LANGUAGE MAPPING SURVEY FOR NORTHERN MALAWI



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1.1 INTRODUCTION

The role of language in national development cannot be overemphasized. Communication is crucial in any development process in that it is concerned with the transfer of ideas and knowledge in ways that enable the recipient to understand, react and act upon the information received and language is central to that communication process. In Malawi, language as an essential aspect of communication, has not been given the prominence it deserves in the fight against poverty and various other issues of national development.

Up until the present study was conducted, Malawi did not have up to date and reliable statistics on various linguistic matters in the country. For instance, there were no accurate statistics on the number of languages spoken in Malawi and their actual geographical distribution. Available data on Malawi's linguistic situation was collected by the National Statistical Office during population censuses. This data was flawed in many ways as the methods used in collecting the data were not appropriate to language research. The lack of such important linguistic information for the country has hampered the formulation of a comprehensive language policy for Malawi. Similarly, the implementation of the local language education policy for primary education (Ministry of Education: Malawi Primary Curriculum and Assessment Procedures Framework, 2004) is being held back by, among other things, the lack of reliable data on the geographical distribution of Malawian local languages.

In order for Malawi to achieve its overall goals of national development as stipulated in the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MPRSP), the Vision 2020 and The Policy and Investment Framework (PIF), policy makers and development planners working on various issues that have a bearing on language matters need to be guided by reliable language data.

It is against this background that the Centre for language Studies proposed to conduct the present study. The investigation was conducted over a period of 30 days from 15th May – 13th June 2006, covering all the districts of the Northern region except Likoma Island due to problems encountered during the survey (see section 4). Below we present the findings of the survey in terms of the languages spoken in the northern region and their dialects.

1.2 Objectives

The main objective of the study was to determine the number of languages spoken in the northern region, where they are spoken and number of speakers of these languages. Specific objectives include:

- a) To determine the number of languages/dialects spoken in the northern of Malawi.
- b) To determine the geographical distribution of these languages/dialects.
- c) To develop an accurate linguistic atlas for Malawi
- d) To establish the various patterns of language choice and use
- e) To establish peoples' language attitudes and identities
- f) To establish degrees of language loyalty and attachment in order to predict future tendencies towards language shift and or maintenance

- g) To guide government in the formulation of a comprehensive language policy for Malawi.
- h) To facilitate the standardization of Malawi languages
- i) To guide the Ministry of Education in the implementation of its policy of local language instruction at primary level.

1.3 Methodology

As indicated above, language data on Malawi has in the past years been collected through population census. This data is however, flawed in many ways in that the methodology used in collecting the data is not appropriate to language research. For instance, some of the languages that have been claimed to be languages by the census reports are not languages but dialects of particular languages. In the census data it is also evident that belonging to a particular tribe was treated as being synonymous to speaking a language associated with the particular tribe. For instance, being Ngoni by tribe is synonymous to being a Chingoni speaker.

As a starting point however, the survey team sourced all the language data collected by the National Statistical Office during the 1998 population census which is the most recent data available. The data showed languages spoken in the different villages in every district in the region. This information was used as a guiding tool for mapping the geographical distribution of languages/dialects spoken in a particular district. It also provided clues about the tribal identities of the indigenous inhabitants of the particular district. The research team worked closely with Traditional Authorities (TAs) to verify the authenticity of these data before identifying sample villages to be interviewed in every Traditional Authority in a district.

1.4 Research Team

The research team comprised twenty researchers and was divided into three field groups. Each group had 6 to 7 people one of whom supervised the group. Each group had its own vehicle. Every evening the three groups met to review the day's work and decide on the way forward.

In as much as the Principal Investigators wanted to balance the gender of the research team, recruitment of the research assistants was based on their research experience and communication competence in the languages of the northern region so that they could comfortably conduct interviews in the respondents own languages. More female candidates were deliberately short-listed for interviews but most of them did not do well more especially in the languages test which was the most important requirement. Preference was also given to candidates who had knowledge of more that one language spoken in northern Malawi. In the end, the research team comprised 11 males and 9 females. Each group had researchers who were competent in the languages spoken in each of the district of the northern region.

Each group had a copy of the census data. Field trips were planned in advance in the evening with the guidance of map sheets for each district sourced from the National

Statistics Office. The groups also relied on the group members' knowledge of the geography of the areas to be visited. All the three groups covered every district together. In a district, each group was given a number of Chiefs/ T/As to conduct interviews. During visits, the T/A was the first person to be interviewed in order to crosscheck the census data with the TA's knowledge on the local languages spoken in their areas. Where there were discrepancies, the groups visited such villages and administered questionnaires, conducted Focused Group Discussions and Key informant Interviews. Even where the information given by the chiefs tallied with the census data, selected villages were visited.

1.5 Instruments

For purposes of triangulation of results, three instruments for data collection were used: Individual Questionnaires, Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informants Interviews (KIIs).

1.5.1 Individual Questionnaires

Questionnaires were designed to collect information on the speakers' views on their languages. The questionnaire targeted youths from 15 years and above and parents/guardians both male and female. Interviews were conducted in randomly selected villages with the guidance of the T/A. A total of seven hundred and fifty one (751) questionnaires were administered in villages in twenty-eight TAs in the five districts. Initially, it had been planned to administer about 3500 questionnaires for the whole study. However, just two days into the survey, it was observed that FGDs and KIIs yielded more reliable and accurate information than individual questionnaires. In addition, most of the rural areas in the region are sparsely populated and households are situated far apart and in difficult places to access them . Consequently, researchers had to walk long distances from one household to another. This resulted in fewer questionnaires being administered in a day as much of the time was spent on walking from one household to another and across villages (refer to Section 4). The research team therefore decided to concentrate more on FGDs and KIIs.

1.5.2 Focused Group Discussions

Focused group discussions were conducted in selected villages with a group of twenty (20) participants comprising seven (7) men, seven (7) women, three (3) boys and three (3) girls. A total of sixty-one (61) FGDs were conducted during the whole study.

All discussions were done in the participants' own languages. Research team members who were conversant with the language of the area facilitated the discussions while other members of the research team took notes or co-facilitated whenever necessary. Participants in the discussions were also given an opportunity to ask questions or make comments where necessary. All discussions were recorded on tapes which were later used for report writing. The report writing was done in the evening. Group members took turns to write the reports which were later checked by the group supervisors to ensure that all the important details were captured.

1.5.3 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

The choice of key informants was based on their local knowledge of the area in terms of the linguistic make up of the areas under their jurisdiction. The key informants included District Commissioners (DCs), District Education Managers (DEMs), T/As, group village headmen and village headmen, head teachers, Primary Education Advisers (PEAs), religious leaders, civil society leaders, Members of Parliament (MPs) and other influential people in the districts. Realizing that some of the key informants could be biased towards their languages, the same questions were used in the focused group discussions to get objective responses as people debated extensively and openly on the questions during such discussions.

1.5.4 Geographical positioning system (GPS)

The study also used GPSs to record coordinates and way points for each village visited. Each group had one GPS which was assigned to a member who underwent a short training before the commencement of the study. The GPS information has been used in the drawing of the linguistic atlas showing areas where the different languages identified in the region are spoken. Apart from recording the coordinates and way points, the research team also recorded the total population for each village visited. However, in many of the villages visited, village heads did not know the exact number of people in their villages. They only kept statistics on the number of households and married people. Unmarried people, children and youths were not included in the village census. Surprisingly, this was the case in all the districts. However, for purposes of the study, where it was not possible to get a correct village count, the research team insisted that the village heads give estimates of their village populations.

1.6 Demographic Characteristics of Research Sample

The characteristics that were of interest for the sample population involved in the study were age, sex, employment and level of education. The total number of respondents for individual questionnaires was 751 within the age range of 15-51 with the highest concentration between 41 to 50 (87%). Out of the 751 respondents 367 were female while 384 were male. Of these, **133** were single, **561** married, **43** widowed, **5** separated and **9** divorced.

In terms of education, the respondents ranged from those who never attended school (5.5%) to diploma holders (0.2). The majority of those who have formal education (42%) had qualifications below the level of primary school.

As regards occupation, the majority of the respondents were ordinary farmers. Other occupations included small-scale businesses, carpentry, etc.

Respondents for focused group discussions and key informant interviews were not asked about their age and level of education given the nature of the interviews. It is important to note however, that most of the key informants were chiefs, village headmen, religious leaders and teachers.

1.7 Problems/Limitations

As alluded to above, the field work was not without problems or limitations. The major limiting factor was time. The study was carried out over a period of 30 days. The research team worked very hard including Saturdays and Sundays to ensure that the project was concluded in time. However, a few days into the exercise, it became apparent that the time allocated to the exercise was not enough due to a number of problems that were encountered and this had an effect on the study's objectives, more especially getting statistics on the number of speakers for the languages. This was not possible to achieve because the research teams could not visit as many villages as it had planned for every T/A.

A visit to Likoma Island, was cancelled because of the time factor. Fortunately, because Likoma Island was under Nkhatabay district and just became a district recently, the teams were able to get information on the languages spoken there from the Nkhatabay District Commissioner's office. It was however, not possible to get details on the geographical distribution of the languages spoken on the island and the people's views on the survey questions .

During the pilot phase of the study, it was observed that Chitipa district, which shares borders with Zambia and Tanzania, was the most linguistically complex district followed by Karonga. It was decided, therefore, that Chitipa should be given more days than the other districts where the language situation was somehow, simpler.

As pointed out above, it was noted during the survey that the 30 days allocated to field work were not enough to conduct a thoroughly study of the region. A number of factors contributed to this situation. These problems are outlined below

1.7.1 Distance between households

Most of the rural areas are sparsely populated and bushy and households are far apart. As a result, researchers had to walk long distances from one household to another, let alone from one village to another to administer the individual questionnaires. In some cases, people were not found in their homes since they were busy working in their gardens as it

was harvest time. This resulted in researchers taking too long to finish the targeted number of questionnaires per village. This in turn affected other areas visited later in the day.

1.7.2 Bad condition of roads

Mobility of vehicles from one place to another was also slowed down by the bad state of roads. Some places could not even be accessed by road and there were instances where field vehicles even broke down due to the poor condition of the roads and this slowed down the progress of the research.

1.7.3 Geographical Positioning System (GPS) equipment

Some of the equipment developed faults while in the field and they could not be repaired in good time since the researchers were in remote rural areas and it was difficult to get people from the survey offices to assist in repairing the equipment. This meant that correct coordinates for some villages could not be obtained in good time.

1.7.4 Lack of reliable village populations

The task of recording coordinates for the language atlas also required recording the number of households and the total population of the villages visited. However, as already pointed above, in almost all the villages visited, village heads did not keep a head count of all the people in the village. They only recorded married people and youths and unmarried people were not counted. The research team however insisted that they give an estimate of their village population.

In addition, the GPS's readings were required to be taken from the centre of the village. But in some cases, this was not possible as the centre of the village was either in thick bushes, in the middle of a river, or hills. This therefore might have a bearing on the accuracy of some of the locations.

1.8 Challenges

Immobility of many people living in remote rural areas was a major challenge in the administration of the individual questionnaires. Some of the responses we got were contradictory, a sign that they did not know much even about languages in their own traditional authority due to the fact they do not travel to other areas within their traditional authority. Focused group discussions and key informants proved to be more informative because people were engaged in intense debate before coming to a consensus on the responses they gave and also because selection of the key informants was based on the knowledge of the areas under study and most of the people interviewed showed to be more conversant and familiar with the language situation in their own T/A as well as in other T/As. A decision was therefore made a few days into the study that during the focused group discussions clarifications should be sought for contradictory responses got during the individual respondent questionnaires. Although the focused group discussions attracted a lot of debate among participants, they were however, able to arrive at a consensus on the issues discussed.

As pointed out above, the target number of participants for the focused group discussions was 20. This number was manageable and easy to control. However, in some cases, the village heads were hesitant to identify the suitable participants for fear of ill feelings from other villagers who would be left out from the discussions. In other areas, it was difficult to control the numbers and people came in large numbers thinking that the research team would distribute rewards at end of the discussions. Such an attitude, we later learnt, is growing among interviewees in the villages because some research organizations give tokens to people after the interviews.

In some areas, respondents were not interested to be interviewed because they claimed they do not get feed back from researchers. Our research team did not promise to come back to the people with results of the survey but rather send findings of the survey to district commissioners offices in all the districts visited so that it is shared with TAs during district development committee meetings who in turn would share with the village heads because they were aware of the villages that research team visited during the

survey. The respondents were also assured that a report on the findings of the study would also be shared during the forth coming national language symposium which the Centre for Language Studies organizes every year. Such symposia attract a cross-section of participants from various institutions that have a stake in language issues. A deliberate effort will therefore be made to ensure that decision makers on developmental issues that have a bearing on language are invited to attend the symposium.

Identification of names of varieties/dialects of languages was also a big challenge. For some languages respondents were able to give names of dialects of their languages but in the majority of cases, respondents could only describe the differences in the way the language is spoken in other areas in their district or elsewhere but still gave the same name of the language to the variety/dialect. They claimed differences are there in the way languages are spoken from one area to another but in most cases the language names do not change. For instance, respondents acknowledged that Citonga and Cilambiya, are spoken differently in other areas and yet they are still known by the same names in those other areas. In such cases researchers could only record the kind of differences that existed (e.g. phonological, lexical, morphological etc.) and the places where these differences were commonly found. In other cases, a variety was identified as a language on its own. However, the focused group discussions helped to clarify misconceptions on the differences between dialect and language.

The other challenge was that respondents tended to be biased towards their own language when it came to identifying the major language in a particular T/A or district and also when identifying a language which would be suitable for children in lower standards of primary education as well as when it came to deciding what language(s) would serve well as a lingua franca for a particular district. In most cases however, key informant interviews at the District Education office, the District Commissioners, Civic Education offices and T/As gave independent and objective assessments of the language situations in the districts and T/As.

2.0 LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE NORTHERN MALAWI

The main objective of the survey was to determine the number of languages spoken in the northern region, where they are spoken and the number of speakers. In order to meet this objective, the survey team conducted focused group discussions, key informant interviews and administered individual questionnaires. Respondents for questionnaires were asked their first language and where else that language is spoken. This question did not, however, give the exact information regarding number of languages spoken in a particular area. In the focused group discussions, however, respondents were asked to mention languages that are spoken in their areas together with their varieties and the particular areas where each language/dialect is spoken. The table below gives a list of languages and dialects as identified by respondents during the survey.

Table 1: Languages of Northern Malawi

Name of Language	Known name of Language dialects
Cilambiya	
Cindali	Ciŵeta
Cisukwa	
Ciŵandya	Cimphangala
Cimambwe	
Ciŵemba	
Cinamwanga	
Cinyiha	Cinyika
Ciswahili	
Citumbuka	Ciphoka, Cihenga, Cisisya, Cinyaluwanga, Citumbunyika, Cimphangweni
Citonga	
Kyangonde/1	Cinkhonde
Cinyakyusa	
Cingoni	
Chichewa ²	
Ciyawo ³	

¹ Respondents claimed that people of the two tribes speak one language. However Nyakyusa is regarded as the parent language from which Kyangonde and Cinkhonde originated. The small number of Nyakyusa speakers overshadow it to the extent that Kyangonde is now recognised as the most prestigious language in the district. Chinkhonde is not given much recognition because it is regarded as heavily leaning towards Citumbuka. In terms of numbers of speakers it is claimed that there are more speakers of Cinkhonde than Kyangonde/Cinyakyusa.

² This is a non-indigenous language of the northern region. Being Malawi's national language, Chichewa has made inroads into all the regions of the country. However in many rural remote places of the northern region, the language is hardly spoken. While some people understand it, they have difficulties in speaking it. For school going children in the remote rural areas, they hardly understand it.

³ This is another non indigenous language of the northern region. It is spoken by a minority of people who have migrated to the northern region in search of employment in estates and to do trade.

In the following section, we will present results of languages spoken in different areas of the districts of Northern Malawi.

2.1 Languages of Chitipa

According to the information collected from the survey, Chitipa district has the following languages and dialects: Chichewa, Ciwandya, Cilambya, Cibemba, Cinamwanga, Cisukwa, Citumbuka, Cindali, Ciweta, Kiswahili, Cimambwe, Cinyika /Cinyiha. The major issue was to determine if these are indeed different languages or related dialects.

The problem of distinguishing a language from a dialect has for a long time been known to be partly influenced by socio-political factors. While it is linguistically accepted that varieties which are mutually intelligible are dialects of the same language and conversely, where there is no mutual intelligibility, the varieties constitute different languages, speakers of related varieties sometimes refuse to recognize them as dialects because of the fear of the variety losing its socio-political importance. The same scenario was encountered in the survey. There were clear linguistic indications that most of the language varieties in the districts were closely related and thus qualified as dialects because they were mutually intelligible.

For instance, the results of the survey as obtained through questions which asked whether the speakers of different varieties were able to understand one another perfectly yielded responses where the majority of the respondents (nearly 90%) answered in the affirmative.

The respondents were also asked to group the languages/varieties according to their perception of degrees of similarities where the more closely related varieties were put in one group. The informants acknowledged the various degrees of similarities and mutual intelligibility across the varieties and the majority indicated the following groupings for the varieties in a descending order of closeness for each group:

- I)Cindali, Cisukwa, Cilambya, Ciwandya
- 2) Cilambya, Cisukwa, Cinyiha
- 3) Ciwandya, Cinamwanga, Cimambwe, Cinyiha

What was noticeable was the fact that although the respondents did not use scientific criteria to determine the similarities across the languages and thus varied in terms of the language groupings, some combinations of language similarities were persistent. For instance, Cisukwa, Cilandali and Cilambya kept on being grouped together as being very similar varieties, as were Cimambwe and Cinamwanga. The variety that did not seem to be constantly identified with one language group was Cinyiha. In some cases, it was viewed as being in the Cilambya, Cindali and Cisukwa group while for others it was seen as very close to Cinamwanga, Cimambwe and Ciwandya.

The fact that the respondents acknowledged the similarities among the languages is what is clearly significant because it confirms the bservation that most of the language varieties encountered in the district are merely dialects despite their being called different languages by their speakers.

When the researchers examined the varieties for featural similarities it was noted that even the linguistic features characterizing the variations showed predictable patterns, a phenomenon which makes it possible to group the dialects according to their linguistic similarities. Based on the linguistic evidence provided mainly by phonological and lexical similarities, the researchers put the dialects into the following language groups (in a descending order of similarity):

Language group 1: Cindali>Cisukwa>Cilambya

Language group 2: Cinamwanga>Cimambwe>Ciwandya

Language group 3: Cinyiha/Cinyika

Language group 4: Chichewa

Language group 5: Citumbuka

Language group 6. Cibemba

Language group 7: Kiswahili

The major phonological features that characterized the language groups with several dialects were mainly noticeable in the segmental features of certain sounds, the operation of certain phonological processes and tonal realizations. For instance, as it may be observed in the attached vocabulary list, post-nasal stops in Cindali and Cisukwa are voiced but they are not in the other related dialect, Cilambya, and even in the other distant dialects hence the word for 'person' is 'umundu' in Cindali and Cisukwa but 'umunthu' in Cilambya and the other dialects. Likewise, grasshopper is 'imbashi' and 'imbasi' in Cindali and Cisukwa but 'imphanzi' in Cilambya and the other related dialects.

On segmental features, the two most closely related dialects, Cisukwa, Cindali and Cilambya differ because the first two do not have voiced fricatives while Cilambya does (see the words for 'scorpion', kalisya, kalisha and kalizga for the three varieties respectively and 'maize', ifilombe — for Cisukwa and Cindali- and ivilombe for Cilambya).

It is worth noting that although Kiswahili and Cibemba have listed above, these are not indigenous since they are mostly spoken by immigrants from neighbouring Tanzania and Zambia respectively. It is also important to note that some of the language varieties given

above are spoken across the borders although they are indigenous to Chitipa (for instance Cniyiha is also spoken in Tanzania and Zambia).

The results of the survey also revealed that Cilambya is demographically the most dominant language/variety and it is also generally spoken and/or understood by speakers of other languages of the district. The study also showed that there is at least one dominant language/variety for each traditional authority in the district. According to the results Cinyiha/Cinyika is the main language spoken in Mwenekameme on the North western border with Tanzania and Zambia. Mwenekameme also borders TAs Mwenemwabulambya on the East whereCilambya is spoken and Mwenewenya in the South where Cinyika, a dialect of Cinyiha with influence from Ctumbuka, is spoken. Citumbuka is dominant in Mwenewenya and Nthalire in the South.

Some unofficial statistics given by some FGD participants at Kameme put the total population of Cinyiha speakers in Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia, at over ten million. The researchers suspected that this figure may be on the high side. The dialect of Cinyiha of Mwenewenya is reported to be heavily influenced by Citumbuka hence the –ka in its name Cinyika. The Tumbuka-Nyika influence is so huge that a dialect locally known as CitumbuNyika is found around at Chinsenga where speakers of these two languages are found. However, T/A Nthalire, is predominantly a Citumbuka-speaking area bordering Rumphi on the south.

The picture in Mwenemwabulambya is rather complex with so many languages/dialects spoken across the vast area. The large number of languages/dialects found in T/A Mwabulambya can be attributed to the hugeness of the area as well as its being in the centre of the district where it borders almost all traditional authorities except one (i.e.T.A. Nthalire). The T.A.s which border Mwenemwabulambya are: Mwenemisuku in the NorthEast, Wenya in the South, and Kameme in the West. Mwenemisuku is a predominantly Cindali and Cisukwa-speaking area with Cindali speakers being in the majority. As pointed out above, the two are dialects of one language and share many linguistic similarities. From the centre of Mwenemisuku stretching down the Songwe river into Karonga district, Cindali is the main language while on the southern border with T/A Mwenemwabulambya, Ciukwa, the other dialect, is dominant. Full details of the languages/dialects of Chitipa are shown in Table 1. in appendix 1.

2.2 Languages of Karonga

Results from this survey show that Karonga district has Citumbuka, Kyangonde, Cinkhonde, Nyakyusya, Cindali, Cisukwa, Cimambwe and Kiswahili as languages/varieties spoken there. The results also show that Kyangonde is the most dominant language in the district and it is mainly spoken in T/As Kilupula, Mwakawoko and Kyungu while Cinkhonde, a related dialect, is spoken in Mwirang'ombe, Kilupula, Kyungu and Karonga central areas. Citumbuka is spoken in all areas of T/As Wasambo and Mwirang'ombe and parts of Kilupula and Kyungu. There are also pockets of Kiswahili speakers in some areas of Karonga because of the border with Tanzania. There

are also speakers of Cindali, Cimabwe and Cisukwa especially in areas that border with Chitipa along the Misuku hills and Songwe valley.

One interesting finding is the relationship between Nyakyuska, Kyangonde and Chinkhonde. Nyakyuska, though spoken by very few people, mainly at Iponga in Sub T/ A Mwakawoko's area, is regarded as the parent language from which Kyangonde and Chinkhonde originated. Kyangonde, on the other hand, is regarded as the most prestigious and standard language/dialect of the district. Although Citumbuka is spoken by many people in the district, it is not regarded as one of the main languages of the district and preference goes to Kyangonde. Cinkhonde too, is not regarded as the main language/dialect because it is seen to be largely influenced by Citumbuka. As such, it is basically seen as a dialect of Kyangonde which has been heavily influenced by Citumbuka, an influence detested by many people who recognize Kyangonde as the language of Karonga. Because of these feelings,, deliberate efforts have been made to promote Kyangonde in various domains such as the media (national radio), religion (religious literature) etc. In addition, the district has the Kyangonde Language Association whose main objective is to promote the language. What is true, however, is that Citumbuka and Cinkhonde have large numbers of speakers and their influence is growing. Details of languages spoken in Karonga are shown in *Table 2* in Appendix 1.

2.3 Languages of Rumphi

According to the results of the survey, the languages/dialects found in Rumphi include Citumbuka, Chichewa, Ciyawo, Cilambya, Ciphoka, Cibemba and Cinyanja. The results also show that Citumbuka is the most dominant language spoken in almost every area of the district. The Citumbuka spoken in the district, however, has geographical names. For instance, Cihenga, largely spoken in the Henga valley and Ciphoka found in the Livingstonia escarpments are merely dialects of Citumbuka named according to the areas where they are spoken. Interestingly enough, the Citumbuka spoken along the lake is known as Cinyanja, literally meaning Citumbuka of the lake. This terminology may lead to a potential confusion between the name of this variety with that of the other totally different language, 'Cinyanja'.

Rumphi is a tobacco farming district and has large populations of migrant workers speaking languages also found in other districts of the country such as Ciyao, Chichewa and Cilambya. Full details of all languages spoken in the different areas of the district are shown in *Table 3* of appendix 1.

2.4 Languages of Mzimba

The language situation in Mzimba is rather interesting as the district is sometimes portrayed as Cingoni-speaking. In fact the 1998 National Statistics Census survey data shows Mzimba as a predominantly Cingoni-speaking district. However, results from the survey show that Cingoni is no longer a significant language of the district but that Citumbuka is now the most dominant language spoken by nearly all the people of the district. Many people including chiefs interviewed during the survey contend that Cingoni used to be an influential language of the district but the scenario changed due to intermarriages between Ngoni men and Tumbuka women with the latter having more influence on the first language of children born out of such marriages. Todate, Cingoni is only limited to a few senior chiefs and indunas. The only place where traits of Cingoni are found is at Chief Mpherembe's headquarters where the Chief and his indunas converse in the language. In an interview with Chief Mpherembe himself, he acknowledged the demise of the language in most parts of the district to the extent that deliberate efforts are being made to revive the Cingoni language and culture. Such efforts include the teaching of the language at the Mzuzu museum where materials being used are sourced from South Africa where Isizulu, a related dialect, is also spoken.

There are also pockets of Citonga speakers in areas bordering Mzimba with Nkhatabay district especially in the area of Chief Khonsolo Gwaza. *Table 4* in appendix 1 shows the languages spoken in Mzimba.

2.5 Languages of Nkhatabay

The results of the survey show that Nkhatabay has the following languages: Citonga, Citumbuka and Chichewa. Of the three, Citonga is the most common language and it is spoken in almost all the areas of the district. Citumbuka is spoken in areas along the lake bordering Rumphi in the north of the district especially in Mwausisya, Boghoyo, Mbwana (where the dialect is known as Cisisya), and in the west of Mzimba district. The Citonga spoken in these areas is largely influenced by Citumbuka especially in areas that border with Mzimba and Rumphi. Table 5 in appendix 1 shows the languages of Nkhatabay.

3.0 PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE AND CHOICE

The study also sought to establish patterns of language choice and use in the various districts of the northern region. Over all, the data indicates that language choice and use depends on various factors. They include: domain/place, knowledge of the language to be used, availability of literature, age group of the speakers, mobility of the speakers, population of speakers, and levels of language loyalty among other things.

The domain or place where a person is at a particular time determines the language to be used by a particular group of people or an individual. In almost all the speech communities, the respondents indicated that they use their own local languages at funeral ceremonies regardless of who is attending the ceremony. In Chitipa, the Cimambwe speech community consists of very few speakers. They are ashamed to speak their language in public because speakers of other languages laugh at them. They usually shift to a language of wider communication like Cilambya when they meet speakers of other languages. However, when it comes to funeral ceremonies, the language used is Cimambwe despite the fact that the majority of the population in their neighborhood does not understand the language. Another instance that shows such behaviour was revealed among the Kyangonde/Cinkhonde speech community. Kyungu is the term used for the Ngonde chieftainship. When the Kyungu passed away, being a senior Traditional Authority chief, his death attracted government officials as well people from various walks of life. A good number of them do not understand Kyangonde language. But the language that was used throughout the funeral ceremony was Kvangonde except for the few officials who could not speak Kyangonde. This also applies to the Cindali, Cisukwa, Cilambya and the rest of the speakers of various languages. In some parts of Cingoni speaking areas, you would still find Cingoni hymns being sung at funerals.

While Tanzanian traders stick to their Kiswahili language wherever they go even in Malawi and get away with it, it is not the case with Malawians when they cross the Tanzania/Malawi border. Various respondents from Chitipa and Karonga, which are the bordering districts, narrated that when they cross to Tanzania, they have to speak Kiswahili to disguise themselves as Tanzanians. Thye indicated that if they speak a Malawian language or English, commodity may prices go up and sometimes they even get harassed physically.

Perhaps this is why one respondent from the Education office predicts that in ten years to come Kiswahili will be the Lingua franca of Chitipa boma. A good number of respondents through out all the five districts visited indicated that they are not ashamed to speak their indigenous languages within their speech communities. However, when they move to urban areas such as Mzuzu, those who speak other languages, for example Citonga and Cinkhonde, shift to Citumbuka and to some extent Chichewa to disguise themselves. This is said to be very common among the youth. When they go to places like Lilongwe and Blantyre some speakers of various languages of the north are likely to shift to Chichewa.

At the hospital, police, and other work places the most common language used by the service deliverers is Citumbuka and Chichewa. At times other languages like Cilambya in

Chitipa, Citonga in Nkhata Bay, Kyangonde/Cinkhonde in Karonga may be used depending on whether the service deliverers themselves can speak the languages of their clients or not. While a language of a few family members or a few migrants or a minority group is spoken through out in private domains such as homes and where the speakers of the same language meet, in public places generally a language of wider communication is used for communication. For instance, most trading centers consist of multiple languages, with various traders and buyers bringing in their own languages. In Chitipa where several languages are similar, they either have to speak their own language or speak the language of the majority, which in most cases are Cilambya and Citumbuka. Those that can neither speak Citumbuka nor Cilambya simply have to stick to their own languages, e.g Kiswahili, Ciyawo, Chichewa and Cibemba.

In Rumphi and Mzimba, most minority languages e.g Ciyawo, Chichewa, Cilambya, and Cinkhonde are likely to be found at trading centers and in tobacco estates spoken by the estate tenants who are from the southern and central regions. Cingoni is usually spoken at home by a few elderly individuals in some areas of T.A. Mpherembe. In Karonga, the youth are proud to speak Cinkhonde at home, i.e., at the village, but are ashamed of it when they go to other places e.g. Blantyre, Mzuzu and Lilongwe. Some youths from Karonga claimed that they speak Chichewa away from home even when they leave home together because they are laughed at and mocked, being called *achinasibweni* (sibweni is a Tumbuka term for uncle).

In Chitipa, pupils and teachers predominantly use a local language of the area for learning and communicating on a daily basis. Citumbuka and Chichewa are very common in school environments in Nkhata Bay, Karonga and Chitipa districts especially in areas where Citumbuka is not commonly spoken. In secondary schools, according to some informants, girls prefer to use English and Chichewa to their own local languages unlike boys who may stick to their mother tongues. In standards 1-4, in most parts of the region, Citumbuka is actually used as a medium of instruction despite the fact that there are no teaching materials written in this language. Interestingly enough, this is against government policy which states that Chichewa should be the only medium of instruction all over the country. In order to avoid the wrath of the ministry, the teachers have rationalized this practice by claiming that they switch to Citumbuka in order to help the pupils who are not conversant with Chichewa.

Sometimes speakers of certain languages shift to other languages upon discovering that those languages are from their places of origin. For instance, in Karonga those from Chitipa meeting there shift to languages such as Cindali or Cisukwa to identify with each other. This was also reported to be the case among Citonga speakers when they meet in places like Mzuzu and other places. The speakers of Citumbuka are well known for the solidality element in language choice all over the country. Some respondents in Nkhata Bay confessed that sometimes they speak Citonga to sideline some members from the conversation especially when they know that their friends do not know Citonga.

Availability of literature and knowledge of the local language in question determines the languages to be used in the churches. In Chitipa, at the Church of Central Africa

Presbyterian (CCAP), the Bibles and hymn books are in Kyangonde/Cikhonde despite the fact that the congregation does not speak this language. Thus, the readings and singing are usually done in this language. However, preaching depends on the language of the preacher and not necessarily the congregation being ministered to. If the preacher knows Ciŵandya in such a speech community then the congregation should just be thankful. In Catholic Churches, all the literature is in Citumbuka although at times the congregation is allowed to sing some songs in the languages of Chitipa, Karonga or Nkhata Bay. Usually everything is done in Citumbuka except in few cases when the priest happens to be from Chitipa and knows some of the Chitipa languages.

In some Pentecostal churches, the local languages are sometimes used. For instance, the United Pentecostal churches at Kameme use Chinyiha and have some materials translated into Chinyiha. In other instances, the pastors use Chichewa arguing that being servants of God they may be posted to any place in Malawi so they need to practice preaching in the national language. In Mzimba, some pupils argued that they hate Citumbuka, their native language which they speak everyday, because it has no literature and its spelling is difficult. While a group of adults argued that sometimes they choose not to listen to the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation radios because they don't understand Chichewa and English, which are the dominant languages on this radio. They thus prefer Radio Cikaya, a Zambian radio station which uses Citumbuka. This also confirms the argument presented by men and women that they love using their native languages because they give them comfort in that they easily understand what is being said and are not afraid of making mistakes when speaking.

Age is another significant variable on the patterns of language choice and use among various speakers of the northern region. In all the districts, age emerged the major source of variation in language choice and use. While most elderly people displayed a degree of language loyalty to their own native languages, the youths preferred a "foreign language". For instance, at regional level, for some youths in non-Citumbuka speaking Chitipa and Nkhata Bay, they would rather be identified with Citumbuka rather than their own respective languages. The youth avoid Citonga because they do not want to be known as Tongas because Tongas are generally said to be lazy and do not build toilets/pit latrines. They use the lake instead. So the youth don't want to be laughed at.

Speaking Citumbuka also shows that one has at least traveled to urban places like Mzuzu where Citumbuka is dominant. At national level, almost all the youth in all the five districts that were visited said they would rather be identified with Chichewa than their own native languages. In general, the youth are ashamed to be identified with their own local languages away from their home environments. Sometimes they speak Chichewa to show off that they have been to other places way from the north. Others argue that they would rather speak Chichewa because a language like Citumbuka limits communication at national level. And others argue that if they speak Chichewa, they get used to it such that when they travel to the other regions of Malawi they will be able to confidently speak it.

In all the places that were visited, almost all older people said that they are very proud and comfortable to be identified with their own local languages. They are always comfortable speaking them wherever they go even outside Malawi as long as they have somebody to speak with. In Chitipa, Karonga, and Nkhata Bay, it is said that sometimes speakers of various languages converse while each uses their own language just because none of them wants to give up his own language by speaking that of his counterpart. The speakers are able to understand each other's language because they have lived side by side for some time. Even among the so called Cingoni speaking areas, its mainly elderly people that speak Cingoni. Most of the young men and women can hardly speak the language. These men and women argue that one can only be confident and comfortable when they are speaking their own language. Furthermore, language bears one's own culture, traditions and customs. Thus, if you don't speak your language you kill it and by that your own identity in culture and traditions is lost. So, they believe that by maintaining their respective local languages they are propagating their own cultural identity. They also believe that each and everyone must be proud of their own language as characterized by their unanimous response when asked if they are happy to be identified by their respective local languages. They all said they are proud, happy and comfortable simply because they are their languages, and if they are not proud of them, then what do they have to be proud of? Why should they prefer another person's language? Thus, the high degree of language loyalty also contributes to patterns of language choice and use among them.

4.0 ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE LOYALTY

Among the many objectives of the study, the survey also sought to find out peoples' attitudes towards the various languages spoken in the region in order to determine future tendencies in terms of language loyalty.

In general, respondents regarded their languages (i.e languages associated with their tribes) highly than others. In all the focus group discussions and key informant interviews that were conducted, people tended to choose their own first languages against any other language in terms of what languages they would prefer to use as the lingua franca for the district as well as in education. While in some districts, the choice of the lingua franca was based on the dominance of the language over other languages in the district, in some districts, the choice was made even when the speakers acknowledged that their language was not the commonly spoken language in the district. Such an attitude simply shows how people view their languages. Most of the speakers of the different languages indicated that language is a symbol of their identity and it embraces their culture. This is the language they come into contact with when they are born and it would be insane for them to promote another language other than their own as a lingua franca. They argued that one's culture can best be expressed and preserved through one's own language. The Nkhonde people of Karonga argued that it is not fair to designate one language for a region considering that there are other languages spoken in the northern region. They expressed concern that very often Citumbuka is viewed as a lingua franca for the northern region. They argued that much as the language is spoken by a large population in the region, there are speakers of other languages who do not speak nor understand the language and it would be unfair to ignore the minority voices. They too need to be given a chance to have their languages developed for their own socio-economic development.

Much as most of the respondents viewed their languages as the ones which should be given a chance to flourish just like the national language Chichewa, they also acknowledged that for the northern region Citumbuka is widely spoken. However, they argued that its promotion should not be to the detriment of other minority languages in the region. Other languages spoken in the region should also be given a chance to develop because they also play a vital role in the lives of those who use them.

5.0 Languages to be used in schools as media of instruction and as subjects

The survey also sought views from people on their choice of languages to be used as media of instruction in the early years of primary education. Findings show that in almost all the areas visited, people chose their mother tongue as the most appropriate language to be used in the districts' schools as a medium of instruction, claiming that it was the common language and the one which they understood well. Below is a table showing the languages chosen as media of instruction and subjects in different districts.

Table: Languages chosen as subjects and media of instruction by district.

District	Language to be used as Medium of instruction	Language to be taught as subject
Chitipa	Chilambya and Citumbuka (Nthalire and Wenya)	Chilambya and Citumbuka
Karonga	Kyangonde and Citumbuka (Mwirang'ombe and Wasambo)	Kyangonde and Citumbuka
Rumphi	Citumbuka	Citumbuka
Mzimba	Citumbuka	Citumbuka
Nkhatabay	Chitonga and Citumbuka (Sisya)	Chitonga and Citumbuka

The data in the above table shows that languages that predominant in each district are chosen as media of instruction and subjects. In Chitipa, Chilambya is the most dominant language in many of the areas while Citumbuka is dominant in Nthalire and Wenya. In Karonga, Kyangonde and Citumbuka are chosen as the languages to be used as medium of instruction and taught as subjects. In Karonga and Rumphi respondents chose Citumbuka because it is the main language. However, in Mzimba many respondents would have loved to have Chingoni taught in the schools as means of reviving it. Nkhatabay, which is a predominantly Tonga speaking district, chose Chitonga and Citumbuka as the languages to be used in schools. Citumbuka is particularly recommended for areas bordering Rumphi in the North in Usisya and areas bordering Mzimba in the west. What should be noted, however, is that although major languages were chosen to be used in schools in most districts speakers of minor languages preferred to use their languages because that is the language their children understand and as a way of promoting them.

6.0 Materials written in local languages

This study also sought to establish whether or not the respondents knew of any materials written in any of the languages spoken in the region. Of the 751 total respondents, 611 representing 81.4 % indicated that they had some knowledge of materials written in local languages. However, when pressed further to state some more information about these materials such as author, publisher, date of publication and year of publication, many respondents could not remember such information. In view of this, it is obviously necessary that a follow up study should be undertaken to verify and establish the existence and whereabouts of these materials. A summary of materials and local languages in which they are written is shown in table .. in appendix 2

Results however show that Citumbuka has a lot of written materials. Apart from that, these results also reveal the fact that most of the languages in the Northern Region such as Chilambiya, Chindali, Kyangonde/Chinkhonde, Chitonga and others have a number of

written materials. What this means is that if these languages were to be developed or standardised there will be somewhere to start from. What would be required is simply to harmonise the writing system of each language so as to come up with standard orthographies. In view of these findings, if a position was taken to use these languages as media of instruction in schools then it would be recommended that:

- Orthography rules for each language be properly developed and standardised based on the writing systems already in place
- For languages that have materials that are educational in nature, such materials should be carefully evaluated and be adapted for use in schools since some of the materials have:
 - ✓ Moral lessons
 - ✓ Cultural values that can not be obtained from Chichewa oral and written traditions
- The implementation of a policy on familiar language of instruction should be done in phases starting with languages that already have quite a handful of written materials.

7.0 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to determine the number of languages spoken in the northern region, where they are spoken and number of speakers of these languages. The study has identified fifteen languages spoken in the northern region of Malawi with Citumuka as the main language spoken in at least each of the districts of the region. The study has also identified dialects for some languages spoken in the region. For example, Citumbuka has Phoka and Henga as its dialects while Nyiha has Nyika as a dialect. The most dominant language of Chitipa is Chilambya with other languages such as Citumbuka, Nyiha/Nyika, Ndali/Sukwa, Chinamwanga, Chimambwe, Chichewa, Chibemba and other minor languages/dialects. In Karonga, the most dominant and prestigious language is Kyangonde with Nyakyusa and Chinkhonde as dialects. Chitonga is the most dominant language in Nkhatabay where Citumbuka is also spoken in some parts. Rumphi is predominantly Citumbuka speaking district. Mzimba, previously, a Ngoni speaking district is now predominantly a Citumbuka speaking district with very little population of Ngoni speakers. The Mzimba Tumbuka, however, is heavily influenced by Ngoni.

The study also sought to find people's views in regards to the language(s) to be used as media of instruction and taught as subjects in lower classes of primary schooling. The popular choice of language to be used in schools was the most dominant language in the area/district. The situation is more complex in Chitipa which has at least one dominant language in every Traditional Authority and people their own languages. In the other districts where only one language was dominant, it was preferred to be used in schools other than languages that have minority speakers.

There is also a high degree of loyalty to people's own languages. These are the languages people use in their everyday endevours and therefore act as their cultural identity. The use of foreign languages among the locals in public domains is often resented as it creates communication barriers and it is seen as an infringement on their right to use the language of their heritage.

8.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

Basing on these findings, the following recommendations are, therefore made:

- Similar studies should be done in the other regions of the country as soon as possible.
- Due to the complexity of the language situation in Chitipa, a thorough survey to ascertain the number of languages and dialects, boundaries, population of speakers for each language should be conducted.
- A detailed national household survey should be conducted to determine number speakers for each language/dialect. Such a survey can be done jointly with the National Statistics Office during the 2008 Population and Housing Census.
- Standardization of the major languages in the north such as Chilambya, Chitonga
 and Kyangonde should be done to facilitate the production of teaching and
 learning materials to be used in schools when the language in education policy is
 implemented.
- The Ministry of Education should approve the draft Language in Education Policy so that it can be implemented. There is strong support among the people from the region.
- Adequate funding should be provided for similar studies to ensure smooth operation of all planned activities.

Appendix 1: Tables showing languages and areas they are spoken in Northern Malawi

Table 1. Languages of Chitipa

Chichewa

T/A	Areas Spoken		
Mwabulambya	Chitipa Boma		

Chiwandya

T/A	Areas Spoken			
Mwabulambya	Ibandia	Lufita	Ntcherenje	Chitipa Boma
	Meru	Zambwe	Kapoka	Tondola
	Chendo	Masyesye	Kanyenjere	Mwengamwa
	Mozesi			

Chilambya

T/A	Areas Spoken			
Mwabulambya	Chinunkha	Lufita	Ibanda	Chitipa Boma
	Kanyenjere	Upiwu	Mbirima	Nkhangwa
	Kasisi	Kafola	Ifumbo	Zingalupiri
	Samphara	Chizimu	Chisankwa	Nakatowo
	Mbula	Ngoya	Mapogolo	Namandiata
	Kwankhonje			
Kameme	Mweneng'ambi	Navitete		
Mwenemisuku	Kapoka	Kasitu	Chisitu	Malamula
Mwenewenya	Iwuluma			

Chibemba

T/A	Areas spoken			
Mwabulambya	Namuyembe	Katutula	Lufita	Mwenefufya
	Muwanga	Chitipa Boma		
Mwenewenya	Kakasu	Bugulira	Kabanje	

Chinamwanga

Cilillatiiwanga				
T/A	Areas Spoken			
Mwabulambya	Nkono	Katutula	Chitipa Boma	Fonkha
	Namuyemba	Mwenefufya	Muchinga	
Kameme	Kapere	Chiwanga	Ziwaziwa	James Kameme
	Muyombe	Kekani Dangali	Zamamba 1&2	

Chisukwa

T/A	Areas Spoken			
Mwabulambya	Lufita	Ntcherenje	Chitipa Boma	Masyesye
	Itongo	Muchinga	Naching'anda	Chiwula
	Itela	Chipwela	Namuwoma	Chisosa
	Chula			
Mwenewenya	Chisafu	Chiwula	Kasaghala	Chwanda
	Chipwela	Bukagha	Mughama	Kasitu
	Chata	Kaleghe		
Mwenemisuku	Chisasu	Kalenge	Chiwula	Kasaghala
	Chipwela	Chiwanda	Kapeka	Chatu
	Bukanga			

Citumbuka

T/A	Areas spoken			
Mwabulambya	Chitipa Boma	Wenya	Chisenga	Lufita
Nthalire	All areas			
Mwenewenya	Chisenga	Malawi	Kavukuku	Wenya
	Mpale			

Chindali

T/A	Areas spoken			
Mwabulambya	Njerengwa	Muswero	Ichinga	Upiwu
	Zingalupiri	Msyembere	Nakotowa	Lwakwa
	Irindi	Muswero	Upiwu	Mwakalamba
	Nakasale	Chinunkha	Nasato	Kapenda
	Misuku T.C.	Muchinga	Chanya	Mwamukumbwa
	Kasabwe	Itongo	Zungwala	
Kameme	Titi	Mukoma	Nkhangwa	Ipenza
	Chayalawe			
Mwenewenya	Chuwa	Ighughu	Iponjola	Chanya
	Makeye	Kasumbi	Nakapanjipa	Itete
	Njebete	Chiwongo	Itulo	Chuwughi
	Chobwe			
Mwenimisuku	Itulo	Mufyomi	Iponjola	Chanya
	Chuba	Chinongo	Katowo	Kasumbi
	Chilashi			

Chiweta

T/A	Areas spoken			
Mwenewenya	Chiwongo	Ngali	Mughona	Itula
	Mutogha			
Mwenemisuku	Chinongo	Mughona		

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Chiswahili

T/A	Areas Spoken		
Mwabulambya	Chitipa Boma	Along Songwe River	

Chimambwe

T/A	Areas spoken			
Mwabulambya	Lwakwa	Katutula	Chitipa boma	Mwenefufya
	Siyombwe	Namuyemba	Sanjemuleke	Ishalikira
	Lufita	Namasasa	Chipunga	Wenera
	Iyera			

Chinyih(k)a

Cilliyii(K)a				
T/A	Areas Spoken			
Kameme	Ipuza	Ipenza	Kenya	Kameme
				(whole T/A)
Mwabulambya	Jumbe	Zingalupiri	Kapenda	Mangochi
	Lwakwa	Budonda	Ichinga	Iyera
	Sere	Soperera	Mwamukumbwa	Kasisi
	Nkhwangwa	Titi	Chisenga	Kameme
Mwenewenya	Mulembe	Kailiza	Lutete	Chindamba
	Karomolo	Chilambo		

Table 2. Languages of Karonga

Citumbuka

Citambana				
T/A	Areas Spoken			
Mwilang'ombe	All areas except			
	Bundi and			
	Gumi			
Wasambo	All areas			
Kyungu	Malungo	Lwasho	Sadala	Mwanjawala
	Mwenelondo	Chazale	Gumi	Njalayamoto
	Ngosi			
Kilipula	Kaundi	Pusi	Kibwe	Kashata

Chilambya

T/A	Areas Spoken		
Mwilang'ombe	Bundi		

Chinkhonde

T/A	Areas Spoken			
Mwilang'ombe	Gumi			
Kyungu	Karonga Boma	Mlare	Mpata	Mwenilondo
	Chiondo	Lughali	Lupembe	Gumi
	Nembera	Kadibwe		
Kilipula	Mwaulambo	Ngerenge	Mwaitete	Mwakawoko

Chinyakyusa

T/A	Areas spoken			
Kyungu	Karonga Boma			
Mwakawoko	Iponga	Lwamayolo	Mwakamogho	Mwenipela
	Kafewe			

Chindali

T/A	Areas spoken			
Kyungu	Mbwiri	Mwanyando	Mwenenguwo	
Kilipula	Mwangilera	Mwipimeghe	Jobu	Shem
Mwakawoko	Ngana	Ngolokolo	Kakamoghe	Msondolo
	Mwanjawala	Mwandambo		

Chiswahili

T/A	Areas spoken			
Kyungu	Karonga Boma	Sadala	Mwanjawala	

Chisukwa

T/A	Areas spoken			
Kyungu	Wiliro	Mwenechilanga		
Kilipula	Mwangilera	Mwipimeghe	Jobu	Shem

Chimambwe

T/A	Areas spoken			
Kyungu	Kasisi	Mwakasungula	Ipyana	Mwangalaba
	Sadala	Kasowa	Mambwe	

Kyangonde

T/A	Areas spoken			
Kyungu	Mwanjawala	Malema	Kasowa	Mpata
Mwakawoko	Mwakamogho	Lisayolo	Iponga	

Table 3. Rumphi Languageas

Citumbuka

			Citambaka				
Areas spoken							
Fwila							
All areas							
Bwati	Bongololo	Chilongozi	Kazamawe				
Kamphenda	Chakoma	Jumbi	Nkhozo				
Mwazisi	Cheyeka						
All areas							
Tchalo	Chitimba	Luwuche	Mlawe				
All areas							
All areas							
	Fwila All areas Bwati Kamphenda Mwazisi All areas Tchalo All areas	Fwila All areas Bwati Bongololo Kamphenda Chakoma Mwazisi Cheyeka All areas Tchalo Chitimba All areas	Fwila All areas Bwati Bongololo Chilongozi Kamphenda Chakoma Jumbi Mwazisi Cheyeka All areas Tchalo Chitimba Luwuche All areas				

^{*} Citumbuka is a district language.

Chibemba

T/A	Areas spoken			
Katumbi	Katowo	Thanira	Kaduku	Kanyenjere

Chilambya

T/A	Areas spoken			
Katumbi	Katowo	Thanira	Mikule	

Chichewa

T/A	Areas spoken		
Katumbi	Hewe	Bolero Trading	
		Centre.	

Chiphoka

T/A	Areas spoken			
	Chikaka			

Chiyawo

T/A	Areas spoken		
Katumbi	Katowo	Kanyenjere	

Chinyanja

T/A	Areas spoken		
Katumbi	Katowo		

Note: In T/A Mwaluweni they speak Citumbuka mixed with Chiphoka(a Tumbuka dialect).

Table 4. Mzimba Languages

Citumbuka

T/A	Areas Spoken			
Kampingo	All areas			
Sibande				
Jaravikuwa	All areas			
Mabulabo	Kamangwana	Anock	Kademo	Mqamashi
	_	Nyangulu	Nyangulu	_
	Pitala Nyangulu			
M'Mbelwa	All areas			
Mtwalo	All areas			
Chindi	All areas			
Mpherembe	Machisanu	Chikoma	Kazuni	Yereya
_	Mkandawire	Mkandawire		Kumwenda
	Kambongwe	Lameck	Thembani	Nyanjaya Botha
	Nyirenda	Kumwenda	Mkandawire	
	Kamlamba	Kambombo	Makwawa	Chipoma
	Kumwenda	Nyirenda		Mkandawire
	Matala	Kamlamba	Genesis Mzima	Ekwereni
Khosolo	All areas			
Gwaza				
Mzukubola	All areas			

Chingoni

T/A	Areas Spoken			
Mpherembe	Mpherembe	Magido	Malidabe Hlompeni	Ndhlovu
	Enikwereni	Matloveni	Kuwani Kazungula	Chosipeni
	Lungeni	Chigagu Chinyama	Tchibula	Mazyopa
	Mahuza	Mwamba	Zimame	Aron Jere
	Zgawera	Manzia Jere		
Mzukubola	Esigozgeni			
Kampingo	Around			
Sibande	Kampingo			
	Sibande area only			
Mabulabo	Mabulabo Headquarters	Phazi	Daniel Jere	Emazwini
	Ntchawaka			
No T/A	Tchesamu	Ehlonipeni	Skekiskeni	Elunyeni
	Hlonipeni			

Mtwalo	Emanyaleni	Ezondweni	
Chindi	Mhinga	Magido	
	Tchongwe	Mazgopa	

Chitonga

Cintoligu				
T/A	Areas Spoken			
	Lukhwawa(Nkhatabay			
	Border)			
Mabulabo	Phembe	Malaswa	Shaba	Khosolo
Malenganzoma	All areas			
Mkumbira	All areas			
Khosolo	Kabua	Kapita	Chizani	
Gwaza		_		

Chichewa

Ginetic () a				
T/A	Areas spoken			
Mabulabo	Kanjala	Kanyika	Kanjuchi	Mgoza
	Chasefu	Madoza		
Khosolo	Lupashi	Kanjuchi	Mugoza	Mulozi
Gwaza				

Table 5. Nkhatabay Languages

Chitonga

T/A	Areas Spoken			
Mankhambira	All areas			
Timbiri	All areas			
Malanda	All areas			
Kabunduli	All areas			
Zilakoma	All areas			
Fukamalazi	Mudyaka	Musuli	Mkaka	Kunkholi
	Muloli	Chihami	Chimbowi	Kaulambwi
	Maula			

Citumbuka

T/A	Areas Spoken			
	In T/A	Boghoyo	Nyaluwanga	Mkondowe
	Mwasisya			
Timbiri	Chakanda	Chilundwi	Mpamba Trading Centre.	
Bwana	All areas			
Kabunduli	Mzimba border	Sandalasoni Jere	Kasiyapu	Chidofu

Chapongolera	Chindoru	Kajiliwe	Katumbumbi
Luwara	Tcholamo	Chithoka	

Chinkhonde

T/A	Areas Spoken		
	Lwambaza	Matete	

Chichewa

T/A	Areas Spoken				
	Mpamba	At	Chief		
	Trading Centre	Abanda			
Kabunduli	Kavuti Estate	Chingalo	mbo	Kawalazi	Mzinga

Appendix 2: MATERIALS WRITTEN IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES

Table 1: Materials Written in Citumbuka

No	Title	Author	Years	Publisher
1	Bible	Bible Society of	1981	Bible society of
		Malawi		Malawi
2	Bible	Bible Translators	1981	Bible Society
				of Malawi
3	Bible	Not Stated	1996	Bible Society
				of Malawi
4	Bible		1980	United Bible
				Society
5	Cipulikano ca Malango	Not Stated	1989	United Nations
	gha Mwana			Children Fund
6	Midauko	P.A.Munthali	2001	Not sated
7	Hymn (Sumu za	Not stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Uchindami)			
8	Mzuzu Coffee Leaflet	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
9	John Chilembwe	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
10	Vidokoni	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
11	Kathyali Psipsiti	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
12	Riddles book	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
13	Health materials	Not Stated	2004	National Aids
				Commission
14	Health Material	Ministry of Health	Not Stated	National Aids
				Commission
15	Agricultural Material	Not Stated	2005	Ministry of
				Agriculture
16	Educational Material	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
17	Adult Literacy Material	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
18	History material	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
19	Sikusinja na Gwenembe	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
20	Religious Material	Watch Tower	Not Stated	Watch Tower
		Society		Society
21	Kaluso Kakukolelera	Carer	Not Stated	Carer
	Wamama na Wana			
22	Religious Material	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
23	Aids Posters	National Aids	Not Stated	National Aids
		Commission		Commission
24	Malawi Laws	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
25	Malawi Constitution	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
26	Chiswamsangu	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
27	Nkhamanga Kingdom	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated

28	Makani gha wangoni	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
29	Pakachere	Population Services	Not Stated	Population
		Int.		services Int.
30	Makani na Vidokoni	Khondowe Mission	Not Stated	Livingstonia
				Press
31	Wasepuka na	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Wasungwana			
32	Makani na Maluso mu	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Citumbuka			
33	Vyaro na Vyaro	Not Stated	Not Stated	Livingstonia
				Press
34	Mahara gha wana	A.C.Mkandawire	Not Stated	Not Stated
35	Chakufwa Mwana wane	A.C.Mkandawire	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Charo Ntchinonono			
36	Mahela gha wana	Kayira	Not Stated	Not Stated
37	Charo Ntchinonono	Chiume	Not Stated	Not Stated
38	Vinthanguni	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
39	Adbulla	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
40	Baka Likwenda pa Maji	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Tubana tukulondezga			
41	Makulilo gha Mahala	A.C.Mkandawire	Not Stated	Not Stated
42	HIV/Aids na Wovwiri	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
43	Agricultural material	Tobacco Control	Not Stated	Not Stated
		Commission		
44	Wanangwa Wakubabika	Malawi Carer	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Nawo			
45	Pyoka Watimba Njoka	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
46	Chenje Na Nyerere	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
47	Guze Mnyamata wa	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Mahara			
48	Paprika Farming	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
49	Forest Reserve Instructions	Forestry	Not Stated	Not Stated
		Department		
50	Election Material	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
51	Security Posters	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
52	Ulimi wa Nosa	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
53	Titukulane (Agric. Book)	NASFAM	Not Stated	Not Stated
54	Umoyo Uwemi Wapabanja	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
55	Kagawaniro ka Chuma cha Wana Wamasiye	Malawi Carer	Not Stated	Not Stated
56	Msika wa Vyawaka	D.D. Phiri	Not Stated	Not Stated
57	Vinthanguni Vya	A.Mkandawire	Not Stated	Not Stated
	m'Citumbuka			
58	Nkhani za Pa Chipoka	A. Mkandawire	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Wawoli			

59	Ulendo Wa Mu Khristu	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
60	Chakufwa	Kanyama Chiume	Not Stated	Not Stated
61	Makani gha David	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
	Livingstone			
62	Tilime	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
63	Katena	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated

Table 2: Materials Written in Chilambya

No	Title	Auther	Year	Publisher
1	Bible	Rev Sikwese	Not Stated	Not Stated
2	The Origins of Lambya	Mutalama Nyondo	Not Stated	Not Stated
3	Borehole Tips	Shallow Wells	2001	Not Stated
4	Health Material	Henderson Nyondo	1990	Chiume
5	Religious Material	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
6	Agricultural Material	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
7	Election Material	Not Stated	Not Stated	Not Stated
8	Umoyo wa Mundu	Nyondo	Not Stated	Not Stated

Table 3. Materials Written in Chindali

Ti	tle	Author	Year	Publisher
1.	Bible	Peruni	Not stated	Catholics
2.	Calender	SIL International	2003	Themba & Irrigation
3.	Bible	Bible Society of Malawi	Not stated	Not stated
4.	Hymn	Peruni	Not stated	Not stated
5.	Agricultural materials	Not stated	Not stated	Kalua
6.	Religious material	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
7.	Election material	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
8.	Catholic prayers	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
9.	Coffee leaflets	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated

Table 4. Material Written in Chitonga

Title	Author	Year	Publisher
1. Bible	Not stated	Not stated	Bible Society of
			Malawi
2. Riddles book	Phillimon K.	Not stated	Not stated

	Chirwa		
3. Hymn	Livingstonia Synod	1991	Not stated
o. Hymm	of the CCAP	1331	1 vot stated
4. Religious	or the Gorn		
material	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
5. Nthanu za	TVOL Stated	Not stated	Not stated
	Phillimon K.	INOL Stated	Not stated
Chitonga	Chirwa		
C Mahamu	Phillimon K.	Not stated	Not stated
6. Mchapu		Not stated	Not stated
7 (1)	Chirwa	NT 1	NT 1
7. Chiswamsangu	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
8. Chibaka	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
Chitenda pa			
Maji Twana			
Tilonde Muvuli			
			-
9. Umoyo wa	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
Mwana Zithole			
10. Mariko	Phillimon K.	Not stated	Not stated
	Chirwa		
11. Human rights		Not stated	Not stated
leaflets	Cilic		
12. HIV/AIDS	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
tracks			
13. Yehovas	Not stated		Not stated
witness books			
14.	K.F. Chirwa	2000	CLAIM
Kanthinikanthini			
15. Nthanthi	Dr. Mphande	1986	United Bible Society
			of Malawi
16. Bible (Mazu	United Bible		
Ghaku Chiuta	Society of Malawi		
17. Election	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
materials	1 vot stated	110t Stated	110t stated
18. Ndondomeko	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	1 Not stated	TVOI Stated	Trot stated
ya vya malo			
19. Posters on	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
health	ו זיטו אומוכע	ווטו אומופע	ויטו אמוכע
	Life Ministries	Not stated	Not stated
20. Jesus Christ	Life Millistries	Not stated	INOU Stated
Film	Mala ala Cl	NI-4 - 1 - 3	N-t-t-t-d
21. Zeru	Makachi Chirwa	Not stated	Not stated
Newspaper			37 1
22. Mutima wa		Not stated	Not stated
Munthu Ndi			
Tempile Wa Ku			
Chiuta			

Table 5. Materials Written in Chingoni

Title	Author	Year	Publisher
1. Bible	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
2. Hymn	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
3. Midauko	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
4. Nhnenyane	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
5. Ingoma Yabobaba	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated

Table 6. Materials Written in Chinamwanga, Chinyakyusa, Chisukwa, Chinyika/chinyiha and Kyangonde/Chinkhonde

Language	Title	Author	Year	Publisher
Chinamwanga	1. Bible	Not stated	2005	Watch Tower
	2.Isontelo lya Ndiwim	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	3. Bible (Tesitimenti Ilipya)	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
			2.7	1
Chinyakyusa	Hymn	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
Chisukwa	1. Hymn	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	2. Religious tracks	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
Chinyika	1. Bible	Bible Society of Malawi	Not stated	Not stated
	2. Hymn	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	3. Sunjila Shinyiwa	Not stated	Not stated	All the Nation publishers Pretoria (RSA)
	4. Election posters	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
Kyangonde/Chinkhonde	1 Bible	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	2 Hymn	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	3 Ikikolo			
	Ikisunguliwa	Mwekasungula	1941	Not stated
	4 Indumbula ya			
	munthu	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	5. Election materials	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	6. Utupango nu tulafyi	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated

	7 Mwalafyale	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	8. Kumyitu	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	9. Ubuhesha Twa	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	Mkhristu			
Chinyiha	1 Bible	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	(Testamenti			
	Umupwa)			
	2 Hymn	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	3 Ukolwe	Lackson	1966	All African
	umwalangani	Sinkuwe		Publishers
	4 Uteti	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	5 Sunjila Shinyiwa	Rev. R.B,	Not stated	Not stated
		Sibale		
	6. Amasebo Gabili	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	7. Election	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	materials			
	8. Family planning	Not stated	Not stated	Not stated
	posters			
	9. Umudimi	Simkoko	Not stated	Not stated

Appendix 3: Maps (Maps of Northern Malawi, Chitipa, Karonga, Rumphi, Mzimba and Nkhatabay

Appendix 4 Questionnaire and Vocabulary List

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LANGUAGE MAPPING SURVEY FOR NORTHERN MALAWI

Name of Researcher		Date		
Studies, University of A for the Northern regio stakeholders in planni information you will g	ne is	onducting a ll collect will lifferent area or purposes o	language mapp I help governmens Is of the region. Of this research	ing exercise ent and other The and your
In this section I will as (a) Village	UT THE RESPONDENS Sk you questions about you	our backgrou	nd>	_
(e) Age: 15 - 20	21 - 3	0	31 –40	
41 - 50 (f) Marital Status:	(a). single (b). married (c). widow (d). divorced	e		
(g) Occupation (h) Educational Qu	(e). separated lalification: Never went to school Adult literacy Below Standard 8 Standard 8 (P.S.L.C) J.C.E M.S.C.E Tertiary Diploma 1st Degree and above			

(B) GENERAL QUESTIONS

In this section I will ask you questions about languages spoken in this district

1.	List down the languages that are spoken in the district:
2.	Which of these are the major languages?
 3. It	is said that most languages in the district are similar and that speakers of these languages can understand each other when they are speaking in their respective languages. Is this true? Yes No
	If No, skip Q 4 go to Q5.
4.(a)	If yes, which are the languages?
4.(b) V	Which of these are more closely related than others?
	Questions on Education
5. (a)	When you consider all the major languages spoken in the district, which one(s) would you recommend for use as medium of instruction in standards 1 - 4?
(t	o)Why?

			ne major languages to be taught as a s	s spoken in the	district, which
	(b)Why? _				
			als e.g. books, electes that are spoken	ction materials, posin the district?	sters, that are
8.	If yes, nar	ne the materials ac	ccording to the deta	ails given below:	
Title o		Name of	Publisher	Year of	Language used
Mater	rıal	Author		Publication	
	TION C s section I	will ask you quest	tions about your l	anguage.	
9.	What is y	our first language?			
10.	In which a	areas is this langua	ge commonly spol	ken?	
11.	Which oth a	ner language(s) do	you speak fluentlybdf.	?	
12.	(a). Has y	our first language	been influenced by	other languages?	
		Yes	No	If No, skip go	to Q14.

	what ways? 		
-	ır language spoken d Yes	lifferently in other are	eas of the district? No, skip go to Q16.
If ye	s, what are the differ phonology (pron		
	morphology (wo	·	
	Lexicon (vocabu	ılary)	
	syntax (gramma	ır)	
In wh	syntax (gramma lich areas is the langu	ır) uage spoken differentl	ly?
In wh		uage spoken different	ly? Name of variet
a	l nich areas is the lang	uage spoken different	
a b c	l nich areas is the lang	uage spoken different	
a b c	l nich areas is the lang	uage spoken different	
a b c	l nich areas is the lang	uage spoken different	
a b c d e f	l nich areas is the lang	uage spoken different	
a b c d e f	l nich areas is the lang	uage spoken different	
a b c d e f g h i j	l nich areas is the lang	uage spoken different	
a b c d e f g h	l nich areas is the lang	uage spoken different	
a b c d e f g h i j k	Area where spoke	uage spoken different	Name of variet

SECTION D

I will now ask you questions about your attitude towards languages

b. Why?			
Of the langua	ges spoken in this d	listrict which langua	ge is most prestigious
(a) A nart from	Chichewa and Eng	glish would you be h	appy if your language
taught in scho	_		
taught in scho	_	No	
taught in scho	ools? Yes	No	
taught in scho	ools? Yes		

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE TEST

21. Read one of the stories below in the language that he/she understands (refer to respondent's answer to Q9) and ask him/her to explain briefly what the story is all about:

KALULU NA FULU (citumbuka)

Fulu wakaluta kukapemphiska vyakulya ku ŵanthu. Pakuyeya thumba lake wakacita kukaka ku cingwe citali na kuvwara mu singo, ndipo pakwenda thumba lake likizanga kunyuma kwakhe.

Wali mu nthowa, kalulu wakiza kunyuma kwakhe ndipo wakati "bowo, thumba lane!" Fulu wakati, 'thumba ndane iwe, wona cingwe ici ndakaka sono nkhuguza pakwenda." Kalulu wakakana nipera, ndipo wakati "Tilute ku Mphala yikateruzge." Mphala yikadumula mlandu na kuceketa cingwe ico Fulu wakakakira thumba. Ŵakatola thumba lira ndipo ŵakapa kalulu.

Pa zuŵa linyakhe Kalulu wakendanga, Fulu wakamsanga ndipo wakati, "Bowo, mcira wane!" Kalulu wakati, "Ake! Fulu iwe m'cira ngwane." Fulu wakakana, ndipo wakati, "Ndasola ngwane." Ŵakaluta ku mphala, kuti yikaŵeruzge." Ku Mphala kula mlandu ukatowera Fulu. Ŵakadumula m'cira wa Kalulu nakupa Fulu.

UKALULU NUFULU (chiŵandya)

Mukaya mukaŵa inzala. Po Ufulu akaya pakupempha ivyakulya ku ŵanthu. Nanthi bamupa ivyakulya vila akapotwanga panyamula chifukwa cha wufupi. Po paichi akapinyilira isaka kulukusa lolutali, poulukusa lulanyene akivwalika musingo. Nanthi anda pakwenda isaka lira likamukonkhezganga mwisinda.

Ŵoachili akwenda munzila akubwera kunyumba kwache, ukalulu akizanga mwisinda nukunena ukuti, "nelombo, naseŵa isaka lyane!" Ufulu akati weyawe isaka lino lyane, lolera ulukusa luno lonkhungilireko ukuti nanthi pala nkhwenda, guzenge isaka." Lori umwene ukalulu akakana, po fwandi za tubuke kwa mwene aye atulonzanye. Ukalulu lyo anena wunonyene ŵakaya kwa mwene. Ilifumu likadumula ukuti ŵachekete ulukusa lo ufulu akavwalika munsingo nusenda isaka lira ukumupa ukalulu.

Isiku limo ukalulu akendanga, ufulu akiza amwagha po akati "nelombo' naseŵa .., umusinda wane!" Ukalulu akati "Asa! wefulu umusinda wane!" Ufulu akakana po akati "Nalombola wane." Po ŵovyaŵa wunonyene ŵakapangana ukuti ŵaye kwa mwene aye aŵalonzanye. Kwa mwene kula inongwa yikamuyembera Ufulu. Ilifumu likadumula ukuti ŵachekete umusinda wa Kalulu ŵamupe Ufulu.

UKALULU NU UKAYAMBA (cindali)

Mukaya mukaŵa Isala. Po kayamba akaya pakusuma ifyakulya kuŵandu. Linga ŵamupa ifyakulya fila akapotwanga pakunyamula nongwa ya wupimba. Po akapinyililagha inyambi kulughoye ulutali po ulughoye lula akifwikagha mushingo. Linga anda pakwenda Inyambi yila yikamukongagha munyuma.

Wo akali akwenda mushila akubwela kunyumba yake, ukalulu akisa munyumba nukuyugha ukuti "Nelombo, nasewa inyambi yangu!" Ukayamba akati, uwese inyambi iyi yangu, keta ulughoye ulu longugilireko ukuti Linga ngwenda ingusaghe inyambi." Lole umwene Ukalulu atakitika akayugha ukuti, "potuye kwa malafyale aye atulonganye" Ukalulu wo ayugha wuwu wakaya kwa malafyale. Umalafyale akalamula ukuti waweghe ulughoye lo Ukayamba akafwala mushingo weghe Inyambi yira wamupe Ukalulu.

Ishiku limo Ukalulu akendagha, ukayamba akisa amwagha po akati, "Nelombo, nalombola umushinda, wangu", Ukalulu akati, "Asa! We kayamba umusinda wangu!" ukayamba akashita po akayugha ukuti "Nalombola wangu". Ŵofyaŵa ŵuŵo ŵakapulikana ukuti ŵaye kwa malafyale aye aŵalosaniye. Kwa malafyale kula inongwa yikamunoghera ukayamba. Malafyale akatumula ukuti ŵaŵeghe umusinda wa kalulu ŵamupe ukayamba.

UHALULU NU MUKOKWA (Chinyika)

Umukokwa ahawala pakulawa ivyikulya. Pakunyamula isaka lyakwe ahalipinya nulukusa ulutali nukuzwala munsingo yakwe sona pakujenda isaka lyakwe lihinzaga kunsizi.

Iye ali munzila, uhalulu ahinza kunsizi yakwe nukuti" Nasewa, isaka lyane! "Umukokwa anati; weya isaka lyane wenye ulukusa iwe mpinyile sona nkunyuntha pakujenda." Uhalulu ananile sona anati"Tuwale kwe wakulonga amalandu wawale watulonje. Wewakulonga amalandu wadumuye umulandu pakuwola ulukusa iwe umukokwa ahapinyila isaka. Wahasenda isaka lira nukumupa uhalulu. Isiku ilinji uhalulu ahajendanga, umukokwa amwazile pe anati, Nalombola, Umusinda wane!" Uhalulu ahati, "weya! We mukokwa umusinda wane," Umukokokwa ahahana, sona ahati, "Nasewa wane." Wahawala kwe wakulonyesya amalandu umulandu wamujendeye ishete umukokwa wahadumula ulusi

KALULU NA FULU (Chimambwe)

Fulu wayile kuyanthu pakulenga ivyakulya. Pakunyamula itumba lyakwe wamanzilenichingweichitali nukuzwala munsingo yakwe pakupita itumba iyakwe iyizanga kumasinda.

Yali munzila, Kalulu wizanga kunyuma kwakwe watili "nalombola ithumba lyane" Fulu watili ithumba ilyane we, lola ichingwe chino nanyepa nomba nkhukwema pakupita. Kalulu wakanile, swinya watili," tupite kumilandu tukaweluzye" uwakuzenga umulandu wadumwile nukucheketa ichingwe chino fulu wamanzile kuthumba. Wasenzile ithumba

nukumupa Kalulu. Uwanda wuze wuno Kalulu wapitanga, Fulu wamuzanile watili, "Nalombola muchila wane!" Kalulu watili, ake! Fulu we umuchila wane" Fulu wakanile, watili, "nasola uwane". Wapisile kuwakuzenga umulandu, ukuti wakaweluzye". Ukwakuweluzya umulandu, Fulu wamuzipile. Yadumwile umuchila we Kalulu nukumupa Fulu.

UKALULU NU FULU (Lambia)

Mukaya mukaŵa izala. Po Ufulu akaya pakulaŵa ivyakulya ku ŵanthu. Nanthi ŵamupa ivyakulya vila akapotwagha ukuyamula chifukwa chakuti mupimpha. Chifukwa chinicho akapinyilira isaka kulukusa ulutali leka, lo akivwalika munsingo. Nanthi anda pakwenda isaka lira likamukonkhe zyanga munyumwa mwache.

Woachili akwenda ukuya ku nyumba kwache, Ukalulu akiza munyuma. Aka ti alyenya isaka lira akanena ukuti: "Nalombola isaka, lyane!" Ufulu akiza ati we Kalulu isaka linilo lyane enia ulukusa ulu imphinyiliye musingo ukuti ponkwenda ingusaghe. Ukalulu akiza akana akati: "Pofwandi tuwuke kwa mwene aye atulonganie". Ukalulu akati anena wunuwo wakiza waya kwa mwene kula. Umwene yula akadumula ukuti wadumule ulukusa lo ufulu akavwala musingo nusanda isaka lira ukumupa ukalulu. Isiku llyinji ukalulu akendagha, ufulu akiza munyuma mwache. Akiza anena ukuti: "Nalombola umusinda wane!" Ukalulu akati "Asa! Wefulu umusinda tewako wane!" Ufulu akakana akati "Nelombo wane." Po wovyawa wunuwu wosi wawiri wakiza wapangana ukuti waye kwa mwene aye awalonganie. Kwa mwene kula inongwa yikiza yamunoghela ufulu. Umwene akiza adumula ukuti wadumule umusinda wa Kalulu wamupe ufulu.

KALULU NU MUKOKWA (Chinamwanga)

E Mukokwa wayile ku wanthu pakulenga ivyakulya. Pakunyamula isaka lyakwe wanyefile nulukusa ulutali nukuzwala munsingo yakwe pakupita isaka lyakwe lyizanga kunsizi yakwe.

Pano wali munzila, Kalulu wizile kunsizi yakwe nukuti nalombola isaka lyane!" Mukokwa watili, isaka alyane we, lola ulukusa luno nyefile swinya nkunyuntha pakupita. "Kalulu wakanile, swinya watili "Tuye kuno wakalonga imilandu wakatulonge! Kuno wakalonga imilandu waputuzile umulandu nukucheka ulukusa luno emukokwa wanyepezile isaka. Wasenzile isaka nukumupa ekalulu. Uwanda wunji Kalulu wapitanga, mukokwa wamuzanile watili, "Nalombola, umusinda wane!" Kalulu watili "Awe! Mukokwa we umusinda awane". Mukokwa wakanile, swinya watili, "Nasola awane". Wayile kuno wakalonga imilandu ukuti wakawalonge. Kuno walonganga umulandu wizile wazipila e mukokwa. Waputuzile umusinda we Kalulu wamupa e mukokwa.

FULU NU KALULU (Chitonga)

Fulu wanguluta kukapempha vakulya ku ŵanthu. Pakupinga thumba lakhe wanguchita kumanga kuchingwi chitali ndi kuvwara mu singo lakhi ndipu pakwenda thumba lazanga kuvuli kwakhi.

Penipo wanguwa mu nthowa, Kalulu wanguza kuvuli kwakhi ndipu wanguti "Ndato, thumba langu!" Fulu wanguti "awa upusika ndangu yiwi, wona chingwi ichi ndamanga sonu ndiguza pakwenda". Kalulu wangukana nipe ndipu wanguti "Tikengi ku mphala yikatiweruzi". Mphala yikadumuwa mlandu ndi kucheketa chingwi cho fulu wangu mangiya thumba. Ŵanguchito thumba liya ndimkumpaska Kalulu. Dazi linyakhi lo Kalulu wayendanga, Fulu wangumusaniya ndipu wanguti, "Ndato mchira wangu!" Kalulu wanguti "Ake! Fulu yiwi m'chira ngwangu Fulu wangukana ndipu wanguti, Ndato ngwangu". Wanguluta ku mphala kuti yikaweruzgi. Ku mphala kuwa, mlandu wungutowe Fulu. Ŵangudumuwa m'chira wa Kalulu ndi kupaska Fulu.

UKALULU NU KAYAMBA (Chisukwa)

Mukaya mukaŵa isala ukayamba akaya pakusuma ifyakulya kuŵandu. Pala ŵamupa ifyakulya fila akapotwagha pakunyamula chifukwa cha ŵupimba. Po akapinyiliragha inyambi ku lulisi ulutali, po ululisi lulalula akifwikagha musingo. Pala anda pakwenda ululisi lula lukamu kongagha munyuma.

Wo akali akwenda musila pakubwela kunyumba yake, Ukalulu akisa munyuma nukuyugha ukuti. "Nelombo!, naseŵa inyambi yangu!". Ukayamba akati: "Uwe inyambi iyi yangu tesya ululisi ulu longungile ukuti pala ngwenda ingusaghe inyambi". Pololi umwene Ukalulu atakitikagha akayugha ukuti: "Potuye kwa malafyale aye atulonga n'ye." Ukalulu ŵo ayugha ŵunowuno wakaya kwa malafyale. Umalafyale akalamula ukuti waye waweghe ululisi lo ukayamba akafwala musingo, wasenye inyambi yila wamupe ukalulu.

Isiku limo Ukalulu akendagha ukayamba akisa amwagha akati: "Nelombo, nalombola umusinda wangu." Ukalulu akati: "Asa! We Kayamba umusinda wangu". Ukayamba akakana akayugha ukuti: "Nalombola wangu" ŵofyaŵa ŵuŵo ŵakapangana ukuti ŵaye kwa malafyale aye aŵalongan'ye. Kwa malafyale kula inongwa yikamunoghera ukayamba. Umalafyale akadumula ukuti ŵasenye umusinda wa Kalulu ŵamupe ukayamba.

KALULU NU UFULU (Chinkhonde)

Ufulu abukire polenga ifyakulya ku bandu. Pakwegha thumba lyake akapinyilira ku luropo litali no fwara msingo lyake, linga akwenda lithumba likisagha mnyuma.

Apo akagha mu njira, ukalulu akisagha mnyuma papo atiri "ehe, thumba lyangu" Ufulu atiri, we thumba lyangu ili keta luropo mphinyilire nkhuguza linga nkwenda". Ukalulu akanire ayobire kuti "Tubuke kumphala kuburongo". Mphala yolongire batumire chingwe icho Ufulu apinyilire thumba. Bakegha thumba bampere Ukalulu. Lisiku limo Ukalulu akendagha, Ufulu amwaghire papo atiri "ehe, mchira wangu!" Ukalulu atiri "Sa! We fulu mchira wangu ubu". Ufulu akanire po atiri "nsalire wangu". Babukire sona ku

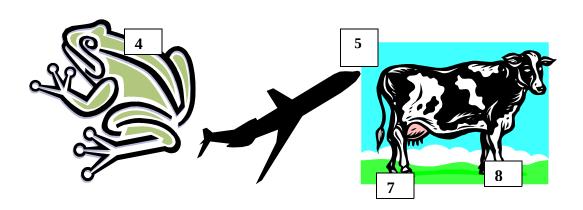
Mphala kuburongi. Ku Mphala inongwa yinoghire Ufulu. Batumwire mchira wa Kalulu no mupa Fulu.

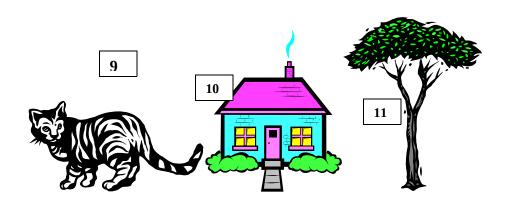
GRADING FOR LANGUAGE COMPETEN	CE TEST
LANGUAGE:	
Does he/she understand the story? (a) Very much? (b) A little bit (b) Doesn't understand anything	

22. VOCABULARY TEST USING PICTURES

Show the respondent a list of pictures and ask him/her to name the pictures in her/her first language (refer to Respondent's answer to Q9) and crosscheck with the corresponding names in the list below.



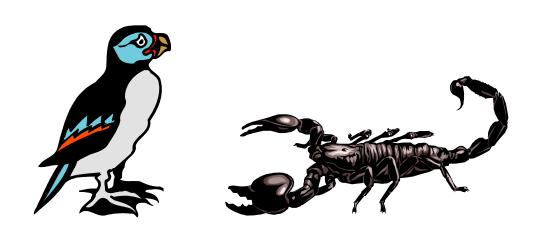




6

3



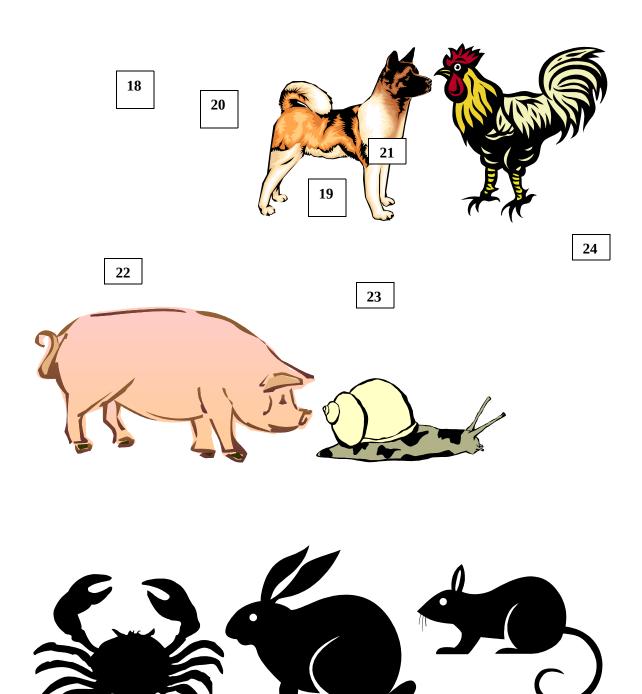








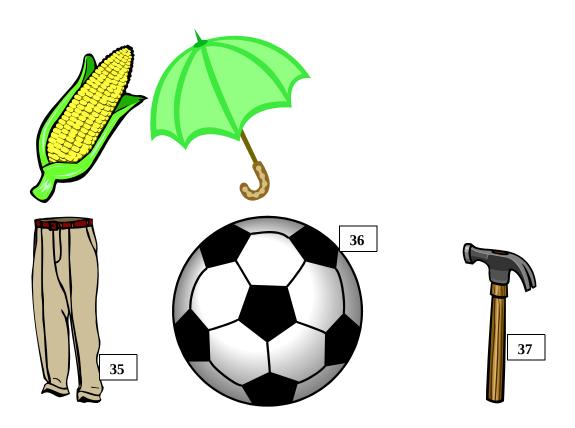












	English	Citumbu	Lambya	Ndali	Sukwa	Nyika	Ŵandya	Mambwe	Mwanga	citonga	nkhonde	
		Ka										
1	ladder	Matanda	Ipanda	liteghelero	Makwelero	Makwelero	Teghelero	Ipanda	Ipaanda	Makweleru	Makwelero	
2	car	Galimoto	Galimoto	Imotoka/ Ighali	Imotoka	Motoka	Igalimoto/ Motoka	Imotoka	Imotoka	galimotu	imotoka	
3	frog	Cule	Chula	Ukasoto/ Uchula	Chula	Uchule	Chula	echula	chula	muchuwa	chibwatiko	
4	aeroplane	Ndege	Ndege	Indeghi	Ndege	Indege	Ndege	ndege	ndege	ndegi	indege	
5	cow	Ng'ombe	Ng'ombe	Ng'ombe	Ng'ombe	Ng'ombe	Ng'ombe	Ng'ombe	Ng'ombe	Ng'ombi	Ing'ombi	
6	cat	Cona	Pusi	Pusi	Pusi	Pusi	Pusi	pusi	Pusi	mbuyawo	pusi	
7	house	Nyumba	Nyumba	Nyumba	Nyumba	Inyumba	Nyumba	Ing'anda	Ing'anda	nyumba	Nyumba	

8	tree	Khuni	Ichikwi	Ikokwe	Ikokwe/ikomo	Ikwi/ Amakwi	Ikomo	Umuti imiti	Umuti imiti	cimiti	cipiki	
9	chair	Mpando	Mpando	Mpando	Mpando	Chitengo	Mpando/ Chilimba	Chilimba ichipuna	Ichilimba ichipuna	mpandu	umpando	
10	shoes	Skapato	Sapato	Chilato	Sapato	Sapato	Sapato	insapato	insapato	sapatu	filato	
11	baby	Mwana	Umwana	Umwanukwe	Umwana	Umwana	Umwana	umwana	umwana	mwana	umwana	
12	bird	Kayuni	Chiyuni	Kayuni	Kayuni	Akayuni	Kayuni	chiyuni	i chiyuni	kayuni	njuni	
13	scorpion	Kalizga	Kalizga	Kalisha	Kalisya	Kalizga	Kalisya/ kalizga	eKalizya	eKalizya	cipilili	kalizya	
14	fish	Somba	Inswi	Iswi	Iswi	Inswi	Inswi	Inswi	Inswi	somba	niswi	
15	snake	Njoka	Injoka	Injoka	Injoka	Injoka	Injoka	inzoka	inzoka	njoka	injoka	
16	grasshopper	Mphazi	Imphanzi/ upalala	Imbashi/ upalala	Imbasi/ Upalala	Imphanzi/ Upanana	Imphanzi/ Upalala	Imphanzi	Imphanzi	zombi	mphazi	
17	butterflie	Khulukuska	Ichinkhwiky	vi Chingwikwi	Chingwikwi	Kulukuswa	Chingwikwi	eguluguska	egulugusya	bulawula	khulukuska	
18	dog	Ncheŵe	Imbwa	Ukabwa	Ukabwa/	Imbwa	Imbwa	Imbwa	Imbwa	galu	nimbwa	
19	cock	Tambala	Kolwe	Uŵisa	Ukolwe/ Uŵisa	Umukolwe	Mukolwe/ Inkhoko	emukolwe	emukolwe	tambala	mukolwe	
20	pig	Nkhumba	Inguluwe/ funuwelo/ udugu	Nguluŵe	Nguluŵe	Inguluwe	Nguluŵe/ Kapoli/ udugu	ekapoli	ekapoli	nkhumba	nguluŵe	
21	snail	Nkhonyo	Inkhozo	Ingofu	Ingofo	Inkhozo	Inkhozo/ Inkhovo	Inkhozo	Inkozo	nkhonu	nkhonyi	
22	carb	Nkhala	Injeje	Injeye	Ingala	Injeje	Inkhala	Inkhala	Inkhala	nkhanu	galankhala	
23	rabbit	Kalulu	Kalulu	Kalulu	Kalulu	Kalulu	Kalulu	kalulu	kalulu	kalulu	kalulu	
24	rat	Mbeŵa/ jancha	Imbeŵa	Ing'enda	Imbeŵa	Imbeŵa	Imbeŵa /Ukuza	Imbeŵa	Imbeŵa			
25	sissors	Sizala	Sizala	Sisala	Sizala	Isizala	Sizala	esizala	esizala	sizala	sizala	
26	tap	Mpope	Tapu	Akatapu	Mupopi/ Katapu	Mpopi/ Mpayipi	Mupayipi/ Mupomphi	umupopi	umupopi	mupope	mpopi	
27	Wrist watch	Nyengo	Ighochi/ Nkholochi	Ngoloko	Ngoloko	Inkholoko	Nkholoko	Inkholoko/ eghochi	Inkholoko/ eghochi	wachi	wochi	
28	hand	Woko	Injoŵe	Akakono	Inyoŵe	Inyoŵe	Inyoŵe	ikasa	Ikasa	janja	lukufi	
29	man	Munthu	Umunthu	Umundu	Umundu	Umunthu	Umunthu	Umunthu	Umunthu	munthu	Umundu	
30	bottle	Botolo	Botolo	Botolo	Botolo	Ibotolo	Botolo	Ibotolo	Ibotolo	Ibotolo	botolo	
31	knife	Cimayi	Chipeni	ichimaghi	Chipeni	Ichiso	Chipeni	umupeni	umupeni	cimayi	ichimaghi	
32	cup	Kapu	Komeji/ kapu	Komechi/ kapu	Komeji/kapu	Ukapu/ komeji	Kapu/ komeji	ekomeji	ekomeji	kapu	kikombe	
33	maize	Ngoma	Ivilombe	Ifilombe	Ifilombe	Amangagu	Vilombe	ivisaka	ivisaka	Chingoma vingoma	Ifilombe vilombe	
34	umblera	Ambulera	Ambuleya	Umwafula	Umwafula/ Ambulera	Ambulera	Ambulera/ umwanvula	umwanvula	umwanvula	sumbulera	Ambuleya	
35	trouser	Buluku	Thilauza/ buluka	Talaŵushi	Thirawuza/ ibuluku	Italaŵuzi/ buluku	Thilauzi/ buluku	ibuluku	ibuluku	buluku	Buluku thilawuzi	
36	ball	Bola	Ibola	Umupira/	Mupira/	Ibola	Bola/	Ebola/	Ebola/	bola	ibola	
36				Umbola	Bola		Chipapa	umupita	umupita			l

GRADING FOR VOCABULARY COMPETENCE TEST

 	out of	37