

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The main objectives of this chapter are to give some background to what prompted this study, to identify the research problem and the aims of the study, as well as to describe the research hypothesis and methodology. Language profiles of Malawi and Mozambique are also presented here to put the cross-border Sena language into its sociolinguistic context. The chapter closes with an outline of the structure of this dissertation of limited scope as a whole.

1.1 Background to the research

When the 'scramble for Africa' took place, and the continent was divided by the colonialists, boundaries were created by geographical markers such as mountains or rivers, with the result that several ethnic groups who were living on these mountains or along these rivers, have been divided and now live in two and sometimes even three or more different countries. The Sena people of Malawi and Mozambique are a prime example. The Shire River was used as a political boundary to demarcate the south-eastern border of Malawi, but this geographical boundary divided the Sena people, who live on either side of the Shire River, into two groups. Due to this division by the colonial powers, the Sena people were forced to develop separately in terms of their education, worldview, culture and politics. They have become a divided people, although they both speak the same language, Chisena. The Sena people on the Malawi side of the border are living in an anglophone country and are influenced by English and the very dominant Chichewa language, while the Senas on the Mozambique side are in lusophone territory and are influenced by Portuguese. As a

result of this situation two separate standardised varieties of the Sena language have developed.

Cross-border languages are not an uncommon feature in Africa. A similar situation exists in the Chichewa or Chinyanja people group who live in Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia. They are also divided by colonial boundaries, yet speak the same language. A move is currently underway to try and harmonise the orthography of this vast cross-border language (Bwanali 2001; CASAS). The varieties of Chinyanja spoken in Zambia and Malawi show greater similarity to each other than the variety of Chinyanja spoken in Mozambique. This difference is probably due to the anglo-lusophone divide.

The Chikunda people are another example of colonial boundaries dividing up an ethnic group. They are currently living in three different countries, namely Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Zambia, and each country exerts its own socio-political, economic and cultural influence. The Chikunda of Zimbabwe and Zambia are in the anglophone region and show greater similarity to each other possibly due to the influence of English, whereas the Chikunda in Mozambique are more divergent due to the influence of Portuguese. Another even more complex cross-border language worth noting is the Yao language, which is spoken in the lake region of Malawi, as well as in neighbouring Tanzania and Mozambique. The Yao language has four major languages exerting influence on it namely: Portuguese in Mozambique; English and Chichewa in Malawi, and Kiswahili in Tanzania. Standardisation of this complex cross-border language would present major challenges.

Adding to the complexity of the influence of national boundaries on cross-border languages is the language policy within each country itself. The 'Chichewa-only' policy of Dr Kamuzu Banda, which was aimed at unifying the nation of Malawi, robbed other ethnic groups of their identity and created antagonism. Mvula (1992:39) states that "imposing a national language in a multilingual country can lead to serious ethnic hostility and antagonism". On the other hand, the pluralist language approach can be very expensive and most African states are confronted by poor economic situations. This means that they cannot produce enough language textbooks in all the vernacular languages (Herbert 1992:40). In the light of the current trend that it is a citizen's right to use his or her mother tongue in official

situations (Lopes 1998:3) and the emphasis on the use of mother-tongues in education, these matters have to be addressed and research on the issue of cross-border languages is urgent.

The language policies of Africa, as suggested by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (Chinebuah 1973), as well as current ones in Malawi and Mozambique encourage the use of mother tongue in education, particularly in the first three years of primary education. Several researchers have indicated that minimal use of local languages in education and other domains is one of the factors leading to Africa's underdevelopment (Rubadiri 2001, OAU 1989; Prah 1998). The official attitudes of governments are generally sympathetic towards multilingual education (Crystal 1992:366), and they recognise that there is a greater need for published materials in these mother tongues. As a result of this there is a resurgence in interest in minority languages.

The policy of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) in terms of political boundaries and the concept of regionalisation encourages cross-border co-operation in all areas, as well as in education. Resources could be shared in the creation of mother-tongue educational materials, and the standardisation and harmonisation of cross-border varieties of the same language would decrease costs for publishing and increase the availability of materials. Steps have been taken in the Chichewa language of Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique, which has over 10 million speakers, to harmonise the orthography, grammar and vocabulary of this language in order to cut costs in the production of school textbooks, reading material and general literature. As mentioned previously, the harmonisation of the cross-border Chinyanja language (or Chichewa, as it was renamed by the former president of Malawi, Dr Banda), is potentially easier between anglophone speaking countries of Zambia and Malawi as the varieties of Chichewa spoken in Malawi and Zambia are more similar, than the variety spoken in the lusophone-speaking country of Mozambique. This is borne out by the fact that currently a joint Chichewa Study Bible project is being undertaken by the Bible Society of Malawi and Zambia, but the Bible Society of Mozambique is not involved.

In Malawi after 1968 Dr Banda allowed only the use of Chichewa and English in schools

and on radio, but since 15 November 1996, in the new spirit of democracy, the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation has broadcast in 6 Malawian languages, doing a 15 minute daily news broadcast in Tumbuka, Yao, Lomwe, Sena and Tonga (Kayambazinthu 1998). Sociolinguistic surveys have also been done with a view to implementing mother-tongue education in Tumbuka, Yao, Lomwe and Sena (Centre for Language studies, University of Malawi 2000).

In Mozambique mother-tongue education is also being promoted (Lopes 1997). The current language policy is aimed at optimal bilingualism, where Portuguese will continue to be the official language, but vernaculars will be promoted and used as the medium for instruction in schools in grades 1 to 3.

Minority languages constantly experience pressure from dominant groups within multilingual countries, and language change, shift or maintenance is taking place in varying degrees (Aitchison 1991). This situation is all the more complex in the case of cross-border languages, because the socio-political factors are so much more significant, as well as the pressure exerted by the official and national languages. My research will highlight some of these cross-border influences, my particular focus being on the Sena people, and the influence of English on the Sena variety spoken in Malawi, called Malawi Sena (MLS) and the influence of Portuguese on the Sena variety spoken in Mozambique, called Mozambique Sena (MZS).

1.2 The research problem

Two standardised varieties of the Sena language, MLS and MZS, have been created on either side of the border by the respective language professionals working with them. There is very little research that has been documented on either of these varieties (and very little has been published in them). There is also very little literature available in the Sena language. The earliest available description of the Sena language was undertaken by Torrend (1891). He gives a very brief description of Sena, likening it to the Nyassa (or the modern day Chichewa language of Blantyre). He afforded the Sena language the status of being one of the most extensively spoken languages in southern Africa (Torrend 1891:24).

A more detailed description appeared in 1897 when Anderson published his introductory Grammar of the Sena Language. In the introduction to this grammar book Sena is said to be widely spoken: "Sena is rapidly superseding many of the neighbouring dialects, and is now spoken and understood from the Zambezi mouth to Tete, and up the River Shire as far as its tributary the Ruo" (Anderson 1897:5). His aim for this publication was that it would pave the way for messengers of the Gospel among the Sena people.

Very few written texts in the Sena language are available and they are based on different standards. The Ethnologue (2003) states that the first Sena scripture portions were published in 1895, but are unavailable now. Although further missionary activity took place and churches were established in the Sena-speaking areas since the early 1900s, no scriptures or further publications were produced for almost the next 100 years, except for a portion of scripture, the Gospel of Mark, which was published by the British and foreign Bible Society in 1956, but is also unavailable.

A joint cross-border Sena Bible translation project was initiated in the early 1970s, where the Bible Society of Mozambique agreed to take responsibility for the translation of the New Testament, and the Bible Society of Malawi (BSMal) took responsibility to translate the Old Testament. Unfortunately the project ran into difficulties, not the least being the war in Mozambique during that time, as well as the difficulties of cross-border grammar

and orthographical differences, and the project, under the consultancy of Dr Renju of United Bible Societies, was discontinued in 1982, according to filed correspondence at BSMal.

A New Testament was, however, published by the Catholic Church in Mozambique in 1981 as a result of this translation project. The translator of this New Testament was Father Peter Cools, and 20 000 copies were printed in Italy in 1981, but they are no longer in print and are very hard to find. The Bible Society of Malawi also published the first book of the Old Testament, Genesis or 'Kutoma', in Sena in 1981, as a trial version for this translation project, the main translator being Reverend P. Goba. According to the filed correspondence at BSMal, the general consensus seemed to be that the quality of these translations was inadequate, and the type of Sena used was not widely accepted either, and thus they were not reprinted and this Sena Bible translation project halted.

In 1989 the Gospels of John and Mark were published by CAVA (Harare) in Sena. They were translated by Pastor Domingos Meque, who is a Sena-Podzo, using the Shona Bible as a source text and were done primarily for the students of the Emmaus Bible correspondence School, according to personal communication by Arthur Hallet. Based on general interviews with Sena speakers, the translations were not well accepted as they were too literal and unnatural.

Due to the problems encountered with the previous joint Malawi/Mozambique attempt to translate the Sena Bible, the United Bible Societies decided that two separate translations would be necessary. Thus, some years later, The Word for the World Bible Translators were requested by the Bible Society of Malawi, to work together with them on a new Bible translation project for the Sena people of Malawi (filed correspondence BSMal). The work started in 1992 and the New Testament was published by the Bible Society of Malawi in 1999, and the Old Testament was completed in 2001 and the projected date for publishing the complete Bible is 2004. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has been working on a Bible translation project for the Sena people of Mozambique since the late 1980s. They published the Book of Jonah in 1999, and the Bible Society of Mozambique are currently preparing to publish the Gospel of Matthew (projected date 2003), and they are working

towards publishing the whole Bible in the Sena of Mozambique (personal communication with Dr Yorke of UBS).

A sociolinguistic survey done in 1998 by the Centre for language studies of the University of Malawi confirmed that Sena Malawi has two dialects: Sena Gombe, which is the prestige dialect and spoken in the Nsanje district, and Sena Mpala, spoken in the Chikwawa district and influenced by the neighbouring Mang'anga and Chichewa people. Nsanje Sena, or Sena Gombe, spoken in the Nsanje district is the prestige dialect and should be adopted for use in schools (Centre for Language Studies 2000). This dialect, Sena Gombe, has been used in the Bible Society of Malawi's translation project.

On the Mozambique side, six mutually intelligible dialects of Sena have been identified according to the Ethnologue (2000). They are Sena-Care (Care, Sare, North Sena), Sena Bangwe (Bangwe, South Sena), Rue (Chirue), Gombe, Sangwe, Podzo (Chipodzo, Cipodzo, Puthsu, Shiputhsu), and Gorongosa. The Mozambique Bible translation team have also identified Sena Gombe as the prestige dialect and the dialect they are using in their translation. The Sena of Mozambique say that the dialect of Sena spoken in Malawi is Sena-Mang'anja or Malawi Sena, but the Senas of Malawi dispute this. The Sena Gombe of Mozambique is geographically very closely situated to Malawi, the centre being Mount Sena.

Both of these cross-border varieties of Sena are in various stages of being standardised. No recent published grammar books or dictionaries are currently available in either Sena variety, although a lot of groundwork has been done in both. Bible translation projects are concurrently being conducted in both varieties of Sena, by two different organisations, The Word for the World Bible Translators and SIL. The only written material available for purposes of comparison of the two standardised varieties are from these translation projects.

An evaluation of the orthography, lexis and grammar being used in the current translations on both the Malawi and Mozambique side of the border is essential in order to ascertain how variant MLS and MZS is and whether they can be harmonised into one common language, or whether they should remain separate. The influence of Portuguese, the official language of Mozambique, on the orthography and lexis of MZS, as well as the influence of English on MLS needs to be assessed.

If these two cross-border varieties are similar enough, harmonisation would prove no problem, but if the varieties are too divergent, they could be classified either as two different languages, or two varieties of the same language, which have been greatly influenced by the national boundaries which exist and the major languages on either side of the border, namely English and Portuguese.

In the light of Mozambique's exoglossic language policy where Portuguese was made the national language, and Heine's assertion that currently "hardly more than one tenth of the national population is able to make use of its national official language, Portuguese" (Herbert 1992:27), the question arises whether this strong influence of Portuguese will persist. The orthography used in MLS is strongly influenced by the dominant national language in Malawi, Chichewa, which is a Bantu language like Sena, and by English. Chichewa has over 10 million speakers and is widely spoken in Mozambique as well. Although Nyanja or Chichewa only has a population of 423 000 mother-tongue speakers in Mozambique, Chichewa is widely spoken and understood as it is a major lingua franca in Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique.

The Chichewa Bible has been extensively used in both Malawi and Mozambique Sena areas, and according to Guthrie (1967), Chichewa is in the same language grouping as Chisena. There was a large influx of Sena-speaking Mozambican refugees into Malawi in the 1980s due to the civil war in Mozambique. They lived in refugee camps in the Malawi Sena-speaking areas for approximately 10 years and then were repatriated by the United Nations to Mozambique in the mid-1990s. This intermingling of the Malawian Sena speakers with the Mozambican Sena speakers brought these two varieties closer together and the Mozambicans have become familiar with the Chichewa orthography because of

their use of the Chichewa Bible. The Chichewa and Sena orthography is also influenced by English, which is gaining popularity in Mozambique according to Lopes (1998:479), who states: "the influence of English in Mozambique will increasingly be greater...for their interaction with the outside world."

In the light of the current political trends of mother-tongue education, regionalisation and increasing the number of national languages, the implications of cost are a major factor. Cross-border languages are of particular interest, like the Chichewa language of Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique, where projects are underway to harmonise this language for the purpose of providing cheaper educational materials (cf. CASAS). If the language was regionally standardised, only one set of textbooks would be necessary for the three countries, thus saving money. By sharing academic resources, more materials and literature could be provided in a shorter period of time, and the language would be more developed, and more widely recognised and used.

In the case of the Sena people the constituent speech community is very complex because of the colonial division into two. This research will attempt to assess the overlaps and the variances between certain "reference norms" and grammatical units. The process of language standardisation has been summarised by Haugen into four basic steps: selection of the norm; codification of the form, elaboration of the functions and acceptance by the community (Haugen 1966). The degree to which a language needs to meet the four criteria of Haugen, is dependant on what the intended use of the language will be. For example, will it be used as a medium of instruction at secondary school level, or even university level, and hence need to develop a scientific register, or will it be used on a more basic primary school level. The Chichewa language will inevitably require more elaboration of function as it is a majority language, and may in future be used at secondary school or even university level, and therefore a scientific register will need to be developed. It is envisaged that the Sena language may only be used up to the first three years of education. Be that as it may, the translation of the scriptures requires a fairly high level of language development,

of codification of the form and elaboration of the functions, which has already taken place in Malawian Sena, as the whole Bible has been translated.

A question to be answered is whether linguistic and cultural compatibility is an adequate driving force for the standardisation or harmonisation of cross-border languages? Are political boundaries stronger unifying factors, which keep divided people groups apart, and is this division of people groups due to attitudes of the general populous, the educators and language planners, or government policies?

In conclusion the problem which is being researched is whether in fact the two planned separate publications of the Sena Bible in MLS and MZS are necessary. Little has been published and cross-border co-operation has proven unsuccessful. The degree of variation between MLS and MZS being used in the current translation projects needs to be assessed in the light of the current national trends of developing cost effective materials for mother-tongue education and the move towards regionalisation in Africa. There is also an emphasis on the standardisation of orthographies and the harmonisation of cross-border languages to decrease costs of publishing in minority languages.

1.3 Aims of the research

The primary aim of this research is to assess whether these two Sena varieties, MLS and MZS, differ substantially or not, and what steps would need to be taken to harmonise the two varieties in order to provide one standard variety.

In order to achieve this aim a detailed comparison of the two cross-border varieties of the Sena language found in the biblical books of Jonah and Matthew has been made. These are the only texts currently available to the researcher. The aim is to gain insight into the similarities and differences of these two varieties of Sena.

These texts are the results of two translation projects done on the two varieties of Sena. Both the translation projects have done dialectal surveys on their respective side of the border to choose the most central, or prestigious dialect, which has been used in their translations. Both translations have chosen a preferred orthography and have followed sound translation principles and have aimed to achieve accuracy, naturalness and clarity.

Extensive field work throughout the Sena-speaking areas of Malawi has been done by The Word for the World, as well as The Centre for Language Studies (2000), to identify the central dialect, assess people's attitudes to cross-border linguistic variations, and to evaluate available texts as advocated by Wolfran and Fasold (in Coupland and Jaworski 1997). A survey is currently also being done by the Centre for Language Studies in Zomba, Malawi, to assess the need for teaching materials in Sena in the Schools in Malawi and to ascertain what materials are currently being used.

This study aims to assess the degree of variation between MLS and MZS by doing a contrastive analysis (CA) on selected linguistic features on various linguistic levels (grammatical, lexical and orthographical). The CA will be done to compare the Bible Society of Malawi's translation of the Book of Jonah and the Gospel of Matthew (MLS) with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in Mozambique's translation of the Book of Jonah and the Bible Society of Mozambique's translation of the Book of Matthew (MZS). (A CA of MLS and MZS will also give insight into the influence which the orthography used for the Chichewa and English language has had on the orthography and lexemes used in MLS, and how the Portuguese language has influenced MZS.)

This research also aims to investigate whether harmonisation or standardisation of the two varieties into one standardised variety is feasible, by attempting to quantify the linguistic differences and similarities which exist. If the variation between the two varieties is minimal, costs could be cut by publishing a single translation for the two countries. This research could also reveal trends and implications for all cross-border languages (McNiell 1990:87).

Another aim of this research is to assess the level of standardisation of the Sena language and to provide insights into Sena grammar and vocabulary to assist in furthering the process of the standardisation of the Sena language, whether as two separate varieties or one common Sena language.

[A recent email (15 May 2003) from Dr Gosnell York, a translation consultant of The United Bible Societies backs up the relevance of the study in the following comment: "That comparative study should prove useful to my colleagues in Mozambique --both to the CEO of the Bible Society there (Rev. Valente Tseco) and Dr Edouard Kitoko, the new Translation Consultant for Mozambique (as of Dec. 1, 2002)."]

1.4 Research Hypothesis

The hypothesis that is being tested in this research is:

1. The two texts, MLS and MZS, show pervasive similarities to each other.
2. MLS and MZS are closely related varieties that, given the limitations, could be harmonised into one written variety.

As this study is limited to the evaluation of published texts of Matthew and Jonah in each variety, a sub-hypothesis is that there is minimal variation in these texts and thus their grammar, orthographies and lexical items can be harmonised, and one so-called common Sena language translation produced.

1.5 Research method

In order to establish the degree of variation or similarity between the two varieties of Sena, they need to be compared with each other. CA is a useful tool for this purpose. A definition of CA by James (1992:3) states: "CA is a linguistic enterprise aimed at producing inverted (i.e. contrastive, not comparative) two-valued typologies (a CA is always concerned with a pair of languages), and is founded on the assumption that two languages can be compared."

According to Sharwood Smith (1981), CA can contribute to theoretical linguistics by testing various linguistic theories. From a practical point of view it can lead to the production of teaching materials.

In this thesis a CA will be done on various selected linguistic features, grammatical, orthographical and also on the lexical level. James (1992) maintains it is impossible to do a completely exhaustive or global CA of two languages. He says one should do "some relevant bit of CA," rather than set out to do the CA of two selected languages as wholes. James (1992:63) also states that a parallel description must be made i.e. the two languages must be described through the same model of description.

It was decided that CA would be a very useful tool for purposes of comparing the two standardised varieties of Sena, especially considering that the texts being compared were also translations from the same source text, (Greek for Matthew and Hebrew, for Jonah.) An English gloss (or translation equivalent) is given to assist non-Sena readers. This will also assist in analysis or comparison of the various styles and accuracy of the two translations, as James (1992:67) states: "While it is a procedural convenience to work with translationally equivalent sentences, it is not necessary to do so." The focus, however, of this thesis is not to compare the accuracy of two translations from the source, or to do an error analysis as James (1992) terms it, but rather to compare the two varieties on a linguistic level in order to test the possibility of harmonising the two varieties.

English is used as the interlingua to discuss the various differences between MLS and MZS as proposed by James (1992:5). According to Fisiak (1990:6) for any comparison or CA of L1 and L2 a *tertium comparationis (TC)* is needed. For lexis the TC is the (probably universal) set of semantic components, and for grammatical CA translation equivalence was used (James 1992:169). (MLS is used as the basis from which comparison takes place, partly because the author has more experience in MLS, but also because MLS has far more

material published in it at this stage and is presumably more advanced in the process of standardisation.)

CA has been used extensively by pedagogists, in second language learning, but it is also an effective tool for comparing two varieties of the same or similar language. James (1992:28) states that CA observes the principles of linguistic levels such as phonology, grammar and lexis. Aarts and Wekker (in Fisiak, 1990:164) suggest following these same levels of linguistic organisation when doing a CA.

The CA involves two steps: first the stage of description, when each of the two languages are described on the appropriate level; and secondly the stage of juxtaposition for comparison. In this second stage of comparison there is a need to cross levels and the degree to which this is necessary is a reflection of how divergent or dissimilar the two languages being compared are (James 1992).

In this dissertation of limited scope, a detailed CA has been done on MLS and MZS as found in the Old Testament Book of Jonah. The MZS version of Jonah was published by SIL in 1999, and the MLS version of Jonah has been translated and accepted for publishing by the Bible Society of Malawi. A CA on the Gospel of Matthew has also been done, the MLS version as published by BSMal in 1999, and the MZS version, as translated and accepted for publishing by the BSMoz (proposed publishing date Jan 2004).

The texts were entered into a word processing computer program and word-lists of each variety were also produced by the computer assisted translation program (CATP). The CA was done on the following levels of language: grammatical or syntax, orthographic and lexis. The reason these categories were chosen is because the CA has been done on written texts only, and texts which have been standardised by the two translation groups who produced and published them. Orthographic difference are anticipated due to the influence of Portuguese and English in the two varieties.

In terms of defining the method used as qualitative or quantitative, Krzeszowski (1984) says that the CA can have both outcomes (Fisiak 1990:8). A statistical analysis of the CA on the two word lists generated from both standardised varieties of Sena, in terms of usage, frequency and dispersion of words in the texts has been done, hence a quantitative outcome, which Krzeszowski says is based on statistical equivalence. Wyatt (1990:178) says "if word lists are to be compared, they should have been created according to the same criteria of word definition, word selection and statistical procedure," which was done. A word list of each variety was produced under two main columns, usage and frequency of occurrence, as advocated by Thorndike and Lorge (1952), in order to ascertain how variant, or similar the two varieties of Sena are on a lexical and orthographical level.

The statistical analysis is not intended to be definitive in assessing the degree of difference but it is done to assist in giving a broad overview of the degree of similarity or difference between the two varieties. Orthographical, lexical and grammatical differences and similarities were quantified by counting the number of occurrences and comparing the two values in each Sena variety and calculating the percentage of difference or similarity.

The grammatical CA, based on a corpus-restricted projective, yields a more qualitative type of research, based on translation equivalence, but a count of the number of occurrences of each linguistic feature studied was done to give a general overview of how similar or dissimilar the two varieties are.

1.5.1 Limitations of this research

There are various limitations to this research. It is important to stress the fact that due to the limit on number of words in this dissertation of limited scope, the CA has only been done on selected linguistic features and also the statistical information given is only used to give a general overview of the differences and similarities.

There is a lack of research on the Sena language and very few materials have been published to date, which means a small sample of literature to choose from.

The research is also incomplete because only two written texts, Matthew and Jonah are being assessed in each variety, and for more definite conclusions to be made a much wider corpus of text would need to be examined and also oral transcriptions looked at more closely to arrive at definite conclusions.

1.6 Language profiles of Malawi and Mozambique

In order to put the cross-border Sena language into its broader national sociolinguistic context a brief mention of the population statistics and language profiles of Malawi and Mozambique, the two countries in which Sena is spoken, will be given, as well as a linguistic map for each country.

1.6.1 Basic statistics and language profile of Malawi

The Republic of Malawi was formerly known as Nyasaland. The national or official languages are: Nyanja (Chichewa), Tumbuka, and English, and news broadcasts are also given in Lomwe and Sena. The population is 10,346,000. The literacy rate is 25% to 41%. Malawi has Bemba, Bengali, Fipa, Greek (2,000 speakers), Gujarati (5,000 speakers), Portuguese (9,000 speakers), Shona, and Urdu speakers too (Grimes 2000).

There are 15 Bantu languages spoken in Malawi, one of which is Sena. All languages are listed in Appendix A, with the population of speakers and other brief linguistic information provided. The Sena tribe of Malawi, is quoted as having a population of 255,000 (Johnstone 1993), and the Sena people live in the southern tip bordering Mozambique.

Figure 1.1 Linguistic Map of Malawi (Ethnologue 2003)

Figure 1.2 Linguistic Map of Mozambique (Ethnologue 2000)

1.6.2 Basic statistics and Language profile of Mozambique

Portuguese is the national or official language of the Republic of Mozambique. The population is 18,880,000. The literacy rate is 20%. Also living in the country are Chinese people (7,000 or fewer), and people from India (15,000). The number of languages listed for Mozambique is 39, one of which is Sena. Of those, all are living languages (Grimes 2003).

The Sena people of Mozambique according to a 1980 census have a population size of 1,086,040. There are also 86,000 Podzo people, a closely related group, in Mozambique (Johnstone 1993). The Sena people live in the Northwest, Sofala, Tete, and Zambezia provinces, as well as the lower Zambezi River region. Sena Central is spoken in Tete and northern Sofala. The dialects mentioned in the Ethnologue are: Sena central, Sena-care (north Sena), Sena bangwe (south Sena), Rue, Gombe, Sangwe, Podzo, and Gorongosa (Grimes 2003). See Appendix B for the list of all languages of Mozambique.

1.7 The Sena Language

1.7.1 History and Classification

According to Torrend (1891), the Bantu people originate from Kush, the son of Ham, who was a son of Noah. They migrated westwards across the Nile River and split into two groups. The one group settled in West Africa and the other group went south. These were the Zindji and Abyssian tribes. The Zindji established their empire in Sofala, also called Mashonaland, or the country of Sena. Torrend links this empire to the great Zimbabwe ruins. He talks of three basic population groups in Southern Africa namely the Hottentot-Bushman group, the Masai and the Bantu.

Torrend (1891) divides the languages into a main group (with an eastern and a western half), a Rua group and a Fernandian group. Within each major classification he sub-divides the languages into clusters according to the greater or lesser similarity of the various

languages. The following languages are in his Senna cluster (Sena proper, Shire, Sofala, Tete, Zumbo, Nyassa and Gindo). In Torrend's classification Nyassa (or modern day Chichewa) fits into the Senna cluster. He maintains that Sena was the most widely spoken language in Southern Africa (1891:24) and the least influenced by foreign languages.

Guthrie (1967) also uses the cluster approach to classify the Bantu languages and puts the Sena language into to a zone with the Chichewa language called Zone N, but he puts Chichewa into group 30 and Sena into group 40. He also places Nsenga, Kunda, Nyungwe, Sena, Rue and Podzo in the same group as Sena.

The Ethnologue (2000) states that Sena in Malawi is different enough from Sena in Mozambique to require separate literature. This hypothesis as stated in section 1.4 of this dissertation of limited scope differs to this statement. The Ethnologue also states that Chikunda is a dialect or closely related language to Sena and that Sena Mozambique is close to Nyungwe and Nyanja (Chichewa). Podzo and Sena-Care have 92% lexical similarity.

Sena is a Bantu language, and fits into the Niger Congo family of African languages, the other major families being Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Khoisan (Crystal 1992:295). The Ethnologue (2000) classifies Sena as Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central. N, Senga-Sena (N.40), Sena.

1.7.2 Portuguese influence on Sena

There were Portuguese commercial and political activities in Sofala from 1505, in Shonaland from 1510, and in Zambezia from the 1530s (Hair 1997:12). The Portuguese built three stockades on the Zambezi River: Tete, Sena and Zumbo. As early as 1560 the Portuguese Jesuit priests made contact with the Sena people (Hair 1997). They wrote reports on the following Bantu languages: Shona, Chopi and Sena/Nsenga. In the 1590s the Dominican, Joao dos Santos, who served at Sofala, Mozambique and in Zambezia, collected linguistic information and published his work on Shona in 1609. The Jesuits and Dominicans had formed 16 Christian communities along the Zambezi. Only after 1850 the

monopoly of the Catholic Church was broken by the Protestant Presbyterian missionary explorer, Livingston, particularly in the Sena area of Malawi, but the Catholic and Portuguese dominance persisted in Mozambique (Nervi 1994:144).

1.7.3 English influence on Sena

The first English missionary to contact the Sena people was Dr David Livingston. According to Nervi (1994:49) he travelled up the Zambezi River as far as Cahora Bassa in 1858, and passed the Sena mountain on his way. In 1859 he journeyed from Chibisa (a Sena village on the Shire River) to Lake Malawi. Here he observed the Arabs, the Ayao and the Portuguese actively involved in the slave trade. Due to his outrage he initiated a movement of missionaries from Britain, called the UMCA (Universities' Mission to Central Africa), who sent Bishop Mackenzie to Africa in 1861. The (Scottish) Livingstonia Central African Company was birthed in 1878, soon to be renamed African Lakes Corporation, and traded on the Shire River and Lake Malawi. In 1891 the British Foreign Office sent Harry Johnston as commissioner and proconsul of the British colony, Nyasaland, as it was named. Thus the English influence on the Sena language since the 1860s started much later than the Portuguese influence of the 1530s, but it would appear that the English took more of a linguistic and anthropological interest in the Bantu languages than the Portuguese did.

1.8 Outline of Thesis

The remainder of this study comprises four chapters.

Chapter 2 consists of a literature review which looks at the language situation in both Malawi and Mozambique, cross-border language issues and language standardisation in general.

Chapter 3 contains a detailed grammatical CA. Selected syntactic features are contrasted in MLS and MZS and some basic statistics are given to give an overview of the variation between the two varieties.

In Chapter 4 a contrastive analysis between MLS and MZS is done on the orthographical and lexical levels. Orthographical analysis is done on the complete texts of Mt and Jnh, but the lexical analysis is done primarily on a word list of 500 most commonly occurring words in each variety.

The study closes with a conclusion in Chapter 5 which contains a summary of findings, recommendations for further study and limitations of the present study. A comprehensive bibliography and appendices are attached at the end.

CHAPTER 2

CROSS-BORDER LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION

2.0 Introduction

This literature review will focus on an in-depth look at the language situation in both Malawi and Mozambique and the current trends in terms of language planning policies. It also examines the issues of cross-border languages and the process of standardisation and harmonisation of languages.

In order to put the cross-border standardisation of the two varieties of the Sena language, spoken in Malawi and Mozambique, into perspective a brief overview of the various language policies in Africa, as discussed by Heine (1992), is necessary. He explains the concept of endoglossy versus exoglossy which is relevant to the situation in Malawi and Mozambique. Malawi is primarily endoglossic with the dominance of indigenous Chichewa on a national level and Mozambique, exoglossic, as the ex-colonial language, Portuguese, has been chosen as the national language and the primary medium of communication. Heine's comment on lusophone Africa, that "hardly more than one tenth of the national population is able to make use of its national official language, Portuguese" (1992:27), is very telling. His comparison between horizontal and vertical media is also very useful in showing why the exoglossic language policies in Africa have not succeeded. 'Horizontal media' is the spontaneous use of the mother-tongue at home leading to conformity, solidarity and social equality, whereas vertical media refers to the formal teaching of language in a classroom which leads to class distinction, prestige, status, and a means for

economic success, and this language is associated with authority or oppression. The classic form of vertical media would be an exoglossic language policy.

Kayambazinthu (1990:427) also makes this statement concerning English, the official language of Malawi: "The current dominance of English in administration and legislature means that nearly 90% of Malawians are excluded from decisions that affect them." These statements strengthen the argument for the need to develop the indigenous languages more fully to assist at all levels of communication in these societies.

There is a need to develop all languages to their full potential in the multilingual countries of Malawi and Mozambique (Kayambazinthu 1998). Bamgbose (1976) and Fishman (1974) assert that national languages should be standardised and undergo lexical elaboration to assist in higher levels of communication on a national level. Minority languages should also be standardised so they can meet more fully the needs of their respective communities, especially in terms of literacy, education and the sharing and receiving of information.

2.1 The language situation in Malawi

Mvula (1992) gives a detailed background of the historical development of the language situation in Malawi, which was under British colonial rule from 1891 to 1964. Malawi is a multilingual country and at the time of independence the three official languages were English, Chinyanja and Chitumbuka. English was spoken by a small elite group of Malawians. Chinyanja was the lingua franca of the central and southern parts and Chitumbuka was the lingua franca of the north. Mvula (1992:43) regards this as a prime example of "the British colonial linguistic policy of encouraging separate developments for the different ethnic groups". Spencer (1971) supports the view that colonial linguistic policy followed the principle of divide and rule. In 1958 Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda returned to Malawi as the leader of the modern national movement and advocated a common language as an essential tool for the political, economic and socio-cultural development of the country. He believed it would enable people of various ethnic groups

to communicate with each other more effectively and could facilitate mass literacy especially for agricultural development, which he viewed as of prime importance.

In 1968 the Malawi Congress Party passed the following resolutions to build the Malawi nation: Chinyanja should be the national language, it should be called Chichewa, and Chichewa and English should be the official languages of government. All other languages should continue to be used by the various ethnic groups in the country (MCPACR 1973).

Chichewa was chosen over Chitumbuka as the national language because a language survey done in 1966, as part of the national census, revealed that 50,2 percent of the total population spoke Chichewa as their mother-tongue and 75 percent could speak and understand Chichewa (Malawi Statistical Year Book 1972:7). Chichewa was the medium of instruction for the first 3 years of education and a compulsory subject from the fourth to eighth year of education. It is also offered as a subject at university level. Mvula (1992:46) states that "there was no antagonism to the 'Chichewa only' policy due to the pragmatic leadership of Dr Kamuzu Banda and the people of Malawi themselves." And he goes on to say that, "The development of Chichewa and its future symbol of Malawi's one ethnolinguistic and political nation depends on the people of Malawi and their government" (1992:46). He adds that English will still be used for a long time as a means of international communication in anglophone African states, including Malawi.

The assumption of a total acceptance of Chichewa as a one-nation-one-language concept made by Mvula (1992), is disputed by Kayambazinthu (1998). She says that the language planning and policies of Malawi were done on an ad hoc and reactionary basis, based more on self-interest and political whim than on research and other languages were ignored. Kayambazinthu (1998) reports on 16 other indigenous languages in "multilingual" Malawi, but for the purposes of my research topic, I will focus only on the Sena people, which are grouped into Guthrie's Zone N, Group 40 (Guthrie 1967).

Sena is spoken in the southern region of Malawi (Nsanje and Chikwawa) by 3,5% of the population, according to the 1966 census. Kayambazinthu (1998) states that the absence of literature or documentation on this ethnic group in Malawi makes it difficult for one to tell

exactly when they migrated into the country. According to Kayambazinthu (1998:376), both Werner (1906) and Watkins (1937) claim Sena to be mutually intelligible with Chichewa and at most a dialect of Chichewa (or Chinyanja). Kayambazinthu strongly disputes this. He is a native Chichewa speaker and cannot understand the Sena news broadcasts on the MBC (Malawi Broadcasting Corporation) or his colleagues when they speak Sena. He also says native Sena speakers claim their language is not mutually intelligible with Chinyanja (Chichewa). Guthrie (1967) places Chichewa and Chisena in Zone N, but in group 30 and 40 respectively, and he places Nsenga, Kunda, Nyungwe, Sena, Rue and Podzo in the same group (40). Another cultural difference between the Chewa and Sena people is that the former, along with other Southern tribes in Malawi, the Lomwe and Yao, are matrilineal and matrilocal whilst the Sena are the only patrilineal group (Kayambazinthu 1998:381).

The colonisation of Malawi by the British in the nineteenth century ushered in English and also gave rise to lingua francas of Chichewa and Chitumbuka for administrative and evangelism purposes (Kayambazinthu 1998), hence the Chichewa and English influence on all minority languages including Chisena. Since 1996 primary school education has only been in Chichewa, and thus by the time pupils leave primary school literacy in Chichewa has been established. Those who drop out integrate back into their various linguistic groups and their competence in Chichewa drops. Secondary schools use English as the medium of instruction and only about 2% of the population go to secondary school and 0,13% continue on to University (1996 census). According to the World Development Report (1997) there is currently an adult illiteracy rate of 58% for women and 28% for men. The Malawi National Statistical Office [Preliminary report] (1987:2) shows that a small minority of only 3,4% of an elite group of Malawians speak English as a mother tongue, but still a reasonable number of Malawians do speak and understand English to varying degrees.

The issue of language in education is discussed by Kayambazinthu (1998:388) who states that "most educationists and language planners acknowledge the cultural and educational benefits of using the mother-tongue or a vernacular as a medium of instruction". She quotes Bamgbose's (1976) statement that children and adults learn to read and write a

second language better if they have first become literate in their mother-tongue. She also refers to Fishman's (1974) comment that instruction in the mother-tongue of disadvantaged groups may lead to academic and socio-political upliftment. Kayambazinthu (1998) also mentions the financial burdens that this can place on multilingual countries and hence the need for adequate language planning.

The dilemma of when to use the mother-tongue or vernacular language and when to introduce English is also discussed by Kayambazinthu (1998). The current policy in Malawi on paper is that at primary school level all teaching should be done in the mother-tongue from standard 1 to 4, except for English and Chichewa, which are separate subjects, thereafter English should be the primary medium of instruction through to university level to facilitate integration on a global level, especially in science and technology. Nevertheless the mother-tongue is the foundation on which to build knowledge and also to provide cultural roots and the sharing of cultural values. Dr Banda banned the use of Tumbuka in schools and on radio in 1968, and due to his 'Chichewa only' policy of national unity allowed only the use of Chichewa and English, but since 15 November 1996 in the new spirit of democracy MBC has broadcast in 6 Malawian languages, doing a 15 minute daily news broadcast in Tumbuka, Yao, Lomwe, Sena and Tonga as well as other special programs e.g. religious, election campaigns etc. Chichewa and English still remain the primary language of broadcasting (Kayambazinthu 1998).

Kayambazinthu (1998:427) maintains "linguists should be involved in the standardisation, production of orthography and lexical expansion of these languages to meet the communicative needs of the communities." She mentions the role of Bible translation in language development and quotes Doke (1961) as saying "The Bible translation work ... is of immense importance. Just as the English vernacular version of Coverdale in 1535 was of inestimable value in the ultimate standardisation of literary English, so have the early Bantu vernacular translations laid the foundations in a number of these languages" (Kayambazinthu, 1998:427). The Chichewa Bible was the first to be published in Malawi in 1922, and it was revised in 1936. It has been followed by many other vernacular translations over the years, something which Banda allowed due to his emphasis on religious freedom. Kawale (2001:132) says the church applauds the government for the

language liberalisation policy of 1996, as "it is a mandate from God to have all the languages to receive the Gospel." He adds, "This policy enables all languages in Malawi to enjoy equal status" (2001:132). The Sena New Testament was published in 1999, and the full Bible is currently being type-set by the Bible Society of Malawi. This Sena Bible, which is the first literature to be published in the Sena language of Malawi, has based its orthography on the dominant lingua franca of the region, Chichewa, which has an estimated total of 10 million speakers. It is hoped that the Sena Bible translation project will also help in the standardisation of the Sena language and also stimulate the production of other literature in the Sena language.

2.2 The language situation in Mozambique

A good overview of the language situation of Mozambique is provided by Lopes (1998:440), with his stated focus being on "language planning in the particular context of the lingua franca status of Portuguese in Mozambique, and the political and educational tensions between this and the commitment to multilingualism." Lopes (1998:441) supports Marinis's (1981) view that the languages of Mozambique can be basically reduced to four main groups: Makua, Tsonga, Nyanja-Sena and Shona; and four minor groups: Makonde, Yao, Copi and Gitonga. Lopes (1998:441) supports Ngunga's (1987) opposition to the concept that Sena and Nyanja are two dialects of the same language, and he classifies them as two separate languages. He believes the latest report coming from the 1989 seminar on the Standardisation of Orthography of Mozambican Languages held at the Eduardo Mondlane University is the most accurate, quoting the existence of 20 languages. Chisena has a population of 1,8 million speakers in Mozambique i.e. 11,2% of the total population (National census 1997).

Lopes (1998) maintains that there is a high level of linguistic diversity in Mozambique, as no more than 50% of the population speak any single language. Emakhuwa which is the largest language group is quoted at 24,8% of the population. Thus no Mozambican language can claim majority status at national level. Portuguese was chosen in preference to an indigenous language as the official language of government communication, education

and national unity making Mozambique an exoglossic state (Lopes 1998). The 1980 census revealed that 40% of the total population can speak Portuguese; not all though make the same effective and efficient use of it. The vernaculars are used to varying degrees for religious purposes and educational authorities have experimented with adult literacy courses in the vernacular languages. On an international level Mozambicans communicate in Portuguese with other African lusophone countries like Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe as well as Portugal and Brazil. They use English, however, as a medium of communication with the rest of the world. The South African Development Community (SADC), composed of 15 states, have chosen English and Portuguese as the official languages of communication, although English is highly favoured.

Portuguese is the exclusive medium of instruction from Grade 1 onwards, according to Lopes (1998). English and French are also taught as subjects from Grades 8 and 11 respectively. Emakhuwa and Shangaan are offered as courses at University level. From a pedagogical and cultural point of view mother-tongue education is being promoted (Lopes 1997). There is also a growing demand for English for access to jobs, social advancement and communication with neighbouring states. Radio Mozambique (RM) broadcasts in 12 Bantu languages, including Sena. Lopes (1998:457) supports Ronning's (1997) contention that RM needs to develop English programs as a cross-border vehicle of information particularly with South Africa, where economic and social ties are being strengthened, as with other English-speaking nations. The current language policy is aimed at optimal bilingualism, where Portuguese will continue to be the official language, but vernaculars will be promoted and used as the medium for instruction in Grades 1 to 3 and Portuguese taught as a subject from the last quarter of Grade 2. From Grade 4 only Portuguese will be used. Thus linguists have been encouraged to produce dictionaries, grammars, handbooks and literary and scientific works in national languages.

The current illiteracy rate is at 60% and it is hoped that acquiring literacy skills in the mother-tongue will also facilitate smoother transition to learning Portuguese (Lopes 1998). Lopes (1998:3) believes it "is a citizen's right to use mother-tongues in official situations and consequently all languages spoken in Mozambique should enjoy official status." SIL has been operating in Mozambique since 1986 on several language projects as well as

Chisena, in which a Bible translation project is currently underway. Lopes (1998:479) comments on the debate on English versus Portuguese as follows: "the influence of English in Mozambique will increasingly be greater ... for their interaction with the outside world, but will always be balanced by their continuing attachment to Portuguese as a language of national unity, and the Bantu languages as symbols of ethno-linguistic identity and ties."

Yorke (1999) looks at the interface of Portuguese with the indigenous languages in lusophone Africa and he also examines the sociolinguistic impact which Bible translations have had on these indigenous languages. He uses Mozambique as a test case and shows how less than 25% of Mozambicans are fluent in European Portuguese, (less than 2% using Portuguese as a first language) and labels the country as Bantuphone rather than lusophone. He mentions how European Portuguese has been Mozambicanised (Gonçalves 1996). Lopes (1998) also mentions how Portuguese in Mozambique has been modified in areas of grammar, discourse, lexis and semantic shifts in meanings due to contact with Bantu languages. He argues the need for mother-tongue education at primary school level at least and indicates that English is beginning to compete with Portuguese in the area of science and technology. Because of the low literacy rate in Portuguese and the indigenous languages, he advocates diglot editions of the Bible, e.g. a Portuguese-Sena Bible.

The perceived tension between the Portuguese and English languages in lusophone Mozambique is addressed by Rothwell (2001). He maintains it was the first of the 6 lusophone countries in Africa to join the Commonwealth, in 1995, and that Portuguese was being overwhelmed by the advance of English, and that there were now more speakers of English than Portuguese in Mozambique. Historically, at the time of the scramble for Africa in the late 1800s there was tension between Portugal, who wanted the territory stretching from Angola to Mozambique, and Britain, who wanted a passage from Cape to Cairo. The struggle became known as the ultimatum crisis.

Rothwell (2001) highlights recent changes to language policy within Mozambique by President Chissano, who spoke English at a meeting of the United Nations, and has encouraged mother-tongue education in the schools at primary level, as well as introducing English as a subject in the second year of primary school. His predecessor, Machel, refused

to speak English at the UN and allowed only the use of Portuguese in schools as a medium of instruction. Rothwell mentions some Lusophone commentators, such as Gouveia, who have a pessimistic outlook for Portuguese in the region, especially due to strengthening economic ties with South Africa, the United Kingdom and America, and Mozambicans recognising that English is a means to greater economic advancement.

Data collected in the 1997 census shows that Portuguese remains very weak in Mozambique (Gadelii 2001). Gadelii states that in the Tete province only 4% of the population claim to speak Portuguese at home and 75% said they could not speak Portuguese at all. He also says that Chinyanja is the largest language group and could be the official language of Tete, but that Chinyungwe and Chisena are also important languages in the province. This further illustrates the need for the standardisation of Bantu languages in Mozambique (perhaps following a more universal Bantu orthography). Gadelii (2001:11) comments that it is "not an easy task to make decisions on linguistic policy in Mozambique."

This advancement of English in Mozambique could influence the standardisation process of MZS and bias the orthography more to the English and Chichewa style of usage rather than the Portuguese style.

2.3 Cross-border language issues

Having looked at the historical background of the language situation and development both in Malawi and Mozambique, it is fitting to move on to the issue of cross-border languages. It is worth noting at this point that the literature on the issue of cross-border standardisation in Africa on the whole is rather scant. Chumbow's definition of cross-border languages quoted by Rubadiri (2001:17) is as follows: They are "languages whose domain of usage geographically straddles international boundaries." They are products of colonial history resulting from what historians have termed the "scramble for Africa". People speaking the same language and coming from the same tribe and even familial groups, have been separated by national boundaries.

From the previous discussion on the language policies of Malawi and Mozambique, which aim at the introduction of mother-tongue education and thus the development and standardisation of the vernaculars, as well as the fact that both countries are members of the Commonwealth and SADC, there exists the possibility for regional co-operation and sharing of resources, both human and technical, for the standardisation of the cross-border Sena, Yao and Chichewa languages.

Malawi has several cross-border languages, according to Rubadiri (2001). The main one being Chichewa, spoken in Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Chiyao is also spoken in these 3 countries as well as in Tanzania. Chilomwe and Chisena are spoken in Malawi and Mozambique. Kiswahili is spoken in Malawi, Tanzania and a number of other Central Africa Countries. Not only the names of cross-border languages sometimes vary, as in Chinyanja (Zambia) and Chichewa (Malawi), but also the orthography. Rubadiri (2001) looks at ways of inter-regional co-operation in the development of mother-tongue education, and proposes a justification for mother-tongue education. Stumbling blocks to inter-regional co-operation he mentions are lack of political will and economic mismanagement and he suggests that external donors should assist in the development of local languages. Rubadiri (2001:18) maintains that "minimal use of local languages in education and other domains is one of the factors, leading to Africa's underdevelopment" (cf. OAU 1989; Prah 1998).

Kishindo (2001) has a practical approach to cross-border standardisation. He suggests a language on one side of the border may be more developed than the same language on the other side of the border. This information should be shared and inter-country co-operation is essential in the standardisation and harmonisation of orthographies and dialects to be used in writing, publication and exchange of reading materials of these cross-border languages. He stresses that this harmonisation can be done by linguistic experts, only if they are backed up and serious co-ordination is carried out on a national level by the countries concerned. Kishindo (1998) mentions the principles set out by UNESCO that the same sound should be represented by the same character in languages within a single country, and a language spoken in several countries should have the same representation within a sub-region of Africa. This has significant implications for the Sena language, where different orthographies are used for the different varieties.

The challenges of cross-border publishing are addressed by Mpanga (2001). He advocates joint publishing of books in the Chichewa of Zambia and Malawi, which will create a wider market and reduced sale prices because of the reduced cost of printing. He stresses the need for harmonisation of orthographies. He mentions the greater challenges that exist between the cross-border languages of Malawi and Mozambique due to the influence of English and Portuguese colonial powers, but emphasises the need for partnership in the standardisation and dissemination of cross-border publications in Sena, Yao and Lomwe.

Bwanali (2001) takes an in-depth look at Chichewa and its use in Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia, and the steps that need to be taken to develop it into a lingua franca through standardisation of orthography, the development of a grammar and dictionaries, publications and the training of personnel. He states that Chichewa is spoken by 10% of the population in Mozambique and is the main language of communication in Malawi and Zambia. Bwanali suggests that a common name for Chichewa and Chinyanja must be agreed on and all parties should be involved even though Mozambique has fewer speakers represented. He mentions the need for inter-regional workshops to standardise the orthography, grammar and terminologies of Chichewa, which have already started, and the all important need for creating awareness and funding of these projects.

The differences of orthography in the cross-border languages of Chichewa/Chinyanja and Chitumbuka, spoken in Malawi and Zambia, are highlighted by Mwale (2001). He specifically examines the lack of standardisation in the orthography of locatives, prepositions, adverbs and even in punctuation, by comparing the cross-border languages in tables. He advocates the creation of a common centre for standardisation of cross-border languages, and the joint production and use of the same teaching materials. Similarly, Pfaffe (2000:258) says of the cross-border Chiyao that "Since Yao is shared similarly, by Malawi and Mozambique, efforts should be made by the two countries to collaborate in the development of Chiyao teaching/learning materials."

Ngunga (2001) assesses the influence of the Arabic script on the orthography of the cross-border Yao language. He suggests a full adoption of the Roman script as the educated and professionals among the Yao people received their training in English. He suggests that the Portuguese-influenced Yao orthography should be changed to an English influenced orthography and loanword system to enhance literacy and development especially in science and technology.

Kawale (2000:143) stresses the importance of traditional and academic experts being brought together to make decisions about their own language. He maintains that a Chichewa speaker has no authority or right to make decisions for the Chiyao or Chitumbuka language, and *vice versa*, as he is not a stakeholder in that particular language. He maintains that decisions made on the orthography of a language, for example, will be more authentic and widely accepted, costs will be reduced as changes will be less frequent and already published materials less frequently need revising, and political sensitivity can be avoided as decisions will be made by mother-tongue speakers themselves, and not by some outside or dominant group. He does, however, suggest the need to share results of language research and the related decisions made, to a central body, or a "Language Commission", as he calls it. These experts should not only look at education, but also at the development and elevation of the national languages in multilingual countries, and thus come from a wide cross-section of the nation.

An urgent need for an updated ethnolinguistic map of Africa, which reflects more accurately the distribution of language clusters in Africa is suggested by Kamwangamalu (1997). He examines the Bemba cluster which is spoken on the Zambia-Zaire Border. The local languages exist in a diglossic relationship with French in Zaire and English in Zambia. These local languages are used for intra-ethnic communication, and possibly for the first year or two of primary education, but then French and English "take over as instructional media for the rest of the educational system" (1997:89). French and English are aspired to by the masses as they are used by the elite groups, for administration, diplomacy, international business and communication. In 1962 Zaire abolished the use of local (or national) languages as media of instruction, and introduced a 'French only' policy. Zambia did the same in 1965, introducing an 'English only' policy. Zaire then reverted to local languages as instructional media in 1975 and Zambia followed in 1991. Kamwangamalu's (1997:89) assessment of these policies is as follows:

In both Zaire and Zambia the rationale behind the rehabilitation of the local languages as instructional media seems to be the realisation that despite the many decades of the 'straight-for-French/English policy', the policy failed to 'generate' literacy amongst the masses and, therefore, it has denied them participation in the social, political, and economic welfare of the state.

Kamwangamalu (1997) did a CA of Bemba and Lamba, which among others, like Tabwa and Luba, are spoken in Northern Zambia, as well as in Southern Zaire. He found that the lexical, phonological and syntactical features of Lamba and Bemba are so similar, that although they are considered separate languages, he would suggest that Lamba should be considered a dialect of Bemba and that for language standardisation, Bemba should serve as the basic variety. He admits that there is a very thin line between language and dialect, saying that dialects are regionally or socially distinct varieties of a language that are mutually intelligible with other varieties. He stresses Wiley's assertion that social value as well as mutual intelligibility need to be taken into account in the distinction between language and dialect, "where the variety with a wider usage and a higher social value, is usually called a language, and the language variety with a lower social value is called a dialect" (1997:89).

Kamwangamalu (1997:92) proposes that Bemba should be used as a basis for standardisation of Lamba, where it is phonologically or morphologically divergent from Bemba. Bemba is more widely spoken, and accepted as a medium of communication by most Zambians, as well as those on the *Zambian/Zaire* border area. He tends to ignore the influence of French and English on the local languages (especially Bemba and Lamba), except to say that although both have high social value and have been used in education, they have failed to promote literacy. Kamwangamalu (1997:92) states that only one in 25 people in Zaire can speak French correctly, and only one in 30 can write it correctly. In anglophone Africa he quotes figures of between 5 and 20% of the population being proficient in English, and that according to Siachitema (1992) and Tripathi (1990), English competence in Zambia is shrinking. Kamwangamalu (1997:93) thus suggests the need for mother-tongue education and governmental policies to be put in place to increase the social value of the mother-tongue, and to do more research ethno-linguistically in order to create larger standard languages from mutually intelligible varieties, as in the cross-border Bemba/Lamba case.

Another cross-border language, the Kanuri language spoken in Niger and Nigeria, is assessed by Hutchison (1991). He suggests that the differences between the two varieties and their orthographies are not irreconcilable, and that through compromise on both sides a harmonised orthography is possible. He looks at the dialectal differences within the Kanuri language, its status in both Niger and Nigeria and then goes into a detailed analysis of the phonological differences reflected in the two orthographies, as well as the morphological and syntactic differences. Hutchinson (1991:133) concludes that "generally older more morphologically complete and historically faithful forms of a language have been selected for graphic representation." He states the example of the Gulmancema language of Burkina Faso, and the Quecha language which achieved standardisation by using the most complete, well described dialect to form the basis for a standard, more regular and economic orthography. He suggests both varieties should be well described and then representatives from each cross-border variety meet and discuss possibilities for a harmonised orthography.

2.4 Language Standardisation

Standardisation is the process which any undeveloped language needs to undergo in order for its vocabulary and writing system to be developed such that it becomes capable of expressing whatever functions the speakers need to express. Any language variety or dialect is capable of developing attributes necessary for standardisation.

Crystal (1985:286) defines standardisation as a natural development of a standard language in a speech community, or an attempt by a community to impose one dialect as standard. According to Hudson (1980:32) standardisation is a direct and deliberate intervention by society to create a standard language where before there were only 'dialects' (non-standard varieties). Kamwangamalu (1997:91) says this standard form is usually associated with prestige as it provides a unified means of communication, and an institutionalised norm which can be used in mass media, education, teaching the language to foreigners etc. Trudgill (1983:161) argues that standardisation is necessary to facilitate communication, to arrive at an agreed orthography, and to provide a unified form for school books.

The process of language standardisation has been summarised by Haugen in four basic steps: selection of the norm; codification of the form, elaboration of the functions and acceptance of the variety by the community (Crystal 1992). According to Hudson (1980:34) most linguists like Garvin, Mathiot, Hall, Macauley and Trudgill concur that "a standard language has to be codified and normalised in order to fulfil the unifying function for its constituent speech community. This involves the selection of reference norms and the codification of grammar and dictionary forms" and also that as suggested by Garvin, this reference norm also needs to be not only stable, but also flexible so it can be adapted to new and changing needs (Von Gleich and Wolff 1991:44).

Language standardisation in Africa has its unique complications due to the enormous number of languages spoken in the four main language families (Hamito-Semitic, Nilo-Saharan, Khoisan and Niger-Congo). Due to the 'scramble' for Africa, its languages have also been influenced by three major world languages, English, French and Portuguese, in anglophone, francophone and lusophone Africa respectively. Tanzania is a unique country in Africa as it has each of the four major language families represented and it is an

anglophone country, with the francophone, DRC and Burundi to the west and lusophone, Mozambique in the south. All these language groups have their influence on the cross-border language situations.

Ansre (1971) looks at the standardisation of the Swahili language, noting that due to its central place in trading posts and commercial centres, in Zanzibar, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda it had a natural standardisation process. Arabic was initially used to codify Swahili, but the German missionaries introduced the Roman script, which was adopted by the government in 1886. An interterritorial language committee worked on the standardisation and elaboration of Swahili, and tried to employ Bantu words in preference over Arabic loanwords wherever possible, as Ansre (1971:692) noted, "in its phonological and grammatical structures Swahili is distinctly Bantu; but it is shot through with Arabic lexical loans." The standardised form was widely disseminated by the East African Literature Bureau which promoted the use and publication of Swahili literature which caused wide acceptance of the form.

The need for inter-regional co-operation for the standardisation of cross-border languages has been clearly expressed in the literature, as has the need for the development of materials such as standardised and harmonised grammars, dictionaries and other educational materials for use in mother-tongue education in schools, particularly in cross-border languages in order to cut costs. Heins (1991:296) states that every organisation, or government, wants to optimise its resources. In multilingual societies a way of doing this is standardisation, or unification of speech forms such that as few languages as possible reach the entire audience, or population. He stresses the importance of sociolinguistic surveys, quoting Ansre, that the major use of sociolinguistic surveys is to provide as accurate and as relevant a picture of the "situation" as possible to the individuals or groups that have the task of making decisions on matters related to language.

Sociolinguistic surveys need to illicit information on neighbouring languages, such as intelligibility, bilingualism and language attitudes and identity, which is the degree to which literature in a neighbouring variant/dialect would be acceptable to a given group of people (Heins 1991). If intelligibility tests show that speakers of language A can understand

speakers of language B, then language attitudes need to be examined to see why A should not use B. Heins refers to several linguists such as Grimes, Simons, Leenhout, Ansre and Casad who have developed and used such surveys.

In any developing multilingual nation, linguistic diversity poses difficult political and educational problems (Mberi 1992:281), and dialectal studies play a very important role in language standardisation. In most African languages more work needs to be done on codification as well as modernisation for lexical elaboration and expansion. Dialectal studies enhance modernisation because they provide indigenous roots from indigenous knowledge systems that facilitate lexical elaboration.

More practical issues regarding the need for language standardisation in minority communities are brought out by Castelvi (1997:52) who states: "When a community uses a foreign language to communicate concrete subjects, it loses prestige progressively in front of other communities and arouses feelings of linguistic inferiority when their own language is used." A language can only communicate effectively when it has the necessary resources to express and to communicate all subjects, in all situations and through all channels.

All languages have the ability to communicate all concepts, but languages are not equally developed (Castelvi 1997). The dichotomy between the degree of development and capability is caused by the socio-historical evolution of the community and by political and economic relations kept by this community and the rest of the world. A language without a developed register is used only in informal settings and consequently in a diglossic situation. This means that a community uses another or a foreign language for specialised communication and their own language becomes partial and fragmented and may disappear. The development of a standardised terminology is important for direct communication and is a main element in specialised communication. Without it one cannot express or communicate knowledge or do minimal systematising of knowledge. Castelvi (1997) highlights the ISO (International Standardisation Organisation) as a body which assists developing languages by providing computational aids in terminology development.

Rzewuski (1991) has looked at the language policies and initial steps toward language

standardisation in lusophone Africa. He notes there is a general trend to move from exoglossic monolingualism, i.e. the sole promotion of Portuguese, to an exoglossic plurilingualism i.e. the promotion, development and standardisation of national languages, to enhance literacy and thus improve the usage and level of proficiency in Portuguese. Rzewuski (1991:178) highlights the problem that Mozambican languages are not yet adequately graphicised, and that harmonisation of these national languages is difficult because many of them are cross-border languages, which are influenced by "foreign standard codes". He says that the lexical development of Mozambican national languages is naturally based on borrowings from Portuguese, and not English, but due to cross-border influences, English is beginning to exert its influence.

In order to standardise a language, the various dialects of that language need to be identified and analysed, the core or prestige dialect chosen, and one common or standard form constructed through a process of harmonisation of the other dialects, usually in the form of a standard grammar book, a dictionary and publications.

This is no different in the case of the Sena language, which has several dialects, including the cross-border Sena dialects, MLS and MZS, which can also be harmonised.

2.5 Conclusion

One can see from the above discussions of the literature that cross-border language standardisation has received some attention in the recent past, but it still remains a very poorly researched domain, especially the standardisation of cross-border languages between the anglophone and lusophone countries.

With the recent trend towards mother-tongue education and regionalisation there is no doubt that standardised orthographies for each region will need to be agreed on in order to facilitate the publication and dissemination of educational materials and general literature for all languages within these multilingual countries, and those which straddle national boundaries.

CHAPTER 3

A GRAMMATICAL CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF MLS AND MZS

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter a selective CA will be done focussing on the differences between the syntax of the two varieties of Sena. The two Sena varieties being compared are the Sena variety spoken in Malawi (abbreviated as MLS) and the variety spoken in Mozambique (abbreviated as MZS). The texts used to perform the CA are from translations of the Biblical books of Jonah in the Old Testament (abbreviated as Jnh) and Matthew in the New Testament (abbreviated as Mt) in each variety of Sena. The biblical books, Mt and Jnh in MLS were translated by The Word for the World and published by the Bible Society of Malawi, and in MZS, Jnh was published by SIL Mozambique, and Mt published by the Bible Society of Mozambique.

CA is a useful tool to compare the differences as well as the similarities between the two varieties on all levels of linguistic analysis (James 1992). This chapter focuses on a grammatical CA, and the next chapter on a CA done on the orthographical and lexical level. Generally the steps that will be followed are identification of a linguistic feature, examples given from each variety, number of occurrences and then a discussion of the differences or similarities of this particular linguistic feature. The frequency of the feature is also indicated.

The reason for counting the number of occurrences of each linguistic feature as it occurs in Jnh and Mt in each variety is to give a general overview of the degree of similarity or

difference between the two varieties. It was not done for statistical analysis, although it is possible to get a fairly accurate quantitative result because the texts are translations of the same source texts, Jonah and Matthew, and the translation techniques used are very similar, being attempts at meaning-based, dynamic equivalent translations from the same source text, into the two varieties of the Sena language.

The Paratext SIL computer program was used to search for linguistic features in both Jnh and Mt in each variety, as full texts have been entered into their word processor packages. A word list generator was used to generate a word list for the combined books of Jonah and Matthew in MLS and MZS. (See Appendix C for further details on the word list, and how frequencies have been calculated).

3.1 CA based on basic Sena Grammar

3.1.1 The verb stem, concords and tense markers

The identification of the syntactic features was based on Anderson (1897) and a more recent grammatical analysis of MLS by Funnell (unpublished manuscript). The CA focuses on only selected grammatical features. In the analysis examples from MLS always appear first, followed by examples from MZS. MLS has been chosen as the base from which the CA is done, because the author is better acquainted with MLS.

Sena is a typical Bantu language with verb stems to which are added subject and object concords, and various markers to indicate tense, mood, intensification etc. The nouns are grouped into 8 noun classes (Anderson 1897).

3.1.1.1 *Subject concords*

The subject concords are the same in MLS and MZS:

<i>ndi-</i>	I	<i>ti-</i>	We
<i>u-</i>	You	<i>mu-</i>	You (Pl or respect)
<i>a-</i>	He/She	<i>a-</i>	They

3.1.1.2 *Object concords*

The object concords are the same in MLS and MZS:

<i>-ndi-</i>	I	<i>-ti-</i>	Us
<i>-ku-</i>	You	<i>-ku-...-ni</i>	You (Pl or respect)
<i>-m(u)-</i>	He/She	<i>-(w)a-</i>	they

3.1.2 Pluperfect tense

The pluperfect tense is indicated by *-khada-* in both MLS and MZS:

- 1) *akhadaphatwa na mzimu wakuipa* (MLS Mt 12.22)
he had been grabbed by a spirit evil
- 2) *akhadaphatwa na mizimu ya kuipa* (MZS Mt 12.22)
he had been grabbed by spirits evil

A search was done on Mt and Jnh in both Sena varieties using the subject concord plus *-khada-*. There is a very close correlation between the number of occurrences of the pluperfect tense in MLS, where 47 were found, and in MZS where 58 were found. The pluperfect tense seems to be formed in exactly the same way in both varieties, i.e. by means of the *-khada-* construction.

The variation in the number of occurrences is probably due to differences in the source text being followed, or in the translators style of presentation as can be seen in the following translations of Jhn 3.2:

- 3) *mbukalalike kweneke mphanwa zinakupanga inezi* (MLS)
and preach there the message which I will tell you.
- 4) *ukalonge kuna anthu a mwenemo, pire pikhadakupanga ine* (MZS)
speak to the people of in there, the things which I had told you.

MLS follows more closely the style of the RSV and NIV versions in (3), indicating that Jonah will still be given the message, but the MZS follows the Good News version in (4), which indicates that God had already given Jonah the message. Thus in (3) a future tense is used and in (4) the pluperfect tense is used. This is a stylistic variation, but not a general rule.

3.1.3 Perfect tense

The perfect tense occurs in both MLS and MZS in identical contexts and the same construction. It is indicated by *-a-* in both MLS and MZS.

- 5) *enewo atambira kale mfupo wawo* (MLS Mt 6.16)
they have received already reward their
- 6) *anawa atambira kale mioni yawo* (MZS Mt 6.16)
they have received already reward their.

Example (5) and (6) are of the 3rd pers. pl. perfect tense and further examples of the 3rd pers. sing. perfect tense are as follows:

- 7) *Mwananga wamkazi afa chinchino pano* (MLS Mt 9.18)
child my female has died just now
- 8) *mwana wanga wa nkazi afa cincino pano* (MZS Mt 9.18)
child my female has died just now

The *-a-* perfect tense marker marks both the tense as well as the concord for 3rd pers. sing. as well as 3rd pers. pl as can be seen in (5) to (8) in both MLS and MZS.

The 2nd pers. pl. perfect tense marker is *mwa-* as seen in the following examples:

9) *Mwatambira okhonda pagali* (MLS Mt 10.8)

You have received without paying.

10) *Mwapasiwa pezi* (MZS Mt 10.8)

You have been given freely.

Examples (5) to (10) show that the perfect tense marker *-a-* is used in exactly the same way in both varieties, and it also has the same morphophonemic changes in all the subject concords from 1st to 3rd pers. sing. and pl.

3.1.4 Imperfect tense or simple (or narrative) past tense

The imperfect tense in MLS is marked by *-da-* consistently; but in MZS it appears to be marked by *-da-* in a few instances, and by *-a-* in the majority of instances. Examples (11) and (12) show both MLS and MZS using the *-da-* imperfect tense marker.

11) *thangwi penepi nee pidabulukira kuna munthu tayu* (MLS Mt 16.17)

because this did not come from man

12) *Thangwi penepyo udachululirwa na munthu tayu* (MZS Mt 16.17)

because this was not revealed by man

In (11) the concord *pida-* is used and in (12) *uda-* is used. The main focus here is the *-da-* imperfect tense marker, but as will be seen later MLS sometimes uses a different concord to MZS indicating a variation between the noun classes. (See 4.2.2.5.)

In MLS and MZS the tense marker *-a-* is equivalent to the perfect tense as already seen in section 3.1.2 above, but this *-a-* perfect tense marker is used frequently in MZS where MLS uses the *-da-* imperfect tense marker as can be seen in example (11) and (12).

13) *Ine ndidalonga* (MLS Jnh 2.4)

I said

14) *Ine ndalonga* (MZS Jnh 2.4)

I (have) said

Thus the *-da-* imperfect tense marker occurs 1 125 times in MLS and only 182 times in

MZS, i.e. 6,72 times more frequently. One needs to consider why the *-da-* imperfect tense marker is used differently in the two Sena varieties. It seems to be a rather complex issue and therefore many examples are given to assess the differences in usage in MLS and MZS. In MLS *ada-* is used 847 times, whereas it is only used 67 times in MZS. Consider the following translations of Jhn 1.9:

- 15) *Yona adatawira mbati, "Ine ndine Muheberi. Ndimbapembedza* (MLS)
 Jonah answered: I am of the tribe of Hebrew. I (habitual tense) worship
MBUYA, Mulungu wa kudzulu, nyakulenga dziko na bara ene.
 The Lord, God of heaven, (who) made sea and earth.
- 16) *Djona aatawira kuti: "Ine ndine wa dzinza ya aebereu. Ndisalambira* (MZS)
 Jonah (has) answered them: I am of the tribe of Hebrews. I (habitual tense) worship
MBUYA, Mulungu wa kudzulu, adalenga bara na mataka.
 The Lord, God of heaven, (who) made sea and earth.

In example (15) the *-da-* imperfect tense marker in *adatawira* is expected in MLS, because it is a narrative passage and is a translation of the imperfect tense in English. In example (16) in MZS however the perfect tense marker *a-* is used to translate this narrative passage. This would confuse a MLS speaker or reader, as it would be understood as a perfect tense marker, or a completed action and not a narrative or imperfect tense.

It is important to notice from example (16) that the *-da-* in *adalenga* in MZS, is an imperfect tense, but with the added function of introducing a relative clause. This type of construction is foreign to MLS, which usually uses *nyaku-* as in *nyakulenga* (the one who created) to introduce a relative clause, or MLS includes a relative pronoun to introduce a relative clause, such as *ule*. In (17) below *ule* is used to introduce the relative clause, 'who built his house', whereas in MZS just the imperfect tense marker *ada-*, is used to introduce the relative clause. Consider the following translations of Mt 7.26:

- 17) *munthu wakupupwa ule adamanga nyumbache patchetcha* (MLS)
 a foolish man who built his house on sand

18) *m'bodzi wa kusoweka nzeru, adamanga nyumba yace pa checa* (MLS)

one man without wisdom, (who) he built his house on the sand

Although *ada-* occurs 67 in MZS, it is used almost absolutely in the context of introducing a relative clause as in example (18), and no relative pronoun is used.

The rule generally then is that MLS uses *-da-* to signal all imperfect tenses, where MZS uses primarily *-a-*, but also does use *-da-* occasionally. The marker *-da-* is also used in MZS in past tense relative clauses.

One instance was found in MZS of the 1st pers. pl. imperfect tense signalled by *tida-* in example (20), where it should rather have been translated with the perfect tense as in the MLS translation of Mt 19.27. All English versions use the perfect tense, 'we have left'.

19) *ife tasiya pinthu pyathu pyonsene* (MLS Mt 19.27)

we have left things our all

20) *Kodi ifembo tidasiya pinthu pyathu pyonsene* (MZS Mt 19.27)

We left things our all (They put it in imperfect tense.)

Other instances where *-da-* is used for signalling the imperfect tense is in the locatives (*pa-*, *ku-*, *mu-*) as in *kuda-*, *muda-*, and *pada-*, as well as in the cases where the concord agrees with the noun class. Consider the following translations of Mt 25.24:

21) *pontho mumbagumanya padakhonda imwe waza mbewu pale* (MLS)

and you gather where you did not scatter seed

22) *Pontho musagumanya padakhonda imwe kumwaza pinthu* (MZS)

and you gather where you have not scattered things

The *pida-* marker occurs regularly in both MLS and MZS to introduce a past participial phrase. *Pi-* meaning 'when', occurs 76 times in MLS, and 31 times in MZS; *-da-* signals imperfect tense.

23) *Pidamala Yesu nsiku makumanayi* (MLS Mt 4.2)

After spending Jesus forty days

24) *Pidamala iye ntsiku makumanai* (MZS Mt 4.2)

After him spending forty days

Pida- occurs twice more frequently in MLS, due to MZS also using the construction *muda-*, instead of *pida-*, to introduce a past participial phrase as in example (26).

25) *Pidava Yesu* (MLS Mt 12.15)

When heard Jesus

26) *Yezu mudapibva iye* (MZS Mt 12.15)

Jesus when he heard

In MLS grammar the *muda-* construction is used as an adverbial phrase of manner and is usually combined with the word *ninga* meaning 'as', or 'like'. *Muda-* is not used for a past participial phrase in MLS.

27) *Ninga mudamalira Yona m'mimba mwa chinsomba* (MLS Mt 12.40)

As how Jonah stayed in the stomach of a whale.

28) *ninga mudaleberwa ipyo m'Bukhu ya Mulungu* (MZS Mt 26.24)

as how it is written in the Book of God

This *ninga muda-* construction occurs 6 times in MLS and 9 times in MZS.

Kuda- occurs in similar constructions in MZS (7 times) and MLS (14 times) as seen in the following translations of Mt 12.44 in MLS and MZS respectively:

29) *Ndinabwerera pyanga kunyumba kwanga kudabulukira ine kule*

I will return to the house from where I came

30) *Ndinabwerera kunyumba kwanga kudabuluka ine*

I will return to the house from where I came

In the above examples (29) and (30), *ku-* refers to the locative 'where' and *da-* an imperfect tense marker is used, but once again in MLS a relative pronoun *kule* meaning 'where' is used to introduce the relative clause, but in MZS no relative pronoun '*kule*' is used.

31) *na thangwi ya kudumbira kudacita iye* (MLS Mt 14.9)

Because of the promise he made

- 32) *na thangwi ya kudumbira kudachita iye* (MZS Mt 14.9)

Because of the promise he made

The form *kuda-* in (31) and (32) agrees with the concord for the noun class *ku* in the nominalisation process of the verb 'to swear' and the *-da-* signals the imperfect tense. This is different from the examples (29) and (30) where *kuda-* agrees with the relative clauses by using *ku-* as a locative.

The alternative for *kuda-* which generally introduces a relative clause of location in MLS and MZS would be to start a new sentence, (see 34) or to form a co-ordinate clause (see 36). *Kuda-* occurs 16 times in MLS and only 6 times in MZS, due to these different grammatical constructions being used.

- 33) *Yopa, kule kudagumana iye* (MLS Jnh 1.8)

Jopa, where he found.

- 34) *Djopi. Pidafika iye kweneko agumana* (MZS Jnh 1.8)

Jopa. When he reached there he found

- 35) *Betania, kudakhala iye mosiku wenewo kule* (MLS Mt 21.17)

Bethany, where he spent the night.

- 36) *mu ndzinda unowu mbaenda kagona ku cisa ca Betanya* (MZS Mt 21.17)

in that city and went to sleep in the town of Bethany

Due to the complex nature of the imperfect tense as seen in the above examples an extended discussion on the issue is to follow. The differences of the imperfect tense between MLS and MZS could be due to a problem of interpretation and translation of the original (source) text, and on further discussion with the MZS translators, perhaps they would agree that the *-da-* does represent more clearly the imperfect tense and *-a-* the perfect tense. It may be a possibility that the *-da-* used consistently in MLS has become a

weakened form in MZS where *d-* has been dropped, and the *a-* in MZS represents the imperfect tense as well as the perfect. But this is not likely because MZS does still use the *-da-* marker in several instances.

It is more likely that the MZS uses the perfect tense marker *-a-* to represent the narrative tense as a stylistic device, and thus this linguistic feature represents a major challenge to the harmonisation process of MLS and MZS.

There is a high occurrence of *-da-* in MLS, and the imperfect tense is expected in the narrative passages of Jnh and Mt. It is used 6.85 times more frequently in MLS than in MZS. According to Anderson (1897) *-da-* does signal the distant past or imperfect tense.

The *-da-* marker is used in a number of cases in MZS to signal the imperfect tense (see examples 30, 32 and 34), but there seems to be another tense in use in MZS for narrative passages, which is usually the perfect tense, and the *-a-* marker is used. The natural imperfect tense found in narratives appears dissimilar in the two varieties: *-da-* is used in MLS, while the *-a-* is used in MZS. This creates confusion for the MLS reader as *-a-* is used rather for the perfect tense, a completed action, and is not used in narrative style.

It is interesting to note that in both MLS and MZS this tense marker *-a-* is used for several headings in the translations, to introduce subject matter:

37) *Yesu afunzisa pya kumwalana* (MLS Mt 5.31 heading)

Jesus taught (or has taught) about divorce.

38) *Yezu apfunzisa pya kumwalana* (MZS Mt 5.31 heading)

Jesus taught (or has taught) about divorce.

The nearest English equivalent for (37) and (38) in English would be 'Jesus teaches about divorce'. This is not the imperfect or a perfect tense, but rather a type of introductory (present) tense.

For the purposes of harmonisation it is suggested that further testing be done in MZS on the use of the narrative *-a-* tense marker, and perhaps encourage the use of the *-da-* marker for narrative passages and for the imperfect tense in MZS.

3.1.5 Present continuous tense

The present continuous tense is marked by *-ku-* in MLS and *-sa-* or *-na-* in MZS, as can be seen from the following examples:

- 45) *Ndikupidziwa kuti mphepo* (MLS Jnh 1.12)
I know that a storm (Literally - I am knowing that a storm)
- 46) *Ndisadziwa kuti mphepo* (MZS Jnh 1.12)
I know that a storm
- 47) *Ndikukupangani kuti Mulungu* (MLS Mt 3.9)
I am telling you that God
- 48) *ndisakupangani pakweca kuti Mulungu* (MZS Mt 3.9)
I am telling you openly that God

A further example (49) and (50) is given to show where MZS uses *-na-* to mark a present continuous tense:

- 49) *Ndi thangwi yache ndikukupangani* (MLS Mt 6.29)
This is the reason I am telling you
- 50) *Ndi thangwi eneyi ine ndinakupangani* (MLS Mt 6.29)
This is the reason I am telling you

A search done on the 1st pers. sing. present continuous tense marked by *ndiku-* in MLS revealed that it occurred 73 times. The *ndiku-* construction also occurs 6 times in MZS, but here the *-ku-* functions as the second person object concord and not as a tense marker as can be seen in the following examples:

- 51) *Munafuna kuti ndikuchitireninji?* (MLS Mt 20.32)
What do you want that I should do for you?

52) *Musafuna ndikucitireninji?* (MZS Mt 20.32)

What do you want that I should do for you?

It is also worth commenting on the MZS present continuous tense marker (*-sa-*) in *musafuna* which occurs in example (52). The *-sa-* marker is also used for the habitual tense in MZS (See 3.1.7). MLS uses the more appropriate immediate future tense marker *-na-* in example (52), as in this context Jesus is asking two blind men what they want him to do for them in the immediate future, and not habitually. Further comments on the immediate future tense follow in the next section 3.1.5.

The *-sa-* marker occurs frequently in MZS (34 times in the 1st pers. sing. present continuous or habitual tense marker) which is indicated by *ndisa-*, but it never occurs in MLS. The equivalent of the *-sa-* used in MZS is either *ku-*, *-mba-*, or *-na-* in MLS, which will be discussed in the follow sections 3.1.5 and 3.1.7.

In the places where MLS has *ndiku*, MZS often has *ndina-*, instead of using *ndisa-* as mentioned previously. Thus MLS and MZS use totally different present or continuous tense markers.

3.1.6 Present or immediate future tense

The present or immediate future tense is marked by *-na-* in both MLS and MZS:

53) *anationesa nyatwayi* (MLS Jnh 1.7).

he will give us trouble (or he brings us trouble)

54) *anatidzesera tsoka* (MZS Jnh 1.7)

he will bring us disaster (or he brings us disaster)

A search was done just on the 1st pers. sing immediate future tense (*ndina-*). *Ndina-* occurs 14 times in MLS as present or immediate future marker and 97 times in MZS. The reason for the much larger number of occurrences in MZS is because MZS also uses *na-* as a present continuous tense marker (further explanation of the present continuous tense is given in 3.1.5), where MLS uses a present continuous tense marker (*ku-*) as seen in e.g.

(41) and 42):

55) *Ndi thangwi yache ndikukupangani* (MLS Mt 6.25)

This is the reason I am telling you

56) *Ndi thangwi eneyi ine ndinakupangani* (MZS Mt 6.25)

This is the reason I am telling you

Where MLS uses the habitual tense marker (*-mba-*), MZS frequently uses the *-na-* or immediate future tense marker as can be seen in (57) and (58). The *na-* tense marker appears to be translated more loosely in the MZS version.

57) *ndimbakomerwa naye pyakwanga* (MLS Mt 12.18)

I am pleased (habitually) with him very

58) *anakomerwa pikulu na ine* (MZS Mt 12.18)

he pleases me much

For harmonisation further testing needs to be done to assess the different markers being used by MZS for present continuous tense, which appears inconsistently translated. A suggestion would be to introduce *ku* in MZS for the present continuous, use *-na-* as an immediate future tense marker, and possibly replace *-sa-* in MZS with *-mba-*, as a habitual tense marker.

3.1.7 Future tense

The future tense is marked by *-nadza-* in MLS and by *-nadza ka-* in MZS:

59) *Iye anadzabala mwana wamamuna* (MLS Mt 1.21)

He will bear child male

60) *Iye anadza kabala mwana wa mamuna* (MZS Mt 1.21)

He will bear child male.

The future tense marker *-nadza-* occurs 277 times in MLS and 89 times in MZS, but in MZS the future tense marker *-nadza* is always followed by *ka-* and is written as two words as in example (60). The future tense marker *-nadza-* is never followed by *ka-* in MLS.

It would appear that MLS uses the future tense many more times, 277 vs 89 times in MZS. The reason for this is MZS uses the *-na-* by itself more frequently to mark the future tense than combining it with *-nadza ka-* as can be seen in the translations of Mt 6.14 below:

- 61) *Babanu wa Kudzulu **anadzalekererambo** pyakudawa pyanu* (MLS)
 your Heavenly Father will also forgive your sins
- 62) *Baba wanu wa kudzulu **anakulekereranimbo*** (MZS)
 your heavenly Father will also forgive you

The future tense marker in MLS *-anadza-* is also often translated by the emphatic tense in MZS, as can be seen in the following examples:

- 63) *kweneko anadzalira na kukikita mano awo* (MLS Mt 13.42)
 where they will cry and gnash their teeth
- 64) *Mwenemu anthu anati alire na kuluma mano* (MZS Mt 13.42)
 where they will cry and gnash their teeth

It is recommended for standardisation that *-nadza-* be used as a future tense marker in both varieties, and the *ka-* following *-nadza-* be dropped. (More is said about the emphatic tense in 3.1.8.)

3.1.8 Habitual tense

The habitual tense is marked in MLS by *-mba-* before the verb stem, and by *-sa-* before the verb stem in MZS:

- 65) ***imbagwandwa** mbiponywa pamoto* (MLS Mt 7.19)
 is cut down and thrown in the fire
- 66) ***usagwandiwa** mbutayiwa pa moto* (MZS Mt 7.19)
 is cut down and thrown in the fire

There are striking differences in MLS and MZS, where the habitual tense is marked

completely differently. The *-sa-* marker is used in Chichewa, the dominant language of Malawi, to make a negative construction, as can be seen from an example in the Chichewa Bible in Jnh 3.7: *Munthu aliyense asadye kanthu* 'Any person should not eat anything.'

This could create misunderstanding to a MLS speaker. If he comes across the *-sa-* marker in MZS, because he is familiar with the Chichewa language, the habitual tense in MZS would sound like a negative construction to him. The habitual tense marker in Chichewa is *-ma-* and perhaps this is where the differentiation came in and MLS adopted the *-mba-* form, to differentiate from the *-sa-* form.

Mba- is very commonly used as a conjunction meaning 'and' in both varieties. It is used 815 times in MLS and 708 times in MZS. *Mba-* is also used for the imperative when denoting entreaty in both varieties:

67) *Mbatsanzaye ale analira* (MZS Mt 5.4)

Blessed are those who cry

68) *Iwo mbaleke makhaliro awo akuipa* (MLS Jnh 3.8)

They should leave their bad behaviour.

3.1.9 Emphatic tense marker

The emphatic tense is marked by e.g. *ndinati ndi-* plus the subjunctive marker *-e-* in both MLS and MZS in 1st pers. sing. The word *-ti* in both varieties means 'to say', 'do' or 'be'.

69) *Mwana Munthu anati afe* (MLS Mt 26.24)

The Son of Man will (definitely) die.

70) *ine, Mwana wa Munthu, ndinati ndife* (MZS Mt 26.24)

I, the Son of Man, will (definitely) die.

In example (70) MZS has changed the 3rd pers. sing. into the 1st pers. sing. in their translation, which is legitimate.

This structure *-nati-* occurs 45 times in MLS and 31 times in MZS.

The *ti-* construction is also combined with *-dza-* and gives the meaning "before" in both varieties.

71) *Babanu ambadziwa kale pimbafuna imwe mbamudzati pempha* (MLS Mt 6.8)

Your father knows already what you need before you ask.

72) *Baba wanu asadziwa pinafuna imwe mbamudzati kumphemba* (MZS Mt 6.8)

Your father knows what you need before you ask.

The construction *-dzati* occurs 14 times in MLS and 25 times in MZS meaning 'before.'

3.1.10 Condition or possibility

The construction *-nga-* before the verb stem indicates a possibility or a condition in the present tense and it occurs in both MLS and MZS:

73) *angampempha nsomba* (MLS Mt 7.10)

if he asks for a fish

74) *angamphemba nyama ya m'madzi* (MZS Mt 7.10)

if he asks for meat from the water.

The past tense form of this construction denoting a condition is *mbada-*

75) *Mafutawa mbadaguliswa* (MLS Mt 26.9)

if the perfume was sold

76) *mbadaguliswa mafuta awa* (MZS Mt 26.9)

if the perfume was sold

mbada- occurs 13 times in MLS and 13 times in MZS.

Ngakhala which introduces a conditional clause, instead of using *-nga-* occurs 70 times in MLS and 34 times in MZS. The *-nga-* marker is used more often than *ngakhala* in MZS. The word *male* is also used twice in MZS to substitute for *ngakhala*. *Male* is not used at all in MLS.

77) *ngakhala unagodama pansi mbundipembedza* (MLS Mt 4.9)

if you bow down and worship me.

78) *male ungangidodamira mbundilambira* (MZS Mt 4.9)

if you will bow down and worship me.

3.1.11 Past continuous tense

The past continuous tense is marked by *-kha-* in both varieties:

79) *ndikhadwala, imwembo mukhandiyang'anira* (MLS Mt 25.36)

I was sick and you looked after me,

80) *Ndikhadwala, imwe mwandiona* (MZS Mt 25.36)

I was sick and you looked after me,

The *-kha-* marker occurs 59 times in MLS, and 174 times in MZS. This difference in number of occurrences may be due to the translators style and MLS often uses the imperfect tense *-da-* when MZS uses *-kha-*, as seen in the translations of Mt 2.36 below:

81) *Iwo adabweka pyakudawa pyawo, tenepo Yohani adaabatiza* (MLS)

They confessed their sins and John baptised them

82) *Akhabweka kudawa kwawo, na tenepa Djuwau akhaatambirisa* (MZS)

3.1.12 Negatives

Tayu is used at the end of a sentence or clause as a type of double negative, or it can be self standing as a negative at the end of a clause in both varieties:

83) *Mphapo ninji mudakhonda kuvesa kuti ndikhalonga na imwe pya mikate tayu?*
(MLS Mt 6.11)

Then why did you not understand that I was (not) talking to you about bread?

- 84) *Mwakhonda tani m'phapo kupibvesa kuti ine sidalongera na thangwi ya mikate tayu?*
(MZS Mt 6.11)

Did you not then understand that I did not talk because of bread?

Tayu occurs 214 times in MLS and only 33 times in MZS.

In Mt 6.11 the MZS is an example of the double negative, as the *si-* in *sidalongera* is the negative construction, whereas the MLS has only the *tayu* at the end to indicate the negative.

Nee meaning 'not' or 'never' in MLS occurs 55 times and nil times in MZS. *Nee* is always accompanied by *tayu* at the end of the clause. The equivalent for *nee* in MLS, is mostly *nkhabe* meaning 'no', or 'not', or the concord *si-* as used in MZS. Both *nkhabe* and *si-* are also common in MLS, as can be seen from the examples (51) to (54).

- 85) *nee athema kukhala nyakufunzanga tayu* (MLS Mt 10.37)

he is not fit/worthy to be my disciple.

- 86) *nkhabe cibverano na ine* (MZS Mt 10.37)

Has no covenant/part with me.

Sida (1st pers. sing. negative) occurs 8 times in MLS and 4 in MZS.

- 87) *Nee sidadzera dzapifudza tayu* (MLS Mt 5.17)

I did not come to remove it.

- 88) *Sidadzera penepyo tayu.* (MZS MT 5.17)

I did not come for that.

Nkhabe occurs 74 times in MLS and 139 in MZS.

(The *nee* in MLS is often replaced by *nkhabe*.)

The word *tayu* occurs more frequently in MLS than in MZS because *nkhabe* is usually not followed by *tayu* in MZS, but it is invariably in MLS.

Leka (sing. form) and *lekani* (plural form) functions as a negative command or a strong prohibition when it appears before the verb in both varieties. *Leka/ni* occurs 51 times in MLS and 64 times in MZS.

89) *Leka yesa Mbuya Mulungu wako.* (MLS Mt 4.7)

Do not test the Lord your God.

90) *Leka kulesera Mbuya Mulungu wako* (MZS Mt 4.7)

Do not test the Lord your God.

The negative construction *si* is similar in function to the word *leka* but it is used for general negatives and not commands. The word *si* occurs on its own before the word stem or sometimes before a pronoun (28 times in MLS and 18 times in MZS).

91) *Si pyadidi tayu* (MLS Mt 15.26)

It is not good.

92) *si pyadidi tayu* (MZS Mt 15.26)

It is not good.

All the negative constructions occur in both MLS and MZS to varying extents, except for the fact that MZS never uses the *nee* word for a negative.

3.1.13 CA of Verbal suffixes

The marker **-mbo** meaning 'also', or 'even' occurs in both varieties:

93) *mbavalambo masakha* (MLS Jnh 3.6)

and wear also sacks

94) *mbabvalambo masakha* (MZS Jnh 3.6)

and-wear-also acks

MLS has 103 occurrences of *-mbo* meaning 'also' and MZS has 118.

The marker **-isa** 'to make someone do something' occurs in both varieties:

- 95) *Yesu adaawangisa* (MLS Mt 4.23)
 Jesus healed them (or made them well)
- 96) *na kuwangisa anthu* (MLS Mt 4.23)
 and healing people (or made them well)

MLS has 217 occurrences of *-isa* and MZS has 225.

Single syllable stems and stems with o,e, use **-esa**:

- 97) *anationesa nyatwayi* (MLS Jnh 1.7)
 he makes us see suffering
- 98) *anatidzesera tsoka* (MZS Jnh 1.7)
 he makes trouble come upon us.

The *-isa* marker in *bvunzisa* is used in MZS whereas MLS just uses *vunza*. *Vunzisa* means *to make ask*, or have him asked in MLS, which is nonsensical in MZS.

- 99) *iwo adamvunza mbati* (MLS Jnh 1.9)
 they asked him saying
- 100) *awene ambvunzisa Djona kuti* (MZS Jnh 1.9)
 they asked him Jonah

The subject concord *a-* for 3rd pers. pl. is the same in both varieties, as is the 3rd pers. sing. object concord *m* e.g. *amvunza*.

The marker **-ra** implies action done to or for someone:

- 101) *inativera nsisi* (MLS Jnh 1.6)
 he will have pity on us
- 102) *anatibvera nsisi* (MZS Jnh 1.6)
 he will have pity on us

The *-era* or *-ira* marker is dependant on the vowel system of the verb. Single syllable stems and stems with o,e, use *-era*.

The marker *-ramo* or *pa-ra* means a place in or at which something is done.

- 101) *m'nyumba zakupemphereramo* (MLS Mt 6.2)
in a house of praying in
- 102) *mbuto ya kukamuliramo maubva* (MZS Mt 21.33)
a place for hiding thieves

The marker *-ranji* or *-nji* used for asking questions occurs in both varieties:

- 103) *tinadyanji?, penu, Tinamwanji?* (MLS Mt 6.31)
What shall we eat? or What shall we wear?
- 104) *Tinadyanji? peno Tinamwanji?* (MZS Mt 6.31)
What shall we eat? or What shall we wear?

The marker *-ka* to indicate something is possible, or also to denote a completed action:

- 105) *ninji chinafuna chitika kuna Ninevi* (MLS Jnh 4.5)
what would happen to Nineveh
- 106) *ninji pinafuna kucitika na nzinda* (MZS Jnh 4.5)
what would happen to the city.

The marker *-wa* indicating the passive mood occurs in both varieties:

- 107) *Yona adakomerwa nawo pyakwanga mtawi ule* (MLS Jnh 4.6)
Jonah was pleased with the vine
- 108) *Djona...akomerwa pikulu kakamwe na muti unowu* (MZS Jnh 4.6)
Jonah was pleased with the vine

The marker *-na* has reciprocal action, or an action done to each other:

Count not done but many occurrences in both.

109) *Iwo adaverana kupimana kudya* (MLS Jnh 3.5)

They agreed to fast food

110) *mbabverana kupinensa kusia cakudya* (MZS Jnh 3.5)

They agreed to fast food

The marker *-ratu* meaning 'completely', or 'altogether' occurs in both varieties (19 in MLS and 22 in MZS), as in the following translations of Mt 8.13:

111) *nyabasa wa mkadamu adawangiratu na ndzidzi onthowo* (MLS)

the officer's servant was healed (completely) that very moment

112) *iwo akhakhuwiratu kakamwe* (MZS)

they shouted even more loudly

The marker *-letu* means 'directly', 'straight away', or 'very' and only occurs in MLS:

113) *chonzi chakugoswaletu* (MLS Jnh 1.4)

storm very dangerous

114) *conzi cikulu* (MZS Jnh 1.4)

a storm big

In MZS a superlative is used as an equivalent to the *-letu* used in MLS as indicated in the following:

115) *iwo adatomaletu kukhuwa* (MLS Mt 27.23)

they started (all the more) to shout

116) *ikhathimiza basi na kukhuwa* (MZS Mt 27.23)

They continued (still/yet) to shout

The *-letu* in MLS is replaced by the word *basi* in MZS, which means still, yet or regardless. *Basi* occurs 37 times in MLS and 54 time in MZS. The *-letu*, which is very similar in meaning to *-ratu* was substituted by *-ratu*:

117) *imbapiringanaletu mbewu zonsene*. (MLS Mt 13.32)

becomes the biggest of all plants.

118) *isakuliratu kakamwe kupiringana mbeu zinango zonsene* (MZS Mt 13.32)

It grows most very much than all other plants.

The marker **-di** 'truly' or 'indeed' occurs in both varieties (69 occurrences in MLS and 17 in MZS):

119) *munthu ule adalamukadi* (MLS Mt 9.7)

the man got up (indeed)

120) *ntenda alamukadi* (MZS Mt 9.7)

the sick man got up (indeed)

The marker **-bi** means a negation of the verb. It is used as a substitute for *tayu* at the end of a clause.

121) *Ife nkhabe kupidziwabi* (MLS Mt 21.27)

We do not know.

122) *Nkhabe kupidziwa* (MLS Mt 21.27)

We do not know

The marker **-bi** occurs only twice in MLS and nil times in MZS.

3.1.14 The verb 'to be'

In MLS the verb 'to be', or *ndi* joins with the noun of a particular class to form a composite (e.g. *ntch* + noun for chi-pi class).

123) *Chenechi ntchiropa changa* (MLS Mt 26.28)

this is my blood.

124) *ici ndi ciropa canga* (MZS MT 26.28)

this is my blood

Ndi is combined with the subject concord as in the following translation of Mt 11.30:

125) *pontho mtolo unafuna ine dzakuthukulisaniwo ngwakululupa* (MLS)

and the yoke I make you carry is easy

126) *pontho ntolo wanga ndi wa kululupa* (MZS)

and my yoke is easy

There are 68 occurrences of composite formation with *ndi-* plus noun class in MLS and only 5 in MZS. The following is an example where MZS did form a composite with *chi-*:

127) *cidima ceneci nchikulu kakamwe* (MZS Mt 6.23)

this darkness is very great. (*ndi + cikulu = ncikulu*).

There were 4 occurrences of the (*ndi + Mu-Mi* noun class) in MZS. Here is one example:

128) *Basa yako njanji?* (MZS Jnh 1.8)

Your work is what?

This would indicate that the composites can be made in MZS and perhaps were omitted by the MZS translators, but they occur 13 times more commonly in MLS over MZS.

Table 3.1 below summarises the various grammatical constructions discussed in this section.

Table 3.1 Summary of grammatical constructions

Subject concords	Ndi-, u-, a-, ti-, mu-, a-	same
Object concords	<i>Ndi-, ku-, mu-, ti-, ku-, a-</i>	Same except <i>n</i> vs <i>m</i>
Pluperfect tense	<i>-Khada-</i>	<i>-Khada-</i>
Perfect tense	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>
Imperfect tense	<i>-da-</i>	<i>-da-</i> and <i>-a-</i>
Present continuous tense	<i>-ku-</i>	<i>-na-</i> of <i>-sa-</i>
Immediate future tense	<i>-na-</i>	<i>-na-</i>
Future tense	<i>-nadza-</i>	<i>-nadza ka-</i>
Habitual tense	<i>-mba-</i>	<i>-sa-</i>
Emphatic tense maker	<i>-nati-</i>	<i>-nati-</i>
Condition or possibility	<i>-nga-</i>	<i>-nga-</i>
Past continuous tense	<i>-kha-</i>	<i>-kha-</i>
Negatives	<i>Si-, nkhabe, nee</i>	<i>Si-, nkhabe, no nee</i>

3.2 Conclusion

There are many similarities between MLS and MZS. The subject and object concords attached to the verb stem are identical in MLS and MZS. The pluperfect and perfect tense markers and the use of these tenses is also the same in both varieties. The past continuous tense marker *kha-* is also the same, as are the emphatic tense markers *-nati*, the conditional marker *nga-*. The negative constructions are also the same, except that *nee* (meaning 'not' or 'never') in MLS, does not occur at all in MZS. The word, *nkhabe*, with a similar meaning does occur in both, and thus for standardisation purposes perhaps the *nee* in MLS could be removed and replaced with *nkhabe*, or possibly on further investigation *nee* does also occur in MZS. The verbal suffixes are very similarly used in both MLS and MZS, only the marker *-letu* in MLS meaning 'directly' (see examples 113 and 115) appears not to occur in MZS, but the word *basi* is used as an equivalent, which also occurs frequently in MLS (36 times in word list in Appendix C in MLS and 48 times in MZS.) The other marker which occurs in MLS is *-bi*, which is used as a negative marker (see examples 121), its equivalent in is *tayu* to form the double negative, although MZS often leaves off the double negative.

The imperfect tense marker and the number of its occurrences vary very significantly, as already seen from the discussion under 3.1.4. The imperfect tense could be standardised in MZS to *-da-* instead of the *-a-* (a perfect tense marker), as in MLS, as the *-da-* marker is used, albeit very infrequently.

The present or present continuous tense marker *-ku-* in MLS is not used at all in MZS. In MZS *-na-* and/or *-sa-* are used as present tense markers. For the purpose of standardisation it may be possible to drop the *-ku-* form in MLS and use *-na-*, which has the meaning of an immediate future or a present tense. The habitual tense does present a problem in that MLS uses *mba-* to mark it whereas MZS uses *-sa-*. Perhaps other dialects of MZS spoken in Mozambique and not reflected in the texts studied in this thesis may use *-mba-* for a habitual tense marker, but this would need to be further researched. The *-sa-* as a habitual tense marker can also give the MLS speaker problems as *-sa-* is used in the dominant Chichewa language as a negative:

129) *Munthu aliyense asadye kanthu.* (Chichewa Bible Jnh 3.7)

Any person should not eat anything.

There most certainly are differences in the grammars of the two varieties as shown by the CA, but by and large an overwhelming degree of similarity between MLS and MZS. There are also unexplored possibilities to standardise the two varieties by using universally accepted forms which may occur in both varieties, but further research is needed to explore areas of overlap. In the following chapter a CA is done on the orthographical and lexical levels to assess the degree of variation between MLS and MZS and particularly how MLS has been influenced by English and Chichewa and how MZS has been influenced by Portuguese.

CHAPTER 4

ORTHOGRAPHICAL AND LEXICAL CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF MLS AND MZS

4.0 Introduction

A CA will be done on the orthographical and lexical linguistic level in this chapter. For the orthographical CA selected searches have been done on the entire texts of Jnh and Mt by using the Paratext computer program search feature. Various orthographical features will be identified and then counted to give a general overview of the degree of variation between MLS and MZS, the focus being primarily on those features which vary between the two varieties. The lexical CA is done primarily on the 500 most commonly occurring words in MLS and MZS, which can be found in the word lists in Appendix C.

4.1 Orthographical CA

The orthography used in both MLS and MZS is Roman script and it is on the whole very similar. There are several places where it does differ though as will be highlighted in the following examples:

4.1.1 *v* versus *bv*

There is a *v* versus *bv* spelling variation between MLS and MZS.

MLS	MZS	English
<i>vala</i>	<i>bvala</i>	to wear, or put on
<i>mphamvu</i>	<i>mphambvu</i>	power

The MLS orthography followed the Chichewa orthography in dropping the *v* after *b*, as it is more economic in terms of the spelling system and it reflects the spoken language more accurately as people are tending to not pronounce the *v* when they speak. There are 340 occurrences of *bv* in MZS and none in MLS.

4.1.2 *m* versus *n*

There is *m* versus *n* spelling variation between MLS and MZS in several instances, but the pronunciation of the sound is identical.

Singular		Plural		English	
MLS	occurrence	MZS	Both	occurrences	
<i>mzinda</i>	(28)	<i>nzinda</i>	<i>mizinda</i>	town/city	
			<i>/midzinda</i>		
<i>mzimu</i>	(26)	<i>nzimu</i>	<i>mizimu</i>	(20)	spirit
<i>mkazi</i>	(33)	<i>nkazi</i>	<i>akazi</i>	(10)	woman
<i>mkulu</i>	(29)	<i>nkulu</i>	<i>akulu</i>	(36)	official

The *mz* combination in *mzinda* 'city' and *mzimu* 'spirit' is used in MLS, whereas *nz* is used in MZS e.g. *nzinda* and *nzimu*. A spelling variation is also noted in MZS where *nzinda* is also spelt *ndzinda*. The pronunciation of the above words is identical, but the spelling variant. These words belong to the Mu-mi noun class and have identical plural forms in both MLS and MZS e.g. *mizinda* and *mizimu*. The Mu-a class is also used inconsistently in MZS as instead of using *m* it uses *n* e.g. in MLS *mkazi* (sing.) 'woman' and in MZS *nkazi*,

but both have the same pl. form *akazi*. It is recommended that all words in the Mu-a and Mu-mi noun classes should be spelt with an initial *m* and not an *n* in MZS, as they are in MLS.

The 3rd pers. sing. object concord in MLS is *m* and in MZS it is inconsistently used as either *n* or *m* as can be seen by the following examples:

129) *MBUYA adamtawira* (MLS Jnh 4.4)

The Lord answered him

130) *MBUYA antawira* (MZS Jnh 4.4)

The Lord answered him

MZS is not fully consistent in the use of *n* as 3rd pers. sing. object concord as *m* is also fairly frequently used:

131) *iwo adamvunza* (MLS Jnh 1.8)

They asked him

132) *awene ambvunzisa Djona* (MZS Jnh 1.8)

They asked (him) Jonah

When the combination *amp* was searched, as in *ampanga* 'they told him' where *m* is a 3rd pers. sing. object concord, 62 occurrences were found in MLS, and 73 in MZS. Thus *m* and *n* are both used in MZS as 3rd pers. sing. object concords. Thus this object concord in the verb could be standardised to *m* throughout: (*mpanga*) occurred 40 times in MZS and *kunpangisa* 'to show him' occurs only once in MZS.

Perhaps the phonological environment of the object concord *m* in MZS has an influence on its pronunciation and this is why it is written as *n* in certain cases. For example, in *ancemere*, where the object concord is followed by an alveolar consonant, the alveolar nasal is used, whereas when it is followed by the bilabial plosive *p*, the bilabial nasal *m* is retained. This spelling variation (*m/n*) could therefore be standardised in MZS.

As all 3rd pers. sing. object concords have been standardised to *m* in MLS, the inconsistent spelling of the object concord in MZS should be standardised to *m*. All the nouns spelt

with *n* in the Mu-a and Mu-mi classes should also be spelt with *m* in MZS.

4.1.3 *m'* versus *n'*

There is *m'* versus *n'* spelling variation between MLS and MZS in several instances, but the pronunciation of the speech sound is identical.

M' is a shortened form of the locative *mu-* 'in' in MLS. It occurs 253 times always introducing the locative *mu-* 'in' e.g. *m'madzi* 'in the water' and *m'nyumba* 'in the house'. MZS on the other hand uses *n'* to indicate the locative phrase 'in' e.g. *n'dziko* 'in the country' and *n'nyumba* 'in the house'. In MZS *m'* occurs 310 times and in most of these occurrences, it does not represent (*mu-*) meaning 'in', but serves to lengthen the *m* sound as in *m'phapo* 'then', or 'therefore' and *m'bodzi* 'one'. This is a variant orthography to MLS which uses only *m* as in *mphapo* and *mbodzi*. It is suggested that MZS should be simplified in these cases.

In both MLS and MZS the 3rd pers. sing. object concord is represented by *mu* or *m*, which is a shortened form). MZS uses variant 3rd pers. sing. object concords such as *m'* e.g. Mt 8.34 *am'phemba* 'they asked him', and it also uses *n'* for the 3rd pers. sing. object concord e.g. in Mt 1.19 *anyerezera kun'khonda* 'he was considering rejecting her'. Thus there appears to be a mixture of usage. *N'* does not occur at all in MLS. *M'* is used in all locatives in MLS. All *m'* used in MZS when referring to 3rd pers. sing. object concords should also be removed and standardised to a *mu* or *m*. *Mu* or *m* is used predominantly in MZS as can be seen in the following examples:

133) *ninga mukhadampangira ntumwi wa Mulungu* (MZS Mt 1.24)

as how had told (him) the messenger of God (angel)

134) *amulamusa mbampanga* (MZS Jnh 1.6)

He woke (him) and told (him)

All *m'* and *n'* usages in MZS for 3rd pers. sing. object concords should be standardised to *mu* or *m* (sometimes the *u* is dropped in the speech form, which should be reflected in the written form) and all instances where *m'* is used to demonstrate a lengthened *m* sound could also be removed e.g. the word *mphapo* is spelt *m'phapo* 42 times with apostrophe and 3 times without it in MZS. This demonstrates inconsistent spelling in MZS and an unnecessary complication of the orthography.

4.1.4 *f* versus *pf*

The combination *pf* occurs nil times in MLS and 205 times in MZS. It occurs exclusively in two words in MZS, *pfunza* 'teach' and *mpfuma* 'wealth', and only once in a transliterated word *pfigu* 'fig'. The words *funza* 'each' and *mfuma* 'wealth' are also found in MLS and have a more representative spelling as the *p* sound is dropped out of the combination *pf* in favour just using the *p* sound in the pronunciation of *funza* and *mfuma* in both MLS and MZS.

The consonant *f* stands by itself in MZS in 596 other words e.g. *funa* 'want', *fika* 'arrive', *ife* 'we' etc. Thus for economy in writing and spelling, as well as simplifying the orthography and more clearly representing the spoken language as people are tending to not pronounce the *p* when they speak, it is recommended that the *p* before *f* should be dropped. The consonant *f* occurs by itself over 1000 times in MLS and never as the combination *pf*.

4.1.5 *ch* versus *c*

The *ch* combination occurs 1 230 times in MLS to represent the palatal voiceless unaspirated affricate [tʃ]. The consonant *c* on its own occurs nil times in MLS; *k* is used to represent [k], as in the infinitive *kupanga* 'to say' or the adverb *kale* 'already' in both MLS and MZS.

The consonant *c* occurs 1 211 times in MZS as a self-standing consonant, and it represents the same speech sound [tʃ] in MLS, which is written in MLS as *ch*.

The *ch* combination is also found in MZS and occurs 57 times, but it represents the

aspirated affricate [tʰ]. This sound also occurs in MLS, and it written as *tch*.

MLS	MZS	
<i>kuchita</i>	<i>kucita</i>	to do
<i>kuchemera</i>	<i>kucemera</i>	to call
<i>kutchitha</i>	<i>kuchita</i>	to descend
<i>kutcherenga</i>	<i>kucherenga</i>	to become poor

The words *kuchita* 'to do' in MLS and its equivalent *kucita* in MZS have the same pronunciation, but a variant spelling, as do *kuchemera* and *kucemera*. The words *kutchitha* 'to descend' in MLS and its equivalent in MZS *kuchita*, as well as *kutcherenga* 'poor' and its equivalent *kucherenga*, also have the same pronunciation, but a variant spelling. In MZS *h* is added after the *c* to represent an aspirated affricate [tʰ], whereas in MLS *t* is combined with the *ch* is to indicate the same sound.

If we compare the two orthographies in these instances MZS is more economical, but MLS follows the English spelling system more closely. For the words with affricate aspiration, MLS uses a *t* before the *ch* symbol. This is also done in words like *tsogolo* 'to lead', *tsanzaya* 'to bless', *tsoka* 'a curse', in both MLS and MZS. The *t* is added before the *s* to indicate an aspirated affricate.

For purposes of harmonisation it is suggested that MZS should use *ch* to represent the [tʃ] speech sound, and *tch* to represent the [tʰ] speech sound.

4.1.6 *sh* versus *x*

MLS uses the combination *sh* to represent the palatal voiceless fricative sound [ʃ], which is the same as the English orthography. MZS uses *x* to represent this same speech sound [ʃ]. The letter *x* does not occur at all in MLS, but it occurs 89 times in MZS.

MLS	MZS	
<i>kushola</i>	<i>kuxola</i>	to swear

<i>shamwali</i>	<i>xamwali</i>	friend
<i>ashanu</i>	<i>axanu</i>	five

The consonant *x* is also used in several proper names like *Kirixtu* in Christ, and *Tarixixi* for Tarshish in MZS. MLS uses the more simple form of *s* here and not *sh* e.g. *Kristu* and *Tarisisi*.

It is recommended that the orthography be harmonised and *sh* be used in both varieties to represent the speech sound [ʃ].

4.1.7 *dj* versus *y*

The *dj* combination does not occur in MLS, but is frequently used in MZS and is due to the Portuguese influence on MZS pronunciation. Its counterpart in MLS is *y*, which is more Bantu in style.

The *dj* symbol representing a palatal voiced affricate [dʒ], occurs 178 times in MZS and nil times in MLS. The MLS equivalent is *y*, which represents a palatal glide [j]. The *dj* combination is commonly used in MZS for proper nouns like *Djona* 'Jonah', *Djuwau* 'John', *amadjuda* 'Jews' and *Idjita* 'Egypt'. The MLS equivalents would be *Yona*, *Yohani*, *Ayuda*, and *Igupito*. The *dj* combination is only used in three indigenous words in MZS i.e. *djenje* 'hole' (2 times), *djanja* 'hand' (3 times) and *kudjamuka* 'bitter' in Mt 27:48 (once only). Thus it is only used 6 times in indigenous words. The *dj* combination is not used at all in MLS. Its counterpart is *dz* in MLS, e.g. the word for 'hole' is spelt *dzenje* and not *djenje* as in MZS and the word for 'hand' in MLS is spelt *dzanja* and not *djanja*. More testing would need to be done to see how *dj* versus *y* could be harmonised, but if the Portuguese influence were to be minimised in MZS, then it is suggested that the *dj* in proper nouns and borrowed words be changed to *y*, and in the indigenous words in the examples above, it should be changed to *dz*, as used in MLS.

In MZS the letter *j* occurs 471 times, 178 combined with *d* e.g. *(dj)enje* 'hole', 286 combined with *n* e.g. *dje(nj)e* 'hole', and occurs only 7 times on its own e.g. *furuju* 'rust' (2

times), *gereja* 'church', (also a borrowed word) (4 times) and *Betifaje* 'Bethfage', a biblical name in Mt 21.1. Effectively *j* on its own only occurs in one indigenous word in MZS.

Similarly *j* occurs 283 times in MLS, 281 times combined with *n* as in e.g. *pizinji* 'many', and only in one word where *j* stands by itself e.g. *wakujuja* 'bitter' (in Mt 27.48), the same English word, but different Sena words in MLS and MZS.

The *j* consonant at the beginning of a word on its own does not occur in either MLS or MZS, but has been replaced in proper nouns in MLS by *Y*, which occurs 674 times e.g. *Yonah* 'Jonah', *Yesu* 'Jesus', and *Yohani* 'John'. A transliteration from the Greek text also produces the *y* sound, or a voiced palatal glide e.g. *Yesu*, *Yohani* and not *Jesu*. There is inconsistency in MZS when *Y* is used in *Yezu* (451 times), but *Dj* in *Djuwau*, because in Greek it is the same sound.

In both MLS and MZS *j* is generally combined with *n* as in e.g. *wanji* 'what' or 'how'. This sound, written as *nj* occurs 281 times in MLS and 285 times in MZS.

4.1.8 *nts* versus *ns*

The combination *nts* only occurs three times in MLS in the word *ntsango* 'lots', as in casting lots. As a combination *nts* occurs 203 times in MZS; in *ntsango* as well in many other words:

MLS	MZS	
<i>nsembe</i>	<i>ntsembe</i>	sacrifice
<i>nsiku</i>	<i>ntsiku</i>	day
<i>pansi</i>	<i>pantsi</i>	down or earth

Perhaps the *t* serves to stress the prenasalised alveolar voiceless fricative in MZS, but it does not seem to have any real function and has been dropped for purposes of economy in MLS, and perhaps this should also be done in MZS.

4.1.9 Aspirated versus non aspirated

4.1.9.1 *d versus dh*

The *dh* combination is not found in MLS, but it occurs 100 times in MZS, mainly with transliterated words like *Dhavidhi*, *Pedhru*, *Herodhi* (80 times). It does occur in the MZS word *dhuzi* 'near' 20 times, but MLS does not use the term *dhuzi*. MLS speakers say *dhuzi* is a Shona word, so it uses *fupi* 'near'.

Other words with the aspirated *dh* are *madhrodhro* 'deaf', and *madhroma* 'end' in MZS. In MLS they are spelt *madodo* and *madolomera*. Further testing is required but it is recommended that the *h* be dropped for purposes of economy.

4.1.9.2 *b versus bh*

There are no instances of *b* being aspirated in MLS, but there are 24 instances of the aspirated *b* in MZS, which is written as *bh*. All *bh* combinations occur in transliterated 'foreign' words e.g. *Bharabhasi* 'Barabas', *Abharamu* 'Abraham' and there is only one in an indigenous MZS word *bhande* 'belt'. This word is spelt *bande* in MLS. It is suggested for purposes of standardisation that the *h* in *bh* could be dropped in MZS.

4.1.10 The vowel glides e.g. *oe* vs *owe*

In words like *towera* 'to follow', *Chitowe* 'indigenous tree', etc, MLS has consistently inserted a *w* between vowels in accordance with the general rule that Bantu languages do not have diphthongs, and all vowels are separated by a consonant. In MZS however there is an inconsistency in that *towera* has been spelt *towera* 23 times and as *toera* 83 times. For the sake of spelling consistency and standardisation it should be spelt *towera*.

4.1.11 Orthographical influence on Biblical names

The way in which Biblical names have been translated reflects a major influence from the ex-colonial languages. MLS names reflect English and MZS names reflect Portuguese influence.

MLS	MZS	English	Greek (transliteration)	Portuguese
<i>Yohani</i>	<i>Djuwau</i>	John	<i>Yuanon</i>	<i>Joao/Juan</i>
<i>Yakobo</i>	<i>Tiyago</i>	James	<i>Yakubon</i>	<i>Tiago/Jakobo</i>
<i>Yosefu</i>	<i>Zuze</i>	Joseph	<i>Yusef</i>	<i>Jose</i>
<i>Iguputo</i>	<i>Idjitu</i>	Egypt	<i>Igupton</i>	<i>Igipto</i>

MLS follows very closely the Greek transliteration of names, as the source text for both MLS and MZS is Greek for Mt. MZS seems to be the most divergent in spelling and has followed more closely the Portuguese style of names e.g. *Zuze* for Joseph, *Tiyago* for James, *Idjitu* for Egypt and *Djuwau* for John. It would be difficult to standardise these names, but if the MZS translators used the Greek text for the biblical names, standardisation could easily be achieved. They could also refer to the different Portuguese versions - some being closer to the Greek names e.g. in the *Nova Versão Internacional* one finds *Juan* for John and *Jakobo* for James, which is closer to the MLS style, but in the *Tradução Interconfessional do texto grego para Português moderno* one finds *Joao* and *Tiago*, which it appears the MZS translators have followed more closely.

Thus from an orthographical point of view the two varieties of Sena are very different due primarily to the influence of English on MLS and Portuguese on MZS. This is particularly evident in the loanwords and the transliteration of proper nouns.

4.2 Lexical CA

As mentioned in the introduction of Chapter 3, word lists were generated by the Paratext word list computer program, of the combined books of Jnh and Mt in each Sena variety. This program counts the number of occurrences of each word, giving the specific word in

the right hand column, being recognised and counted by the program, and the number of occurrences in the left hand column. There were 4 627 unique selected words in MLS and 21 729 total selected words. There were 3 870 unique selected words in MZS and 23 194 total selected words.

The MZS has 1 465 more total selected words, which is 6,32% more words than MLS. The variation in unique selected words, as well as the total selected words may be due to the fact that MLS is more agglutinated than MZS. An example is in the *pa-*; *ku-*; *mu-* concords 'on', 'at', and 'in' being disjunctive in MZS (i.e. not joined to the noun), but conjunctive in MLS. The *pa*, *ku-*, *mu-* denote a class of locatives in the substantive classifiers, like *mu-mi*, *chi-pi* etc. mentioned by Torrend (1891) and Anderson (1897), who mentions 8 noun classes, as well as the locatives. The following examples demonstrate the fact that MLS uses a more conjunctive style as apposed to the more disjunctive style used in MZS:

135) *udandipyangirira-pyangirira mumsolo mwanga* (MLS Jnh 2.5)

has wound around in my head

136) *aona anyakokota awiri mu ubale mwawo* (MZS Mt 4.18)

he has seen to holders of nets in brotherhood their.

One can see the locative *mu-* agrees with the concord of the possessive pronoun which follows it, thus it should be considered a type of noun class and thus it is proposed that *mu* should also be joined to the noun.

In the following example one can see how the locative *pa-* agrees with the concord used for the possessive pronoun. Again this example is taken from MZS and one can see inconsistency in the joining or separating of the locatives *pa-*, *ku-*, and *mu-*.

137) *mabimbi anu mbakhapita na pansolo panga* (MZS Jnh 2.3)

your waves went over on my head

Another example showing where MLS is more 'agglutinating' is in the adjectival form. The word *wamphamvu* 'powerful' is written conjunctively whereas in MZS it is written as two separate words:

138) *anakwanisa kuswa nyumba ya munthu wamphamvu* (MLS Mt 12.29)

can break the house of a powerful man

139) *anaphweta nyumba ya nzace wa mphambvu* (MZS Mt 12.29)

can break the house of a powerful man

That fact that the MZS translation has more words could also indicate that the MZS translators were more verbose than the MLS translators, or that MLS is more agglutinating on the whole than MZS in style e.g. all the *pa-*, *ku-*, *mu-* locative prepositions are joined to the nouns in MLS.

4.2.1 A broad, quantifiable overview

In order to get a broad and quantifiable overview of the lexical and orthographic variation between the two Sena varieties, it was decided to assess in more detail 500 of the most frequently occurring lexical items in both MLS and MZS in Jnh and Mt, as listed and counted by the Paratext word list program. The table can be found in Appendix C.

In MLS the sum of the number of occurrences of the 500 most common words in Matthew and Jonah is 14 788, and in MZS the sum is 17 694, thus the total number of words assessed is 32 482. Once again MZS has a greater number of occurrences of the most common 500 words (16,42% more than MLS). This could mean that the MLS text has a more varied vocabulary than the MZS text.

If one adds all the occurrences of the words demonstrating lexical differences, one arrives at a total of 1 694. Lexical differences were identified if words were not found in either variety, or had completely different meaning. Thus out of a total of 32 482 lexical items assessed, only 1 694 were significantly different, which means only a 5,22% variation between the two varieties on a purely lexical level or 94,78% similarity. This even included words like *yang'ana*, to look (MLS) and *lang'ana*, to look (MZS) which border

more on orthographical differences than lexical.

A detailed CA was done on 500 of the most commonly occurring words to get an idea of lexical similarity or contrasts between MLS and MZS. If one adds all the occurrences of words showing lexical and orthographical differences in this list the total is 5 896. The percentage variation between the two varieties is then 18,15%, or the degree of similarity 81,85%. Thus there is almost a 20% variation between the two varieties, which means every fifth word a MZS reader will find orthographical and to a much lesser extent lexical differences, and *vice versa*.

4.2.2 A selective detailed CA on a lexical level

A more detailed selective CA on a lexical level follows, where individual lexical items from the lists of the 500 most commonly occurring words are analysed and divided according to various categories:

4.2.2.1 *Lexical items found only in one variety, or non-mutually intelligible items*

- 140) The word *kakamwe* 'many', or 'very' occurs 66 times in MZS and nil in MLS. The MLS equivalent is *pyakwanga*, which occurs 59 times.
- 141) *Ufumu* 'kingdom' occurs 50 times in MLS and only once in MZS, the equivalent word in MZS is *umambo* which occurs 55 times. The fact that MZS uses the term only once could mean *ufumu* and *umambo* are synonyms, but *umambo* is the preferred word, or that *ufumu* is a borrowed word from MLS. Similarly the word for king *mfumu* occurs 42 times in MLS and nil in MZS and the word *mambo* occurs 58 times in MZS 'king' and nil times in MLS.
- 142) The word *uthambi* 'hypocrisy', 'falsehood', or 'lie' occurs 31 times in MZS and nil times in MLS. The MLS equivalent is *mfaka-faka* 'hypocrite', or *kunama* 'to lie', which occurs 10 times in MLS and nil in MZS.
- 143) The word *moyo* 'life' occurs 31 times in MLS and nil times in MZS. Its counterpar is *upulumuki* 'life' which is found 8 times in MZS, and does not

occur in MLS. The other ways life is translated in MLS and MZS is *m'maso* 'alive', or 'wide awake', and *kupulumuka* 'to be saved'.

- 144) The words *ayi* (25 times), *kadi* (10 times) and *kani* (9 times) are used in MLS to introduce a question, but the word *kodi* (30 times) is used in MZS. *Kodi* is also used in Chichewa to indicate a question:
- 145) *Ayi angakhale Mwana Davite weneyu?* (MLS Mt 12.23)
Could this man be the son of David?
- 146) *Kodi siye unowu mwana wa Dhavidhi?* (MZS Mt 12.33)
Is this man not the son of David?
- 147) The word *chifupi* 'near', occurs 23 times in MLS and only once in MZS (Mt 8.30.) The word *dhuzi* is generally used in MZS for 'near'. It occurs 21 times. The MLS speakers consider *dhuzi* to be a Shona word, therefore it is suggested that *fupi* be used consistently throughout in MZS.
- 148) *Awene* 'they' is used 21 times in MZS, but not used at all in MLS. *Iwo* is used as the only pronoun for *they* in MLS, and it is also used extensively in MZS.
- 149) The word *lalika* 'to announce' occurs 16 times in MLS and is not found in MZS. A more generic term *longa* 'to speak' is used.
- 150) The word *kaidi* 'jail or prison' is used 15 times in MZS. This word does not occur in MLS, instead the word *perezo* is used 15 times. *Perezo* is a borrowed word from Portuguese. *Kaidi* was avoided in the MLS possibly as it was thought to be purely Chichewa by the MLS Word for the World Sena translation team. It was also acknowledged that *perezo* had its origins in Portuguese. This is ironical that MLS has a stronger Portuguese influence in this instance.

- 151) The word *mkadamu* 'officer', or 'commander' occurs 13 times in MLS, but not at all in MZS. A more general word is used in MZS, *nkulu*, which is also used extensively in MLS (written as *mkulu*), mainly to translate 'elder' or 'leader'.
- 152) The word *muoni* 'reward' occurs 11 times in MZS and nil in MLS. The word used for reward in MLS is *mfupo*, which occurs 10 times in MLS and nil times in MZS.
- 153) *Nyakasongole* 'weed' occurs 11 times in MZS, and its counterpart in MLS is *dawe*. Neither word occurs in the other Sena variety.
- 154) The word *adzumatirwa* 'to be amazed or surprised' occurs 11 times in MZS and nil times in MLS. Its counterpart is *adodoma* and occurs 9 times in *pyakudodomesa* 'miracles' and 7 times in *adadodoma* 'they were surprised'.
- 155) The word *maubva* 'grapes' occurs 10 times in MZS, but is not found in MLS. Its counterpart is *mfesa*, which is also not found in MZS.
- 156) The word *misanje* 'parable', or 'allegory' occurs 10 times in MZS, and nil times in MLS. Its counterpart is *misangani*, which occurs 7 times in MLS and nil times in MZS.
- 157) *Anyantchoche* 'tenants' occurs 9 times in MLS and nil times in MZS. A more generic term, *anyakulima* 'farmers', is used in the Parable of the tenants of the vineyard in Mt 21.33-41.
- 158) The MLS word for 'hell' *gehena*, is used 10 times, and MZS has no word for hell, but uses a descriptive phrase *mbuto ya moto* 'place of fire' or *mbuto ya nyatwa* 'place of suffering'. The word *gehena* is also used in the Chichewa Bible.

- 159) The word *lukwali* 'prostitute' is used 9 times in MZS and is not found in MLS. The MLS counterpart is *uputa*, which occurs 11 times in MLS and nil times in MZS.
- 160) The word *parata* 'silver' occurs 19 times in MZS and nil times in MLS. It is borrowed from Portuguese. The MLS counterpart, *siliva* (10 times) is borrowed from English.
- 161) The word *ora* 'hour' occurs 9 times in MLS and nil in MZS. It is also a borrowed word from English as to be expected, and MZS uses a more generic term, *ndzidzi* 'time'.
- 162) The word *kukikita* 'gnashing teeth' occurs 6 times in MLS and nil times in MZS. Its counterpart in MZS, *geda-geda*, occurs 4 times.
- 163) The word *wina* 'to win' is used 6 times in MZS, which ironically is an English borrowed term, as is the word *luza* 'to lose' which occurs 10 times in MZS. Neither of these words occur in MLS. Their counterparts are the word *ganyali* 'to win' and *taya* 'to lose'. The word *taya* is also used in MZS (8 times) where it has the meaning to throw away, as it also does in MLS:
- 164) *ikonombole mbuitaye* (MLS Mt 5.29)
pluck it out and throw it away
- 165) *ibuluse mbuitaya kutali na iwe* (MZS Mt 5.29)
remove it and throw it far away from you.

It is suggested that *luza* in MZS should be changed to *taya*, and perhaps another word exists for 'win' like *ganyali*.

- 166) The word *mlendo* (sing) or *alendo* (pl) 'visitor', or 'stranger' is used 11 times in MLS, and the word *ulendo* 'journey' occurs 5 times. MZS also has the word *ulendo* 'journey', but does not use the personal form *mlendo*, instead it uses

nfambi 'traveller', as well as *anyaphena* 'foreigner', unknown to MLS, or *anthu a kudza* 'recent arrivals'.

- 167) *Supada* 'sword' is used 6 times in MZS, a borrowed word from Portuguese, and its equivalent in MLS is *talasada*, which also occurs 6 times. It may also have its roots in Portuguese, like many other words used in both MLS and MZS e.g. Portuguese *kavalo* 'horse', *meza* 'table' - although the English borrowed word, *thebulo*, is more commonly used in MLS. Other Portuguese loanwords are *perego* 'nail' and 'prisao', *perezo* 'jail'.

4.2.2.2 *Lexical items in both varieties with the same spelling but with different meanings*

Homographs in MLS and MZS can lead to great confusion for the readers as they are words with the exact same spelling but have very different meanings, as will be demonstrated in the following examples:

- 168) The MZS word *chisa* 'village', 'town' or 'territory', occurs 17 times, and the plural form *pisa* 'province' occurs 5 times. It has a totally different semantic domain to the MLS word *chisa* which means a 'nest' in MLS, and it only occurs in Mt 8.20 and 13.32 in reference to birds' nests, where the MZS equivalent word is *ntsanza/nsanza* (variant spelling). The MLS word equivalent to *chisa* is either *mudzi* (sing), *midzi* (pl) 'village', which occurs 10 times in MLS and *luwani* 'town' which occurs 33 times. The word *luwani* does occur once in MZS, but means a tax collectors booth, as can be seen from the following examples:

169) *Mateo ali khale m'nyumba ya misonkho* (MLS Mt 9.9)

Matthew, sitting in house of taxes

170) *Mateu, akhakhala nawa pa luwani* (MZS Mt 9.9)

Matthew, sitting in (town).

4.2.2.3 *Lexical items in both varieties with the same meaning but with different spelling*

The following are examples of cognates in MLS and MZS which have the same meaning, but are spelt differently, which could be due to an orthographical discrepancy, or a dialectal difference in pronunciation:

171) The word *penu* 'or' occurs 95 times in MLS, whereas it is spelt *peno* in MZS and occurs 78 times. A similar dialectal variation is the word in MLS *phwando* 'feast', which occurs 23 times, and the MZS equivalent *phwandu*, which occurs 18 times.

172) The word *yang'ana* 'to see' occurs 41 times in MLS, and nil in MZS, but its counterpart is *lang'ana*, which occurs 44 times in MZS. The same dialectal variation is seen in the word *yesa/yesera* 'to try', or 'to measure', occurring 11 times in MLS and its counterpart *lesa/lesera*, which occurs 5 times in MZS.

173) The relative pronoun *-ile*, which depending on the noun class marker could be *pile* or *chile* 'which', occurs 55 times in MLS, and 32 times in MZS, but it is spelt *-ire*, with a *r* instead of an *l*.

174) The MLS word *pembedza* 'to worship' occurs 11 times and *pempha* 'to pray', or 'to ask' occurs 68 times. In MZS the word *pemba* 'to ask' occurs once (in Mt 16.4) and the word *phemba* 'to ask', or 'to pray' occurs 92 times.

The spelling of these words in 171) to 174) could also be standardised by a cross-border committee, as the differences between them are probably orthographical rather than phonological or semantic.

4.2.2.4 *Lexical items found in both varieties but with different meaning and spelling*

175) The word *tenepa* occurs only 22 times in MLS and is usually used to mean 'like this' or 'as follows'. In MZS *tenepa* occurs 137 times in the same usage, meaning 'as follows' as in MLS:

176) *Mphapo, mungafuna pemphera, longani tenepa:* (MLS Mt 6.9)

then, when you pray, say as follows

177) *Na mwenemu, musatongwa kuphemba tenepa:* (MZS Mt 6.9)

With this then, you are instructed to pray as follows:

Tenepa occurs a further 299 times in MZS where it is used as a conjunction meaning 'and' or 'then'. The MLS equivalent is *tenepo*, which occurs only 5 times in MZS, but 349 times in MLS. In both MLS and MZS it is combined with *na* to mean 'therefore'; *natenepo* occurs 66 times in MLS and only twice in MZS, but MZS uses the word *na tenepa*, to express therefore or so.

4.2.2.5 *Words which have noun class variations*

178) The word *ndzidzi* 'time' occurs 87 times in MLS and 76 times in MZS. There is no plural form for *ndzidzi* in MLS, but MZS uses a pl form *midzidzi* 14 times. See the following examples:

179) *Kutomera pandzidzi ukhalalika Yohani* (MLS Mt 11.12)

From the time John was preaching

180) *Kutomera midzidzi ya Djuwau* (MZS Mt 11.12)

From the times of John

We can see from Mt 4.11 in both MLS and MZS that the singular form is used:

181) *Kubulukira pa ndzidzi wenewo* (MLS Mt 4.11)

From that time

182) *Kutomera ndzidzi onole* (MZS Mt 4.11)

From that time.

It is suggested that the plural form could be dropped for purposes of standardisation.

183) The word *nthenda* 'disease', or 'sickness', which is found 13 times in MZS, does not occur in this form in MLS. In all occurrences it is found in a neuter form *utenda*, which does not have a plural form, or it occurs in the Mu-A class e.g. *mtenda* 'sick person' or *atenda* 'sick people'. *Atenda* occurs 9 times in both MLS and MZS. In MZS *nthenda* in its plural form is *mautenda*, whereas in MLS *utenda* does not have a plural form:

184) *pontho adawangisa anthu akukhala na utenda wamtundu na mtundu* (MLS Mt 9.35)

and healed people who had different kinds of disease

185) *na kukonza nthenda na mautenda a kusiyana-siyana* (MZS Mt 9.35)

and healing diseases and sickness of every kind.

It is suggested for standardisation purposes that the plural form should be dropped and the form *utenda* be adopted in both MLS and MZS. Redundancy occurs in this verse in MZS.

186) The word *mbava* 'thief' occurs 8 times in MLS and 3 times in MZS. It falls into the I-Zi noun class 3 in MLS, but in MZS it occurs in the mu-a class 1, which can be seen from the concords on the adjectives in the following examples:

- 187) *adakhomera pontho mbava ziwiri* (MLS Mt 27.38)
they crucified also two thieves
- 188) *akhomerwambo mambabva awiri* (MZS Mt 27.38)
they crucified also two thieves

4.2.3 Stylistic differences

Some stylistic differences are included here under the lexical CA because the style of the translators of the different varieties of Sena can influence the frequency of usage of particular lexical items, the orthography (e.g. degree of agglutination) and spelling.

- 189) The word *mbati* is used very frequently in MLS (364 times) to introduce direct speech and only 3 times in MZS. The word *tenepa* is used more frequently in MZS to introduce direct speech (137 times in MZS and only 3 times in MLS) as can be seen in the following:

- 190) *Yesu adaatawira mbati, "Bwererani ...* (MLS Mt 11.4)
Jesus answered them saying, "Go back ...
- 191) *Yezu aatawira tenepa: "Ndokoni ...* (MZS MT 13.37)
Jesus has answered them like this: "Go ...

A language committee could help on these types of decisions regarding style, and naturalness in both MLS and MZS and standardisation could help to create stylistic rules. For example when introducing direct speech *mbati* should be used, and when introducing a list of things *tenepa* could be used.

- 192) The word *kuti* is used 213 times in MZS to introduce direct speech and 58 times in MLS. In MLS it is used less frequently because *mbati*, is used to indicate direct speech and *kuti* is used for speech within a direct speech quote. The MZS text does not make this distinction.

4.3 Conclusion

The most striking orthographic difference between MLS and MZS is in the palatal voiceless fricative sound, written as *sh* in MLS and with an *x* in MZS as shown in 4.1.6. This symbol is foreign to MLS speakers and readers, and the letter *x* does not occur in Chichewa or Swahili the two major lingua francas in the area, thus it is recommended to drop the use of *x* and use a more widely accepted symbol *sh*.

The palatal voiceless aspirated affricate written as *ch* in MLS is written as a *c* in MZS (see 4.1.5). It is a more economical method of writing when compared to the *ch* in MLS, because in MLS *c* does not occur on its own, it is always combined with *h* to form *ch*. This is obviously an influence from the English *ch* symbol. *C* on its own does not occur in Chichewa or Swahili, it is always used in conjunction with *h*. The letter *k* represents the [k] sound in MLS, MZS, Chichewa and Swahili. It is therefore suggested that the *ch* be used to indicate the palatal voiceless aspirate [tʃ] in MZS. The *ch* combination has already been used 57 times in MZS Jnh and Mt.

There are many other more minor orthographic differences which could easily be discussed by a cross-border language committee and decisions made to standardise the orthographies of MLS and MZS, without too much difficulty. For example the *m* vs *n* for the 3rd pers. sing. object concord should be standardised to *m*. The *n* being used in MZS to represent the mu-a class 1 should be changed to *m* (see 4.1.2). A similar scenario exists in the case of *m'* vs *n'*, where all *n'* should be changed to *m'* for the purposes of consistency and standardisation (see 4.1.3). Decisions would need to be made on whether to drop the *b* in the case of *bv* vs *v* symbol in the word *bvunza* or *vunza* 'to ask' (see 4.1.1), and whether to drop the *p* in the *pf* symbol to *f*. (see 4.1.4). The *dj* symbol in MZS is heavily influenced by Portuguese and may be able to be replaced by the *y* symbol which is used more frequently in MLS, Chichewa and Swahili (see 4.1.7.) for purposes of standardisation. This has already been done with the name of Jesus (*Yezu*) in the MZS text.

It can be seen from the Lexical CA, there are many orthographical differences between the two varieties, but far less lexical differences. One also has to recognise that this research has focused on two limited corpora of texts, and because a word is not found in these texts,

it does not mean that it does not exist in either or both Sena varieties. In the section 4.2.2.1 on non-mutually intelligible words only a handful of words could be identified. They are the following: *mfupo* 'reward' in MLS versus *muoni* in MZS; *dawe* 'weed' in MLS versus *nyakasangole* in MLS; *adodoma* 'to be amazed or surprised' in MLS versus *adzumatirwa* in MZS; *mfesa* 'grapes' in MLS versus *maubva* in MZS; *uputa* 'prostitute' in MLS versus *lukwali* in MZS and *siliva* 'silver' in MLS versus *parata* in MZS. All other words in this section are identifiable or have a similar root in either variety. Very few homographs were identified in 4.2.2.2: *chisa* 'nest' in MLS versus *chisa* 'town' in MZS and *luwani* 'town' in MLS versus *luwani* 'tax collector's booth' in MZS.

The influence of the source text in terms of translation has a major influence on the orthography as well as the transliteration of words from the Portuguese, English or the Greek text, e.g. James (Eng), Jakob (Greek) and Tiago (Portuguese). The spoken form of the two Sena varieties is presumably much closer, because the orthography, or writing system plays a negligible role in the spoken form. This is borne out in the finding in 4.2.1 that MLS and MZS would be 94,87% similar if the orthographies were standardised. It is also worth mentioning that for centuries MLS and MZS were only spoken forms, but have only recently been reduced to writing in the early 1980s.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

The objectives of this chapter are to summarise the findings of the research, to discuss various limitations of the study, and to make recommendations for the standardisation of a standard Sena from the two cross-border varieties.

5.1 Summary of findings

The hypothesis tested in this study (see 1.4) is that the two texts, MLS and MZS, show pervasive similarities to each other and that MLS and MZS are closely related varieties that, given the limitations, could be harmonised into one written variety. A grammatical CA done on the MLS and MZS texts indicated that they are pervasively similar, and also that they are similar enough that an attempt should be made to harmonise them into one common standard Sena.

The vast majority of grammatical forms used in the MLS and MZS are identical, such as the subject and object concords attached to the verb stem, pluperfect and perfect tense markers, past continuous tense marker, the emphatic tense markers, and the conditional marker. The negative constructions are also the same. (The word *nkhabe* meaning (not or never) in MLS and MZS is primarily used, although *nee* meaning (never) in MLS, does not occur in MZS). The verbal suffixes are very similarly used in both MLS and MZS (see 3.1.13), only *-letu* and *-bi* which occur in MLS do not occur in MZS, the words *basi* and

tayu being equivalents in MZS, but which also occur frequently in MLS. The texts of MLS and MZS show a fair degree of stylistic differences, nevertheless, due to the translators witting style and preference for certain forms.

There are, however, a few major grammatical differences which would need to be overcome by a language committee if such a decision were to be taken to harmonise the two orthographies into one language. The most striking differences between the two varieties on a grammatical level is in the future tense marker, the habitual tense marker, the present or present continuous tense marker, and in the narrative past tense marker. In MLS the future tense is marked by *-nadza-* e.g. *anadzalonga* 'he will speak' and in MZS it is marked by *-nadza ka-* e.g. *anadza kalonga* 'he will speak' (See other examples in 3.1.7). The habitual tense in MLS is marked by *-mba-* e.g. *ambalonga* 'he habitually speaks', and in MZS it is marked by *-sa-* e.g. *asalonga* 'he habitually speaks' (See other examples in 3.1.8.) The MLS text uses the *-da-* in all past tense narrative passages, which is also the imperfect tense, whereas in MZS *-a-* is used in most past tense narrative passages, which to the MLS speaker, denotes the perfect tense (see examples in 3.1.4). In MLS *-ku-* is used extensively as a present continuous tense marker, but it not used at all in MZS; the equivalent in MZS is *-na-* and/or *-sa-* (see 3.1.6 for discussion and examples). Ways of trying to deal with these grammatical differences in a harmonisation process will be dealt with in Section 5.3 of this chapter.

This research has shown that in their current forms a MLS reader will encounter some difficulty with every fifth word of MZS and *vice versa* in these two texts. The major point of dissimilarity between the two varieties is in their orthographies. If the orthography of the two languages were standardised there would be a similarity on a lexical level of as high as 94,78%, or possibly even higher if a wider scope of literature were researched or the speakers of MLS and MZS were to draw from their vast range of mutually intelligible vocabulary. Due to the present orthographical differences between MLS and MZS the lexical similarity between these two texts is 81,85%. This means that the readers on either side of the border, when reading a cross-border publication, would find orthographical or spelling differences in every fifth lexical item they encountered, which makes for very unpleasant reading.

The CA done in this study on the orthographical and lexical level also indicate the possibility that MLS and MZS could be harmonised. Both orthographies are based on the Roman script and essentially are the same. The major differences between the orthography of MLS and MZS are the following: the *sh* combination in MLS versus *x* in MZS as shown in 4.1.6., the use of *ch* in MLS versus *c* in MZS (see 4.1.5), *m* as used by MLS versus *n* in MZS for the 3rd pers. sing. object concord (see 4.1.3), *v* in MLS versus *bv* in MZS (see 4.1.1), *f* in MLS versus *pf* in MZS (see 4.1.4), and *y* in MLS versus the use of *dj* in MZS (see 4.1.7). Suggestions of how these orthographical differences could be harmonised are given section 5.4. In terms of the selective lexical CA on the 500 most commonly occurring words there is very little variation between MLS and MZS. In the section 4.2.2.1 on non-mutual intelligibility very few words were identified. They are briefly listed here with the MLS word occurring first, with its meaning and the MZS word following: *mfupo* 'reward' versus *muoni*; *dawe* 'weed' versus *nyakasongole*; *adodoma* 'to be amazed' versus *adzumatirwa*; *mfesa* 'grapes' versus *maubva*; *uputa* 'prostitute' versus *lukwali* and *siliva* 'silver' versus *parata*. The homographs identified in 4.2.2.2 were *chisa* 'nest' in MLS versus *chisa* 'town' in MZS and *luwani* 'town' in MLS versus *luwani* 'tax collector's booth' in MZS.

The CA on the lexical level in this study shows that the source text in terms of translation has a major influence on the orthography as well as the transliteration of words from the Portuguese, English or the Greek text, e.g. James (Eng), Jakob (Greek) and Tiago (Portuguese). In MLS according to sound translation principles the biblical names were transliterated from Greek and not English, thus in MLS 'James' is transliterated as *Yakobo*. In MZS 'James' is transliterated as *Tiyago*, which is a transliteration from Portuguese and not the Greek. Thus two different translation principles appeared to being followed in certain instances in MLS and MZS.

The Sena spoken in Mozambique shows traces of Portuguese influence, as does the Chichewa or Chinyanja and Yao spoken there, which causes a major difficulty in the standardisation process. The Portuguese influence in Sena is primarily in borrowed words such as proper nouns (see 4.1.11): John in MLS is *Yohani* and MZS *Djuwau*; James in MLS is *Yakobo* and in MZS *Tiyago*; Joseph in MLS is *Yosefu* and in MZS *Zuze*. This is significant in Biblical texts as they contain a high percentage of foreign or borrowed names. In example (160) the word for silver in MLS is *siliva* and in MZS it is the Portuguese word *parata*. The word for sword in MLS is *talasada* 'big knife', but in MZS it is the Portuguese word *supada* (as in example 167). On the orthographic level the use of *dj* is due to Portuguese influence, it occurs 178 times in MZS and nil times in MLS as seen in 4.1.7, as is the letter *x* which does not occur in MLS, but occurs 78 times in MZS Jnh and Mt (see 4.1.6). The other major orthographical difference is *ch* versus *c* as shown in 4.1.5 where *c* occurs 1 211 on its own in MZS and in MLS it is always combined with *ch*. This is also due to the Portuguese influence on MZS.

The hypothesis that MLS and MZS have pervasive similarities and that they are similar enough to be harmonised into one standard Sena variety is supported by the findings of the CA done in this dissertation.

5.2 Implications for harmonisation

The results of this study have considerable implications for harmonising the two varieties of Sena and various recommendations are set out in section 5.4 in this regard. The process of standardisation or harmonisation may appear rather simple to achieve from a theoretical point of view, by an educated and linguistically aware language committee, but the man in the street may have a very different view of his language. Changes made to his language by an academic institution may evoke strong emotional feelings, and literature containing "foreign" orthography or grammar may be rejected. Obviously the harmonisation process would need to take place over a period of time and with substantial sensitisation and education of the speech community.

A drive is currently underway to attend to these cross-border languages, and particularly in the major groups like Chichewa or Chinyanja, which is spoken in Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. The following authors in section 2.3 of this study have made significant contributions to the Chichewa cross-border harmonisation process: Kishindo (2001), Mpanga (2001), Bwanali (2001), Mwale (2001), and Kawale (2001). Recommendations for the harmonisation of the Yao cross-border language in Malawi and Mozambique have been made by Ngunga (2001). Standardisation has been achieved to a great extent in the cross-border Swahili language (Ansre, 1971), which according to Wilson (1999) is spoken in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, and also in areas on the eastern side of Zaire and Burundi. The Swahili spoken in Zaire and Burundi, however, has a strong French flavour, and is perfectly understandable to someone conversant with both languages. According to Ansre (1971) Swahili was more easily standardised in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda because they are all anglophone countries and the Roman script was adopted by all in preference to the Arabic script.

The question to ask is, would the Malawian Sena speakers be willing to adopt the Portuguese influenced orthography and terminology if MZS was taken as the standard, or would MZS speakers be willing to adopt MLS as standard? The Chichewa language, which is under anglophone influence, is very similar to Chisena, and being the national language, has had a very strong influence on the Sena people, due to the late President Banda's Chichewa-only policy, thus it is doubtful whether the Sena in Malawi would be willing to adopt the Portuguese influenced orthography and terminology for lexical expansion needed for standardisation of the language. Malawian Senas also aspire to speaking English, not Portuguese, to be accepted in the global community.

It is also worth noting that Chinyanja or Chichewa has over 10 million speakers in Malawi (3,2 million mother-tongue speakers) and 989 000 mother-tongue speakers in Zambia (both anglophone countries) and only 423 000 speakers in Mozambique (a lusophone country). Thus, the greater population of speakers live in anglophone territory, and standardisation would be influenced in that direction. In the case of the Sena language, however, the majority of speakers are in lusophone Mozambique (1 227 000), as opposed to the 255 000 Sena speakers in Malawi (Johnstone 1993). However, as Lopes (1998:479) notes: "the

influence of English in Mozambique will increasingly be greater...for their interaction with the outside world," and thus there may be a move in Mozambique on the whole towards speaking English, and hence towards promoting a more anglicised orthography in education (see section 2.3). More research needs to be done on the issue of whether Mozambique will continue to maintain Portuguese as its national language. Decisions taken by the Word for the World in their MLS Bible translation project was to pattern the orthography of MLS on the more dominant Chichewa language's orthography, and avoid Portuguese influenced orthography and lexical items.

5.3 Limitations of this dissertation

A major limitation of this dissertation is that only Biblical texts were available for CA, which were translations, presumably containing cultural and linguistic influence from the source texts. Presumably the translators of the MLS used the English and Chichewa texts whereas the MZS translators used the Portuguese Bible as their source text, which would have had an influence on the translations, more so than texts generated by the mother-tongue speakers themselves, like folk tales etc. The translators' own idiolect and even their own theological bias could have influence their texts, which would also increase the variation between the two varieties.

The focus of the research was on written texts and not backed by extensive research on the spoken language varieties. The researcher was more familiar with MLS. The researcher also has a limited knowledge of the Sena language, and thus was not able to draw as well as he would have liked from a wider general knowledge of the Sena language. The prescribed length of the dissertation also imposed a limitation on the research.

5.4 Recommendations for possible harmonisation of the two varieties of Sena

As noted in Section 2.4, standardisation, according to Hudson (1980) is a direct and deliberate intervention by a society to create a standard language where before there were only 'dialects', it is a complex matter to make decisions on language policy (Gadelii 2001). More research needs to be done on the current attitudes of the governments of Malawi and Mozambique and their respective educational departments on the cross-border Sena language, as well as the attitudes of the Sena people themselves on the issue of standardisation. Is it desired? Is it economically viable? How will it benefit the people long term?

Judging from the interest in the harmonisation of the cross-border Chichewa and Yao languages, it is strongly suggested that Sena be included in the process too. Kawale (2001) advocates the need for a Language Commission to look at educational needs, and the development and elevation of the national languages in multilingual countries and to work on the harmonisation of cross-border languages. Kamwangamalu (1997) stresses the need for further research on the distribution of language clusters in Africa. He looks at the Bemba cluster which is spoken on the Zambia-Zaire Border. Kamwangamalu (1997) carried out a CA of Bemba and Lamba and found that the lexical, phonological and syntactical features of Lamba and Bemba are so similar, that although they are considered separate languages, he would suggest that Lamba should be considered a dialect of Bemba and that for language standardisation, Bemba should serve as the basic variety. He tends to ignore the influence of French and English on Bemba and Lamba in the Zambian/Zaire border area, as he says only one in 25 people in Zaire can speak French correctly, and only between 5-20% of the population are proficient in English in Zambia. Kamwangamalu (1997:93) reinforces the need for mother-tongue education and governmental policies to be put in place to increase the social value of the mother-tongue, and to do more research ethno-linguistically in order to create larger standard languages from mutually intelligible varieties, as in the cross-border Bemba/Lamba case.

Following on from Kamwangamalu's advice on the standardisation of Bemba and Lamba the following steps should be followed for the harmonisation of MLS and MZS. An appointed Language Commission with language professionals and educationists from both Malawi and Mozambique who are proficient in the Sena language could use the CA done in this study to form a basis for the more elaborate study. Some of the suggested changes for the harmonisation process from the current CA in this study could be assessed and possibly implemented. The arguments put forward in the current study lean towards following the MLS orthography, even though MLS has a smaller population of speakers than MZS, because MLS has patterned its orthography on the Bantu languages of Chichewa and Swahili, whereas MZS has followed Portuguese more closely.

Looking at more specific recommendations for the harmonisation of the two varieties of Sena, the following tentative proposal is put forward.

- The future tense marker *-nadzu-* could be adopted as the standard.
- The habitual marker *-mba-* could be adopted as the standard.
- The habitual past marker *-da-* could be adopted as the standard.
- The word *nkhabe* for negative clauses occurs in both MLS and MZS, and thus for standardisation purposes perhaps the *nee* used in MLS could be removed and replaced with *nkhabe*, or possibly if on further investigation *nee* does also occur in MZS, its use could be promoted.
- The verbal suffixes *-bi* and *-letu* can easily be removed from MLS and substituted with *tayu* and *basi*.
- The imperfect tense marker and the number of its occurrences vary very significantly, as already seen from the discussion on page 46 under 3.1.4. The imperfect tense could be standardised in MZS to *-da-* instead of the *-a-* (perfect tense marker), as in MLS, as the *-da-* marker is already being used, albeit very infrequently in MZS.
- The present or present continuous tense marker *-ku-* in MLS is not used at all in MZS. MZS seems to use *-na-* and/or *-sa-* as present tense markers. For the purpose of standardisation it may be possible to drop the *-ku-* form in MLS and use *-na-*, which has the meaning of an immediate future or a present tense.

- The habitual tense does present a problem in that MLS uses *mba-* to mark it whereas MZS uses *-sa-*. Perhaps other dialects of MZS spoken in Mozambique, and not reflected in the texts studied in this thesis, use *-mba-* for a habitual tense marker, but this would need to be further researched. The *-sa-* as a habitual tense marker can also give the MLS speaker problems as *-sa-* is used in the dominant Chichewa language in negative constructions. This problematic issue would have to be researched more fully.

There most certainly are differences in the grammars of the two varieties as shown by the CA, but by and large an overwhelming degree of similarity exists between MLS and MZS. There are also unexplored possibilities to standardise the two varieties by using universally accepted grammatical forms which may occur in both varieties, but further research is needed to explore areas of overlap.

Some tentative suggestions for orthographical and lexical standardisation follow:

- The combination *ch*, which occurs in MLS, should be used to indicate the palatal voiceless aspirated affricate [tʃ] in MZS.
- The use of *m* for the 3rd pers. sing. object concord should be used in both MLS and MZS.
- *n* should be used in MZS to represent the MU-A class 1 should be changed to *m* (see 4.1.2).
- All occurrences of *n'* should be changed to *m'* for the purposes of consistency and standardisation (see 4.1.3).
- The letter *x* used in MZS should be changed to *sh*.
- The combinations of *bv* and *pf* used in MZS should be changed to the more simple forms of *v* and *f*.
- The combination *dj*, which is heavily Portuguese influenced in terms of pronunciation and orthography, should be changed to *y*, a more widely used Bantu equivalent.
- On a lexical level the 5% variation can be overcome by trying to identify and encourage the use of mutually intelligible words in MLS and MZS agreed on by a cross-border language committee and the use of indigenous terms in preference to borrowed terms should be promoted.

- In the process of developing a technical and scientific register, the ISO (International-Standardisation Organisation) should be consulted for help to develop these terms and the dominant Chichewa and Swahili languages used as a basis from which to draw (cf Castelvi 1997).

A decision would have to be taken on a national level in both Malawi and Mozambique to reform their educational policies, and to form a joint task force on the standardisation of orthographies of all languages spoken in each country on a national level as advocated by Bwanali (2001) (see Section 2.3). One cannot simply take one language in isolation, like Sena, and reform its orthography, without considering the effect it would have on all the other languages in each country. If MZS speakers adopted the MLS orthography, it could create chaos in the education system, as the children learning to speak and write Sena in Mozambique, would flounder in the orthographies of the other Mozambican languages and also in Portuguese. On the other hand if the MLS speakers adopted the MZS orthography they might experience difficulty in the reading and spelling of Chichewa, the national language of Malawi.

A possible way forward on an orthographic level would be a Bantu initiative, where for example in the SADC region, a language board could be created where specialists from each region could gather and decide on a universal orthographic system for Bantu languages. Orthographies of major Bantu languages like Hausa and Yoruba in Nigeria with an estimated 40 million speakers (Johnston 1993), Swahili (over 40 million speakers), Chichewa (over 10 million speakers) and other major Bantu languages should be evaluated, and a universal Bantu orthographical template devised, which could be disseminated and implemented on the African continent. It would be necessary to take francophone, anglophone and lusophone countries into account, but the emphasis should be on a universal Bantu orthography. This could be on the lines of the ISO highlighted by Castelvi (1997) as a body which assists developing languages by providing computational aids in terminology development.

Once a universal or recommended orthography has been developed for the various universal phonologies in Bantu languages, it would be easier to create harmonised varieties, which could be adjusted according to their unique phonetic and linguistic needs.

The advantages of a universal Bantu type of orthography would be that printing costs would be reduced and cross-border publishing could take place between the anglophone, francophone and lusophone countries. This would be particularly helpful with the numerous cross-border Bible translation projects taking place, and with the use of mother-tongue educational materials and readers, which are in short supply.

The world is moving rapidly towards a global village, and with rapid acceleration and dissemination of knowledge, Africa should also position itself to be more efficient and look at the bigger picture. It has been shown that mother-tongue education facilitates the process of education and also the ability to learn world languages, like English or Portuguese more efficiently (see Rubadiri 2001 in section 2.3). More emphasis should be placed on universal types of orthographies, so that the Bantu people can have greater access to educational materials, share information among themselves, be more involved in the acquisition of knowledge and play a more meaningful role in the global village as they acquire world languages.

5.5 Conclusion

This study has taken the position that due to the current global trend towards regionalisation and mother-tongue education cross-border languages need to be harmonised. The CA done on these two varieties, MLS and MZS, indicate that they are linguistically similar enough to be harmonised into one language.

It must be pointed out that in their current linguistic and orthographic forms it is clear from the CA that MLS and MZS are two distinct varieties with sufficient variation to need two separate publishings, as has been done by the Bible Societies of Malawi and Mozambique, but that a strong case can be put forward for the need to harmonise these two standardised varieties of Sena into one common standard Sena.

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Appendix A

Languages of Malawi – Based on The Ethnologue (14th Edition)

Spoken living languages

AFRIKAANS [AFK] Classification: Indo-European, Germanic, West, Low Saxon-Low Franconian, Low Franconian.

ENGLISH [ENG] 16 000 in Malawi (1993). Classification: Indo-European, Germanic, West, English.

KACHCHI [KFR] Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Northwestern zone, Sindhi.

All the following Bantu languages have the following classification: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central:

KOKOLA [KZN] 74 466 (1966 census). Population total both countries 75 000 or more. P, Makua (P.30).

LAMBYA [LAI] 41 000 in Malawi (1993 Johnstone). Northwestern tip, bordering Tanzania and Zambia. N, Tumbuka (N.20).

LOMWE [NGL] 1 550 000 in Malawi (1993 Johnstone). Southeastern, south of Lake Kilwa, south of the Yao, northeast of the Sena. P, Makua (P.30).

MPOTO [MPA] 40 000 in Malawi (1993 Johnstone). N, Manda (N.10).

NGONI [NGU] Small remote pockets. N, Manda (N.10).

NYAKYUSA-NGONDE [NYY] 300 000 Ngonde in Malawi (1993 Johnstone). Northern tip, south of the Lambya, west of Lake Malawi. M, Nyakyusa (M.30).

NYANJA [NYJ] 3 958 000 in Malawi (1993 Johnstone). Population total all countries 5 622 000 (1998). Including second language speakers: 6 000 000 (1999 WA). Alternate names: CHEWA. Dialects: CHEWA, NGONI, MANGANJA, NYASA, PETA, N, Nyanja (N.30).

SENA, MALAWI [SWK] 255 000 (1993 Johnstone). Southern tip bordering Mozambique. N, Senga-Sena (N.40), Sena.

TONGA [TOG] 220 000 (1993 Johnstone). North of Bandawe, west shore of Lake Malawi, Northern Province. Manda (N.10).

TUMBUKA [TUW] 662 000 in Malawi (1993 Johnstone). Population total all countries 2 000 000 (1999 WA). Dialects: CHITUMBUKA, CHIKAMANGA, HENYA, POKA, YOMBE, SENGA, NTHALI, FUNGWE, WENYA, HEWE. N, Tumbuka (N.20).

YAO [YAO] 1 003 000 in Malawi (1993 Johnstone). Population total all countries 1 597 000. Dialects: MANGOCHÉ, P, Yao (P.20).

ZULU [ZUU] 37 480 in Malawi (1966 census). S, Nguni (S.40).

Appendix B

Languages of Mozambique– Based on The Ethnologue (14th Edition)

Spoken living languages

Deaf sign languages

MOZAMBICAN SIGN LANGUAGE [MZY] In at least the 3 largest cities: Maputo, Beira, and Nampula. Classification: Deaf sign language.

PORTUGUESE [POR] 30 000 or more in Mozambique (1998 SIL), 27% speak it as second language (1980 census). Classification: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Western, Gallo-Iberian, Ibero-Romance, West Iberian, Portuguese-Galician.

All the following are Bantu languages with same classification as: Classification: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central.

BARWE [BWG] 15 000 (1999). Tete Province. N, Senga-Sena (N.40), Sena.

CHOPI [CCE] 760 000 (1993 Johnstone). Southern coast, north of Limpopo River. Centre is Quissico, southern part of Zavala District, approximately 100 km. coastal strip between Inharrime and Chidunguela. Dialects: COPI, NDONGE, LENGUE, TONGA, LAMBWE, KHAMBANI, S, Chopi (S.60).

CHUWABO [CHW] 664 279 (1980 census). Central coast between Quelimane and the Mlanje Mts. Dialects: CENTRAL CHUWABO, ECKARUMGU, NYARINGA, MAINDO. P, Makua (P.30).

GITONGA [TOH] 223 971 (1980 census). South, Inhambane area up to Morrumbane. Dialects: GITONGA GY KHOGANI, NYAMBE, SEWI. S, Chopi (S.60).

KOKOLA [KZN] Western Zambezia Province. P, Makua (P.30).

KOTI [EKO] 41 287 (1980 census). Nampula Province, Angoche District, coastal around Angoche Island and other islands of the Archipelago from Moma to Angoche. Also a community in Nampula City. P, Makua (P.30).

KUNDA [KDN] 3 258 in Mozambique (1980 census). Around confluence of the Luangwe and Zambezi rivers. N, Senga-Sena (N.40), Sena.

LOLO [LLB] Western Zambezia Province. P, Makua (P.30).

LOMWE [NGL] 1 300 000 in Mozambique (1991). Population total both countries 2 850 000. P, Makua (P.30).

MAKHUWA [VMW] 2 500 000 (1996). Population total both countries 2 500 000 or more. Dialects: MAKHUWANA, NAHARRA, EMPAMELA, ENLAI. P, Makua (P.30).

MAKHUWA-MARREVONE [XMC] 300 000 to 400 000 (1989). Coast of central Delgado Province from Moma to Angoche. Dialects: MAKHUWANA, NAHARRA, ENLAI, NAMPAMELA. P, Makua (P.30).

MAKHUWA-MEETTO [MAK] 800 000 in Mozambique (1997). Population total both countries 1 160 000. Dialects: MEETTO, SAAKA, SAANGA.. P, Makua (P.30).

MAKHUWA-SHIRIMA [VMK] 500 000 (1996). Centre may be Maúa, south of the Lugenda River in Niassa Province. P, Makua (P.30).

MAKONDE [KDE] 360 000 in Mozambique (1993 Johnstone) including 12 000 Ndonge (1980). Northeast Mozambique. Maviha is in Mueda, Mozambique. Dialects: VADONDE, VAMWALU, VAMWAMBE, VAMAKONDE, MAVIHA. P, Yao (P.20).

MAKWE [YMK] 20 000 to 22 000 in Mozambique (1997). Population total both countries 28 000 to 32 000. Dialects: COASTAL MAKWE, INTERIOR MAKWE. G, Swahili (G.40).

MANYAWA [MNY] 150 000 (1999). Western Zambezia Province, including Lugela District. P, Makua (P.30).

MANYIKA [MXC] 100 000 to 200 000 in Mozambique (1998). 759 923 Shona in Mozambique (1980 census) probably included Manyika, Ndau, Tewe, Tawala. Northern half of Manica Province, north of Ndau, west of Tewe. Dialects: BOCHA, BUNJI, BVUMBA, DOMBA, GUTA, HERE, HUNGWE, JINDWI, KAROMBE, NYAMUKA, NYATWE, UNYAMA. S, Shona (S.10).

MARENJE [VMR] 402 861 (1980 census). Western Zambezia. P, Makua (P.30).

MWANI [WMW] 100 000 (1990 S.J. Floor), and 20 000 second language users. Cabo Delgado Province, on the coast north of Pemba from Arimba to Palma, including Ibo and Mocimboa da Praia, and the offshore Querimba Archipelago. Dialects: WIBO, KISANGA, NKOJO, NSIMBWA. G, Swahili (G.40).

NATHEMBO [NTE] 18 000 (1993 Johnstone). Southeastern Nampula Province, just north of Angoche, on the Sangange Peninsula, at Zubairi, Charamatane, Amisse, Mutembua, Namaeca, Namaponda, up to Mogincual and Khibulani. P, Makua (P.30).

NDAU [NDC] 500 000 in Mozambique (1999). South central region, south of Beira in Sofala and Manica Province. Dialects: NDAU, SHANGA, MASHANGA, SENJI, DANDA, DONDO, GOVA. S, Shona (S.10).

NDONDE [NDS] From the Tanzania border through Mueda, down to Macomia. A P, Yao (P.20).

NGONI [NGU] 35 000 in Mozambique (1989). Central Cabo Delgado Province, around Macuaida in Niassa Province, in northeast Tete Province. N, Manda (N.10).

NSENGA [NSE] 141 000 in Mozambique (1993 Johnstone). Dialects: PIMBI. N, Sena-Senga (N.40), Senga.

NYANJA [NYJ] 423 000 in Mozambique (1993 Johnstone). Niassa, Zambezia and Tete provinces. CiChewa is in Macanga district, Tete; CiNgoni is in Sanga and Lago in Niassa, Angonia in Tete; CiNsenga is in Zumbo in Tete; CiNyanja is along Lake Niassa in Niassa and Tete. Dialects: CHEWA, NGONI, NSENGA, NYANJA. N, Nyanja (N.30).

NYUNGWE [NYU] 262 455 (1980 census). Central, banks of Zambezi River above the Sena. N, Senga-Sena (N.40), Sena.

RONGA [RON] 423 797 in Mozambique (1980 census). Population total both countries 500 000 (1991 UBS). Dialects: KONDE, PUTRU, KALANGA. S, Tswa-Ronga (S.50).

SENA [SEH] 1 086 040 (1980 census). 86 000 Podzo in Mozambique (1993 Johnstone). Northwest, Sofala, Tete, and Zambezia provinces, lower Zambezi River region. Sena Central is in Tete and northern Sofala. Dialects: SENA CENTRAL, SENA-CARE (NORTH SENA), SENA BANGWE (SOUTH SENA), RUE, GOMBE, SANGWE, PODZO, GORONGOSA. N, Senga-Sena (N.40), Sena.

SWAHILI [SWA] G, Swahili (G.40).

SWATI [SWZ] 731 in Mozambique (1980 census). S, Nguni (S.40).

TAKWANE [TKE] Western Zambezia Province. P, Makua (P.30).

TAWARA [TWL] 50 000 (1997). Far western Mozambique, just north of Zimbabwe. S, Shona (S.10).

TEWE [TWX] 250 000 (1998). Manyika Province, east of Manyika language. Not in Zimbabwe. S, Shona (S.10).

TSHWA [TSC] 695212 in Mozambique (1980 census). Population total all countries 700 000. Dialects: HLENGWE, KHAMBANA-MAKWAKWE, TSHWA, MANDLA, NDXHONGE, NHAYI. S, Tswa-Ronga (S.50).

TSONGA [TSO] 1 500 000 in Mozambique (1989 UBS). South of Maputo, most of Maputo and Gaza provinces. Dialects: BILA, CHANGANA, HLANGANU, JONGA, N'WALUNGU. S, Tswa-Ronga (S.50).

YAO [YAO] 194 107 in Mozambique (1980 census). North central, area south of Lake Nyasa. Also possibly Zimbabwe. Dialects: MAKALE , MASSANINGA. P, Yao (P.20).

ZULU [ZUU] 1 798 in Mozambique (1980 census). S, Nguni (S.40).

Appendix C

1. Word lists and how frequencies were calculated

The results of the computer program Paratext's word lists done on each variety is as follows:

Mozambique Sena Jonah:
1 208 total selected words
509 unique selected words

Mozambique Sena Matthew:
21 986 total selected words
3 704 unique selected words

Malawi Sena Jonah:
1 045 total selected words
510 unique selected words

Malawi Sena Matthew:
20 684 total selected words
4 432 unique selected words

A word list done on the combined books is as follows:

Malawi Sena for Jonah and Matthew combined:
21 729 total selected words
4 627 unique selected words

Mozambique Sena for Jonah and Matthew combined:
23 194 total selected words
3 870 unique selected words

Frequency of occurrence of a grammatical form is worked out by dividing the number of occurrences of e.g. the concord *ada-* in the word, *adalonga* (he said). *-longa* (speak); (*a-*) meaning 3rd pers. sing. or plural (he/she/they) and (*-da-*) signalling the imperfect tense marker. *Ada-* occurs 850 times, divided by the total number of words in MLS, which is 21 729. This gives a frequency of usage of 3,917% in MLS, where as in MZS it occurs 67 times, divided by 23 194 with a frequency of usage of 0,288%, thus it is 13 times more common in MLS.

2. Word lists of the 500 most commonly occurring words

The following tables are the word lists of the 500 most commonly occurring words in Mt and Jnh and their number of occurrence in MLS and MZS
(o* represents orthographical variation, l* represents Lexical variation:

Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS	Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS
676 Na	1387 Na	53 mbalonga	62 dziko
o* 410 Yesu	535 Wa	53 ndzidzi	62 unowu
408 Kuti	487 Kuti	52 ana	62 wanga
64 Mbati	452 Yezu	52 penepo	61 ale
299 Kuna	447 Ya	o*49 anyakufunzache	61 mbaenda
294 Iye	s* 436 Tenepa	49 lekani	60 ali
283 Tenepo	373 Pa	48 iwe	58 anadza
263 Wa	334 A	47 kwa	l* 58 mambo
253 Anthu	295 Thangwi	47 Ufumu	58 mamuna
235 Pontho	266 Mbwenye	o*45 adenda	57 kudzulu
231 Iwo	255 Mulungu	45 kobiri	57 pyonsene
214 Tayu	239 Anthu	45 mwambo	56 kumala
208 ya	204 Iye	o*45 pansi	55 mbumba
203 imwe	181 Imwe	44 okhonda	55 penepyo
203 mbwenye	179 Ine	44 unango	l*55 umambo
196 munthu	178 pontho	43 Yohani	54 kudza
194 Mulungu	158 munthu	41 akhali	o*54 pantsi
174 thangwi	152 Kuna	41 akulu	l*53 mpaka
166 a	147 Ndi	41 ife	49 lekani
166 ale	145 Iwo	l* 41 mfumu	o*49 nkazi
163 ule	133 nkhabe	40 adabala	48 basi
124 onsene	125 Kwa	39 mphapo	48 kobiri
122 waku	123 mwana	o*39 wache	47 nyatwa
111 ene	115 Bodzi	38 kubulukira	o*46 antawira
110 ninga	114 onsene	37 basa	45 anango
109 ine	o* 113 Ace	37 pano	45 kufa
101 adalonga	108 Ninga	36 awiri	45 kupita
96 pya	108 penepo	36 basi	45 mwambo
o* 92 penu	o*107 Anyakupfunza	35 Afarisi	o*44 kuenda
87 Mbuya	o*104 Wace	o*35 mwache	43 ono
86 pinthu	101 Ku	35 pyonsene	43 uyu
80 mwana	88 Mbuya	o*34 pile	o*42 kucita
76 kudzulu	86 Kuipa	l* 33 kufikirana	o*42 m'phapo
75 pa	o*83 Ntsiku	33 kupiringana	41 ndinakupangani
69 nkhabe	o*83 Toera	o*33 Yona	40 alonga
68 ngakhala	o* 78 Peno	o*32 anyakufunza	40 ibodzi
66 adatawira	76 Mbalonga	32 mu	40 unango
o* 66 natenepo	76 Ndzidzi	32 nyabasa	39 abala
62 penepi	75 Iwe	32 Peturo	o*39 Djona
59 Nyumba	75 Nyumba	32 towera	o*39 Djuwau
l* 59 pyakwanga	75 Pinthu	31 mbaenda	o*39 yace
o* 58 Mbodzi	74 Za	l* 31 moyo	38 awiri
58 Pabodzi	69 Mu	31 nawo	38 kutoma
56 Adadza	69 Mwa	l* 31 pyakuonadi	o*38 ntsembe
56 anango	68 Ana	31 za	37 kulonga
56 nsiku	67 Pya	30 azinji	36 aapanga
55 ndi	67 Ule	30 kukhala	36 awo
l* 55 nee	l* 66 Kakamwe	30 mwinji	35 aatawira
l* 54 ndikukupangani	o* 65 Ca	30 pandzidzi	35 kudya
53 ku	63 Baba	o*28 chinchino	o*35 mphambvu

Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS	Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS
28 kulonga	34 aenda	20 boli	25 maso
28 kwene	34 dzina	20 dzuwa	o*25 mbeu
28 pamaso	o*34 Pedhru	o*20 Galilea	25 mphangwa
27 kweneko	o*33 cinthu	o*20 mkazi	25 pabodzi
27 mwa	o*33 ndimo	20 mtima	25 ubodzi
o*26 ache	33 pano	20 nguwo	24 abuluka
26 Ali	33 tayu	20 utongi	24 khumi
26 dziko	32 awa	19 Babanu	24 kubuluka
l*26 msangani	32 ipi	o*19 chinthu	24 kufuna
o*25 afunzisi	32 mbuto	o*19 chita	o*24 kwace
25 Ayi	32 munda	o*19 Davite	24 mafala
25 khumi	32 mwene	19 kabodzi	24 muti
25 kudya	32 pikulu	l*19 mache	24 nyabasa
o*25 kwenda	32 wako	19 Mbani	o*24 nzimu
l*25 mseru	31 afarisi	19 mphangwa	24 yanji
25 muna	o*31 nkulu	19 mwakuti	23 anafuna
25 munda	31 pakati	19 pidaona	23 anu
25 mwadidi	l*31 uthambi	19 yakuiipa	23 nsanje
o*25 Mzimu	30 azinji	19 yonsene	23 tani
25 pikwi	l*30 Kodi	o*19 Yosefe	23 wawo
24 Apo	30 madzi	o*19 zache	23 yanga
o*24 Khristu	30 wanu	o*19 zile	23 zawo
24 maso	29 akulu	18 anafuna	22 anga
24 naye	29 atoma	18 babanga	22 mwenemu
24 njira	o*29 kubva	18 kule	22 napyo
24 nsisi	o*29 mwace	o*18 kwache	22 ndiye
23 anani	29 ngakhala	o*18 maprofeti	o*22 pire
23 anati	28 anyabasa	18 mizimu	l*22 sawasawa
l*23 chifupi	28 eneyi	18 mwenemo	21 anyankhondo
o*23 mbewu	28 kudawa	18 pakati	l*21 awene
l*23 mwadiya	28 kuona	o*18 Pilato	l*21 dhuzi
o*23 pyache	l*28 lang'ana	17 awo	21 kakhala
23 Tani	28 yonsene	17 bodzi	21 mikate
o*23 yapansi	27 ife	17 mafala	21 mizimu
22 amuna	27 kukhala	17 Malemba	21 njira
22 Cha	l*27 mai	17 mikate	21 pyadidi
22 Kale	o*27 mporofeta	17 muti	20 akhali
o*22 mprofeti	o*27 ndzinda	17 ono	o*20 aporofeta
22 pikulu	26 anyakudziwisa	17 pana	20 basa
22 tenepa	26 dzinza	17 pyawo	20 kutomera
o*21 anyansembe	26 dzuwa	17 ukulu	20 mbakhonda
o*21 chibodzi	26 ene	17 wakuipa	20 muna
o*21 lle	26 eneyo	17 wenewo	20 nyanza
21 ndimwe	26 manungo	l*17 Yang'ana	o*20 Piratu
21 pene	26 nguwo	16 Herodi	o*19 anacemerwa
21 pinango	o*26 nkati	16 ibodzi	19 anani
l*21 pyakudawa	26 nsisi	16 kubuluka	o*19 Galileya
21 Si	o*25 anyantsembe	o*16 kuchita	o*19 Herodhi
20 adabuluka	25 kukhonda	16 madzi	19 kunja
20 anyankhondo	25 manja	o*16 mfunzisi	19 mbampanga

Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS	Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS
16 ndiye	19 Misiya	13 kwanu	15 mwenemo
16 ninji	19 ndimwe	!*13 mosiku	15 phiri
16 nyatwa	19 ntengo	!*13 mwenechiro	15 pidamala
o*16 yache	o*19 Zuze	13 ndiwe	15 yanu
o*16 Yerusalemu	18 abwera	!*13 nsomba	15 zace
15 adatoma	18 amuna	!*13 nthemba	14 akazi
15 anakwanisa	o*18 Batixta	13 pidamala	14 akwata
15 anyabasa	!*18 kuphembera	13 pyadidi	14 anati
15 enewa	18 kwawo	13 pyakale	14 Ande
15 kudza	18 mbani	13 pyanu	14 iyi
15 kuimfa	o*18 nkono	!*13 sasawa	14 kubulukira
15 kuno	18 pamaso	13 uno	14 kubwera
!*15 kunthemba	o*18 phwandu	13 weneyu	14 kutawira
15 maboli	18 zonsene	13 yeneyi	14 kweneko
15 mamuna	17 abale	!*12 adaatawira	!*14 midzidzi
15 manungo	17 atuma	12 adatuma	o*14 mpfunzisi
o*15 Maria	!*17 cisa	!*12 adavunza	14 mphepo
15 mule	o*17 Dhavidhi	12 Alev	o*14 ntongi
15 nyanza	o*17 Djerusalema	12 alonga	!*14 paketi
15 pyonsenepi	17 inango	!*12 angelo	14 zenezi
o*15 Satana	17 kwanu	12 anu	13 anzawo
o*15 wamkulu	17 leka	12 athema	13 banja
15 yekha	17 moto	12 awangisa	13 bara
15 zadidi	o*17 Mozesi	o*12 chena	!*13 bote
!*14 adakwata	17 ndinadza	o*12 Israele	o*13 cidzindikiro
o*14 afunzisa	17 padzulu	12 matongero	13 izi
!*14 anadzakhala	17 ukulu	12 mbakhala	!* 13 masiku
o*14 chikhulupiro	17 yako	12 mbuto	13 mbaapanga
!*14 dzedze	16 bukhu	!*12 mkadamu	13 mbiri
14 dziwa	16 dziwani	o*12 mumtima	13 ndiwe
14 lmwembo	16 khundu	12 ndinati	13 ndiwo
14 kene	o*16 Mariya	12 padziko	13 ng
14 khala	!*16 mbakhalonga	o*12 phwando	!*13 nthenda
14 kunja	16 misapo	12 pidachitwa	13 nthumbi
14 kwawo	16 nawo	12 pidalonga	13 penepi
14 lero	16 ndine	12 Yudasi	13 utongi
14 manja	16 ndokoni	12 zitatu	12 akhakhala
14 mantha	o*16 ntima	!*11 adaavunza	12 alamuka
!*14 mfaka-faka	16 nyama	!*11 adamtawira	12 ampanga
o*14 Mose	16 penepa	!*11 adava	12 anakhonda
o*14 mphamvu	16 pidafika	11 ako	o*12 anfendezera
14 ndokoni	16 zadidi	11 Ande	!*12 atumwi
14 nsapo	15 ako	o*11 Ayuda	o*12 cikulu
o*14 Nyakubatiza	!*15 amadjuda	11 diso	o*12 cincino
14 Pidava	o*15 Djuda	11 inafuna	o*12 Izirayeli
14 Yakobo	!*15 kaidi	11 kufa	12 kukhuwa
13 abale	15 kale	11 kufuna	12 kulungama
13 aleke	15 kudziwa	!*11 kuluwani	12 kuwangiswa
13 baba	15 kugopa	11 mabira	12 kwanga
13 kupha	15 mwala	!*11 mbamvunza	12 lero

Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS	Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS
*11 mkazache	12 mataka	9 Elia	o*10 Cipo
l*11 mphyadidi	12 mathubu	l*9 Kani	10 kalonga
o*11 mwanache	o*12 midzinda	9 Khalani	o*10 kubvala
11 napyo	o*12 Ninivi	9 khundu	o*10 kucitika
11 ndikhali	12 pang	9 kudumbira	10 kudumbira
o*11 Ninevi	o*12 pantanda	9 kudziko	10 kumabulukira
11 okha	12 patsogolo	9 kwanga	10 kunyumba
o*11 pache	o*12 pyace	9 kweneku	10 kupha
o*11 pamtanda	o*12 pyacitika	9 mala	o*10 kupibva
11 pinafuna	12 ziwiri	9 masiye	10 kupiona
l*11 Pyakulembwa	11 acita	o*9 mbaleache	10 kutongwa
11 Simoni	11 akhonda	9 mbatoma	10 madyo
l11 Yakupuma	11 anyakufa	l*9 mkhanjo	10 mafuta
10 adalamuka	o*11 apfunzisa	9 mphepo	10 mangwana
10 akhala	11 atenda	o*9 msuwo	l*10 maubva
10 akuipa	11 athimiza	l*9 muluwani	10 Mbatsanzaye
10 babache	11 bale	9 mwala	l*10 misanje
o*10 cheza	o*11 batixmu	9 ndine	10 nayo
o*10 chidzindikiro	11 iyo	9 nsembe	10 ndiko
10 dzina	11 kunyerezera	o*9 nyansembe	o*10 nsuwo
10 inango	11 mabira	l*9 perezo	o*10 nzace
l*10 kadi	11 makhaliro	9 pikwane	10 pawo
10 kuona	11 mathangwi	l*9 pyakudodomesa	10 pikwi
10 kwane	11 matongero	9 pyakuipa	10 pinango
10 mbavunza	11 mbakhala	9 ukhali	10 pyawo
10 mbuyache	o*11 mpfuma	9 una	10 vinyu
o*10 mfuma	11 munadza	l*9 uputa	9 adidi
o*10 msonkho	l*11 muoni	9 zinango	9 anakhala
10 munakwanisa	l*11 musadziwa	l*8 adaapanga	9 apita
10 mwananga	11 mwawo	l*8 adabwerera	l*9 asalonga
o*10 mzinda	11 mwinji	8 adatambira	l*9 asatongwa
10 ndoko	o*11 myala	8 akulonga	o*9 cedza
10 njala	11 ndoko	8 analonga	o*9 citatu
10 paphiri	11 njala	8 anga	9 diso
o*10 pidachitika	o*11 ntunda	l*8 anyantchoche	9 Funa
10 pishanu	l*11 nyakasongole	8 Asaduki	9 kaona
10 piwiri	11 nzeru	8 bara	9 kubaliwa
10 Roma	o*11 nzinda	l*8 dawe	9 kudziko
10 wakhala	11 sabudu	l*8 faka	9 kuirwa
10 Wanga	11 udiri	8 kanwa	9 kulamuka
o*10 Yudea	11 uli	8 kapanga	o*9 kupfunzisa
10 zawo	11 wadidi	8 kobirizo	9 kutali
l*9 adachemera	l*10 adzumatirwa	8 konsene	9 kutsogolo
9 adachita	10 afika	l*8 kugehena	9 kwako
9 adaona	10 agumana	8 kumabulukiro	l*9 lukwali
l*9 adatonga	10 Alias	o*8 kumzinda	9 mangawa
9 adidi	10 anawa	8 kuphiwa	o*9 mauo
9 anangombo	10 ang	8 kwana	9 mbadzati
9 atenda	10 anzace	8 leka	l*9 ntumwi
o*9 chinafuna	10 aona	8 lini	o*9 nzako

Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS	Occurs in MLS	Occurs in MZS
8 mafuta	l*9 parata	7 monsene	7 Bwerani
8 makolo	9 pezi	o*7 mtendere	o*7 cenjerani
8 mangwana	o*9 Simau	o*7 mtundu	o*7 cinango
o*8 Mateo	9 thando	7 mundawo	o*7 cire
8 miseru	9 yadidi	7 mwanu	7 guwa
8 nazo	9 zitatu	7 mwawo	o*7 ici
8 Ngakutsanzaya	o*8 aabvunza	7 mwene	7 khalani
8 Ngayang'ana	o*8 afendezera	7 nyale	7 kubwerera
8 Ora	8 aipirwa	7 nyenyezi	o*7 kucena
8 pale	8 Akhalipo	7 nyumbayo	7 kufunika
8 patsogolo	8 anyakulima	7 onthowo	7 kukwata
8 pikhaenda	8 atawira	7 pambuto	7 kulira
8 Pikhali	8 atsikana	7 pambutopo	7 kumalisa
8 weneyo	8 buluka	7 pansiku	7 kuoneka
8 yakuti	o*8 cidima	7 panu	7 kupasa
8 yeneyo	o*8 Djudeya	o*7 pidachita	7 kupiringana
8 zonsene	8 ekha	7 pinalonga	7 kusaka
o*7 Abrahamu	8 kufika	7 saka	7 kusoweka
l*7 adadodoma	8 kuli	l*7 siliva	7 kuthawa
l*7 adamvunza	8 kumalisira	7 utenda	o*7 macibese
l*7 adapanga	8 kumwa	7 wadidi	7 mbakwata
7 akazi	8 kunyindirika	7 wako	o*7 mbambvunzisa
7 akukhala	l*8 kuphemba	l*7 zidagwera	7 mbatoma
o*7 akuva	8 kupi	6 adadya	7 miti
l*7 alendo	8 kupidziwa	l*6 adaimira	7 mitima
l*7 amiyali	8 kusowa	6 adakhala	7 munati
7 anadzalira	8 maboliboli	6 adapakira	o*7 muntima
7 Ani	8 mbalame	6 adapita	7 mwadidi
7 Anthuwa	8 misonkho	6 aende	7 mwakhonda
7 anyakufa	8 ndipyo	6 akufunika	o*7 myendo
7 Baraba	o*8 nkundu	l*6 ambachita	7 ninji
o*7 Chiyuda	8 nyale	l*6 ambakhala	7 nkhope
7 dzana	8 nyamalwa	l*6 ambalonga	7 nkhumba
7 dzatonga	8 panyumba	l*6 amunakulu	o*7 nsolo
l*7 fakamwe	o*8 Paxukwa	6 anira	o*7 pace
7 gulu	8 pidalembwa	6 anzeru	o*7 pinacita
7 ikulu	8 pina	6 aone	o*7 pinafunemwe
7 kati	8 pinafuna	o*6 ashanu	7 pinalonga
l*7 kulalika	l*8 pirengo	l*6 Boma	l*7 sawasawambo
o*7 kumtunda	o*8 Sathani	6 fala	7 tsanga
7 kuonesa	l*8 upulumuki	6 funa	7 uipi
7 kupi	o*7 Abharamu	6 funika	7 walandana
7 kusiyana	7 aende	o*6 Iguputo	o*7 zixanu
7 madzinza	7 akhale	l*6 imfa	6 abulusa
o*7 mawulo	7 akhalonga	6 khulupirika	6 akhafuna
l*7 mbava	7 anadumbira	6 Konta	6 akhala
l*7 mfupo	7 ani	o*6 kudachita	6 akwira
l*7 misangani	o*7 ankwata	6 kukhundu	o*6 anacita
o*7 mkate	7 Apo	l*6 kukikita	6 anakwanisa
o*7 mkulu	7 asadusi	6 aone	6 anasaka