, farm workers, and as miners on the Copperbelt in Zambia (Northern Rhodesia). Out of this movement, they learned new methods of farming which were used after the end of slave trade when people got back to their indigenous places. The singer in the song above makes reference to Newspaper which explicitly shows how the integration of formal education, agriculture and new methods of production that the Tongas had to adopt at the time. The allusion to the Newspaper in the song implies that information regarding new farming methods can be accessed through the media. Socially, the allusion is used in the song to share information regarding farming methods that would lead to higher yields and should be appreciated by everyone involved in farming.

The singer further uses the phrase '*Ndahimina kaili'* (I am lost a prisoner) an allusion to the historical events of slavery. He makes reference to the time he was a slave as he shells or harvests maize. The allusion brings into perspective the hardships the Tonga society faced during the era of slave trade. Among the Tonga people, the word '*cibbalo*' is commonly used to refer to slavery. It refers to hard labour that those who were taken as slaves were subjected to. The singer's reference to the prisoner and bad treatment which he thought was futile is now paying off because the lessons of hard work he/she learned in slavery have made him/her produce a bumper harvest. In a nutshell, the singer communicates through this allusion to his/her community that in order to produce a bumper harvest, one has to work like a slave in their fields just as he did and now can call the people to admire his produce. Moreover, the singer uses a biblical allusion in the song when

he or she uses '*mwana mutaka'* (prodigal son) in reference to when he had traveled out of his home area in search of work outside the country. Just about any reference to *'mwana mutaka'* in the song calls to mind those who had travelled outside Tonga land and have since come back after years of absence, and also the idea that despite their long absence, they are still wedded to the economic activities of the Tonga people and can equally contribute positively to food production.

The use of the prodigal son allusion in the work song above invokes the concept of reconnecting to the roots with the 'been-to' as espoused in Lucky Dube's song titled, 'I am Going Back to My Roots.' Those who had abandoned their families in search of work outside the borders have come back as prodigal sons and reconnect with their families. The usage of this allusion *'mwana mutaka'* in the song also emphasises the need for social cohesion between those who are perceived prodigal sons and those who had remained behind for a considerable number of years. Through this allusion, there is a sense that the so-called '*mwana mutaka'* should not be discriminated against as if to fulfill the biblical lesson of the parable of the prodigal son – that they should be embraced back as they can contribute to the economic well-being of the Tonga society as evidenced by the bumper harvest by one of the prodigal sons. Hence, the allusion, in this case, is used to cement social cohesion among the Tonga people. From the foregoing, we would safely say that allusions in Tonga work songs are an important means by which the singers broaden the contexts and deepen the meaning of their songs. This argument is further consolidated by the song sung while pounding which goes as follows:

Mukahima katutwa
My rival! Let's pound
Diibu (This is a sound when pounding)
Mulumi waya kung'ombe
The husband has gone to herd cattle
Diibu (sound)
Waakujaya nkanga a kwale
When he kills a guinea fowl and a partridge,
Diibu (sound)
Wanjila mumwi mung'anda
He enters in one house
Diibu (sound)
Inoomu?Mulomo ndundulu x2
What about in this one? Anger is expressed by swollen mouth x 2
Yoomwana- yoomwana
You child – you child
Diibu (sound)
Yoomwana utalili
You child! Don't cry
Diibu (sound)
Tutwidilile busenga
We pound for chuff

Diibu (sound)
Uso nguhatalimi
Your father is not a farmer
Diibu (sound)
Kufwumbwa alimalima
When he ploughs a little
Diibu (sound)
Wakoonza mabuyu
He goes to pluck some wild fruits
Cikoli camubweenda
When the club stick strikes back at him
Diibu (sound)
Ati ndifulemwinangu
He tells the wife to blow out the speck from his eyes
Diibu (sound)
Tabakakufuli banyoko
Let your mother do it/ remove it
Diibu (sound)
Bakubuzya maanu
Who never taught you
Diibu (sound)
Mwandeengelezya ceelo
You have sent a ghost to me
Diibu (sound)
Icinduuminang'anda
One that haunts my house
Diibu (sound)
Musana ncuukososka
That is why the back can't work
Diibu (sound)
Baputa basiboombe
Naughty boys who look after calves
Diibu (sound)
Basya zilindi muzila
They dig ditches on pathways
Diibu (sound)
Kubota kuti kwawidanyina
It is better their mother falls into those ditches
Diibu (sound)
Naba mucizyiwayinda
Even the sister who passes through
Diibu (sound)
Kasamu kakwa Mpinda kakayuma katikumpela kasyuuka
Mpinda's tree dried up and yet he wanted it to bloom later
Diibu (sound)

In this song, the last stanza opens with an allusion to a popular village called '*Mpinda*' from which strong and hardworking women hail. The singer laments in innuendos regarding the husband who is lazy and does not do much to provide for his family. At the same time, she boasts of her ability to provide and her hard work through the use of a symbol '*kasamu*' (tiny tall tree) which is also an allusion to a virtuous woman, an 'iron lady.' Roberts & Jacobs (1990) posit that sometimes symbols are allusions as well as symbols, which is the case in this song. In as much as the songs lighten and coordinate hard work as suggested by Finnegan (1977, 2012), the singer in the song above laments and exposes human follies and gives self-praise through the use of allusion '*kasamu kakwa Mpinda' (a* tree in *Mpinda* village). She boasts that a tree from *Mpinda* still has intrinsic beauty and that there are beautiful girls in that village despite her beauty looks faded.

The social implication of this allusion is that culturally, Tonga women were not supposed to address their husbands directly when they had an issue with them. Instead, they presented their grievances through songs as they worked. The woman in the song in question, therefore, laments through the song and alludes to her beauty being eroded by her husband who does not even chat or joke with her. It is an allusion of discrepancies, injustice and unfaithfulness on the part of a husband who decides to marry more than one wife. Yet he fails to fulfill his responsibilities as a husband or seems to love one wife more than the other. As she sings, it is expected that the listener would understand the allusion without explanation.

As Chilala (2018) has observed, there is some shared knowledge between the speaker or writer and the listener or reader and as such, there is no need to explain or amplify it. Allusion, therefore, is critical to unlocking the meaning intended by the speaker or writer, and as Chilala (2018) further submits, quite often sharpens the point being made. An allusion is an effective and potent literary device –when employed appropriately as in the case above. It may be argued that part of the reason for the potency of the allusion is that it bears a connotative element. Martin and Ringham (2006) argue that, 'a connotation is a procedure where a term acquires additional significance from the context in which it is used.' This suggests that, in the case of allusion, the audience has an idea of not only the context of the allusion but also what it connotes. In the case of '*Kasamu kakwa Mpinda'* or '*Mwana mutaka'*, for instance, this connotation has become fixed in the minds of the audience and this is what makes the allusion possible and effective.

The allusion in the case above has been used as a way of reminding the Tonga people (audience) especially men of their social/marital responsibility – taking care of their wives by maintaining their beauty and also avoiding abusing them. Here, one would submit that allusion in the work song is used for social commentary as well as to correct perpetual tendencies such as laziness and abuse of women.

Moreover, there are other songs meant to indirectly attack other people. For instance, if one pounding is a girl while her brothers are just seated, she can sing a song such as the following:

Basankwa mbakwiide kukkala (x 2)
Men just sit (x 2)
Basankwa mbakwiide kukkala kwiitwa kuti njiino yatuba (x 2)
Men just sit waiting to be invited for a meal (x 1)
Njiino yatuba iyamukandyoli, kainda kunona kainda tusinza ikandyoli (x 2)
Come and eat a delicious meal with relish (kandyoli) that surpasses any soup (x 2)

As stated earlier, a woman cannot address the husband directly to vent her anger but does so through songs. The song above is sung when the wife (pounding) is reminding the husband that she is not happy about the habit of him sitting idly when she is busy working. This scenario invokes the popular gender issues that call for men and women to work together as partners in development. The singer uses an allusion '*njiino yatuba'* in reference to *nsima,* the staple food not only to the Tongas but also to the entire Zambian people. Just about any reference to *'yatuba'*(it's white) in this context calls to mind the importance/value of *nsima* and the idea that he who does not work should not eat. *Nsima* is a popular dish among the Tongas and is directly connected to their agricultural activities. Without cultivating maize, one cannot be assured of access to *nsima*. The social implication of this allusion '*yatuba'* is that *nsima* brings rather unites people as they come to dine together regardless of their status among the Tongas. Tonga people are known to be very good at sharing. Visitors who find them eating *nsima* are outrightly invited to join in. *Nsima*, therefore, has a connotation of unity and sharing.

Conclusion

The study has demonstrated how allusion is used in Tonga work songs and their social and economic implications. It has revealed that allusion does not only reflect social and economic activities of the Tonga people but is also used to inculcate a sense of hard work and self-responsibility. At the same time, social commentaries on issues that affect society are done through allusion. Perpetual negative tendencies such as injustice, unfaithfulness and discrepancies are also exposed through the use of allusion. The songs and the style of languages are also shaped by the gender of those singing them (Chilala 2013; Chernoff 1983).

Moreover, sharing of information regarding agricultural activities and indeed reminding people about their history are equally transmitted through allusion. Allusion is also used to cement social cohesion and unity among the Tonga people. The study further reveals that allusion in Tonga work songs reflects Tonga people's past and their agricultural inclination. Another interesting finding in the study is that there is hardly any allusion to paramountcy of chiefs like in other tribes in Southern Africa and that the Tonga work songs are predominantly agrarian.

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