

# Report on a Survey of Coastal Makua Dialects

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## Abstract

Makua refers to a group of Bantu (P.30) languages and dialects spoken in Mozambique and Tanzania. The purpose of the survey presented in this report was to gather linguistic and sociolinguistic data from 5 Makua varieties spoken along the coast.

How closely related are these varieties to central Makua, the variety considered the reference dialect? In order to answer this question, I used three classic survey methods recommended by Bergman (ed. 1990), namely lexicostatistics, Recorded Text Testing and sociolinguistic interview. As a result, Emoniga clearly emerged as the variety most distinct from central Makua, with the other southern dialect Emarevone and a central one—Enaharra—closely behind. But are they dialects or languages? In an attempt to answer this question, I developed a “continuum of relative autonomy,” which shows how different the respective varieties are from central Makua. This continuum is then used as a grid in discussing the status of the varieties of Makua and their potential for language development.

## 1. Introduction

*Makua* is a Bantu language spoken by approximately 3,300,000 people<sup>1</sup> in northern Mozambique and southern Tanzania. The Makua language area in Mozambique stretches from 12° to 17° southern latitude and 36° to 41° eastern longitudes. According to Guthrie’s (1948:81) classification, Makua belongs to the *Makua-Lomwe* group P.30. This group consists of the following languages: P.31 *Makua*, P.32 *Lomwe*, P.33 *Ngulu*, P.34 *Chuabo*. Current research (Lyndon and Lyndon 1999, Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000) shows that *Koti*, sometimes considered a variety of Makua, is a language on its own, awaiting further classification within the P zone. Probably *Takwane*, *Lolo*, *Marenje*, *Manjawa* and *Kokola*<sup>2</sup> in western Zambézia province also belong to the P-zone, replacing the former *Ngulu*.

Among other languages, Makua is used in four Mozambican provinces, namely Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Niassa, and Zambézia. There are Makua communities in urban centers outside the language area, in Tanzania and probably on Madagascar, but for the present purpose we will restrict ourselves to the Mozambican provinces mentioned.

In terms of literature production, Makua has an alphabet and a preliminary orthography; the Bible was first published in 1982 and went through several revisions, the latest in 2000. There is a considerable corpus of written material, mostly of religious or educational character. Literacy initiatives abound, even though largely uncoordinated. The prevalent attitude of speakers is similar to most Mozambicans when asked about their mother tongue: *Só falo dialecto*. ‘I don’t speak a proper language, only a dialect’.

During the 80s, the Mozambican government changed its language policy and recognized the existence of national languages other than Portuguese and actively supported research, literacy, and other language developing activities. As a result of a pilot project entitled “Use of vernaculars in basic education” (see Veloso 1994), fifteen of the nearly forty-one national languages were chosen to serve as means of primary

<sup>1</sup> See Recenseamento 1997. All statistical numbers in relation to numbers of speakers in this report are calculated based on this document.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Shrum and Shrum 1998 for details on surveys.

education. Preparations are on the way to ensure teachers' training and adequate teaching material. The research conducted by NELIMO, the centre for research in Mozambican languages attached to the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, led to the first comprehensive list of Mozambican languages, published in the report of the first conference on national orthographies in Maputo in 1989.<sup>3</sup> It offered basic phonological descriptions, an orthography proposal and observations on geographic distribution and dialect variation for each of the fourteen languages included.



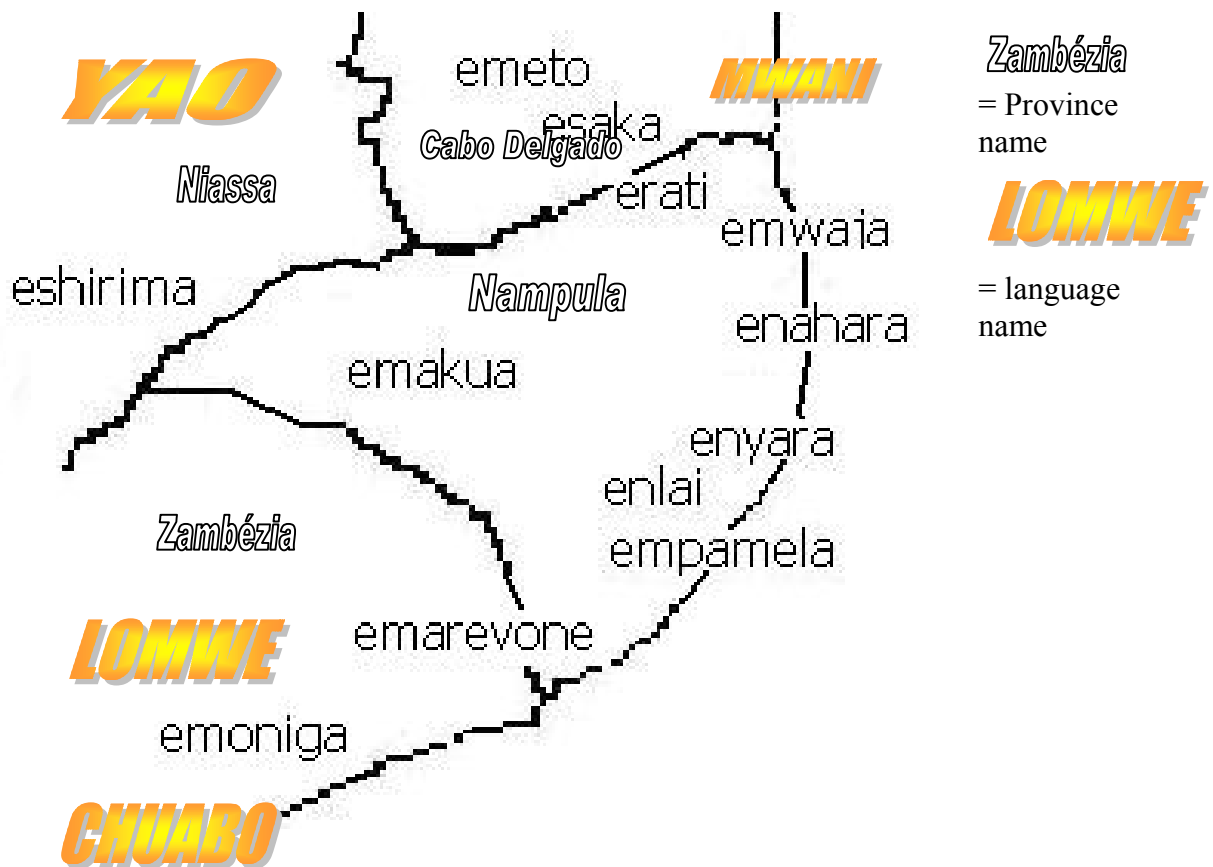
Map 1.1. Mozambican Provinces

During the 1989 conference, it was agreed that the central variety of Makua should be taken as the reference dialect. The report of the second conference (Siteo and Ngunga 2000:67) lists the following Makua dialects: *Emakhuwa*, *Enahara*, *Esaaka*, *Esankaci*, *Emarevoni*, *Elomwe*, *Emeetto*, *Echirima*.

The language names and their spelling vary considerably: One can find Makua, Macua, Macoua, Emakua, Emakhuwa, Emakhuwane with the latter often used synonymously with central Makua. In this report, we will use the term Emakuana for the central variety, as opposed to Makua when talking about the language in general. Accordingly, any other dialect name will keep the language prefix *e-*, like Emarevone, Emoniga and languages in general will be referred to without prefix, like Swahili,

<sup>3</sup>NELIMO 1989.

Lomwe. Some names are changed according to English spelling rules, for example Esaaka to Esaka.



Map 1.2. Makua language area in Mozambique (by Kröger 2001)

The research situation is characterized by a number of grammatical studies, most notably Centis 2001 and Pires-Prata 1960. Pires-Prata discussed dialect questions, but naturally neither his grammar nor any of the subsequent studies of *Makua* dealt with sociolinguistic questions or dialect variety in detail.

Concerning prior surveys, an SIL team conducted rapid appraisals (Floor and Iseminger 1993) in Cabo Delgado Province in 1993. It was therefore decided to initiate research and future translation in Emeto, the Cabo Delgado variety. Another outcome was a recognition for the need for in-depth research in the Nampula varieties. The present report refers to the following field travels: In January 1996, Oliver and Heidrun Kröger (Kröger 1997) did a rapid appraisal in Nampula city, Monapo, Liupo, and Ilha de Moçambique. In January 1997, a group of UEM (Universidade Eduardo Mondlane) students, Jose M., Crisanto N., and Francisco C. undertook initial survey in Nampula city, Angoche and Moma districts, supervised by Oliver Kröger, with assistance from Fernando Faustino Weliha and Afonso Muendane. In March 2000, Oliver Kröger, Greg Morris, and Vasco Uatar did a participatory data collection in Mecuburi. In May 2000, Oliver Kröger went with his assistants Tiorenço Gervásio Daniel, José Luís, and Romão Mareçal to do survey in Moma district. All travels were undertaken in Nampula Province,



implications for language development, a proposal for Makua dialect entries for the *Ethnologue*, and ideas for future research. Finally, there are extensive appendices.

## 2. Methodology and definitions

Where do you draw the line between dialect and language? Will all varieties need language development? If only some, which ones do you choose? In the following paragraphs, we will describe how we went about addressing these questions.

There may be no universally agreed upon standard about how to research dialect variation, but certain methods used in field linguistics<sup>4</sup> were refined and tested over years. These are the ones which we choose:

1. Lexicostatistics,
2. Sociolinguistic interview,
3. Comprehension testing through Recorded Text Testing (RTT).

Initially, lexicostatistics and informal interviews were used; later formal sociolinguistic interviews and comprehension testing received more emphasis.

Definitions may vary according to research situation and theoretical inclination. This is how we make use of relevant terms:

- A *variety* is any form of speech used by a group of speakers.
- A *dialect* is a regional variety of a certain language, spoken in a definable geographic area and with its own linguistic characteristics (phonetics, grammar) that distinguishes it from other dialects. Between dialects, there is intelligibility.
- *Intelligibility* between two varieties exists when speakers of different varieties can communicate without having to change their verbal behaviour. There are *degrees of intelligibility*, ranging from marginal to partial. For varieties to be considered dialects of one language, there has to be at least partial intelligibility between them.
- In a *dialect chain*, intelligibility is restricted to neighboring dialects.
- Other than *mutual intelligibility*, where both participants understand each other, in a *nonsymmetrical intelligibility* situation one will have less capacity to understand than the other.
- *Inherent intelligibility* exists between varieties whose linguistic differences are small enough to allow for an effective verbal exchange without *bilingualism*.
- *Acquired intelligibility/comprehension* means that a speaker is required to spend some time among speakers of another variety before he can effectively communicate with them. By then, he is *bilingual*.
- A *regional variant* is a subvariety of a dialect, spoken within a closely limited area, e.g., in one or several villages. Its linguistic characteristics are more of a phonetic and lexical nature than grammatical.
- The *prestige* of a variety determines how people feel about using it. *High prestige* will make the speakers want to use it at any occasion, and they will likely identify themselves with it. The speaker of a *low prestige* variety will avoid using it with a stranger present, to the extent that speakers can deny to know their own variety.

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<sup>4</sup> Generally, we followed procedures described in Bergman 1990.



## 2.1. Lexicostatistics and lexical similarity

Between dialects of one language, one would expect a considerable number of cognate words with the same or close meaning, because shared vocabulary constitutes an indispensable condition for communication. Lexicostatistics is a means to measure the words shared between two varieties. A disclaimer must be made: no spoken variety exists in a static form; by its very nature, human communication allows for diachronic change. So establishing apparent cognate percentages through count can only be an approximation towards reality.

To design the apparent cognates count, we first used the list of 200 Portuguese words developed by NELIMO, which later we merged with Möhlig's (n.d.) 600-word list (Swahili and English), resulting in a list with 650 Portuguese entries. During a session, we asked speakers to pronounce each word in their respective variety and then we transcribed the linguistic form that the group of speakers agreed upon. The same process was repeated for each variety, and the resulting lists computed through a WordSurv database. WordSurv is a computer program designed by SIL International to support counting of apparent cognates and other comparative<sup>5</sup> methods. For any pair of words between varieties, it was decided whether they were derived cognates, i.e., derived from the same root. The number of apparent cognates (c) is then divided by the total of words (t), and multiplied by 100, according to the formula  $c : t = x : 100$ .

Table 1 is an example of the wordlist used as base for comparison.

Table 1. Example count of apparent cognates

	gloss	Emakuana	Emoniga	cognate count
1.	water	'má:si	'má:Δi	✓
2.	head	'múru	'murú	✓
3.	year	e'yákha	e'yákha	✓
4.	twins	ma'pápho	aná'páta	-
5.	roof	ni'pátho	ma'khadZa	-
6.	smoke	`mwí:Σi	`mwí:si	✓
				total 4

Of six pairs compared in table 1, four are considered cognates. Two words, “twins” (4) and “roof” (5), show unrelated forms in the two varieties. Accordingly, the percentage calculated would be  $(4:6) \times 100 = 67\%$ .

There is an assumed relation between cognates and intelligibility; if the percentage of common words between two varieties is less than 70 percent, it can be concluded that there is no inherent intelligibility.<sup>6</sup> If the number of apparent cognates is higher, other methods should be applied, such as comprehension testing.

It should be emphasized that the lexicostatical method alone cannot account for comprehension or intelligibility. Its purpose is to measure one necessary condition for intelligibility, namely shared vocabulary.

<sup>5</sup> See Simons 1977 for phonostatic methods and Wimbish 1989 for an excellent introduction to the program and its application on phonostatistics and phonological comparison.

<sup>6</sup> See Bergman 1990 §§9.3.1. and 9.5.2. for a discussion of thresholds.

During the rapid appraisal in January 1996, we encountered difficulties in locating the central variety: Most speakers we interviewed had been born in other areas, and those born in Nampula city or its surroundings would certainly speak a mix of various dialects. In order to identify Emakuana speakers, we developed a “diagnostic list”: Of twenty-five words that Pires-Prata (1990) identifies as Emakuana, the pronunciation<sup>7</sup> was transcribed. Whenever a potential speaker of “pure” Emakuana would use more than four words different from our standard list, we would not continue the lexicostatistics and would look for another interview partner. It became obvious that Emakuana in its pure form is not being spoken in Nampula city, but in surrounding districts. We chose Mecuburi district north of Nampula city and collected the full 650-word list for Emakuana.

It was also in Mecuburi that we followed a participatory approach<sup>8</sup>; rather than transcribing words ourselves, we taught basic Makua spelling rules to a group of eighteen literate speakers and had them organize themselves in smaller groups. Every group would then receive a list of items arranged by semantic domains like communication, climate, household, and write down the Makua equivalents. Within less than two days of elicitation, the speakers collected nearly 1,000 words. The participatory method proved to be efficient as a means to raise language consciousness, and also provided some speakers with training. At other places, transcription was done through a group approach, i.e., several speakers joined to decide about what word was the right one and how it is pronounced correctly.

Lomwe was included into the lexicostatistic, because the two southern coastal varieties Emarevone and Emoniga are spoken in areas bordering on the Lomwe area.

## 2.2. Sociolinguistic interview

Counting apparent cognates does not show whether speakers regard their own speech or that of the others with respect or shame, how they consider their own variety’s position relative to that of others, or whether there is a desire to develop the variety under discussion. That is why we included interviews with as many speakers as possible. First we did informal sociolinguistic interviews, later we developed a questionnaire for formal interviews. The questionnaire in its extended form was only used in Moma and Pebane (see appendix). Prior to that stage it included eight main questions. The interviews aimed at gathering data concerning the following three areas:

- 1) Reported comprehension with other varieties. The subjects were asked whether they could understand Emakuana, any of the neighboring varieties, or *Lomwe*. For each of these options, they could choose between “easily, with some difficulty, and hard to understand.” This area will be referred to as “reported comprehension.”
- 2) Exclusive use of own variety. The interview partners were asked where they used their own variety. A distinction was made between usage at home (with spouse and extended family members) and outside the home. The latter included language used at the local and central market, with neighbors, at work, or when working on the field. Three highly predictable areas were not counted: When meeting with strangers and during political rallies, as well as Arabic for Muslim prayers. These occasions

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<sup>7</sup> It should be added that during the course of several sessions, entries had to be changed several times, according to speakers’ opinion. Central Makua is far from being homogenous in its lexical and phonetic characteristics.

<sup>8</sup> See Kutsch-Lojenga 1996.

automatically require usage of Portuguese and Arabic, respectively. For any questions, every time a subject answered “no” to part of a question, the whole answer would be counted as “no.” That is why the resulting number can be taken as very conservative. This area will be referred to as “language use.”

- 3) Prestige and motivation to develop local variety. The speakers were asked whether they would like their own children to speak their parents’ variety, whether it should be used as medium of instruction for their children’s primary education, and what variety they would like to be used for translation of written materials in religious instruction. This area will be referred to as “language attitude.”

This is how basic demographical factors like sex, age, religion, education, and residence were handled:

- 1) Duration of stay in the language area. We asked for place of birth, whether the individual resided in the research area, and what time he had spent in the language area. The questionnaire distinguishes between three degrees of time spent: 1 never left for more than a year, 2 left for more than a year, but has his normal residence in the area, 3 has normal residence outside the area and only visits.
- 2) Age. Because many individuals could not indicate the year of birth, we asked for an estimate and classified them into an age-groups grid.
- 3) Education. The Mozambican educational system has undergone dramatic changes after independence and during the civil war; there are the so-called old system and the new system. We grouped grades 1–4 of the old system together with grades 1–6 of the new system, labeling them “primary education,” and accordingly old grades 5–7 and new ones 7–12 together form “secondary education.” Any further schooling received we subsumed under “superior/technical education.”
- 4) Gender. We included as many women as possible, but because of cultural restraints, it was not possible to arrive at an equal distribution of genders.
- 5) Religion. We distinguished three main religious affiliations: Muslim, Christian, and other, the latter including animists, ancestor worshippers, and atheists.

#### Location of interviews

Sperling (2000:275) describes the African demographic reality which cannot be captured by the dichotomy urban versus rural: “Many Swahili settlements are better described as villages or ‘semi-rural’ towns. For example, the Swahili who lived on the island of Mombasa had farms on the mainland where they grew their own food.”

In Mozambique, even in a district capital, the majority of individuals could be described as “semipeasant urbanite” (p. 275), with a major share of his economy based on subsistence agriculture and social networks in rural areas. This holds especially true for inhabitants of traditional houses in the periphery of towns. One could call those settlements “semiurban.”

The Mozambican sociolinguistic situation could further be described by a sort of “20/20-law”: In any village located more than 20 km. away from a city, it is likely that the majority of the population knows only a maximum of twenty words of the official national language, Portuguese.

In order to achieve a balanced representation of this social-demographic situation, we choose three different locations for each variety. Accordingly, three distinct types of

residence are distinguished: a) in the center of a city, b) in a suburb or village near an urban center, and c) in a rural area. Obviously, in a rural setting, speakers are less exposed to linguistic variance than their cousins in an urban environment. We will label this criterion as residence and the speakers as a) urban, b) semi-urban, or c) rural.

#### Data quality

We tried to interview at least thirty individuals for any relevant grouping, but due to the nature of the research, there were limitations. As was mentioned, women are not represented adequately because of cultural restraints, individuals with secondary education are hard to find and therefore represented in small numbers, coastal Makua are predominantly Muslims, so Christians and animists occur seldom in the interviews.

Most findings are described through percentages, but some samples are smaller than thirty individuals, and proportion rather than percentage will represent these. The population statistics given in this report are estimates, based on figures of the 1997 Mozambican national census.

### 2.3. Recorded Text Testing

We asked an Emakuana speaker born in Mecuburi, one of the central districts of Nampula province, to give us an oral account of some events during the last two days. This text (see appendix) was then transcribed and translated into Portuguese. Eight questions were developed together with one test question, aiming at showing whether the subject comprehends the content of the story. Based on prior field experiences, we did not invest effort into constructing a cassette with gaps, like the classical method requires<sup>9</sup> but rather had the subjects listen individually to the whole text twice and then answer a set of prepared questions, the answers of which would be measured and evaluated.

## 3. Results

This section presents the results for the researched varieties in the following sequence: 1. Enahara, 2. Enlai and Empamela, 3. Emarevone, 4. Emoniga, and 5. other varieties. Every section includes a brief sociohistorical description of the group of speakers in the language area, followed by the results yielded by the methods discussed in the previous section. A comparison between the varieties can be found in the next section.

### 3.1. Enahara

Enahara is being spoken by about 33,000 to 40,000 people on the island called Ilha de Moçambique and on the neighboring coastal strip from Nacala down to Mogincual. Major economic activities of the population are fishing and subsistence agriculture. Its three local varieties<sup>10</sup> are sometimes called Ematipane, derived from Matibane, a village in Mossuril district, Ephareia, derived from Portuguese *praia* ‘beach, coast’, and Edaraphi. The island stands out in history as the place that gave today’s Mozambique its name: At his arrival, Vasco da Gama asked for the place’s name and was given the local rulers name, the Sheik Ali Musa Mbiki. This anecdote serves well to illustrate the fact that Swahili cultural influence was well established during the fifteenth century. During

<sup>9</sup> Simons 1990: §4.2.5f.

<sup>10</sup> Oral communication, Fernando Weliha, see also *Notícias* (a Mozambican private, independent, national daily newspaper), January 1994.

colonial time, the Portuguese made the island the administrative and traffic center and erected a big fort. With the decrease of slave trade during the nineteenth century came a decline of the city. Today, the island enjoys the status of world cultural heritage, and measures are taken to restore and/or conserve some of its characteristics. Nahara culture is distinctly Muslim and close to Swahili.



Map 3.1. Enahara Language area

### 3.1.1. Lexicostatistics

Based on the NELIMO list of 200 words, the lexicostatic rate is 85.5 percent in relation to Emakuana.

### 3.1.2. Sociolinguistic interviews

From a series of about twenty informal interviews in Nampula, Monapo, and Liupo it became clear that there is considerable language pride, and the speakers unanimously agreed that the best Enahara is being spoken on the Ilha de Moçambique. Some initial attempts at gathering lexicostatic data showed that in Monapo Emakuana mixes with Enahara, as the speakers say, *Aqui existe mistura* 'Here we mix'. So we decided to continue research on the Island of Mozambique, here referred to as the Ilha.

The Ilha being a focal point of Mozambican history in general and of Muslim culture in particular, we were anxious to ask some Ilhotes about language use and their attitudes. Literate persons we queried expressed willingness to read the central variety Emakuana, and among illiterates, there was no indication of reluctance towards Emakuana. Overall, there was openness towards Emakuana as the reference dialect, for example in orthography making, and nobody doubted that s/he could understand the central variety. Swahili is frequently used, as well as Arabic, during religious ceremonies. Enahara has also seen development of literacy materials and classes for several years.

### 3.1.3. Comprehension testing

No comprehension testing was conducted.

### 3.2. Enlai and Empamela

The language area lies in Angoche district within a 50 km. radius of Angoche city, with Enlai north along villages like Mória, Mutucuti, and Namaponda, and Empamela south and southwest of Angoche, along villages like Boila, Nametória,<sup>11</sup> or Natiri, possibly down to Larde. Both varieties are each spoken by approximately 70,000 individuals. Major economic activities are subsistence farming and fishing. Former industry like the cashew processing plant in Angoche City came to a halt after independence.

We understand that Koti, spoken in Angoche city, is a language on its own, still belonging to the same subgroup P.20 within Bantu, but with enough grammatical and lexical characteristics to set it apart from the whole of Makua. Lyndon and Lyndon (2000:2) point out that, “Nowadays, people outside the area e.g., in Angoche, refer to Esangaje as the language that is predominantly spoken on the Sangage peninsula, i.e., across the Nlocanhama river and outside the Enatthembo area, which is in fact Enlai.” Accordingly, we limited the scope of our research to areas away from Angoche city.

Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000:86) translate the Koti word *mpáméla* as ‘inland’, Machado (1968:693) writes that the A-mulai originated in Pebane and from there migrated north, where they partly merged with the “Ajojo-Swahili” and founded the Sultanate of Angoche. He also mentions (p. 716) a *muhimo* (clan) called Anlai, paralleled by Munlai among the Meto-speakers. For their relatively low numbers of speakers and close geographic proximity, both varieties are dealt with under one heading.



Map 3.2. Enlai and Empamela language area

#### 3.2.1. Lexicostatistics

Based on the 650-word list, the lexicostatistics gives 79 percent for Enlai and 87 percent for Empamela in relation to Makua.

<sup>11</sup> Personal communication, José M.

### 3.2.2. Sociolinguistic interviews

Speakers of both varieties spontaneously referred to themselves as Makua speakers, and only when asked about their variety, would they respond more specifically. Informal interviews about attitudes with about twenty individuals invariably showed that speakers look towards Makua as the standard variety and are confident that they can understand it. The Makua Bible and other catechetical material were widely known, but usually not in the hands of the people. Faced with unanimous acceptance of the central variety, we did not see any need for further research.

### 3.2.3. Comprehension testing

No comprehension testing was done.

## 3.3. Emarevone

Emarevone is the variety spoken in Moma, the southernmost district of Nampula province. The population is about 190,000. The economy consists of fishing, agriculture, and trade. The latter depends on small-scale transport through *chapas*, the private commercial minibuses. During the first field trip to Moma in January 1997, we encountered much stronger language awareness than we had witnessed among speakers in other areas. When asked what language they speak, most individuals would respond “Emarevone” or “Makua-Emarevone.” A few made mention of “Makua-Emoniga” as the Makua being spoken across the river Ligonha, i.e., in Zambézia province. According to Machado (1968:688), the Marevone migrated from Pebane, like the Anlai, but later than the latter.

The survey during the second trip was undertaken in a) one major mosque of the district capital Moma and its town quarter nearby, b) Kokotto, a village in the vicinity of Moma in walking distance to the road, and c) in Pilivili, a village some 25 km. away. For years, the way to Pilivili had been passable only with a tractor, and it was only in April 2000 that it had been turned into a road again.



Map 3.3 Emarevone language area

### 3.3.1. Lexicostatistics

According to the 650-word list, there are 65 percent apparent cognates between Emarevone and Makua.

### 3.3.2. Sociolinguistic interviews

For the second field trip to Moma in May 2000, we used the extended sociolinguistic questionnaire with thirty-three questions (cf. appendix). Three Emakuana speakers underwent a two-day training in interview technique, including a test run in Nampula city, and then helped administer the formal interviews to speakers.

Of 130 subjects, 121 spoke Emarevone as their mother tongue, three Emakuana, two Koti, one Emoniga, and three Lomwe. Rather than restricting the data to pure *Emarevone* speakers, we included all subjects in the computing in order to represent the linguistic behavior of the Moma community. The age groups represented are as follows: 64 young (–37), 28 middle-aged (38–52), and 38 old people (53–).

Reported comprehension with other varieties:

- Emakuana is easy to understand for 65 percent. But there is a remainder of a third, which finds it difficult (29%) or hard (4%) to understand.
- Nobody thinks of Emoniga as easily understandable; subjects either said they find it somewhat difficult (36%) or really hard (57%) to understand.
- Almost half the subjects (49%) say they can easily understand Lomwe.

### Language use

At home, Emarevone is the preferred means of communication for the vast majority of 92 percent of all speakers asked.

Influence of demographical factors on usage at home:

- 1) Residence: In Moma city, the district capital, 85 percent use Emarevone, whereas 92 percent of the rural population and 100 percent of the semiurban population use their own variety.
- 2) Age: There is a slight decrease in usage the younger the speakers are: The preference for Emarevone among the older people is 97 percent, 89 percent among the middle-aged, and 88 percent among the young people.
- 3) Education: 91 percent of people without formal schooling prefer Emarevone, and 88 percent of those with primary education. Of the thirteen speakers with secondary education (which corresponds to 10 percent of the total sample in Moma), all said they speak Emarevone at home!
- 4) Gender: Of 130 subjects, only sixteen were female. fourteen of them prefer Emarevone, and among the 114 men 104 (i.e., 91%) prefer Emarevone.
- 5) Religion: 93 percent of the Muslims interviewed prefer the local language, and among eighteen Christians interviewed, only fourteen spoke in favor of Emarevone. In principle, this corresponds to 78 percent.

Outside the home, 90 percent of all subjects prefer Emarevone. Influence of demographical factors on use outside of the home:

- 1) For residence, urban dwellers have a rate of 86 percent Emarevone preference, in contrast with rates of 94 percent for rural and 92 percent semiurban people.



- 2) Age correlates with usage; 95 percent of the older people prefer Emarevone, and only 86 percent of middle-aged. Interestingly, the rate increases to 89 percent for younger people.
- 3) Education influences the usage of Emarevone negatively: 91 percent of non-schooled people prefer Emarevone, but only 87 percent of those with primary education. The subjects with secondary education all use Emarevone out of the home.
- 4) Fifteen out of sixteen women use Emarevone outside of the home, and 104 of 114 men (90%).
- 5) As for religion, the Christian population seem to make less use of Emarevone than others: of eighteen Christians only fifteen use Emarevone, whereas 99 of 109 Muslims (91%) and all three adherents of other beliefs use Emarevone outside the house.

#### Language attitude

Asked what language they would want their children to speak as first language, 55 percent said they wanted Emarevone, and 29 percent preferred some other language, 16 percent did not answer.

For the attitude towards using Emarevone as medium of instruction in school, the preference lies considerably higher, namely 70 percent in favor of Emarevone against 22 percent in favor of other languages. This positive attitude is even more accented among the urban population (81%).

The question for desired translation remained unanswered by 22 percent, whereas 64 percent opted for Emarevone and 14 percent expressed no desire or said that religious literature cannot be translated into a language other than Arabic.

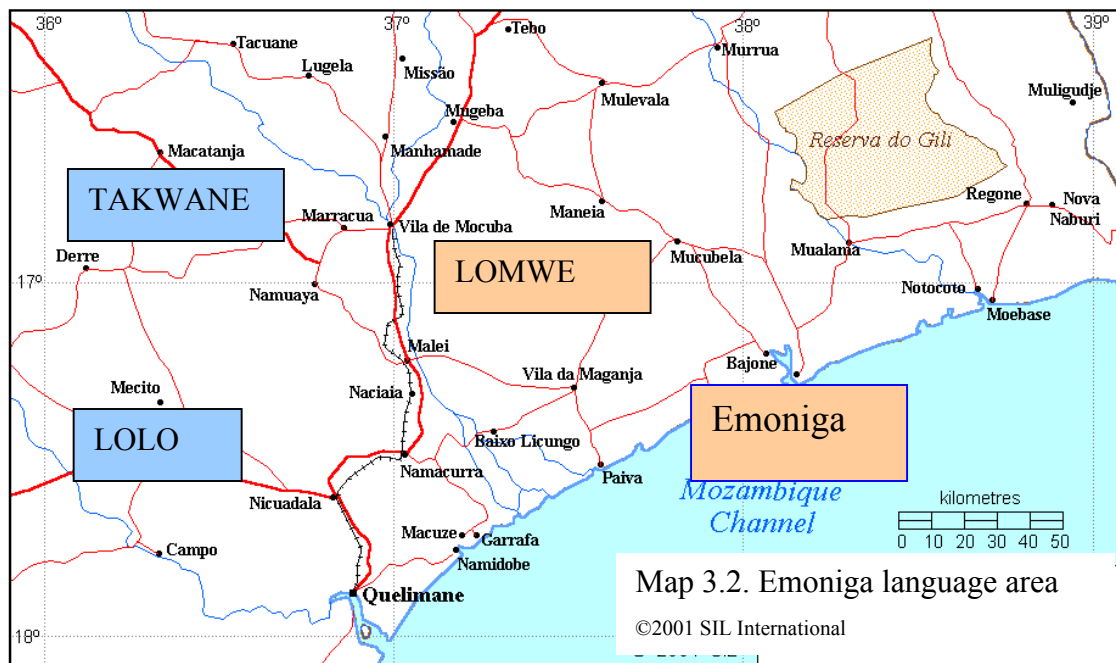
#### 3.3.3. *Comprehension testing*

The four speakers who did the RTT showed complete comprehension of the sample text. The location Kokotto where comprehension testing was done falls into the “village” category, but it should be said that there is a local primary school, which is untypical of a village. The results could be lower for speakers in rural areas like Pilivili, but circumstances did not allow for testing there. In addition, we failed to achieve the number of ten speakers that is generally seen as statistically valid.

### 3.4. Emoniga

**Location.** It can be estimated that Emoniga is being spoken by approximately 200,000 individuals in Pebane district, situated in the northeast of Zambézia province, and in a part of neighboring district Maganja da Costa. The boarder to Moma district which belongs to Nampula province coincides with the Ligonha River, which regularly rises during rainy season and therefore limits transition. Pebane used to be called the forgotten district within Zambézia, and when we went there for a pre-survey trip in May 2000 we learned that the major road had only been reopened three weeks before. Until now, subsistence farming is the major source of income, plus some fishing, hunting, and coconut planting. Trade is restricted due to lack of infrastructure.

After initial contact with Emoniga in Moma, further evidence of this Makua dialect was reported by another SIL team: While surveying the dialect situation in Chuabo<sup>12</sup> around Quelimane, Jim and Virginia Vinton frequently encountered Emoniga speakers who specifically referred to themselves as Makua and not Lomwe. But speakers of Lomwe or other Makua dialects would often consider the language of Pebane as a dialect of Lomwe. The locations chosen were: a) Pebane city, the district capital, b) Bogodade, a suburb of Pebane with a local market, and c) Mulapane and Mulai, two villages approximately 21 km. away from Pebane.



#### 3.4.1. Lexicostatistics

Based on the 650-word list, the percentage of apparent cognates with Emakuana is 62 percent, with Lomwe 56 percent. Lomwe was included in the lexicostatistics comparison because it is spoken in all neighboring districts of the Emoniga area.

#### 3.4.2. Sociolinguistic interviews

The total of people interviewed was 103. Besides ninety-nine Emoniga speakers, there were two *Lomwe* speakers, one Koti and one Emakuana. These were all included in the processing, because they make part of the linguistic community.

Of all speakers interviewed, twenty-nine were young (–25), fifty-five middle-aged (26–42), and nineteen old (43+).

#### Reported comprehension

Twenty-one percent find Emarevone easy to understand, 61 percent think it is difficult, and 18 percent find it even hard.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Vinton and Vinton (1998b) survey report on Chuabo.

Emakuana is considered a little easier, for 28 percent it is easy, for 52 percent it is difficult, and for 19 percent hard.

Lomwe is seen as more easily understandable, with 38 percent easy, 45 percent is difficult and 18 percent hard.

#### Language use

For use at home, 90 percent of all subjects said they speak Emoniga only. Influence of demographic factors for use at home:

- 1) Residence: All twenty-seven speakers in rural locations indicated Emoniga as exclusive language. The rate was lower for semi-urban (90%) and even lower for urban (85%).
- 2) Age: eighteen of nineteen old people use Emoniga exclusively at home, and twenty-seven of twenty-nine young speakers do, too. Only forty-eight of fifty-five middle-aged people use Emoniga at home, which corresponds to 87 percent. That means, a correlation of young age with decrease of the preferred use of Emoniga at home cannot be confirmed.
- 3) Education: All twenty-three speakers without formal schooling speak Emoniga at home, while only 88 percent of those with primary education do so, and of the twelve subjects with secondary or technical education, ten speak Emoniga at home.
- 4) Gender: All fifteen women interviewed speak Emoniga at home, and 87 percent of the men do.
- 5) Religion: 93 percent of the Muslim speakers use Emoniga, but only ten of the fourteen Christians interviewed, which would correspond a percentage of only 71 percent.

For use outside the home, the global percentage was 84 percent for Emoniga, and 16 percent for using both Emoniga and Portuguese or Arabic, respectively. Influence of demographic factors for use outside of the home:

- 1) Residence: The rate for rural population peaks again, of twenty-seven subjects twenty-six said they used only Emoniga. 80 percent of the semiurban and 78 percent of the urban population use Emoniga outside of the home.
- 2) Age: Older people seem to prefer Emoniga to a higher degree than middle-aged or young ones. Fourteen of fifteen old people said so, forty-seven of fifty-five middle-aged (86%), and twenty-one of twenty-nine young people, which theoretically corresponds to 72 percent.
- 3) Education: All twenty-three speakers without formal education opted for Emoniga, and so did ten of twelve with secondary, technical education. Those with primary education showed only 78 percent.
- 4) Gender: Both sexes use preferably Emoniga, thirteen of fifteen women interviewed, and seventy-three of eighty-eight men (i.e., 83%).
- 5) Religion: Again, Muslims tend to show a higher retention rate (84%) than Christians, among which eleven of fourteen would use Emoniga outside the home, which would only correspond to 79 percent.

### Language attitude

Only an average of 45 percent of the subjects in Pebane said they would like to see their children speak Emoniga as first language, with 32 percent in favor of another language, and 23 percent neutral. It should be said, though, that the high turnout of neutral could indicate that the question was either not understood or considered irrelevant.

The rate of those in favor of Emoniga as means of instruction in school is surprisingly high, namely 62 percent. Demographic factors that affect the answers were:

- 1) Residence: Here the positive attitude is distributed regularly between urban (63%), semiurban (60%), and rural (63%) population.
- 2) Age: The positive attitude peaks among the middle-aged (71%), whereas only about 52 percent of the other age-groups would prefer Emoniga.
- 3) Education: Seventy-four percent of those without formal schooling are clearly in favor of Emoniga, followed by 64 percent of those with primary education. Only four of the twelve that received secondary technical education would prefer Emoniga.
- 4) Gender: Again, the difference between the sexes is clearly marked: 59 percent of the men and twelve of the fifteen the women asked (80%) prefer Emoniga.
- 5) Religion: Sixty-three percent of the Muslims would prefer Emoniga, whereas only eight of fifteen Christians interviewed (57%) prefer Emoniga.

Asked what language they would like to see used for translation of religious literature, only 25 percent responded they would like to see Emoniga used. The same percentage would like some other language, like Portuguese or Arabic. But a majority of 59 percent did not or could not give an answer. That is why no further demographic factors will be discussed here.

#### 3.4.3. *Comprehension testing*

Ten comprehension tests were administered in Mulupane (6) and Mulai (4), both locations belonging to rural area. The comprehension rate was 100 percent for six subjects, 89, 67, 56, and 33 percent for one subject, respectively. The subject who scored 33% obviously had difficulty in following the instructions and could be neglected in the evaluation.

As for residence, three interview partners had stayed outside Pebane district for a longer period; they all evidenced complete comprehension. This might be considered an indication of acquired intelligibility, but there is a counterexample: Three other speakers with complete comprehension had not left the language area for any considerable time. Concerning gender, of four women tested three scored 100 percent.

As anecdotal evidence, it should be mentioned that of the three Makua speakers, who did the sociolinguistic interviewing, the one who grew up in Nampula city encountered communication problems to the extent that he asked for a translator. The other two assistants with more exposure to coastal dialects did not express similar concerns. Some place names that occurred several times seem to be of interest for historical research: Malindi, a hamlet (Portuguese: *localidade*) further inland from Pebane, Borore, a coconut plantation near Mulai, and Quissanga, a quarter of Mulupane.

### 3.5. Other coastal varieties

During the evolution of our research, several other language names turned up. Of these, two deserve more attention: Enyara and Emwaja.

#### 3.5.1. Enyara

Machado (1968:695) mentions a Makua subgroup living between Quinga and Liupo that he calls Nhuarroni. Pires-Prata (1960:11) refers to it as a dialect of Mogincual. Some Emarevone speakers we asked consider it as hardly understandable, and the opinion was expressed that it is also very different from Koti. The NELIMO (n.d.) document no. 9 a/b makes mention of a people group in that area with the name Mtatanes, probably speaking that variety. The language name in its Anglicized form was entered on the map 1.2. as Enyara (see also map 3.1). It might be worth further research, even if there is less clear evidence for its dialect status than for Emwaja.

The above mentioned NELIMO document lists the Carooas, probably speaker of the regional variant spoken in Nacarooa, also the Charis and the Namarrolos. Until further evidence is brought up, these should be considered regional variants.

#### 3.5.2. Emwaja

Emwaja is spoken in Memba district, north and northwest of the district capital. The diagnostic list taken during a short visit of two days did not show significant deviations from Enahara, but it would certainly be worthwhile to undertake a proper study. Geographically, one could assume that Enahara extends into this area, but several speakers pointed out to me that their language is Emwaja not Enahara, as I had suggested. Pires-Prata (1960:inlet after 16) gives the name “coastal north Makua” to it on his map.

#### 3.5.3. Esaka and Erati

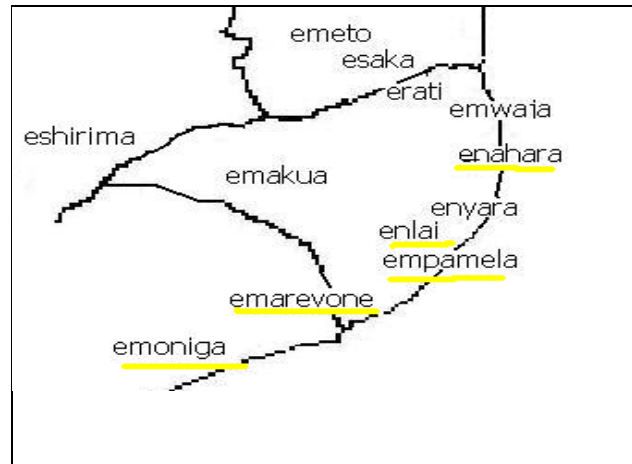
A word on Erati and Esaka, the varieties on the border between Cabo Delgado and Nampula provinces: Both deserve more research, for the phonology is remarkably different from any other Nampula variety, e.g., Erati has lengthened consonants, and it has been shown for Esaka (Katupha 1983, 1991) that the grammatical structure differs considerably from Emakuana. Pires-Prata (1960:6) calls both varieties Chaca.

## 4. Conclusions

It cannot be overemphasized that this survey does not cover all of the sociolinguistic realities of the researched coastal Makua varieties. Here are some methodological restrictions: First, the total of individuals asked comes to only a little more than 300 people, of these 233 underwent formal interviews, and approximately eighty informal ones. Obviously, for a more representative research one would need to include many more speakers. Second, the choice of methods is eclectic enough to allow proponents of purity of disciplines to criticize our methodology. By the very nature of our research, we had to refer to linguistic as well as sociological means, without always satisfying academic requirements. Almost by definition, fieldwork has to do with car break downs, long distances, and low infrastructure. And to a lesser extent with neat data available by a mouse click.

With these restrictions in mind, we can try to discover generalizations that cover all the known facts. To conclude we will discuss the three questions that led the research,

make some comments on specific aspects of the interviews, and reflect on future language development.



Map 4.1. The five coastal dialects discussed

All five varieties researched were found distinct enough from Emakuana to be considered other dialects and not regional variants. Our leading questions were, 1) do the speakers understand the central dialect, 2) do they exclusively use their own dialect, and 3) what is their attitude towards their own dialect? For the purpose of readability, the dialects are presented from north to south.

#### 4.1. Do the speakers understand the central dialect?

Whether a speaker understands another variety can be researched through a) lexicostatistics, b) comprehension testing, or c) by asking the individual's opinion by interview. All three methods were applied.

a) The **lexicostatistics** of all researched dialects together with Emakuana and Lomwe are as follows:

Table 2. Lexicostatistic findings for Makua dialects and Lomwe

Emoniga							
65	Enlai						
62	74	Emakua					
71	71	80	Empamela				
63	73	65	76	Emarevone			
76	81	86	77	81	Enahara		
56	52	59	60	55	69	Lomwe	

Obviously, Lomwe belongs very closely to Makua within the P-zone. The Makua dialects among themselves have more vocabularies in common. For two of them, lexicostatistic evidence was strong enough to establish it as a language of its own. Arranged on a scale of lexical similarity to Emakuana, the dialects rank as in table 3.

Table 3. Ranking of lexical difference to Emakuana (value 5 = most different)

Dialect	Percentage	Ranking
Enahara	86	1
Enlai	74	3
Empamela	80	2
Emarevone	65	4
Emoniga	62	5

b) Concerning comprehension testing for the central dialect, systematic testing through RTT was only done for Emoniga and Emarevone. Obviously, for Emarevone speakers it is much easier to understand a text spoken in Emakuana than it is for Emoniga speakers.

- The Emarevone speakers showed complete comprehension of the test text, but a disclaimer must be made: Only urban and semi-urban speakers did the RTT.
- Of the Emoniga speakers, six of nine speakers showed complete comprehension, three speakers performed between 89 percent and 56 percent comprehension.

c) For the reported comprehension of Emakuana, informal interviews showed that most if not all speakers of Enahara, Enlai and Empamela are confident they understand Emakuana.

For the southernmost dialects, formal interviews gave the following results:

Table 4. Reported comprehension of *Emakuana* for *Emarevone* and *Emoniga* speakers

speakers find Emakuana...to understand	Easy	Difficult	Hard
Emarevone (Moma)	65%	29%	4%
Emoniga (Pebane)	28%	52%	19%

For neither of these two dialects can it be said, that there is satisfactory communication. Only two-thirds of Emarevone speakers and less than a third of Emoniga speakers feel at ease understanding Emakuana. So the interviews confirm the results of the Recorded Text Test.

Table 5. Relative ranking for comprehension (value 5 = least comprehension)

Dialect	Rank
Enahara	2
Enlai	2
Empamela	2
Emarevone	4
Emoniga	5

#### 4.2. Do the speakers exclusively use their own variety?

Speakers of northern coastal dialects (Enahara, Enlai, Empamela) use their variety extensively, but are less rigid in their judgment as to what dialect they speak than

speakers of the two southernmost dialects. In Enahara, it happened several times during elicitation that speakers would mix their speech with words of other dialects.

Emarevone is used exclusively by the absolute majority, at home (91%), as well as outside the home (91%). This is also the case for Emoniga, even if the figure for usage outside the home (84%) is considerably lower than for usage at home (90%).

If we placed the dialects on a scale of preferred language use, the relative ranking would be that reflected in table 6.

Table 6. Relative ranking for language use (value 5= most used )

Dialect	Ranking
Enahara	2
Enlai	3
Empamela	3
Emarevone	5
Emoniga	4

#### 4.3. What is the attitude of speakers towards their own variety?

In informal interviews, Enlai and Empamela speakers expressed an opinion about the distribution area of their respective dialects, but did not refer to any dialect center. Also, both groups seem comfortable to be labeled speakers of Makua without further specification. Quite differently, speakers of Enahara showed every sign of language pride, and there is a clear awareness of the Ilha being the dialect center.

Emarevone speakers clearly consider their dialects as different from Emakuana and pointed to Moma city as being the place where the best Emarevone is spoken. Speakers of Emoniga also view their dialect as different from Emakuana, were less sure where to locate a dialect center.

The formal interviews aimed at gathering information about three aspects of the speakers' attitude: a) Whether they wanted their children to learn the local language first, b) whether they wanted the local language to be used as medium of instruction in school, and c) whether they wanted the local language to be used in the production of written materials. Since formal interviews were only done in Emarevone and Emoniga, only these dialects will be discussed.

a) Both language communities showed relatively low motivation to have their children learn their own language; about a third of the subjects in both language groups preferred some other language, usually Portuguese, sometimes Arabic. The rate of those in favor of their own dialect is considerably lower in Emoniga than in Emarevone:

Table 7. First language desired for children

	Own variety	Other variety or language	No answer
Emarevone	55%	29%	16%
Emoniga	46%	32%	23%

As can be seen from the figures on usage in table 7, this reflects the attitude but not the actual practice, where almost everybody speaks the local dialect.



b) The motivation to use the local variety in school is much higher than the one for first language. Like above, Emarevone speakers are more positive towards using their variety than Emoniga speakers are.

Table 8. Language desired for instruction in school

	Own variety	Other variety or language	No answer
Emarevone	70%	22%	9%
Emoniga	62%	30%	8%

c) Asked whether they would like to see religious and educational material produced in their local language, the majority of *Emarevone* speakers opted for their dialect. Among the *Emoniga* speakers, only a fourth favored their own dialects, and more than half were undecided.

Table 9. Language desired for production of reading material

	Own variety	other variety or language	No answer
Emarevone	64%	14%	22%
Emoniga	25%	16%	59%

Often, individuals would point out that “God’s book,” i.e., religious literature, cannot be translated, because it was meant to be in Arabic. One also needs to bear in mind that coastal Makua culture is mostly oral. So these findings indicate an attitude towards literacy and translation rather than a statement about language.

If one tried to rank the five dialects according to positive attitude and language awareness, the scale in table 10 would emerge.

Table 10. Ranking of language attitude summarized (value 5 = most positive)

Dialect	Ranking
Enahara	4
Enlai	2
Empamela	2
Emarevone	5
Emoniga	3

#### 4.4. Summary of results

As a summary, one could rank the Makua dialects on a scale of relative autonomy, with 5 indicating most and 1 least autonomy.

Table 11. Relative autonomy of Makua dialects in relation to Emakuana

	Enahara	Enlai	Empamela	Emarevone	Emoniga
Lexical difference	1	3	2	4	5
Comprehension reported or tested	2	2	2	4	5
Use	3	2	2	4	5
Language attitude	4	2	2	5	3
	11	10	9	17	18

- Emoniga occupies the highest position on a scale of autonomy; it has got the lowest number of cognates with Emakuana and the lowest comprehension rate; it is almost exclusively used. But the “linguistic self-confidence” sticks out as relatively low.
- Emarevone is undoubtedly the major means of communication, and the speakers identify themselves strongly with their dialect. The number of cognates with Emakuana is very low, and a considerable share of the speakers do not feel they can understand Emakuana.
- Enahara speakers have a remarkably high self-esteem as far as their speech goes. But the lexicostatistic data and the reported comprehension put Enahara on a lower autonomy position.
- Enlai and Empamela have fewer cognates with Emakuana than Enahara has, but in every other aspect they seem to be closer to Emakuana than the other dialects.

This is how you could visualize the discussed results so far:

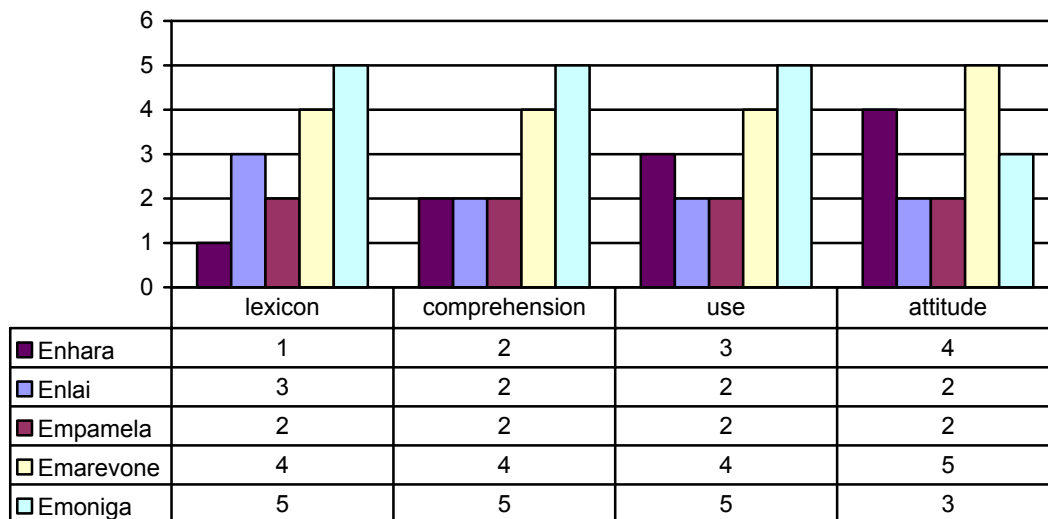


Figure 1. Relative autonomy of Makua coastal dialects in relation to Emakuana.

#### 4.5. Some comments on the interview results

For both southern dialects, age does not seem to play an important role, or more precisely, it cannot be said that the younger generation tends to speak more Portuguese

than the local language. Between the generations, there is a slight tendency to switch from the local variety to Portuguese, but for example, in Emarevone the younger people still range at 88 percent exclusive use at home. There is considerable language vitality in both dialects. Even where a decrease in language use was found, it can be estimated that the majority of speakers will maintain both Emoniga and Emarevone as first means of expression.

As for religion, Christians show more readiness to adopt Portuguese or central Makua, whereas Muslims tend to prefer their own dialect or Arabic and Swahili, which are regarded as prestigious languages.

An interesting observation concerning education evolved: people with primary education revealed a less positive attitude towards local language development. Those without formal education together with those who had undergone secondary education tended to express more willingness to let their children speak their own language or have it used in school. One could assume that for many, school represents a tool for propagation of Portuguese. However, during the individual's socialization, primary school in Mozambique rarely affirms cultural local traditions and often imposes an unreflected estimation of Portuguese on the child.

Residence has an impact on the use of coastal Makua. As one can expect, the rural population is more strongly rooted in their local language than urban or semiurban people are. However, in district capitals readiness for change limits itself to a very small number of individuals.

Writing does not have much significance for most speakers. This became obvious by the extraordinary high figures for zero-answers in relation to literature development. Saying that a speaker does not opt to write his language should not be interpreted as disregard for his language, but rather as indication of how alien the idea of books is to him.

#### **4.6. Implications for language development**

What are possible implications for language development? It seems likely for at least the southern coastal dialect communities, i.e., speakers of Emarevone and Emoniga, to maintain their dialect as the primary means of communication. It could be shown that there is considerable language vitality, without signs of resentment against the central dialect. The government plans to introduce fifteen national languages into primary education. This will create opportunities for cultural affirmation that had not existed until now.

Is it advisable to act as a splitter or joiner, i.e., to develop every single dialect individually, or to actively unify all dialects and try to develop one standard variety? As far as unification is concerned, a word of caution seems justified: Saying that Emarevone and Emoniga are dialects of Makua does not mean that the speakers will willingly adopt any material developed in Emakuana. One experience should serve as an illustration: During the survey in Moma, we took the Makua literacy manual developed by INDE (1999) and showed it to a group of Emarevone speakers. Some literate speakers spontaneously browsed through the texts and commented on words they found at fault, namely originated from another area. These were more than a third of all words read! Of any item, they would point out that "we here say such-and-such." Logically, their objection had nothing to do with lack of intelligibility; it was about the words they preferred to use. A careful language policy should consider this natural response, prepare

ways for production of locally adapted materials, and start literacy awareness programs from the start. Affirmative language unification through development seems much preferable against a repressive “hard” language policy, which would turn open attitudes into negative ones.

How would this affirmative approach look? I believe there are three possible components:

1. active development
2. active moderate standardization
3. ongoing assessment

The active internal development would entail production of reading material in the respective dialect, like Emoniga and Emarevone, for primary education as well as adult literacy. The production should be accompanied by language awareness programs, like collection of local oral tradition, publication of stories, editing of small usable dictionaries. None of these activities are new for the Mozambican context, there are lots of materials that INDE, PROGRESSO, UEM, and regional cultural administrations have worked out and experimented with. It would take local initiative to channel efforts and embed activities into a guided effort for local language development.

The active moderate standardization aims at external development, i.e., an effort to “streamline” any variety into what at long range could be a standard variety. Notwithstanding difficulties, two well-known examples are Union Shona and Standard High German, both developed from several distinct varieties. Activities include using the existing orthography, allowing for dialect specific symbols. Luckily, the NELIMO 1998; (cf. Siteo and Ngunga 2000) proposal takes account of this and offers some ideas. Further details likely to correspond with dialect specifics should be worked out later, like word boundaries (cf. Bister, Kröger, and Lyndon forthcoming) or tone. Another activity consists of distribution and production of reading materials in the central version to enhance accessibility to and acceptance of Emakuana. This component calls for cooperation between government, NGOs, as well as churches and any institution involved in literature production.

The ongoing assessment component asks for mechanisms to monitor and evaluate unifying efforts. How much success does literacy have? Do language engineering activities create a new ambience? Part of this ongoing assessment is also for research guided by language use considerations, which we reserve for the next paragraph. It is evident that UEM and other researchers together with literacy agencies have a lot to contribute in this area.

Any language development activity, governmental and other, has a potential to encourage or discourage existing attitudes. Whether Emoniga and Emarevone will continue to develop away from Emakuana or reverse their natural evolution and integrate themselves more into the whole of Nampula dialects will depend on a myriad of factors that go beyond the scope of a survey like this one.

#### **4.7. Makua dialects in the *Ethnologue***

Whereas Guthrie’s concern was to develop an internal Bantu classification in terms of language structure, the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:vii) lists languages and their varieties under language development aspects:

To those of us interested in cross-cultural communication and developing usable literature for speakers of many languages,...one of the main factors

that must be considered in distinguishing ‘language’ from ‘dialect’ is how well two linguistically close speech communities understand each other. Marginal intelligibility between two language communities does not allow their speakers to engage in meaningful communication beyond bare essentials.

Accordingly, the following changes for the next edition of the *Ethnologue* seem in order:

Makhuwa-Makhuwana should be changed to Makua, because Makhuwana is not a name of a language. Erati, Emwaja, and Enyara could be included as dialects.

Makhuwa-Maca should be deleted, since it is merely a term referring to cultural identity. The dialects included should be handled as follows:

Enahara, Empamela, Enlai as dialects of Makua, Emarevone as a separate entry under the name Makua-Marevone.

A new entry should be entered for *Makua-Emoniga*.

#### **4.8. Future research**

As mentioned above, more comprehension testing done in Emarevone should be done, especially in rural areas.

Future research should aim at gathering more information on the more distinct coastal dialects of Makua, namely Emoniga and Emarevone. NELIMO (1990:10, 12) provides a useful approach for comparative morphology that should be applied for the coastal, as well as for other dialects. Pires-Prata (1960:7ff.) offers interesting comparative observations concerning dialect differences.

For discourse, no comparative work has yet been done although it is probably the one component of Makua where dialects differ most.

Tonal variation has been described at length by Cassimjee and Kisseberth (1999) for several *Makua* dialects, and it would be a worthwhile exercise to apply his findings to other dialects.

As mentioned above, research is needed for Emwaja and Enyara, as well as for two other noncoastal dialects, namely Erati, on the boarder between Nampula and Cabo Delgado province, and Esaka, its neighbor on the Cabo Delgado side. Also Eshirima, the westernmost Makua dialect spoken in Niassa province, would need to be researched in terms of compatibility with existing translations. By the time of the writing of this report, survey is underway of the southern Tanzanian languages, carried out by the Pioneer Bible Translators. From this, a more complete picture of the variety of Makua dialects will emerge.

## Appendices

### Questionnaire for sociolinguistic interview (Pebane)

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: -24 25-40 41-60 61-94

lives here since: 19 \_\_\_\_

Gender: male female

Researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Language of interview: Portuguese Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Lomwe

1. a) What is your mother tongue?  
Makua Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe
  - b) There are varieties of Makua, for example, Emarevone, Emoniga, Enlai, etc..  
Which one of these do you consider your variety?  
Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe
  - c) What languages do your parents speak/did they speak?  
Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe
  - d) Did you ever live in another place for longer than a year? Where?  
How long?
  - e) What language(s) did you use when you lived there?
  - f) Where do you live?
  - g) Did you attend school? What class/grade did you finish?  
Old system: \_\_\_\_ New system: \_\_\_\_ Other: Bible school/Seminary \_\_\_\_
  - h) Religion: Muslim Christian Other
2. a) Where is your mother tongue being spoken?  
In Pebane district In places like \_\_\_\_\_
  - b) And where is the best (purest) Emoniga spoken?
3. a) In Pebane district, what other languages are being spoken?  
Emakuana Emarevone Chuabo Lomwe
  - b) In Zambezia province, what other languages are being spoken?  
Emakuana Emarevone Chuabo Lomwe

4. The following languages/varieties, are they easy to understand, difficult, or very difficult?

	Easy	Difficult	Very difficult
Emarevone			
Emakuana			
Lomwe			
Chuabo			

5. a) What language do you speak with...
- your spouse? Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe \_\_\_\_\_
- your parents? Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe \_\_\_\_\_
- your siblings? Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe \_\_\_\_\_
- a stranger? Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe \_\_\_\_\_
- b) What language do you speak with your children?
- Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe \_\_\_\_\_
6. a) What language do your children speak with you?
- Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe \_\_\_\_\_
- What language would you want your children to learn before any other language?
- Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe \_\_\_\_\_
- c) If there were a primary school that used Emoniga as language of instruction, would you like your children to attend? yes no comment: \_\_\_\_\_
- d) In your opinion, what variety should be used for the production/printing of the Bible and other religious literature?
- Emakuana Emarevone Emoniga Chuabo Lomwe \_\_\_\_\_
- e) What written materials do exist in Emakua and/or Emoniga?
- Catechism Bible Old Testament New Testament Personal letters
- f) What radio programmes do you listen to?
- g) For radio programmes and the production of written material, what kind of topics would you like to see included?

Do you have any comments?

Thank you!

### Some results of the sociolinguistic interviews

#### Moma: REPORTED COMPREHENSION of Emakuana as function of...

##### 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
	urban	36	19	2	1	58
	semi-urban	16	16	2	2	36
	rural	32	3	1	-	36
duration	never left	46	27	5	3	81
	< 1 year	36	9	-	-	45
	> 1 year	2	2	-	-	4
	Total	84	38	5	3	130

##### 2) Education

understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
no formal	30	24	3	-	57
primary	44	11	2	3	60
secondary	10	3	-	-	13
Total	84	38	5	3	130

##### 3) Age

understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
young	46	14	2	2	64
mid	17	10	-	1	28
old	21	14	3	-	38
Total	84	38	5	3	130

##### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
male	77	32	3	2	114
female	7	6	2	1	16
understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
Emakuana					
Muslim	70	35	2	2	109
Christian	11	3	3	1	18
other	3				3
Total	84	38	5	3	130

#### Moma: REPORTED COMPREHENSION of Emoniga as function of...

##### 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	understand	medium	hard	NA	Total
	urban	26	26	6	58
	semi-urban	11	22	3	36
	rural	10	26		36
duration	never left	28	49	4	81
	< 1 year	17	23	5	45
	> 1 year	2	2		4
	Total	47	74	9	130

##### 2) Education

understand	medium	hard	NA	Total
no formal	21	35	1	57
primary	21	33	6	60
secondary	5	6	2	13
Total	47	74	9	130

##### 3) Age

understand	medium	hard	NA	Total
young	22	37	5	64
mid	10	15	3	28
old	15	22	1	38
Total	47	74	9	130

##### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

understand	medium	hard	NA	Total
male	41	68	5	114
female	6	6	4	16
Total	47	74	9	130
understand	medium	hard	NA	Total
atheist		1		1
Muslim	40	61	7	108
Christian	7	9	2	18
other		3		3
Total	47	74	9	130



**Moma: REPORTED COMPREHENSION of Lomwe as function of...**

## 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
	urban	25	20	12	1	58
	semi-urban	11	12	10	3	36
	rural	28	3	5	-	36
duration	stay	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
	never left	42	19	17	3	81
	< 1 year	20	15	9	1	45
	> 1 year	2	1	1		4
	Total	64	35	27	4	130

## 2) Education

understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
no formal	25	17	13	2	57
primary	31	15	12	2	60
secondary	8	3	2	-	13
Total	64	35	27	4	130

## 3) Age

understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
young	35	13	15	1	64
mid	14	8	6	-	28
old	15	14	6	3	38
Total	64	35	27	4	130

## 4) Other factors: gender – religion

understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
male	57	32	22	3	114
female	7	3	5	1	16
understand	easy	mid	hard	NA	Total
Muslim	51	33	23	2	109
Christian	10	2	4	2	18
other	3	-	-	-	3
Total	64	35	27	4	130

**Moma: Preferred USE of Emarevone at home as function of...**

## 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	urban	8	1	49	58
	semi-urban			36	36
	rural	2	1	33	36
duration	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	never left	1		80	81
	< 1 year	8	1	36	45
	> 1 year	1	1	2	4
	Total	10	2	118	130

## 2) Education

variety	other	NA	own	Total
no formal	4	1	52	57
primary	6	1	53	60
secondary			13	13
Total	10	2	118	130

## 3) Age

variety	other	NA	own	Total	
young		7	1	56	64
mid		2	1	25	28
old		1	-	37	38
Total		10	2	118	130

## 4) Other factors: gender – religion

variety	other	NA	own	Total	
male		8	2	104	114
female		2	-	14	16
variety	other	NA	own	Total	
Muslim		7	1	101	109
Christian		3	1	14	18
other		-	-	3	3
Total		10	2	118	130

### Moma: Preferred USE of Emarevone outside of the home as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity–duration of stay

urbanity	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	urban	7	1	50	58
	semi-urban	3	-	33	36
	rural	2	-	34	36
duration	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	never left	4	-	77	81
	< 1 year	7	-	38	45
	> 1 year	1	1	2	4
	Total	12	1	117	130

#### 2) Education

variety	other	NA	own	Total
no formal	4	1	52	57
primary	8	-	52	60
secondary		-	13	13
Total	12	1	117	130

#### 3) Age

variety	other	NA	own	Total
young	7	-	57	64
mid	3	1	24	28
old	2	-	36	38
Total	12	1	117	130

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

variety	other	NA	own	Total
male	11	1	102	114
female	1	-	15	16
variety	other	NA	own	Total
Muslim	10	-	99	109
Christian	2	1	15	18
other		-	3	3
Total	12	1	117	130

### Moma: Positive attitude towards speaking Emarevone as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	urban	19	10	29	58
	semi-urban	11	9	16	36
	rural	8	2	26	36
duration	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	never left	19	14	48	81
	< 1 year	17	7	21	45
	> 1 year	2		2	4
	Total	38	21	71	130

#### 2) Education

school	other	NA	own	Total
no formal	16	8	33	57
primary	21	8	31	60
secondary	1	5	7	13
Total	38	21	71	130

#### 3) Age

variety	other	NA	own	Total
young	19	14	31	64
mid	7	3	18	28
old	12	4	22	38
Total	38	21	71	130

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

variety	other	NA	own	Total
male	35	17	62	114
female	3	4	9	16
variety	other	NA	own	Total
Muslim	32	17	60	109
Christian	6	4	8	18
other			3	3
Total	38	21	71	130

### Moma: Positive attitude towards using Emarevone in school as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	urban	16	3	39	58
	semi-urban	7	29	36	
	rural	12	1	23	36
duration	stay	other	NA	own	Total
	never left	13	10	58	81
	< 1 year	14	1	30	45
	> 1 year	1		3	4
	Total	28	11	91	130

#### 2) Education

variety	other	NA	own	Total
no formal	10	3	44	57
primary	16	6	38	60
secondary	2	2	9	13
Total	28	11	91	130

#### 3) Age

variety	other	NA	own	Total
young	13	8	43	64
mid	10	1	17	28
old	5	2	31	38
Total	28	11	91	130

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

variety	other	NA	own	Total
male	24	10	80	114
female	4	1	11	16
variety	other	NA	own	Total
Muslim	22	8	79	109
Christian	5	2	11	18
other	1	1	1	3
Total	28	11	91	130

### Moma: Positive attitude towards writing Emarevone as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	urban	16	11	31	58
	semi-urban	1	12	23	36
	rural	1	6	29	36
duration	variety	other	NA	own	Total
	never left	5	18	58	81
	< 1 year	10	11	24	45
	> 1 year	3		1	4
	Total	18	29	83	130

#### 2) Education

variety	other	NA	own	Total
no formal	8	12	37	57
primary	9	15	36	60
secondary	1	2	10	13
Total	18	29	83	130

#### 3) Age

variety	other	NA	own	Total
young	8	19	37	64
mid	6	3	19	28
old	4	7	27	38
Total	18	29	83	130

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

variety	other	NA	own	Total
male	14	25	75	114
female	4	4	8	16
variety	other	NA	own	Total
Muslim	14	24	71	109
Christian	4	4	10	18
other		1	2	3
Total	18	29	83	130

### Pebane: REPORTED COMPREHENSION of Emakuana as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity–duration of stay

	understand	NA	easy	mid	hard	Total
urbanity	urban	1	12	26	7	46
	semi-urban	-	6	16	8	30
	rural	-	11	11	5	27
duration	understand	NA	easy	2	hard	Total
	never left	1	18	35	14	68
	< 1 year	-	1NA	18	6	34
	> 1 year	-	1	-	-	1
	Total	1	29	53	20	103

#### 2) Education

understand	NA	easy	mid	hard	Total
no formal	-	8	10	5	23
primary	1	18	34	15	68
secondary	-	3	8	-	11
technical	-	-	1	-	1
Total	1	29	53	20	103

#### 3) Age

understand	NA	easy	mid	hard	Total
young	-	8	14	7	29
mid	1	17	26	11	55
old	-	4	9	2	15
very old	-	-	4	-	4
Total	1	29	53	20	103

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

understand	NA	easy	mid	hard	Total
male	1	24	45	18	88
female	-	5	8	2	15
understand	NA	easy	mid	hard	Total
Muslim	1	24	45	19	89
Christian	-	5	8	1	14
Total	1	29	53	20	103

### Pebane: REPORTED COMPREHENSION of Emarevone as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity–duration of stay

	understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
urbanity	urban	13	25	8	46
	semi-urban	4	22	4	30
	rural	5	16	6	27
duration	understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
	never left	11	42	15	68
	< 1 year	10	21	3	34
	> 1 year	1			1
	Total	22	63	18	103

#### 2) Education

understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
no formal	7	10	6	23
primary	11	45	12	68
secondary	3	8		11
technical	1			1
Total	22	63	18	103

#### 3) Age

understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
young	7	16	6	29
mid	7	41	7	55
old	6	4	5	15
very old	2	2		4
Total	22	63	18	103

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
male	18	54	16	88
female	4	9	2	15
Total	22	63	18	103
understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
Muslim	17	57	15	89
Christian	5	6	3	14
Total	22	63	18	103

### Pebane: REPORTED COMPREHENSION of *Lomwe* as function of ...

#### 1) Residence: urban – duration of stay

urbanity	understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
	urban	21	19	6	46
	semi-urban	11	12	7	30
rural	7	15	5	27	
duration	understand	mid	hard	Total	
	never	24	30	14	68
	< 1 year	14	16	4	34
	> 1 year	1	-	-	1
	Total	39	46	18	103

#### 2) Education

understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
no formal	12	7	4	23
primary	23	33	12	68
secondary	3	6	2	11
technical	1	-	-	1

#### 3) Age

understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
young	11	12	6	29
mid	17	28	10	55
old	8	5	2	15
very old	3	1	-	4

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
male	38	34	16	88
female	1	12	2	15
understand	easy	mid	hard	Total
Muslim	32	40	17	89
Christian	7	6	1	14

### Pebane: Preferred USE of Emoniga at home as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	variety	NA	own	other	Total
	urban	1	39	6	46
	semi-urban	-	27	3	30
	rural	-	27	-	27
duration	variety	NA	own	other	Total
	never left		66	2	68
	1 year	1	27	6	34
	> 1 year	-	-	1	1
	Total	1	93	9	103

#### 2) Education

school	NA	own	other	Total
no formal	-	23	-	23
primary	1	60	7	68
secondary	-	9	2	11
technical	-	1	-	1
Total	1	93	9	103

#### 3) Age

variety	NA	own	other	Total
young	-	27	2	29
mid	1	48	6	55
old	-	14	1	15
very old	-	4	-	4
Total	1	93	9	103

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

variety	NA	own	other	Total
male	1	78	9	88
female	-	15	-	15
Total	1	93	9	103
variety	NA	own	other	Total
Muslim	1	83	5	89
Christian	-	10	4	14
Total	1	93	9	103

### Pebane: USE of Emoniga outside of the home as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity - duration of stay

urbanity	variety	NA	own	other	Total
	urban	1	36	9	46
	semi-urban	-	24	6	30
	rural	-	26	1	27
duration	stay	NA	own	other	Total
	never left	-	60	8	68
	< 1 year	1	26	7	34
	> 1 year	-	-	1	1
	Total	1	86	16	103

#### 2) Education

variety	NA	own	other	Total
no formal	-	23	-	23
primary	1	53	14	68
secondary	-	9	2	11
technical	-	1	-	1
Total	1	86	16	103

#### 3) Age

variety	NA	own	other	Total
young	-	21	8	29
mid	1	47	7	55
old	-	14	1	15
very old	-	4	-	4
Total	1	86	16	103

#### 4) Other factors: gender - religion

variety	NA	own	other	Total
male	1	73	14	88
female	-	13	2	15
variety	NA	own	other	Total
Muslim	1	75	13	89
Christian	-	11	3	14
Total	1	86	16	103

### Pebane: Positive attitude towards speaking Emoniga as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity - duration of stay

urbanity	variety	NA	own	other	Total
	urban	10	17	19	46
	semi-urban	5	15	10	30
	rural	9	14	4	27
duration	stay	NA	own	other	Total
	never left	18	34	16	68
	< 1 year	6	12	16	34
	> 1 year	-	-	1	1
	Total	24	46	33	103

#### 2) Education

variety	NA	own	other	Total
no formal	7	13	3	23
primary	16	29	23	68
secondary	1	3	7	11
technical	-	1	-	1
Total	24	46	33	103

#### 3) Age

variety	NA	own	other	Total
young	10	8	11	29
mid	9	27	19	55
old	4	9	2	15
very old	1	2	1	4
Total	24	46	33	103

#### 4) Other factors: gender - religion

variety	NA	own	other	Total
male	19	41	28	88
female	5	5	5	15
Total	24	46	33	103
variety	NA	own	other	Total
Muslim	22	39	28	89
Christian	2	7	5	14
Total	24	46	33	103

### Pebane: Positive attitude towards using Emoniga in school as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	variety	NA	own	other	Total
	urban	4	29	13	46
	semi-urban	1	18	11	30
	rural	3	17	7	27
duration	variety	NA	own	2	Total
	never left	6	42	20	68
	< 1 year	2	21	11	34
	> 1 year	-	1	-	1
	Total	8	64	31	103

#### 2) Education

variety	NA	own	other	Total
no formal	2	17	4	23
primary	5	43	20	68
secondary	1	3	7	11
technical	-	1	-	1
Total	8	64	31	103

#### 3) Age

variety	NA	own	other	Total
young	4	15	10	29
mid	1	39	15	55
old	2	8	5	15
very old	1	2	1	4
Total	8	64	31	103

#### 4) Other factors: gender– religion

variety	NA	own	other	Total
male	8	52	28	88
female		12	3	15
variety	NA	1	other	Total
Muslim	8	56	25	89
Christian		8	6	14
Total	8	64	31	103

### Pebane : Positive attitude towards writing Emoniga as function of...

#### 1) Residence: urbanity – duration of stay

urbanity	variety	NA	own	other	Total
	urban	20	17	9	46
	semi-urban	23	5	2	30
	rural	18	4	5	27
duration	variety	NA	own	other	Total
	never left	43	15	10	68
	< 1 year	18	11	5	34
	> 1 year	-	-	1	1
	Total	61	26	16	103

#### 2) Education

variety	NA	own	other	Total
no formal	14	5	4	23
primary	41	17	10	68
secondary	6	3	2	11
technical	-	1	-	1
Total	61	26	16	103

#### 3) Age

variety	NA	own	other	Total
young	19	7	3	29
mid	31	14	10	55
old	8	4	3	15
very old	3	1	-	4
Total	61	26	16	103

#### 4) Other factors: gender – religion

variety	NA	own	other	Total
male	51	24	13	88
female	10	2	3	15
variety	nul	own	other	Total
Muslim	59	20	10	89
Christian	2	6	6	14
Total	61	26	16	103

**Text for RTT and questions**

Yesterday I left my house; I went to visit my friend in his house. I took my bag with money in it. When I got to my friend's house there were many dogs, and they started barking at me. I climbed up a tree, and then my friend's wife came and opened the door. I went in, and we greeted and sat down. We started talking, he gave me some cold water, I drank, and then I said good-bye. I went to the market and saw many things—clothes, sieves, salt, shoes, and other things. Since it started raining, I took shelter under a stand where the rain did not enter. There were other people as well. A thief opened my bag and stole all my money. Then a child felt sorry for me and gave me his money, fifty contos. I thanked him heartily and bought corn flour, nikusi-fish, oil, salt, and kerosene. I went home, very sad. When I got home I told my wife that I was robbed of all my money in the market. Therefore, my wife started crying.

**Test questions**

1. When the man left home, where did he go? He went to see his friend.
2. What did he take with him? He took a bag with him.
3. What was in that bag? Money.
4. When he arrived at his friend's house, what happened? Dogs barked at him.
5. Where did he flee? He climbed up a tree.
6. When he left his friend, where did he go? He went to the market.
7. What happened to him in the market? They robbed his money.
8. What did the child do? He gave the man 50 contos.
9. When the man told the wife what had happened, what did she do? She started crying.



**Diagnostic list**

No.	English	Emakuana	Enlai	Emwaja	Empamela
1 (447)	water	‘máási	‘mááđi	‘mási	‘mááđi
2 (522)	year	‘mwákha	‘mwákha	e’yákha	‘mwákha
3 (461)	tree	‘mwírí	‘mwírí	‘mwíri	M’tháiko
4 (4)	hair	ma’íhi	ma’íhi	kha’ráre	ma’íhi
5	get tired	o’véla	ovela’véla	olu’túwa	o’véla
6	foodstuff	ma’tháápa	N’húđi	N’húđzi	ma’húđi
7 (381)	eat	‘óła	‘ótǰá	‘óła	‘otǰá
8 (45)	heart	mu’ríma	M’ríma	e’róho	N’ríma
9	brother-in-law	mu’lámu	M’lámu	‘pwápu	N’lámu
10 (430)	star	ethe’néri	éthó’ndóa	e’tóònto	ethe’néri
11	liver	‘hápa	hapá	‘hápa	‘hapá
12 (214)	smoke	‘mwíǰi	‘mwíisi	‘mwíǰi	‘mwíisi
13 (128)	twins	ma’phápo	maphápó	ma’mpása	mapápo
14 (44)	intestines	marúpo	màrúpó	ma’rúpo	ma’rúpo
15	younger brother	mu’híma	mu’híma	Mhimáka	muhi’máka
16 (363)	lift up	o’véǰa	oven’íha	ōvúsa	o’véǰa
17 (105)	name	‘nsína	‘nzína	‘ndzína	‘nsína
18 (433)	clouds	má’khulu	méeku	‘méeku	ekubare
19 (20)	neck	e’ǰíko	é’síkó	e’síko	e’síko
20 (368)	person	‘muṭh ú	‘Nthú	N’tṭhúle	‘Mthu

No.	English	Emarevone	Emoniga	Erati	Emeto
1 (447)	water	‘máđi	‘máđi	‘mási	‘máási
2 (522)	year	e’yákha	‘mwákha	e’yákha	‘mwákha
3 (461)	tree	M’ǰa’íkho	nta’íko	‘mwíǰi	‘mwírí
4 (4)	hair	ma’íhi	níhi	ekkha’rári	ikha’ráre
5	get tired	-	o’veđa	oluthúwa	‘wótǰya
6	foodstuff	‘mwápu	‘ǰúđi	ma’tháápa	‘ǰúǰi
7 (381)	eat	‘ótǰa	odzá	‘óła	‘óła
8 (45)	heart	mu’rima	m’rima	‘nríma	‘nríma
9	brother-in-law	mu’lámu	mu’lámu	‘nlámu	‘nlámu
10 (430)	star	e’tṭhetéri	etiǰéri	eṭhon’tṭh óa	i’tṭhon’twa
11	liver	na’hápa	na’hápa	‘hápa	‘hápa
12 (214)	smoke	‘mwíisi	‘mwíisi	mwí’íǰi	‘mwíisi
13 (128)	twins	ma’pápo	ma’pápo	ma’phápo	ma’váǰa
14 (44)	intestines	ma’rúpo	ma’rúpo	ma’rúpo	n’rúpo
15	younger brother	muhi’máka	m(u)himaka	‘múnna	mwa’híma

16 (363)	lift up	o'véna	o'véna	o'théja	'wunwa
17 (105)	name	'nǎína	'nǎína	'ndzína	'ntʃína
18 (433)	clouds	'mééku	'mééku	'mééku	ma'húʦe
19 (20)	neck	é'síko	e'sikó	e'síko	i'síko
20 (368)	person	'múthu	'múthu	N'thu	n'thu

1–20 = reference numbers for diagnostic list

(105) = numbering according to 650-word list

M,N = syllabic nasals

phonetic transcript according to IPA conventions

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