

# A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Fipa Language Community: Ethnic Identity and Dialect Diversity

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## **Abstract**

This paper presents the findings of sociolinguistic research conducted in the Fipa language community in southwestern Tanzania. The main purpose of the research was to clarify the dialect differences between the speech varieties included in the term “Fipa” and their relationships to one another. Research was conducted in November 2004. The survey identified several groups identifying themselves as Fipa with a very strong sense of identity as Fipa. However, linguistically some of the varieties show considerable differences. The report concludes that, pending further testing, most varieties of the Fipa language community could still be part of the same language development project. The Fipa-Mambwe might be able to use literature in the Mambwe-Lungu language but could perhaps be better served with language development in their own speech variety.

## 1 Introduction and Background

In 2004, the General Secretary of the Bible Society of Tanzania (BST) requested that a sociolinguistic survey of the Fipa language community be undertaken by SIL International in Tanzania. A Fipa New Testament was published in 1988 by BST. They have approved a project to facilitate the translation of the Old Testament into the Fipa language “of Tanzania in Sumbawanga.” The New Testament will also be considered for revision. The Church in the area had asked the Bible Society to investigate Fipa dialects before embarking on translation.

In order to assist BST and the Church in the Fipa area in determining the speech varieties included in the term “Fipa” and their relationships to one another, the SIL Tanzania Language Assessment Team conducted research in the Fipa language community from November 4–28, 2004.

The SIL Tanzania Language Assessment Team would like to thank the offices of The Rukwa Region Regional Commissioner, the offices of The District Commissioners of Sumbawanga Urban, Sumbawanga Rural and Nkansi, and the numerous public servants in these districts who facilitated this work and without whose assistance this research could not have been conducted.

### 1.1 Language Classification

Historically, there has been some controversy over the classification of Fipa. The language is classified by Guthrie (1971) as M13, grouped together with Pimbwe, Rungwa, Rungu and Mambwe. Nurse (1999:14) classifies Fipa together with Pimbwe, Rungwa, Rungu, Mambwe, Wanda, Namwanga, Iwa, and possibly others in Zambia, in the Mwika subgroup of the SW Tanzania classification (SWT). In her classification of the Corridor Languages (Wilson 1958), Monica Wilson first used the term “Mwika” for the group in which Fipa “and the groups dominated by them between Tanganyika and Rukwa” are classified together with Mambwe, Lungu, Namwanga and “the people of Wiwa in Northern Rhodesia” (Iwa). The Ethnologue (Grimes 2000) classifies Fipa as part of the F10 group, together with Pimbwe, Rungwa, Mambwe-Lungu, Bende, and Tongwe.

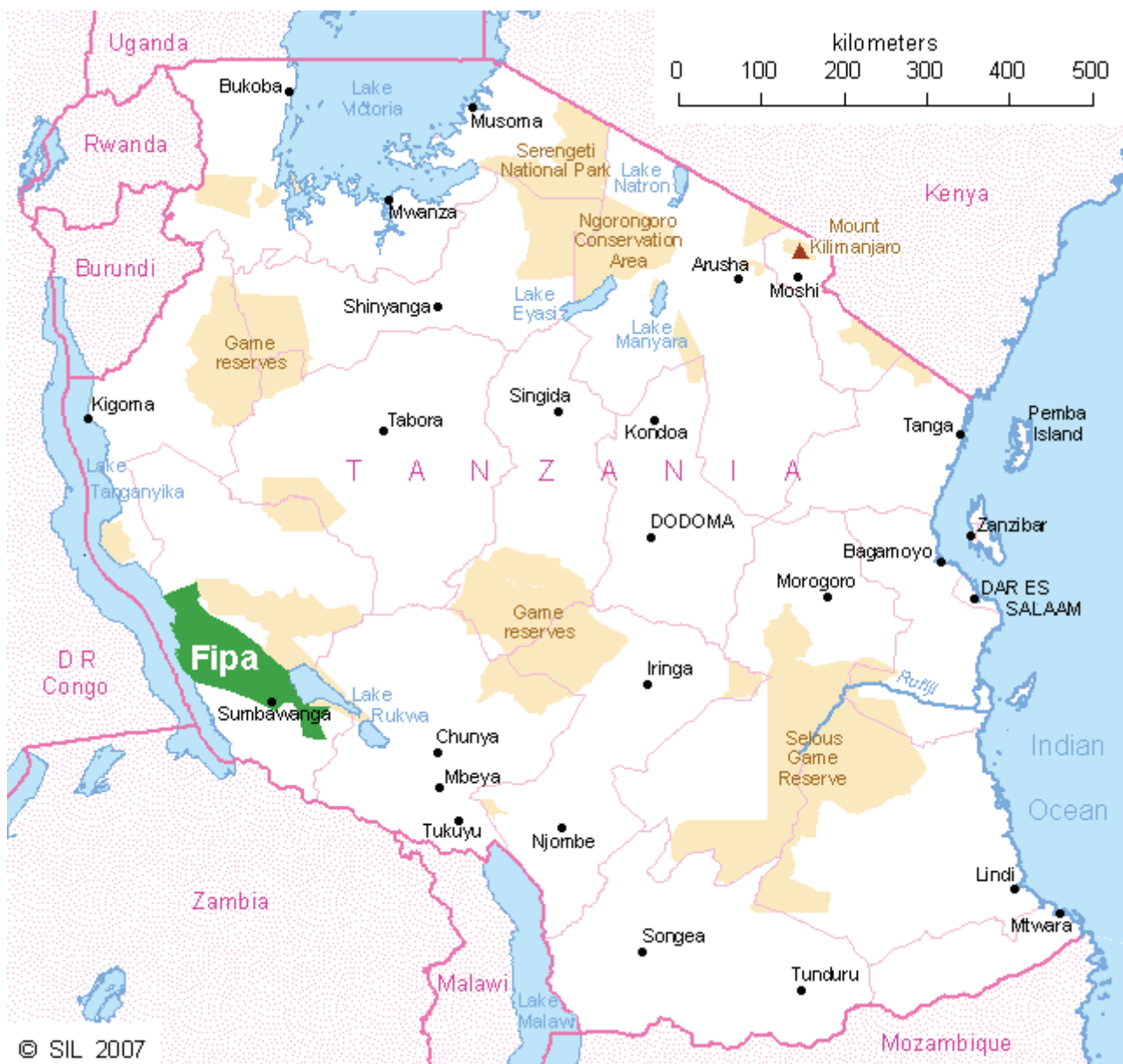
### 1.2 Language Area

The Fipa live in a large area between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Rukwa, mostly encompassed within Sumbawanga Rural, Sumbawanga Urban, and Nkansi<sup>1</sup> Districts of Rukwa Region (see Walsh and Swilla 2000:6). This area is displayed in Maps 1 and 2.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nkansi is sometimes written Nkasi

<sup>2</sup>The location of villages and towns on the maps in this report come largely from Global Positioning System (GPS) points obtained on the research trip. Others have been added from a map produced by NORAD (NORAD).



Map 1. Approximate location of the Fipa language area in Tanzania.



### 1.3 Surrounding Languages

The Fipa are bordered on the northern side from west to east by the Bende, Pimbwe, Rungwa (Grimes 2000 vol.2:55), Nyiha<sup>3</sup> (Lindfors et al. 2005), and Wanda. On the southern side are the Lungu, Mambwe, and Nyamwanga (Grimes 2000 vol.2:55).

### 1.4 Population

According to the United Bible Society, there were 200,000 Fipa speakers in Tanzania in 1992 (Grimes 2000). The Ethnologue (Grimes 2000) lists Fipa speakers in Malawi, but does not give a population estimate. This information is not corroborated elsewhere. It was mentioned in the letter of request from BST that there are Fipa speakers in Zambia. This information is not found elsewhere.

### 1.5 Language Varieties

Understanding of the dialects of Fipa has been sketchy. Johnston ((1922) as cited in Walsh and Swilla 2000:7) described a dialect separate from the main language as “S. Fipa.” Walsh and Swilla (2000:6ff) presume that it is the same as Johnston’s “southern dialects under Mambwe influence.” Willis ((1981) as cited in Walsh and Swilla (2000:7)) posited that there are many perceived dialects of Fipa. On the broader level he describes regional dialects, summarized in table 1:

Table 1. Varieties of Fipa according to Willis (1981)

Dialect	Location
iciKandaasi	plateau thirty to forty miles NW of Sumbawanga
iciSiiwa	northeastern region, Namanyere village as centre
iciNkwaamba	near Rukwa escarpment, northeastern plateau
iciKwa	northern and central Rukwa valley
iciKwaafi	further north, near escarpment overlooking Ukabende
iciNtile	northern Lake Tanganyika shore, Kirando village as centre
iciPeemba	further south along shore, including territory of the northern Lungu
iciSukuma	central plateau, centre Milansi, Nkansi, Lyangalile, southern Rukwa valley

Willis also asserts that there are no clearly defined borders between these varieties and that living among the speakers will also be speakers of other varieties and other languages, for example, Nyika [the Nyiha of Sumbawanga Rural District], Mambwe, and Lungu.

According to Walsh and Swilla (2000), most research has been done in the Sukuma variety (i.e., Willis (1978), and more recently Labroussi (1999)). Labroussi refers to this variety as “Fipa-Sukuma” and describes it as being spoken in the central and northern parts of the Fipa-speaking area.

Walsh and Swilla cite Labroussi (1999) describing a “Southern Fipa,” which “differs from the Sukuma variety in a number of ways, not least in that it has a five- (as opposed to seven-) vowel system.” She asserts that the Nurse and Phillipson’s (1980) Fipa wordlist is a variety of Southern Fipa, not Sukuma (Walsh and Swilla 2000:8).

Labroussi (1999:349) argues that “Southern Fipa” is genetically affiliated to her “Southern Mwika” sub-group, which includes Lungu, Mambwe, and Nyamwanga. The Fipa-Sukuma are, she concludes, “a group of ultimately different origins, difficult to establish as yet” (1999:373), (cited in Walsh and Swilla 2000:8). Walsh and Swilla (2000:8) point out that Willis (1981) considered

<sup>3</sup>The Nyiha are a largely undocumented group living in the highlands to the southeast of Sumbawanga town. They refer to themselves as Nyiha, but are commonly known as “Nyika” to outsiders, including the Fipa, and are distinct from the Nyiha of Mbozi District, Mbeya Region (see Lindfors et al. 2005).

Sukuma the southernmost Fipa dialect; and that speech varieties spoken further south are varieties of Lungu, Mambwe, and Wanda, rather than Fipa.

## **2 Purpose and Approach**

### **2.1 Purpose**

The purpose of this research is to determine what speech varieties are included in the broader term “Fipa” and then to obtain relevant information about these varieties and their communities to inform the Bible Society of Tanzania and those directly involved in the Fipa Bible translation project on how to proceed with the project. In addition, any speech varieties will be identified that are now included in the term “Fipa” but that are not likely to be included in the current Fipa translation effort.

### **2.2 Goals**

- To determine the dialects of Fipa and the intelligibility between them
- To determine potential reference dialect(s) for Bible translation
- To determine the extensibility of the existing Fipa New Testament (1988)

### **2.3 Research Questions**

#### **2.3.1 Ethnolinguistic Background**

- What are the varieties of Fipa?
- Where are the varieties of Fipa located, including their borders with neighbouring languages?
- What are the neighbouring ethnic groups and languages?
- What is the ethnolinguistic composition where the varieties of Fipa are located?
- What is the estimated population of the varieties of Fipa speakers?

#### **2.3.2 Interdialectal Comparison and Comprehension**

- What are the perceived differences between the varieties of Fipa?
- What are the actual differences between the varieties of Fipa?
- What is the perceived comprehension between the varieties of Fipa?
- What is the actual comprehension between the varieties of Fipa?
- What is the perceived social cohesion and homogeneity between speakers of the varieties of Fipa?
- What is a potential reference dialect(s) for written material?

#### **2.3.3 Existing Translation Extensibility**

- In what dialect is the Fipa New Testament written?
- For which Fipa is the Fipa New Testament perceived as being adequate?
- To what extent is the Fipa New Testament used?



## 2.4 Procedure

In this section the procedures for the research are described, and the process for choosing the primary research locations is explained.

Visits were made to the regional and district administrative offices in Sumbawanga town, where a general overview of the language situation in Rukwa Region was obtained. It became clear that the village of Milanzi is considered the heartland of the “true” Fipa language. Milanzi was the first of eight villages where we arranged to conduct research. These villages were chosen to give a representative sample of the geographical area, and also the different language varieties mentioned in the background research and preliminary investigations at the government offices in Sumbawanga. When selecting a village, every effort was made to ensure that the language variety spoken in that village was representative of that spoken in the surrounding area. The village of Katongolo was chosen because its Fipa was perceived to be more pure than that of the other villages in the area by the Fipa interviewed in the Namanyere District Office and in the Kirando Ward Office.

The eight villages chosen for research were as follows:

Milanzi (Milanzi Ward, Itwelele Division, Sumbawanga Urban District)  
 Miombo (Mtenga Ward, Namanyere Division, Nkansi District)  
 Ntuchi (Isale Ward, Namanyere Division, Nkansi District)  
 Katongolo (Kirando Ward, Kirando Division, Nkansi District)  
 Lwanji (Mtowisa Ward, Mtowisa Division, Sumbawanga Rural District)  
 Ngoma (Sopa Ward, Matai Division, Sumbawanga Rural District)  
 Katuka (Msanzi Ward, Matai Division, Sumbawanga Rural District)  
 Ilembo (Mpui Ward, Mpui Division, Sumbawanga Rural District)

These research locations are marked on Map 3 by large blue dots.

In each research location a group interview was conducted, a wordlist and a phrase list were elicited, and members of the community were informally interviewed. A Recorded Text Test (see Section 2.5.3) was also conducted in all locations except Ngoma. In the following section, the methodology used for these various methods will be described in more depth.



Map 3. The eight primary research locations

## 2.5 Methodology

We used the following methods to gather information in order to answer the above research questions:

- wordlists
- phrase lists
- recorded text test
- interviews
- observation

### 2.5.1 Wordlists

#### 2.5.1.1 Elicitation procedures and data sources

A total of eight wordlists were taken, one from each research location chosen (see Section 2.4).

In each location we asked the Village Executive Officer or the Village Chairman for help in selecting four men and women between the ages of 30 and 50 to participate in the wordlist elicitation. We requested that the participants be ones who had been born in the village and that they be good speakers of their local language variety. In addition, they should not have lived away from the village for any length of time.

These criteria were met in most villages. However, in some villages it was difficult to get women to participate. In the villages of Lwanji and Ntuchi no women participated. In most of the villages one or more participants were over 50 years of age. However, in each research location there were also younger participants.

In the village of Katongolo it was not possible to find participants born in the village as the village itself was only founded in the 1970s. However, two of the participants had lived in Katongolo since the time it was founded. All participants in this village were originally from the area around Chala and Namanyere in Nkansi District.

The wordlist used consisted of 246 lexical items and contained a mixture of grammatical categories, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, and question words.<sup>4</sup> The forms<sup>5</sup> were first elicited from the wordlist participants and written down phonetically using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Elicitation was carried out by prompting with a corresponding Swahili gloss, in many cases in a frame. For nouns, both the singular and the plural forms were noted except for the cases of mass nouns, and a few other instances in which the plural form of the noun is not generally used. The verbs were elicited in both the progressive present as well as in the imperative or, when it was more natural, in the perfect form of the word. The five italic items in the elicitation list are semantically close to the preceding items and were not counted in the analysis if they were consistently the same as the preceding items in all languages compared.

Consensus was sought where there was disagreement about an elicited form within the group. The wordlists were not designed to elicit synonyms, but any that were mentioned by the participants were noted. Sometimes multiple forms were elicited spontaneously, either when writing down the forms or later when recording them. If the participants agreed that the meaning was the same for the two forms, then they were counted as synonyms. Finally, all the forms were recorded on a minidisk to facilitate further analysis.

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<sup>4</sup>See Appendix A for the complete elicitation list.

<sup>5</sup>In this study, the term 'gloss' identifies a closely related meaning in English/Swahili, whereas a 'form' denotes a word as elicited in the research locations. The gloss and all the forms associated with it are referred to as an 'item'.

### 2.5.1.2 Analysis

A synchronic lexical comparison of the wordlists taken in each of the research locations was undertaken to help answer the question as to what are the differences between the varieties of Fipa.

Whenever multiple forms for the same gloss were encountered, both forms were counted in the analysis.

A few glosses also resulted in suspected near synonyms. These items were excluded from the count. For example, the elicitation of the Swahili gloss for 'hoe' *jembe* resulted in two forms (according to several participants, one of the forms meant 'big hoe'), one of which was the same as the form elicited in a previous location. It was not practical to return to the previous location to determine its status there. Two other items ('brother' and 'he is boiling') were excluded because of the same problem.

One item was also excluded from the count due to semantic overlapping. The gloss *kwa nini* 'why' resulted in several of the research locations in the same form as the form for the gloss *nini* 'what'.

Since this is a synchronic study, loan words have been left in the data.

### 2.5.1.3 Probable cognates

One of the research questions concerned the comprehension between the speakers of the language variants in the areas visited. Since it is the phonetic similarity that to a high degree determines whether a word will be understood, the "inspection method" (see Sanders 1977) was employed for computing the wordlist cognates. Therefore, in this synchronic study, forms with the same meaning are called "probable cognates" if they are phonetically similar.

As "inspection method" is a rather vague term, the criteria for determining phonetic similarity are described in this section. All examples are taken from the wordlist data.

#### Adjectives

It is commonly assumed that there are few true adjectives in Bantu languages. Adjectival concepts can be expressed in several other ways. Therefore, the adjectives in the wordlist display more variety than other word classes. For instance, adjectival concepts are often expressed with verbs. Similarly, true adjectives can be verbalized, "to be x" by using the affix *-p-* (Schadeberg 2003:84). There is also an *-e* ending, which refers to a resultant state (Schadeberg 2003:81). See table 2 for examples of these forms. These have been counted as probable cognates.

Table 2. Forms associated with the gloss 'long'

i'citali	long
'ca:ta,li:mpa	to be long
icita'li:mpe	long (state)

A regular Bantu suffix, *-u*, adjectivises verbs (Labrousse 1999:338), as illustrated by the examples in table 3. Forms that follow this pattern have been counted as probable cognates.

Table 3. Forms associated with the gloss 'big'

'ca:kula	to be big
i'cikulu	big

### Spirantization

Spirantization is a process in which consonants are realised differently before high and non-high vowels (Hyman 2003:53). This process is evident, for example, when the adjectival suffix [-u] or the causative suffix [-i] are used. Most commonly, stops are changed into fricatives as illustrated in tables 4 and 5. Whenever two forms reflect this process, they are counted as probable cognates.

Table 4. Forms associated with the gloss 'black'

'ca:fi:ta	black
ici'fi:su	black

Table 5. Forms associated with the gloss 'good'

'ca:,si:pa	good
ici'sifu	good

### Causative

The causative suffix is underlyingly an [-i] that desyllabifies to [-y-] (see Guthrie 1970: 217). This causes spirantization. In the examples in tables 6 to 8, one form is likely to be the causative of the other. These forms were identified and counted as probable cognates.

Table 6. Forms associated with the gloss 'breathe'

aku'kwe:ta	breathe
a'lu:kwe:sa	breathe

Table 7. Forms associated with the gloss 'count'

aku'wa:la	count
aku'wa:za	count

Table 8. Forms associated with the gloss 'sneeze'

a'lu:'tila	sneeze
a'lu:ti:ʃa	sneeze

### Meinhof's law

Meinhof's law is a phonological rule common in Bantu languages that simplifies nasal-oral sequences by changing the oral consonant into the preceding nasal consonant (see Hinnebusch 1989:463). Therefore, if this rule has been applied, the two forms have been counted as probable cognates, as is illustrated in tables 9 and 10.

Table 9. Forms associated with the gloss 'he whistles'

a,lu:'mundufi	he whistles
a'lu:,mun:ufi	he whistles

Table 10. Forms associated with the gloss 'mouth'

'undomo	mouth
'un:omo	mouth

In these examples Meinhof's Law can be represented by the rule [nd] →[n:].

### Derivational suffixes

Combinations of verbal derivational suffixes were found in some of the forms. These were identified, and only the roots were regarded when counting probable cognates. Table 11 gives an example of this with the regular verb extensions [-ek-] for stative, and [-eʃ-] for causative.

Table 11. Forms associated with the gloss 'look at'

a'lu:lola	look at
a,lu:lole'keʃa	look at

### Vowels

When counting probable cognates, we assumed that consonant agreement has greater importance than vowel agreement. Vowels tend to be more variable in pronunciation and are also more difficult to hear consistently in elicitation (see Z'graggen 1971:6). Forms whose vowels differed by only the following factors were considered probable cognates: forward/back tongue position, +ATR vs. -ATR, tongue height and [a] vs. [e] and [o]. Tables 12 to 16 give examples of forms that were counted as probable cognates.

Table 12. Forms showing contrast in forward-back tongue position

a'lu:pulika	he hears
a'lu:pilika	he hears

Table 13. Forms showing contrast of +ATR vs. -ATR vowels

'ɪ:nda	belly
'i:nda	belly

Table 14. Forms showing contrast in tongue height

'uluzimo	bee
'uluzimu	bee

Table 15. Forms showing contrast of [a] vs. [o]

i'mpuna	nose
'impuno	nose

Table 16. Forms showing contrast of [a] vs. [e]

'injama	meat
'injema	meat

### Consonants

Forms in which one consonant differed by only voicing or point of articulation were considered probable cognates. Tables 17 and 18 give examples of forms that were counted as probable cognates.

Table 17. Forms showing contrast of voiced vs. voiceless consonants

'fwa:ŋga	say!
'vwa:ŋga	say!

Table 18. Forms showing contrast in point of articulation of consonants

alu'a:zwa	he helps
alu'a:vwa	he helps

In this section the decision-making process for counting probable cognates is described. This procedure was intended to facilitate the correct identification of forms that could easily be recognized by all speakers from the different language varieties.

#### 2.5.1.4 Identical forms

In order to facilitate further analysis of the variants represented by the wordlists, all the wordlists were compared to the Miombo and Ngoma wordlists with respect to identical forms. In the case of nouns, two forms were counted as identical if both the singular and plural forms were the same, ignoring any differences in stress, tone, and length. For verbs, two forms were counted as identical if both of the verb forms (progressive present/perfect and imperative) were the same, except for differences in stress, tone, and length. The features of stress, tone, and length were disregarded since the wordlist format was thought not to be adequate for comparing these features. During elicitation it was noted that these features varied from time to time and from speaker to speaker.

### 2.5.2 Phrase Lists

#### 2.5.1 Elicitation procedures and data sources

In order to compare some grammatical constructions and other features that would not be evident from a wordlist comparison, people in each of the eight research locations were asked to translate twenty Swahili phrases and clauses<sup>6</sup> into their local speech variety. These phrases and clauses were designed to investigate noun class agreements, demonstratives, possessives, the verb 'to have', comparative constructions, and word order. Village leaders were asked to select two or three people between the ages of 30 and 50 who had lived in the village most of their lives and whose speech was representative of the speech variety of that village. The translations were transcribed by the researcher and digitally recorded for further analysis.

#### 2.5.2.2 Analysis

Each phrase and clause elicited was compared with those elicited from the other villages in order to determine whether any difference was revealed between the speech varieties of the various places. We recognise that the tool is limited in scope to highlighting only the elicited differences.

When analysing the phrase lists, the following grammatical processes were taken into account.

A regular Bantu suffix, *-u*, adjectivises verbs (Labroussi 1999:338). Forms that follow this pattern have been counted as the same. Table 19 gives an example from the phrase list.

Table 19. Forms associated with the gloss 'big' in the clause 'that stone is bigger than this one'

'ljakula	to be big
i'likulu	big

The comparative constructions in the phrase list showed an infinitive and a perfective form of the same lexical item, as is shown in table 20. These two were counted as the same.

<sup>6</sup>See Appendix C for the phrase list elicitation list.

Table 20. Forms associated with the concept 'compared to' in the clause 'that stone is bigger than this one'

uku'luta	infinitive
li'lusile	perfective

### 2.5.3 Recorded Text Test (RTT)

#### Testing for Comprehension

Three villages were selected for elicitation of a recorded text, Milanzi, Ntuchi, and Miombo. These villages were chosen from information gained through interviews. We presumed that the varieties spoken in them were possible reference dialects for Bible translation. The methodology used for the RTT was based on a paper by Juerg Stalder (1996) in which he puts forward a step by step guide for preparing, administering, and interpreting the results of a Rapid Appraisal RTT. The method was adapted slightly in places to fit the requirements of the current research, as is explained later in this section.

In each of these three locations, a short story in the language of that village was recorded. Two of the three recordings were then played in Katongolo, Ntuchi, Miombo, Lwanji, Milanzi, Katuka, and Ilembu in order to test the level of comprehension of the recorded varieties.<sup>7</sup> The elicited texts were to be between two and five minutes long and autobiographical, or at least a story that was not well known, to ensure that the results would not be influenced by people having previously heard the story. After recording the story, another person from the same village listened to the story played back and wrote a sentence by sentence Fipa transcription into a notebook using his own Swahili-based orthography. Then underneath the Fipa transcription he wrote a Swahili translation. The text from Miombo was deemed unusable due to its content and doubts as to the accuracy of the Swahili translation.

The stories from Ntuchi and Milanzi were first played to a group of people in the target villages. They were then played a second time, paused after every two or three sentences, and individuals were asked to volunteer to tell the story back in Swahili. This was intended to measure the level of comprehension of the group, but several problems were encountered.

One problem was that there was some doubt as to the accuracy of the Swahili translations of the original texts. This was especially difficult whenever answers from testees were consistently the same but different from the original translation.

Another problem resulted from the whole RTT process being conducted in Swahili. This process led to problems in test locations where the majority of the people did not seem confident to speak in Swahili in front of the whole group. It may have been that in some instances the text was understood well but the people were reluctant to give translations due to their lack of ability in Swahili.

In general, people were very reluctant to give answers, so usually only a few spokespeople volunteered to translate the stories. This obviously resulted in a skewed sample of mainly the most educated and traveled.

In an attempt to minimise the potential discomfort, the method was adapted so that the text was played to small groups rather than one large group. This met with limited success as the same result tended to occur on a smaller scale, with most people unwilling to volunteer a Swahili retelling of the Fipa stories.

<sup>7</sup>In Ngoma it was deemed unnecessary to play the texts since the people considered themselves to be Lungu, speaking the Lungu language, and hence would not be part of any Fipa Bible translation project.



After some consideration, we decided that the most valuable way to use the tool was to play the text to the whole group; then we would try to gauge the level of comprehension through observing the reactions of the listeners together with their answers to the post-RTT questions (see below). The original method of asking the participants to translate the text was applied in the first five research locations, Katongolo, Ntuchi, Miombo, Lwanji, and Milanzi, and then the adapted method of relying on just observation and post-RTT questions was implemented in Katuka and Ilembo.

#### Observation

Despite these problems, it was often possible to assess the comprehension of the group to some degree by observing their reactions to the recording. Many times it was possible to gauge the level of understanding by judging the extent to which people were interacting with the story. In addition, children often gathered and sometimes laughed at various points in the tape or made other responses as they heard it. However, one has to take into consideration the differences in the stories themselves. For example, the fact that some stories are inherently more interesting or amusing than others could give potentially misleading impressions concerning comprehension. However, we still felt that through observing the group, it was in many cases possible to make inferences as to the level of comprehension.

#### Post-RTT Interviews

After the RTT was played in a particular village, an interview would then be conducted. This involved asking the group of people questions<sup>8</sup> about the speech variety they had just heard, and their comprehension of it. The aim of these questions was to address the issues of perceived comprehension and attitudes towards other speech varieties.

#### Words of Life Cassette

A short tape segment from a Words of Life: Fipa<sup>9</sup> tape was also played. It was labelled “Fipa;” however, its origins were unknown to the research team. The information with the tape said that it may have been recorded as far back as the 1950s. After it was played, the subjects were asked the same questions as in the Post-RTT interviews, concerning where the speaker came from, how comprehensible his language was, and the social relationship between them and the people who speak the variety on the tape.

### 2.5.4 Interviews

#### Group Interviews

Village leaders were asked to assemble a group of at least twenty people, preferably more, of all ages from the village for the purpose of a group interview. In some cases like in Katongolo, Miombo, and Katuka, a large crowd of over 100 villagers was assembled. In other locations, like Milanzi, the village leaders selected the participants, and it was only possible to talk to ten or fifteen people. These tended to be the better educated members of the society. They were then asked a variety of questions<sup>10</sup> concerning the language(s) spoken in that village, all the answers given were recorded in writing, and general observations such as the reaction of the group to certain questions or answers was noted. We also took note of other factors such as group dynamics and cultural issues that may influence the answers given by the group.

<sup>8</sup>See Appendix F for the Post-RTT questions.

<sup>9</sup>Words of Life, Fipa. Gospel Recordings, Temecula, CA, USA.

<sup>10</sup>See Appendix E for the complete Group Interview Schedule.

### Dialect Questions Interview

The government leaders in each of the primary research locations were asked to assemble two or three people who were knowledgeable about the language situation in the area. These people were then asked which languages and language varieties are spoken in various parts of Rukwa Region given by the interviewer. They were also asked questions concerning comprehension of these different language varieties by people in their village, specifically whether an adult could understand the variety well, and whether a 6-year-old child would be able to understand it. Any other relevant information volunteered was also noted.

### Informal Interviews

During the course of the research many people were interviewed informally in order to find out their opinions about language use in the area. These people ranged from government officials to church leaders, as well as knowledgeable elders in the community.

### 2.5.5 Observation

As the above procedures were conducted, we gained further insight into the various language issues by means of observation, which was especially pertinent during the group interviews and RTT administration. In these situations, normally one person was giving an answer at any one time, and observing the rest of the group to see their reaction to this answer was often very revealing as to whether the majority of people agreed with the speaker or not.

## 3 Results

In this section the findings of the research are discussed, with each research question and the data relevant to that question discussed in turn.

### 3.1 Ethnolinguistic Background

This section discusses the research questions concerned with the ethnolinguistic background of the Fipa people. First, the various varieties of Fipa are dealt with, and then other ethnolinguistic issues, such as population figures, ethnolinguistic composition, and the ethnolinguistic groups surrounding the Fipa are discussed.

#### 3.1.1 What are the varieties of Fipa?

In this section the various varieties of Fipa are discussed, based on the views of individuals and groups in the Fipa-speaking area.

#### History

According to a lawyer working in the Rukwa regional office and also an elderly resident of the area, the history of the area is that the Fipa were originally several distinct ethnic groups with their own separate origins. The term “Fipa” was probably originally used by outsiders—possibly by Arabs or other traders who passed through the area in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The lawyer and the elderly resident reported that there are several theories as to the origin of the name “Fipa,” including a description of the escarpment where the people lived, or the tendency of the people to suck local beer through a tube, *kufipa*, resembling the root of a local word meaning ‘to suck’.

According to a small group of knowledgeable elders in Sumbawanga town, the Fipa identity was reinforced under the British colonial rule, with most of the people in Rukwa Region considered to be Fipa. They report that now many in Sumbawanga town and the surrounding area, particularly the older people, consider the term Fipa to encompass virtually all of Rukwa Region and even some peoples in Mbeya Region and Zambia.

It became clear from talking to these elderly informants that historically the Fipa were not one ethnolinguistic group, although over the last few generations a strong Fipa identity has emerged, with the result being that Fipa is now considered by most to be an ethnic group in its own right. This agrees with Labroussi who states that "...based on phonological considerations, Fipa-Sukuma and Southern Fipa are not even dialectal varieties sharing the same common ancestor, as only a much deeper separation time can account for their phonological divergence" (1999: 358).

#### Speech varieties today

In each village where research was carried out, the people were asked to list the varieties or dialects of the Fipa language as they see them (see 2.5.4 Dialect Question Interview and question 2.5 in Appendix E). In general they tended to list around five or six varieties, although those listed and the locations given for each speech variety varied in each research location. The most commonly mentioned varieties of Fipa were as follows:

- Milanzi
- Sukuma
- Kandasi
- Kwa
- Mambwe
- Lungu
- Pimbwe

Other varieties that were mentioned as dialects of Fipa include Kandi, Rungwa, Wanda, Nyamwanga, Konongo, and Nyika (which is the name given by the Fipa to the Nyiha of Sumbawanga Rural District).

#### Comparison with Willis' varieties

Although never mentioned in the group interviews, when the other varieties listed by Willis (see section 1.5) were specifically asked about, many of them were known to some extent. Siwa was not generally known, but those who had heard of it (the elderly informants in Sumbawanga and another elderly man from the Milanzi area) said it was centred around Namanyere town. Some people, for example, a lawyer working in the Rukwa regional office and some elderly residents of Sumbawanga, referred to it as Iwa. Ntile was not known at all, other than by one or two people who said they had heard the name but did not think the variety was spoken any more. In the village of Ilembo people said that a version called Chile is spoken in Laela. A few people (a Ward officer in Isale as well as the elderly informants in Sumbawanga) had heard of Nkwaamba, most saying it is, or was, spoken in a few villages to the north of Chala, northwest of Lake Rukwa. Those in the village of Miombo, the closest research location to their reported location, had not heard the term. Very few people had heard of Kwaafi. One or two of the elderly informants in Sumbawanga claimed to have heard of it, but seemed unsure and could not locate it. The lawyer working in Rukwa regional office, a village councillor in Milanzi, an elderly man in the village of Mlanda, as well as the elderly informants in Sumbawanga town, had all heard of Pemba, saying it is spoken on Lake Tanganyika, with the language closely resembling Lungu. However, several prominent Lungu, now living in Sumbawanga, who were asked about Pemba had never heard of it, only referring to inhabitants of the island in the Indian Ocean called Pemba. The Lungu in Ngoma also were not familiar with the term, nor were any of the interviewed residents of Katangolo, which is located only a few kilometres from the shore of Lake Tanganyika.

With the exception of Kandaasi, Kwa, and Sukuuma, the varieties listed by Willis are not generally well-known; and the names may have been in common use in the past but today they are hardly used, if at all.

### **3.1.2 Where are the various varieties of Fipa located, including their borders with neighbouring languages?**

In this section the varieties of Fipa are presented as perceived by the people in the areas visited. First, as the information given differed considerably, eight maps are presented, describing these varieties according to the people in these eight research locations. Secondly, the varieties are discussed one by one. Finally, a concluding statement regarding the dialect situation is given.

In the group interview, after naming the varieties of Fipa, the subjects were asked to describe where each of these varieties is located (see Maps 4 to 11). It should be noted that the varieties and locations are as perceived by the Fipa in the research locations, and may not agree with the opinions of the speakers of the varieties themselves. For example, in many of the research locations, people listed Lungu to be a variety of Fipa, while the Lungu generally consider themselves to speak their own language, distinct from Fipa.

People in Katongolo listed five varieties apart from their own variety, Fipa. These were Kandasi, Kwa, Fipa-Mambwe, Lungu, and Mambwe. They located Kandasi around Milanzi where several other groups located the variety Milanzi. As explained later, it is noteworthy that no group visited considered themselves speakers of Kandasi, always locating it outside their own variety.



Map 4. Varieties of Fipa as perceived by the people of Katongolo







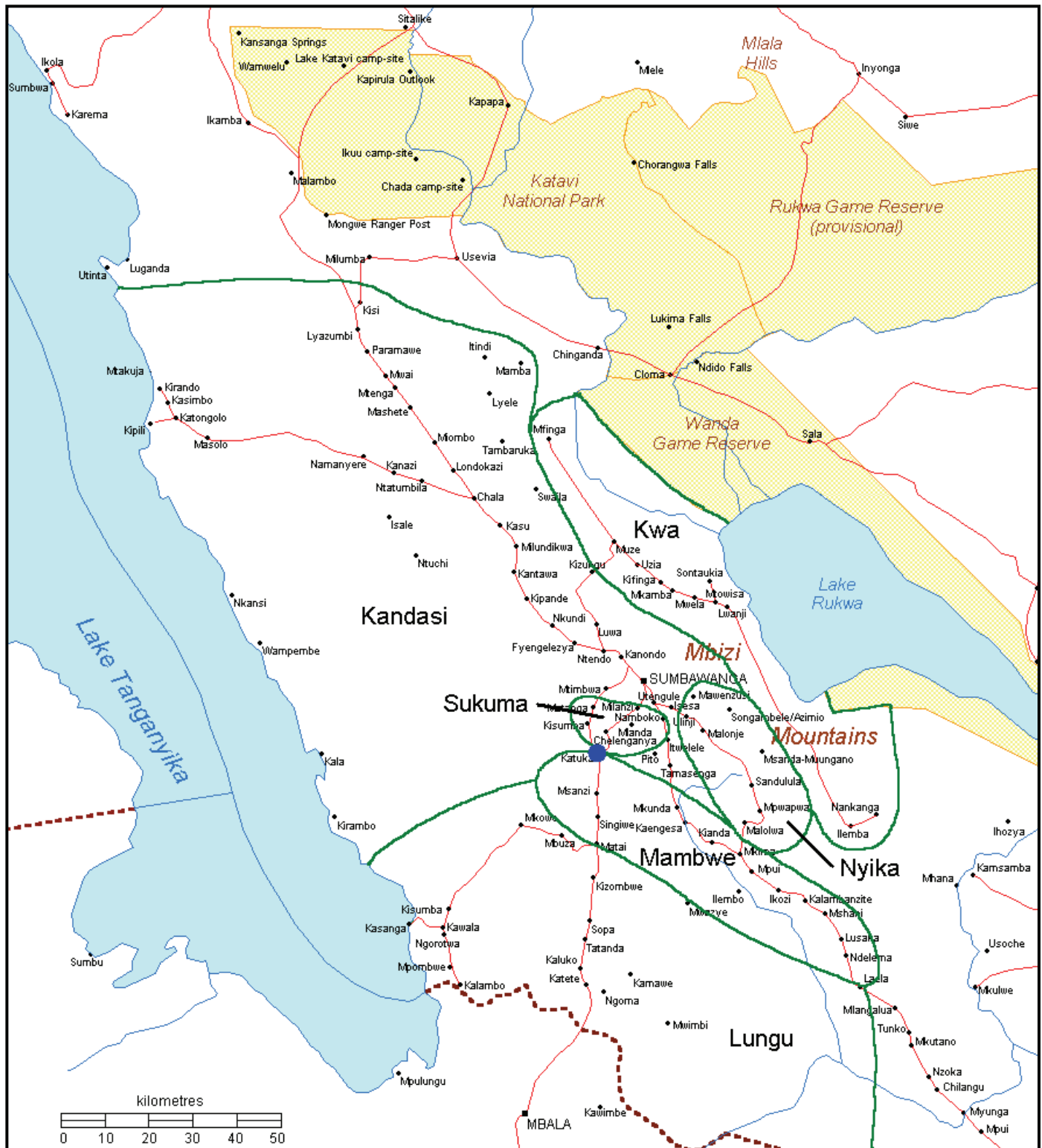








People in Katuka listed five varieties apart from their variety, Mambwe. These were Lungu, Sukuma, Kandasi, Kwa, as well as Nyika, which should be considered a separate language. People here located Kandasi in the northwest and called the variety around Milanzi “Sukuma.” Sukuma can be considered a term for the language variety considered most prestigious.



Map 10. Varieties of Fipa as perceived by the people of Katuka



### Summary of the perceived varieties of Fipa by research location

In summary of the preceding maps, the following varieties of Fipa were named by the people in the research locations listed below, with their own variety in italics:

#### Katongolo

- *Fipa*
- Kandasi
- Kwa
- Fipa-Mambwe
- Lungu
- Mambwe

#### Milanzi

- *Milanzi*
- Lungu
- Mambwe
- Nyika
- Kwa
- Kandasi
- Pimbwe
- Konongo
- Bende

#### Ntuchi

- *Fipa-Sukuma*
- Kandasi
- Kandi
- Milanzi
- Lungu
- Mambwe
- Kwa

#### Ngoma

- *Lungu*
- Mambwe
- Fipa of Matai
- Fipa
- Kwa

#### Miombo

- *Fipa*
- Nyika
- Mambwe
- Pimbwe

#### Katuka

- *Mambwe*
- Lungu
- Sukuma
- Kandasi
- Nyika
- Kwa

#### Lwanji

- *Kwa*
- Fipa
- Mambwe
- Lungu
- Wanda
- Pimbwe
- Rungwa

#### Ilembo

- *Sukuma*
- Kansi
- Kwa
- Lungu
- Mambwe
- Chile

At this point, each variety of Fipa, as perceived by the Fipa themselves, will be discussed, and a summary of the opinions of people in the various locations towards each variety will be given.

#### Milanzi

Also sometimes referred to as “Sukuma” or “Sukuma,” it is generally agreed that the heartland of this variety is the village of Milanzi. According to the people in Milanzi and Katuka, as well as numerous others spoken to, this variety is only spoken in a few villages around Milanzi and is considered to be the most difficult dialect to learn and write. This could be due in part to the seven-vowel system and the significant amount of core vocabulary that is different from the surrounding varieties (see section 3.2.2).

It appears that the Milanzi variety of Fipa may be dying out, being replaced by the Fipa-Mambwe version (see later in this section) that is considered “lighter.” One elderly informant who speaks the Milanzi version reported that many people are ashamed of the “heaviness” of this variety of

Fipa, as well as the social stigma of speaking the Milanzi variety, which many associate with their traditional religion. He said that now many, particularly the youth, are starting to speak a “lighter” variety of Fipa. It was reported in Milanzi village that even in the very heartland—the villages around Milanzi—many people, especially the younger generation are now speaking Fipa-Mambwe.

#### Sukuma

In the villages of Milanzi, Katuka, Ilembo, and Ntuchi, the name “Sukuma” (which was also sometimes referred to as “Sukuma”) was used to describe a variety of Fipa, often but not exclusively referring to the Milanzi version. It appears that the name “Sukuma” has some prestige for many people, some even in areas a fair distance from Milanzi (such as Ilembo and Ntuchi), claiming that they speak Sukuma. That Sukuma is the prestige dialect was clearly illustrated in Ilembo where the people claimed to speak Sukuma and said that the people of Milanzi speak Nkansi (or Kandasi), whereas the general consensus from most other places was that the heartland of Sukuma is Milanzi, and that the villages near Mpui (of which Ilembo was one) speak a mixture of Fipa and Mambwe. The wordlist (see section 3.2.2) gives further evidence that the variety spoken in Ilembo is in fact similar to Fipa-Mambwe and quite different from that of Milanzi.

One hypothesis is that “Sukuma” has become term of prestige, referring to what is considered by the speaker to be genuine Fipa. This would explain why the opinions are so varied as to what exactly is Sukuma.

#### Kandasi

The Kandasi variety is also known as the “Nkansi” dialect, or *Kifipa cha juu*, meaning ‘the Fipa of the top’ or ‘the high Fipa’, referring to the geographical altitude.

In contrast to the Milanzi variety, Kandasi seems to be a term used by people to denote what they consider to be a variety of Fipa that is not the original language. In fact, in none of the villages visited did the people claim that they themselves speak Kandasi. Those in Milanzi, Katuka, and Sumbawanga town referred to Kandasi as being the Fipa spoken around Chala and Namanyere, although the people of Miombo and Ntuchi (near Namanyere and Chala) said that Kandasi is only spoken in a few villages to the north of them, namely Swaila, Majengo, Lyele, and Itindi. The people of Ntuchi said that they themselves speak Fipa-Sukuma, further illustrating the high prestige of the name “Sukuma” and low prestige of Kandasi.

#### Kwa

The Kwa live in the Rukwa Valley along the shore of Lake Rukwa, separated from the rest of the Fipa by the Mbizi Mountains. Administratively, they are located in Mtwisa Division of Sumbawanga Rural District, which runs from the village of Mfinga in the northwest, as far as Nankanga in the southeast. To the northwest the Kwa are bordered by the Pimbwe and Rungwa, and to the southeast by the Nyiha (of Sumbawanga Rural District, not to be confused with the Nyiha of Mbozi District, Mbeya Region) and the Wanda. Opinion as to where this variety is spoken was consistent in all the research locations.

#### Mambwe

People consistently reported in the research locations that the Mambwe variety of Fipa is spoken to the south of Sumbawanga town, towards the border with Zambia. Many of these people (in Katuka, for example) say they speak “Fipa-Mambwe,” meaning that they consider themselves Fipa on a macro-level, speaking the Fipa language, but that the type of Fipa they speak is Mambwe. A group of men on the road in the village of Matai were interviewed informally, and they reported that they speak Fipa, but that the type of Fipa is Mambwe. This speech variety is closer to the Mambwe-Lungu<sup>11</sup> of southern Tanzania than it is to varieties of Fipa (see section 3.2.2),

<sup>11</sup>From background knowledge and also information gained on the trip it was found that Mambwe and Lungu spoken in northern Zambia and southern Tanzania are considered by most people to be dialects of the



but the people themselves have a strong Fipa identity, as demonstrated by the fact that when asked what language they speak, the first answer is almost invariably Fipa.

Opinions vary as to where Fipa ends and pure Mambwe and Lungu begin. Continuing south from Matai towards the Zambian border, one meets people who consider themselves to be pure Mambwe or Lungu, and not Fipa. According to these people, the border between the Fipa and the pure Mambwe and Lungu is the Kanyeke River, which runs between the villages of Sopa and Tatanda.

However, many of the Fipa themselves, particularly in and around Sumbawanga town, consider all the people right up to the Zambian border to be Fipa, as reported by three elderly residents of Sumbawanga. This was confirmed by residents of the village of Matai and by many others in informal conversations, including a group interviewed informally in the village of Katuka.

#### Lungu

It became clear in the village of Ngoma, as well as in Matai on an impromptu visit, that many people, even sometimes Mambwe and Lungu speakers themselves, use the terms Mambwe and Lungu almost interchangeably. During group interviews throughout the Fipa area, the interviewees generally perceived that the Lungu variety of Fipa is spoken to the southwest of Sumbawanga town, mainly along the shore of Lake Tanganyika.

Different opinions were expressed as to whether the varieties spoken in the villages on the main road were actually Mambwe or Lungu. The Ward Executive Officer of Matai, who was herself from Kirando on Lake Tanganyika, reported that Mambwe is spoken in the whole of Sopa Ward. However, this seemed to be contradicted by the Village Executive Officers of Matai Ward, who claimed that Lungu is spoken in Sopa and Tatanda. The impression was given that the terms Mambwe and Lungu are used almost interchangeably at times, especially by non-Mambwe-Lungu speakers.

The Village Executive Officer in the village of Ilambila reported that both Mambwe and Lungu were spoken in his village, by roughly equal numbers of people. The people of Ngoma mainly considered themselves to be Lungu, with the Mambwe being to the east of them. They used the terms Mambwe and Lungu fairly interchangeably, although they were able to distinguish between Mambwe and Lungu speaking villages when asked.

An interesting note is that in general the people from the villages on the main road from Sopa to the Zambian border consider themselves to be Lungu (for example in Ngoma), whereas many of the Fipa consider these same people to be speaking the Mambwe rather than the Lungu version of Fipa (see maps).

In the course of this research it was not possible to visit any of the Lungu villages on Lake Tanganyika, many of which are only accessible by boat, so there is still some doubt as to exactly how far up the coast the Lungu variety extends. However, it was reported in the District offices in Namanyere as well as the village of Katongolo that in many of these coastal villages a mixture of local languages and Swahili is spoken, due in part to the high number of immigrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

#### Pimbwe

In the group interviews in Miombo, Lwanji, and Milanzi, Pimbwe was listed as a variety of Fipa, but it was not listed in the other research locations. The Pimbwe are located to the northwest of Lake Rukwa in Mpanda District. However, most observers accepted the fact that Pimbwe is a language in its own right and not similar enough to Fipa to be considered a dialect of it (Nurse

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same language, often referred to as "Mambwe-Lungu." Note that this is distinct from "Fipa-Mambwe" or "the Mambwe variety of Fipa" being discussed in this section, although there are certain similarities that will be addressed later in this paper.

1999, Walsh and Swilla 2000). We made a very brief impromptu visit to the village of Usevya, where Pimbwe is spoken. In that village it was reported by a man and a woman that the Pimbwe can understand Fipa easily. It could be, however, that when they mentioned Fipa they meant the Kwa variety, which is geographically and linguistically the closest of the Fipa varieties to the Pimbwe.

#### Other varieties

In Ntuchi the people mentioned a variety called Kandi, spoken in Kate, Ntalamila, Machindo, Nkana, Sintali, and Chipu villages, to the southeast of Ntuchi. It would appear, according to the people of Ntuchi, that this variety is somewhere between the Fipa of Namanyere and the Mambwe variety of Fipa, and different from the language of Ntuchi.

Other speech varieties that were mentioned by the people of Milanzi as being types of Fipa include Rungwa, Wanda (both also listed in Lwanji), Konongo, and Nyamwanga. These speech varieties are generally accepted by researchers to be different languages (Walsh and Swilla 2000, Nurse 1999) whose speakers presumably have no Fipa identity. In other research locations it was reported that they were indeed different languages and not varieties of Fipa.

During the group interviews in Miombo, Milanzi, and Katuka, Nyiha (which the participants referred to as Nyika) was mentioned as a variety of Fipa, but upon visiting the Nyiha people it was discovered that Nyiha can in no way be described as a dialect of Fipa, either on linguistic or sociolinguistic grounds (see Lindfors et al. 2005).

#### Conclusion

In conclusion, it is proposed that the language, or languages, spoken by people who consider themselves to be Fipa can be divided into four varieties, which will be called:

- Milanzi
- Northern
- Kwa
- Fipa-Mambwe

This listing does not include the Mambwe-Lungu who do not consider themselves to be speakers of Fipa. However, note that many of the Fipa themselves consider Mambwe and Lungu to be varieties of Fipa.

The term “Northern” was used instead of “Nkansi” or “Kandasi” to avoid confusion. The terms “Nkansi” and “Kandasi” were used by different people to refer to the language spoken in different areas, so it was felt that calling the Northern variety by one of these names could lead to potential ambiguity. Hence the new term “Northern” was introduced for this variety.

A summary of the opinions as to the various varieties of Fipa is shown in Map 12.





Map 12. A synthesis of local perception of the various varieties of Fipa

### **3.1.3 What are the neighbouring ethnic groups and languages?**

As part of the group interviews, those in each research location were asked which ethnic groups border the Fipa on each side. This information was combined with information given by government officials in the district, ward, and village offices to obtain a picture of the neighbouring ethnic groups and languages.

As reported in the government offices in Sumbawanga as well as in numerous group and informal interviews, to the south of the Fipa are the Mambwe and Lungu. In the west it was said that the Fipa extend all the way to Lake Tanganyika, although on the lakeshore a large mixture of ethnic groups live, many of whose people originated in the Democratic Republic of Congo according to the District Commissioner in Namanyere. This was confirmed by people in the village of Katongolo near Lake Tanganyika. It was reported in the villages of Lwanji and Miombo that to the northwest of the Fipa are the Pimbwe, Rungwa and Bende. It was reported in Sumbawanga and later verified in the villages of Mtowisa and Lwanji that on the northeastern side the Fipa extend as far as Lake Rukwa. Those in Lwanji reported that on the other side of the lake are the Konongo, Nyamwezi, and Bungu peoples. To the east, several ethnic groups were said to border the Fipa—Wanda (mentioned in Lwanji), Nyika (referring to the Nyiha of Sumbawanga Rural District, which was mentioned in Ilembo), and Nyamwanga (mentioned in Ntuchi).

### **3.1.4 What is the ethnolinguistic composition where the various varieties of Fipa are located?**

In every research location, with the exception of Ngoma, the majority of the people thought of themselves as ethnically Fipa. The residents of Ngoma said they were Lungu.

As part of the group interview, a question was asked as to what tribes are represented in that village at the moment. In most of the research locations, people listed a few other tribes that are represented in their village, the most common being Sukuma (of Tabora, not to be confused with the Fipa-Sukuma), who were listed in almost every research location and Mambwe, who were mentioned in Katongolo, Ntuchi, Katuka, and Ilembo. Some villages that are located near to other ethnic groups had members of those groups within their community, for example Nyiha<sup>12</sup> (in Milanzi and Katuka), Wanda (in Lwanji), and Pimbwe (in Katongolo and Miombo). A few other ethnic groups from outside the immediate area, such as Nyakyusa and Ndali, were also present in some villages.

Although it was not possible to get any official figures, government leaders at the regional and local levels reported that in most Fipa villages at least eighty to ninety percent of the community would consider themselves to be ethnolinguistically Fipa.

### **3.1.5 What is the estimated population of the various varieties of Fipa speakers?**

Population figures for the various varieties of Fipa can be estimated using the Tanzania Government Census (2002), which gives the population of every ward. From information given by local and regional government leaders and other knowledgeable informants, the percentage of people in each ward who speak each variety of Fipa was estimated. These estimates, when combined with the government census figures, give the following population estimates for each speech variety:

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<sup>12</sup>This refers to the Nyiha of Sumbawanga Rural District, rather than the Nyiha of Mbozi District.

Milanzi:	10,000
Northern:	140,000
Kwa:	45,000
Fipa-Mambwe:	230,000

These figures do not include around 65,000 speakers of Mambwe-Lungu in Tanzania, who do not consider themselves to be speakers of a variety of Fipa.

### **3.2 Interdialectal Comparison and Comprehension**

In this section, the research questions concerning perceived and actual differences between the various varieties are discussed. The perceived and actual comprehension between the varieties is then dealt with, followed by the perceived social cohesion and homogeneity between speakers of the varieties. Finally, issues are discussed concerning a suitable reference dialect for potential written materials.

#### **3.2.1 What are the perceived differences between the varieties of Fipa?**

In the group interviews the people were asked if all the Fipa speak the same way as they do, and also whether they could tell where a Fipa person came from by how he spoke.

Without exception it was reported that there are differences and that it was possible for a Fipa-speaker to tell where a fellow Fipa-speaker came from by how he spoke. Mostly these differences were perceived as being differences in pronunciation, although often when asked specifically, people said that some words are also different.

After playing the RTT recording in each of the research locations, questions were asked about the speech variety on the tape (Post-RTT Questions). The Ntuchi variety was considered to be good Fipa by the people of most of the villages visited, although some in Katongolo and Katuka thought it was partially mixed with Mambwe-Lungu. The exception was Milanzi, where it was said to be understandable, but Kandasi, not genuine Fipa. This is consistent with the view of the Milanzi people that the variety spoken around Chala and Namanyere is Kandasi (see 3.2.1).

Despite this, in every research location including Milanzi, the people said that the variety on the tape (Ntuchi) was only slightly different from the way they speak.

The Milanzi text was considered to be good Fipa by all groups except those in Ilembo. A few in Miombo said that the pronunciation was different and others complained that the text that was elicited was mixed with Swahili, but they all agreed that it was good Fipa nonetheless. Those in Miombo said it was “good Fipa for that area.” When asked how different it was from the language of their village, the interviewees in all locations said it was only slightly different, citing the difference to be pronunciation.

The language of the Words of Life cassette was generally perceived by the listeners to be a variety of Mambwe or Lungu, possibly from close to Lake Tanganyika. This tape received a mixed reaction from the people. A few said it was good Fipa (those from Katongolo and Ntuchi), whereas the others said it was mixed to a large extent with Mambwe. The people in Ngoma, who speak Lungu, said they could understand all of it, which further indicates that the language was a variety of Mambwe-Lungu. All the people agreed that there was some difference, with the people of Katongolo, Miombo, Lwanji, and Ilembo claiming that the variety on the tape recording was very different from their language and those from the other villages saying there was only a slight difference.

In conclusion, most of the Fipa consider the differences between the varieties of Fipa to be small, often claiming that the difference is just pronunciation.

### 3.2.2 What are the actual differences between the varieties of Fipa?

#### 3.2.2.1 Wordlist analysis

In this section, the results are presented of the analyses of the eight wordlists taken in the research locations. First, the percentages of probable cognates are presented followed by the percentages of identical forms. Secondly, general comments about the findings in the research locations are given. These comments deal with phonological, grammatical, and lexical similarities and differences between the wordlists in the research locations. Special reference is made to possible cross-linguistic influence between the variants investigated as well as between the variants and other neighbouring languages.

##### Probable cognates

The count of probable cognates for all the forms from all research locations is presented here. As can be seen in table 21, with the exception of the wordlist from Ngoma, any two wordlists share at least eighty percent probable cognates. It should be noted that some of the wordlists, for example those from Katuka and Ilembo, contained many multiple cognates that were counted as synonyms (see section 2.5.1.2). This partly accounts for the high percentages for these wordlists.

Table 21. Proportion of probable cognates between wordlists from the research locations

	Lwanji	Milanzi	Katongolo	Miombo	Ntuchi	Ilembo	Katuka	Ngoma
Lwanji	100%	82%	89%	89%	88%	83%	84%	75%
Milanzi	82%	100%	89%	90%	92%	85%	83%	75%
Katongolo	89%	89%	100%	95%	97%	86%	88%	78%
Miombo	89%	90%	95%	100%	97%	88%	89%	78%
Ntuchi	88%	92%	97%	97%	100%	88%	91%	80%
Ilembo	83%	85%	86%	88%	88%	100%	94%	88%
Katuka	84%	83%	88%	89%	91%	94%	100%	89%
Ngoma	75%	75%	78%	78%	80%	88%	89%	100%

##### Identical forms

Less than ten percent of the forms were identical in all research locations. In order to facilitate possible groupings of the variants, all the forms were compared to Miombo and Ngoma with respect to identical forms. These two locations were chosen to be representative of Fipa and Mambwe-Lungu on the basis of sociolinguistic data as well as a preliminary wordlist analysis. The identical forms identified here could be written the same without adaptation in a future orthography. The results are shown in tables 22 and 23. These tables suggest that the wordlists from Lwanji, Milanzi, Katongolo, Miombo, and Ntuchi could be considered to form one group with Miombo as the reference, and the wordlists from Ilembo, Katuka, and Ngoma, another with Ngoma as the reference.

Table 22. Proportion of forms identical to those in the Miombo wordlist

Miombo	100%
Milanzi	68%
Katongolo	67%
Ntuchi	64%
Lwanji	53%
Ilembo	31%
Katuka	28%
Ngoma	22%

Table 23. Proportion of forms identical to those in the Ngoma wordlist

Ngoma	100%
Katuka	72%
Ilembo	70%
Ntuchi	36%
Katongolo	31%
Lwanji	29%
Miombo	22%
Milanzi	20%

In the following section, the wordlists will be investigated more in depth based on these two groupings: Lwanji/Milanzi/Katongolo/Miombo/Ntuchi and Ilembo/Katuka/Ngoma. The former are referred to as the Fipa wordlists and the latter as the Mambwe-Lungu wordlists. By taking cross-linguistic interference into account, it will become clear why the Ntuchi wordlist seems to be a borderline case.

### General comments about the wordlists in the various research locations

The Fipa vs. Mambwe-Lungu wordlists

The Fipa wordlists group together many of the noun class prefixes, as do the Mambwe-Lungu wordlists. Examples are given in tables 24 to 26.

Table 24. Forms associated with the gloss 'head'

Milanzi	'untwe, 'imitwe
Miombo	'untwe, 'imitwe
Katongolo	'untwe, i'imitwe
Ntuchi	'untwe, 'imitwe
Lwanji	'untwe, 'imitwe
Ngoma	'u:mutwe, 'i:mitwe
Katuka	'umutwe, 'imitwe
Ilembo	'um:utwe, 'im:itwe

Table 25. Forms associated with the gloss 'mother'

Milanzi	i'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
Miombo	i'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
Katongolo	i'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
Ntuchi	i'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
Lwanji	ɪ'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ama
Ngoma	a'ma:ma, a'ja:mama
Katuka	a'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
Ilembo	a'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma

Table 26. Forms associated with the gloss 'cooking pot'

Milanzi	i'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
Miombo	ɪ'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
Katongolo	i'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
Ntuchi	i'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
Lwanji	i'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
Ngoma	i'nte:ndo, i'za:nte:ndo
Katuka	i'nte:ndo, i'za:nte:ndo
Ilembo	i'nte:ndo, i'za:nte:ndo

The tense/aspect prefix of the forms elicited when using the present progressive form in Swahili group together, as show in table 27.

Table 27. Forms associated with the gloss 'he eats'

Milanzi	a'lu:lja
Miombo	a'lu:lja
Katongolo	a'lu:lja
Ntuchi	a'lu:lja
Lwanji	a'lu:lja
Ngoma	a'kulja
Katuka	a'kulja
Ilembo	a'kulja

Lexically there is also a split between the two groups, although there are also many cognates between the groups. Examples of the lexical split between the wordlists are shown in tables 28 and 29.

Table 28. Forms associated with the gloss 'tomorrow'

Milanzi	'i:julu
Miombo	'i:julu
Katongolo	'i:julu
Ntuchi	'i:julu
Lwanji	i'ju:lu
Ngoma	amu'to:ndo ['u:kwi:za]
Katuka	mu'to:ndo
Ilembo	amu'to:ndo

Table 29. Forms associated with the gloss 'heavy'

Milanzi	'ca:,nwa:ma
Miombo	'ca:nwa:ma
Katongolo	'ca:nwa:ma/ici'mwa:mu
Ntuchi	'ca:nwa:ma
Lwanji	ca'nwa:ma/ci'nwa:mu
Ngoma	ici'njo:me
Katuka	ca'njo:ma/ici'njo:me
Ilembo	'ca:njo:ma

When it comes to the use of fricatives in these wordlists, the Milanzi, Miombo, and Katongolo wordlists seem to group together, whereas the Ntuchi and Lwanji seem to group more with the Mambwe-Lungu wordlists. This is illustrated in tables 30 and 31.

Table 30. Forms associated with the gloss 'water'

Milanzi	a'ma:si
Miombo	a'ma:si
Katongolo	a'ma:si
Ntuchi	a'manzi
Lwanji	a'manzi
Ngoma	a'ma:nzi
Katuka	a'manzi
Ilembo	a'manzi

Table 31. Forms associated with the gloss 'iron'

Milanzi	i'ce:la, i'fje:la
Miombo	i'ce:la, i'fje:la
Katongolo	i'ce:la, i'fje:la
Ntuchi	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
Lwanji	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
Ngoma	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
Katuka	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
Ilembo	i'ce:la, i'vje:la

In the following sections the differences between the wordlists will be presented in more detail. The features discussed are the vowels, the fricatives, and the lexicon.

## Vowels

The following vowels were found in the wordlists taken in the eight research locations. These are presented without the data having undergone speech analysis.

Table 32. Vowels found in wordlists

i		u
	ɪ*	ʊ*
e		o
	a	

\* The vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] are found only in the Milanzi, Miombo, Katongolo, Lwanji, and Ntuchi wordlists

### Milanzi

The Milanzi wordlist displays a seven-vowel system with a clear audible distance between +ATR and –ATR high vowels. There are many minimal pairs for the +ATR high [i] and –ATR high [ɪ] in the wordlist, but no minimal pairs were found for the +ATR high [u] and –ATR high [ʊ]. Examples of these vowels are shown in table 33.

Table 33. Examples of vowels in the Milanzi wordlist

back (sg.)	ɪ 'nti:ndi
back (pl.)	i 'nti:ndi
body (pl.)	i 'mjɪ:li
salt	u 'nʃilja
fire	u 'nswa:kano

### Miombo

The Miombo wordlist displays a seven-vowel system with a clear audible distance between +ATR and –ATR high vowels. There are many minimal pairs for the +ATR high [i] and –ATR high [ɪ] in the wordlist, but no minimal pairs were found for the +ATR high [u] and –ATR high [ʊ]. Examples of these vowels are shown in table 34.

Table 34. Examples of vowels in the Miombo wordlist

chicken (sg.)	'ɪŋkoko
chicken (pl.)	'i:ŋkoko
body (pl.)	i 'mjɪ:li
salt	'unʃilja
skin	u 'ŋkwe:la

Furthermore, Miombo, together with Lwanji, has significantly fewer instances of long vowels than the varieties spoken in the other research locations.

### Katongolo

The Katongolo wordlist displays a seven-vowel system with a clear audible distance between +ATR and –ATR high vowels. There are many minimal pairs for the +ATR high [i] and –ATR high [ɪ] in the wordlist, but no minimal pairs were found for the +ATR high [u] and –ATR high [ʊ]. Examples of these vowels are shown in table 35 below.



Table 35. Examples of vowels in the Katongolo wordlist

back (sg.)	ɪ'nti:ndi
back (pl.)	i'nti:ndi
salt	'unsilja
skin	u'ŋkwe:la

### Lwanji

The Lwanji wordlist displays a seven-vowel system with a clear audible distance between +ATR and –ATR high vowels. There are many minimal pairs for the +ATR high [i] and –ATR high [ɪ] in the wordlist, but no minimal pairs were found for the +ATR high [u] and –ATR high [ʊ]. Examples of these vowels are shown in table 36.

Table 36. Examples of vowels in the Lwanji wordlist

chicken (sg.)	'ɪŋkoko
chicken (pl.)	'iŋkoko
body (pl.)	i'mjɪ:li
salt	'unsilja
skin	u'ŋkwe:la

Lwanji, together with Miombo, has significantly fewer instances of long vowels than the varieties spoken in the other research locations.

### Ntuchi

There are traces of a seven-vowel system in the Ntuchi wordlist, although the –ATR high vowels are definitely less frequent and less distinct than in Milanzi, for instance. The [ɪ] / [i] singular/plural noun class distinction common in Milanzi, for example, does not occur at all in the wordlist from Ntuchi. The plural and singular of these particular nouns are either the same, or another more transparent plural noun class prefix is used (see table 38). There appears to be a levelling of the distinction between the +ATR and –ATR high vowels in the variety represented by this wordlist. The vowels [u] and [ʊ] do both occur in the Ntuchi variety, but no minimal pairs were found. Examples of these vowels are shown in table 37.

Table 37. Examples of vowels in the Ntuchi wordlist

chicken (sg.)	'iŋkoko
chicken (pl.)	'iŋkoko
dog (sg.)	ɪ'si:mbwa
dog (pl.)	a'ja:si:mbwa
body (pl.)	i'mjɪ:li
salt	'unsilja
skin	u'ŋkwe:la

### Ngoma

The variety spoken in Ngoma displays a five-vowel system. There are no –ATR high vowels.

### Katuka

The wordlist taken in Katuka displays a five-vowel system. There are no –ATR high vowels.

### Ilembo

The speech variety spoken in Ilembo has a five-vowel system, although the wordlist revealed a few instances of [ɪ]. These forms are listed in table 38.

Table 38. Instances of –ATR high [ɪ] in the Ilembo wordlist

animal (sg. pl.)	<sup>1</sup> ɪnjama, ɪ <sup>1</sup> ʒa:ɪnjama
cow (sg. pl.)	ɪ <sup>1</sup> ŋo:mbe, ɪ <sup>1</sup> ʒa:ŋo:mbe
elephant (sg. pl.)	<sup>1</sup> ɪnzovu, ɪ <sup>1</sup> ʒanzovu
chicken (sg. pl.)	ɪ <sup>1</sup> ŋkoko, ɪ <sup>1</sup> ʒa:ŋkoko

The –ATR [ɪ] was found in an older person's (60+) speech and could not be confirmed by younger people. The items in table 38 in the singular (except elephant) are identical to the Fipa varieties. The plural [ɪ<sup>1</sup>ʒa-] noun class prefix, with [ɪ], is not found in any of the other wordlists.

## Consonants

The following consonants were found in the wordlists taken in the eight research locations. These are presented without the data having undergone speech analysis.

Table 39. Consonants found in wordlists

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		c ɟ	k g	
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	
Tap or Flap			ɾ***				
Fricatives*		f (v)	s (z)	ʃ (ʒ)			(h)****
Approximant					j	w**	
Lateral Approximant			l				

\* The occurrence of fricatives varied by wordlist as is explained in the following section.

\*\* [w] is a voiced labial-velar approximant

\*\*\* The [ɾ] was only found in Lwanji in two instances and in Ilembo in one instance, *iba 'ha:ri* (lake), which is a Swahili loan

\*\*\*\* The [h] was only found in Ilembo in one instance, *iba 'ha:ri* (lake), which is a Swahili loan

The main variance in consonants between wordlists is found with the fricatives.

## Fricatives

### Milanzi

The Milanzi wordlist has the following fricatives.

Table 40. Fricatives in the Milanzi wordlist

f	s	ʃ
---	---	---

There are no voiced counterparts.

### Miombo

In the Miombo wordlist the following fricatives were found. There are only a few cases of [z] (three forms) and [v] (six forms). Some of the forms in which these sounds occur are likely to be loan words from Swahili.

Table 41. Fricatives in the Miombo wordlist

f	v	s	z	ʃ
---	---	---	---	---

### Katongolo

In the Katongolo wordlist the following fricatives were found. [ʃ] occurs only before high vowels<sup>13</sup> and when the causative affix [i], is used (see section 2.5.1.3). Both [v] and [f] occur only before high vowels.

Table 42. Fricatives in the Katongolo wordlist

f	v	s	z	ʃ
---	---	---	---	---

It is noteworthy that in Katongolo, pronunciation of fricatives varied from speaker to speaker, sometimes even the same speaker varying his or her pronunciation. For example [s]/[z] and [f]/[v] were sometimes used interchangeably as illustrated in table 43.

Table 43. Pronunciation variation in the Katongolo wordlist

goat (sg.)	i'mbusi/ 'imbuzi
field (pl.)	i'vja:lo/i'fja:lo

### Ilembo, Katuka, Lwanji, Ngoma, and Ntuchi

In Ilembo, Katuka, Lwanji, Ngoma, and Ntuchi, the fricative [ʃ] occurs only before high vowels and when the causative affix, [i], is used (see section 2.5.1.3). In Ilembo, Katuka, Lwanji, and Ngoma, [f] and [v] only occur before high vowels. In Ntuchi, [f] only occurs before high vowels.

Table 44. Fricatives in the Ilembo, Katuka, Lwanji, Ngoma, and Ntuchi wordlists

f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ
---	---	---	---	---	---

## Lexicon

### Milanzi

Some of the basic vocabulary forms in the Milanzi wordlist (listed in table 45) do not occur in any of the other wordlists investigated.

Table 45. Forms unique to the Milanzi wordlist

nose (sg, pl)	i'cu:lu, i'fju:lu
fingernail, (sg, pl)	ulu'ku:ntulo, i'ŋku:ntulo
tail (sg, pl)	u'nco:le, imi'co:le
goat (pl)	ka'pwa:ta
cow (sg, pl)	i'njo:lwa, i'njo:lwa
fire (sg, pl)	u'nswa:kano, imi'swa:kano

These unique forms seem to be of a different origin from the corresponding forms in the other research locations or the neighbouring languages. In Miombo, Ntuchi, and Katuka, when asked, the wordlist informants correctly recognised many of the Milanzi forms as coming from Milanzi. In the more peripheral areas, such as Katongolo, most of these forms were unknown.

### Katongolo

As already mentioned, the Fipa speakers in Katongolo moved to that village after it was founded in the 1970s. The wordlist participants originally came from the region around Namanyere and Chala. Therefore, not surprisingly, lexically this variety closely resembles the Miombo variety found in that area.

<sup>13</sup>Throughout this report this symbol includes the approximants [w] and [j].

In the Katongolo wordlist there were several cases of nouns that could take one of two or more noun class prefixes, as shown in table 46.

Table 46. Multiple noun class prefixes in Katongolo

fish (sg.)	'ɪnswi/'i:swi
thirst	'ulusala/'unsala

#### Lwanji

Most of the Lwanji forms that were different from those elicited in the other research locations can be analysed as borrowings from the neighbouring Pimbwe and/or Rungwa languages. This analysis was reached by a comparison with the CBOLD wordlists (Nurse & Phillipson 1975) for these languages. In some cases only the pronunciation differed and in other cases the differing forms were non-cognates. Examples are given in table 47. The Lwanji forms that are noncognates with the forms in other research locations were unknown in the research locations of Ngoma, Katuka, and Ilembu.<sup>14</sup>

Table 47. Forms in the Lwanji wordlist probably borrowed from Rungwa and/or Pimbwe

Gloss	Lwanji	Pimbwe & Rungwa (CBOLD)	Miombo
tail (sg, pl.)	u'nʃinda/u'nsinda	umsinda	u'mpimbi
ash	i'tunde	itunde	'i:twi
star	ulu'tongwa	ulutongwa	ulu'ta:nda
cloud	i'lu:nde	ilunde	ama'pu:fi
he builds	a'lu:twā	ukutwa <sup>15</sup>	a'lu:ku:la
he plants	a'lu:tunda	ukutunda <sup>16</sup> (Pimbwe only)	a'lu:pela

Furthermore, the wordlist in Lwanji has significantly more instances of the adjectival suffix –u triggering spirantization. According to Labroussi (1999:359), the Milanzi variety (her Fipa-Sukuma) makes a general use of the –u adjectival suffix in parallel with the verbal qualification affix –p-. In this data, however, the adjectival suffix was not intentionally sought, which might explain why there are only a few instances of it in the Milanzi wordlist. In the Lwanji wordlist, however, the adjectival suffix is common. Examples are shown in tables 48 to 51. Labroussi also found that Fipa-Mambwe (her Southern Fipa), together with the other languages in the Mwika group, almost exclusively uses the –p- affix. This is confirmed by the data in this study.

Table 48. Forms associated with the gloss 'light'

Milanzi	,ca:pe'pela
Miombo	'ca:pe,pela
Katongolo	'ca:pe,pela
Ntuchi	,ca:pe'pela
Lwanji	ici'pepesu
Ngoma	ici'pe:le
Katuka	'ca:pepela/i'cipe,pele
Ilembu	'ca:pe,pela

<sup>14</sup>It was not possible to inquire about these forms in Milanzi, Ntuchi, and Miombo as the research in these locations preceded that in Lwanji.

<sup>15</sup>Infinitive form.

<sup>16</sup>Infinitive form.

Table 49. Forms associated with the gloss 'good'

Milanzi	'ca: , si: pa
Miombo	'ca: , si: pa
Katongolo	'ca: , zi: pa
Ntuchi	'ca: zi: pa
Lwanji	ici 'sifu
Ngoma	ici 'suma
Katuka	'ca: zi: pa
Ilembo	'ca: zi: pa

Table 50. Forms associated with the gloss 'bad'

Milanzi	'ca: , ji: pa
Miombo	'ca: , ji: pa
Katongolo	'ca: , ji: pa
Ntuchi	'ca: ji: pa
Lwanji	i 'ci: fu
Ngoma	i 'ci: pe
Katuka	'ca: ji: pa
Ilembo	'ca: ji: pa

Table 51. Forms associated with the gloss 'dry'

Milanzi	'ca: kala
Miombo	'ca: kala
Katongolo	'ca: kala
Ntuchi	'ca: kala
Lwanji	ɪ 'ci: kasu
Ngoma	i 'cu: me
Katuka	i 'cu: me/ 'cu: ma
Ilembo	'cu: ma

### Ngoma

The wordlist taken in Ngoma closely resembles the CBOLD Lungu wordlist. It is also quite close to the CBOLD Mambwe wordlist.

In Milanzi and Miombo, when asked, most of the non-Fipa forms of the CBOLD Fipa (which is Mambwe-Lungu) were correctly identified as Mambwe.

The wordlist taken in Ngoma displays some instances of nouns that can take either of two possible noun class prefixes, as illustrated in table 52.

Table 52. Multiple possibilities for noun class prefixes in the Ngoma wordlist

cow (pl.)	i 'ʒa: ŋombe/ i 'ŋo: mbe
elephant (pl.)	i 'ʒa: nzovu/ 'inzovu

### Katuka

The wordlist taken in Katuka closely resembles the CBOLD Fipa wordlist. The Fipa CBOLD forms (nine items) that do not match the wordlist taken in Katuka are the same as those found in the Fipa wordlists gathered on this research trip. This situation indicates that the wordlist from Katuka is slightly closer to Mambwe-Lungu (as spoken in Ngoma) than the CBOLD Fipa wordlist. Labroussi (1999:350) claims that her "Southern Fipa" data coincide with the CBOLD

Fipa. Her data were elicited from an informant in the village of Mwazy (see map 2; near the village of Ilembu).

The wordlist elicited in Katuka displays many instances of nouns that may take either of two possible noun class prefixes. The prefixes from the Fipa varieties and Mambwe-Lungu are often used interchangeably as shown in table 53.

Table 53. Multiple possibilities for noun class prefixes in the Katuka wordlist

firewood (pl.)	i'ʒa:ŋkwi / 'i:ŋkwi
bee (pl.)	i'ʒa:nzimu / 'inzimu
fish (pl.)	i'ʒa:nswi / 'inswi

The Mambwe-Lungu noun class prefix [ʒa-], which does not occur in the Fipa wordlists, is used frequently in the Katuka wordlist. In some instances it is used where the Ngoma wordlist (Mambwe-Lungu) has a zero-prefix, as shown in table 54.

Table 54. Regularisation of noun class prefixes in the Katuka wordlist

Ngoma	nose sg, pl	'impuno, 'impuno
Katuka	nose sg, pl	'impuno, i'ʒa:mpuno

In Katuka the instances were especially numerous when multiple forms for one gloss were elicited. In most of these cases one form appears to originate from Mambwe-Lungu (and is the same as the form elicited in Ngoma) and the other one from the Fipa varieties. There are also a few instances of influence from Swahili and Nyamwanga as shown in table 55.

Table 55. Instances of multiple forms for one gloss in the Katuka wordlist

Gloss	Elicited form	Probable origin
neck (sg. pl.)	i'si:ŋgo, 'ʒa:singo	Mambwe-Lungu
neck (sg. pl.)	'iŋga:lo, i'ʒa:ŋga:lo	Mambwe-Lungu noun class prefix, Fipa stem
rain (sg. pl.)	'invula, i'ʒa:nvula	Mambwe-Lungu
rain	i'nse:mba	Fipa
he breathes	aku'fu:ta	Mambwe-Lungu
he breathes	aku'kwe:ta	Fipa
he plants	aku'komela	Mambwe-Lungu
he plants	aku'pela	Fipa
he pushes	aku'su:ŋka	Mambwe-Lungu
he pushes	akusu'ku:ma	Swahili
hot	i'cika, ililwa	Mambwe-Lungu
hot	i'jo:to	Swahili
back (sg. pl.)	i'tu:ndu, ama'tu:ndu	Mambwe-Lungu
back (sg. pl.)	i'nsizi, i'ʒa:nsizi	Nyamwanga

There are also a few instances in the Katuka wordlist in which a Fipa verb stem is combined with a Mambwe-Lungu tense-aspect marker as shown in tables 56 and 57.

Table 56. Forms associated with the gloss 'he pulls'

Milanzi	alu:'kwe:sa
Miombo	a'lu:,kwe:sa
Katongolo	a'lu:kwe:sa
Ntuchi	a'lu:kwe:sa
Lwanji	a'lu:kwe:sa
Ngoma	aku'ti:nta
Katuka	aku'kwe:ta/aku'kwe:sa
Ilembo	aku'zuta

Table 57. Forms associated with the gloss 'he plants'

Milanzi	a'lu:pela
Miombo	a'lu:pela
Katongolo	a'lu:pela
Ntuchi	a'lu:pela
Lwanji	a'lu:tunda
Ngoma	aku'komela
Katuka	aku'komela
Katuka	aku'pela
Ilembo	akuko'me:la

### Ilembo

The wordlist elicited in Ilembo displays several instances of nouns that can take either of two possible noun class prefixes. The prefixes from the Fipa varieties and Mambwe-Lungu are often used interchangeably as shown in table 58.

Table 58. Multiple possibilities for noun class prefixes in the Ilembo wordlist

firewood (sg.)	'i:ŋkwi/'ulukwi
firewood (pl.)	'i:ŋkwi/i'za:ŋkwi
neck (sg.)	i'ŋga:lo
neck (pl.)	i'ŋga:lo/i'za'ŋga:lo

The Mambwe-Lungu noun class prefix [za-], which does not occur in the Fipa wordlists, is used frequently in the Ilembo wordlist. In some instances it is used where the Ngoma wordlist (Mambwe-Lungu) has a zero-prefix as illustrated by table 59

Table 59. Regularisation of noun class prefixes in the Ilembo wordlist

Ngoma	nose (sg, pl.)	'impuno, 'impuno
Ilembo	nose (sg, pl.)	'impuno, i'za:mpuno

Several instances of multiple forms were elicited for one gloss in Ilembo. In most of these cases one form appears to originate from Mambwe-Lungu (and is the same as the form elicited in Ngoma) and the other one from the Fipa varieties. There are also a few instances of influence from Swahili as shown in table 60.

Table 60. Instances of multiple forms for one gloss in the Ilembo wordlist

Gloss	Elicited form	Probable origin
few	ivi'no:no	Mambwe-Lungu
few	'vja:ce:pa	Fipa
father	a'ta:ta, a'ta:ta	Mambwe-Lungu
father	a'ba:ba, a'ja:ba:ba	Fipa/Swahili
black	i'citifi	Mambwe-Lungu
black	'ca:fi:ta	Fipa
lake	'je:mba	Fipa
lake	iba'ha:ri	Swahili

In addition, in Ilembo the Milanzi form for 'tooth', which was not found in any other research location, was encountered.

### Summary and discussion of the wordlist analysis

This section contains a summary display of the main findings of the previous section followed by a discussion. First, the phonological differences and similarities are displayed, followed secondly by the grammatical findings. Thirdly, the main indicators of ongoing language change are presented in a table format.

#### Phonology

Table 61. Vowel system

	Lungu	Fipa-Mambwe		Milanzi	Northern			Kwa
	Ngoma	Katuka	Ilembo	Milanzi	Katongolo	Miombo	Ntuchi	Lwanji
7V system				X	X	X	(X?)	X
5V system	X	X	X					

Table 62. Fricatives

	Lungu	Fipa-Mambwe		Milanzi	Northern			Kwa
	Ngoma	Katuka	Ilembo	Milanzi	Katongolo	Miombo	Ntuchi	Lwanji
f v s				X		(X)		
f v s z ʃ					X			
f v s z ʃ ʒ	X	X	X				X	X

#### Grammar

Table 63. +ATR [i] vs. –ATR [ɪ] singular/plural distinction

	Lungu	Fipa-Mambwe		Milanzi	Northern			Kwa
	Ngoma	Katuka	Ilembo	Milanzi	Katongolo	Miombo	Ntuchi	Lwanji
+ATR [i] vs. -ATR [ɪ] singular/plural distinction				X	X	X		X



Table 64. Grammatical affixes

	Lungu	Fipa-Mambwe		Milanzi	Northern			Kwa
	Ngoma	Katuka	Ilembo	Milanzi	Katongolo	Miombo	Ntuchi	Lwanji
ku- Tense/ Aspect prefix	X	X	X					
lu- Tense / Aspect prefix				X	X	X	X	X
a- Noun Class prefix	X	X	X					
umu- Noun Class prefix	X	X	X					
ʒa- Noun Class prefix	X	X	X					
u- Noun Class prefix				X	X	X	X	X
ɪ- Noun Class prefix			(X)	X	X	X	X	X
-u and -p- Adjective affix				X	X	X	X	X
-p- Adjective affix only	X	X	X					

#### Indicators of ongoing language change

Multiple forms and/or pronunciations for a single gloss were spontaneously elicited in all of the research locations. Most of these multiple forms and/or pronunciations can be attributed to interdialectal borrowing and indicate close contact between the neighbouring groups. These findings are summarized in table 65.

Table 65. Multiple forms and/or pronunciations for a single gloss

	Lungu	Fipa-Mambwe		Milanzi	Northern			Kwa
	Ngoma	Katuka	Ilembo	Milanzi	Katongolo	Miombo	Ntuchi	Lwanji
numerous multiple pronunciations					X			
numerous multiple-option noun class prefixes	X	X	X		X			
numerous multiple cognates		X	X					

#### Conclusion

In this section, the similarities and differences of all eight wordlists were presented. The data show that by taking cross-linguistic influence into account, many of the differences can be accounted for. It was suggested here that the Milanzi/Miombo/Ntuchi/Katongolo/Lwanji varieties form one linguistic group, which can be referred to broadly as “Fipa,” whereas the Katuka/Ilembo/Ngoma varieties form another group that can be referred to as “Mambwe-Lungu.” The differences between the varieties within each of these groups can be attributed to influences from neighbouring varieties. The variety spoken in Ntuchi displays the strongest contact-induced changes among the Fipa varieties. Within the Mambwe-Lungu group, the Katuka and Ilembo varieties show evidence of ongoing change affecting phonology, grammar and lexicon.

### The possibility of a multidialect orthography for Fipa

In this section, the possibility of a multidialect orthography for the Fipa dialects is briefly discussed. This issue, however, needs further investigation.

It is well-known fact that some of the limits of oral communication can be overcome in written communication, and this is accomplished when differing pronunciations of the same word are unified by writing the word identically, using an appropriate orthography. Readers from different dialects then assign their own pronunciation to the written symbol. In the process of designing a multidialect orthography, the social situations of the variants need to be considered. The orthography must be socially acceptable to all the people groups involved. This approach is not one of dialect mixing, which often results in an orthography that does not please anyone. Rather, in this approach, the dialects are compared in order to find levels of phonological structure at which the different systems may converge (Simons 1977:325ff.).

For example, in a Fipa multidialectal orthography the words that are nearly identical in all the dialects would be spelled alike. Tables 66 and 67 give two examples of words that would be spelled alike.

Table 66. Forms associated with the gloss 'blood'

Milanzi	u 'wa : ʃ i
Miombo	u 'wa : s i
Katongolo	u 'wa : s i
Ntuchi	u 'wa : z i
Lwanji	u 'wa : z i

Table 67. Forms associated with the gloss 'earth'

Milanzi	' i : f u
Miombo	' i : f u
Katongolo	' i : f u
Ntuchi	' i : v u
Lwanji	' i : v u

People could read these words if they were to learn a few basic sound correspondence rules. In a multidialectal orthography, the word for 'blood' could be spelled the same if one letter could be assigned to the [ʃ]-[s]-[z] series. The same might be possible for the [f] and [v] in the word for 'earth'.

A multidialectal orthography for the Fipa dialects should be considered in order to minimize dialectal differences in the writing system as far as possible. It should be noted that the suitability of a multidialect orthography is not simply dependent on linguistic factors and that a decision to follow such an approach should involve the input of the communities involved.

### 3.2.2.2 Phrase list analysis

In this section, the results of the eight phrase lists taken in the research locations are presented. The following grammatical features are discussed: Noun class agreements, demonstratives, possessives, the verb 'to have', comparative constructions, and word order. Finally, the combined results are discussed, and some aberrant forms are accounted for by taking grammaticalization processes into account.

#### Noun class agreements

The examples of noun class 5 agreement prefixes for adjectives support the groupings Fipa and Mambwe-Lungu. According to Nurse (1988:49), the Mwika languages use the noun class prefix 5 (*i*)/*li*- before verbs and C-initial stems and the reduced *i*- prefix before regular stems. This is what can be seen in the sentences from Ngoma, Katuka and Ilembu. In the Fipa

varieties, however, the reduced *i-* prefix occurs even before true adjectives with C-initial stems. See tables 68 and 69.

The noun class 5 and 6 agreement prefixes for the elicited numbers, possessives, and verbs is the same in all research locations, as can be seen for example in table 69 (also in tables 70 to 72 below).

Table 68. Forms associated with the gloss ‘this is my big stone’

10. hili ni jiwe langu Kubwa	<i>hili</i> ‘this’	<i>jiwe</i> ‘stone’	<i>langu</i> ‘my’	<i>kubwa</i> ‘big’
Milanzi		i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ikulu
Miombo	'e:li	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	i'kulu
Ntuchi	a'lali	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ikulu
Katongolo	a'lali	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ikulu
Lwanji	'e:li	i'fi:ŋga	lja 'kwa:ne	i'kulu
Ngoma	'li/i	'iwe	'ljane	'likulu
Katuka	'li/i	'iwe	'ljane	i'likulu
Ilembo	'li/i	i'fi:ŋga	'ljane	i'likulu

Table 69. Forms associated with the gloss ‘his stone is good’

16. jiwe lake ni zuri	<i>jiwe</i> ‘stone’	<i>lake</i> ‘his’	<i>zuri</i> ‘good’
Milanzi	i'fi:ŋga	i'lja:kwe	'lja:sipa
Miombo	i'fi:ŋga	i'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa
Ntuchi	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa
Katongolo	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa
Lwanji	i'fi:ŋga	lja 'kwa:kwe	'ljazje:pa
Ngoma	'iwe	'lja:kwe	ili'suma
Katuka	'iwe	'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa
Ilembo	i'fi:ŋga	i'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa

### Word order

Most clauses display the same word order in all research locations. However, in clauses 4, 5 and 8<sup>17</sup> in Milanzi (for example, see table 70), the demonstratives were placed at the end of the sentences. We do not know whether this was due to a different emphasis being chosen. Milanzi was the first research location visited, and it was not practical to go back and check if the word order used throughout the other research locations could also be used in Milanzi.

### Demonstratives

The singular demonstrative pronouns elicited by using the Swahili glosses *hili* ‘this’ and *lile*, ‘that’ have the same root *-li* in all the research locations, as shown in table 70 (also in table 68 above and 74 below).

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix D, phrase list Elicitation List, for all of the phrases and clauses.

Table 70. Forms associated with the gloss 'this is my one stone'

5. hili ni jiwe langu moja	<i>hili</i> 'this'	<i>jiwe</i> 'stone'	<i>langu</i> 'my'	<i>moja</i> 'one'	<i>hili</i> 'this'
Milanzi		i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ljo:ŋga	'li
Miombo	'e:li	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ljo:ŋga	
Ntuchi	a'lali	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ljo:ŋga	
Katongolo	a'lali	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ljo:ŋga	
Lwanji	'e:li	i'fi:ŋga	lja 'kwa:ne	'ljo:ŋga	
Ngoma	'li:	'iwe	'ljane	'ljo:ŋga	
Katuka	'li/i	'iwe	'ljane	'ljo:ŋga	
Ilembo	'li/i	i'fi:ŋga	'ljane	'ljo:ŋga	

The plural demonstrative pronoun elicited by using the Swahili gloss *haya* 'these' has the same root *-ja* in all the research locations, as can be seen in table 71.

Table 71. Forms associated with the gloss 'these are my two stones'

9. haya ni mawe yangu mawili	<i>haya</i> 'these'	<i>mawe</i> 'stones'	<i>yangu</i> 'my'	<i>mawili</i> 'two'
Milanzi		ama'fi:ŋga	'ja:ne	ja'ili
Miombo	a'laja	ama'fi:ŋga	'ja:ne	ja'ili
Ntuchi	a'laja	ama'fi:ŋga	'jane	ja'ili
Katongolo	a'laja	ama'fi:ŋga	'ja:ne	ja'ili
Lwanji	'e:ja	ma'fi:ŋga	ja 'kwa:ne	ja'ili
Ngoma	'ja/a	'amawe	'ja:ne	'jaili
Katuka	'ja/a	'amawe	'jane	ja'ili
Ilembo	'ja	ama'fi:ŋga	'ja:ne	ja'ili

### Possessives

The possessives *langu* 'mine' and *lake* 'his' show great similarity in all the research locations. The Lwanji variety, however, is analysed as using a less grammaticalized form (see discussion below) than the other varieties. For examples, see tables 68 to 71 above.

### 'To have'

The constructions used for expressing *nina* 'I have' and *and* 'he has' show great similarity in all research locations. In Miombo, however, what is analysed here as a less grammaticalized form (see discussion below) seems to be the preferred form. See table 72. The forms for expressing 'to not have' group into the Fipa varieties and Mambwe-Lungu varieties respectively, as can be seen in table 73.

Table 72. Forms associated with the gloss 'I have two stones'

7. nina mawe mawili	<i>nina</i> 'I have'	<i>mawe</i> 'stones'	<i>mawili</i> 'two'
Milanzi	'ndini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili
Miombo	ndi'lini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili
Ntuchi	'ndini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili
Katongolo	'indini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili
Lwanji	'ndini	ama'fi:ŋga	'jaili
Ngoma	'indini	'amawe	'jaili
Katuka	'indini	'amawe	ja'ili
Ilembo	'indini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili

Table 73. Forms associated with the gloss 'he does not have a stone'

20. hana jiwe	<i>hana</i> 'he does not have'	<i>jiwe</i> 'stone'
Milanzi	a'sini	'fi:ŋga
Miombo	a'sini	'fi:ŋga
Ntuchi	a'sini	'fi:ŋga
Katongolo	ata'kwiti	i'fi:ŋga
Lwanji	a:sini	i'fi:ŋga
Ngoma	ata'kwe:ti	'iwe
Katuka	ata'kwe:ti	'iwe
Ilembo	ata'kwe:ti	i'fi:ŋga

## Comparative constructions

The comparative constructions display the same pattern in all research locations (see table 74), with the exception of the different form of the word corresponding to *kuliko* 'compared to'.

Table 74. Forms associated with the gloss 'that stone is bigger than this one'

13. jiwe lile ni Kubwa kuliko hili	<i>jiwe</i> 'stone'	<i>lile</i> 'that'	<i>kubwa</i> 'big'	<i>kuliko</i> 'compared to'	<i>hili</i> 'this'
Milanzi	i'fi:ŋga	'lili	'ljakula	ku'luta	'li
Miombo	i'fi:ŋga	'lili	'ljakula	li'lusile	'li
Ntuchi	i'fi:ŋga	'lili	'ljakula	li'lusile	li
Katongolo	i'fi:ŋga	'lili	'ikulu	u'kuluta	li
Lwanji	i'fi:ŋga	li	i'kulu	ku'zidi	'e:li
Ngoma	'iwe	'li:li	i'likulu	u'kuluta	li
Katuka	'iwe	'li:li	'ljakula	u'kuluta	li
Ilembo	i'fi:ŋga	'li:li	'ljakula	li'lusile or u'kulutā	li

## Summary and discussion of the phrase list analysis

On the basis of the limited data presented above, there are few major grammatical differences between the varieties spoken in the research locations. Some of the differences can be accounted for by taking grammaticalization<sup>18</sup> processes into account. Examples of these processes in the data will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

In Miombo, the form *indilini* 'I have' was encountered. According to Guthrie (1970:232) the proto-Bantu form for the 1<sup>st</sup> person prefix is *ndi-*, whereas *li-* is the form for 'to be'. In most of the research locations *li-* has disappeared and we are left with the contracted form *indini*.

In Lwanji, the possessive form *ljakwa:kwe* 'his' was encountered. This form was different from the form *iljakwe* 'his', which was encountered in all other research locations. The Lwanji form can be analysed as less grammaticalized than the other forms. The Lwanji form has retained what seems to be the noun class 15 prefix *ku-* (see Guthrie 1970:225).

In some of the Fipa varieties but never in the Mambwe-Lungu varieties, the demonstrative forms *alali* 'this' and *alaja* 'these' are encountered. These forms are sometimes

<sup>18</sup> "With the term 'grammaticalization' we refer essentially to an evolution whereby linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance, respectively" (Heine and Reh 1984:15).

interchangeable with *li* and *ja* respectively. It is not known what this *ala* prefix is, but grammaticalization processes may be involved.

To conclude, the phrase lists taken in the eight research locations show minor grammatical differences. Nevertheless, some of the noun class agreement patterns as well as the forms for 'to not have' support the validity of the Fipa and Mambwe-Lungu groupings. Therefore, the data presented in this section support the conclusions drawn from other sources of data in this paper.

### 3.2.2.3 Conclusion to the wordlist and phrase list analyses

The wordlist and phrase list data support the validity of two distinct linguistic groupings of the eight research locations, with Milanzi, Katongolo, Ntuchi, Miombo, and Lwanji (representing the Milanzi, Northern, and Kwa varieties of Fipa) forming one group, and Ngoma, Katuka, and Ilembo (representing Mambwe-Lungu and the Fipa-Mambwe variety of Fipa) forming another group.

Within the first group, which can be called the Fipa group, Ntuchi (Northern) is the most influenced by the southern Mambwe-Lungu group. Lwanji (Kwa) shows differences with the others in the group, and appears to be influenced by Pimbwe and Rungwa to the northwest of the Kwa. From the wordlist and phrase list it is impossible to say for certain whether or not the people of Lwanji could use written material in the other varieties of the group.

The Milanzi variety, while seen as the prestigious variety by many, is linguistically very similar to the Northern variety. It shares ninety percent probable cognates with Miombo and Ntuchi, and many of the grammatical features are the same. The indications are that those speaking the Milanzi variety of Fipa would have little problem using literature written in the Northern variety.

Within the Mambwe-Lungu group, the speech varieties of both Katuka and Ilembo (Fipa-Mambwe) appear to be influenced by the Fipa group, which is not surprising considering the geographical proximity and social homogeneity (see 0) between the speakers and those of the Fipa varieties. However, despite the apparent influence of the Fipa group, the Katuka and Ilembo varieties are still best grouped together with Mambwe-Lungu to the south, on the basis of their linguistic similarity.

Although Fipa-Mambwe is very close to the Mambwe-Lungu spoken in Ngoma, at this stage it is difficult to say whether the Fipa-Mambwe variety is close enough to the central variety of Mambwe-Lungu that is in Zambia, to be considered a dialect of Mambwe-Lungu. It is likely that further investigation is needed as to the intelligibility between the Fipa-Mambwe and the Mambwe-Lungu of Zambia, since the centre of Mambwe-Lungu (geographically and in terms of any literature produced) is probably in northern Zambia around the town of Mbala. The Bishop of the Moravian Church in Sumbawanga reported that the New Testament in Mambwe-Lungu was published in Zambia. Others confirmed this and added that it had been translated at the mission station in the town of Mbala. The variety spoken in Zambia is reported to be influenced by Bemba and other Zambian languages, in contrast with Tanzanian Mambwe-Lungu that has some Fipa and Swahili influences. It is currently unknown whether Fipa-Mambwe is close enough to the Zambian variety of Mambwe-Lungu to be considered a dialect of it and use literature produced in it.

It was reported by a local councillor in Milanzi, a pastor in Sumbawanga town, an elderly resident of Sumbawanga, and the group interview participants in Milanzi that the Mambwe variety of Fipa is moving into the traditional Fipa area. The implication is that much of the area where people are now speaking Fipa-Mambwe was at one time a Fipa-speaking area, where people presumably spoke the Milanzi variety of Fipa.

One remaining issue is that grammatically Fipa-Mambwe appears to be very similar to Mambwe-Lungu, but lexically it is between Mambwe-Lungu and the varieties of Fipa. This fact would appear to rule out the possibility of language maintenance, since one would expect vocabulary to be borrowed from Mambwe-Lungu before grammatical structures. One possible

explanation would be to explain it as incomplete language shift. That is, the people shifted from speaking the Fipa varieties towards speaking Mambwe-Lungu, but the shift may have produced an imperfectly learned variety of Mambwe-Lungu with substratum influence from the Fipa varieties. It seems that parallels may be drawn with the case of Ma'a language community in northeastern Tanzania and their apparent shift to speaking a variety of Pare<sup>19</sup> (see Winford 2003:193–198). However, it should be noted that there are differences between these two situations, as the Northern variety of Fipa and Mambwe-Lungu are related Bantu languages, unlike Ma'a (originally Cushitic) and Pare (Bantu) that belong to different language families.

### 3.2.3 What is the perceived comprehension between the varieties of Fipa?

In this section, we discuss comprehension between the speakers of various varieties of Fipa as perceived by the speakers themselves; first, according to the answers to questions asked about their comprehension of the speech varieties spoken in various location; and secondly, from the answers given to questions asked about comprehension of the stories heard during the administration of the Recorded Text Test.

#### Dialect Question and Group Interviews

In each of the research locations, two different groups were asked to list the varieties of Fipa as they saw it (see 0). They were then asked how much they understood of each variety—whether they understood all, almost all, or just some of what was spoken. Of course, these measures are subjective on many levels, not least due to the ambiguity of the terms “all,” “almost all,” and “some,” but they were designed to give some insight into the comprehension as perceived by the speakers themselves.

#### Katongolo

People in Katongolo village, which is close to Lake Tanganyika, said that they understood almost all of the Chala variety (Northern). Opinions were divided as to how much of the language of Kasanga (Lungu) they could understand—some saying all, and some saying they could only understand part of it. Fipa-Mambwe was considered to be more difficult to comprehend, and they said they could not understand very much of the Kwa variety.

#### Ntuchi

In Ntuchi people said they could understand completely the Fipa of Namanyere and Chala, as well as Kandasi, which they described as being spoken in a few villages to the northeast of Chala. They said they could also understand completely Fipa-Mambwe and Kandi, which they say is located between them and the Fipa-Mambwe. The Lungu of farther south and around Lake Tanganyika is seen as being more difficult, but the people of Ntuchi said they can understand most of it, whereas the language of Milanzi is perceived to be very difficult, even for the adults to understand. The Fipa of Mtowisa (Kwa) was said to be understandable for the most part, although quite a few of the words were thought to be different.

#### Miombo

People in Miombo said that they could understand all of the Fipa of “high and low,” by which they meant everything included in the Northern, Kwa, and Milanzi varieties as they are presented in this paper. The Milanzi variety was perceived to be only very slightly different, so even a small child was able to understand it. Fipa-Mambwe was seen as more difficult to understand, but the general consensus from the people in Miombo was that they understood most of it, although a 6-year-old child may have difficulty comprehending it.

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<sup>19</sup>Although the language spoken by the Pare people is normally referred to as “Asu,” “Pare” is used here as this is the term used in Winford (2003).

### Lwanji

The people of Lwanji had differing views as to the comprehensibility of the various Fipa varieties. During the Dialect Questions Interview the participants said that they could understand all of the Fipa spoken in Milanzi, and in Chala and Namanyere (Northern). This was despite the geographical boundaries between them and the people of Milanzi, Chala, and Namanyere, a dividing range of mountains making contact difficult.<sup>20</sup> The people interviewed in Lwanji said that even a small child could understand these varieties of Fipa. They said the language of Matai (Fipa-Mambwe) was a little more difficult, but they could still understand most of it. However, during the group interview, people said that they can only understand some of proper Fipa (by which they were presumably referring to the Milanzi and Northern varieties). They said they could understand greetings, and after that they would understand some of what was said but they would lose some meaning. They said that a small child would not be able to understand it.

It should also be noted that many of the villagers in Lwanji seemed either unable or unwilling to speak Swahili in public, particularly the women. Without the presence of an interpreter, the answers given were either directly or indirectly from Swahili speakers, who tended to be the men, and in particular those who were well educated and had travelled more. On one occasion a researcher spoke informally with a small group of women, who told her that they find the Fipa of “high” or of “above” (presumably referring to the Milanzi and Northern varieties) difficult to understand.

### Milanzi

Some of the Fipa in Milanzi said that they could understand all of the Chala (Northern) variety, since the difference was only in pronunciation, although they admitted that it does take a while to get used to listening to it. Others said that it was quite different and they could only understand part of it. They can understand virtually all of Fipa-Mambwe (which is actually spoken by many in the immediate area, even in Milanzi villages), although the Lungu variety on Lake Tanganyika they said poses more problems. One person reported that “sometimes you have to ask yourself what they said.” Some claimed to be able to understand the Kwa variety completely with no problems at all, while others claimed that the “sentences are different” and that they could only understand some of it.

### Ngoma

The people in Ngoma disagreed slightly as to how similar Fipa (by which they meant Milanzi and Northern) was to their language, but in the end they decided that although the greetings were different, in the main they could understand most of it. They said that they could understand the Fipa of Matai (Fipa-Mambwe) well. With the exception of greetings, even small children and those who had not travelled could understand Fipa-Mambwe. It was reported that the Kwa version of Fipa was very difficult and they could not understand it at all.

### Katuka

In Katuka, people said that the Milanzi variety was fairly difficult to understand as quite a few words were different. Many people reported being able to understand it quite well due to the close proximity and contact with speakers, but they expressed that a small child or someone with no exposure to the Milanzi variety would not be able to understand it. The version spoken in Namanyere and Chala (Northern) was perceived by many as being easier to understand, with only a few words being different. However, during the Dialect Questions Interview it was said that there were many different words, and it was difficult to understand. The Kwa variety was seen as having a few different words and being hard to understand without exposure to the language. The people of Katuka said that the Lungu from Matai to Lake Tanganyika was very similar to their language, although opinions were divided as to whether small children would be able to understand it.

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<sup>20</sup>To travel from Lwanji to Sumbawanga town would be a journey of four hours or more by car or lorry, or six to eight hours by foot.



## Ilembo

In Ilembo people said that the Fipa of Namanyere and Chala (Northern) had all the same words as their variety, but it is difficult to understand because the pronunciation is different. They said that Mambwe is understandable, but difficult to comprehend without having had contact with Mambwe-speakers, and the Lungu spoken on Lake Tanganyika is very difficult to understand. Kwa was perceived to be difficult to understand as “they mix their language with Nyika [by which was meant the Nyiha that is spoken in Sumbawanga Rural District].”

### Summary of perceived comprehension between Fipa varieties

The following table (table 75) summarizes the answers given by groups about their perceived comprehension of the other Fipa varieties. The summary uses the grid of all, almost all, some, and none. The term “undecided” is used when people expressed different opinions. As people in the testing locations gave different names to the various Fipa dialects, the summary uses the dialect names and areas as presented in the synthesis of varieties as given in Map 11 plus Lungu.

Table 75. Summary of answers on comprehension

claim to understand people in	Northern	Milanzi	Kwa	Fipa- Mambwe	Lungu
Katongolo	almost all		Some	some	Undecided
Ntuchi	all	some	almost all	all	almost all
Miombo	all	All	All	almost all	
Lwanji	undecided	undecided	-	almost all	
Milanzi	undecided	-	undecided	all	Some
Ngoma	almost all	almost all	None	all	-
Katuka	undecided	some	Some	-	almost all
Ilembo	almost all		Some	-	Some

### Post-RTT Questions

In every village where the stories from Ntuchi (Northern variety) and Milanzi (Milanzi variety) were played, the people were asked how much they had understood of what they had heard. Without exception the people reported that they had understood virtually everything from each of the tapes. The high degree of reported comprehension may be partly due to reasons of not wanting to appear uneducated or not wanting to admit lack of understanding in front of a large crowd.

Another factor to be considered is that many people are used to hearing different speech varieties and understanding the main message without necessarily understanding every detail. It was therefore hard to gauge the actual level of comprehension when the people said they understood everything or almost everything.

### 3.2.4 What is the actual comprehension between the varieties of Fipa?

The RTT was designed to give some indication of the actual comprehension between the various speech varieties of Fipa. Specifically, it was intended to show how well people of various areas could understand the language of Milanzi (Milanzi variety) and of Ntuchi (Northern Fipa variety). For various reasons outlined above (2.5.3), this did not work as well as had been anticipated, and it was not possible to draw many conclusions from the attempts to retell the stories in Swahili. However, valuable insights were still obtained from observing the group as they listened to the text being played and from asking the group questions about it.

In this section, actual comprehension between the various varieties of Fipa is discussed from observation of the groups during the administration of the Recorded Text Test (RTT) and questions asked after the tests.

### Katongolo

The group in Katongolo seemed to understand the Ntuchi text well when it was being played. They laughed at the humorous sections and generally engaged well with it. Those who attempted to translate sections into Swahili appeared to be the well educated and more travelled among the group. It was claimed, however, that the others had understood the text and were just too shy to volunteer answers.

As the recording from Milanzi began to be played, half or more of the large crowd decided to leave. This may have been just due to fatigue, since the recording followed the group interview and also a local government meeting. However, it appeared that those who stayed did not seem to engage with the text as much as they had with the text from the Northern variety, and the impression was that they understood less of it.

### Ntuchi

When the people of Ntuchi heard the Northern variety they seemed to understand it well, which is expected since it was recorded in their own village. However, they still struggled somewhat in the retelling of the story because of the difficulties using Swahili.

When the group heard the Milanzi text, they seemed to understand it well. The answers given by the volunteers willing to attempt a Swahili translation tended to be mostly correct. They missed some details—which may be due to retelling the meaning of the story rather than giving a direct translation, or it may be a lack of concentration—but understood the main story line. It seemed that the audience engaged less with the Milanzi story than with the Ntuchi one.

### Miombo

Again, people in Miombo seemed to understand the Northern text well. The people laughed at the humorous sections, and even the children appeared to be following the story. Talking to people afterwards, they said they had understood everything and the language on the tape was just like their language.

People in Miombo did not seem to understand the Milanzi text as well, as illustrated by the fact that the children did not seem to be able to follow the story. The Village Executive Officer said afterwards that the language was quite different from that of their village, and hence the children could not understand much of it. He said, however, that the adults had understood most of the text.

### Lwanji

People in Lwanji seemed to understand the Northern text relatively well. Those who did attempt translating the text generally gave correct answers and included most of the details. During the playing of the tape the children laughed often, probably more than in any other place, which may indicate that they understood the text. However, it seemed at times that they were laughing excessively, appearing to find the speech variety itself humorous.

The people seemed to understand much less of the Milanzi than the Ntuchi tape, as they responded much less to it. Those who gave translations often missed details, giving the overall impression that the Milanzi version was less understood than the Northern one.

### Milanzi

The people of Milanzi listened intently as the Northern text was played and seemed to comprehend it well. As they retold the story they missed very few details, which led us to believe that they had understood the tape to a high degree.

They listened carefully also to the Milanzi version that was recorded in their village and had no problem in understanding it and translating it well.

### Katuka

The people in Katuka laughed a great deal as they listened to the RTT from the Northern variety. Some people called out “Namanyere,” the main town in the centre of the Northern area, as the text was being played.

As they heard the Milanzi version there was a more subdued reaction from the crowd, although many people called out “Milanzi” as they heard the tape.

### Ilembo

As the people in Ilembo listened to the Ntuchi RTT, they laughed occasionally, although it was hard to tell if they were laughing at the story or at the variety itself. Many of them also pointed towards the northwest (towards Ntuchi and other places where the Northern variety is spoken) as they heard it.

As they listened to the Milanzi version they also laughed, but this time it was apparently at the words the speakers was using, rather than at the story itself.

### Summary

From what was observed and from the questions asked, it was evident that in every village there were some people who could understand virtually all of the RTT tape. These were normally the well-educated and more-travelled people in the community, often middle-aged men. However, in most places a significant proportion of people did not appear to be able to comprehend the whole of each text.

### **3.2.5 What is the perceived social cohesion and homogeneity between speakers of the varieties of Fipa?**

One of the Post-RTT questions (see Appendix F) concerned the social cohesion and homogeneity of the Fipa peoples; the people were asked what relationship they had with those from the area of the speech variety on the tape. An indication as to the social relationships between the various groups was also gained from asking informal questions and from general observations as the research was carried out.

In general, when people were asked about their relationship with people from other areas, they would often reply immediately that they had a relationship with the other people, but would then struggle to give examples of this relationship. For instance in Ntuchi, when asked about their relationship with the people from Milanzi, they replied that there was a relationship, but that it was just one of being “brothers.” Often people would say that they have a relationship, but when pressed further they would say that the underlying basis of the relationship is that they are all Fipa, rather than that they have any regular contact or interaction with the other group.

The impression was that there was little contact between speakers of the more outlying Fipa areas, probably mainly due to the geographical distances between them. For example, from Matai—one of the main towns in the Fipa-Mambwe area—to Namanyere, or to Mtowisa (main towns in the Northern and Kwa areas), would be a journey of perhaps four hours or more, and transport in the area is sparse. In Sumbawanga town—the main commercial and administrative centre for the region—a large mix of ethnolinguistic groups live.

Despite the apparent lack of social interaction between speakers of the various varieties, a strong impression was that the people of each research location feel united as Fipa. “We are one tribe” or “They are our brothers” were common replies when asked about the relationship with other groups. The people seem to have a very strong sense of Fipa identity, which causes them to feel at one with Fipa from other areas with whom they have little direct contact.

### 3.2.6 What is a potential reference dialect(s) for written material?

As part of the group interview people were asked, “If someone wanted to learn good, correct Fipa, where should he go to learn it?” People were also asked which variety of Fipa would be best to write down in order that all Fipa would understand it, and which varieties are not really correct or proper languages. These questions were designed to give insight into what the Fipa themselves believe to be the best potential reference dialect for Fipa written material, and in particular, the best dialect in which to translate the Bible.

In answer to the question about the best place to learn Fipa, various opinions were given. Many people answered that Milanzi is the original best Fipa, and so therefore it is the best variety to learn. The people of Ntuchi (Northern) commented on the difficulty of the Milanzi variety, possibly due in part to the fact that the Milanzi version has seven vowels (see 3.2.2.1), and said that if one wanted to learn “normal” Fipa, one should learn their variety. The people in Katongolo and Miombo also agreed that the Northern variety, or the language around Chala, would be the best variety to learn, whereas those in Katuka said that it would be better to learn their variety, Fipa-Mambwe.

From these responses it can be concluded that all the Fipa with the exception of the Kwa (who said one should learn the language of Milanzi), considered their own variety the best type of Fipa to learn. Many people commented that the “original” Fipa is spoken in Milanzi, although considered prestigious by some, was also seen by others to be an antiquated and even humorous variety. This attitude was demonstrated in Katuka when a small group of people read through the Fipa New Testament, laughing at the parts they felt were written in the Milanzi variety.

When asked about the best variety of Fipa to write down, again opinions were mixed. The peoples of Ntuchi, Katongolo, and Miombo (all Northern) said that their own Northern variety would be best. Those in Katuka (Fipa-Mambwe) said that Fipa-Mambwe would be the best type of Fipa to write, as, surprisingly, did the people of Milanzi, citing the reason that their own variety is too difficult. They said that many of the younger people in Milanzi speak Fipa-Mambwe, and that this variety is generally well understood in their village.

Even in Milanzi itself the group interview reported that many of the people in the village, particularly the younger generation are now speaking Fipa-Mambwe. When asked about the future of the Milanzi variety of Fipa, the people said that they believed it would continue to be spoken in generations to come. However, it should be noted that the informants were generally elderly and almost without exception were speakers of the Milanzi variety, hand-chosen by the Village Executive Officer. Two facts point to the possibility that the Milanzi variety may cease to be spoken in coming generations: one is that the younger generation, even in Milanzi village, are now speaking Fipa-Mambwe; another is the perception that Fipa-Mambwe is “taking over” the traditional Fipa area around Milanzi (as reported by the group interview participants in Milanzi as well as several other informants in other places).

The question as to which type of Fipa is not good or proper Fipa was not particularly revealing with respect to the attitudes of the people to other speech varieties. When asked the question, many people laughed somewhat uncomfortably, seeming to indicate that it was a slightly inappropriate question to ask in their area. It was commonly stated that other people speak differently, but they could not say that one way of speaking is better or worse than another. Sometimes people would give another quite different speech variety (for example Nyiha) as being not proper Fipa (even a couple of times, in Miombo and Ilembo, the high prestige Milanzi version was mentioned), often accompanied by laughter. If there are types of Fipa that are not considered proper, the people seem unwilling to state this.

### 3.3 Existing Translation Extensibility

In this section, the research questions concerned with the extensibility of the existing Fipa New Testament translation are discussed. In particular, we discuss in which dialect the New Testament is written, for whom the translation is deemed adequate, and to what extent the translation is currently used.

### 3.3.1 In what dialect is the Fipa New Testament written?

In this section the current Fipa New Testament translation is discussed, and in particular, the variety of Fipa that it represents. It should be pointed out that during the course of the research it became obvious that very few people had seen the Fipa New Testament, and even fewer owned a copy, making it difficult for people to answer questions about it.

The Fipa New Testament was published in 1988 by the Bible Society of Tanzania. A visit was paid to Katarina Baimus under whose auspices the New Testament was translated. Originally from Holland, she has spent over fifty years in the Fipa and Lungu areas, first in Tatanda (a Mambwe-Lungu area) and then since 1967 in Kilangala, close to the village of Kipande on the Sumbawanga-Chala road. She estimated that she had started translating the New Testament with the help of her assistants around 1976, and finished the translation in 1983. In her opinion the language of the New Testament is “Nkansi-Fipa,” a name given by some to the language around Chala and Namanyere (part of the Northern variety of this report). Ms. Baimus kindly donated a copy of the New Testament to the research team, which proved invaluable as research was carried out in other locations, since it is no longer available for purchase.

As part of the group interview, questions were asked as to whether the Fipa New Testament is used in church and at home, and then people were asked where the variety of Fipa of the New Testament is from.

In each place only a handful of people had seen the Fipa New Testament, and hence it was difficult to ask the question as to what variety of Fipa was used. In every research location people reported that they used the Swahili Bible in church and at home, with only those in Ntuchi saying that they sometimes used the Fipa New Testament in church. In Lwanji people laughed at the question, seemingly because the existence of a Fipa New Testament seemed absurd to them.

A few people in Ntuchi who had seen the Fipa New Testament said that it was a mixture of their variety and Mambwe. The few people who had seen it in Miombo said that it was a mixture of Fipa and Mambwe, and is “from Matai and beyond,” meaning the villages to the south of Matai.

In the village of Katuka a researcher asked one resident to read aloud a portion of this New Testament to a group of villagers. They said that they could and appeared to understand everything, but after every few words, they would point in the direction from which they felt the language came. Their opinion was that the Fipa in the New Testament is a mixture of several different speech varieties, often even within a single sentence. However, they were still able to understand it because they had had significant exposure to these other varieties. A similar thing happened in the village of Milanzi, where the people said that some parts were Fipa and other parts were Mambwe.

An elderly informant in the village of Mlanda; a pastor from a Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania (FPCT) church in Sumbawanga town; a group of Village Executive Officers in Matai; and a small group of people in Katuka all reported that the language of the New Testament is not a particular variety of Fipa, but rather an eclectic mix of Fipa and Mambwe-Lungu. It seems widely understood in the Northern and Fipa-Mambwe speaking areas, largely because both of these groups have high exposure to both Fipa and Mambwe-Lungu.

Real interest was expressed for a revision of this New Testament in the Fipa speaking areas. According to the Assistant Bishop of the Anglican Church in Sumbawanga, in 1994 the Anglican, Catholic, and Moravian Churches started a project to translate the Bible into Fipa. He reported that the project had been dissolved because those involved in it had left the area, but he was very interested in any potential new project. An FPCT pastor in Sumbawanga also mentioned a recent translation project in Fipa (presumably the same one). He said that his Church had been involved in it too, but it stopped in 2002 because the committee dissolved. However, the Bishop of the Moravian Church in Sumbawanga, himself a Lungu, reported that there is no need for a Bible translation in the Fipa language.

### **3.3.2 For which Fipa is the Fipa New Testament perceived as being adequate?**

The general lack of exposure to the Fipa New Testament made it difficult to answer the question as to the perceived adequacy of the translation. In each research location with the exception of Lwanji, there were at least one or two people who claimed to have seen the New Testament. Those who had read it reported being able to understand it well, probably due to exposure to both Fipa and Mambwe-Lungu. It is as yet unclear how well people with little exposure to varieties other than their own would be able to comprehend the text.

However, despite the reported comprehension of many, there is doubt as to whether any of the Fipa think that the Fipa New Testament is written in “their language.” The General Secretary of the Moravian Church in Sumbawanga, himself a Mambwe, reported that the Fipa New Testament has many mistakes and is “not proper Fipa,” a sentiment echoed by some others who had seen it.

### **3.3.3 To what extent is the Fipa New Testament used?**

In the course of the research, the use of the Fipa New Testament in churches was not encountered. Although printed in 1988, the Fipa New Testament was not reported to have been used in church within the current generation, while the main distributing shop in Sumbawanga had sold the last copies of the Fipa New Testament only a few weeks before the researchers inquired about them.

## **4 Conclusion**

Despite their distinct origins, it is clear that the Fipa are now a cohesive ethnic group. In section 3.2.5 it was shown that there is a strong sense of “Fipa-ness” among peoples who are remote from one another and might otherwise have relatively little in common (see Map 12). Even when significant differences in the speech varieties of the Fipa are reported, it is considered to be one language on a macro level. Therefore, it can be argued that on social grounds there would be no problem for all the Fipa to be part of one Bible translation project.

However, linguistically the degree of diversity between the speech forms used by the Fipa is somewhat large (see Map 13). Section 3.2.2 shows that a large proportion of the people who consider themselves to be Fipa, who speak the Fipa language, are actually speaking a speech variety (Fipa-Mambwe) which is closer to Mambwe-Lungu than it is to the varieties of Fipa. It was concluded in section 3.2.4 that while there is a high degree of comprehension between some speakers of Fipa-Mambwe and the Northern Fipa variety, this is probably due to extensive contact between the speakers. There is doubt as to how much of the intelligibility between the varieties is actually inherent. On the basis of the wordlist and phrase list analyses, one could not consider Fipa-Mambwe a dialect of Fipa on linguistic grounds, despite the strong Fipa identity of its speakers.

These differences between the area that is considered Fipa in terms of ethnicity and the linguistic areas according to different language varieties are shown in maps 13 and 14. Map 13 shows the conclusion of this report as to the location of the ethnic Fipa of Rukwa Region. Map 14 shows the conclusion of the report as to the languages spoken by these people.

Map 13. The Fipa people (ethnic Fipa) and neighbouring ethnic groups.





It was mentioned in section 3.2.2.3 that to the south of Sumbawanga town a language shift is taking place from the Northern and Milanzi varieties of Fipa towards Fipa-Mambwe. This shift agrees with Johnston who wrote about “southern dialects [of Fipa] under Mambwe influence” (Johnston (1922) quoted in Walsh and Swilla (2000:7)), by which he was presumably speaking of varieties spoken towards the south of the Fipa-speaking area being influenced by the Mambwe language. The exact motivations behind this language shift are unclear, but the shift is certainly perceived by the Fipa in and around Sumbawanga town.

The Milanzi variety is considered by most Fipa to be the original Fipa language, although in the traditional heartland of this variety there seems to be language shift taking place towards Fipa-Mambwe. As a result, as was shown in section 3.2.6, it is doubtful whether the Milanzi variety, which is perceived by some as archaic and difficult to learn and write down, will continue to be spoken in generations to come.

The Northern variety, despite not being seen as correct Fipa by the people of Milanzi, seems to be linguistically fairly similar to the Milanzi variety, as shown in section 3.2.2.3. It shares many of the same grammatical structures and approximately ninety percent probable cognates. This variety is vital, and in the main has not been affected by the more dominant Fipa-Mambwe to the south, although evidence shows that the language of Ntuchi village is starting to be influenced by Fipa-Mambwe.

The Northern variety is perceived as being good Fipa by all the Fipa people with the exception of those speaking the Milanzi variety, and appears to be widely understood. The impression given in Miombo was that the distinction between +ATR and –ATR high vowels is very obvious (see section 3.2.2.1), suggesting that it is unlikely to level out from seven vowels to five in the foreseeable future.

The Kwa variety of Fipa is closest to the Northern variety, although there is some doubt as to whether it should be classified as a dialect of Fipa in terms of whether its speakers would be able to use its written material, or if it would be better considered a language requiring separate literature. It would be beneficial to conduct more research into the true extent of the Kwa’s comprehension of the Northern variety and therefore whether they would be well-served by Northern Fipa literature. There is also doubt as to the intelligibility of the other Fipa varieties to speakers of Kwa.

#### Implications for Bible Translation

The conclusion is that literature in the Northern variety of Fipa, and in particular in the variety spoken in the villages around Chala and Namanyere, would be sufficient for all of the speakers of the Fipa speech varieties, with the possible exception of the Kwa. The Kwa could certainly use any literature produced in the Northern variety, but further investigation is needed as to whether the differences in the varieties would provide an obstacle to understanding. When using the Northern variety for literature, care should be taken to choose a variety that retains the seven-vowel system. As one moves southwards this distinction becomes lost. It is also suggested that a multi-dialectal orthography for the Fipa dialects be considered.

The Fipa-Mambwe speakers in general will not be able to use literature produced in the Northern variety of Fipa, although many of them may understand it to a large degree due to contact with speakers of that variety. They would be able to use literature produced in the Mambwe-Lungu of southern Tanzania, although as discussed in section 3.2.2.3, further investigation would be needed to determine the potential suitability of Mambwe-Lungu literature produced in northern Zambia. It is conjectured that the added barrier of the influence of Bemba on the Mambwe-Lungu spoken in Zambia might prevent the Fipa-Mambwe of Tanzania from being able to fully understand literature produced there. In this case, Fipa-Mambwe would not be considered a dialect of Mambwe-Lungu, and would rely on literature produced in either the Mambwe-Lungu of Tanzania, or in Fipa-Mambwe itself. More investigation should be undertaken to determine the extensibility in Tanzania of Mambwe-Lungu literature originating in Zambia.

## 5 Appendices

### Appendix A 246-ITEM Wordlist

Language: \_\_\_\_\_ Alternate Names: \_\_\_\_\_

Village: \_\_\_\_\_ Ward: \_\_\_\_\_ Division: \_\_\_\_\_

District: \_\_\_\_\_ Region: \_\_\_\_\_ Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Recorded by: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Speaker(s): \_\_\_\_\_ Home village: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: \_\_\_\_\_

English Gloss	Swahili Gloss	CBOLD Fipa*	WL from Research Location	Comments
1. eye	jicho	liinso		
2. ear	sikio	likutwi		
3. mouth/lip	mdomo	umulomo		
4. nose	pua	limpuno		
5. tooth	jino	lliino		
6. tongue	ulimi	ululimi		
7. head	kichwa	uumutwe		
8. human hair	nywele	linyele		
9. neck	shingo	Ingaalo		
10. belly	tumbo	linda		
11. back	mgongo	Intiindi		
12. Knee	goti	lkokoola		
13. leg	mguu	lkuulu		
14. foot ** (if unclear sole)	mguu (unyayo)	--		
15. arm	mkono	likasa		
16. hand (if unclear palm)	mkono (kiganja)	--		
17. fingernail	kucha	ulungala		
17b*. finger	kidole	umunwe (of hand)		
18. skin (human)	ngozi (ya mtu)	umwili		

19. skin (of an animal)	ngozi (ya mnyama)	--		
20. bone	mfupa	iifupa		
21. blood	damu	uwaazi		
22. heart	moyo	umweenzo		
22b. lung	pafu	pofwe		
23. liver	Ini	iitima		
24. horn	pembe	ulupembe		
25. wing (of a bird)	ubawa (wa ndege)	--		
25b. feathers	manyoya (ya ndege)	amavumbu		
27. tail	mkia	umusinda, umukanga		
28. egg	yai	aamayi		
28b. honey	asali (ya nyuki)	uuchi		
29. milk (of a cow)	maziwa (ya ng'ombe)	amasiya (kwa kunywa)		
30. meat/flesh	nyama	iinyama		
33. person/human	mtu	umuntu		
34. man	mwanamume	umonsi (male, Swa dume)		
35. husband	mume	i_i_ya		
36. woman	mwanamke	umwanachi / aanachi		
37. wife	mke	uunchi		
38. father	baba	(a-baba), tata		
39. mother	mama	(a-mama), maangu		
40. brother (older) (same sex)	kaka (wa mwanamume)	uwachane (relative, fellowtribe)		
41. mother's brother	mjomba	--		
42a*. child	mwana (mtoto)	umwaana		
42. son	<i>mwana (mtoto) wa kiume</i>	--		
43. daughter	<i>mwana (mtoto) wa kike</i>	--		
44. chief/king	mfalme	umwene		
45. god	mungu	ileza, imuungu		
47. sickness	ugonjwa	yalwala (sick)		

48. body(human)	mwili	umwiili		
49. name	jina	iziina		
51. wild animal	mnyama wa porini	iinyama		
52. dog	mbwa	siimbwa		
53. elephant	tembo	iintilya, iinzovu		
54. goat	mbuzi	imbuzi, kapwata		
55. cow	ng'ombe	ing'ombe		
56. bull (male cow)	fahali (ng'ombe dume)	intwaazi, -chitwaazi		
57. chicken	kuku	iinkoko		
58. cock	jogoo	amukolwe		
59. bird (small)	ndege (mdogo)	ichuuni		
60. snake	nyoka	--		
61. fish	samaki	iinswi		
61b. bee	nyuki (anayeweka asali kwenye mti)	uluzimu / iinzimu		
63. head louse	chawa	iinda		
65. tree	mti	umuti		
66. bark (of a tree)	gamba (la mti)	ichuula		
67. leaf	jani (la mti)	iifwa		
67b*. shade	kivuli (cha mti)	ichisa_a_u		
68. walking stick	fimbo (ya kutembelea)	iintua		
69. root (of a tree)	mzizi	imisisi		
70. seed	mbegu	imbezu		
71. grass	nyasi	amasote, amatete (swa nyasi)		
72. flower	ua	iiua, (amaua), iingala		
73. thorn	mwiba	imyonga		
74. field	shamba	--		
77. house	nyumba	ing'aanda		
77b. village	kijiji	aakazi		

78. path	njia	iinzila		
79. thing—object	kitu	ichintu		
81. rope	kamba (ya kufungia mbuzi)	--		
82. thread	uzi (ya kushonea)	--		
83. stool	kigoda/kiti cha kienyeji	--		
84. chair	kiti (kirefu)	--		
85. salt	chumvi	umusilya		
87b. finger millet	ulezi	--		
87e. hunger	njaa	iinsala		
87f. thirst	kiu	ulusala		
88. utensil	chombo	iichivya		
89. cooking pot (clay)	chungu/chombo cha kupikia	--		
90*. burden, load (carried on head)	mzigo (uliobebwa kichwani)	ichisendo, umuzigo		
91. iron/metal	chuma	ichela		
92. hoe	jembe	iinkolo		
93. knife	kisu	iichisyu		
94. big knife	panga	--		
95. dull (knife)	kisu kisicho kikali	--		
96. sharp (knife)	kisu kikali	--		
97. axe	shoka	iimpasa		
98. spear	mkuki	iisumo		
99. arrow	mshale	ulucheto		
101. hole	shimo	iliina, ichilina		
103. enemy	adui	--		
104. war	vita	iivita		
105. fire	moto	umooto		
106. firewood	kuni	iinkwi		
107. smoke	moshi	ilyunsi		
108. ash(es)	(ma)jivu	iitwi		

109. night (time)	usiku	uusika		
110. darkness	giza	ichanda, infiinzi		
111. moon	mwezi	umweezi		
112. month	<i>mwezi</i>	--		
113. star	nyota	intanda		
114. sun	jua	ilanzi		
115. daytime	mchana	umusanya		
116. today	leo	ilelo		
117. yesterday	jana	mutondo (sic)		
118. tomorrow	kesho	mutondo (sic)		
119. sky	mbingu	iyyulu		
120. clouds (passing, not rain)	mawingu (ya kupitapita)	ipuufi (just cloud)		
121. wind (normal)	upepo	uumuza		
122. rain	mvua	insemba, invula		
123. water	maji	amanzi		
124. river	mto	uluuzi		
125. lake	ziwa	iiziya		
126. dew	umande	uulumi		
127. mountain	mlima	umwaamba		
128. stone (fist-sized)	jiwe (ukubwa wa kofi)	ifinga (swa. jiwe), itandala (swa. mwamba)		
129. earth (soil)	udongo	uunsili		
130. sand	mchanga	ulusenga, umusenga		
131. dust	mavumbi	inkungu		
132. year	mwaka	umwaaka		
133. one	moja	lyonga, weenga		
134. two	mbili	viili		
135. three	tatu	ichitatu		
136. four	nne	zinni		
137. five	tano	visaano		

138. six	sita	uuntanda		
139. seven	saba	saba		
140. eight	nane	chinane		
141. nine	tisa	chinwe mbali		
142. ten	kumi	fuundimbali		
143. hot (weather)	joto (hali ya hewa)	--		
144. cold (weather)	baridi (hali ya hewa)	inzuusi, iimpepo		
145. long (thing)	kitu kirefu	yatalimpa		
146. short (thing)	kitu kifupi	ingipi, ukwipimpala		
147. big	kitu kikubwa	--		
149. small	kitu kidogo	yachepa, inoono		
148. wide (path)	njia pana	--		
150. narrow (path)	njia nyembamba	--		
151. heavy	kitu kizito	inwaame		
152. light (weight)	kitu chepesi	yapepela, (ukupelela)		
153. difficult	ngumu (mtihani)	--		
154. easy	rahisi (mtihani)	--		
155. good	kitu kizuri	yaziipa (-ema)		
156. bad	kitu kibaya	chayiipa		
157. left (side)	kushoto	iimani, ichimani		
158. right (side)	kulia	iluunji		
158b*. far	mbali	ukutali		
158c*. near	karibu	apiipi		
159. new	kitu kipya	iimpya		
160. all	vitu vyote	yo_o_nsi		
161. many/much	vitu vingi	yaavula		
162. few	vitu vichache	--		
163. red	kitu chekundu	--		
164. black	kitu cheusi	--		

165. white	kitu cheupe	iintiswe		
166. who?	nani?	weni?		
167. why?	kwa nini?	--		
168. what?	nini?	chani?		
169. dirty	nguo chafu	uuchafu (Swa. uchafu)		
170. rotten (fruit)	tunda bovu	yawola		
171. dry (cloth)	kitambaa kikavu	ukukaala		
172. wet (cloth)	kitambaa chenye majimaji	--		
173. it is full	chupa imejaa	--		
174. he sits sit	amekaa kaa	-- ukwikala		
175. he stands up stand up	amesimama simama	ukwimilila		
176. he lies down lay down	amelala lala	ukukupama		
177. he awakens awaken	ameamka kutoka usingizini amka	--		
178. he takes Take	amechukua kitu chukua	ukutola (take, carry, Swa. twaa) ukuse_e_nda (Swa. chukua)		
179. he carries carry	anabeba mtoto beba	-- ukupaapa		
180. he holds hold	ameshika kitu shika	--		
181. he fears fear	anaogopa ogopa	--		
182. he gives him give him	anampa umpe	-- ukupele (Swa. kupa)		
182b. he sends him	anamtuma	ukutwaala		
183. he bites bite	anauma uma	-- ukuluma		
185. he eats eat	anakula kula	-- uukulya		
186. he drinks drink	anakunywa kunywa	-- ukunwa		



186b. he boils water boil	anachemsha maji  chemsha	ukufulizya, ukweleka		
187. he pours  pour	amemimina (kwenye chombo)  mimina	-- ukwitulula		
188. he vomits  vomit	anatapika  tapika	-- ukuluka		
189. he coughs  cough	anakohoa  kohoa	-- ukukoola		
189b. he sneezes  sneeze	anapiga chafya  piga chafya	u_kutisya		
190. he breathes  breathe (norm.)	anavuta pumzi  vuta pumzi	-- ukupuuza (Swa. kupumua)		
191. he sucks  suck	mtoto ananyonya  nyonya	ukufyofyonta (suck, Swa. fyonza) ukoonka (Suck the breast, Swa. amwa)		
192. he spits  spit	anatema mate  tema mate	ukupu_u_ta		
193. wind blows	upepo unavuma	--		
193b. he blows  blow	mtu anapuliza  vuma/puliza	ukupusya (Swa. puliza)		
194. he whistles  whistle	anapiga mluzi  piga mluzi	-- umulufi (whistling, Swa. ubinja)		
195. he yawns  yawn	anapiga miayo  piga miayo	-- ukwaula		
196. he sings  sing	anaimba wimbo  imba	-- ukuluunda		
197. he plays  play	mtoto anacheza  cheza	--		
197b*. he dances  dance	anacheza ngoma  cheza ngoma	-- ukuchina		
198. he laughs  laugh	anacheka  cheka	-- ukuseka		
199. he weeps  weep	mtoto analia  lia	-- ukulila		
200. he barks	mbwa anabweka	--		

bark	bweka			
201. he says	anasema	--		
say	sema	ukunena (Swa. ambia)		
202. he asks	anauliza	--		
ask	uliza			
203. he looks at	anatazama	ukulola (Swa. tazama)		
look at	tazama			
204. he shows	anaonyesha kitu	--		
show	onyesha			
205. he hears	anasikia (sauti)	--		
hear	sikia (sauti)	ukupulika		
206. he dies	anakufa	--		
(die)	(kufa)	uukufwa		
207. he knows	anajua	--		
know	jua	ukumanya		
208. he counts	anahesabu	--		
count	hesabu	ukusolosya, nungua		
209. he wants/likes	anapenda	--		
— want/like/love	<del>penda</del>	ukukuunda		
210. he helps	anasaidia	--		
help	saidia			
211. he walks	anatembea	--		
walk	tembea	ukulyata (Swa. kwenda kwa miguu)		
212. he runs	anakimbia	--		
run	kimbia	ukwituka		
213. he pulls	anavuta kamba	--		
pull	vuta (kamba)	ukukwesa		
214. he comes	anakuja	--		
come	kuja	ukwiiza		
215. he leaves	ameondoka	--		
leave	ondoka	ukutiina		
7. he falls	anaanguka	--		
fall	anguka	ukupona		
218. he turns	anageuka	--		
turn	geuka	ukusenuka		
219. he burns (sth.)	anachoma takataka			
burn	choma	ukwaaka		

220. he burys (people) bury	anazika (mtu) zika	-- ukutwila, ukuzika		
221. he digs dig	anachimba chimba	-- Ukwimba		
222. he weeds weed	anapalilia palilia	-- --		
223. he plants plant	anapanda mbegu panda	-- ukupezya, ukupela		
223b. he harvests harvest	anavuna vuna	--		
223c. he grinds (grain with a mill- stone) grind	anasaga (k.m. mahindi) saga	u_u_kusya		
224. he hunts hunt	anawinda winda	-- ukusola		
225. he cultivates cultivate	analima lima	-- ukulima		
227. he works work	anafanya kazi fanya kazi	--		
227b. he builds build	anajenga (nyumba) jenga	ukuku_u_la		
229. he pushes push	anasukuma kitu sukuma	-- ukukanka		
230. he makes make	anatengeneza tengeneza	--		
231. she sews sew	anashona shona	-- ukusuma		
232. he throws throw	anatupa tupa	--		
233. he hits hit	anapiga piga	--		
226. he slaughters slaughter	anachinja chinja	-- ukuchemba		
234. he cuts cut	anakata mti kata	-- ukuputula		
235. he washes wash	anasafisha vyombo safisha	-- ukufula (Swa osha)		

236. he hides hide	anaficha kitu ficha	-- ukufisa		
238. he marries <i>marry</i>	anaoa <i>ea</i>	-- Ukupindula		
239. he steals steal	anaiba iba	-- ukwiiya		
240. he kills kill	anaua ua	-- ukumola		
241. he stabs stab	anachoma kwa kisu choma	--		
242. it flies (bird) fly	ndege anaruka hewani ruka	-- ukuuluka		

\*The Comparative Bantu Online Dictionary (CBOLD) is an online wordlist covering many Tanzanian languages, based on research carried out in Dar es Salaam. It can be found on the internet at [www.linguistics.berkeley.edu/CBOLD/Docs/TLS.html](http://www.linguistics.berkeley.edu/CBOLD/Docs/TLS.html)

\*\*The items in italics are semantically close to the ones before and should not be counted in the analysis if they are consistently the same as the ones before in all languages compared. They should help, however, to narrow down the correct meaning for the items in Roman type.

## Appendix B

### Wordlist Data

Wordlist data are recorded using the International Phonetic Alphabet (for the version used in this report see <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/IPA/fullchart.html>). When multiple forms were given by the participants, all were recorded. Sometimes it was not possible to elicit both plural and singular or different verb forms. In those cases only one form might be given.

#### eye

Milanzi	i'li:so, a'ma:so/ama'li:so
Miombo	i'li:so, a'ma:so
Katongolo	i'li:so, a'ma:so
Ntuchi	i'li:nso, a'ma:nso
Lwanji	i'li:nso/i'li:so, a'ma:nso/a'ma:so
Ngoma	i'li:nso, a'ma:nso
Katuka	i'li:nso, a'ma:nso
Ilembo	i'li:nso, a'ma:nso

#### ear

Milanzi	'i:kutwi, a'makutwi
Miombo	'ikutwi, a'makutwi
Katongolo	'i:kutwi, a'makutwi
Ntuchi	'i:kutwi, a'makutwi
Lwanji	'i:twi, a'matwi
Ngoma	'i:kutwi, a'makutwi
Katuka	'i:kutwi, 'amakutwi
Ilembo	'i:kutwi, a'makutwi

#### mouth

Milanzi	'undomo, i'milomo
Miombo	'un:omo/'undomo, i'milomo
Katongolo	'un:omo, i'milomo
Ntuchi	'un:omo, i'milomo
Lwanji	'un:omo, i'milomo
Ngoma	u'mulomo, i'milomo
Katuka	'umulomo, 'imilomo
Ilembo	u'mulomo, i'milomo

#### nose

Milanzi	i'cu:lu, i'fju:lu
Miombo	i'mpuna, i'mpuna
Katongolo	'impuno, 'impuno
Ntuchi	'i:mpuno, 'i:mpuno
Lwanji	i'mpuna, i'mpuna
Ngoma	'impuno, 'impuno
Katuka	'impuno, 'iza:mpuno
Ilembo	'impuno, i'za:mpuno

#### tooth

Milanzi	'i:ceko, 'ama,ceko
Miombo	i'li:no, a'mi:no
Katongolo	i'li:no, a'mi:no

	Ntuchi	i'li:~no, a'mi:~no
	Lwanji	i'li:~no, a'mi:~no
	Ngoma	i'li:~no, a'mi:~no
	Katuka	i'li:~no, a'mi:~no
	Ilembo	'i:~ceko, a'maceko
tongue		
	Milanzi	u'lulumi, 'i:~ndumi
	Miombo	u'lulumi, i'~ndimi
	Katongolo	u'lulumi, 'i~ndumi
	Ntuchi	u'lulumi, 'i~ndimi
	Lwanji	'ululimi, i'~ndimi
	Ngoma	u'lulimi, 'i:~ndimi
	Katuka	u'lulimi, 'i~ndimi
	Ilembo	u'lulimi, 'i~ndimi
head		
	Milanzi	'untwe, 'imitwe
	Miombo	'untwe, 'imitwe
	Katongolo	'untwe, i'~mitwe
	Ntuchi	'untwe, 'imitwe
	Lwanji	'untwe, 'imitwe
	Ngoma	'u:~mutwe, 'i:~mitwe
	Katuka	'umutwe, 'imitwe
	Ilembo	'um:~utwe, 'im:~itwe
hair		
	Milanzi	'i:~njele
	Miombo	ulu'njele, i'njele
	Katongolo	ulu'njele, 'i:~njele
	Ntuchi	ulu'njele, 'i~njele
	Lwanji	u'lunjele, i'nje:~le
	Ngoma	u'lunjele, 'i:~njele
	Katuka	'injele/ulu'njele, 'za:~njele
	Ilembo	u'lunjele, 'i:~njele
neck		
	Milanzi	i'~nga:~lo, i'~nga:~lo
	Miombo	i'~nga:~lo, i'~nga:~lo
	Katongolo	r'~nga:~lo, i'~nga:~lo
	Ntuchi	i'~nga:~lo, i'~nga:~lo
	Lwanji	i'~nga:~lo, i'~nga:~lo
	Ngoma	i'~nsi:~ngo, i'~za:~si:~ngo
	Katuka	i'~si:~ngo, 'za:~singo
	Katuka	'i~nga:~lo, i'~za:~nga:~lo
	Ilembo	i'~nga:~lo, i'~nga:~lo/i~za'~nga:~lo
belly		
	Milanzi	'i:~nda, 'i:~nda
	Miombo	'i:~nda, 'i:~nda
	Katongolo	'i:~nda, 'i:~nda

	Ntuchi	'i:nda, 'i:nda
	Lwanji	'ɪ:nda:, 'i:nda:
	Ngoma	'i:nda, i'ʒa:nda
	Katuka	'i:nda, i'ʒa:nda/i'mi:nda
	Ilembo	'i:nda, i'ʒa:nda
back		
	Milanzi	r'nti:ndi, i'nti:ndi
	Miombo	i'nti:ndi, i'nti:ndi
	Katongolo	r'nti:ndi, i'nti:ndi
	Ntuchi	i'nti:ndi, i'nti:ndi
	Lwanji	r'nti:ndi, i'nti:ndi
	Ngoma	i'tu:ndu, ama'tu:ndu
	Katuka	i'nsizi, i'ʒa:nsizi
	Katuka	i'tu:ndu, ama'tu:ndu
	Ilembo	'insizi, i'ʒa:nsizi
knee		
	Milanzi	i'kokola, ama'kokola
	Miombo	i'kokola, ama'kokola
	Katongolo	i'kokola, ama'kokola
	Ntuchi	i'kokola, a'makokola
	Lwanji	i'ko:kola, ama'ko:kola
	Ngoma	i'kokola, ama'kokola
	Katuka	i'kokola, ama'kokola
	Ilembo	i'kokola, ama'kokola
leg		
	Milanzi	i'ku:lu, ama'ku:lu/a'mu:lu
	Miombo	umu'kungulu, imi'kungulu
	Katongolo	i'ku:lu, a'mu:lu/ama'ku:lu
	Ntuchi	i'ku:lu, ama'ku:lu
	Lwanji	i'ku:lu, a'mu:lu/ama'ku:lu
	Ngoma	i'ku:lu, ama'ku:lu
	Katuka	i'ku:lu, ama'ku:lu
	Ilembo	i'ku:lu, ama'ku:lu
foot		
	Milanzi	ici'lja:tilo, ifi'lja:tilo
	Miombo	i'ku:lu, a'mu:lu/ama'ku:lu
	Katongolo	i'ka:ndo, ama'ka:ndo
	Ntuchi	ici'lja:tilo, ivi'lja:tilo
	Ntuchi	i'ka:ndo
	Lwanji	i'ka:ndo, ama'ka:ndo
	Ngoma	ulu'a:zo, 'ingazo
	Ngoma	ici'lja:tilo
	Katuka	i'lja:tilo/ici'lja:tilo, ama'lja:to/ivi'lja:tilo
	Ilembo	ici'lja:tilo, ama'lja:tilo/ivi'lja:tilo
arm		
	Milanzi	'i:kasa, a'makasa

	Miombo	i'kasa, a'makasa
	Katongolo	'i:kasa, a'makasa
	Ntuchi	'i:kasa, a'makasa
	Lwanji	i'kasa, a'makasa
	Ngoma	'i:kasa, a'makasa
	Katuka	'i:kasa, a'makasa
	Ilembo	'i:kasa, a'makasa
hand		
	Milanzi	'i:kufi, a'makufi
	Miombo	i'kufi, ama'kufi
	Katongolo	'i:kufi, a'makufi
	Ntuchi	'i:kufi, a'makufi
	Lwanji	ici'ganza, ama'ganza
	Ngoma	'i:kufi, a'makufi
	Katuka	'i:kufi, a'makufi
	Ilembo	'i:kufi, a'makufi
fingernail		
	Milanzi	ulu'ku:ntulo, i'ŋku:ntulo
	Miombo	u'lunɔgala, i'ŋgala
	Katongolo	u'lunɔgala, 'iŋgala
	Ntuchi	u'lunɔgala, 'i:ŋgala
	Lwanji	u'lunɔgala, i'ŋgala
	Ngoma	ulu'a:la, 'i:ŋgala
	Katuka	u'lunɔgala, i'za:ŋgala/'iŋgala
	Ilembo	u'lunɔgala, 'iŋgala
finger		
	Milanzi	'un:we, 'i:minwe
	Miombo	'un:we, 'iminwe
	Katongolo	'un:we, 'iminwe
	Ntuchi	'un:we, 'i:minwe
	Lwanji	'un:we, 'iminwe
	Ngoma	'u:munwe, 'i:minwe
	Katuka	'umunwe, 'iminwe
	Ilembo	'um:unwe, 'im:inwe
human skin		
	Milanzi	u'ŋkwe:la, i'ŋkwe:la
	Miombo	u'ŋkwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Katongolo	u'ŋkwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Ntuchi	u'ŋkwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Lwanji	u'ŋkwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Ngoma	'i:mpapa
	Katuka	umu'kwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Katuka	'iŋko:a
	Ilembo	umu'kwe:la, imi'kwe:la
animal skin		
	Milanzi	u'ŋkwe:la, imi'kwe:la



	Miombo	u'ŋkwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Katongolo	ɪ'fusi, i'fusi
	Ntuchi	u'ŋkwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Lwanji	u'ŋkwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Ngoma	umu'kwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Katuka	umu'kwe:la, imi'kwe:la
	Ilembo	umu'kwe:la, imi'kwe:la
bone		
	Milanzi	'i:fupa, 'amafupa
	Miombo	i'fupa, ama'fupa
	Katongolo	'i:fupa, a'mafupa
	Ntuchi	'i:fupa, ama'fupa
	Lwanji	i'fupa, 'amafupa
	Ngoma	'i:fupa, a'mafupa
	Katuka	'i:fupa, 'amafupa
	Ilembo	'i:fupa, 'amafupa
blood		
	Milanzi	u'wa:ʃi
	Miombo	u'wa:si
	Katongolo	u'wa:si, ama'wa:si
	Ntuchi	u'wa:zi
	Lwanji	u'wa:zi
	Ngoma	u'wa:zi
	Katuka	u'wa:zi, ama'wa:zi
	Ilembo	u'wa:zi, ama'wa:zi
heart		
	Milanzi	u'mwe:so, i'mje:so
	Miombo	u'mwe:so, i'mje:so
	Katongolo	u'mwe:so, i'mje:so
	Ntuchi	u'mwe:nzo, i'mje:nzo
	Lwanji	u'mwe:zo, i'mje:zo
	Ngoma	u'mwe:nzo, i'mje:nzo
	Katuka	u'mwe:nzo, i'mje:nzo
	Ilembo	u'mwe:nzo, imi'e:nzo
lung		
	Milanzi	'i:pofwe, a'mapofwe
	Miombo	'ipofwe, a'mapofwe
	Katongolo	'ipofwe, a'mapofwe
	Ntuchi	'i:pofwe, a'mapofwe
	Lwanji	i'pofwe, ama'pofwe
	Ngoma	'a:pofwe, a'mapofwe
	Katuka	'i:pofwe, ama'pofwe
	Ilembo	'i:pofwe, ama'pofwe
liver		
	Milanzi	'i:tima, a'matima
	Miombo	'itima, ama'tima

	Katongolo	'i:tima, a'matima
	Ntuchi	'i:tima, a'matima
	Lwanji	i'tima, ama'tima
	Ngoma	'i:tima, a'matima
	Katuka	'i:tima, 'amatima
	Ilembo	'i:tima, a'matima
horn		
	Milanzi	ulu'pe:mbe, i'mpe:mbe
	Miombo	ulu'pembe, i'mpembe
	Katongolo	i'mpe:mbe/ulu'pe:mbe, ama'pe:mbe/i'mpe:mbe
	Ntuchi	ulu'pe:mbe, i'mpe:mbe
	Lwanji	ulu'pe:mbe, i'mpe:mbe
	Ngoma	ulu'pe:mbe, i'mpe:mbe
	Katuka	ulu'pe:mbe, i'mpe:mbe
	Ilembo	ulu'pe:mbe, i'mpe:mbe
wing		
	Milanzi	i'lja:pa, a'ma:pa
	Miombo	i'lja:pa, a'ma:pa
	Katongolo	i'lja:pa, a'ma:pa
	Ntuchi	i'lja:pa, a'ma:pa
	Lwanji	i,papa'i:ko, ama,papa'i:ko
	Lwanji	i'lja:pa
	Ngoma	i'lja:pa, a'ma:pa
	Katuka	i'lja:pa, a'ma:pa
	Ilembo	i'lja:pa, a'ma:pa
feathers		
	Milanzi	i'fu:mbu, ama'fu:mbu
	Miombo	i'vumbu, ama'vumbu
	Katongolo	i'vu:mbu, ama'vu:mbu
	Ntuchi	i'vu:mbu, ama'vu:mbu
	Lwanji	i'vu:mbu, ama'vu:mbu
	Ngoma	i'vu:mbu, ama'vu:mbu
	Katuka	i'vu:mbu, ama'vu:mbu
	Ilembo	i'vu:mbu, ama'vu:mbu
tail		
	Milanzi	u'nco:le, imi'co:le
	Miombo	u'mpimbi, imi'pimbi
	Katongolo	u'mpi:mbi, imi'pi:mbi
	Ntuchi	u'mpi:mbi, imi'pi:mbi
	Lwanji	u'nʃinda/u'nsinda, imi'ʃinda/imi'sinda
	Ngoma	umu'si:nda, imi'si:nda
	Katuka	umu'si:nda, imi'si:nda
	Ilembo	umu'si:nda, imi'si:nda
egg		
	Milanzi	i'lje:sa, a'me:sa
	Miombo	'i:jɪ, a'majɪ

	Katongolo	'i:ji, ama'ja:i/a'maji
	Ntuchi	'i:ji, a'maji
	Lwanji	i'lje:nza, a'me:nza
	Ngoma	i'ja:i, ama'ja:i
	Katuka	i'ja:i, ama'ja:i
	Ilembo	i'ja:i, ama'ja:i
honey		
	Milanzi	'uβuci
	Miombo	'uβuci
	Katongolo	'u:βuci, ama'u:ci
	Ntuchi	'uβuci
	Lwanji	u'βu:ci
	Ngoma	'uβuci
	Katuka	u'βu:ci, ama'u:ci
	Ilembo	'u:βuci, ama'u:ci
milk		
	Milanzi	'i:ʃija
	Miombo	ama'zija
	Katongolo	ama'zi:a
	Ntuchi	a'mazija
	Lwanji	ama'zi:a
	Ngoma	'i:zija
	Katuka	'i:zija, a'mazija
	Ilembo	'i:zija, ama'zija
meat		
	Milanzi	'injema
	Miombo	'injama
	Katongolo	'injama
	Ntuchi	'injama
	Lwanji	ɪ'njama
	Ngoma	'injama
	Katuka	'injama, i'za:njama
	Ilembo	'injama, i'za:njama
person		
	Milanzi	'untu, 'a:ntu
	Miombo	'untu, a'ja:ntu
	Katongolo	'untu, a'ja:ntu
	Ntuchi	'untu, a'ja:ntu
	Lwanji	'u:ntu, 'a:ntu
	Ngoma	u'mu:ntu, 'a:ntu
	Katuka	u'mu:ntu, a'ja:ntu
	Ilembo	u'mu:ntu, 'a:ntu
man		
	Milanzi	u'mo:ʃi, ajo:ʃi
	Miombo	u'mo:si, a'jo:si
	Katongolo	u'mo:si, a'jo:si

	Ntuchi	u'mo:nsi, a'jo:nsi
	Lwanji	ɪ'ta:ta, a'ja:ta:ta
	Ngoma	u'mo:nsi, a'o:nsi
	Katuka	u'mo:nsi, a'jo:nsi
	Ilembo	u'mo:nsi, a'o:nsi
husband		
	Milanzi	u'mo:ʃi, ajo:ʃi
	Miombo	u'mo:si, a'jo:si
	Katongolo	u'mo:si, a'jo:si
	Ntuchi	u'mo:nsi, a'jo:nsi
	Lwanji	ɪ'ta:ta, a'ja:ta:ta
	Ngoma	u'mo:nsi, a'o:nsi
	Katuka	u'mo:nsi, a'jo:nsi
	Ilembo	u'mo:nsi, a'o:nsi
woman		
	Milanzi	u'mwa:naci, 'a:naci
	Miombo	u'mwa:naci, a'ja:naci
	Katongolo	u'mwa:naci, a'ja:naci
	Ntuchi	u'mwa:naci/u'mwa:naki, a'ja:naci/a'ja:naki
	Lwanji	ɪ'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ama
	Ngoma	a'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
	Katuka	u'mwa:naci, a'ja:naci/'a:naci
	Ilembo	u'mwa:naci, 'a:naci
wife		
	Milanzi	u'mwa:naci, 'a:naci
	Miombo	u'mwa:naci, a'ja:naci
	Katongolo	u'mwa:naci, a'ja:naci
	Ntuchi	u'mwa:naci/u'mwa:naki, a'ja:naci/a'ja:naki
	Lwanji	ɪ'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ama
	Ngoma	a'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
	Katuka	u'mwa:naci, a'ja:naci/'a:naci
	Ilembo	u'mwa:naci, 'a:naci
father		
	Milanzi	ɪ'ta:ta, a'ja:ta:ta
	Miombo	ɪ'ba:ba, a'ja:ba:ba
	Katongolo	ɪ'ba:ba, a'ja:ba:ba
	Ntuchi	ɪ'ba:ba, a'ja:baba
	Lwanji	ɪ'ba:ba, a'ja:ba:ba
	Ngoma	a'ta:ta, a'ja:ta:ta
	Katuka	a'ba:ba, a'ja:ba:ba
	Ilembo	a'ta:ta, a'ta:ta
	Ilembo	a'ba:ba, a'ja:ba:ba
mother		
	Milanzi	ɪ'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
	Miombo	ɪ'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
	Katongolo	ɪ'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma

	Ntuchi	i'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
	Lwanji	ɪ'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ama
	Ngoma	a'ma:ma, a'ja:mama
	Ngoma	a'ma:jo, a'ja:majo
	Katuka	a'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
	Ilembo	a'ma:ma, a'ja:ma:ma
brother		
	Milanzi	i'tata,le:ʃi, a'ja:tata,le:ʃi
	Miombo	i'ka:ka, a'ja:ka:ka
	Miombo	,uŋkulu'a:ne, ,ajakulu'ja:ne
	Katongolo	i'ka:ka, a'ja:ka:ka
	Ntuchi	i'ka:ka, a'ja:ka:ka
	Ntuchi	so'le:nzi
	Lwanji	ɪ'ka:ka, a'ja:ka:ka
	Lwanji	uŋkuru'wa:ne, akuru'ja:ne
	Ngoma	a'ta:talenzi, a'ja:tatalenzi
	Katuka	a'ka:ka, a'ja:ka:ka
	Katuka	'ta:ta,le:nzi
	Ilembo	a'ka:ka, a'ja:ka:ka
mother's brother		
	Milanzi	e'ma:lume, aja:'ma:lume
	Miombo	ɪ'njo:mba, aja'njo:mba
	Katongolo	ɪ'njo:mba, a'ja:mjo:mba
	Ntuchi	i'njo:mba, aja'njo:mba
	Lwanji	ɪ'njo:mba, a'ja:'njo:mba
	Ngoma	amu'jo:mba, a'ja:mu,jo:mba
	Katuka	amu'jo:mba, a'ja:mu,jo:mba
	Katuka	a'njokolume
	Ilembo	amu'jo:mba, a'ja:mjo:mba
child		
	Milanzi	u'mwa:na, 'a:na
	Miombo	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Katongolo	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Ntuchi	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Lwanji	u'mwa:ncɪ, a'ja:ncɪ
	Ngoma	u'mwa:na, 'a:na
	Katuka	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na/'a:na
	Ilembo	'mwa:na, 'a:na/a'ja:na
son		
	Milanzi	u'mwa:na, 'a:na
	Miombo	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Katongolo	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Ntuchi	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Lwanji	u'mwa:ncɪ, a'ja:ncɪ
	Ngoma	u'mwa:na, 'a:na
	Katuka	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na/'a:na

	Ilembo	'mwa:na, 'a:na/a'ja:na
daughter		
	Milanzi	u'mwa:na, 'a:na
	Miombo	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Katongolo	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Ntuchi	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na
	Lwanji	u'mwa:ncɪ, a'ja:ncɪ
	Ngoma	u'mwa:na, 'a:na
	Katuka	u'mwa:na, a'ja:na/'a:na
	Ilembo	'mwa:na, 'a:na/a'ja:na
chief		
	Milanzi	u'mwe:ne, a'je:ne
	Miombo	u'mwe:ne, a'je:ne
	Katongolo	u'mwe:ne, a'je:ne
	Ntuchi	u'mwe:ne, a'je:ne
	Lwanji	u'mwe:ne, a'je:ne
	Ngoma	u'mwe:ne, a'je:ne
	Katuka	u'mwe:ne, a'je:ne
	Ilembo	u'mwe:ne 'kandawa, a'je:ne 'kandawa
God		
	Milanzi	i'nde:sa
	Miombo	ɪ'mu:ŋgu
	Katongolo	i'mu:ŋgu, a'ja:mu:ŋgu
	Ntuchi	i'mu:ŋgu
	Lwanji	i'mu:ŋgu
	Ngoma	a'le:za, a'ja:le:za
	Katuka	a'mu:ŋgu, a'ja:mu:ŋgu
	Ilembo	a'mu:ŋgu
sickness		
	Milanzi	u'lwa:le, ama'lwa:le
	Miombo	u'lwa:le, ama'lwa:le
	Katongolo	u'lwa:le, a'lwa:le/ama'lwa:le
	Ntuchi	i'ndwa:la/ulu'a:le, ama'lwa:la
	Lwanji	u'lwi:le, ama'lwi:le
	Ngoma	u'lwa:le, ama'lwa:le
	Katuka	u'lwa:le, ama'lwa:le
	Ilembo	u'lwa:le, ama'lwa:le
body		
	Milanzi	u'mwi:li, i'mjɪ:li
	Miombo	u'mwi:li, i'mjɪ:li
	Katongolo	u'mwi:li, i'mi:li/i'mji:li
	Ntuchi	u'mwi:li, i'mjɪ:li
	Lwanji	u'mwi:li, i'mjɪ:li
	Ngoma	u'mwi:li, i'mi:li
	Katuka	u'mwi:li, i'mi:li
	Ilembo	u'mwi:li, i'mi:li

name		
	Milanzi	i'ʃi:na, ama'ʃi:na
	Miombo	i'si:na, ama'si:na
	Katongolo	i'zi:na/i'si:na, ama'zi:na/ama'si:na
	Ntuchi	i'zi:na, ama'zi:na
	Lwanji	i'zi:na, ama'zi:na
	Ngoma	i'zi:na, ama'zi:na
	Katuka	i'zi:na, ama'zi:na
	Ilembo	i'zi:na, ama'zi:na
animal		
	Milanzi	i'cikala, i'fikala
	Miombo	r'cikala, i'vikala
	Katongolo	r'cikala, i'fikala
	Ntuchi	i'cikala, i'vikala
	Lwanji	r'cinjama, i'vinjama
	Ngoma	'injama, 'injama
	Katuka	i'cikala, i'vikala
	Ilembo	'injama, r'za:njama
dog		
	Milanzi	i'ʃi:mbwa, a'ja:ʃi:mbwa
	Miombo	'i:mɓwa, 'i:mɓwa
	Katongolo	'i:mɓwa, 'i:mɓwa
	Ntuchi	r'si:mbwa, a'ja:si:mbwa
	Lwanji	'i:mɓwa, 'i:mɓwa
	Ngoma	a'si:mbwa, a'ja:si:mbwa
	Katuka	a'si:mbwa, a'ja:si:mbwa
	Ilembo	a'si:mbwa, a'ja:si:mbwa
elephant		
	Milanzi	'i:ntilja, 'i:ntilja
	Miombo	'i:ntilja, 'i:ntilja
	Katongolo	'i:ntilja, 'i:ntilja
	Ntuchi	'i:ntilja, 'i:ntilja
	Lwanji	r'ntilja, i'ntilja
	Ngoma	'inzovu, i'za:nzovu/'inzovu
	Katuka	'inzovu, i'za:nzovu
	Ilembo	'inzovu, r'zanzovu
goat		
	Milanzi	'imbuʃi, 'imbuʃi
	Milanzi	ka'pwa:ta
	Miombo	'imbusi, 'imbusi
	Katongolo	'imbusi/'imbuzi, 'imbusi/'imbuzi
	Ntuchi	'imbuzi, 'imbuzi
	Lwanji	'imbuzi, 'imbuzi
	Ngoma	'imbuzi, i'za:mbuzi
	Katuka	'imbuzi, i'za:mbuzi
	Ilembo	'imbuzi, i'za:mbuzi

## cow

Milanzi	i'njo:lwa, i'njo:lwa
Miombo	ɾ'ŋo:mbe, i'ŋo:mbe
Katongolo	i'ŋo:mbe, i'ŋo:mbe
Ntuchi	i'ŋo:mbe, i'ŋo:mbe
Lwanji	i'ŋo:mbe, i'ŋo:mbe
Ngoma	i'ŋo:mbe, i'za:ŋombe/i'ŋo:mbe
Katuka	i'ŋo:mbe, i'za:ŋo:mbe
Ilembo	ɾ'ŋo:mbe, ɾ'za:ŋo:mbe

## bull

Milanzi	i'ntwa:ʃi, i'ntwa:ʃi
Miombo	ɾ'ntwa:zi, i'ntwa:zi
Katongolo	i'ntwa:si, i'ntwa:si
Ntuchi	i'ntwa:zi, i'ntwa:zi
Lwanji	i'ntwa:zi, i'ntwa:zi
Ngoma	i'ntwa:zi, i'ntwa:zi
Katuka	i'ntwa:zi, i'za:ntwa:zi
Ilembo	i'ntwa:zi, i'za:,ntwa:zi

## chicken

Milanzi	'ɾ:ŋkoko, 'i:ŋkoko
Miombo	'ɾŋkoko, i:ŋkoko
Katongolo	'iŋkoko, 'iŋkoko
Ntuchi	'iŋkoko, 'iŋkoko
Lwanji	'ɾŋkoko, 'iŋkoko
Ngoma	'iŋkoko, 'iŋkoko
Katuka	'iŋkoko, i'za:ŋkoko
Ilembo	ɾ'ŋkoko, ɾ'za:ŋkoko

## cock

Milanzi	'iŋkolwe, a'jaŋkolwe
Miombo	'ɾŋkolwe, a'jaŋkolwe
Katongolo	'iŋkolwe, 'iŋkolwe/a'jaŋkolwe
Ntuchi	'iŋkolwe, a'jaŋkolwe
Lwanji	'ɾŋkolwe, a'ja:nkolwe/'iŋkolwe
Ngoma	amu'kolwe, a'ja:mukolwe
Katuka	a'mukolwe, a'ja:mukolwe
Ilembo	amu'kolwe, a'ja:mukolwe

## bird

Milanzi	ɾ'cu:ni, i'fju:ni
Miombo	ɾ'cu:ni, i'fju:ni
Katongolo	i'cu:ni, i'fju:ni
Ntuchi	a'ku:ni, u'tu:ni
Lwanji	ɾ'cu:ni, i'vju:ni
Ngoma	i'cu:ni, i'vju:ni
Katuka	i'cu:ni, i'vju:ni
Ilembo	i'cu:ni, i'vju:ni

## snake



	Milanzi	'ɪ:soka, 'i:soka
	Miombo	ɪ'soka, i'soka
	Katongolo	i'nsoka/'isoka, i'nsoka/'isoka
	Ntuchi	'inzoka, 'inzoka
	Lwanji	ɪ'nzoka, ɪ'nzoka
	Ngoma	'inzoka, i'ʒa:nzoka/'inzoka
	Katuka	'inzoka, i'ʒa:nzoka
	Ilembo	'inzoka, i'ʒa:nzoka
fish		
	Milanzi	'uluswi, 'i:swi
	Miombo	'ɪ:swi, 'i:swi
	Katongolo	'ɪnswi/'i:swi, 'i:swi
	Ntuchi	'uluswi, 'i:nswi
	Lwanji	'i:nswi, i:nswi
	Ngoma	'uluswi, 'i:nswi
	Katuka	'uluswi, i'ʒa:nswi/'ɪnswi
	Ilembo	'uluswi, i'ʒa:nswi
bee		
	Milanzi	'ulu,ʃimu, 'i:ʃimu
	Miombo	ulu'zimu, i'zimu
	Katongolo	'ulusimu/'uluzimu, 'ɪnsimu/'ɪnzimu
	Ntuchi	'uluzimu, 'ɪnzimu
	Lwanji	'uluzimu, ɪ'nzimu
	Ngoma	'uluzimo, 'ɪnzimo
	Katuka	'uluzimu, i'ʒa:nzimu/'ɪnzimu
	Ilembo	ulu'zimu, 'ɪnzimu
head louse		
	Milanzi	'ɪ:nda:, 'i:nda:
	Miombo	'ɪ:nda:, 'i:nda:
	Katongolo	'i:nda, 'i:nda
	Ntuchi	'i:nda:, 'i:nda:
	Lwanji	'i:nda, 'i:nda
	Ngoma	'i:nda, i'ʒa:nda/'i:nda
	Katuka	'î:nda, i'ʒa:nda
	Ilembo	'î:nda, i'ʒa:nda
tree		
	Milanzi	'ɪ:citi, 'i:fiti
	Miombo	ɪ'citi, i'fiti
	Katongolo	'i:citi, 'i:viti
	Ntuchi	'unti, 'imiti
	Ntuchi	'iciti
	Lwanji	ɪ'citi, ɪ'viti
	Ngoma	'umuti, 'imiti
	Katuka	'um:uti, 'im:iti
	Ilembo	'um:uti, 'im:iti
bark		

	Milanzi	r'cu:la, i'fju:la
	Miombo	r'cu:la, i'fju:la
	Katongolo	i'cu:la, i'vju:la
	Ntuchi	i'cu:la, i'vju:la
	Lwanji	r'cu:la, i'vju:la
	Ngoma	ici'pa:nde, ivi'pa:nde
	Ngoma	i'cu:la
	Katuka	i'cu:la, i'vju:la
	Katuka	ici'pa:nde
	Ilembo	i'cu:la, i'vju:la
	Ilembo	ici'pa:nde
leaf		
	Milanzi	'i:fwa, 'amafwa
	Miombo	'i:fwa, a'mafwa
	Katongolo	'i:fwa, 'amafwa
	Ntuchi	'i:fwa, a'mafwa
	Lwanji	'i:fwa, a'mafwa
	Ngoma	'i:fwa, 'amafwa
	Katuka	'i:fwa, 'a:mafwa
	Ilembo	'i:fwa, 'a:mafwa
shade		
	Milanzi	i'cisau, i'fisau
	Miombo	ici'sau, i'fisau
	Katongolo	iki'sa:u/ici'sa:u, ivi'sa:u
	Ntuchi	ici'sau, ivi'sau
	Lwanji	i'zuka
	Ngoma	ici'sa:u, ivi'sa:u
	Katuka	ici'sa:u, ivi'sa:u
	Ilembo	ici'sa:o, ivi'sa:o
stick		
	Milanzi	'intua, 'i:ntua
	Miombo	r'intua, 'i:ntua
	Katongolo	i'ntu:a, i'ntu:a
	Ntuchi	'i:ntua, 'i:ntua
	Lwanji	r'ntu:a, i'ntu:a
	Ngoma	'i:ntua, i'za:ntua
	Katuka	'i:ntua, i'za:ntua
	Ilembo	'i:ntua, i'za:ntua
root		
	Milanzi	'unʃiʃi, i'miʃiʃi
	Miombo	'unsisi, i'misisi
	Katongolo	'unsisi, 'imisisi
	Ntuchi	'unsisi, 'imisisi
	Lwanji	'unsisi, imi'sisi
	Ngoma	umu'sisi, imi'sisi
	Katuka	'umu,sisi, imi'sisi

seed	Ilembo	umu'sisi, imi'sisi
	Milanzi	'imbesu, 'imbesu
	Miombo	'imbesu, 'imbesu
	Katongolo	'imbesu, 'imbesu
	Ntuchi	'imbezu, 'imbezu
	Lwanji	i'mbezu, i'mbezu
	Ngoma	'imbezu, 'imbezu
	Katuka	'imbezu, i'za:mbezu
	Ilembo	'imbezu, i'za:mbezu
grass	Milanzi	'i:sote, 'amasote
	Miombo	i'sote, ama'sote
	Katongolo	'i:sote, 'amasote
	Ntuchi	'i:sote, a'masote
	Lwanji	i'sote, 'amasote
	Ngoma	'i:sote, a'masote
	Katuka	'i:sote, a'masote
	Ilembo	'i:sote, a'masote
flower	Milanzi	'ɪŋgala, 'ɪŋgala
	Miombo	i'u:a, ama'u:a
	Katongolo	u'lu:a/i'lu:a/i'u:a, ama'lu:a/ama'u:a
	Ntuchi	i'u:a, ama'u:a
	Lwanji	i'u:a, ama'u:a
	Ngoma	'i:lua, ama'lu:a
	Katuka	'i:lua, ama'lu:a
	Ilembo	i'u:a, ama'u:a
thorn	Milanzi	u'mo:ŋga, i'mjo:ŋga
	Miombo	u'mo:ŋga, i'mjo:ŋga
	Katongolo	u'mo:ŋga, i'mjo:ŋga
	Ntuchi	u'mo:ŋga, i'mjo:ŋga
	Lwanji	u'mo:ŋga, i'mjo:ŋga
	Ngoma	u'mu:ŋga, i'mju:ŋga
	Katuka	u'mo:ŋga, i'mjo:ŋga
	Ilembo	u'mo:ŋga, i'mjo:ŋga
field	Milanzi	ɪ'ca:lo, i'fja:lo
	Miombo	ɪ'ca:lo, i'vja:lo
	Katongolo	i'ca:lo, i'vja:lo/i'fja:lo
	Ntuchi	i'ca:lo, i'vja:lo
	Lwanji	ɪ'ca:lo, i'vja:lo
	Ngoma	i'ca:lo, i'vja:lo
	Katuka	i'ca:lo, i'vja:lo
	Ilembo	i'ca:lo, i'vja:lo

house		
	Milanzi	r'ɲa:nda, ama'ɲa:nda
	Miombo	r'ɲa:nda, i'ɲa:nda/ama'ɲa:nda
	Katongolo	i'ɲa:nda, ama'ɲa:nda
	Ntuchi	i'ɲa:nda, ama'ɲa:nda
	Lwanji	i'ɲa:nda, i'ɲa:nda
	Ngoma	i'ɲa:nda, ama'ɲa:nda
	Katuka	i'ɲa:nda, ama'ɲa:nda
	Ilembo	i'ɲa:nda, ama'ɲa:nda
village		
	Milanzi	'unsi, 'i:misi
	Miombo	'unsi, 'imisi
	Katongolo	'unsi, 'imisi
	Ntuchi	'unzi, 'imizi
	Lwanji	'unzi, 'imizi
	Ngoma	'umu:zi, 'imizi
	Katuka	'um:uzi, 'im:izi
	Ilembo	'um:uzi, 'im:izi
path		
	Milanzi	'r:sila, 'i:sila
	Miombo	r'sila, i'sila
	Katongolo	'i:sila, 'i:sila
	Ntuchi	'inzila, 'inzila
	Lwanji	i'nzila, i'nzila
	Ngoma	'i:nzila, i'ʒa:nzila
	Katuka	'inzila, i'ʒa:nzila
	Ilembo	'inzila, i'ʒa:nzila
thing		
	Milanzi	r'ci:ntu, i'fi:ntu
	Miombo	r'ki:ntu/r'ci:ntu, i'fi:ntu
	Katongolo	r'ci:ntu, i'fi:ntu
	Ntuchi	i'ci:ntu/i'ki:ntu, i'vi:ntu
	Lwanji	r'ci:ntu, i'vi:ntu
	Ngoma	i'ci:ntu, i'vi:ntu
	Katuka	i'ci:ntu, i'vi:ntu
	Ilembo	i'ci:ntu, i'vi:ntu
rope		
	Milanzi	r'co:se, i'fjo:se
	Miombo	u'lo:se, i'fjo:se/i'ngo:se
	Katongolo	u'co:se/u'lo:se, i'fjo:se/'ingose
	Ntuchi	i'co:ze, i'vjo:ze
	Lwanji	u'lo:ze, i'ngo:ze
	Ngoma	u'mwa:ndo, imi'a:ndo
	Katuka	i'co:ze, i'vjo:ze
	Ilembo	i'co:ze, i'vjo:ze
thread		

	Milanzi	'i:suni, a'masuni
	Miombo	'uβuzi, i'nju:zi/'uβu:zi
	Katongolo	i'suni, 'amasuni
	Ntuchi	'i:suni, 'amasuni
	Lwanji	ulu'nju:zi, i'nju:zi
	Ngoma	i'nju:nzi, i'nju:nzi
	Katuka	'i:suni, ama'suni
	Ilembo	i'nju:zi/u'βu:zi, ama'u:zi/i'vju:zi
chair		
	Milanzi	u'mpa:ndo, imi'pa:ndo
	Miombo	u'mpa:ndo, imi'pa:ndo
	Katongolo	u'mpa:ndo, imi'pa:ndo
	Ntuchi	u'mpa:ndo, imi'pa:ndo
	Lwanji	u'mpa:ndo, imi'pa:ndo
	Ngoma	umu'pa:ndo, imi'pa:ndo
	Katuka	umu'pa:ndo, imi'pa:ndo
	Ilembo	umu'pa:ndo, imi'pa:ndo
salt		
	Milanzi	u'nʃilja
	Miombo	'unʃilja/'unsilja, imi'ʃilja
	Katongolo	'unsilja, i'misilja
	Ntuchi	'unsilja
	Lwanji	'unsilja, 'imisilja
	Ngoma	umu'silja, imi'silja
	Katuka	umu'silja, imi'silja
	Ilembo	umu'silja, imi'silja
finger millet		
	Milanzi	'uŋkoʃi
	Miombo	ama'leʃi
	Katongolo	'amalesi
	Ntuchi	a'malezi
	Lwanji	i'le:zi, ama'le:zi
	Ngoma	ama'le:zi
	Katuka	ama'le:zi
	Ilembo	ama'lezi
hunger		
	Milanzi	'ɪ:sala
	Miombo	'ɪ:sala
	Katongolo	'ɪsala/'ɪnsala
	Ntuchi	'inzala
	Lwanji	ɪ'nzala
	Ngoma	'inzala, i'ʒa:nzala
	Katuka	'inzala
	Ilembo	'inzala, i'ʒanzala
thirst		
	Milanzi	u'nsala

	Miombo	'unsala
	Katongolo	'ulusala/'unsala
	Ntuchi	'ulusala
	Lwanji	'unsala
	Ngoma	'ulusala
	Katuka	'ulusala
	Ilembo	'ulusala
utensil		
	Milanzi	'ɪ:cɪfja, 'i:fɪfja
	Miombo	i'co:mbo, i'fjo:mbo
	Katongolo	i'co:mbo, i'fjo:mbo
	Ntuchi	'i:cɪvja, 'i:vɪvja
	Lwanji	ɪ'co:mbo, i'vjo:mbo
	Lwanji	i'cɪvja, 'ɪvɪvja
	Ngoma	ɪci'vi:a, ɪvi'vi:a
	Katuka	i'co:mbo, i'vjo:mbo
	Ilembo	i'cɪvja, 'ɪvɪvja
cooking pot		
	Milanzi	i'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
	Miombo	ɪ'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
	Katongolo	i'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
	Ntuchi	i'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
	Lwanji	i'nte:ndo, i'nte:ndo
	Ngoma	i'nte:ndo, i'za:nte:ndo
	Katuka	i'nte:ndo, i'za:nte:ndo
	Ilembo	i'nte:ndo, i'za:nte:ndo
burden		
	Milanzi	ɪci'se:ndo, ɪfi'se:ndo
	Miombo	'unzigo, ɪmi'zigo
	Katongolo	'unzigo, 'ɪmizigo
	Katongolo	ɪci'se:ndo, ɪfi'se:ndo
	Ntuchi	'unzigo, 'ɪmizigo
	Lwanji	'unzigo, 'ɪmizigo
	Ngoma	ɪci'se:ndo, ɪvi'se:ndo
	Katuka	umu'zigo, ɪmi'zigo
	Ilembo	ɪci'se:ndo, ɪvi'se:ndo
iron		
	Milanzi	i'ce:la, i'fje:la
	Miombo	i'ce:la, i'fje:la
	Katongolo	i'ce:la, i'fje:la
	Ntuchi	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
	Lwanji	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
	Ngoma	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
	Katuka	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
	Ilembo	i'ce:la, i'vje:la
hoe		

	Milanzi	'iŋkolo, a'jaŋkolo
	Miombo	'i:se, a'mase
	Katongolo	'iŋkolo, a'jaŋkolo
	Ntuchi	'iŋkolo, a'jaŋkolo
	Ntuchi	'i:se
	Lwanji	'i:se, a'mase
	Ngoma	'amukolo, a'ja:mukolo
	Katuka	'amukolo, a'ja:mukolo
	Katuka	'i:se
	Ilembo	amu'kolo, a'ja:mukolo
	Ilembo	'i:se
knife		
	Milanzi	'ɪ:ciʃu, 'i:fiʃu
	Miombo	ɪ'ciʃu, i'fiʃu
	Katongolo	ɪ'ciʃu, i'fiʃu
	Ntuchi	'iciʃu, 'iviʃu
	Lwanji	ɪ'ciʃu, i'viʃu
	Ngoma	umu'pe:ni, imi'pe:ni
	Katuka	'i:ciʃu, 'i:viʃu
	Ilembo	'i:ciʃu, 'i:viʃu
big knife		
	Milanzi	i'mpa:ŋga, i'mpa:ŋga
	Miombo	ɪ'mpaŋga, i'mpaŋga
	Katongolo	'u:pa:ŋga, i'mpa:ŋga
	Ntuchi	u'pa:ŋga, i'mpa:ŋga
	Lwanji	ɪ'mpa:ŋga, i'mpa:ŋga
	Ngoma	'u:pa:ŋga, i'mpa:ŋga/ama'pa:ŋga
	Katuka	ulu'pa:ŋga, i'za:,npa:ŋga
	Ilembo	i'mpa:ŋga, i'za:npa:ŋga
dull		
	Milanzi	'ca:tina
	Miombo	'ca:tina/'ca:ti,lipa
	Katongolo	'ca:tina
	Ntuchi	'ca:tina
	Lwanji	'ca:tilipa
	Ngoma	i'citune, i'vitune
	Katuka	'ca:tuna
	Ilembo	i'citune/'ca:tuna
sharp		
	Milanzi	'ca:kalipa
	Miombo	'ca:ka,lipa
	Katongolo	'ca:kalipa
	Ntuchi	'ca:kalipa
	Lwanji	'ca:kalipa/'cikali
	Ngoma	i'cikalipe, i'vikalipe
	Katuka	'ca:kalipa

	Ilembo	i'cikalipe/'ca:kalipa
axe	Milanzi	'i:mpasa, 'i:mpasa
	Miombo	i'mpasa, i'mpasa
	Katongolo	impasa, 'impasa
	Ntuchi	'impasa, 'impasa
	Lwanji	'impasa, 'impasa
	Ngoma	'impasa, i'za:mpasa
	Katuka	'i:mpasa, i'za:mpasa
	Ilembo	'impasa, i'za:mpasa
spear	Milanzi	'i:sumo, a'masumo
	Miombo	i'sumo, a'masumo
	Katongolo	'i:sumo, 'amasumo
	Ntuchi	'i:sumo, a'masumo
	Lwanji	u'n:u:nda, imi'lu:nda
	Ngoma	'i:sumo, a'masumo
	Katuka	'i:sumo, a'masumo
	Ilembo	'i:sumo, a'masumo
arrow	Milanzi	u'luceto, 'inceto
	Miombo	ulu'ceto, 'inceto
	Katongolo	'uluceto, 'inceto
	Ntuchi	ulu'ce:to, 'inceto
	Lwanji	ulu'ceto, i'nceto
	Ngoma	ulu'ce:to, 'inceto
	Katuka	'uluceto, i'za:nceto
	Ilembo	ulu'ceto, 'inceto/i'za:nceto
hole	Milanzi	ici'li:na, ifi'li:na
	Miombo	i'li:na, ifi'li:na/ama'li:na
	Katongolo	i'li:na, ama'li:na
	Ntuchi	i'li:na/ici'li:na, ama'li:na/ivi'li:na
	Lwanji	ici'li:na/i'li:na, ivi'li:na/ama'li:na
	Ngoma	ici'wi:na, ivi'wi:na
	Katuka	ici'li:na/i'li:na, ivi'li:na
	Ilembo	ici'li:na, ivi'li:na
	Ilembo	i'li:na
enemy	Milanzi	u'nji:fu, 'a:ji:fu
	Miombo	'ja:,ta:li
	Katongolo	i'a:dui, a'ma:dui
	Ntuchi	i'a:dui, a'ma:dui
	Lwanji	i'a:dui, i'a:dui
	Ngoma	umulu'a:ni, a:lu'a:ni
	Katuka	u'mwi:pe, aja'ji:pe



war	Ilembo	i'ja:ta:li, a'ma:ta:li/amaja'ta:li
	Milanzi	'i:fita
	Miombo	i'fita, i'fita
	Katongolo	i'vita, i'vita
	Ntuchi	'i:vita, 'i:vita
	Lwanji	i'vita, i'vita
	Ngoma	i'ko:ndo, i'vja:ko:ndo
	Katuka	'i:vita
fire	Ilembo	'ivita
	Milanzi	u'nswa:kano, imi'swa:kano
	Miombo	u'mo:to, i'mjo:to
	Katongolo	u'mo:to, i'mjo:to
	Ntuchi	u'mo:to, i'mjo:to
	Lwanji	u'mo:to, i'mjo:to
	Ngoma	u'mo:to, i'mjo:to
	Katuka	u'mo:to, i'mjo:to
firewood	Ilembo	u'mo:to, i'mjo:to
	Milanzi	'u:lukwi, 'i:ɲkwi
	Miombo	u'lukwi, 'i:ɲkwi
	Katongolo	'i:ɲkwi, 'ifikwi
	Ntuchi	'ulukwi, 'i:ɲkwi
	Lwanji	u'lukwi, 'i:ɲkwi
	Ngoma	'ulukwi, 'i:ɲkwi
	Katuka	'ulukwi, 'i:ɲkwi/i'za:ɲkwi
smoke	Ilembo	'i:ɲkwi/'ulukwi, 'i:ɲkwi/i'za:ɲkwi
	Milanzi	i'lju:ʃi
	Miombo	i'lu:si/i'lju:si
	Katongolo	i'lju:si
	Ntuchi	i'lju:si/ilju:nsi
	Lwanji	i'lju:si
	Ngoma	i'cu:nsi, i'vju:nsi
	Katuka	i'lju:nsi, i'vju:nsi/ima'lju:nsi
ash	Ilembo	i'cu:nsi, i'vju:nsi
	Milanzi	'i:twi
	Miombo	'i:twi
	Katongolo	'i:twi
	Ntuchi	'i:twi
	Lwanji	i'tunde
	Ngoma	'i:twi
	Katuka	i'to:i, ama'to:i
	Ilembo	'i:twi, a'malitwi

night		
	Milanzi	'u:ʃiku, 'u:ʃiku
	Miombo	'u:siku
	Katongolo	'u:siku, a'mausiku/'u:siku
	Ntuchi	'u:siku, 'u:siku
	Lwanji	'u:siku, 'u:siku
	Ngoma	'u:siku, 'u:siku
	Katuka	'u:siku, a'mausiku
	Ilembo	'u:siku, a'mausiku
darkness		
	Milanzi	ɪ'ca:nda
	Miombo	i'ca:nda
	Katongolo	ɪ'gi:za
	Katongolo	i'ca:nda
	Ntuchi	i'ca:nda, i'ca:nda
	Lwanji	ɪ'ca:nda
	Ngoma	i'mfi:nzi, i'za:mfinzi
	Katuka	i'ca:nda, i'vja:nda
	Ilembo	i'ca:nda, i'vja:nda
moon		
	Milanzi	u'mwe:ʃi, i'mje:ʃi
	Miombo	u'mwe:zi
	Katongolo	u'mwe:zi
	Ntuchi	u'mwe:zi, i'mje:zi
	Lwanji	u'mwe:zi
	Ngoma	u'mwe:zi, i'mje:zi
	Katuka	u'mwe:zi, i'mje:zi
	Ilembo	u'mwe:zi, u'mwe:zi
month		
	Milanzi	u'mwe:ʃi, i'mje:ʃi
	Miombo	u'mwe:zi
	Katongolo	u'mwe:zi
	Ntuchi	u'mwe:zi, i'mje:zi
	Lwanji	u'mwe:zi
	Ngoma	u'mwe:zi, i'mje:zi
	Katuka	u'mwe:zi, i'mje:zi
	Ilembo	u'mwe:zi, u'mwe:zi
star		
	Milanzi	ulu'ta:nda, i'nta:nda
	Miombo	ulu'ta:nda, i'nta:nda
	Katongolo	ulu'ta:nda, i'nta:nda
	Ntuchi	ulu'ta:nda, i'nta:nda
	Lwanji	ulu'tongwa, i'ntongwa
	Ngoma	i'nta:nda/ulu'ta:nda, i'nta:nda/i'za:nta:nda
	Katuka	ulu'ta:nda, i'nta:nda
	Ilembo	ulu'ta:nda, i'nta:nda

sun	Milanzi	i'la:ʃi
	Miombo	i'la:si
	Katongolo	i'la:si
	Ntuchi	i'la:nzi
	Lwanji	i'lanzi
	Ngoma	i'la:nzi
	Katuka	i'lanzi
	Ilembo	i'lanzi
daytime	Milanzi	u'nsanja
	Miombo	u'nsenja
	Katongolo	'unsanja
	Ntuchi	'unsenja
	Lwanji	'unsenja/'unsanja
	Ngoma	umu'sanja, imi'sanja
	Katuka	umu'sanja, imi'sanja
	Ilembo	umu'sanja
today	Milanzi	i'le:lo
	Miombo	i'le:lo
	Katongolo	i'le:lo
	Ntuchi	i'le:lo
	Lwanji	i'le:lo
	Ngoma	i'le:lo
	Katuka	i'le:lo
	Ilembo	i'le:lo
yesterday	Milanzi	'i:julu
	Miombo	'i:julu
	Katongolo	'i:julu
	Ntuchi	'i:julu
	Lwanji	i'ju:lu
	Ngoma	amu'to:ndo [wazi'zile]
	Katuka	mu'to:ndo
	Ilembo	amu'to:ndo
tomorrow	Milanzi	'i:julu
	Miombo	'i:julu
	Katongolo	'i:julu
	Ntuchi	'i:julu
	Lwanji	i'ju:lu
	Ngoma	amu'to:ndo ['u:kwi:za]
	Katuka	mu'to:ndo
	Ilembo	amu'to:ndo
sky		

	Milanzi	u'mwi:ulu
	Miombo	u'mwi:ulu
	Katongolo	u'mwi:ulu
	Ntuchi	u'mwi:ulu
	Lwanji	u'mwi:ulu
	Ngoma	'i:ju:lu, ama'ju:lu
	Katuka	'i:ju:lu
	Ilembo	'mwi:ulu/i'ju:lu
cloud		
	Milanzi	i'pu:fi, ama'pu:fi
	Miombo	ama'pu:fi
	Katongolo	ama'pu:fi
	Ntuchi	i'pu:fi, ama'pu:fi
	Lwanji	i'lu:nde, ama'lu:nde
	Ngoma	ama'ku:mbi
	Katuka	i'pu:fi, ama'pu:fi
	Ilembo	i'pu:fi, ama'pu:fi
wind [noun]		
	Milanzi	'unsa
	Miombo	'unsa
	Katongolo	'unsa
	Ntuchi	'unsa
	Lwanji	'unza
	Ngoma	'umuza
	Katuka	'um:uza
	Ilembo	'um:uza
rain		
	Milanzi	i'se:mba
	Miombo	i'se:mba
	Katongolo	i'se:mba
	Ntuchi	i'se:mba
	Lwanji	i'nse:mba
	Ngoma	'invula
	Katuka	'invula, i'za:nvula
	Katuka	i'nse:mba
	Ilembo	i'se:mba/i'nse:mba
water		
	Milanzi	a'ma:si
	Miombo	a'ma:si
	Katongolo	a'ma:si
	Ntuchi	a'manzi
	Lwanji	a'manzi
	Ngoma	a'ma:nzi
	Katuka	a'manzi
	Ilembo	a'manzi
river		

	Milanzi	u'lu:si, 'iŋgusi
	Miombo	u'lu:si, i'ŋgusi
	Katongolo	u'lu:si, 'iŋgusi
	Ntuchi	u'lu:zi, 'i:ŋguzi
	Lwanji	u'lu:zi, i'ŋguzi
	Ngoma	u'lu:zi, 'iŋguzi
	Katuka	u'lu:zi, 'iŋguzi
	Ilembo	u'lu:zi
lake		
	Milanzi	'i:ʃija, ama'ʃi:a
	Miombo	i'je:mba
	Katongolo	i'je:mba, a'ja:je:mba
	Ntuchi	i'je:mba, a'ja:je:mba
	Lwanji	'i:kwa, 'i:kwa
	Ngoma	a'je:mba, a'ja:je:mba
	Katuka	'je:mba
	Katuka	'i:ziwa
	Ilembo	iba'ha:ri
	Ilembo	'je:mba
dew		
	Milanzi	'u:lumi
	Miombo	'ulumi
	Katongolo	'ulumi
	Ntuchi	'u:lumi
	Lwanji	u'lumi
	Ngoma	'u:lumi
	Katuka	'u:lumi, 'amalumi
	Ilembo	'u:lumi
mountain		
	Milanzi	u'mwa:mba, i'mja:mba
	Miombo	u'mwa:mba, i'mja:mba
	Katongolo	u'mwa:mba, imi'a:mba
	Ntuchi	u'mwa:mba, i'mja:mba
	Lwanji	u'mwa:mba, imi'a:mba
	Ngoma	u'mwa:mba, imi'a:mba
	Katuka	u'mwa:mba, imi'a:mba
	Ilembo	u'mwa:mba, imi'a:mba
stone		
	Milanzi	i'fi:ŋga, ama'fi:ŋga
	Miombo	i'fi:ŋga, ama'fi:ŋga
	Katongolo	i'fi:ŋga, ama'fi:ŋga
	Ntuchi	i'fi:ŋga, ama'fi:ŋga
	Lwanji	i'fi:ŋga, ama'fi:ŋga
	Ngoma	'i:we, 'amawe
	Katuka	a'kaliwe/'i:juwe/'i:we, u'tuliwe/ama'liwe/'amawe
	Ilembo	i'fi:ŋga, ama'fi:ŋga

## earth

Milanzi	'i:fu
Miombo	'i:fu
Katongolo	'i:fu
Ntuchi	'i:vu
Lwanji	'i:vu
Ngoma	'i:vu, a'malivu
Katuka	'i:vu, a'malivu
Ilembo	'i:vu
Ilembo	umu'sili

## sand

Milanzi	u'nse:nga, imi'se:nga
Miombo	u'nse:nga, imi'se:nga
Katongolo	ulu'sa:nga
Ntuchi	u'nse:nga, imi'se:nga
Lwanji	u'nsa:nga, imi'sa:nga
Ngoma	ulu'se:nga, ama'se:nga
Katuka	umu'se:nga, imi'se:nga
Ilembo	umu'se:nga

## dust

Milanzi	i'ŋku:ngu
Miombo	i'ŋku:ngu
Katongolo	i'ŋku:ngu
Ntuchi	i'ŋku:ngu
Lwanji	i'ŋku:ngu
Ngoma	ulu'ku:ngu, 'iŋku:ngu
Katuka	i'ŋku:ngu, i'za:ŋku:ngu
Ilembo	i'ŋku:ngu

## year

Milanzi	u'mwa:ka, i'mja:ka
Miombo	u'mwa:ka, i'mja:ka
Katongolo	u'mwa:ka, i'mja:ka
Ntuchi	u'mwa:ka, i'mja:ka
Lwanji	u'mwa:ka, imi'a:ka
Ngoma	u'mwa:ka, i'mja:ka
Katuka	u'mwa:ka, imi'a:ka
Ilembo	u'mwa:ka

## one

Milanzi	i'ljo:nga
Miombo	'ko:fu
Miombo	e'mo:ja
Katongolo	'co:nga
Ntuchi	i'mo:ja
Lwanji	'ljo:nga
Ngoma	'co:nga
Katuka	'co:nga

two	Ilembo	a'co:ŋga
	Milanzi	i'te:li
	Miombo	sa'ka:mba
	Miombo	e'mbi:li
	Katongolo	'fi:jili
	Ntuchi	r'mbi:li
	Lwanji	'vi:li
	Ngoma	'zi:li
	Katuka	'vi:li
	Ilembo	'ci:li
three	Milanzi	ite'tatu
	Miombo	bala'mwa:ka
	Miombo	i'tatu
	Katongolo	'fitatu
	Ntuchi	r'ta:tu
	Lwanji	'lutatu
	Ngoma	zi'tatu
	Katuka	'vitatu
	Ilembo	'citatu
four	Milanzi	'i:teni
	Miombo	sala'mu:jan:e
	Miombo	e'in:e
	Katongolo	'fini
	Ntuchi	'i:n:ne
	Lwanji	'lun:i
	Ngoma	'vin:i
	Katuka	'vin:i
	Ilembo	'ci:ni
five	Milanzi	ite'sano
	Miombo	sika'to:ka
	Miombo	e'ta:no
	Katongolo	fi'sa:no
	Ntuchi	r'ta:no
	Lwanji	lu'sa:no
	Ngoma	vi'sa:no
	Katuka	vi'sa:no
	Ilembo	'cisano
six	Milanzi	ite'sita
	Miombo	kali'pe:mbe
	Miombo	e'sita
	Katongolo	fi'sita

	Ntuchi	ɪ'sita
	Lwanji	'sita
	Ngoma	'sita
	Katuka	'sita
	Ilembo	i'ca:sita
seven		
	Milanzi	ite'saba
	Miombo	ka'to:ka
	Miombo	e'saba
	Katongolo	'saba
	Ntuchi	ɪ'saba
	Lwanji	'saba
	Ngoma	'sa:ba
	Katuka	'saba
	Ilembo	i'ca:saba
eight		
	Milanzi	ite'na:ne
	Miombo	niʃi'muʃan:e
	Miombo	e'na:ne
	Katongolo	i'na:ne
	Ntuchi	ɪ'na:ne
	Lwanji	'na:ne
	Ngoma	ci'na:ne
	Katuka	'na:ne
	Ilembo	i'ca:na:ne
nine		
	Milanzi	ite'tisa
	Miombo	ʃaku'ma:tunda
	Miombo	e'tisa
	Katongolo	i'tisa
	Ntuchi	ɪ'tisa
	Lwanji	'tisa
	Ngoma	'tisa
	Katuka	'tisa
	Ilembo	i'ca:tisa
ten		
	Milanzi	ite'kumi
	Miombo	ʃi'li:kumi
	Miombo	e'kumi
	Katongolo	'i:kumi
	Ntuchi	ɪ'kumi
	Lwanji	'kumi
	Ngoma	'i:kumi
	Katuka	'i:kumi
	Ilembo	i'ca:kumi
hot		



	Milanzi	'kwa:pja
	Miombo	'kwa: ,lungula/ici'lungula
	Katongolo	ici'lungula
	Ntuchi	ici'lungula
	Lwanji	iki'lungula/ici'lungula
	Ngoma	i'cikaje
	Katuka	i'jo:to
	Katuka	i'cika,ililwa
	Ilembo	'kukaja
cold		
	Milanzi	r'su:ʃi
	Miombo	i'nsu:si
	Katongolo	i'zu:si
	Ntuchi	r'nzu:si
	Lwanji	i'nzu:si
	Ngoma	'impepo
	Katuka	'i:mpopo
	Ilembo	i'nzu:si
long		
	Milanzi	'ca:ta,li:mpa
	Miombo	,ca:ta'li:mpa/i'citali
	Katongolo	'ca:ta,limpa/i'citali
	Ntuchi	i'ca:talimpa/i'citali
	Lwanji	i'citali
	Ngoma	i'citali
	Katuka	i'citali
	Ilembo	icita'li:mpe/i'citali/'ca:talimpa
short		
	Milanzi	r'ci:pi/'ci:pi,mpala
	Miombo	'ci:pimpala/i'ci:mpi
	Katongolo	i'ci:,pimpala/i'ci:pi
	Ntuchi	i'ci:mpi
	Lwanji	i'ci:mpi
	Ngoma	i'ci:pi
	Katuka	i'ci:pi/i'ci:pimpala
	Ilembo	'ca:fu'pi:la/i'ci:pi/i'ci:pimpale
big		
	Milanzi	'ca:kula
	Miombo	'ca:kula
	Katongolo	i'cikulu
	Ntuchi	'ca:kula
	Ntuchi	i'cikulu
	Lwanji	'ca:kula
	Lwanji	i'cikulu
	Ngoma	i'cikulu
	Katuka	i'cikulu

small	Ilembo	ici 'ku:lu
	Milanzi	'ca:,ce:pa
	Miombo	'ca:,ce:pa
	Katongolo	ici 'no:no
	Ntuchi	'ca:ce:pa
	Ntuchi	ici 'no:no
	Lwanji	ci 'cecite
	Ngoma	ici 'no:no
	Katuka	ici 'no:no
	Ilembo	'ca:ce:pa
wide	Ilembo	ici 'no:no
	Milanzi	ja 'sa:lala
	Miombo	i 'sili,ŋkulu/isi 'la:kula
	Katongolo	'ca:,sa:lala
	Ntuchi	ja:'sa:lala
	Lwanji	'ja:kula
	Lwanji	'kuru
	Ngoma	i 'sa:lale
	Katuka	ja 'sa:lale
	Ilembo	i 'nsa:lale
narrow	Milanzi	ja 'nje:ŋga
	Miombo	,ja:'nje:ŋga
	Katongolo	'ca:,fjeŋkana
	Ntuchi	ja:'nje:ŋga
	Lwanji	'ce:pa/'ce:fu
	Ngoma	i 'nje:ŋge
	Katuka	ja 'nje:ŋga/i 'nje:ŋge
	Ilembo	ja:'nje:ŋga
heavy	Milanzi	'ca:,nwa:ma
	Miombo	'ca:nwa:ma
	Katongolo	'ca:nwa:ma/ici 'mwa:mu
	Ntuchi	'ca:nwa:ma
	Lwanji	ca 'nwa:ma/ci 'nwa:mu
	Ngoma	ici 'njo:me
	Katuka	ca 'njo:ma/ici 'njo:me
	Ilembo	'ca:njo:ma
light	Milanzi	,ca:pe'pela
	Miombo	'ca:pe,pela
	Katongolo	'ca:pe,pela
	Ntuchi	,ca:pe'pela
	Lwanji	ici 'pepesu

	Ngoma	ici 'pe:le
	Katuka	'ca:pepela/i 'cipe,pele
	Ilembo	'ca:pe,pela
difficult		
	Milanzi	'wa:koma
	Miombo	'wa:koma
	Katongolo	'ca:koma
	Ntuchi	'wa:koma
	Lwanji	'wa:koma/'ukomu
	Ngoma	i 'cikome
	Katuka	'wa:koma
	Ilembo	'ca:koma
easy		
	Milanzi	'wa:,to:nta
	Miombo	'wa:to:nta
	Miombo	'wa:pe,pela
	Katongolo	'ca:pe,pela
	Ntuchi	'wa:to:nta
	Lwanji	'wa:pe,pela
	Ngoma	ici 'to:nte
	Katuka	'wa:to:nta
	Ilembo	'ca:to:nta
good		
	Milanzi	'ca:,si:pa
	Miombo	'ca:,si:pa
	Katongolo	'ca:,zi:pa
	Ntuchi	'ca:zi:pa
	Lwanji	ici 'sifu
	Ngoma	ici 'suma
	Katuka	'ca:zi:pa
	Ilembo	'ca:zi:pa
bad		
	Milanzi	'ca:,ji:pa
	Miombo	'ca:,ji:pa
	Katongolo	'ca:,ji:pa
	Ntuchi	'ca:ji:pa
	Lwanji	i 'ci:fu
	Ngoma	i 'ci:pe
	Katuka	'ca:ji:pa
	Ilembo	'ca:ji:pa
leftside		
	Milanzi	kuli 'kamani
	Miombo	'kwimani
	Katongolo	i 'kamani
	Ntuchi	'cimani
	Lwanji	i 'ma:ni

	Ngoma	ku'kwimani
	Katuka	i'ci:mani
	Ilembo	a'ka:mani
rightside		
	Milanzi	kuli'lu:nji
	Miombo	'kwi:lunji
	Katongolo	i'lu:nji
	Ntuchi	kwi'lu:nji
	Lwanji	kwi'lji:ro
	Ngoma	u'kwi:lunji
	Katuka	i'lu:nji
	Ilembo	a'lu:nji/'kwi'lu:nji
far		
	Milanzi	u'kutali
	Miombo	u'kutali
	Katongolo	u'kutali
	Ntuchi	'kwa:talimpa
	Ntuchi	u'kutali
	Lwanji	uku'tali
	Ngoma	u'kutali
	Katuka	u'kutali/,kwa:ta'li:mpa
	Ilembo	'ukutali/'kwa:talimpa
near		
	Milanzi	a'pi:pi
	Miombo	a'pi:pi
	Katongolo	a'pi:pi
	Ntuchi	a'pi:pi/a'pi:mpi
	Lwanji	a'pi:mpi
	Ngoma	a'pi:pi
	Katuka	a'pi:pi
	Ilembo	a'pi:pi
new		
	Milanzi	'ɪcipja
	Miombo	ɪ'cipja
	Katongolo	i'cipja
	Ntuchi	'i:cipja
	Lwanji	i'cipja
	Ngoma	i'cipja
	Katuka	'i:cipja
	Ilembo	'i:cipja
all		
	Milanzi	'fjo:ʃi
	Miombo	'fjo:si
	Katongolo	'fjo:si
	Ntuchi	'vjo:nsi
	Lwanji	'vjo:nsi

	Ngoma	'vjo:nsi
	Katuka	'vjo:nsi
	Ilembo	'vjo:nsi
many		
	Milanzi	'fja:fula
	Miombo	'fja:fula
	Katongolo	'fja:fula
	Ntuchi	'vja:vula
	Lwanji	'vja:vula
	Ngoma	i'vi:ŋgi
	Katuka	'vja:vula
	Katuka	i'vi:nji
	Ilembo	'vja:vula/i'vivule
few		
	Milanzi	'fja:,ce:pa
	Miombo	'fja:,ce:pa
	Katongolo	'fja:,ce:pa
	Ntuchi	'vja:ce:pa/'vice
	Lwanji	ivi'ce:fu
	Ngoma	ivi'no:no
	Katuka	ivi'no:no
	Katuka	ivi'ce:pe/'vja:ce:pa
	Ilembo	ivi'no:no
	Ilembo	'vja:ce:pa
red		
	Milanzi	'ca:ka,suka/,cika'suke
	Miombo	'ca:ka,suka/ceka'suke
	Katongolo	i'cikasuke
	Ntuchi	'ca:kasuka
	Lwanji	ici've:nsu
	Ngoma	ici'e:nzu
	Katuka	ici'enzu
	Ilembo	ci'e:nzu
black		
	Milanzi	ɾ'ciluku
	Miombo	ɾ'ciluku
	Katongolo	ici'fi:su
	Katongolo	'ca:fi:ta
	Ntuchi	i'ciluku
	Ntuchi	'ca:fi:ta
	Lwanji	ɾci'fi:su
	Ngoma	i'citifi
	Katuka	i'citifi
	Ilembo	'ca:fi:ta
	Ilembo	i'citifi
white		

	Milanzi	r'citiswe/'ca:,swe:pa
	Miombo	r'citiswe
	Katongolo	'ca:swe:pa/i'citiswe
	Ntuchi	i'citiswe
	Lwanji	r'citiswe
	Ngoma	i'citiswe
	Katuka	i'citiswe
	Ilembo	'ca:swe:pa/i'citiswe
who		
	Milanzi	uwi:'ni:
	Miombo	u,wɪ:'ni
	Katongolo	u'wɪ:ni
	Ntuchi	uwe:'ni:
	Lwanji	u'wɪ:ni
	Ngoma	a'we:ni
	Katuka	a'we:ni
	Ilembo	a'we:ni
why		
	Milanzi	kuni'ca:ni:
	Miombo	kuli,ca:'ni:
	Katongolo	kuni,ca:'ni
	Ntuchi	i'ca:ni/kuni'ca:ni
	Lwanji	r'ca:ni
	Ngoma	kuni'ca:ni:
	Katuka	kuni'ca:ni
	Ilembo	kuni'ca:ni
what		
	Milanzi	ɪca:'ni
	Miombo	ku'tu:li
	Miombo	i,ca:'ni
	Katongolo	i,ca:'ni
	Ntuchi	ica:'ni
	Lwanji	'ca:ni
	Ngoma	i'ca:ni
	Katuka	i'ca:ni
	Ilembo	i'ca:ni
dirty		
	Milanzi	'wa:,fi:ta
	Miombo	r'ciluku
	Miombo	'wa:,fi:ta
	Katongolo	'ca:fi:ta
	Ntuchi	'wa:fi:ta
	Lwanji	ca'fi:ta
	Ngoma	ici'fi:te
	Katuka	ici'fi:te/'ca:,fi:ta
	Ilembo	'ca:fi:ta

rotten	Milanzi	'ca:ola
	Miombo	'ja:ola
	Katongolo	'ca:ola
	Ntuchi	'ja:ola
	Lwanji	'ca:ola
	Ngoma	ici'wo:le
	Katuka	ici'o:le/'vja:ola
	Katuka	ljo'no:neka
	Ilembo	'ca:ola
dry	Milanzi	'ca:kala
	Miombo	'ca:kala
	Katongolo	'ca:kala
	Ntuchi	'ca:kala
	Lwanji	r'cikas
	Ngoma	i'cu:me
	Katuka	i'cu:me/'cu:ma
	Ilembo	'cu:ma
wet	Milanzi	'ca:omba
	Milanzi	ici'to:su
	Miombo	ici'to:su
	Miombo	'ca:omba
	Katongolo	ici'to:su
	Ntuchi	'ca:omba
	Ntuchi	i'ci:si
	Ntuchi	ici'to:su
	Lwanji	ca'o:mba/ci'o:mvu
	Ngoma	i'ci:si
	Katuka	i'ci:si
	Ilembo	'ca:o:mba/ici'o:mbe
full	Milanzi	r'ʃu:ʃile
	Miombo	r'ʃu:sile/iti'ʃu:la
	Katongolo	ci'ʃu:sile
	Ntuchi	i'zi:le
	Lwanji	iti'ʃu:la/r'zi:le
	Ngoma	'i:zule/iti'zu:la
	Katuka	ici'zu:la
	Ilembo	iti'zu:la
sit	Milanzi	'a:,ti:kala, wi'kala
	Miombo	a,wika'sile/a'ti:kala, wi'kala
	Katongolo	a'ti:kala/ate:si ,i'kala
	Ntuchi	a'ti:kala, 'wikala

	Lwanji	a'ti:kala, 'ikala
	Ngoma	a'ti:kala, 'ikala
	Katuka	a'ti:kala, i'kala
	Ilembo	a'ti:kala, 'ikala
stand		
	Milanzi	ati'milila, ,wimi'lila
	Miombo	a'ti:milila/awimi'li:le, 'wimilila
	Katongolo	aimi'li:le, imi'lila
	Ntuchi	a'ti:milila/awimi'li:le, 'wimilila
	Lwanji	a'ti:milila, imi'lila
	Ngoma	a'ti:milila, imi'lila
	Katuka	'a:timilila, 'imilila
	Ilembo	a'ti:milila, imi'lila
lie ['lie down']		
	Milanzi	a'wi:si, 'la:mbalala
	Miombo	alamba'li:le/ata'la:mbala, 'la:la
	Katongolo	a'la:mbalile, 'la:la
	Ntuchi	ata'lambalala, 'la:la
	Lwanji	ata'la:la/ata'lambalala, 'la:la/'lambalala
	Ngoma	alamba'li:le, 'la:la
	Katuka	ata'la:mbalala, 'la:la
	Ilembo	ata'la:la, 'la:la
awaken		
	Milanzi	'wa:laŋka, 'laŋka
	Miombo	a'talaŋka, 'laŋka
	Katongolo	'wa:laŋka, 'laŋka
	Ntuchi	'wa:laŋka, 'laŋka
	Lwanji	wa'laŋka, 'laŋka
	Ngoma	ata'zu:ka, ka'tu:ka
	Katuka	'wa:lamuka
	Katuka	ka'tuka
	Ilembo	wa'ʒu:ka/a'takatuka, ka'tuka
take		
	Milanzi	'wa:to:la, 'to:la
	Milanzi	'wa:se:nda
	Miombo	ata'to:la, 'to:la
	Katongolo	'wa:,se:nda
	Katongolo	'wa:,to:la, 'to:la
	Ntuchi	wa:'to:la, 'to:la
	Lwanji	wa'se:nda, 'se:nda:
	Lwanji	wa'to:la, 'to:la
	Ngoma	ata'to:la, 'to:la
	Katuka	ata'to:la/wa'to:la, 'to:la
	Katuka	wa'se:nda
	Ilembo	ata'to:la, 'to:la
carry		



Milanzi	ata'pa:pa, 'pa:pa
Miombo	a,ta:'mpa:pa/a'pa:pile, 'mpa:pe
Miombo	a'se:sile, 'se:nda
Katongolo	a'pa:file, 'pa:pa
Ntuchi	ata'se:nda
Ntuchi	ata'pa:pa/a'pa:pile, 'pa:pa
Lwanji	wa'pa:pa, 'pa:pa
Ngoma	ata'pa:pa, 'pa:pa
Ngoma	'wa:se:nda
Katuka	wa'pa:pa/ata'pa:pa
Katuka	ata'se:nda
Ilembo	'wa:pa:pa
Ilembo	'se:nda
hold/take	
Milanzi	'a:talema, le'ma:
Miombo	ale'mile/a'talema, le'ma
Katongolo	ale'mile, le'ma
Ntuchi	ale'mile, le'ma
Lwanji	a'ta:lema, le'ma:
Ngoma	a'talema, le'ma
Katuka	ata'lema/'wa:lema, le'ma
Ilembo	ata'lema/'wa:lema, le'ma
fear	
Milanzi	a'lo:pa, 'o:pa
Miombo	a'lo:pa, 'wo:pa
Katongolo	a'lo:pa, 'opa
Ntuchi	a'lo:pa, 'opa
Lwanji	a'lo:pa/a'to:pa, o'pa
Ngoma	ata'o:pa/a'kwo:pa, 'ko:pa/'opa
Katuka	a'ko:pa, 'o:pa
Ilembo	a:'to:pa
he gives him	
Milanzi	a'lumpa, 'kampe
Miombo	a'lumpa, u'mpe:le
Katongolo	a'lumpa, 'to:la
Ntuchi	a'lumpa, u'mpe:le
Lwanji	a'lumpa, 'mpe:
Ngoma	ata'mpe:la, u'mpe:le
Katuka	akumu'pe:la/'wa:mupa, mu'pe:le
Ilembo	wa:'mpe:la/a'kumupa, mu'pe:le/mu'pe
he sends him	
Milanzi	a'luntuma
Miombo	a'luntuma
Katongolo	a'luntuma
Ntuchi	a'luntuma
Lwanji	a'luntuma

	Ngoma	ata'mtuma
	Ngoma	ata'twa:la
	Katuka	'wantuma/a'kumutuma
	Ilembo	a'kumtuma
bite		
	Milanzi	a'lu:luma, 'luma
	Miombo	a'lu:luma, lu'ma
	Katongolo	a'lu:luma, 'luma
	Ntuchi	a'lu:luma, 'luma
	Lwanji	a'lu:luma, lu'ma:
	Ngoma	'wa:luma, 'luma
	Katuka	a'kuluma/wa'lu:ma, 'luma
	Ilembo	a'kuluma, 'luma
eat		
	Milanzi	a'lu:lja, 'u:kulja/'lja:ŋga
	Miombo	a'lu:lja, 'lja/lja:ŋga
	Katongolo	a'lu:lja, 'lja:ŋga
	Ntuchi	a'lu:lja, 'lja:
	Lwanji	a'lu:lja, 'lja:
	Ngoma	a'kulja, 'lja:
	Katuka	a'kulja, 'lja:
	Ilembo	a'kulja, 'lja:/'lja:ŋga
drink		
	Milanzi	a'lu:nua, nu'a:
	Miombo	a'lu:nwa, nu'a
	Katongolo	a'lu:nua, nu'a
	Ntuchi	a'lu:nua, nu'a
	Lwanji	a'lu:nwa, nu'a:
	Ngoma	a'kumwa, 'mwa:
	Katuka	a'kuŋwa, 'ŋwa:
	Ilembo	a'kunwa, nu'a:
boil		
	Milanzi	a'lwe:leka, we'le:ka
	Miombo	a'lwe:leka, 'weleka
	Katongolo	a'lu:lunguʃa, 'lunguʃa
	Katongolo	a'lu:cemʃa, 'cemʃa
	Ntuchi	a'lu:lunguʃa, 'lunguʃa
	Ntuchi	a'lwe:leka
	Ntuchi	a'lu:cemʃa
	Lwanji	a'lu:teka, 'te:ka
	Ngoma	a'kwe:leka/ata'e:leka, e'leka
	Katuka	a'kwe:leka
	Katuka	akufu'liʒa
	Ilembo	a'kwe:leka, 'eleka
pour		
	Milanzi	a'lwi:tulula, wi'tulula

	Miombo	a'lwɪ:tulula, wi'tulula
	Katongolo	alu'i:tulula, wi'tulula
	Ntuchi	alu'i:tulula/alui:tulwi:la ,wi'tulula
	Lwanji	a'lwɪ:tulula, i'tulula
	Ngoma	'witulula/ i'tulula
	Katuka	a'kwɪ:tulula, i'tulula
	Ilembo	a'kwɪ:tulula, i'tulula
vomit		
	Milanzi	a'lu:luka, 'lu:ka
	Miombo	a'lu:luka, 'luka
	Katongolo	a'lu:luka, 'luka
	Ntuchi	a'lu:luka, 'luka
	Lwanji	a'lu:luka, lu'ka
	Ngoma	a'kuluka, 'luka
	Katuka	a'kuluka, 'luka
	Ilembo	a'kuluka, 'luka
cough		
	Milanzi	a'lu:ko:la, 'ko:la
	Miombo	a'lu:,ko:la, 'ko:la
	Katongolo	a'lu:ko:la, 'ko:la
	Ntuchi	a'lu:ko:la, 'ko:la
	Lwanji	a'lu:ko:la, 'ko:la
	Ngoma	aku'ko:la, 'ko:la
	Katuka	aku'ko:la, 'ko:la
	Ilembo	aku'ko:la, 'ko:la
sneeze		
	Milanzi	a'lu:ti:ʃa, 'ti:ʃa
	Miombo	a'lu:camula, 'camula
	Miombo	a'lu:'tila, 'ti:la
	Katongolo	a'lu:ti,amula, ti'amla
	Katongolo	alu:'ti:la
	Ntuchi	a'lu:ti,amula, ti'amula
	Lwanji	a'lu:tiʃɪ:la/a'lu:tisi:la, ti'ʃɪ:la/ti'si:la
	Ngoma	a'kutiʃa, 'tiʃa
	Katuka	aku'tiʃa, 'tiʃa
	Ilembo	a'kutiʃa, 'tiʃa
breathe		
	Milanzi	a'lwe:se:la, we'se:la
	Miombo	a'lu:kwe:sa unsa, 'kwe:sunsa
	Miombo	a'lwe:sela
	Katongolo	alu'e:se:la, we'se:la
	Ntuchi	a'lu:kwe:sa unsa, kwe:sunsa
	Ntuchi	a'lwe:sela
	Lwanji	a'lwe:sa, e'sa:
	Ngoma	aku'fu:ta, 'fu:ta
	Katuka	aku'fu:ta, 'fu:ta

	Katuka	aku'kwe:ta 'umupu
	Ilembo	aku'fu:ta, 'fu:ta
suck		
	Milanzi	a'lo:ŋka, 'o:ŋka
	Miombo	a'lo:ŋka, o:ŋka
	Katongolo	a'lo:ŋka, 'oŋka
	Ntuchi	a'lo:ŋka, 'oŋka
	Lwanji	a'lo:ŋka, o'ŋka:
	Ngoma	a'ko:ŋka, 'o:ŋka
	Katuka	a'ko:ŋka, 'oŋka
	Ilembo	a'ko:ŋka, 'o:ŋka
spit		
	Milanzi	alu:'pu:ta 'amati, 'pu:ta
	Miombo	a'lu:pu:ta , 'pu:ta
	Katongolo	a'lu:pu:ta, 'u:ta
	Ntuchi	a'lu:pu:ta, 'pu:ta 'amati
	Lwanji	a'lu:swila 'amati, 'swa:/'swi:la
	Ngoma	aku'swi:la amati, 'swi:la
	Katuka	aku'swi:la 'amati, ,swi:l'amati
	Ilembo	aku'swi:la, 'swi:la
wind blows		
	Milanzi	'ulupita
	Miombo	unsa ulu'pu:ʃa
	Miombo	unsa ulu'pita
	Katongolo	'unsa 'wa:katuka
	Ntuchi	'unsa ulu:'pu:ŋga
	Lwanji	'unsa u'lu:lwa
	Ngoma	uku'pu:nga
	Katuka	uku'pu:nga
	Ilembo	ici'pu:ŋga
	Ilembo	u'katuka
he blows		
	Milanzi	a'lu:pu:ʃa, 'pu:ʃa
	Miombo	a'lu:,pu:ʃa, 'pu:ʃa
	Katongolo	a'lu:pu:ʃa, 'pu:ʃa
	Ntuchi	a'lu:pu:ʃa, 'pu:ʃa
	Lwanji	a'lu:pu:ta, 'pu:ta:
	Ngoma	aku'vwi:la, u'vwi:la
	Katuka	aku'pu:ta, 'pu:ta
	Ilembo	aku'pu:ta, 'pu:ta
whistle		
	Milanzi	a'lu:ma 'undufi, 'u:ma 'undufi
	Miombo	alu'fju:na
	Miombo	a,lu:'mundufi 'u:ma 'un:ufi
	Katongolo	a'lu:,mun:ufi, u'mun:ufi
	Ntuchi	a'lu:,pju:niʃa/a'lu:,pju:na, 'pju:na

	Ntuchi	a'lu:ma u'lulufi, 'u:ma u'lulufi
	Lwanji	alu:'mun:uvi
	Lwanji	a'lu:pju:na, 'pju:na
	Ngoma	aku'ku:a u'muluvi, 'ku:muluvi
	Katuka	aku'pju:na, 'pju:na
	Ilembo	aku'ku:a, 'ku:a
yawn		
	Milanzi	alu'a:fula, 'wafula
	Miombo	a'lwa:jula, 'wajula
	Katongolo	alu'a:jula, 'wajula
	Ntuchi	alu'a:ula, 'aula
	Lwanji	alu'a:jula
	Ngoma	a'kwa:ula, ja'u:la
	Katuka	a'kwa:ula, 'jaula
	Ilembo	a'kwa:ula, 'a:ula
sing		
	Milanzi	a'lu:lunda, 'lu:nda
	Miombo	a''lu:lunda, 'lu:nda
	Katongolo	a'lu:lu:nda, 'lu:nda
	Ntuchi	a'lu:lunda, 'lu:nda
	Lwanji	a'lu:lunda, 'lu:nda
	Ngoma	a'kwi:mba, 'i:mba
	Katuka	aku'lunda, 'lunda
	Ilembo	aku'lu:nda, 'lu:nda
play		
	Milanzi	a,lu:'ci:nda, 'ci:nda
	Miombo	a'lu:cinda, 'ci:nda
	Katongolo	a'lu:cin:a, 'cin:a
	Ntuchi	a'lu:ci:nda, 'cinda
	Lwanji	a'lu:cinda, 'cinda/ci'ndanga
	Ngoma	aku'cin:a, 'cin:a
	Katuka	aku'ci:nda, 'cin:a
	Ilembo	aku'cin:a, 'cin:a
dance		
	Milanzi	alu:'cin:a 'ingoma, cin:'ingoma
	Miombo	alu:'cin:a, 'cin:a
	Katongolo	a'lu:cin:a, 'cin:ingoma
	Ntuchi	a'lu:cin:a 'ingoma, 'cin:a 'ingoma
	Lwanji	a'lu:ci,ndingoma/'cindanga 'ingoma
	Ngoma	aku'cin:a 'ingoma, 'cin:a 'ingoma
	Katuka	aku'cin:a 'ingoma, 'cin:a 'ingoma
	Ilembo	aku'cin:a 'ingoma, 'cin:ingoma
laugh		
	Milanzi	a'lu:seka, se'ka:
	Miombo	a'lu:seka, se'ka
	Katongolo	a'lu:seka, se'ka

	Ntuchi	a'lu:seka, se'ka
	Lwanji	a'lu:seka, se'ka:
	Ngoma	a'kuseka, se'ka:
	Katuka	a'kuseka, 'seka
	Ilembo	aku'seka, se'ka
weep		
	Milanzi	a'lu:lila, li'la:
	Miombo	a'lu:lila, li'la
	Katongolo	a'lu:lila, li'la:
	Ntuchi	a'lu:lila, li'la
	Lwanji	a'lu:lila, li'la:
	Ngoma	a'kulila, li'la:
	Katuka	a'kulila, li'la
	Ilembo	a'kulila, li'la
bark (verb)		
	Milanzi	a'lu:wuta, 'wu:ta
	Miombo	i'lu:ta, 'wu:ta
	Katongolo	a'lu:uta, 'u:ta
	Ntuchi	i'lu:,a:ta, 'wa:ta
	Lwanji	i'lu:uta, 'wa:ta/'u:ta
	Ngoma	a'ku:a:ta, 'wa:ta
	Katuka	a'ku:uta, 'wa:ta
	Ilembo	aku'a:ta, 'wa:ta
say		
	Milanzi	a'lu:,fwa:nga, 'fwa:nga
	Miombo	a'lu:taka, ta'ka
	Miombo	a,lu:'fwa:nga, 'fwa:nga
	Katongolo	a'lu:fwa:nga, 'vwa:nga
	Ntuchi	a'lu:fwa:nga, 'vwa:nga
	Lwanji	a'lu:vwa:nga/al'u:fwa:nga, 'vwa:nga
	Ngoma	aku'vwa:nga, 'vwa:nga
	Katuka	aku'vwa:nga, 'vwa:nga
	Ilembo	aku'vwa:nga, 'vwa:nga
ask		
	Milanzi	a'lu:,tondoʃa, 'to:ndoʃa
	Miombo	a'lu:to,ndoʃa, to'ndo:ʃa
	Katongolo	a'lu:tondoʃa, to'ndo:ʃa
	Ntuchi	a'lu:to,ndo:ʃa, to'ndo:ʃa
	Lwanji	a'lu:to,ndoza, to'ndo:za
	Ngoma	a'ku:za, 'u:za
	Katuka	aku'u:za, 'u:za
	Ilembo	a'ku:za, 'u:za
look at		
	Milanzi	a'lu:lola, lo'la:
	Miombo	a,lu:lole'keʃa, lole'keʃa
	Miombo	a'lulola

	Katongolo	a'lu:lola, lo'la
	Ntuchi	a'lu:lola, lo'la
	Lwanji	a'lu:lola, lo'la:
	Ngoma	a'kulola, lo'la:
	Katuka	a'kulola, 'lola
	Ilembo	a'kulola, lo'la:
show		
	Milanzi	a'lu:,langiliʃa, langi'liʃa
	Miombo	a'lu:,langeʃa, 'langeʃa
	Katongolo	alu'langeʃa/a'lu:langa, 'langeʃa/'la:ŋga
	Ntuchi	a'lu:,langiza, 'langiza
	Lwanji	a'lu:la,ŋgeʃa, lange'ʃa:
	Ngoma	aku'langiza, la'ŋgiza
	Katuka	aku'langiza, 'langiza
	Ilembo	aku'la:ŋga/aku'langiliza, m'la:ŋge
hear		
	Milanzi	a'lu:pulika, 'pulika
	Miombo	a'lu:pu,lika, 'pulika
	Katongolo	a'lu:pulika, 'pulika
	Ntuchi	a'lu:pulika, 'pulika
	Lwanji	a'lu:pilika, 'pilika
	Ngoma	a'ku:vwa, 'u:vwa
	Katuka	a'ku:vwa, 'u:vwa
	Ilembo	a'ku:vwa, 'u:vwa
die		
	Milanzi	'wa:fwa
	Miombo	a'lu:fwa/'wa:fwa
	Katongolo	a'lu:fwa
	Ntuchi	a'lu:fwa
	Lwanji	a'lu:fwa
	Ngoma	'wa:fwa
	Katuka	a'kufwa/'wa:fwa
	Ilembo	'wa:fwa
know		
	Milanzi	'wa:manja/ama'njile
	Miombo	ama'njile
	Katongolo	'wa:manja/ama'njile
	Ntuchi	ama'njile/'wa:manja
	Lwanji	ama'njile/'wa:manja
	Ngoma	ama'njile
	Katuka	ama'njile/wama'nja
	Ilembo	'a:tamanja/ama'njile
count		
	Milanzi	a'lu:so,lo:ʃa, so'lo:ʃa
	Miombo	a'lu:so,lo:ʃa, so'lo:ʃa
	Katongolo	a'lu:so,lo:ʃa, so'lo:ʃa

	Ntuchi	a'lu:so,lo:ʃa, so'lo:ʃa
	Lwanji	alu'a:ʒa, a'ʒa:
	Ngoma	aku'pe:nda, 'pe:nda
	Katuka	aku'wa:ʒa, 'wa:ʒa
	Katuka	aku'a:la, wa'la
	Ilembo	aku'wa:la, wa'la
want/like		
	Milanzi	wa'kunda
	Miombo	aka'si:me
	Katongolo	'wa:kasama/ a'takasama
	Ntuchi	wa:'kasama/aka'si:me
	Ntuchi	wa'ku:nda
	Lwanji	a'takasama
	Ngoma	'wa:temwa
	Katuka	'wa:ku:nda
	Ilembo	ata'ku:nda
help		
	Milanzi	alu'a:swa, 'wa:swa
	Miombo	alu'a:swa, 'mwa:swe
	Katongolo	alu'a:swa, 'a:swa
	Ntuchi	alu'a:vwa, 'wa:vwa
	Lwanji	alu'a:zwa, a'zwa:
	Ngoma	a'kwa:vwa/a'ka:ja,vwiliʒa, ja'vwa/ja'vwi:liʒa
	Katuka	a'kwa:vwa/a'kwa:zwa, 'javwa/'nga:vwa
	Ilembo	aku'mwa:zwa, 'mwa:vwe/'mwa:zwe
walk		
	Milanzi	a'lu:pita, 'pita
	Miombo	a'lu:pita, 'pita
	Katongolo	a'lu:pita, 'pita
	Ntuchi	a'lu:pita, 'pita
	Lwanji	a'lu:pita, pi'ta:
	Ngoma	aku'pita, 'pita
	Katuka	aku'pita, 'pita
	Ilembo	aku'pita, 'pita
run		
	Milanzi	alu'i:tuka, 'wituka
	Miombo	alu'i:tuka, 'wituka
	Katongolo	alu'i:tuka, 'wituka
	Ntuchi	alu'i:tuka, 'wituka
	Lwanji	alu'i:tuka, itu'ka:
	Ngoma	aku'simula, 'simula
	Ngoma	a'ku:tuka
	Katuka	a'ku:tuka, 'utuka
	Ilembo	a'ku:tuka, 'utuka
pull		
	Milanzi	alu:'kwe:sa, 'kwe:sa



	Miombo	a'lu:kwe:sa, 'kwe:sa
	Katongolo	a'lu:kwe:sa, 'kwe:sa
	Ntuchi	a'lu:kwe:sa, 'kwe:sa
	Lwanji	a'lu:kwe:sa, 'kwe:sa:
	Ngoma	aku'ti:nta, 'ti:nta
	Katuka	aku'kwe:ta/aku'kwe:sa, 'kwe:ta
	Ilembo	aku'zuta, zu'ta
come		
	Milanzi	alu'i:sa, 'ngu:na
	Miombo	aji'sile, 'ngu:na
	Katongolo	alu'i:sa, 'ngu:na
	Ntuchi	alu'i:za, 'ngu:na
	Lwanji	alu'i:za/ai'zile, i'za:
	Ngoma	a'kwi:za, i'za:
	Katuka	a'kwi:za, 'ngu:na
	Ilembo	a'kwi:za, i'za
leave		
	Milanzi	'wa:pita, 'pita
	Milanzi	'wa:ti:na
	Miombo	a'tapita, 'pita
	Miombo	ata'ti:na
	Katongolo	'wa:katuka, ka'tuka
	Katongolo	'wa:ti:na
	Ntuchi	a'tapita, 'pita
	Ntuchi	wa'ti:na
	Lwanji	wa'ti:na, 'ti:na
	Ngoma	a'ta:pita, 'pita
	Katuka	'wa:pita, 'pita
	Katuka	'wa:ti:na
	Ilembo	a'kupita, 'pita
	Ilembo	uku'ti:na
fall		
	Milanzi	'wa:pona, 'pona
	Miombo	'wa:pona, 'pona
	Katongolo	'wa:pona, 'pona
	Ntuchi	a'lu:pona, 'pona
	Lwanji	a'pona, 'pona
	Ngoma	a'ta:pona, 'pona
	Katuka	'wa:pona, 'pona
	Ilembo	wa'pona, 'pona
turn		
	Milanzi	'wa:senuka, 'senuka
	Miombo	,wa:'senuka, 'senuka
	Katongolo	'wa:senuka, 'senuka
	Ntuchi	a'lu:sele,uka, 'senuka
	Lwanji	'wa:senuka, 'senuka

	Ngoma	ata'senuka, 'senuka
	Katuka	wa'senuka, 'senuka
	Ilembo	aku'senuka, 'senuka
burn		
	Milanzi	a'lo:ca, o'ca:
	Miombo	a'lo:ca, o:'ca
	Katongolo	a'lo:ca, o'ca
	Ntuchi	a'lo:ca, o'ca
	Lwanji	a'lo:ca, o'ca:
	Ngoma	a'ko:ca, o:'ca:
	Katuka	a'ko:ca, o'ca
	Ilembo	a'ko:ca, o'ca
bury sb.		
	Milanzi	a'lu:,ʃi:ka, 'ʃi:ka
	Miombo	a'lu:,ʃi:ka, 'ʃi:ka
	Katongolo	a'lu:twi:la, 'twi:la
	Katongolo	a'lu:ʃi:ka
	Ntuchi	a'lu:ʒi:ka, 'ʒi:ka
	Lwanji	alu:'twi:la, 'twi:la
	Ngoma	aku'twi:la, 'twi:la
	Ngoma	aku'zi:ka
	Katuka	aku'twi:la, 'twi:la
	Katuka	uku'zi:ka
	Ilembo	aku'zi:ka
	Ilembo	'twi:la
dig		
	Milanzi	alu'i:mba, wi'mba:
	Miombo	alu'i:mba, wi'mba:
	Katongolo	alu'imba, 'wimba:
	Ntuchi	alu'imba, 'wimba
	Lwanji	a'lu:po:la, 'po:la
	Ngoma	a'kwi:mba, 'i:mba:
	Katuka	a'kwi:mba, i'mba
	Ilembo	a'kwi:mba, i'mba:
weed (verb)		
	Milanzi	a'lu:sa,kula, sa'kula
	Miombo	a'lu:sakula, sa'kula
	Miombo	a'lu:sajla, 'sajla
	Katongolo	a'lu:sai:la, 'saila
	Katongolo	a'lu:sakula, sa'kula
	Ntuchi	a'lu:sakula, sa'kula
	Ntuchi	sa'kwi:la
	Lwanji	a'lu:sakula, sa'kula
	Ngoma	aku'sakula, 'sa:ku:la
	Katuka	aku'sakula, sa'kula
	Ilembo	aku'sakula, sa'kula

Ilembo	aku'saila
plant (verb)	
Milanzi	a'lu:pela, pe'la:
Miombo	a'lu:pela, 'pela
Katongolo	a'lu:pela, pe'la
Ntuchi	a'lu:pela, pe'la
Lwanji	a'lu:tunda, 'tu:nda
Ngoma	aku'komela, ko'me:la
Katuka	aku'komela, 'komela
Katuka	aku'pela
Ilembo	akuko'me:la, ko'mela
harvest (verb)	
Milanzi	a'lu:,kumbula, 'kumbula
Miombo	a'lu:kumbula, 'kumbula
Katongolo	a'lu:kumbula, 'kumbula
Ntuchi	a'lu:kumbula, 'kumbula
Lwanji	a'lu:kumbula, 'kumbula
Ngoma	aku'vuna, 'vun:a
Katuka	aku'kumbula, 'kumbula
Ilembo	aku'pombola, 'pombola
grind (with a millstone)	
Milanzi	a'lu:ʃa, 'ʃa:
Miombo	a'lu:ʃa, 'ʃa:
Katongolo	a'lu:ʃa, 'ʃa:
Ntuchi	a'lu:ʃa, 'ʃa:
Lwanji	a'lu:ʃa:, 'ʃa:
Ngoma	a'kuʃa, 'ʃa:
Katuka	a'kuʃa, 'ʃa:
Ilembo	a'kuʃa, 'ʃa:
hunt	
Milanzi	a'lu:sola, so'la
Miombo	a'lu:sola, so'la
Katongolo	a'lu:sola, so'la
Ntuchi	a'lu:sola, so'la
Lwanji	a'lu:sola, so'la:
Ngoma	aku'lu:ŋga, 'lu:ŋga
Katuka	a'kusola, 'sola
Ilembo	aku'sola, so'la
cultivate	
Milanzi	a'lu:lima, li'ma
Miombo	a'lu:lima, li'ma
Katongolo	a'lu:lima, li'ma
Ntuchi	a'lu:lima, li'ma
Lwanji	a'lu:lima, li'ma:
Ngoma	a'kulima, li'ma:
Katuka	a'kulima, li'ma

work	Ilembo	a'kulima, li'ma
	Milanzi	a'lu:omba 'undimo, 'o:mbundimo
	Miombo	a'lu:omba 'undimo, 'wo:mbu'ndimo
	Katongolo	a'lu:omba 'ka:zi, 'o:mba
	Ntuchi	a'lu:omba 'ka:zi, 'o:mba
	Lwanji	a'lu:omba, 'o:mba
	Ngoma	aku'o:mba 'mulimo, 'o:mba
	Katuka	aku'o:mba i'ka:zi, 'o:mbi'ka:zi
build	Ilembo	aku'o:mba, 'o:mbi,ka:zi
	Milanzi	a'lu:,ku:la, 'ku:la
	Miombo	a'lu:ku:la, 'ku:la
	Katongolo	a'lu:ku:la, 'ku:la
	Ntuchi	a'lu:,ku:la, 'ku:la
	Lwanji	a'lu:ku:la, 'ku:la
	Lwanji	a'lu:twā, 'twā:
	Ngoma	aku'ku:la, 'ku:la
push	Katuka	aku'ku:la, 'ku:la
	Ilembo	aku'ku:la, 'ku:la
	Milanzi	a'lu:kuŋka, 'ku:ŋka
	Miombo	a'lu:,sukuma
	Miombo	a'lu:teŋka, 'te:ŋka
	Miombo	a'lu:ku:ŋka
	Katongolo	a'lu:teŋka, 'te:ŋka/su'ku:ma
	Ntuchi	a'lu:kuŋki,liʃa
make	Ntuchi	a'lu:kuŋka, 'ku:ŋka
	Lwanji	a'lu:te:ŋka/a'lu:,teŋkeʃa, 'te:ŋka:
	Ngoma	aku'su:ŋka, 'su:ŋka
	Katuka	aku'su:ŋka, 'su:ŋka
	Katuka	akusu'ku:ma, su'ku:ma
	Ilembo	aku'sukuma, su'ku:ma
	Ilembo	aku'ka:ŋka, 'ka:ŋka
	Milanzi	a'lu:teŋga,niʃa, 'teŋganiʃa
sew	Miombo	a'lu:teŋge,neʃa, 'teŋge,neʃa
	Katongolo	a'lu:,teŋgeneʃa, 'teŋgeneʃa
	Ntuchi	a'lu:,teŋgeneza, 'teŋge,neza
	Lwanji	a'lu:,teŋgeneza, 'teŋge,neza
	Ngoma	aku,lu:'ŋgi:ʃa, lu'ŋgi:ʃa
	Katuka	aku'pa:ŋga, 'pa:ŋga
	Ilembo	aku'teŋgeneza, teŋge'neza
	Milanzi	a'lu:suma, 'suma
sew	Miombo	a'lu:suma, 'suma

	Katongolo	a'lu:suma, 'suma
	Ntuchi	a'lu:suma, 'suma
	Lwanji	a'lu:suma, 'suma
	Ngoma	a'kusuma, 'suma
	Katuka	a'kusuma, 'suma
	Ilembo	aku'suma, 'suma
throw		
	Milanzi	a'lu:su:mba, 'su:mba
	Miombo	a'lu:su:mba, 'su:mba
	Katongolo	a'lu:su:mba, 'su:mba
	Ntuchi	a'lu:su:mba, 'su:mba
	Lwanji	a'lu:su:mba, 'su:mba
	Ngoma	aku'su:mba, 'su:mba
	Katuka	aku'su:mba, 'su:mba
	Ilembo	aku'su:mba, 'su:mba
hit		
	Milanzi	a'lu:ma, u'ma
	Miombo	a'lu:ma, u'ma
	Katongolo	a'lu:ma, u'ma:
	Ntuchi	a'lu:ma, u'ma
	Lwanji	a'lu:ma, u'ma:
	Ngoma	a'ku:ma, u'ma
	Katuka	a'ku:ma, u'ma
	Ilembo	a'ku:ma, u'ma
slaughter		
	Milanzi	a'lu:penda, 'pe:nda
	Miombo	a'lu:ce:mba, 'ce:mba
	Miombo	a'lu:fju:la, 'fju:la
	Katongolo	a'lu:ce:mba, 'ce:mba
	Ntuchi	a'lu:ce:mba, 'ce:mba
	Lwanji	a'lu:fju:la, 'fju:la
	Ngoma	aku'ce:mba, 'ce:mba
	Katuka	aku'fju:la, 'fju:la
	Katuka	aku'ce:mba, 'ce:mba
	Ilembo	aku'fju:la, 'fju:la
cut		
	Milanzi	a'lu:koma, ko'ma:
	Miombo	a'lu:koma, ko'ma:
	Katongolo	a'lu:koma, ko'ma
	Ntuchi	a'lu:koma, ko'ma
	Lwanji	a'lu:koma, 'koma
	Ngoma	aku'koma, ko'ma:
	Katuka	aku'koma, 'koma
	Ilembo	aku'koma, ko'ma
wash		
	Milanzi	a'lu:fula, fu'la:

	Miombo	a'lu:fula, fu'la
	Katongolo	a'lu:fula, fu'la
	Ntuchi	a'lu:fula, fu'la
	Lwanji	a'lu:fula, fu'la:
	Ngoma	aku'fula, fu'la:
	Katuka	aku'fu:la, fu'la
	Ilembo	aku'fu:la, fu'la
hide		
	Milanzi	a'lu:fisa, 'fisa
	Miombo	a'lu:fisa, 'fisa
	Katongolo	a'lu:fisa, 'fisa
	Ntuchi	a'lu:fisa, 'fisa
	Lwanji	a'lu:fisa, 'fisa
	Ngoma	aku'fi:sa, 'fi:sa
	Katuka	a'kufisa, 'fisa
	Ilembo	a'kufisa, 'fisa
marry		
	Milanzi	a'lu:,pi:ndula
	Miombo	a'lu:pindula
	Katongolo	a'lu:saka
	Ntuchi	a'lu:saka
	Ntuchi	a'lu:pindula
	Lwanji	a'lu:saka
	Ngoma	aku'twa:la
	Katuka	aku'pindula
	Katuka	aku'sakala/aku'saka
	Ilembo	aku'pindula
steal		
	Milanzi	alu'i:a, 'wi:a
	Miombo	alu'i:a, 'wi:a
	Katongolo	alu'i:a
	Ntuchi	alu'i:a, 'i:a
	Lwanji	alu'i:a, i'a:
	Ngoma	aku'i:a, 'i:a
	Katuka	aku'i:a, 'i:a
	Ilembo	a'kwi:a, 'i:a
kill		
	Milanzi	a'lu:,mo:la, u'mo:la
	Miombo	a'lu:,mo:la, u'mo:la
	Katongolo	a'lu:mo:la, u'mo:la
	Ntuchi	a'lu:mo:la, u'mo:la
	Lwanji	alu'mu:la, u'mu:la
	Ngoma	a'ku:mo:la, u'mo:la
	Katuka	a'kumola, u'mo:la
	Ilembo	aku'mo:la, u'mo:la
stab/pierce		

	Milanzi	a'lu:tota, to'ta:
	Miombo	a'lu:tota, to'ta
	Katongolo	a'lu:tota
	Ntuchi	a'lu:tota, to'ta
	Lwanji	a'lu:tota, to'ta:
	Ngoma	a'ta:tota, to'ta:
	Katuka	a'kutota, to'ta
	Ilembo	aku'tota, to'ta
fly		
	Milanzi	a'lu:luka, 'uluka
	Miombo	a'lu:luka, u'lu:ka
	Katongolo	a'lu:luka, 'uluka:
	Ntuchi	a'lu:luka, 'luka
	Lwanji	ci'lu:luka, ulu'ka:
	Ngoma	i'cu:luka, u'lu:ka
	Katuka	ici'kuluka, 'uluka
	Ilembo	a'ku:luka, 'uluka
stool - kigoda		
	Milanzi	ici'ku:ŋku, ifi'ku:ŋku
	Miombo	ici'ku:ŋku, ifi'ku:ŋku
	Katongolo	ici'kuŋku, ifi'kuŋku
	Ntuchi	ici'ku:ŋku, ivi'ku:ŋku
	Lwanji	ici'ku:ŋku, ivi'ku:ŋku
	Ngoma	aka'ku:ŋku, ivi'ku:ŋku
	Katuka	ici'ku:ŋku, ivi'ku:ŋku
	Ilembo	ici'kuŋku, ivi'kuŋku
stool - kitchen		
	Milanzi	ici'su:mbi, ifi'su:mbi
	Miombo	rki'su:mbi/ici'su:mbi, ifi'su:mbi
	Katongolo	ici'su:mbi, ifi'su:mbi
	Ntuchi	ici'su:mbi/iki'su:mbi, ivi'su:mbi
	Lwanji	ici'su:mbi, ivi'su:mbi
	Ngoma	ici'li:mba, ivi'li:mba
	Katuka	ici'su:mbi, ivi'su:mbi
	Ilembo	ici'su:mbi, ivi'su:mbi

**Appendix C**  
**Phrase List Elicitation List**

Informants' names: \_\_\_\_\_

Places of birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Places lived: \_\_\_\_\_

Mothers' languages: \_\_\_\_\_ Fathers' languages: \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

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

<i>Give small stone to informant</i>	
1. jiwe	
2. nina jiwe	
3. jiwe ni dogo	
4. hili ni jiwe langu	
5. hili ni jiwe langu moja	
<i>Give larger stone to informant</i>	
6. mawe	
7. nina mawe mawili	
8. haya ni mawe yangu	
9. haya ni mawe yangu mawili	
10. hili ni jiwe langu kubwa	
11. hili ni jiwe langu dogo	
12. jiwe dogo ni zuri kuliko jiwe kubwa	
<i>Put larger stone a small distance away</i>	
13. jiwe lile ni kubwa kuliko hili	
<i>Give larger stone to someone sitting nearby</i>	
14. ana jiwe	
15. jiwe lile ni lake	
16. jiwe lake ni zuri	
17. analipenda jiwe lake	
18. jiwe lake ni kubwa kuliko langu	
<i>Take stone from second person</i>	
19. alikuwa na jiwe	
20. hana jiwe	



## Appendix D

### Phrase List Data

#### 1. Stone

1. jiwe	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'
Milanzi	i 'fi:ŋga
Miombo	i 'fi:ŋga
Ntuchi	i 'fi:ŋga
Katongolo	'fi:ŋga
Lwanji	i 'fi:ŋga
Ngoma	'iwe
Katuka	'iwe
Ilembo	i 'fi:ŋga

#### 2. I have a stone

2. nina jiwe	<i>nina</i> / 'have'	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'
Milanzi	'ndini	i 'fi:ŋga
Miombo	'ndilini	'fi:ŋga
Ntuchi	'ndini	'fi:ŋga
Katongolo	'ndilini	'fi:ŋga
Lwanji	'ndini	'fi:ŋga
Ngoma	'indini	'iwe
Katuka	'indini	'iwe
Ilembo	'indini	'fi:ŋga

#### 3. The stone is small

3. jiwe ni dogo	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'	<i>dogo</i> / 'small'
Milanzi	i 'fi:ŋga	'lja:ce:pa
Miombo	i 'fi:ŋga	i 'no:no~or lja:ce:pā
Ntuchi	i 'fi:ŋga	'lja:ce:pa~or i 'no:nō
Katongolo	i 'fi:ŋga	i 'no:no
Lwanji	i 'fi:ŋga	i 'cecite
Ngoma	'iwe	ili 'no:no
Katuka	'iwe	ili 'no:no
Ilembo	i 'fi:ŋga	ili 'no:no

#### 4. This is my stone

4. hili ni jiwe langu	<i>hili</i> / 'this'	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'	<i>langu</i> / 'my'	<i>hili</i> / 'this'
Milanzi		i 'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'li
Miombo	'e:li	i 'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	
Ntuchi	a 'lali~or 'e:lī	i 'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	
Katongolo	a 'lali	i 'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	
Lwanji	'e:li	i 'fi:ŋga	lja 'kwa:ne	
Ngoma	'li:	'iwe	'lja:ne	
Katuka	'li/i	'iwe	'lja:ne	
Ilembo	li	i 'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	

5. *This is my one stone*

5. hili ni jiwe langu moja	<i>hili</i> / 'this'	<i>Jiwe</i> / 'stone'	<i>langu</i> / 'my'	<i>moja</i> / 'one'	<i>hili</i> / 'this'
Milanzi		i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ljo:ŋga	'li
Miombo	'e:li	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ljo:ŋga	
Ntuchi	a'lali	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ljo:ŋga	
Katongolo	a'lali	i'fi:ŋga	'lja:ne	'ljo:ŋga	
Lwanji	'e:li	i'fi:ŋga	lja 'kwa:ne	'ljo:ŋga	
Ngoma	'li:	'iwe	'ljane	'ljo:ŋga	
Katuka	'li/i	'iwe	'ljane	'ljo:ŋga	
Ilembo	'li/i	i'fi:ŋga	'ljane	'ljo:ŋga	

6. *Stones*

6. mawe	<i>mawe</i> / 'stones'
Milanzi	ama'fi:ŋga
Miombo	ama'fi:ŋga
Ntuchi	ama'fi:ŋga
Katongolo	ama'fi:ŋga
Lwanji	ama'fi:ŋga
Ngoma	'amawe
Katuka	'amawe
Ilembo	ama'fi:ŋga

7. *I have two stones*

7. nina mawe mawili	<i>nina</i> / 'I have'	<i>mawe</i> / 'stones'	<i>mawili</i> / 'two'
Milanzi	'ndini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili
Miombo	ndi'lini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili
Ntuchi	'ndini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili
Katongolo	'indini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili
Lwanji	'ndini	ama'fi:ŋga	'jaili
Ngoma	'indini	'amawe	'jaili
Katuka	'indini	'amawe	ja'ili
Ilembo	'indini	ama'fi:ŋga	ja'ili

8. *These are my stones*

8. haya ni mawe yangu	<i>haya</i> / 'these'	<i>mawe</i> / 'stones'	<i>yangu</i> / 'my'	<i>haya</i> / 'these'
Milanzi		ama'fi:ŋga	'ja:ne	'ja/a
Miombo	a'laja	ama'fi:ŋga	'ja:ne	
Ntuchi	a'laja	a'mafi:ŋga	'ja:ne	
Katongolo	a'laja	ama'fi:ŋga	'ja:ne	
Lwanji	'e:ja	ama'fi:ŋga	ja 'kwa:ne or 'ja:nē	
Ngoma	'ja/a	'amawe	'ja:ne	
Katuka	'ja/a	'amawe	'ja:ne	
Ilembo	'ja	ama'fi:ŋga	'ja:ne	

9. *These are my two stones*

9. haya ni mawe yangu mawili	<i>haya</i> / 'these'	<i>mawe</i> / 'stones'	<i>yangu</i> / 'my'	<i>mawili</i> / 'two'
Milanzi		ama'fi:nga	'ja:ne	ja'ili
Miombo	a'laja	ama'fi:nga	'ja:ne	ja'ili
Ntuchi	a'laja	ama'fi:nga	'jane	ja'ili
Katongolo	a'laja	ama'fi:nga	'ja:ne	ja'ili
Lwanji	'e:ja	ma'fi:nga	ja'kwa:ne	ja'ili
Ngoma	'ja/a	'amawe	'ja:ne	'jaili
Katuka	'ja/a	'amawe	'jane	ja'ili
Ilembo	'ja	ama'fi:nga	'ja:ne	ja'ili

10. *This is my big stone*

10. hili ni jiwe langu kubwa	<i>hili</i> / 'this'	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'	<i>langu</i> / 'my'	<i>kubwa</i> / 'big'
Milanzi		i'fi:nga	'lja:ne	'ikulu
Miombo	'e:li	i'fi:nga	'lja:ne	i'kulu
Ntuchi	a'lali	i'fi:nga	'lja:ne	'ikulu
Katongolo	a'lali	i'fi:nga	'lja:ne	'ikulu
Lwanji	'e:li	i'fi:nga	lja'kwa:ne	i'kulu
Ngoma	'li/i	'iwe	'ljane	'likulu
Katuka	'li/i	'iwe	'ljane	i'likulu
Ilembo	'li/i	i'fi:nga	'ljane	i'likulu

11. *This is my small stone*

11. hili ni jiwe langu dogo	<i>Hili</i> / 'this'	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'	<i>langu</i> / 'my'	<i>dogo</i> / 'small'
Milanzi		i'fi:nga	'ljane	'lja:ce:pa
Miombo	'e:li	i'fi:nga	'lja:ne	i'no:no
Ntuchi	a'lali	i'fi:nga	'lja:ne	i'no:no
Katongolo	a'lali	i'fi:nga	'lja:ne	i'no:no
Lwanji	'e:li	i'fi:nga	lja'kwa:ne	i'ce:'ce:
Ngoma	'li/i	'iwe	'lja:ne	li'no:no
Katuka	'li/i	'iwe	'ljane	li'no:no
Ilembo	'li/i	i'fi:nga	'ljane	ili'no:no

12. *The small stone is better than the big stone*

12. jiwe dogo ni zuri kuliko jiwe kubwa	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'	<i>dogo</i> / 'small'	<i>zuri</i> / 'good'	<i>kuliko</i> / 'compared to'	<i>kubwa</i> / 'big'
Milanzi	i'fi:nga	i'ce:fu	'ljasipa	u'kuluta	'ikulu
Miombo	i'fi:nga	i'no:no	'ljazipa	li'lusile	i'kulu
Ntuchi	i'fi:nga	i'no:no	'ljazipa	uku'luta or li'lusilē	i'kulu
Katongolo	i'fi:nga	i'no:no	'ljazipa	u'kuluta	i'kulu
Lwanji	i'fi:nga	i'ce:ce:	'ljazipa	ku'zidi	'kulu
Ngoma	'iwe	li'no:no	ili'suma	uku'luta	ili'kulu
Katuka	'iwe	li'no:no	'ljazipa	u'kuluta	i'likulu
Ilembo	i'fi:nga	ili'no:no	'ljazipa	u'kuluta or li'lusilē	i'likulu

13. *That stone is bigger than this one*

13. jiwe lile ni kubwa kuliko hili	jiwe / 'stone'	lile / 'that'	kubwa / 'big'	kuliko / 'compared to'	hili / 'this'
Milanzi	i'fi:nga	'lili	'ljakula	ku'luta	'li
Miombo	i'fi:nga	'lili	'ljakula	li'lusile	'li
Ntuchi	i'fi:nga	'lili	'ljakula	li'lusile	li [lili is lile]
Katongolo	i'fi:nga	'lili	'ikulu	u'kuluta	li
Lwanji	i'fi:nga	li	i'kulu	ku'zidi	'e:li
Ngoma	'iwe	'li:li	i'likulu	u'kuluta	li
Katuka	'iwe	'li:li	'ljakula	u'kuluta	li
Ilembo	i'fi:nga	'li:li	'ljakula	li'lusile or u'kulutā	li

14. *He has a stone*

14. ana jiwe	ana / 'he has'	jiwe / 'stone'
Milanzi	'alini	'fi:nga
Miombo	'alini	i'fi:nga
Ntuchi	'alini	'fi:nga
Katongolo	'alini	'fi:nga
Lwanji	'alini	i'fi:nga
Ngoma	'alini	'iwe
Katuka	'alini	'iwe
Ilembo	a'lemile°	i'fi:nga

\**Alemile* means 'he is holding'.

15. *That stone is his*

15. jiwe lile ni lake	jiwe / 'stone'	lile / 'that'	lake / 'his'
Milanzi	i'fi:nga	'lili	i'ljakwe
Miombo	i'fi:nga	'lili	i'lja:kwe
Ntuchi	i'fi:nga	'lili	i'lja:kwe
Katongolo	i'fi:nga	'lili	i'ljakwe
Lwanji	i'fi:nga	'lile	lja 'kwa:kwe
Ngoma	'iwe	'li:li	i'lja:kwe
Katuka	'iwe	'li:li	i'lja:kwe
Ilembo	i'fi:nga	'li:li	i'lja:kwe

16. *His stone is good*

16. jiwe lake ni zuri	jiwe / 'stone'	lake / 'his'	zuri / 'good'
Milanzi	i'fi:nga	i'lja:kwe	'lja:sipa
Miombo	i'fi:nga	i'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa
Ntuchi	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa
Katongolo	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa
Lwanji	i'fi:nga	lja 'kwa:kwe	'ljazje:pa
Ngoma	'iwe	'lja:kwe	ili'suma
Katuka	'iwe	'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa
Ilembo	i'fi:nga	i'lja:kwe	'lja:zipa

17. *He likes his stone*

17. analipenda jiwe lake	<i>analipenda</i> / 'he likes'	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'	<i>lake</i> / 'his'
Milanzi	wali'ku:nda	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe
Miombo	walika'sama or wali'ku:ndā	i'fi:nga or i'ʃi:ngā	i'lja:kwe
Ntuchi	wali'kasama or wali'ku:ndā	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe
Katongolo	walika'sama	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe
Lwanji	wali'kasama	i'fi:nga	lja 'kwa:kwe
Ngoma	wali'temwa	'iwe	'lja:kwe
Katuka	wali'ku:nda	'iwe	'lja:kwe
Ilembo	wali'ku:nda	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe

18. *His stone is bigger than mine*

18. jiwe lake ni kubwa kuliko langu	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'	<i>lake</i> / 'his'	<i>kubwa</i> / 'big'	<i>kuliko</i> / 'compared to'	<i>langu</i> / 'my'
Milanzi	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe	i'kulu	li'luʃile	i'lja:ne
Miombo	i'fi:nga	i'lja:kwe	'ljakula	li'lusile	i'lja:ne
Ntuchi	i'fi:nga	'ljakwe	'ljakula	li'lusile	'ljane
Katongolo	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe	'lja:kula	uku'luta	'lja:ne
Lwanji	i'fi:nga	lja 'kwa:kwe	i'kulu	ku'zidi	lja 'kwa:ne
Ngoma	'iwe	'lja:kwe	i'likulu	u'kuluta	'lja:ne
Katuka	'iwe	'lja:kwe	'ljakula	u'kuluta	'lja:ne
Ilembo	i'fi:nga	'lja:kwe	'ljakula	li'lusile	'lja:ne

19. *He had a stone*

19. alikuwa na jiwe	<i>alikuwa na</i> / 'he had'	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'
Milanzi	a'ilalini	'fi:nga
Miombo	wa'lini	'fi:nga
Ntuchi	wa'lini or ali'lalini	'fi:nga
Katongolo	wa'lini	'fi:nga
Lwanji	'wa:ngi 'alini	'fi:nga
Ngoma	a'lalini	'iwe
Katuka	wa'lalini	'iwe
Ilembo	wa'lalini	'fi:nga

20. *He does not have a stone*

20. hana jiwe	<i>hana</i> / 'he does not have'	<i>jiwe</i> / 'stone'
Milanzi	a'sini	'fi:nga
Miombo	a'sini	'fi:nga
Ntuchi	a'sini	'fi:nga
Katongolo	ata'kwiti	i'fi:nga
Lwanji	a:'sini	i'fi:nga
Ngoma	ata'kwe:ti	'iwe
Katuka	ata'kwe:ti	'iwe
Ilembo	ata'kwe:ti	i'fi:nga

## Appendix E

### Group Interview Schedule

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Village: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

Taking interview notes: \_\_\_\_\_ Observation notes: \_\_\_\_\_

#### 1. Introduction/Group Composition

- 1.1 Watu wa makabila gani wanaishi katika kijiji hiki siku hizi?  
*(What ethnic groups are present in the village nowadays?)*  
 Before Prompting: Then prompt for Fipa (**F**), Bende (**B**), Pimbwe (**P**), Rungwa (**R**), Nyika (**Nk**), Wanda (**W**), Lungu (**L**), Mambwe (**M**), Nyamwanga (**Ny**).
- 1.2 Watu wa makabila gani wapo hapa katika mkutano?  
*(What ethnic groups are present here in the meeting?)*  
 Before Prompting: Then prompt for Fipa (**F**), Bende (**B**), Pimbwe (**P**), Rungwa (**R**), Nyika (**Nk**), Wanda (**W**), Lungu (**L**), Mambwe (**M**), Nyamwanga (**Ny**).

#### 2. Language & Dialect Relationships

- 2.1 Je, Upande wa kaskazini uko wapi? Wafipa wanapakana na watu wa kabila gani upande huu? Kijiji cha mwisho cha Wafipa ni kipi?  
*(Which way is north? With what ethnic group do the Fipa border in this direction? What is the last Fipa village?)*

N

W

E

S

**If not already mentioned:**

- 2.2 Kuna vijiji vya Wafipa huko Zambia? Wafipa wa Zambia wanaishi wapi? Na Malawi je? Kuna Wafipa huko Malawi? Na huko Kongo?  
*(Are there Fipa in Zambia? Where do they live? And what about Malawi? Are there Fipa in Malawi? And in the DRC?)*
- 2.3 Je, katika vijiji vyote vya Wafipa, watu husema/wanasemaga Kifipa sawa na ninyi? Au tofauti ipo?  
*(In all of the Fipa villages, do people speak Fipa in the same way you do? Or is there a difference?)*

- 2.4 Ukimsikia mtu kutoka kijiji fulani anapoongea Kifipa, utajua anakotoka kwa jinsi anavyoongea?  
(If you heard someone from a certain village speaking Fipa, would you be able to tell where he came from by his way of speaking?)
- 2.5 Je, kuna misemo mingapi ya Kifipa? Misemo hiyo inaitwaje? Watu hao wanakaa wapi? Mnaelewana vipi? Yote, karibu yote, au kiasi tu?  
(How many dialects of Fipa are there? What are they called? Where are they spoken? How well do you understand each other? Everything, almost everything, or just some?)

Jina	Mahali	Y,KY,KT	Comments

- 2.6 a. Mtu akitaka kujifunza Kifipa kizuri, kilicho sahihi, ajifunze wapi?  
(If a person wants to learn good Fipa, which is correct, where should he learn?)  
(Why?)  
Use if needed to clarify: Wafipa wanaosema Kifipa vizuri zaidi wako wapi?  
(Where do the Fipa speak Fipa the best?)
- b. Kwa nini?  
Kwa vipi?  
(In what way?)
- 2.7 Kifipa cha wapi si kizuri kama cha kwenu?  
(The Fipa from what area is not good like yours?)
- 2.8 Kifipa cha wapi ni kizuri zaidi kuandika ili Wafipa wote waelewe vizuri?  
(The Fipa of where is the best to write so that all Fipa will understand well?)

### 3. Language Development

- 3.1 a. Mnatumia Agano Jipya au Biblia ya lugha gani kanisani?  
(In what language is the New Testament or Bible you use in church?) na nyumbani?  
(And at home?)
- b. Mnatumia Agano Jipya ya Kifipa? Kwa nini/Kwa nini hamitumii?  
(Do you use the Fipa New Testament? Why/Why not?)
- c. Watu gani wanaweza kusoma na kuelewa vizuri Agano Jipya ya Kifipa?  
(What sort of people can read and understand the Fipa New Testament well?)
- 3.2 Kifipa cha Agano Jipya ni cha wapi?  
(From where is the Fipa of the New Testament?)
- 3.3 Na vijana je? Wanaweza kusoma Agano Jipya ya Kifipa, au hawapendi?  
(And the young people? Are they able to read the Fipa New Testament or do they not like to?)

## Appendix F

### Post-RTT Questions

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Village: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

Taking interview notes: \_\_\_\_\_ Observation notes: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Huyu aliyeongea, ametoka wapi?

*The person who was talking, where is he from?*

2. Je, anaongea kifipa kizuri, kinavyotakiwa kusemwa?

*Is he speaking good Fipa, how it's expected to be spoken?*

3. Mlielewa alivyosema kiasi gani?

*How much of what he said did you understand?*

4. Mkilinganisha anavyoongea yeye, na mnavyoongea ninyi hapa, je ni tofauti sana au kidogo tu?

*If you compare how he was talking and how you speak, is it very different or just a bit?*

5. Je, mna uhusiano gani na watu wa kwake?

*What kind of relationship do you have with people from this man's place?*



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