

LANGUAGE IN ZAMBIA

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# LANGUAGE IN ZAMBIA

*Editors*

Sirarpi Ohannessian  
Mubanga E. Kashoki

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Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa.  
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## FOREWORD

The present volume embodies the major part of reports and papers resulting from the Zambia part of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa, an extensive sociolinguistic survey carried out from 1967 to 1971, under a grant from the Ford Foundation, and with support from local education authorities and universities in five countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. An international group of linguists and scholars from related fields, with cooperation from similar scholars in local universities carried out a variety of research and observation projects under the auspices of the Survey. Reports have already been published on the surveys in Uganda, Kenya, and Ethiopia.

The aim of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Zambia was to provide as much information as it was possible to collect during the course of one year (1970-1971) on the language situation in the country where very little had been available thus far. In addition to the interested public, the Survey tried to provide useful information to all those called upon to make decisions at a variety of levels on matters related to language use and language teaching in Zambia. In presenting the material a special effort was made to use non-technical language, and to address it to the educated layman rather than the specialist.

The Zambia Survey, on the model of the other four surveys, concentrated on three major aspects of the situation: (a) the general language situation, including language distribution, language relationships, and brief grammatical sketches of the seven officially approved Zambian languages, (b) language use, including intelligibility studies, language use by different groups, etc. and (c) language in education, with special emphasis on Zambian languages.

During 1970-1971 the Survey was housed at the Institute for African Studies of the University of Zambia. Contributors to its work, in addition to Sirarpi Ohannessian and Mubanga E. Kashoki, who were full-time team members, included scholars and teachers both from the University of Zambia and other institutions, many of whom had had long experience in the area. Some were engaged in related research, which formed a base for the work they did for the Survey. The Survey enjoyed all the services of the University of Zambia, and was able to utilise its amenities such as the library and computer centre. It also had the full support of the Ministry of Education, without which field work would have been very difficult.

The chapters in this volume were written mainly in the year field work was carried out, but a few were completed a year or more later, with consequent updating. Since then there has been some additional updating. One chapter, that on adult literacy, has been rewritten, and



an entirely new chapter has been added to summarise developments from 1971 to 1977. In 1975 Dr. Thomas Gorman, a former member of the Survey Council, then at the University of California at Los Angeles, read the entire manuscript and made some very useful editorial suggestions which have since been incorporated into the text.

Two major factors have contributed to the delay in the publication of this volume. The first was delay by the original publishers beset by problems of rising costs; the second, related to costs, was the size of the manuscript. Following the recommendations and suggestions of various readers, a final decision was made early in 1977 to reduce the manuscript in size. The present volume, which the International African Institute at this point undertook to publish, consists of the major part of the original manuscripts with some chapters combined, some cut, and others which would have needed drastic updating or were not central to the issue left out. The series of Grammatical Sketches of the "official" Zambian languages is being published separately by the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia, in three volumes: I Bemba and Kaonde, by M. Mann, M. E. Kashoki and J. L. Wright; II Lozi, Lunda and Luvale, by G. Fortune and C. M. N. White; and III Nyanja and Tonga, by D. A. Lehmann and H. Carter.

The authors of the various chapters of the present volume, who were deeply involved in the Survey, are described in more detail here. Professor J. Donald Bowen was Field Director of the Survey from 1968 to 1970. He has undertaken other assignments in Africa, South America and Asia and has written and edited a number of books and articles on language and language teaching. He is currently Professor of English at the University of California, Los Angeles. Dr. Ansu K. Datta was lecturer in the School of Education at the University of Zambia and is now living in France. Drs. Clasina de Gaay Fortman has a doctorands degree in general linguistics and has taught at various secondary schools. She lived in Zambia from 1967 to 1971 when she took part in the Survey and now teaches at the Groevenbeek Christian College in Ermelo, the Netherlands. Dr. D. A. Lehmann was a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Zambia (1966-76) and though now retired continues her researches. Dr. Bryson McAdam has been in the Education Service in Malaya, an Inspector of English in Malawi and during the period of the Survey was Director of the English Medium Centre and Deputy Director of the Curriculum Development Centre in Zambia. He is now the English Language Officer of the British Council in Malaysia. Dr. Michael Mann is lecturer in Bantu languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, has made a particular study of Bemba and his main research interest is comparative Bantu linguistics. He was responsible with others for training Zambian language specialists at SOAS 1972-76. Mr. Moses Musonda is Senior Lecturer in French at the University of Zambia and

between 1973 and 1977 was Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University. Dr. Graham Mytton did doctoral research in Tanzania on the role of the mass media in nation-building and between 1970 and 1973 was Zambia Broadcasting Services Research Fellow at the University of Zambia and in charge of the ZBS Listener Research Project. He is now Hausa Programme Organiser in the British Broadcasting Services African Service. Dr. Robert Serpell is head of the Department of Psychology of the University of Zambia and is at present Acting Director of the Institute for African Studies. His current research includes assessment of intelligence, multilingualism and the learning of perceptual skills. He is author of *Culture's Influence on Behaviour*. Professor Mubanga E. Kashoki is Professor in the Department of African Languages of the University of Zambia and Director of the Institute for African Studies. He is currently on sabbatical leave in the United States. Ms. Sirarpi Ohannessian was on the staff of the Center for Applied Linguistics, from 1959 to 1976 and spent 1970-71 in Zambia working on the Survey. Her major interests are applied linguistics, English for speakers of other languages, language pedagogy and sociolinguistics. She has published bibliographies, articles and reports on language surveys.

Sirarpi Ohannessian  
Mubanga E. Kashoki  
*September 1977*

## INTRODUCTION

*Language in Zambia* is part of a series of five country studies that have been produced over the past few years. This effort at linguistic documentation has been perhaps the most important activity of the *Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa*. The Survey, supported by the Ford Foundation and assisted by universities, research institutes, government ministries and public offices in five countries in Eastern Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia) sponsored research teams from 1967 to 1971, each team spending twelve to fifteen months in Africa gathering data, then a similar period of time analysing the data and writing a report.

The survey itself has been well documented. Its background, basic goals, and history have been described in various publications, most recently by Clifford H. Prator in his introduction to the first volume of the present series: *Language in Uganda*. There is no need to recapitulate this information, but it is perhaps useful to list once again the goals that guided Survey activities:

1. To gather and disseminate basic information on the use and teaching of languages in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.
2. To stimulate research and development in linguistics and language pedagogy in the region.
3. To assist in strengthening the resources of Eastern African institutions concerned with the language arts and sciences.
4. To foster closer productive, intraregional and international relations among specialists in linguistics and related disciplines.

Though it was the last country to be studied in the Survey, Zambia has been the first country in national interest, encouragement, and official cooperation. Other countries in the region offered assistance to Survey efforts, but Zambia provided initiative and enthusiastic encouragement from a time which actually antedates Survey planning. Indeed, Zambia was actively engaged in planning a survey of its own at the time the Eastern African Survey was organised, and was more than happy to lend its support to the more comprehensive regional effort.

This early planning can be seen in a report prepared in 1966 by Peter Strevens, written after a short visit to Zambia at the invitation of Professor Alastair Heron, Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (now the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia) and Professor of Psychology. Professor Heron realised that language problems in Zambia would be closely relevant to the areas of psychological and sociological research which were his main interest and responsibility. Early consultations between Professors Heron and Strevens recognised the need for specialists and special interest in:

1. Zambian (and more broadly, African) languages
2. Linguistics in relation to the human and social sciences
3. Linguistics in relation to the teaching of languages.

The report which Professor Stevens prepared is a most interesting document, accurately describing many details of the as-of-that-time unplanned five-country Survey. Citing languages and language use, it spelled out the need for information on Zambian languages and their role, present and future, in national life, in particular the need to encourage the development of linguistic skills and language teaching facilities, to gather accurate and current information on the number of speakers, the use to which languages were put, the actual extent of the use of English, etc. and to encourage scholars to undertake contrastive studies and the description of Zambian languages with their varieties, dialects, distribution, patterns of change, etc. A survey team was envisaged as consisting of a director and two field workers. The proposed Zambian Linguistic Survey would no doubt have been carried out with resources available at the time, but when Zambians learned of the Eastern African effort, they chose to become part of this larger Survey.

Stevens remarked on the "prevailing urgency of thought and action" which he noted. This sense of urgency was no doubt the source of much of the interest and strong support manifested when the Eastern African Survey team began its work in Zambia. It is a pleasure to record the deep and sincere appreciation of the Survey for help and encouragement given from many sources. In particular the Ministry of Education and the University of Zambia have lent their means and support to the Survey effort, and much of what has been accomplished no doubt derives from this official interest and assistance.

There are differences between the Stevens blueprint and the actual Survey. Stevens envisioned an effort that would continue for five years, with an annual budget of \$22,000 or a total of \$110,000. This was of course a target to shoot at, not an actual commitment. What actually emerged was a one-year period of field work, with a budget substantially lower than that which Stevens recommended for a single year.

Another difference is a team of only two full-time members. This "short-fall" has been compensated by the invitation to a number of scholars, located in Zambia and elsewhere, to contribute their time and knowledge to the preparation of chapters or sections of the final report. This local and outside collaboration has strongly enhanced the present volume, far beyond what two people could have been expected to accomplish, so the balance is at least in part redressed. Another strength is the result of being "last" in the series. The research instruments, questionnaires, etc. and the experience of the four predecessor teams

were available to Zambia. Ideas had been tried, elaborated and refined, research patterns established, etc. all of which worked to the benefit of the Zambia study.

What could actually be accomplished, nonetheless, will perhaps inevitably be compared to what would be desirable. Such a comparison will certainly justify the Strevens' proposal for a five-year survey. Even with tried tools, excellent precedents, strong support, and extramural participation, there was a limit to what a team could accomplish in a year, and Zambia is not the first Survey country where this has been demonstrated. A continuation of the effort is perhaps implicit, and one of the most important contributions of the present study may well be the encouragement and orientation it offers for scholars within the country to undertake follow-on studies that will produce more of the knowledge and information that is needed.

The structure of the Zambia study, like its predecessors, is in three parts:

1. Linguistic demography (descriptive linguistics)
2. Language use (sociolinguistics)
3. Language teaching (applied linguistics)

One cannot help referring back to the statement of interest for a proposed survey that came out of the Heron-Strevens discussions. Without being identical, the general organisation of the early proposal and of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching as it was actually carried out correspond closely. Each was organised under three general headings.

*Part One presents an overview of the linguistic situation in Zambia:* who speaks which languages, where they are spoken, what these languages are like, etc. Special emphasis is given to the extensive survey of the languages of the Kafue basin, where extensive changes and relocations have recently taken place. *Part Two is on language use:* patterns of competence and of extension for certain languages in urban settings, configurations of comprehension across language boundaries, how selected groups of multilinguals employ each of their languages and for what purposes, what languages are used in radio and television broadcasting and how decisions to use or not use a language are made. *Part Three involves language and formal education:* what languages, Zambian and foreign, are used at various levels in the schools, which are taught and how well, with what curricula, methods, textbooks, etc., how teachers are trained, how special problems such as adult literacy are approached and with what success.

Obviously this list could be extended. There is grist for the research mill to more than last through the foreseeable future. Furthermore, the situation is not static; as changes occur additional studies will be needed,

and decisions taken in the past may need to be reconsidered and re-evaluated. This is precisely why the Survey emphasised that in addition to the preparation of a country study, it is urgently important to build Zambian expertise and strengthen Zambian institutions, so that the research needs of the future can be met within the country. The Zambia study is, then, more of a blueprint than a structure to be preserved, and the Zambia research team will consider its work successful if there is encouragement for a pattern for continuing studies to be undertaken in the future.

The region of Eastern Africa has provided an interesting area for comparative studies of language and linguistics. The similarities and differences of the five countries inspire considerable theoretical interest. All are multilingual in composition, with many languages spoken by many people within the national boundaries. All face similar problems of development, with a common need to support an increasingly complex technology in order to exploit natural resources for the benefit of the majority of the countries' citizens. All have centralising political tendencies and all are concerned with problems of "patria chica", whether in the form of regionalism or tribalism. All are developing new political systems in response to new circumstances and new problems.

The differences of language situations and language policies among the countries are particularly interesting. Each country seems to feel the need for either a clearly dominant or neutral language to function as a national (and official) language. Ethiopia has as its national language Amharic, an indigenous language that has functioned in this role for hundreds of years, in spite of being the language of a minority of the country's citizens. There is no great question of language choice, but rather of language development or engineering. Amharic needs to be modernised at a faster rate than natural evolution can provide, and this is now a national concern. Still Ethiopia recognizes the need for international communication and has accepted English without any noticeable apprehensions as a *de facto* second official language, which is also used in secondary and higher education.

Tanzania has more recently selected a national language, Swahili, which has the advantage of a long history as a trade language over a wide area of Eastern and Central Africa. It is strongly supported not only by the government but by all national institutions, and instilling a pride in Swahili has been and is a priority development goal. As in Ethiopia a need for modernisation exists, and linguistic development has been tackled resolutely by an officially organised effort that has assigned committees in various subject areas. Tanzania retains English as a language of upper education, but English will likely be replaced by Swahili as soon as materials and trained teachers can be produced. Tanzania sees Swahili as a regional language of great economic

importance and cultural significance and will encourage all of its neighbour countries to adopt and use it.

Kenya has recently announced its intention to replace English as the foremost official language with Swahili; a "neutral" and widely used trade language, and a target date about four years distant has been selected for the changeover. In the meantime concrete suggestions are being made for the expanded use of the language in many areas of national life, to widen its areas of acceptance and function. There is some opposition to these recent announcements, as shown in newspaper articles and letters to the editor, and English is highly prized by the minority constituting the elite who profit from their competence in the language. The public schools strongly emphasise English, but its dominance will probably be challenged in the not-too-distant future, with more support for Swahili as a language to be taught and used as a medium of instruction.

Uganda retains English as its official language and as the main language of education, but Swahili is established as the language of the army and the police. Recent studies have shown Swahili to be more widely used in Uganda as a lingua franca than had been estimated, and a small group of intellectuals are beginning to call for the eventual adoption of Swahili as the official and national language of the country. Vernacular interests are perhaps more vocally supported in Uganda than in Kenya (and much more than in Tanzania). The country has radio broadcasts in 20 or 21 languages. These interests indirectly support English, since as an outside "neutral" language, English escapes the local associations of indigenous languages and is therefore more widely acceptable (as a compromise) than are local competitors.

Zambia is in a somewhat similar situation, but there is no presently available African language that is "neutral", as Swahili is in Uganda, and therefore acceptable to speakers of other Zambian languages. English is the official language, widely used in government, in broadcasting, and in education, where it is national policy to move as rapidly as possible to an all-English curriculum. The major local language communities are divided in the population in several groups of roughly equal size, so it is unlikely that any one will emerge as dominant: all other groups could be expected to quickly unite in opposition to any group that actively were to seek hegemony. Also, Zambia is relatively well developed, especially its mining industry, and the value of English as a language of wider communication is appreciated.

The studies that are made in these varied situations cannot be expected to be fully comparable, especially given the further information that (1) there were different amounts of data available in each country at the beginning of Survey activities, (2) members of different teams had different interests, skills, experience, etc. and (3) that different emphases

were desired by local authorities in the various countries. For these and for other reasons, the five reports are only partially comparable, though there is sufficient common focus to warrant a comparative study, and it is to be hoped that one can be undertaken in the not-too-distant future.

The country studies will not be all things to all men. The job is simply too big to be fully done with the resources available, and complaints can be expected from those who feel their own special interests have been slighted. Nevertheless the volumes are outstanding in offering a very considerable amount of well documented information on a wide variety of subjects.

What possible effects can be expected from *Language in Zambia* and from its companion volumes? Most important, perhaps, is that a lot of valuable relevant information has been assembled that can assist those who have an interest in language and in particular those whose responsibility it is to formulate policy decisions. Availability of linguistic information does not, of course, guarantee that decisions will be linguistically ideal, but it does make possible the considerations of factors that have important effects. And it will be readily appreciated that any language policy decision is more likely to be productive if it is based on valid information, if it does not, for example, run counter to actual language use.

The country studies will hopefully also contribute to the other Survey goals, will develop more research consciousness, and will encourage further studies, which will contribute to the national pool of linguistic expertise. Also the studies will hopefully increase public support of local universities through pride in institutional development. Other benefits may include an improvement of the curriculum and materials for use in the schools, so that Zambian students can learn more about and learn to better appreciate the rich linguistic heritage of the country. As indicated earlier, directions of future research may be indicated by the gaps that persist after the study is available. Perhaps language learning will be made more efficient by the availability of more accurate information contained in the linguistic descriptions of the languages to be learned.

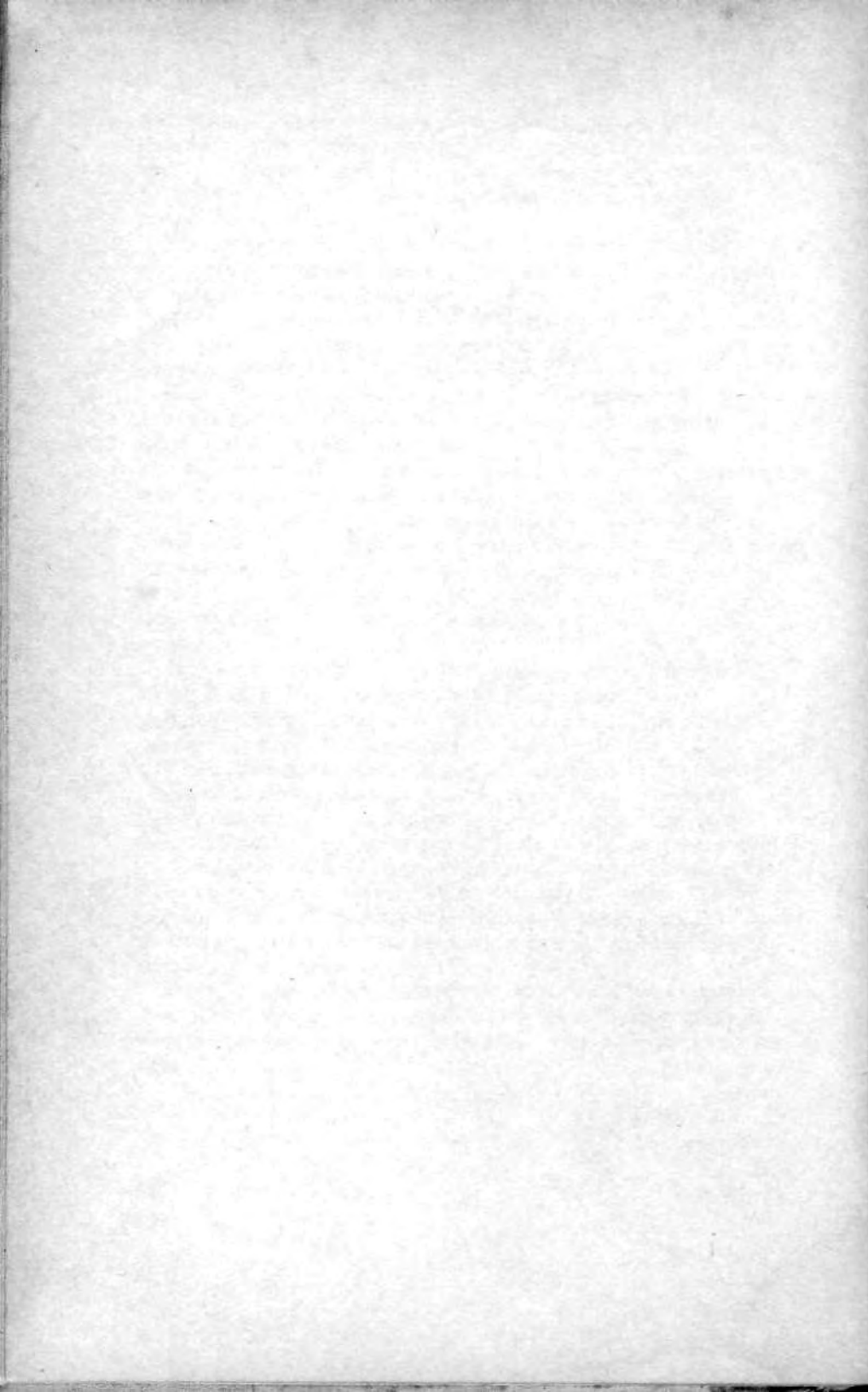
Those who have been associated with the Survey effort hope that some of the goals have been realised, that language, language use, and language teaching will be better understood for the effort that has been made.

J. Donald Bowen  
June 1972



PART ONE

*LANGUAGES OF ZAMBIA*



# 1 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN ZAMBIA

Mubanga E. Kashoki

## 1.0 Introduction

One of the questions most frequently asked about the language situation in Zambia is: "How many languages are there in this country?" This is an easy question to ask, but one to which there is no correspondingly easy answer. Firstly, as we shall discuss at greater length later in the next chapter, it is still a moot point as to what constitutes a language and what constitutes a dialect.

Apart from the dilemma of definition, there is also the problem of confusing two quite different, though related, concepts: language and tribe. The confusion often arises out of a general tendency to regard language as being invariably synonymous with tribe. This may explain in part why the claim persists that there are seventy-three languages in Zambia, a figure which corresponds exactly with the number of tribes officially recognised by the Zambian Government. The point is also worth noting that despite research already carried out (including that reported in the present volume) designed to investigate the overall language situation in Zambia, a comprehensive language survey covering the entire country has yet to be undertaken.

In this chapter, it is our intention merely to provide a brief sketch of the language situation in Zambia, particularly as we observed it at the time of the survey. In Chapter 2, we shall attempt to give a more detailed account of the languages of those provinces which we were able to visit and about which, therefore, we were able to gather some linguistic data and there we shall describe, for example, the sound systems of the languages we observed, their morphology and syntax, and selected vocabulary correspondences.

## 2.0 A Brief Historical Note on the Peoples of Zambia

To understand the present language situation in Zambia, it is perhaps first necessary that we attempt to provide a brief historical background. Such a background might also be useful in providing a clue, even if only a partial one, to the existing patterns of human settlement which bear directly on the present-day language situation.

Although information on the historical origins of the peoples of Zambia in most cases is only tentative and provisional at the present

moment, it is now generally accepted, and a considerable amount of literature exists (see bibliography at the end of this chapter) to support the theory that the majority of the present Bantu language groups in Zambia, particularly in the northern, eastern and western parts of the country, migrated from the southern part of Zaire (formerly the Congo).

The others not derived from the Congo appear to have originated either from the north in East Africa (e.g. the Mambwe and the Inamwanga) or from the south (e.g. the Ngoni of the Eastern Province) or from the east (e.g. the Tumbuka). The migration into Zambia of the Bantu peoples probably began early in the Iron Age, during the first few centuries A.D. According to D. W. Phillipson (1972 pp. 9-10),

At about the beginning of the second millennium A.D. appeared the first settlement of the later Iron Age people who seem, archaeologically speaking, to be directly ancestral to many sections of the present Zambian population. On the Copperbelt and around Lusaka the later Iron Age was established by the 12th century and a similar date seems probable over most of the eastern half of Zambia. It was among these people that immigrant groups later established states and kingdoms whose history is preserved in the traditions of Zambian peoples.

These traditions invariably trace the origins of the immigrant groups from the Luba and Lunda empires which flourished round about the 15th and 16th centuries in the Upper Congo basin. The arrival in Zambia of immigrant groups of Congolese origin is thought to have taken place between the 16th and 19th centuries (cf. Roberts 1966, p. 103). Migration dates for groups of non-Congolese origin are even more difficult to establish.

The process of migration was rather a haphazard one. The people of Zambia evidently arrived in the country at different periods, in varying numbers, and under different circumstances. Even after arriving in the country, the process of migration did not cease but went on apace due to a variety of factors, the principal one being the wars which the groups waged against one another from time to time. The result was minor or sometimes significant shifts in population so that today we are able to observe a great mixture of peoples within Zambia, particularly in the Northwestern and Western Provinces where very often people speaking different languages live side by side either in the same village or in different villages located in the same area. This, together with other factors to be considered later, has given rise to a highly complex language situation in the country. For example, in writing about the Luvale and other migrant language groups now resident in the Western Province, Fortune (1970, p. 31), has observed that "in addition to the people who speak the languages which have been there for a considerable time, immigrants

speaking foreign languages are present in considerable numbers".

The continuous and small-scale character of migration also had its effect on social organisation. The present so-called "tribes" of Zambia are the result of human movements and social changes throughout the pre-colonial past, and even during the present century. Many Zambian peoples acquired their present sense of tribal identity as a result of being united together under the rule of a particular clan or royal dynasty. For example, the Bisa were ruled by chiefs of the Mush-room (*ɲona*) clan; all the Bemba were subjects of one king, Chitimukulu.

In the case of some tribes, it is not easy to explain just how they have come to be distinguished from one another; it is usually partly a matter of language and partly a matter of cultural and political institutions. The main point is that this process of tribal grouping is itself continuous and subject to change. It is unlikely that any of the modern tribes, as distinct from social groups, are more than a few centuries old. It would certainly be incorrect to think of whole tribes migrating from the Congo.

Stories of tribal migration invariably refer to the immigration only of small groups of people who founded chieftainships, mostly perhaps in the 17th and 18th centuries. Recent research into oral traditions has tended to confirm the archaeological evidence that, long before the present chiefdoms were founded, most of Zambia was inhabited by people similar in culture to peoples of more recent times.<sup>1</sup>

The resultant groupings of immigrants from the Congo into more or less distinct language groups include the Lamba of the Copperbelt Province; the Cewa, Nsenga, Kunda and Senga of the Eastern Province (but not the Tumbuka who are of an eastern Bantu origin); the Aushi, Lunda and Ng'umbo of the Luapula Province (but not the Twa of the Bangweulu swamps); the Bemba, the Bisa and Lala (including their offshoots, the Swaka) of the Northern Province (but not the Mambwe, Inamwanga, and Nyiha in the Mbala and Isoka districts); the Lunda, Luvale, Cokwe, and Kaonde of the Northwestern Province; and the Luyana peoples (e.g. Kwandi, Kwangwa, Mbowe, etc.) of the Western Province.

As a special case, there is little in the available literature to shed useful light on the *Twa*, except that they are generally considered to be the surviving remnants of the nomadic Bushmen who inhabited Zambia long before the taller, more powerful, and better organised Bantu peoples began to arrive.

Today the Twa are to be found in three main locations, the Bangweulu swamps (the largest group), the Kafue Flats, and the Lukanga swamps, where they apparently took refuge from the encroachments of the new arrivals. In language and culture they have adapted to a considerable degree to that of the surrounding tribes, so that, as Dr. Leh-

mann has shown in Chapter 3, the speech of the Twa in the Kafue and Lukanga swamps is today similar to that of the neighbouring Tonga, Ila and Lenje. Similarly, the Twa in the Bangweulu swamps are according to Brelsford (1956, p. 110) "culturally, linguistically and ethnologically part of the surrounding tribes".

While it is generally accepted that the Tonga and their neighbours (e.g. the Ila and Lenje) of the Southern and Central Provinces, called until recently *Bantu Botatwe* (their phrase for "three people"), are related, very little as yet is known about their early origins. There are tentative suggestions that they, like the Inamwanga and Mambwe, are of an Eastern Bantu stock but so far evidence for this remains largely conjectural. However, whatever their origins, owing to long and continuous contact with peoples from the Congo the Tonga in many important respects, including language and culture, today resemble people of Congolese origin. (See Chapter 4 for vocabulary and morphemic correspondences and degrees of mutual comprehension between Tonga on the one hand and Bemba, Lozi, and Nyanja on the other.)

Despite the uncertainty which still surrounds the origins of the *Lozi*, who occupy today the greater part of the Western Province, it is fairly well-established (cf. Mainga, 1966b, p. 123) that the Luyana or Luyi, now generally known by the term Lozi, also came originally from the Congo. The contrary theory which connects them with the Rozwi/Karanga empire which flourished in Rhodesia round about the sixteenth century has less support for it. The term *Lozi* apparently is of quite recent origin; it seems to be derived from the word *Rotse* by which the Luyana were called by the Kololo, a Sotho offshoot, who conquered and ruled over them for a while in the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to Gluckman, when the Luyana subsequently annihilated the Kololo and recovered their country, they retained the Sotho (Kololo) language, the present Lozi, which in the interim had undergone inevitable modifications. This is seen in the change of *Rotse* to *Lozi* "in accordance with regular phonetic changes of *r* to *l* and *ts* to *s*" (Gluckman, 1951, p. 1).<sup>2</sup> Lozi today is the lingua franca of the Western Province as well as that of Livingstone and its immediate peri-urban environs. Although the old Luyana language survives only in the ceremonies, songs and rituals, particularly at the Litunga's court, the other dialects of the group (e.g. Kwangwa, Kwandi, etc.), are still spoken in their respective areas.

Another Zambian people not traceable to the Congo, as we have stated, are the *Ngoni* of the Eastern Province. Today the Ngoni consist of two distinct groups, at least linguistically: the first and main one being that of Chief Mpezeni in the Chiupata District and the other that of Chief Magodi in the Lundazi District. The Ngoni are an offshoot of the Nguni group of peoples and they originally came from near Natal in

South Africa, and crossed into Zambia in 1835. In language and culture they may be described today either as Tumbuka-speaking (in Magodi's area) or as Nsenga-speaking (in Mpezeni's area). (See Chapter 2 for further details on their present languages). Ngoni as a language is practically extinct and only survives in songs and royal praises, and perhaps in the speech of a few old people. The sign pointing to the palace of Chief Mpezeni, for example, bears the inscription in Ngoni *Inkosi ya makosi* "chief of chiefs".<sup>3</sup>

The *Tumbuka* of Lundazi District (including the Yombe and Fungwe of Isoka District, but not the Kamanga, Henga and Nthali who are almost entirely resident today in neighbouring Malawi) are another language group whose origins cannot be traced to the Congo, but most probably to the Eastern Bantu stock. The population in Zambia is only a small part of the larger population that one finds in Malawi. As will be shown in Chapter 2, Tumbuka differs in some essential respects from Nyanja (or Cewa) with which it has long been associated. The Tumbuka, Fungwe and the Yombe (as well as the Senga described below) today speak practically the same language.

The *Senga* of Lundazi (not to be confused with the *Nsenga* of Petauke District) are today, in language and even in culture, part of the Tumbuka language group. They were, however, originally an offshoot of the Bisa. Assimilation with the Tumbuka was principally due to intermarriage between *Senga* men and *Tumbuka* women (Kay, p. 42).

Close to the *Nsenga*, in the confluence of the Lwangwa and Zambezi rivers in Feira District, live the *Chikunda* (to be distinguished from the *Kunda* of Petauke District). The *Chikunda* are sometimes described as having been originally a heterogeneous group of half-caste slavers (Roberts, 1966, p. 119).

However, according to George Kay (p. 41), they may be associated with the Nyanja word *mcikunda*, meaning a fighter or soldier. Kay further states that *Chikunda* "was the title given to military and commercial adventurers and elephant hunters who frequented the Zambezi-Luangwa trade route in the nineteenth century. These people did not at first form a tribe, nor did they come from any single tribe. They were a mixed lot who had little in common but their distinctive way of life and similarities of language and culture; most of them came from the Maravi group of peoples". However, *Chikunda*, also spoken in the Tete district of Mozambique and in two districts of Rhodesia, Darwin and Sipolilo (Fortune, 1959, p. 50), is more closely related to *Sena*, a language spoken principally in Rhodesia, than to Nyanja.

Another language group of some significance in Zambia with no immediate associations with the Congo is the *Mambwe-Lungu-Inamwanga* group. It is to be found in the extreme north and north-east corner of Zambia, in the Northern Province, and belongs to the group

of Eastern Bantu. Brelsford (1965, p. 83) says that the Mambwe may be regarded as a branch of the Lungu. They are both derived from the Fipa of Southwest Tanzania and may even possibly have some distant connections with the Nyakyusa, also of Tanzania. At any rate, the Lungu of Tafuna (but not those of Mukupa-Kaoma who are essentially Bemba-speaking now) and the Mambwe today speak the same language except for minor dialectal differences.

Other language groups of non-Congo origin in this area include the *Inamwanga* (previously variously called the Inamwanga, Winamwanga, Nyamwanga, or Namwanga) and the *Iwa* of Isoka District. The latter are in fact historically an offshoot of the former, and on cultural and linguistic grounds at least they should still be regarded as one unit with the parent group.<sup>4</sup>

The *Tambo* of chief Katyetye and subchief Kapumbu to the east of the Iwa in Isoka District (considered to be originally of Luban origin) are today culturally and linguistically part of the Inamwanga-Iwa cluster. The *Lambya*, further to the east in the same district, especially in chief Mweniwisi's area, on the other hand, while sharing certain linguistic characteristics with the Tambo and Iwa, should be considered as having more in common culturally and linguistically with the Nyiha than with the Mambwe-Lungu-Inamwanga group, despite levelling processes which increasingly influence them to swing to the latter group.

*Nyiha*, another language group of the Isoka and Chama Districts with origins in the east, should be regarded as distinct, at least linguistically, from Mambwe, Lungu and Inamwanga. At any rate, there appears to be little or no mutual comprehension between it and the other three languages, and there are some essential phonological and morphological differences as well between them. The Nyiha, together with the Lambya and Wandya, appear not to have been enumerated in the census of 1969.

While originally there may well have been several *Swahili* settlements in Zambia, today only two of any significance have survived: one in chiefs Mushili's and Chiwala's areas in the Ndola District, and the other close to the Zaire border, near Chienge in the Kaputa District. Several villages of Swahili speakers can also be found in chief Nsama's area in the Mporokoso District. Altogether there are about 7,495 Swahili speakers in Zambia according to the 1969 Census. The present writer has no first-hand information on whether Swahili communities have intermixed linguistically and culturally with the surrounding non-Swahili communities to the point of total assimilation. Research on the present situation is required to establish the actual state of affairs.

This historical note must close with a brief mention of the *Goba* (Gowa, Gova or Korekore) of Southern Province and of the *Hukwe* and *Kwengo* of the Western Province. The Goba who inhabit the lower



reaches of the Zambezi between Chirundu and Feira are originally a Shona offshoot, but who are now practically assimilated with their geographical neighbours, the Tonga. It is also known that there are several thousands of Shona speakers in the Mumbwa District.

Hukwe and Kwengo on the fringes of the Western Province, according to Fortune (1970, p. 34), are click languages belonging, according to Westphal's classification, to the Tshu - Khwe group, the only instance of a Khoisan language in Zambia. The Hukwe and Kwengo are not found in any great numbers in Zambia, but only in small, scattered nomadic groups. They were apparently not enumerated in the 1969 census.

It must be emphasised that in spite of their early differences in culture (i.e. customs, traditions and language), the different language groups sketchily described above have over the years become less sharply differentiated. This loss or modification of original group identities has been accelerated by a variety of levelling processes such as geographical nearness, conquest, political domination, mutual trade and intermarriage. We have seen, for example, how the Senga, originally a Bisa offshoot, *have gradually become more like the Tumbuka culturally and linguistically* through intermarriage. We have also seen how the Tambo, originally of Luban origin, have become assimilated to the Inamwanga group, of eastern stock originally.

Generally speaking then, this would, to a great extent, explain the widespread and significant similarities in language that exist today between neighbouring peoples, e.g. the Twa of Kafue Flats and their neighbours the Tonga with whom there has been a long historical association. Similarly, although the Ngoni on arrival in Zambia spoke a Nguni or Zulu language, they now speak the language of the peoples they conquered and among whom they married: the Nsenga, Tumbuka and Cewa. Moreover, they have adopted much or all of the culture of their erstwhile subject peoples.

At this time, one must also take into account two modern forces which are important in the modification of cultural and linguistic distinctions in Zambia. Education and urbanisation (including geographical mobility) are two levelling processes which appear already to be exerting considerable influence on the language situation in the country. Already there are signs pointing towards the gradual modification of some Zambian languages, as may be seen from the borrowing of foreign words (mostly from European languages) and the emergence of somewhat alien grammatical constructions (e.g. *ukupikinga* in Bemba meaning "to pick up"). Such levelling may eventually lead to a further blurring of distinctions between Zambian languages, especially if they continue to borrow similar words, and their grammars undergo similar *modifying processes*.

### 3.0 *The Languages of Zambia*

In our attempt during the survey to determine the number of languages and/or dialects,<sup>5</sup> their geographical location and extent, and their structural relationships, we employed a combination of several methods of assessment which are described below. It must be stressed at the outset that, because we were unable to travel throughout the country or to collect the necessary data on every language in the country during the period of the survey, it is perhaps inevitable that we have had to rely on methods additional to on-the-spot field observation in our assessment of the overall language situation in Zambia.

#### 3.1 *Questionnaire*

In employing the questionnaire technique, we were aware of the limitations of this method for verifying information relating to the number of languages actually found in the country. The intention was to use the questionnaire mainly to check on secondary information extracted from available written sources. We first of all compiled a comprehensive list of language groups (and/or tribes) as gleaned from historical, anthropological and linguistic publications, relevant official records such as census returns, and maps. The list was then sent to informants, scholars as well as non-scholars, both Zambian and non-Zambian. These were selected for their knowledge of the languages and peoples of the area concerned. They were issued clear instructions asking them to enter a language in the appropriate column against the (various) community(ies) which actually spoke that language, and to enter a different language only if the community in question in fact spoke a different language or dialect from another community. Additionally, informants were asked to state the exact term the particular community employed in referring to (a) themselves and (b) their language.

When these data were analysed, it was found that this method was deficient in one important respect. In the majority of cases no new information came to light since most respondents merely affixed the appropriate language prefix to the name of the community which had been listed in the questionnaire. It was quite evident that here the majority of the respondents were merely reinforcing the conventional notion that tribe equals language, or vice versa.

#### 3.2 *Literature as Source*

As the bibliography at the end of this chapter will indicate, there is already available a relatively rich body of literature on the languages of

Zambia. Much of this material was itself in many instances the result of either earlier fieldwork or at least some form of direct, even if sometimes only impressionistic, observation in the field by anthropologists, administrators, missionaries, and others. As many of these sources as we could find were consulted and the information so culled was collated with considerable care. We then compiled a tentative inventory of the known languages and/or dialects of Zambia. This information was transferred to the questionnaire which was circulated to scholars and non-scholars for further verification as already described.

### 3.3 *Informed Opinion*

In those provinces (Eastern, Northern and Northwestern) where we were able to undertake fieldwork and therefore to gather first-hand data on the language situation obtaining in the area, two methods were employed. The first of these is described here. The other will be described in detail in the following chapter.

To elicit informed opinion on the actual language situation prevailing in the area in terms of the names, location, and distribution of the languages known or thought to exist in the given district, and information on which of these languages the people resident in these districts claim to speak or understand, the writer personally toured two provinces, the Eastern Province (except for Chama District) and the Northwestern Province (with the exception of Mwinilunga District), and two districts only, Mbala and Isoka, in the Northern Province. In these areas the writer was able to gather relevant general linguistic information from chiefs, rural councillors, boma messengers, government officers, teachers, etc. who were carefully selected for their knowledge of the area in which they worked or lived.

Each of the informants who were interviewed answered questions already drawn up in the form of a questionnaire. The questionnaire, with only minor modifications, was essentially of the type used previously in the Uganda Survey (see Ladefoged et al. 1971). As modified, our questionnaire was designed to elicit the following four types of information: 1) the name of the language, 2) its geographical extent, 3) mutual intelligibility between neighbouring languages (or dialects), and 4) mutual intelligibility between non-official languages and the official language prescribed for the area.

First of all, informants were asked to state the name of the language which the people spoke in the locality or village, as well as in the more immediate villages. They were then asked the following hypothetical question: "If a person speaking the language of this locality left this village and went on a journey of several days (or weeks), what language(s) would he find people speaking to the east (west, north, south, northeast

etc.) of here?"

Secondly, to infer geographical extent, informants were asked to indicate, by reference to prominent topographical landmarks such as rivers, hills, roads, etc., the points at which the various languages in the area could be said to be in contact with each other. Thirdly, to elicit information on mutual comprehension (or the lack of it) between the different languages, we asked questions of the type: "If a stranger who spoke the language spoken in the east (west, north, etc.) came to this village and began to narrate in his own language how he had travelled, would the people of this locality understand:

- (i) *everything* he said to them
- (ii) *most* but not everything he said
- (iii) only the most *important points*
- (iv) only *a little* of what he said
- (v) *nothing* at all?"

We asked a similar question with regard to the mutual intelligibility of the official and non-official languages, e.g. between Nyanja and Tumbuka in the Eastern Province.

Although the results of these tests were not found easy to compute statistically, the information elicited in this manner was useful in providing at least a rough index of the similarities or dissimilarities between the different languages in each area and the geographical distribution of these languages. We also found this information quite useful in that it complemented the data obtained through the other methods we employed in our survey.

### 3.4 *Linguistic Groupings in Zambia*

The information obtained by the methods which we have just described and those to be described later in the following chapter, supplemented by data derived from the 1969 Census, is summarised in Table 1.

It is usual in linguistic classification to group together languages on the basis of certain properties, such as **phonology** (sound system) and **morphology** (word structure), and the degree of **vocabulary** (i.e. the percentage of words) the languages have in common. Languages may also be classified on the basis of whether or not they are mutually understandable. But to measure whether or not two languages are mutually understandable is not always so easy.

It will be seen that the data in Table 1 have been divided into language groups called A, B, C etc. This, as will become more apparent in the next chapter, simply means that those languages which have more grammatical and vocabulary characteristics in common have been grouped together. For instance, Bemba, Aushi, Bisa, Lala and Lamba have been

Table 1:1: Number of Africans claiming to speak the following languages and/or dialects as their mother tongue.

<i>Language/Dialect</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Group A</i>				
Aushi	43,603	46,601	90,204	2.3
Cishinga	8,296	8,537	16,833	0.4
Kabende	13,279	14,893	28,172	0.7
Mukulu	3,168	3,538	6,706	0.2
Ng'umbo	20,168	22,130	42,298	1.1
Twa (Bangweulu)	—	—	—	—
Unga	7,204	7,836	15,040	0.4
Bemba	366,798	374,316	741,114	18.6
Bwile	5,924	6,438	12,362	0.3
Luunda (Luapula)	15,455	16,567	32,022	0.8
Shila	2,557	2,633	5,190	0.1
Tabwa	12,954	13,475	26,429	0.7
Bisa	39,930	42,831	82,761	2.1
Kunda	9,899	11,458	21,357	0.5
Lala	60,962	63,580	124,542	3.1
Ambo	575	698	1,273	0.03
Luano	1,721	1,997	3,718	0.1
Swaka	15,976	17,485	33,461	0.8
Lamba	43,098	45,871	88,969	2.2
Lima	5,576	6,206	11,782	0.3
Total	677,143	707,090	1,384,233	34.6
<i>Group B</i>				
Kaonde	57,053	59,352	116,405	2.9
<i>Group C<sub>1</sub></i>				
Lozi	112,641	109,785	222,426	5.6
<i>Group C<sub>2</sub></i>				
Kwandi	5,930	6,184	12,114	0.3
Kwanga	13,153	16,180	29,333	0.7
Mbowe	1,315	1,377	2,692	0.1
Mbumi	—	—	—	—
Simaa	4,101	4,701	8,802	0.2
Imilangu	2,697	3,254	5,951	0.1
Mwenyi	2,652	3,192	5,844	0.2
Nyengo	4,608	5,591	10,199	0.3
Makoma	5,705	7,015	12,720	0.3
Liyuwa	—	—	—	—
Mulonga	—	—	—	—
Mashi	9,833	10,962	20,795	0.5
Kwandu	—	—	—	—
Mbukushu	—	—	—	—
Total	49,994	58,456	108,450	2.7

Table 1:1 (contd.)

<i>Language/Dialect</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Group D</i>				
Lunda (N.W.)	49,485	51,605	101,090	2.5
Kosa	—	—	—	—
Ndembu	483	500	983	0.0
Total	49,968	52,105	102,073	2.6
<i>Group E</i>				
Luvale (Lubale, Lovale)	46,730	49,113	95,843	2.4
Lucazi	15,708	17,922	33,630	0.8
Mbunda	28,581	30,421	59,002	1.5
Cokwe	13,107	12,389	25,496	0.6
Total	104,126	109,845	213,971	5.4
<i>Group F</i>				
Mambwe	32,496	33,237	65,733	1.6
Lungu	26,644	28,604	55,248	1.4
Inamwanga (Namwanga)	33,145	33,236	66,381	1.7
Iwa	6,867	7,831	14,698	0.4
Tambo	3,330	3,841	7,171	0.2
Lambya	—	—	—	—
Total	102,482	106,749	209,231	5.2
<i>Group G</i>				
Nyiha	—	—	—	—
Wandya	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—
<i>Group H</i>				
Nkoya	14,060	15,045	29,105	0.7
Lukolwe (or Mbwela)	—	—	—	—
Lushangi	—	—	—	—
Mashasha	831	953	1,784	0.04
Total	14,891	15,998	30,889	0.8
<i>Group I</i>				
Nsenga	97,994	109,370	207,364	5.2
Ngoni (Mpezeni)	—	—	—	—
<i>Group J</i>				
Cewa (Nyanja)	95,103	101,537	196,640	4.9
Ngoni (Nyanja)	129,993	126,595	256,588	6.4
Total	225,096	228,132	453,228	11.3

Table 1:1 (contd.)

<i>Language/Dialect</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Group K</i>				
Tonga	207,031	220,000	427,031	10.7
Toka	5,564	6,430	11,994	0.3
Totela	4,003	5,424	9,427	0.2
Leya	3,722	4,152	7,874	0.2
Subiya	2,575	2,910	5,485	0.1
Twa (Kafue)	—	—	—	—
Shanjo	—	—	—	—
Fwe	—	—	—	—
Ila	18,516	20,311	38,827	1.0
Lundwe	—	—	—	—
Lumbu	—	—	—	—
Sala	5,475	5,914	11,389	0.3
Lenje (or Lenge)	38,358	40,360	78,718	2.0
Twa (Lukanga)	—	—	—	—
Soli	15,424	16,699	32,123	0.8
Total	300,668	322,200	622,874	15.6
<i>Group L</i>				
Tumbuka	77,547	77,510	155,057	3.9
Fungwe	—	—	—	—
Senga	15,264	18,402	33,666	0.8
Yombe	888	832	1,720	0.04
Ngoni (Magodi)	—	—	—	—
Total	93,699	96,744	190,443	4.8
<i>Group M</i>				
Goba (or Gova, Gowa, Korekore)	3,663	4,402	8,065	0.2
Shona	—	—	—	—
<i>Group N</i>				
Chikunda	3,938	4,094	8,032	0.2
<i>Group O</i>				
Swahili	4,594	2,901	7,495	0.2
<i>Group P</i>				
Other African	60,148	57,443	117,591	2.9

*Notes*

(i) The percentage is expressed in terms of the total African population (i.e. 3,995,618) and not that of the entire population of the country.

(ii) Some language groups included in this Table are not shown in Map 8 at the end of this book.

(iii) Dashes against language groups indicate that their members were not enumerated separately in the Census.

placed in Group A but not Mambwe, Lungu nor Inamwanga, which while also being Bantu as we have already seen, and while for this reason having some characteristics in common with the other four languages, do not possess these characteristics in sufficient degree to warrant their classification in Group A. All the Zambian languages (with the exception of Hukwe and Kwengo) are related to each other to some extent. Their division into groups is intended mainly to indicate close linguistic relationships among them (see a discussion of this problem in the next chapter).

Within the groups themselves there appear to be clusters, i.e. smaller groupings whose individual members exhibit yet a closer linguistic affinity. These are separated from each other by gaps in the Table. Thus in Group F, Mambwe and Lungu are shown as a tight cluster while Inamwanga, Iwa and Tambo, as another tight cluster, are separated from them by a gap. In the conventional sense, each of these clusters may be regarded as a single language, although it should be borne in mind that this would be to speak in purely arbitrary terms. It would certainly not be true to say that there is no mutual comprehension between the different clusters within the group. For, while speakers from one group might not be able to understand speakers from another group, this is not necessarily true between speakers of one cluster and another. There is, for example, considerable mutual intelligibility between Tonga and Ila in Group K. Gaps in the table therefore should not be taken as indicating non-mutual comprehension but merely as pointing to tighter, smaller groupings within the individual groups.

### 3.5 *The 1969 Census*

In the 1969 Census, unlike in the previous census of 1963, a question was included which sought to elicit information relating to the mother tongue of the respondent. The information on language derived from this census has been included in Table 1. However, in reading the table it is important that the following points are clearly borne in mind.

Firstly, our table has in some respects departed from the language groupings which appear in the unpublished sheets on mother tongues collated by the Central Statistical Office. In these language sheets, some languages appear under groups to which they clearly do not belong on linguistic criteria. For example, Totela and Subiya (which fall in Group K in our Table), and Nkoya and Mashasha (which fall in Group H), all have been listed under "Barotse Group" in the census. It will be noted also that when linguistic criteria are applied the Ngoni (as a people) have been classified under two different language groups, I and L. Similarly, the Twa have been classified under two different language groups, A and K.



The second point to note is that in the census the term "mother tongue" itself may have led to a number of quite erroneous answers. On the one hand, many respondents probably interpreted mother tongue to mean either "the language of your parent(s)" or "the language of your tribe" and not "the language you spoke first as a child". This being so, a considerable number of these respondents probably gave the language they considered to be of "their tribe", or their parent(s), as their mother tongue although they themselves did not actually speak the language.

On the other hand, some respondents while knowing their mother tongue may have, consciously or not, preferred to identify themselves linguistically with the dominant language group in the area. So that, for example, some Lucazi in the Northwestern Province may have claimed Luvale as their mother tongue; likewise ~~the~~ Kwandi in the Western Province may have claimed Lozi, and the Fungwe in the Isoka District Tumbuka.

It should also be noted that in the census, two language groups of the same name, the Luunda (of Luapula Province) and the Lunda (of Northwestern Province), which are now quite distinct, may have been confused during the enumeration. For example, a total of 6,347 Luunda (Luapula) are shown as living in the Northwestern Province, and a total of 802 Lunda (Northwestern) as residing in the Luapula Province. Each of these figures is clearly too large. We have adjusted the presumed errors by adding these figures respectively to the other language group. Thus in Northwestern Province the 6,347 was added to the total for Lunda (N.W.). Similarly, in Luapula Province the 802 was added to the total for Luunda (Luapula). It has not been possible, however, to correct any less obvious errors in the data for the other provinces.

It seems also that some clarification is required with regard to the rather large number which is shown as Ngoni in the census. As has already been indicated, linguistically the Ngoni today may be divided into two main groups: the Tumbuka-speaking of Magodi and the Nsenga-speaking of Mpezeni. Although there are some Ngoni who speak Cewa (Nyanja)<sup>6</sup> as well, these do not form the bulk of the Ngoni population in Zambia as is reflected in the census. There is one probable explanation. In Zambia it is popularly thought that all Nyanja-speaking peoples are Ngoni, so that the Cewa, the Nsenga and others normally resident in the Eastern Province are referred to collectively as the "Ngoni". As a result, many of those whose mother tongue now is Nyanja have come to consider themselves Ngoni. This most probably accounts for the large number of 129,993 which is shown in the census. We have therefore presumed this figure to be mostly Cewa and have indicated it as Ngoni (Nyanja) in Table 1.

Commenting on the ethnic composition of Zambia, George Kay

(1967, p. 43) wrote: "No one tribe dominates Zambia in terms of either areal extent or population numbers." This position was as true during our survey as it was in 1967 when Kay made the observation. Table 1 reveals, for example, that while those who claimed to speak Bemba as their mother tongue constituted the largest single mother-tongue group in Zambia, they nevertheless formed only 18.6% of the entire African population. Even if we took Group A as one single language group, this would still constitute just a little more than a third of the entire African population. It is nevertheless important to note that those languages which are used for official purposes have, generally speaking, the largest number of people who claim to speak them as a mother tongue: Bemba (18.6%), Nyanja (11.3% i.e. if Cewa-Nyanja and Ngoni-Nyanja in Table 1 are combined), Tonga (10.7%), Lozi (5.6%), Kaonde (2.9%), Lunda (2.5%) and Luvale (2.4%).

### 3.6 *Non-Zambian Languages*

In addition to indigenous Zambian languages, there are a number of foreign languages, principally European and Asian, which are spoken in Zambia. There was no attempt in the 1969 Census to ascertain the number of Africans who spoke English as a mother tongue. It has not been possible therefore to reflect this information in Table 1. It is, however, generally accepted that only a very small minority of Zambians as yet speak English as a first language. Even those who speak it as a second language are considered still to be only a small fraction of the indigenous population. No doubt it would have been very useful if we had attempted to ascertain the percentage of Zambians who could speak English as a first or as a second language, and it is hoped that such a study will be undertaken in future. We need to know the degree to which English is an effective means of communication throughout the country.

Table 2 shows the number of respondents (probably mostly foreigners on various contracts) who claimed to speak certain European languages as their mother tongue. English clearly emerges as the dominant European language claimed to be spoken by the largest number of presumably foreign mother-tongue speakers. It is also evident that, of the four specific European languages, French comes a long way behind Italian and German as regards the number of mother-tongue speakers in the country.

Table 3 gives the census figures for mother-tongue speakers of Asian languages. Presumably "Others" in the table included Chinese, Japanese and others from Asia. Readers interested in more detailed information about Asian languages are referred to Dr. Datta's article: "Languages Used by Zambian Asians" (Chapter 9).

The census had another category: "Other African languages". It is

not clear whether all of them are foreign to the country or whether the category included some Zambian languages, perhaps those shown in Table 1 with no returns. An example of this is Nyiha in Group G.

There is also the curious case of Swahili. As we have already indicated, there are several Swahili settlements in Zambia, notably in the Copperbelt and Northern Provinces. These settlements, however, could not

Table 1:2: Number of respondents in the census claiming to speak European languages as their mother tongue.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
English	21,251	20,183	41,434
Italian	832	505	1,337
German	760	572	1,332
French	513	393	906
Portuguese	170	155	325
Others	1,877	1,138	3,015
Total	25,403	22,946	48,349

Table 1:3: Number of respondents in the census claiming to speak Asian languages as their mother tongue.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gujarati	3,808	3,468	7,276
Hindi (Hindustani)	560	552	1,112
Urdu	206	208	414
Others	1,148	986	2,134
Total	5,722	5,214	10,936

have contained the rather large number of 7,495 Swahili speakers who are reflected in the census. This seemingly large figure may be explained by the fact that there are considerable numbers of non-Zambian Swahili speakers working in Zambia, chiefly in the Central and Copperbelt provinces. Indeed the census shows the largest number of returns from these two provinces, viz. Central (1,331) and Copperbelt (3,146). The figure of 1,893 in the Northern Province is understandable. For one thing, several of the main Swahili settlements in the country are found there. For another, the province is in close proximity to Tanzania as well as to Zaire, both countries which have sizeable populations of Swahili speakers. Some of these may have found themselves inside Zambia, especially along the borders, at the time of the census. If these explanations are correct, then the actual population of Zambian Swahili speakers is likely to be relatively small.

#### 4.0 *The Official Languages of Zambia*

In the previous sections we have sought to enumerate all the languages and/or dialects spoken in the country. We shall now discuss some special languages in Zambia, those referred to as **official** languages. By this label we are referring to that language or those languages chosen, and in most cases prescribed by the government, for use in certain specified situations such as education, broadcasting, parliamentary debates, administration, etc.

In Zambia the most important official language is undoubtedly English. As the result of Government decisions, English is required to be used in schools as the only medium of instruction, in parliament, for the administration of the country, for all national and international official communication, and in the more important commercial and industrial institutions. The use of English as an official language has its historical origins in the colonial period when it was used by British administrators to facilitate the administration of and communication in the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia.

Besides English there are seven Zambian languages, Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga which are used officially for certain official purposes such as literacy campaigns, broadcasting, and the dissemination of official information in government newspapers. The official functions of these languages and those of English are shown in Table 4. (It should be noted that the hours broadcast per week and the percentage of radio time are shown as they obtained in 1972.)

Table 4 emphasises the point that English is the most important official language in Zambia. However, in order to put the status of the various official languages of the country in better perspective, it is useful to describe the official functions which they fulfil.

The role of English and the seven officially-approved Zambian languages in formal education (i.e. in primary and secondary schools) is described more fully in Chapters 11 and 13. We need only mention here that since June 1965 the official policy has been that English would be used as the only medium of instruction throughout a child's education, while the seven official Zambian languages would be taught only as school subjects in officially prescribed regions of the country. Before that the few officially selected Zambian languages had been used as media of instruction up to about the fifth year of primary education. Writing about this period Mwanakatwe (1968, p. 211) states:

In the past, the general principle was adopted that in the early years of an African child's schooling instruction should be in the mother tongue. If, therefore, a child began his schooling in his tribal

Table 1:4: Official languages of Zambia and their functions.

	<i>English</i>	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>
Parliament	X							
Radio (hours per week)	96.10	34.00	11.15	24.10	12.00	11.50	31.20	24.15
% Radio time	38.4	13.6	4.5	9.7	4.8	4.7	12.5	9.7
Television	X							
Newspapers	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
ZIS (Government) films	X	X		X			X	X
Literacy campaigns		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Agricultural extention services	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Medium of instruction	X							
Officially taught in Primary Schools	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Officially taught in Junior Secondary Schools	X	X		X			X	X
Officially taught in Senior Secondary Schools	X	X		X			X	X
Higher education (e.g. University)	X							
International communication	X							

area where one of the four official vernaculars is spoken, he continued to learn in his mother tongue until he reached the fifth year, when English was introduced gradually as the medium of instruction. By the time the child reached the sixth and seventh years, English replaced the vernacular altogether as the medium of instruction. At the secondary school level, instruction in the medium of English was of course continued. In the fifth and subsequent years of primary schooling, the child continued to learn the vernacular and might study the language at a secondary school. Two of the main vernaculars, Chibemba and Chinyanja, have been accepted for about twenty years as subjects for the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations. However, apart from children who started their schooling in one of the four official vernaculars as their mother tongue, there were also children who began schooling in one of the minor vernaculars and then changed in the third year to a main vernacular closely related to the minor one, followed by a change again to English as the medium of instruction in the fifth year. Even today, except in a few schools in urban areas where the New Primary Approach has been adopted, it is not uncommon to meet a child who began schooling in his mother tongue but changed to a main official vernacular after two years, only to change to English as a medium of instruction two years later. There are also cases of children who begin their schooling in vernacular which is not their mother tongue and then switch after four years to another foreign language — English — as a medium of instruction.<sup>7</sup>

The complications inherent in the circumstances described by Mwankatwe constituted the main reasons for the introduction of English as the only medium of instruction in the country.

The language policy in the Adult Literacy Programme differs from that described for the more formal type of education in one important respect. English was deliberately excluded from literacy teaching by Government as stated in the Cabinet Memorandum of 1967. The memorandum stipulated that only the seven officially-approved Zambian languages would be used for literacy education. There have been attempts, however, on an experimental basis and somewhat semi-officially since late 1971 to introduce literacy lessons in English. For a more detailed discussion of the Literacy Programme in Zambia see Chapter 15.

The language policy in the Zambian Broadcasting Services is yet another variation on the general format. It is useful here to discuss television and radio separately. At the time of writing, the only language officially approved for use on Television Zambia (TVZ) was English. Zambian languages could, however, be sometimes heard on this medium,

usually when cultural programmes were being presented by the Department of Cultural Services.

Broadcasting on Radio Zambia takes place in the seven officially-approved *Zambian languages as well as in English*. Table 4 shows the amount of air time allotted to each of the eight official languages. Readers may refer to Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of "Language and the Media in Zambia". This Chapter brings out several important points which are worth re-emphasising here.

The first is that "English is dominant on the radio in terms of the amount broadcast, but not in terms of the audience". The second is that although air time allocated, especially after Independence, to English (38.4%) is almost twice that allotted to Bemba and Nyanja combined (24.3%), the Audience Survey (1970-73) indicated that "English is not the language most listened to and few English programmes enjoy wide popularity". *The general picture appears to be that "most listeners tune to Zambian language broadcasts on the Home Service for most of the time", and that "the bulk of the audience to the General Service [i.e. the English] programmes is made up of the more educated sections of the community, and Europeans and Asians. . ."* Part of this information is shown more clearly in Table 5 which embodies the results of the Audience Survey<sup>5</sup> for the whole of Zambia as they relate to listening.

Table 1:5: Percentage of listenership to Radio Zambia for all official languages (4,780 interviewed; 52% listeners).

	Bemba	Nyanja	Tonga	Lozi	Kaonde	Luvale	Lunda	English
Percentage of Africans over 15 years claiming to listen to each language	37	34	19	13	13	8	7	27
Claimed level of comprehension								
Very well	23	15	9	6	3	3	3	7
Quite well	9	11	4	3	3	2	1	12
Little	9	7	4	2	4	2	2	7
Not at all	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	2

This suggests that Bemba and Nyanja are the languages most listened to, and also the languages claimed to be most understood in the country as a whole.

The picture as regards the other news media is slightly different. There are no daily newspapers of any kind in Zambian languages in the country. On the other hand, there are two daily papers in the English language. The *Zambia Daily Mail* (a government-owned paper with a daily circulation of about 20,000), and the *Times of Zambia* (until its takeover in 1975 a privately owned paper with a daily circulation of 50,000).

There are, however, fortnightly newspapers in the seven officially approved Zambian languages. These are published by the Government's Zambia Information Services. Circulation at the time of writing was as follows:

<i>Paper</i>	<i>Language(s)</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
<i>Imbila</i>	Bemba	27,000
<i>Tsopano</i>	Nyanja	12,000
<i>Liseli</i>	Lozi	8,700
<i>Intanda</i>	Tonga	7,600
<i>Lukanga</i>	Bemba, Lenje	6,000
<i>Ngoma</i>	Luvale, Lunda, Kaonde	3,000

While there appears to be no stated official policy prescribing or specifying the region where the particular paper can circulate, in practice the news contained in each given paper is predominantly about the area where the editorial offices are situated. For example, news in *Imbila* is characteristically concerned with the Copperbelt, Northern and Luapula provinces, the three principal Bemba-speaking areas. Similarly, *Liseli* in Lozi contains news chiefly about the Western province.

The situation is quite different in the Ministry of Education and in the Adult Literacy Programme. Reference to Chapters 10, 11, 13 and 15 will show that government policy is more or less specific as regards what language may be used in primary schools and in the adult literacy programme in any given region. For example, with regard to primary schools, only the stipulated official language may be used in the following regions:

<i>Region</i>	<i>Language</i>
Copperbelt, Northern, Luapula, Kabwe (Urban), Mkushi and Serenje districts	Bemba
Eastern, and Lusaka region	Nyanja
Southern, Kabwe (Rural) and Mumbwa District	Tonga
Western, Livingstone (Urban)	Lozi
Northwestern	Kaonde, Luvale, Lunda

The arrangement in the Adult Literacy Programme is almost equally elaborate. As officially stipulated, Bemba is required to be used in the Luapula, Northern and Copperbelt Provinces and in the Kabwe area only of the Central Province; Nyanja in the Central (Lusaka area) and Eastern Provinces; Tonga in the Southern Province and part of the



Central Province; Lozi in the Western Province; Kaonde chiefly in the Solwezi and Kasempa districts; Lunda mainly in the Mwinilunga and Zambezi and Kabompo districts; and Luvale principally in Zambezi and Kabompo districts. Either for primary or literacy education no non-official language may be used.

### 5.0 *Linguae Francae in Zambia*

So far we have discussed the **mother tongues** or "first languages" which are spoken in Zambia, and also the **official languages** which are used for certain specified functions. To say, however, that a language is an "official" language does not tell us very much about whether it is spoken by mother-tongue speakers only or whether besides mother-tongue speakers others use it as a second, third or even fourth language for communication in certain circumstances.

Normally, very few, if any, languages in the world are spoken only by mother-tongue speakers. It is more usual to find some non-mother-tongue speakers speaking a language in addition to those who speak it as a first language. Where this happens, especially where considerable numbers of non-native speakers in a country learn and use a language on a wide scale, we say that the language has become a *lingua franca*. In other words, the language at this point is used as a means of wider communication, and as often as not it is spoken beyond the boundaries of what is generally accepted to be the area where the language functions as a mother tongue. A good example of this is English. While being the mother tongue of several millions of people and while being associated with certain particular countries such as England or the United States of America, English is spoken by millions of non-native speakers throughout the world, and in that sense it has truly become an international *lingua franca*.

In Zambia there are several such *linguae francae*. Although no systematic study was undertaken during our survey to determine the number of those languages in the country which were being used as *linguae francae*, and to what extent they had become vehicles of wider communication, we are able to make tentative general remarks. We know, for example, that, owing to a variety of factors, English is the principal *lingua franca* of Zambia in terms of its use throughout the country. But this is not quite the same thing as saying that it is spoken by more people than, say, Bemba. We have already indicated in Table 5 that the languages claimed (by listeners to the radio) to be most understood in the country as a whole are Bemba and Nyanja in that order. We can infer from this that English is behind these two Zambian languages at least in terms of the degree to which it is understood in the country.

While English may not be the language of wider communication

among the majority of Zambians, it is certainly a lingua franca among the educated Zambians, and it is likely to become more so with its introduction as a medium of instruction throughout a child's education. The factors which seem to favour the spread of English as a lingua franca are its dominant position in the school system, its use in public administration, its use as a requirement in most cases for obtaining employment, and consequently its high status in the society.

In general, it may be said that all the seven official Zambian languages are to a lesser or greater extent *linguae francae*. We cannot at this stage state in precise terms which of them are used on a wider scale than others. We have, however, from the Audience Survey tentative evidence which indicates that Bemba and Nyanja, followed by Tonga and Lozi, and to a lesser degree Luvale, Kaonde and Lunda, function as vehicles of wider communication in the country.

Table 1:6: Official languages as *linguae francae* in Zambia.

	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>English</i>
Percentage of mother-tongue speakers in the Audience Survey <sup>9</sup>								
All Zambia	30.8	16.0	16.1	9.3	2.9	5.9	3.4	0.1
Percentage of respondents in the Audience Survey claiming to speak official languages								
All Zambia	56.2	42.1	23.2	17.2	5.3	8.1	7.1	26.1
All rural								
Zambia	46.0	36.6	24.2	19.1	4.6	8.5	5.8	19.0
All urban								
Zambia	83.8	57.2	20.6	12.1	7.2	7.2	10.8	45.3

As would be expected, there were many more respondents who claimed merely to speak the official languages than there were those who claimed to speak them as a mother tongue. This confirms to some extent our observation regarding official languages as *linguae francae* as well. Table 6 also shows that there were twice as many people throughout the country who claimed to speak Bemba as there were those who claimed to speak English. Nyanja was only slightly behind Bemba, while Tonga and Lozi and then Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde were considerably lower down the scale. In the rural areas, Bemba and Nyanja have an even greater edge over English in terms of numbers claiming to speak them. We may conclude from this evidence that, in terms of wider communication within the country, Bemba and Nyanja are at the moment the languages people claim to use on a wider scale than English. They are followed by English and then by Tonga and Lozi in that order. Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde do not appear to be as important as the other five official languages in terms of national communication. Table

7 shows the distribution by province of official languages as *linguae francae*.

It is clear from Table 7 that the degree to which official languages function as *linguae francae* varies from province to province. Invariably,

Table 1:7: Distribution of official languages as *linguae francae* by province (rural).

Percentage of respondents in the Audience Survey claiming to speak official languages

	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>English</i>
Central	58.5	61.9	53.1	6.5	1.0	1.3	7.9	21.1
Eastern	15.3	84.3	2.7	0.5	—	0.1	0.1	9.2
Luapula	98.3	7.6	1.7	1.5	0.3	0.6	1.7	18.6
Northern	88.2	16.8	2.7	1.1	—	—	0.5	24.0
Northwestern	38.9	12.7	4.4	6.9	46.2	46.9	41.5	14.2
Southern	16.4	43.1	98.0	19.1	1.0	1.3	1.6	22.7
Western	9.2	16.6	10.0	93.0	1.2	23.6	1.7	24.3

This excludes Copperbelt (Ndola) Rural for which we have no figures.

the highest percentages occur in provinces where the official languages besides being *linguae francae* are also spoken as mother tongues, or where several other languages related to them are spoken in the area by the majority of the people, e.g. Bemba (98.3% and 88.2%) in the Luapula and Northern Province respectively; Nyanja (84.3%) in the Eastern Province; Tonga (98.0%) in the Southern Province; Lozi (93.0%) in the Western Province; and Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde (46.2%, 46.9% and 41.5% respectively) in the Northwestern Province. The data in Table 7 complement those in Table 6 in showing that Bemba and Nyanja are the most widespread *linguae francae* in Zambia, with Bemba taking precedence over Nyanja in some areas, and Nyanja over Bemba in others.

In Table 8 the data are intended to indicate the significance and importance of official languages as *linguae francae* in urban areas. It is noteworthy that even here English ranks third after Bemba and Nyanja as a *lingua franca*. Bemba ranks first in the Copperbelt (Urban) and Kabwe (Urban) areas, while Nyanja assumes first position in the Lusaka (Urban) and Livingstone (Urban) areas. It is particularly interesting to note that Lozi (69.1%) and Tonga (24.5%) rank lower than Nyanja (87.3%) in the Livingstone urban area where one would expect them to predominate.

There are several factors which could be advanced as favouring the emergence and spread of the official Zambian languages as *linguae francae*. Perhaps foremost of all, their choice over others as official languages has accorded them a special status which, in varying degrees, has caused non-mother-tongue speakers to want to learn them. Moreover, prior to the introduction in 1965 of English as the only medium of instruc-

tion in the school system, Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, and Lozi (and much later Kaonde, Lunda, Luvale) had for many years been used in specified areas as media of instruction. For example, Bemba had been used in the Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt provinces as a medium of instruction for the first five years or so of primary education. This assisted in promoting it as a lingua franca among the Mambwe, Lungu and Inamwanga who had to learn it initially as a second language. This was true of Nyanja among the Tumbuka and others in the Eastern Province, and Lozi among the Nkoya in the Western Province.

Table 1:8: Distribution of official languages as *linguae francae* in urban areas.

Percentage of respondents in urban areas claiming to speak official languages

	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>English</i>
Copperbelt (Urban)	95.8	39.2	14.3	7.2	8.5	8.1	12.6	47.2
Kabwe (Urban)	86.4	67.6	47.7	9.7	0.2	0.6	4.6	54.0
Lusaka (Urban)	58.4	94.5	25.4	17.8	0.6	0.7	0.9	37.0
Livingstone (Urban)	43.6	87.3	34.5	69.1	0.2	0.7	0.4	49.1

Other factors influencing the spread of official languages as *linguae francae* seem to be mainly social and economic. Along the line-of-rail, people speaking different languages in search of employment have been drawn together and today live in urban centres of varying sizes. In these centres, certain languages have emerged as urban *linguae francae*, for example, Bemba on the Copperbelt and in Kabwe, Nyanja in Lusaka, and Lozi in Livingstone. From the language situation which Livingstone represents, it appears that urbanisation rather than minimising the spread of *linguae francae* might in fact aid the process. Moreover, in urban areas, and to a much lesser degree in rural areas, the inter-marriages and social interaction which are taking place between members of different language groups are further factors responsible for the growth of *linguae francae*.

In recent years, particularly after independence, social interaction between different language groups in rural areas has been intensified by the government's deliberate policy of transferring officers from province to province. As a result, many of these officers and their dependants acquire a working knowledge of the dominant language of the given area. To some extent too the fact that many secondary school children leave their home language areas to learn in another language area contributes to the spread of *linguae francae*. Readers interested in further reasons for the spread of *linguae francae* in Zambia may refer

to Chapter 8 for a description of how a sample of university students came to acquire a knowledge of several languages.

In discussing *linguae francae* we have so far only considered the eight official languages. There are, however, several non-official languages, e.g. Tumbuka and Nsenga in the Eastern Province, Inamwanga and Mambwe in the Northern Province, and Nkoya in the Western Province, which could also be considered, perhaps on a smaller scale than the official languages, as *linguae francae*. As *linguae francae*, we have even less information on these languages. It appears, however, from the limited evidence that the Audience Survey was able to gather that whereas official languages are spoken as *linguae francae* to some degree in other areas, non-official languages even where they function as *linguae francae* are usually spoken only in predominantly mother-tongue areas. For example, Tumbuka is spoken mostly in the Lundazi, Chama and Isoka districts, Inamwanga mostly in the Isoka District. Table 9 shows the spread of three non-official languages in seven provinces.

Table 1:9: Three non-official languages as *linguae francae* in Zambia.

Percentage of respondents in the Audience Survey claiming to speak non-official languages

	<i>Tumbuka</i>	<i>Inamwanga</i>	<i>Nkoya</i>
Central	5.0	2.7	1.2
Eastern	27.1	0.4	—
Luapula	0.6	2.0	—
Northern	5.5	34.1	—
Northwestern	1.5	0.4	1.1
Southern	2.6	0.7	1.0
Western	—	—	14.8

Of the three languages, Tumbuka seems to be more widely spread than either Inamwanga or Nkoya throughout the country. Even so, it is less of a *lingua franca* than any of the least widely spoken official languages. It appears then that, on the whole, official languages are vehicles of wider communication than non-official languages.

## 6.0 *Multilingualism in Zambia*<sup>10</sup>

Linguists use the term **multilingualism** in two senses. In one context, multilingualism is used to mean, as the Latin prefix *multi-* denotes, the presence of several languages in a country or region. In the other context, it is used to refer to those situations where individuals in a community speak one or more languages besides their own mother tongue, especially if this is done on a wide scale. We may then refer to a country

where many languages are spoken as a "multilingual country", and to a person who speaks several languages as a "multilingual", or more casually as a *polyglot*. The earlier practice of referring to a person who speaks many languages as a "linguist" has become obsolescent as this term is now used specifically to refer to that category of specialists who are concerned with the scientific study or description of languages.

Zambia represents both situations, i.e. it has several (well over ten mutually unintelligible) languages within its borders as well as having nationals who claim to speak several languages. In this section we are concerned with the latter.

In attempting to measure the degree of multilingualism in the country, we were faced with a methodological problem. The problem arose specifically out of the difficulty of knowing exactly what one means by *language* in the context of Zambia. What constitutes a separate language? We had to decide, for example, whether a respondent who claimed to speak Ila, Tonga, Lenje and Soli (all belonging to Group K in our classification) spoke four different languages or only one distinct language. We knew that Ila, Tonga, Lenje and Soli were not mutually unintelligible. Moreover, the four have traditionally been grouped together as members of the same language. Our problem was to decide whether this convention was satisfactory for our purposes as well. We had no difficulty of course in deciding whether languages from different language groups were distinct or not. We considered Bemba and Nyanja, for example, to be two separate languages. In the less clear situations, while being well aware that any grouping of languages and/or dialects is bound to be arbitrary in some respects, we proceeded to regard as separate languages only those languages and/or dialects which belonged to different language groups. Thus a respondent claiming to speak Ila, Tonga, Lenje, and Soli would be regarded as speaking only one language for our purposes. Another respondent claiming to speak Bemba, Kaonde, Ila, Lenje and Tonga would be regarded as speaking three separate languages.

Generally speaking, Zambians who have attended school, especially those who have had seven or more years of education, are able to speak English in varying degrees of proficiency and competence in addition to their mother tongue. We have already seen in the preceding section to what extent English is spoken in Zambia in relation to some Zambian languages. We concluded that while English was the most important official language, two Zambian languages, Bemba and Nyanja, appeared to be spoken much more extensively and understood more widely.

As regards Zambian languages, Tables 6, 7, 8, and 9 provides some evidence of the extent to which some Zambian languages are spoken as non-mother tongues. In other words, we are able to deduce from

this the degree of claimed multilingualism in the country. We did not undertake a study which would have enabled us to verify the degree of competence with which the respondents actually spoke the languages which they claimed to speak. Obviously, levels of comprehension and of ability to use languages varied considerably among our respondents. For example, a person who has had full primary education through Grade 7 may claim a knowledge of English, but the level of his ability to use it is likely to be less than that of someone who has had full secondary education, or who has lived for a long time in an environment where English is used a great deal. Similarly, someone who has lived for three years on the Copperbelt, for example, will probably be able to speak Bemba, but with less facility than someone who has lived there, or in the Northern Province, or some other Bemba-speaking area, all his life.

In order to overcome this difficulty, we asked respondents first of all what languages they actually used at home and at work, before also asking them what, if any, other languages they were able to speak:

What language(s) did you first speak as a child?

What language(s) do you now speak at home?

What language(s) do you speak at work?

Besides these languages are there any others you can speak?

*Most of the answers on claimed multilingualism came from the first three questions. The fourth question was included mainly to obtain information on other languages spoken by those, for example, who used to live or work in another language area from the one they lived in at the time of the interview.*

Table 10 shows the spread of languages in Zambia. It shows what proportion of the African population speaks one or other of the languages in the groups listed in Table 1 as a mother tongue (we are using mother tongue here in the same sense as we used it in Table 6). Table 11 shows, in Zambia as a whole, and then in its various parts, the proportion of the population claiming to be able to speak languages in each of the groups. The extreme right-hand column shows the average number of languages spoken by individuals in each category.

The more important features of multilingualism in Zambia appear when one compares Tables 10 and 11. Thus whereas only 16% of those interviewed in the country as a whole spoke a language in Group J as a mother tongue, well over twice as many (42%) claimed to be non-mother-tongue speakers of a language in this group, in most cases Nyanja.

Similarly, in the Northwestern Province, less than 4% of those interviewed were mother-tongue speakers of Bemba. Whereas nine times

Table 1:10: Mother tongues by province.

Mother-tongue languages of respondents	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>Tumbuka</i>	<i>Inamwanga</i>	<i>Nkoya</i>	<i>Swahili</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Not stated &amp; Other</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
All Zambia	30.8	16.0	16.1	9.3	2.9	5.9	3.4	5.4	4.6	1.2	0.3	0.1	2.7
Rural Areas of:													
Northwestern Province	4.4	0.7	1.1	1.8	29.1	34.2	21.8	1.5	—	0.7	0.4	—	4.3
Western Province	0.9	0.4	2.3	62.9	0.2	22.4	0.4	—	—	7.5	—	0.2	2.6
Southern Province	2.3	3.6	84.5	3.6	—	1.0	0.7	1.3	—	0.7	0.3	0.3	1.6
Central Copperbelt Province	28.7	12.8	36.5	3.0	0.6	0.9	5.0	3.7	1.5	0.3	0.3	—	6.8
Luapula Province	77.5	1.3	3.8	3.8	1.3	3.8	2.5	—	1.3	1.3	1.3	—	2.6
Northern Province	93.0	0.3	0.3	—	0.3	—	—	0.3	1.5	—	1.2	—	3.2
Eastern Province	66.7	1.1	0.9	—	—	—	0.2	2.9	24.4	—	—	—	3.8
	11.4	73.6	0.5	0.2	—	—	—	22.7	—	—	—	—	1.4
Urban Areas:													
Copperbelt Urban	47.2	10.3	7.1	3.1	4.0	4.1	7.7	5.3	5.4	0.5	0.5	—	4.7
Kabwe Urban	34.1	26.7	21.6	4.5	1.1	—	2.8	0.6	2.8	—	0.6	0.6	4.5
Lusaka Urban	13.8	35.9	16.9	5.9	1.3	2.8	4.4	6.9	1.9	1.3	0.6	—	8.4
Livingstone Urban	9.1	12.7	20.0	20.0	1.8	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6	1.8	—	—	20.0



Table 1.11: Languages spoken by province/area.

Languages claimed by respondents in:	Languages spoken by province/area.										Mean number of languages spoken		
	Bemba %	Nyanja %	Tonga %	Lozi %	Lunda %	Luvale %	Kaonde %	Tumbuka %	Inamwanga %	Nkoya %	Swahili %	English %	Other %
All Zambia	56.2	42.1	23.2	17.2	5.3	8.1	7.1	6.9	6.4	2.3	3.3	26.1	13.0
Rural Areas	46.0	36.6	24.2	19.1	4.6	8.5	5.8	7.0	6.8	2.7	3.3	19.0	9.3
Urban Areas	83.8	57.2	20.6	12.1	7.2	7.2	10.8	6.8	5.5	1.2	3.5	45.3	23.0
Copperbelt													
Urban	95.8	39.2	14.3	7.3	8.5	8.1	12.6	8.1	7.2	1.0	3.9	47.2	24.3
Kabwe Urban	86.4	67.6	47.7	9.7	1.7	0.6	4.6	1.1	2.8	-	1.7	54.0	28.4
Lusaka													
Urban	58.4	94.5	25.4	17.8	6.4	7.1	9.0	7.1	2.9	1.9	2.6	37.0	18.1
Livingstone	43.6	87.3	34.5	69.1	1.9	7.3	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6	5.5	49.1	21.8
Rural Areas*:													
Northwestern Province	38.9	12.7	4.4	6.9	46.2	46.9	41.5	1.5	0.4	1.1	5.8	14.2	12.4
Western Province	9.2	16.6	10.0	93.0	1.2	24.6	1.7	-	-	14.7	0.2	24.3	4.3
Southern Province	16.4	43.1	98.0	19.1	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.6	0.7	1.0	1.3	22.7	10.5
Central Province	58.5	61.9	53.1	6.5	1.0	1.3	7.9	5.0	2.7	1.2	1.8	21.1	16.1
Luapula Province	98.3	7.6	1.7	1.5	0.5	0.6	1.7	0.6	2.0	-	6.4	18.6	7.3
Northern Province	88.2	16.8	2.7	1.1	-	-	0.5	5.5	34.1	-	7.5	24.0	9.7
Eastern Province	15.3	84.3	2.7	0.5	-	0.1	0.1	27.1	0.4	-	0.5	9.2	6.5

\* It has not been possible to give data here for Copperbelt Province's Rural Areas (i.e. Ndola Rural District).

as many people said they spoke that language.

An interesting feature of the tables may also be seen by comparing data between provinces. Note that in those provinces where mother-tongue speakers of one of the two major languages, Nyanja and Bemba, are in the majority, fewer other languages are spoken. There appears to be less need for a speaker of Nyanja or Bemba to learn other languages than, for example, a Lozi, Tonga or Luvale speaker. This is because Bemba and Nyanja, as we have seen, are the two principal languages of wider communication (besides English) in the country. Consequently, when a Bemba speaker, for example, goes and lives on the Copperbelt, he does not have to learn a new language. Similarly, when a Nyanja speaker goes to live in Lusaka he also finds himself, linguistically speaking, "at home". Such a phenomenon is rare among people of the other language groups.

Note that the average number of languages spoken by individuals in Eastern and Luapula Provinces is only 1.5. In Western Province the figure is 2.0, in Southern 2.2, in Northwestern 2.3, and in Central Province (rural areas) 2.4. In the urban areas the level of multilingualism is even higher. The average number of languages spoken is 2.3.

Table 11 shows that Bemba is the most widely spoken and understood language. But of course it has something of a "head start". As a language group, it has by far the largest number of mother tongue speakers. About 31% of the population speak Bemba (or related languages) as a mother tongue. But 56% of the population throughout the country claimed to speak it.

Far more interesting is the case of Nyanja. Although fewer people claimed to speak Nyanja than Bemba, a greater proportion of those claiming to speak it were not mother-tongue speakers; well over half in fact.

What are the determinants of multilingualism among Zambians? The Audience Survey did not set out to provide an answer to this, but an analysis of what data we have shows that there are significant correlations between multilingualism and certain key variables. Tables 12, 13, 14 and 15 show the relationship of multilingualism with sex, education, age, and geographical mobility.

### 6.1 Sex

Our data show that men are more likely than women to be able to speak several languages. There are two probable reasons, the first of which is educational. More men in Zambia have received full-time education than women, and those that have been to school have on average been able to attend for longer periods. As a result, men are considerably more likely to be able to speak English. They also appear to speak more

Table 1:12: Multilingualism and sex.

	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>Tumbuka</i>	<i>Inamwanga</i>	<i>Nkoya</i>	<i>Swahili</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Mean number of lan- guages spoken</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	61.6	48.9	25.2	18.6	5.7	8.4	7.6	7.4	5.9	2.4	4.9	35.6	20.0	2.5
Female	50.8	23.4	20.2	14.6	4.6	7.6	6.5	6.3	6.3	2.0	1.7	16.5	5.6	1.7

Table 1:13: Multilingualism and education.

	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>Tumbuka</i>	<i>Inamwanga</i>	<i>Nkoya</i>	<i>Swahili</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Mean number of lan- guages spoken</i>
No education	41.6	31.8	17.8	15.7	5.8	10.0	7.4	6.0	5.7	2.5	3.2	1.1	10.0	1.6
Grades 1-4*	72.3	54.4	29.2	16.5	5.0	8.0	8.8	7.6	6.4	1.5	5.4	4.6	20.3	2.4
Grades 5-7	64.9	45.1	25.1	19.1	4.9	6.5	7.2	7.3	6.8	2.8	2.6	50.9	12.9	2.6
Forms 1 & 2	76.9	57.7	30.4	21.4	7.7	7.4	7.2	8.3	7.4	1.9	2.6	86.9	13.2	3.4
Form 3 & higher	77.3	55.6	32.1	18.1	4.0	7.1	2.4	8.0	8.0	0.7	3.9	92.6	12.8	3.2

\*Or equivalent standard.

Zambian languages than women. This is probably because more men go to live or work in the towns than women. Historically, this was even more true than it is now, and trends in the past have a continuing influence today. Today men are increasingly coming to town accompanied by their wives. The ratio of men over women in Zambia's urban areas is however still quite high (compare the figure of 80,122 African males as against 71,304 African females for Ndola Urban).

The second factor in multilingualism here is the influence of the work situation. Men tend to learn languages at work much more than women learn in the different social settings of the township. While both may learn to speak Bemba, for example, living on the Copperbelt, only the man is likely to learn to speak Kabanga — a language mainly confined in social function, to working situations. In other forms of employment, men learn to speak English, or to improve their earlier school knowledge of it. Women, on the whole, have less change of learning or using English if they do not work in paid employment, and if they live (as the majority of urban women do) in townships where the dominant language is Nyanja or Bemba.

## 6.2 *Education*

The more educated the person, the more languages he or she appears to speak. Education in Zambia usually has required travel. The student not only learned English; he also learned the language of the area in which his school was situated. This language was often different from the student's mother tongue. The expansion of secondary education however has meant that travelling to other areas for education has decreased. But it is still the case that the more educated the person, the more likely he is to find a job outside his own language area. There is a positive correlation between education and geographical mobility.

Note that those interviewed with some education at secondary level spoke on average between 3.2 and 3.4 languages. This means in most cases that apart from English and a mother tongue, at least one other language is spoken by people in this category.

In a separate study (cf. Chapter 8) Musonda has shown that, with reference to the languages university students at the University of Zambia claimed to speak most fluently, "The majority gave a combination of two or three languages and a few gave four". He adds that "In only 6.5% cases did students claim to be fluent in only one language."

One could perhaps make the point that this has important implications for the future. If the expansion of education continues (as seems most probable), and a greater proportion of the country's people are educated, then we can expect a corresponding growth of multilingualism.

### 6.3 *Age*

The relationship between age and multilingualism is not so clear-cut. Those in the age group 25–34 appear to be the most multilingual, but they are not different from other age groups. Younger people are more likely to speak English, while older people are more likely to speak “other” languages.

There is another feature of Table 14 that is of interest and possibly of some significance. The only Zambian language which shows significant differences in the extent to which it is spoken by people in different age groups is Bemba. Of those under 35 years old, more than 60% claimed to speak Bemba. The proportion would probably be even higher if one excluded women here. Of those aged 45 or more, only 43% claimed to speak Bemba.

### 6.4 *Mobility*

The relationship between geographical mobility and multilingualism is stronger than is indicated by Table 15 (see note at the foot of the table). As far as Zambian languages are concerned, the movement of people from one area to another where different languages are spoken is probably the most significant factor influencing both knowledge of languages and language use. The more areas a person has lived in, it seems, the more languages he is likely to know.

Multilingualism in Zambia is likely to increase considerably. Since more people are receiving full-time education, and since geographical mobility seems to be increasing, the average Zambian will in future be found to have a knowledge of and probably to use more languages even than is the case at present. Knowledge of English is of course on the increase, and will accelerate now that English is the medium of instruction in primary as well as secondary schools. But there is no indication whatever that Zambian languages are being phased out of active use. Indeed, in so far as most Zambians claim to speak and use more than one distinct Zambian language, one could argue that the use of Zambian languages has increased, is increasing, and will continue to increase. Certainly Zambian languages are still very important in terms of national communication. By this we mean that Zambian languages, especially Bemba and Nyanja, and to a lesser extent Tonga and Lozi, are serving as a means whereby people from different language/tribal backgrounds can communicate with each other.

But we still require more precise information to enable us to know more exactly the extent and trend of multilingualism in the country. What is happening in Zambia today is of great interest to the linguist,

Table 1:14: Multilingualism and age.

	Bemba	Nyanja	Tonga	Lozi	Lunda	Luvale	Kaonde	Tumbuka	Inamwanga	Nkoya	Swahili	English	Other	Mean number of lan- guages spoken
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
15-24 years old	60.2	40.8	28.4	15.8	4.3	5.9	6.5	6.8	6.3	1.8	1.5	42.0	6.3	2.2
25-34	61.4	46.0	24.6	15.3	5.2	7.1	7.4	6.5	6.3	2.1	2.8	27.1	13.5	2.3
35-44	56.0	42.8	22.1	17.4	6.1	9.7	8.4	6.4	6.2	2.3	4.8	17.7	16.3	2.2
Over 45	43.2	33.8	21.2	18.9	5.9	10.8	6.3	7.8	5.4	2.8	5.3	6.1	18.7	1.9

Table 1:15: Multilingualism and geographical mobility.

	Bemba	Nyanja	Tonga	Lozi	Lunda	Luvale	Kaonde	Tumbuka	Inamwanga	Nkoya	Swahili	English	Other	Mean number of lan- guages spoken
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High*	74.4	55.9	25.2	13.5	6.3	7.9	9.4	6.4	6.5	1.9	5.5	34.3	19.3	2.7
Low	44.7	31.9	20.9	17.3	4.4	7.7	5.6	7.2	5.8	2.3	1.8	18.7	8.6	1.8

\*Unfortunately it has not been possible to be more specific here. "High" includes most respondents who moved at least once in their lives, and who have lived for at least six months in an urban area. But "Low" also includes a few such people. This is due to some difficulty with codifying and programming that has not yet been solved. If it had been possible to put all "mobile" respondents together, leaving all those who have never moved in the second group here, the results would show a greater difference.

the educator, and the administrator, seeking to understand the patterns of language use in a rapidly changing multilingual society. Further and continuous study of this subject would be of great value, not only to the linguist but also to many others with responsibility for making decisions affecting many areas of language use in the country.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Roberts, private communication.

<sup>2</sup> Fortune (1959, p. 41), however, citing D. Stirke and A. Thomas (as quoted in V. W. Turner's *The Lozi Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia*, 1952, p. 9) has a contrary explanation. He states that "The name *Lozi* is a corruption, by the Sotho-speaking Kololo invaders, of the *Subiya* term *Luizi*. This term was used by the Subiya to refer to the Luyi to whom they paid tribute. The Kololo adapted the term *Luizi* to their own phonetics; it must have been something like *Rutse*. The missionaries of the Paris Missionary Society who followed the Kololo into Barotse-land turned this into *Rotse* in their spelling . . . . But Mr. J. B. Burger of the Paris Missionary Society writes: 'The origin of the name *Barotse* is unknown. It was not introduced by Paris Missionary Society missionaries, as stated by Stirke and others, as Dr. Livingstone appears to have used that very name as far back as 1853'".

<sup>3</sup> See also G. Nurse's article "The Installation of Inkosi ya Makosi Gomani III" in the *Journal of African Music*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1966/1967.

<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that during my own field work in 1970, in delegating to me informants he thought were knowledgeable about linguistic matters, Senior Chief Kafwimbi of the Iwa insisted on choosing persons he considered to speak good *icilInamwanga*, "our language", as he remarked. On the strength of this, it is safe to infer that the chief, although presiding over the Iwa tribe, in fact considers his people to be speaking a form of Inamwanga.

<sup>5</sup> We say "languages and/or dialects" and not "languages and dialects" for reasons which will become clearer in Chapter 2.

<sup>6</sup> The language generally known as "Nyanja" in Zambia is now designated officially as "Chewa" in Malawi (the term is spelled "Cewa" in Zambia). Both terms are the names of individual dialects which have been extended to the whole group of dialects. Since the dialect most spoken in Zambia as a mother tongue is the Cewa dialect, we have generally used this term in this chapter both for the dialect and for the language-group, without intending any distinction between Nyanja and Cewa. In subsequent chapters authors have sometimes chosen the term Nyanja, sometimes Cewa.

<sup>7</sup> Mwanakatwe's phrase "four official vernaculars" here appears to be referring to Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga which have had a longer history of official use, and he has not included Kaonde, Lunda and Luvele which became official languages much later.

<sup>8</sup> Most of the information contained in this Chapter on the mass media, particularly on broadcasting, is derived from the National Mass Media Audience Survey which was undertaken between 1970 and 1973 by Mr. Graham Mytton, one of the authors in this volume. It is reproduced here with his kind permission. Thus any subsequent reference to the Audience Survey will be to the National Mass Media Audience Survey.

<sup>9</sup> These figures include speakers of all languages closely related to the official languages listed here. See Table 1 for groupings of related languages.

<sup>10</sup> This section was written by Mr. Graham Mytton, the author of chapter 7, and Prof. M. E. Kashoki. The former also provided all the data used in this section.

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## 2 A GENERAL SKETCH OF THE BANTU LANGUAGES OF ZAMBIA

Mubanga E. Kashoki and Michael Mann<sup>1</sup>

### 1.0 *Introduction*

In the preceding chapter a discussion of the problematical question of exactly how many languages there are in the country was deferred. It was said that it was still a moot point as to what constituted a **language** and what constituted a **dialect**.

Faced with a similar dilemma when studying the languages of Uganda, Ladefoged, Glick and Cripser observed:

Before one can say how many languages there are in Uganda, one must know which languages are just different dialects, and which dialects are really very dissimilar and might be considered to be separate languages. But this cannot be done because there is no agreed way of defining what is meant by a language as opposed to a dialect. Generally speaking, differences between languages are larger than differences between dialects; and very often two groups of people are said to speak different languages when they differ not only in the way that they speak, but also in some other way, such as belonging to separately organised social or political groups. But there is no known way of determining on linguistic grounds alone when the difference between two speech forms is sufficiently great to require them to be regarded as different languages. Accordingly, . . . when we first start making linguistic comparisons, it should be remembered that what is called a language might well have been called a dialect, and vice versa. (Ladefoged et al. 1971, pp. 31-84.)

In the cited statement, a broad distinction was drawn between a language and a dialect, namely that "generally speaking, differences between languages are larger than differences between dialects". The main difficulty here is to know exactly at what point to draw the line. What should be the degree of difference of whatever is compared: 10%, 20%, 40%, or less, or more?

One criterion suggested for distinguishing between language and dialect is that of mutual comprehension or mutual intelligibility. In general, if speakers of two speech forms cannot understand each other, the two speech forms are said to constitute two different languages. In those cases, however, where there is considerable mutual intelligibility,

despite some differences in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, the two speech forms are said to be varieties or **dialects** of the same language. But how different must speech forms be before they can be labelled languages? Or conversely, how similar must they be before they can be considered to be dialects of the same language?

The application of this criterion is complicated further by an additional factor in the linguistic situations of many parts of the world, but especially in the area occupied by Bantu languages. This is best represented by diagram 1.

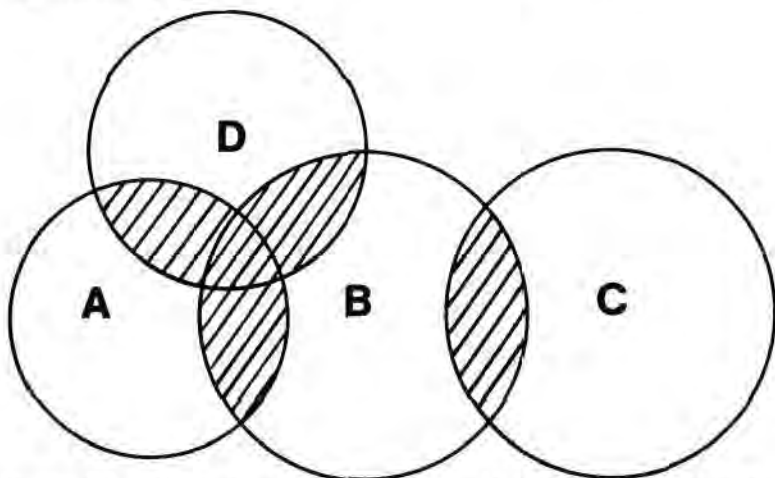


Diagram 2:1: Schematic representation of mutual intelligibility in situations of linguistic contact.

The diagram has two possible interpretations. In the first, each language is represented by a circle, which is made to overlap with other circles where the languages concerned are mutually intelligible. Thus for example while A and C in the diagram are not mutually intelligible, both are mutually intelligible with a third language B. In the second interpretation, the circles represent the geographical extent of a language; it is only those speakers who live in border areas in constant contact who understand each other, while speakers from the central area of each language do not. In the real situation in Zambia, the first interpretation is exemplified by Bemba, Bisa and Kunda, and the second by Bemba and Mambwe. Both interpretations pose the difficulty of deciding exactly where one language begins and where another ends. This dilemma is not resolved even if a different criterion (e.g. that of shared vocabulary) is applied. There is still the problem of deciding on the proportion of the words any two speech forms must have in common before they can be designated dialects of the same language.

The same is true if one attempts to compare sound systems or grammars. How similar must the sound systems, word structures, and sentence structures of two speech forms be for them to be called dialects of the same language?

Sometimes, in order to resolve the difficulty and to provide a working definition, **language** and **dialect** have been defined in terms of the number of people speaking them. To this criterion has sometimes been added a subjective one, namely how well a language is known. Thus, a well-known speech form, spoken by a sizeable number of people, is called a language, but that not so well known and spoken by fewer people is called a dialect. One is faced with essentially the same dilemma again: how well known must a speech form be, and by how many people must it be spoken, to constitute a language or a dialect? Any decision reached here, as in other cases, must necessarily be arbitrary.

There are two other senses in which **language** and **dialect** have been used. The first is that **dialect** has been used to mean a language with no literary tradition. In this sense, speech forms with little or no literature have been considered to be dialects of those to which they are related and which have a relatively long-established literature. The second is that **dialect** has come to connote an inferior or subordinate language. Thus if a linguist says Taabwa is a dialect of Bemba (meaning that Taabwa is less well-known, is spoken by fewer people, and has less literature, than Bemba) a layman might wrongly interpret this to mean that Taabwa is less important than, or even inferior to, Bemba.

In our use of the terms **language** and **dialect**, no speech form is to be considered inferior to another speech form. Nor have we considered the availability, or lack, of literature to be a useful criterion, for our purposes, for distinguishing between **language** and **dialect**.

The reasons for the cautions in the Uganda report cited above may now be readily appreciated, and the reader will be warned that the terms **language** and **dialect** have been used somewhat equivocally in this chapter and the preceding one. We have regarded any language as a dialect when it is compared with another language to which it is very similar, so that, Taabwa, for example, is a dialect of Bemba, and Bemba is a dialect of Taabwa.

When linguists talk of the ways in which languages or dialects are similar or dissimilar, they are generally concerned, as we have seen, with the proportion of the vocabulary the dialects have in common, or the structural relationships that they share, such as sounds, morphemes (or parts of words), or sentence arrangement. Thus, in order to establish whether two speech forms are similar or dissimilar, the linguist normally compares their vocabulary and their grammar, and also tries to establish the degree of their mutual comprehension.

## 1.1

The primary aim of the present chapter is to describe the linguistic features or characteristics that Zambian languages have in common. A secondary aim is to show some of the factors that were taken into account in arriving at the language classification summarised in Table 1 : 1 (p. 19). We shall not include in this chapter a description of the techniques that may be applied in measuring mutual comprehension. Readers interested in this aspect of the problem should consult Chapter 4.

## 1.2

Before going on to consider the linguistic data which formed part of the basis for the language classification presented and described in Chapter 1, we need to say a word regarding the language map which appears as the endpapers of this book. It will be noticed that no definite boundaries are shown between languages or dialects. There are two main reasons for this. The first is the gradual, almost imperceptible, shading of one speech form into another at border points as illustrated in diagram 1. These intergradations or gradual transitions cannot be demarcated by definite boundaries, which would seriously misrepresent the actual situation.

The other reason is that, in many areas in Zambia, some villages with their inhabitants speaking one language, as we briefly discussed in Chapter 1, are intermixed with other villages whose inhabitants speak another language or dialect. This situation is particularly striking in the Western and Northwestern Provinces where there is a relatively large mixture of languages. Distinct lines on the map, clearly marking off each language or dialect, would not reflect this linguistic situation. Indicating the location of languages without boundaries is thus the nearest approach to reality feasible on a map.

2.0 *Vocabulary Similarity among Zambian Languages*

There are several ways of comparing languages, reflecting the different ways in which languages or dialects themselves are similar. For example, languages may be similar in having the same sounds and combinations of sounds or clusters. We can then say that they resemble each other phonologically, and may designate this as phonological similarity or resemblance. At a different level, languages or dialects may exhibit patterns of resemblance in the way their individual words are structured, or in the way their words are arranged in sentences or expressed to give

special meanings. At this level we are dealing with grammatical resemblance. A third way in which languages may resemble one another is in the proportion of words (vocabulary) that they have in common. This we may call vocabulary similarity or vocabulary correspondence. This section will be concerned with vocabulary correspondence among Zambian languages.

In considering the proportions of vocabulary shared among any group of languages or dialects, linguists are usually concerned with three factors. The least likely of these is chance. The same word or a similar word with a similar meaning may be found in two totally unrelated languages due purely to chance. For example, one must decide whether the word *umu-pila* (plural *imi-pila*) in Bemba, meaning "rubber tree" or "rubber" (and by extension "ball, football") and the Latin word *pila* of similar phonetic shape and meaning is due to chance or some other factor. Similarly, how does one account for the words *bwino* in Nyanja and *bueno* in Spanish, both meaning "well" or "good"? The problem of taking chance into account when considering vocabulary correspondence between any two languages is crucial where only a few words which correspond are involved. In general, if considerable numbers of words correspond, it is a fair assumption that this cannot be due to chance. Some other factor or factors must be responsible. This is especially true if mass comparisons are involved, i.e. if several, and not just two, languages are compared.

The second possible explanation is that a word may have been "borrowed" from one language by another: for instance, most Zambian languages have a word for "table" borrowed either from the English word *table* or the Portuguese word *mesa*. In a similar way, communities which speak different languages but whose speakers are in constant contact (especially over a long period of time) borrow words from each other. Words borrowed in this manner (referred to as loanwords) may eventually become an established part of the language's vocabulary. An extreme case of this linguistic diffusion may be seen in the Senga, originally a Bisa offshoot, who became over a period of time more like the Tumbuka to whom they had not previously been related either in language or in culture. Linguistic diffusion of this type is very common in many parts of the world, and plays an important part in the extent to which languages become more like one another.

The third theory is based on a kind of reverse theory to that just described, namely the separation of languages or dialects from the same parent or ancestor over a considerable period of time. When linguists talk of language families and subfamilies, and groups and sub-groups, they are usually acting on the assumption that at one point in time speakers of the ancestor or parent language separated. In time the different groups so separated began to speak at first in only slightly

different ways, but as time went on the changes in speech led to the development of different languages or dialects. Languages that have separated more recently will have more words that are similar due to this factor. These are called cognate words.

To recapitulate, where languages or dialects which were once a single language have separated and become different, we say that they have diverged. Where, on the other hand, languages not derived from the same (parent) source have become similar through contact, one then speaks of convergence. Divergence and convergence are thus two different processes by which languages may be shown to be related historically.

In measuring the extent to which languages or dialects share vocabulary, it is usual in language classification to select for comparison only words with meanings so universal in human society that they must occur in all languages. These are called basic vocabulary. Some of these words are included in the wordlist in Appendix A. Basic vocabulary is preferred for comparative purposes for three main reasons: it is presumed to be universal and therefore can be found in any language; it is the least likely to be affected by linguistic change; and it is also the least likely to be borrowed from one language to another.

In our own study, after trying out several revisions, we finally selected one hundred word items (see Appendices A and B) based on Sarah Gudschinsky's wordlist of 200 items (1956). As revised, our list was not constrained by the criterion so usual in other studies of this kind that the vocabulary to be compared should be totally independent of any culture. Since our work was primarily aimed at studying the degree of similarity of Zambian languages which we knew had many cultural phenomena in common, such constraint was thought to be unnecessary. As in the Ugandan study, the object of our study was to assess the present-day similarities of Zambian languages (Ladefoged et al. p. 54).

While including several cultural phenomena in our wordlist, we were, however, careful not to select for comparison words having specialised meanings. As a general rule, we looked for a generic rather than a specific term, e.g. bird and not a particular kind of bird. To compare the specific with the generic would be to compare data that are not exactly comparable. For example, while "tree" yielded the Cewa (generic) equivalent *m-tengo*, we found this not to be quite comparable to a similar word in Bemba, *umu-tengo*, which more specifically meant a collection of trees, i.e. a forest. Similarly, while in some languages (e.g. Lunda and Luvale) *-ɲandu* or *ngandu*, meaning "crocodile", occurred as a general term, the same stem (*-ɲandu*) in Bemba occurred only in reference to the royal crocodile clan. A study of such specific

and generic terms among Zambian languages would probably show even closer linguistic relationships than are apparent in our present study. For the moment, we are concerned only with general concepts.

In our study we also avoided emphasising only a limited range of concepts. A look at Appendices A and B will show that our wordlist includes names of parts of the body, family relationships, basic human actions (e.g. to eat), counting, physical and geographical objects, etc.

To compile the necessary information, one of the writers spent several weeks in the field, travelling from one part of the country to another. In each area, suitable informants for direct, face-to-face questioning were selected, e.g. men or women of about 30 years and over, of long (preferably life-long) residence in the area. To elicit information from the informants two approaches were used. Where the fieldworker and the informants spoke a common language, direct questioning was employed, otherwise an interpreter was used. In either case, a clear description of the particular item, or gestures and/or pointing to the item concerned, or clear, unambiguous and culturally relevant pictures, or a combination of these, were the techniques used to enable the informant to provide the required word. Each item was transcribed in detailed phonetic notation by the fieldworker.

In Appendix B information is presented which shows the number of languages or dialects having more or less the same form of the stem in words which have the same meaning. It will be noted that in many instances one form of the stem is common to the majority of languages and/or dialects, and only rarely are different stems spread evenly among them. The stem *-ana* meaning "child", for instance, is shared by all the 25 languages and/or dialects shown in the table; the stem *-seka* or *-seha* "(to) laugh" is shared by all but two dialects; while the various stems for "(to) fly", *-papuka*, *-tumbuka*, *-humuka*, *-palala*, etc. are spread almost evenly among the 25 languages and/or dialects. If Appendices A and B are compared, it will be noticed that certain forms of the stem having the same meaning are very similar in phonetic shape. For example, the stems *-onsi*, *-onthi*, *-onse*, *-ose* and *-oshe*, meaning "all", though they differ in certain phonetic details, show nevertheless a close phonetic similarity. This is what is referred to in Appendix B as having "a similar form of the stem".

In Appendix B we have attempted to provide information which gives only a rough idea of the similarity in vocabulary which we found among the twenty-five languages and/or dialects which we studied. In Table 1 we analyse this information to show actual percentages of vocabulary correspondence between pairs of languages and/or dialects.

We do not intend to catalogue all the problems we encountered in determining whether one stem was different from another. There are theoretical and practical difficulties inherent in this exercise. Suffice it

Table 2:1: Twenty-five Zambian languages and/or dialects showing their vocabulary correspondences in percentages.

Mambwe																								
92	Lungu																							
75	70	Inamwanga																						
75	71	92	Iwa																					
64	60	78	78	Lambya																				
62	58	76	76	94	Tambo																			
54	51	68	64	70	69	Nyiha																		
39	39	36	36	39	37	35	Kaonde (Solwezi)																	
38	38	37	37	38	36	34	93	Kaonde (Kasempa)																
31	30	30	31	33	30	29	40	40	Lunda (Ndembu)															
30	30	30	31	33	30	29	40	40	94	Lunda (Ishindi)														
34	33	33	33	34	31	30	34	35	53	54	Luvale													
27	28	27	26	28	26	27	29	30	38	40	60	Lucazi												
28	28	27	28	31	29	28	31	31	36	37	51	73	Mbunda											
29	29	28	27	30	28	29	31	33	52	52	67	61	53	Cokwe										
45	44	41	42	48	46	44	37	36	35	34	31	27	26	28	Cewa									
53	57	53	54	57	54	51	46	47	36	36	33	33	36	31	54	Nsenga (Petauke)								
54	56	56	56	60	56	53	44	45	36	36	34	33	36	33	61	91	Nsenga (Mpezani)							
58	61	58	57	56	54	52	50	51	36	36	34	31	33	31	52	77	77	Kunda						
48	45	49	50	58	56	47	35	34	31	31	29	27	29	27	49	52	55	52	Tumbuka					
51	49	53	52	63	61	53	44	44	34	34	34	30	33	33	53	62	62	63	73	Senga				
63	67	58	59	58	56	53	54	56	37	37	36	33	35	34	49	69	66	73	49	58	Bemba			
51	53	50	52	53	50	50	56	57	35	35	35	34	37	33	49	73	71	73	47	56	76	Ambo		
28	26	28	29	28	26	29	19	20	19	19	20	14	15	16	28	31	32	28	28	26	30	30	Lozi	
53	53	51	51	52	49	53	38	39	36	35	37	33	33	34	46	61	58	61	41	51	59	60	31	Tonga



to say that in many instances it was fairly obvious that one stem was different from another. For example, regarding the meaning "big", we had no difficulty in setting up *-kulu*, *-piti*, *-katampe*, *-neni*, *-kaama*, *-tuna*, and *-pati* as seven different stems. There were however less obvious cases. We had some difficulty, for instance, in deciding whether *-onsi*, *-onthi*, *-onse*, *-ose* and *-oshe*, "all", were one or several stems.

In the Ugandan study already referred to, the procedure consisted in separating the prefix from the stem and then comparing the stems only. Thus stems were compared segment by segment in such a way that "[in] general one stem was classified as being in the same group as another if no segment in it differed from the corresponding segment in another stem by more than two points on a phonetic scale", which was established for the purpose (Ladefoged et al. pp. 56-61).

Our own procedure was not quite so meticulous. Where several forms of the stem looked suspiciously similar, we were content to regard as one stem those forms which, especially when combined with prefixes, would not present problems of communication. For example, *by-ONSE* (Kaonde), *by-OSE* (Lucazi), *by-OSHE* (Mbunda), *vy-ONSI* (Lungu), and *vy-ONTHI* (Nyiha), meaning "all" or "everything", were sufficiently similar by our criteria to be regarded as one stem. On the other hand, we set up *bu-TO* (Kaonde), *vy-OTO* (Tumbuka), *u(w)-UTI* (Lunda), *i-TOI* (Iwa), *i-TWE* (Tonga) and *i-TWI* (Lungu) meaning "ash(es)", as four separate stems, i.e. *-to*, *-oto*, *-uti*, and *-toi*. It is probable that these four stems are historically derived from the same parent stem and have become differentiated only over a period of time. We are not concerned here with historical relationships, however.

In some instances, after comparing several sets of words of the same meaning from different languages, we noticed that in one language, viz. Lozi, one type of consonant, *l*, occurred regularly in a slot occupied by a different (but articulatorily similar) consonant, either *t* or *s*, in similar words in other languages. For example, *-lota* "ashes" in Kaonde occurred as *-lola* in Lozi; similarly *-tatu* in all other languages occurred as *-tahu* in Lozi. In a different set of words, "hair", for example, occurred as *-lili* in Lozi, but as *-tsirsi*, *-sisi* or *-shishi* in other languages. In all such cases, we regarded the pair of stem forms in which these consonants appeared in corresponding slots as one stem for purposes of classification.

The percentages which appear in Table 1 were calculated with the aid of a computer. As they appear in this table, the percentages were computed on the basis of 95 and not that of 100 word items. We omitted stems for "(my) father", "(my) mother", "six", "buy" and "sell", because, after analysing these stems and their meanings, we found that "(my) father" and "(my) mother" were culturally diffuse in the area due probably to their onomatopœic nature; "six" in most cases was merely a compound of "five" and "one"; and "buy" and "sell"

Table 2:2: Some languages and/or dialects of the Northern Province showing their vocabulary correspondences in percentages within the same group and across groups.

	<i>Group F</i>						<i>Group G</i>
	<i>Mambwe</i>	<i>Lungu</i>	<i>Inamwanga</i>	<i>Iwa</i>	<i>Tambo</i>	<i>Lambya</i>	<i>Nyiha</i>
Mambwe	100	92	75	75	62	64	54
Lungu	92	100	70	71	58	60	51
Inamwanga	75	70	100	92	76	78	68
Iwa	75	71	92	100	76	78	64
Tambo	62	58	76	76	100	94	69
Lambya	64	60	78	78	94	100	70
Nyiha	54	51	68	64	69	70	100

Table 2:3: Languages and/or dialects of the Northwestern Province showing their vocabulary correspondences in percentages within the same group and across groups.

	<i>Group B</i>		<i>Group D</i>		<i>Group E</i>			
	<i>Kaonde (Solwezi)</i>	<i>Kaonde (Kasempa)</i>	<i>Lunda (Ndembu)</i>	<i>Lunda (Ishindi)</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Lucazi</i>	<i>Mbunda</i>	<i>Cokwe</i>
Kaonde (Solwezi)	100	93	40	40	34	29	31	31
Kaonde (Kasempa)	93	100	40	40	35	30	31	33
Lunda (Ndembu)	40	40	100	94	53	38	36	52
Lunda (Ishindi)	40	40	94	100	54	40	37	52
Luvale	34	35	53	54	100	60	51	67
Lucazi	29	30	38	40	60	100	73	61
Mbunda	31	31	36	37	51	73	100	53
Cokwe	31	33	52	52	67	61	53	100

Table 2:4: Languages and/or dialects of the Eastern Province showing their vocabulary correspondences in percentages within the same group and across groups.

	<i>Group A</i>		<i>Group I</i>		<i>Group J</i>	<i>Group L</i>	
	<i>Ambo</i>	<i>Kunda</i>	<i>Nsenga (Petauke)</i>	<i>Nsenga (Mpezeni)</i>	<i>Cewa (Nyanja)</i>	<i>Tumbuka</i>	<i>Senga</i>
Ambo	100	73	73	71	49	47	56
Kunda	73	100	77	77	52	52	63
Nsenga (Pet)	73	77	100	91	54	52	62
Nsenga (Mp.)	71	77	91	100	61	55	62
Cewa (Nyanja)	49	52	54	61	100	49	53
Tumbuka	47	52	52	55	49	100	73
Senga	56	63	62	62	53	73	100

were variations of each other.

Table 1 gives only an overview of the degrees of similarity in vocabulary between pairs of languages and/or dialects for which we obtained data. Note that Lozi consistently shows the lowest percentages of *correspondence with all the other languages*. In Tables 2, 3 and 4, we seek to break down the information contained in Table 1 in order to highlight certain salient features of relationships between the different languages or dialects, as well as between the language groups involved.

The percentages of vocabulary correspondence in the latter three tables, when compared between pairs of languages or dialects within the same language group, and when compared across language groups, give considerable support to the division of Zambian languages into the language groups presented in Table 1:1 (p. 19). Note, for example, that among the languages of the Northwestern Province, while the percentage of vocabulary correspondence is fairly high (93%) between Kaonde (Kasempa) and Kaonde (Solwezi), the correspondence is considerably lower between the two dialects of Kaonde and the two dialects of Lunda, (40% in either case). The vocabulary correspondence appears to be even lower when Kaonde (Group B) is compared to Luvale, Lucazi, Mbunda, and Cokwe (Group E). The highest percentage of correspondence between the two groups is that between Kaonde (Kasempa) and Luvale, viz. 35%.

Despite these generalisations, there were, however, borderline cases such as Lambya, Cokwe, Ambo, Kunda, and Senga, which presented problems of classification. It will be noted, for instance, that Lambya, which has been classified in Group F, shows at the same time a fairly high degree of vocabulary correspondence (70%) with Nyiha. Similarly, although Ambo and Kunda have been placed in Group A, their respective vocabulary correspondences with the two dialects of Nsenga in Group I are quite high. Kunda's degree of vocabulary correspondence, for instance, with each of the two dialects of Nsenga was 77%.

All these cases are special problems that are complicated by conflicting application of the factors of divergence and convergence discussed earlier. For example, while Senga has now become more like Tumbuka (due to convergence), it has remained considerably similar in vocabulary to Nsenga, Ambo, and Kunda (to all three of which it is historically related). We may conclude then that our groupings are not definitive and should be treated with some reserve.

Two other studies support our results. The first is that reported in the next Chapter in which the author shows the high percentages of vocabulary agreement between pairs of languages or dialects which are more closely related and/or which are geographically near each other. It will be noted that the lowest agreements are between a language in one language group and a language in another group, e.g. Kaonde and Lozi



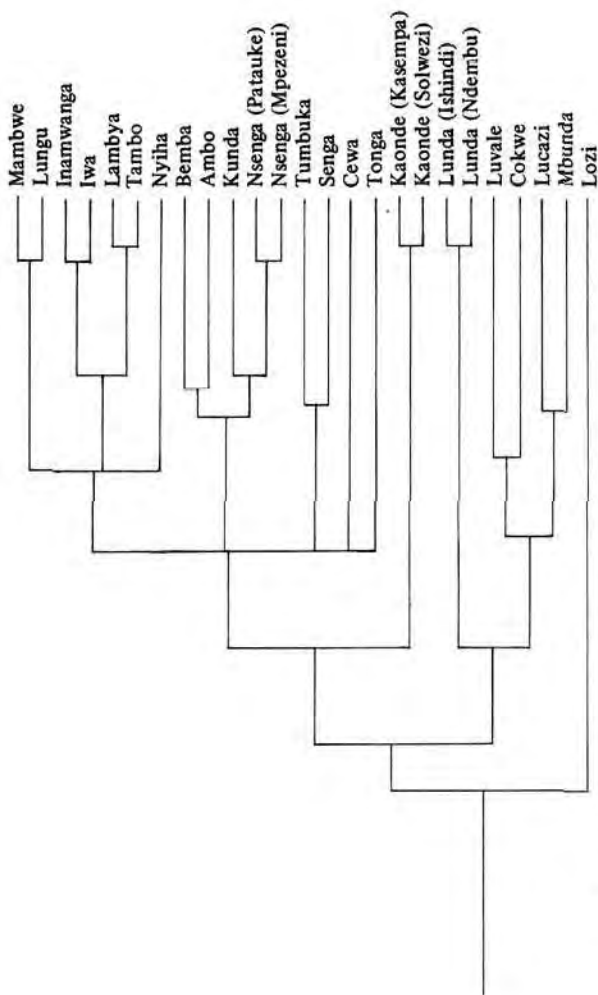


Diagram 2:2: Successive degrees of relationship among some Zambian languages based on computed percentages of similarity in vocabulary.

### 3.0 *Sound Systems of Zambian Languages*

Up to this point, we have considered in detail only one way of making comparisons between languages or dialects. We shall now consider a different way, that of comparing the sound (or phonological) systems of some Zambian languages to ascertain the degree of their similarity.

Each human system of verbal communication, i.e. language or speech, consists of vocal noises which are made in a systematic manner by various organs, e.g. the mouth, nose, throat, tongue, teeth, lips, etc. The study concerned with how and by what parts of the human body these vocal noises are made is called **articulatory phonetics**. Phoneticians pay special attention to the manner in which sounds, or more precisely **phones**, are made, i.e. **manner of articulation** or formation, and by what organs they are made, i.e. **point or place of articulation**. The pronunciation of the sounds of any language then involves employing the various organs to produce the particular sound in the right manner.

But sounds are not produced in isolation, or just in any order. They are made in systematic sequences and combinations. One of the essential features of the systematic order in which vocal noises are made is that certain sounds, or their combinations, contrast with certain other sounds or their combinations, leading to meaningful communication.

Let us consider the English words *pin* and *bin*. Leaving aside for the moment such additional phonetic details as stress and aspiration which we shall consider later, we may say that each of the two words consists of three sounds, symbolised in writing by the letters *p*, *i*, and *n*, and *b*, *i*, and *n*. As symbolised, it will be seen that the difference between the two words consists in only one contrast, that between *p* and *b*. In other words, in this pair of words, only *p* and *b* are in contrast.

If we consider the manner and point of articulation of these two sounds, we find that they are both produced by the lower and upper lips coming together and stopping the flow of air completely, i.e. they are **bilabial stops**. However, while *b* is pronounced with the vocal cords vibrating, *p* is not. That is, *p* is a **voiceless**, while *b* is a **voiced** bilabial stop.

A study of such contrasts in any language leads to the establishment of meaningful, or contrastive, or significant, sounds in that language. These are called **phonemes** by linguists, so that contrastive sounds are also phonemic. While the number of individual phonetic sounds, or their combinations, are rather large, the number of contrastive sets of sounds in each of the Zambian languages, as in other languages elsewhere in the world, is relatively small. Note that letters of the alphabet should not be confused with contrastive sounds. The former are used

simply to represent the latter in writing, although there are very few, if any, languages in the world where each contrastive sound is consistently represented by a single letter of the alphabet. Very often a language, where the Roman alphabet is in use, is represented in writing by a mixture of single letters and combinations of letters. For example, in some Zambian languages, *ng'* i.e. two letters and an apostrophe, are used to represent a single sound which linguists represent by a single letter, *ŋ*.

In describing the sound system of a language, it is customary to consider separately the sounds that occur one after another (the **segmental** units) and the features that go along with the sounds, such as stress, syllable length, pitch or tone, etc. (the **suprasegmental** units). In the following sections, we describe some of the categories as they apply to Zambian languages generally, and there we are concerned only with patterns common among all Zambian languages as illustrated by the languages which we studied. Unlike vocabulary, comparison of sounds and sound systems does not lend itself readily to quantification and therefore this study does not include a calculation of percentages of sound agreement among Zambian languages.

### 3.1 *Vowels*

All Bantu languages in Zambia have five contrastive vowels, symbolised in writing as *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*. Diagrammatically they may be represented as in Table 6.

Each of the five vowels shown in Table 6 is produced by an **egressive** (outflowing) air stream, and with the vocal cords vibrating. That is, they are **voiced**. The position of the tongue in the mouth cavity determines how each vowel is produced. If it is raised high near the top of the mouth, we get a **high** vowel, e.g. *i*; if raised only part way toward the top of the mouth we get **mid** vowels, and if held near the bottom of the mouth, the result is a **low** vowel. Also the tongue can be in a **front**, **central** or **back** position in the mouth. Thus in describing vowels, linguists talk of whether they are formed in the front, centre or back of the mouth, and whether they are high, mid, or low. There are other possibilities of course. It will be noticed that the front and central vowels are shown in Table 6 as being unrounded, while the back vowels are shown as being rounded. Rounding and unrounding refer to whether in the production of the particular vowel the lips are rounded or not. Note, for example, the position of the lips (unrounded) for *i*, and their position (rounded) for *u*.

Other possibilities not shown in Table 6 refer to whether the given vowel is **tense** or **lax**. These two terms refer to the tenseness or lack of tenseness with which certain vowels are pronounced. During the



production of the tense vowels, such as *i*, *e*, *o* and *u* in Table 6, the muscles of the throat and jaw are somewhat tight and they are somewhat relaxed (i.e. lax) during the production of *a*.

More fully then, the five contrastive vowels in Zambian languages may be described as follows: *i* is a high front tense unrounded vowel;

Table 2:6: Contrastive vowels in Zambian languages.

	Front (unrounded)	Central (unrounded)	Back (rounded)
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	

*e* a mid front tense unrounded vowel, *a* a low central lax unrounded vowel, *o* a mid back tense rounded vowel, and *u* a high back tense rounded vowel.

What we have described so far has to do with the quality of the vowels in Zambian languages. But in most of these languages (we cannot state this as a general rule for all of them at this stage) vowels may be long or short. In a number of cases, short vowels contrast with long vowels. In this instance we are talking of the quantity or length of the particular vowel. Some examples are given below to illustrate what we mean. (Note that in indicating a long vowel, we write it twice.)

	short vowel	long vowel
Bemba	<i>ukusgla</i> "to move" <i>ukusgla</i> "to choose"	<i>ukuseela</i> "to dangle" <i>ukusaala</i> "to beg for mercy"
Kaonde	<i>mona</i> "look!" <i>kuzhika</i> "to be deep"	<i>moona</i> "nose" <i>kuzhika</i> "to bury"

While it is relatively easy in most of the Zambian languages to find contrasts such as those shown above, in a few of them these contrasts are considerably more difficult to establish. In Nyanja, for example, although words can be found which are different in meaning due to a contrast between long and short vowels, as between *mbale* "plate" and *mbaale* "brother", the problem of establishing this contrast is complicated by the fact that in certain positions of the word, the lengthening of the vowel follows a predictable rule. It appears to be a standard rule, for example, that in all the languages of the Eastern Province (including Nyanja), and in several languages of the Northwestern Province, the penultimate syllable, i.e. the syllable before the final one, of a word is

always lengthened. Thus in Nyanja we find *kugu:la* "to buy", and *mbala:ni* "a bird" (where the colon is used to indicate non-contrastive lengthening).

A similar lengthening will be found to occur in some languages in positions of the word other than the penultimate one. In many Zambian languages, for example, the vowel before a nasal plus another consonant, e.g. *mp*, *nt*, *ns*, etc., is always long. Two examples from Bemba will suffice: *itu:mba* "a bag", and *icisa:nsa* "a hand". Similarly, in many Zambian languages a vowel after the semivowel consonant *w* is always long (except at the end of a word).

One more general feature needs mentioning. As a general rule, a vowel at the end of an utterance (or sentence) in Zambian languages tends to be devoiced, i.e. it sounds somewhat whispered. Similarly, a vowel after a voiceless sibilant or fricative (see next section for the meaning of these terms) is somewhat devoiced, especially at the end of words. For example, the *a* following *h* in the Nyiha word *coha* "one" would sound as though whispered, i.e. voiceless. All these phonetic details have to be studied for contrasts to be established for each individual language.

Another general feature of Zambian languages is that two adjacent vowels, either from two parts of the same word or from two different words, often fuse. Other terms sometimes used for the same phenomenon are "coalesce", "assimilate", or "contract". The characteristic patterns according to which vowels fuse, however, differ from language to language. In Bemba, for instance, the plural prefix *ama-* when in combination with the stem *-inshi*, meaning "water", results in *ameenshi*. In Inamwanga, however, a similar combination of *ama-* + *-inzi* results in *aminzi*.

### 3.2 Consonants

Consonants differ from vowels in one important respect. In the case of vowels the air stream escapes by passing the centre of the tongue without any noticeable friction in the mouth. In other words, the tongue does not make contact with other organs or cause conspicuous turbulences in the air stream. For consonants, the air stream is partly or completely obstructed either by the tongue making varying degrees of near or complete contact with the teeth, palate, velum, etc. or by other organs such as the lips or glottis.

In section 3.0 we talked briefly about *p* and *b* which we referred to as voiceless and voiced bilabial stops respectively. Table 7 shows the types of consonants that may be found in the languages for which we have data.

One general rule may be stated at this point. Though the Bantu

languages of Zambia do not all have exactly the same consonants, they nevertheless have a great many of them in common. The majority of consonants in fact occur in all the languages, and it is only a few, e.g. the voiceless (*h*) and the voiced (*ɦ*) glottal fricatives, and voiced velar fricative *ɣ*, which are found in a limited number of languages, e.g. Tonga.

The consonants which are shown in Table 7 are contrastive in the Bantu languages of Zambia. The table attempts to include all the features which may be important in describing and contrasting sounds in these languages. It will be noted that in some instances the symbols used in Table 7 differ from those which may be found in the various orthographies of Zambian languages. For example, we have used *ŋ* rather than *ng'* or *ñ*. Our preference for these symbols to the orthographic ones is based on the fact that ours is a linguistic description, and linguists normally prefer to use a single symbol for a single contrastive sound. Note also that in some instances we have used symbols, e.g. *ɸ* instead of *β*, which are different from those set out in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). This choice is based on a preference for the use of, as far as possible, symbols which may be found on standard typewriters.

In Table 7, consonants have been classified in three main ways: according to the manner (and other details) of their formation or articulation, according to patterns of voicing and according to the place of their formation. Taking the manner of formation first, we note that consonants in the Bantu languages of Zambia may be classified according to whether they are **stops** (or plosives), i.e. sounds which are produced by a complete closure of the air passage which is subsequently released; or **fricatives**, i.e. those which are produced by a partial closure of the air passage; or **affricates**, i.e. those which are a combination of stop and fricative; or **nasals**, i.e. consonants which are formed by a closure of the air passage in the mouth while the nasal passage is open; or **laterals**, which are sounds that are produced with the air stream coming through the mouth over one or both sides of the tongue accompanied by friction; or **semivowels**, which are sounds very much like the vowels *i* and *u* but during whose production the air stream is more noticeably obstructed than for the corresponding vowels. In addition, there are other features, such as voicing and **aspiration**, which are used for describing consonants. For example, aspirated stops are stops which are produced accompanied by a puff of air released under pressure as the stop is articulated, as in the Cewa word *kup<sup>h</sup>a* "to kill". We have indicated aspiration by raising the *h* after the stop which is aspirated; e.g. *t<sup>h</sup>* is an aspirated alveolar stop. (Note that where the *h* is written on the same line with *t*, the two letters together stand for the interdental sound as in the English word *thin* or *think*.)

Place of formation refers to the point or place where two or more speech organs make complete or near contact in the production of a sound. Thus a **bilabial** sound is that made with the two lips coming in contact. A **labiodental** sound is made with the upper teeth coming in contact with the lower lip. An interdental, or simply **dental** sound is made with the tip of the tongue inserted immediately behind the upper teeth (or sometimes between the upper and lower teeth) so that the air

Table 2:7: Consonants in the Bantu languages of Zambia.

<i>Manner of formation</i>		<i>Voiceless</i>	<i>Voiced</i>	<i>Place of formation</i>
STOPS (or plosives)	aspirated	<i>p</i> <i>pʰ</i>	<i>b</i>	(bi)labial
	aspirated	<i>t</i> <i>tʰ</i>	<i>d</i>	alveolar
	aspirated	<i>k</i> <i>kʰ</i>	<i>g</i>	velar
AFFRICATES		<i>pf</i>	<i>bv</i>	labial
		<i>ts</i>	<i>dz</i>	alveolar
		<i>c(tʃ)</i>	<i>j(dʒ)</i>	(alveo)palatal
FRICATIVES (or Sibilants, or Spirants)		<i>f</i>	<i>β</i> (β)	bilabial
		<i>θ</i> (θ)	<i>ð</i> (ð)	labiodental dental
		<i>ʃ</i> (ʃ)	<i>ʒ</i> (ʒ)	(alveo)palatal
		<i>h</i>	<i>ɦ</i> (ɦ)	velar glottal
NASALS			<i>m</i>	(bi)labial
			<i>n</i>	alveolar
			<i>ɲ</i> (ɲ)	(alveo)palatal
			<i>ŋ</i>	velar
LATERAL			<i>l</i> (or <i>r</i> )	alveolar
SEMIVOWELS (or approximants)			<i>w</i>	(bi)labial
			<i>y</i>	(alveo)palatal

stream escapes with a hissing sound (when voiceless) or buzzing sound (when voiced). **Alveolar** sounds are produced with the tip of the tongue making contact immediately behind the upper front teeth, i.e. the alveolar ridge. For **palatal** sounds the blade of the tongue comes near or touches the front part of the palate in the roof of the mouth. **Alveo-palatal** (or prepalatal) sounds are sounds which are partly palatal and partly alveolar. **Velar** sounds are produced with the back of the tongue

coming near or touching the soft palate at the back of the mouth. Finally, **glottal** sounds, e.g. the glottal fricative *h* in the Nyiha word *coha* "one", are produced by the complete or partial closure of the *glottis during speech*.

In terms of representation, the symbols *p<sup>h</sup>*, *t<sup>h</sup>*, *k<sup>h</sup>*, *th*, *ts*, *dz*, *sh*, *zh* and *ny* are used to indicate single sounds. In actual pronunciation, *c* has approximately the same value as *ch* in *church*, *j* as in *judge*, *th* as in *thin*, *d* as *th* in *then*, *sh* as in *mush*, and *zh* as *s* in *vision*.

Some observations on the occurrence of consonants in the Bantu languages of Zambia can now be made as regards common characteristics. Although the bilabial stop *b* and the bilabial fricative *ɸ* occur in all these languages, there is no contrast between the two sounds in most of them. In the majority of these languages, the bilabial stop occurs only if preceded by a nasal, as in the word *simbwa* "dog" in Lungu; otherwise it occurs as a bilabial fricative e.g. *cibulu* "dumb (person)". Thus, *b* and *ɸ* in these languages can be said to be variants of the same basic sound. In a few languages, however, a contrast does exist between the two sounds, e.g. between *kubeka* "to see" and *kubɸeka* "to fight" in Tumbuka. In Lunda (Ndembu) the bilabial stop may be noted in the word *iluba* "flower", as well as in instances when it is preceded by a nasal. In Luvale there is the interesting case of the bilabial fricative *ɸ* occurring only before *i*, *e*, *a* and *o* but as labiodental *v* before *u*, e.g. *ɸana ɸabavulu* "many children", (written *vana vavavulu* in conventional spelling).

In a number of languages aspirated and unaspirated stops contrast, and thus are, in these languages, separate consonants. This is the case in Nyanja where, for example, the unaspirated *t* contrasts with the aspirated *t<sup>h</sup>*, e.g. *kutenga* "to take" versus *kut<sup>h</sup>enga* "to come to stay". However, in the majority of Zambian languages in which aspiration occurs, including those in which it contrasts with non-aspiration, the feature of aspiration occurs regularly in certain word positions, and a general rule can be made about such occurrences. In Tumbuka, for instance, in addition to its occurrence as a contrastive feature, aspiration automatically accompanies voiceless stops if these are preceded by a nasal, e.g. *mp<sup>h</sup>uno* "nose", *nt<sup>h</sup>umbo* "stomach", and *tun<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ondi* "five".

The voiceless and voiced palatal affricates *c* and *j* are common to all Zambian languages. Note, however, that the Tonga *j* is described as being much stronger or much more pronounced than a similar *j* in English. In several languages, e.g. Bemba, *j* occurs only when preceded by a nasal. The labial affricates *pf* and *bv* and the alveolar affricates *ts* and *dz*, as far as we could ascertain, are found only in a few dialects of Nyanja. Other dialects use the fricatives *f*, *v*, *s* and *z* in place of *pf*, *bv*, *ts*, and *dz* respectively.

The occurrence of fricatives varies from one Zambian language to

another. For example, Bemba has the voiceless fricatives *f*, *s* and *sh* but not their voiced counterparts *v*, *z*, and *zh*. Very few Zambian languages, e.g. Lambya, Nyiha and Tonga, have the voiceless glottal fricative *h*, and even fewer its voiced opposite *ɦ*. In the languages we studied, we found the voiced *ɦ* to occur in one dialect of Tonga only, as in *-huba* (normally spelt *-vuba*) "be rich".

Other consonants which appear to be relatively rare in Zambian languages are the dental fricatives *th* and *ɬ*, and the velar voiced fricative *ɣ*. Several languages or dialects, for example, Simaa, Kwandu, Mbowe, Mbukushu and Nkoya in the Western Province and Mbunda in the Northwestern Province, have these sounds. One feature distinguishing between Mbunda and Lucazi is that wherever the latter uses *s* and *z*, the former substitutes *th* and *ɬ*, e.g. *kasitu* "animal" and *kazila* "bird" in Lucazi, but *kathitu* and *kadila* in Mbunda. The velar voiced fricative *ɣ* appears to occur only in Tumbuka and Tonga among all the languages we studied. This sound may be noted in the Tumbuka phrase *mawato gabili* "two canoes" or *maji ɣazizimu* "cold water". (Note that the sound described here is written *gh* in conventional Tumbuka spelling.)

Almost all Zambian languages show four nasal consonant contrasts: *m*, *n*, *ny*, and *ŋ*. Bemba, for example, shows the following nasal contrasts:

<i>uku-maama</i>	"to smooth mush with stirring paddle"
<i>uku-naana</i>	"to scramble for something"
<i>uku-nyaanya</i>	"to win convincingly"
<i>uku-ŋaŋa</i>	"to growl (as a dog)".

One of the few Zambian languages having only three nasal contrasts is apparently Luvale where the velar nasal *ŋ* seems to occur only in combination with the stops *k* and *g*, as in *ŋgombe* "cattle". We did not obtain sufficient data to verify this information.

Another general characteristic of all Zambian languages is the lack of a distinction between *l* and *r*. In all of them, when *l* is followed by *i* or *y*, as in the Lambya words *vibili* "two" and *akulya* "he is eating", it sounds like an *r*. This is due to the fact that in the process of moving from *l* to *i* or *y*, the tip of the tongue hits the roof of the mouth in a quick tap, to result in what can be described as a flapped lateral. In a number of languages, *l* and *r* are interchangeable. For example, the word for chicken in Kaonde is pronounced as *nzolo* or as *nzoro*. Similarly, *kulwala* "to be sick", in Tumbuka, may also be pronounced *kurwara*.

In Tonga, as well as in a number of other languages, *l* contrasts with *d*, e.g. *kuduka* "to be famous" versus *kuluka* "to vomit". In some Zambian languages, however, *d* is just a variant, i.e. another form of *l*. We find, for instance, that in Bemba the verb stem *-leka* "stop" or "let

go", in combination with the first person singular pronoun *N-* becomes *ndeka* "let go of me", and not *nleka*. In all such languages, *l* never contrasts with *d*.

### 3.3 Syllables and Consonant Clusters in Zambian Languages

We said earlier that sounds are not produced in isolation, but that they are produced in systematic sequences and combinations. We have just discussed the single sounds that may be found in Zambian languages. We shall now examine in what combinations they may occur.

The next sound unit after the individual sound is the syllable. In Zambian languages, as in other Bantu languages, syllables characteristically end with a vowel, e.g. *bushi* (*bʊ-si-hu*) "night" in Lozi. This is in contrast to English, for example, where syllables very often end with a consonant or consonants, e.g. *cat*, or *cast*, or *casts*. Syllables which end with consonants are said to be "closed", and those which end with vowels are said to be "open".

In Zambian languages, syllables are typically of the following types. (Note that V stands for vowel, and C for consonant):

- V: these consist of a vowel occurring singly, that is without a consonant, e.g. *u* in *Petauke* (*Pe-ta-u-ke*).
- CV: these consist of a consonant followed by a vowel, e.g. *nama* (*na-ma*) "animal" in Kunda.
- CCV: these consist of a consonant followed by another consonant or semivowel and then a vowel, e.g. *ndopa* (*ndo-pa*) "blood"; *kupya* (*ku-pya*) "to be hot", and *bweya* (*bwe-ya*) "feather" in Senga.
- CCCV: these consist of a nasal followed by another consonant, followed by a semivowel and then a vowel, e.g. *bombwe* (*bo-mbwe*) "frog" in Kaonde.

Only Lozi is reported to have words ending with a consonant, and in all such cases the final consonant is a nasal, e.g. *cwan* "how", *cwanon* "now", and *uten* "he is present". (Note that these have the alternative forms *cwani*, *cwanonu* and *uteni*.)

In a great many Zambian languages, *d*, *j* and *g* do not occur unless preceded by a nasal. The preceding nasal is always articulated at the same point of formation as the following consonant. In other words, the nasal before bilabials is also a bilabial, that before alveolars an alveolar, that before palatals a palatal, and that before velars a velar. These are sometimes called nasal compounds. Examples are *mp*, *nt*, *nyc* and *nk* (the latter two being written *nc* and *nk* in conventional spelling). Consonant clusters of the type *mt*, *mk*, or *ml*, where the two

consonants have different points of articulation, as in the Cewa words *mtengo* "tree" and *mkango* "lion", are rather rare.

The types of consonant clusters described here differ in many respects from those found in English. For example, while English permits such consonant combinations as *pl* in *play*, *ps* in *caps*, *mps* in *stamps*, *spr* in *spray*, and *sk* in *flasks*, these would not be possible in *Zambian* languages without a vowel being inserted between the consonants. Thus what is likely to happen in loanwords from English, in place of the English consonant clusters and final consonants, is something like *pulee*, *kapusi*, *sitampusi*, *sipule*, and *fulasikisi*. The tendency to insert vowels between English consonant clusters and to add them after final consonants accounts for a great deal of the difficulty *Zambian* learners of English generally experience in so far as pronunciation is concerned.

### 3.4 *Tone and Stress*

In contrast to *Zambian* languages, English uses **stress** (the relative amount of prominence with which a syllable is pronounced) to distinguish one word or phrase from another in meaning. For example, it is possible, using stress, to change a verb into a noun or a noun into a verb in English. Some notable examples are *convert*, *insult* and *progress* which can either be a noun or a verb depending on the stress with which they are said. Similarly, stress in English helps to distinguish between a *black bird* (i.e. any bird which is black in colour) and a *blackbird* (a specific type of bird).

In *Zambian* languages, in contrast, syllables are more or less evenly stressed, i.e. they are pronounced with almost the same degree of prominence or force. In some languages, however, (e.g. Cewa) the penultimate syllable seems to be pronounced with slightly greater force than the rest of the syllables in the same word. However, it must be remembered that that is also the syllable, according to the rule mentioned earlier, which is lengthened, so that the stress may be the effect of the lengthening of the vowel. In any case, independent of the lengthening of vowels, stress in *Zambian* languages does not distinguish words from each other in meaning.

A characteristic feature of all *Zambian* languages is that each of their syllables carries **tone**. Tone has sometimes been used interchangeably with **intonation**. However, these two terms should be kept distinct as they are now used to describe two different linguistic phenomena. Intonation refers to the overall melody over a unit of phrase or utterance, while tone refers to a (voice) pitch (a kind of musical note) on the individual syllable. There are only two contrastive tones in *Zambian* languages, *high* and *low*, which serve to distinguish



between words which are otherwise identical in all other respects. It is convenient to indicate high tone by placing on the vowel of the relevant syllable an acute accent (´), and low tone by leaving it unmarked, or sometimes by a grave (`). The significance of tone in Zambian languages may be seen from the following examples:

<i>cuulá</i>	“frog”	but <i>cúulá</i>	“bark of a tree” (Lunda)
<i>kukula</i>	“to be sick”	but <i>kukúla</i>	“to be satisfied” (Lozi)
<i>mtengo</i>	“price”	but <i>mténgo</i>	“tree” (Nyanja)
<i>úlupwá</i>	“egg-plant”	but <i>ulúpwá</i>	“family” (Bemba)

Every word or phrase in English is said with the appropriate stress. In Zambian languages every word has its appropriate tones, and these must be learned if one is to speak the given language correctly. One factor which makes it difficult for a learner to learn to say words with their proper tones is that the actual pitches change depending on the slot or context in which the particular word occurs in a phrase or sentence. High tones, for example, tend to be somewhat lower (sometimes to the point of being indistinguishable from low tones) towards the end of a sentence. Moreover, very often a high tone in one context may change to a low tone in another context, and vice versa. Note, for instance, that in Bemba *nínsá* “it is a watch” (with high tones) changes in the following phrase, *nínsá yandi* “it is my watch”, to a high-low tone sequence. Similarly, in Lambya, “he is buying” may be either *akúkalá* (low-high-low-high) if in response to a question, or *akúkala* (low-high-low-low) if making a matter-of-fact statement. All Zambian languages seem to show this type of variation in tonal behaviour from context to context.

### 3.5 *A Note on Zambian Languages and English*

In the preceding sections we have laid emphasis on the similarity that exists between one Zambian language and another as regards their sound systems. What we have not indicated with similar emphasis is in what respects Zambian languages are different from each other. Showing how different two languages are is as important as showing how similar they are. In fact, for purposes of teaching, it may be even more important to show exactly in what respects two languages are dissimilar, so that the necessary degree of emphasis can be directed at the main problem areas. Contrastive studies, i.e. studies which aim at comparing and contrasting one language with another, have already proved invaluable in many countries in aiding teachers of language to concentrate on pronunciation and grammatical problems that present the greatest difficulty to their pupils. In Zambia where a person may be required to learn not only a

Zambian language quite different from his own but also one or two European languages, particularly English, the information that contrastive studies yield is of great educational significance.

We shall try to illustrate what we mean by a few examples. If we contrast the sound system of Bemba with that of Tumbuka, for example, we may be able to predict the critical points at which a Bemba native speaker may have the greatest difficulty in learning Tumbuka. For example, since he has no contrast in his own language between the labial stop *b* and the labial fricative *ɸ*, he may fail to notice the distinction that exists in Tumbuka between *-beka* "see" and *-ɸeka* "fight". He is therefore likely to pronounce the two words in the same way, with the consequence that he might be misunderstood. A similar problem could arise in Nyanja where a learner who has no contrast between aspiration and non-aspiration in his own language may find difficulty in learning to distinguish between words in Nyanja like *-tenga* "take" and *-t<sup>h</sup>enga* "come to stay".

Problems of this kind are referred to as "mother-tongue interference" because a language learner usually transfers to the language he is learning many of the linguistic patterns that are characteristic of his own language. This is generally what is meant by such statements as "he speaks English with a Lozi, or Tonga, or Nyanja accent". What is involved in this case is that sound patterns in the mother tongue are transferred to sound patterns in English. For example, since no Zambian language has the vowel *a* as in the English word *pit* or *did*, but only one similar to that in *machine*, the tendency is for Zambian learners of English to transfer the *i* occurring in their languages to English. We have already mentioned some differences between the characteristic consonant clusters in English and those in Zambian languages. The point was observed that due to the "open" character of the syllables in Zambian languages, in contrast to the consonant clusters in English, a Zambian learning English would tend to add final vowels and to insert vowels between certain English consonant clusters, e.g. "against" might be pronounced *agenesiti*. Problems of this kind in acquiring foreign languages are very real, and in the Zambian situation there would appear to be a great need to undertake in future contrastive studies that would aim at providing information which would be useful to teachers and learners alike.

#### 4.0 *Word Forms and Sentence Structure in the Zambian Languages*<sup>3</sup>

##### 4.1 *Nouns, Noun Classes and Locatives*

The most striking feature of Zambian Bantu languages is what has been called the **class system** or **concord system**. Most nouns begin with

one of a small set of **prefixes**, for instance, in Kaonde:

<i>mu-ntu</i>	"person"	<i>ji-bwe</i>	"stone"
<i>mu-kulumpe</i>	"elder"	<i>ji-ke</i>	"egg".

The plural is formed by using different prefixes:

<i>ba-ntu</i>	"people"	<i>ma-bwe</i>	"stones"
<i>ba-kulumpe</i>	"elders"	<i>ma-ke</i>	"eggs".

Other words in the phrase or sentence that refer to the same things have to agree with the noun; they have prefixes or other parts whose form depends on the class of the noun:

<i>mu-ntu u-ngi</i>	"a different person"
<i>ba-ntu ba-ngi</i>	"different people"
<i>ji-bwe ji-ngi</i>	"a different stone"
<i>ma-bwe a-ngi</i>	"different stones".

These other prefixes are sometimes the same as the noun prefix (as in the second and third examples), sometimes they are a little different (as in the first and last examples), but the form of the prefix always depends on the noun they agree with.

Table 8 shows forms of the different noun prefixes in the seven official Zambian languages. They show a striking similarity from one language to another; a similarity that is reflected to a greater or lesser extent in many features of the grammar.

This table omits many alternative forms that occur for example before vowels. In the table, *N* means that this sound in the prefix will change to *m*, *n*, *ŋ* or *ny* depending on the sound (in the stem) that follows; *Y* is used as a sign for some special changes in the beginning of the noun. The numbers on the left are those used to number the prefixes in many grammars of Bantu languages; other systems are also in use in which a single number is given to two prefixes, one singular and one plural. The word **class** is used by different writers to mean either a single prefix (and the agreements that go with it) or a pair of prefixes that make the singular and plural for a group of words.

There are a few nouns in all Zambian languages which do not have any of these prefixes: for instance, Luvale *kaka* "grandparent", Nyanja *galu* "dog", Mambwe *cisaka* "maize cob". However, these words require the same sort of agreements as other words (for instance Nyanja *galu m-modzi* "one dog"), so they are treated as belonging to a "subsidiary" class 1a. Their plural is sometimes formed with a special prefix (Mambwe *ya-cisaka* "maize cobs"), sometimes with an ordinary prefix (Luvale *va-kaka* "grandparents").

In Lunda, Luvale, Lucazi, Mbunda and Cokwe (and perhaps some other languages) all words that refer to human beings or animals



(including birds and fish) cause the same agreements, whatever prefix they have: for instance Lucazi:

<i>ka-zila a-li halisua</i>	"a bird is on the nest"
<i>mu-ntu a-li hambandza</i>	"a person is outside".

Lozi has a similar rule, except that it only applies to human beings, for instance *li-sole u-lwana* "the soldier fights". In Lunda, words referring to human beings or animals have a different plural prefix from other words in the same class, for instance *nyi-tondu* "trees" but *anyi-koku* "sheep".

To attempt to describe the sorts of meaning that are found in words of particular classes would be difficult to do for all the Zambian languages together as words that are obviously connected are often in different classes in different languages, for instance, Bemba *aka-suba* and Nyanja *dzuwa*, both meaning "sun". However, there are some special uses of some classes, in which a prefix is added to the normal prefix (or takes its place) to indicate something specially small or large or having some other quality. Thus in Mambwe *mw-ana* means "child", but *ka-ana* means "small child".

The noun prefixes given in Table 8 are those used when the noun is at the head of a phrase; in some Zambian languages there may be alternative forms of the prefix used when the noun follows other words within a phrase, or when the noun is the predicate of the sentence (i.e. doing the job of a verb). For instance in Inamwanga *ici-nyuni cili mu-ci-tele* "a bird is in the nest", *ici-nyuni* at the beginning has the ordinary prefix, but the shorter prefix *ci-* is used after *mu* "in". Long and short prefix forms like this are found in the languages of the Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt provinces and some languages elsewhere. In Tonga the short form is the more normal in rapid speech. The forms found when a noun is used to complete a sentence without a verb, for instance, in Lungu *cii icisu* "this is a knife", are sometimes called **stable** forms. Sometimes this noun is preceded by a special particle: *hi* in Luvale, *ni* or *n* in Ila, Tumbuka and Cewa, for example. (These particles may be written as a separate word). In other languages the stable form is different altogether, for instance, in Tabwa *ubu-sansi* "mat", *buu-sansi* "it is a mat", and in Subiya *ama-konde* "bananas", *aa makonde* "these are bananas".

Place is often indicated in the Zambian languages by an extra prefix placed before a noun, for instance:

Bemba	<i>ku + musumba</i>	"to, from or at the chief's village"
Tonga	<i>a + nsi</i>	"on the ground"
Nyanja	<i>mu + mudzi</i> ( <i>m'mudzi</i> )	"in the village".

This extra prefix may seem like an English preposition, but it has some special features. It may have other words agreeing with it, for instance, Bemba *ku + muti kuu-tali* "to the tree is a long way" (compare *umu-ti uu-tali* "the tree is tall"). Forms like Lozi *yani, bani* etc. "that", with prefixes agreeing with each noun class, also have **locative** forms *fani, kwani, mwani* "there". So these extra locative prefixes are regarded as having classes of their own, usually numbered 16 (Bemba, Kaonde and Nyanja *pa*, Luvale and Lunda *ha*, Lozi *fa*, Tonga *a*), 17 (usually *ku*), and 18 (usually *mu*). These prefixes usually mean "at", "to" or "from" according to the verb they are used with.

#### 4.2 Adjectives

There are relatively few words in most Zambian languages that correspond directly with English adjectives. These are words denoting number, words for "all", "some", "many", "other", "this" and "that" and perhaps some thirty others. On the other hand, there are very large numbers of verbs which would be translated in English with an adjective and the verb "be" or "become". In Kaonde, for instance, "one man is tall, the other is short" is translated *umo walepa, mukwabo waipipa*, using the verbs *ku-lepa* "be tall" and *ku-ipipa* "be short". The prefixes of the Bantu adjectives are sometimes like those of the nouns, sometimes different, and there may be several groups of adjectives each with a different set of prefixes. For instance, in Bemba "two beads" is *ubulungu bu-bili*, but "many beads" is *ubulungu ubw-ingi* with the longer prefix *ubw-*.

Words for "this" and "that" form a special class of adjectives called **demonstratives**. There are often four or more such words in Zambian languages, with more exact meanings than the English demonstratives, such as "over by you", "the one just mentioned". Some of these are similar in form to other adjectives, but others such as Luvale *ou* "this (person)", *eli* "this (arm)", have no part that can be called the stem.

#### 4.3 Possessives

In all the Zambian languages, an extra **possessive** prefix can be added to a noun, e.g. in Lamba *akatemo kaa + muntu* "the man's axe". This prefix agrees like an adjective and sometimes it is used in phrases corresponding to an English adjective, for instance in Lamba *umuntu wa+maano* "a wise person (person of wisdom)". The possessive prefix can also be added to other noun-like words such as the verb infinitive, for instance Lamba *ifibeshi fya+kupinika* "knives for cutting".

Adjectives, demonstratives, possessives and similar kinds of word can all be used on their own with no noun expressed, for instance in

Iwa *umufupi* "the short one", Luvale *ou* "this man", Lamba *uwamaano* "the wise one". The prefix may then have a different form as in the Lamba example (*uwamaano*, but *umuntu wamaano* above). These words may also have a special stable form of prefix, for instance Inamwanga *wenga amutali* "one is tall", but *umutali* "the tall one".

#### 4.4 Pronouns

Because of the way they may take the place of nouns, the different kinds of words discussed in the previous two sections are sometimes classified as **pronouns**, but there are also some kinds of word (or parts of words) that are only used to refer to nouns or to the persons "I", "we", "you" etc. The pronouns used as subject and object of the verb are best thought of as part of the verb, and are discussed later; a separate personal pronoun is used only for emphasis or contrast, for instance in Bemba *ine nshinwa bwalwa* "I don't drink beer", or when the person is being described, for instance *fwe-beena-musumba* "we who live in the capital". In all languages there is a **possessive pronoun** (representing a noun with the extra possessive prefix), for instance in Lamba *akatemo kanji* "my axe", *umuntu nembwa yakwe* "the man and his dog", *imfumu nembwa yaiyo* "the chief and his dog" (note that in the last example the stem of the possessive pronoun agrees with the owner: *imfumu* in class 9). There may be other kinds of pronoun: a **relative pronoun**, for instance *mbu* in the Ila sentence *Bwisi mbu ndakaula budi kwi?* "Where is the honey I bought?"; a **linking pronoun** "and it/they" etc., for instance *abalo* in Lenje *bantu abo abalo besa* "and those people came"; a pronoun meaning "with them" etc., for instance *nankwe* in Bemba *twaisa nankwe* "we have come with him". All these pronouns agree with the noun or person they represent.

#### 4.5 Adverbs

There are words in the Zambian languages corresponding in function to English adverbs, but it is often hard to draw the line between adverbs and nouns; Bemba *fye* "simply" might seem to be an adverb, but appears in the expression *icaafye* "a triviality". *Ulubilo* "fast" or "speed" is clearly a noun, and *ukutali* 'far away' is an adjective in a locative class. English adverbs are often translated by verbs or verbal constructions: *ukulepula* "cut or tear cloth", *ukulepaula* "cut or tear cloth roughly or carelessly", *bwasuka bwaila* "at last it got dark" (or "until it got dark").

There is a special kind of word resembling an adverb found widely in Zambian languages, often called an **ideophone**, for instance *twii* (used for anger) in Lamba (*ukufiitwa twii* "to be very angry", *ukufoma foo* "to snore loudly"). Ideophones may take the place of a verb, for

instance, in Lamba *kumfwa naye twii napamense* "and he [showed] anger in his face", *munanda paa* "the house [was] crowded".

#### 4.6 Verb Forms

Verb forms in the Zambian languages characteristically have a number of parts, which may or may not all be written as one word, but which occur in a fixed order, for instance, in Cokwe *w-a-ngu-fwet-ele-jo* "he paid it (e.g. money) to me". Some of these parts, like *w-*, *-ngu-* and *-jo*, are pronouns, agreeing with the subject and where appropriate objects; other parts, like *-a-* and *-ele-*, mark tense and mood and other characteristics of the verb form; the main part of the verb form, in this example *-fwet-*, is called the **root** (the term **verb stem** used in many grammars means the root with the ending *-a*, for instance *-fweta*).

Most verb forms, except the imperative (like Soli *vona, vonani* "see"), have a subject pronoun, but in certain relative verb forms or participles, the subject pronoun is replaced by a prefix rather like an adjective prefix (for instance in Bemba *uw-auma nafyala* "he who beats his mother-in-law"); and the infinitive (for instance Nsenga *ku-lya* "to eat"), which is really a sort of noun made from a verb, has a prefix resembling a noun prefix. There are subject pronouns for "I", "we", "you" (singular) and "you" (plural), and for all the noun and locative classes.

Object pronouns regularly occur in the middle of a verb form, immediately before the root. There is sometimes a special reflexive pronoun used when the object is the same as the subject, for instance *-i-* in Mambwe *na-i-koma* "I cut myself". Locative pronouns (and some secondary object pronouns) may occur at the end of the verb-form, for instance in Nkoya *wekalamo* "he sat in it", and these pronouns are sometimes added to other kinds of word as well, for instance Nyakyusa *pabutali-po* "at a distance from it".

A verb root is generally followed by a suffix characteristic of the tense (exceptions are a limited number of irregular roots often including "to be" and "to say") additional tense markers occur before or after the subject pronoun, for instance in Bemba *tu-send-e* "let us take", *naa-tu-send-a* "we have already taken", *tw-a-send-ele* "we took". Occasionally some of these parts become fused; there seems to be one part in place of two: the first part of Bemba *nin-send-a* "I've already taken" corresponds to the first two parts of *naa-tu-send-a*.

The majority of the Zambian languages (but not those in the Eastern Province) have a tense suffix which takes different forms depending on the final vowel and consonant of the root; for instance in Mbunda *twakok-ele* "we pulled", but *twasan-ene* "we called"; *e* in the suffix is associated with *o* or *e* in the root, and *n* with *n*, *m* or *ŋ* in



the root. This ending fuses with longer roots and a few short roots, so that for instance in Lunda "we saw" is *twa-mweni* (root *-mon-*), where *e* has apparently been inserted before the last consonant of the root. In the extreme north-east of Zambia, the vowel of the suffix is always *i*, but there are numerous changes in the final consonant of the root, for instance in Inamwanga *ales-ile* means both "he has brought" (*ku-let-a*) and "he has left" (*ku-lek-a*).

There is another tense suffix *-A* occurring for instance in Cokwe, Lucazi and Mbunda, where the suffix normally has the same vowel as the root, e.g. in Cokwe *tunalim-i* "we have just cultivated", *tunatum-b-u* "we have just planted".

The following are some of the tenses describing simple actions in Cokwe:

<i>tu-na-lim-i</i>	"we have just cultivated"
<i>tw-a-lim-anga</i>	"we cultivated" [say, this morning]
<i>tu-naka-lim-a</i>	"we cultivated" [yesterday]
<i>tw-a-lim-ine</i>	"we cultivated" [some time ago].

The suffix is different in each case, but, apart from the two cases of *-a-*, so is the tense-marker in the middle, so that we have to give the meaning of the two parts together:

<i>-na- -I</i>	<i>Immediate past simple tense</i>
<i>-a- -anga</i>	<i>Nearer past simple tense</i>
<i>-naka- -a</i>	<i>Further past simple tense</i>
<i>-a- -Ile</i>	<i>Remote past simple tense.</i>

This situation is the most common in the verbal systems of Zambian languages, but occasionally we may find that an individual tense-marker has a distinct meaning by itself: in Lucazi for instance *-ka-* refers to actions taking place at a distance: *wayile ku-ka-liwana navo kuze* "he went to meet them there".

The Cokwe examples above illustrate also the fine differences that exist between Bantu tenses. There are often four divisions of past time, and three or four divisions of future time, depending partly on the sun, partly on the attitude of the speaker to the actions. As well as distinctions of time, there are distinctions of aspect (simple actions, continuing actions, habitual actions, transitory or persistent states) and focus (attention drawn to verbal action, attention drawn to circumstances) and also mood (indicative, subjunctive, potential, conditional). In some languages a negative verb is formed by simply adding something meaning "not", for instance *si-* in Nyanja, *hi-* in Lunda (with *ku-* at the

end of the clause); in other languages the negative tenses are quite different from the positive. In general the simplest tense systems are probably to be found in the Eastern Province. The competition for the most complicated would be difficult to decide.

One further feature of the verb system is common to all the Zambian languages, namely, the addition of parts called **extensions** or **derivative suffixes** to the root which change the meaning in a regular way. For instance in all languages there is an extension *-IL-* (subject to the same changes as the *-ILe* tense suffix) which brings in someone affected by the verb, e.g. in Ila *babeza bwato* "they hollow out a boat", *babez-el-a mwami bwato* "they hollow out a boat for the chief". There is a passive extension *-w-* (not found in some languages of the Western Province, *-Idw-* in Nyanja), for instance *-bing-* "drive", *-bing-w-* "be driven". The passive always implies that the action is done by someone, unlike the stative verbs (often ending *-Ik-*, *-am-*, *-Uk-*), which merely record the state, for instance in Ila *isamo dianduka* "the tree is split". The causative extension often occasions many changes of consonant or palatalisation, for instance, *-ul-* "buy", *-uzh-* "cause to buy", i.e. "sell". Three other Ila extensions are typical: *-lw-* "fight", *-lw-an-* "fight together"; *-end-* "travel", *-endesh-* "hurry, travel swiftly"; *-ang-* "tie", *-angulul-* "untie".

#### 4.7 Sentence Structure

The information available to the writers is not adequate to make any extensive remarks on the combination of words into phrases, clauses and sentences in the Zambian languages. There are some superficial differences between the Zambian languages and English: in the Zambian languages adjectives and other qualifiers generally follow the noun in a phrase, with the exception of some demonstratives; Zambian languages often turn clauses into phrases or part phrases by adding the possessive prefix to an infinitive: much use is made of clauses in which a stable noun or noun-like word is used in place of a verb, for instance, in Bemba *inkalamo umo iile teemwakwishiba* "there was no knowing which way the lion had gone". But in general corresponding idiomatic passages in English and a Zambian language are likely to differ less in basic sentence structure than in the way elements of meaning are conveyed by different parts of speech.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Specifically, Mr. Kashoki contributed sections 1-3 dealing with vocabulary comparisons and sound systems and Mr. Mann the section dealing with word forms and sentence structure in Zambian languages (section 4). More detailed descriptions of Bemba and Kaonde may be found in *Language in Zambia*:

*Grammatical Sketches* to be published shortly by the Institute of African Studies, University of Zambia. Further volumes will follow containing descriptions of Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja (Cewa) and Tonga.

<sup>2</sup> See further G. Fortune, "The languages of The Western Province of Zambia", *Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa*, 1/1, 1970, pp. 31-38 and map.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to many grammars of individual languages, this section draws heavily on M. Guthrie 1948 and on a grammatical questionnaire prepared and administered by Professor Kashoki.

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## APPENDIX 2:A; STEMS AND MEANINGS IN 25 ZAMBIAN LANGUAGES/DIALECTS

Meaning	Mambwe	Lungu	Inamwanga	Iwa
"all"	- <i>onsi</i>	- <i>onsi</i>	- <i>onsi</i>	- <i>onsi</i>
"animal"	- <i>nyama</i>	- <i>nyama</i>	- <i>nyama</i>	- <i>nyama</i>
"ashes"	- <i>twi</i>	- <i>twi</i>	- <i>toi</i>	- <i>toi</i>
"belly" ("stomach")	- <i>la (-da)</i>	- <i>la (da)</i>	- <i>lula</i>	- <i>lula</i>
"big"	- <i>kulu</i>	- <i>kulu</i>	- <i>kulu</i>	- <i>kulu</i>
"bird"	- <i>unyi</i>	- <i>unyi</i>	- <i>nyunyi</i>	- <i>nyunyi</i>
"blind person"	- <i>toŋko</i>	- <i>pafu</i>	- <i>toŋko</i>	- <i>toŋko</i>
"blood"	- <i>azi</i>	- <i>azi</i>	- <i>azi</i>	- <i>azi</i>
"bone"	- <i>fupa</i>	- <i>fupa</i>	- <i>fupa</i>	- <i>fupa</i>
"breathe"	- <i>fuuta</i>	- <i>fuuta</i>	- <i>fuuta</i>	- <i>fuuta</i>
"buy"	- <i>kala</i>	- <i>kala</i>	- <i>kala</i>	- <i>kala</i>
"canoe"	- <i>ato</i>	- <i>ato</i>	- <i>ato</i>	- <i>ato</i>
"cattle"	- <i>ŋombe</i>	- <i>ŋombe</i>	- <i>ŋombe</i>	- <i>ŋombe</i>
"chew"	- <i>tafuna</i>	- <i>sheeta</i>	- <i>syola</i>	- <i>syeta</i>
"chicken"	- <i>koko</i>	- <i>koko</i>	- <i>koko</i>	- <i>koko</i>
"child"	- <i>ana</i>	- <i>ana</i>	- <i>ana</i>	- <i>ana</i>
"cloud"	- <i>kumbi</i>	- <i>kumbi</i>	- <i>wingo</i>	- <i>bingu</i>
"cold"	- <i>zuuka</i>	- <i>zuuka</i>	- <i>talala</i>	- <i>talala</i>
counting: "one"	- <i>onga</i>	- <i>onga</i>	- <i>onga</i>	- <i>onga</i>
"two"	- <i>ili</i>	- <i>ili</i>	- <i>wili</i>	- <i>wili</i>
"three"	- <i>tatu</i>	- <i>tatu</i>	- <i>tatu</i>	- <i>tatu</i>
"four"	- <i>ni</i>	- <i>ni</i>	- <i>ni</i>	- <i>ni</i>
"five"	- <i>saano</i>	- <i>saano</i>	- <i>saano</i>	- <i>saano</i>
"six"	<i>mutanda</i>	<i>mutanda</i>	<i>mutanda</i>	<i>mutanda</i>
"ten"	- <i>kumi</i>	- <i>kumi</i>	- <i>kumi</i>	- <i>kumi</i>
"crocodile"	- <i>gwena</i>	- <i>gwena</i>	- <i>ŋwina</i>	- <i>ŋwina</i>
"cry"	- <i>lila</i>	- <i>lila</i>	- <i>lila</i>	- <i>lila</i>
"die"	- <i>fwa</i>	- <i>fwa</i>	- <i>fwa</i>	- <i>fwa</i>
"dog"	- <i>(m) mbwa</i>	- <i>(m) bwa</i>	- <i>bwa</i>	- <i>bwa</i>
"drink"	- <i>mwa</i>	- <i>mwa</i>	- <i>ŋwa</i>	- <i>ŋwa</i>
"dumb person"	- <i>wulu</i>	- <i>bulu</i>	<i>ciwulu</i>	- <i>wiwi</i>
"ear"	- <i>(ku) twi</i>	- <i>twi</i>	- <i>(ku) twi</i>	- <i>(ku) tu</i>
"eat"	- <i>lya</i>	- <i>lya</i>	- <i>lya</i>	- <i>lya</i>
"egg"	- <i>enza</i>	- <i>yayi</i>	- <i>enza</i>	- <i>enza</i>
"elephant"	- <i>zovu</i>	- <i>zovu</i>	- <i>zovu</i>	- <i>zovu</i>
"eye"	- <i>inso</i>	- <i>nso</i>	- <i>inso</i>	- <i>inso</i>
"fall"	- <i>pona</i>	- <i>pona</i>	- <i>pona</i>	- <i>wa</i>
"father" ("my")	- <i>taata</i>	- <i>taata</i>	- <i>taata</i>	- <i>taata</i>
"father" ("his")	<i>iisi</i>	<i>iishi</i>	- <i>iisi</i>	- <i>iisi</i>
"feather"	- <i>vumbu</i>	- <i>vumbu</i>	- <i>eya</i>	- <i>eya</i>
"fire"	- <i>oto</i>	- <i>oto</i>	- <i>lilo</i>	- <i>lilo</i>
"fish"	- <i>swi</i>	- <i>swi</i>	- <i>swi</i>	- <i>swi</i>
"fly"	- <i>papuka</i>	- <i>papuka</i>	- <i>papuka</i>	- <i>pupuka</i>
"flower"	- <i>luwa</i>	- <i>luwa</i>	- <i>luwa</i>	- <i>luwa</i>
"foot"	- <i>azo</i>	- <i>azo</i>	- <i>tamba</i>	- <i>tamba</i>
"frog"	- <i>cuula</i>	- <i>cuula</i>	- <i>cuula</i>	- <i>cuula</i>
"give"	- <i>peela</i>	- <i>peela</i>	- <i>pa</i>	- <i>pa</i>
"hair"	- <i>nyele</i>	- <i>nyele</i>	- <i>nyele</i>	- <i>nyele</i>
"hand"	- <i>nzanza</i>	- <i>zanza</i>	- <i>zanza</i>	- <i>zanza</i>
"head"	- <i>twe</i>	- <i>twe</i>	- <i>twe</i>	- <i>twe</i>

Lambya	Tambo	Nyiha	Kaonde (Solwezi)	Kaonde (Kasempa)
-onsi	-onsi	-onthi	-onse	-onse
-nyama	-nyama	-nyama	-nyama	-nyama
-toi	-toi	-toi	-to	-to
-kati	-kati	-anda	-vumo	-vumo
-kulu	-kulu	-piti	-katampe	-katampe
-yuni	-yuni	-nyunyi	-ṅonyi	-ṅonyi
-toṅko	-toṅko	-toṅko	(m)puuta	(m)puuta
-azi	-azi	-banda	-shi	-shi
-fupa	-fupa	-fupa	-kupa	-kupa
-fuuta	-fuuta	-fuuta	-peema	-peema
-kala	-sita	-kala	-pota	-pota
-ato	-ato	-ato	-ato	-ato
-ṅombe	-ṅombe	-ṅombe	ṅombe	ṅombe
-syeta	-syeta	-syoola	-kukunya	-nyeuuna
-kuku	-kuku	-kuku	nzoolo(nzooro)	nzoolo(nzooro)
-ana	-ana	-ana	-ana	-ana
-bingu	-bingu		-kumbi	-kumbi
-talala	-talala	-hatala	-ba munyango	-talala; -pola; -ba munyango
-oka	-oka	-oha	-mo	-mo
-bili	-bili	-bili	-biji	-biji
-tatu	-tatu	-tatu	-satu	-satu
-naaye	-naai	-ne	-na	-na
-saano	-saano	-saano	-taanu	-taanu
visaano nacooka	mutanda	visaano nacooha	tutaanu nekamo	tutaanu nakamo (bitaanu nakimo)
-kumi	mufundikamonsi	-shuumi	-kumi	-kumi
-gwina	-ṅwina	-ṅwina	-wele	-wele(-were)
-lila	-lila	-lila	-jila	-jila(-jira)
-fwa	-fwa	-fwa	-fwa	-fwa
-bwa	-bwa	-bwa	-bwa	-bwa
-ṅwa	-ṅwa	-ṅwela	-toma	-toma
-cibwibwi	-wiwi	-kutwi	-(ka)maama	-(ka)maama
-(ku)tu	-(ku)tu	-(ku)twi	-twi	-twi
-lya	-lya	-lya	-ja	-ja
-enza	-enza	-ji	-ke	-ke
-zovu	-zovu	-zovu	nzovu	nzovu
-inso	-inso	-inso	-iso	-iso
-wa	-wa	-gwa	-pona	-pona
-taata	-taata	-taata	taata	taata
-wiise	-wiise	-yiise	shanji	shanji
-eya	-eya	-eya	-lumbilo	-yona
-oto	-oto	-oto	-oto	-jilo
-swi	-swi	-swi	-sabi	-sabi
-pupuka	-pupuka	-beeta	-tumbuka	-tumbuuka
-luba	-luba	-luba	-luba	-luba
-tamba	-nama	-tamba	-ulu	-lwayo(-rwayo)
-cuula	-cuula	-cuula	-bombwe	-bombwe
-pa	-pa	-pa	-pa(-paana)	-pa(paana)
-sisi	-sisi	-sisi	-suki	-suki
-zanzala	-nzanza	-nyoobe	-boko	-kaasa
-tu	-tu	-twe	-twe	-twe

Meaning	Lunda (Ndembu)	Lunda (Ishindi)	Luvale	Lucazi
"all"	-ezhima	-ezhima	-oseena	-ose
"animal"	-nyama	-nyama	-nyama	-situ
"ashes"	-wuti	-uti	-uto	-to
"belly" ("stomach")	-vumu	-vumu	-zhiimo	-zimo
"big"	-neni	-neni	-neene	-kaama
"bird"	-da	-zhila	-zhila	-zila
"blind person"	(m)putameesu	(m)puutameesu	-pupuuta	-pupuuta
"blood"	-shi	-shi	-nyinga	-ninga
"bone"	-fwaha	-fwaha	-fwuhwa	-tsiha
"breathe"	-ona	-ona	-hwima	-hwima
"buy"	-landa	-landa	-landa	-landa
"canoe"	-(w)atu	-atu	-ato	-ato
"cattle"	-ṅombi	-ṅombi	ngombe	ngombe
"chew"	-tafunya	-kukunya	-tafunya	-takinya
"chicken"	-sumbi	-sumbi	-sumbi	-sumbi
"child"	-ana	-ana	-ana	-ana
"cloud"	-vu	-vu	-vwi	-seelwa
"cold"	-tuuta	-tuuta	-tuuta	-tontola
counting: "one"	-mu	-mu	-mwe	-mo
"two"	-yedi	-yedi	-baali	-baali
"three"	-satu	-satu	-taatu	-tatu
"four"	-wana	-wana	-wana	-wana
"five"	-taanu	-taanu	-taanu	-taanu
"six"	itaanu	itaanu	bitaanu	bitaanu
	naciimu	naciimu	nacimwe	nacimo
"ten"	-kumi	-kumi	-kumi	-kumi
"crocodile"	-ṅandu	-ṅandu	-ṅandu	ṅandu
"cry"	-dila	-dila	-lila	-lila
"die"	-fwa	-fwa	-fwa	-isa
"dog"	-wa	-wa	-wa	-tali
"drink"	-nwa	-nwa	-nwa	-nwa
"dumb person"	-maama	-maama	-muumu	-bebebe
"ear"	-tu	-tu	-(twi)twi	-(twi)twi
"eat"	-da	-da	-lya	-lya
"egg"	-teeta	-teeta	-sanga	-yaki
"elephant"	-nzovu	-nzovu	njamba	njamba
"eye"	-isu	-isu	-iso	-iso
"fall"	-dimbuka	-dimbuka	-limbuka	-liwila
"father" ("my")	taata	taata	taata	taata
"father" ("his")	taata	taata	iise	iise
"feather"	-vuuzhi	-vuzhi	-ngoona	-ngona
"fire"	-isi	-esi	-kahya(-hya)	tuhy(-hya)
"fish"	-nshi	-nshi	iishi	-nsi
"fly"	-tuuka	-tuuka	-tuuka	-pulumuka
"flower"	-luba	-(ṅ)keenu	-teemu	-nteemo
"foot"	-dacilu	-dacilu	-kaazo	-punga
"frog"	-ula	-ula	-zunda	-nzunda
"give"	-iṅka	-iṅka	-haana(-hya)	-hya
"hair"	-(n)suki	-(n)suki	-kamba	ṅkambu
"hand"	-baaṅala	-kasa	-kamba	-kamba
"head"	-tu	-tu	-twe	-twi

Mbunda	Cokwe	Cewa	Nsenga (Petauke)	Nsenga (Mpezeni)
-oshe	-eswe	-onse	-onse	-onse
-thitu	-shitu	-nyama	-nyama	-nyama
-to	-to	-doti	-lota	-lota
-imo	-zhimo	-mimba	(lu)vumo	vumo
-kaama	-nene	-kulu	-kulu	-kulu
-dila	-zhila	-bqani	-nyoni	-nyoni
-pupuutwa	-pupuuta	-k <sup>h</sup> ungu	-kuŋgu; -pofu	-kuŋgu
-ninga	-nyinga	-gazi	-lopa	-gazi
-thiinya	-fwaha	-fupa	-fupa	-fupa
-wima	-hwima	-puma	-fuza	-fuza
-landa	-landa	-gula	-sita	-gula
-ato	-ato	(bwa)ato	(wa)ato	(wa)ato
ngombe	ngombe	-nombe	-nombe	-nombe
-thathiinya	-njakula	-tafuna	-sheta	-sheta
-thumbi	-sumbi	-k <sup>h</sup> uku	-k <sup>h</sup> uku	-k <sup>h</sup> uku
-ana	-ana	-ana	-ana	-ana
-sheelwa	-leelwa	-kumbi	-kumɓi	-tambo
-tonoola	-kekema	-zizila	-tont <sup>h</sup> ola	-zizila
-mo	-mu	-modzi	-mo	-mo
-baali	-ali	-wiri	-bili	-bili
-taatu	-tatu	-tatu	-tatu	-tatu
-wana	-wana	-nai	-ne	-ne
-taanu	-taanu	-saanu	-saanu	-saanu
mutaanu	sambanu	visaano	visaano	tusaano
naciimu		ndicimodzi	nacimo	nakamo
-kumi	-kumi	-k <sup>h</sup> umi	visano navisano	kumi
ngandu	-ngandu	-nona	-nwena	-nwena
-lila	-lila	-lila	-lila	-lila
-tha	-fwa	-fa	-fwa	-fwa
-taali	-wa	-galu	-bwa	-bwa
-nwa	-nwa	-mwa	-mwa	-mwa
-maama	-mama	-bebebe	-nsilabila	-salabila
-twi	-twi	k <sup>h</sup> utu	-atu	-atu
-lya	-lya	-dya	-lya	-lya
-bunda	-onda	-dzila	-lungu	-lungu
njamba	njamba	-jovu	-zovu	-zovu
-isho	-iso	-iso	-i(n)so	-i(n)so
-wa	-limbuka	-gwa	-wa	-wa
taata	taata	-taate	-taata	-taata
iishe	taato	-tqate	-wiisi	-wiisi
-unga	-ngonz	-t <sup>h</sup> enga	-ngala	-ngala
-ya	-hya	-oto	-lilo	-lilo
-thi	-(i)shi	-somba	-sabi	-somba
-pulula	-humuka	-uluka	-ndalala	-ndalala
-luba	-temo	-duwa	-luba	-luba
-kandi	-lyato	p <sup>h</sup> azi	-pazi; -balamantilo	-endo
-njunda	-ula	cuule	cuule	cuule
-ana	-haana(-ha)	-patsa	-pa	-pa
-nambu	-kambu	-tsitsi	-sisi	-sisi
-kamba	-kambakamba	-k <sup>h</sup> atok <sup>h</sup> ato	-nzanza	-anja
-twe	-twe	-tu	-tu	-tu

Meaning	Kunda	Tumbuka	Senga	Bemba
"all"	-onse	-ose	-ose	-onse
"animal"	-nama	-nyama	-nyama	-nama
"ashes"	-oto	-oto	-oto	-to
"belly" ("stomach")	-vumo	-t <sup>h</sup> umbo	-t <sup>h</sup> umbo	-fumo
"big"	-kulu	-kulu	-kulu	-kulu
"bird"	-uni	-yuni	-yuni	-uni
"blind person"	-pofu	-mbulamaso	-toroke	-pofu
"blood"	-lopa	-lopa	-lopa	-lopa
"bone"	-fupa	-wangwa	-fupa	-fupa
"breathe"	-peema	-t <sup>h</sup> uta	-peema	-peema
"buy"	-sita	-gula	-sita	-shita
"canoe"	(wa)ato	(wa)ato	-(bwa)ato	-ato
"cattle"	-nombe	-nombe	-nombe	-nombe
"chew"	-sheeta	-sumba	-cakamula	-sheeta
"chicken"	-k <sup>h</sup> oku	-k <sup>h</sup> uku	-k <sup>h</sup> uku	-koko
"child"	-ana	-ana	-ana	-ana
"cloud"	-kumbi	-tambo	-kumbi	-kumbi
"cold"	-talala	-zizima	-zizima	-talala
counting: "one"	-mo	-mo; -moza	-mo	-mo
"two"	-bili	-bili	-bili	-bili
"three"	-tatu	-tatu	-tatu	-tatu
"four"	-ne	-nai	-nai	-ne
"five"	-saano	-nk <sup>h</sup> ondi	-saano	-saano
"six"	visaano nacimo	tun <sup>h</sup> ondi nakamo	visaano nacimo	mutanda
"ten"	-kumi	k <sup>h</sup> umi	k <sup>h</sup> umi	-kumi
"crocodile"	-nwena	-nona	-nwena	-nwena
"cry"	-lila	-lila	-lila	-lila
"die"	-fwa	-fwa	-fwa	-fwa
"dog"	-bwa	-c <sup>h</sup> ebe	-bwa	-bwa
"drink"	-nwa	-mwa	-mwa	-nwa
"dumb person"	-cibulu	-byuwu	-byubu	cibulu
"ear"	-twi	(k <sup>h</sup> u)tu	(k <sup>h</sup> u)tu	-twi
"eat"	-lya	-lya	-lya	-lya
"egg"	-sumbi	-sumbi	-sumbi	-ni
"elephant"	-zovu	-zovu	-zovu	-sofu
"eye"	-i(n)so	-so	-iso	-inso
"fall"	-pona	-wa	-wa	-wa
"father" ("my")	baata	daada	taata	taata
"father" ("his")	wiisi	-wiise	wiise	wiishi
"feather"	-ngala	-(w)eya	(bw)eya	-sako
"fire"	-lilo	-oto	-oto	-lilo
"fish"	-swi	-somba	-sabi	-sabi
"fly"	-ndalala	-duka	-buka	-pupuka
"flower"	-luba	-luba	-luba	-luba
"foot"	-endo	-zaza	-(lw)ayo	-kasa
"frog"	cuule	cuule	cuule	cuula
"give"	-pa	-pa	-pa	-pa; -peela
"hair"	-sisi	-sisi	-sisi	-shishi
"hand"	-nzanza	-zaza	-zaza	-sansa
"head"	-twe	-tu	-tu	-twe



Ambo	Lozi	Tonga
-onse	<i>kaufela</i>	-onse
-nama	<i>folofolo</i>	-nyama
-toi	-lola	-twe
-fumo	<i>mba</i>	-la
-kulu	-tuna	-pati
-uni	<i>nyunywani</i>	-zumi; yuni
-pofu	-bofu	-ofu
-lubula	-li	-lowa
-fupa	-sapo	-fuwa
-peema	-buyela	-yowa
-shita	-leka	-(g)ula
-ato	-kolo	-ato
-nombe	<i>komu</i>	-nombe
-sheeta	-tafuna	-tafuna; -tahuna
-sumbi	-kuhu	-kuku
-ana	-anana	-ana
-kumbi	-lu	-kumbi
-tontola	-bata	-tontola
-mo	<i>ηwi</i>	-mwi (-omwe)
-bili	-peli (beli)	-bili (-obile)
-tatu	-talu	-tatu (-otatwe)
-ne	-ne	-ne (-one)
-saano	-ketalizoho;	-sanu (-osanwe)
	-butanu	
<i>fisaano nacimo</i>	<i>zeketalizoho</i>	<i>jisambomwe; josanwe</i>
	<i>kailiηwi</i>	<i>agomwe</i>
-kumi	<i>shumi</i>	-kumi
<i>ηwena</i>	<i>kwena</i>	-wena (-gwena)
-lila	-lila	-lila
-fwa	-shwa	-fwa
-bwa	<i>nja</i>	-bwa
-nwa	-nwa	-nywa
<i>shilabila</i>	-mumu	-ataambi
-twi	<i>zebe</i>	-twi
-lya	-ca	-lya
-sana	-i	-ji
-sofu	<i>tou</i>	-zovu
-i(n)so	-ito	-iso; -ihyo
-wa	-wa	-wa
<i>bataata</i>	<i>taate; ndate</i>	<i>taata</i>
<i>wiishi</i>	<i>ndate (ndatahe)</i>	-uhyi
-ngala	-fufa	-pepe
-lilo	-lilo	-lilo
-sabi	<i>tapi</i>	-swi
<i>palala</i>	-fufa	-uluka
-luba	<i>palisa</i>	-luba
-kasa	-hutu	-ulu
<i>bombwe</i>	-mbotwe	cula
-peela	-fa	-pa
-shishi	-liti	-susu
-sansa	-nganti	-janza (-anza)
-twi	<i>toho</i>	-twe

Meaning	Mambwe	Lungu	Inamwanga	Iwa
"hear"	- <i>uvwa</i>	- <i>uvwa</i>	- <i>ivwa</i>	- <i>ivwa</i>
"heart"	- <i>enzo</i>	- <i>enzo</i>	- <i>ezo</i>	- <i>ezo</i>
"heavy"	- <i>nyooma</i>	- <i>fina</i>	- <i>ηwama</i>	- <i>ηwama</i>
"hot"	- <i>kaaya</i>	- <i>kaya</i>	- <i>pya</i>	- <i>lungula</i>
"how"	<i>uli</i>	<i>uli</i>	<i>wuli</i>	<i>uli</i>
"housefly"	- <i>saazi</i>	- <i>saazi</i>	- <i>zaazi</i>	- <i>saazi</i>
"husband"	<i>uwane</i>	<i>uwane</i>	- <i>lume</i>	<i>evakwane</i>
"kill"	- <i>koma</i>	- <i>koma</i>	- <i>koma</i>	- <i>koma</i>
"knee"	- <i>kokola</i>	- <i>kokola</i>	- <i>kokola</i>	- <i>kokola</i>
"laugh"	- <i>seka</i>	- <i>seka</i>	- <i>seka</i>	- <i>seka</i>
"leal"	- <i>fwa</i>	- <i>fwa</i>	- <i>fwa</i>	- <i>fwa</i>
"leg"	- <i>kuulu</i>	- <i>kuulu</i>	- <i>nama</i>	- <i>lundu</i>
"man" ("human being")	- <i>ntu</i>	- <i>ntu</i>	- <i>ntu</i>	- <i>nt<sup>h</sup>u</i>
"man" ("male person")	- <i>onsi</i>	- <i>onsi</i>	- <i>onsi</i>	- <i>onsi</i>
"many"	- <i>inji</i>	- <i>ingi</i>	- <i>vula</i>	- <i>vula</i>
"meat" ("flesh of animal")	- <i>nyama</i>	- <i>nyama</i>	- <i>nyama</i>	- <i>nyama</i>
"milk" ("breast")	- <i>yele</i>	- <i>yele</i>	- <i>sulu</i>	- <i>sulu</i>
"moon"	- <i>ezi</i>	- <i>ezi</i>	- <i>ezi</i>	- <i>ezi</i>
"mother" ("my")	- <i>maayo</i>	- <i>maayo</i>	- <i>maayo</i>	- <i>maayo</i>
"mother" ("his")	- <i>nyina</i>	- <i>nyina</i>	- <i>nyina</i>	- <i>nyina</i>
"mouth"	- <i>lomo</i>	- <i>nwa</i>	- <i>lomo</i>	- <i>lomo</i>
"name"	- <i>zina</i>	- <i>zina</i>	- <i>zina</i>	- <i>zina</i>
"new"	- <i>pya</i>	- <i>pya</i>	- <i>pya</i>	- <i>pya</i>
"night"	- <i>siku</i>	- <i>siku</i>	- <i>siku</i>	- <i>siku</i>
"nose"	- <i>puno</i>	- <i>puno</i>	- <i>puno</i>	- <i>puno</i>
"old"	- <i>mpiti</i>	- <i>mpiti</i>	- <i>kali</i>	- <i>kali</i>
"rain"	- <i>vula</i>	- <i>vula</i>	- <i>vula</i>	- <i>vula</i>
"root"	- <i>sila</i>	- <i>sila</i>	- <i>sisi</i>	- <i>sisi</i>
"see"	- <i>lola</i>	- <i>lola</i>	- <i>lola</i>	- <i>lola</i>
"sell"	- <i>kasya</i>	- <i>kazyza</i>	- <i>kasya</i>	- <i>kazyza</i>
"sick" ("to be")	- <i>lwala</i>	- <i>lwala</i>	- <i>lwala</i>	- <i>lwala</i>
"sky"	- <i>yulu</i>	- <i>yulu</i>	- <i>wingo</i>	- <i>yulu</i>
"small"	- <i>noono</i>	- <i>noono</i>	- <i>tici</i>	- <i>tici</i>
"snake"	- <i>zoka</i>	- <i>zoka</i>	- <i>zoka</i>	- <i>zoka</i>
"spit"	- <i>swa</i>	- <i>swa</i>	- <i>swila</i>	- <i>swila</i>
"sun"	- <i>lanzi</i>	- <i>sanya</i>	- <i>lanzi</i>	- <i>lanzi</i>
"swallow"	- <i>mila</i>	- <i>mila</i>	- <i>milula</i>	- <i>milula</i>
"tongue"	- <i>limi</i>	- <i>limi</i>	- <i>limi</i>	- <i>limi</i>
"tooth"	- <i>ino</i>	- <i>ino</i>	- <i>ino</i>	- <i>ino</i>
"tree"	- <i>ti</i>	- <i>ti</i>	- <i>ti</i>	- <i>ti</i>
"vomit"	- <i>luka</i>	- <i>luka</i>	- <i>luka</i>	- <i>luka</i>
"walk"	- <i>pita</i>	- <i>pita</i>	- <i>pita</i>	- <i>pita</i>
"wash" ("body")	- <i>fulala</i>	- <i>fulala</i>	- <i>samba</i>	- <i>samba</i>
"water"	- <i>anzi</i>	- <i>anzi</i>	- <i>inzi</i>	- <i>inzi</i>
"wet"	- <i>omba</i>	- <i>omba</i>	- <i>nyeka</i>	- <i>nyeka</i>
"when"	<i>liilaci</i>	<i>liilaci</i>	<i>mpindici</i>	<i>mpindici</i>
"where"	<i>kwii</i>	<i>kwii</i>	<i>kwii</i>	<i>kwii</i>
"wife"	<i>uwane</i>	<i>uwane</i>	<i>ewakwane</i>	<i>ewakwane</i>
"wind"	- <i>za</i>	- <i>za</i>	- <i>za</i>	- <i>za</i>
"woman" ("female person")	- <i>anaci</i>	- <i>anaci</i>	- <i>anaci</i>	- <i>anaci</i>

Lambya	Tambo	Nyiha	Kaonde (Solwezi)	Kaonde (Kasempa)
-vwa	-ivwa	-ivwa	-umvwa	-umvwa
-oyo	-oyo	-oyo	-cima	-cima
-ŋwama	-ŋwama	-ŋwama	-neema	-neema
-pya	-pya	-pya	-kaba	-kaba; -pyano
buli	buli; cooni	shooni	byeepi	byeepi
-zazi	-saazi	-saazi	-lunzhi	-lunzhi
lume	-lume	-lume	-mwata	-mwata
-koma	-koma	-goga	-ipaya	-ipaya
-kokola	-kokoola	-imphevu	-nungo	-nungo
-seka	-seka	-seka	-seka	-seka
-ani	-anj	-tundu	-buula	-buula
-ŋkonzo	ŋk <sup>h</sup> onzo	-nana	-ulu	-ulu
-ntu	-nt <sup>h</sup> u	-nt <sup>h</sup> u	-ntu	-ntu
-(ana)lume	-(ana)lume	-(ana)vuli	-lume	-lume
-vula	-vula	-inji	-vula	-vula(-vura)
-nyama	-nyama	-nyama	-nyama	-nyama
-beele	-sulu	-beele	-beele	-beele
-ezi	-ezi	-ezi	ŋondo	ŋondo
-maai	-maai	-maai	maama	maama
-nyina	-nyina	-nyina	inanji	inanji
-lomo	-lomo	-lomo	-nwa	-nwa
-zina	-zina	-zina	-zhina	-zhina
-pya	-pya	-pya	-katataka	-katataka
-siku	-siku	-siku	-fuku	-fuku
-puno	-puno	-phuno	-ona	-ona
-kali	-sila	-kaali	-kala	-kala(-kara)
-vula	-vula	-vula	(m)vula	(m)vula
-sisi	-sisi	-gululuzi	-zhaazhi	-zhaazhi
-lola	-lola	-lola	-mona	-mona
-kazya	-sitisya	-kazya	-potesha	-potesha
-lwala	-lwala	-bina	-kolwa	-kolwa
-bingu	-bingu	-(ku)mwanya	-iulu	-iulu
-ntiini	-ntiini	-insi	-cece	-cece
-joka	-zoka	-joha	-lolo(-roro)	-lolo(-roro)
-swila	-swila	-swila	-shipa	-shipa
-lanzi	-lanzi	-zuba	-(f)uba	-uba
-mila	-mila	milula	-mina	-mina
-limi	-limi	-limi	-jimi	-jimi
-ino	-ino	-ino	-ino	-ino
-komo	-komo	-kwi	-ci	-ci
-tapika	-tapika	-tapiha	-lasa	-lasa(-rasa)
-enda	-enda	-jenda	-enda	-enda
-pwila	-pwila	-geeza	-owa(face)	-owa
-inzi	-inzi	-inzi	-ema	-ema
-nyeka	-nyeka	-nyeha	-zoba	-zoba
liinyi	mpindici	mpindibuli	ŋanyikimye	kimyeka
kwii	kwii	kwii	kwepi	kwepi
-kazi	-kazi	-si	-kazhi	-kazhi
-tunga	-tunga	-tunga	-ela	-ela(-besha)
(ana)kazi	-kazi	-ant <sup>h</sup> anda	-kazhi	-kazhi

Meaning	Lunda (Ndembu)	Lunda (Ishindi)	Luvale	Lucazi
"hear"	-tiya	-tiya	-ivwa	-ibwa
"heart"	-cima	-ciima	-ciima	-tima
"heavy"	-lema	-lema	-lema	-lema
"hot"	-taata	-taata	-saaba	-hya(-tuhya)
"how"	nahi	nahi	ngacili	bati
"housefly"	-zhinzhi	-nzhinzhi	-zhiizhi	-ndzindzi
"husband"	mfumu	-mfumu	-lunga	-ali(yaali)
"kill"	-zha	-zhaha	-zhiha	-tsiha
"knee"	nuŋu	-nuŋu	-mbuuli	-buli
"laugh"	-seha	-seha	-seha	-zola
"leaf"	-fu	-fu	-fwo	-fo
"leg"	-endu	-endu	-hinji	-kono
"man" ("human being")	-ntu	-ntu	-tu	-ntu
"man" ("male person")	(-ntu)-yala	-yala	-lunga	-ala
"many"	-vula	-vulu	-vuulu	-ingi
"meat" ("flesh of animal")	-mbizhi	-mbiizhi	-nyama	-tsitu
"milk" ("breast")	-yeli	-yeli	-beele	-beele
"moon"	-kwezhi	-kwezhi	-kwezhi	ngonde
"mother" ("my")	maama	maama	naama	naana
"mother" ("his")	maama	maama	naye	naye
"mouth"	-nwa	-nwa	-nwa	-nwa
"name"	-zhina	-zhina	-zhina	-zina
"new"	-ha	-ha	-hya	-ha
"night"	-fuku	-fuku	-fuuku	-tsiki
"nose"	-zulu	-zulu	-zuulu	-zulu
"old"	-kulu; -nyaka	-kulu; -mwaka	-mwaka	-laaza
"rain"	-(m)vula	-(m)vuula	vuula	-lunga
"root"	-zhi	-zhi	-zhi	-zi
"see"	-mona	-mona	-mona	-tala
"sell"	-landisha	-landulula	-lanjisa	-landesa
"sick" ("to be")	-kata	-kata	-biiza	-babala
"sky"	-ulu	-ulu	-ilu	-ilu
"small"	-nyaanya	-nyaanya	-ndende	-ndende
"snake"	-pela	-noka	-nooka	-noka
"spit"	-fwizha	-fwizha	-fwiza	-zekula
"sun"	-teena	-teena	-kumbi	-tangwa
"swallow"	-minyanya	-minyanya	-mina	-mina
"tongue"	-dimi	-dimi	-limi	-limi
"tooth"	-zhi	-zhu	-zo	-zo
"tree"	-tondu	-tondu	-tondo	-ti
"vomit"	-sanza	-sanza	-saaza	-sanza
"walk"	-enda	-enda	-tambuka	-enda
"wash" ("body")	-kosa	-wela	-saana	-tana
"water"	-enzhi	-enzhi	-eya	-ema
"wet"	-zowa	-zowa	-zooba	-zula
"when"	ifukwinyi	ifukwinyi	likumbilika	tangwaliku
"where"	kudihi	kudihi	kulihi	kuli
"wife"	-ŋodi	-ŋoodi	-pwebo	mpwe
"wind"	-mpepela	-mpepela	-peeho	-hunzi
"woman" ("female person")	-(m)banda	-(m)banda	-pwebo	-mpwebo

Mbunda	Cokwe	Cewa	Nsenga (Petauke)	Nsenga (Mpezeni)
- <i>diiba</i>	- <i>ivwa</i>	- <i>mva</i>	· <i>mvwa</i>	- <i>mvwa</i>
-( <i>m</i> ) <i>bunge</i>	- <i>bunge</i>	- <i>tima</i>	- <i>tima</i>	- <i>tima</i>
- <i>leema</i>	- <i>lema</i>	- <i>lema</i>	- <i>lema</i>	- <i>lema</i>
- <i>shaluuka</i>	- <i>hya</i>	- <i>tent<sup>h</sup>a</i>	- <i>pya</i>	- <i>pya</i>
<i>baati</i>	<i>kuci</i>	<i>bwani</i>	<i>tyanii</i>	<i>tyani</i>
- <i>ndindi</i>	<i>zhiizhi</i>	- <i>cence</i>	- <i>zi(inzi)</i>	- <i>zi(inzi)</i>
- <i>me</i>	<i>lunga</i>	- <i>amuna</i>	- <i>lume</i>	- <i>lume</i>
- <i>thiya</i>	- <i>shiha</i>	- <i>p<sup>h</sup>a</i>	· <i>paya</i>	- <i>paya</i>
- <i>buli</i>	<i>kungunwa</i>	- <i>k<sup>h</sup>ongono</i>	- <i>k<sup>h</sup>okola</i>	- <i>k<sup>h</sup>okola</i>
- <i>zhoola</i>	- <i>seka</i>	- <i>seka</i>	· <i>seka</i>	- <i>seka</i>
- <i>shaako</i>	- <i>fo</i>	<i>tsamba</i>	- <i>tepo</i>	- <i>tepo</i>
- <i>indi</i>	- <i>ulu</i>	- <i>endo</i>	- <i>endo</i>	- <i>endo</i>
- <i>nu</i>	- <i>tu</i>	- <i>nt<sup>h</sup>u</i>	- <i>nt<sup>h</sup>u</i>	- <i>ntu</i>
- <i>luume</i>	<i>lunga</i>	- <i>amuna</i>	·( <i>na</i> ) <i>lume</i>	-( <i>ana</i> ) <i>lume</i>
- <i>ingi</i>	- <i>nji</i>	- <i>mbiri</i>	- <i>nyinji</i>	- <i>nyinji</i>
- <i>thitu</i>	- <i>fo</i>	- <i>nyama</i>	- <i>nyama</i>	- <i>nyama</i>
- <i>beele</i>	- <i>mwa</i>	- <i>kaka</i>	· <i>kaka</i>	- <i>ziba</i>
<i>ngonde</i>	- <i>kwezhi</i>	- <i>ezi</i>	- <i>ezi</i>	- <i>ezi</i>
<i>naana</i>	<i>maama</i>	- <i>maama</i>	- <i>maama</i>	- <i>maama</i>
<i>iina</i>	<i>naye</i>	- <i>mai</i>	- <i>nyina</i>	- <i>nyina</i>
- <i>nwa</i>	- <i>nwa</i>	-( <i>ka</i> ) <i>mwa</i>	-( <i>ka</i> ) <i>nwa</i>	-( <i>ka</i> ) <i>nwa</i>
- <i>diina</i>	- <i>zhina</i>	- <i>ina</i>	<i>zina</i>	<i>zina</i>
- <i>ha</i>	- <i>ha</i>	- <i>tsopano</i>	- <i>lomba(pano)</i>	- <i>lomba</i>
- <i>thiki</i>	- <i>fuku</i>	- <i>siku</i>	- <i>siku</i>	- <i>siku</i>
- <i>zhuulu</i>	- <i>zulu</i>	- <i>p<sup>h</sup>uno</i>	- <i>puno</i>	- <i>puno</i>
- <i>mwaka</i>	- <i>kulu</i>	- <i>kale</i>	- <i>kale</i>	- <i>kale</i>
- <i>nondi</i>	- <i>vula</i>	- <i>vula</i>	- <i>vula</i>	- <i>vula</i>
- <i>di</i>	- <i>zhi</i>	- <i>zu</i>	- <i>zhu</i>	- <i>zhu</i>
- <i>mona</i>	- <i>mona</i>	- <i>penya; -ona</i>	- <i>ona</i>	- <i>langa</i>
- <i>landeetha</i>	- <i>lanjisa</i>	- <i>gulitsa</i>	- <i>sirisha</i>	- <i>gulisa</i>
- <i>binja</i>	- <i>iiza</i>	- <i>dwala</i>	- <i>lwala</i>	- <i>lwala</i>
- <i>ilu</i>	- <i>ilu</i>	<i>tambo</i>	- <i>luulu</i>	- <i>tambo</i>
- <i>ndondo</i>	- <i>keepe</i>	- <i>nono; cepa</i>	- <i>tont<sup>h</sup>o</i>	- <i>tont<sup>h</sup>o</i>
- <i>nyooka</i>	- <i>pela</i>	- <i>joka</i>	- <i>joka</i>	- <i>joka</i>
- <i>jekula</i>	- <i>fwila</i>	- <i>t<sup>h</sup>ila</i>	- <i>taya</i>	- <i>tila</i>
- <i>tangwa</i>	- <i>alwa(mwalwa)</i>	- <i>dzuwa</i>	- <i>zuba</i>	- <i>zuba</i>
- <i>mina</i>	- <i>mina</i>	- <i>meza</i>	- <i>mela</i>	- <i>mela</i>
- <i>limi</i>	- <i>limi</i>	-( <i>li</i> ) <i>lime</i>	-( <i>lu</i> ) <i>limi</i>	( <i>lu</i> ) <i>limi</i>
- <i>yo</i>	- <i>zo</i>	( <i>dzi</i> ) <i>ino</i>	- <i>inu</i>	- <i>ino</i>
- <i>ti</i>	- <i>tondo</i>	- <i>tego</i>	- <i>ti</i>	-( <i>mu</i> ) <i>ti</i>
- <i>shanja</i>	- <i>saaza</i>	- <i>sanza</i>	- <i>luka</i>	- <i>luka</i>
- <i>enda</i>	- <i>enda</i>	- <i>yenda</i>	- <i>yenda</i>	- <i>yenda</i>
- <i>zwela</i>	- <i>sana</i>	- <i>samba</i>	- <i>samba</i>	- <i>samba</i>
- <i>ema</i>	- <i>eya</i>	- <i>adzi</i>	- <i>anzi</i>	- <i>anzi</i>
- <i>zhuula</i>	- <i>uula</i>	- <i>yumbwa</i>	- <i>nana</i>	- <i>nana</i>
<i>thimbwika</i>	<i>tangwalika</i>	<i>liti</i>	<i>linii</i>	<i>lini</i>
<i>kwiko</i>	<i>kuli</i>	<i>kuti</i>	<i>kunii</i>	<i>kuni</i>
- <i>kaadi kaadi</i>	- <i>pwoo</i>	- <i>kazi</i>	- <i>kazi</i>	-( <i>ana</i> ) <i>kazi</i>
<i>pundi</i>	<i>fuuzhi</i>	- <i>p<sup>h</sup>epo</i>	- <i>pepo</i>	- <i>pepo</i>
- <i>kaadi</i>	- <i>pwoo</i>	- <i>kazi</i>	-( <i>ana</i> ) <i>kazi</i>	-( <i>ana</i> ) <i>kazi</i>

Meaning	Kunda	Tumbuka	Senga	Bemba
"hear"	-mvwa	-pulika	-mvwa	-umfwa
"heart"	-tima	-tima	-tima	-tima
"heavy"	-lema	-zito	-lema	-fina
"hot"	-bangama	-pya	-ya	-kaba
"how"	kwani	uuli	uuli	shaani
"housefly"	lunzi	-membe	-membe	lunshi
"husband"	-(ana) lume	-sweni	-lume	-lume
"kill"	-ipaya	-koma	-koma	-ipaya
"knee"	-konk <sup>h</sup> o	-k <sup>h</sup> ongono	-k <sup>h</sup> ongono	-kufi
"laugh"	-seka	-seka	-seka	-seka
"leaf"	-tepo	-ani	t <sup>h</sup> epo	-buula
"leg"	-endo	lundi	-so	-ulu
"man" ("human being")	-ntu	-ntu	-nt <sup>h</sup> u	-ntu
"man" ("male person")	-(ana) lume	-(ana) lume	-(ana) lume	-aume
"many"	-inji	-nandi	-nandi	-ingi
"meat" ("flesh of animal")	-nama	-nyama	-nyama	-nama
"milk" ("breast")	-beelee	-beelee	-beelee	-beelee
"moon"	-ezi	-ezi	-ezi	-eshi
"mother" ("my")	-baama	maama	maayo	maayo
"mother" ("his")	-nyina	-nyina	-nyina	nyina
"mouth"	-nwa	-lomo	-lomo	-nwa
"name"	-zina	zina	zina	-shina
"new"	-bwangu	-leelo	-nomba	-pya
"night"	-siku	-siku	-siku	-shiku
"nose"	-p <sup>h</sup> uno	-p <sup>h</sup> uno	-puno	-ona
"old"	-kale	-kale	-comba	-kote
"rain"	vula	-vula	-vula	-fula
"root"	-zhu	-sisi	-sisi	-shila
"see"	-lolesha	-beeka	-boona	-mona
"sell"	-sitisha	-gulisa	-sitisya	-shitisha
"sick" ("to be")	-lwala	-lwala	-daya	-lwala
"sky"	-(mu) ulu	-tambo	-lengalenga	-ulu
"small"	-niitni	-coko	-ntini	-noono
"snake"	-zoka	-joka	-joka	-soka
"spit"	-paza	-t <sup>h</sup> unya	-fwinya	-fwisa
"sun"	-zuba	-dazi	-zuba	-suba
"swallow"	-mila	-mila	-mila	-mina
"tongue"	-limi	(lu) limi	(lu) limi	-limi
"tooth"	-ino	-ino	-ino	-ino
"tree"	-ti	-kuni	-kuni	-ti
"vomit"	-luka	-bokola	-bukula	-luka
"walk"	-yenda	-enda	-enda	-enda
"wash" ("body")	-samba	-geza	-samba	-samba
"water"	-inzi	-aji	-aji	-inshi
"wet"	-naka	-zumbwa	-naka	-bomba
"when"	zubande	pauli	pauli	liilali
"where"	kwani	nk <sup>h</sup> u	nk <sup>h</sup> u	kwii
"wife"	-kazi	-woli	-kazi	-kashi
"wind"	-kuuka	-pepo	-tunga	-ela
"woman" ("female person")	-(ana) kazi	-(ana) kazi	-(ana) kazi	-(ana) kashi

Ambo	Lozi	Tonga
-umfwa	-utwa	-mɔwa
-tima	pilu	-oyo
-lema	-bukiti	-lema
-kaba	cisa	-pya
shaani	cwani	buti
lunshi	nzi	-zinini; -zi
-lume	-na(hae)	-(ana) lumi
-ipaya	-bulaya	-jaya
-kufi	-ŋwele	-zwi
-seka	-seha	-seka
buula	-tali	-tu
ulu	-hutu	-endo
-ntu	-tu	-ntu
-(ana) lume	-na	-(ana) lumi
-inji	-nata	-nji
-nama	-nama	-nyama
-beele	-bisi	-kupa
-eshi	-kweli	-ezi
(baa) ma	-ma	baama
nyina	ma(mahe)	-nyina
-nwa	-lomo	-(ka) nwa
-shina	-bizo	-hyina (-zina)
-bwangu	-inca	-pya
-shiku	-sihu	-siku
-ona	ngo	-pemo
-kale	-kale	-kaindi
-fula	pula	-vula
-shu	-bisi	-yanda
bona	-bona	-bona
-shitisha	-lekisa	-ulihya
-lwala	-kula	-ciswa
ulu	mbyumbyulu	-julu
-niini	nyana	-niini
-soka	noha	-zoka
-shipa	-kwa	-swida(-swa)
-suba	-zazi	-zuba(-hyuba)
-mina	-miza	-mena
(lu) limi	-limi	-laka
ino	-ino	-ino
-ti	kota	-samu
-luka	-taza	-luka
-enda	-zamaya	-enda
-samba	-tapa	-samba
-enda	-isi	-enda
-tontola	-koloba	-teta
liisa	liili	liili
kwisa	kai	kuli
-kashi	-sali(-salahae)	-kaiintu
-punga	-oya	-uwo
-(ana) kashi	-sali	-kaiintu

APPENDIX 2:B  
 MEANINGS AND NUMBER OF LANGUAGES AND/OR DIALECTS HAVING A  
 SIMILAR FORM OF THE STEM

Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects	Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects
"all"	-onse	20	"blood"	-azi	8
	-ezhima	2		-banda	1
	-oseena	1		-shi	4
	-eswe	1		-li	1
	kaufela	1		-nyinga	4
"animal"	-nyama	21	-lopa	6	
	-situ	3	-lubula	1	
	folofolo	1	"bone"	-fupa	19
"ashes"	-toi	9		-fwaha	3
	-to	7		-tsiha	2
	-wuti (-uti)	2		-wangwa	1
	doti	1		-sapo	1
	-lota	3	"breathe"	-fuuta	7
-oto	3	-peema		6	
"belly" ("stomach")	-la	3		-ona	2
	-ula	2		-hwima	4
	-kati	2		-puma	1
	-anda	1	-fyza	2	
	-vumo	9	-f <sup>h</sup> uta	1	
	-zhiimo	4	-buyela	1	
	mimba	1	-yola	1	
	-thumbo	2	"buy"	-kala	6
mba	1	-sita		6	
"big"	-kulu	14		-pota	2
	-piti	1		-landa	6
	-pati	1		-gula	4
	-katampe	2	-leka	1	
	-neni	3	"canoe"	-ato	24
	-kaama	2		-kolo	1
	-tuna	1	"cattle"	-nombe	24
"bird"	-uni (-unyi)	17		komu	1
	-da	1	"chew"	-tafuna	6
	-zhila	5		-sheeta	9
	-balani	1		-syola	2
	nyunywani	1		-kukunya	2
"blind person"	-tonko	6		-nyeuna	1
	-pofu	6	-takinya	2	
	(m) puuta(meesu)	4	-njakula	1	
	-pupuuta	4	-sumba	1	
	-khungu	3	-cakamula	1	
	-mbulamaso	1	"chicken"	-koko	16
	-toroke	1		nzoolo	2
		-sumbi		7	



Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects	Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects	
"child"	-ana	25	"dog"	(si)mbwa	20	
"cloud"	-kumbi	11		-tali	2	
	-bingu	5		galu	1	
	-yu	3		-chebe	1	
	-leelwa (seelwa)	3		nja	1	
	-tambo	2	"drink"	-mwa	23	
	-lu	1		-toma	2	
"cold" ("to become")	-zuuka	2	"dumb person"	-cibulu	5	
	-talala	8		-wiwi	3	
	-hatala	1		-kutwi	1	
	-tuuta	3		kamama	6	
	-tontola	5		-muumu	2	
	-kekema	1		-bebebe	2	
	-zizila	4		-nsilabila	3	
	-bata	1	-mbuwu	2		
counting: "one"	-onga	7		-haatambi	1	
	-mo	14	"ear"	-(ku)twi	22	
	-mwe	3		-atu	2	
	-modzi	1		zebe	1	
"two"	-ili	19	"eat"	-lya	25	
	-yedi	6	"egg"	-enza	5	
"three"	-tatu	25		-yayi	2	
"four"	-ne	12		-ji	3	
	-na	2		-ke	2	
	-naaye	5		-teeta	2	
	-wana	6		-sanga	1	
"five"	-saano	23		-bunda	1	
	-nkhondi	1	-onda	1		
	-ketalizoho	1	-dzila	1		
"six"	mutanda	7	-lungu	2		
	-saano nukamo	15	-sumbi	3		
	-sambano	1	-ni	1		
	-nkhondo nakamo	1	-sana	1		
	-ketalizoho kailiwi	1	"elephant"	-zovu	21	
"ten"	-kumi	23			njamba	4
	mufundikamonsi	1	"eye"	-inso	25	
-saano navisaano	1	"fall"		-pona	6	
"crocodile"	-gwena			14		-wa
	-wele	2			-limbuka	4
	-nandu	6			-liwila	1
	-nona	3	"father" ("his")	iishi	18	
			shanzi	2		
"cry"	-lila	25		taata	5	
"die"	-fwa	22	"father" ("my")	-taata	25	
	-tsa	2				
	-shwa	1				

Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects	Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects
"feather"	-vumbu	2	"frog"	-cuula	18
	-eya	7		-bombwe	3
	-lumbilo	1		-zunda	3
	-yona	4	"give"	-mbotwe	1
	-vuuzhi	2		-pa (-peela)	22
	-unga	1		-inka	2
	-t <sup>h</sup> enga	1		-patsa	1
	-ngala	4		"hair"	-nyele
	-sako	1	-sisi		12
	-fufa	1	-suki		4
	-pepe	1	-kambu		4
	"fire"	-oro	9	"hand"	-susu
-lilo		10	-nzanza		14
-isi		2	-nyoobe		1
-(ka)hya		4	-boko		1
"fish"	-swi	9	-kaasa	2	
	-sabi	8	-baanala	1	
	-nshi	6	-kambu	4	
	-somba	2	-khatokhatc	1	
"fly"	-papuka	7	-nganti	1	
	-beeta	1	"head"	-twe	24
	-tumbuka	2		-toho	1
	-tuuka	4	"hear"	-umvwa	20
	-pululuka	1		-tiiya	2
	-pulula	1		-diiba	1
	-humuka	1		-pulika	1
	-uluka	2		-utwa	1
	-ndalala	3	"heart"	-enzo	4
	-buka	1		-oyo	4
	-palala	1		(-tima) -cima	14
-fufa	1	mbunge		2	
"flower"	-luba	20	pilu	1	
	-nkenu	1	"heavy" ("to become")	-nyooma	1
	-teemo	3		-fina	2
	palisa	1		-nawana	5
"foot"	-azo	3		-neema	15
	-tamba	4		-zito	1
	-nama	1	-bukiti	1	
	-ulu	1	"hot" ("to become")	-kaya	2
	-lwayo	2		-pya	11
	-dacilu	2		-lungula	1
	-punga	1		-kaba	4
	-kandi	1		-taata	2
	-lyato	1		-saaba	1
	-phazi	1		-shaluyuka	1
	-balamantilo	1		-tent <sup>h</sup> a	1
	-endo	2		-bangama	1
	-zaza	1		-cisa	1
	-kasa	2			
	-hutu	1			
-tuta	1				

Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects	Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects	
"how"	<i>uli (buli)</i>	8	"leaf" - (contd.)	<i>-fo</i>	5	
	<i>tyanii</i>	3		<i>-shaako</i>	1	
	<i>shaani (shoon)</i>	4		<i>tsamba</i>	1	
	<i>nahi</i>	2		<i>-tepo</i>	4	
	<i>byeepi</i>	2		<i>-tali</i>	1	
	<i>ngacili</i>	1		<i>-tu</i>	1	
	<i>bati</i>	2		"leg" ("with thigh")	<i>-kuulu</i>	7
	<i>buti</i>	1			<i>-hutu</i>	1
	<i>kuci</i>	1			<i>-nama</i>	2
<i>bwanji</i>	1	<i>-lundi</i>	2			
		<i>-nkonzo</i>	2			
"housefly"	<i>-saazi</i>	7	<i>-endu</i>	7		
	<i>-lunzhi</i>	5	<i>-hirji</i>	2		
	<i>-zhinzhi</i>	10	<i>-kono</i>	1		
	<i>-cence</i>	1	<i>-so</i>	1		
	<i>-membe</i>	2	"man" ("human being")	<i>-ntu</i>	25	
"husband"	<i>uwane</i>	3		"man" ("male person")	<i>-onsi</i>	4
	<i>-lume</i>	11			<i>-(ana)lume</i>	11
	<i>-mwata</i>	2			<i>-(ana)vuli</i>	1
	<i>mfumu</i>	2			<i>-yala</i>	3
	<i>-lunga</i>	2	<i>lunga</i>		2	
	<i>-yaali (-ali)</i>	1	<i>-amuna</i>	1		
	<i>-me</i>	1	<i>-aume</i>	1		
	<i>-amuna</i>	1	<i>-na</i>	1		
	<i>-sweni</i>	1	<i>-lombwana</i>	1		
<i>-na(hae)</i>	1	"many"	<i>-ingi</i>	12		
"kill"	<i>-koma</i>		8	<i>-vula</i>	9	
	<i>-goga</i>		1	<i>-mbiri</i>	1	
	<i>-ipaya</i>		7	<i>-nandi</i>	2	
	<i>-zhaha</i>		6	<i>-nata</i>	1	
	<i>-pha</i>	1	"meat"	<i>-nyama</i>	20	
	<i>-bulaya</i>	1		<i>-mbizhi</i>	2	
<i>-jaya</i>	1	<i>-tsitu</i>		2		
"knee"	<i>kokola</i>	8		<i>-fo</i>	1	
	<i>-imphemvu</i>	1		"milk" ("human")	<i>-beele</i>	16
	<i>-nungo (-nunu)</i>	4	<i>-sulu</i>		3	
	<i>-mbuuli</i>	3	<i>-mwa</i>		1	
	<i>kungunwa</i>	1	<i>-kaka</i>		2	
	<i>-khongono</i>	3	<i>-ziba</i>		1	
	<i>-konkho</i>	1	<i>-bisi</i>	1		
	<i>-kufi</i>	2	<i>-kupa</i>	1		
	<i>-nwele</i>	1	"moon"	<i>-ezi</i>	21	
<i>-gondo</i>	1	<i>nondo</i>		4		
"laugh"	<i>-seka</i>	23	"mother" ("his")	<i>-nyina</i>	16	
	<i>-zola</i>	2		<i>inanji</i>	2	
"leaf"	<i>-fwa</i>	4		<i>maama</i>	2	
	<i>-ani</i>	3		<i>naye</i>	3	
	<i>-tundu</i>	1				
	<i>-buula</i>	4				

Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects	Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects
"mother" ("his") (contd.)	<i>-mai</i>	1	"see" (contd.)	<i>-penya</i>	1
	<i>ma (mahe)</i>	1		<i>-langa</i>	1
"mother" ("my")	<i>-maayo</i>	9	"sell"	<i>-beeka</i>	1
	<i>maama (ma)</i>	16		<i>-kazya</i>	6
"mouth"	<i>-lomo</i>	9	<i>-sitisya</i>	6	
	<i>-(ka)nwa</i>	16	<i>-potesha</i>	2	
"name"	<i>-zina</i>	24	<i>-landisha</i>	6	
	<i>-bizo</i>	1	<i>-gulitsa</i>	4	
"new"	<i>-pya</i>	15	"sick" ("to become")	<i>-lekisa</i>	1
	<i>-katataka</i>	2		<i>-lwala</i>	13
	<i>-tsopano</i>	1		<i>-bina</i>	1
	<i>lomba (pano)</i>	3		<i>-kolwa</i>	2
	<i>-leelo</i>	1		<i>-kata</i>	2
	<i>-bwangu</i>	1		<i>-biiza</i>	3
"night"	<i>-inca</i>	1	<i>-babala</i>	1	
	<i>-siku</i>	19	<i>-daya</i>	1	
"nose"	<i>-fuku</i>	6	<i>-kula</i>	1	
	<i>-puno</i>	13	<i>-ciswa</i>	1	
	<i>-ona</i>	4	"sky"	<i>-yulu</i>	12
	<i>-zulu</i>	6		<i>-bingo</i>	3
	<i>ngo</i>	1		<i>-(ku)mwanya</i>	1
<i>-pemo</i>	1	<i>-ilu</i>		4	
<i>-mpiti</i>	2	<i>-tambo</i>		3	
"old"	<i>-kala</i>	2	<i>-lengalenga</i>	1	
	<i>-kali</i>	4	<i>mbyumbyulu</i>	1	
	<i>-kale</i>	7	"small"	<i>-noono</i>	4
	<i>-sila</i>	1		<i>-tici</i>	2
	<i>-kulu</i>	3		<i>-ntiini</i>	3
	<i>-mwaka</i>	2		<i>-insi</i>	1
	<i>-laaza</i>	1		<i>-cece</i>	2
	<i>-comba</i>	1		<i>-nyaanya</i>	3
	<i>-kote</i>	1		<i>-ndende</i>	2
	<i>-kaindi</i>	1		<i>-ndondo</i>	3
	"rain"	<i>-vula</i>		23	<i>-keepe</i>
<i>-lunga</i>		1		<i>-niini</i>	3
<i>nondi</i>		1		<i>-coko</i>	1
"root"	<i>-sila</i>	3	"snake"	<i>-zoka</i>	21
	<i>-zhu</i>	5		<i>-lola</i>	2
	<i>-sisi</i>	12		<i>-pela</i>	2
	<i>-gululuzi</i>	1	"spit"	<i>swa</i>	2
	<i>-zhaazhi</i>	2		<i>-swila</i>	6
	<i>-yanda</i>	1		<i>-shipa</i>	3
<i>-bisi</i>	1	<i>-fwizha</i>		4	
"see"	<i>-lola</i>	8		<i>-zekula</i>	2
	<i>-mona</i>	13		<i>-fwila</i>	2
	<i>-tala</i>	1	<i>-t<sup>h</sup>ila</i>	2	
			<i>-taya</i>	1	
		<i>-pqza</i>	1		
		<i>-t<sup>h</sup>una</i>	1		
		<i>-kwa</i>	1		

Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects	Meaning	Stem	No. of languages and/or dialects
"sun"	<i>-lanzi</i>	7	"wet" ("to become")	<i>-omba (-bomba)</i>	3
	<i>-sanya</i>	1		<i>-nyeka</i>	5
	<i>-zuba</i>	11		<i>-zoba</i>	5
	<i>-teena</i>	2		<i>-zula</i>	3
	<i>-kumbi</i>	1		<i>-vumbwa</i>	1
	<i>-tangwa</i>	2		<i>-nana</i>	2
"swallow"	<i>mwalwa</i>	1	<i>-naka</i>	2	
	<i>-mina (-mila)</i>	19	<i>-zumbwa</i>	1	
	<i>-milula</i>	4	<i>-tontola</i>	1	
	<i>-meza</i>	2	<i>-koloba</i>	1	
"tongue"			<i>-teta</i>	1	
	<i>-lini</i>	24	"when" ("what time")	<i>lilaci</i>	3
<i>-laka</i>	1	<i>mpindici</i>		4	
"tooth"	<i>-ino</i>	19		<i>liinyi</i>	7
	<i>-zhi</i>	2		<i>ṅanyikimye</i>	1
	<i>-zo</i>	4	<i>kimyeke</i>	1	
"tree"	<i>-ti</i>	13	<i>ifukwinyi</i>	2	
	<i>-komo</i>	2	<i>likumbilika</i>	1	
	<i>-kwi</i>	1	<i>tangwalika</i>	2	
	<i>-tondu</i>	4	<i>timbwika</i>	1	
	<i>-tengo</i>	1	<i>zubando</i>	1	
	<i>-kuni</i>	2	<i>pauli</i>	2	
	<i>kota</i>	1	"where"	<i>kwii (sa)</i>	9
	<i>-samu</i>	1		<i>kwepi</i>	2
"vomit"	<i>-luka</i>	10		<i>kudihhi</i>	6
	<i>-tapiha</i>	3		<i>lwiko</i>	1
	<i>-lasz</i>	2		<i>kuti</i>	1
	<i>-sanza</i>	6		<i>kunii</i>	2
	<i>-shanja</i>	1		<i>kwani</i>	1
	<i>-bokola</i>	2		<i>nkhu</i>	2
"walk"	<i>-taza</i>	1	<i>kai</i>	1	
	<i>-pita</i>	4	"wife" ("my")	<i>uwane</i>	4
	<i>-enda</i>	18		<i>-kazi</i>	12
	<i>-tambuka</i>	1		<i>-si</i>	1
<i>-zamaya</i>	1	<i>-ṅodi</i>		2	
"wash" ("body")	<i>-fulala</i>	2		<i>-pwebo</i>	2
	<i>-samba</i>	10		<i>-pwoo</i>	1
	<i>-pwila</i>	2		<i>-woli</i>	1
	<i>-geeza</i>	2		<i>-sali (salahae)</i>	1
	<i>-owa</i>	2	<i>-kaintu</i>	1	
	<i>-wela</i>	3	"wind"	<i>-za</i>	4
	<i>-saana</i>	3		<i>-tunga</i>	4
	<i>-tapa</i>	1		<i>-ela</i>	3
"water"	<i>-(i) nzi</i>	17		<i>-mpepela</i>	2
	<i>-ema</i>	4			
	<i>-eya</i>	2			
	<i>-enda</i>	2			

<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Stem</i>	<i>No. of languages and/or dialects</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Stem</i>	<i>No. of languages and/or dialects</i>
"wind" (contd.)	- <i>hunzi</i>	2	"woman"	-( <i>ana</i> ) <i>kazi</i>	17
	<i>fuuzhi</i>	1		- <i>anhandā</i>	1
	- <i>pepo</i>	5		- <i>mbanda</i>	2
	- <i>kuuka</i>	1		- <i>pwebo</i>	2
	- <i>punga</i>	1		- <i>pwoo</i>	1
	- <i>oya</i>	1		- <i>sali</i>	1
	- <i>uwo</i>	1		- <i>kaintu</i>	1

### 3 LANGUAGES OF THE KAFUE BASIN: INTRODUCTORY NOTES

D. A. Lehmann

#### 1.0 *Introduction*

The Kafue Basin forms the centre of Zambia, 59,800 sq. mls of a total of 290,586 sq. mls, i.e. one fifth of Zambia is the catchment area of the river Kafue. The river takes a southeastern course from its source on the watershed between the Congo and the Zambezi which is also the political boundary between the states of Zambia and Congo-Kinshasa, now called Zaïre. It flows through Zambia's main industrial area, the Copperbelt with its dense urban population. Turning south it enters a wide shallow valley, the Kafue Basin proper, which includes two extensive swamps, the Lukanga Swamps and the Kafue Flats, and the largest game reserve in Africa, the Kafue National Park. On the southern end of the parkland the river turns east and flows through the Kafue Flats, also called Butwa, towards the Kafue Gorge. A dam in the Gorge has converted a great part of the Southern Basin into a lake and marshland.

There is a peculiar distribution of settlements in the Kafue Basin. There are areas of high density on the rim of the bowl, especially along the line-of-rail which is built on the watershed between the Kafue and Luangwa rivers, from the Copperbelt in the north to the rich farming area in the South. This has the highest rural density of population in Zambia, 36.7 persons per square mile. The average for rural Zambia is 9.5 persons per square mile (Kay, 1967 pp. 11-14).

The middle of the Basin presents a picture of wide empty spaces; the Kasempa district has 2.1, Namwala 3.9, Mankoya 4.3 persons per square mile. The whole area is feared for high incidence of malaria and sleeping-sickness. On the other hand the swamps were the refuge of the "little people" who fled from the Bantu who invaded in small and larger numbers from the North and the East and the West during the last 2,000 years. Only the most recent past with its mechanical means of travel and the knowledge of prevention of illness has brought Bantu and European hunters, fishermen, and traders into the centre of the Basin in numbers sufficient to make an impact on the original inhabitants who still show their pre-Bantu origin genetically (see Tobias, 1966, p. 121).

The most recent invasion into the Kafue Basin came from Rhodesia. Shona and Ndebele speaking farmers in search of land settled in the Mumbwa and Mazabuka districts in considerable numbers (Census

1969, ca 15,000) during the days of the Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1953-63. They increased the density along the line-of-rail and near the Lusaka-Mumbwa-Mongu road, the main link between the realm of the Lozi in the West and the developing industrial areas of Zambia. This road cuts through the southern part of the Kafue Basin; Government resettlement schemes for villagers are planned to link up with this road and so bring the isolated groups into contact with modern ways of life.

### 1.1 *Purpose of Study*

The study of the languages of the Kafue Basin was undertaken to establish the present linguistic situation in the rural parts. The towns present a very difficult picture of language change in adaptation to a new social and cultural development; this has been going on for the last fifty years. The rural areas are, of course, participating in this change but at a very slow speed. It was considered not too late to find a basis for future studies of language change, a change which is accelerated with the growing facilities for communication and for contacts between peoples who for centuries lived rather solitary lives, only disturbed by tribal war parties and by raiders.

### 2.0 *Method*

The research is based on oral, tape recorded, and written material collected in the following languages:

- Ila of Chief Mungaila of Namwala District
- Ila of Chief Muwezwa of Nyambo area
- Kaonde of Solwezi District
- Kaonde of Mumbwa District
- Kaonde of Chief Kaindu of Chitumba area
- Kaonde of Kasempa area
- Lamba of Lukanga North area
- Lamba of Kafulafuta area
- Lenje of Chief Mukubwe of Kabwe District
- Lenje of Chief Ngabwe of Lukanga West area
- Lenje of Kabwe District
- Lozi of Headman Mubitana of Namwala District
- Lozi of Mongu of Lealui District
- Lundwe of Chief Nalubamba of Mbcza area
- Sala of Chief Shakumbila of Shibuyunji area
- Soli-wa-Manyika of Rufunsa area
- Soli-wa-Malundu of Lusaka area



Tonga of Chikuni area  
 Tonga of Chief Mwanachingwala of Mazabuka area  
 Tonga of Choma area  
 Twa of Chief Kabulungwe of Nyamba area  
 Twa of Nyimba area

For comparison:

Bemba of Chief Mporokoso  
 Bemba of Kasama District  
 Nyanja of Katete area  
 Nyanja of Lusaka area  
 and Lunda of Mwinilunga District have been added.

The bulk of the material consists of informal stories about everyday activities, life histories and folktales; some are formal recitals of tribal traditions and praises of chiefs. A list of seventyfive sentences which include 200 Basic Words has been translated by 24 native speakers of the languages and recorded on tape and in writing. These wordlists form the basis for the present analysis. A more comprehensive publication including the texts is planned.

### 3.0 *Previous Classifications of the Kafue Basin Languages*

#### 3.1 *The Bantu Botatwe Group*

The Bantu Botatwe group was organised by J. Torrend (1931, p. 83) as a unit comprising Ila, Tonga, Soli, Lundwe, Lenje and Twa; Sala (Fortune, 1959, p. 38) was added later. Bryan classes Lundwe as a Tonga dialect, Twa as one of Lenje. There is a division of opinion about Soli belonging to this group (Fortune, 1959, p. 38).

#### 3.2 *Kaonde*

Kaonde is classed as a member of the Luba Group of the Congo. Hulstraet who compiled the "Carte linguistique du Congo Belge" in 1950 (Bryan, 1959) pointed out that Kaonde had affinities with Bemba. Mbwera-Nkoya spoken on the Western Border of the Kafue Basin is also put into the Luba Group.

#### 3.3 *Lamba*

Lamba (Doke, 1945, p. 38) is related to Bemba and strongly influenced by the Copperbelt which is part of Lamba country but linguistically an area of amalgamation dominated by Bemba.

### 3.4 *Lozi*

The Lozi which was recorded for this study is spoken by the inhabitants of a few villages and several temporary fishing camps in the Namwala District. It belongs to the Luyana Language Group of the Western Province. Fortune calls it "a recently intrusive Southern Sotho language, considerably influenced in vocabulary, phonology and grammar by Luyana" (Fortune, 1963.)

### 4.0 *Language Areas and Numbers of Speakers*

While it is still possible to find the core of a language area, usually the village of a senior chief, other settlements are mixed in the Kafue Basin. The bigger villages may have speakers of three or four mother tongues. The smaller ones which consist of interrelated people with the same language often have differing neighbours in villages nearby. The administrative set-up of "indirect rule" has favoured this: a chief was set over a geographical rather than a tribal unit, e.g. the people coming to one of his courts might speak Sala, Ila, or Lenje; and in another court Kaonde or Lamba. That is, languages of quite different linguistic groups might be used in the courts of the same chief.

The numbers of speakers are quoted from the Census of population 1969. They are not very satisfactory from the point of view of the linguist because they are in many cases not specific. The enumerators cannot be blamed that they grouped languages wrongly or failed to separate dialects because they had inadequate instructions. The Twa of the Kafue Flats, if they were registered at all in their inaccessible villages, are hidden among the Tonga and Ila speakers. There is a general tendency nowadays to link oneself with a dominant group rather than a small tribe. The Lima and Seba dialects of Lamba, for example, have been submerged in Lamba which has a certain amount of literature. When questioned villagers said: "In the old days there were some differences but we are all Lamba now."

#### 4.1.1 *Lenje*

Lenje is the most northern of the Bantu Botatwe languages, spoken in the Kabwe District and the area around the Lukanga Swamp as far west as Mumbwa. The old name *Cine Mukuni* "the language of Mukuni" refers to the Senior Chief of the Lenje people residing at Mpunde, Northwest of Kabwe. His neighbour in the West, Chief Mukubwe, called the language *Lenge*. The census numbered 78,718 Lenje speakers.

#### 4.1.2 *Soli*

Soli is spoken mainly east of Lusaka, also in the Southeast, in close neighbourhood with Sala, Tonga and Ila-speaking villages. The census number is 32,123.

#### 4.1.3 *Sala*

Sala is the language spoken in the farming area southwest of Lusaka on the northern bank of the Kafue which has also attracted Tonga speaking farmers from the south bank. The census number is 11,389.

#### 4.1.4 *Ila*

Ila is spoken in the Namwala District on both sides of the Kafue river reaching Mumbwa in the North and bordering on the Tonga speaking villages in the South and East. Bryan (1959, p. 83) adopted the name "Ila Group" for all Bantu Botatwe languages since the Ila and their distinctive culture have been well known from early publications. It is perhaps better to name the group Tonga because the Ila are a comparatively small sub-group: 38,803.

#### 4.1.5 *Lundwe*

Lundwe is spoken by people of a few villages east of the Ila area. Like Twa of the Kafue Flats this language was not distinguished in the census and is also included in the numbers for Ila and Tonga.

#### 4.1.6 *Twa*

Twa is spoken in the Kafue Flats, formerly called "Butwa", the country of the Twa. Ila men of Chief Mungaila's at Mala, east of Namwala, said they could not understand what Twa people spoke among themselves but because of their many contacts all Twa learned to communicate in "some kind of Ila". Two Lundwe speaking boys of Namwala Secondary School had learned Twa as young herdboys following their fathers' cattle into the plain of Butwa. They used it as a "secret language" in school and said nobody could understand them because "Twa boys never go to school."

#### 4.1.7 *Tonga*

Tonga is spoken in a wide area from the north bank of the Kafue to

the south Bank of the Zambesi. Only the most northern part of this language group was recorded and included in this survey. The number for the whole group is 427,031.

#### 4.2 *Lozi*

*Lozi*, the lingua franca of the Western Province, is spoken by the villagers of a few settlements in the Namwala District who recall their migration into the Kafue Basin at the beginning of this century in search of grazing for their cattle. Another immigration of *Lozi* speakers happens every year at the beginning of the fishing season, when the floods in the Kafue Flats recede and leave room for temporary fishing villages. The census did not separate these two groups and numbered 2,026 *Lozi* speakers in the Namwala District.

##### 4.3.1 *Lamba*

*Lamba* is spoken on both sides of the watershed between the Kafue and the Congo, in Zambia from Solwezi to the Copperbelt and in the South from Mumbwa to the line-of-rail north of Kabwe. This area includes the most densely populated region as well as nearly empty spaces. The *Lamba* and their language have become well known through the studies of Professor C. M. Doke (see References at end of this chapter). They are a small but vocal group demanding that their language should be taught and used in schools which are now integrated into the Bemba-using educational system. Their census number is 94,751.

##### 4.3.2 *Bemba*

*Bemba* is spoken by many people of the Kafue Basin as their second language, used in town as a market language and in schools as the medium of instruction. The Copperbelt with its great number of native *Bemba* speakers, and the just as great number of people who adopt it as "Ci-Copperbelt", influences its use by rural people. The total number of first language *Bemba* speakers in Zambia is 741,114.

#### 4.4 *Kaonde*

*Kaonde* is spoken in the eastern and northeastern parts of the Kafue Basin from Solwezi to Mumbwa. The chiefs trace their origin to the *Luba* and their language to the *Luba* language but they insist that there is no mutual intelligibility with *Bemba*. They do not distinguish any dialect by name, but the *Ci-Kaonde* of Mumbwa is obviously somewhat

different from the *Ki-Kaonde* of Solwezi and Kasempa. Their number is 116,405.

#### 4.5 *Lunda*

Lunda is spoken in the Northwestern Province, i.e. mainly outside the Kafue Basin west of the Kaonde country. There is an influx of Lunda people along the Mwinilunga—Copperbelt road. The recordings were made in Solwezi. The number of speakers is 428,801.

#### 4.6 *Nyanja*

Nyanja has been used as the lingua franca in Lusaka ever since it was selected as the language of the Police and the Army in colonial times. The Cewa dialect of Nyanja is the mother tongue of many people in the Eastern Province of Zambia, and it is the language of this group which is used for the comparison. The number of Nyanja and Cewa speakers in Zambia is 453,164.

#### 5.0 *Classification According to the Percentages of Shared Basic Words* (See Table 1)

The question: "What is a dialect?" can be answered by a number of different definitions. One of the unsophisticated answers by a Zambian informant was: "All the speeches which are given the same name." The table of percentages of agreement (Table 1) confirms this simple method of classification to a certain extent. In the list of the highest numbers the first sixteen include all comparisons of speakers from different geographical points of the same language area and only three pairs with differing names: Ila — Sala 93, Ila — Lundwe 88, and Lundwe — Sala 86 (see Table 2).

#### 5.1 *The Bantu Botatwe Languages*

##### 5.1.1 *Lenje*

Map 1 shows the relationship of Lenje, the language of the centre of the Kafue Basin, to all its neighbours on the basis of the agreements. This is, of course, only one of the factors which lead to a definite classification but the close affinity to all the others in the Bantu Botatwe group is obvious from the map (see section 3.1). The figures given are averages of the percentages for the various sources. For example there are three Lenje recordings as well as three of Tonga; the percentages range from 82% for Lenje 1 — Tonga 1 to 75% for Lenje 2 — Tonga 2.



The mean of the six figures is 78. Sala with 81 and Ila with 80 have insignificantly higher percentages. Soli is low with 71, so is Lundwe with 70.

Those not belonging to the Bantu Botatwe are considerably lower in the shared vocabulary though geographically Lamba, for example, is much nearer than Ila and Tonga.

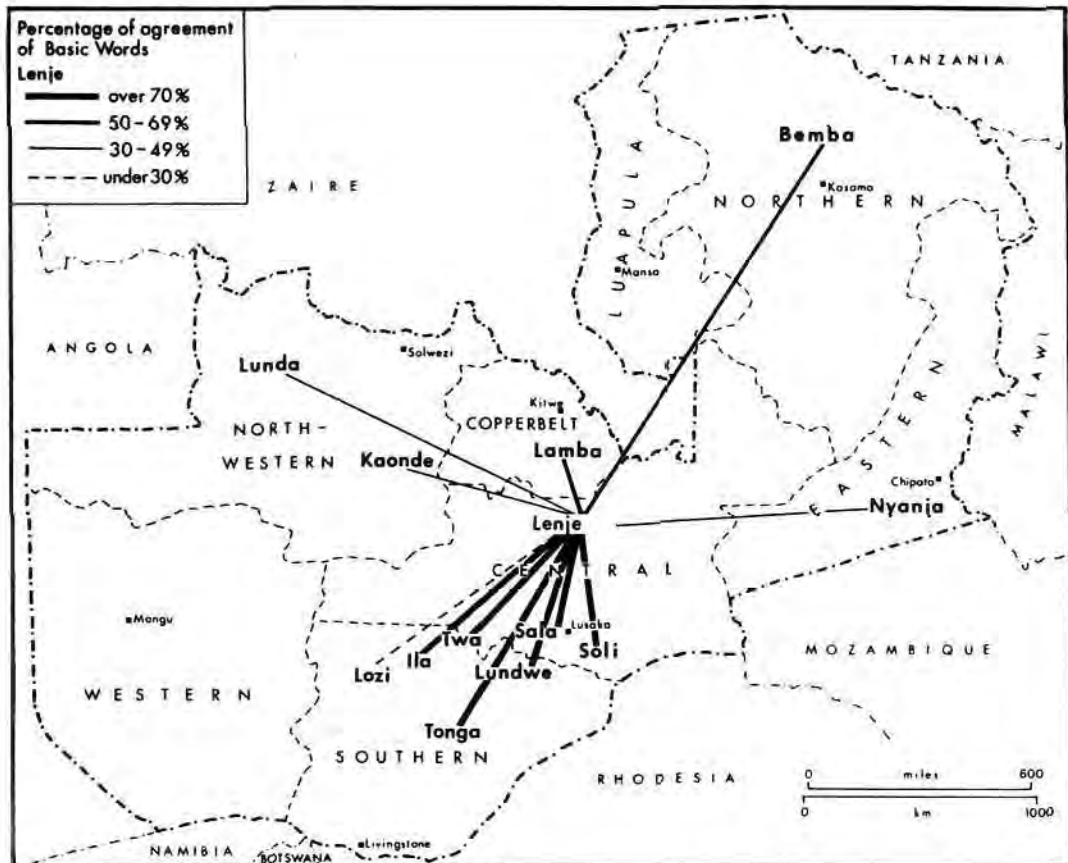
Table 3.2: Agreements of 80% and higher.

Bemba 1 – Bemba 2	98	Tonga 1 – Tonga 3	87
Lenje 1 – Lenje 3	95	Kaonde 1 – Kaonde 2	86
Lenje 2 – Lenje 3	93	Kaonde 1 – Kaonde 3	83
Soli 1 – Soli 2	93		
Ila – Sala	93	Lundwe – Sala	86
Sala 1 – Sala 2	90	Lunda 1 – Lunda 2	85
Kaonde 2 – Kaonde 3	90	Tonga – Sala	84
Tonga 1 – Tonga 2	89	Twa – Sala	83
Lenje 1 – Lenje 2	89	Tonga – Twa	82
Nyanja 1 – Nyanja 2	89	Ila – Twa	82
Ila – Lundwe	88	Tonga – Ila	81
		Tonga 1 – Lenje	81
		Ila – Lenje	80

The differences in the relations with the furthest neighbours, speaking in terms of mileage, are interesting. Bemba comes into the same category as Lamba. Nyanja, though it is spoken everywhere in the Lenje area since the line-of-rail and mining brought many Nyanja speakers into Lenje country, has the same low figure, 36, as Lunda which is hardly ever heard among the Lenje except from the occasional trader coming to visit wholesalers in Kabwe. Lozi has only very tenuous links with Lenje, as with all others.

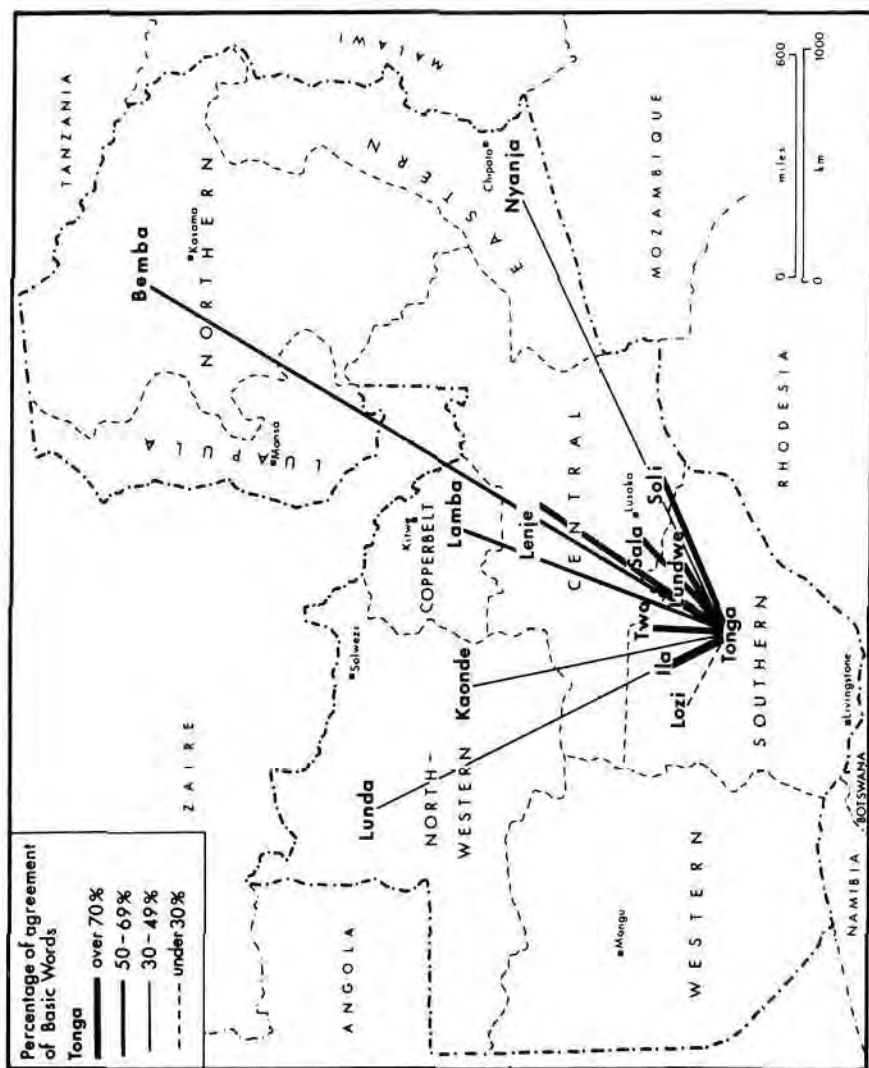
### 5.1.2 *Tonga*

Tonga has slightly stronger connections with all Bantu Botatwe languages than Lenje, except with Soli where the number is 71 in both cases, the lowest percentage in the whole group. The peculiar situation of Soli will be discussed later (see 5.1.4). Lenje is geographically at the extreme end in the north of the Bantu Botatwe which stretch from the Zambezi valley very near to the Copperbelt. Tonga on the edge of the Southern part of the Kafue Basin is more central to the whole Bantu Botatwe group and has other distinct dialects outside the Basin on the



Map 1 Percentage of Agreement of Basic Words: Lenje.





Map 2 Percentage of Agreement of Basic Words: Tonga.

Plateau and in the Zambezi valley. The differences in the percentages of the Tonga relations to those of the Lenje relations are slight but they are consistently higher (Map 2):

Tonga – Sala	84	Lenje – Sala	81
Tonga – Lundwe	78	Lenje – Lundwe	70
Tonga – Twa	82	Lenje – Twa	78
Tonga – Ila	81	Lenje – Ila	80

### 5.1.3 *Ila*

Ila (Map 3) in the southwestern part of the Kafue Basin is strongly linked with Sala (93) and Lundwe (88). Both Sala and Lundwe stand between Ila and Tonga, their western and southeastern neighbours, but according to this preliminary analysis they are akin to Ila rather than Tonga variations. The southern part of the Basin has a high degree of intergradation of the Bantu Botatwe languages. The geographical distance between two variations is concomitant with the degree of agreement, and it is difficult to make cuts to define certain areas. When asked about the language of a village the informants usually give the name of the tribe to which most of the inhabitants are affiliated.

### 5.1.4 *Soli*

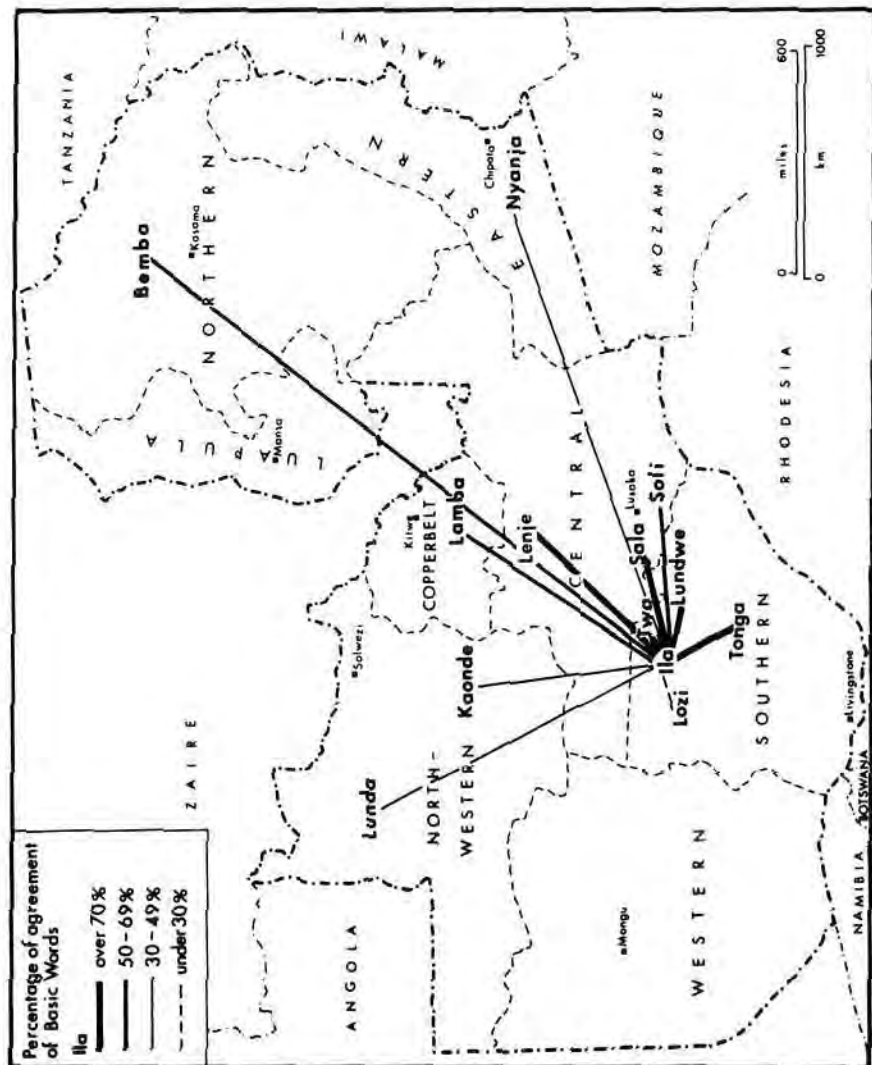
Soli which was classified by Doke in the Lunda Group and by Bryan with Ila has the lowest number of agreements in the Bantu Botatwe Group, (71) with Tonga and Lenje, (63) with Ila, (62) with Sala which is its nearest neighbour geographically. The link with Bemba, (61), is stronger than that with Lunda, (41), or Nyanja (42).

### 5.1.5 *Twa*

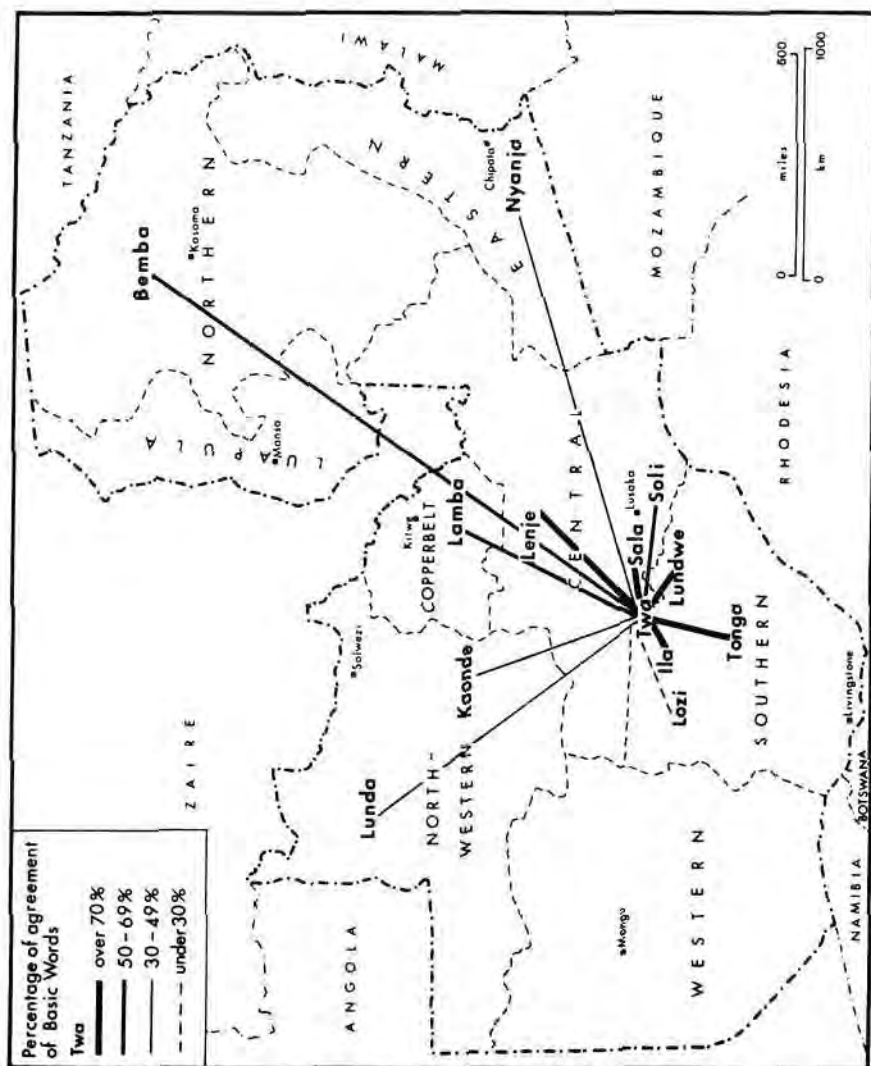
Twa (Map 4) of the Kafue Flats is as closely related to Tonga and Ila as the other two neighbours of the Bantu Botatwe Group, Sala and Lundwe. Doke wrote in 1928: "I collected a vocabulary of about 250 words; these words showed a closer affinity to Ila than to any other language." . . . "In the realm of phonetics, I found Twa to belong to the Ila group rather than the Tonga" (Doke, 1928).

The first count based on part of the 200 Basic Words seems to confirm this though the list is probably not identical with Doke's and phonetic features have not been taken into consideration.

Our Basic Word list of Twa is in the same category as Doke's "rather unsatisfactory material", being collected from a single speaker who was strongly influenced by Ila which was used for eliciting the information.



Map 3 Percentage of Agreement of Basic Words: Ila.



Map 4 Percentage of Agreement of Basic Words: Twa.

A check of the wordlist against the vocabulary used in free speech and story telling will have to be made. The list of "Twa words" made by the Lundwe boys (4.1.6) unfortunately does not include Basic Words except "crocodile" *ntale*, which links it again with Lenje (78). Next to Ila and Tonga the connection with Lenje is very strong as Doke already mentioned: "Of the words which definitely differed from Ila, a fair proportion were akin to Lenje . . ." (Doke, 1928).

It has as yet not been possible to collect a Basic Words list from the Twa people in the Lukanga Swamps. During the last two years the water level in the Lukanga was too low to reach the Twa settlements by boat. Some recordings were taken of an old man from Chilwa Island who had settled in the village of the Lenje Chief Mukubwe. His speech confirmed on the superficial level Doke's and others' statement that the Lukanga Twa is strongly influenced by Lenje.

## 5.2 *Languages not Classed with the Bantu Botatwe*

All percentages of agreement which fall below 70 in relation to Tonga, Ila and Lenje are considered to be outside the Bantu Botatwe group. Three of these, namely, Nyanja, Bemba and Lunda have their tribal lands a considerable distance away from the Kafue Basin, and their speakers have only recently moved into the area in the process of urbanisation.

### 5.2.1 *Lamba*

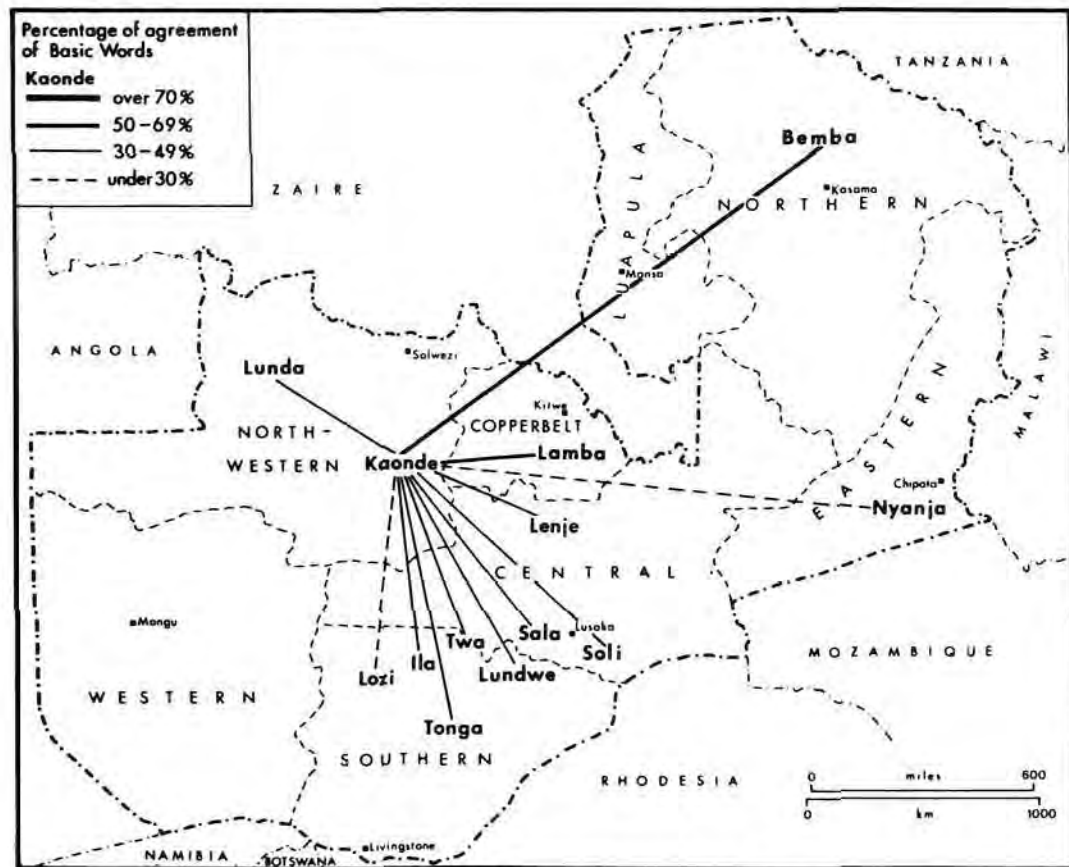
Lamba, one of the Kafue Basin languages proper, is as closely related to Bemba (83) as Ila is to Tonga (81). It shows strong links with its geographical neighbours in the Bantu Botatwe group, Lenje (58) and Sala (58) and also surprisingly with Lundwe (62).

### 5.2.2 *Kaonde*

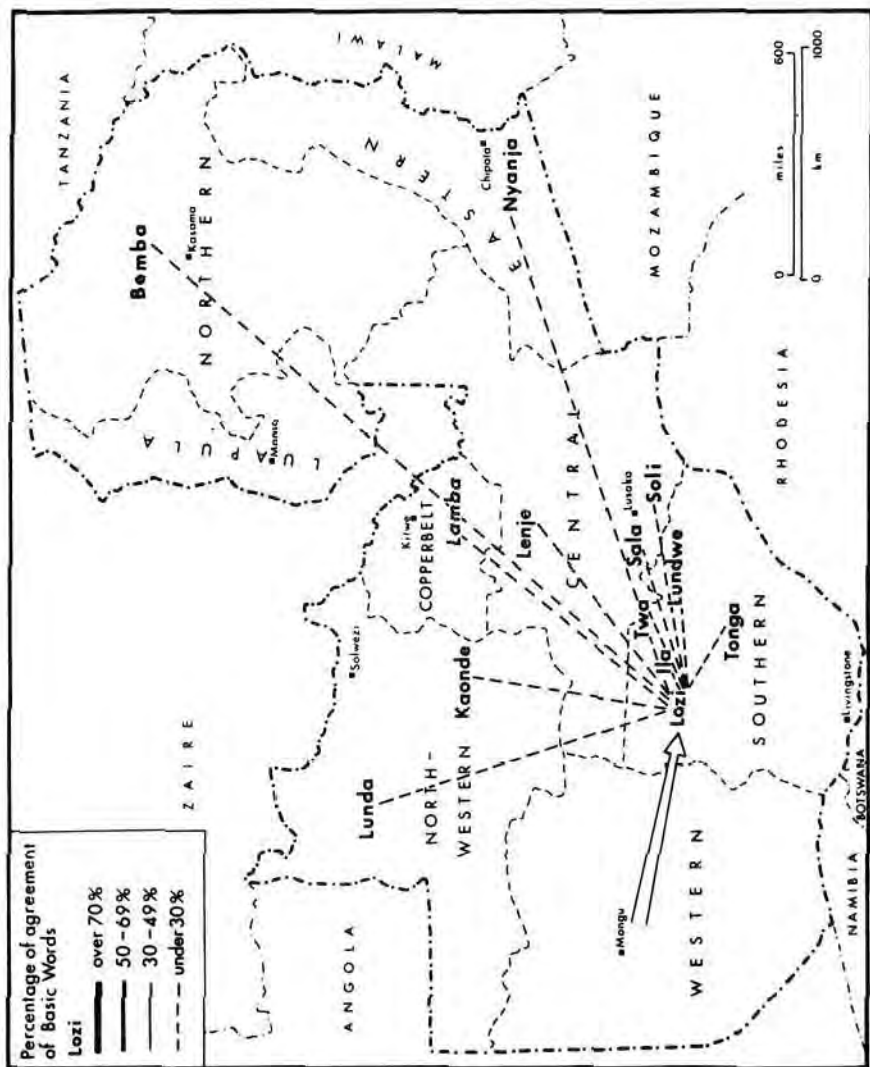
Kaonde (Map 5) borders in the Solwezi area on Lamba (55) and in the Mumbwa district on Lenje (46) and Ila (43). All these agreements are higher than that with its western neighbour Lunda (40).

### 5.2.3 *Lunda*

Lunda has only weak links with the Bantu Botatwe and the other groups in the Kafue Basin, the highest with Soli (41), with Tonga (39), and Lamba (34).



Map 5 Percentage of Agreement of Basic Words: Kaonde.



Map 6 Percentage of Agreement of Basic Words: Lozi.

#### 5.2.4 *Nyanja*

Nyanja shows a pattern of agreements similar to Lunda in having percentages of agreement mainly in the thirties, slightly lower than Lunda. Lamba (44) ranks highest, followed by Soli (42).

#### 5.2.5 *Lozi*

Lozi (Map 6) is an obvious outsider in the Kafue Basin. The percentages of agreement are lower than any others in the area ranging from 24 for Soli down to 14 for Kaonde. This is not surprising since the Lozi speakers settled in the Namwala District less than 100 years ago and the Lozi fishermen have migrated annually into the Kafue Flats for the fishing season only since the 1920s when this was permitted by the British Administration. The fairly recent development of Lozi as the lingua franca of the Western Province out of Southern Sotho and Zambian elements (see Section 3.4) also explains the small agreement with the central Zambian languages.

### 6.0 *Conclusion*

Firm conclusions about the relationship of the various Kafue Basin languages cannot be drawn from the comparison of a small number of words: the phonology, morphology and syntax will have to be taken into consideration as well as the vocabulary. This first attempt must be regarded as a rough sorting out of the material to get a tentative pattern of grouping which will have to be confirmed and refined with a more intensive analysis of the corpus.

The division into four blocks of percentages of agreement of

1. Over 70%
2. 50-69%
3. 30-49%
4. Under 30%

as used on the maps reflects the main groups.

#### 6.1 *Lamba*

Lamba is closely linked with Bemba sharing 83% of the Basic Words. Neither shows any other link in the top group.



Table 3:3: Lowest percentages of agreement.

Lozi - Kaonde	14	Lozi - Bemba	21
Lozi - Lunda	15	Lozi - Lamba	22
Lozi - Nyanja	17	Lozi - Twa	23
Lozi - Lundwe	18	Lozi - Soli	24
Lozi - Sala	19	Lunda - Nyanja	26
Lozi - Ila	20	Kaonde - Nyanja	29
Lozi - Lenje	20		

## 6.2 *The Bantu Botatwe Group*

The Bantu Botatwe Group without Soli has an average of 76% between all its members. Sala, which has not been classified before, emerges as a definite variety of Ila (93) together with Ila-Lundwe (88), and Sala-Lundwe (86). Bryan (1959) registers Lundwe as a "Tonga dialect" but the present count (78) seems to indicate a weaker link than that with Ila (88).

Soli though at the bottom of the first block of percentages in relation to Lenje and Tonga (71) is still closer to these Bantu Botatwe than to Bemba (61) and Lamba (56) and too far from Lunda (41) for Doke's classification to be accepted without further evidence (see Doke, 1928).

The name "Bantu Botatwe" was chosen by Torrend because this group of languages showed a peculiar *-o-* infix before numerals, a feature not known in Bantu languages in general. This base of classification would exclude Soli but also one of the Zambezi Valley varieties of Tonga according to Torrend (1931).

It may be preferable to call the group, including Soli, neither Bantu Botatwe nor Ila Group like Bryan but *Tonga Group* since the biggest number of speakers of languages in this group call themselves Tonga.

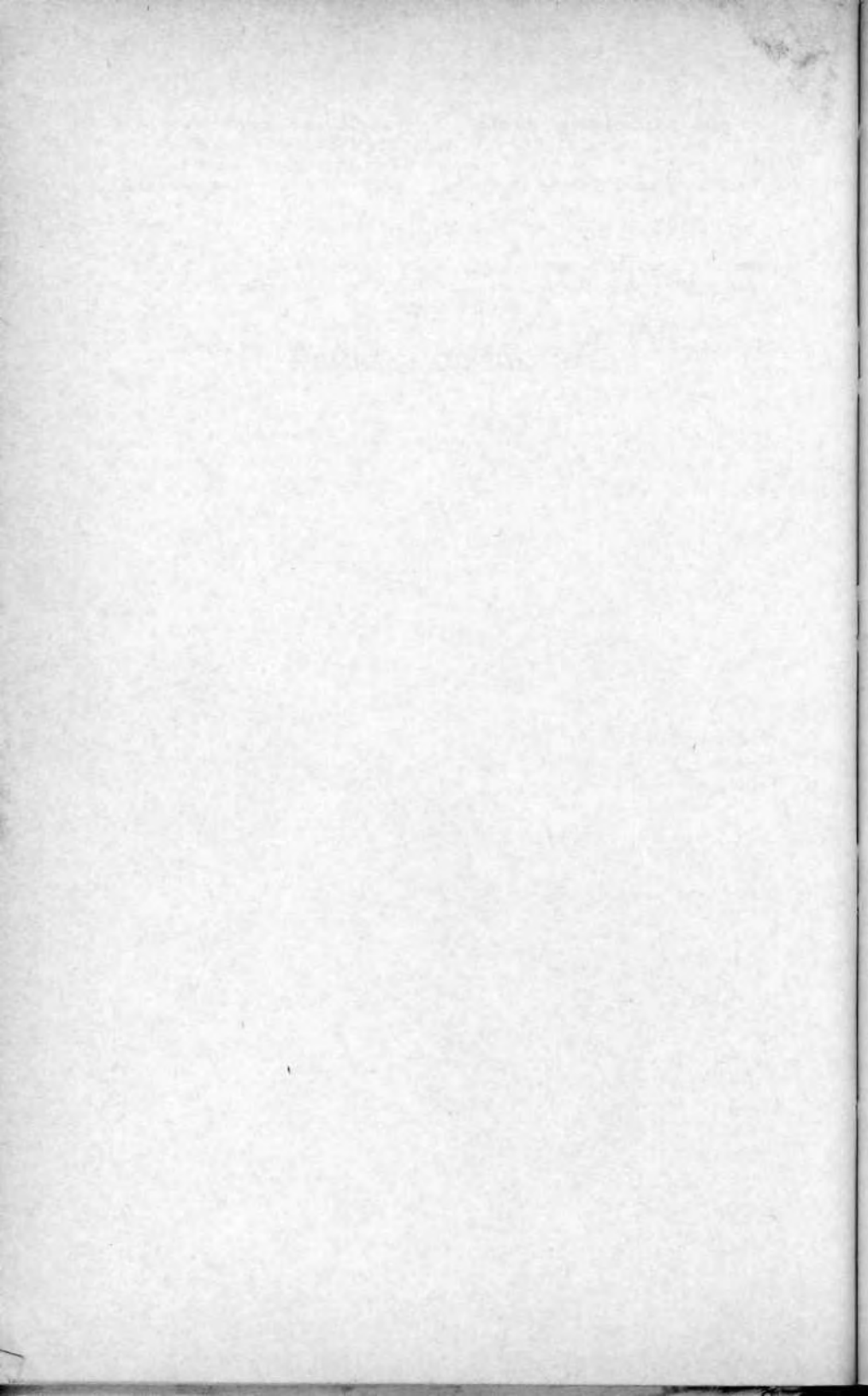
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PART TWO

*LANGUAGE USE IN ZAMBIA*



## 4 BETWEEN-LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION IN ZAMBIA<sup>1</sup>

Mubanga E. Kashoki

### 1.0 *The Problem*

In many African countries, the existence of many languages or dialects within the confines of the national boundaries presents serious problems of communication. These problems are accentuated in those instances where languages differ significantly enough in their grammatical structures to make understanding between their respective speakers practically non-existent. Where languages are closely related, however, and between-language communication is to some extent possible, the problems are not so great.

For purposes of education, broadcasting, administration, etc., the question of the mutual intelligibility of languages is an important one for many governments. In Zambia, for example, where for reasons of cost, time, human resources, and other factors it would be extremely difficult to attempt to broadcast in all the languages spoken in the country, it has been thought desirable and expedient to broadcast in those languages which are understood by the greatest number of people. Thus in order to arrive at optimum choices, it is not only necessary to measure the extent to which all the languages in the country are related to each other but it also requires measuring the degree to which mutual intelligibility exists between them. In the latter case, one would be concerned primarily with discovering what factors promote or hinder between-language communication. In other words, one would be concerned with the question: What factors enable speakers of language A to understand speakers of language B but not those of language C?

### 1.1 *Ugandan Study*

A study designed to measure how well, and why, speakers of one language can understand another related language or several related languages, was carried out first in Uganda and subsequently in Ethiopia<sup>2</sup> under the auspices of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa. In Uganda, the primary object was to develop a technique by which between-language intelligibility could be measured with reasonable accuracy by using a relatively uncomplicated set of procedures.

The technique involved the participants listening to pre-recorded passages or stories and then giving appropriate responses to questions

based on what had been heard. Respondents were divided into groups on the basis of languages spoken as mother tongues. The average score obtained by each language group was then related to the proportion of basic vocabulary shared by those languages. The results of the Uganda study demonstrated that within a group of related languages the proportion of basic vocabulary shared by two languages is an important and useful measure for predicting between-language intelligibility. The study also pointed to a positive relationship between mutual intelligibility and geographical distance. In other words, those languages which are geographically near to each other are more likely to have a higher degree of mutual intelligibility than those which are geographically distant.

This technique, rather than being applied in isolation, was intended to complement two other linguistic techniques which have been used to measure relationships between languages. The first of these involved an assessment of the degree of linguistic similarity (in sentence structure, vocabulary and phonology) among the languages in question. The second involved obtaining a rough estimate from informants who were thought to represent the views of the community of the degree to which members of that community could understand neighbouring languages (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper, 1971: p. 53).

### 1.2 *Ethiopian Study*

The Ethiopian experiment adapted and extended the procedures used in the Uganda study. The main aim in Ethiopia was not only to provide additional information about factors which made it possible for speakers of two related languages to understand each other but also to test whether the technique had universal applicability. To this end, the Ethiopian experiment used the Sidamo group of languages, a group unrelated to the Bantu group which had been used in the Uganda study. The Sidamo languages belong to the East Cushitic sub-family. The experiment also used a larger set of between-language comparisons than did the Uganda study.

In addition to the non-linguistic measure of geographical distance and the linguistic one of basic vocabulary, the Ethiopian study used three more linguistic variables, (*viz.* root morphemes, grammatical morphemes and a combination of root and grammatical morphemes<sup>3</sup>), for correlation with intelligibility. The main argument for employing these additional variables was that it was not immediately apparent to the researchers why basic vocabulary correspondence should be a good predictor of between-language intelligibility. The researchers went on to hypothesise that it appeared plausible that morphemic correspondence (roots, affixes and a combination of both) as observed in a running text might be a better predictor of mutual intelligibility (Bender and Cooper,

1971: p. 35).

Two other linguistic measures were considered but were not used: phonology and syntax. It had been shown in the Uganda study that when detailed phonologies were compared, they did not furnish better results than vocabulary correspondences. Moreover, in the Ethiopian case, there was the additional problem of not having detailed descriptions of the sound systems of the Sidamo languages. With regard to syntax, an attempt to measure whether the presence or absence of certain elements in sentences, or whether the order of elements in sentences, could be used to predict between-language intelligibility led to rather inconclusive results (Bender and Cooper, *ms.*). For the same reasons, these two variables have not been employed in the present study.

The results of the Ethiopian experiment are interesting and suggestive on several accounts. First, like those of the Uganda study, they demonstrate that basic vocabulary correspondences and geographical distance are both nearly equally good measures for predicting between-language intelligibility. Another almost equally good predictor is combined root and grammatical morphemes from text. The other two measures, root-morpheme and grammatical-morpheme correspondences were less reliable as predictors, grammatical morphemes being the least so (Bender and Cooper, 1971: 49-50).

### 1.3 *Zambian Study*

In Zambia, it was thought important and useful to attempt to repeat the experiment yet again for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the conclusions of the Ethiopian study have emphasised the desirability of testing the technique in other parts of the world in order to establish whether it had universal application (Bender and Cooper, 1971: p. 50). Secondly, Zambia represents an interesting test case because of its many language and communication problems.

For instance, the choice and use of seven Zambian languages by the Government as media of communication (and instruction in schools in some cases) can be interpreted as signifying an underlying assumption that they are mutually unintelligible. If this is so, then it would seem desirable to subject the policy to a field test to assess the extent to which it can be justified on linguistic grounds.

Moreover, immediately following Independence, an unprecedented social as well as geographical mobility of Zambians on a wide scale was set in motion. This was principally due to the removal of the pre-Independence restriction on the movement of the population from region to region. This has been coupled more recently with the deliberate and frequent transfer of officers in order to bring about integration into the nation of diverse ethnic groups. These measures have been

strengthened by a parallel policy, namely that of mixing school-children inter-regionally at the secondary school level for the same purpose. The widespread practice of using teachers in regions where the local language is not their mother tongue may also be mentioned here.

All these measures and practices have meant that a knowledge of, or at least some ability to understand, the local language on the part of the individual is clearly desirable, if not essential. In all this it seems important to answer at least one crucial question:

To what extent does the individual concerned experience problems of communication in situations in Zambia where he cannot use his mother tongue or English? Phrased differently: how much would a Kaonde school-child, for example, understand if he suddenly found himself in a situation where daily communication or educational instruction was carried out in Nyanja?

The social and educational implications of these questions and their obvious relevance to the decisions required for establishing language policies are the main motive for this study which we have called "Between-Language Communication in Zambia". Essentially, the study seeks to predict the degree to which speakers of the seven officially-approved Zambian languages (viz. Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga) can understand languages other than their own mother tongue, particularly without prior exposure.

## 2.0 *The Languages*

The above mentioned languages all belong to the Bantu sub-grouping which, at a higher level is part of the larger Niger-Congo family according to the Greenberg classification (Greenberg, 1966). They are related to each other in varying degrees in syntax, phonology and lexicon, but have conventionally been assumed to be mutually unintelligible. All seven are used for education, broadcasting and as media of communication in local newspapers. In the provinces where they are spoken, they are often used as *linguae francae*. A considerable literature exists in each but to varying degrees, Bemba and Nyanja commanding the largest proportion.

*Bemba* is mainly spoken in the Northern, Luapula and Copper-belt Provinces and is not immediately contiguous to any of the six languages except perhaps to Kaonde. Other Zambian languages are spoken in the areas which intervene. Bemba and Kaonde are somewhat in contact because of the nearness of the Copperbelt to the Solwezi district.

*Kaonde* is spoken chiefly in the Kasempa and Solwezi districts and to a lesser extent in Mumbwa. It shares borders with Lunda towards the west and with Ila (a language related to Tonga) in the south.



*Lunda* and *Luvale* are two of the main languages of the Northwestern Province in addition to *Kaonde*. *Lunda* is spoken in the *Mwinilunga* and *Zambesi* districts and to a lesser degree in *Kabompo*. *Luvale* is spoken in the *Zambesi* district, chiefly beginning from the western bank of the *Zambesi* River and extending into *Angola*. Both *Lunda* and *Luvale* are used extensively as *linguae francae* in the province particularly in the non-*Kaonde* speaking areas. In terms of geographical nearness, they are the most in contact of all the seven languages under study.

*Lozi* is spoken in the Western Province (where it still is the *lingua franca*) and in certain parts of the Southern Province (e.g. *Livingstone*) and Northwestern Province (e.g. *Kabompo* and *Zambezi*). It is only slightly in immediate contact with *Luvale* towards the north-east (along the *Lungwebungu* River and beyond) and also because there are pockets of *Luvale* speakers in the Western Province itself (21,653 in 1960 according to Fortune, 1970: 35, and 26,600 according to the 1969 Census).

*Nyanja* is the *lingua franca* of the Eastern Province as well as being the language of wider communication in *Lusaka* and its immediate environs. Its speakers include the *Cewa* (upon whose language *Nyanja* is mainly based), the *Nsenga* and the *Tumbuka* and a variety of relatively smaller language groups, the latter three groups who very often speak it as a second language. *Nyanja* is separated from *Bemba* by one or two intervening dialects and from *Tonga* in the same way.

*Tonga* is the main language of the Southern Province but it is also spoken in the extreme south of the Central Province along and slightly beyond the *Kafue* River where it borders on *Lenje*, a closely related language. To the north, in the *Namwala* district, it has a common border with *Ila* with which it is also closely related.<sup>4</sup> *Tonga* touches upon *Lozi* through *Subiya* and *Totela*, two dialects which have close affinities with the former but which are increasingly coming under the linguistic influence of the latter.

### 3.0 *The Method*

Measurement of the between-language intelligibility of the seven officially-approved languages was carried out as follows. First of all, eight passages (approximately 100 words, or about six sentences, in length) were carefully prepared in English. Particular attention was paid to the following points: (i) a reasonably controlled vocabulary, (ii) not too complex a grammatical structure, (iii) a cultural context common to the entire country, (iv) a variety of situations (traditional or rural, and modern or urban) representing a wide range of social experience, (v) suitable references which could be used as appropriate distractors for multiple-choice questions and (vi) simplicity of content.

Ideally, the aim was to prepare passages which were not too difficult

in grammatical structure (i.e. from the point of view of the languages being tested) and which did not possess a vocabulary which would be beyond the competence of the pupils undergoing the test. Seven passages were originally written in English and then translated into each of the seven Zambian languages, so that there were forty-nine translations altogether. An additional passage in English was retained for the practice exercise which was intended to teach the test format to the respondents in preparation for the actual tests. After the seven passages were translated and rechecked for as reasonable a uniformity as could be hoped for they were recorded on tape by radio announcers who spoke the language concerned as their mother tongue. In all, seven tapes were made according to the format shown in Table 1.

### 3.1 *Problems of Implementation*

Originally, the intention was to play the seven tapes to seven groups of pupils (in each language area) who spoke the given language as their mother tongue. This plan could not be followed later in its original form for reasons which will be given subsequently. According to the original plan, the tapes were to have been played in the order shown in Table 2.

Actually, only four tapes were played to the Kaonde group, four to the Luvale group and none to the Lunda group. A set of reasons accounted for this change of plan. Firstly, the writer lost in Solwezi the Uher tape-recorder which he was to have used on his tour of the Northwestern Province. This resulted in the cancellation of the test in three classes at Kabompo Secondary School where there was no suitable tape-recorder to use. The four classes which had been scheduled to be tested at Mukinge Girls' Secondary School were also cancelled when it was realised that the composition of the pupils in all the classes did not conform to the pattern set for all the other language groups (cf. footnote 5 and the explanation given in the next paragraph). Lastly, seven classes at Mwinilunga Secondary School were not tested because the physical condition of the roads at that time prevented the writer from reaching Mwinilunga. This leaves only four classes (Kaonde) at Solwezi Secondary School and another four classes (Luvale) at Zambezi Secondary School<sup>5</sup> which actually took the test in the Province. For these reasons, the final analysis of the test was restricted to only four languages, Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga, which met fully the requirements of the original plan.

The test consisted in playing the tape-recorded passages in the order shown in Table 2 to pupils in the top class(es) in Form II at each school. The selection of the secondary schools was based on their location in districts or areas considered to represent the "standard" (or central) variety of the languages to be examined. This plan could not be followed

Table 4:1: Arrangement of tapes as recorded.

<i>Tape 1</i>		<i>Tape 4</i>	
<i>Passage</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Passage</i>	<i>Language</i>
1	Bemba	1	Lunda
2	Kaonde	2	Luvale
3	Lozi	3	Nyanja
4	Lunda	4	Tonga
5	Luvale	5	Bemba
6	Nyanja	6	Kaonde
7	Tonga	7	Lozi

<i>Tape 2</i>		<i>Tape 5</i>	
<i>Passage</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Passage</i>	<i>Language</i>
1	Kaonde	1	Luvale
2	Lozi	2	Nyanja
3	Lunda	3	Tonga
4	Luvale	4	Bemba
5	Nyanja	5	Kaonde
6	Tonga	6	Lozi
7	Bemba	7	Lunda

<i>Tape 3</i>		<i>Tape 6</i>	
<i>Passage</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Passage</i>	<i>Language</i>
1	Lozi	1	Nyanja
2	Lunda	2	Tonga
3	Luvale	3	Bemba
4	Nyanja	4	Kaonde
5	Tonga	5	Lozi
6	Bemba	6	Lunda
7	Kaonde	7	Luvale

<i>Tape 7</i>	
<i>Passage</i>	<i>Language</i>
1	Tonga
2	Bemba
3	Kaonde
4	Lozi
5	Lunda
6	Luvale
7	Nyanja

rigidly in the Northwestern Province where often only one secondary school is situated in the area representing the "standard" variety. In this case, several classes had to be tested at the same school.

### 3.2 Selection of Listeners

Pupils in Form II were chosen because they could reasonably be

Table 4.2: Order of presentation to seven language groups of seven tapes as originally intended.

<i>Bemba Group</i>	<i>Tape No.</i>	<i>Lunda Group</i>	<i>Tape No.</i>
1	1	1	4
2	2	2	5
3	3	3	6
4	4	4	7
5	5	5	1
6	6	6	2
7	7	7	3
<i>Kaonde Group</i>	<i>Tape No.</i>	<i>Luvale Group</i>	<i>Tape No.</i>
1	2	1	5
2	3	2	6
3	4	3	7
4	5	4	1
5	6	5	2
6	7	6	3
7	1	7	4
<i>Lozi Group</i>	<i>Tape No.</i>	<i>Nyanja Group</i>	<i>Tape No.</i>
1	3	1	6
2	4	2	7
3	5	3	1
4	6	4	2
5	7	5	3
6	1	6	4
7	2	7	5
	<i>Tonga Group</i>	<i>Tape No.</i>	
	1	7	
	2	1	
	3	2	
	4	3	
	5	4	
	6	5	
	7	6	

This arrangement meant that each group would listen once to each passage and once to each language. It also meant that each passage would occur once in each language and once on each tape (i.e. for each listening group).

expected to possess an adequate command of English to enable them to follow intelligently the instructions and answer the questions required by the test. Secondly, the age range from about thirteen to about twenty was thought to be appropriate for this sort of test.

It was intended that the test would be taken by (1) listeners who had not been exposed to other languages either through travelling or any

other contact and who would therefore base their answers on their knowledge of their own mother tongue and (2) by listeners who had had some contact with languages besides their own by whatever means.<sup>6</sup> School children were considered to be the most suitable group to whom a test of this kind could be administered, primarily because of their availability in groups of convenient size, because of their acquaintance with multi-choice tests, and because of their knowledge of English which could be used as a neutral language. Adults in rural areas would have been difficult to organise, and there would have been the difficult problem of testing non-literate subjects and finding a neutral language for the test questions.

Table 4.3: Sub-categories of first language respondents.

	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>
(i) Moved/Exposed to other languages	37	41	30	28
(ii) Not moved/But exposed to other languages	43	90	42	80
(iii) Not moved/And not exposed to other languages	88	93	57	48
Total	168	224	129	156

Prior to the actual administration of the test, the pupils were required to fill out a questionnaire, the purpose of which was to divide them into two main categories: those without any prior exposure whatsoever to the other languages being tested and those who had been exposed through mobility or other means. The most relevant questions were: the sex and age of the children; the district in which they were born; their mother tongue; whether or not they had ever moved and to where; the language(s) spoken in the home; the language spoken most fluently; other languages spoken well enough to be understood; languages listened to on the radio; languages recognised when heard; and languages understood but not spoken. Everyone in the class took the test but only those who fitted the first category stated above were included in the analysis which will be described shortly.

The number of respondents as divided into first language (i.e. mother tongue) groups, excluding Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda, were as shown in Table 3.<sup>7</sup>

For the purposes of this study, the test papers of only those respondents who fell in sub-category (iii) were selected for analysis. (It should be noted that in the Ethiopian experiment, in order to estimate the degree of language contact which had occurred, each respondent was

asked to rate his ability to understand any of the languages involved in the experiment. On the basis of the answers given, the group's average self-rating of ability to understand each of the other languages was computed. The self-rating indicated that in the experiment the between-language listening comprehension average scores were not influenced by extensive language contact (Bender and Cooper, 1971: p. 40.)

### 3.3 *The Test*

Following the completion of the questionnaire, the children were asked to listen to seven tape-recorded passages in seven different languages in the order already shown in Table 2. The tape-recorded passages included, as already stated, situations dealing with both rural and urban activities, the idea being to base the passages on a wide range of experiences familiar to the child. Thus the first passage dealt with buying stamps at the post office, the second with an episode at the railway station, the third with an experience at the local store, the fourth with building a house with poles and dagga (mud), the fifth with being a farmer, the sixth with going fishing, and the seventh with going to draw water at the well.

Instructions for taking the test and the English passage for practice plus the accompanying questions and answers were given first on the tape in English (a neutral language as well as being the medium of instruction in the secondary schools). Then the first passage on the tape, presented in the language to be tested, was heard twice. After the second playing, a series of questions, in English, were given twice on the tape. After each question, four choices, presented as equally attractive answers to those who had not understood the passage but only one of which was obviously correct to those who had, were heard twice on the tape. A fifth choice was: "I don't know".

These choices (but not the question) were also seen in specially prepared answer booklets (each booklet being assigned a colour to represent a given language) in the following form:

#### Answers to Questions 1

- (a) at home
- (b) on the street
- (c) at the store
- (d) in the bank
- (e) I don't know.

In giving the answer, the pupils simply placed a tick or a cross in the box by the appropriate answer after either the first or second playing of the questions. The addition of "I don't know" was designed to ensure that the pupil did not leave any question unanswered. An unanswered

question would have presented problems of analysis later since it would have been impossible to determine whether the respondent merely did not know the answer or whether he had in fact skipped it inadvertently.

The listening comprehension tests were marked in terms of the number of questions which the respondent answered correctly. This gave the following results:

- (i) each language group's average score in its own language,
- (ii) each group's average score in each of the other languages.

In framing the questions and the answers, great care was exercised with regard to the appropriateness of the questions asked. For example, a conscious effort was made to avoid posing questions which one could answer from common sense, such as: How did Mr. Soko carry his axe? (a) on his head, (b) on his shoulder, (c) around his waist, (d) on his back, (e) I don't know. There seemed little doubt that if this type of question were posed, the majority, if not all, of the pupils would reply "on his shoulder". A similar effort was made to avoid asking questions the answers to which would be obviously culturally determined, e.g. "With what tool did Mr. Soko cut the poles?" (a) with a hoe, (b) with a sickle, (c) with a big panga, (d) with an axe, (e) I don't know. There was again no doubt that the obvious reply would be "with an axe". Thus, only questions which were determined by their context were included. Adequate measures were also taken to avoid the tendency of asking only vocabulary-oriented questions. Answers to the questions included both those which could be given as one word answers and those as whole sentences.

#### 4.0 *The Variables*

In this study, two linguistic variables, basic vocabulary and a combination of root and grammatical morphemes (taken from text), as well as one non-linguistic variable, geographical distance, have been chosen to test which of these serves best to predict between-language intelligibility. Only three measures have been chosen because, as we have seen, the Ethiopian experiment indicated that in-text root and grammatical morphemes, considered separately, are not such good measures for predicting mutual intelligibility (grammatical morphemes being the least so). Moreover, in the present case, limitations of time made it difficult to test additional variables. For the same reason, the combined root and grammatical morphemes taken only from the seventh passage have been used. In number, there were approximately 39 such morphemes.

The basic vocabulary used is that already discussed in detail in Chapter 2. In using the measure of geographical distance, the towns popularly considered to be the main centres of the language groups

under study were taken to serve as starting points. These were Kasama (Bemba), Mongu (Lozi), Chipata (Nyanja) and Monze (Tonga).

All the above variables were correlated with between-language comprehension scores as described in the following section.

### 5.0 *The Results*

Table 4 presents the average listening comprehension score of each group in each of the three other languages. It will be seen that, looking at the other groups' average scores in it, Nyanja was, relatively speaking, the best, Tonga the second best, Bemba the third best and Lozi the least understood (the average scores being 42%, 25%, 22% and 17%

Table 4.4: Average listening comprehension scores of four groups in Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga.

<i>Mother-tongue group</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Average percentage correct</i>				
		<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Average</i>
Bemba	88	—	20	42	27	30
Lozi	93	16	—	26	28	23
Nyanja	57	25	13	—	21	20
Tonga	48	25	18	58	—	35
Average		22	17	42	25	27

Table 4.5: Average listening comprehension scores of four groups in Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale.

<i>Mother-tongue group</i>	<i>Average percentage correct</i>			
	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Average</i>
Bemba	20	25	16	20
Lozi	15	23	28	22
Nyanja	9	13	11	11
Tonga	8	10	26	15
Average	13	18	20	17

respectively). At the same time, it will be noted that, apart from the other groups' average score in Nyanja, the differences between the average scores in the remaining languages are probably not statistically significant.<sup>8</sup> It also appears that, on average, the Tonga and Bemba groups understood more of the other languages (with average scores of 34% and 30% respectively) than did the Nyanja and the Lozi (20% and 23% respectively). It should also be mentioned that, in terms of the



group's performance in its own language, the average score was uniformly high, the actual average scores being 99% (Bemba), 96% (Lozi), 98% (Nyanja) and 91% (Tonga), yielding an average score of 96%.

Although the performance of the Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale speakers in Bemba, Lozi and Nyanja and Tonga has been excluded from this report, it is interesting to note that the four groups under study performed relatively poorly in the three languages of the Northwestern Province, the average listening comprehension scores in this case ranging from 22% to 11% (see Table 5). This should be compared with the groups' performance among themselves where the average scores ranged from 34% to 23%. Among the languages of the Northwestern Province, it seems that Kaonde was the least understood (13%) and that Lunda and Luvale were understood about equally (18% and 20% respectively). It also appears that the Lozi had a slight edge over the other language groups in understanding Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale (22% as compared to 20% for the Bemba, 11% for the Nyanja and 15% for the Tonga).

However, the above statistics all seem to emphasise one important point. If each group's performance in its own language is taken as the starting point (i.e. base), it would appear that there is very little mutual intelligibility between the four officially-approved Zambian languages.

The basic vocabulary correspondences (i.e. the proportion of vocabulary items shared by pairs of languages) which are given in Table 6 are excerpts from Part I, Chapter 2, Table 1. It will be seen that the correspondences among the four languages under study range from 57% (Bemba-Tonga) to 28% (Lozi-Nyanja). It is also noteworthy that Lozi exhibits the lowest correspondences with the other three languages (32% with Tonga, 30% with Bemba and 28% with Nyanja). On the other hand, Bemba, Nyanja and Tonga show comparatively higher correspondences among themselves (57% Bemba-Tonga, 47% Nyanja-Bemba and 46% Tonga-Nyanja).

Table 4.6: Percentages of basic vocabulary shared among Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga.

Language	Percentage				Average
	Bemba	Lozi	Nyanja	Tonga	
Bemba	—	30	47	57	45
Lozi	30	—	28	32	30
Nyanja	47	28	—	46	40
Tonga	57	32	46	—	45

Of approximately 39 combined root and grammatical morphemes found in Passage 7, only 33 were strictly comparable throughout all the four languages, and comparisons were based on these. Out of the 33

morphemes, Bemba and Lozi shared 8 items or 24%; Nyanja and Bemba 11 or 33%; Tonga and Bemba 13 or 39%; Lozi and Nyanja 6 or 18%; Lozi and Tonga 7 or 21% and Nyanja and Tonga 6 or 18%.

It will be seen that the highest correspondences are that between Bemba and Tonga (39%), followed by that between Bemba and Nyanja (33%). The rest, are relatively speaking, about equally low, 24% (Lozi-Bemba), 21% (Lozi-Tonga) and 18% (Lozi-Nyanja and Nyanja-Tonga). Bemba emerges as the language with the highest correspondences with its neighbours (39% with Tonga, 33% with Nyanja and 24% with Lozi), while the other languages exhibit relatively low percentages of correspondence with each other as shown in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 4:7: Percentages of combined in-text root and grammatical morphemes shared among Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage</i>				
	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Average</i>
Bemba	—	24	33	39	32
Lozi	24	—	18	21	21
Nyanja	33	18	—	18	23
Tonga	39	21	18	—	26

Table 4:8: Vocabulary and combined root-grammatical morpheme correspondences in Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga.

*Correspondences in Percentages*

<i>Language</i>	<i>Vocabulary</i>	<i>Root-grammatical morpheme</i>
Bemba-Lozi	30	24
Bemba-Nyanja	47	33
Bemba-Tonga	57	39
Lozi-Nyanja	28	18
Lozi-Tonga	32	21
Nyanja-Tonga	46	18

If these correspondences are compared to vocabulary correspondences (see Table 8), it is noteworthy how remarkably similar in ranking they are. The evidence seems to indicate that there is a close correlation between basic vocabulary correspondences and combined root and grammatical morpheme correspondences taken from text.

Table 9 shows the approximate distances between the main centres of the four languages. In proximity to each other, Bemba and Nyanja are the closest (400 km), Lozi and Tonga the second closest (500 km)

and Nyanja and Tonga the third closest (600 km). Lozi is the language farthest away from another language (about 1000 km from both Bemba and Nyanja).

Table 4:9: Geographical distances between main centres of Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga.

*Distance in hundreds of kilometres*

<i>Language</i>	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Average</i>
Bemba	—	10	4	8	7
Lozi	10	—	10	5	8
Nyanja	4	10	—	6	7
Tonga	8	5	6	—	6

It is of interest to note that geographical distance, except in two instances, does not seem to relate directly to basic vocabulary correspondence. Lozi is farthest from Nyanja and Bemba and it shows the lowest vocabulary correspondences with these languages (28% and 30% respectively). Geographical distance, however, does not explain why Lozi has only 32% vocabulary correspondence with Tonga when the distance involved (480 km) is roughly the same as that between Nyanja and Bemba (410). Moreover, basic vocabulary correspondence is much lower (by 10%) between Nyanja and Bemba than between Tonga and Bemba even though Bemba is appreciably nearer to Nyanja than to Tonga. Similarly, Lozi and Tonga, which are nearer to each other geographically than Nyanja and Tonga, nevertheless show a lower percentage of basic vocabulary correspondence (32%) than do the latter (46%). It would appear, therefore, that any direct correlation between basic vocabulary correspondence and geographical distance is either fortuitous or derives from extraneous factors.

## 6.0 *Discussion*<sup>9</sup>

It has already been observed that in terms of the listening-comprehension results, there appears to be very little between-language understanding among Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga. The exceptionally high performance (58%) by the Tonga group in Nyanja is inexplicable in terms of either basic vocabulary correspondence, morphemic correspondence or geographical distance. Performances by the other three language groups all rate well below 50%.

Moreover, on the basis of the results of the present study, a direct relationship between basic vocabulary or combined root-and-grammatical

morpheme correspondence or intelligibility on the one hand and between-language proximity on the other cannot be established. In other words, it is not possible to predict on present evidence that those languages which are near to each other in space tend to have a higher degree of mutual intelligibility, or even that they share a higher percentage of basic vocabulary, than those which are farther apart.

From the foregoing, it seems safe to hypothesise that, given the relatively recent migrations of most Bantu language groups into Zambia, languages bordering on one another have not had enough time in which to influence each other in any significant manner. It appears plausible to assume that their genetic relationships continue to play a more significant role than their present geographical relationships. Alternatively, it may be presumed that the present location of the languages under study does not reflect their separation historically from a common (ancestor) language.

Of more significance for the purpose of this study, geographical distance does not appear to be a good measure for predicting between-language intelligibility. For example, one cannot predict that the Nyanja, who are geographically much nearer to the Bemba than the Tonga, will achieve a higher score in Bemba than the Tonga. In fact, the actual average scores in Bemba for each group were about the same (25%).

Similarly, geographical distance in this study does not seem to be useful in explaining why the Lozi who are about 1000 km away from the Bemba should obtain approximately the same average score in Bemba (16%) as that obtained by the Tonga in Lozi (18%) despite the relatively short distance of 500 km between the latter. Similar comparisons from Table 10 will yield more or less the same results.

It should also be noted in discussing performance that some language groups appeared to find it easier to understand neighbouring languages than did others. Also, some languages were better understood, on the whole, than others. In this connection, Lozi may be singled out as the language least understood by others, while Nyanja was the best, Tonga the second best and Bemba the third best understood.

It is also interesting to note that in this study, unlike in the Ethiopian experiment where reciprocal intelligibility was demonstrated for all the languages which were studied (Bender and Cooper, 1971: p. 44), intelligibility was not always reciprocal. While the Bemba obtained a high performance score in Nyanja (42% in this case), the Nyanja did not necessarily do so in Bemba (25% in their case). This suggests that a close linguistic relationship between pairs of languages does not mean that intelligibility between pairs of related languages will necessarily be reciprocal.

Otherwise the findings of the present study support, in the main,

Table 4:10: Vocabulary and morphemic correspondences, comprehension scores and geographical distance (the latter in 100's of kilometres).

Language	Percentage			Geographical distance
	Average score	Vocabulary correspondence	Morphemic correspondence	
Bemba—Lozi <sup>2</sup>	20	30	24	10
Bemba—Nyanja	42	47	33	4
Bemba—Tonga	27	57	39	8
Lozi—Bemba	16	30	24	10
Lozi—Nyanja	26	28	18	10
Lozi—Tonga	28	32	21	5
Nyanja—Bemba	25	47	33	4
Nyanja—Lozi	13	28	18	10
Nyanja—Tonga	21	46	18	6
Tonga—Bemba	25	57	39	8
Tonga—Lozi	18	32	21	5
Tonga—Nyanja	57	46	18	6

those of the two studies previously carried out in Uganda and Ethiopia. The present study, as did the other two, has indicated that between-language understanding can be related immediately to shared vocabulary. It has also suggested that combined root-and-grammatical morpheme correspondences, although not as closely related to intelligibility as is shared vocabulary, are a significant factor in between-language intelligibility. At the same time, it has indicated that combined root-and-grammatical morphemes taken from text are closely related to basic vocabulary.

Linguistic measures, therefore, emerge as important variables for predicting between-language intelligibility. That is, those languages which have high linguistic correspondences tend also to have higher between-language intelligibility. Conversely, those languages which do not have high percentages of linguistic correspondence tend to have less mutual intelligibility. Unlike basic vocabulary and in-text combined root-and-grammatical morphemes, both of which have been shown to be good predictors of intelligibility, geographical proximity (a non-linguistic measure) has not been found, in the Zambian context, to be directly related to between-language intelligibility. This can be attributed to the fact that as discussed earlier linguistic measures in this study are not related to geographical distance.

It would be desirable, however, to repeat the experiment in Zambia on language groups which have traditionally been assumed for purposes of either education or communication to be mutually intelligible. Good examples of these are the Tonga—Ila—Lenje group and the Cewa—Nsenga—Tumbuka group. It would be interesting to find out what the results would be in this case.

### 7.0 *Conclusion*

In conclusion, it is necessary to caution against accepting the findings of this study either as conclusive or as definitive. The ideal situation would have been one in which all the factors likely to influence the outcome of the experiment were under absolute control. This level of perfection was not attained nor, it should be said, could it be expected to be attained in the set of circumstances in which the experiment was conducted. Below are given some of the more important factors which it was ideally desirable to have had under proper control but which, because of the limitations of time and resources, remained partially or wholly uncontrolled.

Clearly, it would have been preferable to have used passages which did not rely on translations but which were originally written in the officially-approved language under study. Since, however, the same passage was expected to be used for all the seven languages, the logical thing to do seemed to be to have the passage first written in English and then distributed for translation into all the seven languages. This process may have introduced an element of variation in the translation, so that it is possible that the level of difficulty as regards grammatical structure was not absolutely uniform throughout the languages. An attempt was made, however, to hold this variation factor to an absolute minimum, first by providing a model translation in one language and secondly by providing guidelines to the translators. Later the translations were checked against the model and the English original.

The second problem concerned the variations which may have crept in at the recording stage. Seven radio announcers who spoke each of the seven languages as their mother tongue were used for recording purposes. In view of the variable speeds at which they speak, it was not possible to make uniform the speed at which these announcers spoke at the time of recording the various languages, so that it is quite possible that some languages were recorded spoken at faster speeds than others. This variation in the speeds at which the languages were recorded spoken could have had some effect on the comprehension performance in some languages. Of concern also was the possibility that the voice quality of some of the announcers may have had some effect on the comprehension performance.

The third problem was with regard to the absence of proper acoustic facilities in the rooms in which the test was conducted. Quite often the children had to be crowded very near to the tape-recorder in order to ensure that everybody was as close as possible to the source of the sound. It stands to reason to infer that those at the outer fringes of the group could not have had the same access to the source of the sound as

did those in the inner circle. This factor alone could account for differences in the performance of the two sub-groups. There is also the distinct possibility that crowding provided temptation for some children to copy answers from their friends.

Related to the third problem was the boredom which occasionally attended the proceedings when three or four languages unfamiliar to the children were played consecutively. In view of the pre-arranged order of the recordings, it was not always possible to hold the attention of the pupils throughout the test.

Related to the above are two problems discussed at length by Hans Wolff (1964) in his article "Intelligibility and Inter-ethnic Attitudes".

Wolff argues that "since the test (i.e. mutual intelligibility) is administered with the aid of recorded materials, the informant's reaction to hearing speech from a lifeless box, rather than in a normal socio-linguistic situation, constitutes another uncontrolled variable" (p. 441).<sup>10</sup> He also argues that such non-linguistic factors as pride and scorn (i.e. attitude) could seriously affect a person's understanding or non-understanding of another language or at least his desire to perform willingly and enthusiastically. No attempt was made to control this variable, nor did it seem feasible to attempt to do so.

A final problem to take into account when assessing the significance of the results of this study is that pertaining to memory or lack of it. Although each passage was played twice, and although the questions were simple and clear, it cannot be guaranteed that every child had the same capacity to retain in his head all that he had heard as did the child next to him. Differences in the capacity to recall might be another significant uncontrolled variable which might affect materially the outcome of the experiment.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The study reported here was undertaken during 1970-71. I am grateful to the Ford Foundation and the University of Zambia for the financial support which made it possible for me to travel extensively throughout Zambia to conduct tests at various secondary schools. The analysis and presentation of the data in their present format have benefited from comments and criticisms by Professor J. D. Bowen, Dr. Marvin L. Bender and Dr. Robert L. Cooper and I wish to express my indebtedness to them. To Sirarpi Ohannessian, the Team Leader of the Zambian Survey, my gratitude for her encouragement and stimulating discussions. The study has been published under the same title in *Lingua*, 41.

<sup>2</sup>By Peter Ladefoged in Uganda and by Marvin L. Bender and Robert L. Cooper in Ethiopia.

<sup>3</sup>For purposes of the study, *morphemes* were defined as words or parts of words having meaning; *root morphemes* as those which can stand by themselves (e.g. man, dog), and *grammatical morphemes* as prefixes, suffixes, stress patterns etc. which cannot stand alone and have some sort of relational meaning (Bender and Cooper, 1971: p. 35).

<sup>4</sup> Tonga, Ila and Lenje have traditionally been referred to as the Bantu-Botatwe (lit. the three-people) languages, indicating their early recognition as closely related languages. A dictionary bearing the same title was in fact produced in 1931 by J. Torrend, S. J.

<sup>5</sup> The composition of the pupils at this school was not predominantly Luvale as expected but was in fact more or less an even mixture of Luvale, Lunda, Kaonde, Cokwe, Lucazi and Mbunda speakers, plus a variety of other language groups from outside the province.

<sup>6</sup> The purpose of setting up the second category was to attempt to verify the widespread assumption in Zambia that geographical mobility increases the degree of language acquisition. It was originally intended that, in the analysis, the performance of those who had moved would be contrasted with that of those who had never moved. In the event, this proved to be a complicated procedure which did not furnish useful information, so that it was decided to exclude it from the final analysis.

<sup>7</sup> The listening comprehension tests were administered to 36 groups (in all 1145 secondary school pupils) representing first language, second language and non-speakers of Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga. Non-speakers of these languages were excluded for obvious reasons. First language speakers of Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda were also excluded, that is to say their responses were not analysed for the reasons already given in Section 3.1.

<sup>8</sup> Statistically significant differences and correlation coefficients were not computed for this study.

<sup>9</sup> In Ethiopia, the relationship between the measures similarity (i.e. vocabulary, morphemic and geographical correspondences) and between-language intelligibility was assessed in two ways. First, the average between-language correspondences of each language as observed on different measures were compared. In this way, it was possible to predict that those languages which had the highest average intelligibility correspondence also had the highest average basic vocabulary correspondence, for example.

Secondly, the relationship was assessed by correlating the variables (using the statistical technique of correlation) thus yielding correlation coefficients. The use of this technique enables one to measure the degree to which the different linguistic and non-linguistic correspondences can predict intelligibility.

Only the first of these two methods of assessment, as elaborated upon some at length by Bender and Cooper (1971: pp. 45-48) has been employed in the present study.

<sup>10</sup> Of course it may be counter-argued that the fact that everybody is listening to the same lifeless box controls the variable of different presentations, since live (or oral) renditions would risk the occurrence of numerous unwanted and uncontrollable variables of presentation between groups.

Professor J. D. Bowen has in fact pointed out that since what the study aims to measure is *effect* and not *cause*, it is not really necessary to control this variable (private communication).

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## 5 COMPREHENSION OF NYANJA BY LUSAKA SCHOOLCHILDREN<sup>1</sup>

Robert Serpell

### 1.0 *Introduction*

#### 1.1 *Zambian Multilingualism*

Language is a controversial topic in Zambia with special significance for educational policy. The controversy is usually construed as a struggle between a small number of groups to establish the pre-eminence in Zambia of their native language. Yet the definition of these groups and of their native languages is in itself a topic for intellectual controversy. Should we speak in Zambia of eight language groups (English, Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Lovale, Nyanja, Tonga)<sup>1</sup> corresponding to the languages accorded official status in educational and broadcasting policy? Should we speak of five or six (omitting, or lumping together as one extra group, the sections of the population with Kaonde, Lunda or Luvale as their native language)? Should we increase the number by adding some other small distinct groups (Lenje, Namwanga, Tumbuka, to name but a few)? Should we talk of 73 local languages, considering each "tribe" as a distinct language group? And if so should we list, alongside this impressive array, English, Fanagalo, Gujarati and Shona, "foreign" languages which are at least as widely spoken in Zambia as, say, Lamba (one of the 73)?

The origin of the political controversy is probably best traced to the status of English in Zambia. Its formal status as the official language with a monopoly of the national press and television, most road signs and public notices, post-primary education and even pronouncements by the Head of State, might seem to justify the decision of Kloss (1967) to call Zambia an "exoglossic state" in which English is said to have "succeeded in ousting the aboriginal tongues" (p. 41). Yet, important though English has become in the official matters of life in Zambia, there are many senses in which it remains undeniably foreign to the vast majority of the population. The incorporation into town dialects of a large corpus of English loan words has done little to "Anglicise" the culture. Indeed the use of English among urban Zambians who share another language is frequently a social device for asserting the speaker's superiority (Lehmann, 1969). On a national level, if not in the individual, this "snob value" of English indicates a precarious ambivalence towards a language which is also held up as a symbol of the recent colonial

oppressor's culture.

Sensing this ambivalence, a number of intellectuals concerned with the establishment of a truly African Zambian nation have expressed concern about the effect on public morale of the growing emphasis on English in education. During his period of office in the Government, Mr. Simon Kapwepwe on several occasions put on record the argument that the policy of teaching in the medium of English at the very outset of primary education is tantamount to robbing Zambian children of their cultural heritage and alienating them from their parents.<sup>3</sup> The main justification for this and other policies designed to promote the use of English is stated clearly by Kloss (1967): "For Gabon, Upper Volta, Malawi and Zambia, the language of the former colonial power seems to be the only conceivable instrument to overcome the numberless tribal loyalties" (p. 41). Yet, as Kashoki (1970) has eloquently discussed, this contention is far from unquestionable, and the long term disadvantages in the promotion of such a culturally foreign language may outweigh its short-term assets (cf. also MacNamara, 1967).

One of the greatest impediments to the serious consideration of alternative language policies in Zambia is the acute shortage of information about the various indigenous languages and their relation to one another. Whichever we adopt of the various possible classifications suggested above, so little is known about the degrees of similarity and mutual intelligibility of the communication codes used by these groups that it is unclear whether they are appropriately termed languages or dialects. The structural similarities in grammar among all the Bantu languages is striking and there is also a substantial body of shared vocabulary with only minor variations in pronunciation. Yet there is little doubt that fluent Lozi is virtually unintelligible on first contact to a speaker of Bemba.

One consideration which might lead one to suppose that Zambian languages are very closely related is the remarkable level of multilingualism which is frequently claimed by Zambian city dwellers. For instance a sample of 79 Zambian civil servants (median level of education Form II, range Standard VI to University, age range 22-48) were asked in a questionnaire what languages they spoke. On average nearly 3 other Bantu languages were claimed in addition to their home language and English (range 0-10) (Serpell, 1968, pp. 57-8). No test was applied to discover the degree of fluency of these informants in the various languages they claimed to speak. It may have been confined to a few greetings or have extended to an ability to understand literary prose. More probably it was something intermediary between these extremes, based on a period of living in an area where the language in question was the *lingua franca*. From informal reports based on retrospection it would seem that it is fairly easy to get by in most towns by interspersing items

from one's first language and from English where the right word is not known from the local language. At a casual level it may be easy enough to equate the ability to get by in this way in Lusaka with "knowing Ci-Nyanja".

Whether this sceptical view of Zambian multilingualism is correct or not, the fact that many people believe they are fluent in several languages is significant in itself. Zambians generally seem to expect that they will understand one another's language or dialect with relatively little effort and great surprise is often evinced in the face of a West African or East African language which differs sharply from the Bantu paradigm. A West African seeking to purchase goods at the market in English is often met with hostility, which is justified on the grounds of suspicion that he is indulging in the kind of language snobbery described by Lehmann (1969). This sociolinguistic aspect of language usage in Zambia is of some significance in understanding the conditions under which non-native languages are learned. A brief theoretical discussion will therefore be devoted to it before analysing the particular language environment of the children who took part in the present study.

Borrowing from and extending the work of Ferguson (1959), Fishman (1967) has used the term "diglossia" to refer to the phenomenon of a functional separation in society of two languages or dialects (more generally, "codes"), so that by convention one is used in one set of social situations while the other is reserved for use on different occasions. Among the many examples of this type of situation which have been studied in various parts of the world "this separation was most often on the lines of an H(igh) language, on the one hand, utilised with religion, education and other aspects of high culture, and an L(ow) language on the other hand, utilised in conjunction with everyday pursuits of hearth, home and work. Ferguson spoke of H and L as superposed languages". (Fishman, 1967, p. 30.) Although there is no documentary evidence on this point, it is probably true to say that only a very small proportion of Lusaka's Zambian population speak more than occasionally in English when they are at home with their family. On the other hand, when the Zambian civil servants referred to above were asked in the same questionnaire: "what is the language which you most often use at work?", 80% of them replied "English" (Serpell, 1968, p. 58).

The details of where it is appropriate to use Lusaka's H language English and where the L language is in order are a subject for study by direct observation. But the extreme examples cited above do seem to imply that some separation along "diglossia" lines (in Fishman's sense of the term) has occurred. At a psychological level of analysis it seems clear that almost all Zambians in employment in Lusaka are "multilingual": that is to say they are able to express themselves in more than one

language. The competence of many in English is doubtless very limited, but some degree of understanding is virtually imposed on all who partake in the city's official life by the near monopoly of communications which it commands. Bilingualism, as Fishman points out, tends naturally to bring about diglossia, and is seldom found without it except in "circumstances of rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones" (Fishman, 1967, pp. 34-5). Lusaka has lived with English as an official language since long before 1964, and the changes brought by independence in that year have probably had relatively little impact on the social conventions governing its usage.

The situation appears to be rather different when usage of the various other languages is considered. First of all, in the racially segregated pattern of social interaction which characterised the colonial era, Africans were naturally drawn together in reaction against the superposed H language. One way of expressing this feeling of solidarity seems to have been a very high degree of tolerance towards dialectical variations in the L language. Thus not only does the Lusaka dialect of Nyanja (commonly called Town-Nyanja) include a lot of vocabulary of English origin but it also has a substantial number of loan words from Bemba, and mixes Nsenga with Cewa to a much greater extent than is commonly found in Eastern Province. Indeed many Nyanja speakers in Lusaka are often hard put to it to decide whether a particular word they have used all their lives is Cewa or Nsenga, even although the usage of the two groups in their rural environments is quite distinct for the item in question.

Thus, although the distinctions among the language codes of various categories of the Zambian population are not ignored for all purposes, they are to some extent submerged in the town dialects. Another communication strategy which emphasizes the kinship between different Zambian languages is that of holding a conversation in which one party consistently speaks in, say, Bemba while the other speaks in Nyanja. This phenomenon, which from informal reports is quite common even when speakers have an adequate command of English to conduct the conversation in that language, seems to reflect a social rather than a linguistic affinity between the codes Nyanja and Bemba. Neither party is confident enough in his command of the other's native language to attempt speaking in it, but to shift to the common ground of English would change the social overtones of the conversation in an undesired manner.

This analysis is not undermined by the observation that such speakers make extensive use of English as well. Gumperz and Hernandez (1969) have shown, in a detailed analysis of code switching between Mexican Spanish and English, that an apparently random interspersing of the two

codes, with shifts even occurring in mid sentence, can be meaningfully organised in the light of extra-linguistic aspects of the communication such as intimacy, embarrassment, detachment, etc. The suggestion here is that the major socio-linguistic division in urban Zambian society is between English as H code on the one hand and a broad category covering all Zambian indigenous languages as a general L code on the other. Within the latter broad category there are surely finer distinctions of social usage. How these are related to the various categories that can be distinguished on linguistic grounds will vary much more from one area of Zambia to another than is the case for the major distinction from English. In the next section some factors relevant to the social conventions governing usage of different Zambian languages in Lusaka will be discussed.

### 1.2 *Languages in Lusaka*

Lusaka has in various ways been officially defined as a Nyanja-speaking area. Until the recent shift to English Medium teaching in the Unscheduled (non-fee-paying) primary schools, all classes from Grade 1 to Grade 4 were taught in the medium of Nyanja. Where public notices are written in a language other than English they are generally in Nyanja, although a certain number are in Bemba as well. When a public meeting is addressed in English, the interpreter by convention translates into Nyanja, although here too Bemba is occasionally used.

Statistics of the population classified by language are scant in Zambia. The 1963 population census (Ministry of Finance, 1964) enquired whether the individual was born in or outside Northern Rhodesia, but recorded no further details of where he was born or what language or tribe he was associated with. The English Medium Centre (predecessor of the present Curriculum Development Centre) carried out surveys of the "home languages" of the pupils in their lower primary school classes in Lusaka in 1966 and 1968. In 1966 the number of schools affected by the scheme was relatively small but by 1968 all Grade 1 and Grade 2 classes of unscheduled schools in the city came under it. It can be seen from Table 1 (a) that the Grade 1 intake over the years 1966-8 remained fairly stable in the proportions represented of each of the four main language groups. More children said Nyanja was their home language than the three other groups combined. The figures have been rounded to the nearest percent. In the 1966 survey no details were given of the classification beyond the fact that Ila and Tonga were grouped together under Tonga. The 1968 survey presents a very detailed list including 57 categories. For the purposes of the present tabulation Nyanja, Ngoni and Nsenga were classified as Nyanja (Cewa does not feature on the list); Bemba, Lala and Ushi were classified as Bemba; Tonga and Ila as Tonga; Lozi only as

Table 5:1: Proportional representation of the four language groups studied in the Lusaka primary school population.

(a) Percentage children in each "home language" group in the English Medium Centre Surveys.

	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>1966 survey</i>					
1,044 Grade 1 children	49	20	11	5	15
<i>1968 survey</i>					
1,440 Grade 2 children	41	19	6	4	30
4,514 Grade 1 children	41	18	6	4	31

(b) Percentage children in each "major language group" according to 1969 national population census.

	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Other</i>
Grade 3 4,486 boys and girls	40	18	13	5	25
Grade 6 3,232 boys and girls	40	19	14	5	22
Total Primary 30,100 boys and girls	41	19	14	5	22

Lozi. The generally smaller percentages for this survey are probably due to a more restrictive system of categorisation.

Table 1 (b) presents data collected in the 1969 national population census. The percentages were calculated from data contained in a table entitled "Lusaka Urban Population attending school classified by major language groups, sex and educational level". The first four columns have the original headings of the table, the "other" column includes the Table's categories Northwestern, Mambwe and Tumbuka. In view of the stability of the proportions in other categories, the discrepancy between the 1968 figures in Table 1 (a) and the 1969 figures in Table 1 (b) for Tonga school children is probably best attributed to differences in categorisation. The criteria used for grouping in the census data were not available at the time of consultation, but it may be speculated that their Tonga category includes the cognate languages Lenje and Soli whose speakers are well represented in the peripheral regions of Lusaka.

The English Medium Centre's 1966 survey divides the data also by school. Twenty-six classes were surveyed, spread over 5 main schools. The proportional representation of each language group varies little from one school to another. Thus the ranges of percent representation for each language category are Nyanja 45-52%, Bemba 16-23%, Tonga 6-14%, Lozi 2-13%. A similar result was obtained in the present study, although when the schools sampled were grouped according to area a certain degree of imbalance was found between Libala schools on the one hand and Matero schools on the other. This finding (which is discussed more fully below) is almost certainly a reflection of the unequal distribution of language groups over different residential areas. Unfortunately documentary evidence on this point is even more scant than for the schools. Because of this it is necessary to turn to unsystematic information gathered incidentally in the course of unrelated research.

Table 2 (a) was compiled by going through the (sometimes incomplete) records of a number of psychological studies of Lusaka children in which the subjects were unsystematically collected from a restricted residential area within a predetermined range of ages. The children were sometimes collected from their schools, sometimes from public playgrounds, but in none of the studies cited were they chosen with any reference to their language. It is clear that the proportion of Bemba-speaking children was rather higher in the Municipal housing estates than in the shanty towns, while the proportion of Nyanja speakers was correspondingly lower. The proportion of the total samples accounted for by these two language groups combined is about the same (49% and 45% respectively) but within these sub-samples the ratio of Nyanja speakers to Bemba speakers drops significantly from 3:1 in the shanty towns to near equality in the municipal estates (chi-squared = 11.71, df 1,  $p < .001$ ). A still more striking difference from the majority pattern is shown in Table 2 (b) based on a study by Munro (1968). In this case a deliberately representative procedure was used by visiting predetermined houses which had been randomly selected on a map of the entire housing estate. The author of the study comments: "although Lusaka's main source of population is usually regarded as the Eastern Province, half the sample were of Northern Province tribes; movement of Government employees into the capital may account for this" (Munro, p. 10). As discussed below, there is additional support in the present study for the assertion that the new high status housing estate, Libala, contains a substantially lower proportion of Nyanja speakers and a substantially higher proportion of Bemba speakers than other areas of the city. To what extent this is true of the entire block of new housing extending along the southern border of the town from Kamwala to New Chilenje it is not possible to determine.

The significance of an unequal distribution of language groups over



Table 5:2: Distribution of language groups in various residential districts of Lusaka.

- (a) Unselected children recruited from various parts of the city for psychological studies at the University's Human Development Research Unit within the period 1966-1968.

	% Nyanja	% Bemba	% Tonga	% Lozi
Tunduya village & I.S.R. <sup>4</sup> (N = 118)	52	7	0	2
<i>Shanty towns</i>				
Great North Rd. (N = 128)	39	16	3	0
Kalingalinga (N = 60)	37	10	0	0
Chinika (N = 45)	31	4	9	0
<i>Municipal housing</i>				
Chilenje (N = 155)	23	20	3	10
Libala (N = 52)	25	27	4	6

- (b) Parents interviewed in 1966 in a study by Munro of pre-school children's environments in Libala (N = 143).

% Nyanja	% Bemba	% Tonga	% Lozi
14	32	13	3

different areas of this sprawling city is easy to guess at in socio-linguistic terms. It has been asserted above that Nyanja is in some sense the official lingua franca of Lusaka, and that this reflects appropriately the overall proportions in which the country's various language groups are represented in the city's population. There is little to suggest, however, that the status of Nyanja as a preferred medium of communication is protected by conventionally recognised prestige in the manner of the H language, English. The strength of Nyanja probably resides in the simple fact of its native speakers' de facto majority in the community. Where this majority does not obtain, e.g. in Libala, we may expect to find the language in much less extensive use than elsewhere.

Not only is Nyanja not the native language of the majority in Libala but it is faced with a rival language, Bemba, which does hold a relative majority position and which is well-established elsewhere along the line-

of-rail as an urban lingua franca. There is also suggestive evidence that the strength of this rival language may be reinforced by prestige factors. Mitchell (1956) reports a study among Munali school students of their attitudes towards members of other tribes. Using a modified version of the well-known Bogardus social distance scale, he and Longton found (as seemed natural) that each group tended to show most favourable social attitudes towards members of their own and closely related groups. However, it is also quite apparent from the data he presents that the Bemba-speaking tribes were looked on favourably relative to other "out-groups" by almost every group. These tribes were incidentally the largest single group in what seems to have been a comprehensive sample of the pupils, and the socio-economic group defined by the pupils of this school had rather similar characteristics, according to hearsay evidence, to those associated with residents of Libala.

In sum there are several reasons converging to suggest that in Libala the status of Nyanja as lingua franca may be very strongly rivalled by Bemba. It is the native language of the largest single tribal group in that residential area. The group in question, moreover, may well have higher general prestige than the Nyanja-speaking group who appear to be relatively small in numbers.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, in other residential areas of Lusaka, Nyanja has a long tradition of recognition as lingua franca which is reinforced by the practice of teaching in that medium for the first four years of primary education. It may be significant that this additional source of strength for Nyanja was reduced in the schools in Lusaka by the English Medium scheme just at the time when the population of Libala were moving into their newly built housing estate.

The purpose of this section was to define some of the factors influencing preference in Lusaka among the many languages and/or dialects which fall within the broad scope of the L language as defined above. It has been suggested that the situation may differ from one residential area to another. There is probably a much less well-defined diglossia separating the use of Nyanja and Bemba in Lusaka than that which restricts the use of English to certain social situations. A public and a private usage should probably be distinguished, each language group presumably tending to prefer its own native language in a tribally homogeneous, private social setting. Outside the immediate family, however, informal social contacts between native speakers of different languages are very frequent and the determinants here of preference among the various codes available are probably at this stage largely idiosyncratic rather than socially stylised.<sup>6</sup>

When languages are not well separated by diglossia, Fishman (1967) points out that "pidginisation is likely to set in" (Fishman, p. 36). This is probably true even in less stratified situations than that to which he refers. It was mentioned earlier that Town Nyanja contains a substantial

amount of vocabulary derived from Bemba. Likewise, no doubt, if a Town Bemba becomes established in areas like Libala it is likely to contain rather more Nyanja-derived vocabulary than the Copperbelt variety where Nyanja speakers are fewer in number. In considering the effects of language mixture in town dialects on the use of English in Zambia it was indicated elsewhere that "if an English word gains currency within such a mixed language, and (as is often the case) acquires a somewhat different meaning from that which it has in standard English, the probability that it will be misused in English is sure to be enhanced" (Serpell, 1968, p. 92).

In the case of pairs of languages which are closely related in linguistic structure it is difficult to demarcate between this kind of borrowing and code-switching. It may be difficult to obtain consensus among several informed judges as to whether a particular item in a generally Nyanja utterance by a native speaker of Bemba is a misused Nyanja word (misused by analogy with a cognate form in Bemba), a borrowed Bemba word which forms part of acceptable Town Nyanja, or a purely Bemba word which the speaker has inserted because (for social motives or because his Nyanja vocabulary is deficient) he has temporarily switched to Bemba. The high degree of tolerance towards dialectical variations which characterises urban Zambian L language use, tends to facilitate this kind of ill-defined confusing/borrowing/switching. Because of the interference errors it propagates, Wingard (1963) expresses disapproval of "the use of an indigenous language medium peppered with English words for which good indigenous language equivalents exists" (Wingard, p. 112). It is doubtful whether such a prescriptive approach is of any avail. But it may be noted that the version of this process which occurs between Nyanja and Bemba may prejudice to an even greater extent the chances that a native speaker of one will acquire a high level of competence in the other as a distinct second language.

### 1.3 *Language Learning in Lusaka Schools*

The picture presented above of the opportunities for learning Nyanja afforded a non-native speaker by his everyday environment in Lusaka is not very encouraging. The sociolinguistic environment of Bemba-speaking children in Libala, for instance, appears to be a trilingual one in which Nyanja has neither the prestige status of H language nor a firm control of L usage. For the Lozi speaker or Tonga speaker, the situation is probably also essentially trilingual, Bemba and Nyanja becoming fused into an undifferentiated urban dialect which is restricted to "public" L functions.

For children in such environments to acquire competence in a differentiated Nyanja code, it would appear essential that the school

provide well articulated intensive instruction in it. In this context, opposition to the introduction of the English Medium scheme relies on the supposition that effective language instruction in Zambian Bantu languages was in operation beforehand. This assumption was strongly called into question by the 1966 survey conducted by the English Medium Centre. There were 17 teachers responsible for the 26 classes surveyed. Of these only 2 spoke Nyanja as their first language, 1 spoke Tumbuka, 6 Bemba, 1 Lenje, 5 Tonga, 1 Lozi and 1 Shona. Until recently very little instruction in the language of "vernacular" instruction for the area to which he was posted was made available to a teacher during his formal training. Moreover transfers are so frequent that any such instruction could be of little long term value.<sup>7</sup>

It is likely, then, that the dialect used as the medium of all lower primary school teaching prior to the introduction of the English Medium scheme varied considerably within a school from one teacher to the next. Even under these conditions, however, the effective exposure to Nyanja must have been considerably greater for non native speakers of that language in Lusaka of the generation now in Grade 6 than has been the case for those now in Grade 3. The latter group receive less than five periods a week of vernacular study in which the same broad range of teachers instruct them with the sole redeeming advantage of some improved textbooks. For the native speakers of Lozi, Tonga or Bemba starting Grade 1 in Lusaka before 1966, the school may have been the major source of competence in Nyanja. For children starting school after that date it is most probable that what they know of the Nyanja language is at least as much due to learning outside the school as inside it.

#### 1.4 *Design of the Study: Some Initial Hypotheses*

The original intention was to examine, within a multi-factorial design, the influence on Ci-Nyanja comprehension by Lusaka schoolchildren of five factors: (1) the home language, (2) the level of education attained, (3) the length of exposure to Nyanja, (4) the socio-economic stratum within which this exposure took place, (5) the sex of the child. By multiplying together the four home language groups selected (Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga, Lozi) and two levels of each of the other factors we arrived at a matrix of  $4 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$  cells within each of which we hoped to test 5 children. This design can still be roughly discerned in Table 4, by ignoring category (A) of the length of exposure (i.e. the children born in Lusaka). Within each of the remaining cells of that table we originally hoped to test five boys and five girls.

Performance of the Nyanja speakers at each educational level would provide a base line for evaluating the competence of the various categories of second language learner, as well as validating the test itself. In addition

specific hypotheses were formulated about the influence of each factor studied.

#### 1.4.1 *Home Language* (Nyanja/Bemba/Tonga/Lozi)

On structural linguistic grounds it was predicted that Bemba speakers would in general perform better on a test of Nyanja than Tonga speakers or Lozi speakers, because of the greater similarity of the test language to their first language. On sociolinguistic grounds, however, it was predicted that for the higher socio-economic sample resident in Libala, two factors might operate to reduce the effective exposure of Bemba-speaking children to Ci-Nyanja. First their own home language might be more acceptable as a lingua franca in this residential area. Second a relatively large group within which most families own a motor car might tend to confine the social contacts of their children to members of the in-group (i.e. Bemba speakers) to a greater extent than is feasible in a high density residential area like Matero from which our lower socio-economic sample were drawn.<sup>8</sup> These two suppositions led to the hypothesis that Bemba speakers in the Libala sample would tend to score lower on the Nyanja test than a matched group from the Matero sample.

#### 1.4.2 *Level of Education* (Grade 3/Grade 6)

Because of their generally greater language ability it was predicted that Grade 6 pupils would do better on the test than Grade 3 pupils, with other factors controlled. But there was a difficulty here in deciding how to equate the groups in other respects. A child in Grade 3 who has come to Lusaka one year ago, from a rural area where neither his home nor his school language was Nyanja, probably has an advantage over a Grade 6 child under the same circumstances, because young children generally learn second languages more readily than older children. Also his school instruction in Nyanja is better geared to the needs of a beginner. For a recently arrived child these advantages may outweigh those of general maturity. But for children who came to Lusaka in 1967, the balance of educational opportunity may have shifted in favour of the older child. No Grade 3 classes were yet affected by the English Medium scheme and he would therefore have received all his lessons for the next two years in the medium of Nyanja (albeit a rather variable version of that language). In the light of these conflicting considerations, it was felt that insufficient evidence was available for making a specific prediction about the interaction between educational level and length of exposure.

### 1.4.3 *Length of Exposure* (6–12 months/2–3 years)

With other factors held constant, the obvious prediction was made that for all the non-Nyanja groups performance on the Nyanja test would improve as their length of exposure increased. Because of the difficulty of evaluating the effect of living in other urban areas we decided to concentrate on children who had spent some of their life in Lusaka and the rest of it in a rural area in which their first language was dominant.

### 1.4.4 *Socio-Economic Stratum* (Libala/Matero)

The effect of this factor predicted for Bemba-speaking children was explained above. In the case of native speakers of Nyanja, on the other hand, the hypothesis was that the higher socio-economic group would tend to perform better on the test than the lower socio-economic group. This was expected in view of the general finding in Europe and America that children from middle class homes score higher on tests of verbal ability than children from lower class homes.

Munro's (1968) Libala sample resembles in some respects a lower middle class sample in Europe, with a median educational level for the fathers of Form II, many of them working in clerical positions in the Government and earning a median salary of £40–50 per month. The occupations of fathers in Goldberg's (1970a) Matero sample show some overlap with those of Munro's Libala sample, but their level of education is lower (only a few had gone to secondary school) and their average income was considerably lower. In addition to their greater immediate physical comforts, therefore, there are grounds for supposing that the social background of our Libala and Matero samples differed in respects relevant to the social distinctions studied in Europe and the U.S.A.

To summarise, socio-economic status of the home was expected to interact with language groups in the following way: Nyanja-speaking children in Libala would do better on the test than Nyanja speakers in Matero, while Bemba-speakers in Libala would do worse than Bemba-speakers in Matero.

### 1.4.5 *Sex*

Again extrapolating from the "Western" psychological literature, it was predicted that girls would in general perform better than boys, since this is generally so on tests of verbal ability.

## 2.0 *Method*

This aspect of the study is a joint product of the author's theoretical

analysis, on the one hand, and of informed intuitive speculation, followed by a great deal of administrative hard work, by Mrs. Phides Nguluwe on the other hand.

## 2.1 *The Tests*

Our aim was to devise a set of tests which would without controversy measure, at least to some degree, competence in Ci-Nyanja and which would tap some aspects of language which a child might be expected to pick up through informal social contact with other children, as well as some which would more normally be acquired through formal school learning.<sup>9</sup> Because of the difficulty discussed above of obtaining consensus about the code to which a given utterance belongs in the speech of Lusaka children, we decided to confine the tests to measures of comprehension.<sup>10</sup> After some pilot work with Nyanja-speaking children, we settled on the following four tests.

### 2.1.1 *Test I: Actions*

As soon as the child entered the testing room in the Psychology Laboratories at the University, he or she was consistently spoken to only in Ci-Nyanja. In order to minimise test nervousness the first test was faded into the simple instructions necessary to obtain the child's immediate cooperation. Thus the child was first called across the room to where the tester was seated at a table and asked to sit down on the floor. Here he was asked various details about his place of residence, his age, number of years spent in Lusaka, etc. When all this was recorded on the test sheet, the tester asked the child to get up, to jump, to walk over to a door, to tap a drum, to crawl back to the tester's table, to stand up again, close his eyes, open them, clap his hands, take a stick from the table, crumple a piece of paper, rattle some beads in a box, build a tower of blocks, squash a piece of plasticine, give the tester four of the blocks, jab the stick into the plasticine, take it out again, fold a new piece of paper, roll a sellotape reel along the table, drop the stick on the floor, and finally show the tester his back. There was quite a range of small objects displayed on the table, so that in several cases the child had to understand a noun in the instruction, as well as a verb, in order to respond correctly. No difficulty was experienced in classifying the responses as correct or incorrect. Scores by the Nyanja speakers confirmed our impression that this test placed little intellectual demand on any one who could understand the language. From 29 Grade 3 Nyanja children the average score was 18.1 out of 20, and for 27 in Grade 6 it was 19.0 out of 20.

### 2.1.2 *Test 2: Identifying Objects and Pictures*

Across the room from the first table was another large table, on which 7 charts were displayed in a row. The first 4 had attached to them a variety of small objects (6 on each) amongst which the child was asked to point out those which were named by the tester (2 or 3 on each). The next 3 charts were used in the same way but contained only illustrations of larger objects. The test items named were: grass, stone, flower, sisal, coin, cotton, knife, thorn, comb; broom, boat, handle, mushroom, banana, snake, bride, stalk, pig, cow.

### 2.1.3 *Test 3: Story*

Next the child was seated in front of a tape recorder, whose function was explained, and told to listen carefully to a story which he would have to answer questions about afterwards. The story, pre-recorded by the tester, is called "Where is your mother?" and comes from a Grade 7 reader commonly used in Lusaka schools (Chafulumira 1965, chapter 12). The text, which lasts about 9 minutes on the tape, begins with a warning to parents to teach their children how to guard against deception by thieves posing as visitors. It goes on to suggest that houses should never be left unattended, that mothers should brew beer at home rather than going out to drink at night, and that employers should be wary of giving work to strangers. Advice is offered on how to catch thieves, and parents are exhorted to impress on their children the wickedness of stealing.

Ten key points about the story were selected for questions and these were gradually modified, in the light of pilot results, to include a "rider" for each one aimed at pinning the child down to an exact answer and/or helping him to understand the point of the question.

### 2.1.4 *Test 4: Grammar with "Nonsense Words"*

This test was experimental in nature. The idea was conceived because of the author's impression that the Bantu languages of Zambia differ more in the forms of their vocabulary than in the structure of their grammar. This is a rather uninformed impression since the author has only a slight acquaintance with one of these languages (Ci-Nyanja) and negligible knowledge of all the others. It is, however, generally agreed that the noun class and concord systems are universal features of Bantu languages. The hypothesis to be tested was that Bantu language speakers tackling a new Bantu language will start with the asset of a grammatical system in their first language which is easily generalised to cover the new



language. Because it is assumed that such generalisation will be less easy in the case of vocabulary, the prediction is made that the present grammar test will discriminate less well between native and second language speakers of Ci-Nyanja than the vocabulary tests 1 and 2.

In order to study the understanding of grammar independently of vocabulary, a technique was borrowed and adapted which has been used extensively by Roger Brown and his associates in studies of children's acquisition of grammar. Berko (1958) originally devised the procedure, and a short description is given by Berko and Brown (1960, pp. 545-7). As originally used, the technique is aimed at eliciting grammatical forms without any possibility of the child having learned his utterance by direct imitation. A "nonsense syllable" (e.g. "rick") is inserted by the tester into one or more contexts of meaningful words (e.g. "this is a man who knows how to rick. He is ricking") and the child is asked to use the new "word" in a different context (e.g. "He did the same thing yesterday. What did he do yesterday? Yesterday he -"). If the child produces the form "ricked", this is interpreted as evidence that he has acquired control of a grammatical system which identifies the form "rick" in the context given by the tester as a verb in the infinitive, and that from this and the analogous view of "ricking", he generates a regular past tense ending in "-ed".

Since we wished to minimise the necessity for evaluating our subjects' utterances linguistically, the production component of this task was eliminated. Instead, a multiple-choice test of understanding was presented for a particular grammatical form of a "nonsense word". As an example we can use Berko's syllable "wug". The tester shows the child two small models of boys, one dressed in red, the other in blue, and says "watch carefully: one of these boys is going to wug the other". She then takes the red boy and makes him knock over the blue boy. Leaving the red boy standing, she now asks: "Show me which one was wugged". Here the child is being tested for understanding of so-called "passive transformation", the grammatical system (usually characterised as a rule) which tells us that the object of the verb in an active sentence (A will wug B) becomes the subject of the verb when the same event is described in a passive sentence (B was wugged by A).

Ten items like this were presented in another corner of the room. The child was first told: "We are going to play a game with new words: you haven't heard these words ever before. So you must listen very carefully when I say them". Tester and child then moved together along a row of tables on which the multiple-choice arrays for each item were displayed. The grammatical systems we tried to test comprehension of in this way were:

- (1) Plural (*li-ma* noun class)
- (2) Diminutive (*ka-ti* prefix)

- (3) Negative (*si* - prefix)
- (4) Present continuous indicative and subjunctive moods
- (5) Intensive (*-itsitsa* suffix)
- (6) Plural (*mu-a* noun class) + living thing connotation of this class
- (7) Future indicative active and past indicative passive
- (8) Reversal suffix on verbs of action (*-ula* suffix)
- (9) Causative verbal suffix (*-ika* suffix)
- (10) Repetitive verbal suffix (*-nso* suffix)

Much of the work of adverbs in English is performed in Nyanja by means of what Price (1964) calls formatives. The noun class system likewise lacks a parallel in English. Few of the items therefore, lend themselves easily to "translation". One feature of the test which may be emphasised is that the "nonsense words" are thoroughly embedded in most of the items because of the heavy reliance of Nyanja grammar on prefixes and suffixes.

## 2.2 *The Sampling Procedure*

In attempting to arrive at samples of children composed according to the definition of the original design, we began by choosing three large primary schools (non-fee-paying) adjacent to Libala and three in Matero adjacent to the shanty town section of the suburb on which we hoped to concentrate. Within each school all Grade 3 and Grade 6 classes were entered and the following information was recorded for each pupil: name, age, sex, tribe of mother, tribe of father, place of schooling in 1969, 1968.<sup>11</sup> With this information about the population of the classes we were able to screen out various categories of children. We confined our sampling to children both of whose parents spoke the same first language (as inferred from their stated tribe); to children who had been at school in Lusaka or an area where their parents' language was dominant during the years 1968-70; and to children whose stated age lay within the modal range for their Grade in that school.<sup>12</sup> These ranges proved to be 8-11 years for Grade 3 and 12-15 years for Grade 6.

At this stage, and during the subsequent phase of fetching the children to the University for testing (when their place of residence was ascertained) it became apparent that the original design was unrealistic in certain respects. Some of the categories we had defined were either empty or so nearly so as to prohibit reliable interpretation of analyses including them. This was a disappointing discovery and suggests that, with more adequate preliminary information available, the optimal design might have appeared somewhat different. There is, however, some intrinsically valuable information to be derived from the difficulties we encountered. This concerns the distribution of language groups within

Lusaka (a topic which we saw in the introduction is very poorly documented) and the mobility of the school population.

### 2.3 *Length of Stay*

We found many fewer children recently arrived in Lusaka than we had expected. According to the 1969 Census of Population and Housing (Office of Central Statistics, 1970) some 21.6% of the total population of Zambia had changed their district of residence during the preceding year. Judging by their figures for urban areas, many of these shifts were within a single city. But even when the whole of Lusaka urban and rural areas were treated as a unit, 14.2% of the population was said to have arrived from outside during 1968-69 (Office of Central Statistics, p. A13). Yet among the 240 children brought to the laboratory because they satisfied the linguistic and educational criteria only 28 had arrived in Lusaka that year. The overall incidence in the schools sampled of such children must be much lower than this proportion (12%) since towards the end of the testing phase we looked specifically for such children and rejected all others.

This result may arise from either or both of two causes. First, the child population of school-going age in Zambia may well be less mobile than the adult work force. Secondly, it is likely that a substantial proportion of school-age children in Lusaka who arrived in 1970 had not yet found places in school. The difficulty of finding a place in the middle of the session is well-known and is often cited as a reason for not moving school-age children when their parents move (often as a result of "transfers" within a firm or Government department). Thus these two causes are related: parents tend to leave their children with relatives when they are transferred to Lusaka, because when they bring them along they are likely to find themselves refused a place in a Lusaka school. Both factors operate to reduce the number of recent arrivals in the school population. Because of their special theoretical interest, the restriction on age was not applied to this category of pupils. Even so they contribute a very small group and are discussed separately from the main body of the results.

### 2.4 *Language Groups*

A detailed examination of the distribution of single-tribe children in the schools sampled revealed several factors operating to reduce the availability of some language groups. The estimate of 4% for Lozi speakers in the Lusaka school surveys (cf. Table 1) corresponds fairly well to our figures in Table 3. It is perhaps noteworthy that the proportional representation of this group is slightly higher in the Libala

than in the Matero schools. Tonga speakers are few in our population, differing little in availability from Lozi speakers, whereas in the Lusaka school surveys, they were definitely more numerous than Lozi speakers. This probably reflects the inclusion of Lenje and Soli children under this heading in the survey data.

Table 5:3: Comparative distribution of children by region of ethnic origin in the two groups of schools sampled.

	<i>Libala Schools</i> (N = 688)	<i>Matero Schools</i> (N = 843)
Eastern Province	34.5	41.5
Northern & Luapula Provinces	26	16
Southern & Central Provinces	7	7.5
Western & Northwestern Provinces	8	4.9
Rhodesia	1	8.5
Others	23.5	22.5
Totals	100%	100%

The figures in each column represent percentages of the total Grade 3 and Grade 6 population of a group of three schools.

*Eastern Province* category contains all the Nyanja-speaking peoples and some others (e.g. Nsenga, Tumbuka).

*Northern and Luapula Provinces* category contains all the Bemba-speaking peoples and some others (e.g. Mambwe, Namwanga).

*Southern and Central Province* category include numerous peoples, among them Tonga and Ila.

*Western and Northwestern Provinces* category is also heterogeneous and includes Lozi.

*Rhodesia* category is mainly Shona.

*Others* contains mainly children of interethnic marriages, including those in which both parents' peoples originate from the same province.

It must be emphasized that assigning a child to one of these categories of regional ethnic origin does *not* imply that the child himself was born or has ever lived in that region.

Turning to the two larger language groups, it is clear from Table 3 that the trend implied by the earlier discussion of Table 2 is repeated in our samples. The population of Northern Province children (most of whom are Bemba speakers) in the Libala schools is distinctly higher than that in the Matero schools. Correspondingly the population of Eastern Province children (including the Nyanja speakers) is higher in the Matero than in the Libala schools. This problem was increased when we began to collect children from the Libala schools and restricted our sample to

children whose home was in Libala. The category of Nyanja speakers was already narrowed by the exclusion of Nsenga and other Eastern Province tribes in order to have a reliable base line measure of comprehension for the tests by native speakers. Cewa and Ngoni children (who together constituted our Nyanja speaking category for sampling purposes) were somewhat fewer in numbers in the Libala schools than Bemba children. In addition, it turned out that a rather large proportion of them lived in shanty towns and travelled a substantial distance every day to reach their school.

Since the residential restriction was imposed with the aim of creating a socio-economically homogeneous group, children from shanty town homes were rejected. But the numbers of Nyanja speakers now became very few. We therefore broadened the residential criterion to include similar quality housing estates adjacent to Libala (New Chilenje, New Kabwata and new housing at Wardroper Police Camp). We also entered one additional school close to these areas and selectively recruited Nyanja-speaking children who met the broadened residential criterion.

One additional feature of the imbalance between the samples is worthy of comment. A much higher proportion of Shona-speaking children was found in the Matero than in the Libala schools. This feature contributes the largest component to the significant value of chi-squared on the statistical analysis of the data on which Table 3 is based (chi-squared = 72.22, df 5,  $p < .001$ ). The second largest component is due to the preponderance of Northern Province children in the Libala schools.

Table 4 shows the final composition of the total sample of children tested.

### 3.0 Results

#### 3.1 Scoring the Tests

Preliminary inspection of the scores obtained by various groups of children suggested that Test 4 (Grammar with "nonsense words") was measuring something quite different from the other three tests, which all appeared to be related to one another. It was decided therefore to combine the scores of each child on tests 1, 2 and 3 in the hope that this would provide a more reliable estimate of his competence in Nyanja than that afforded by any of these tests in isolation. Since scores were generally lower for all groups on Test 3 (story) than on the other two, it was given less weight. The actual composite score was arrived at for each child by adding up the number of correct items on each of Tests 1, 2 and 3, yielding maximum scores of 20, 20 and 10 respectively. These scores were then totalled and multiplied by 2 yielding a composite

Table 5.4: Number of children tested in each sampling category.

	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Tonga</i>
<i>Resident in or near Libala (87)</i>	(41)	(79)	(24)	(25)
(A) <i>Born in Lusaka</i>				
Grade 3 (30)	8	11	5	6
Grade 6 (16)	6	9	1	0
(B) <i>Born in home language area, but attending school in Lusaka since Grade 1.</i>				
Grade 3 (14)	2	4 + 3*	3 + 1*	1
Grade 6 (13)	2	3 + 2*	4 + 0*	2
(S) <i>Arrived in Lusaka in 1970 after attending school only in home language area</i>				
Grade 3 (9)	0	5	4	0
Grade 6 (5)	0	3	1	1
<i>Resident in or near Matero (82)</i>				
(A) <i>Born in Lusaka</i>				
Grade 3 (13)	2	10	0	1
Grade 6 (15)	6	4	2	3
(B) <i>Born in home language area, but attending school in Lusaka since Grade 1</i>				
Grade 3 (20)	8	5 + 5*	1 + 0*	1
Grade 6 (21)	5	6 + 2*	2 + 0*	6
(S) <i>Arrived in Lusaka in 1970 after attending school only in home language area</i>				
Grade 3 (6)	2	4	0	0
Grade 6 (7)	0	3	0	4

\*Where two figures are given, the second represents children born in an urban area where their first language is dominant (i.e. for Bemba speakers, the Copperbelt, for Lozi speakers, Livingstone).

score with a maximum of 100 and composed of 2 points for each correct item. The scores for test 4 were treated, without transformation, as the number of items correct, yielding a maximum score of 10.

### 3.2 *Validity of the Tests as Measures of Linguistic Competence*

It was not considered feasible to evolve a standard psychometric instrument. But it is essential for an understanding of the pattern of results to know whether the tests measured what they were intended to

measure. Three a priori, common sense criteria of validity may be considered: (1) Native speakers of the language should, with other factors controlled, do better on the tests than non-native speakers. (2) Among non-native speakers the longer the exposure to the language, the better should be their performance on the tests. (3) Among native speakers, mature children at advanced levels of education should perform better on the tests than less mature children at lower levels of education.

The third criterion is perhaps the weakest, since clearly this is likely to be as true of performance on any other intellectual test as on a test of linguistic competence. Criterion (2) seems in principle to be a good one, but there are difficulties in determining to what extent the children in our study have been effectively exposed to Ci-Nyanja.<sup>13</sup> The safest way of applying the criterion here is to compare otherwise matched groups of children who differ in an extreme way in the amount of their probable effective exposure to Ci-Nyanja. For this purpose we compare Grade 6 children of Bemba families who arrived in Lusaka in 1970 to classmates who differ, as far as we can determine, only in that they were born in Lusaka and have always lived there. Criterion (1) has still more to recommend it on commonsense grounds. The data used are taken from a more detailed analysis which is discussed below. Note that the test of validity is a demanding one, since the groups of native and non-native speakers compared are those least likely to differ in Nyanja competence, namely those educated from an early age in Lusaka.

Table 5 shows the results of applying these three criteria of validity to the composite Tests 1-3 scores and to the Test 4 scores. All the comparisons yield significant differences between the groups except for the criterion (1) comparison on Test 4 scores. The results, thus consistently support the idea that the composite score on Tests 1-3 is a valid measure of competence in Nyanja, but are equivocal in respect of the validity of Test 4.

We might conclude that the poor performance of the newcomers to Lusaka in comparison (2) implies that Test 4 measures some aspect of Nyanja competence, which is so completely acquired by children exposed to the language from an early age, as is the case for the Bemba speakers in comparison (1), that they do as well as native speakers. But this view is difficult to reconcile with the finding that even for native speakers of Nyanja there is room for significant improvement between Grades 3 and 6 (comparison (3)). It appears more economical to conclude that this latter difference is mainly a result of general intellectual factors, which do not differentiate between the carefully matched groups of comparison (1). On this alternative view of Test 4, the difference found in comparison (2) may be due either to random sampling error (the groups are very small) or to the cumulative disheartening effect on the newcomers of their poor performance on Tests 1, 2 and 3, which

Table 5:5: Three criteria for the validity of Tests 1-3 and Test 4 as measures of competence in Nyanja.

## Average scores for various groups

- (1) Children born and educated in Lusaka: each group contains equal numbers of boys and girls, of Grade 3 and Grade 6 pupils, and of Libala and Matero residents.

	<i>Nyanja speakers (24)</i>	<i>Bemba speakers (24)</i>
Tests 1-3 combined	87.33	73.33
Test 4	8.51	8.55

- (2) Children of Bemba parents attending Grade 6 (Libala and Matero)

<i>Length of stay in Lusaka:</i>	<i>since birth (13)</i>	<i>less than 1 year (6)</i>
Tests 1-3 combined	82.62	56.33
Test 4	9.31	5.83

- (3) Children of Cewa or Ngoni parents: each group contains equal numbers of boys and girls, and of Libala and Matero residents.

	<i>Grade 6 (12)</i>	<i>Grade 3 (12)</i>
Tests 1-3 combined	94.33	79.50
Test 4	9.25	7.92

caused them not to attempt Test 4 with any real effort. The nature of Test 4 is discussed further below.

### 3.3 *Place of Birth and Place of Schooling*

Among the children who had attended school in Lusaka since Grade 1 a preliminary inspection of the Tests 1-3 composite scores showed no consistent difference, with other factors held constant, between children born in Lusaka and children born in their home language rural area or an urban area where their home language is dominant. This is not as surprising as it may seem at first sight, since many of those born "at home" were probably raised in Lusaka from the age of less than one year up to the time they began school. It is a common practice for women in Lusaka to return to their home village in anticipation of the birth of their child. They normally return to join their husband in the city shortly after the child is born.<sup>14</sup> In view of this finding and the small numbers of children in individual cells of Table 4, we decided to treat as a single sampling category children born and educated in Lusaka from Grade 1 and children born in their home-language area but educated in Lusaka from Grade 1 onwards.



### 3.4 *Nyanja Speakers and Bemba Speakers: Effects of Home Language, Level of Education, Socio-Economic Stratum and Sex*

In this analysis only children attending school in Lusaka from Grade 1 onwards are considered. Three boys and three girls were chosen at random from each category in which more than this number were available, in order to facilitate statistical analysis. Analysis of the children's stated age showed that the Bemba-speaking children were consistently younger than the Nyanja speakers (average difference about one year).

Analysis of the composite Tests 1-3 scores of these 48 children showed three significant and independent effects: Grade 6 children scored higher than Grade 3, Nyanja speakers scored higher than Bemba speakers, and Matero residents scored higher than Libala residents. Average scores for these groups are shown in Table 6 (A). It is noteworthy that the difference between the language groups is not only statistically reliable but also quite large. Grade 6 Bemba speakers brought up in Lusaka only achieve about the same average score (81) as Grade 3 Nyanja speakers (79).

The effect of socio-economic class is not exactly as predicted (cf. Section 1.4). We had hypothesised that this factor would interact with home language, with Matero providing a better environment for learning in Nyanja to Bemba speakers and Libala providing a better language learning environment to native speakers of Nyanja. The results indicated that Matero provides a better environment to both language groups. An additional check was made on the unexpected effect of class, using all 104 Nyanja and Bemba speakers educated in Lusaka since Grade 1. When these scores were tabulated it was apparent that the effect of class only occurred in Grade 3 of the full sample. Analysis of the scores for these 58 Grade 3 children yielded the same result as before: significant effects due to language and to class, but no interaction between the two.

Analysis of Test 4 scores for the balanced sub-sample of 48 children showed reliable effects due to education and sex only. Grade 6 children scored higher than Grade 3, and boys scored higher than girls. But this effect of sex was confined to Grade 3, and principally to Bemba speakers. The fact that Test 4 scores did not differ between the language groups, apart from throwing doubt on the validity of the test as a measure of linguistic competence (cf. Table 5 (1)) helps to give confidence in the linguistic origins of the difference between Bemba and Nyanja speakers on Tests 1-3. If the latter effect were due to the slight but consistent age difference between these groups, one might expect a similar effect on Test 4. It is noteworthy that the significant sex difference (the only one found in this study) is in favour of boys, contrary to the hypothesis derived from previous "Western" psychological studies.

### 3.5 *Bemba Speakers, Lozi Speakers and Tonga Speakers: Effects of Home Language, Level of Education and Socio-Economic Stratum*

This analysis is confined to second language speakers of Nyanja, and is based on a rather small number of children due to the difficulties experienced in finding suitably matched children from the two smaller language groups.

Analysis of the ages of the 36 children who were included revealed an interesting interaction. Among Grade 3 children Matero residents gave consistently older ages than Libala residents (9.7 v. 8.4 years) while in Grade 6 a slight trend in the opposite direction was observed (12.4 v 13.1 years). This finding probably reflects a changing pattern of attitudes among the parents of children living in Libala toward the

Table 5.6: Mean scores illustrating the significant effects found in the statistical analyses.

#### A. *Tests 1, 2, 3 combined, Nyanja/Bemba*

<i>Education</i>	Grade 3: 72.75	Grade 6: 87.91
<i>Language</i>	Bemba: 73.33	Nyanja: 87.33
<i>Class</i>	Libala: 77.91	Matero: 82.75

#### B. *Test 4, Nyanja/Bemba*

<i>Education</i>	Grade 3: 7.79	Grade 6: 9.21
<i>Sex</i>	Girls: 8.04	Boys: 8.96

Inspection of the data shows that boys were only superior to girls in Grade 3 and that this effect was most pronounced among Bemba Ss (for whom the sex difference was in fact reversed in Grade 6).

#### C. *Tests 1, 2, 3 combined, Bemba/Lozi/Tonga*

<i>Education</i>	Grade 3: 60.05	Grade 6: 79.33	
<i>Language</i>	Bemba: 76.66	Lozi: 69.49	Tonga: 62.92
<i>L x E</i>	Grade 3: Bemba: 69.66	Lozi: 54.33	Tonga: 57.12
	Grade 6: Bemba: 83.66	Lozi: 85.66	Tonga: 68.66

Note that the Grade difference is much greater for the Lozi than for the other groups, so that in Grade 6 the Lozi have the highest score while in Grade 3 they have the lowest.

#### D. *Test 4, Bemba/Lozi/Tonga*

<i>Education</i>	Grade 3: 7.89	Grade 6: 9.28	
<i>Language</i>	Bemba: 9.00	Lozi: 9.00	Tonga: 7.92

appropriate age for entering a child in school. In Matero the Grade 3 children appear to have entered Grade 1 on average at about the same age as the Grade 6 children (at about 7 years old) but in Libala the Grade 3 children seem to have started Grade 1 about one year younger. This interpretation is consonant with the high value placed on education by Lusaka's new middle class. But it should be treated with caution in view of the absence of a similar interaction in the age analysis for Nyanja and Bemba speakers.

Analysis of the composite Tests 1-3 scores for this sub-sample showed significant differences among the three language groups, and a significant impact of education which however was not constant in amount over language groups. The scores of the three language groups are about equally spaced (about 7 points apart) with the Bemba speakers, as predicted, scoring highest, and the Tonga speakers scoring lowest. The average scores in Table 6 (C) show that the inferiority of Grade 3 to Grade 6 scores is greater for this sub-sample (nearly 20 points) than for the Nyanja/Bemba analysis (where it was about 15 points). There is also a greater difference between Grade 3 and Grade 6 for the Lozi than for the Bemba or Tonga groups. Thus, although overall they occupy an intermediate position between the other language groups, the Lozi score highest among the Grade 6 children and lowest among those in Grade 3. No explanation of this interaction is apparent to the author. The absence of any effect due to class is also surprising when contrasted with the Nyanja/Bemba analysis.

Analysis of the Test 4 scores for this sub-sample showed that Grade 6 children, as in the Nyanja/Bemba analysis, scored higher than Grade 3, and the Bemba and Lozi children scored higher than the Tonga children (cf. Table 6 (D)). The latter result should be treated with caution in view of the small number of children on which it is based.

### 3.6 *Length of Exposure, Educational Level and Socio-Economic Stratum (Bemba Speakers)*

Because of the low incidence of recently arrived children mentioned above, a systematic analysis of the impact of length of exposure to Chi-Nyanja as this was conceived in the original design is only possible for the largest group of second language learners (i.e. the Bemba speakers). For convenience of analysis, randomly chosen groups of three children were formed for the eight categories needed to examine length of exposure together with Grade level and area of residence. Because of the difficulty of establishing place of residence between birth and entry into Grade 1 (cf. Section 3.3) it is likely that the exposure of our long stay Grade 3 children is rather longer than that of the long stay Grade 6 children. The latter group were drawn from the sub-sample (Table 4) of

Grade 6 children who had begun their education in an area where their first language was dominant and come to Lusaka to enter Grade 3 or 4.

Analysis of the ages of these 24 children showed that the Matero residents were significantly older, but the effect was mainly confined to Grade 3 (12.7 years versus 9.2 years). This finding is similar to that in the Bemba/Lozi/Tonga analysis, but in this case the Matero Grade 3 children are exceptionally old. It is fortunate, from the point of view of interpreting with confidence the results of the test scores analysis reported below, that the long and short stay groups are well matched for age.

Analysis of the composite Tests 1-3 scores for these children showed a significant influence of length of stay overall, and an important interaction of this with level of education. In Grade 3 recently arrived children performed nearly as well as those who had been at school in Lusaka since Grade 1. The new arrivals in Grade 6, on the other hand, performed even worse than new arrivals in Grade 3. One consequence of this was to reduce the overall superiority of Grade 6 over Grade 3 within this particular sub-sample to a statistically unreliable level. Also unreliable was the influence of residential area. New arrivals in Matero scored higher than new arrivals in Libala, but residential area did not differentiate among long stay children. Thus, although new arrivals were inferior in both socio-economic categories, the difference was more pronounced in Libala than in Matero.

These effects (which are summarised in Table 7) imply that the worst conditions for learning Ci-Nyanja for a Bemba-speaking child on first arrival in Lusaka are to enter Grade 6 and to live in Libala, while the best are to enter Grade 3 and to live in Matero. In spite of the general finding in the previous analyses that Grade 6 children perform better on these tests than Grade 3 children, the average score for the three new arrivals in Grade 3 in Matero is 68.00 as against 52.00 for the three new arrivals in Grade 6 in Libala.

Although no statistical evaluation was possible in this form, for purposes of inspection, average scores on Tests 1-3 combined for all groups greater than 1 of short-stay children are shown in Table 8. The only surprise is the rather high scores of the four Tonga speakers in Grade 6. Perhaps, since they were all attending schools along the line of rail in Southern Province before coming to Lusaka, these children had rather more prior exposure to Nyanja than the other short stay groups.

Analysis of the Test 4 scores of the balanced Bemba-speaking sub-sample, discussed above, yielded no effects approaching statistical significance. This negative finding contrasts with that of comparison (2) in Table 5. Short stay Bemba speakers, with other factors balanced, although greatly inferior to long stay Bemba speakers on Tests 1-3 do not differ significantly in their performance on Test 4.

Table 5:7: Mean scores in the length of stay analysis (Bemba-speaking children only).

*Composite Tests 1-3 scores*

	Total	Grade 3	Grade 6
6-12 months stay	58.67	61.00	56.33
2-3 years stay	78.83	66.00	81.67
Total		63.50	69.00
		<i>Matero</i>	<i>Libala</i>
6-12 months stay		64.33	53.00
2-3 years stay		73.67	74.00
Total		69.00	63.50

Table 5:8: Composite Tests 1-3 scores for children arrived in Lusaka in 1970.

	<i>Grade 3</i>		<i>Grade 6</i>	
	<i>Libala</i>	<i>Matero</i>	<i>Libala</i>	<i>Matero</i>
Bemba speakers	(5) 54.40	(4) 64.00	(3) 52.00	(3) 60.66
Lozi speakers	(4) 53.00			
Tonga speakers				(4) 75.00

3.7 *Grammar and Vocabulary: the Meaning of Test 4*

In the three main statistical analyses (Nyanja/Bemba, Bemba/Lozi/Tonga, and Length of stay) scores on Tests 1-3 were considered separately from Test 4 scores. There is some justification for this in the finding that only one of the three analyses yielded a similar pattern of results for the two types of score. In the first analysis, language was almost as powerful a factor influencing Tests 1-3 composite scores as education, and socio-economic class also exercised a reliable influence. But Test 4 scores were influenced almost exclusively by education, and to a limited extent by sex. In the third analysis, length of stay influenced Tests 1-3 scores, as did the interaction between education and length of stay; but neither factor influenced Test 4 scores. These findings are consistent with the view proposed, in discussion of the three measures of validity of the tests (Table 5), that Test 4 may perhaps be more a test of general intelligence than of language ability.

On the other hand, there remains the consistent pattern of results for the two types of score in the Bemba/Lozi/Tonga analysis. It is possible

to argue that these groups, which were small and somewhat imperfectly balanced, may have differed in general intelligence. But an alternative interpretation is possible, which would indicate that Test 4 does, in fact, measure a particular aspect of language ability. It may be suggested that Bemba grammar resembles that of Nyanja more than is the case for Lozi or Tonga grammar, and that the similarity in grammar between Bemba and Nyanja is much greater than in the vocabulary measured by Tests 1-3. Even for Bemba speakers there appears, on this view, to be some initial difficulty, since the poorest group on Tests 1-3 do significantly worse on Test 4 than the most experienced group, as was seen in comparison (2) of Table 5.

In the absence of a set of detailed, linguistic "contrastive analyses", it is difficult to give substance to the hypothesis (or hunch) on the strength of which Test 4 was included in the study (cf. Section 2)! Our prediction that Test 4 would differentiate less well between groups of Bantu language speakers than Tests 1-3 is certainly confirmed, but the result may be open to interpretation on different lines. As a control group, we gave the tests to a small sample of Indian children attending school in Lusaka, nine in Grade 3 and nine in Grade 6 of a fee-paying school. Only children who volunteered the information that they knew some Nyanja were tested. Since all these children were from Gujarati-speaking homes, there was no reason to predict in their case a different level of difficulty for the two types of test along the lines suggested for Bantu language speakers. It was further predicted that learning the grammar would be a major step for these children in gaining acquaintance generally with the language. Thus scores on Tests 1-3 should be more highly correlated with scores on Test 4 for the Indian children than for Bantu language speakers.

Table 9 shows the average scores on each test for the two Grade levels. The nearest to an appropriately matched group of Bantu language speakers was a group of recently arrived Bemba and Lozi children in Grade 3 resident in Libala. These children were about the same age as the Grade 6 Indian children and scored nearly as poorly as them on Tests 1-3. Statistical analysis showed no significant difference between the scores of these two groups on Tests 1-3 combined or Test 4. It is arguable, however, that they were not adequately matched for the comparison on Test 4, since the Bantu language speakers clearly did better on Test 1.

The pattern of correlations among the four tests was not very informative. Test 4 scores were indeed highly correlated with scores on the other tests for the Gujarati-speaking sample, but this group also showed higher correlation between Test 1 and 2 scores than the other samples.

The results are thus inconclusive as regards the nature of Test 4. It

Table 5.9: Average scores on each Test for Gd. 3 and Gd. 6 Gujarati children and for a comparison group of short stay Bemba and Lozi children.

(N)	Gd. 3 Gujarati (9)	Gd. 6 Gujarati (9)	Gd. 3 Bemba & Lozi (short-stay) (9)
Age	8.00 yrs	11.22 yrs	10.38 yrs
Test 1	2.89	7.67	13.11
Test 2	7.11	12.00	12.00
Test 3	0.00	2.00	2.89
Tests 1, 2, 3 (x 2)	20.00	43.33	56.00
Test 4	4.00	6.11	7.11

is certainly affected by educational level. And the poor performance of the Gujarati children shows that it cannot be solved without a certain minimal acquaintance with Ci-Nyanja. Both between and within the various Bantu language groups, it appears to measure skills which are related to those measured by Tests 1-3. Yet it is apparently not sensitive, in the way the latter tests are, to variations in effective exposure to Ci-Nyanja due to socio-economic class and to length of stay in Lusaka. There is, of course, a lexical (vocabulary) component to this test, consisting of the particular morphemes used to mark grammatical forms.<sup>15</sup> It may be that this component is largely responsible for the observed variations in performance on the test, and that it is particularly easy for Bemba speakers to learn because of the linguistic proximity of their first language.

#### 4.0 Conclusions

##### 4.1 *The Effect of Home Language on Competence in Nyanja*

One measure of the distinctness of Zambian languages is their mutual intelligibility. In practice at the present time this issue arises mainly when Zambians originating from different areas of the country meet in towns along the line of rail. Since adults who have lived and worked in these urban centres for some time generally claim a high degree of multilingualism, one might expect that schoolchildren brought up in Lusaka would tend to show a high level of competence in Ci-Nyanja, the city's main lingua franca. Our data do not confirm this expectation. Under these superficially near-optimal conditions for learning Ci-Nyanja, children from Bemba-speaking families had by Grade 6 only acquired a competence equivalent to that of native speakers of Ci-Nyanja in Grade 3. Lozi children in the same category performed a little better than the Bemba children in Grade 6, but much worse in Grade 3, while Tonga children were inferior at both Grade levels.

It may be argued that the language of the tests (so-called "deep Nyanja") is a far cry from "town Nyanja", in which the children's competence should appropriately be measured. But one of the incidental purposes of this study was to highlight the difference between these dialects of Nyanja. Informal questioning reveals that a lot of Nsenga vocabulary, a fair amount of English and some Bemba is to be found in town Nyanja, which do not feature in the "deep Nyanja" spoken by Cewa and Ngoni residents of Eastern Province. Until detailed analyses of recorded speech in Lusaka have been made, it will remain unclear to what extent this mixture constitutes a distinct and self-sufficient dialect, and to what extent it is a misdescription of a complex system of code-switching among the various languages from which "town Nyanja" is said to be derived.

One notion which may be effectively dispelled by our results is that urban born Lusaka children all grow up sharing a common town language and lose all touch with the rural language of their parents. In Grade 3 the language of Tests 1-3 was 80% comprehensible to native speakers of Nyanja but only 55-70% comprehensible to non-native speakers; in Grade 6 it was 95% comprehensible to native Nyanja speakers and only 70-85% comprehensible to Bemba, Lozi and Tonga speakers. If the capacity to understand one particular dialect differs so substantially among different home language groups, even for children brought up in Lusaka, it seems very likely that the language (or dialects) generally spoken in Lusaka by these groups also differ to a considerable degree.

#### 4.2 *The Effects of Education and Length of Exposure on the Nyanja Competence of Bemba, Lozi and Tonga Children*

The interaction observed in our results between these two factors points to the complexity of environmental influences bearing on linguistic competence in a particular dialect in Lusaka. First, it is clear that children of Bemba-speaking families, educated from Grade 1 upwards in Lusaka do learn a lot about Ci-Nyanja by living in Lusaka. Their performance on our tests, although inferior to that of native Nyanja-speakers, is far better than that of Bemba speaking children who have lived in Lusaka for less than one year.

This superiority is particularly striking among Grade 6 children. A number of considerations probably contribute to this interaction. The present generation of Grade 6 children educated since Grade 3 in Lusaka received most of their lessons in Grades 3 and 4 in the medium of Nyanja, whereas new arrivals to Lusaka in Grade 6 (who studied in the medium of Bemba in Grades 3 and 4 elsewhere) receive all but a few lessons a week in English. For most of the present generation of Grade 3, on the other hand, regardless of when they came to Lusaka, the main



opportunities for learning Nyanja are necessarily outside school since the English Medium scheme has not affected most Lusaka schools for three years.<sup>16</sup> In addition, Grade 3 newcomers have the double advantage of entering a new language environment at a relatively flexible age, and of encountering such formal instruction in the new language as the school affords at a relatively elementary level, better suited to their needs as beginners than the Grade 6 curriculum.

The net result of this convergence of determining influences is that not only are Grade 3 Bemba-speaking newcomers to Lusaka less handicapped in Nyanja relative to their long stay Bemba classmates than *Grade 6 newcomers*, but they are actually superior to the *Grade 6 newcomers* when compared directly with them. Thus we can see that being in Grade 6 is only an asset for a Lusaka child's competence in Nyanja if he has had the appropriate background in earlier years. By the time he has reached the Grade 6 level of education, a Bemba-speaking child born and brought up in a Bemba environment arrives in Lusaka as a real "foreigner" to Ci-Nyanja, and after 6 months in the city will apparently know less about the language than his young brother who arrived at the same time and entered Grade 3. This apparently has nothing to do with the behaviour of the family towards older children, since for children educated in Lusaka since Grade 1 all language groups showed an improvement in Nyanja between Grades 3 and 6.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4.3 Residential Area as a Factor Influencing Competence in Nyanja

Our results on this topic are complicated by the unexpected finding that native speakers of Ci-Nyanja living in Matero performed better on the tests than those living in Libala. The difference is not large (about 3 to 4%) and seems to be confined to Grade 3, but it is statistically reliable and, of course, directly contrary to our initial hypothesis.

A failure to find any difference between Nyanja speakers resident in Libala and those resident in Matero would not be very difficult to explain. Goldberg (1970b) comments on her description of the home environments of Matero infants that it is "remarkably consistent with data collected by Munro (1968) from homes of more affluent, better educated Zambians" in Libala (p. 9), and concludes: "the agreement between the two sets of data in spite of class differences in the samples suggests that this kind of environment is fairly typical of urban Zambia and not a function of education or social class" (p. 10). The middle class population of Libala is very new in its aspirations, and it is not surprising if their child-rearing practices as applied to the present generations of Grade 3 and Grade 6 children have not given these children a linguistic advantage over their peers from less economically favoured homes.

Moreover, even if they become more secure in their position of socio-economic privilege, the population of Libala will not necessarily develop the same set of values as the middle class of Europe or the U.S.A. This line of argument may help to explain the absence throughout our results of reliable sex differences in favour of girls. Siann (1970) found no difference between Zambian boys and girls at various levels of education in Lusaka on a test of English vocabulary on which, in a sample of European children, girls performed significantly better than boys.

It remains, however, to explain why Matero children of Nyanja-speaking families are superior in Nyanja competence to Libala children. Two possibilities may tentatively be suggested. Matero parents may maintain closer links with their rural homes than Libala parents. Evidence of this internal to the study can be found in Table 4. No restriction was applied in the sampling procedures at any stage to give preference to category A children over category B or vice versa. Yet the ratio of their occurrence differs significantly between Libala and Matero. Children educated in Lusaka since Grade 1 were more likely if they lived in Matero to have been born in their parents' rural home, but in Libala they were more likely to have been born in Lusaka (cf. Section 3.3). Although place of birth did not in itself affect Nyanja competence, other aspects of these closer links with their rural home may help to keep children of Nyanja-speaking families more conversant with 'deep Nyanja' if they are Matero residents than if they live in Libala. Clearly, however, this factor could only serve to worsen the performance of Matero residents in the case of children whose parental, rural home is in a non Nyanja speaking area.

A second possibility is to extend one part of the reasoning presented in the introduction in support of the hypothesis that Bemba speaking children would perform better in Nyanja in the Matero class than in Libala. The evidence appears fairly clear that Bemba speaking families are over-represented in Libala by comparison with other areas of Lusaka including Matero. This being so, it is possible that not only Bemba speaking children but even Nyanja speaking children converse quite often in Libala in the medium of Bemba. On this view, the same causal factor is responsible for the superiority of Matero residents in both language groups: the simple fact that Nyanja is a better established lingua franca in Matero than in Libala.

This attractively simple hypothesis meets with a difficulty, however, in the case of Lozi and Tonga speakers. When these children were considered alongside Bemba speakers, no effect was found due to residential area (or class). In this context it is noteworthy that the performance of Bemba speaking newcomers to Lusaka was more sensitive to the difference between Matero and Libala than that of Bemba children who had been in Lusaka for 2-3 years. This suggests that the possibility of

"getting by" socially in Bemba in Libala may be an initial deterrent to Bemba speakers to learn Nyanja, but that Nyanja is sufficiently widely spoken there that, with time, they, as well as the other language groups, do become conversant with it.

The effect on Nyanja and Bemba speakers of their place of residence appears to the author to be the most significant feature of the results of this study. While this factor, which was perhaps misleadingly entitled socio-economic class, did not operate in the manner hypothesised, it appears to exercise a definite influence. One implication is that Lusaka cannot be considered a linguistically homogeneous environment even as regards competence in its major lingua franca. The detailed explanation of this imbalance which we tentatively prefer is as follows.

In Matero, Nyanja speakers clearly outnumber every other language group and they maintain close links with their rural homes in Eastern Province. As a result, they have a marginally better acquaintance with the Nyanja language as spoken and written in Eastern Province than Nyanja speakers in Libala, and as the dominant group they implicitly bring pressure on native speakers of other languages to learn Nyanja before they can become accepted as members of the community.

In Libala, on the other hand, Bemba speakers probably slightly outnumber Nyanja speakers. They rely heavily on their home language to communicate with one another, but, given time, become conversant with Nyanja in order to communicate with the wider community. Whether their dominance is sufficient to gradually bring an implicit pressure to bear on other language groups to use Bemba as a lingua franca in Libala is a question which lies mainly beyond the scope of this study. It would be best approached by measuring directly the competence of various language groups in Bemba as a function of residential area. From our data it appears that the linguistic environment in Libala is such as to impede slightly (relative to Matero) the learning of Nyanja by native speakers of both Nyanja and Bemba brought up in Lusaka, to seriously interfere with the learning of Nyanja by newly arrived Bemba speakers, but not to influence the learning of Nyanja by Lozi or Tonga speakers.

#### 4.4 *Language Policy*

The results of this study do not form a basis in themselves for choosing among language policies. They merely provide a small step in the direction of documenting the realities of language use in Zambia at the present time. Our results indicate that the present generation of primary school children in Lusaka are not totally cut off from their parental languages. Their comprehension of the language which contributes in largest part to the city's lingua franca is strongly influenced by the

similarity to that language of their home language, as well as by the amount of instruction they have received in school and their degree of effective exposure to it in their residential environment.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This study was conducted under the auspices of the Zambia Language Survey and supported by a grant from the council of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa. I am indebted to Donald Bowen, Field Director of the Survey, for instigating me in the first place to undertake the research, and to Sirarpi Ohannessian who kept up the pressure by advising and encouraging me in the formulation of the original plan, and who made valuable comments on the first draft of this report. In executing the project an exceptionally heavy load fell on Mrs. Phides Nguluwe, Research Assistant in the Human Development Research Unit, who first guided me in the preparation of test materials and then conducted all the sampling and testing. The University of Zambia Computer Centre and staff, particularly Mrs. Vera Tymms, assisted with the analyses of variance. For permission to enter the schools I am grateful to the Ministry of Education and, for their cooperation, to the staff and pupils of Burma Road, Chilenje South, Chitanda, Chunga, Kabwata, Lotus, Lusakasa and Mulongoti Primary Schools.

In preparing the present revised and abridged report, I have tried to cut down on the amount of technical detail presented, in the hope of making the text more accessible to readers without a knowledge of statistical methods. These are more fully described in the earlier, limited circulation report issued in January 1971, as H.D.R.U. Report No. 16. At that time the data presented in Table 1 (b) were not available. I am grateful to the staff of the Central Statistical Office for facilitating my access to them.

<sup>2</sup> The names of the most of the Bantu language of Zambia have a prefix, the exact form of which varies from area to area (Si-Lozi, Ci-Nyanja, Ici-Bemba, Ki-Lamba, etc). These will generally be omitted in the text, except in the case of Ci-Nyanja which will sometimes be used to distinguish the name of the language from the name of the Nyanja people who speak it.

<sup>3</sup> For a report of one of these speeches see *Times of Zambia*. Friday October 3rd 1969, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The Institute for Social Research (I.S.R.), now Institute for African Studies, is situated close to Kalingalinga on the eastern verge of the city. Next door, the large secondary school, Munalil, has over the years created a village of subsidiary staff which now has its own primary school and is called Tunduya.

<sup>5</sup> This speculation about prestige should be treated with caution, especially since a more recent study of social distance among Zambian students found a complete reversal of Mitchell's data, with both Cewa and Ngoni being ranked higher than Bemba (Bethlehem and Kingsley, 1976). Tribal stereotypes are probably rather volatile in the urban population, reflecting the current pattern of political events in the nation.

<sup>6</sup> One principle governing social interaction in the cities between people of different tribal origin is that of "joking relationships" (cf. Mitchell, 1956, pp. 35-42). The relationships of this type which are relevant to the present study are that which links the Ngoni to the Bemba and that which links the Lozi to the Tonga and Ila. It is likely that any detailed sociolinguistic analysis of language used among the L languages of Lusaka would have to take account of these extra-linguistic social links between the language groups involved. However, there appears

to be no evidence published to date which might indicate a selective influence of these relationships on the speakers' choice of code.

<sup>7</sup>Carter (1969) argues the case for a more optimistic view of the competence of teachers in what is now the Western Province of Zambia to teach in a multilingual situation. It should be noted, however, that the assets which he found in 1961-3 in that region, are certainly much less true of Lusaka since its growth into a metropolis: "because the rest of Zambia still regards Barotseland as a remote 'bush' backwater, there is no pressure from Bemba, Tonga or Nyanja speaking teachers from the provinces to be sent there. This removes one possible complication from the Barotse scene; the teacher will be a practised speaker in Lozi, the language which, and in which, he will have to teach his lower primary pupils, and even though the dominant dialects or languages he meets in a new school may be strange to him, the general linguistic pattern will be familiar from his own experience". (Carter p. 148).

<sup>8</sup>According to the official classificatory system, both Matero and Libala are "high density" housing areas. The size, spacing and quality of the houses in Libala is, however, greatly superior to those in Matero.

<sup>9</sup>There are, to the author's knowledge, no standardised tests of Ci-Nyanja in existence. The "battery" devised for this study makes no claim to be comprehensive, even in respect of the comprehension skills it tests. Tests 1 and 2 are of the type defined by Carroll (1968) as "... 'single stimulus' tasks not requiring language production", and are so designed as to avoid his main criticisms of this type of test (Carroll, pp. 67-8). Tests 3 and 4 do not easily fit into Carroll's taxonomy. Their rationale is discussed in the text.

<sup>10</sup>Drs. de Gaay Fortman (whose research is reported in Chapter 6 of this volume) took on the arduous task of classifying linguistically the utterances made by some of the same children, in an attempt to measure, in parallel with our comprehension study, their expressive competence in Ci-Nyanja.

<sup>11</sup>The study was conducted in 1970.

<sup>12</sup>Age ranges tend to be rather wide within a given Grade in Zambia's non-fee-paying primary schools (about 4-5 years in urban schools, and often more than this in rural schools).

<sup>13</sup>This is a characteristic drawback of a field study, which would be easily overcome in a laboratory experiment by direct manipulation of exposure, e.g. through reading. Such a study would, however, be much more difficult to interpret in relation to the actual field situation.

<sup>14</sup>Since we relied in this study on information provided by the child himself, it did not appear practicable to enquire into the length of time spent in Lusaka during the pre-school years. Children were simply asked where they were born and where they first entered Grade 1.

The following are average Tests 1-3 composite scores for various categories of Bemba children educated in Lusaka from Grade 1 onwards.

	<i>Libala</i>		<i>Matero</i>	
	<i>Grade 3</i>	<i>Grade 6</i>	<i>Grade 3</i>	<i>Grade 6</i>
<i>Born</i>				
<i>N. Province</i>	57	76	64	81
<i>Copperbelt</i>	68	85	75	79
<i>Lusaka</i>	57	81	68	79

<sup>15</sup>The lexical component of Test 4 is presumably the feature of language mediating a correlation between mutual intelligibility and what Bender and Cooper (1971) call "affix correspondence". These authors infer from their results, in a

study of southern Ethiopian languages that, compared to other lexical features "affixes may be more resistant to change over time". Thus among a group of languages with a presumed common heritage there is likely to be more similarity in this respect than for other lexical features. This was indeed the case for the six languages of the Sidamo branch of Eastern Cushitic which they studied.

<sup>16</sup>The English Medium scheme was being phased in by following all Grade 1 classes up the school. Thus a school which in 1967 had only Grade 1 involved in the scheme, would have Grades 1 and 2 involved in 1968, Grades 1-3 in 1969, and all four lower Grades in 1970, the Grade 4 children having received all classes in the medium of English since Grade 1.

<sup>17</sup>Too few recently arrived Lozi and Tonga children were studied to permit conclusions about length of stay in their case.

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## 6 ORAL COMPETENCE IN NYANJA AMONG LUSAKA SCHOOLCHILDREN<sup>1</sup>

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### 1.0 *Purpose and Methodology of Study*

The purpose of this study is to assess the oral competence in Nyanja of children from various linguistic groups in Zambia. It is based on a language test which was carried out on 160 primary school children in Lusaka. The test consisted of 100 items, mainly in the form of pictures which the children had to denote by a Nyanja word or expression. The main purpose of this research was to establish how far the Lusaka school children use Nyanja in response to certain questions asked in Nyanja. But the research was also interested in getting information on the development of Nyanja as the lingua franca among school children in Lusaka.

The language most widely spoken and understood in Lusaka is Nyanja. Nyanja is spoken in a variety of dialects by several tribes who live in Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and even Tanzania.<sup>2</sup> In Zambia, the language of the Cewa who live in the Eastern Province may be regarded as typical or rural Nyanja.<sup>3</sup>

Since the people who have settled in Lusaka have come from many parts of the country, for many of them Nyanja is not a mother tongue. As a result the Nyanja spoken in Lusaka has a number of differences from the Nyanja spoken in Eastern Province. People from different tribes often use words from their own language, with their own pronunciation and grammatical structures. In addition many English and some Chilapalapa loan words are used.<sup>4</sup> A variety has now developed which may be called "Lusaka Town Nyanja", but this language is far from being standardised.

The Nyanja which is taught in Zambian primary schools, both in the Eastern Province and in Lusaka, is supposed to be Nyanja as it is spoken in Zambia's Eastern Province. In practice, however, people from non-Nyanja speaking tribes tend to use the Nyanja which has developed as a lingua franca in Lusaka and other parts of Zambia.<sup>5</sup> As a result one might expect some degree of language complexity in Lusaka primary schools.

Children in Lusaka schools come from a variety of language backgrounds. A limited language census was taken in 1966 of 42 grade I classes in Lusaka. Only 49% of the children in these classes were Nyanja-speaking, 20% Bemba-speaking, 11% Tonga-speaking, and 5%



Lozi-speaking; 15% spoke other languages. The same survey also revealed that out of twenty-four teachers who taught these classes, only two were Nyanja-speaking. (See Mwanakatwe 1968, p. 212 and Chapter 5.)

In his book, *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence*, J. M. Mwanakatwe, a former Minister of Education, gives an account of the introduction of the use of English as a medium of instruction in Zambia from grade I onwards. In 1966 fifteen grade I experimental classes started in English as the medium of instruction. Advanced teaching methods were used in what was known as the English Medium Scheme and which now is called the New Zambia Primary Course (NZPC). By 1970 most of the Government schools in Lusaka had introduced the New Zambia Primary Course and those who started in 1966 were in grade V. For Lusaka the figures for 1970 for the NZPC<sup>6</sup> are given in Table 1. Most of the schools in Lusaka now work with the New Zambia Primary Course in Grade I.

Table 6:1: Figures for NZPC in 1970.

	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Classes</i>	<i>Teachers</i>
Grade I	76	192	112
Grade II	52	165	88
Grade III	46	147	79
Grade IV	27	112	59
Grade V	10	43	43

Together with the New Zambia Primary Course, Nyanja is taught two hours a week. There is not as yet a full Nyanja course for all grades. Often teachers still use the material available from the time Nyanja was the medium of instruction. New methods of teaching Nyanja are still being tried out. In 1970 ten grade I classes started using the "Nyanja Experimental Course". In this experimental stage Nyanja is taught 2½ hours per week. With these new teaching methods educationalists expect much better results in both languages.

### 1.1 *Selecting Children for the Test*

The test on oral competence in Nyanja was carried out on 160 school children in Lusaka, 80 of whom were in grade III and 80 in grade VI. For grade VI children the medium of instruction had been Nyanja up to grade III. A number of grade III children were taught through the New Zambia Primary Course. However, for them too Nyanja remained the most important language of communication in the classroom, since their teachers could not as yet assume that English would be fully understood.

The children were selected from grades III and VI because grade III was the lowest grade in which we could reasonably carry out our test, and by taking grade VI children we had a chance to find out about developments in the children's competence in Nyanja over a period of three years.

The children came from the following language backgrounds:

- 40 from Eastern Province who spoke Nyanja or other Eastern Province languages;
- 40 who spoke Bemba at home;
- 40 who spoke Tonga at home;
- 40 who spoke Lozi at home.

The Eastern Province sample consisted of 16 children who spoke Cewa at home (i.e. typical or rural Nyanja), 16 who spoke Nsenga at home, and 8 who spoke other Eastern Province languages as their mother tongue (mainly Tumbuka and Kunda). This subdivision corresponds with the distribution of the various tribes in Eastern Province (see Kay, 1967, p. 45). But it should be noted that all Eastern Province tribes tend to be more familiar with Nyanja than other tribes in Zambia.

Table 6:2: Summary of composition of the sample.

	Grade III	Grade VI	Total
Nyanja speaking	8	8	16
Nsenga speaking	8	8	16
Speakers of Kunda or Tumbuka	4	4	8
Subtotal of Eastern Province peoples	20	20	40
Bemba speaking	20	20	40
Tonga speaking	20	20	40
Lozi speaking	20	20	40
Grand Total			160

The children used in the study were in the main those selected by Dr. Serpell for his parallel project: *Chinyanja comprehension by Lusaka schoolchildren: A field experiment in second language learning.*<sup>7</sup> As it was not possible to get sufficient numbers of children in the various language groups from Dr. Serpell's sample, we also selected children from three other schools, viz. Chelston, Tunduya and Kamwala. All the schools were Government Schools. The children lived in high-density areas. Apart from the language backgrounds and length of stay which

were controlled, the children were chosen randomly. Many of the children were born in Lusaka, or they had come to Lusaka during their school lives or when they were small children, but all had lived in Lusaka for more than one year.

## 1.2 *Preparation of the Test*

The preliminary work in preparing the test consisted of the selection of pictures which were chosen to denote something which would elicit a clear utterance as an answer. In this preliminary stage pictures which tended to cause confusion were rejected and only those which consistently elicited similar interpretations from the children and the researcher were kept.

Finally we got a list of 100 items some of which formed different parts of the same picture. The concepts covered by these words were all deemed to be familiar to the children who were tested.

The 100 items can be described in English as follows:

*Expressions denoting objects.* Chair, girl, boy, basket, knife, fire, sun, old man, flowers, bananas, oranges, ground nuts, church, luggage, hoe, axes, fish, goat, elephant, snake, dog, hand, fingers, foot, head, hair, eyes, teeth, face, stick, door, bicycles, cars, eggs, plate, leaves, aeroplanes, cows, hens, mouse, houses, picture, river, path, pot, grass, birds, trees, clouds, broom, lion, shoes, teacher, hill, maize, rope.

*Expressions denoting actions.* Washing (clothes), sweeping, laughing, dancing, drinking, cooking, eating, running, writing, reading, walking, saying goodbye, learning, swimming, playing, driving a car, climbing, crawling, washing (a child), biting, carrying, selling, standing, sitting, lying down.

*Expressions denoting adjectival meaning* (including colours and numbers). Big, small, many, black, white, red, long, short, one, two, three, four, five.

*Expressions denoting prepositional and adverbial meaning.* Outside, under, on top of, at the back of, at night, very much.

One dilemma in classifying the children's answers was, that for some notions the same expression is used in different languages which is not surprising when languages are related (all belonging to the Bantu language group). In cases in which the child used a word which occurred in his mother tongue as well as in Nyanja, the answer was accepted as Nyanja, since the children were supposed to speak Nyanja. If the answer was clearly not Nyanja, but did occur in Nsenga (another Eastern Province language which is rather close to Nyanja), it was classified as Nsenga.

### 1.3 *Administering the Test*

Testing took place at the University of Zambia. An assistant who spoke Nyanja as a mother tongue, showed the pictures to the children and asked them to define these in Nyanja. With a few introductory remarks in Nyanja she put them at ease, then asked them about their background and after that testing started. Nyanja was the only language spoken during testing. The answers were written down as they were heard. They were also recorded at the same time. Afterwards the script was checked against the tape.

The children's identifications of the various items were first classified in ten languages. We give here an example for the picture showing "fingers":

1. Nyanja	zala
2. Other Eastern Province languages	tukumo/vikumo
3. English	fingers
4. "Zambianised English"	mafingers
5. Chilapalapa	—
6. Bemba	iminwe
7. Tonga	minwe
8. Lozi	minwana
9. Others	—
10. Failure	—

If a child identified a picture in English, this answer was accepted as English, even if the pronunciation showed "Bantu" characteristics. Words were classified as "Zambianised English" when they appeared with Bantu grammatical affixes. Thus we classified "olanges" as English, but *maoranges* and *maolanges* as "Zambianised English". Other examples of "Zambianised English" are *cipoto* for "pot" and *cablack* for "black".

Within each language different words (often synonyms) could be used for the same item and were accepted accordingly. Children could for instance say *mseu* "road" instead of *njila* "path". Both words are Nyanja.

Where applicable, words were also classified grammatically. For example, the child is shown a picture of two houses. The answer *Nyumba ziwiri* signifies that he considers the plural of *nyumba* "houses" to be in the *zi*-class (*-wiri* being the word for "two"). *Manyumba awiri* means that the child regards the plural as belonging to the *ma*-class. The answer *nyumba awiri* also indicates a grammatical variation although this would never be said by a Nyanja speaker in Eastern Province. However, variants were recorded as variants and not as errors.

In conclusion, each word was classified into four different categories:

- a. the word was accepted as belonging to a certain language
- b. it was distinguished from the different words which might be used for the item concerned within that language.
- c. it was classified grammatically
- d. the variation in speech was classified (if possible).

As an example all the utterances which were found for "leaves" are given:

1. Nyanja:
  - a. *tsamba* (singular), *masamba* (plural). The children often gave the singular although there were two leaves in the picture; speech variation: *samba*
  - b. *yani* (singular), *mayani* (plural). speech variation: *dzani*
  - c. *fodya* (tobacco leaf)
2. Other Eastern Province languages:
 

*repo*, *litepo*, *lutepo* (singular in different grammatical forms)  
*metepo*, *macitepo*, *vitepo* (plural in different grammatical forms)
3. English: "leaf".
4. "Zambianised English":  
*cileaf* (singular), *maleaves*<sup>9</sup> (plural)
5. Chilapalapa:  
 —
6. Bemba:  
*ibuula* (singular), *amabuula* (plural)
7. Tonga  
*tuvu* (singular), *matuvu*, *vimatuvu* (plural)
8. Lozi  
*litali* (singular), *matali* (plural)

A list had been made containing the words the children were expected to produce if they spoke Bemba, Tonga and Lozi. This list was drawn up with the help of people for whom the languages respectively were mother tongues. Responses thought to be in Nyanja and Nsenga were classified with the assistance of speakers of these languages. Available reference materials were also consulted.

#### 1.4 Comparison and Control Groups

Do school children, when they come to Lusaka from different non-Nyanja-speaking places, quickly pick up Nyanja? To get some information on this a comparison group of twenty children was tested, ten from

grade III and ten from grade VI, who had been in Lusaka for less than one year. The group was made up of 9 children who spoke Bemba as a mother tongue, 6 Tonga and 5 Lozi. It was interesting to find out how much Nyanja these short stay children could produce after staying in Lusaka for less than a year.

An additional group of students was also tested. This group consisted of 40 children, 20 of whom (10 grade III and 10 grade VI) came from a fee-paying school and another 20 (10 grade III and 10 grade VI) from non-fee-paying schools. The same pictures as before were shown to the children but now they were expected to answer in English. English was the only language spoken during testing. The purpose of this control test was to compare the children's responsiveness in English with the results of the Nyanja test.

## 2.0 Results of the Test

### 2.1 Languages Used by the Children

Since 160 children were tested on 100 items each, a total of 16,000 answers resulted. Ideally all these answers should have been in Nyanja, the language in which the children were asked to identify the concepts shown to them on pictures. However, more than ten different languages were used. Therefore we first had to classify the answers into different languages. Table 3 shows the result.

Only two out of three answers were given in Nyanja (66%). A further 15% could be classified as other Eastern Province languages. Another large proportion of the answers were given in English or "Zambianised

Table 6:3: Answer distribution in various languages for the whole sample (in percentages, rounded to the nearest whole no.)

<i>Languages</i>	<i>No. of Answers (in percentages)</i>
1. Nyanja	66
2. Other languages spoken in the Eastern Province	15
3. English	6
4. "Zambianised English"	7
5. Chilapalapa (Fanagalo)	1
6. Bemba	2
7. Tonga	1
8. Lozi	1
9. Other languages	1
10. Failure	0
Total	<hr/> 100

English" (together 13%). The percentage of answers in Nyanja is rather low. As an explanation it may be repeated that the situation in the schools in Lusaka was still not ideal for learning Nyanja correctly. The children were being taught in Nyanja as if it was their mother tongue which, as pointed out above, for about 50% of the children was not the case. Often the teachers did not speak Nyanja as a mother tongue either. If they came straight from a non-Nyanja-speaking area they even had to learn the language from the children.

The answers in other Eastern Province languages consisted mainly of Nsenga words. The use of Nsenga words is quite understandable because of the effect of patterns of migration on the language use of people from Eastern Province; and there is a great deal of intermarriage between Cewa and Nsenga who tend to live in the same sections of Lusaka. Nsenga is apparently the most dominant language of the Eastern Province languages. Sidney and Ranger stated as early as 1928 in the *Chinsenga Handbook* that Nsenga almost ousted Kunda and that the Ngoni in the Fort Jameson Country (i.e. Chipata area), were adopting more and more Nsenga speech (see Sidney and Ranger, 1928, Introduction). It should be noted that even in the Eastern Province Nyanja and Nsenga are interacting (particularly in the area around Nyanje in which both tribes live together).

The use of English and "Zambianised English" (together 13%) is rather high if one considers that the children were explicitly asked to speak Nyanja. It became clear during testing that in using a number of words the children did not realize that they were using English (e.g. "knife", "picture", "basket", "pot", "black", "red", "white" and the numbers "four" and "five"). They considered their answers as being Nyanja. Obviously to them Nyanja was the language generally spoken in Lusaka (which we would call Town Nyanja) and the English words concerned were part of that language.

At this point it seems interesting to mention one result we obtained with our English control test. When the children were asked to identify the concepts on the pictures in English, they were very conscious of what was meant by English. If they did not know a word in English, they said "I don't know". As a result in the English test the answers were classified in only two categories: English and failure. In the Nyanja test the failure rate was almost zero which is not surprising if one considers that Nyanja for the children was the lingua franca in Lusaka, into which any word they knew fitted. Words like "basket", "knife", "picture", etc. were of course also used in the English test but apparently these words are totally accepted in the Nyanja spoken in town as well. However, in Town Nyanja many words tend to be used with a slightly different pronunciation (e.g. "pikiture" for "picture").

For a further explanation of Table 3, we have to look at the answer

distribution for different subgroups of our sample. This is given in Table 4.

It is interesting to note that the Cewa students who speak Nyanja as a mother tongue, use more Nyanja words than the other children, but nevertheless give only 82% of their answers in this language. One explanation for this was given earlier; for even the Cewa use words borrowed from English when these words have been assimilated into Town Nyanja.

75% of the answers of the Eastern Province tribes (the Cewa, Nsenga, Kunda, and the Tumbuka) were in Nyanja, and the Bemba, Tonga and the Lozi followed with 63, 63 and 64% Nyanja answers respectively.

The Cewa children used considerably fewer words from other Eastern Province languages than the rest (only 7%). The Tonga, Lozi and Bemba used relatively many Eastern Province words. The explanation for this is that the Tonga, Lozi and the Bemba hear quite a lot of Nsenga words in town. It is rather difficult for them to know whether a word is Nyanja or Nsenga.

Another point to note is that the answers in English and in "Zambianised English" together are slightly higher for the non-Cewa children, i.e. 13% for the Bemba, 14% for the Tonga and 14% for the Lozi and 11% for all Eastern Province tribes together against 9% for the Cewa. The reason why non-Nyanja-speaking children use more English must be that in town they are more often confronted with the English word for certain notions than with the Nyanja equivalent for it. For "Zambianised English" the trend is more or less the same as for English. As might be expected the Cewa use less English or "Zambianised English" than the others.

The figure for Chilapalapa is rather constant for the different tribes. The 1% result from Chilapalapa is mainly due to the word *maningi* for very much. This word may be regarded as part of Town Nyanja. Other Chilapalapa words which are generally used in Lusaka like *futi* "again", *manje manje* "just now", *kudala* "long ago", probably would have been used by the majority of the children as well.

The 1% Bemba answers for the non Bemba speaking tribes is due to the classification of *bamootoka* "cars" as Bemba. We classified this word as Bemba rather than as "Zambianised English" because it is the only Bemba word for cars. In the other main languages another word is used: *magalimoto* in Nyanja, *miotokala* in Tonga, and *limota* in Lozi.

The Bemba themselves used Bemba words also for other concepts. In fact, they have a higher percentage for using their own language than the other non-Nyanja-speaking tribes have for their respective languages: 7% against 2% for the Tongas and 3% for the Lozis. At first sight this would seem remarkable because there are more overlappings in the list



Table 6.4: Answer distribution in various languages for different categories of the sample (in percentages, rounded to the nearest whole no.).

<i>Languages</i>	<i>Categories of the Sample</i>				
	<i>Cewa</i>	<i>All Eastern Province peoples together (i.e. including Cewa)</i>	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>
1. Nyanja	82	75	63	63	64
2. Other languages spoken in Eastern Province	7	12	15	18	16
3. English	4	5	6	6	7
4. "Zambianised English"	5	6	7	8	7
5. Chilapalapa	1	1	1	2	1
6. Bemba	1	1	7	1	1
7. Tonga	0	0	0	2	0
8. Lozi	0	0	0	0	3
9. Other languages	0	0	1	0	1
10. Failure	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

of standard answers between Nyanja and Bemba than there are between Nyanja and Tonga and Lozi. On the other hand, the fact that Bemba is relatively "close" to Nyanja makes it more difficult for the Bemba children to distinguish between the two languages. A second explanation may be that, apart from the Eastern Province tribes, the Bemba are the biggest group in Lusaka. (See R. Serpell's study in this volume, Chapter 5.) So there is still a great deal of Bemba spoken in Lusaka. Bemba-speaking children might be less exposed to Nyanja than Tonga and Lozi children who have to learn Nyanja to make themselves understood. There are even schools where more children speak Bemba than Nyanja (e.g. Lusakasa school in Libala). It is clear that in such a case the children will probably speak Bemba in the playground and even inside the classroom if the teacher too speaks Bemba as a mother tongue.

Sometimes children gave an answer in another language such as Shona, which is spoken in Rhodesia. In that case they may have lived in Rhodesia for some time and still generally use the word they picked up there. A relatively large group of Shona-speaking immigrants from Rhodesia lives in the Mumbwa area northwest of Lusaka.

### 2.2.1 *Specification of the Results for Grade III and Grade VI*

A further interesting question was whether there was any notable difference in Nyanja competence between children of grade III and and grade VI. Table 5 shows the results.

Table 6.5: Answer distribution over the various languages subdivided into answers given by children in grade III and grade VI.

<i>Languages</i>	<i>Grade III</i>	<i>Grade VI</i>
1. Nyanja	64	68
2. Other languages spoken in the Eastern Province	15	16
3. English	7	5
4. "Zambianised English"	8	6
5. Chilapalapa	1	1
6. Bemba	2	2
7. Tonga	1	1
8. Lozi	1	1
9. Other languages	1	0
10. Failure	0	0
Total	100	100

It appears that there was very little difference between the two grades. Grade VI used slightly more Nyanja. Hence it might reasonably be assumed that inclusion in the sample of children from grades IV and V would have made little difference.

### 2.2.2 Specification of the Results for Different Word Categories

The data were examined to see whether there was any difference in answer distribution for the expressions denoting objects, actions, adjectival meaning (including colours and counting up to five), and *prepositional and adverbial meaning*. Classes A, B, C and D represent expressions denoting objects, actions, adjectival meaning and prepositional and adverbial meaning respectively.

Table 6:6: Answer distribution over the various languages subdivided in answers for different word categories.

<i>Languages</i>	<i>Class A</i>	<i>Class B</i>	<i>Class C</i>	<i>Class D</i>
1. Nyanja	60	78	72	66
2. Other languages spoken in Eastern Province	19	9	8	17
3. English	8	0	10	0
4. "Zambianised English"	7	9	5	4
5. Chilapalapa	0	2	0	12
6. Bemba	3	1	2	0
7. Tonga	1	0	1	0
8. Lozi	1	0	1	0
9. Other languages	1	0	1	1
10. Failure	0	1	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

The answer percentages in Nyanja are highest for expressions denoting actions (78%) against 60% for expressions denoting objects, 72% for expressions denoting adjectival meaning and 66% for expressions denoting adverbial and prepositional meaning. Often for words denoting objects the children gave an answer in another Eastern Province language and not in Nyanja (19%). It appeared that the children used considerably more Nyanja in expressions denoting actions than in other types of expressions. In describing actions the children used hardly any English at all (rounded to 0%). The explanation for this figure is that the children never did say something like "she washes", but *awasha* which was categorised as "Zambianised English". However, the percentage for "Zambianised English" is not much higher than the figure for the same for expressions denoting objects. 15% of the words denoting adjectival meaning were answered either in English or "Zambianised English". This percentage is the same for words denoting objects.

### 2.2.3 Results for the Comparison Group

Finally the results of our main sample should be compared with those we got for the sample of 20 Bemba, Tonga and Lozi children (10 in grade III and 10 in grade VI), who had stayed in Lusaka for less than one year. Naturally the results of this sample should be compared with our results for the Bemba, Tonga, and the Lozi in the main sample.

Table 6.7: Answer distribution for the Bemba, Tonga and Lozi in the main sample compared with the short stay sample (consisting only of Bemba, Tonga, and Lozi). Answer distribution in percentages.

<i>Languages</i>	<i>Short stay sample</i>	<i>B + T + L, main sample</i>
1. Nyanja	54	63
2. Other languages spoken in the Eastern Province	12	16
3. English	5	7
4. "Zambianised English"	7	7
5. Chilapalapa	1	1
6. Bemba	12	3
7. Tonga	2	1
8. Lozi	6	1
9. Other languages	1	1
10. Failure	0	0
Total	100	100

It appears that the short stay children give fewer answers in Nyanja than the Bemba, Tonga and Lozi children of the main sample. This is what one could expect.

Another major difference is that where the short stay children do not use Nyanja words they tend to use words of their own language rather than English words. This can be explained by the fact that these children have just come to urban areas, from the rural areas.

The large percentage for Bemba is mainly due to the Bemba children using their own language. The short stay Bemba use more Bemba than the short stay Tonga and Lozi use their respective languages (12% v. 2% and 6%). This was also the case in the main sample. The Tonga do remarkably well in Nyanja. Here we must take into account that next to Tonga Nyanja is the most widely used lingua franca in the Southern Province (see Chapter 5).

### 2.3.0 The Children's Competence in Nyanja

In this section of the paper the children's answers will be studied in

detail. They will be analysed with regard to the language or dialect of origin, and morphological features relating to the noun classes into which the different words were classified. Finally, certain answers given by the comparison group (short stay sample) and the group that took the English text will be compared to those of the experimental group.

### 2.3.1 Vocabulary

For the purpose of analysing the words used by the children we have made a list (Table 6)<sup>10</sup> which gives for all 100 items the answers most frequently given. For all items the answer given by the highest percentage of children as well as the percentage of the Cewa who gave that answer is provided. For "banana", for example, the word which got the highest percentage was *mabanana* (47%). It appeared that only 24% of the Cewa gave that answer (62% of the Cewa used the Nyanja word *nthoci*).

The list also gives the largest percentage for the short stay children so that their performance can be compared with that of the main group. For every item the children produced a number of different answers. Sometimes the number of different answers was very high, particularly if the answer (e.g. a noun phrase) had to be given in a certain grammatical concord. For every item the list gives the total number of answers given. In determining the number of answers per item, grammatical variations and variations of speech were classified as different answers. But for determining the answer used by the largest percentage we combined the grammatical variations and variations of speech under one standard answer. (E.g. for "big" *lalikuru* and *cikuru* both fall under *-kuru* but *lalitari* is an entirely different answer.) The difference between *lalikuru* and *cikuru* is, however, accounted for in determining the total number of answers given for the item "big". Later on the grammatical variations and variations in speech will be briefly described.

There was a great divergence between the various items in the number of answers given. For "fish", for example, the 160 children of the main sample all produced the same answer *nsomba*, whereas for "old men" we got 29 different answers. One reason for this difference is that a picture of a fish is more easily identifiable by one word than a picture of an old man (in the latter case many children used the word for "grandfather", for example).

It appears that in 34 cases the answer most frequently given could not be classified as Nyanja. Among these a great proportion were Nsenga words (see Table 9). *Mootoka* was classified as Bemba although it comes from "motorcar", because it has been integrated into Bemba and is the only word for "motorcar". *Maningi* "very much" comes from Chilapalapa.

The children also used many English and "Zambianised English" words

Table 6.8: Responses to 100-item word list.

Items	No. of different answers given	Most frequent response*	%	Percentage of Cewa giving most frequent response %	Percentage of short-stay sample giving most frequent response %
1. chair	3	mpando (n)	96	100	90
2. girl	6	mtsikana (n)	63	80	35
3. boy	7	anyamata (n)	68	92	50
4. basket	13	basket (e)	76	56	65
5. knife	10	knife (e)	60	31	55
6. fire	5	moto (n)	53	93	45
7. suit	6	dzuwa (n)	92	100	60
8. old man	29	agogo (n)	39	56	4
9. flowers	10	maluwa (n)	49	87	35
10. bananas	16	mabanana (ze)	47	24	30
11. oranges	11	maorange (ze)	76	68	75
12. peanuts	7	nsawa (n)	93	87	75
13. many	15	-mbiri (n)	81	93	65
14. church	9	church (e)	81	81	75
15. luggage	22	katundu (n)	44	81	0
16. hoe	4	kambwiri (ns)	68	18	80
17. axes	22	tutomo (ns)	73	36	50
18. big	11	-kuru (n)	92	98	85
19. small	13	-ng'ono (n)	89	99	85
20. fish	1	nsomba (n)	100	100	85
21. goat	9	mbuzi (n)	78	93	70
22. elephant	12	njovu (n)	75	100	55
23. snake	5	njoka (n)	97	100	90

24. dog	5	imbwa (ns)	44	6	45
25. hand	8	kwanja (ns)	54	12	40
26. fingers	19	tu/vi-kumo (ns)	73	37	50
27. foot	10	miendo (n)	93	80	65
28. head	1	mutu (n)	100	100	100
29. hair	9	tsitsi (n)	96	99	90
30. eyes	6	menso (ns)	67	18	60
31. teeth	6	meno (ns)	68	18	85
32. face	19	face (e)	20	0	10
33. stick	8	(ka)mitengo (n)	83	86	5
34. door	17	citseko (n)	74	87	35
35. bicycles	12	njinga (n)	94	99	95
36. cars	18	mootoka (b)	60	49	75
37. egg/eggs	18	eggs/mareggs (ze)	47	6	60
38. plate	5	mbale (n)	96	99	85
39. leaves	21	vitepo (ns)	72	24	50
40. aeroplanes	13	ndege (n)	92	97	95
41. cows	8	ng'ombe (n)	97	100	95
42. hens	9	nk huhu (n)	94	100	95
43. mouse (rat)	4	mbewa (n)	56	62	45
44. houses	10	nyumba (n)	93	93	90
45. picture	17	picture (e)	36	43	20
46. she washes	8	awasha (ze)	87	80	90
47. river	12	madzi (n) <sup>11</sup>	73	75	80
48. path	10	njila (n)	64	49	45
49. pot	31	nengo (ns)	29	12	18
50. grass	6	mau(d)zu (n)	91	93	70
51. birds	18	tu/vi-nyone (ns)	68	12	60
52. trees	7	mitengo (n)	96	99	90
53. clouds	15	makumbi (ns)	77	37	65
54. she is sweeping	8	apyange (ns)	72	37	60
55. broom	14	cipyango (ns)	90	87	70

<i>Items</i>	<i>No. of different answers given</i>	<i>Most frequent response</i>		<i>Percentage of Cewa giving most frequent response</i>	<i>Percentage of short-stay sample giving most frequent response</i>
			<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
56. lion	14	nkalamo (ns)	53	37	45
57. he is drinking (lion)	6	akunwa (n)	96	100	95
58. she is laughing	6	aseka (n)	97	100	90
59. he is dancing	3	avina (n)	100	100	85
60. she is cooking	2	aphika (n)	100	100	90
61. he is eating	3	adya (n)	98	100	85
62. he is running	4	athamanga (n)	62	89	70
63. he is writing	2	alemba (n)	99	100	95
64. he is reading	2	awerenga (n)	98	100	95
65. they are walking	7	ayenda (n)	66	37	80
66. shoes	5	nsapato (n)	99	96	100
67. teacher	8	ateacher (ze)	75	74	90
68. hill	17	phiri (n)	71	86	85
69. they are saying goodbye	24	acita bye bye	52	38	41
70. they are learning	14	aphunzira (n) (ze)	76	93	80
71. they are swimming (bathe)	7	asamba (n)	88	100	75
72. they are playing	14	asowela (ns)	42	45	40
73. he is driving (a car)	10	adriva (ze)	55	68	60
74. he is climbing	3	akwela (n)	98	100	80
75. he is crawling	11	akalawa (ns)	65	37	35
76. she is washing (a child)	8	asambika (n)	84	100	65
77. he is biting (a dog)	7	aluma (n)	90	100	70
78. he is carrying	10	anyamula (n)	65	81	40
79. he is selling	6	agulitsa (n)	96	81	40
80. maize	9	mealies (e)	68	31	65



81. he is standing	9	aimilira (n)	77	68	55
82. he is sitting	13	akhala (n)	86	87	65
83. he is lying down	7	agona (n)	96	99	80
84. during the night	5	pa usiku (n)	97	100	90
85. very much	9	maningi(cil)	71	56	20
86. outside	10	panja (n)	65	25	55
87. under	13	munyansi (ns)	47	18	25
88. on (top of)	5	pamwamba pa (n)	60	43	30
89. at her back (carrying a baby)	16	kumbuyo (n)	49	75	30
90. black	28	-fipa (ns)	38	0	40
91. white	29	-yero (n)	26	93	5
92. red	33	-fiira (n)	22	93	4
93. strings	13	ntambo (ns)	76	74	40
94. short	12	-fupi (n)	56	37	35
95. long	10	-tari (n)	65	37	35
96. one	14	-modzi (n)	88	98	75
97. two	14	-wiri (n)	87	98	70
98. three	14	-tatu (n)	86	98	70
99. four	25	-nai (n)	46	67	45
100. five	21	-sanu (n)	46	73	35

\*Letters in brackets in this and following tables denote the language of the response: n = Nyanja, e = English, ze = Zambianised English, ns = Nsenga, b = Bemba, cil = Chilalalapa.

Table 6:9: Most frequent answers not identifiable as Nyanja.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Nsenga</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>
hoe	kambwiri	khasu
axes	tutomo	nkhwangwa
dog	imbwa	garu
hand	kwanja	dzanja
fingers	tu/vi-kumo	zala
eyes	menso	maso
teeth	meno	mano
leaves	vitepo	mayani/matsamba
pot	nongo	mbiya
birds	tu/vi-nyone	mbalame
clouds	makumbi	mitambo
to sweep	kupyanga	kupyera
broom	(ci)pyango	copyerera
lion	nkalamo	mkango
to crawl	kukalawa	kukwawa
under	munyansi	pansi
black	-fipa	-kuda
string	ntambo	cingwe
they play	asowela	asewera

Table 6:10: Items where English/"Zambianised English" responses were the most frequent.

<i>Item</i>	<i>English/ "Zambianised English"</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>
basket	basket	mtanga
knife	knife	mpeni
church	church	calici
face	face	nkhope
picture	picture	cithunzithunzi
maize	mealies	cimanga
bananas	mabanana	nthoci
oranges	maorange	malalanji
egg/eggs	eggs/maeggs	dzira/madzira
she washes	awasha	acapa
teacher	ateacher	aphunzitsi
they say goodbye	ancita bye bye	alaira
he drives (a car)	adriwa	ayendetsa

and some of these words even got the largest answer percentage (see Table 10). It is interesting to observe that for the items for which the largest proportion of the whole group gave a non-Nyanja answer, the Cewa children still tended to produce a Nyanja expression. In other words, for these items the word used by the largest proportion of the Cewa was

very often a Nyanja word and not the Nsenga, English or "Zambianised English" word which was used by the largest proportion of the whole group. This happened with the items in Table 11.

Table 6:11: Items where most Cewa produced a Nyanja response but the majority of the whole group produced a different response.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Word used by the largest proportion of the Cewa</i>	<i>Word used by the largest proportion of the whole group</i>
knife	mpeni	knife (e)
bananas	nthoci	mabanana (ze)
hoe	khasu	kambwiri (ns)
axes	nkhwangwa	tutomo <sup>12</sup> (ns)
dog	garu	imbwa (ns)
hand	dzanja	kwanja (ns)
egg/eggs	dzira/mazira	eggs/maeggs (ze)
eyes	maso	menso (ns)
teeth	mano	mono (ns)
face	nkhope	face (e)
car	galimoto	mootoka (b)
leaves	masamba	vitepo (ns)
pot	mbiya	nongo (ns)
birds	mbalame	tu/vi-nyone (ns)
clouds	mitambo	makumbi (ns)
to sweep	kupyera	kupyanga (ns)
lion	mkango	nkalamo (ns)
to crawl	kukwawa	kukalawa (ns)
maize	cimanga	mealies (e)
under	pansi pa	munyense (ns)
black	-kuda	-fipa (ns)
to play	kusewera	kusowela (ns)
fingers	zala	tu/vi-kumo (ns)

Thus there were 23 items for which the largest proportion of the Cewa children gave a Nyanja answer while the largest proportion of the whole sample gave a non-Nyanja answer. But among the 34 items for which the largest proportion of the whole group gave a non-Nyanja answer there remain 9 words for which the Cewa behaved in the same way as the rest in the sense that most of them also produced a non-Nyanja answer. These items are shown in Table 12.

Another point which should be made about the differences in the results for the various items is that for some items the Nyanja word, although getting the largest percentage of responses, is still far from being generally accepted. Here we may mention the items in Table 13.

These are interesting words because from the results of the test it appears that they are very generally used by the non-Cewa in Lusaka. It

Table 6:12: Items where most Cewa and the majority of the whole group gave the same non-Nyanja response

<i>Item</i>	<i>Answer given by the largest proportion of the whole sample as well as by the largest proportion of the Cewa only</i>
picture	picture (e)
oranges	maorange (ze)
she washes	awasha (ze)
broom	cipyango (ns)
teacher	ateacher (ze)
they say goodbye	ancita bye bye (ze)
he drives (a car)	adriva (ze)
string	ntambo (ns)
very much	maningi (cil)
basket	basket (e)
church	church (e)

Table 6:13: Items where the Nyanja response was the most frequent but not the most generally accepted.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Other languages</i>
fire	moto	mulilo (ns)
flowers	maluwa	maflower(s) (ze)
white	-yera	-tuwa (ns) white (e)
red	-fiira	-sweta (ns) red, yellow, orange (e)
four	-nai	four (e)
five	-sanu	five (e)

may be only a question of time before they will be fully accepted in Lusaka Town Nyanja.

These 6 words together with the 34 words which got the largest answer percentage in a language other than Nyanja together make up 40 items for which the children were generally inclined to use a non-Nyanja word.

### 2.3.2 Morphological Errors

Many non-Nyanja speaking children had great difficulties with the grammatical constructions in Nyanja. It should be remembered that in Nyanja as in all Bantu languages nouns are divided into classes (see Chapter 2). These classes can be discerned because the singular noun

has a prefix specific to that class and the plural has another prefix specific to the plural form. The plurals can be made by substituting the plural prefix for the singular prefix.

By asking for plurals of nouns, or adjectives together with nouns, it was possible to elicit class characteristics. Thus we were able to get interesting information about words which "changed their class" or about inconsistencies in the use of class prefixes.

The average number of different answers per item for the whole sample was 11.3. This is a strikingly high figure for the simple pictures which we showed to the children. The main explanation for this figure is not the variation in vocabulary or speech but grammatical variation. Most of the grammatical variations can actually be described as mistakes. Children did not know how to form the plural in Nyanja or how to use adjectives in proper grammatical concord. We found that there was no difference between the performance of grade III children and that of grade VI children (for both categories the average number of answers per item was 7.3 which indicates that a doubling of the sample from 80 to 160 children increases the average number of answers from 7.3 to 11.3).

It is interesting to note that in cases where adjectives were required (e.g. "big" and "small axe" and "long" and "short string"), non-Nyanja children were inclined to refer to "bigness" and "smallness", for which they used the prefix *ci-* for "big" and *ka-* for "small". The Cewa children generally referred to the class of the word to which these adjectives were attached. As an example we may mention the different grammatical forms in which the children used *-kuru* "big" while referring to a *katemo* "axe". The basic Nyanja form is *katemo kakakuru*. But the children also used *kakuru*, *ukuru*, *likuru* and *ikuru*. *Kakuru* may be regarded as a simplification of *kakakuru* but the other forms indicate use of the wrong concord. The forms *cacikuru*, *cicikuru*, *cikuru*, *cokuru* and *cakuru* which were also used indicate that the children intended to refer to bigness. The prefix *ci* before a noun can mean that the object in question is considered as being big. In this case the children had probably something in mind like *cikatemo*. Here *cacikuru* would be the basic Nyanja adjectival form.

When colours "black", "white" and "red" and numbers up to five were required, many prefixes were used which are in fact quite unusual when used to denote a colour or to count in Nyanja. Nyanja-speaking children, however, were rather consistent when they used prefixes. They usually gave *kamodzi*, *tuwiri*, *tutatu*, *tunai*, and *tusanu*<sup>13</sup> for the numbers one to five, whilst children from other language backgrounds might give *ci/u/tu/li/i-modzi* for "one" and so forth. This wide choice of possibilities is obviously due to the fact that in schools all counting is done in English and colours are referred to in English as well. Non-Cewa children

quite often did not know words for colours or how to count up to five in Nyanja but only knew how to do this in their own language and in English. Even the Cewa children often first said that they did not know when asked to count in Nyanja or indicate the colour. As a result there was much confusion, especially when children were asked to denote colours: "black" might be given as "red" and "red" as "white" and so forth.

Apart from the errors in using the concord system mentioned above, there were also grammatical variations that derived from grammatical interference, primarily from Nsenga. The expression *vikatundu* "suit-cases", for example, results from the addition of the Nsenga plural *vi* to the Nyanja word *katundu*. Plural forms like *akatundu* or *makatundu* indicated use of the Nyanja grammatical forms. The expression *luphiri* indicates the use of a Nsenga/Bemba singular prefix to the word *phiri* "hill".

Furthermore new plurals seem to be developing in Lusaka. The following words, for example, were used by many children as though they belonged to an *i-ma* class whereas Nyanja-speakers in Eastern Province use them in the *i-zi* class:

<i>manjinga awiri</i>	( <i>njinga ziwiri</i> "two bicycles")
<i>mandege awiri</i>	( <i>ndege ziwiri</i> "two aeroplanes")
<i>manyumba awiri</i>	( <i>nyumba ziwiri</i> "two houses")

These new plural forms were very generally used by the children, even by Cewa-speakers. Non-Nyanja-speaking children also made mistakes and used forms like *njinga awiri*, *manjinga ziwiri*, *manjinga viwiri* which all signify errors in the concord system.

It is interesting to note that in the expressions which we classified as "Zambianised English" some children added the Nyanja plural prefix to the English singular while others used it with the English plural form. Thus, we found both *maorange* for "oranges" and *maoranges*, *mabanana* and *mabananas*, *maleave* and *maleaves*, *masflower* and *masflowers*. In the case of "eggs" only the plural form *maeggs* was used.

#### 2.4 Some Comparisons

The general results for the main sample may now be compared with the results for the comparison group. The highest percentage of students in the main sample who gave the same response for one word was 64%. In the group of children that took the test in English, an average of 79% of the children gave the same answer. This result is remarkably different from the results of our Nyanja test. While only 71% of the Cewa children gave the same answer when asked to identify a picture in their own language, 79% of a sample of Zambian children gave the same

answer when asked to identify a picture in English, a foreign language. (The 21% who did not give the answer in question mainly consisted of failures.) This difference is largely the result of a much larger number of grammatical variations in the Nyanja test. It appears that students are less conscious of standards of correctness in Nyanja, and are generally more tolerant of error in Nyanja than in English.

In the comparison group, of children who had stayed in Lusaka for less than a year, an average of only 56% gave the same answer. This figure is considerably lower than the 65% for the Bemba, Tonga and Lozi of the main sample, a result which could be expected.

### 3.0 Conclusion

The results of the experiment would seem to indicate that there is a need to lay greater emphasis on the teaching of Nyanja in the schools, and to ensure that teachers in Lusaka primary schools have a reasonable command of the language. There is also a need for further studies of Town Nyanja to be undertaken.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>This study was conducted from 1970-71 for the Zambia Language Survey and supported by a grant from the Council of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa. I am greatly indebted to Miss Sirapi Ohannessian who advised me in setting up the project and in drafting this report. I wish to thank Dr. Robert Serpell for his valuable comments and for his hospitality in the Psychology Laboratory. Mrs. Monique Kateya helped me both in carrying out the actual tests and in interpreting the children's answers. She knows almost all the main languages in Zambia and without her assistance this study could not have been completed. Finally, I am grateful to Mr. Steen Thøgersen who did an excellent job in programming the computer analysis of the results.

<sup>2</sup>Fortune lists several distinctions in Nyanja dialects among which Johnston's classification of five types of Nyanja seems to have been the most widely used. However, these classifications were all made several years ago. An updated classification would be very helpful. Such a classification should take account of the several forms of Town Nyanja which are developing such as Lusaka Nyanja. (See Fortune, 1959, p. 43 ff.)

<sup>3</sup>The Cewa are also found in Central Malawi and the Tete province of Mozambique. In Malawi Cewa is the official language.

<sup>4</sup>Chilapalapa, also called Kabanga (in the Copperbelt mines), is said to have originated in the Eastern Cape and Natal and developed in the mines. This language is a mixture of Bantu languages, English and Afrikaans. It is mainly used as a language of communication between whites and non-whites in South Africa and Rhodesia. In Zambia Chilapalapa is disappearing. (See J. D. Bold, 1968, and *Glossary of Chikabanga*.)

<sup>5</sup>In the *Dictionary of the Nyanja Language*, Nyanja is called a lingua franca in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Nyasaland (now Malawi) and even Southern Rhodesia (now Rhodesia). (See Scott and Hetherwick, 1929, Preface.) Outside the Copperbelt, Luapula and Northern provinces, and some towns along the line

of rail where Bemba is the lingua franca, Nyanja is probably the most widely understood lingua franca in Zambia.

<sup>6</sup> This information was provided by the Ministry of Education.

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed account of Dr. Serpell's sample see Chapter 5 in this volume.

<sup>8</sup> English spellings were kept for consistency of representation. See footnote 9.

<sup>9</sup> In describing expressions in "Zambianised English" we shall use the English spelling for the English part of the word and the Bantu spelling for the Bantu grammatical affixes. The point here is not the children's pronunciation (in fact they often said something like "maleafs") but the fact that they use a word which is basically English together with a Bantu grammatical affix.

<sup>10</sup> In Table 8 and following n = Nyanja, ns = Nsenga, e = English, ze = "Zambianised English", b = Bemba, cil = Chilapalapa.

<sup>11</sup> *Madzi* means "water". Most of the children said *madzi*, not *mtsinje* which is the Nyanja for "river".

<sup>12</sup> *Katemo* is also a Nyanja word for "small axe", but the children mostly used it with Nsenga prefixes.

<sup>13</sup> The *ka-tu* class (originally Nsenga) tends to be more often used for diminutives than the *ka-ti* class which most Nyanja grammars give.

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## 7 LANGUAGE AND THE MEDIA IN ZAMBIA

Graham Mytton<sup>1</sup>

It is often necessary when writing of the mass media in developing countries to broaden the definition a little. The term is often also used in this context to describe media such as newspapers, magazines or films which do not yet reach a mass audience but which have a potential for doing so.

Radio is the supreme medium of communication in Zambia, and the only one reaching a majority of the population. Other media are, however, important and they illuminate certain factors about the language situation in Zambia today. In particular, along with radio, they show the relative importance of Zambian languages in the media, and the place of English.

Broadcasting in what was then Northern Rhodesia began during the Second World War. It was, from the very beginning, oriented towards African listeners. For a long time, broadcasts were almost entirely in African languages, and the radio station in Lusaka was the first in Africa to broadcast exclusively to Africans.

In the early days there were very few sets in the hands of Africans. Shortly after the war, however, the man in charge of broadcasting, Harry Franklin, persuaded a company to produce a very cheap battery radio set which became known as the "Saucepan Special" in view of its extraordinary shape. This set came on to the market in 1949 and cost only £5. Many thousands were sold, and broadcasting became very much a part of daily life both in the towns and in the rural areas. Broadcasters, as elsewhere in the world, became well-known and admired personalities; so much so that the death of one of the more eminent African broadcasters in the early fifties was an occasion for national mourning.<sup>2</sup>

With the introduction of transistor radios, the "Saucepan Special" which had done so much to bring broadcasting to thousands of African listeners, became obsolete. Transistor radios are more reliable and they do not require the expensive and cumbersome high-voltage batteries required by the valve sets they replaced like the "Saucepan".

By this time (the late fifties) radios were widely spread throughout Northern Rhodesia. It is difficult to estimate accurately the numbers of radio sets in use in Zambia today. Licence figures are no guide because most owners of radio sets do not pay the licence fee. The writer's own estimate from his national audience survey was that there were around 250,000 radio sets in use in Zambia in 1973. Zambia then had a popula-

tion of just over 4,000,000, and this would indicate one radio set for every sixteen inhabitants. But the distribution of sets was by no means even. As one would expect, radio sets were heavily concentrated along Zambia's line-of-rail and in the more prosperous rural areas. There were also considerable differences between different towns, according to the evidence from the Audience Survey, and between rural areas.

The Audience Survey yielded the percentages shown in Table 1 for persons interviewed in two urban and two rural areas.

Table 7:1: Size of radio audience.

	<i>Lusaka City</i>	<i>Kitwe City</i>	<i>Ndola Rural</i>	<i>Katete (Eastern Province, rural)</i>	<i>All Zambia</i>
Those having a radio set in working order in the house	59	42	28	14	31
Those who claim to listen to Zambia Broadcasting Services (Z.B.S.) radio every day	65	39	18	12	23

The differences between districts can be explained by differences in wealth (in rural areas this often means differences in the extent to which local people are working on the line-of-rail and are sending money back home) and differences in reception conditions of Z.B.S. radio. In some parts of the country reception was very poor and many potential radio listeners may have felt it was not worthwhile purchasing a set. In districts where reception was good listenership was high. Reception was good in Lusaka and Kitwe, fair in Ndola Rural and very poor in Katete.

One of the problems facing those responsible for broadcasting from the early days was the choice of languages. At the beginning of radio broadcasting during World War II, broadcasts were in two of the main languages of the country, Nyanja and Bemba. The choice appears to have been obvious and unavoidable. The purpose of broadcasting at this time was to give news about the progress of the war to the families of Northern Rhodesia Africans serving with the British forces. The two languages served the purpose well since most of the men and their families knew one or other of these languages.

With the expansion of broadcasting after the war, two other major languages were added, Tonga and Lozi. Then the Lusaka station was given the responsibility of broadcasting to Africans not only in Northern Rhodesia, but in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (now Malawi)

as well, the three colonies making up the ill fated Central African Federation. The Shona and Ndebele languages were added for Southern Rhodesia, whilst the Nyanja broadcasts catered for listeners in Nyasaland. English was also included for the more educated African listener. In 1952 English language broadcasts occupied 28% of the time on the radio. Local languages took the remaining 72%; Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Shona and Ndebele each being given 12% of air time.

Two languages from the Northwestern Province, Luvale and Lunda were introduced in 1954. The inclusion of these languages, and the later addition of Kaonde, another Northwestern Province language, has frequently been criticised. Critics claim, for example, that there are many other languages which ought to be included if the inclusion on the radio of Lunda and Luvale was justified. Others point to the fact that the use of these three languages on the radio is unfair because it gives special treatment to Northwestern Province, whilst Eastern Province for example is "represented" by only one language on the radio. This argument is not uncommon and illustrates a point returned to later that comprehension of languages is often regarded as being of less importance than what the languages represent politically and socially.

The reasons given for the inclusion of Lunda and Luvale are interesting. Speakers of Lunda and Luvale are found in both Zambia and Angola. The Portuguese in Angola broadcast in these languages. In the early fifties there was a considerable amount of inter-tribal strife between the two groups, and also later among the Lunda themselves over succession to the chieftainship. It was felt by a British colonial officer in this part of Northern Rhodesia that the Lunda and Luvale languages should be included in order to help end the bitterness and feuding. An African officer in the colonial administration at the time voiced the opinion to a broadcasting official that there should be broadcasts in these two languages "to show the local people that other tribes in the country don't behave in this manner". The writer was told that the Government also felt that as these two tribes had originated outside the country, broadcasts in their languages would make them feel more a part of Northern Rhodesia.<sup>3</sup>

There was another argument put forward in favour of Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde. At a meeting of the African Education Advisory Board in July 1957 opposition was expressed to the official use or recognition of any additional local languages. One of the members of the Board opposed the recognition of the Lenje language, saying that from his experience there was mutual comprehension between Lenje and Tonga. Another member however supported the inclusion of the three Northwestern Province languages because he said speakers of these languages could not understand any of the "official" languages. It is reported that the Board agreed with this view.<sup>4</sup>

The Board was discussing the use of African languages in schools, but language policy in broadcasting has paralleled that in education. In 1952 there were only 28 hours of broadcasting per week. This gradually increased until 1973 when there were over 250 hours per week. At each increase of broadcasting hours each language has been given more air time. But the percentage share of air time in each language has changed.

The proportion of English gradually increased from 28% in 1952 to 57% in July 1954. This later dropped to 30% in April 1956,<sup>5</sup> and rose again to 50% when a new network in English was introduced in 1964. Programmes in English were oriented mainly towards African listeners, although there were programmes for European listeners on a small scale from 1954 onwards.

To begin with each local African language was given equal air time, but gradually the proportion for Bemba, Nyanja and Shona was increased, while the proportion for Lozi, Tonga, and Ndebele was decreased. Bemba and Nyanja occupied 15 and 14% of air time respectively in April 1956 as compared with 8% each for Tonga and Lozi. The proportion of time for the Northwestern Province languages has always been considerably less. In 1954 when broadcasts in Lunda and Luvale were introduced they occupied together less than 1%. In April 1956 this had increased to 3%. (See *African Listener* 1952-58 and *Nshila* 1958-60.) In October 1960 broadcasts in Ndebele and Shona were taken over by a new radio station in Southern Rhodesia, and the time allocated to Northern Rhodesian languages was increased. In January 1961 the language allocation was as follows:

English	35%
Bemba	17%
Nyanja	17%
Tonga	10%
Lozi	10%
Luvale	5%
Lunda	5%

It is noticeable that, throughout the period from 1952 to 1971 despite considerable changes in the total amount of broadcasting hours, three groups of languages have been given similar treatment. The respective proportions of air time allotted to Nyanja and Bemba, Tonga and Lozi, and Luvale and Lunda have been relatively constant.

English language broadcasts were considerably increased in 1964 with the addition of new transmitters and studios and the institution of a daily National Service in English. The expansion also enabled considerable additions to be made to the time given to broadcasts in local languages even though their share of the total air time dropped slightly. Later the National Service included broadcasts in Bemba and Nyanja.

Kaonde was introduced in 1964. It was given the same amount of time as Luvale and Lunda (about 3% of the total broadcast time).

On the achievement of Independence in 1964, the Republic of Zambia had two radio networks, the structure and output of which had been determined over the previous twelve years or so. The situation in 1973 was little different from that in 1964 except for a slight increase in broadcasting hours. And, indeed, apart from the removal of Shona and Ndebele broadcasts the share of broadcast time given to each language was little different from that fifteen years previously.

The two radio networks were re-named the General Service and the Home Service. The General Service in 1973 was mostly in English with two short periods in the two major Zambian languages, Nyanja and Bemba. The Home Service was entirely in Zambian languages, apart from English language news bulletins.

Table 7:2: The allotment of time to each language in February 1973.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Weekly hours</i>	<i>Percentage of total broadcasting time</i>
English	96 hrs 10 mins	38.4%
Bemba	34 hrs	13.6%
Nyanja	31 hrs 20 mins	12.5%
Tonga	24 hrs 15 mins	9.7%
Lozi	24 hrs 10 mins	9.7%
Lunda	12 hrs	4.8%
Luvale	11 hrs 50 min	4.7%
Kaonde	11 hrs 15 mins	4.5%
Broadcasts for Liberation Movements	5 hrs 15 mins	2.1%
Total broadcast hours	250 hrs 15 mins	100.0%

There are two important features of the language allocation on the Z.B.S. radio. The first was the high proportion of English. During school terms 23 hrs 45 mins was devoted every week to educational broadcasts, but even without this the proportion of English was more than the combined total of the two leading Zambian languages, Bemba and Nyanja. And yet, according to the available evidence, there were many more regular listeners to programmes in these languages than there were to programmes in English. This point is discussed later.

Table 3 shows the allocation of language time on a typical weekday (Tuesday) in February 1971. It demonstrates the second important feature of the distribution of Zambian languages. The schedules were worked out with obvious care and precision so that each language received a share of different times of the day on different days of the week. (The only programmes which were fixed were the daily news

Table 7:3: Typical weekday programme.

a.m.	<i>Home service</i>	a.m.	<i>General service</i>
4.55-5.00	Opening Announcements in TONGA	4.55-5.00	Opening Announcements in ENGLISH
5.00-5.45	Record Programme in three languages, TONGA, NYANJA, LOZI	5.00-5.45	Simultaneous broadcast of Home Service
5.45-5.50	TONGA	5.45-5.55	Zimbabwe News in SHONA and NDEBELE
5.50-6.05	News in LUVALE, LUNDA, KAONDE		
6.05-6.30	TONGA	5.55-8.15	ENGLISH
6.30-6.35	News in LOZI		
6.35-7.00	TONGA		
7.00-7.10	Simultaneous broadcast of General Service news in ENGLISH		
7.15-7.25	News in BEMBA and NYANJA		
7.25-8.00	TONGA		
8.00-8.45	M.P.L.A. <sup>6</sup> News in MBUNDU, LUNDA, LUCHAZI, LUVALE, CHOKWE, and PORTUGUESE	8.15-9.45	NYANJA
8.45-10.00	KAONDE	9.45-9.55	Zimbabwe News in SHONA and NDEBELE
10.00-12.00	LUVALE	9.55-10.00	NYANJA
p.m.		p.m.	
12.00-12.45	BEMBA	10.00-4 p.m.	ENGLISH
12.45-1.10	News in LUNDA, LUVALE, TONGA, BEMBA and NYANJA		
1.10-1.15	BEMBA		
1.15-1.25	Simultaneous broadcast of General Service news in ENGLISH		
1.25-1.35	News in LOZI and KAONDE		
1.35-2.00	BEMBA		
2.00-3.00	LUNDA		
3.00-4.00	LUVALE		
4.00-5.45	KAONDE	4.00-5.40	BEMBA
5.45-6.10	News in LUVALE, LUNDA, KAONDE, LOZI and TONGA	5.40-5.50	Zimbabwe News
		5.50-6.00	News in NYANJA and BEMBA
6.10-8.00	LOZI	6.00-11.05	ENGLISH
8.00-8.10	Simultaneous broadcast of General Service news in ENGLISH		
8.10-11.05	NYANJA		

bulletins as shown.) Each language, for example, had at least one day per week when it was heard in the early morning.

There was little room for programme planning with seven languages squeezed into 18 hours on the Home Service, and perhaps a third channel would have been the answer. The arrangement was unsatisfactory from another point of view. A listener had to be very "clock-conscious" if he wanted to hear his own language which might be on the air at a different time every day. Results of research carried out by the writer in 1970-73 showed that few Zambians planned their listening in any systematic way, except for those who listened to specialised agricultural and educational programmes. The schedules were too complicated to be remembered. The result was that most listeners listened to a number of languages on the air which they understood to a greater or lesser extent. Some resented the multiplicity of languages feeling that each language should have one day per week each of uninterrupted broadcasting, whilst others seemed to accept the present arrangement as a satisfactory compromise of conflicting interests. It was however frustrating for example to a Tonga listener, as shown in the above table, who had the programmes in his language interrupted four times on Tuesday mornings by news bulletins in other languages. The same problem existed at this time in Uganda and was even more severe. Radio Uganda broadcast in no less than eighteen languages. Nsibambi has commented that this prevented improvements and additions to programmes, and led to boredom among listeners and even a tendency to listen to foreign stations in preference. (See Nsibambi, 1971 for an interesting and useful comparison with the situation in Zambia.)

Results from the Audience Survey in Zambia show that many listeners tended to switch on their radio sets at certain times of the day as a matter of habit and listened to the programmes in whatever language was being used at that time; and these change daily. Many listeners understood languages other than their own, and programmes in Bemba and Nyanja were listened to and understood to a greater or lesser extent by most Zambian listeners, and were understood more widely than any other languages. (See Mytton, 1974, pp. 19-26.)

The allocation of languages and the proportion of time given to each was and still is a highly controversial issue. From time to time delegations have visited the Z.B.S. to argue the case for the inclusion of an extra language. Others have argued for the increase in time for one of the seven officially recognised languages. The Z.B.S. has also received much correspondence along the same lines. Similar demands were made by listeners during the research carried out by the writer in 1970-73.

During the colonial and Federal period language policy on broadcasting seems to have been dictated by three factors: firstly by the observation that Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga and Lozi were the four most widely

spoken languages in the country and were each *linguae francae* over significant areas; secondly by the desire not to proliferate languages in broadcasting; and thirdly by the attempt to relate the output in each language to estimates of the number of people listening in each language.

In the correspondence columns of the *African Listener* (the journal of the Central African Broadcasting Station, Lusaka) there was a series of letters in 1952 and 1953 from Tumbuka speaking listeners in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia complaining about the exclusion of their language from broadcasting. In June 1953 there was a reply from the Broadcast Officer to the effect that:

... The policy is to lessen the number of Bantu languages rather than to increase them. To go forward with success we must all travel together with one language. (*African Listener*, No. 18, p. 8.)

He did not go on to say what this one language should be and no attempt was made to cut the languages down on the radio. Indeed less than a year later Lunda and Luvale were introduced.

Letters were also received by broadcasting officials from Lozi listeners complaining that their language received less air time than either Nyanja or Bemba. In 1955 a Lozi broadcaster explained in reply that the hours in each language were calculated proportionately from the figures for listeners obtained from the research of the broadcasting station. He stated that:

The Lozi had to be given fewer hours on account of the small number of their wireless owners. (See Lubinda, 1955, p. 11.)

And in 1957 this point was repeated. The Broadcast Officer in reply to a letter complaining of discrimination wrote:

The time allocated to the different languages is based on the numbers of those that listen. Therefore the largest listening groups i.e. the Bemba, Nyanja and Shona get the most time. (*African Listener*, No. 63, p. 20.)

It is interesting that the argument was not about the respective size of the different language groups, but the numbers of each who were radio listeners.

In 1957 the *African Listener* began to print a few pages in Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga and Lozi. Immediately there was a letter from a reader wanting to know why there were no Lunda or Luvale pages. The answer given, this time by the editor, sums up the general attitude of broadcasting officials at the time and of many in the Administration as well and in so far as there was an official policy this could be said to represent it. The editor wrote that there are many claims besides those of Luvale and Lunda speakers and that it is impossible to please everyone. He went on



to say that there must eventually be fewer languages used in broadcasting and elsewhere.

None of the great countries of the world has ever progressed to the position which it holds today by perpetuating the use of more than one language." And "... one of the principal factors which is holding Africans of Northern Rhodesia back, is the great number of languages and the difficulty which a man from Balovale and another from Lundazi have in understanding each other. This throws an immense burden on our education department. (*African Listener*, No. 69, p. 1.)

Since Independence, Government policy towards local languages has been somewhat ambivalent. And there is no agreement on what the future of local languages ought to be. Some leaders would agree with the statement from the editor of the *African Listener* quoted above. Others, equally firmly, insist that this attitude is "colonial" and that local languages should be encouraged.

The existence of many groups speaking different languages complicates communication, and this in turn makes the process of national integration difficult. There is a difficult dilemma which has to be faced; that of reconciling the demands of different languages with the need to find one language or a small group of languages for official use. The recognition or up-grading of local languages tends to be associated with the hegemony of those language groups. On the other hand there is a reluctance to give full recognition to English, the language of the colonialists, as an official language because it is felt that this can compromise cultural independence.

The inclusion of several languages in broadcasting is expensive. In 1971 Nsibambi estimated that in Uganda the minimum cost of introducing one language on the radio for less than two hours per day was not less than \$500 per month. (Nsibambi, pp. 64-5.) In Zambia the cost would be at least twice this amount on account of the higher salaries and administrative costs.

Another problem, also noted by Nsibambi in Uganda, is that the addition of languages increases the "emotional pressure and demand" for yet more local languages on the radio.

... since independence more languages have been introduced on the radio. It is thus evident that the trend has whetted the appetite of an increasing number of tribes to demand their languages be used in radio programmes. This demand has been based on cultural sub-nationalism, the desire to be equal 'politically and culturally' with those tribes whose languages are used on the radio. (Nsibambi, p. 65.)

The Zambian Government has resisted these demands more than the Ugandan Government and no additional languages have been included in broadcasting since independence. But there is considerable controversy represented by three main arguments.

Many mother-tongue speakers of those languages not recognised as official demand the inclusion of their languages on the radio. Their complaint is a general one about Government language policy as it applies in other fields. But broadcasting is a daily part of most Zambians' lives, and is a convenient target for criticism. The Z.B.S. must also have the most well-known postal address in Zambia as it is read out frequently during programmes.

Speakers of Nkoya, Tumbuka, Namwanga, Luchazi, Nsenga, Lenje, Chikunda, Ila and other languages have demanded the inclusion of these not closely related to any of the officially recognised languages. And it is clear that some speakers of these languages, especially older people, and those who have never been to school, find difficulty in understanding broadcasts. But most speakers of these and other languages not related to any of those broadcast readily admit that they can understand broadcasts in at least one of the languages. Most Nkoya speakers know Lozi or at least can understand it: it has been the language of instruction in local primary schools. Similarly, most Namwanga speakers know Bemba, and most Tumbuka speakers know Nyanja.

Other languages, for which demands have been made, are more closely related to the official languages, and few Ila speakers, for example, would claim not to understand the broadcasts in Tonga. Few Nsenga or Chikunda speakers would claim not to understand broadcasts in Nyanja.<sup>7</sup>

One is forced to the conclusion that the majority of these complaints are not over comprehension but identity. The languages chosen are identified in the minds of such people with certain tribal groups. Some Ila speakers feel that even though they can understand Tonga, they cannot regard the broadcasts in this language as being "for them". The language used is mostly the Tonga of Mazabuka and Monze, popularly known as "Plateau Tonga". The broadcasters mostly come from this area and speak the plateau Tonga dialect. Most of the music played is also from this area: very little of the music of the Ila people is played, even though the programmes in Tonga are supposed to cater for them.

The same situation with regard to the official broadcast languages applies to other language groups. Lala and Swaka speaking people are supposed to be catered for by the programmes in Bemba, and yet some feel "left out" by what they regard as the virtual exclusion of their music and culture and the dominance of Kasama Bemba.

There have been efforts to make changes in the output and orientation of each language section in the Z.B.S. and attempts are being made to record more material for broadcast from the type of people mentioned.

During 1972 the Bemba section broadcast a weekly play in which Lamba actors took part using their own Bemba-related dialect. And more recently there have been genuine attempts to broaden the cultural content of programmes in other languages.

The seven languages were chosen in order to reach the widest possible number of people in the country. Each language broadcast was intended therefore for anyone who could understand it. But there has been a tendency for both broadcaster and listener to forget this. The difficulty is understandable. It arises from the fact that many broadcasters and listeners do not separate the concept of language from the concept of tribe. To do so completely would be impossible but, to get over this difficulty of identity, each of the language services on the radio would have to widen its appeal and become to some extent separate from parochial tribal backgrounds. In order to avoid the alienation that certain groups undoubtedly feel, the existing broadcasting languages, if they are not to be added to, have to drop the tendency there has been to ignore the needs of the other related language groups.

The second element in the language controversy also involves the crucial question of identity rather than comprehension. Some speakers of the less widely spoken broadcast languages such as Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale resent the fact that their language receives less broadcast time than for example Bemba and Nyanja. One Kaonde listener wrote "If we are all Zambians, then we should all get the same privileges. Kaonde should be on the radio for the same amount of time as the other languages. Equal hours for each tribe".<sup>8</sup> Such comments were not uncommon and continue today. The amount of time on the radio is regarded by such people as a symbol of their status in the nation. If the Bemba get three times as much on the radio, then this means to some that they are being given special treatment over other groups. Such a policy it is felt is not in keeping with the national slogan, "One Zambia, One Nation", a slogan often invoked by the complainants. Some Lozi speakers complain that putting Bemba and Nyanja on the General Service is unfair. The Z.B.S. is thus accused of favouritism towards certain tribes and groups of tribes at the expense of others. The fact that Bemba and Nyanja are understood by many more people than Lozi, and that more Lozi speakers understand these languages than the other way around, is regarded as not relevant. The point again is about identity. Similar complaints have been made to audience research teams in excellent Bemba or Nyanja. And letters have been written to the Z.B.S. in good English. Many of those who complain can understand the other languages well and readily admit this, but they do not regard broadcasts in the other languages as being addressed to them.

Those who express strong feelings on this issue in this way are a minority of the affected groups, but it is clear that there is the potential

for serious conflict on the politics of the language issue in a situation of unrest caused initially by other factors.

It is interesting that few complaints are ever made about the high proportion of English on the radio, and this perhaps emphasises that the arguments are about identity within a Zambian context, so that English is regarded as an "outside language" and accepted as a "non tribal" *lingua franca*. For this reason its dominance on the radio is not resented. No one in particular is being given special treatment by the dominance of English, except the educated minority who understand English well enough.

The third type of argument comes from those who assert that there are too many languages in Zambia, and that, in the long run, the Z.B.S. cannot please everyone. They say there are already too many languages on the radio with a waste of resources in broadcasting the same message eight times. They go on to argue that since most Zambians understand Nyanja or Bemba, and that a growing number are learning English, then broadcasting should be in these languages only. Some say that by doing this the process of learning one or other of these three languages will be speeded up. A few suggest even further that, in the long run, Zambia's unity will be served only if there is one national language, and they propose English. There is a belief, quite strong in some quarters, that diversity in culture and language inevitably leads to disunity. Hence the emphasis often placed on what is Zambian over and above what is of the separate groups which go to make up Zambia.

There is the criticism, which contains some validity, that by broadcasting in seven Zambian languages with English, the Z.B.S. is perpetuating ethnic divisiveness by giving special treatment to certain language groups at the expense of others. Certainly the choice favours large language groups first, certain smaller groups second, and leaves out the rest altogether. By doing so it has divided the country into language zones and these do not always accurately reflect the extent to which different languages are used in the areas in question. All this would be acceptable, if comprehension were the only question that mattered. The problem however, as stated earlier, is that language is an important symbol of identity to many people.

It is interesting in the light of this controversy to find out what languages people listen to on Z.B.S. radio. How much do radio listeners listen to broadcasts in languages other than their own? How many have a good understanding of languages other than their own? How many people can listen to and understand broadcasts in other languages?

In the research carried out in 1970-73, 4,780 radio listeners were interviewed throughout Zambia. They were asked a number of questions related to language usage and comprehension of broadcasts. Analysis of responses shows that most radio listeners listened to and understood

more than one language. An interesting feature of the results, not shown here, is that speakers of the two major languages, Bemba and Nyanja, tend on the whole to listen to fewer other languages than the speakers of the other broadcast languages.

Table 7:4: Percentage of town and rural dwellers claiming to listen to and understand each of the eight broadcast languages.

(a) <i>Urban areas (68% were listeners)</i>								
	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>English</i>
Percentage listenership	47	43	20	12	18	9	10	38
Level of understanding:								
Very well	28	16	7	5	4	2	2	7
Quite well	14	16	4	3	3	1	1	19
Little	3	10	5	2	8	2	3	7
Not at all	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	4
(b) <i>Rural areas (46% were listeners)</i>								
	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>English</i>
Percentage listenership for each language	28	27	18	13	10	7	5	20
Level of understanding:								
Very well	19	13	10	7	2	3	2	2
Quite well	6	8	3	3	3	1	1	8
Little	3	5	3	2	3	2	1	6
Not at all	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	*

\* Less than 0.5%.

In the Copperbelt towns Bemba is known by all but the newest arrivals. The same is true for Nyanja in Lusaka. Kabwe and Livingstone are both a little more mixed, but it was interesting to note from further examination of the data that although most residents of Livingstone were mother-tongue speakers of either Tonga or Bantu Botatwe languages, or of Lozi or one of its related dialects, a greater proportion claimed to be able to speak Nyanja than either Lozi or Tonga. A Lozi speaker was evidently more likely to understand Nyanja than Tonga, and a Tonga speaker was more likely to understand Nyanja than Lozi.

In the rural areas the situation was, of course, a little different. There one found people were able to speak or understand a smaller number of languages, and consequently they tended to listen to radio programmes in languages other than their own far less than urban listeners.

The relative popularity of programmes is another guide to the langu-

ages listened to. In the survey, all respondents were asked what their favourite programmes were. Certain programmes seemed to stand out as being popular with listeners of many language groups. In Lusaka the most popular programme was *Pochedza M'madzulo* (By the Fireside) a weekly half-hour of tales, cautionary and witty, traditional and modern, written and narrated in Nyanja by a very talented young journalist. *Pochedza M'madzulo* is one of those radio programmes which people rush home or to a friend's house to hear. The story-teller's following came from all age, income and language groups, in rural and urban areas. Some listeners with only a limited knowledge of Nyanja said they enjoyed this programme. There were other programmes like it in the other languages, but none so widely popular. This of course had much to do with the talent of the story teller, but it was also helped by the fact that Nyanja is the language of Lusaka and is spoken to some extent by most Africans in the city.

English was not the language most listened to and few programmes in English enjoyed wide popularity. The *News in English* and the *Early Morning Request* programme were the most-listened-to items in the English language. Generally, however, most listeners tuned to Zambian language broadcasts on the Home Service for most of the time. The bulk of the audience to the General Service programmes was made up of the more educated sections of the community, and Europeans and Asians, although television, available in Lusaka, Kabwe and on the Copperbelt, took away much of the potential audience in the evening. Television programmes were entirely in English and there are still no plans for televising programmes in Zambian languages.

In spite of this predominance of listening to Zambian languages, the proportion of English on Z.B.S. radio is still very high (around 40% in fact). Whereas Radio Tanzania has been able to cut English language broadcasts down to a minimum because of the use of Swahili as the national language, the Z.B.S. has actually increased the proportion of English since Independence. It is worthwhile therefore to look more closely at this policy and at the programme output in English.

The policy of introducing English as the medium of instruction in primary schools ran up against the problem of the lack of teachers whose knowledge of English is adequate. The same problem exists in broadcasting. There are many people with talent who can write, present and produce lively and entertaining programmes in Zambian languages. But few people with these talents in the English language actually go into broadcasting. Their standard of education is higher and they can command better salaries elsewhere, in public relations work, advertising and industry. Since the Z.B.S. is a department of Government, broadcasters are civil servants, and the creative personnel tend to be a long way down the civil service pay structure. An insufficient number of

people with the right talents is attracted to broadcasting for this reason, and the English language service suffers more than the others. English programmes tend, with some exceptions, to be poorly produced; the language is often stilted, badly phrased and pronounced. Insufficient attention is paid to the level of knowledge of English of the potential audience. There are no programmes in "special" English, (with a limited vocabulary and at slow speed) with the exception of a few schools programmes.

Now that the medium of instruction in schools is to be English, systematic research needs to be undertaken into the right kind of English which should be used at different levels: satisfactory speeds of delivery, size of vocabulary, and whether the pronunciation of English by educated Zambian speakers is better understood than that of non Zambian speakers of English.

All schools programmes are in English. In 1972 there were 60 lessons per week of fifteen minutes duration. Twenty-four of these were lessons in the use of English, or about the language and its literature. Twelve of them were for primary schools from Grade V onwards. (There were no broadcasts then for children in Lower Primary Schools – Grades I to IV.) The other twelve were for secondary schools from Forms One to Five. The aim of these broadcasts was to act as a complement to the efforts of the teacher. The earliest lessons aimed at giving pupils the chance of "hearing English children speaking and singing", and of "trying to imitate some of the things [the English children] say and sing". (Teachers' Handbook 1971, p. 1.)

Broadcasting for schools can be a very valuable asset to the teacher in the classroom. In Zambia it could be particularly valuable in view of the limitations of many school teachers. Unfortunately these limitations included very often the inability to make full use of what is available on the radio. This, combined with serious reception difficulties in many parts of the country, meant that the schools broadcasts were not achieving their potential.

The rest of the English language broadcast output included a great deal of music, mostly western "pop" and Congolese "rumba", and programmes made locally about agriculture, nutrition, health or welfare. In addition there were short "newsreel" and discussion programmes. The shortage, however, of qualified personnel meant a fairly heavy reliance on material from radio stations in developed countries (mostly from the B.B.C. but also from the U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand, West Germany, Holland and the United Nations). The amount used in any week varied but was usually no less than 12 hours.

English was and still is dominant on the radio in terms of the amount broadcast, but not in terms of the audience. With the press the situation is quite different. Nearly all periodicals are in English, and no paper or

magazine in a Zambian language achieves large circulation figures. The situation in Zambia is again in sharp contrast to Tanzania where the only mass circulation periodicals (with the exception of the *Daily News*) are in Swahili. In Zambia there is very little printed material in local languages. There are of course Bibles and religious books, pamphlets and tracts. The Government has sponsored and encouraged people to write secular books in Zambian languages and a certain amount is available as teaching materials in schools. But most Zambians see very little secular printed matter in Zambian languages.

Knowledge of English is one of the marks of an educated man. To be able to read (or appear to be able to read) English is considered an achievement of status. There is a feeling that literacy is of little value unless it includes the ability to read English. Consequently sales of newspapers in Zambian languages are limited, especially in the urban areas where the ability to read English appears to matter more.

Table 7.5: Zambian language newspapers (figures for 1972).

<i>Paper</i>	<i>Circulation</i>	<i>Languages</i>
Ngoma	3,000	Luvale, Lunda and Kaonde
Imbila	27,000	Bemba
Tsopano	12,500	Nyanja
Intanda	7,600	Tonga
Lukanga	6,000	Bemba, Lenje <sup>9</sup>
Liseli	8,700	Lozi

The papers listed in Table 5 were produced by the Zambia Information Services, another division in the same Ministry as the Z.B.S.

These papers, which appeared every two weeks, dealt with the local news of the areas in which they were mostly sold. Thus *Lukanga* mostly contained news about Central Province, and especially news of the rural areas around Kabwe where the editorial offices were situated. Similarly *Tsopano* contained news from the Eastern Province, and *Liseli* from the Western Province. They also carried a certain amount of national and foreign news. Each paper also used to contain small sections in English, but these were discontinued in 1970.

In addition to these newspapers, the Ministry of Rural Development published a monthly farming magazine, *Progress*. This was produced initially in English and translated editions appeared in the Lozi, Tonga, Bemba and Nyanja languages. The sales of these magazines were severely limited by the lack of outlets in the rural areas. (Distribution was in fact handled by a firm which had no outlets in rural areas.) *Progress* was intended initially as "follow-up" reading material for the national



literacy campaign to reinforce the reading habits of the newly literate. But its impact had been very limited. It remained almost impossible to obtain copies of *Progress* outside the towns.

Few other periodicals were produced in Zambian languages. The churches seemed to be moving towards a greater use of English in their printed output. The Jehovah's Witnesses or Watch Tower Sect which is strong in some parts of the country had their own magazines (printed in the United States) in Lozi, Tonga, Bemba and Nyanja but this is exceptional. There was a Catholic newspaper *Icengelo* published in Bemba. The writer was unable to find any other regular Zambian language periodicals.

Some Government Departments issue pamphlets in Zambian languages. Almost without exception they are cumbersome translations from the English version. Very often the translation itself is incomplete when technical or otherwise difficult words are left in English. In fact the reader who can understand the version in a Zambian language would probably need to be sufficiently well-educated to understand the original English anyway.

All papers in Zambian languages run at considerable financial loss and have to be subsidised. They receive very little revenue from advertising partly because their circulation is relatively limited, but also because the advertising agencies direct most of their funds for press advertising towards the English language press which reaches a larger number of readers, many of whom are better educated, more wealthy and are able to read English. It is interesting however to note that whilst most advertisements in the press appear in English language periodicals, most advertisements on the radio are in Bemba or Nyanja. If there is such a person as the typical urbanised Zambian, he is pictured by the advertising agency as reading his newspapers in English and listening to his radio in Nyanja or Bemba. The picture is not far from the truth.

The press in Zambian languages seems unlikely to grow: most probably it will contract. At the same time the readership of the English language press, the only press that can achieve national coverage, continues to expand. This is especially true of the daily press.

There are two daily newspapers, and both are entirely in the English language. *The Times of Zambia* had a daily circulation in 1972 of 50,000. The Government-owned *Zambia Daily Mail* did not give official circulation figures but they are thought to be in the region of 20,000. The English used in these papers is similar to that employed in any "middle-brow" paper in England. Many of the journalists on both papers were either from Britain or had been trained in British methods of journalism. Some of the journaleses employed in both papers must be puzzling to many readers, especially in the headlines. Some examples of these in 1971 were:—

MILNER RAPS BREAD CRISIS (A member of the Government denying that the shortage of flour was serious)

NEW BOY LASHES THE LOT (About the speech of a new Minister)

and

UNIP SWOOPS ON JOBLESS THIEVES (The ruling party taking action against crime)

Very often the content of both papers is in what is often referred to as a "racy" style, quite different from Zambian English. Research carried out by the writer shows that many less educated readers misunderstand or understand very little of the content of an English language newspaper. As with the radio there is no attempt to simplify the English used. And yet the *Times* in particular is popular, and is bought by a large number of people whose understanding of its contents must be very limited. As was indicated earlier, English is the language of social prestige and an English language daily paper like the *Times* is a status symbol, and it is often carried around for that purpose. A similar phenomenon has been noted by Condon in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where many people who knew little English carried around a copy of an English paper. (See Condon, 1968.)

Any consideration of the Zambian press must include a mention of the foreign periodicals which are widely available. Glossy colour magazines like *Drum* and *Flamingo* and the photo-comic-strip *Film*, all of them in English, achieve better sales than most Zambian non-daily periodicals. Of the first ten most popular non-daily periodicals in Lusaka only four are Zambian. South African glossy magazines in English such as *Scope*, *Personality*, and *Darling* are also widely read by Zambians.

Table 6 shows the respective size of readership of daily and non daily periodicals in two rural and two urban districts. The percentages were obtained from the Audience Survey.

Circulation and readership of the daily press was almost entirely confined to the towns. The non-daily papers however reached both urban and rural areas. And in the rural areas, papers in local languages tended to be read more than they were in the towns. There were however enormous variations between rural areas. These must be accounted for by the differences in distribution, and by the languages used in the papers. The low figure for readership of local language papers in Katete must be accounted for by poor distribution; but elsewhere in the country readership figures are low because the language used in the paper is not the local one. In Kasama readership of the Bemba language paper *Imbila* is as high as 50%. Distribution is well-organised there and the paper is written in the language of the area.

Film shows are an established part of Zambian life. There are few

Table 7.6: Size of readership of periodicals in four districts.

	<i>Lusaka City</i>	<i>Kitwe City</i>	<i>Ndola Rural</i>	<i>Katete (Eastern Province, rural)</i>	<i>All Zambia</i>
Reads a daily paper at all	45	51	10	5	33
Reads a daily paper every day	22	28	—	—	6
Reads any non-daily paper or magazine	23	39	19	8	25
Reads a non-daily in a local language	2	6	18	6	11

Table 7.7: Size of film audience.

	<i>Lusaka</i>	<i>Kitwe</i>	<i>Ndola Rural</i>	<i>Katete</i>	<i>All Zambia</i>
Seen films at a cinema	22	29	2	2	7
Seen films in open-air at a Z.I.S. show	7	14	47	70	44

(See Mytton, 1974, pp. 54 passim.)

cinemas, and these mostly cater for expatriates and better educated Zambians. A far greater number however watch films at open-air shows. Some of these are arranged by private commercial companies. Most, however, are put on by the Government-run Zambia Information Services. In 1972 Zambia had about 100 "Film-Rovers": specially converted Land Rovers equipped for showing 16 mm films with sound, in the rural areas.

Table 7 shows the percentage of people who had seen at least one film show in a cinema, or in the open air put on by the Z.I.S. in the previous twelve months. The extent to which the mobile film units are reaching a mass audience in the rural areas is amply demonstrated here. A greater proportion of people in rural Katete get to see films than in urban Lusaka. And film shows may be a more important medium of mass communication there than radio, on account of poor radio reception.

All films shown at commercial cinemas and at the limited number of commercial mobile shows are in English or Indian languages. The Zambian commercial cinema circuit takes films mostly from Britain and America, with a few Indian films for the small Asian community. It is only at the Z.I.S. open-air film shows that films with Zambian language sound-tracks are played. Even then most of the films played are in English. The Z.I.S. has a collection of rather old and worn American

feature and comedy films that are used "to fill the bill". Zambian films take up the rest of the time. There is a film unit making documentary films in Zambia. In 1972 there were supposed to be 26 of these every year, or one every fortnight. It was intended that more than 30 copies were made of each of them, but only nine of these copies were in Zambian languages (four in Bemba, one in Nyanja, two in Tonga, and two in Lozi). However, the Z.I.S. film unit was not producing as many films as it was intended to, and very few were produced with Zambian language sound-tracks. The latter was due to the shortage of skilled translators and readers that affected all types of mass media using Zambian languages and English. Even when films were produced it was a long time before they reached the rural areas.

There was an enormous potential in film in Zambia, a potential which was not being realised. The 100 "Film-Rovers" were out in the villages for most of the year.

The mass media, if not entirely dominated by English, were dominated by the feeling or belief that English was the "proper" language for the modern communications media. The problems of the Zambian languages with regard to translation and related matters, received scant attention. Translation is, of course, a skilled job, but people who translate English into Zambian languages for broadcasting, films or the press were not regarded as skilled personnel. Their standard of education was usually even lower than that of their colleagues who worked in the English language and yet their skill needed to be as great if not greater. Some translations of the news on Z.B.S. radio indicated that the staff responsible had an extremely limited knowledge of English. This resulted in a tendency among some radio listeners (especially the more educated) to make the effort to listen to the English broadcasts, particularly for news and current affairs programmes.

The mass media can be a useful indicator of language trends. The near absence of a Zambian language press indicates that literacy and reading are associated with English as the "educated" language. The popularity of Zambian languages on the radio reflects the continuing use of Zambian languages in conversation in daily life.<sup>10</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Graham Mytton was Zambia Broadcasting Services Research Fellow at the Institute for African Studies at the University of Zambia. In 1967, the Zambian Ministry of Information Broadcasting and Tourism approached the University of Zambia with a view to sponsoring a three year research project which would look into ways of improving communications in the country. Above all, the role of radio in development was stressed, and it was requested that there should be a detailed consideration of the Zambian language policy in the mass media. The Zambia Broadcasting Services Research Project started in March 1970 and was completed in March 1973. A national audience survey was carried out, from which

details were obtained on the radio listening habits of Zambians, the extent of their readership of newspapers and magazines, and other related data on the mass media. Information was also obtained on the comprehension of languages used in the mass media, and on attitudes towards the choice of languages in broadcasting. (See Mytton, 1974.)

The results from this research are referred to in this chapter; and the source will be referred to in each case as the "Audience Survey".

<sup>2</sup> For an illuminating and very entertaining account of broadcasting in the early days, see Peter Fraenkel, 1959.

<sup>3</sup> This information comes from interviews the writer has had with leading broadcasting officers of the period.

<sup>4</sup> African Education Advisory Board, July 1957: Draft Minutes of 18th Meeting, 2nd and 3rd July 1957. Item VII, page 4.

<sup>5</sup> These percentages are of the total broadcast time in each instance, less the time taken up in broadcasting continuous music with no speech.

<sup>6</sup> Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola.

<sup>7</sup> Many Chikunda-speaking people who have a radio set demand the inclusion of their language on Z.B.S. radio. But the fact that almost all can understand Nyanja adequately was demonstrated by the fact that no difficulties were encountered by research workers using Nyanja on the Audience Survey in Chikunda-speaking areas. One factor that undoubtedly plays a part in the demand for the inclusion of Chikunda is the existence of daily broadcasts in that language from neighbouring Mozambique.

<sup>8</sup> Letter to the Z.B.S.

<sup>9</sup> The inclusion of Lenje is an exception to the Government's otherwise strict language policy. But in July 1971 Lenje had to be dropped because the paper lost its Lenje-speaking staff and was not able to recruit replacements. The exclusion of the language brought strong protests from Lenje-speaking readers.

<sup>10</sup> And as in conversation Zambians, particularly the more educated, will break into English when discussing more "modern" or technical issues, so on the radio the Zambian languages tended to stick to the mundane and the common place whilst the English language was used for more complex issues.

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## 8 A STUDY OF LANGUAGE USE AMONG LOCAL STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

Moses Musonda

### 1.0 *Introduction*

The University of Zambia (UNZA) is a relatively young institution inaugurated only in 1966 and is the only University in the country. A very small number of candidates are admitted to the university every year. The privileged few who are thus selected to pursue their course of studies at UNZA consider themselves very lucky.

The student body comprises Zambians and some foreign nationals. In 1970 when this study was carried out there was a total of 1,196 students of whom 973 were Zambian citizens selected from secondary schools all over the country, and 223 were foreign students. Of the 973 Zambians, approximately 60 were persons who were naturalised Zambians, such as persons of Asian and European extraction, whose mother tongue was not one of the local Zambian languages. Lecturers numbered some 200 at the time and the majority of them were foreigners who had come from the Commonwealth, North America, Europe and Africa. Zambian lecturers formed a very small minority (8%).

### 1.1 *Language Use Among Educated Zambians*

Generally speaking, any one who has completed his education in Zambia speaks English. It is also known that a great number of Zambians with secondary or university education speak one or two Zambian languages besides their own and English. A small number of this group speak up to five Zambian languages, again excluding their own and English. Some of the reasons for this are as follows:

(a) such persons may have been born in a region where a particular language other than their mother tongue was used and they thus learned to speak that language in their childhood;

(b) children whose parents were government employees may have moved and stayed with their parents in a new community to which the latter had been transferred; a place using a language different from that used by the family;

(c) certain persons may have gone to a boarding school where their mother tongue was not used or taught, in which case they chose, or were obliged by circumstances, to learn the language of the region in

which the school was situated;

(d) youngsters with friends whose language was different from theirs learned to speak their friends' language while playing or associating with them;

(e) in intertribal or mixed marriages, some children may have learned to speak both the language of the mother and that of the father.

Many UNZA students have been exposed to or involved in such situations and such exposure accounts for the fact that the majority of them were able to speak more than one *Zambian language*.

## 2.0 *The Study*

The author in 1970 undertook a study on language use among local UNZA students. The study focused on approximately 910 *Zambian students* whose mother tongue was one of the local *Zambian languages*.

In order to obtain information for this study, a questionnaire was prepared for distribution to some students in this group. The questionnaire sought background information, e.g. birth date and place; places in which the student had lived; student's mother tongue; other languages spoken: how fluently these were spoken and how they were learned; parents' languages; grandparents' languages; language the student used when speaking to friends and when speaking to strangers; languages he used for shopping; languages the student would like his children to learn; language he considered most practical, i.e. one that might serve in most circumstances. In addition students were asked to keep a language diary over a period of three days to record languages they used on different occasions. Initially, 150 questionnaires were distributed to students, but only 93 were completed and handed in. The figure of 93 students, of which 77 were male, represented 10.3% of the 910 or so *Zambian students* in question. The male - female ratio among students in general, which was 5 : 1 in 1970, was taken account of when questionnaires were distributed.

The ages of respondents ranged from 18 to 28, most falling in the 23-28 age group.<sup>1</sup> Because there had not been enough schools at primary and secondary levels before Independence, many children did not enter school until they were nine or ten, hence the larger number of respondents whose age fell between 23 and 28. Today the situation has changed considerably as the government has built many more schools to cater for the needs of children.

In considering places in which respondents were born, broad language speaking areas, and not districts, were taken into account. For this reason, a general assumption was made that the dominant language spoken in the area should be the one by which the area in question

would be recognised. For instance, Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt Provinces plus Kabwe Urban, Mkushi and Serenje districts were considered as Bemba speaking areas; Eastern Province, Lusaka Urban and Feira as Nyanja speaking areas; Southern Province (except Livingstone) and Mumbwa as Tonga speaking areas; Western Province and Livingstone as Lozi speaking areas; Northwestern Province's Kasempa and Solwezi districts as Kaonde speaking areas, and Kabompo, Mwinilunga and Zambesi districts as Lunda and/or Luvale speaking areas.<sup>2</sup> According to the answers given, 91 respondents were born in Zambia, one in Malawi and one in Zaire.

Table 8:1: Language area.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Bemba	44	47.2
Nyanja	24	25.9
Tonga	12	12.9
Lozi	8	8.6
Lunda & Luvale	2	2.2
Kaonde	1	1.1
Foreign (Malawi)	1	1.1
(Zaire)	1	1.1
Totals	93	100.0

Table 1 shows the number of respondents born in an area in which the language mentioned was a dominant language. Because of the relatively large area in which Bemba was claimed to be spoken, the area was represented by a fairly large percentage. However, this does not mean that all these persons were Bemba speakers, for a few of the people in this group belonged to other language groups although they may have been born in a Bemba speaking area.

As regards the mother tongue or the language the respondents first learned to speak as a child, the situation appeared as in Table 2. Following the assumption given above on dominant languages spoken in certain areas, it would seem that Namwanga, Lungu and Lala would, for the purpose of this study, be in the Bemba speaking group; Tumbuka and Nsenga in the Nyanja; Lenje in the Tonga group; etc. Thus we would have 40.9% for Bemba, 27% for Nyanja, 15.1% for Tonga, 7.5% for Lozi, and so forth. Therefore, most respondents spoke as a mother tongue Bemba or a language spoken in the districts where Bemba was the official language; this was followed by Nyanja then Tonga, then Lozi and last the Lunda and Luvale group.



On the question of places in which these students had lived and for how long, it seems that a certain number of people had remained within the same language speaking area since birth, while others had been in two or more.

Table 8.2: Mother tongues of respondents.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Bemba	26	28.0
Namwanga & Lungu	8	8.6
Lala	4	4.3
Nyanja & Nsenga	16	17.2
Tumbuka	11	11.8
Tonga & Ila	13	14.0
Lenje	1	1.1
Lozi	7	7.5
Lunda & Luvale	3	3.2
Other	3	3.2
Not stated	1	1.1
Total	93	100.0

Table 8.3: Places lived in and number of years lived in each (by dominant language of area).

	<i>Number of years</i>						<i>Total</i>	
	<i>1-2</i>		<i>3-4</i>		<i>5 and more</i>		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>		
Bemba	10	10.8	3	3.2	51	54.8	64	68.9
Nyanja	19	20.4	13	14.0	49	52.7	81	87.1
Tonga	3	3.2	3	3.2	17	18.3	23	24.7
Lozi	4	4.3	—	—	9	9.7	13	14.0
Kaonde	2	2.2	1	1.1	—	—	3	3.2
Lunda/Luvale	—	—	—	—	2	2.2	2	2.2
Other/Foreign	4	4.3	4	4.3	6	6.5	14	15.1

From Table 3 one will note that 68.9% of the respondents had lived at least for one year in a Bemba speaking area, and 54.8% had lived there for five years or more. An even higher percentage of 87.1 had lived at least for one year in a Nyanja speaking area, and 52.7% had been there for five years or more. What has not been shown in Table 3 is the following data: of the 93 respondents, 17 (18.3%) had lived in only one language speaking area, 49 (52.7%) had lived in only two language

speaking areas, 23 (24.7%) had lived in three language areas and 4 (4.3%) had lived in four language areas. One could say of those who had lived in two or more language speaking areas that this was a factor encouraging them to learn more languages, especially if this took place when they were still young. Further, Table 3 has not shown which specific language speakers had moved to what language areas. It appears from the answers to the questionnaires that nearly 80% of the respondents had been born in a place where in fact their mother tongue was the dominant language spoken in the area. Of the 44 who were born in the Bemba speaking area, every one had been in a Nyanja speaking area for some time, 2 in a Tonga speaking area, 2 in a Kaonde speaking area and none in the remaining ones. Of the 24 born in the Nyanja speaking area, 13 had been in a Bemba speaking area, 3 in a Tonga speaking area and 2 in a Lozi speaking area. Of the 12 born in the Tonga speaking area, 10 had been in a Nyanja speaking area, 6 in a Bemba speaking area and 4 in a Lozi speaking area. Every one of the 8 born in the Lozi speaking area had been in a Nyanja speaking area, 3 in a Bemba speaking area and only 1 in a Tonga speaking area. Each of the 3 born in the Northwestern Province (i.e. Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale areas) had been in Bemba and Nyanja areas and one of them had been in a Tonga speaking area. The information which is shown in Tables 2 and 3 reveals first that a great number of people from the language groups listed had been to a Nyanja speaking area and the second language speaking area in rank to which these respondents claim to have been is the Bemba area.

Besides mother tongue and English, respondents were asked to give other languages they spoke, and how fluently they spoke them. In a great number of cases, one to two languages were given, and in a few cases three or more were indicated (see Table 4). From the data in Table 4, the following became evident. Putting mother tongue and English aside, Nyanja appeared to be the most widely spoken language with at least 49%; it was followed by Bemba with 31.1%, then Tumbuka 7.5%, Tonga 5.4%. The remaining Zambian languages were each spoken by less than 5% of the respondents. Perhaps something may be said here about French which 14% of respondents claimed to speak at least satisfactorily. The reason is not hard to find. According to the records kept by the Zambian Ministry of Education, about 70 of the 115 Zambian secondary schools offered French. 35% of the candidates sit for French every year at the Junior level and about 10% at "O" level. French is also offered as a subject at UNZA. The 14% in question comprised some of the students who had continued with French at university level and whose oral proficiency was quite good.

Except for French, which was learned almost entirely through formal instruction at school or university, the other languages were learned either (i) by contact with those who spoke them (mostly friends), or

Table 8:4

a) Other languages spoken fluently.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nyanja	23	24.7
Bemba	19	20.4
Lozi	3	3.2
Tumbuka	3	3.2
Tonga	2	2.2
Namwanga	1	1.1
French	1	1.1

b) Other languages spoken satisfactorily.

Nyanja	23	24.7
French	12	12.9
Bemba	9	9.7
Tumbuka	4	4.3
Tonga	3	3.2
Lunda/Luvale	2	2.2
Namwanga	2	2.2
Kaonde	1	1.1

Table 8:5: Languages learned from friends.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Nyanja	54	58.1
Bemba	37	39.8
Tonga	12	12.9
Lozi	8	8.6
Tumbuka	7	7.5
Namwanga	5	5.4
Lunda/Luvale	1	1.1
Kaonde	1	1.1
French	1	1.1
Other	5	5.4

(ii) by informal instruction at school, or (iii) at home. Nyanja and Bemba were very high among non-mother tongues learned from friends. For instance, 58.1% of the respondents testified to having learned Nyanja from friends, and 39.8% learned Bemba in the same manner. The figures for Tonga and Lozi were 12.9% and 8.6% respectively (see Table 5).

This information about the languages learned from friends seems to support the significance of the data given in Table 3 concerning the

language speaking areas respondents had been in for a considerable period. As for other languages learned in the home, the figures obtained were negligible.

As regards those languages learned through formal instruction at school, 15.1% of the respondents claimed to have learned Nyanja in this way, 6.5% Bemba, and 4.3% Lozi and Tonga respectively. Another finding was that both Nyanja and Bemba topped the list of other languages in which respondents could read besides their mother tongue and English. The listing was as follows: Nyanja 38.7% and Bemba 23.7%; Lozi 6.5%; Tonga 3.2%. Bemba and Nyanja were the most widely used Zambian languages among students for two reasons. Firstly, because of the concentration of population of the Copperbelt where Bemba was spoken and in Lusaka where Nyanja was used rather extensively, Bemba and Nyanja had more people using them. Secondly, it is my observation that many students consider these languages to be easier to learn than other Zambian languages. This personal observation and the evidence of the present statistics would seem to support the view that Bemba and Nyanja were, apart from English, the most widely spoken Zambian languages among the educated.

Table 8:6: Languages spoken most fluently.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English	84	90.3
Nyanja	38	40.9
Bemba	27	29.0
Tonga	16	17.2
Tumbuka	11	11.8
Lozi	9	9.7
Namwanga	9	9.7
Lunda/Luvale	2	2.2
Other	1	1.1

In Table 6 the languages students claimed to speak most fluently are given. The majority gave a combination of two or three languages and a few gave four. In only 6.5% cases did students claim to be fluent in only one language. In Table 6 all languages are given and so these figures are different from those given in Table 4 where the languages given excluded mother tongues and English. It should be made clear that in Table 6 one who claimed Lala as his mother tongue, to take only one example, might not necessarily consider it as his most fluent language. He might use it only rarely and so he might claim other languages like English or Nyanja as the language in which he was most fluent. When comparing these

figures with those in Table 2 above, this explanation should be borne in mind.

Information received on paternal and maternal grandparents' languages has not been included here as their role in influencing the language spoken by their grandchildren these days seems not to be as significant as it was previously. However, one point that is possibly of interest, as far as this part of the study is concerned, is the fact that respondents' grandparents seem to have belonged to the same tribal or linguistic group, which would possibly indicate the rareness of intertribal marriages and also the lack of mobility in the past (up to the late 1930's). The second point is that in all cases, except one which was a mixed marriage, not a single grandparent seems to have used English. The one case in which one grandfather used English concerned an Asian who had married a Nyanja speaker; as he did not know the language of the area, he spoke English.

Looking at the reports of the languages used by parents when speaking to their children and the languages used by the children themselves when talking to each other, it was apparent that in the majority of homes both parents spoke a single Zambian language and used it practically always when speaking to their children. In about 8.6% of the cases, English was used with some Zambian language in a conversation between a parent and a child, and in about 5.4% of the cases, there were two Zambian languages used side by side, i.e. the mother speaking one and the father using the other, perhaps a probable indication of an intertribal marriage.

According to the data we have from the questionnaires, children tended to use English a little more frequently than their mother tongue when talking among themselves.

Comparing Tables 7a and 7b, one fact is significant: 8.6% of parents used English when speaking to their children, whereas a large number of respondents (43.0%) used English when talking to their brothers and sisters. This could be due to the fact that English, being the official language of Zambia, may receive more emphasis than any other languages, hence the growing tendency among the educated Zambians to use it often. Again, because English is the medium of instruction in all institutions of learning, children are naturally prone to using it frequently. Equally, there have been more educational opportunities since Independence and this may have made Zambians realise the importance of an international language such as English. Further, the call to eliminate tribalism may, to a certain extent, have made people use English more and more as a neutral language associated with no tribal grouping. Moreover, to some, English is a status language and so some one using it in his speech may, erroneously or otherwise, think he has more prestige. Lastly, because of urbanisation and the mass media the use of English has been extended to an extent it never was before Independence.

The answers regarding the languages respondents used when talking

Table 8:7

## a) Languages spoken by parents to children.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Bemba	31	33.3
Nyanja	17	18.3
Tumbuka	14	15.1
Tonga	13	14.0
Lozi	8	8.6
Namwanga	8	8.6
English	8	8.6
Lunda/Luvale	4	4.3
Other	3	3.2

## b) Languages used when talking to brothers and sisters.

English	40	43.0
Bemba	39	41.9
Nyanja	22	23.7
Tonga	13	14.0
Tumbuka	10	10.8
Lozi	8	8.6
Lunda/Luvale	4	4.3
Namwanga	4	4.3
Other	2	2.2

to brothers and sisters may be related to another question concerning the languages respondents would like their children to learn. Apart from English which appeared alone in one case, in all other instances languages appeared in combinations of two, three or four, and in almost all cases English was among the languages stated. The individual languages listed in Table 8 appeared in combinations with other languages. English was again high on the list of the languages stated here; two Zambian languages i.e. Bemba and Nyanja came next after English with 51.6% and 49.5% respectively; Tonga had 18.3%, Lozi 14% and Tumbuka 11.8%. Some data which is not shown here is that 1.1% wanted their children to learn English only. As seen in Table 6, Table 8 also shows that the tendency was to select Bemba and Nyanja, the two Zambian languages claimed to be most widely spoken. A surprising revelation was the incidence of French which was mentioned by 44.1 per cent. Does this indicate a direction towards internationalism?

In addition to the instances already treated above, this study was also interested in other language situations, e.g. languages students used when talking to fellow students on the campus, languages used for shopping, languages used in prayer, languages used when talking to strangers. In

Table 8:8: Languages respondents would like their children to learn.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English	90	96.8
Bemba	48	51.6
Nyanja	46	49.5
French	41	44.1
Tonga	17	18.3
Lozi	13	14.0
Tumbuka	11	11.8
Namwanga	8	8.6
Lunda/Luvale	3	3.2
Other	1	1.1

Table 9a, English is the language used most widely among the students on the campus (84.9%), the reason being that all students could speak the language well, having been exposed to it for such a long time in formal instruction and through mass media (newspapers, radio, T.V.) and cinema. Two persons belonging to two different language groups, Kaonde and Tumbuka, for instance, could discuss their problems easily through the medium of English. Moreover, the author has sometimes observed that, in conversation, students spoke a number of languages at the same time and switched from one to another without warning. It was not unusual to hear a discussion carried on in English, Bemba and Nyanja at the same time and interlocutors would understand each other perfectly. Another variation on this phenomenon is that sometimes a conversation would be carried on in two languages whereby X talked to Y using one language and Y replied in another language and the two understood each other without difficulty. Again, a group of students speaking the same mother tongue, when joined by a person whose language differed from theirs, would almost certainly switch to English so that the newcomer might take part in their discussion.

When a student was confronted with a stranger (who was not another student) he might first appear undecided as to which language he should use, unless the latter spoke first. But usually, if a stranger appeared, educated English would be automatically used, but where the stranger's educational status was doubtful it is more likely that Nyanja, or even some other vernacular would be used. The personal observations reported above appear to be supported by the data given in Table 9b: English was listed in 84.9% of cases, Nyanja 49.3% and Bemba 35.5%.<sup>3</sup> The incidence of other languages was below 5%.

In the data dealing with the language used for shopping, English, Nyanja and Bemba were used at the rates of 95.7%, 64.5% and 39.8%.

## LANGUAGE USE IN ZAMBIA

Table 8:9

## a) Languages used when talking to friends.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English	79	84.9
Bemba	33	35.5
Nyanja	32	34.4
Tonga	10	10.8
Tumbuka	4	4.3
Lozi	3	3.2
French	3	3.2
Lunda/Luvale	1	1.1
No answer	1	1.1

## b) Languages used when talking to strangers.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English	79	84.9
Nyanja	44	49.3
Bemba	33	35.5
Tumbuka	3	3.2
Lozi	2	2.2
Tonga	1	1.1
No answer	2	2.2

## c) Languages used for shopping.

English	89	95.7
Nyanja	60	64.5
Bemba	37	39.8
Tonga	7	7.5
Lozi	1	1.1
Tumbuka	1	1.1

Tonga had 7.5% and all others were negligible. The answers respondents gave in this section concerned, I believe, the shopping done in Lusaka. It is obvious that a person living, say, in the Western Province would use the language of the area, Lozi, for shopping and to a lesser extent, English. But here, according to the data, the students were apparently thinking of the shopping they usually did in Lusaka since UNZA is located there. English was high on the list because it facilitated communication between the customer and the owner of the shop; in Lusaka the latter is likely to be either an educated Zambian, an expatriate or an Indian.

The information obtained on prayer might be somewhat misleading. In rural areas, the practice was that church services were conducted in



Table 8:10

## a) Languages used in prayer.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English only	44	47.3
Bemba and English	13	14.0
Nyanja only	3	3.2
Nyanja and English	3	3.2
Tonga and English	3	3.2
Lozi and English	3	3.2
Bemba only	2	2.2
Nyanja, Tumbuka and English	2	2.2
Bemba, Namwanga and English	1	1.1
Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga and French	1	1.1
Bemba, Nyanja and English	1	1.1
Nyanja, English and Tonga	1	1.1
Lozi only	1	1.1
Namwanga only	1	1.1
Namwanga, English and French	1	1.1
Lunda/Luvale and English	1	1.1
No answer	12	12.9

## b) The same data arranged in another way.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English	74	79.6
Bemba	18	19.4
Nyanja	11	11.8
Tonga	5	5.4
Lozi	4	4.3
Namwanga	3	3.2
Tumbuka	2	2.2
Lunda/Luvale	1	1.1
No answer	12	12.9

the Zambian language spoken in the area. But in secondary schools English was often the preferred language. At UNZA, religious services were conducted in English to make it easier for everyone, since students attending services at the University had come from all regions of Zambia and from abroad. This seems to be the reason why English received a high percentage in the questionnaires. It did not mean, as someone once jokingly said, that perhaps they thought God would understand them better in English. To be noted is the fact that nearly 13% of respondents did not belong to a religious group. However, some respondents used their mother tongue in private prayer and some others used English. (Even though I have no convincing information, I would personally think that more respondents than the figures indicate are likely to use

their mother tongue in prayer, especially in private prayer.) According to the data obtained from respondents on languages used in religious services or prayer 47.3% prayed only in English; in all other cases English was used with other languages e.g. English and Bemba 14%, English and Nyanja 3.2%, English and Tonga 3.2%, English and Lozi 3.2%. The cases in which Zambian languages appeared alone were very few: Nyanja alone 3.2%, Bemba alone 2.2%, Lozi alone 1.1%, etc.

The data in Table 10 simply indicates the languages used in religious services. The effects of attendance at such services on the language use of the students is limited as most students attend service only once a week, on Sunday, or, in the case of Seventh Day Adventists, on Saturday.

In the diaries that students kept over a period of three days to show which languages they actually used for certain occasions it was found that conversations among themselves were the only interesting item. 20% of the respondents indicated that they listened to radio broadcasts of songs in all languages and the majority of those also listened to news bulletins mostly in English. 55.5% indicated that they watched T.V. which is entirely in English in Zambia; and some 25% claimed to have gone to the cinema which, again was in English. (Apart from films shown in town, the students Union, through their Cultural and Social Secretary, is able to show a film each week on the campus). In informal talks among students themselves on campus, the diaries revealed that in 98.9% of the cases (conversations) English was used, in 67.9% Nyanja, in 63.4% Bemba, in 17.2% Tonga and in 16.1% Lozi. These figures are higher than those given in Table 9a where respondents had been asked to give the languages used when speaking to friends. In the diaries the results are those actually obtained in real conversation. The trend remains the same, however: English is first, followed by Nyanja and Bemba, then others.

Table 8:11: Languages students actually used when talking with their friends over a 3-day period (diaries).

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English	92	98.9
Nyanja	64	67.9
Bemba	59	63.4
Tonga	16	17.2
Lozi	15	16.1
Tumbuka	12	12.9
French	8	8.6
Lunda/Luvale	1	1.1

Although the languages are recorded individually in Table 11, not a single student used only one language: some gave their mother tongue

and English; others English, their mother tongue and one or more Zambian languages.

### 3.0 Conclusion

Although the findings tabulated and discussed in this paper are by no means conclusive, nevertheless the study has revealed certain general trends.

First, from the data given, one can see that English is the most widely spoken language among the educated Zambians as exemplified by UNZA students. For instance, of the languages spoken most fluently by respondents according to Table 6, English scored 90.3%; in Table 7, 43% of respondents used English when talking to their brothers and sisters; almost all (96.8%) would like English to be one of the languages their children should learn (Table 8); 85% used English when talking to strangers and 95.7% used it for shopping (Table 9c); finally in the actual University situation, almost all (98.9%) used English when talking with their fellow students (Table 11). No wonder then that when asked which language was the most practical in Zambia, 95.7% of respondents gave *English*. To explain this phenomenon, one has only to consider the status of English in Zambia: English is the medium of instruction from Grade I to the final year at the University; of the languages broadcast on the radio, English receives most time on the air;<sup>4</sup> English is the only language used on television; being the official language of Zambia, English enjoys the prestige accorded to no other language in Zambia. Besides, English is an international language which has made communication between Zambia and other English speaking countries easier. It is therefore not surprising that educated Zambians give such a high position to English.

The second observation one may make is that not a single person reportedly spoke only one language: a very small minority of respondents spoke only English and their mother tongue while the majority spoke English, their mother tongue and one or more Zambian languages. This fact is very significant in a multilingual society like Zambia: some of these students will be assigned posts in regions where their mother tongue is not used and so the knowledge of one or more Zambian languages in addition to their own language would be very useful indeed.

Thirdly, there seems to be a trend among the respondents towards the widespread use of Bemba and/or Nyanja besides English and their mother tongue, a point revealed in Tables 4, 5, 8, 9 and 11. Perhaps this could be, in the case of Bemba, attributed to the fact that on the Copperbelt, which is likely to be visited by more people than other Bemba speaking areas, and where population is concentrated because of industrialisation and mining, Bemba is the Zambian language used. Nyanja, which is spoken in Lusaka and in the Eastern Province, was once the

## LANGUAGE USE IN ZAMBIA

Table 8:12

a) Language considered most practical.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English only	88	94.6
Nyanja only	3	3.2
Nyanja and Bemba	1	1.1
English and Nyanja	1	1.1
	<u>93</u>	<u>100.0</u>

b) The same data arranged in another way.

	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
English	89	95.7
Nyanja	5	5.4
Bemba	1	1.1

official language of the police and the armed forces, and non-Nyanja speakers who learn it do so because they probably consider it the easiest language to learn and one of the most useful and popular Zambian languages. UNZA students, who have been asked at random what Zambian language they would like to learn besides their mother tongue, have often given Bemba or Nyanja or both. At the time this study was made, Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga and Lozi were taught as subjects in secondary schools at the Junior level and only Bemba and Nyanja were offered up to "O" level. On radio, Bemba and Nyanja had each a little more time on the air than any of the remaining Zambian languages.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps these two factors might serve to foster the attitude noted above; and it is likely that the use of these languages in education and the mass media has influenced the behaviour of students in ways that are reflected in the information given in Tables 4, 5, 8, 9 and 11 above. It would also seem from this study that the use of minority languages was minimal or negligible in the situations stated: this would mean that a person speaking a language such as Lala, Soli or Mambwe, for instance, would certainly have to learn one or more of the more widely spoken languages in order to be able to communicate in areas away from home.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> UNZA has no age limit regulation: any suitably qualified candidate will be admitted regardless of his age.

<sup>2</sup> The classification made here is a somewhat arbitrary one. In most cases, the author took as dominant language of the region those Zambian languages con-

sidered by Government as "official" and assigned to certain regions. In the North-western Province, the administrative region of Kasempa and Solwezi became the Kaonde-speaking area, while Zambesi, Mwinilunga and Kabompo fell in the Lunda and Luvale area, since either Lunda or Luvale or both is spoken in each of these districts.

In the Table dealing with mother tongues, e.g. Table 2, Tumbuka, which is officially in the Nyanja-speaking area, will appear as a separate language; so also will Namwanga which is officially in the Bemba area. In Table 2, Namwanga was classified with Mambwe or Lungu because, while these languages were separate, people who spoke one did not have difficulty understanding the other.

<sup>3</sup>Since UNZA is situated in Lusaka, officially a Nyanja-speaking area, the insistence on Nyanja is well understood. Were the University built, say, on the Copperbelt, the information here would almost certainly be weighted on the Bemba side; or on the Lozi side, were it located in, say, Livingstone.

<sup>4</sup>G. Mytton, research fellow (Broadcasting) at UNZA's Institute for African Studies (author of Chapter 7 of this volume), has pointed out that in February 1971 English had 40.4% of the total time on Radio Zambia; Bemba 12.6%; Nyanja 12.2%; Tonga 9.5%; Lozi 9.4%; Luvale 4.4%; Lunda 4.4%; and Kaonde 4.3%.

## 9 LANGUAGES USED BY ZAMBIAN ASIANS

Ansu K. Datta

### 1.0 *Introduction*

The present study<sup>1</sup> aims at throwing light on linguistic abilities and patterns of language use of Asian residents of Zambia. Without going into legal technicalities, an Asian resident has, for the purpose of this investigation, been defined as one who arrived in Zambia before Independence; that is, 24 October 1964, or anyone descended from such a person. Since Independence, the Government of Zambia has engaged the services of several thousand Asians, from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), on a contractual basis. These people, employed as teachers, doctors, accountants, engineers, mechanics, technicians, and researchers are more heterogeneous than resident Asians in language, religion and occupational specialisation, and are in this essay referred to as expatriate Asians.

The chapter is divided into five sections. In the next section a review of the literature on the subject is followed by a short descriptive account of Zambian Asians and an outline of the research design and methodology. The following section attempts to relate language use to factors like age, sex, rural-urban domicile, etc. The next two sections examine the contextual settings of language use by Zambian Asians and their standards of proficiency in different languages. Thereafter follows an analysis of the nature and extent of linguistic enforcement which results from the development of the technology of communication. In the final section, an attempt has been made to draw certain conclusions from the whole exercise.

### 1.1 *Review of Literature*

There is very little information available on linguistic usage and abilities of Asians resident in countries of East, Central, and Southern Africa. Delf (1963), Woods (1954), and Calpin (1949) supply little information about languages spoken by Asians in the respective countries in which they are settled. Slightly greater details are provided in such studies as Benedict (1965), Kuper (1960), Palmer (1957), Chattopadhyaya (1970), and Bharati (1965). But even these indulge, on the whole, in generalities and provide little systematic practical information about the linguistic ability and usage of Asian residents of Africa. There has

been little attempt to study *Zambian Asians* objectively and systematically. Consequently our knowledge of their community structure, economic life, and languages is limited. Even official documents are reticent on the last point. Symptomatic of this reticence is the cryptic statement made by the Report of the 1931 Census "One hundred and thirty Asiatic males and thirteen females are stated to speak English. Two males can speak both English and Dutch; eleven males and nineteen females can speak neither English nor Dutch" (Government Report, 1931, p. 29). Neither the report on the 1946 Census nor that of the 1951 Census includes any information on languages used by Asians in Zambia. There is no information on this aspect of the life of the Asian population in Zambia even in the only report on the 1969 Census published so far.

In non-official writings too, there is very little about linguistic abilities and languages used by Asians in Zambia except in Dotson and Dotson, 1968. This provides some general information about the mother tongue and the knowledge of English and African languages of *Zambian Asians*. The aim of the present investigation is not to repeat what the Dotsons have said but to start where their study ends. In the first place, an attempt is made here to provide precise facts in the light of which some of the Dotsons' conclusions can be re-examined. Secondly the Dotsons' work along with certain other studies (see White 1970 and n.d.) constitute the basis on which some of my hypotheses were formulated at the beginning of the research.

### 1.2 *Zambian Asians: A Brief Factual Account*

Compared to other countries of Africa, Asian settlement in Zambia is of relatively recent origin, but its growth has been phenomenal since 1946. Table 1 shows this clearly.

Table 9:1: Growth of the Asian population of Zambia.<sup>2</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1911	37	2	39
1921	55	1	56
1931	144	32	176
1946	830	287	1,117
1951	1,672	852	2,524
1961	4,092	3,698	7,790
1969	5,643	5,142	10,785

Demographically the Asian population is characterised by an almost even male-female ratio which points to its stability. In age structure the age groups 20-34 and 60+ are under-represented. This is so probably

because many people in the former age group go abroad for higher education and training, while many elderly people prefer to go back to Asia "to breathe their last".

The overwhelming majority of Asians in Zambia are from India; indeed from the State of Gujarat in Western India. About 70% of them are Hindu and the remainder are largely Moslem. About 90% of them have been in Zambia for less than twenty-five years.

The Zambian Asians are concentrated in four provinces, in descending order of numbers, the Central, Copperbelt, Southern and Eastern Provinces. These four provinces accounted for 10,523 of 10,822 Asians living in Zambia in 1969 (1970 Report pp. B10-B18). In these provinces a very large majority are urbanised (more than 90% in the whole country in 1961, a proportion which has risen since then as a result of Asian migration from rural areas and small towns to big towns) (1965 Report, App. II, Table 1 and *infra* Section 1.3), except in the Eastern Province, where some Asians have settled in rural areas. However, it is only since the late 1950's that Asian traders have been allowed to set up stores in the mine townships on the Copperbelt (1965 Report Table 1, pp. 16-21, and Table 3).

In terms of occupation, Zambian Asians are engaged mainly in business, mostly in retail trade. In the Colonial period, hardly any other field was open to them. Things have changed considerably since Independence, and some Asians are now engaged in manufacturing (the clothing industry seems to be especially popular with them), while others are engaged in wholesale trade and professions like law and medicine, with some employed in the civil service and teaching. The remainder are self-employed as tailors, launderers, mechanics, and electricians, etc. About a dozen Asian families in the whole country depend on large-scale commercial farming as their principal means of sustenance.

### 1.3 *Methodology*

Originally it was thought that the necessary information for the survey could be obtained through the administration of a postal questionnaire. But it was realised, soon after the launching of the project, that in some cases respondents might have to be helped with the translation of questions into Gujarati or Hindustani,<sup>3</sup> or at least with their interpretation into simple English. So the idea of using the postal questionnaire technique solely was given up in favour of directed interviews during visits to Asians' houses, stores and offices. The interviews were nonetheless based on a questionnaire, which included questions on the socio-economic background of the informant, his linguistic ability, the way he is exposed to different media of mass communication, and the patterns of his language manipulation in various social contexts. Visits for such inter-



views also gave us valuable, though brief, scope for observing the verbal behaviour of our informants. Additionally, the writer's personal contact with Zambian Asians gave him many opportunities of seeing them at close quarters. The principal technique of investigation was thus the interview, supplemented, to a considerable extent, by observation.

In 1969 there were 2,218 Asian families in Zambia. Since it was impossible to interview all family heads in the short time available, a sample was taken. In the first place, two large urban areas were chosen for intensive investigation, Kabwe (formerly Broken Hill), which has the third oldest Asian settlement (after Chipata and Livingstone), and Lusaka, which has the largest population of Asians now, were selected at once. Next, on the Copperbelt, Mufulira, a town which is almost solely dependent on mining and from which Asian traders were excluded until 1959 (see Dotson and Dotson pp. 79-80, fn. 18), was chosen to provide the case of a comparatively recent settlement. Finally, two small towns in the Southern Province (Pemba and Chisekesi) were studied to identify the pattern of language use among Asians away from large population centres.

An interesting contrast to the survey conducted in the four towns would have been a study of rural Asians in the Eastern Province who numbered 511 and 418 in 1956 and 1961 respectively (1965 Report, App. II Table 1). But because of limitations of time and money this could not be arranged. Moreover, the economic reforms introduced with effect from the beginning of 1969 (the so-called Mulungushi Reforms)<sup>4</sup> seem to have resulted in the migration of a number of Asians from rural areas to more populous urban areas. Such a development should be seen in the context of greater employment opportunities in the latter areas to absorb those who were uprooted from their business. Thus in Monze from 40 families in 1965 the Asian population has come down to only 8 families in mid 1972. At Pemba and Chisekesi the corresponding reduction during the same period was from 21 to 8 families. Similar changes are known to have taken place in small towns and villages in the Eastern Province. During my field-work I came across seven families at Mufulira and fifteen in Lusaka who have migrated during the last five years from Chipata and surrounding areas. I was told that several other families from the Eastern Province had settled in other towns on the Copperbelt. Under these circumstances, the idea of studying Asian traders in rural areas of the Eastern Province was dropped.

In Kabwe and Lusaka a 10% random sample of Asian households was taken. In Lusaka the sample was structured between Hindus and Moslems. Pemba and Chisekesi being small towns, all the Asians households there were studied, while at Mufulira a 15% sample of Asian households was used. Altogether the size of the total sample came to a little less than 4% of the entire population of the country, which was considered sufficient,

keeping in mind the population's remarkable homogeneity. The numbers of families surveyed in sample areas were as follows: Lusaka 48; Kabwe 15; Mufulira 10; and Pemba-Chisekesi 8. The demographic structure of the population in the sample is given in Table 2.

Table 9.2: Demographic structure of the sample population (excluding normal members of the families who were abroad at the time of the survey).

Age category	Male					Female					
	Lusaka	Kabwe	Mufulira	Pemba-Chisekesi	Total Male	Lusaka	Kabwe	Mufulira	Pemba-Chisekesi	Total Female	All Total
Birth - 5	9	2	1	1	13	11	5	3	5	24	37
6-11	15	8	5	7	35	16	8	9	2	35	70
12-17	18	7	3	9	37	16	8	2	1	27	64
18 and Over	73	25	11	12	121	73	24	13	13	123	244
All Total	115	42	20	29	206	116	45	27	21	209	415

Twenty-four of the families were Moslem and fifty-seven were Hindu. All speak Gujarati as their first language, except two Moslem families at Chisekesi who speak Cokni (a dialect of Marathi, the dominant language of the west Indian state of Maharashtra), another Moslem family where English is spoken, and a Hindu family whose principal language is Sindhi.

An overwhelming majority of the families have their ancestral homes in Gujarat State in India. Indeed, most Hindus came originally from the districts of Bulsar and Surat, and to a lesser extent from Kaira, while most Moslems emigrated from Bulsar, Surat, and Broach, all being situated in the state of Gujarat.

Among Hindus membership of various castes is as follows: Brahman 6; Khatri 12; different Patidar subcastes taken together 17; Prajapati (Kumbhar) 10; Darji, Kori and Mochi 3 each; Bhatia-Lohana 2; and Rajput 1.

An analysis of the occupational structure of the heads of the families in the sample shows that 64 of them depend on trade, either retail or wholesale. Of the remainder, 6 are manufacturers, 4 tailors, 2 salesmen, 1 accountant and 1 lawyer. Two others are employed as managers of stores, and one man, affected by the economic reforms, was unemployed at the time of the survey.

Such then are the characteristics of the sample that was studied to yield data aimed at verifying or disproving the following hypotheses:

1. In patterns of language use and linguistic abilities age, sex, and rural-urban domicile account for significant differences.

2. Improvement in the technology of communication, by reinforcing traditional allegiances, adversely affects a new process of acculturation. Such deep-rooted allegiances may centre round language, religion, ethnicity, class, race, culture, etc. Following migratory movements a process of acculturation may gradually disengage people from such traditional roots. However, the development of the technology of communication enables migrants to keep in touch with their original habitat and can thus create difficulties in the way of social assimilation.

Towards the end of this chapter an attempt will be made to examine, in the light of facts collected through field investigation, the validity of these two hypotheses.

### 2.0 *Language in Relation to Other Factors*

One of the principal aims of our field investigation was to examine if there was any correlation between language use and the ability to manipulate languages on the one hand and such factors as caste, religion, level of education, medium of instruction in school, occupation, rural-urban residence, sex, and age, on the other. Of these factors, caste has been found in this study to be in no way correlated with language use and linguistic ability. Religion, too, does not seem to have any effect on language use. All my Asian informants, without exception, maintain that those Moslems who migrated from the Eastern Province of Zambia to Lusaka and towns on the Copperbelt can all speak Nyanja well. However, if this claim is true, the difference can as well be accounted for by their rural domicile (until migrating), and the powerful impact of the language itself which extends over a wide area. All resident Asians in the *Eastern Province are Moslem, so the possibility of religion exercising a differentiating influence on linguistic adaptation could not be studied systematically in the absence of Hindu migrants from the Eastern Province.* Of course there are Hindus and Moslems among Asian residents of our survey areas. But the pattern of language use and linguistic ability does not vary between them. The level of education and the medium through which instruction is given understandably influence the linguistic ability of the *Zambian Asian.* The higher the educational level, the greater is the use of English both as a medium of instruction and as a language in which text books and recommended reading matter are written and the greater the proficiency in English. However, there are many Asian women in Zambia who completed primary education but who have little or no English. This is so because these women have attended schools in India which did not teach any English, and because they, unlike their husbands, did not have to pass a literacy test in English before entering

what was then Northern Rhodesia. Occupation, too, is in some way correlated with language use and linguistic ability. A teacher or a lawyer must have a greater command of English than a trader. Even among traders somebody who has a business in a "first-class trading area" (the main shopping area at the centre) in a town or city is likely to have a better command of English than someone whose shop is situated in a "second-class trading area" (a minor shopping area away from the centre) in the same town, not to speak of a store-keeper in a village. However, different trading areas or even occupational differences do not seem to be correlated with any differences in regard to the ability to manipulate other languages like Gujarati or Chilapalapa (a language of communication between non-African and African developed in Southern Africa). Our investigation revealed that the two factors that are most meaningfully correlated with differences in language use and linguistic ability are sex and age. In the following pages an attempt is made to identify diverse aspects of this correlation.

### 2.1 *Sex and Language*

Table 3 shows that there is little difference in the linguistic abilities of men and women in such matters as literacy in Gujarati and knowledge of African languages other than Nyanja and Chilapalapa (Kabanga). While the entire adult male population, with the sole exception of one, are familiar with Chilapalapa, the percentage of women who claim to know it is 84.55. This difference is understandable in view of the fact that men have a greater opportunity of meeting people who speak this language. The same explanation applies to the difference between men and women in their knowledge of spoken Nyanja (men 51.24% and women 15.45%). Also the difference between the two categories is considerable when knowledge of spoken English is considered. While all men can speak this language, 38.21% of the women are unable to do so. And although the rural families visited are too few to yield any general picture, it does seem that a smaller proportion of rural women (as compared to their urban counterparts) can speak English.

Men and women also differ in the knowledge of Hindustani (that is, spoken Hindi/Urdu). While about 80% of men can speak this language, the percentage of women who can do so comes to only 59.35. This difference is perhaps due to the fact that men, more than women, were exposed to Hindustani in India and East Africa prior to their arrival in Zambia. It should be remembered that in urban centres of Western India, like Bombay, and towns of East Africa, like Nairobi, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam, Hindustani has a considerable vogue, especially in commerce in which field men are more active than women.

Table 9.3: Sex and language.

	ADULT MALE					<i>As % of total adult male population in sample</i>	ADULT FEMALE					<i>As % of total adult female population in sample</i>
	<i>Lusaka</i>	<i>Kabwe</i>	<i>Mufulira</i>	<i>Pemba- Chisekesi</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Lusaka</i>	<i>Kabwe</i>	<i>Mufulira</i>	<i>Pemba- Chisekesi</i>	<i>Total</i>	
Literacy in Gujarati	73(73)	24(25)	11(11)	11(12)	119(121)	98.35	72(73)	20(24)	12(13)	10(13)	114(123)	92.68
Knowledge of Hindustani (spoken Hindi/Urdu)	56(73)	19(25)	11(11)	10(12)	96(121)	79.34	45(73)	14(24)	6(13)	8(13)	73(123)	59.35
Knowledge of spoken English	73(73)	25(25)	11(11)	12(12)	121(121)	100	42(73)	18(24)	11(13)	5(13)	76(123)	61.79
Knowledge of Chilapalapa	73(73)	25(25)	10(11)	12(12)	120(121)	99.17	60(73)	22(24)	10(13)	12(13)	104(123)	84.55
Knowledge of spoken Nyanja	54(73)	3(25)	1(11)	4(12)	62(121)	51.24	15(73)	2(24)	0(13)	2(13)	19(123)	15.45
Knowledge of spoken Bemba	0(73)	4(25)	3(11)	1(12)	8(121)	6.61	0(73)	1(24)	1(13)	0(13)	2(123)	1.63
Knowledge of spoken Tonga	1(73)	1(25)	0(11)	12(12)	14(121)	11.57	0(73)	0(24)	0(13)	9(13)	9(123)	7.32
Knowledge of spoken Swahili	3(73)	1(25)	2(11)	0(12)	6(121)	4.96	2(73)	0(24)	0(13)	0(13)	2(123)	1.63
Literacy in Afrikaans	0(73)	1(25)	1(11)	0(12)	2(121)	1.65	0(73)	1(24)	0(13)	0(13)	1(123)	.81

The figures within the brackets refer to the total numbers of persons in the relevant categories.

For a discussion of the statistical significance of the difference between the two groups, adult males and adult females, see Appendix at the end of the chapter.

Table 9.4: Age and language.

	6-17 years					18 and over						
	Lusaka	Kabwe	Mufulira	Pemba-Chisekesi	Total	%	Lusaka	Kabwe	Mufulira	Pemba-Chisekesi	Total	%
Literacy in Gujarati	20(65)	15(31)	9(19)	2(19)	46(134)	34.33	145(146)	44(49)	23(24)	21(25)	233(244)	95.90
Knowledge of Hindustani (spoken Hindi/Urdu)	21(65)	6(31)	0(19)	3(19)	30(134)	22.39	101(146)	34(49)	17(24)	18(25)	170(244)	69.26
Knowledge of spoken English	65(65)	21(31)	19(19)	19(19)	124(134)	98.51	115(146)	43(49)	22(24)	17(25)	197(244)	80.74
Knowledge of Chilapalapa	53(65)	23(31)	15(19)	19(19)	110(134)	82.09	133(146)	47(49)	20(24)	24(25)	224(244)	92.21

The figures within the brackets refer to the total numbers of persons in the relevant categories.

For a discussion of the statistical significance of the difference between the two groups, adults and non-adults, see Appendix at the end of the chapter.

## 2.2 *Age and Language*

Age is more significantly correlated with language differences than sex. Table 4 is self-explanatory. An overwhelming percentage in each category of age group is capable of manipulating Chilapalapa. The fact that a proportionately larger number of adults can do so is hardly surprising in as much as it is in fact the adults who have a greater need to learn Chilapalapa for business transactions. Conversely, knowledge of spoken (and, one may add, written) English is almost universal among the lower age group, whereas it comes to a little more than 80% among adults. As has been pointed out elsewhere, all the men, like youngsters below 18, are capable of speaking English, although only a little more than two-thirds of the women can do so. Undoubtedly the gap between the two age categories is even wider when literacy in English is considered.

However, the two age categories differ widely in their competence in using Asian languages. Almost everybody in the sample can speak Gujarati. The few that cannot come from a small number of Cutchi, Sindhi and Cokni-speaking families. Even among the latter, there are some who know Gujarati. In this sense Gujarati is a common language among Zambian Asians.<sup>5</sup> What is more it is the Surati dialect of Gujarati, the dialect spoken in and around Surat in India, that is commonly spoken by Zambia Asians, although in India the standard Gujarati is based on the dialect spoken between Ahmedabad and Baroda. However, although all young people in the sample who have Gujarati parents can speak Gujarati, a large number speak English among themselves, despite the fact that they may speak Gujarati (or Gujarati mixed with English words) to their parents. Speaking English as the major language seems to be a teenage phenomenon. My impression is that the take-off stage from Gujarati to English is 7-8 years and the practice is entrenched when children are in their middle teens. Additional reinforcement comes from the number of teenage siblings in the family or neighbourhood. In such cases the home becomes an extension of the school. When we consider literacy in Gujarati, there is a significant difference between people below 18 and those who are 18 and above. Thus, while about 96% of adults can read and write Gujarati, the corresponding figure comes down to only 34.33% among people below 18. (See Appendix A.)

Finally, the two age categories differ significantly in their knowledge of Hindustani (spoken Hindi/Urdu). The percentage of people in the age categories 6-17 years and 18 and over who can speak Hindustani are 22.39 and 69.26 respectively. When we consider literacy in Hindi and/or Urdu, the number of people who can read and write it in the lower age category is 3 or 2.23% only, whereas the corresponding figure among adults comes to 68, or 27.87% of the total adult population in the sample.

### 3.0 *Contextual Settings of Language Use*

The present survey also reveals a wide difference between the language used in the family framework and those used for communication with persons who are not members of the family. For the former, Gujarati predominates as the language of communication, although, as has been mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, teenagers tend to speak English among themselves. Further, for communicating with their houseboys, gardeners, and cooks, where these are employed, members of Asian families use languages other than Gujarati, mainly English and Chilalalapa on the line-of-rail, but also to some extent the locally dominant language, especially in rural areas, that is, Bemba in Luapula and Northern Province and on the Copperbelt, Nyanja in Eastern Province and Lusaka, and Tonga in Southern Province. What is spoken in a given case does not depend altogether on the communicator's linguistic ability. Where the competence exists in respect to several languages which are understood by the other party, the actual selection is linked with the tenor and context of conversation. Thus, in the words of an informant who can use English, Nyanja and Chilalalapa, "What I speak to my houseboy at a particular time depends on my mood. When I want to be formal I use English. When in a relaxed informal mood, I speak Nyanja or Chilalalapa to him." Another man, a trader from Pemba, said he preferred to speak English to his houseboy. "Speaking in Chilalalapa spoils them, because maintaining discipline is difficult through this language." In effect this informant was saying the same thing as the former speaker: English is more formal and is instrumental in keeping an adequate social distance between him and his servant. And this, to people like them, is a factor that helps enforce discipline in the work situation.

When speaking to employees, assistants and workers in shops, work-shops or factories, English, Chilalalapa, and, to a lesser extent, the locally dominant language are used. The actual choice of a language depends upon the persons between whom the communication takes place. If the person being spoken to knows little or no English, Chilalalapa is used as the vehicle of communication in most cases. But where the employee can speak English, this language is preferred to Chilalalapa. Many of my informants told me that since Independence everywhere there has been a distinct preference for using more English. This, coupled with a considerable expansion of education, has resulted in a greater vogue for English.

For communication with customers and clients in the shop, English, Chilalalapa and, to a lesser extent, the locally dominant language are all used. The status of a particular customer usually determines the medium through which the transaction is conducted. Thus, a well-dressed man is



likely to be welcomed in English, and one who is shabbily dressed is more often than not greeted in Chilalalapa. What happens when the status of the customer is ambiguous? "The safest thing to do under such circumstances," said a Mfulira businessman, "is start the conversation in English, and then, if required, shift to Bemba or Chilalalapa, depending on the situation."

My observation and enquiry suggest that communication with expatriate Asians is conducted in English, Hindustani and Gujarati, in descending order of frequency. The number of expatriate Asians who can speak Gujarati is small. However, resident Asians are likely to have closer and more frequent contact with them, so that the quality of such communication to some extent compensates for its quantitative spread. Hindustani is used mainly by adult males among Zambian Asians in their conversation with those expatriate Asians who are fluent in this language, that is, people from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and Punjab in India, people from Sind and Punjab in Pakistan, and some from other regions, like Bengal. I have observed, however, that even in such conversations both parties freely switch from Hindustani to English and vice versa. Since Hindustani is much less spoken in the southern states of India and hardly at all in Ceylon, any conversation between Zambian Asians and people from these areas has to be in English. This too is the language of communication between non-adults among Zambian Asians and all Asian expatriates, except Gujaratis.

All my informants said they used English in public places, like hotels, restaurants, post offices, shops, markets, and cinemas, even when they could speak Chilalalapa and/or the locally dominant language. Chilalalapa is associated with the colonial situation, having developed in Southern Africa for communication in a limited field between higher status non-Africans and lower status Africans (Cole, p. 552). Being spoken to in this language smacks of being placed in a subordinate position. And, understandably, self-respecting Africans resent it. As for the locally dominant language, the Asian's knowledge of it is, except in Eastern Province, limited. Add to this the fact that everyone with whom he comes into contact in urban areas may not be able to speak it. What is more, it is not easy to identify, before starting a conversation, what Zambian languages the other party is capable of speaking. On the other hand, all those who serve in public places speak English which, in addition, is considered to be a neutral language as between people from different areas. Thus it is that for Zambian Asians English has become the dominant language of communication in public places.

Patterns of language use in public places (as opposed to the knowledge of languages) vary to some extent according to sex and age. Almost all adult males in the sample know Chilalalapa and use it when needed. As for adult females, although a high proportion of them know Chilalalapa (84.55% against 99.17% among males), around 38% of them have no

knowledge of spoken English (though they can use a word or two). However many in this category have only a limited contact with the world outside the household and have scarcely the need for or the opportunity of using anything other than Gujarati and Chilapalapa (the latter at home to houseboys, gardeners, or cooks where these are employed). Young people appear to have a greater command of English, and some children, mainly in rural areas, are more fluent in the locally dominant language than their elders. In their conversation with expatriate Asians, young Zambian Asians depend far more on English than their parents. Similarly, in rural areas and small towns, children of Zambian Asians have a greater tendency than their elders to use the locally dominant language in communicating with Africans. It should be remembered however that Zambian Asians are highly urbanised and that most of them are engaged in trade. And since the type of inter-action that takes place between them and Zambian Africans is, in most cases, superficial, everybody in the sample can manage to communicate in English, Chilapalapa, and, in some cases, the locally dominant language (or a smattering of it).

#### 4.0 *Standard of Linguistic Proficiency*

A short note on the standard of proficiency reached by Zambian Asians in various languages is called for here. Unfortunately the fieldwork was not designed in such a way as to yield large-scale quantitative data on this matter. Consequently this note is mainly based on the personal knowledge and field experience of the present writer. And although his first language is neither English nor Hindustani, he feels justified in assessing the standard of proficiency of his informants in these two languages.

As regards Gujarati, enquiries during field investigation suggest that there is no great difference in the fluency of spoken Gujarati among Zambian Asians who speak this language as their mother tongue, but that young people have a greater tendency to mix English words and expressions with Gujarati than adults. In literary Gujarati, however, there is a considerable difference between the rising generation and the older generation, the latter being more proficient in it.

Similarly the standard of spoken and written English varies a good deal. Broadly, youngsters speak much better English than members of the older generation, except for a few among the latter who had their education in an English-medium school. Also women as a whole lag behind men in the standard of their spoken and written English.

The standard of Hindustani is not worse than that spoken by those who use it as a second language in the Indian sub-continent.

The present writer is not in a position to pass any judgment on the extent of the Asian's knowledge of Zambian languages, but many in-

formants have told him that in most cases what the Zambian Asian possesses is a smattering of the language, barring a few persons who have learned particular languages carefully. There are two exceptions to this general pattern. In the first place, the Asian's knowledge of Nyanja is said to be uniformly good in the Eastern Province. And, secondly, almost every adult male Asian on the line-of-rail can speak reasonably good Chilapalapa which they use, when needed, in communicating with Zambian Africans. But then Chilapalapa is said to be so liberal in borrowing from other languages that one can, without hesitation, claim fluency of speech in it, even when unconsciously mixing it with words from other languages.

Many Asians claimed fluency of speech with respect to other Zambian languages. Such claims are not surprising when the contexts in which these are used are remembered. It is easy for a shopkeeper to manipulate a smattering of Nyanja, Bemba, or Tonga for the purpose of bargaining, throwing in an English word or two here and there, and feel satisfied that he has used the language fluently and correctly. This is why during my field interviews, whenever it was possible, I put the following question to my respondents, "Suppose you were asked to speak on Gandhi for five minutes in Tonga (or whatever the language whose knowledge is claimed), would you be able to do it?" In a majority of cases, the answer was in the negative, although many of the respondents maintained that they could do so in Chilapalapa.

Finally, I reproduce below from my field notes an account of the observation of transactions in a medium-sized shop in Kabwe: an account which, I dare say, is not altogether unrepresentative of what takes place in similar situations. This trader is helped in his shop by his wife, who, like him, is Gujarati-speaking, and by the wife of an expatriate Asian who is Hindustani-speaking. It was the afternoon of a weekday when I visited him. The shopkeeper started speaking to me in reasonably fluent Hindustani (although with a marked Gujarati accent) when a customer entered the shop. The owner of the shop greeted him in English. But the customer spoke in Lenje to ask for a utensil; the shop-keeper replied in Chilapalapa, quoting the price in English. All this was apparently understood by the customer who, remarking in Lenje that the price was too high, said that she would try elsewhere. The shopkeeper resumed his conversation with me, this time in tolerable English. After a while, a group of school girls came in to buy chocolate. The entire transaction was conducted in English. Thereafter, the shopkeeper started talking to me in Hindustani. The expatriate shop assistant joined us. We were interrupted by the shopkeeper's ex-gardener who, explained the shopkeeper, had left him some time before without notice, and who now wished to be re-instated. The conversation started in Chilapalapa but ended with the trader expressing his final refusal in English. When the

ex-gardener left, we resumed our conversation in Hindustani. After about ten minutes we were interrupted once again by the entry of two policemen who came to enquire about a theft that had occurred in the shop some time before. The entire dialogue was carried on in English. At this point I had to terminate my observation. My enquiries and observation suggest that what was noted in this shop could have happened elsewhere (with the exception of the Eastern Province where Nyanja assumes a much more dominant position) with Lenje replaced by Bemba on the Copperbelt, Nyanja in Lusaka and, much more so, in Eastern Province, and Tonga in the Southern Province; and with English assuming a more dominant position in shops having a more sophisticated, upper class clientele.

### 5.0 Reinforcement

The linguistic ability of the Asian is considerably affected by the extent of reinforcement from Asia, mainly India. This may assume a variety of forms; for example, visits to India or Pakistan (including attending an educational institution in India, bringing spouses from that country or Pakistan, etc.), listening to Asian language broadcasts on All India Radio (AIR) and/or Radio Pakistan, reading books and journals published in Asian languages, seeing films in Asian languages, and contact with expatriate Asians in Zambia.

Visits to India and/or Pakistan provide opportunities for Zambian Asians to reinforce their ability to use Asian languages. Unfortunately this point could not be systematically explored in our field investigation. But some general trends are clearly discernible. In the first place, for adults, a visit to Asia every two or three years seems to be the general trend. Many go to Asia more often, while, on the other hand, there are some who have been to that continent only once or twice during the last twenty five or thirty years. A young man of thirty two, brought up in Tanzania, Rhodesia, and Zambia, has been to Asia only twice. An old man of sixty-five who came to Zambia in the early 1930's has been to Asia only once, in 1966, since his arrival here.

For children, visits to Asian countries are less frequent. Most of them, unless they are sent to those countries for education, have very little first-hand experience of India and/or Pakistan. Before Independence, Northern Rhodesia had no university or university college. There was only one secondary school (started in 1961 under the name Prince Philip Secondary School, later renamed Kamwala Secondary School) which admitted Asian students. Under these circumstances Zambian Asians sent their children principally to Rhodesia (then Southern Rhodesia) for secondary education. Since Independence, there has been a tremendous expansion of secondary education in Zambia and all schools are now

open to children of all races, with the result that Asians need not now send their children abroad. All the same, some Asian parents feel strongly about the need to familiarise their children with Asian culture and languages and with Hinduism or Islam as they are practised in Asian countries. Thus it is that some children and adolescents from both Hindu and Moslem families are still sent to educational institutions in India. (No instance of sending children elsewhere in Asia for education was found during the field work.)

Those from among the families included in the survey who were attending courses in India at the time of the investigation can be categorised as in Table 5.

Table 9.5: Education in India.

<i>Survey Areas</i>	<i>Male</i>				<i>All Total</i>
	<i>6-11</i>	<i>12-17</i>	<i>18+</i>	<i>Total</i>	
Lusaka	1(15)	5(18)	10( 73)	16(106)	
Kabwe	1( 8)	0( 7)	0( 25)	1( 40)	
Mufulira	0( 5)	0( 3)	0( 11)	0( 19)	
Pemba-Chisekesi	0( 7)	5(37)	0( 12)	0( 28)	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2(35)</b>	<b>5(37)</b>	<b>10(121)</b>	<b>17(193)</b>	

<i>Survey Areas</i>	<i>Female</i>				<i>All Total</i>
	<i>6-11</i>	<i>12-17</i>	<i>18+</i>	<i>Total</i>	
Lusaka	1(16)	5(16)	1( 73)	7(105)	23(211)
Kabwe	0( 8)	5( 8)	2( 24)	7( 40)	8( 80)
Mufulira	0( 9)	0( 2)	0( 13)	0( 24)	0( 43)
Pemba-Chisekesi	0( 2)	3( 1)	1( 13)	4( 16)	4( 44)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1(35)</b>	<b>13(27)</b>	<b>4(123)</b>	<b>18(185)</b>	<b>35(378)</b>

The figures within brackets refer to the total numbers of persons in the relevant categories who were in Zambia at the time of the survey.

Being educated in India for a few years through the medium of an Indian language is likely to have a more lasting effect on the linguistic ability of the student. But young Asians from Zambia generally attend those higher institutions in India which operate through the medium of

English. Under these circumstances, some of them can at best develop greater fluency of speech in Gujarati (since a fairly large number of such students are sent to educational institutions in Gujarat) and perhaps in Hindustani.

Getting marriage partners from India or Pakistan has little impact on the reinforcement of the primordial linguistic allegiances of the Zambian Asian, except that it is likely to provide an extended opportunity of practising Gujarati. During the field investigation no instance was found of a Zambian Asian improving his or her literary Gujarati, Hindustani, or any other Asian language under the influence of his or her marital partner. What is more, Zambian Asians are increasingly tending to select their spouses from within their community in Zambia or from Asian families resident in other countries of East, Central, and South Africa. Where marriages are arranged by parents, this tendency may be due to their desire to select partners for their sons and daughters from families settled nearby. But there is also a widespread belief that the style of life of young Asians in Africa differs to a marked extent from that characterising young people of India and Pakistan.

Listening to broadcasts in Asian languages on All India Radio (AIR) and/or Radio Pakistan could be an important influence on the linguistic ability of the Zambian Asian. Both the AIR and Radio Pakistan have services in four main languages for this part of the world, viz. Gujarati, Hindustani, English and Swahili. For people below 18 and those among adults who had at least part of their education outside India and through English, the main attraction of these services, including those which are in Hindustani and English, is Indian and Pakistani pop music. But the rest, especially those women who have little English, all listen to the Gujarati service of the AIR, and the interest extends to news broadcasts, commentary and religious music. However, a large proportion of adults also listen to the English service of Radio Zambia and the World Service of the B.B.C., with the result that among male adults English language broadcasts are by far the most popular (see Table 6: Listening to radio broadcasts).

Differences also exist in reading habits. Barring a very few cases of illiterate women and those who were educated outside India and/or through English, almost all adults read Gujarati journals. These in the main are *Akhand Anand* (a socio-religious monthly), *Jankalyān* (a monthly devoted mainly to religious matters), *Navneet* (a monthly digest), *Savitā* (monthly), *Naval Kathā* (monthly), and *Janmabhoomi* (daily). These are subscribed to individually and by the few Asian libraries that exist in Zambia. However, for every individual subscriber there are from three to four readers. Reading Gujarati books is a much less popular pastime, even among adults, women outnumbering men in this respect. Persons below 18 and those adults who had their education outside India and/or

Table 9-6: Listening to the radio broadcasts.

	Male			Total	Female			Total
	6-11	12-17	18+		6-11	12-17	18+	
<b>LUSAKA</b>								
English	0(15)	3(18)	66(73)	69(106)	0(16)	7(16)	10(73)	17(105)
Hindustani	2(15)	4(18)	9(73)	15(106)	1(16)	7(16)	8(73)	16(105)
Gujarati	3(15)	9(18)	25(73)	37(106)	1(16)	13(16)	53(73)	67(105)
<b>KABWE</b>								
English	0(8)	0(7)	14(25)	14(40)	0(8)	0(8)	2(24)	2(40)
Hindustani	0(8)	0(7)	3(25)	3(40)	0(8)	0(8)	0(24)	0(40)
Gujarati	0(8)	0(7)	10(25)	10(40)	0(8)	0(8)	8(24)	8(40)
<b>MUFULIRA</b>								
English	0(5)	0(3)	6(11)	6(19)	0(9)	2(2)	6(13)	8(24)
Hindustani	0(5)	0(3)	1(11)	1(19)	0(9)	0(2)	3(13)	3(24)
Gujarati	0(5)	0(3)	5(11)	5(19)	0(9)	0(2)	5(13)	5(24)
<b>PEMBA-</b>								
<b>CHISEKESI</b>								
English	8(7)	17(9)	35(12)	60(28)	0(2)	3(1)	7(13)	10(16)
Hindustani	2(7)	4(9)	14(12)	20(28)	3(2)	1(1)	6(13)	10(16)
Gujarati	0(7)	2(9)	7(12)	9(28)	1(2)	1(1)	7(13)	9(16)
<b>TOTAL</b>								
English	8(35)	20(37)	121(121)	149(193)	0(35)	12(27)	25(123)	37(185)
Hindustani	4(35)	8(37)	27(121)	39(193)	4(35)	8(27)	17(123)	29(185)
Gujarati	3(35)	11(37)	47(121)	61(193)	2(35)	14(27)	73(123)	89(185)

The figures within the brackets refer to the total numbers of persons in the relevant categories. When a person listens to broadcasts in the same language from more than one radio station, each station has been counted separately.

through English, read entirely in English.

Hindustani films, imported from India, remain, apart from T.V. Zambia where that operates, the most important mass medium to which the entire Asian population is exposed, irrespective of age and sex. These are shown thrice a week in Lusaka, twice a week in Livingstone and Ndola, and once a week in towns like Mufulira and Luanshya. Asians away from the main urban centres have no regular opportunity of seeing them. But cases of people travelling 30 to 40 miles by car to see a film (and do other business) are not uncommon. Hindustani films are popular even among youngsters, most of whom have, unlike their elders, little knowledge of Hindustani. It should be remembered, however, that Gujarati and Hindustani are sister languages, both being derived from Sanskrit, so that, with a bit of effort, the general trend of the story, if not its subtle intricacies, can be followed by young people, even without a knowledge of Hindustani. Moreover, for youngsters, the main attraction of these films appears to lie in the music, dance, and colourful photography with which such films seem to abound. The film industry in the Gujarati language being little developed, Gujarati films come to Zambia roughly once a year, on which occasion almost everybody sees them. Thus English-language films provide the only important alternative to Hindustani films. Yet, they are rather poor alternatives in terms of the popularity enjoyed by them. And except for non-adults, interest in English language films comes nowhere near that in Hindustani films for any demographic category, as Table 7 shows clearly.

Table 9:7: Going to films.

<i>Language of Films</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Non-adult</i>	<i>Adult</i>
	<i>6 years and over</i>		<i>6-17 years</i>	<i>18 years and over</i>
Hindustani	126(193)	109(185)	92(134)	143(244)
English	93(193)	51(185)	74(134)	70(244)

The figures within the brackets refer to the total numbers of persons in the relevant categories.

Contact with Asian expatriates working in Zambia is another source of reinforcement. However, the number of Gujarati-speaking expatriates is not large and it is doubtful if their presence in the country can provide young Zambian Asians with much more than an opportunity of practising spoken Gujarati. No instance was found when, under the influence of



expatriate Gujaratis, children of local Gujaratis started reading and writing Gujarati. Similarly, the presence of expatriate Asians knowing Hindi and Urdu does not appear to have resulted in young Asians improving their knowledge of these languages, since English proves to be an effective vehicle of communication between expatriate Asians and children of Zambian Asians.

However, the presence of expatriate Asians knowing Hindustani provides an extended opportunity to adult Asians to practise the speaking of this language. Add to this, visits to Zambia by Hindu religious leaders from India and *maulavis* from India or Pakistan. Hindu religious leaders who come to Zambia, unless they know Gujarati, tend to preach in Hindustani (with some Sanskrit words thrown in here and there), a language which is also used (with a mixture of religious terms and expressions borrowed from Arabic and Persian) by *maulavis* for their sermons. All this may help Zambian Asians achieve a little more fluency of speech in Hindustani.

Another source of reinforcement are the Gujarati schools started and run by the Hindu Association in various towns of the country. Such schools, along with small children's libraries attached to them, operate in Lusaka, Kabwe, Ndola, Luanshya, and Livingstone.<sup>6</sup> These came into existence soon after Independence, and aim at teaching basic Gujarati and the three R's in that language to Gujarati children. The Lusaka school is in two parts, a nursery and a primary school, the former having 30 and the latter 80 students at the time of the survey. Classes are held in the afternoon so as to facilitate the attendance of students who go to government-run primary schools in the morning. The long-term effectiveness of the Gujarati school is difficult to assess. Certainly, as long as children attend it, they pick up rudimentary literacy in Gujarati. But after that, with the overwhelming presence of English in the secondary school and in the society at large, and with very little opportunity of using written Gujarati, few children who attend such schools are likely to retain an effective ability to manipulate written Gujarati.

Moslem Asians have their own schools in Lusaka, Ndola, and Chipata, as well as in some other towns. These are mainly concerned with the teaching of the Quran in Arabic. And except for the fact that the mastery of the Arabic script may be an indirect help to the learning of written Urdu, training in such schools does not seem to have any great impact on the linguistic ability and usage of the Moslem Asian. A child attending such a school can pick up a smattering of Arabic, but he has little opportunity to practise it in his later life, and is likely, therefore, to forget it for all practical purposes. However, sermons are delivered in Urdu in all religious gatherings in mosques patronised by Moslem Asians, a fact that helps them pick up some knowledge of that language.

### 6.0 *Conclusion*

Our main findings may be summarised here. In the first place, the investigation revealed some difference in the linguistic ability and usage of adult males and females among *Zambian Asians*. Also it seems that in rural areas *Asians* (and more especially children or sub-teenagers) possess a greater proficiency in the locally dominant language. I have been told repeatedly and by informants from all walks of life that in rural areas of Eastern Province, *Asians* speak *Nyanja* as if it were their first language. In the absence of any comparable *Asian* settlement in rural areas in other linguistic zones, it is difficult to say how far such proficiency in *Nyanja* is due to the impact of the language itself, which extends over a wide area, or to that of rural life. Probably both are contributing factors.

Differences in linguistic proficiency and usage are found between adult and non-adult *Asians*. And this generational cleavage can be better understood with reference to the concept of role. A role is the expected pattern of behaviour relevant to a social position. Roles can be based on diverse factors, namely, age, sex, position in the family or kinship network, occupation, class, race, etc. A person can be regarded as an internalised structure of organised social roles. And language is the mechanism by which such internalisations occur (Gerth and Mills p. 83).

A *Zambian Asian* enacts several roles at the same time. He (ignoring the women) is a resident of *Zambia* and of *Asian* origin. More likely than not he lives in one of a dozen or so urban centres in the country. Almost always he depends on trade or industry as his principal means of sustenance. In the family framework he is a husband/father or a son/brother. In enacting each of these roles vis-à-vis its complementary role(s) he uses a certain language variety (a language, a dialect, certain jargons, or even a specific kind of intonation).

Our data suggest that of these roles the one based on age is, for the young *Zambian Asian*, the most significant factor which occasions differences in the linguistic field. Expressed differently, other roles of the non-adult (dependent in the family, a person of *Asian* origin, a Hindu or Moslem, a resident of *Lusaka* or *Lundazi*) are less important than his general role of a non-adult. In the past the role based on race was important to his parents. It is not that they wanted this to be so; but the power structure in Northern Rhodesia through various measures highlighted the racial roles in the colonial society. For the rising generation such roles are less significant due to the changes introduced in *Zambia* since Independence. The young *Asian* today is not compelled to remain a store-keeper throughout his life. Indeed there are forces which urge him to take to different professions and occupations (other than petty trade) that depend on a high degree of skill. Further, he suffers from a role-handicap

(Mitchell 1968) in that the traditional culture of his parents, even though diluted with borrowings from the European culture, does not prepare him adequately to face the dynamic set of circumstances in which he is likely to find himself in later life.

It is true that certain dimensions of the value system of the earlier generation are still relevant to the young. Both generations are intensely achievement-oriented and future-directed. But the Asian of the older generation sets much store by wider kinship relations, and traditional religious rituals are important to him. On the other hand, achievement in the academic field and various professions does not seem to have a high priority for him. An excellence in Gujarati, some English and Chilapalapa, and a smattering of Sanskrit (Arabic, for Moslems) and Hindustani are the linguistic tools well-suited to this pattern of life. To the young Zambian Asian such a linguistic repertoire appears sadly inadequate for the kind of life he hopes to build for himself. To the extent that he is drawn away from petty trade to professions and jobs involving a high degree of skill, acquired over a long period of time at higher institutions of learning in Zambia and elsewhere, his parents' first language, Gujarati, will yield to English.

But Zambian Asians are not merely changing their occupational pattern, they are in the process of being absorbed in a society or societies (because some of them may settle elsewhere) where English is the dominant language. It is not surprising, therefore, that, to the young Asian, English gradually becomes more important than his parents' first language, Gujarati. However, in Zambia, the dominance of English notwithstanding, there are four major languages, Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga, and Lozi, which are widely spoken. Our data show that few Zambian Asians are good in these languages and that most of them, on the other hand, are fluent in Chilapalapa, which is not considered to be a respectable vehicle of communication. This situation may partly be due to the historical connection which Asians are supposed to have had with the spread of Chilapalapa in Southern Africa (Cole). It is, on the other hand, symptomatic of his marginal position in Zambian society.

Our second hypothesis concerned the impact of the reinforcement of traditional linguistic allegiance through the improvement of communicational technology. The popularity of Hindustani films and certain programmes on AIR and Radio Pakistan may suggest a rough confirmation of the hypothesis. The process of acculturation in Zambia is seemingly being hampered because of the enormous development of the media of mass communication which compensates for the physical separation from the original habitat of the acculturating group. However, we have already seen that the impact of the primordial reinforcement is often overstated, and certainly the extent of such reinforcement is meagre in the case of non-adults, unless they are educated in India. In the latter

case some grounding in Hindustani and/or spoken Gujarati is often the result. Otherwise, exposure to media of mass communication emanating from the habitat of the original culture may not mean much to young people. Indeed, young people may elect not to be exposed to such a process. Data collected about the reading habits and patterns of radio listening of young Asians illustrate this point. The existence of a relevant primordial allegiance is a pre-requisite for the possibility of primordial reinforcement. And it is doubtful if we can now speak of young Zambia Asians having primordial linguistic allegiance to India.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Fieldwork was carried out in various Zambian towns between the beginning of 1971 and the middle of 1972.

<sup>2</sup> The figures for 1911, 1921 and 1931 are taken from the 1931 Report p. 26. Those for 1946 from the 1949 Report p. 62, 1951 from the 1954 Report p. 63, 1961 from the 1965 Report Table 2, p. 49 and 1969 from the 1970 Report p. B8.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this study Hindustani stands for spoken Hindi or spoken Urdu, that is, the language spoken by the man in the street in cities like Old Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow in India. Hindi, on the other hand, refers to Sanskritised literary Hindustani written in the Nagri script, while Urdu denotes Arabicised and Persianised literary Hindustani written in the Persian script.

<sup>4</sup> These reforms, introduced with effect from 1st January, 1969, confined retail trade by non-Citizens to the centres ("first-class trading areas") of ten large towns, viz. Chingola, Mufulira, Kitwe, Luanshya, Ndola, Kabwe, Lusaka, Mazabuka, Choma, and Livingstone. As a result, Asians who are not citizens of the country had to close such businesses in other towns and in "second-class trading areas" of the ten towns mentioned above.

<sup>5</sup> This statement is borne out by the survey as well as by personal knowledge acquired by the author from the many conversations he had with Zambian Asians from all walks of life and settled in various parts of the country.

<sup>6</sup> Similar arrangements have been made by Asians of the Republic of South Africa. See Palmer, p. 166.

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APPENDIX 9:A  
A SHORT NOTE ON THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF DATA CONTAINED IN  
TABLES 3 & 4

1. Data of Table 3 were subjected to statistical analysis to see if adult males and adult females differed significantly with respect to 1.1 literacy in Gujarati, 1.2 knowledge of spoken Hindustani (Hindi/Urdu), 1.3 knowledge of spoken English, 1.4 knowledge of Chilapalapa, and 1.5 knowledge of spoken Nyanja.

In all these cases the research hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was that the two groups differed significantly with regard to the skills mentioned under 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5, while the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) envisaged no such difference.

To test the null hypothesis the chi square test for two independent samples was chosen because the two groups were independent, and because the "scores" under study were frequencies in discrete categories ("Yes"/"No").

The summed chi square ( $\chi^2$ ), the corresponding degrees of freedom (df), and the rejection level of the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) for each case are indicated below:

CHI SQUARE ANALYSIS OF DATA CONTAINED IN TABLE 3

<i>Type of Linguistic Skill</i>	<i>Chi Square (<math>\chi^2</math>)</i>	<i>Degrees of Freedom (df)</i>	<i>Rejection Level of Null Hypothesis (<math>H_0</math>)</i>
1.1 Literacy in Gujarati	2.39	1	$p < .2$
1.2 Knowledge of spoken Hindustani	10.53	1	$p < .001$
1.3 Knowledge of spoken English	54.84	1	$p < .001$
1.4 Knowledge of Chilapalapa	15.44	1	$p < .001$
1.5 Knowledge of spoken Nyanja	33.60	1	$p < .001$

If we fix the significance level at  $p < .05$ , then the two groups, adult males and adult females, are said to differ significantly with respect to 1.2 (knowledge of spoken Hindustani), 1.3 (knowledge of spoken English), 1.4 (knowledge of Chilapalapa), and 1.5 (knowledge of spoken Nyanja).

2. A similar exercise was carried out with reference to data of Table 4 to see whether or not the two groups mentioned there (persons between six and seventeen years, and those who are eighteen and over) differed significantly with respect to 2.1 literacy in Gujarati, 2.2 knowledge of spoken Hindustani (Hindi/Urdu), 2.3 knowledge of spoken English, and 2.4 knowledge of Chilapalapa.

The summed chi square ( $\chi^2$ ), the corresponding degrees of freedom (df), and the rejection level of the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) for each case are indicated below:

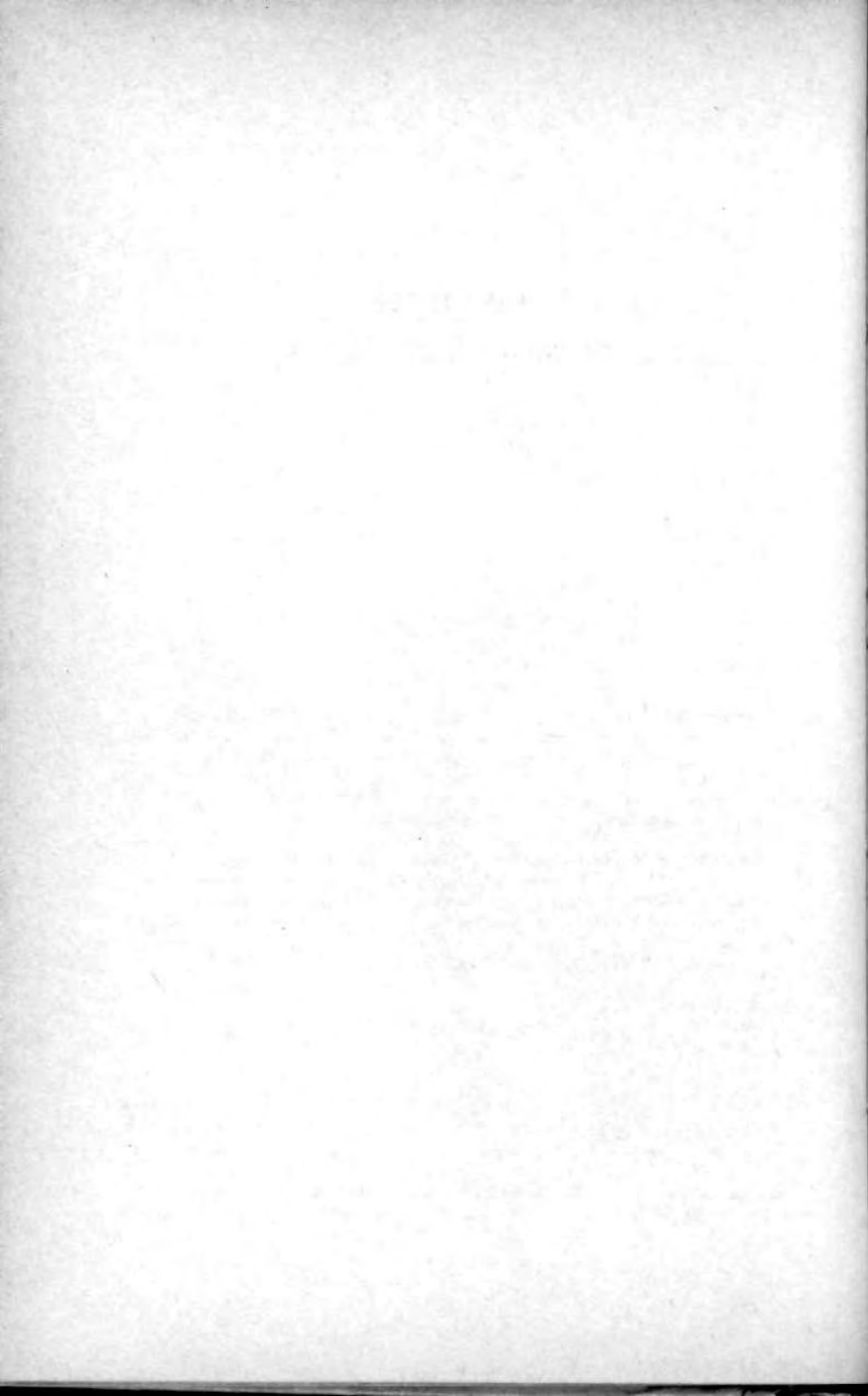
CHI SQUARE ANALYSIS OF DATA CONTAINED IN TABLE 4

<i>Type of Linguistic Skill</i>	<i>Chi Square (<math>\chi^2</math>)</i>	<i>Degrees of Freedom (df)</i>	<i>Rejection Level of Null Hypothesis (<math>H_0</math>)</i>
2.1 Literacy in Gujarati	163.98	1	$p < .001$
2.2 Knowledge of spoken Hindustani	75.74	1	$p < .001$
2.3 Knowledge of spoken English	8.51	1	$p < .01$
2.4 Knowledge of Chilapalapa	7.07	1	$p < .01$

We may conclude, therefore, that with the significance level at  $p < .05$ , adults and non-adults differ significantly with respect to the skills mentioned above.

PART THREE

*LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION*





## 10 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Sirarpi Ohannessian

### 0.0 Introduction

When Zambia gained independence in 1964, one of its most acute problems was the shortage of manpower educated to assume the many responsibilities that faced its people in the political as well as numerous other aspects of the new nation's life. Education, therefore, was given very high priority by Zambia's leaders in the work of nation building.

Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, stresses this in his foreword to *The Growth of Education in Zambia since Independence* by I. M. Mwanakatwe, Zambia's first Minister of Education. Dr. Kaunda says:

In older and more developed countries, education is more often related to the perfection of the individual in some specialized field. Time matters less. In Zambia, however, and, I believe, elsewhere among developing countries, education must perforce be related more to the wider aspects of nation-building. The aim must, of necessity, be to maximize the capacity of the student to contribute to the growth of society when once he or she has joined the rest of the national team of bricklayers — in agriculture, in commerce, in industry, in administration, or any other sphere of activity. (Mwanakatwe, p. x.)

The role of education, as he sees it, extends beyond these areas into the foundation of the national character, its unity, its strength and its orientation.

The importance of the role of language in this development has been well recognized, and language has been, and continues to be a very crucial and also very complex and sensitive issue, especially in education. The development of a workable language policy, which could help to bring about national unity, economic progress, educational advancement, and administrative stability in the particular setting of newly independent Zambia has faced many complex problems.

A number of factors have contributed to this complexity. The present boundaries of Zambia and the composition of her people have been shaped to a large extent by recent colonial history so that neither geographically nor ethnically, nor from the point of view of language, does the nation present a unified whole. Zambia is a multilingual country of just over four million people. The number of languages, as previous chapters in this volume have demonstrated, is uncertain, but some

seventy-two indigenous groups claim to have their own "languages" which generally bear the same names as the tribes their speakers belong to.

At independence Zambia was very heavily dependent on expatriate help in both its public and private sectors. In spite of an extremely rapid expansion of education and great strides in Zambianization, such dependence was still relatively heavy in 1970. Given Zambia's resources and the tasks that faced the new government, the continued use of English, as the official language does not seem surprising, since many aspects of the life of the country had been conducted in English by the former government, and large numbers of Zambians had learned to communicate using the English language with varying degrees of efficiency. Moreover, there were a great many English-speaking expatriates who had served in many capacities in the previous regime, including some in the educational system, and those among them who chose to stay on in Zambia could be employed both to serve till Zambians were ready to replace them, and to help train Zambians for the tasks they themselves were performing.

In 1965, one year after independence, Zambia decided to use English as a medium of instruction in all schools from Grade I through university. The gradual implementation of this policy through the work of the English Medium Centre (subsequently renamed Curriculum Development Centre) is discussed in detail later. Perhaps the most authoritative and detailed discussion of the background and the reasons for the decision are found in the chapter entitled "The Problem of Language" in Mwanakatwe (pp. 212-213) already quoted above.

In addition to English, the languages of the people of Zambia were also seen as having a very important role in the education of Zambian children, though the authorities were aware of such problems as complexity of language backgrounds among children, as well as lack of trained teachers, of instructional materials, and of sound methods in their teaching. Stressing the value of these languages and the need to ensure that a fair balance is provided for the child, Mwanakatwe (pp. 216-217) is emphatic that the teaching of Zambian languages must continue to be compulsory in primary schools. He says:

The mother tongue can stimulate and awaken the child's imagination through songs, stories, nursery rhymes, folk-tales and proverbs. There can be no better way of preserving national culture for all time than by encouraging school children to learn their tribal customs, songs, beliefs, and literature in vernacular lessons. Properly guided during vernacular lessons, pupils should develop national pride and self-

confidence as members of a new society with its roots firmly planted in the past – the past which they know and understand.

The decision to use English as a medium of instruction from Grade I has not been implemented without opposition. Some people have seen it as a threat to African culture and personality, but others have held that local languages can be a barrier to national unity. Language in education continues to be a very live issue in Zambia and different points of view are often expressed in the mass media, especially the national daily newspapers.

This third part of the present volume will attempt to examine the problem of language in the educational system of Zambia within the framework of a brief sketch of educational development in the country and the situation at the time of the Survey. It will be concerned with the teaching of Zambian languages and English at various levels, the training of teachers, instructional materials, and adult literacy.

## 1.0 *Developments in Education*

### 1.1 *General*

The growth and expansion of education in Zambia has been phenomenal. The rapid expansion of an educational system is not uncommon in developing countries, but in the case of Zambia it has taken place in a very short space of time so that even a brief comparison of the situation in the Territory of Northern Rhodesia in 1924 when the British Colonial Office assumed administrative responsibility, and the situation in 1970, may help to demonstrate the extraordinary rate of acceleration as well as the *enormity of the task undertaken*. For a thorough, detailed and critical account of developments in education, especially from independence in 1964 to 1967, readers should consult *The Growth of Education in Zambia since Independence*, by J. M. Mwanakatwe, already referred to above. The following pages will briefly outline developments as a background to language policy.

Before 1924, the region which constitutes Zambia today was administered by the British South Africa Company (B.S.A. Company) following a treaty negotiated in 1890 with Lewanika, the Paramount Chief of the Lozi people. The treaty gave the Company mineral rights in the lands of the Lozi people in return for British protection. These rights were subsequently construed (perhaps erroneously) to include the Copperbelt, and the sphere of influence of the B.S.A. Company gradually extended to other parts of Zambia. The Company administered the territory for a time in two sections, North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia, but in 1911 the two sections were joined as Northern

Rhodesia, until in April 1924 the Colonial Office took over the administration of the area as the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia. In that same year a study of education in East, Central, and South Africa was carried out by a Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in the United States, in cooperation with the International Education Board. The Report of the Commission seems a convenient point of departure for a brief examination of educational development in Zambia.

The great inland empire of Northern Rhodesia, with its vast plateau 4,000 feet above sea level and its favorable climate, ranks with the best and greatest of the African colonies in soil potentialities, but lags behind the smallest and the most unproductive in output and exports,

says the Phelps-Stokes Report in its opening paragraph on Northern Rhodesia (p. 255). A great many factors had contributed to the general undeveloped condition of the area, including neglect of the land except as a source of labor, migration of men to the mines, taxes, and hindrances to agriculture such as the absence of markets. The lack of internal transportation, access to the sea, and external communications, plus the fact that many areas were infested by the tsetse fly had also contributed to keeping the area backward.

In 1921, according to the Phelps-Stokes Report (p. 255), the African population of Northern Rhodesia was estimated to be about 980,000, and the European population about 4,000. There were less than 100 Asians and about 150 colored people. Although the estimate of the indigenous population must be taken with extreme caution, the difference between it and more reliable population statistics obtainable for later periods may give some indication of the extent of change. In 1963, the total population of Zambia had grown to 3,490,540, and in 1969 it had risen to 4,056,995, showing a rate of growth of 2.5% per year. In 1961 the number of Asians was 7,790; in 1969 it had become 10,785. The number of Europeans was 74,549 in 1961, but it had been reduced to 43,390 in 1969 (Cent. Stat. Off., 1970 p. A2).

### 1.2 *The Educational System*

The increase in numbers of children enrolled in schools is perhaps the most spectacular change during this period of time. In 1924, according to the Phelps-Stokes Report (pp. 259-260), there were some 200,000 Native children scattered all over the Protectorate in need of education facilities:

The most liberal estimate of those in any kind of school is about 50,000, of whom all but 600 are in mission schools. According to

European standards it is probable that less than 10,000 children are in schools of a satisfactory grade. The Government maintains the Barotse national school with 260 boarding boys and 7 out-schools, with an attendance of about 350 pupils. There is also a very small government location school with 40 pupils.

The Barotse National School had been the only institution for African education under the control of the B.S.A. Company, though the school's funds had come from taxes collected from Africans. It became the first government school in 1924. By the time of independence in 1964 enrollment in primary schools had risen to 378,417 and in secondary schools to 13,853, making a grand total of 392,270 for all schools. In 1970 the total available figure for primary schools was 694,670 and for secondary schools 52,472, making a grand total of 747,142 for all schools in Zambia (Cent. Stat. Off., 1970, Tables 1 and 20).

When the Colonial Government took over the Territory in 1924, the missions carried almost the entire burden of the education of the indigenous people. *Although initially their main goal may have been evangelization, and education was perhaps a means to this end rather than an end in itself, they still played a very important role in the educational system of Zambia, and continued to do so in 1970, not only at the primary and secondary levels but also in the preparation of teachers.*

In the early stages of their activity the missions tended to discourage traditional customs and often failed to take advantage of what was valuable in Zambian culture. As Mwanakatwe (pp. 6-7) points out, "The opportunity to develop a complete and wholesome educational system, incorporating the best that was practised in traditional training, was missed at least for a period of time." Nevertheless, the missionaries did a great deal to study the languages of the people of Northern Rhodesia, and to produce materials in them. Members of the missionary societies continue to be among the most knowledgeable about the structure of Zambian languages.

The earliest missionaries to arrive in Zambia and to take up educational work were members of the Paris Evangelical Mission. François Coillard founded the first mission station in Sesheke on the Zambezi in 1885. Others followed soon and there was significant missionary activity throughout the remainder of the century. In 1894 members of the London Missionary Society opened up their station in Niamkolo. During the next year the White Fathers started work among the Bemba, and in 1897 the first mission stations of the Christian Mission in Many Lands (sometimes known as the Garanganze Mission) opened at Johnson Falls on the Luapula River. In 1898 the Dutch Reformed Mission established its mission in the East Luangwa area, and the first Livingstonia Mission station, Chasesu, was established a little

later in the same province. In 1905 the Society of Jesus established the Chikuni Mission in the South.

In 1924 the main Protestant missionary societies included the Paris Evangelical Mission, the Dutch Reformed Church, the London Missionary Society, the United Free Church of Scotland, the Primitive Methodist Mission, the Universities Mission, the Garanganze Mission (staffed by Plymouth Brethren), Seventh Day Adventist Mission, the South Africa General Mission, and various smaller missions including Wesleyans, Brethren in Christ, Church of Christ, and South African Baptists. The main Catholic missions were the Jesuit Fathers and the White Fathers. (Phelps-Stokes, pp. 261-264)

According to the Phelps-Stokes Report (p. 260) between them these missionary societies in 1924 reported 72 mission stations, 1,500 schools, 47,600 pupils, 205 European workers, 1,600 Native teachers. The report quotes the Acting Inspector of Schools in Northern Rhodesia:

On the whole, though it cannot be denied that the Natives of Northern Rhodesia are generally uneducated, and though it must be admitted that the average village school is at present of little or no value from the educational point of view, it may be confidently asserted that the missionaries of this territory have already laid in the vicinity of their stations foundations on which, given the necessary organization, direction and financial assistance, a sound system of Native education might rapidly be raised . . . From the vast majority of the missionaries of this country hearty cooperation in any progressive scheme for the general as well as the purely religious welfare of the Natives may be anticipated.

In offering its recommendations, the Commission expresses the belief that it has the support of the new government as well as the Conference of Missionary Societies representing both Protestant and Roman Catholic missions. In fact, a number of the recommendations constitute an endorsement of existing plans or recommendations. The most important among the recommendations dealing with education in Northern Rhodesia are the following (Phelps-Stokes, pp. 264-267):

- (1) Appointment of a Director of Native Education whose work would be to "coordinate and unify the educational activities of the numerous Missions".
- (2) Appointment of an Advisory Committee on Native Education with representatives of the government, missionaries, and settlers. "Provision should be made as soon as possible for the representation of Native opinion."
- (3) Grants-in-aid to the missions. In view of limited funds, the Commission suggests that "the order of expenditure should be first,

aid to central mission schools, selected for their geographical and denominational importance; second, aid for the maintenance of European missionaries to supervise the educational work of their Mission stations and out-schools; third, aid to employ Native visiting teachers of satisfactory qualifications to encourage and improve village schools”.

- (4) Teacher training. The Commission urges every mission to select one of its mission stations as the centre for training teachers and general supervision. Among the requisites of a successful central station is cited “similarity or identity of the vernacular used as the medium of instruction”.
- (5) Supervision of schools. The unsupervised condition of out-schools is condemned as “exceedingly wasteful”. The Commission feels that in some instances “even the station schools are so inadequately staffed as to defeat any attempt at effective management”, and urges the adoption of the General Missionary Society’s recommendation of employing visiting teachers.
- (6) Sound objectives for education, in particular a better adaptation of education to the needs of the people. To emphasize this the Commission quotes from a recent report of the London Missionary Society Deputation to the Protectorate:

We teach them reading, writing, arithmetic, most of which they have forgotten within three years of leaving school. In our normal and higher schools we turn out poor teachers, fair store boys, and indifferent clerks. What has all this to do with the life of the people? The education that forgets that this people is an agricultural people misses the mark badly.

- (7) High Schools. The Commission report quotes the following resolution by the Missionary Conference which had been held in 1924:

Seeing that the success of all Primary Schools depends on efficient Native teachers, the Conference thinks that it is of great importance that the necessary High Schools for training such teachers be opened with as little delay as possible. We would suggest one High School about the center of N.W. Rhodesia, one about the center of N.E. Rhodesia, and one about the center of the Railway Strip. These High Schools would undertake work only *above Standard 4* and they would provide instruction in higher education, in agriculture, in manual arts, in pedagogy, in rural and political economics, in training demonstration agents in agriculture, health and sanitation, home economics, etc.

The recommendations end with an affirmation that Government and missions "must in the course of time provide for the advanced education of those who will complete the courses now offered", and the reported suggestion that the Colonies of the Sub-Continent including Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland may combine to found an institution after the type of Fort Hare in the Union of South Africa.<sup>1</sup>

The Commission's views on languages of instruction are not particular to any one country in East Africa, but form part of a general chapter entitled "Educational Objectives and Adaptations". (Phelps-Stokes Report, pp. 8-9 and 19-22.) It may be of interest to give some of the main points here. The Commission in general expresses its concern for the teaching of both African and European languages, finding that both have a contribution to make of far greater significance than that of the mere transfer of knowledge. It emphasizes the great importance of the indigenous language as part of the cultural heritage of Africans and as a chief means of preserving whatever is good in African customs, ideas and ideals, and above all for preserving the self-respect of Africans. It is through African languages that the Commission believes the African mind can be reached, African character developed and interest in agriculture and industry aroused.

Though emphatic on the inherent right of all people to their own languages and the injustice of depriving them of it, the Commission does not recommend the indiscriminate adoption of all African dialects claiming continuous use. The Commission points out the need for long scientific study and suggests a number of criteria for selecting the Native language of greatest value to a multilingual community. It is interesting that, acknowledging the contribution of missionaries to the study of African languages and the production of works in them, the Commission urges the cooperation of governments, missions, and commercial organizations "with scientific students of languages to make a thorough survey of African tongues and dialects, so that the present confusion and uncertainty may be corrected and that vernacular literature may be issued on well-directed and effective lines". The Commission points out the importance of European languages not only as agencies for acquiring information but "as means of uniting Africa with the great civilizations of the world". It draws attention to the mixed motives of European powers in promoting the teaching of their languages. It points out the desire of Africans to learn European languages, since they lead to many advantages and opportunities; along with the need for missionaries, teachers, traders and government officials to learn African languages.

Finally, the Commission supports the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission to West and Equatorial Africa (quoted from *Education in Africa*, pp. 25-26). The elements to be considered in determining the language of instruction in essence are: the inherent



right of all people to their native tongue; the need to avoid misunderstanding and mistrust resulting from a multiplicity of tongues; the need for every group to communicate directly with those to whom the government is entrusted; and the need for increasing numbers of Africans to know at least one of the languages of the "civilized nations". With due consideration to all these and modifying circumstances they suggest the use of "the tribal language" for lower elementary standards or grades, a lingua franca of African origin to be introduced in the middle classes of the school "if the area is occupied by large Native groups speaking diverse languages", and the teaching of the language of the European nation in control in the upper standards.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission came at a crucial time in the history of Zambia. Some of its recommendations, as pointed out above, coincided with existing plans, and others found a receptive attitude on the part of authorities, though by no means all of them were implemented immediately. Prior to 1925 financial provision had been made by the B.S.A. Company for the education of the children of Europeans in the territory but none for Africans. Soon after the Colonial Office assumed responsibility, African education began to get financial support and sustained government attention. In 1925 a sub-Department of Native Education was created as part of the Native Affairs Department. The same year Geoffrey C. Latham was appointed Director of Native Education. An important part of the developments in African education in the next five years appears to have been due in large part to his efforts and personal interest. He had been the acting Inspector of Schools in charge of European schools, had responsibility for the educational policy of the Barotse National School and had also dealt with the educational work of the missions so that he was familiar with all sections of the existing educational system.

In the same year that Latham was appointed Director of Native Education, a full-time Inspector of European Schools in Northern Rhodesia was appointed who two years later became Director of European Education, and in 1930 the sub-Department of Native Education became independent of the Native Affairs Department. (Latham retired that same year.) The dual system of education which had its beginnings in the days of the B.S.A. Company thus became more formalized (later there also were separate schools for Asian and colored children). There were great inequalities between the systems, which need not be discussed here, but beginning in 1924 there was increasing and systematic attention paid to the improvement of African education, under the direction of Latham, his staff, and his successors, although not without problems and delays.

Part of the responsibilities of the Department of Native Education was the disbursement of funds allocated for educational work by the

government, and the coordination of the educational activities of the missionary societies. In allocating funds, the policy of the new government was "to help missions with grants to do the bulk of the Elementary School work and to train teachers, and to share with Missions as it became necessary and possible, the higher education and the vocational training of the natives". The following figures of expenditure, given together with the above policy statement, give some idea of the extreme meagerness of the earlier allocations and their growing size as the attention to African education increased. (Govt. of N. Rhod., 1932, p. 7).

1924-25	£348
1925-26	£3,994
1930-31	£15,284
1931-32	£24,240 [estimated]

The figures do not include recurrent grants received from the Beit Railway Trust, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Barotse Trust Fund, which, according to the report, would amount to about £8,000 during the financial year ending on 31st March 1932.

In 1925 another of the plans endorsed by the Phelps-Stokes Report was realized by the formation of a Central Advisory Board on Native Education, composed largely of missionaries representing the more important societies. One of the first tasks of the Board was the development of a definite plan for African education in conjunction with the Department of African Education.

The level of education in the system that Latham had inherited was extremely low, and although Latham himself and the staff that he gradually built up in the Department worked hard to improve it, changes seem to have been neither easy nor rapid. Education provided by missionary societies in a large number of schools and sub-schools was often very inadequate. The *Annual Report* stated that "Most of the sub-schools are staffed by Evangelists who beside giving religious instruction, teach what they know of the three Rs, and a little English, to irregularly attended classes of pupils of both sexes and all ages." The "schools", as defined in the Schools Ordinance, were

a class or assembly for the teaching or instruction of natives, whether held in a building or not, conducted for not less than one hundred and twenty days a year, and in which instruction is based on a code approved by the Director Native Education and the Advisory Board of Native Education (Govt. of N. Rhod., 1932, p. 11.)

Table 1 illustrates the system and extent of education planned for Africans by Latham and his associates. The whole of this education from sub-standard A to Standard VIII is described as "Primary". The *Annual Report 1931* (p. 8) from which Table 1 has been taken states that

Table 10:1: The school system suggested by Latham, 1930's.

Elementary Schools: Sub-Standards A and B (Standards I and II)

Lower Middle Schools (Standards III and IV)

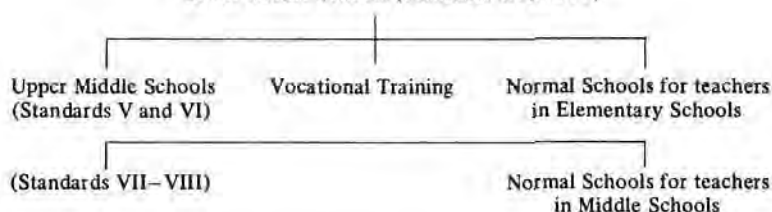


Table 10:2: Secondary school enrollment 1964-70 all schools.

	<i>Form I</i>	<i>Form II</i>	<i>Form III</i>	<i>Form IV</i>	<i>Form V</i>	<i>Form VI</i>	<i>Totals</i>
1964	4,693	4,078	2,176	1,720	783	403	13,853
1965	6,601	4,496	2,855	1,754	1,033	448	17,187
1966	10,976	6,327	3,128	2,334	1,034	190	23,989
1967	14,963	10,720	4,253	2,595	1,601	—	34,139
1968	14,869	14,818	6,806	3,660	2,145	—	42,388
1969	15,721	14,571	8,469	6,141	3,255	—	48,157
1970	15,175	15,418	8,578	7,792	5,509	—	52,472

"When future developments make 'Secondary' Schools desirable, it is probable that they will start at Standard VII and that the Upper Middle School of the 'Primary' group will take pupils through Standards V and VI only."

In actual fact, owing to a variety of circumstances, secondary education took a long time developing in Zambia. Latham's scheme, proposed in 1928, of post-primary education in "upper middle schools" which would complete the eight-year primary course was not acted upon till much later. Trevor Coombe in his "The Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia" gives a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the developments that led to the opening of the first government secondary class at Munalu in 1939. The provision of secondary education for Africans in Zambia before independence, was, according to Coombe, "by any appropriate criterion, utterly inadequate. It was begun late, advanced hesitantly, encountered frequent and exasperating delays, and (until the last few years of colonial rule) was marked by a dawning and fitful sense of urgency" (p. 173).

Expansion, when it did come, however, was extremely rapid. In 1964 an ambitious plan was launched with very generous allocations for expenditure. By 1970 total enrollment had risen to 52,472 in 113 secondary schools. Table 2 gives a detailed picture of the expansion of

secondary schools during the 1964–70 period at various levels. In addition to this, 788 pupils were enrolled in 6 technical training centers, and 104 engineering and industrial technicians at the Zambia Institute of Technology. (Cent. Stat. Off., 1971, Tables 20, 26 and 25.)

In the last few years before independence, through various circumstances, the way had been paved for some very important changes in primary and secondary education in Zambia. In 1963 a policy of desegregation was adopted, the implementation of which started in 1964. This meant the elimination of the dual system of education that had existed previously, but for a number of practical reasons such as different syllabuses, ages of entry, languages of instruction and so on, this could not be implemented in its entirety immediately. The dual system had left behind sharp differences between schools, and such questions as staffing and pupil numbers had to be faced. To solve some of these problems schools were temporarily divided into two categories, "scheduled", or on the First Schedule or list, and fee-paying; and "unscheduled", i.e. all others, which were non-fee-paying.

By early 1970 all secondary schools had become unscheduled and were free for all who could qualify for places through competitive examinations. However, in spite of unprecedented expansion, by 1970 places in secondary schools were becoming increasingly difficult to get and further expansion was planned. At the primary level the distinction between scheduled and unscheduled schools was abolished early in 1971, but differences between standards in various schools will probably take some time to level out. The problem of numbers, especially in the congested urban areas, was very serious at the primary level. In spite of schools running two and sometimes three daily sessions, it was still not easy for all children of school age to find places in primary schools in 1971.

Both at the primary and secondary levels much has been done since independence to bring the curriculum in line with Zambia's present needs, but much remains to be done to bring standards of language teaching to a high level in all schools.

### 1.3 *Teacher Training*

The area of most crucial need when Latham was appointed Director of Native Education was teacher preparation. Both he and the Central Advisory Board were aware of this, and grants were soon made available for the salaries of trained educators in mission institutions for the training of teachers. The first Department Examination for Teachers' third grade certificate was held in June 1928. Of the 261 entrants only 113 passed (Govt. of N. Rhod. [1928], p. 26; App. p. 8). The successful candidates came from eleven separate institutions, the largest number

of candidates, 48, being from Livingstonia Mission (the smallest number, 2, from four separate institutions each). The examination had been set by the Department but certificates were provisional, and had to be confirmed after inspection of actual teaching work. In the years that followed standards for teachers were steadily raised, but the output did not become very great, and the pattern of a number of institutions (8-12) preparing a few teachers each continued. By the end of 1931, only 302 teachers had passed the written examination since 1928, and 281 certificated teachers were in the employ of missions and earned the Government grant. There were, however, 2,500 teachers in 2,171 schools and sub-schools, many of whom were catechists or evangelists in charge of "bush" schools and had little teacher training (Govt. of N. Rhod., 1932, p. 12).

Teacher training continued to be an important focus of attention in Zambia. In 1961 the minimum academic level for training was raised from full primary school to Form II of the secondary school. Because of the great expansion of education at the primary levels at independence, a one-year residential course was offered to be followed by a year as "student teacher". At the end of 1965 some 1,342 newly-trained teachers had been posted to unscheduled schools from training colleges. In 1966, out of 9,325 teachers serving in unscheduled primary schools 95% had received professional training (Mwanakatwe, p. 108). In 1967 the decision was taken to return to two-year training colleges. This was gradually accomplished so that by 1970 all pre-service primary teacher training consisted of a two-year training course. In 1970 there were eight pre-service teacher training colleges for primary schools, and one in-service training college for practicing teachers. The University of Zambia (UNZA) offered the ACE (Associateship Certificate in Education course) for re-training primary teachers. The pre-service colleges had a total enrollment of about 2,000 students, and the ACE course 40 students. Table 3 shows staffing in primary schools for 1970 (Cent. Stat. Off., 1971, Table 6).

Teacher training for secondary schools, though also of high priority had not progressed as satisfactorily. From 1961 a three-year course was instituted at Chalimbana Teacher Training College but was discontinued in 1964 for political reasons related to the College's association with the University College of Rhodesia in Salisbury. By 1970, the Teachers' College, Kabwe, an Associate College of the University of Zambia, was the only training college which prepared secondary teachers in addition to the University of Zambia. In 1970 Kabwe had 34 graduates (total enrollment about 98). Those graduating with education majors from the University of Zambia were only 11. The PCE course at UNZA (Post Graduate Certificate in Education) was taken almost entirely by non-Zambians. In the same year the number of teachers in government

Table 10:3: Primary school staffing 1970 (see Cent. Stat. Off., 1971, Table 6).

Region	Trained teachers				Untrained teachers				Totals
	Zambian		Non-Zambian		Zambian		Non-Zambian		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Copperbelt	1,607	823	119	240	114	113	4	19	3,039
Eastern	943	253	7	9	84	131			1,427
Kabwe	705	279	15	11	156	93	1		1,260
Luapula	1,266	678	12	57	98	126		1	2,238
Lusaka	462	456	11	56	17	14		1	1,017
Northern	1,192	339	4	1	156	245		1	1,938
Northwestern	508	87			100	54	14		763
Southern	1,207	464	11	20	111	58		1	1,872
Western	803	229	1		134	131			1,298
Totals	8,693	3,608	180	394	970	965	19	23	14,852

secondary schools was 1,833 of whom 1,582 or about 86% were expatriate. In secondary schools run by all agencies, including private and aided schools, the number of teachers was 2,462 of whom 2,159 (or 88%) were non-Zambian (Govt. of N. Rhod., 1971, Tables 18, 19). Table 4 (Govt. of N. Rhod., 1971, Table 18) gives details of secondary school staffing in government controlled schools. As can be seen, secondary education in Zambia was heavily dependent on expatriate teachers who came under a variety of auspices and programs. The largest group was from Britain, but Canada, India, Pakistan, Ireland, Ceylon, Holland, Denmark, Ghana, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and the USSR were among other countries from which secondary school teachers were recruited.

In Zambia, as in other developing countries whose educational system has been influenced by Britain, the institution of the Inspectorate had an important role in guiding the professional work of schools and teachers. The responsibility of the Inspectorate was to maintain teaching standards, and among the areas of its concern were: syllabuses, examinations, promotion, pre-service training, refresher courses, equipment and professional advice, especially bringing new materials, methods, and ideas to the attention of teachers and schools. It also included helping expatriate teachers adjust to new situations; and so on. Mwanakatwe (p. 119) quotes a passage from the 1966 Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (p. 23) to illustrate some of these functions of the Inspectorate part of which is as follows:

... The stage has now fortunately been reached when teachers no longer dread but rather welcome the arrival of an inspector, for his visit provides the opportunity, particularly in the remote rural areas,

Table 10:4: Secondary schools staffing 1970, by qualifications and regions, government schools (Cent. Stat. Off., 1971, Table 18).

Region	Trained teachers								Untrained teachers								Totals
	ZM		ZW		NZM		NZW		ZM		ZW		NZM		NZW		
	G	NG	G	NG	G	NG	G	NG	G	NG	G	NG	G	NG	G	NG	
Copperbelt	3	20	—	16	198	157	49	52	—	1	1	—	32	3	15	3	550
Eastern	1	20	—	2	43	22	7	7	—	1	—	—	6	—	5	—	114
Kabwe	3	13	—	8	60	26	23	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	3	1	143
Luapula	1	12	—	4	32	23	12	10	—	2	—	—	12	1	7	3	119
Lusaka	3	4	5	17	74	61	43	26	—	1	—	1	13	7	2	1	258
Northern	4	16	—	9	61	47	22	18	—	1	—	—	12	—	5	3	198
Northwestern	2	7	—	3	27	22	18	2	—	1	—	—	12	1	3	2	100
Southern	4	15	1	11	64	35	22	11	—	2	—	—	15	1	9	1	191
Western	9	18	—	4	37	26	10	19	—	5	—	—	13	4	5	10	161
Total	30	125	6	74	596	419	206	145	—	14	1	1	121	17	54	24	1,833
Totals	155		80		1,015		315		14		1		138		78		1,833

G = Government  
 NG = Non-Government  
 M = Men

W = Women  
 Z = Zambian  
 NZ = Non-Zambian

to discuss classroom problems, equipment shortages, disciplinary difficulties, parental obduracy, and to hear the latest news from Regional Headquarters. In this way teachers are kept on their toes and are reminded that their difficulties are not theirs alone but are the concern of the Ministry, too. . . .

The potential of the Inspectorate as a force to bring about change and improvement in language teaching is very great, provided the inspectors have adequate training. In 1970 members of the Primary Inspectorate were being trained in the use of the New Zambia Primary Course (NZPC). At the secondary level there were two Senior Inspectors for English, but none for Zambian languages.

#### 1.4 *Higher Education*

Although the Phelps-Stokes Commission had recommended higher education for Africans, very little was done about it in the early years of colonial rule. Trevor Coombe reports that by the early 1930s the subject was being raised for discussion, but it is interesting to note in his account that, in response to a 1933 report on higher education for Africans, the Acting Director for Native Education "reported merely that no African in the territory would be requiring higher education in the future" (p. 291). When eventually, with a grant of £1,500,000 from the British Government, a multi-racial institution, the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was established in Salisbury, it was an object of suspicion to Africans from Zambia and "failed hopelessly to win the confidence of African students from outside Southern Rhodesia" (Mwanakatwe, p. 174).

In 1963, the Lockwood Commission was asked to investigate the feasibility of a university in Northern Rhodesia. The Commission's report had some radical suggestions for the new university including the establishment of the university not as an affiliate of an older established institution, but as an independent entity, offering its own degrees, working out its own programs for diplomas, syllabuses, and so on, and having internal as well as external examiners. The University of Zambia was finally established in 1966 with some 300 students. In 1970 the number of students had risen to 1,184 full-time students, and 250 correspondence students.

The University has a strong School of Education which, as pointed out above, has responsibilities towards the supply of secondary teachers, the retraining of some primary teachers, and towards the Teachers' College, Kabwe. Some of its programs relevant to language teaching are described later.

The University offered no course-work in Zambian languages in 1970, but some research on Zambian languages was carried out at the Institute



for African Studies, mainly in relation to the Survey. The University has a lively French Department headed by a Zambian.

## 2.0 *Language in Educational Development*

The problem of language in the classroom was of concern to authorities from the very beginning of Zambia's educational history and it is interesting to note that many of the problems which faced those in charge of Zambian education in early colonial days are still the ones that face Zambians at the present time. The missionary societies had studied and put into writing a number of the Zambian languages for their evangelical work and had taught through them in their schools. With the creation of the Central Advisory Board of Native Education and a Director of Native Education in the government, some policy decision on the choice of Zambian languages in schools seems to have become possible. The following extract is from an entry headed "Language and Text Books" in the *Northern Rhodesia Annual Report Upon Native Education for the Year 1927* (p. 12):

The Advisory Board on Native Education has agreed to the adoption of four principal native languages in this territory for school purposes, namely Sikololo for Barotseland,<sup>2</sup> Chitonga—Chila for the rest of North-Western Rhodesia, Chibemba for North Eastern Rhodesia west of the Luangwa River and Chinyanja for North Eastern Rhodesia east of that river. It also agreed that outstanding questions and difficulties with regard to the spelling of these languages should be submitted to the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and that its decision should be accepted. It is the intention that assistance given by Government for the production of text books should be confined to these languages.

It is estimated that these four languages can be used in the earliest stages of education for 55% of the Natives of Northern Rhodesia. For another 25% books in these languages could probably be introduced without difficulty from Standard I onwards. These and the other 20% will have to continue to rely on primers and translations of the Scriptures produced by local missionaries for the first years of schooling.

In the *Northern Rhodesia Report Upon Native Education for the Year 1928* (pp. 22–23), under the same heading "Language and Text Books" the entry reads:

Some progress can be recorded under this head. A representative committee has agreed to use what is known as the Plateau form of Chitonga for educational books produced for the Chila—Chitonga—

Chilenje speaking natives of North Western Rhodesia. Outstanding points regarding orthography have been referred to the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures with the Committee's resolutions. Two members, one a language expert, one an educationist, have kindly consented to revise all books written in this language before publication and to translate English books into this language periodically.

An attempt to gather together a representative committee of the Chibemba speaking group proved unsuccessful but considerable agreement has been arrived at by correspondence with regard to orthography. The variations in vocabulary and idiom between the two main producers of literature in this language, the White Fathers and the Livingstonia Mission, appear to be more serious than was anticipated and until a really representative committee has discussed the matter and come to some decision it will not be possible for the Government to take up steps for the production of a school literature in this language. Nothing has been done in this territory with regard to the *standardization of Sikololo or Chinyanja*. The former language was first reduced to writing by the Paris Mission and the form it took has never since been challenged. The standardisation of Chinyanja will take place in Nyasaland and will presumably be embodied in the new edition of Dr. Scott's Dictionary.

The problem of orthography has been a continuing one in Zambia partly because Zambian languages were reduced to writing by different groups, and strong traditions have formed round the different ways of writing the languages. These, in themselves, might not present too great a problem if some form of consistency were not desirable for educational purposes. To achieve this, during 1971, Zambian Languages Committees were given the task of standardizing spelling for the seven officially used Zambian languages in order that materials produced under the auspices of the Ministry of Education might have consistent spelling.

Although in colonial days much of the teaching in the primary schools was done through Zambian languages, English was taught and was used as the medium of instruction at certain levels. The problem of qualified people to teach English was a very serious one. In the *Northern Rhodesia Annual Report Upon Native Education 1930* (p. 12) there is the following entry under the title "The Teaching of English".

There being no possible vernacular *lingua franca* for Northern Rhodesia it is generally agreed that the teaching of English is of more importance and should, where possible, be begun earlier than would be necessary in colonies which use Swahili.

The principle approved by the Central Advisory Board and adopted is that English should be taught, wherever a competent

teacher is available, as soon as the mechanical difficulties of reading and writing in the vernacular have been mastered, and provided that the teaching of essential subjects in the syllabus is not thereby affected.

In Normal Schools English will be a compulsory subject.

At mine compounds and in townships a special curriculum for Elementary Schools including English is desirable.

In practice, English will rarely be taught at present in village schools.

The local vernacular is used as a medium of instruction in practically all schools at present except at the Jeanes [vocational] and Agricultural Schools, Mazabuka, and in the upper classes of the Barotse National School. English will be used as a medium in upper middle schools, that is above Standard IV, and in central vocational schools.

By the late 1950s education was begun in the mother tongue, and later, usually in the third year, where the mother tongue was not one of the four official languages (or Lunda, Luvale or Kaonde in the case of the North-Western Province), a shift was made to one of these, and it was studied and examined in Standard VI. In principle, English was used as the medium of instruction from Standard V, but this was not uniform, there being variation between schools, some of which started its use as a medium in Standard III or IV.

It was difficult to find a comprehensive statement on official government policy regarding language in the educational system of Zambia, but the following outline represents general practice during 1970 when the present Survey was conducted.

- (a) English was to be the medium of instruction in the entire educational system from Grade I through university. (This was in process of implementation. A few subjects, such as religious instruction, might be taught in one of the approved official Zambian languages in primary schools.)
- (b) The 1966 Education Act stipulates that instruction in "Vernacular Language" is to be provided in all unscheduled primary schools. In 1970 seven Zambian languages were approved for teaching in the nine regions into which the country was divided for administrative purposes. These regions coincided with the eight provinces of Zambia, except that the Central Province was divided into the Lusaka and Kabwe regions. (Table 5 gives the languages approved for each region.) The boundary lines between these regions (as regards the approved language) were not clearly defined, however, and it was possible, for instance, to have Tonga being taught in certain locations in the Kabwe rural region.

Table 10:5: Official languages and their regions.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Region</i>
Bemba	Copperbelt, Luapula, and Northern Provinces, as well as Kabwe (Urban), Mkushi and Serenje districts
Nyanja	Eastern Province, as well as Lusaka (Urban) and Feira districts
Tonga	Southern Province (excluding Livingstone Urban, and Mambova areas), as well as Kabwe (Rural), Lusaka (Rural), and Mumbwa districts
Lozi	Western Province, as well as Livingstone (Urban) and Mambova areas
Kaonde	Kasempa and Solwezi districts in the Northwestern Province
Lunda	Zambezi, Kabompo and Mwinilunga districts in the Northwestern Province
Luvale	Zambezi and Kabompo districts

- (c) Instruction in "Vernacular Language" may be provided at such scheduled primary schools as the Minister of Education may specially select.
- (d) In junior secondary schools, four Zambian languages were taught optionally: Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja, and Tonga. All these could be offered for the Form II examination. (This examination will be taken in Form III after 1970.) In senior secondary schools Zambian languages were optional. Bemba and Nyanja could be offered for school certificate. (Lozi and Tonga are expected to be offered in the near future.)
- (e) Other languages taught in secondary schools included French and Latin.

The chapters that follow will be concerned with how this policy was being implemented at the various levels of the educational system, the resources that were available, and some of the problems that were faced.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Fort Hare University College, formerly South African Native College, to which Africans from various regions were admitted.

<sup>2</sup> Sikololo was the language of the Kololo who came from the South and conquered the Luyi about 1840. Their language, which was a form of Southern Sotho, was much influenced by Luyana, and has survived under the name of Lozi.

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# 11 THE TEACHING OF ZAMBIAN LANGUAGES AND THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Sirarpi Ohannessian

## 1.0 Introduction

The decision in 1965 to use English as the medium of instruction in the Zambian educational system reflected the urgent needs of the country, but the authorities had also been strongly convinced of the important role that Zambian languages could play in the education of Zambian children. The teaching of these languages was seen as having two main aims. One was the teaching of the languages themselves, but perhaps the more important aim was to provide the Zambian child with a sense of awareness of and pride in his cultural heritage.

This chapter attempts to provide a brief account of practices in the teaching of Zambian languages in primary schools during 1970 followed by a short description of the training of teachers for Zambian languages for primary schools. The teaching of English in primary schools and related teacher training are described in Bryson McAdam's account of the *New Zambia Primary Course* (NZPC), the next chapter in this volume. In 1972 the name of this course was changed to *Zambian Primary Course*. (In this report the name current during 1970 has been used.)

The primary school level represents the most extensive area of activity in the teaching of Zambian languages since they are required to be offered only at this level (though they are not examined at the completion of primary school). In 1970 all unscheduled primary schools which among them had some 486,500 pupils in 12,529 classes were required to offer these languages (Cent. Stat. Off., 1971, Table 3). Since, as was pointed out above, one or more of these languages were approved for each of the nine regions, the choice of language to be offered did not rest with the schools.

Teachers were not specialized for various subject areas at the primary level, so that virtually all teachers in these schools could be responsible for the teaching of Zambian languages. Since specialization generally did not apply to the Inspectorate at this level either, the supervision of the teaching of these languages was not the particular responsibility of any single individual, but was expected to be shared among a number in each area. Occasionally individual inspectors took a special interest in these languages.

One general problem that applied to both teachers and inspectors (though not peculiar to these groups alone) should be mentioned at this point since it will be referred to a number of times later. It concerned the fairly frequent inability of teachers and inspectors to function in the language of the area to which they were appointed. One reason generally given for this was that as part of a general policy in building a new nation, Zambians were appointed to regions other than those they came from. There were a number of other reasons, which will be discussed later, why teachers and inspectors did not always know the Zambian language approved for their schools; but the problem was a real one, and measures were being considered to solve it.

Because of the need to run two or three sessions a day in schools, especially in congested urban areas, there were problems in the allocation of sufficient time to various subjects. The number of periods devoted to Zambian languages was in general two a week, but as part of a policy of giving them higher priority this was raised to three in 1970, and more periods were under consideration.<sup>1</sup> However, the general impression gathered from visits to schools and observation of lessons in 1970 was that they were still not always regarded as an important part of the curriculum.

As part of the same policy of giving Zambian languages higher priority there was, during 1970, increasing activity and interest at the Ministry of Education in improving their teaching. Among the plans discussed was the appointment of enthusiastic inspectors and training college lecturers. (Zambian language inspectors were appointed soon after the Survey year.) Voluntary Zambian Languages Committees were appointed to carry out such tasks as the reading and editing of manuscripts for new textbooks and recommending texts for supplementary readers. A common syllabus was being worked out at the Curriculum Development Centre for all seven languages and materials were being adapted to each particular language (Min. of Educ. 1971 Approved Syllabus). (This syllabus was published and distributed to all primary schools and TTCs by 1972.) The Committees were also involved in the standardization of orthography for these languages. Panel meetings were held to do this in the seven officially taught languages in 1971. Fourteen teachers (two for each language) were seconded to the Curriculum Development Committee to write Zambian Language courses based on the approved syllabus and standardized orthography. Members of these Committees in 1970 included people from various ministries, from the University and the teaching profession. With a few exceptions, however, members had not had any special training in Bantu linguistics, Zambian languages, or language pedagogy.

One of the areas on which the Survey focused its attention was the actual classroom situation in the teaching of Zambian languages in

primary schools. The following is a brief account of the study carried out to do this.

## 2.0 *Study of Zambian Languages in the Classroom*

### 2.1 *Background to the Study*

In collecting the information for the present study of the teaching of Zambian languages in primary schools, the Survey owes a debt of gratitude to the Ministry of Education for help in facilitating visits to schools, for contacts with Chief Education Officers and with local Ministry personnel in the provinces, and for providing access to information against which to check factual details.

The study is based mainly on observations which were carried out by the writer and a number of Zambian teachers. The writer herself was able to visit some twenty schools, usually in relation to visits to teacher training colleges. She was able to observe lessons given by both practicing teachers and teacher trainees. The schools she visited were in or near Chipata (Eastern Region); Kabwe; Kasama (Northern Region); Kitwe (Copperbelt); Livingstone (Southern Region); Lusaka; Mongu (Western Region); and Mufulira and Ndola (both Copperbelt). A more systematic set of observations, however, were carried out under her direction by a group of 29 Zambian teachers who were enrolled in a retraining program at the University of Zambia during 1970.

The academic year at the University does not coincide with the primary and secondary school year, so that it was possible to make arrangements for the group to observe lessons in a number of primary schools in the course of two vacation periods (mainly in May and September of 1970), during which they would be visiting their homes or friends in various parts of the country. The observers were all qualified primary school teachers (some were heads of schools) who were required to have had at least four years of experience for admission to the ACE course in which they were enrolled. (A more detailed description of this course is to be found later in the chapter.) There was, however, one major difficulty. The Survey was not able to select the areas to which the teachers would go for their holidays, but had to depend on the plans they had already made. For example, none of them had planned to go to the Northwestern Province or to stay in Lusaka. To redress this it was possible to arrange for a few observations in Lusaka during July, and the Chief Education Officer in the Northwestern Province was asked, early in November, to help in arranging some observations in that area by local teachers which he very kindly did later.

Prior to the visits to schools, the observers were provided with a checklist of items to note and were briefed on the procedure to follow in collecting the information. It was made clear to the observers, and



through them, hopefully, to teachers and heads of schools, that the information being collected was needed for an understanding of problems in the teaching of Zambian languages, and was not concerned with the work of individual teachers or schools. Names of teachers, therefore, were not asked for, but their cooperation in filling out the information sheets was encouraged.

The observations were carried out in 254 classes in 106 schools in all nine regions. The number of children observed in all classes was 9,759. Of these 5,592 or 57% were boys and 4,167 or 43% were girls. Table 1 gives details of the distribution of classes and pupils observed.

Table 11:1: Percentage of classes observed and the number and percentage of pupils in these classes in the nine regions.\*

Region	Percentage of classes observed	Distribution by sex		Totals	%
		Boys	Girls		
Lusaka	12	679	605	1,284	13
Kabwe	19	1,027	694	1,721	18
Northern	4	177	171	348	4
Copperbelt	24	1,322	1,113	2,435	25
Western	1	61	55	116	1
Southern	15	854	623	1,477	15
Luapula	2	128	84	212	2
Northwestern	6	388	190	578	6
Eastern	16	956	632	1,588	16
Totals		5,592 (57%)	4,167 (43%)	9,759	

\*Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

The data were also divided into four main categories according to the type of community in which the schools were found. The first of these included schools in the three largest towns in the country: Lusaka, Kitwe, and Ndola, with populations ranging from 150,800 (Ndola) to 238,200 (Lusaka) according to the 1969 census. (Cent. Stat. Off., 1971 (Mthly), VI, 12, p. 2). The second category included schools in medium sized towns, mainly on the line-of-rail. Though some of these had sizeable populations (such as Mufulira, 101,200; Luanshya, 90,400; Kabwe, 67,200; and Livingstone, 43,000), they were judged to be of a somewhat different character from the first three metropolitan areas. The third category included schools in smaller towns such as Chipata (13,300), Choma (11,300), Mongu (10,700), Kasama (8,900). Some of these towns are administrative centers of the provinces in which they are located, but in general they do not have the more industrialized character of most

towns on the line-of-rail. The fourth category was composed of country schools.

To assign schools to the four categories, assistance was obtained from the Primary School Inspectorate, the files in the Ministry's statistical section, and from individuals who had lived or taught in the various areas, as well as the observers themselves. In spite of this care, however, it is possible that errors of judgement or information may have crept into this classification of schools. The distribution of classes observed indicates rather heavy over-representation of rural and large urban areas. A follow-up study might concentrate more on the small and medium sized towns. Table 2 shows the distribution of pupils in the four types of communities in which lessons were observed.

Table 11:2: Distribution of pupils in classes observed in the four types of communities.\*

<i>Type of Community</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>%</i>
1. Large towns	1,366	24	1,215	29	2,581	26
2. Medium sized towns	899	16	776	19	1,675	17
3. Small towns	357	6	270	6	627	6
4. Country areas	2,970	53	1,906	46	4,876	50
Totals	5,592		4,167		9,759	

\*Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Table 11:3: Number and percentage of children observed by language.

<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Kaonde</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Luvale</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Total</i>
4,396	286	390	228	64	2,821	1,574	9,759
45.0%	2.9%	4.0%	2.3%	0.7%	29.0%	16.1%	100%

The locations where the observations were carried out also determined to a large extent the number of classes observed in each language, and hence the number of children to whom the language was being taught. Table 3 shows the percentages of classes observed in the seven languages and the number of children involved.

Information was requested on the grade level at which lessons were observed and the average number of children in class at each grade level. Table 4 shows details of these.

The observers had been told to avoid going to the same class twice in any one school in order to vary the grade level observed to the extent possible. The fact that there is an ascending order in the number of lessons and proportion of children observed in Grades I to VII, there-

Table 11:4: Number of lessons and percentage of children observed, and average number of children in class in each grade.\*

	<i>Grade I</i>	<i>Grade II</i>	<i>Grade III</i>	<i>Grade IV</i>	<i>Grade V</i>	<i>Grade VI</i>	<i>Grade VII</i>
Number of lessons observed	18	25	35	41	42	44	49
Approximate percentage of children observed	6%	9%	13%	16%	16%	17%	19%
Average number of children in class	36	37	37	39	38	38	38

\*Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

fore, is accidental. The average number of children in each class is consistent with Ministry of Education policy of not exceeding 40 children in any class, though there were a number of classes observed which did exceed this.

## 2.2 *Languages Taught*

Observers were asked to record the language that was being taught in each class and the regional (or approved) language for the province. In general these two were the same, but in a small number of places they were not. In a few classes one of the other seven officially used languages replaced the approved language for the region. Some of these classes were in borderline rural areas where lines are not rigid between areas approved for one language or the other, but one case, for instance, was reported in Livingstone where a Tonga lesson was observed when the approved language for the town was Lozi.

In some cases a language other than the seven official languages was reported as being taught. For instance, lessons in Tumbuka were observed in the Eastern region. In some cases, although the lesson was intended to be in the approved language, it was in fact a closely related dialect (often the mother tongue of the teacher). For instance, in one class a teacher was reported as speaking Lenje throughout a lesson which was recorded on the timetable as Tonga. One observer in the Kabwe region remarks that although the lesson was Bemba, much of what the teacher said was in Lala, which was his mother tongue (and, incidentally, that of 37 of the 40 children). In some areas in the Eastern Region lessons are said often to be in Nsenga or Tumbuka even when the textbook in use in the class may be in Nyanja. There is as yet very little systematic information on differences and similarities between these languages. The important point here is the degree of intelligibility

between the approved language and others being used. This problem will be discussed later under the section on the language backgrounds of pupils.

Sometimes lessons in one language are taught through another language or in a mixture of other languages. One observer, commenting on a Nyanja lesson in the Eastern Region, reports that the teacher, whose mother tongue was Tonga but who spoke Bemba most fluently "could hardly say properly any word in Nyanja, without interference of either Bemba, Tonga, or even English too". Another teacher is reported to have used Bemba and Nyanja as media of instruction in a Tonga lesson. English is reported as being used for explanations and instructions in a large number of lessons. (This will be discussed more fully later.)

There are some reports of the Zambian language not being taught at all. One teacher in the Copperbelt is reported to have told an observer that during the vernacular periods she teaches arithmetic because she does not know the language to be taught. The observer remarks that he does not think she is the only one, and adds that most teachers find a vernacular very difficult to teach. In one Nyanja lesson pupils are reported to have been left to read by themselves with no guidance because the teacher (whose language was Tonga) did not know any Nyanja. The writer was told of cases where teachers had not learned the language after three or four years of residence in the area. There were reports of teachers not being interested in vernacular teaching and just neglecting it.

The reverse of this situation, however, also seems to be true. In spite of not knowing the language, many teachers make an effort and learn enough to carry on their work. A number of schools indicated this. As will be seen later, about 34% of the teachers had mother tongues other than the seven official languages. For some, one of the seven had become the language in which they were most fluent, but not for others. The observers report many instances in which the teacher is doing well in a language not his own. For example, in one lesson a Bemba speaker (who claims it as his most fluent language) is reported as having taught a Kaonde lesson well. One Lunda speaking teacher (whose best language was Lozi), is reported to have taught a very good lesson in Bemba, using a variety of activities. (The observer remarks that this was the best of all four lessons he saw.)

Results of the Study indicate that at least in some of the lessons where a language other than that approved for the region was being taught, it was not the language claimed as mother tongue by the majority of the children, though it was often a closely related one. Two Tonga lessons that were observed in the Kabwe rural area may illustrate this. Only 3 out of 41 pupils in one class and only 4 out of the 45 in the other had Tonga as their mother tongue. In both these cases Lenje was

the language of the teacher and of the largest group, though there were 6 to 7 language backgrounds in each class. Similar situations are reported from the Eastern region where Nyanja is the approved language. In a Tumbuka lesson, for instance, only a small proportion of the class were Tumbuka speakers, the language of the majority group being Senga. (These two languages are considered to be very similar.)

The actual number of lessons reported in languages other than those officially approved was very small, and much of the information was incidental and obtained from the comments of the observers, but there is reason to believe that a considerable amount of such teaching does take place. A more sustained study than the present set of observations would be needed to substantiate this fully and to study problems of comprehensibility between the language being taught and the language of the majority group in a class. Present information appears to indicate that among reasons for deviation from the approved language are the mother tongue of the teacher, the availability of teaching materials, an older tradition of teaching the language in that location, and attitudes of the community.

In addition to the language which was the subject of the lesson, observers were asked to record any other language or languages used in oral or written form by both teacher and pupils. Part of the purpose of this was to substantiate the writer's own impression that English was being used to a considerable extent in Zambian language lessons. The results show that classes in which pupils responded only in the language being taught formed 24% of sample. The percentages of classes where observers reported the use of languages other than the subject of the lesson are shown in Table 5.

Table 11:5: Languages being used in classes in addition to the language being taught.

<i>Languages</i>	<i>by Teachers</i>	<i>by Pupils</i>
English	62%	33%
Other Zambian languages (one or more)	33%	35%

Zambian languages appear to be used in about the same proportion by teachers and pupils. Some of the reasons for their use by teachers have already been mentioned above. At least in a few instances, the use of these languages by the pupils may have been in response to their use by teachers, but in general they appear to have been used for communication among the pupils themselves. For example, the writer witnessed an instance when a child, who did not understand what was being said, was addressed in another language by a classmate for quick explanation.

One observer reported a class in the Kabwe rural area which may illustrate the type of situation which is not uncommon and which engenders such use. The lesson is in Tonga. The teacher's mother tongue is Lala, but he speaks Bemba best. The children's languages are: Nyanja, 12; Lenje, 9; Tonga and Shona, 4 each; Bemba and Ndebele, 2 each; Lozi and Swaka, 1 each. The teacher is reported as having used Bemba and Nyanja "as a medium of instruction". The children are reported as using "Nyanja mostly except when they came to answer actual questions". In a Tonga class in the South where 8 different languages are reported (largest group, 13, Tonga), even the teacher "was confused", and Tonga was "interpreted" into the mother tongue of those who did not understand.

Many factors appear to contribute to the use of English in these classes. In addition to the historical prestige of English as the language of education, and its present high status, much of the work in the study of Zambian languages has been conducted through the English language medium. Much of present day teacher training is conducted through English. Even the NZPC Zambian language materials were first planned in English and the syllabus drawn up in English.

In present day Zambian language classes the use of English is complex. English words and phrases have been borrowed by Zambian languages and have become, both in sound and grammar, part of the Zambian language in which they occur, and are no longer easily recognizable as "English" by either the speakers of the Zambian language or of English. The following paragraphs are not concerned with such borrowing (though clear-cut distinctions are not always easy to draw), but with what appeared to be English to observers, even though it may have been pronounced with interference from the mother tongues of those that spoke it. Such use, as illustrated by the examples given below, appears to fall into three main categories.

First, it seems to be the "classroom" language, and certain aspects of classroom activity such as formal greetings, commands, instructions, approval, permission, and so on are often expressed in English. Second, English seems to be the language which provides "technical" terminology for classroom objects, for some aspects of the content of what is taught and for the mechanics of reading and writing. Third, English appears to fulfill the role of a "common" language which is more widely understood than any of the others, and which is resorted to for clarification and communication. This third use, however, sometimes seems to be related to a sense of the high status of English and the speaker's desire to demonstrate his ability to use a prestigious language rather than a greater certainty of clear communication through the use of English.

In the first category, the use of English could presumably be replaced by the language being taught, but the second category implies the use

of terms that may not have commonly used counterparts in the Zambian language. Examples are "Next paragraph", "Full stop", "spelling", "Page twenty-two", "Chapter eight", "Dash", "Underline", "Pencil". This category may show the process of assimilation of many words and expressions borrowed from English which are found in Zambian languages.

The third category, that is, the use of English as a "common" language through which communication might be easier, or as a "prestige" language which enhances the stature of its user is reported proportionally more in the upper grades, though it does occur in the lower grades too. One observer in a Grade VII class in the Southern Region reports the teacher breaking into English to make himself clearer. In a Grade V class in the Copperbelt one pupil from the Western Province (who knew no other Zambian language spoken in the area) had to be spoken to in English by both pupils and teacher. The pride of many Zambians in speaking English is reflected in the reported "delight" of one teacher explaining problems in English. In a Grade VII class in the Kabwe region most of the children apparently wanted to speak English in a Bemba lesson. There are numerous cases where instructions by the teacher are given in English because he does not know the language he is teaching. However, shifting into English is not always easy to explain. In one lesson in the Copperbelt the writer sat through a long, discourse alternatively in English and Bemba, the topic of which appeared to be Zambian history and culture.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.3 *Language Backgrounds of Pupils*

In each class observed each child was asked to give his mother tongue. Since experience had shown that some children did not understand the question, observers were asked to get help from teachers in eliciting and recording this information. The data show information on the mother tongues of 9,554 of the 9,759 children. Those of the remainder were not completely recorded. The languages were coded exactly as they were recorded by the observers, and no attempt was made to group them on assumptions of similarity or intelligibility, since so little is, as yet, known on the subject for Zambian languages (cf. the study of intelligibility between the seven official Zambian languages by M. E. Kashoki in Chapter 4 of this volume).

In mixed urban areas a certain amount of reluctance was observed among the children to disclose their mother tongue if it happened to be the language of a minor or not prestigious group. The writer had noticed such reluctance (and some ridiculing laughter from others) when such a child was asked to give his or her language. One of the observers also reports noticing a similar situation. According to him, children whose

mother tongue was "the language of the people who are very unpopular for certain reasons did not offer to stand up to say what language they spoke as their mother tongue for fear that they would be laughed at". And in truth, he says, this happened in one class he watched, adding "the teacher did nothing".

The number of different "languages" in a classroom varied with locality, there being considerable differences even between different parts of such an urban area as Kitwe. The most multilingual classes (highest: 17 "languages" were claimed in a class in Mindolo in Kitwe) were observed in the Copperbelt and towns on the line-of-rail. There were occasional classes in rural areas which were entirely unilingual. The number of different languages recorded in each of the nine regions is not meaningful because of the unequal distribution of children observed, but those recorded in the four types of community seem to indicate that there is relatively little variation in sheer multiplicity of "languages" between them. (The actual number of speakers of each language, of course, varies greatly in different areas.) The number of different "languages" recorded in each of the four types of communities is shown in Table 6. The smaller number in the third category of "small towns" is probably due to the smaller size of the sample, but the figures give some indication of the mixture of languages and peoples in Zambia.

Table 11:6: Numbers of pupils and different languages recorded in each type of community.

<i>Type of community</i>	<i>Number of pupils</i>	<i>Number of different languages recorded</i>
Large towns	2,411	40
Medium sized towns	1,651	39
Small towns	663	27
Country areas	4,829	39
Total	9,554	

To determine the degree of homogeneity of language backgrounds in the classes observed, an arbitrary figure of 80% or more was set as a criterion for a "unilingual" class. The results indicate that only 82 of 254 classes fall into this category. Table 7 shows the distribution of these "unilingual" classes in the nine regions, giving the languages claimed as mother tongues by the majority in "unilingual" classes; the approved language for each region; and the approximate percentage that these classes form in those observed in each region. Unfortunately only three classes were observed in the Western Region, none of which had 80% or more pupils who gave Lozi as their mother tongue. This is very deceptive for a larger sample would probably have radically altered



Table 11:7: Relation between "unilingual"\* classes and approved languages in each region.

<i>Region</i>	<i>Approved language</i>	<i>Total No. of uniling. classes</i>	<i>Dominant languages claimed in unilingual classes (80% and over claiming the language as mother tongue)</i>	<i>Per cent of unilingual classes in region</i>	<i>Per cent of classes in entire sample</i>
1. Lusaka	Nyanja	1	Nyanja, 1	3	12
2. Kabwe	Bemba	14	Swaka, 3; Lala, 11	29	19
3. Northern	Bemba	7	Bemba, 4; Lungu, 2; Chinamukulu, 1	77	4
4. Copperbelt	Bemba	2	Bemba, 2	3	24
5. Western	Lozi			0	1
6. Southern	Tonga (Lozi in Livingstone)	25	Tonga, 25	66	15
7. Luapula	Bemba	5	Bemba, 5	83	2
8. Northwestern	Kaonde, Lunda, Luvale	9	Kaonde, 3; Lunda, 4; Luvale, 2	56	6
9. Eastern	Nyanja	19	Nyanja, 9; Nsenga, 7; Senga, 2; Ngoni, 1	45	16

\*Classes with 80% or more claiming the same mother tongue were considered "unilingual".

the information. (It should, however, be pointed out that Lozi is more a lingua franca than a mother tongue for many who live in this region.)

As Table 7 indicates, there is, as might be expected, greater homogeneity of language background in the predominantly rural areas like the Northern, Southern, Luapula, Eastern, Kabwe and certain areas of the Northwestern Regions. However, the languages of the homogeneous classes correspond with the approved language only in some of these regions, notably the South, Luapula and the North. In the Kabwe area none of the 14 "unilingual" classes have Bemba (or Tonga) as the majority language, and in the Eastern Region only 9 out of 18 have Nyanja as the majority language. However, this information would be much more meaningful if degrees of mutual intelligibility between the approved language and others given could be established.

The percentage of homogeneous classes in the four types of community was, as might be expected, much larger in the country areas than in the first three categories. Table 8 gives the approximate proportions.

Table 11:8: Percentage of "unilingual" classes in each type of community.

<i>Types of community</i>	<i>Percentages of homogeneous classes</i>
Large towns	1
Medium sized towns	1
Small towns	7
Country schools	90

The distribution (in the nine regions) of those among the 9,554 children who claimed the approved language as their mother tongue and those who did not is shown in Table 9. The totals for the regions again show the inadequacy of the sample for the Northern, Western and Luapula Regions (though they show a high percentage learning their mother tongue), but the information on the remaining six probably reflects the larger situation in these regions.

In Table 9 the difference between the proportion of children learning their mother tongue in the predominantly urban area of Lusaka and the predominantly rural area of the Eastern Region is not as great as might be expected. This may, in part, be explained by the situation shown in Table 7 where "unilingual" classes in rural areas are not being taught the mother tongue of the majority. But it may also, in part, be due to a tendency among speakers of such languages as Nsenga and Tumbuka to identify themselves with speakers of Nyanja in Lusaka, where it is the official Zambian language in use, and to claim Nyanja as their mother tongue, whereas in the rural areas of the Eastern Region, where large

communities of speakers of Tumbuka and Nsenga exist, differences may appear greater. Children learning their mother tongue in Lusaka, therefore, may be significantly fewer than the table indicates. The same type of situation may also exist in other areas such as the Copperbelt where speakers of Lala, Lamba, and Swaka may tend to claim Bemba

Table 11:9: Numbers and percentages of pupils in each region who claim approved language as mother tongue (MT) and who do not.

Region	Approved language	Total number of pupils observed	Pupils whose MT is approved		Pupils whose MT is not approved	
			language	%	language	%
Lusaka	Nyanja	1,160	524 <sup>3</sup>	45.2	636	54.8
Kabwe	Bemba	1,748	341	19.5	1,407	80.5
Northern	Bemba	348	190	54.6	158	45.4
Copperbelt	Bemba	2,367	1,030	43.5	1,337	56.5
Western	Lozi	115	79	68.7	36	31.3
Southern	Tonga (Lozi in Livingstone)	1,486	1,154	77.6	332	22.4
Luapula	Bemba	212	182	85.8	30	14.2
Northwestern	Kaonde					
	Lunda					
	Luvale	577	422	73.2	155	26.9
Eastern	Nyanja	1,541	655 <sup>3</sup>	42.5	886	57.5
Totals		9,554	4,577	48.7	4,977	51.3

Table 11:10: Numbers and percentage of children in each type of community learning or not learning their mother tongue.

Type of community	Total no. of pupils	Pupils learning their MT		Pupils not learning their MT	
			%		%
Large towns	2,411	1,060	43.9	1,351	56.0
Medium sized towns	1,651	676	40.9	975	59.0
Small towns	663	389	58.7	274	41.2
Country areas	4,829	2,390	49.3	2,439	50.5
Totals	9,554	4,515	47.3	5,039	52.7

as their mother tongue. A better understanding of degrees of intelligibility between the approved languages and those spoken in the areas where they are taught would have important implications for the teaching of Zambian languages.

Table 10 shows the distribution of children being educated in their mother tongue or otherwise in the four types of community, though here,

too, the sample is unevenly distributed. According to this distribution, the largest proportion of children being taught their mother tongue is in small towns, though even here it is less than 60%. It seems, therefore, that in general, no matter in what type of community a Zambian child goes to school, the chances of his being taught the language he claims as his mother tongue are not very different though there is regional variation as shown in Tables 7 and 9. What may be more significant is how comprehensible he finds the language being taught, and this must vary considerably between urban and rural areas.

#### 2.4 *Language Background of Teachers*

Observers were asked to record the mother tongue of each teacher and the language he/she claimed to speak most fluently. Results show that approximately 39% of the 254 teachers were teaching their mother tongue, 55% the language they spoke most fluently, and 42% were teaching neither their mother tongue nor the language they spoke most fluently. As mentioned earlier, Zambian teachers do much of their teaching through the medium of another learned language, English, in which many of them are not very proficient. The quality of primary education in Zambia may well depend on how satisfactorily the language problems of teachers can be solved.

Table 11a gives details for any language which was claimed as a mother tongue by at least five teachers. The table also has information on how many of the teachers still speak their mother tongue as their most fluent language, and the total number of teachers who claim to speak each of the languages on the list most fluently. The last two columns provide information on language shift. Although the sample is very small, it appears to confirm the generally accepted theory that Bemba and Nyanja are the two Zambian languages that are most widely learned by other Zambians and that a number of Zambians now speak them better than their mother tongues. About 34% of the teachers have mother tongues other than the seven official languages so that, irrespective of where they are appointed, the language that they teach cannot be their mother tongue.

It may be of some interest to give details of language shift among teachers even though the sample is so small. Little as yet is known about the degree of intelligibility between these languages, but it seems likely that the shift from Lala to Bemba as "most fluent language" is easier than from Tumbuka to Bemba, at least at the comprehension if not the production level. Table 11b gives details of the shift from other mother tongues to Bemba and Nyanja as languages spoken most fluently. Table 11c gives the shifts from languages listed on Table 11a as mother tongues (but not as most fluent languages) to the languages now spoken

Table 11:11: a) Languages claimed by teachers as mother tongue or those they speak most fluently.

	<i>Number speaking as MT</i>	<i>Number speaking as MT and MFL</i>	<i>Total number speaking as MFL</i>	<i>Number speaking as MFL but not MT</i>	<i>Number speaking as MT but not MFL</i>
Bemba	57	52	81	29	5
Tonga	40	32	37	5	8
Nyanja-Cewa	32	28	45	17	4
Lozi	21	14	17	3	7
Lala	19	12	12	0	7
Nsenga	13	8	10	2	5
Lunda	11	6	7	1	5
Lenje	10	9	11	2	1
Tumbuka	10	4	4	0	6
Shona	5	2	2	0	3

MFL = Most fluent language

MT = Mother tongue

N.B.: Only languages with five or more speakers as MT included in the table.

Other MTs recorded are the following:

For 3 teachers each = Bisa, Kaonde, Ngoni.

For 2 teachers each = Ila, Kunda, Lambya, Namwanga, Soli

For 1 teacher each = Aushi, Bushi, Chisinga, Lamba, Lungu, Luvale, Mambwe, Mbundu, Ndebele,

Nkoya, Swahili, Swaka, Suthu, Tswana, Tonga-Leya

Two teachers gave no mother tongues.

Two teachers who claimed Nyanja and one who claimed Tonga as a mother tongue gave no information on the language they spoke most fluently.

b) Shift to Bemba and Nyanja as most fluent languages from other mother tongues.

*Shift to: (as most fluent language)*

Bemba (29):

Bisa, Chishinga, Ila, Kaonde, Lamba, Lenje, Mambwe, Mbundu, Ngoni, Nyanja, Swahili, Tonga, Tumbuka (1 each); Lambya (2); Lala (7); Lunda (2); Namwanga (2); Nsenga (3).

Nyanja (17):

Bemba, Bisa, Kunda, Lozi, Ngoni, Soli (1 each); Nsenga (2); Shona (2); Tonga (3); Tumbuka (4).

*Shift from (as mother tongue)*

c) Shift from languages listed in a) as mother tongues but not most fluent languages.

*Shift from (as mother tongues)*

*Shift to (as most fluent language)*

Bemba (5)

Chinamukulu, Lenje, Nyanja (1 each), English (2)

Tonga (8)

No reply, Bemba, English, Kaonde, Lozi (1 each), Nyanja (3)

Nyanja-Cewa (4)

Bemba, Nsenga (1 each); no reply, (2)

Lozi (7)

Lunda, Nyanja (1 each); Luvale (3); Tonga (2)

Lala (7)

Bemba (7)

Nsenga (5)

Bemba (3); Nyanja (2)

Lunda (5)

English, Kaonde, Lozi (1 each); Bemba (2)

Lenje (1)

Bemba (1)

Tumbuka (6)

Bemba, Lenje (1 each); Nyanja (4)

Shona (3)

Tonga (1); Nyanja (2)

most fluently.

The shift to English as "most fluent language", which occurs 4 times may indicate such fluency, but it may also mean it is the teacher's most fluent academic language. The status of English may be a factor in inducing teachers to claim to speak it most fluently.

Language shift appears to be in general from languages of smaller groups to those of larger ones, although there are a few cases where the reverse is true (e.g. Bemba to Lenje, Nyanja to Nsenga). Also there seems to be fairly frequent shift from one major language to the other (e.g. Nyanja to Bemba, Tonga to Lozi, Lozi to Nyanja, Lunda to Kaonde and so on). Because of the increasing mobility of the population of Zambia, a certain amount of shift seems to occur between languages which have no geographic proximity.

The distribution of teachers in the nine regions according to the language they claim to speak most fluently is shown in Table 12. It should be noted that in every region the largest group of teachers claims the approved language as its most fluent language. However, the proportion that these groups represent of the whole teaching force in each region differs greatly. For instance about twice as many teachers are teaching the language they claim as most fluent in the Copperbelt as in Lusaka. In the Southern Region, if the 9 teachers speaking Lozi as their best language may be presumed to be in Livingstone, their proportion would be 95%, a very different situation (even with 72% without the Lozi) from the Eastern region where only 51% of teachers appear to teach the language they speak most fluently. The number of teachers involved in the Northern, Western and Luapula regions is too small for the information to be reliable, but the very high percentage shown in the sample as teaching their most fluent language may be significant.

## 2.5 *The Teaching Situation*

Observers were not asked to assess or report on the actual methodology used in the classes they observed. They were, however, asked to comment on any interesting points they noticed, so that it is possible to glean a good deal of information from these informal remarks on what took place in classrooms. The following discussion is based on these and on observations by the writer.

The influence of teacher training colleges and the Curriculum Development Centre (both of which are discussed later in this chapter), could often be seen in the activities of the classes observed.

Observers had been asked to note the classes where a textbook was used during each lesson and to take down relevant information on the text. The approximate percentages of classes at each grade level where a textbook was reported in use is shown in Table 13.



Table 11:13: Percentage of classes at each grade level where a textbook was being used.

<i>Grade I</i>	<i>Grade II</i>	<i>Grade III</i>	<i>Grade IV</i>	<i>Grade V</i>	<i>Grade VI</i>	<i>Grade VII</i>
50%	56%	89%	95%	81%	95%	82%

According to the Lower Primary Syllabus, *Zambian languages in Grade I* were intended to be taught orally, so the fact that half the *Grade I* classes are shown as using a textbook may seem surprising. Reading in *Grade I* classes which were on NZPC started in English with a great deal of pre-reading instruction in preparation for it. Teachers of *Zambian languages* were intended to take advantage of this, and to introduce reading in these languages in *Grade II*, with some pre-reading activity.<sup>4</sup> Some classes appeared to be doing this. However, it is very likely that the majority of the 50% of the *Grade I* classes using textbooks were in traditional rather than NZPC classes since only about 56% of the entire *Grade I* intake in 1970 had begun on NZPC, and *Grade I* and *II* materials had, early in 1970, been introduced in Nyanja and Tonga classes only.

Since then the proportion of the intake of children into NZPC classes will have increased considerably, and more materials will have become available for the various languages. It might be very useful to conduct a detailed study of times and practices in the introduction of reading in *Zambian languages*. Opinions and practice seem to vary on these issues. Some training colleges advise introducing reading in a *Zambian language* in the third term of the first year, and schools appear to follow a variety of patterns. At least one observer reports some very fluent reading in a *Grade I* class.

A number of teachers have expressed their belief in the importance of reading and writing in *Zambian languages*, and evidence seems to point to a great deal of reading activity in the classroom. The proportion of classes in the various languages reported as using textbooks were as shown in Table 14.

Except for Luvale (for which there is probably a scarcity of materials), a very large proportion of classes seem to rely on textbooks. This information may be deceptive since no data were obtained on the actual time and manner in which the books were in use in a lesson, but, considering the lack of proficiency of some teachers in the languages they teach, it might be reasonable to assume that reliance on textbooks was fairly heavy. It appears that a substantial proportion of the use of textbooks takes place in "reading lessons". Some teachers appear to provide a variety of activities in these lessons through model-reading themselves, through providing time and guidance in group reading, silent reading, explanations of content, questions, discussions in which children take



part, written work to follow, and so on. Some teachers group their pupils according to reading ability and give special help to those who need it.

In spite of the fact that NZPC does not encourage oral reading in class there are a number of teachers who seem content to have the book just read aloud in turn by the children, sometimes for an entire period

Table 11:14: Percentage of lessons in each language where a textbook was in use.

<i>Languages</i>	<i>Percentage of classes using textbooks</i>
Tonga	93
Lozi	90
Kaonde	88
Lunda	83
Bemba	82
Nyanja	76
Luvale	50

perhaps with occasional questions. Others appear to devote entire periods to silent reading with very little other activity. The situation is often aggravated by the lack of sufficient books in a class. The writer has seen (and Zambian observers have reported) a number of cases where 10 or 15 books have to be shared among 35–40 children. In one lesson only the teacher is reported to have had a book which she read aloud.

In the overall teaching situation the most striking feature that emerges from the comments of the observers is the wide variety not only in the quality of teaching, but in the interest and motivation of teachers.

The content of lessons in Zambian languages is often based on cultural materials, which sometimes take the form of stories. Both Zambian teachers and pupils appear to be excellent story tellers. But one problem is that some teachers are not familiar with the cultural material in the textbooks they use or the culture of the speakers of the language they teach. (Some training colleges report that trainees do not always know the songs and dances and other aspects of the culture of their own language group.) Reports from observers tell of teachers who rely on their pupils for help not only in the language they are expected to teach, but also for the explanation of such things as proverbs and riddles.

Another problem is that although lessons based on stories, riddles, games and so on are usually enjoyable, there is often a tendency to overlook any specific linguistic or other aim in the lesson and to rely on the ability of a few individuals to keep the class entertained. It is true that something is probably learned by the children in these lessons, but the very limited time allotted to Zambian language lessons may not justify

too many aimless but entertaining periods in which Zambian languages are used.

Attention to the actual language is reported in some classes in a variety of activities. These include work on vocabulary, changing singulars into plurals, sentence completion, correction of the use of wrong patterns of the language, sentence formation, explanation of meanings, discussions on the construction of sentences and so on. Pronunciation appears to get considerable attention from some teachers. Comprehension of passages is a common exercise. Since relatively little work has been done on the grammar of these languages, and since, as yet, there seem to be no established standard varieties of them to be found in abundant literature, it may be useful to find out what the information in such classes is based on.

Many lessons appear to have a written component in them, though a number have none and some observers decry this. Written work usually comes at the end of the period, but some teachers may devote an entire lesson to it. Filling in blank spaces is a very popular written exercise, probably introduced in imitation of controlled writing practice in English.

## 2.6 *Some of the Problems*

The preceding pages have attempted to give an indication of some of the problems facing the teaching of Zambian languages in primary schools. In the main, they are related to the language backgrounds of pupils and teachers, to teaching materials, methodology, and the attitudes of pupils, teachers and the community at large.

The problems related to language backgrounds of pupils are in reality more complex than has been evident so far. Not only is there a multiplicity of language backgrounds, it is not at all easy to determine to what degree some of these languages can be regarded as distinct languages or other dialects of the language spoken by those who do not claim to speak them as their mother tongues. Although virtually all Zambian languages are of Bantu origin, there appear to be widely varying degrees of intelligibility among them, ranging from near-identity to mutual unintelligibility. (Readers may consult the studies by Kashoki, Serpell and de Gaay Fortman in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this volume on the subject of intelligibility.) The situation is further complicated by the mobility of Zambians, especially in the last decade or so, and the degrees of exposure to other Zambian languages at different stages in the lives of many young people. This appears to result in great differences in the amounts and degrees of bilingualism and multilingualism in the composition of classes in different areas.

In general the teaching of these languages appears to be aimed at

classes in which the language being taught is the mother tongue of the majority of pupils. In reality there are at least three main categories of classroom situations, though variations within them are such that clear lines of distinction between them are difficult to draw. First there are the heavily multilingual classes where only a handful of the children claim the language being taught as their mother tongue. These are found mainly in urban areas. Then there are the relatively homogeneous classes, mainly in rural areas, where the language being taught is not that of the majority group (though it may be a closely related one). The third type is that of homogeneous classes where the majority speaks the approved language as a mother tongue. (A further dimension is, of course, the language or languages of the teacher.) These three types of situation call for competent teachers and flexible approaches based on research and experimentation not only in methods of teaching but also such factors as mutual intelligibility between languages, degrees of multilingualism in areas and schools, the role of attitudes towards the learning of the approved language, and problems in learning a closely related language to one's own as against a widely differing one. Another factor is the relative ease with which comprehension may be achieved in related languages as against the time it takes to achieve active proficiency in them.

It should, however, be noted that a great deal of language learning takes place outside the classroom, and given the willingness to learn, many Zambians appear to pick up a working knowledge of one another's languages in a relatively short time. (Some claim in 4–5 months.) Some heads of schools maintain that when children come to them very young they learn the language in a matter of a few weeks. With older children, they say, it is not so easy.

The absence of adequate descriptions of most of the Zambian languages adds to the problems in their teaching. Further research in both the "rural" and "town" varieties of these languages seems essential as a basis for the preparation of teachers and instructional materials. Concurrent research in the cultural background of all groups of Zambians would provide interesting and valuable content for lessons and be a source of information to teachers who are otherwise either helpless or dependent on possibly unreliable information for their work.

One important problem is that examinations are not given in these languages at the Grade VII school leaving certificate level. This is a national examination, and there is therefore the problem of the need to draw up a common syllabus for all seven languages and to set and mark papers with some measure of parity between them. The absence of specialists in the field with testing ability presents difficulties, but the possibility of producing Zambian language examinations at this level was being discussed during 1970. (For later developments, see Chapter 16.)

The problems of teachers will be discussed later, in the section on teacher training, but some mention seems necessary here of problems other than their training and language capabilities. These problems are related in general to the lack of status for Zambian languages within the framework of both the social and educational systems in Zambia, and consequent problems of lack of motivation among teachers and children. Other factors that seemed to affect the attitudes of teachers were the lack of advancement opportunities in the teaching of these languages, the few chances for advancement in other fields through a knowledge of these languages, absence of a need to excel in them at (or for) the higher levels of education, and the as yet relatively small amount of scholarly attention and priority given to them at the University of Zambia.

One important factor in the teaching situation is the work of the Inspectorate. Although it was possible to talk to a number of regional primary inspectors during the course of the present study, unfortunately it was not possible to observe their activities in the field. There were reports of a lack of interest in Zambian languages on the part of some of them. However, the Inspectorate was organizing and running brief refresher courses in the teaching of Zambian languages. At the Ministry of Education in Lusaka, although there was strong interest in these languages on the part of a number of people, no one person seemed to be officially responsible for them. Frequent personnel changes in the higher echelons of the Ministry seemed to make sustained and systematic attention to them difficult. The appointment of a Senior Inspector for Zambian languages, which was being discussed during 1970, might make a great deal of difference to the situation. Chief Education Officers with whom it was possible to have discussions seemed anxious to see an improvement in the teaching of these languages, some taking a lively interest in such matters as orthographic reform.

It has been possible to give only a very sketchy picture of the background to the teaching of Zambian languages in primary schools. The problems that have emerged, though they have much in common with language teaching problems elsewhere, are nevertheless very characteristic of the multilingual situation in Zambia where serious attention to the teaching of these languages is still in its very early stages. In recent years both in Western countries and in the East a great deal of attention has been directed towards language teaching and language learning, and, although the field is not without controversy, much can be learned from developments in other countries that will be relevant to the Zambian situation. However, it seems very important to carry out research and experimentation in the development of methods and materials for the teaching of these languages in Zambia itself. Such research and experimentation will need specialist help, much more contact with and awareness of developments in this field elsewhere, as well as concerted sup-

port from authorities to give satisfactory results. The need to train a few Zambians in linguistics, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, and the application of these to the Zambian language teaching situation seems very great, as does the need to give thought to increasing the importance and status of these languages in the educational system.

### 3.0 *Teacher Training*

During 1970 Zambia had one in-service and eight pre-service teacher training colleges (TTCs) for primary school teachers. Four of the pre-service TTCs were run by the Government of Zambia. They were located in Chipata in the Eastern Region; in Mufulira and Kitwe in the Copperbelt; and in Kasama, in the Northern Region. Four TTCs were government aided institutions. Two of these were run by Roman Catholic missions, one in Mongu in the Western Region and the other at Chisekesi (Charles Lwanga Training College of the Chikuni Mission) in the Southern Region. The remaining two were run by Protestant missions (Christian Council), one in Livingstone (David Livingstone Training College) in the Southern Region, and the other in Serenje (Malcolm Moffat Training College), in the Kabwe Region. All pre-service colleges offered two year training programs, and all had Upper Primary and Lower Primary divisions. All except Mongu, which was for women only, had both men and women trainees. The writer was able to visit all these institutions, except Malcolm Moffat, and had opportunities to talk with staff and trainees, and to observe both lectures and practice teaching. Total enrollment during 1970 in all eight pre-service TTCs was about 1,930 students (including 171 trainees enrolled in domestic science programs in five of the colleges). Table 15 (Cent. Stat. Off., 1971, Table 21) gives details of enrollment in these TTCs.

The main institution for the re-training of teachers was the National In-Service Teacher Training College, located in Chalimbana, some 35 miles east of Lusaka. Training in Chalimbana, as well as in the in-service courses offered at Malcolm Moffat, Charles Lwanga and David Livingstone Training Colleges, was exclusively related to the implementation of what was then known as the New Zambia Primary Course (NZPC) renamed Zambia Primary Course in 1972. Enrollment in Chalimbana was expected to be 900-1,000 annually, including teachers, heads of schools, members of the Inspectorate and school managers, all of whom came for short periods of time, the longest period being that spent on teacher training (about 12 weeks).

Conditions for admittance to pre-service TTCs included academic education at least up to secondary Form II level (Form III from 1971 on); a minimum age of 17 years (which was often not reached by Form II in recent years); and confidential recommendation from a

Table 11:15: Teacher training colleges: enrollments, 1970.

College	Lower Primary				Upper Primary				Dom. Sci.		Totals	
	Year I		Year II		Year I		Year II		I	II		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F				
Chipata	14	47	36	41	68	14	36	15	15	7	293	
Charles Lwanga	53	22	52	17	38	12	45	—	24	24	287	
Mongu	—	29	—	52	—	29	—	23	16	11	160	
Kitwe	52	—	26	—	52	—	50	—	31	15	226	
David Livingstone	31	22	13	14	44	10	43	7	16	12	212	
Malcolm Moffat	34	48	24	30	41	11	62	12	—	—	262	
Kasama	24	25	44	42	31	20	43	29	—	—	258	
Mufulira	29	32	47	24	44	9	46	5	—	—	236	
											<i>Total</i>	1,934

responsible person or persons. A considerable number of applicants were people who had worked towards a Form II certificate (often for many years) as external candidates or correspondence students. Applicants could, therefore, be untrained teachers currently employed in some school, persons outside the school system, or pupils in secondary schools.

One of the major problems that faced TTCs was the low calibre of applicants for training. (This had improved by 1972, and authorities hoped to improve it further with the intake of post-Form V students.) It was not uncommon for some colleges to have two or three thousand applications for perhaps 150 places and still to be unable to fill them satisfactorily. Reasons for this included competition from industry and from other TTCs, and opportunities candidates had for further education. At the time of application a candidate had not usually received the results of his Form II examination, and therefore did not know whether he could proceed to Form III. To ensure a place in a TTC in case he could not, he often applied to several colleges. The result was that when a college selected what it considered the best among applicants, a large proportion of them might be accepted for Form III, or another TTC, or find employment and decide not to come. This meant that standards (and this included proficiency in English) often had to be lowered and the next best applicants taken. This condition was improving somewhat by the end of 1970, and some colleges were getting increasing applications from pupils with Form V level academic education, but others were still finding it difficult to find even Form II level

candidates. As Table 15 shows, at least for the Upper Primary divisions, it was more difficult to find suitably qualified women than men, so that there seemed to be a tendency either to relax requirements for women or allow them to work towards Form II level during training. Conditions were also less stringent for Lower Primary candidates, who were sometimes accepted without a full Form II certificate.

It should perhaps be pointed out in passing that with the opening of many new positions to Zambians after independence, the status of a primary school teacher has become somewhat lower. However, in a study of occupational prestige ratings by Zambian Africans and Europeans, R. E. Hicks shows that Zambian Africans rated primary school teachers 67th in a possible scale of 118, whereas the Europeans rated them 54th (Hicks, 1967, pp. 206-10). Zambians ranked them higher than "translator", "printer", "plumber", "policemen", "welder", "photographer", "blacksmith", "florist", "postman", "tailor", "butcher", "bus driver", "hairdresser", and so on. There was some discontent about salaries during 1970, and salary scales were under review, but they had been revised twice since January 1966 according to Mwanakatwe (p. 121) and were already much higher in 1968 than in many African countries for teachers who had Form II level academic qualifications and some professional training.

TTCs in Zambia are national rather than regional institutions. Therefore they may accept candidates for training from any part of the country. However, they were expected to have about 80% of their intake from their own region. For a variety of reasons, including problems related to recruitment, the preferences of students and the linguistic composition of the area in which colleges were located, some of them, such as Malcolm Moffat, had a large variety of language backgrounds among their students, though others, like Kasama, might have as many as 90% of their trainees speaking the approved language for the region.

Once accepted, the candidate had to sign a document to say that he would serve the Government of Zambia for three years on completion of his training, and that he could be appointed to a school anywhere in the country. Sometimes this appointment preceded the beginning of term by a few weeks, so that if the new teacher did not know the approved language for the area he was appointed to, he had no time to learn it even if he wished to. Mention has already been made of a policy to appoint teachers to regions other than those they came from. This, and the exigencies of immediate demand for teachers from various parts of the country often meant that the preferences of teachers and their language competences could not necessarily form major factors in decisions as to where they would be posted. Information on the Zambian languages spoken by trainees appeared on the application forms students filled out for TTCs, but this information was reported to be not always

useful since candidates were occasionally somewhat optimistic as regards their competence in all the languages they listed.

### 3.1 *Training of Zambian Language Teachers*

Procedures in the recruitment and appointment of teachers had implications for policies adopted by TTCs regarding courses in the teaching of Zambian languages. By 1972 a common syllabus for Teacher Training Colleges had been drafted for publication that year. But in 1970 there was no common TTC curriculum, syllabus or policy as regards the teaching of these languages, and each college developed its own. The mixed language background of trainees, aggravated in part by recruitment problems, and the uncertainty of where new teachers might be appointed meant that most TTCs felt it their duty to give attention to all seven official Zambian languages (to the extent that this was possible), a task they did not find easy. The language approved for the region where the TTC was located, however, received most attention, especially as it was the language used for practice and demonstration teaching.

A few colleges during 1970 were offering help to students who did not speak the language of the region where the college was situated (but they were not always meeting with willing learners). For instance, at Chipata there was a beginners' course aimed at equipping non-Nyanja speaking students with enough Nyanja to communicate in the language. At David Livingstone College Lozi students were asked to help non-Lozi speakers, and in Kasama non-Bemba speakers were given help in grammar, vocabulary and the background needed for teaching. Much of this appeared to be done on an informal basis either without a text or with the use of primary school materials. One college, Chipata, reported that it was preparing and experimenting with special materials for students who did not speak Nyanja.

Although the idea of TTCs specializing in particular Zambian languages did not appear to be receiving strong support, the possibility of the approved language of the region plus one or two others being assigned to each TTC for special attention was, nevertheless, being discussed and seemed a step in the direction of dealing with the problems of language incompetence among teachers. Zambians generally maintain that given the willingness, other Zambian languages are easily learned and there appears to be a considerable amount of multilingualism among the TTC trainee age group as a result of the movement of families within the last decade or so. A careful coordination of training and posting, together with some specialization at TTCs, may succeed in offering some measure of option to trainees, and in fulfilling the two essential aims of mixing Zambians and giving the responsibility of teaching these languages to



those who are reasonably competent in them, and willing to teach them. The required teaching (and examining) of one or more Zambian languages at least in the lower secondary forms, which was also being considered, might be a further help.

Although each TTC was free to develop its own policy and syllabus for the teaching of Zambian languages, in actual fact there did not seem to be as much diversity of approach as might be expected. The general impression gained in the lectures observed was that courses in the teaching of Zambian languages offered a great deal of sound, practical advice which had elements that could apply to any teaching situation, and those that could apply to a language teaching situation. Only in rare instances, however, did this teaching seem to emphasize directly the teaching of one particular Zambian language to speakers of the same language, much less to speakers of other Zambian languages. Reference to, and examples of, specific Zambian languages could often be heard from students and tutors, and points of vocabulary, borrowings from English, grammar, dialect variation and so on were discussed. Very occasionally one of these languages was given detailed attention in a lecture or a carefully worked out syllabus (which the writer saw in one college), but such attention was the result of special interest on the part of an individual lecturer, and if he moved elsewhere (as was the case in this instance), it was not easy to carry on the work in the same way.

The general picture that emerged showed an extreme meagerness of linguistic content in courses as regards material in and about these languages. Where Tonga and Nyanja were the approved languages, the NZPC materials produced for them formed the basis of courses. Occasionally courses for other languages were based on these. The NZPC common syllabus for primary schools generally formed the basis for those prepared by TTCs. These syllabuses had many suggestions on such aspects of teaching as oral work, reading and writing, but the linguistic substance was generally lacking (unless there were NZPC materials) and the students were often expected to provide it. Suggestions in syllabuses were often related to the culture and life of the people so that the same type of suggestion sometimes occurred for the various grade levels and the progression of linguistic or other sophistication in the content of teaching materials was presumably left to the student to work out. If, eventually, the trainee found himself in an area where both the language and the culture were unfamiliar to him the results could not be very happy.

Perhaps a concrete example is necessary here. In one carefully worked out syllabus, items that occurred in the list of suggestions for oral work for (a) Grades I and II; (b) Grades III and IV; and (c) Grades V-VII, included (levels are indicated):

- Puzzles (a)
- Puzzles and simple problems (b)
- Puzzles (c)
- Respectful and polite manners of speech (a)
- Chants and compliments or praises (*Amalumbo*) (b)
- Compliments or praises (*Amalumbo*) (c)

This, of course, is taken out of context, and there were also many differences between work suggested for the three levels, but in general the suggestions in and of themselves did not appear to indicate any great variation in the kinds of activity that would necessitate the appropriate use of various levels of language without careful planning.

All (but one) of the lectures observed were delivered in English. Syllabus outlines, lesson notes prepared by students, as well as most class discussions were in English. This seemed to be the result of not only the lack of a mutually intelligible Zambian language for students and tutors, but also the lack of available materials and terminology in these languages for use in courses on language teaching which might involve discussions of grammatical constructions, educational method, educational psychology and related topics. The use of English as a medium for teacher training in this field, inevitable as it possibly was under the current circumstances, probably accounted in large measure for its use in the teaching of Zambian languages in primary schools discussed earlier.

Most TTC tutors who were given responsibility for courses on Zambian language teaching had had no special training for this task and could not be expected to command more than a few of the languages in question. Students were generally given assignments to collect materials for their teaching. These were often read to each other and the best chosen with help from the tutor. Sometimes a student found it difficult to obtain any help or guidance at all in the task. In one TTC syllabus, for instance, the following passage occurs:

It must be remembered that each class will consist of students from various corners of Zambia. Students whose main tongue is not the principal language used in the area in which the College is situated, should be encouraged to write their own work in one of the official languages. Even though their work may not be marked, the students will have some idea of what is expected of them.

In actual fact these materials, even when they were in a language familiar to the student, had not always received very careful attention. Sometimes a student seemed unable to read fluently what he had written, sometimes he could not remember the story he had prepared and so on.

Much of the collecting of material was, as pointed out above, culture-

oriented. In this aspect, too, activity seemed to be conducted (with rare exceptions) in a very informal manner, with no apparent checks on such matters as authenticity and generality. In one TTC where a trainee was working on proverbs, he claimed that he collected some proverbs from others, and some he made up himself. The source of information in one TTC syllabus for such topics as social etiquette, story telling, proverbs, chants, songs, poems, rhymes and crafts, was given as (a) senior people available, (b) libraries, (c) tape recorders. (Most TTCs had extremely limited libraries, and were not near any large library.) The tasks of the students were to record in an exercise book the results of their research. At the end of each week each language group was expected to collate the collected information and choose a spokesman for that group to tell the rest of the class what they had summarized. The tutor in charge was expected to collect the summaries from all the language groups and bind them in book form for future reference. Similar activity was reported by other TTCs.

The collecting of information of this kind seems the type of activity in which TTCs could form a very valuable base for an extensive and co-ordinated research project for the study of the various aspects of the culture of all Zambian groups. It would seem desirable, however, to relate such a project to work that has already been done by individual scholars and by such institutions as the former Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and the present Institute for African Studies at UNZA. It would also be desirable to involve scholars trained in methods and techniques of such work, and to have the project function under a strong coordinating body in order that comparable information could be collected and presented. There are a number of scholars in the various departments of UNZA who might be interested in such work. There are also other scholars in Zambia already involved in such work; for instance, some of the fathers at the Chikuni Mission whose interests in language and music have made them very much aware of the cultural background in which these operate. Serious scholarly attention to the language and cultural activities of training colleges might prove to be a strong incentive for the improvement of Zambian language teaching at all levels.

The amount of time given to the teaching of Zambian languages in TTCs varied from one to four periods a week (as compared with the usual ten to twelve for English). All TTCs were able to provide practice teaching in neighboring schools. TTCs in general did not rely on their own staff for demonstration lessons, which were usually provided by local teachers, sometimes designated by the Inspectorate. Where a TTC, such as Charles Lwanga, had a primary school attached to the College, it was possible to coordinate practice and demonstration teaching with teacher training and to try out new materials prepared by student teachers. Most TTCs had some accessible schools for such purposes, but

it was also possible to find a TTC such as Chipata where, because of the lack of an easily accessible school, children had to be brought to the College by lorry for practice teaching.

In 1970 there were no senior positions in TTCs in the teaching of Zambian languages comparable to those in such subjects as English and mathematics. Courses in the teaching of these languages were occasionally assigned to people with little relevant preparation, though in some colleges people who, through personal initiative and interest had accumulated a certain amount of knowledge of them, were given the task. TTCs had a fairly large proportion of Zambian staff (about half), and most Zambian lecturers (more than two-thirds in 1969) had had one or more years of training overseas. Some of those who had recently returned from Britain or Commonwealth countries had had occasional courses in phonetics or introductory linguistics, generally in relation to the teaching of English as a second language. Occasionally a tutor had assisted in research related to his mother tongue in a university overseas. They had, thus, in various ways become interested in language in general and sometimes in Zambian languages.

Since 1970 a number of steps have been taken by the Ministry of Education to improve teacher training and teacher status in this area. By 1972 Grade I lecturers had been appointed to hold senior positions in Teacher Training Colleges in the teaching of Zambian languages. During the Survey year the Ministry had requested information on tailor-made courses for Zambian teachers in American and British universities. Finally, an arrangement was made with the University of London under the auspices of the Commonwealth Education Study Fellowship Programme for Zambian language teachers to study abroad.

During the session 1972-73, eight Zambians were undergoing courses of instruction at the Institute of Education and School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The students, representing the major languages of Zambia (Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvala, Nyanja, and Tonga), already had considerable teaching experience, and were concerned chiefly with the improvement of Zambian language teaching in schools through curriculum development and the preparation of teaching materials.

At the Institute of Education, University of London, the course consisted of lectures on language and communication in both mother tongue and second language learning situations, seminars on educational problems in East and Central Africa and modern methods of teaching a mother tongue, and tutorials on specific classroom problems. These were reinforced by visits and attachments to Colleges of Education and to both rural and urban secondary and primary schools.

The course at SOAS consist of lectures on General Linguistics as applied to Zambian languages, together with seminars on topics relevant

Table 11:16: Teacher training colleges 1970 – staffing.

Colleges	Graduate or equivalent				Completed Senior Secondary				Not Completed Senior Secondary				Total		Zambians	Non-Zambians	All staff
	Trained		Un-trained		Trained		Un-trained		Trained		Un-trained		M	F			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F					
Kasama	5	1			12	2			2	1			19	4	14	9	23
Ch. Lwanga	5	1	2		7	8	1		3	1			18	10	9	19	28
D. Livingstone	5	2			8	4			2				15	6	9	12	21
Chipata	1	4	1		15				5				22	4	13	13	26
Kitwe	2	2	1		8	3			2	1			13	6	8	11	19
Mufulira	1	1			12	2			2	1			15	4	13	6	19
Mongu		3				6				2	1		12		3	9	12
Malcolm Moffat	1	1			11	1			4	1			16	3	13	6	19
Totals	20	15	4		73	26	1		20	7	1		118	49	82	85	167

to language as a school subject (e.g. orthography, literature). The substance of the lecture course was being produced as a handbook, *General Linguistics and Zambian Languages*, which it was hoped to make available to those interested. It was hoped that this combined SOAS/Institute course would lead to the award of an Associateship of the Institute.

Table 16, based on Cent. Stat. Off., 1971, Table 23, gives information about the qualifications of TTC staff for 1970. As can be seen, the total number of Zambian and non-Zambian staff in all TTCs was about equal, though there was considerable variation in individual colleges. In every case the principal or the vice-principal (or both) were Zambians. The table does not show citizenship in relation to academic and professional qualifications but almost all those with university degrees were non-Zambian. A number of Zambians were studying towards degrees (but it was alleged that they might leave TTCs upon graduation). Most Zambian TTC staff had had secondary education plus two or three years of professional training, and, as stated above, the majority had been overseas for short periods of further training. The countries they had been to in the main were Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Ireland. The expatriate staff, including members of missionary societies, came from a wider variety of countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and North America.

### 3.2 *Associateship Certificate in Education (ACE) Program*

The ACE re-training program for primary school teachers, is carried out at the Institute of Education at UNZA. Although no course was included in the teaching of Zambian languages during 1970, plans for such a course were being discussed and ACE had important implications for the teaching of these languages. The Zambian teachers who carried out the observations for the study of the teaching of Zambian languages in primary schools described earlier in this chapter were teachers enrolled in this course.<sup>5</sup>

ACE students are qualified teachers from the primary schools who have at least four years' teaching experience (sometimes up to ten or even more), and have a minimum of either three approved Ordinary-level School Certificate passes including English language (or three excluding English but a pass in the Special English Examination set by the University), or a full School Certificate. Very few have gained their academic qualifications at school. The Institute generally prefers younger rather than older teachers, although there is no strict age limit. In 1971 about 220 teachers applied, many of whom lacked the minimum requirements, and selection of the forty required was not very difficult.

The training provided is aimed at introducing teachers to modern methods in the classroom, to provide a fresh approach to syllabus con-

tent, to extend students' knowledge of the matters covered in the syllabuses, to create professional confidence, and to stimulate teachers to think about and discuss current problems in Zambian education with specific relevance to the primary sector. The course does not, therefore, aim at producing individuals specifically prepared for discrete avenues of promotion, although most of the successful students do receive promotion, and their career preferences and the Institute's recommendations are generally taken into consideration. Salary improvements are guaranteed.

The most likely avenues of promotion from the course are primary school headships and deputy headships (about a quarter of the students are already heads or deputies); appointment to a regional or district inspectorate; in a few cases, appointment to the staff of a primary training college. In short, the ACE course provides a cadre of academically well qualified teachers who have had the benefit of a full year's course and are available to the Ministry for a variety of openings. Thus, if the teaching of Zambian languages is included in the course, successful ACE students could be an important force in improving the teaching of these languages.

#### 4.0 *Some Comments on the New Zambia Primary Course*

Although training for NZPC is described in the next chapter, it may be appropriate to make a few comments on it from the point of view of an outside observer. What seemed most impressive about the program was the apparently excellent coordination of effort between the Curriculum Development Centre, the Inspectorate, and the teacher-training institutions, the regional education authorities and the schools in the implementation of the course. The concerted effort to ensure that the preparation of materials, the training and re-training of teachers and their supervisors could all proceed in an integrated fashion with the schools as the focus of the entire operation seemed to be one of the major assets of the program.

Attendance at re-training sessions at Chalimbana and elsewhere indicated that tutors involved in the work of teacher training seemed to have great faith in NZPC and were taking great pains to see that each trainee understood thoroughly what he was expected to do in every lesson. At the school level headmasters were so proud of their "English-medium" classes that it was difficult to be allowed to observe any others. The academic community in general seemed to be impressed with what they observed or heard about the course, and even those skeptical of some of the methods used appeared to concede that children who had had several years of NZPC were far ahead of those in traditional classes. There was a parallel anxiety that such success could not be claimed for

the teaching of Zambian languages as yet.

The Survey had neither the time nor the means to make any systematic evaluation of NZPC, either in the content of the materials or the implementation of the scheme, and the present comments are impressionistic. Such an evaluation was, in fact, in progress during 1972. The assessment of the effectiveness of the course, and the isolation of factors that might have contributed to the success or failure of its various aspects might have wide implications for similar programs in other parts of the world.

The widely reported success of the English-medium scheme did not, however, mean that NZPC classes were uniformly successful. The English of teachers, as pointed out above, was often very limited. Even strict adherence to the materials was not always achieved since teachers sometimes failed to prepare lessons or follow the Teacher's Handbook. In one class observed, for instance, a teacher was drilling, "He is sweeping on the floor", in spite of the *Teachers' Handbook*, the large written strip with the correct sentence on it, and the obvious discomfort of some of the children who seemed to know better. The Curriculum Development Centre provided three taped cassettes to each school that began on NZPC, but the writer saw none in use in the numerous classes observed. (By 1972 all the material was combined in two cassettes.) There were other apparent deviations from the prescribed use of the method. For instance, children often chanted the drills, and occasionally, because of the anxiety of a teacher to be "brisk", they went at such break-neck speed as to be incomprehensible. In spite of such practices, however, children individually seemed to respond with understanding and with appropriate intonation (perhaps indicating that the cassettes had been in use at some point).

There were a number of problems related to logistics in spite of the great efforts at close coordination. There were problems in distribution, storage, delays in publication and so on. In spite of all difficulties and shortcomings, however, the general impression gained from a wide variety of people in Zambia was that NZPC was proving very successful.

It was stated earlier that the field of second language teaching was not without controversy. In recent years, there has been a great ferment in the field, and much attention is being directed to the ways in which language is learned, and the implications of these to language pedagogy. What is urgently needed in Zambia is Zambians trained in linguistics and related fields, as well as in language pedagogy, who can participate in these new developments and who can apply what is relevant and useful to the Zambian situation. The need to carry out research and experimentation in Zambia itself in order to meet her specific language needs cannot be too strongly stressed.

As was pointed out, the Ministry of Education has taken a number



of steps to improve the language teaching situation in Zambia. Among these is a project to evaluate NZPC (which, as noted above, is now known as the *Zambia Primary Course*). There have been changes in syllabus and time allotment for Zambian languages, and there have been decisions to enhance the status of those responsible for training teachers for these languages. The provision of special training for eight Zambian teachers at the University of London will, no doubt, mean major improvements not only in teacher training but in pedagogical experimentation and research when these trainees return to their posts.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Allocation of weekly time for Zambian languages (in non-traditional classes) was increased to the following in 1971: Grade I, first five weeks, 2½ hours and the remainder of the year 2½ hours; Grade II, 2½ hours; Grades III and IV, 3 hours each; Grades V, VI and VII, 3½ hours (or 6 periods), Zambian languages were to be taken daily. (Min. of Educ. 1971 Approved Syllabus, pp. 2-3.)

<sup>2</sup> One instance of the use of English being questioned by the pupils may be of some interest. It occurs in a Nyanja lesson in Lusaka. The language of the teacher (and his best language) is Lungu. The children speak 10 different languages, the largest group being 17 Nyanja speakers. There is oral reading and discussion on the construction of sentences in the passages read and words used, with the children participating and having "a lot to say". The observer reports the following: "One of the pupils asked the teacher why it is that he has never seen a Nyanja word or words in an English book." He asked this, says the observer, because there were a number of English words in the Supplementary Reader such as "sweepers", "District Commissioner", "District Officer", "loafer", etc. The pupils, he says, seemed to be very much opposed to English being used in vernacular lessons. (Readers should note that English words do not appear in NZPC Zambian language readers. Therefore the textbook in use was probably a commercially produced reader.)

<sup>3</sup> Nyanja and Cewa have been considered the same language. (There were 4 pupils in Lusaka and 58 in the Eastern Province who claimed Cewa as their mother tongue.)

<sup>4</sup> The 1971 *Approved Syllabus for Primary Schools* (p. 22) notes: "With effect from January 1972, all Grade I classes in the Republic will follow Z.P.C. (Zambian Languages) produced at Curriculum Development Centre (C.D.C.). This Course, in its experimental stage, does not introduce Reading and Writing in Grade I. But at the discretion of the Regional Inspectorate, Longman's Series Book I (Makalelo, Kalaba, Kwawa, Intulo, etc.) may be used towards the end of the second term or at the beginning of the third term."

<sup>5</sup> The survey is indebted to D.P. Stannard of the Institute of Education, UNZA for information from which the following section is taken.

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## 12 THE NEW ZAMBIA PRIMARY COURSE

Bryson McAdam<sup>1</sup>

### 0.0 *Introduction*

The New Zambia Primary Course (which has since been renamed the *Zambian Primary Course*), is an integrated set of materials designed for the entire primary school population of Zambia. It covers English and subjects taught through the medium of English and Zambian languages.

### 1.0 *Materials for English*

#### 1.1 *Background*

Perhaps one of the most exciting educational developments in Zambia over the past few years has been the production, implementation and expansion of the New Zambia Primary Course, formerly known as the English Medium Scheme.<sup>2</sup> In the space of five years, masses of materials have been written and developed by a handful of people, generally not more than six, working under restricting conditions with limited support. These materials have attempted to bring into the schools a fresh, child-centred activity approach in marked contrast to the teacher-dominated atmosphere which all too frequently prevailed in many schools. A striking feature of the course is the effort to achieve linguistic integration of all subjects taught through the medium of English in the primary school. The course views English essentially as a tool for the learning of other subjects and great emphasis has been laid on the use of the English lessons as a preparation for the learning of Agricultural Science, Social Studies and other subjects.

At the beginning of 1970, some 175,000 Zambian primary school children were using the materials produced at the English Medium Centre and the actual production of course materials had, by November 1970, reached the middle of Grade VI level, the penultimate grade in the primary school. It was expected that the basic course in English Language and Reading would be completed for all seven grades by early 1972.

In 1965, it was decided by the Government of Zambia that English should become the medium of instruction in all primary schools. This decision called for the writing of completely new materials to replace the Zambian version of Longman's "Day by Day" English course, a course intended to teach the language as a subject in the lower primary

classes. As an English medium course, the new materials would have to cater for all subjects taught through the medium of English and not simply English Language and Reading. Accordingly, a small nucleus of writers began to write a course, which included English Language, Reading, Handwriting, Physical Education, Writing and Creative Activities for the Lower Primary School (Grades I-IV). Religious Education would continue to be taught in a Zambian language and a basic outline of suggested topics for Zambian languages was also to be included. The British Council, at the request of the Zambian Government, supplied two and later three language specialists to plan and produce the course, and they were assisted at various times by an Australian primary teacher, a Canadian Universities Service Overseas volunteer and a primary teacher supplied by the Zambian Ministry of Education. Two primary teachers were also eventually supplied for the writing of material for Zambian languages.

The time table was a major problem as most lower primary schools run double or even treble sessions daily and this meant that the time available for any one week was only 15 hours of actual class time. In addition to the subject areas given above, Music, Nature Study, Science, Road Safety and Health Education clamoured for a place. The final time table approved by the Ministry of Education gives two time tables for Grade I, another for Grade II and another for Grades III and IV (see Appendix A).

At first, the project was generally envisaged as a lower primary scheme only, perhaps with memories of the Kenyan Peak and New Peak courses which were introduced into Asian schools and African schools respectively in that country in the first three grades only.<sup>3</sup> As the English Medium course developed, however, it soon became apparent that it was essential for it to continue throughout the whole primary school from Grade I to Grade VII. The aims in doing this were to continue to prepare pupils for the English they would meet in the other various subject areas of the curriculum, and to assist in providing an adequate amount of reading material suitable for the young citizens of an independent Zambia. In this connection, it must be remembered that a very large number of primary school pupils read very little during their primary school career and that complaints have often been made of the inability of many to read and write with facility in English or in a Zambian language. The textbooks available before Independence were often written in language far too advanced for the class in which they were used and were sometimes unsuitable in content. Thus the need for linguistic integration and modernisation of content at the upper primary level was considered to be just as important as at the lower primary level. Finally, concern over the paucity of active vocabulary of Form I entrants at the secondary level and the generally low reading

speeds demonstrated by many primary school leavers convinced the course planners that the main emphasis of the upper primary course should be on the improvement of the pupils' reading techniques, vocabulary expansion and wide and rapid reading.

### 1.2 *Expansion*

In 1966, an English Medium Centre was set up in Lusaka to produce these materials. At first, a modified form of the Kenyan New Peak course was used in 42 Grade I classes in Lusaka, 9 in Mufulira and 1 in Serenje. When, for various reasons, this was found unsatisfactory, the Centre started producing materials specifically for Zambia, and later most of these Grade I classes moved over to using materials produced at the Centre. In the following year, 1967, 242 Grade I classes (8.5% of the total intake) started using the materials and in 1968, 542 Grade I classes (17.5% of the total intake) began the course. 1969 saw a huge increase to 1,247 Grade I classes (39.8% of the total intake) and in 1970, 1,765 Grade I classes (56% of the total intake) began using the course. The classes which started the English Medium course in 1966 were in Grade V in 1970 and they were using the English Language and Reading course produced at the Centre. The experimental English Language and Reading course for Grade VI, Term 1 was prepared for the use of these Grade V classes when they moved into Grade VI in January, 1971. Thus by November 1970, approximately 175,000 pupils were using the course in Zambia's primary schools.

### 1.3.0 *The English Course*

The aims of the English component of the course may be briefly summarised as follows: (i) to make primary school leavers as proficient as possible in the use of English, (ii) to give primary school children the lexis and structures necessary to understand and use English in the other areas of the curriculum which are taught in the medium of English, and (iii) to ensure that children who proceed to secondary school and other forms of post-primary education are well equipped to take advantage of the opportunities offered.

#### 1.3.1 *The Language Lessons*

The language lessons are set out in great detail in the Teachers' Handbooks. All the presentation, drills and practice are set out in many cases in full. It was found that many teachers were unable to carry out mere suggestions as to method when it came to language work and so it was decided to be as detailed as possible. This has its drawbacks as there

is the danger that teachers may not read lessons dealt with at such length or that they may conduct the lesson with Teachers' Handbook in hand but the advantages of a full treatment seemed to outweigh the disadvantages in this situation.

The general pattern of the language lessons in the Lower Primary handbooks is *Revision*, followed by *Pronunciation* and *New Work* which includes *Practice*. The *Revision* section, which is intended to occupy about 7–10 minutes of the thirty-minute lesson, generally refers the teacher back to the lesson where the item was taught but in some cases sets out in some detail the procedure for revising a particular item.

The *Pronunciation* section which follows generally takes the form of minimal pair drills which are treated as a Same and Different game. Approximately 3–5 minutes is allowed for this section.

*New Work* which occupies roughly 15 minutes of the lesson, consists of (a) *Presentation*, and (b) *Practice*. In almost all cases, a fairly full presentation of the new item is given as it is considered that it is here that the teacher needs most help. The *Practice* section consists of various drills which, in the case of the Lower Primary classes, are generally Repetition, Substitution, Conversion, Question and Answer and Action Chains. In the Upper Primary classes, Integration and Completion drills are added. Throughout the course, individual, group and class drills are employed.

Besides the pronunciation games, rhythm drills and intonation practices, a number of songs, games and dialogues, often practising specific language points, are included. It is hoped that in this way the language learning will be made more enjoyable. Care has also been taken to remind the teacher of known difficulties for Bantu learners of English. In the first two grades, the tape cassettes can assist him in this.

### 1.3.2 *Content of the Lessons*

The grading and selection of lexis and structures in the early part of the course has been dictated by the need to prepare the pupils for the early introduction of Arithmetic in Grade I, by the carefully selected centres of interest (illustrated on the thirty-five wall charts used in Grades I–IV (see Appendix B)), by the requirements of the other subject areas and by general pedagogical considerations. An analysis was made of other primary school courses in use in Africa to ascertain where they agreed and where they diverged in the matter of lexis and structure. Close attention was paid to Hornby's *Verb Patterns* (Hornby 1962) in drawing up the final list of items for inclusion in the course. Recourse was also had to the *General Service List of English Words* (West, 1953) and to a list compiled at the Centre of items essential in the Zambian context. The eventual publication of a new Social Studies

syllabus and the fresh impetus given to Agricultural Science in primary schools necessitated revisions and additions to the list already drawn up and these have been incorporated into the course from the beginning of the Upper Primary, having a marked influence on the class readers.

The rate of introduction of new vocabulary into the course by grade is as follows:

Grade I	— 436
Grade II	— 189
Grade III	— 215
Grade IV	— 265
Grade V	— 695
Grade VI	— 575
Grade VII	— 351

Thus it is intended that the total vocabulary taught in the English component of the course will total approximately 2,720 words. The higher figures for Grade I and Grade V reflect the need to enable pupils to handle other subjects through the medium of English as soon as possible in Grade I and the demands of Social Studies and Agricultural Science in Grade V and beyond.

### 1.3.3 *Reading Lessons*

In the first four grades (i.e. Lower Primary classes), the material that is read is the material which has been practised, overlearned or memorised, following closely the audio-lingual material, with known grammatical and lexical items being recombined in fresh context. The course starts with various pre-reading activities designed to give practice in recognising different shapes (prior to recognising different symbols), distinguishing colour and size and learning to move the eyes from left to right. Picture books, jig-saws, colour charts and picture matching apparatus are employed at this stage. The first written words the children see are name cards which are introduced in the second week. Then, in the fifth week, labels are attached to classroom objects ready for the matching of word cards to these labels in the seventh week. A colour chart and word cards for colour are then introduced, with word to word and picture matching coming in the ninth week of term. Finally, the characters and sentences appearing in the first three readers are gradually introduced to the children by the use of ten pictures around the classroom under which sentences are built up. These sentences are then broken down into words, using the word cards for words which appear in the readers and sentences are built from word cards and sentence building apparatus.

In Grade II, readers 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 are worked through, though

Reader 9 is read in its entirety only by Group 1 and in part by Group 2. Phonics is introduced in the eighth week of Grade II and continued until the end of Grade IV.

In Grade III, pupils read Readers 10, 11 and 12 and continue with work cards, and in Grade IV, they read Readers 12A (a revision reader), 13 and 14 and do more advanced work cards. In the final term of Grade IV, the top 25% of the class read eight supplementary readers at two levels of difficulty, the next 50% read four supplementary readers at the lowest level of difficulty and the bottom 25% continue normal class work, with increasing help from the teacher who becomes more free as more pupils spend their time reading the supplementary readers.

The reading programme in the Upper Primary school (see Appendix C for details of Upper Primary lessons) consists of class readers and what are known as Upper Supplementary Readers (USR). For each term of the year, there is a class reader consisting of eleven stories, generally Zambian in background, interspersed with occasional short playlets. New Language items which have been taught in the two Oral Language lessons during the week are built into these stories as often as possible. New lexis which is introduced in a "Preparation for Reading" lesson appears in these stories at the rate of one new word per fifty running words with up to five repetitions. Occasionally, items are taught by means of small pictures appearing alongside the story. In Grade V, an average of fifteen or so new words are introduced per week and care is taken that as many as possible of these new words are re-introduced in subsequent weeks in other stories. Generally half the story is dealt with in one lesson and half in the next, but where there is a story and a playlet, the story, which is always shorter than usual, is dealt with in one lesson and the playlet in the next.

Each story is followed by a number of exercises designed to test comprehension and to reinforce important lexis and structures contained in the story. The aims of the reading lessons are:

- (i) to give practice in acquiring detailed meaning;
- (ii) to give practice in seizing the gist of a paragraph or unit larger than a paragraph;
- (iii) to increase the pupils' reading speeds;
- (iv) to give practice in deducing or inferring more than actually appears in print; and
- (v) to provide interesting reading material so that the pupils will acquire the habit of reading for pleasure.

Already many pupils in Grade V are reading silently at a speed of 80–120 words per minute which is faster than many Form I entrants.

Three periods a week are set aside for reading the supplementary



readers (USR). Plans for the reading programme envisage eventually a much greater number of readers than exists at present and these are described later.

#### 1.3.4 *Controlled Writing Lessons*

Starting in Grade II, up to half an hour a week is devoted to writing. Although these lessons are called "Controlled Writing Lessons" throughout the course, they do not set out to concentrate on reinforcing specific structures. The name is given to impress upon teachers that free or creative writing in the second language is something that most pupils should not attempt until at least the end of their primary school course and even then it will have to remain firmly under the teacher's control. It is emphasised throughout that the teacher must adjust the level of difficulty according to the ability of his class. In the Upper Primary classes there is one period for writing and one period for corrections.

If this programme proves successful, the position reached by pupils might approximate roughly to the end of the present secondary Form II writing scheme, thus necessitating a revision of the present secondary school guided and controlled writing syllabus.

#### 1.3.5 *The Tape Recorder*

Each primary school using the NZPC has, as part of its equipment, a cassette play-back tape recorder and three cassettes. It has been learned from experience that a cassette play-back machine is preferable to any other type of machine not only because it is cheaper but because it is impossible to erase the recorded material. These cassettes are used from half-way through the third term of Grade I to the end of Grade II. Of the thirty-four programmes recorded on cassette, the first is introductory, to get the pupils used to the machine, twelve are dialogues for stress, rhythm and intonation practice and the rest are designed for pronunciation work.

The programmes are all spoken by native speakers of English. The dialogues are spoken by children of primary school age and the others by various members of the staff of the English Medium Centre. They are intended to provide a model not only for the children but also for the teachers, who are expected to play the programme over a number of times before the lesson. They will also accustom the children to hearing English spoken by someone other than their class teacher.

Some teachers occasionally find even the simple play-back machines that are issued difficult to handle though all pre-service and in-service courses include instruction in their use. For this reason, not all teachers

use the play-back machines even though they are considered to be an essential part of the course. There is also the difficulty of security in schools where there are no facilities for storing this valuable item of equipment under lock and key; numerous instances have been reported of the theft of the machines that have been issued. No instances have been reported of the damage of machines or cassettes by the climate though some cassettes have been damaged by careless handling. Break-downs appear to be fairly infrequent; when they do occur, the school sends the machines to Lusaka where they are repaired by the main distributors and repairs are paid for out of the school funds. It is hoped that it will be possible eventually for regional Education offices to keep a small reserve supply to issue on loan in an emergency.

One of the major problems that was faced until 1970 was the purely physical problem of producing dubbed tapes in sufficient quantity for the schools. Each cassette had to be recorded separately using a standard tape-recorder as a master and a cassette player as a slave. This took up a great many man-hours that could hardly be spared and because of intensive use of the recorder, the quality fell off quickly. Quite recently, a machine designed for the mass production of cassettes has been acquired and as a result both the rate of production and the quality have improved. In addition, it has proved possible to combine the material on the first two cassettes on to one cassette. Whereas originally the first seven programmes were on one cassette, the next thirteen programmes on another and the last thirteen on another, programmes are now being dubbed on to only two cassettes, saving one cassette. This cassette is now available for music, traditional songs or Zambian languages work.

One heartening result of the use of cassettes is that it has often been noticed that whereas in some cases the teacher repeats the material with his own ingrained speech habits, the children's efforts often approximate very closely to the stress, rhythm, intonation and pronunciation of the speech on the tape.

## 2.0 *Zambian Languages*

One of the major difficulties about teaching Zambian languages in schools is that in the urban areas, children from many different language backgrounds are found together in schools. A 1966 survey of 42 English Medium Grade I classes in Lusaka (Ministry of Education Survey) (where Nyanja is the approved Zambian language to be taught in schools) and their 24 teachers showed that only 49% of the pupils in these classes spoke Nyanja as their home languages, 20% speaking Bemba, 11% Tonga, 5% Lozi and the other 15% other languages. Of the 24 teachers, only two spoke Nyanja as their home language, six spoke

Bemba, and the rest included Lenje, Lozi, Shona, Tonga and Tumbuka. A more recent survey carried out by the English Medium Centre in Lusaka in a number of Grade I, II and III classes revealed that over fifty different mother tongues were spoken by the children in these classes. Ideally, one would envisage two types of courses for these children (one for L.1 speakers and one for L.2 learners) but such a scheme would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to implement.

There appears to have been a policy on the part of the Ministry of Education to post teachers to areas other than those they come from so that they were often required to teach in a language which was not their mother tongue, and in which they had often not received any instruction. Even though a large number of teachers are able to operate reasonably effectively in the new language after being some time in the area, there is no doubt that in the interim period the children must suffer and that little learning takes place during this time. In at least some areas, the regional inspectors themselves are unable to converse freely in the approved teaching language of the area in which they are working and this has meant that they are unable to operate effectively. The difficulties which this brought about in the lower primary classes where the approved language was the medium of instruction before the adoption of English Medium can be imagined. Even now, with the new impetus being given to the learning of Zambian languages in schools, these difficulties are still proving to be very great. Steps are being taken to post at least one inspector who is a mother-tongue speaker of the language to each region and primary training colleges have at last begun to take Zambian languages seriously and to teach students more than one Zambian language while they are in college.

When the writing of materials for the new course started, it was considered advisable to include some help for teachers of Zambian languages. Two Nyanja speakers were posted to the Centre and together they produced a preliminary outline of suggested topics in English for each lesson which were issued with the experimental English Medium teachers' handbooks as they were produced. However, no real thinking had been done about this problem and the topics were often too vague and too brief to be of much assistance and were sometimes too closely based on what was taking place in the English component of the course. Four Nyanja readers were also written and distributed in addition to these outline topics, and short hand-outs, containing grammar points and exercises which could be tried out in the schools, were made available to schools and training colleges.

In 1969, it was decided to produce a syllabus for Zambian languages for the Lower Primary school and to produce detailed teachers' handbooks which would give suggestions on the conduct of each lesson, a number of wall charts, readers, work-books, reading apparatus and

work cards. A Tonga writer was then posted to the Centre and materials were produced for use in Nyanja and Tonga schools for Grade I and Grade II. It is planned to produce materials for Grades III and IV.

Twenty classes in which Nyanja was the approved teaching Zambian language and twenty in which Tonga was the approved Zambian language were selected and short courses were held for the teachers of these classes. The materials were then introduced into these classes in January 1970 after short courses for the teachers.

It is perhaps something of a paradox that the English Medium Centre, which was set up to provide materials in English for the English Medium Scheme, found itself the only agency to write courses in local languages for use in schools. Little (or nothing) had been done since Independence in 1964 to supply the great need for local language materials and so as soon as the first materials appeared (in Nyanja and Tonga) there was a great clamour for materials in the other approved teaching Zambian languages. Pupils, teachers and inspectors wanted materials and they wanted them immediately.

Since the introduction of these materials, part-time writers were appointed by the Ministry of Education to produce materials in Bemba, Kaonde, Lunda, Luvala and Lozi but as these writers were working only part-time in their own districts where they were teaching and as there is the possibility of transfers and of writers giving up the task, this arrangement has not been very satisfactory. In spite of the difficulties, the Centre has managed to produce Grade I, Term I Handbooks in these five languages in time for courses to be held for teachers in experimental classes (30 classes for Bemba and ten for each of the others). The intention is that enough materials will be produced to give all Grade I classes in the country a Grade I Handbook in the appropriate language in 1972. However, the time table drawn up to satisfy the demands of the schools for materials to be produced in these languages as soon as possible (see Appendix D) will only be capable of fulfilment if at least two writers in each language are seconded to work full time under direction at the Curriculum Development Centre.

Writers are provided with an outline for each lesson in English but they are free to make whatever adjustments and alterations they wish as it is not considered desirable to have exactly the same course in each language. A small number of readers and a handbook for reading are already available in Bemba and it is hoped that it will be possible to make use of some of this material when the Bemba course is written but there appears to be little that is available in the other languages which will be of assistance.

The writing of Zambian Languages materials is complicated by the fact that no adequate descriptions of the languages are yet in existence

and also by the presence in urban schools of large numbers of children to whom the language being taught will be yet another second language.

As yet, the Curriculum Development Centre does not have any Zambian writers with linguistic training, and any courses produced as a stop-gap measure will certainly have to be re-written as soon as adequate linguistic data and numbers of trained Zambian linguists become available.

### 3.0 *Subjects Taught Through the Medium of English*

#### 3.1 *Linguistic Integration*

One of the reasons why some pupils do not make much progress in the primary schools where lessons are conducted in the medium of a second language is that the pupils' materials available in Maths, Social Studies, etc. are generally much too difficult for the pupils to understand. It has always been the intention of the Centre that all materials produced in English for the primary school in all subject areas should be linguistically controlled and this has now been realised as it has been agreed by the Ministry that materials produced will come under close scrutiny by the language specialists before being sent to schools for trial. This would apply to Social Studies in Grades III and IV and Social Studies, Agricultural Science and Maths in the Upper Primary school. However, for the reasons given in the sections on Maths and Social Studies below, this has not proved to be completely satisfactory. A revision of the Maths course which may be undertaken in the near future would enable staff to make sure that the course was linguistically integrated but the Social Studies course in the Lower Primary school is now being taught in a Zambian language.

#### 3.2 *Mathematics*

Arithmetic begins in English in the third week of the first term of Grade I. Although a Handbook and materials for Grade I have been published and the Handbook for Grade II is nearing completion, little of it has been written by Centre staff or under Centre supervision. The grade I material was tried out for some years on the Copperbelt before being put into final form at Ministry of Education headquarters. Much of the Grade II material was already written by the time an officer was posted at the Centre to make some revisions and complete the work.

The Grade I course sets out to teach children to (i) know and understand numerals from 1-10, (ii) complete addition and subtraction number sequences to 10, (iii) count in "ones" and "twos" to 20, (iv) count in "tens" to 90 and (v) do shopping activities with coins up to

10 ngwee. The Grade II course aims to teach pupils to (i) know and understand numbers up to 100, (ii) do addition, subtraction, multiplication and division problems accurately and confidently, (iii) do shopping activities with amounts up to K1.00, (iv) do equalities and inequalities in which brackets and three or four operations are involved, and (v) learn and know how to compare mass and length.

There appear to be some misgivings about certain parts of the course so far and the Centre is awaiting the arrival of a Mathematics expert to survey the whole field and make his suggestions. The course will then be re-written or revised at the Centre.

### 3.3 *Social Studies*

It was originally intended that the Social Studies course throughout the primary course from Grade III to Grade VII would be taught through the medium of English. However, the new Social Studies syllabus was not drafted by the Ministry of Education and approved until after the Grades III and IV English course had been written. Although efforts had been made to include vocabulary useful in the Social Studies course in the English course, it soon became apparent that because of the complexity of the Social Studies topics in the syllabus and the order in which they had been introduced, the language which had been taught was inadequate to cope with the new syllabus in Grades III and IV. Because of this, it was decided that Social Studies in Grades III and IV should be taught through the medium of the Zambian language being taught in the school. As the need is urgent for materials to be introduced in the schools because the new syllabus has been introduced by the Ministry of Education into all grades at the same time, a Zambian writer for Social Studies was appointed to the Centre to create materials to support the new syllabus. The first experimental materials for the whole of Grade III will be introduced into all schools in January 1971. It is expected that there will be some modifications made to the complex and difficult syllabus in Social Studies for the Upper Primary school and that the language taught in English lessons will be adequate to cope with the Social Studies syllabus in Grades V, VI and VII.

### 3.4 *Creative Activities*

From the beginning of Grade I, there are two periods of Creative Activities of forty-five minutes each per week. The aims of the Creative Activities syllabus may be briefly summarised as follows:

- (i) To make the child aware of the world of colour, shape and form;

- (ii) to encourage the child to be inventive and to explore the variety of media at his disposal and the ways in which they can be used to create a satisfying experience;
- (iii) to provide and practise language situation; and
- (iv) to provide free and directed play with various manipulative materials.

The lessons, which are included in the Reading handbook, generally start with an arousal of interest through a display of a finished article. The activity is demonstrated by the teacher before work commences and then the final creation is displayed and assessed. These lessons are illustrated with diagrams, drawings and actual photographs. All the lessons throughout the course are conducted through the medium of English.

### 3.5 *Physical Education*

The aims of the lessons are as follows:

- (i) To exercise the various parts of the body;
- (ii) to develop coordination between the body and the mind;
- (iii) to develop good posture;
- (iv) to cultivate good sportsmanship and an attitude of tolerance in the minds of children; and
- (v) to give enjoyment through physical movement.

Each week for the first four years there is one thirty-minute lesson and these lessons are included in the Reading handbook. The lesson generally starts off with introductory or warming-up activities for the first 3–4 minutes, followed by class activities of 10–15 minutes and finishes with group activities of 10–15 minutes. In each lesson, there are four group activities and for this the class is divided into four groups. In addition to the general activities, each lesson includes a Zambian game or dance involving vigorous body movement. All the lessons are conducted through the medium of English.

### 3.6 *Handwriting*

Three periods of fifteen minutes each week are devoted to Handwriting in the first four grades. The general style of handwriting taught in these lessons, which are included in the Reading handbook, is a form of the Marion Richardson style of handwriting. Lessons generally take the form of a check on good posture, pattern work, teaching the letter or letters and finally practice. In Grade I, all letters and the numbers 1 to 10 are taught; in Grade II, capital letters are worked through and

tails are added to certain letters but letters are not joined at this stage. In Grades III and IV, modifications are made to certain letters to pave the way for cursive writing which is generally adopted in most classes in Grade IV, but capital letters are not joined to the letters following them.

#### 4.0 *Implementation of the Project*

##### 4.1 *Training and Preparation of Teachers*

The first teachers to embark on the English Medium approach in 1966 used the New Peak course. They were given courses by Centre staff which covered the lessons to be taught in the terms that lay ahead. Three such courses were held during the three holiday periods. As has been mentioned above, the New Peak was found to be unsuitable and the 1967 Grade I classes were started off on material produced at the Centre. Teachers for these classes were given two-week courses at the beginning of the year at which the early lessons were gone over in some detail. Subsequent lessons were covered at teachers' meetings. Teachers in the Grade I classes in the practising schools of teacher training colleges were given introductory courses by training college staff and members of the Regional Inspectorates. The 1968 Grade I teachers were also given courses at the beginning of this year and the Grade II teachers, who had already had one year of Grade I teaching in English Medium, were given courses in the early Grade II materials. Later lessons were covered by fortnightly sessions with supervisors in the various areas.

In 1967, a small number of Lower Primary teachers were trained in English Medium at Mufulira and Kitwe teacher training colleges on the Copperbelt, and in 1968 every student entering a teacher training college in Zambia began training with English Medium materials. Courses in teacher training colleges have until recently been of one year's duration, but at the beginning of 1968, the first two-year courses began and the one-year courses are being phased out. At the end of 1969, the first teachers who took a two-year course in English Medium left the college to be posted to schools where new English Medium classes were opened and in 1970, three-month in-service English Medium courses commenced at Chalimbana Teacher Training College near Lusaka where it is hoped that about 900 such teachers will be trained each year. It has been possible to secure the services of another British Council seconded officer to assist in the training given there.

The policy of the Ministry of Education is that all English Medium classes should be taught only by trained teachers who have received all their training or at least in-service training in English Medium. Teachers who have not received a full college training course in English Medium



teaching are visited by their supervisors at their schools and have fortnightly meetings with them to discuss their problems and difficulties and go over the work that they will have to teach in the next fortnight. Teachers of Grade I move up with their classes to Grade II, to Grade III and eventually to Grade IV. Thus a Lower Primary teacher in an English Medium class will keep the same pupils for a period of four years and will have experience of every year of the four-year primary course. It is hoped that these measures will be adequate to ensure that a reasonably satisfactory quality of teaching is maintained in all English Medium schools. This policy is also being adopted with regard to the Grade V teachers who will move up with their classes through Grade VI to Grade VII and will then return to Grade V.

It is fully realised that the success or failure of the English Medium scheme hinges mainly on the quality of teacher being produced at the teacher training colleges. The standard of entry to the training colleges, although it has risen of late, is not entirely satisfactory and the general weakness of students in oral English is recognised. Two years training with students of the calibre at present obtaining is a short time in which to produce teachers whose English will be an adequate model for their pupils and whose acquaintance with the content of the English Medium scheme is sufficient to warrant the minimum of future specialised supervision.

A start has been made by producing a syllabus which has been adopted by all colleges, which concentrates almost entirely on improving the students' general oral English and giving them a thorough and close knowledge of the actual material which is to be taught. Formerly, all colleges were fairly free to adopt their own syllabuses and what was taught in one college might vary considerably from what was taught in another. In view of the students' academic background and the relative brevity of the teacher training college course, some uniformity and concentration on the essentials are of the utmost importance. Systematic and thorough training in pronunciation, stress, rhythm and intonation has not been a feature of teacher training college courses in the past. If any real progress is to be made, this problem must be tackled energetically by training college staff. Owing to the shortness of the course, the "frills" have had to be ruthlessly discarded and emphasis given to those areas which are of immediate practical value to the teacher in teaching the New Zambia Primary course.

#### 4.2 *Supervision of the Course*

In 1966, the supervision of teachers and classes involved in the scheme in Lusaka was carried out by staff from the English Medium Centre but in the following year, 1967, much of the work was done

by a headquarters inspector of schools, two part-time supervisors and members of the regional inspectorate. In the Copperbelt Province, supervision was in the hands of the inspectorate and a number of outstanding primary teachers seconded as supervisors who continued to work part-time in their schools actually teaching the course. In 1968, ten supervisors were appointed in the Lusaka area to assist in the supervision.

Supervision has been carried out by visits to schools, fortnightly meetings of supervisors at which Centre staff were often present, and fortnightly meetings of supervisors with teachers.

To involve the inspectorate in the work as quickly as possible, workshops were held in which Centre staff participated and courses are now being given by the National In-Service Training College at Chalimbana for inspectors new to the work. It is realised that it is important to train headmasters in the course, and courses have already taken place with this in mind, but the task is an enormous one and it will be some years before all headmasters are trained.

#### 4.3 *Evaluation*

Attempts at evaluation of the course have not been by any means as frequent as they should have been. During the first term of 1967, four children from every English Medium class in the country took part in a language test and in the third term of the same year, every child in an English Medium class took part in an Arithmetic test. In addition, a *Zambian Language* and a reading test were held. Owing to pressure of work and to the very small number of staff employed at the Centre, no further tests of any kind have been carried out since that time. In the main, comments received from teachers, supervisors, inspectors and training college tutors and the all too infrequent visits of Centre staff to the classroom have played the major role in shaping the methodology and content of the course. In the Upper Primary Course, two weeks of observation by Centre staff of teachers using the trial material and monthly comments and observations on proformas filled in by six Netherlands volunteers are helping to iron out the major problems. The *Zambian Languages* experimental material is being evaluated by means of proformas completed by teachers, but these returns are not always as helpful as they might be. The need for constant evaluation is paramount and the assigning of a number of experienced teachers to act as evaluators would seem to be an urgent need. The Centre is planning to mount a large and intensive evaluation of the *English Language and Reading* course throughout the country in 1972.

## 5.0 *Plans for the Future*

### 5.1 *Language*

It is hoped that it will be possible to put all the speechwork in the Lower Primary grades on tape and that it may be possible to have *Zambian Languages* songs and dances recorded in the seven approved teaching languages. There is a need for close attention to be paid to certain parts of the English language course, especially where it is possible that there has been some overloading, but work on this will have to wait until there are sufficient staff available to spend the time in close contact with schools.

### 5.2 *Reading*

The part of the course which causes most concern is the reading course in Grades III and IV where, owing to lack of time on the time table, the group work in reading which has proved so successful in Grades I and II has had to be dropped in favour of class lessons. It is hoped that it will be possible to produce a programmed reading course for these two grades at least to deal with the four or five out of an average of 45 pupils who are unable to read by the time they reach Grade III. This measure, combined with the introduction of a course to train teachers at training colleges in remedial reading techniques, should go a long way towards solving the problem of the non-reader, if it proves impossible to allocate more time to the teaching of reading in Grades III and IV. A fresh look at the situation will be taken when the Grade VII course is completed. The provision of supplementary readers for Grades II, III and IV has always been in the plans for this course, but owing to insufficient time and inadequacy of staffing, it has not proved possible to embark on their preparation. This will be an urgent priority when the basic language and reading course has been completed.

When the 54 readers at eleven levels have been written for the Upper Primary school, it is planned that a series of readers which for want of a better term might be called "progressive" readers should be introduced. These progressive readers will be designed as a springboard for the further expansion of vocabulary and reinforcement of structures already learned. No new structures would be employed, but about 1,000–1,500 lexical items will be systematically introduced in Grades V, VI and VII. All these items will be additional to the items taught in the main reading programme. The new readers will probably be introduced at Level 3 and proceed to Level 11, and it is intended to teach the meanings of the new items of vocabulary by illustrations, by context

and by a glossary which would only be used as a last resort. In this way, each pupil would have the opportunity of reading as part of his course 102 readers and would thus be ready for launching straight into abridged readers at the Form I level. His total vocabulary, much of which would be passive, might well be about 5,000 words at the end of Grade VII (not including specifically technical vocabulary items learned in the other subject areas) and might thus equal the approximate vocabulary of a pupil in a present Form III class. After all these progressive readers have been written, more titles at the eleven USR levels will be made available so that every child will eventually have the opportunity of reading six USR titles and four progressive readers each term, increasing the total number of readers read to about 120 by the time he leaves primary school. The three periods a week set aside for supplementary reading should be adequate for most pupils to complete this sort of programme.

There is a great dearth of suitable reading material in Zambian Languages. It was therefore envisaged that as soon as the basic primary course had been completed, each class would have up to forty supplementary readers in the Zambian language being taught in that school. However, it is not intended to wait until the end of the course before starting on this scheme and it is hoped that efforts will soon be made to liaise with *interested writers in primary schools, training colleges and the university* to produce suitable class library material.

## 6.0 Conclusion

Subjective reports received so far testify to the great improvement in teaching method and attainment brought about in the schools by the use of the new course, in spite of the tremendous pressure under which the course has been written, the lack of adequate feed-back from the schools, the relatively low academic standard of many teachers and their general unfamiliarity with second-language teaching techniques. There has been widespread enthusiasm from teachers and from parents for the course as soon as the results became apparent and this has been a most encouraging sign. There is no doubt that the number of non-readers in the schools has been reduced considerably and that the general standard of spoken English is much higher in these classes than in the traditional classes.

The English Medium Centre staff moved to new premises in 1970 (their fifth place of work since 1966) where they now form the nucleus of the newly created Curriculum Development Centre. It is intended that work will begin in the near future on other subject areas of the primary school curriculum and that a start will also be made to develop

materials for use in secondary schools which will be in end-on progression to the work being done in the primary field.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Dr. McAdam was Deputy Director of the CDC from 1970-71 and was responsible for the planning and development of the project after its initial stages.

<sup>2</sup>Until the end of 1970 the materials known as the English Medium Scheme were produced at the English Medium Centre under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. The Centre has now been renamed the Curriculum Development Centre and expanded to include the production of secondary school materials. It is housed in its own buildings and functions as part of the Ministry of Education.

<sup>3</sup>The New Peak course is used in approximately 50% of Kenya's lower primary classes but the early rapid expansion seems to have halted. It was possibly the best set of materials for teaching primary English in Africa at the time, but the course included no materials for instruction in the vernaculars or Swahili and required that a multiplicity of visual aids should be made by the teacher himself. More detailed comments are made in Hutasoit and Prator (mimeo).

<sup>4</sup>The other officially approved Zambian languages are Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale and Tonga.

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## APPENDIX 12:A

## TIME TABLES FOR ENGLISH MEDIUM CLASSES

## (i) Grade I

FIRST FIVE WEEKS								
TIME IN MINUTES	15	30	30	30	15	30	30	30
DAY 1	ASSEMBLY	ENG. LANGUAGE	ARITHMETIC	ZAMB. LANGUAGES	BREAK	ENG. LANGUAGE	READING	RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
DAY 2				READING			ZAMB. LANGUAGES	CURRENT AFFAIRS
DAY 3				RELIGIOUS EDUCATION			P.E.	CURRENT AFFAIRS
DAY 4				ZAMB. LANGUAGES			READING	RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
DAY 5				READING			ZAMB. LANGUAGES	CURRENT AFFAIRS

		REMAINDER OF YEAR			
TIME IN MINUTES		15	30	30	30
DAY 1		READING 1 HR.			
DAY 2		READING	HAND WRITING	C.A. 45 MINS.	
DAY 3		READING	P.E.	ENG. LANGUAGE	
DAY 4		READING			
DAY 5		READING	HAND WRITING	C.A. 45 MINS.	
		BREAK			
		HAND WRITING	ZAMB. LANG.	RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	
		ZAMB. LANGUAGES	ZAMB. LANG.	ZAMB. LANGUAGES	
		ZAMB. LANGUAGES	ZAMB. LANGUAGES	ZAMB. LANGUAGES	
		ARITHMETIC			
		ENG. LANGUAGE			
		ASSEMBLY			
		RELIGIOUS EDUCATION			





(iii) Grades III & IV

TIME IN MINUTES	15	30	30	30	15	30	30	30
DAY 1	ASSEMBLY							
	READING 45 MINS.	HAND WRITING	LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE	BREAK			30
DAY 2	ZAMB. LANGUAGES 45 MINS.	HAND WRITING	LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE	ARITHMETIC			ZAMB. LANGUAGES
DAY 3	LANGUAGE	READING	RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	P.E.			SOCIAL STUDIES
DAY 4	LANGUAGE	HAND WRITING	ZAMB. LANGUAGES 45 MINS.	ZAMB. LANGUAGES 45 MINS.	READING			RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
DAY 5	READING	P.E.	ZAMB. LANGUAGES	ZAMB. LANGUAGES	SINGING			SOCIAL STUDIES
					LANGUAGE			

## APPENDIX 12:B

## WALL PICTURES: GRADES I-IV

	<i>Serial Number</i>	
Grade I (10 pictures)	1	Outdoor Scene (Man on a bicycle, school, bus, etc.)
	2	Classroom Scene
	3	Animals I (monkey, zebra, leopard, etc.)
	4	Market Stands
	5	Fruit and Vegetables
	6	Market Tradesmen (carpenter, etc.)
	7	Animals II (crocodile, giraffe, buffalo, etc.)
	8	Insects
	9	The Garden (Men digging, watering, etc.)
	10	Street Scene
Grade II (9 pictures)	11	Strip Story 1. - Mulenga kicks the ball
	12	The Bus Station
	13	The Hospital
	14	Strip Story 2. - Kalulu and Hippo
	15	Village
	16	Strip Story 3. - A swim in the River
	17	The Game Park
Grade III (9 pictures)	18	A football Match
	19	Strip Story 4. - Kalulu and Hyena
	20	Strip Story 5. - Adventure in the Game Park
	21	The Bicycle (Road Safety Council)
	22	Strip Story 6. - Kalulu and the Monkey
	23	The Railway Station
	24	The Airport
	25	Strip Story 7
	26	The Boma
	27	The House
Grade IV (7 pictures)	28	Strip Story 8.
	29	Finding the Way
	30	Mining
	31	Victoria Falls
	32	The Farm
	33	Local Industry
	34	The Lakeside
	35	The Harbour

## APPENDIX 12:C

## TIME TABLE FOR UPPER PRIMARY ENGLISH

First Day	Lesson 1	Speechwork; <i>Oral Language</i> ; Language Activities
	Lesson 2	<i>Supplementary Reading</i>
Second Day	Lesson 3	Speechwork; <i>Oral Language</i> ; Language Activities
	Lesson 4	<i>Preparation for Reading</i>
Third Day	Lesson 5	Speechwork; <i>Supplementary Reading</i>
	Lesson 6	<i>Reading</i>
Fourth Day	Lesson 7	Speechwork; <i>Reading</i> ; Writing Activities
	Lesson 8	<i>Controlled Writing</i>
Fifth Day	Lesson 9	Speechwork; <i>Controlled Writing</i> ; Writing Activities
	Lesson 10	<i>Supplementary Reading</i>

The main or sole activity in each lesson is in italics.

Upper Primary classes have eleven periods for English on their time tables. It is hoped that it will be possible to use this eleventh period for listening to radio broadcasts aimed specifically at these classes.

APPENDIX 12:D

PROPOSED RATE OF INTRODUCTION OF THE N.Z.P.C.: ZAMBIAN  
LANGUAGE MATERIALS IN SCHOOLS

Two alternative plans are shown, of which plan (ii) has been approved by the Ministry of Education. Asterisks show the year when this course was due to be ready for all the schools in the country.

(i)

<i>Languages</i>	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
	1	1	1*			
		2	2*			
Nyanja and Tonga	GRADES		3	3*		
			4	4*		
				5	5*	
				6	6*	
					7*	
		1	1*			
			2	2*		
Bemba Kaonde	GRADES		3	3*		
Lozi				4	4*	
Lunda				5	5*	
Luvale					6	6*
					7	7*

(ii)

<i>Languages</i>	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
	1	1	1*			
		2	2*			
Nyanja and Tonga	GRADES		3	3*		
			4	4*		
				5	5*	
				6	6*	
					7*	
		1	1*			
			2*			
Bemba Kaonde	GRADES		3	3*		
Lozi			4	4*		
Lunda				5	5*	
Luvale				6	6*	
					7*	

## 13 ENGLISH AND ZAMBIAN LANGUAGES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Sirarpi Ohannessian

### 1.0 *Introduction*

At the secondary level, perhaps more than at any other, language policy in education is directly related to the immediate manpower needs of Zambia. At independence the country's supply of people with school certificate qualifications was very limited, and a substantial proportion of its few graduates, according to Mwanakatwe (p. 58), were teachers in secondary schools. The demand created by independence in 1964 for qualified Zambians to fill positions opening up in the new government as well as the private sector was overwhelming. The very rapid expansion of the secondary school system to satisfy this demand, in addition to curriculum changes necessary to meet new needs, and the absorption of already qualified Zambians into new positions left secondary schools very heavily dependent on expatriate personnel. Two of the most urgent needs of the country, therefore, were to increase the supply of Zambians with secondary and higher education, and to train Zambian teachers for secondary schools. The present chapter will be concerned with the role and teaching of English and Zambian languages at this level.

Zambian secondary education spans five years, Forms I to V. There were about 113 secondary schools in Zambia in 1970, but only about 95 had the full five forms. (Some only went to Form I or II.) In general schools were patterned after the academic type of secondary school in Britain known as "Grammar School". There were two secondary technical schools. Attention to technical education was increasing with a number of secondary schools offering commercial, technical and other subjects in 1970. (Sixty-one secondary schools were offering technical subjects; 65 commercial; 47 agricultural science; and 68 homecraft subjects. See *Zambia Daily Mail* Dec. 3 1970.) Also after the pattern of British schools, there was a great deal of "streaming", that is, grouping pupils into classes according to ability, so that a school might have several (as many as 10 in the lower forms) "streams" to a "form", depending on facilities, staff and numbers. Up to 1970 Form II had been the cut-off point where pupils sat for the Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination, but from 1971 this was to be taken in Form III. This examination was both a means of selecting those that could pro-

ceed to the senior secondary school and a qualification for purposes of jobs and salaries. Many Zambians outside the school system worked towards it.

Estimates of requirements for Zambians with secondary education for the decade 1970-80 are given in *Zambian Manpower* (Report from the office of the Vice-President) (Govt. Printer, 1969). The following passage from the Foreword (p. v) shows the need for manpower as seen then:

... In order to replace non-Zambian workers and to meet the employment requirements of the economy, secondary school enrolments, which totalled about 14,000 at Independence, must rise to 109,000 by 1980. Technical schools and other specialised post-secondary institutions must also achieve enormous expansion. The University of Zambia, which opened its doors only in 1966, must be producing more than 1,000 graduates per year by 1980 if economic independence is to be attained at any reasonable date.

The occupations requiring secondary education (less than Form III, Form III, Form V and higher) expected to open for Zambians in 1971-80 including professional and technical people, administrators and managers, clerical workers, sales workers, manual workers, and service workers. A total of about 321,000 jobs in these areas was expected to open up for Zambians during the decade (p. 39). Primary and secondary teachers and educational administrators would form a substantial proportion (about 40%) of the professional and technical group. The report estimates that by 1980 about 4,400 secondary school teachers and well over 1,000 post-secondary teachers will be needed (p. 25). According to the same report (p. 41):

The most serious problem encountered in the rapid expansion of secondary school enrolment has been to maintain the supply of teachers. Output of Zambian secondary teachers has been negligible so far, and it will not be until 1971 that a substantial contribution is made by local institutions.

The report had estimated that in 1970 the number of Zambian teachers produced at UNZA would be 13 and at Kabwe (renamed Kwame Nkrumah Teacher's College) 65 (p. 44). In actual fact they were 11 and 34, respectively. A second TTC for secondary teachers was still in the planning stage in 1970. It was expected to open in 1974 with 150 students. The report also estimated that by 1975 some 1,400 teachers would have been prepared by UNZA, Kabwe and the second TTC, and that during that same year the number being prepared by all three institutions would have reached just over 400. With reservations about such estimates, and admitting optimism, the report anticipates full

Zambianization to be achieved in 1980 with a total stock of some 4,350 Zambian teachers (p. 44).

At the pace that seemed in effect in 1970 these estimates did not look very realistic. In that year Kabwe was unable to fill even 100 of its possible 150 places with suitable candidates. Although the supply of people with Form V education was increasing (3,250 in 1969; 5,500 in 1970), demand from other sectors was not likely to diminish, and a new college might not find it easier than Kabwe to attract candidates. University graduates, even those with education majors, did not necessarily go into teaching. (See Chapter 16 for later developments.)

Given this situation, it seems likely that Zambia will be dependent on expatriate secondary teachers for some time to come. As has been pointed out, during 1970 expatriates formed nearly 90% of the total teaching force of over 2,400 in schools run by the Government and all other agencies. Turnover in expatriate staff was very high. In a study entitled *An Enquiry into Staffing and Organisation of Secondary Schools in Zambia*, J. Elliot of UNZA reports ample evidence that staff turnover in most schools was "... alarmingly high, a state of affairs which is seen in sharpest relief when pupils find themselves with perhaps several different teachers of mathematics, English and history in one year" (p. 63). He cites D. P. Stannard (1970) (also of UNZA) as having put the contract renewal rates for expatriates at 10% in Government and 20% in aided schools (p. 97). From his own interviews with a small sample of about 40 expatriate teachers Elliot reports that 17% indicated they intended to renew their contracts, 56% that they did not, and 27% were undecided (p. 66). This is, of course, a statement of intent, rather than actual fact. (Expatriates were being assigned to contract rather than permanent posts in 1970.)

Expatriates also formed a fairly large proportion of the administrative personnel in secondary education during 1970. Of 94 schools on which the Survey was able to get information in this regard, 71 (or 75%) had heads who were non-Zambian. A substantial proportion of the secondary school Inspectorate at headquarters in Lusaka was also non-Zambian during 1970; the Chief Inspector of Schools, who was an expatriate, being replaced by a Zambian during that year. Thus, although Zambianization was being gradually achieved in the more responsible positions in the Ministry of Education and in the administrative positions in schools, the need for qualified Zambians for teaching posts in secondary schools and for responsible positions in the educational system continued to be very great.

Expatriate teachers, as stated before, were recruited from a wide variety of countries but the medium through which they taught all subjects was English, as were the texts, the language of examinations, and most reference materials. Even when, outside the school system, training

was provided in a specific area, such as in the Air Force (and airlines) by Italians, the language of instruction was English. "With English the official language, and most advanced education and training offered only in English, it is highly essential for young Zambians to achieve proficiency in English early in life", says the report on *Zambian Manpower* (p. 32). This role that English has in education in general is reflected in the relative attention given to its teaching vis-à-vis that of Zambian languages in secondary schools. The following pages will try to describe both briefly.

## 2.0 *The Teaching of English*

### 2.1 *Advantages*

Motivation to learn English is very high in Zambia. As previous sections of this volume have indicated, English is the avenue to practically all advancement, and its high prestige at virtually all levels of Zambian society is such that even the least educated aspire to master it (and seem to take every opportunity to display what knowledge they may possess of it). This is one of the major factors that favor the successful teaching of English in Zambian secondary schools, but there are others.

A large proportion of those who teach English (in 1970) are either mother-tongue speakers of the language or have near-native command of it. A number of them have been specially trained for the task in the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PCE) program at the University of Zambia or have been trained to teach English to non-English speakers elsewhere. One important factor that reinforces the teaching of English is that other subjects are taught through it as a medium by a large proportion of secondary teachers who are either native speakers of English or have a very good command of the language. In a sense all teachers in Zambia are teachers of English, but the fact that pupils are exposed to constant communicative interaction with native speakers of a number of varieties of English is a great advantage for English teaching.

In addition to these factors, Zambia has a fairly high percentage of English speaking residents (decreased in number since Independence but still substantial). Most expatriates who are speakers of other languages can communicate in English or learn to do so, some very efficiently. The desegregation of schools since 1964 has meant that a number of schools still have a nucleus of English speaking European children who, though again drastically decreased in numbers, provide informal models of the language. In addition, Zambia has a considerable number of Asian children who are said to be using English increasingly. The fact that much of the public life of the country is conducted through English; the fact that television (1970) is broadcast entirely in English; that there



are more radio broadcasts in English than in any other language; and that reading materials — newspapers, magazines, comics, and books — are more easily available in English than any other language, are all factors that contribute to the exposure of school children to English, and hence make teaching it easier (see Chapter 7).

## 2.2 *Difficulties*

There are, however, a number of circumstances that are not so favorable to the teaching of English. One of these is the very rapid turnover of staff, especially expatriate staff, already discussed at the beginning of this chapter. A very high percentage of English teachers are expatriate, and rapid turnover among them seems particularly unfortunate for language teaching, which perhaps needs more sustained attention from teachers than other subjects. Apart from problems that may result from frequent changes of approach and accent with succeeding teachers, it means that it will be far more difficult to focus attention on the particular problems and special needs of individual pupils.

Another very serious problem faced by secondary schools was the extremely poor English of some of the pupils coming into Form I from primary schools. Reference was made in Chapter 11 to the inadequate English of teachers in the Upper Primary grades and to the dated materials used in these grades. Although the New Zambia Primary Course (NZPC renamed *Zambia Primary Course*) was in its fifth year of implementation, as yet only about 60% of Grade I (and less in every succeeding grade) were being taught through it in 1970. There were, of course, some primary schools that had good results without NZPC, but in general it was expected that at least for the next 8–10 years, albeit in decreasing numbers, substantial numbers of children would enter Form I with inadequate English.

## 2.3 *Solutions*

In the meantime, to find a solution to the problem of poor English among Form I entrants, some secondary schools (with guidance from the *Inspectorate*) were organizing remedial “crash” courses in English for the first few weeks of their Form I classes. In 1970 about 35 schools, or roughly one third of the schools of the entire country were running such courses. In theory these courses were given in the first six weeks of term, but delays in the arrival of materials and other factors often reduced this time. All, or almost all school time in these first weeks was given over to English, and all teachers of Form I were involved in the project.

Since these “crash” courses took place at the beginning of the school

year (when the Survey itself started and ended) it was not easy to arrange for observation of classes. The limited time at the disposal of the Survey also precluded any attempt at a systematic study of the teaching of English in secondary schools. The following pages are based in part on observation by the writer of a number of classes in various parts of the country, in part on attendance at meetings of the English Advisory Panel at the Ministry of Education and in part on written sources and discussions with teachers and administrators.

By 1972 much had changed in Zambian secondary schools, scarcely any of the old textbooks being in use, and hardly any of the pre-independence teachers any longer being in secondary schools. However, in 1970 English teaching in some secondary schools still appeared to bear a few traces of the influence of the country's recent colonial history. This probably emanated both from Zambia's former historical ties with the south and from the first-language oriented example of the privileged and prestigious schools in which non-African English-speaking children were educated in the pre-independence dual system of education. It was not till after independence, particularly with the desegregation of schools, when sizeable numbers of African children began to enter the "scheduled" schools, that the special linguistic problems of non-English speaking pupils appear to have received any special attention.

In 1965, when the English Medium Scheme was being set up for primary schools, the Government of Zambia invited a British specialist, John A. Bright, who had had experience in Eastern Africa, to act as consultant for the teaching of English in secondary schools. As a result of his visit a more second-language oriented approach was adopted, and with his collaboration the Inspectorate produced in 1966, and widely distributed among secondary schools, *A Handbook for the Guidance of English Teachers in the Secondary School*. The *Handbook*, apparently intended for expatriate teachers (especially those in the ex-European schools), attempted to provide some orientation for teaching in a new, integrated situation. It gives information and advice on cultural and linguistic matters and on classroom behavior and procedures. It contains a considerable amount of information on interference problems from Zambian languages (specially at the phonological level, including stress and intonation). It embodies a great deal of practical advice on general approach, teaching procedures, particularly such things as conducting aural training and oral work and work on vocabulary and structures, composition, reading, and so on. A bibliography, "Books Recommended for the Consideration of Teachers of English as a Second Language in Secondary Schools", concentrates on British sources in this field and makes no mention of American works.

The establishment of the PCE course at the School of Education at UNZA, and the appointment of specialist staff to the faculty at the

School of Education were factors in giving attention to the problems of pupils who did not speak English as a mother tongue. However, although there had been considerable turnover of English teachers in the country in the last few years before 1970, and substantial numbers of specialists had either been trained or hired, the notion of teaching English as though it were the mother tongue of pupils still persisted in some classes.

#### 2.4 *The English Language Interim Syllabus*

As the culminating examination for secondary school work, Zambia continued with the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate for English till 1969, when a switch was made to the East African English Examination. In the same year, 1969, an Advisory Panel on the Teaching of English was set up by the Ministry of Education with the purpose of drawing up a syllabus for English in secondary schools. At the time the Survey started its work early in 1970, this syllabus was introduced into schools as the *English Language Interim Syllabus for Secondary Forms I-V*, and as such became "mandatory on all secondary schools as laying down general lines, much of the detail and the method for the teaching of English language" (p. 1).

The new Syllabus, although it incorporated much that was in the 1966 *Handbook* was more extensive and specific. Various parts of it were divided into five stages, roughly corresponding to Forms I to V, but with the assumption that pupils and "streams" should not move up to the next stage until the previous one had been mastered. Different aspects of language such as reading, writing, and oral work were set out in considerable detail, with specific steps. For example, in Composition, Stage One is "Reproduction" which has steps 1-16. Each step is provided with (a) the form in which the original material is presented to pupils (e.g. a simple story which is read, a picture, a dictated passage), (b) the form of control (e.g. pupils are asked to copy a passage, fill in blanks, answer given questions, fill in a skeleton story, etc.), and (c) the grammar with which the work is linked (e.g. the articles "a" and "the"; simple past and past continuous tenses; the "had" tense; uncountable nouns; relative clauses; and so on. Oral work (including work on stress and intonation) was given considerable attention. Each part of the syllabus had a variety of recommended texts, sometimes with detailed information on the actual chapters or pages where the information on various points was available.

Two features of the syllabus should perhaps be noted. The first is the concentrated attention given to reading. According to Gordon McGregor, who devotes two chapters to the subject in *English for Education?* (1968), reading "is the most important activity in the secondary school English course" (p. 36). The *English Language Interim Syllabus* considers that

about 50% of the pupils' time can justifiably be devoted to it. "It is the main way of encountering and consolidating knowledge of words and structures. A massive exposure to the printed word is a powerful substitute for the flow of speech that pours into the ear of the native speaker from birth" (p. 25). In addition to formal work on reading, each class was expected to have a collection of some 40 or more books in its "class library" with due regard to range and ability of pupils. Each pupil was expected to read 30 books a "stage" in addition to which he could borrow books from the school library. Although the Inspectorate, with advice from the Advisory Panel, generally suggested and provided these books, the list was usually open to other suggestions from teachers, provided the books were easily available.

The second feature of the syllabus, "Literature in English", which was an optional subject leading to the study of set books for School Certificate, may also be of interest. It was based on an extensive list of works — poetry, drama, prose — many of which were by African authors, or had an African setting. Also included were works by such authors as Steinbeck, Heyerdahl, Schweitzer, Orwell, Shaw, and Shakespeare. The syllabus particularly stresses to the expatriate teacher that the aim here is ". . . to make literature, as an activity, relevant to the circumstances and needs of today". It goes on to say (obviously to expatriates) about African literature:

Some teachers will find it easier to teach in the context of the books that they know. But this is the easy way out. Just as the biology teacher has to look for local examples of what he teaches, using local flora and fauna as his base, so must the literature teacher, above all in the early stages, base most of his work on literature closely related to the African background.

The English Advisory Panel continued its activities during 1970 and the writer, as a member of the Survey team, was invited to attend its meetings. Under the chairmanship of the Inspectorate, the Panel was actively involved in questions of methodology, text selection, recommendation of books for reading, staffing, broadcasting, the progress of the remedial "crash" course and so on. With its members including representatives of the University, the Inspectorate, the Curriculum Development Centre, Kabwe TTC, Evelyn Hone College of Further Education, as well as secondary schools, the Panel also provided a common ground for the exchange of information and kept the various institutions in touch with one another. In the brief time the Survey had, it was unfortunately not easy to assess the impact of the many activities of the Panel on the actual teaching situation, and to judge how effectively the syllabus and its other recommendations were being followed.

## 2.5 *Teaching Methods*

The range of quality in English among pupils in secondary schools and the diversity of ability and approach among teachers make it difficult to offer any general statement on methods of English teaching being used in Zambia, since what seemed to be satisfactory in one class did not always appear to be effective in another. Thus, although most classes needed some of the careful pronunciation exercises in the hearing and producing of English sound contrasts which the writer observed in one class, the need varied very greatly from school to school.

The writer was able to see some excellent teaching both in the well-known secondary schools of Zambia (e.g. Munali, Canisius, Kabulonga) and in the less well-known schools, some in the depths of the country. These teachers were able to adapt their teaching to their classes. One, for instance, whose pupils knew enough English to be interested in the niceties of language use, was stressing variety of vocabulary in a specific situation, eliciting some of the information, providing the rest and obtaining lively interest and response from the whole class. Good teaching was not confined to teachers for whom English was a mother tongue. One of the best lessons observed was given by a Scandinavian whose English sounded near, but not quite native, and who used second-language teaching techniques with great success, seeing trouble spots as they arose, providing a clear model, eliciting enough varied responses for repetition without resorting to very mechanical and dry drills, seeing that pupils both understood and were able to produce the language required and keeping interest alive through variation of activity. There were many classes in which teachers showed ingenuity, liveliness and interest, with apparently very good results. However, such teaching was not uniform in schools, and it was possible to observe far less satisfactory teaching in the same schools where excellent lessons had been observed.

In a number of classes, a great deal of the teaching appeared to be not so much directed toward helping pupils master some aspect of the English language as with occupying their time with some quiet activity related to English. Teachers often seemed to expect language behavior that was neither taught nor demonstrated nor apparently learned previously. There was a great deal of routine following of textbooks, with some explanation and much time devoted to the exercises provided by the textbook, especially written exercises. On the whole very little attempt seemed to be made to help pupils internalize the language behavior that was expected of them in a language different from their own. In one class, for instance, pairs of words such as "badge" and "barge" were given and pupils were asked to produce sentences with them, with no explanation from the teacher. Since these words present

exactly the type of sound differences Zambians find difficult to distinguish, it seemed a pity that the opportunity was not being used to help pupils hear the difference and to check their understanding of meanings based on sound discrimination rather than spelling. The number of English lessons observed was relatively small, but the proportion of instances in which help or explanation was not provided on specific points was, in comparison, high.

A general assessment of the success of English teaching in Zambia may, however, be reflected in the results of School Certificate Examinations. These seem to indicate that teaching has, on the whole, been satisfactory. According to information submitted to the Survey by the English Inspectorate, results in English Language School Certificate for 1968 and 1969, which are shown in Table 1, reveal that the failure rate is only about one quarter, and that over one third of those who sat for the examinations obtained credit in English.

Table 13.1: Results of English Language School Certificate Examinations for 1968 and 1969.

	<i>Credit</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Fail</i>
1968 (for 1,515 candidates out of approximately 1,900)	41.6%	31.4%	27.0%
1969 (for all 3,089 candidates)	39.3%	39.9%	21.8%

The general impressions gained of the teaching of English in Zambian secondary schools was of varying ability among pupils and an unevenness of teacher ability to adapt approaches to the specific needs of given classes and pupils. It seems evident that a flexible approach and careful preparation of teachers will be needed in the future. As numbers of expatriate teachers decline, special attention will be necessary to the preparation of Zambian teachers who have the double problem of learning the language well and adapting methods of teaching it to classes of varying ability. A number of the teachers who seemed to need help in these directions were Zambians.

In 1970 the Curriculum Development Centre was planning to extend the NZPC into secondary school teaching. Such a course would have specially prepared materials not only for English but for the various subjects taught through it as a medium and for Zambian languages. Plans were being discussed for the appointment of appropriate specialists in the expansion of the course.

### 3.0 *The Teaching of Zambian Languages*

The shortage of Zambian teachers for all subjects at the secondary

level described in the introduction to this chapter had important implications for the teaching of Zambian languages. The following passage from Mwanakatwe in 1968 (p. 137) shows how he saw it.

One unhappy development in recent years is the decline in the status of vernacular languages in secondary schools. With the opening up of many secondary schools since independence, it has become unavoidable to staff new secondary schools with only expatriate teachers who are of course not able to teach vernacular languages to students. Consequently, the status of vernacular languages in these schools has been lowered and pupils who study them in preparation for the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations consider them as easy options from which they will eventually derive very little benefit. The scornful or indifferent attitude of students to the study of their own vernacular languages in secondary schools reveals their ignorance concerning the basis of their culture. Unless boys and girls continue to study, wherever possible, native languages offered in secondary schools, the basis for national pride and self-confidence will be undermined in the young generation. Therefore, the Ministry of Education has a responsibility to restore the image of vernacular languages in the secondary school curriculum. In any secondary school where a local teacher on the staff is qualified to teach Silozi, Chinyanja, Chitonga or Chibemba, students should be compelled to study the local language in preparation for the Junior Secondary or Cambridge School Certificate Examinations. Secondly, there is an urgent need for the Ministry of Education to formulate a scheme to upgrade suitably qualified upper primary school teachers to teach vernacular languages in secondary schools. The University's Institute of Education should be competent to advise on the formulation of a suitable scheme for training teachers of local languages in secondary schools, provided that the Ministry's needs and objectives are identified properly.

The situation in 1970 was essentially the same. Although the intention of the Ministry of Education was ultimately to make the teaching of Zambian languages compulsory in secondary schools, they continued to be optional, and many schools did not offer them at all. This was not only true in the large urban areas such as the city of Lusaka where no secondary school offered them, but it was not uncommon to visit schools in the depths of the country and find no Zambian language being taught at all. The usual reason given was the acute shortage of Zambian teachers. In schools where these languages were taught, sometimes teachers from neighboring primary schools were employed or teachers with few academic qualifications (e.g., needlework or woodwork instructors) were assigned the task. Although these procedures did

direct some measure of attention to these languages, they did not really solve the problem. Schools sometimes allowed their pupils to sit for examinations in these languages with no previous instruction in them. Opportunities to observe their teaching therefore were very limited for purposes of the Survey.

In order to gain some understanding of the problems and attitudes related to the teaching of Zambian languages in secondary schools, the Survey conducted two special studies. The first was concerned with prospective Zambian teachers for secondary school currently being trained at The Teachers' College Kabwe, and the second with all Zambian teachers employed in secondary schools during the 1970 academic year. The first of these studies described separately in the next chapter, Chapter 14. Information from the second is included in this chapter and the next. The following paragraphs attempt to provide a brief outline of the general situation in the teaching of these languages.

### 3.1 *General Situation in 1970*

Examinations in Zambian languages were given at two levels in secondary schools, first, at the completion of the junior secondary school and later at the completion of the senior secondary school. The first was a national examination set by the Ministry of Education, and the second an external examination set by the Cambridge Syndicate.

Four languages – Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga – could be offered for the Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination. The examination did not appear to present a great challenge since by far the largest majority of those who took it passed, often with distinction. In 1969 of the 14,000 who sat for it in one of the four languages, the average pass rate for each language was 90%. A number of people considered the examination too easy and advocated making it more difficult to pass, but this was opposed by others who maintained that pupils would not take it at all if they could not pass it with relative ease.

In 1970, in preparation for the new Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination, which was to be taken in Form III the following year, a common outline syllabus for these four languages was being worked out under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. (This work was still continuing in 1972.) The respective Zambian Language Committees were asked to prepare a separate syllabus in each of the four languages and were empowered to circulate them to schools as an indication of the general lines along which the teaching of these languages should proceed, and to serve as teaching syllabuses for Forms I to III. The Form III examination was to be in two parts. The first (one hour) was to be devoted to free composition and the second part (two hours) had the following components: comprehension and grammar; translation (into



the Zambian language from English); summary; and literature and proverbial expressions. Set books were agreed on for all four languages.

At the Form V level Zambian languages were an alternative to French and only two of them, Bemba and Nyanja, could be offered for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination as yet. (Lozi and Tonga were expected to be offered as soon as the Cambridge Syndicate made a decision.) The new examination for 1971 was to be based on a new form of the Swahili examination that was being adopted by the East African Examinations Board. Cambridge was expected to approve the papers and embody the results in the Certificate. The examination was to have parts devoted to composition, comprehension, summary type questions on a passage, a translation from English into the Zambian language, and questions (which could be of a subjective type) to test knowledge of correct structures of the language. There were five set books for each language and the examination was expected to have questions on these.

The outlines of the examinations for both Forms III and V were worked out in English. Except for the set books, the linguistic content both for the examination and the teaching preparatory to it was left to the Zambian Language Committees, teachers, and those who set the papers. The intention of the Ministry was that information about the work and decisions of the different Zambian Language Committees should be made available to each other in order to establish common guidelines. The realities of the situation, however, as regards the availability of information and materials in the different languages may pose problems. (See Chapter 16 for their workings.)

Zambian language examinations in Forms III or V did not, in 1970, serve as criteria for selection for further secondary education or for university entrance. For such use to be made of them, it would be necessary to solve a number of problems, including the problem of achieving a substantial amount of "equivalence" between the various language examinations, a goal towards which the efforts of the Language Committees would, no doubt, be directed. If such comparability were achieved, and these examinations came to be required, it is possible that they, and the selected set books for them, would be factors in bringing about some measure of standardization in these languages. The same would, of course, apply to examinations in all seven official languages at the Grade VII level which were mentioned in Chapter 11.

As alternatives to French at the School Certificate level Zambian languages were considered a "soft option". Neither students nor their teachers appeared to regard them as having high academic status. In the study of the backgrounds of Zambian secondary school teachers in 113 schools of the entire country referred to above, of the 71 schools that answered the questionnaires and had Zambian teachers

(18 others that responded had none), only 40 claimed to teach these languages. Of these 10 were in "large towns". In this category were included schools in towns in the more industrial or mixed areas such as the Copperbelt and towns on the line-of-rail. These ranged from Lusaka (population 238,200) to Kalulushi (population 24,300) and included Kitwe, Ndola, Livingstone, Luanshya and Mufulira. The largest number of schools, 19, were in "small towns", a category indicating towns generally in the provinces including Chipata, the largest (population 13,300); Monze; Sesheke; Solwezi; Petauke; and Zambezi. The remaining 11 schools were in country areas. Many more schools than the 40 that said they were teaching these languages allowed their pupils to sit for examinations in them. Some schools allowed their pupils to sit for exams with no help at all, some provided them with textbooks and syllabuses but offered no instruction in them. A few details from the above study may illustrate the situation.

Table 2 shows the distribution of pupils who were preparing to take the School Certificate and Junior Secondary School Leaving examinations in all nine regions. A breakdown of the schools that prepared them for these examinations and the schools that entered pupils for them is given in Tables 3 and 4.

Although numbers of both schools and pupils are small, it should be remembered that the picture represents nearly 80% of the secondary schools of Zambia during 1970. (Some schools had several Zambian staff who filled out the questionnaires, and the numerical information they provided varied occasionally. Discretion had to be used in taking the most probable, but differences in general were very small.) The totals of pupils taking the examinations at the two levels show that many more were preparing to sit for the examinations at the Form II level than at the School Certificate level. Only six of the 40 schools teaching Zambian languages taught them in Forms I through V. There was a large variety of patterns in the rest, ranging from teaching only in Form I to teaching in all five. Most schools taught only one Zambian language: that approved for primary schools in the region. Very occasionally two languages were taught. This was the case in the only school in the Lusaka region teaching a Zambian language, a country school which taught both Nyanja and Bemba in Form II. Another case was in Livingstone where both Lozi and Tonga were being taught in one school.

### 3.2 *Problems and Suggested Solutions*

The most serious problem in 1970 was that there were no training programs for teachers of Zambian languages either at the University of Zambia or the Teachers' College, Kabwe, though both institutions had plans to offer such programs the following year. The University offered

Table 13.2: Distribution of pupils preparing to take examinations in Zambian languages.

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Lusaka</i>	<i>Kabwe</i>	<i>Northern</i>	<i>Copperbelt</i>	<i>Western</i>	<i>Southern</i>	<i>Luapula</i>	<i>North-western</i>	<i>Eastern</i>	<i>Totals</i>
<i>Approved language for primary schools</i>	<i>(Nyanja)</i>	<i>(Bemba)</i>	<i>(Bemba)</i>	<i>(Bemba)</i>	<i>(Lozi)</i>	<i>(Tonga Lozi)</i>	<i>(Bemba)</i>	<i>(Lunda Luvale Kaonde)</i>	<i>(Nyanja)</i>	
<i>Pupils preparing to take School Certificate Examination in:</i>										
Nyanja	3	7	1	5	—	—	—	—	300	316
Bemba	4	77	377	457	—	—	231	—	—	1,146
Totals	7	84	378	462	—	—	231	—	300	1,462
<i>Pupils preparing for Form II Examination in:</i>										
Bemba	13	384	780	1,369	3	—	599	—	2	3,150
Lozi	1	2	—	1	1,374	50	—	—	1	1,429
Nyanja	56	5	—	2	2	—	—	—	946	1,011
Tonga	2	7	—	—	3	603	—	—	—	615
Totals	72	398	780	1,372	1,382	653	599	—	949	6,205
<i>Total number of pupils preparing for Zamb. Lang. Examinations</i>										
	79	482	1,158	1,834	1,382	653	830	—	1,249	7,667
<i>Total number of pupils in all 71 schools</i>										
	1,163	3,661	3,517	8,757	4,542	5,691	2,484	1,793	2,733	34,341

Table 13:3: Secondary schools – Showing teaching of Zambian languages and entering pupils for examinations in them at School Certificate level.

Regions	Lusaka	Kabwe	Northern	Copperbelt	Western	Southern	Luapula	North-western	Eastern	Totals
Approved language for primary schools	(Nyanja)	(Bemba)	(Bemba)	(Bemba)	(Lozi)	(Tonga Lozi)	(Bemba)	(Lunda Luvale Kaonde)	(Nyanja)	
Schools teaching Zambian languages at least in Form V	—	1	6	7	—	—	3	—	6	23
Schools that enter pupils for School Certificate examination in Bemba and Nyanja	1	1	7	13	—	—	4	—	6	41

Table 13:4: Secondary schools – Showing teaching of Zambian languages and entering pupils for examinations in them for the Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination (Form II in 1970).

Regions	Lusaka	Kabwe	Northern	Copperbelt	Western	Southern	Luapula	North-western	Eastern	Totals
Approved language for primary schools	(Nyanja)	(Bemba)	(Bemba)	(Bemba)	(Lozi)	(Tonga Lozi)	(Bemba)	(Lunda Luvale Kaonde)	(Nyanja)	
Schools that teach Zambian languages in Forms I or II	1	—	5	5	6	8	1	—	4	26
Schools that enter pupils for examination at JSSL level	1	4	7	11	9	8	4	—	6	44

no courses in Zambian languages at the undergraduate level either, so that there were no prospective secondary teachers being prepared for possible professional training later, but the School of Education was advertising for a specialist for its teacher training program. Kabwe had no Zambian staff in 1970, except for the Principal who was preparing a series of lectures to teach the course himself.

The need for the preparation of teachers for these languages in secondary schools had long been one of the areas of serious concern both for the Ministry of Education and the University of Zambia. However, the many urgent priorities among Zambia's varied needs (including such things as agriculture and medicine) had, as yet, prevented the country's very limited resources from being directed in any great measure to them, especially at the University of Zambia. Discussions at numerous formal and informal meetings, at many of which the writer was present, as well as records of discussions between members of the Ministry and UNZA at least as far back as 1968, indicated that a great deal of thought and attention had been directed towards problems in the teaching of these languages. Among the many suggestions that had been made before 1970, and were made during its course, the following few may show the breadth of concern that was evident:

- \* the establishment of a department of linguistics, courses in Zambian languages at the undergraduate level, and research in these languages at the University of Zambia
- \* recognition of "Ordinary" level passes in these languages for entrance to the University.
- \* teacher training programs at the School of Education at the University
- \* recruitment of appropriate personnel for the University
- \* teacher training programs at Kabwe TTC and recruitment of personnel for Kabwe
- \* development of syllabuses for teacher training
- \* preparation of suitable instructional materials
- \* encouragement of writers to produce materials in these languages
- \* a national coordinating body to decide on policy in the writing and presentation of various types of material in these languages
- \* intensive training for practicing teachers
- \* experimental programs in a few selected schools which already have teachers and programs
- \* the appointment of an Inspector of Zambian languages
- \* equal status with other subjects in secondary schools

As will be seen, this list of suggestions covers a broad range of problems and needs. Some of them are concerned with procedural matters in making the study and teaching of Zambian languages more effective

rather than with deeper issues. Some, though laudable, are not as yet easy to put into practice, as, for instance, the suggestion to provide intensive training to practicing secondary teachers. Given the present lack of information on Zambian languages, of materials in them, and the dearth of trained people to carry out such training effectively, the suggestion may not be feasible. Although the teaching of Zambian languages has been associated with the aim of providing Zambians with a sense of pride in their cultural heritage, and although this is accepted as the main aim for their teaching, perhaps one aspect of this matter that needs more attention is that of the specific aims for teaching Zambian languages in secondary schools, especially as these aims concern providing motivation and goals for young people to devote time and energy to them. What are some of the incentives for young Zambians to wish to excel in this field? What can they hope for through a knowledge of these languages?

### 3.3 *Conclusions*

It has been evident from this very brief account of the teaching of Zambian languages at the secondary level that in spite of obvious effort, concern and interest on the part of authorities, a great deal still remains to be done. In concluding this section it may strike a hopeful note to mention one of the few lessons in Zambian languages the writer was able to observe. It was a lesson in Lozi in the Western Province in a Form II class. Part of the activity was concerned with rendering into the plural a set of six sentences that the teacher put on the blackboard. What seemed noteworthy was not so much the exercise itself but the type of interest generated by the particular manner of the activity. Each change in each part of a sentence was first elicited from the pupils, discussed and compared with similar changes occurring in the other sentences. The children seemed amused, surprised, and interested in the emerging pattern and obviously enjoyed observing the behavior of the language that they themselves were providing. Neither the teacher nor the children could probably explain the grammatical rules that governed the concordial system which they were observing, but the whole exercise seemed indicative of the potential of lively intellectual interest and activity that could be directed to at least one aspect of Zambian languages, the study of their structure, when it becomes possible to direct the country's limited resources to such study not only in secondary schools but at the higher levels of education.

It seems appropriate to conclude this section with a reminder that other newly independent African countries with similar multilingual populations have faced many of the problems that Zambia faces. Below are given excerpts from an address by Dr. M. Dowuona, Commissioner

for Education in Ghana, to a Conference on the Study of Ghanaian Languages held at the University of Ghana, Legon, May 5-8, 1968 (Birnie and Ansre, 1969, pp. 2-4). Some of the parallels are obvious and Zambia may yet experience some of the other developments in Ghana. It should be pointed out that Ghana gained her independence in 1957, that the University of Ghana had existed since 1948, and that as early as 1930-31 Twi and Fante were accepted by the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate "as subjects of examination equivalent to other languages" (Birnie and Ansre, 1969, pp. 46-47). (Ga and Ewe were added 1933-35.)

It must be said to the credit of the Churches that their dominant role in the educational development of this country enabled them to exert some influence on language policy, and they persuaded the Educational Committees of the Government of the day to give a place to Ghanaian languages in the school curriculum. In 1927, for example, the official language policy of Ghana based on the recommendations of the *Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa* recognized what it described as "The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education."

The Committee recommended that education should begin in the vernacular of the child, which is reasonable and full of commonsense. But it made it quite clear that the teaching of English was also essential. In other words Ghanaian languages were to be used as media of instruction only in the initial stages, and should be replaced by English as soon as the child had settled down or had learnt enough English through oral lessons to be able to receive some instruction in English.

The nationalist of today may be critical of this approach, but it is difficult to see what else could have been done in a world which was getting smaller, a world which was and is developing fast in knowledge and material civilization, in which no one can share who cannot communicate in one or other of the languages which have achieved world ascendancy.

It is unnecessary for me to go into the subsequent history of Ghanaian languages in our schools and the various reviews of policy. It is sufficient to note that up to the time of Independence much encouragement was given to Ghanaian languages, at least as a subject of study in Training Colleges and Secondary Schools. Students in Training Colleges were then expected to pass the School Certificate examination in one Ghanaian Language of their choice. For teachers in the field, a Ghanaian Language was included in the efficiency Bar examination. When the mass education campaign was launched, a new Bureau of Ghana Languages became an obvious necessity for

producing newspapers and follow-up literature. But it must be noted, at the same time, that the not-so-old newly literates for practical reasons wanted to move on to English after acquiring literacy rather than continue with their mother tongue.

For a while it looked as if our languages had a bright future. Independence came, and an accelerated Development Plan for Education replaced the proposals contained in the Education Committee Report of 1937-41 and the recommendations set out in the 1944 *Memorandum on Language in African School Education*. The use of Ghanaian languages as media of instruction at least in the first three years of school gradually lapsed.

There was a new emphasis on English. Although the study of a Ghanaian language as a subject was retained, this new emphasis on English led to a gradual neglect of Ghanaian languages. The allocation of periods for these languages was progressively reduced in the upper rungs of the school ladder.

The reasons behind all these were partly political and partly practical. On the one hand, politicians striving for national unity, for the suppression of tribalism, for rapid industrialization and accelerated economic development, saw in Ghanaian languages a barrier to progress. On the other hand, the vast majority of the people themselves wanted to enter quickly into the new material civilization to which a knowledge of English provided one of the keys. Rapid development, it was felt, could be achieved through a knowledge of English, and new experiments in English as a medium of instruction right from the first year of school were begun in the so-called Experimental Schools. A true assessment of these schools has yet to be made . . .

With the coming of a new wave of interest in African Studies and the academic interest taken by our Universities in the study of our languages, I hope we can now have a fresh look at the problems posed by the present state of Ghanaian languages in Schools and Higher Institutions. The study of Ghanaian languages need no longer be done in isolation but the exact role they will play has still to be determined. At this point I should say candidly that the problem of the place of our indigenous languages in our educational system is typical of the dilemma facing many developing countries. As new countries drawn into the world milieu and obliged to play an effective role on the world stage, they are faced with the problem of how to achieve this without abandoning their inherited past. Their culture may be rich in many respects, but the question is: can it provide the means for advancement in a technological and industrial age where material achievements, however much decried, are held by the vast majority in high esteem? Here is a conflict between what may be considered the ideal, and what is desired by the majority. We have to



find a way of continuing with our cultural development while, at the same time, participating in current world developments.

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## 14 ZAMBIAN LANGUAGES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS IN TRAINING

Sirarpi Ohannessian

### 1.0 *Introduction*

It was pointed out in Chapter 13 that Zambian languages were on the whole a neglected part of the curriculum of secondary schools, and that the main reason given for this was the lack of teachers. Since more Zambian secondary teachers were prepared at the Teachers' College, Kabwe than at the University, the Survey, in consultation with the Ministry of Education, undertook to conduct a small study of the attitudes of Kabwe students regarding the teaching of Zambian languages. (The College has since been renamed Kwame Nkrumah Teachers' College.) The aim was to gain some understanding of the linguistic backgrounds of these prospective secondary teachers, how they regarded the problem in general, and the degree of their willingness to teach Zambian languages themselves. The information in Chapters 1 and 2 of this volume is of special significance as background to this study.

The Teachers' College, Kabwe, is situated some 85 miles north of Lusaka, on the Great North Road and on the line-of-rail, and is within easy reach of the University in Lusaka of which it was an affiliate college. Its direct ties were with the Institute of Education at the University which exercised authority over the College in such matters as the selection, appointment, and substantiation of staff, syllabuses, final examinations, and the certification of graduates. As has already been stated, in 1970 the University and Kabwe were the only institutions concerned with the preparation of secondary school teachers.

During 1970 the College was estimated to have a capacity of over 150 students, but in actual fact less than 100 were enrolled. (In 1973 it was expected to have 450.) The reason for this apparent under-use of the facilities of the College was the lack of suitable candidates who satisfied the entrance requirements. These included no condition of age but did require either five passes in School Certificate including English, or four credits including English.<sup>1</sup> In spite of great efforts on the part of the College, including visits to schools (some in remote areas) by College staff, it was found extremely difficult to attract sufficiently qualified applicants to fill its available places. The College competed not only with the University of Zambia for secondary graduates but with commerce and industry which seemed to have great capacity for absorbing

qualified Zambians.

It has already been pointed out that teaching is not generally considered to be an undesirable occupation in Zambia. In the article on occupational prestige ratings by R. E. Hicks referred to earlier (Chapter 11), Africans in Zambia rated high school teachers 14th in a possible scale of 118 (Europeans rated them 32nd) (pp. 206-10). In a study of practicing Zambian secondary school teachers conducted by the Survey during 1970, 124 (or 72%) of the 156 teachers who answered the question said that if they could start their education all over again, teaching would be the career they would prepare for. Of these 51 (or 41%) actually taught Zambian languages, whereas only 8 (or 25%) of the 32 who answered in the negative taught Zambian languages.

In 1970 Kabwe was a two-year college which prepared teachers for the lower secondary forms. It had 17 members of staff, all of whom were non-Zambian except the Principal. All but one were university graduates.

No courses were offered at Kabwe either in Zambian languages or in their teaching. (See the preceding chapter for a discussion of Zambian languages in secondary schools.) English, on the other hand, was taken by more first year and second year students than any other subject. Training was conducted through English. The English syllabus at the College had parts devoted to the language itself, to literature, to the teaching of English, and made provision for some research projects.<sup>2</sup> There was also a course entitled the Use of English, designed to improve the students' command of the language. All students were expected to take this course since they would be teaching other subjects through the medium of English.

## 2.0 *Background to Study*

The present study was carried out through a questionnaire which was administered at the College with the help of the English staff and was completed and returned by 76 of the 95 students at the College.<sup>3</sup> Of the remaining 19 students, eight were expatriate nuns whose responses would not have been relevant since their mother tongues were not African languages. The remaining 11 Zambian students were either absent when the questionnaires were filled out or chose not to turn in their replies. The study therefore is representative of about 87% of all Zambian students at Kabwe, the only secondary teacher training college in Zambia.

Of the 76 students that responded, 51 were in their first year of study and 25 in their second. There was a total of 57 male and 19 female students, indicating that, as in primary schools, the teaching profession seemed to attract more men than women in Zambia. The women at Kabwe were on the whole younger than the men. Table 1 shows the age range of male and female students.

Table 14:1: Age groups among students.

<i>Age range</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Under 18	—	1
19–22	30	18
23–30	25	—
Over 30	2	—
Total	57	19

It was pointed out in Chapter 11 of this volume that primary TTCs too found it difficult to find suitably qualified women among their applicants. The education of girls has, on the whole, lagged behind that of boys in Zambia. The younger age-group to which the women belong probably reflects their being more recent graduates of secondary schools than the men since there has been a lowering of age levels in the educational system in recent years.

### 2.1 *Students' Language Backgrounds and Competence*

Students were asked for information on their mother tongues, the language they spoke best at the time, and their own assessment of their competence in the seven officially taught Zambian languages in primary schools, that is, in Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja, and Tonga. Only four of these, Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja, and Tonga were taught in secondary schools, and only two, Bemba and Nyanja were offered for *School Certificate* in 1970. The mother tongues of the 76 students are shown in Table 2. Probably because the question regarding the language

Table 14:2: The mother tongues of students.

Bemba	21	Lungu	2
Tonga	18	Luchazi	1
Lozi	8	Lenje	1
Nyanja	6	Ngoni*	1
Shona	4	Nsenga	1
Tumbuka	4	Senga	1
Namwanga	3	Swaka	1
Kunda	1	Xhosa	1
Lala	2	Total	76

students currently spoke best was near the end of the questionnaire and came after their assessment of their own ability in the seven official Zambian languages, 53 students did not provide any information on it. However, 51 of them said "yes" to the question as to whether they still spoke their mother tongue best, and 19 said "no". Six did not reply even to this question.

Table 14:3: Mother tongues of students and their self-assessed knowledge of Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja, and Tonga.

Knowledge of languages	Mother tongues of students															Totals	%		
	Bemba	Kunda	Lala	Lenje	Lozi	Lungu	Namwanga	Ngoni	Nsenga	Nyanja	Senga	Shona	Swaka	Tonga	Tumbuka			Xhosa	Luchazi
<b>BEMBA</b>																			
No reply	1	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	9	2	-	1	24	
Very well	20	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	31	
Fairly well	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	3	1	-	-	10	
A little	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	5	-	1	-	11	
																		52	68.4%
<b>LOZI</b>																			
No reply	21	1	2	1	2	2	2	-	-	5	1	4	-	10	4	1	1	57	
Very well	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7	
Fairly well	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	7	
A little	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	5	
																		19	25.0%
<b>NYANJA</b>																			
No reply	8	-	1	1	5	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	1	25	
Very well	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	5	1	-	-	4	3	-	-	17	
Fairly well	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	7	1	1	-	16	
A little	8	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	18	
																		51	67.1%
<b>TONGA</b>																			
No reply	20	1	2	-	6	2	2	-	-	5	1	2	1	-	3	-	1	46	
Very well	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	18	-	-	-	19	
Fairly well	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	
A little	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	6	
																		30	39.5%

In assessing their own ability in the seven officially used Zambian languages, students were asked to indicate which of them they knew (a) very well, (b) fairly well, and (c) a little. They were asked not to indicate the languages in which they could only exchange greetings. Table 3 shows the ability of the students, as assessed by themselves, in the four languages taught in secondary schools and provides information on the mother tongues of the students. Table 4 shows the same in the three Northwestern languages, Lunda, Luvale, and Kaonde, which were as yet not taught at the secondary level.

Although the sample is small, a few points should be noted in Table 3. First, as was seen in the results of the study of the language backgrounds of primary school teachers (Chapter 11), Bemba and Nyanja appear to be the languages that are learned more by other Zambians than any others. In this sample, *more Zambians who are non-Nyanja speakers appear to have learned Nyanja than non-Bemba speakers have learned Bemba since 20 out of 52 (38.5%) who know some Bemba are mother-tongue speakers of the language, and only 6 out of the 51 (11.8%) who know some Nyanja are mother-tongue speakers of the language.* This may account for the fact that Bemba has far more people who speak it "very well" in this sample (31 out of 52, or 59.5%) than Nyanja (17 out of 51, 33.3%).

The fact that more than two thirds of the students in this study possess some command of the two languages offered for School Certificate is relevant to the consideration of a teacher training program for Zambian languages. Although to a lesser extent, the same kind of ability can be claimed for Tonga and Lozi since about 39% and 25% seem to have some command of them respectively. Teachers would, presumably, specialize only in one or two Zambian languages, so it seems likely that finding candidates with an adequate command of the languages to be taught will not present a very great problem. In the case of the Northwestern languages shown on Table 4 the range of those who claim some knowledge is between about 4% and 8% of the entire group. Out of the 76 students none claimed any of the three Northwestern languages as a mother tongue.

It is interesting to note that there is a considerable amount of multilingualism among Kabwe students. The total of 165 (the number of *times some knowledge in the seven official languages is claimed by the 76 students*) indicates that most students claim to know two or more official languages, in addition to English. This is, of course, also in addition to their mother tongue (if it is not one of the seven), and any other Zambian languages they may know. The average number of languages known (to some degree) by each student is therefore at least 3.2 but more likely to be 4 or 5. It would be useful to conduct systematic studies of bilingualism and multilingualism among Zambians of various age groups, not only as these relate to the teaching of Zambian

Table 14:4: Mother tongues of students and their self-assessed knowledge of Kaonde, Lunda, and Luvale.

<i>Knowledge of three North western languages</i>	<i>Mother tongues of students</i>						<i>Totals</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Lala</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Luchazi</i>	<i>Others</i>		
<b>KAONDE</b>								
No reply	20	1	7	15	1	26	70	
Very well	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	
Fairly well	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	
A little	1	1	—	1	—	—	3	
							6	7.9%
<b>LUNDA</b>								
No reply	20	2	8	17	—	26	73	
Very well	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	
Fairly well	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	
A little	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	
							3	3.9%
<b>LUVALE</b>								
No reply	21	2	8	15	—	26	72	
Very well	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	
Fairly well	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	
A little	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	
							4	5.2%

languages but with regard to other language policy decisions Zambia may face in using her manpower to the best advantage.

Students were asked whether they could read and write Zambian languages. Table 5 shows reading and writing ability claimed by students, in relation to their mother tongues. Zambian languages are written in Roman characters, and although there are some differences in the orthographies adopted by these languages, in general these differences are not held to be barriers to comprehension of the written languages if the spoken language is known.

Table 14:5: Mother tongue of students and ability they claimed to read and write Zambian languages.

Mother tongues	Reading			Writing		
	No reply	Can	Cannot	No reply	Can	Cannot
Bemba	—	20	1	—	20	1
Kunda	—	1	—	—	1	—
Lala	—	2	—	—	2	—
Lenje	—	1	—	—	—	1
Lozi	—	6	2	—	6	2
Lungu	—	2	—	—	2	—
Namwanga	—	3	—	—	3	—
Ngoni	—	1	—	—	1	—
Nsenga	—	1	—	—	1	—
Nyanja	1	5	—	—	5	1
Senga	—	1	—	—	—	1
Shona	—	4	—	—	4	—
Swaka	—	1	—	—	1	—
Tonga	1	17	—	1	15	2
Tumbuka	—	4	—	—	4	—
Xhosa	—	1	—	—	—	1
Luchazi	—	1	—	—	1	—
Totals	2	71	3	1	66	9

Those who indicated they could read or write Zambian languages were asked to give the purposes for which they used these skills. To guide their replies the following categories were provided for reading: (a) religious books, (b) novels, (c) newspapers, (d) letters from friends and family, (e) other. They were asked to specify this last category. For writing the categories were: (a) letters to friends and relatives, (b) orders to shops (or shopping lists), (c) creative writing, (d) scholarly work, (e) other, with a request to specify this last. The results indicate that Zambian students make relatively little use of their skill in reading Zambian languages and less of their skills in writing them. It should be pointed out that there is relatively little reading material in these languages and that the availability of such material varies considerably



between them. Possible reasons for the limited use of these skills in Zambian languages may include this lack of interesting reading materials, habitual use of English for these purposes dating from school days, and the established status of English for these purposes. The lack of a common Zambian language for all Zambians may be another factor. (See Chapter 7 for a discussion of mass media in these languages.)

For reading, out of a possible 355 responses by the 71 students who claimed the ability, there were only 209 responses. Of these 60 (28.9%) were for reading of letters from friends and family, 53 (25.4%) for religious books, 45 (21.5%) for newspapers, and 43 (21.0%) for novels. There were 8 responses under the "other" category. These included booklets for literacy campaigns; cookery; pamphlets published by various organizations; caution instructions in public buses; stories for young children; books of proverbs; short local stories; short plays and hymns; and magazines.

For writing, out of a possible 330 responses from 66 students only 102 were received. These included 64 (62.7%) for writing letters to friends and relatives, 16 (15.7%) for creative work, 13 (12.7%) for scholarly work, 5 (4.9%) for orders to shops and shopping lists, and 4 under the "other" category. These included writing letters for illiterate people and teaching adults who had little or no education.

It is significant that both the reading and writing of Zambian languages is used most widely for written communication between friends and relatives, that is, for intimate personal reasons. For reading, the fact that religious books come next in priority is indicative of the wider availability of such materials. As the chapter on mass media (Chapter 7) points out, there were no newspapers in Zambian languages that had achieved large circulation, so it is not surprising that only a small percentage read those available. Approximately the same percentage reads novels. For writing, the sizeable difference in the proportion of those who use it for personal purposes and those in the next category, i.e. creative writing, is also significant. The latter presumably reflects the need felt by some Zambians for producing literature in these languages which is discussed later in this chapter.

### 3.0 *Attitudes of Students*

#### 3.1 *Zambian Languages in Secondary Schools*

One of the aims of the study was to find out the attitudes of Kabwe trainees towards Zambian languages being included in the curriculum at the level for which they themselves were being trained to teach. They were therefore asked directly whether Zambian languages should be taught in secondary schools. Table 6 shows a breakdown of their replies,

with information on the year of study and sex of the respondents. It should be noted that about two thirds of the students are in accord with the current policy of the government in making *Zambian languages* optional at the secondary level. Less than 5% are in favor of not teaching them at all, and about one third think their teaching should be made compulsory. More females appear to favor optional teaching of *Zambian languages* than males. First year and second year students are about equally divided on this point, but slightly more first year students wish to see *Zambian languages* made compulsory than second year students. The only group in which a slight majority seems to opt for compulsory teaching is that of the 23–30 year age group among students.

Table 14:6: Attitudes regarding the teaching of *Zambian languages* in secondary school according to year of study, sex, and age.

<i>Students</i>	<i>Should not be taught at all</i>	<i>Should be optional</i>	<i>Should be compulsory</i>	<i>Totals</i>
First year	1 2%	32 63%	18 35%	51
Second year	2 8%	16 64%	7 28%	25
Totals	3 4%	48 63%	25 33%	
Male	3 5%	32 56%	22 39%	57
Female	—	16 84%	3 16%	19
Totals	3	48	25	
Under 18	—	1 100%	—	1
19–22	1 2%	34 71%	13 27%	48
23–30	2 8%	11 44%	12 48%	25
Over 30	—	2 100%	—	2
Totals	3	48	25	

It may be of interest to give the mother tongues of students in relation to their attitudes towards whether *Zambian languages* should be taught in secondary schools. Table 7 shows this distribution for languages that had four or more speakers.

The languages that had 3 or fewer speakers were Kunda, Lala, Lenje, Luchazi, Lungu, Namwanga, Ngoni, Nsenga, Senga, Swaka, and Xhosa. There were 15 students speaking these languages. Only 2 of them advocated no teaching at all, 8 advocated optional teaching, and 5 advocated compulsory teaching. As can be seen from Table 7, even mother-tongue speakers of Bemba and Nyanja, the two languages that appear to be most often learned by other *Zambians* (and are offered for School Certificate), are about equally divided between making their teaching compulsory or optional.

Table 14:7: Attitudes regarding the teaching of Zambian languages in secondary schools, according to mother tongue of respondents.

<i>Mother tongue</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Optional</i>	<i>Compulsory</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bemba	0	11	10	21
Lozi	0	8	0	8
Nyanja	0	3	3	6
Shona	0	2	2	4
Tonga	1	13	4	18
Tumbuka	0	3	1	4

In order to gain some understanding of the reasons for the attitudes of students regarding the teaching of Zambian languages two specific questions were included. The first was concerned with reasons why their teaching was desirable, and the second with problems related to their teaching. A list of nine possible reasons were provided for the first question and students were asked to indicate what they considered the three most important among them. In addition a category of "Any other reasons" was provided which they were asked to specify. Table 8 shows the reasons which the students considered most important. They are given in rank order of importance according to the number of times each reason was checked. The number of responses is out of a possible total of 228. The figures in the second column from the left indicate the order in which the reasons were presented in the questionnaire.

Some of the points included by students under the "other" category of reasons for teaching these languages were: communication with the older generation; better understanding between the educated and uneducated; reduction of feelings of tribalism and unnecessary tribal pride through understanding of other languages and ways of life (two responses). The difficulty of introducing Zambian languages because of tribalism was mentioned by two. (English was considered preferable in this respect because it was neutral.) Another said it was better to have "our own language" than to have an adopted "official" language.

The most important reason for teaching Zambian languages appears to be seen as the production of written materials in them (by 27%). It has already been seen that these Kabwe students do not read in these languages very much, and that when they do, the two types of material they read most frequently are letters from friends and relatives and religious books, which are more widely available than others. But it is possible that the students see the existence of written materials in a language as giving it importance and status, and perhaps keeping it alive and perpetuating its existence. Yet a direct suggestion that if these languages are not taught there may be a danger of people forgetting them (Table 8(d)) gets only 15% of the checked responses. (Lack of

Table 14:8: Reasons for teaching Zambian languages in secondary schools as rated by students.

	<i>Reasons</i>	<i>No. of times checked</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>
	No response	6	2.6%
(a) (03)	If pupils learn Zambian languages in school the production of literature, i.e., newspapers, books, etc., in Zambian languages will be encouraged.	61	26.8%
(b) (09)	Learning a Zambian language will enable Zambians to keep in contact with African ways of thought.	39	17.1%
(c) (06)	The learning of an officially used Zambian language together in class will increase understanding among Zambians who may be speakers of many different languages.	34	14.9%
(d) (05)	If Zambian languages are not taught in secondary school there may be a danger of people forgetting them.	33	14.5%
(e) (01)	The learning of Zambian languages will give a sense of pride to Zambian pupils.	22	9.7%
(f) (04)	Zambian parents are anxious to have their children learn Zambian languages and would like them included in the regular school time table.	10	4.4%
(g) (02)	Zambian languages are interesting in themselves as subjects of study.	9	3.9%
(h) (08)	It is easy to pass in Zambian languages in School Certificate examinations.	9	3.9%
(i) (07)	Knowing a Zambian language well will eventually help Zambians get better jobs.	2	.9%
(j) (10)	Other responses	3	1.3%
	Total	228	

status as a problem received only 6% in the next question. See Table 9 (f.) This may show that students do not think there is any such danger for the spoken language.

The next two most important reasons appear to be related to a feeling that there is need for understanding among Africans and Zambians. However, as will be seen later, there is about equal agreement that teaching Zambian languages may encourage differences between Zambians (Table 9 (c)). According to Table 8, students do not think that knowing Zambian

languages will lead to better jobs, or that passing easily in them in School Certificate examinations is an important reason for teaching them, or that parents are very anxious to have their children learn Zambian languages. Most do not seem to consider that these languages are interesting in themselves as subjects of study. Even the generally accepted reason that learning Zambian languages will give a sense of pride to Zambian pupils gets low priority.

In the next question, which was a counterpart to that on "reasons" for teaching these languages, students were given a list of problems in the teaching of Zambian languages and were asked to check the three they considered the most important among them, again with an "any other problems" category which they were asked to specify. Table 9 shows

Table 14:9: Problems in the teaching of Zambian languages as rated by students.

	<i>Problems</i>	<i>No. of times indicated</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>
	No response	1	—
(a) (01)	There are not enough trained teachers to teach Zambian languages.	53	23.2%
(b) (02)	There are not enough satisfactory textbooks for Zambian languages.	45	19.7%
(c) (09)	The teaching of Zambian languages may encourage differences between Zambians.	36	15.8%
(d) (05)	The Zambian language taught is often not the mother tongue of pupils.	28	12.3%
(e) (10)	There is insufficient supervision of the teaching of Zambian languages.	17	7.5%
(f) (07)	The teaching of Zambian languages does not have enough prestige or status in secondary schools.	14	6.1%
(g) (06)	The Zambian language taught is often not the mother tongue of the teacher.	10	4.4%
(h) (03)	Knowing Zambian languages will not lead to better jobs.	7	3.0%
(i) (04)	Pupils are not interested in learning Zambian languages.	7	3.0%
(j) (08)	The time spent on the teaching of Zambian languages could be devoted to other school subjects.	4	1.8%
(11)	Other problems.	6	2.6%
		228	

these, listed in rank order of importance according to the number of times (out of a possible 228) each problem was checked. The second column has the order in which they were listed in the questionnaire.

Some of the main points included in the "other" category of problems in the teaching of Zambian languages included the following. Pupils whose languages are being taught will have an advantage over others. If the aim is preservation of Zambian languages, none should be left out as minor, for they are just as important and all should be preserved. Zambian languages are not much use since technical and important books used in secondary schools are in English; they do not qualify for University entrance (and so are treated as inferior and therefore neglected as subjects); knowledge of one of the Zambian languages is not of value to an individual since he cannot use it in another province; there is insufficient encouragement from the government for competition in creative writing through newspapers and periodicals; multilingual backgrounds of pupils in a class present a problem.

According to Table 9, these students at Kabwe appear to be in agreement with the generally held views that the most serious problems facing the teaching of Zambian languages are the lack of trained teachers and of sound instructional materials. Together with the problem of inadequate supervision these three represent 50% agreement. The contradiction between equal proportions saying the teaching of Zambian languages will increase understanding or encourage differences between Zambians has already been pointed out. It is noteworthy that responses here indicate that the problem of pupils having mother tongues different from the language being taught is considered a more serious problem than the same phenomenon among teachers (d) and (g). The reasons sometimes given for not teaching Zambian languages (a lack of interest in them and an already overcrowded time table (i) and (j)) do not appear to be considered very serious problems by the students. Even the lack of status and prestige for these languages (f) and the lack of advancement through a knowledge of them (h) are not seen as serious problems.

On the whole the problems that Kabwe students consider important in the teaching of Zambian languages appear to be practical in nature, but the reasons why these languages should be taught appear to be somewhat more related to their feelings of solidarity and understanding among Africans and Zambians, and, possibly to a feeling that Zambian languages should develop and flourish and have literary works produced in them.

As a final item on the questionnaire the students were asked to write *what they considered the three most important things that could be done to make sure that there was a successful Zambian language teaching program in secondary schools.* Since the answers are closely related to responses in the foregoing two questions a brief account of the main points will be given here.

Although this was a free and open-ended question, many of the responses were echoes of those given to the more structured "reasons" and "problems" questions just discussed. Some merely reiterated existing policies. The topic on which there was the greatest amount of agreement was the need to provide sufficient numbers of specially trained teachers willing to teach these languages, and to give these teachers improved conditions and status. Suggestions that seemed related to implementing this included the following: a special institution or training center for these languages; a major at the University in Zambian languages; and special courses at teacher training colleges. A number of responses pointed out the need to provide and improve supervision of the teaching of these languages and check that they were taught. Several suggested that teachers be trained to teach their own languages or the languages they knew best.

The second area of agreement was the need to provide adequate, interesting and suitable instructional materials and to improve methods of teaching. Suggestions included texts for various levels, grammars, and literature in these languages. Suggestions that seemed related to the implementation of such developments included having volunteers from the seven "main" languages "to write books and design the scheme to be followed"; encouragement of educated Zambians to produce books for schools; competition among writers; prizes for people who wrote textbooks in their mother tongues; encouragement of Zambian drama; writers' workshops, and competition in creative writing by secondary students sponsored by the government and firms. Two people suggested that texts be the "same" in secondary schools, presumably meaning that comparability of instructional materials in the various languages is desirable. It is interesting to note that in the opinion of these students no special training seems to be necessary for the production of teaching materials in Zambian languages. (This task is generally regarded as a very specialized one by language teaching specialists in the West.) There were also suggestions for T.V. and radio programs in the teaching and promotion of these languages, for programs in newspapers and magazines; and for audio visual aids.

The next point on which there was considerable agreement was the need to change attitudes towards Zambian languages, to inculcate a sense of pride in them, to raise their status and prestige, and to show or establish their usefulness and importance, especially in the eyes of pupils, teachers, and parents. A variety of suggestions pointed to ways in which these things might be accomplished. Among them were the inclusion of these languages in the curricula of colleges and at higher levels of learning; raising their status in secondary schools; recognition of School Certificate results; recognition in various departments [government?] as useful languages; making jobs available to those who have a good command of

them.

Many opinions were expressed on problems related to policy, but it was much more difficult to perceive any definite thread of agreement here than in other areas. Some responses strayed beyond the teaching of these languages in secondary schools, and some seemed to have little regard to the practicability of their suggestions. Much was said on both sides of the compulsory-optional problem. Some of those who favored the optional stand maintained that not only should people have the freedom of taking or not taking these languages; but should be able to decide on the languages they wished to take. They maintained that no language should be compulsory in any area (they are not in secondary schools); that there should be two or more alternatives offered (there can be); that schools should be free to teach what was in demand and not the regionally taught language; that each individual should choose the languages he wanted to learn, and so on.

There were equally strong proponents of compulsory teaching, some stressing the need for it in Form V. One suggested compulsory examinations in these languages. Among those who expressed strong opinions about language choice, some at least may have favored compulsory teaching. Some of these maintained that each and every province should have the provincial or "common" language taught in secondary schools (each language should be taught in its dominant region); that the government should ensure that local languages are taught; that only the mother tongue should be taught; and that no one particular language should be taught throughout the country. About six favored the arbitrary choice of one language for the whole country (one said this might bring chaos). One suggested selection of words from each of the three commonly taught languages, the sum of which would provide the language to be taught. As a contrast to these suggestions one maintained that "a Zambian language takes six months maximum time to be mastered", hence a teaching programme covering several languages "solves the problem of tribal differences". In a period of 5 years it would be possible "to learn most of the languages spoken".

Emotions related to language choice in Zambia were reflected in such statements as: "Don't make any language sound inferior to others"; consider all tribes equally important (and therefore to have their languages taught in their localities); let those whose languages are being taught not feel "great"; make parents not feel that if their children are not learning their first language they "are being subjugated"; and that tribalism should be abolished.

The main points that emerge from replies to this final, unstructured question seem to indicate that Kabwe students are very much concerned with the more observable and practical problems (such as teacher training and materials preparation) in carrying out a viable program for the



teaching of these languages, but there seems to be far less agreement on matters of policy in language choice and language teaching. The need for establishing a higher status for these languages, for some reason, appears more strongly expressed in the free responses than in the more structured questions discussed earlier.

### 3.2 *Willingness to Teach Zambian Languages*

In addition to their general attitude towards the teaching of Zambian languages in secondary schools, students were asked whether they themselves would like to teach them. Responses show willingness on the part of 47 (or 62%) of the students, though some put a condition of training first. It is difficult to tell to what extent this reflects real attitudes since it is not even an expression of intent. It would be very interesting to conduct a follow-up study of what proportion of the students who were at Kabwe during 1970 are actually teaching a Zambian language currently, even though the present study only represents 87% of the 1970 students. Table 10 shows the distribution of the replies for the 76 students according to year of study, age and sex.

Table 14:10: Willingness to teach Zambian languages according to year of study, age, and sex.

	<i>No. of students</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Year of study</i>					
First year	51	34	67%	17	33%
Second year	25	13	52%	12	48%
Total		47	62%	29	38%
<i>Age</i>					
Under 18	1	1	100%	—	—
19–22	48	26	54%	22	46%
23–30	25	19	76%	6	24%
Over 30	2	1	50%	1	50%
Total		47		29	
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	57	37	65%	20	35%
Female	19	10	53%	9	47%
Total		47		29	

It appears from Table 10 that the proportion of those willing to teach Zambian languages is greater among first year than second year students, and in the 23–30-year-old bracket than others. Unfortunately no cor-

relation was obtained between age and year of study, but it is possible that some first year students were older than the majority of the students in the second year. The table also shows that more males than females are willing to teach Zambian languages.

Students were asked whether they thought they needed training in order to teach a Zambian language. Table 11 shows these responses according to year of study and sex.

Table 14:11: Need for training expressed by students, according to year of study and sex.

	Yes	%	No	%	Totals
First year students	42	84%	8	16%	50
Second year students	24	96%	1	4%	25
Males	49	88%	7	12%	56
Females	17	89%	2	11%	19

According to Table 11 second year students appear to feel the need for training a little more strongly than those in the first year, but males and females appear to be equally divided. The subject of specialization and the language background of students could be expected to have some relevance to willingness to teach Zambian languages. Table 12 shows degree of willingness to teach according to mother tongue, where there were four or more speakers of a language.

Table 14:12: Willingness to teach Zambian languages according to mother tongue.

<i>Mother tongue</i>	<i>Willing to teach</i>		<i>Unwilling to teach</i>		<i>Total</i>
Bemba	17	81%	4	19%	21
Tonga	10	56%	8	44%	18
Lozi	5	63%	3	37%	8
Nyanja	4	66%	2	33%	6
Shona	1	25%	3	75%	4
Tumbuka	2	50%	2	50%	4

In order to get some idea of the types of training which students felt they needed, a list of five general areas was provided and students were asked to check the *three* most important in which they would need training. Students were asked to explain any other area of training which they would need under an "other" category at the end. Table 13 shows the areas listed and the responses in rank order from a possible 228 responses.

Although about 87% of the students said they would need training, 21% failed to specify any area for such training. It seems clear from Table 13, however, that quite a large proportion of students (23%) appear

Table 14:13: Areas of training needed to teach Zambian languages.

1. In the grammar and sound system of the language they would like to teach.	52	23%
2. In modern methods of teaching the mother tongue.	49	21%
3. In methods of teaching creative writing.	40	18%
4. In modern methods of teaching a second (or additional) language	31	14%
5. Other	7	3%
No response	49	21%
	228	

to think they need to know more about the languages they might be asked to teach. It is interesting that more students wish to receive training in teaching the mother tongue than a second language. There may be several explanations for this. First, it seems possible that other Zambian languages are not regarded as "second" languages, a status reserved usually for English. It is also possible that the difference between teaching the mother tongue and other languages is not clearly understood by some Kabwe students, especially those not involved in language teaching. A more likely explanation, however, may be that students think mother-tongue methods would be the most appropriate approach since in the present circumstances secondary school pupils generally take a Zambian language if it is their mother tongue or a language they know well. Another noteworthy point in the table is the interest in creative writing, reflecting the feeling seen earlier that written materials are of great importance in Zambian languages. It is possible that this need again relates not just to the teaching of Zambian languages but to their strengthening and perpetuation.

### 3.3 Attitudes towards Languages

In order to gain some understanding of the students' own attitudes towards languages spoken in Zambia, two questions were asked: (a) "What language do you think will be of greatest use to you in your career?", and (b) "What language do you wish you could speak better?" In answer to the first question, 51 students (or 67%) indicated English. Very few, only 12, gave a Zambian language, 5 of them giving their own mother tongues. Three gave French, presumably because they were being trained to teach it. Table 14 shows details of the replies to the first question according to the mother tongues of students.

It is evident from the table that even though a comparatively small percentage of students were specializing in English, a large majority still considered it the language that would be of greatest use. (It should be

Table 14:14: Language of greatest use for careers according to mother tongues.

Language of greatest use	Mother tongues														Total	%				
	Bemba	Kunda	Lala	Lenje	Lozi	Lungu	Namwanga	Ngoni	Nsenga	Nyanja	Senga	Shona	Swaka	Tonga			Tumbuka	Xhosa	Luchazi	
No reply	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	10	13%	
Bemba	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	7%	
English	15	1	2	1	7	2	2	1	1	6	1	2	1	11	1	1	1	51	67%	
Lozi	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1%
Luvale	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1%
Nyanja	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	5%	
Tonga	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1%
French	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	4%	
	21	1	2	1	8	2	3	1	6	1	4	1	1	18	4	1	1	76		

remembered that many of these students are preparing to teach other subjects through the medium of English.)

The responses to the second question: that asking what language students wished they could speak better, are given in Table 15. They are in rank order of replies, where six or more students indicated any one language. There were no responses from 8 people, and there were single responses indicating Kaonde, Lunda, Lungu, Luvale, and Namwanga. (The percentages in the table are out of a total of 76.)

Table 14:15: Languages students wished they could speak better.

<i>Languages</i>	<i>No. of responses</i>	<i>%</i>
English	18	23.7%
Nyanja	15	19.7%
Tonga	15	19.7%
Bemba	9	11.8%
Lozi	6	7.9%

Although not specifically tested, there seems to be no significant difference between a desire to know English better or some of the other Zambian languages. If, however, we take the four Zambian languages taught in secondary schools together, then the proportion of students who wish to know them better far outweighs those who wish to know English better (about 59% as against 24%). The responses could be interpreted to mean that although English is realized to be the most useful language, on a more personal, emotional basis Zambian students appear to wish they knew Zambian languages better. It may be of some interest to look at the desire to speak a language better in relation to the mother tongue of those who express it. Table 16 shows this relationship.

It is evident from Table 16 that at least some of the students wishing they knew a language better are mother-tongue speakers of the language. This may, in some measure, reflect loyalty to one's mother tongue, but it may also be a genuine desire on the part of some students who (for reasons that are not uncommon in Zambia) do not speak their mother tongue very well, to learn to speak it better. It is interesting that in all cases those who wish they could speak a particular Zambian language better come from a variety of language backgrounds themselves.

The socio-economic status of speakers of English and Zambian languages against which these attitudes may be viewed has been referred to numerous times in the preceding four chapters, especially in Chapters 10 and 13 of this third part of the present volume. The necessarily heavy reliance on English for many aspects of the life of the country, and the fact that English is the avenue for practically all advancement is reflected

Table 14:16: The language students wished they could speak better in relation to mother tongues.

<i>Language wished could speak better</i>	<i>Mother tongues</i>													<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>				
	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Kunda</i>	<i>Lala</i>	<i>Lenje</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Lungu</i>	<i>Namwanga</i>	<i>Ngoni</i>	<i>Nsenga</i>	<i>Nyanja</i>	<i>Senga</i>	<i>Shona</i>	<i>Swaka</i>			<i>Tonga</i>	<i>Tumbuka</i>	<i>Xhosa</i>	<i>Luchazi</i>
No reply	3	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	11%
Bemba	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	9	12%
English	6	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	3	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	18	24%
Kaonde	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1%
Lozi	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	6	8%
Lunda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1%
Lungu	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1%
Luvale	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1%
Namwanga	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1%
Nyanja	7	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	15	20%
Tonga	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	10	1	-	-	15	20%
	21	1	2	1	9	2	3	1	1	6	1	4	1	18	4	1	1	76	

in the replies of Kabwe students to these questions. However, the strong interest in Zambian languages as part of the cultural heritage of Zambia and pride in these languages is also reflected in them.

The present sample is far too small to draw any meaningful conclusions from the replies to these two questions. The replies do, however, indicate that further and more sophisticated studies are needed. In conclusion, the present study of the attitudes of Kabwe trainees seems to indicate that the majority of them are in accord with the current policies of the Ministry of Education in the teaching of Zambian languages in secondary schools. They would like to see an improved but optional teaching of these languages. They feel that the most serious practical problems facing this teaching are the lack of teachers and instructional materials. They would like to see more literature produced in these languages and their status raised, but they feel that English is more important in their careers than any of the Zambian languages. About two thirds of them are willing to teach Zambian languages, and an even larger proportion feel that they need training for the task.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Entrance qualifications for Kwame Nkrumah Teachers' College in 1972 were: (a) a full Cambridge School Certificate or its equivalent, or (b) four acceptable G.C.E. "O" level passes, including English, or, (c) the mature age entrance examination of the University of Zambia.

<sup>2</sup> One great asset the College at Kabwe had was its excellent library, which, within the limitations of its budget and the lack of easy access to sources of information on such topics as linguistics and language pedagogy, had accumulated an impressive amount of material. Its holdings included both British and American works and seemed to be well used by both students and staff.

<sup>3</sup> The questionnaire explained in a few sentences the aims of the Survey in general. It stated that the questions were intended to gather information on the teaching of Zambian languages and the recruitment and training of teachers for these languages, and that the information collected would serve to give a general picture of the situation rather than assess individuals. Students were not asked for their names but were told they could sign the questionnaire if they wished.

<sup>4</sup> People who claim "Ngoni" as a language are usually Nyanja speakers.

#### REFERENCE

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## 15 THE ZAMBIA ADULT LITERACY PROGRAMME

Mubanga E. Kashoki (with the assistance of the staff of the Department of Community Development)

### 1.0 *Introduction*

Literacy work as a government effort is a relatively recent phenomenon. Literacy work in Zambia was undertaken in the earliest stages by voluntary agencies, notably by missionaries of different Christian denominations. Further, there was a very large literacy programme organised by the Mining Companies of the Copperbelt including literacy programmes for the miners' wives as well as for the men themselves. However, information on literacy campaigns which were organised and conducted before Independence by the African Education Department and, later, by the Commissioner for Rural Development and which were clearly the forerunners of the present Government Programme is scant and not easy to compile into a coherent historical statement. For our present purposes, therefore, the documentation of the history of literacy work in Zambia will only date back to 1964 and in general will relate mainly to the work being undertaken by the Government through its Department of Community Development. The present contributions of voluntary agencies, such as the churches and the mining companies, will be touched upon only as they impinge on the more formalised effort of the Government.

### 2.0 *Historical Background*

Statistics drawn from the 1963 Census provided the background to and the chief factor behind the establishment of the Adult Literacy Programme in its present form. These statistics can be summarised as follows:

Total population of Zambia:	3,408,000
Total adult (i.e., over 21 years) illiterate population:	1,247,000
Total male adult illiterates:	517,000
Total female adult illiterates:	730,000
Illiterate population between 13-21 years:	415,870
Estimated lapsed literates:	289,850
Percentages:	
(a) approximately 67% of adults over 21 years illiterate	
(b) approximately 80% of women over 21 years illiterate.	



Presented with a problem of such formidable magnitude, a problem which also had far-reaching implications for the ambitious development plan the country had set itself immediately upon the attainment of independence, the Government gave serious thought to the planning and establishment of a literacy programme which would not only offer basic education to the bulk of the population but which would at the same time serve as a tool for accelerating progress.

The necessary spade work was done in May 1964, when a pilot project commenced on the development of experimental adult literacy teaching materials in Lusaka. Subsequently, in September 1964, a pilot teaching project involving approximately 1,900 illiterates and 270 volunteer literacy instructors was launched in three areas: Lusaka, Kabwe (formerly Broken Hill) and Mansa (formerly Fort Rosebery). From this project it was learned that the demand and enthusiasm for literacy education were high among the people.

On the basis of this fact (and others not related here), the Government, in August 1965, adopted in a Cabinet Memorandum adult literacy as an integral feature of its national development policy and provided for the Adult Literacy Programme formally to become part of the Department of Community Development. Also, because illiteracy was found to be a nationwide problem,<sup>1</sup> preparations were made for a national programme to open in all the eight provinces of the Republic in 1966. In order to tackle the problem simultaneously and adequately in both the rural and the urban areas, the Department of Community Development was given overall responsibility for the administration of the programme in the provinces while the city, municipal and township councils were assigned administrative and supervisory responsibility over literacy projects in areas directly under their jurisdiction. The councils were, however, to be dependent on the Department with regard to policy matters, the production and supply of literacy materials and the training of their literacy officers (but not literacy instructors).

In a subsequent Cabinet Memorandum in 1967 the Government agreed and stipulated that all the reading material necessary for the successful prosecution of the programme would be produced as well as taught in the seven approved teaching languages, Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga. By this proviso, no literacy instruction was to be conducted in English nor in any of the Zambian languages not included in the Memorandum. The deciding factor in arriving at this policy seems to have been the now well-known argument that basic literacy is best acquired in the student's mother tongue, or at least in a second language in which the student is fluent. However, given the highly multilingual situation in Zambia, it was not unexpected that considerable numbers of the literacy students would inevitably find themselves learning in a language which was not their mother tongue

and in which, more often than not, they were not fluent.

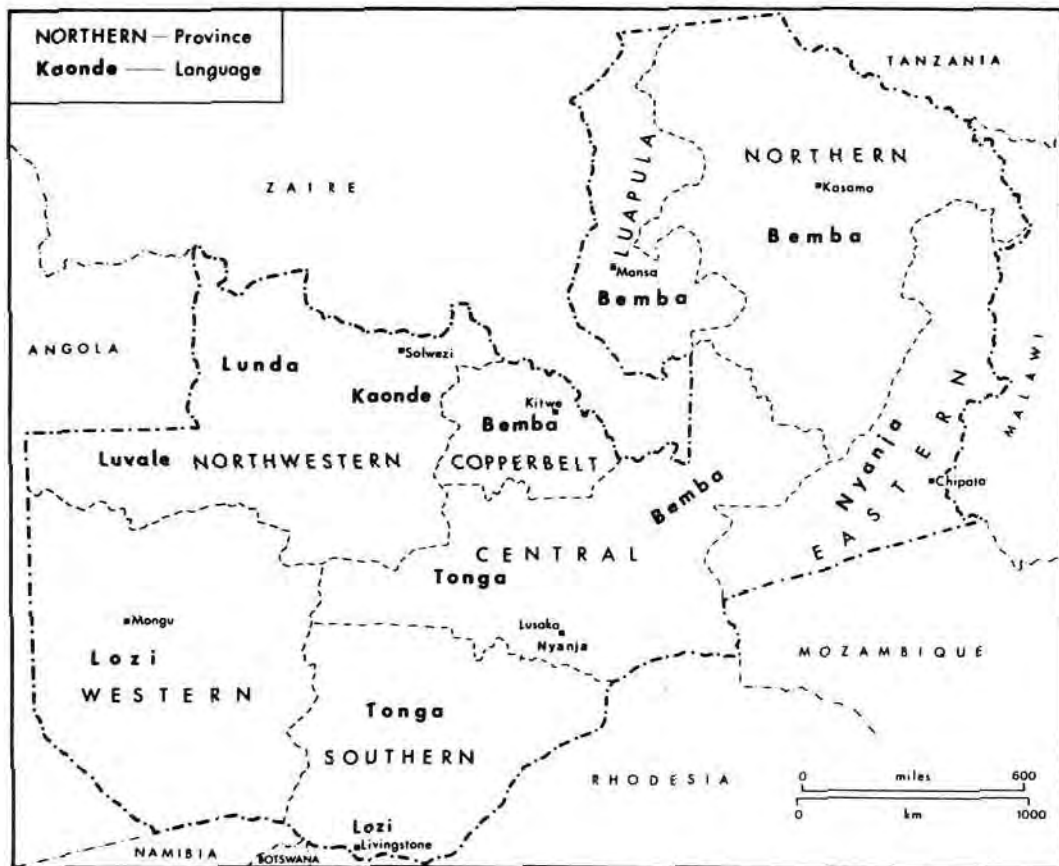
For reasons of easy administration, it was necessary, as is the case in the Ministry of Education, to divide the country into language zones and to require that only the stipulated language should be used in the given zone. As duly assigned, Bemba was to be used in the Copperbelt, Central (Kabwe area), Luapula and Northern Provinces; Kaonde, (chiefly in the Solwezi and Kasempa districts), Lunda and Luvale in the North-western Province; Nyanja in the Central (Lusaka area) and Eastern Provinces; Lozi in the Western Province and Livingstone area; and Tonga in the Southern and Central Provinces. The local illiterate population, whatever their mother tongue, were required to learn in the prescribed language within each given zone. (See Map 7.)

### 2.1 *Aims and General Policy*

The five main aims of the Adult Literacy Programme as they relate to the non-work-oriented section of the Programme may be paraphrased as follows:

- (i) the provision of the basic skills of reading, writing and simple numeracy;
- (ii) the elimination of illiteracy in order to accelerate the spread of knowledge and hence the cultivation among the people of a greater awareness of the pressing need facing the country vis-à-vis modern development and progress;
- (iii) the utilisation of this knowledge for the acquisition of vocational skills and better standards of living;
- (iv) the proper linkage of the Programme to other development programmes, both private and public, such as health, agriculture, cooperatives, etc. and especially those which depend for their success on the acceptance and cooperation of the people;
- (v) the mobilisation and involvement of the local communities in their own organisation, community awareness and local initiative.

In order to give as much free rein as possible to the communities in their cultivation of local initiative, the Government deliberately limited the type and scope of the resources, financial and otherwise, and the technical advice it could provide to the local communities. The Government, for example, through the Department of Community Development, assumed responsibility only for (a) advising and assisting communities in their own organisation, (b) producing and distributing the requisite literacy materials, (c) training the permanent literacy staff as well as the local unpaid (i.e. volunteer) literacy instructors, (d) servicing the literacy projects, (e) arranging for and issuing literacy tests and



Map 7 Language Zones used in the Zambia Adult Literacy Programme.

certificates, and (f) supplying and maintaining the equipment necessary for the effective function of the scheme.

On their part, the communities were required (as an exercise in self-reliance and local initiative) to organise their own literacy classes, to find their own literacy instructors and the means to reward them (if necessary), to find or erect their own meeting places, to fix their own times to meet, to exercise the necessary discipline over their instructors and students and to devise ways of purchasing literacy materials for students. In all this, the illiterate communities were expected to be supported by the literate members in the area especially as regarded local leadership and the provision of instructors.

These policies and provisions are reflective of the overall policy of community development in Zambia and would help to explain in part why the Adult Literacy Programme by tradition has consistently functioned under the umbrella of the Department of Community Development. They also provide a partial reason for the existence of the Programme outside the Ministry of Education while its counterpart, popularly known as "Adult Education", which has a more academic orientation, is an arm of that ministry.

Requiring separate detailed treatment is the policy relating to the "honoraria system". Having as its basis the notion of self-help so central to the philosophy of community development, the idea that individual voluntary participation in the Adult Literacy Programme should underlie the contribution of the educated person was accepted by the Government as a logical parallel to the fundamental principles and practices of the Department. In its initial form, voluntary participation in the Programme on the part of the literacy instructor was to be without pay. However, in recognition of the prevailing economic forces in the country, particularly the realisation that, although ideal and desirable, purely voluntary service was unrealistic since the majority of the people had become used to the idea of monetary or other rewards, the Government instituted instead the "honoraria system".

As finally officially accepted and subsequently instructed to the field staff in 1967 for implementation, the basic principles governing the "honoraria system", in order to conform to the general department policy, were stated as follows:

- (i) responsibility for rewarding the instructors must rest with their own communities;
- (ii) Government assistance must not in any way take over, or even appear to take over, that responsibility;
- (iii) the honorarium must not be so large as to look like a salary;
- (iv) Government assistance must not be so large as to be an adequate honorarium in itself.<sup>2</sup>

In order to implement the policy in practical terms, an arrangement was reached whereby the grants-in-aid were made available on a 50-50 basis so that half an instructor's honorarium was to be provided by his students and the other half by the Government. In other words, for every one Kwacha (K1)<sup>3</sup> initially raised by the community, the Government would match it by a corresponding sum of one Kwacha.<sup>4</sup> By this measure, it was intended that the communities would be provided with the opportunity to exercise their initiative and at the same time to develop a sense of deep and personal commitment in their own local affairs.

## 2.2 Administration

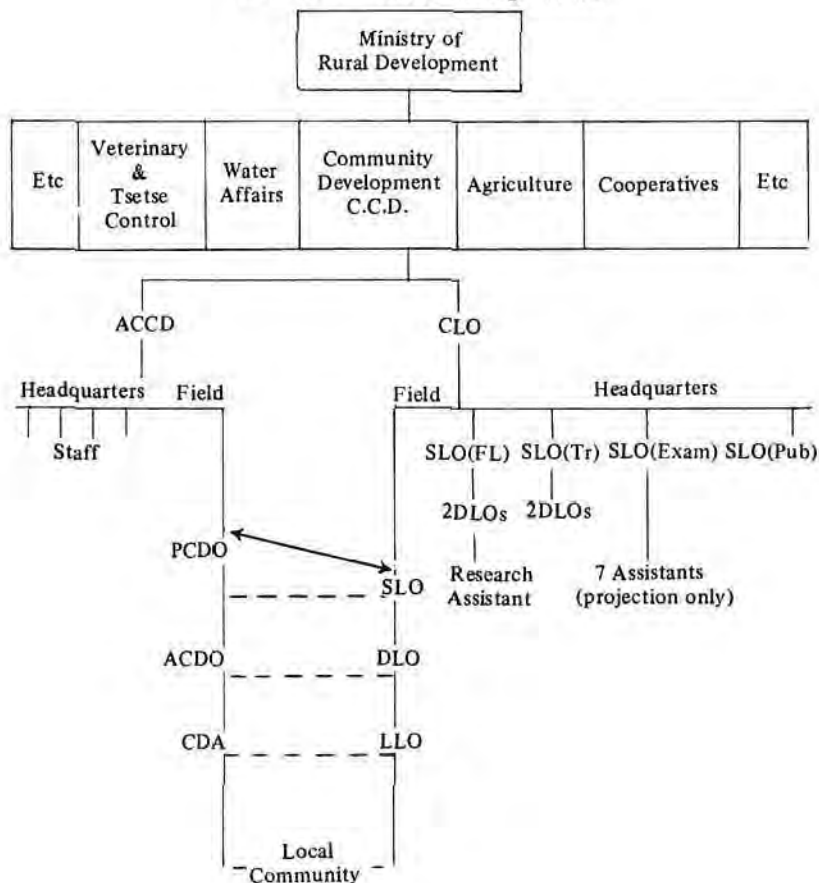
Organisationally and administratively, as already implied, the Adult Literacy Programme forms an integral part of the larger unit, the Department of Community Development, which in turn constituted at the time of writing one of the many departmental divisions of the Ministry of Rural Development. The organisation chart (Table 1) shows graphically first how the Programme fits into the department and secondly how it is broken down into components which reach down to the village level. The lines indicate the chain of command in the hierarchy. They are also intended to show the inter-relationships of the two parts of the department.

The Programme is headed by the Chief Literacy Officer who is directly responsible to the Commissioner for Community Development for the planning, organisation and general administration of the literacy projects at the national level. Eight Senior Literacy Officers in the provinces are responsible for the proper implementation and supervision of the projects in their areas. In reporting back to Headquarters they have to go through their respective Provincial Community Development Officers, who are ultimately responsible to the Commissioner at Headquarters. Below them are the District Literacy Officers who are responsible for the success of the projects at yet a lower level, namely, the district level. Finally come the Local Literacy Officers who are the community-level field staff.

## 2.3 Geographical Extent of the Programme

From its experimental and modest beginnings in 1964, the Programme was able to expand on a nationwide basis in April 1966 by deploying in the field an initial cadre of eleven trained literacy officers who were soon reinforced in December of the same year by additional staff. The following year saw yet a greater increase when the field staff increased more than 100%. Since then the Programme has expanded to the extent

Table 15:1: Programme organisation.



## Key:

- CCD = Commissioner for Community Development  
 ACCD = Assistant Commissioner for Community Development  
 CLO = Chief Literacy Officer  
 PCDO = Provincial Community Development Officer  
 ACDO = Assistant Community Development Officer  
 SLO = Senior Literacy Officer (FL = Functional Literacy, Tr = Training, Exam = Examinations, Pub = Publications)  
 DLO = District Literacy Officer  
 LLO = Local Literacy Officer  
 CDA = Community Development Assistant

that there were nearly two hundred officers in the field at the time this study was undertaken.

This trend of expansion has been paralleled in other areas as well. Literacy classes are today to be found throughout the rural areas and in most of the principal towns. Tables 2 and 3 give a graphic view of

Table 15:2: Number of classes and enrolment figures for 1970 in rural areas.

<i>Province</i>	<i>No. of districts</i>	<i>Total no. of classes</i>	<i>Total no. of students</i>
Central	6	114	1,426
Copperbelt	1 <sup>5</sup>	141	1,816
Eastern	5	113	1,600
Luapula	5	110	1,476
Northern	8	369	4,927
Southern	6	161	4,198
Northwestern	5	282	4,350
Western	6	111	974
Total	42	1,401	20,767

Table 15:3: Number of classes and enrolment figures for 1970 in the urban areas.

<i>Town</i>	<i>Total no. of classes</i>	<i>Total no. of students</i>
Lusaka	56	787
Livingstone	16	134
Luanshya	46	689
Choma	6	100
Mufulira Copper Mines	19	285
Mufulira Municipality	—	—
Kitwe City Council	—	—
Kalulushi	10	99
Chililabombwe	6	105
Mazabuka	4	75
Chingola	—	—
Kabwe	—	—
Monze	—	—
Total	163	2,169

The dashes indicate nil returns for the town concerned.

the number of classes organised in 1970 and the accompanying enrolment figures.

The establishment of classes throughout the country has been achieved by the strategic placement of local literacy officers, i.e. the face-to-face workers, in areas where the local population is "receptive"

to modern trends of change and where the infrastructure requisite to aid development is present. Efforts have been made to avoid the location of these officers in a haphazard manner, which would have dissipated the already limited human and material resources. Rather, the Programme in its expansion has been somewhat selective in the sense that many of its officers have been located in areas already indicative of some economic activity, such as agricultural projects, settlement schemes or cooperative projects. In this way, the Programme has been able to conserve its own limited resources and at the same time has more advantageously and more usefully utilised them by channelling its efforts in economic activities where cooperation was forthcoming from other development-oriented programmes.

### 3.0 *The Curriculum and Curriculum Content*

Modern literacy programmes characteristically do not adhere to a rigid syllabus since their underlying philosophy in this regard is to be constantly adaptive to the ever-changing needs of society. In response to the Government's stipulation that literacy in Zambia should be pursued within the context of national socio-economic development, the Literacy Programme has from the outset been conscious of the importance of providing reading matter which reflected the immediate needs of the learner and has made an attempt to devise a syllabus which would satisfy these needs. However, since to adapt a syllabus continually in order to keep abreast of the students' special needs requires considerable sums of money, the Programme has attempted to meet this problem by applying a modification which, initially, divided literacy learning into two phases, the primer stage and the follow-on stage. As devised, the primer stage is the period during which the basic skills of reading, writing and simple accounting are to be imparted to the students. This period is expected to last an average of eight months. The follow-on stage is the next phase during which literacy learning is intended to be specially geared to work-oriented adult education such as the teaching of improved methods of farming. The duration of this phase is not specified.

#### 3.1.0 *The Primer Stage*

Considered in total, the publications available in the Literacy Programme included in 1970 (1) basic primers, a series of six (i.e. primers 1-6) in each language, (2) a basic arithmetic book, adapted to the country's new currency and published in 1970, (3) follow-on readers and (4) supplementary reading materials comprising "insert sheets" (inserted in local-language newspapers), "broadsheets" (for distribution



to literacy classes) and, until 1970 when the readership was extended to include non-literacy students, *Progress*, a magazine intended for new literates. Insert sheets were discontinued beginning from 1969.

The existing primers were developed after some experimentation with the Laubach method and after a comparative study was made of the primers already in use in Uganda, Swaziland and Tanzania. The early primers (which emphasised the syllable at the expense of the word and the meaningful utterance) were rejected after they were found to be unsuitable for use by adults in the Zambian circumstances. At this point, attention turned to the Swaziland experiment where the emphasis was on integrating reading and writing so that the two processes could proceed simultaneously. After a number of modifications, this was the approach which was finally adopted.

At this juncture, the primers which were devised sought to meet the following requirements:

- (i) literacy learning should proceed from the whole to the parts (i.e. from the meaningful utterance to the syllable and, if necessary, to the letter and back again to the utterance);
- (ii) the individual student should be able to progress at his own pace;
- (iii) the learning load per lesson should be capable of being assimilated by the average student;
- (iv) there should be complete synchronisation of reading and writing;
- (v) there should be little or no preparation of class work on the part of the instructor;
- (vi) the average student should be able to complete the 60 lessons in the six primers in a period of six to eight months;
- (vii) the student should be able to attain a basic vocabulary of about 320 useful words including all the most productive syllables needed for building further reading skills, and
- (viii) the student should also attain the ability to do simple written money sums and to read the time.

In terms of contents, the present primers designed for the non-work-oriented section of the Programme depend predominantly on stories depicting social activities already environmentally familiar to the student. Presumably meant to be of equal appeal to the rural and urban learner, the stories appearing in the primers include social activities which are characteristic of both rural and urban areas. Thus, almost invariably, the development of the story centres around a hero or heroine who starts his or her life-history in the village, after which the focus shifts to town in the form of a short visit to the line-of-rail and then finally back to the village. Only in a few instances are these activities directly related to the immediate economic needs of the community.

In linguistic structure, all the primers (from Primer 1 to Primer 6 in each language) take a meaningful utterance, such as "A woman is cultivating" as the focal point of the learning process. The next step consists of breaking up the utterance into its appropriate syllables, and the third step of rebuilding the components once more into the original utterance so that a single lesson in Nyanja may look something like this:

*Amai alima* "The woman is cultivating"

*A<sub>1</sub>ma<sub>1</sub>*

*Amai*

*Amai alima*

*<sup>a</sup>li<sub>ma</sub>*

*alima*

A further breakdown into letters (consonants and vowels), has been found to be unnecessary in the teaching of literacy in the context of Zambian languages since the most meaningful unit for literacy purposes is the syllable and not the letter. The breaking up of a word into its syllabic components is done only if that word is being introduced for the first time and is thus, in literacy terms, technically, a new item in the reading vocabulary of the learners.

Prior to the compilation of the primers, a fairly extensive collection of words was undertaken in all the languages officially approved for teaching in the Programme. The purpose of this exercise was to discover what syllables recurred most often in each language. Once this was determined, the syllables with the highest frequency of recurrence in the language concerned were introduced in the first and second primers in the series. Reflective of the linguistic structure characteristic of the Zambian languages involved, it was found that syllables consisting of single vowels and those consisting of a single consonant plus a vowel, e.g. *a* and *ta*, recurred most frequently in all seven languages. Of these, *la* and *ma* exhibited the highest frequency of recurrence. This knowledge was used in choosing the names of the principal characters in the stories and also in determining a controlled progression from the simplest to the most complex syllable.

At the same time it was found that syllables consisting of a nasal plus another consonant followed by a semivowel, e.g. *mpwa*, *ngwa*, *nzya*, *ntyā*, etc. were the most complex and these were, therefore, relegated to the last two or three primers in the series. All during the exercise of compiling the primers, a systematic check was maintained on the number of times a given syllable or word was used throughout the

series. This was primarily to ensure that no one syllable or word was overdrilled at the expense of others. However, in spite of a conscientiously and carefully maintained letter, word and syllable register, this could not be ensured in every case.

Each primer, in design, consists of a core text and accompanying drills. The core text provides culturally appropriate contexts of situation and, as has already been stated, the meaningful utterance forms the point of departure. All the subsequent drills are based either on the material contained in the new lesson (i.e. the core text) or on that of previous lessons. Each new lesson including drills, accordingly, observes the following format:

#### *Lesson*

New material (in the core text)

Breaking up of new words

Review drills of old material

The breaking up of new words and the review exercises are intended to give the student the opportunity to master the new words and syllables as well as to keep in touch with past material.

The overall design of the primer has been open to serious criticism. The most serious one has been that too much emphasis was placed on linguistic considerations and not nearly enough on pedagogical ones. It has, for example, been pointed out that because of too much concern with syllabic simplicity and complexity, the adult learner was constantly being subjected to a vocabulary which very often insulted his intelligence. Related to this, the repetition of the same syllable and the same word in successive lessons contributed to the boredom so evident in actual learning situations. Also, the use of the same actors throughout the six primers offered little challenge and stimulation to the learner. The simplicity of the plots in the stories and the non-relevance of the topics to the learners' adult occupations further contributed to the rejection of the primers as suitable literacy reading matter. To compound the problem, quite often many of the learners are lapsed students and the majority of them find the prepared materials too simple or not sufficiently challenging in view of their previous level of literacy.

#### 3.1.1 *The Arithmetic Book*

The primer stage includes as an important component the mastery of simple numeracy. Briefly, the primary function of the arithmetic book which has been prepared for the Programme is that, through it, the third skill, arithmetic involving simple calculations, is expected to be acquired by the learner. The contents of the book include simple exercises on addition, subtraction, division and multiplication. A greater

portion of the book deals with weights and measures. A considerable portion is also devoted to telling time and accounting for money. In answer, however, to the change-over to the metric system which was planned to take full effect by 1972, the book had to be readapted so as to be in line with this system. In its totality, the book is intended to enable the learner to acquire the ability to make simple calculations for himself in a variety of occupations. As far as is known, there has been no serious criticism of the book, except that because of the long delay in printing it, it has already become outdated!

### 3.2 *The Follow-on Stage*

The follow-on stage, which has no prescribed specific duration and which is merely stated to follow on the primer stage, is intended as the period when more work-oriented adult education in the non-work-oriented section of the Programme is to be acquired by the learner. To meet this challenge, a variety of readers as additional reading matter on a wide range of development-oriented topics has been provided. As a matter of interest, some of the titles in the series are "Post Office", "The Dining Room", "Club Everywhere", "How to make Scones", while others are stories for mere entertainment. The follow-on books were intended to be more complex and more challenging than the primers. They were conceived to offer the student the opportunity to cultivate a reading fluency and interest which he had perhaps not acquired during the primer stage; they were to be a bridge to fluent and independent reading.

In practice, very few students have gone on to the follow-on stage, for a number of reasons. In the first place, many of the follow-on books are very simple in linguistic structure and content and on occasion are much simpler than the primers which they were intended to supplement. In many of them, the criterion of observing a sentence of no more than ten words is rigidly adhered to with the consequence that the presentation is often far below the adult's linguistic competence and is of little challenge to him. And as the UNESCO expert who evaluated the programme in 1970 has observed at one point, "most of the story books do not seem to do justice to adult interests and concepts" (Ahmed [n.d.] p. 24). A third reason leading to the lack of interest in the follow-on programme concerns the unusually long time it takes the average learner to complete the primer stage. Owing to a variety of reasons (principal among them being truancy on the part of the student, frequent absences of the instructor and delays in the printing of books) the student frequently goes through the primer stages in a longer time than the officially prescribed eight months and is therefore less inclined to continue through another extended period. All this in

varying degrees has contributed to a low level of attendance in the follow-on classes generally.

### 3.3 *Distribution of Materials*

Until the Publications Section of the Programme was absorbed into the Publications and Broadcasting Section of the Ministry of Rural Development towards the end of 1970, the Literacy Headquarters in Lusaka used to produce and store the books. In terms of the procedure being followed at present, the Headquarters sends a cyclostyled catalogue of follow-on books and other supplementary readers to the provincial headquarters staff who in turn re-cyclostyle the catalogue for distribution to the local literacy officers. On receipt of the catalogue, the latter are expected to take it to the class and to make appropriate inquiries from the students concerning which books they would like to buy. From the orders received, the local literacy officer should be able to prepare requests from the national headquarters. As may be apparent, this practice is clearly unsatisfactory in at least one important aspect, viz., that the catalogue does not contain enough information on the contents of each book, and is therefore an inadequate guide to the potential buyer. This led Mr. Ahmed, the UNESCO expert, to recommend in his 1970 Evaluation Report that (a) brief annotations on each book should be prepared and sent to the field staff for dissemination to the students; (b) before a book is produced in final form, half a page as a publicity handbill should be prepared and sent to the LLOs in the field to enable them to introduce the book to the learners; (c) as soon as the book is off the press, about 100 copies should be sent to the provinces so as to be on hand when required; and (d) each LLO should be sent a free copy of each book so as to enable him to digest its contents and thus put him in a favourable position to discuss it intelligently with the instructors and the learners. It is not clear to the writer the extent to which these recommendations have been adopted as part of a new pattern of distributing literacy materials more effectively than in the past.

### 4.0 *Attendance and Testing*

Consistent with the current thinking, a line of thinking supported by UNESCO, that participants in literacy programmes should be of *active and productive age, the stipulated minimum age for enrolment* in the Zambia Literacy Programme is fifteen years. (No maximum age has been specified). Despite the regulation, it is not uncommon to find learners below the stipulated age learning alongside older students. In some rare instances, more particularly when the local officer is under

pressure from the community to enrol children who did not get a place in the nearby school, whole classes consist of only school-age children, some of whom may be below the prescribed age. It has been difficult to deny literacy education to these children, the majority of whom have been unable to attend formal schools through no fault of their own but because of limited opportunities.

In subsection 2.1 above, it was stated that one of the responsibilities of the communities was to agree on their own times to meet. Within the limitations of this policy, there can, therefore, be no common pattern since the times the learners agree on and meet each week vary from class to class. Generally speaking, however, most literacy classes meet two or three times a week for a maximum of two hours a session. Only a few classes meet every day or even more than three times a week. The majority of these adult learners have domestic and occupational responsibilities, and they are, therefore, unable to sacrifice more than three afternoons a week for literacy education. Additionally, their instructor has similar responsibilities and his contribution to the local literacy project is circumscribed by the demands imposed upon him by his occupation (if employed) and other personal commitments.

On its part, the Department expects that, whatever the local arrangement, each class will receive about 200 hours of instruction to be given in the span of approximately eight months. At the end of this period, the expectation is that the learner will be ready to sit for the literacy test, the passing of which would entitle him to a literacy certificate. In practice, very few students are tested at the end of the eight-month period. In some cases, in fact, classes drag on interminably, even for as long as two years, without the students ever taking the test. A number of reasons have been suggested to explain why this is so.

Firstly, adult learners, as has already been pointed out, play the dual role of parent and student, and in particular their family obligations as parents frequently preclude their regular presence at literacy lessons. A consequent and related problem concerns the constant change in the composition of the class: while older members drop out for various reasons, new recruits trickle in at irregular intervals. This fluctuation in the learning process makes it extremely difficult for any one class to progress uniformly as a whole and at the end to be able to take the test more or less about the same time. The system also poses problems for the instructor who has the difficult task of guiding his students who are always at different stages of preparation towards the literacy test. To cite a hypothetical example, it is quite common to find a situation where three students are at Primer I stage, two at Primer II, four at Primer III, and so on.

The second reason for the poor attendance in literacy classes relates to the high rate of instructor drop-out. In the Evaluation Report

(Ahmed [n.d.] p. 13) it has been pointed out that of the 104 classes which were studied, the meetings were held irregularly in 68, more than 65%, because of instructors, and that only 36 classes met irregularly because of the students. In this sample, two out of the 36 classes could not meet regularly because students returned late from work; another two because the students could not afford to pay for their books as well as contribute to the instructor's remuneration; and one because its members did not like the manner in which literacy instruction was being provided.

The main reason for the failure of classes to meet regularly, however, has been attributed by the Evaluation Report to the honoraria system, that is, up until its revision some time in 1970. Before revision, as has already been noted, instructors were only paid if the local community, through whatever means, raised the initial sum. In the majority of classes, rural communities in particular found it difficult to meet this criterion and the instructors in these areas, therefore, were not compensated for their services. Characteristically, considerable numbers of them withdrew their contribution soon after the initial flush of enthusiasm had waned. This had only one sure effect: abandoning the class led to its demise. Essentially, as the Chief Literacy Officer pointed out in 1969:

The problem is that the ever worsening condition of losing instructors by the hundreds has a snowballing effect: the loss of one instructor results in the permanent closure of one or more classes with the obvious implications for the learners who compose the class. It is easy to contemplate the disastrous effects the desertion of more than 100 instructors would have on the Adult Literacy Programme, as happened in 1968 when a total of 1,782 trained volunteer instructors ceased to teach literacy classes. Partly as a result of this widespread defection, there was in 1968 a corresponding loss of 862 literacy classes and a loss of 10,123 literacy students. (Kashoki [n.d.] p. 6).

Table 4 points to the gravity of the situation to which the honoraria system was, until its modification, a principal contributor.

In view of this evidence, the Government has found it necessary to modify its earlier policy and there is no longer the insistence on the prior contribution of the local communities before it grant-aids them. According to the revised arrangement, the Government has agreed to the payment of two Kwacha (K2) to each instructor per month. However, in order to guard against the abuse of the system, the payment is not automatic but is subject to the proof that the instructor has in fact performed his assigned duties. To facilitate this, the instructor is paid seventeen ngwee (17n) for each session he has actually taught.

Table 15:4: Student enrolment and number of certificates issues.

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of students enrolled</i>	<i>No. of literacy certificates issued</i>
1967	15,818	342
1968	15,875	1,097
1969	20,785	1,114
1970	20,767	3,787

It should be noted that these figures reflect only the performance of the Department of Community Development and do not take into account that of Urban Councils, the Mining Companies and other private organisations.

(Cf. arrangements for the functional literacy scheme described in section 7.0). It is now claimed that this arrangement is producing far better results since many instructors are keen to hold as many meetings as possible. It is still too early to assess conclusively the effectiveness of the system.

#### 4.1 *Examinations*

It has been implicit in the remarks made in the previous section that the number of people eventually made literate is directly dependent upon two main factors: the regularity of attendance by the learners and the regular presence of the instructor in the class. Although much less direct as a factor, the student is also more likely to sit for the test if he has the motivation to learn and this to a great extent can only be ensured if the subject matter is of personal interest and benefit to him.

In structure the literacy test is very simple, consisting of two parts: (i) language (consisting of comprehension, reading and writing) and (ii) simple calculations. The learner has to obtain a minimum of 50% of the marks in both parts in order to gain a full certificate. If he scores less than 50% in any one part, he is made to repeat both parts until there is a satisfactory performance in each of them.

Although some appreciable dent has been made in the problem of illiteracy since 1964, the results so far have not given cause for much reassurance. Table 4 tells its own story. Reasons for the low level of achievement are easily stated. Primary among these is the long delay which was experienced initially in the production of primers. The primers, particularly 4 to 6, were finally delivered towards the end of 1969 or early in 1970. In the meantime, many classes had to repeat primers 2 and 3 whilst waiting for the arrival of the more advanced texts (eventually, in fact, tests had to be based on primers 1 to 3). Later, defective systems of distributing the books to the provinces further aggravated the problem. In the field, lack of proper selection of literacy



instructors (many of whom had attained a level of literacy barely superior to that of their lapsed students) was yet another contributing factor to the poor results attained. The failure could also be attributed to the absence of adequate supervision of classes by the local literacy officers many of whom appeared, according to the Evaluation Report, to lack a systematic procedure of identifying the students who were ready to sit for the literacy test.

When all these reasons are considered together, it is perhaps not surprising that only 6,698 persons were issued literacy certificates between 1965 and 1970. It is also perhaps instructive to observe here that, at this rate, the Government appears to have spent between K245–K315 per illiterate person from 1966 to 1969 and between K49–K55 during 1970,<sup>6</sup> both figures being much higher than those originally proposed at the inception of the Programme.

## 5.0 *Training*

Training in the literacy programme may conveniently be divided into two categories:

- (a) the training of instructors, and
- (b) the training of literacy officers.

### 5.1 *Training of Instructors*

It has been stated (see 2.1) that the identification and persuasion of potential literacy instructors is one of the responsibilities of the local community. The actual training of these instructors, however, is the responsibility of the central Government. When enough educated persons have responded to the appeals of their illiterate neighbours wishing to learn, or, alternatively, when these persons have voluntarily presented themselves for training as instructors, the LLO in the area makes arrangements to provide the requisite training to the group.

The normal period for the training of instructors is two weeks. However, in view of the occasional variation in the academic qualifications of potential instructors, provision has been made that persons with higher educational qualifications should undergo a shorter period of training than those with lower qualifications. In practice, it has been found that those who volunteer to teach are generally those who have had four to seven years of primary education. Persons with two years of secondary education also volunteer but on a considerably smaller scale. Since 1969, when literacy clubs were established throughout Zambia, secondary schools have become one of the main sources of literacy instructors.

In addition to detailed instructions on the pedagogical application of the primer to the classroom situation, instructors are given hints on the broader aspects of adult education and in particular on the principles and methods of teaching adults. On completing the course, successful trainees are issued a certificate testifying to their competence to teach any literacy class anywhere in the country, barring linguistic restrictions.

### 5.2 *Training of Literacy Officers*

To recruit literacy officers, vacancies are advertised in the national papers as well as on the radio, and applications are sought from suitably qualified young men and women of mature age (considered now to be eighteen and over, corresponding to the official voting age.) The educational qualifications required are either a Form II certificate (i.e. formerly two years of secondary education but three after 1971) or seven years of primary education plus two years of practical training or experience related to adult education.

When accepted, the candidates, prior to 1970, used to attend a four-month course at Kabwe Community Development Centre where the trainees received intensive instruction in the duties of a literacy officer. After 1970, the duration of the course was changed to six months. In the main, the training includes a knowledge of civil service regulations, accounts, principles and methods of adult education, basic demography, establishment and supervision of literacy classes and compilation of monthly, quarterly and annual reports. After three months of residence at the training centre, the trainees are sent out into the field for a period of two months and are attached to an experienced LLO whom they understudy. The sixth month is spent at the training centre and is devoted to a thorough review of the principles learned at the centre and the problems encountered in the field. At the completion of the course, the successful candidates are posted anywhere in the rural and urban areas and are subject only to the condition that they should at least have a fluent command of the language of the area to which they are posted.

### 6.0 *General Problems Affecting the Programme*

As might be expected, the Zambia Literacy Programme has been beset with the same problems and constraints as is the general experience of developing countries. In a great many of these countries, because of the limited financial resources available to the governments, a high premium is placed on voluntary work, and thus, very often, voluntary participation on the part of the instructor becomes a pivotal factor in

the execution of literacy programmes. Desirable as this practice is, it unfortunately presents to the officers administering the programmes many complex problems. For instance, though potential instructors can easily be located and even persuaded to teach (vast numbers of them invariably enthusiastically rush forward) it is not always easy to hold them for very long to their initial pledge. Nor is it easy in the second place to find those who possess the desired teaching qualities. Since the question of pay is not involved in the transaction, literacy officers often do not have any choice but to accept any person who comes along. They also find it administratively impossible afterwards to impose any regulations on the volunteers, since the government has no binding claim whatsoever on them. The literacy instructors are free to come and go as they wish, and large numbers do so.

### 6.1 *Pedagogical*

In Zambia, this state of affairs has now been admitted to be highly unsatisfactory vis-à-vis the urgency and enormity of the illiteracy problem in the country especially as it impinges on national development. The failure to retain volunteer instructors who have been trained is of particular concern since their defection leads to a serious disruption of continuity in the student's learning process, thereby damaging, perhaps irreparably, his initial enthusiasm for literacy education, which in part may explain the general low rate of attendance so far.

These factors led the government in 1970 to modify its earlier stand on voluntary participation. Though there has been no fundamental shift from the spirit of the original policy, it is significant that since 1970 the government does not now insist on the prior contribution of the communities before it can play its part.

### 6.2 *Administrative*

A number of constraints experienced so far are administrative. A good example of this is the problem relating to transport. A literacy programme operating throughout the entire country, as is the case in Zambia, requires adequate transport facilities to enable officers to effect the necessary coordination, particularly to keep in touch with the students, instructors and literacy committees so that enthusiasm for learning is kept as high as possible. Where these facilities are inadequate, the officers are often immobilised at their stations. The bicycle which is provided for every literacy officer has been found to have serious limitations as a means of transport, especially in the rural areas. Sometimes because of the special nature of the terrain in the area, as is the case in the Western Province where one finds extensive

sandy plains, bicycles are of little use, even for short distances. The most handicapped are the District Literary Officers. Lacking motorised transport which is required for supervisory work at the district level, they are generally confined to their stations and only go out occasionally when incidental transport is made available. Hence the widespread complaints by literacy students that they are rarely visited by literacy officers are undoubtedly valid criticisms (Ahmed [n.d.] pp. 8-9).

### 6.3 *Other*

Other constraints are of a nature general to all literacy programmes: the high rate of student drop-out and the absence of effective measures to stem this trend; the difficulties experienced in ensuring that the issue of a literacy certificate is in fact a true measure of permanent literacy; the more intractable problem of devising a feasible and effective mechanism of following up the student's progress once he has left the literacy class; and the almost insoluble problem, already discussed in detail, of retaining the instructor throughout the life of the class. The latter two problems might, however, find a partial solution in the functional literacy programme which is the subject of the next subsection.

### 7.0 *The Functional Literacy Pilot Project*

As an active and vocal contributor to the World Congress of Ministers of Education held in Teheran, Iran, in September 1965, under the auspices of UNESCO, Zambia agreed to implement its own literacy programme within the framework of UNESCO's Experimental World Literacy Programme, which was proposed and adopted at the conference.

Subsequently, a UNESCO Planning Mission visited the country in 1967 at the invitation of the Government of Zambia, and submitted a report whose chief recommendation dealt with the establishment of a functional literacy pilot project to include about 80,000 learners between 1969 and 1972. The pilot project was to place emphasis on literacy education which related directly to agricultural cooperatives, mining and construction industries. In essence, the project was meant to link literacy and continuing education, technical and vocational training, and the priorities of national development plans. The high investment in the personnel and financial resources which the plan called for, however, prevented the plan's implementation in its original form. In a somewhat modified form, the Government merely asked for a UNESCO expert in literacy evaluation, research and planning to come and assess the effectiveness of the existing Programme and to make appropriate recommendations for improvement.

After a detailed evaluation of the Programme and a countrywide

assessment of the social and economic needs of many and varied localities, the UNESCO expert submitted a proposal which emphasised work-oriented literacy. Accepting the proposal, the Government decided at the time to experiment with a functional literacy pilot project to be sponsored jointly by the Nordic Students Association of Norway and Denmark and the Government of Zambia. The intention of the government was to transform the existing nationwide literacy scheme gradually into a work-oriented programme if the pilot project proved to be a success, to be measured in terms of three main factors: education, occupation and health. Somewhat peripheral but nevertheless important were two other factors, viz. civic responsibility and effective use of the mass media. More recently, a further aim, increasing agricultural production among peasant farmers, has been added.

In terms of *education*, the main objectives of the scheme were the training of illiterate and semi-literate adults to the level and extent that:

- (i) they would be able to read newspapers in their mother tongue with a reasonable degree of comprehension;
- (ii) they would be able to read with understanding simple materials initially in Tonga (to be extended later to other languages) relating to agriculture and health;
- (iii) they would be capable of expressing their needs in writing and of using arithmetic to meet their basic needs; and
- (iv) they would continue to read additional instructional materials which might be provided from time to time primarily by the project itself and secondarily by the Departments of Health and Agriculture.

In terms of *occupation*, the project envisaged, through literacy, a measurable increase in the learner's knowledge and understanding of scientific methods of maize production. A further aim of the project was to enable the learner to effect an increase in his harvest of maize per hectare. It was also hoped that he would have a better knowledge of the facilities available to him in the area and would thus make intelligent use of them.

With regard to *health*, the project aimed at enabling the learner to acquire more knowledge and understanding of those aspects of health which were of particular relevance to him. More and better use of health facilities was also expected to derive from a more work-oriented literacy programme. In terms of mass media, it was hoped that literacy lessons under this scheme would lead to an increase in the number of people listening to radio broadcasts and reading newspapers. (Ahmed, 1970, pp. 2-3).

In accordance with the high premium placed by the Government on agriculture and rural development, in a concerted effort to improve the standard of living in the rural areas and also as a measure to diversify

the economy, maize production was chosen as the area needing special and urgent attention in the proposed pilot project. Maize has gradually become the staple food of the entire Zambian African population and the need to produce it in sufficient quantities is therefore self evident. The shortage of this crop and the resultant famine in many rural areas of the country in 1970 provided further impetus to the need to increase production.

According to a detailed description of the scheme as originally proposed (Ahmed, 1970), the project was to be sited in the Central and Southern Provinces, two of the country's principal maize producing areas. On the advice of the Department of Agriculture, farming belts were identified in the two provinces and within them specific localities were chosen for the siting of literacy classes. In this sense, the project was selective in its actual placement of classes.

Since the inhabitants of these areas spoke Tonga and Lenje, two closely related languages, it was decided to use Tonga for instruction following the policy already laid down for the Literacy Programme by the Government. Other languages were to be included later as the programme extended to other provinces. With the subsequent expansion of the Functional Literacy Scheme to other provinces (to the Eastern and Northern Provinces in 1974, the Northwestern and Western Provinces in 1975, and the Copperbelt and Luapula Provinces in 1976) Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale and Nyanja were duly added.

In this project, rather than place sole reliance on volunteer instructors, more use was expected to be made of the technical personnel in the departments of Agriculture, Veterinary, Health, Cooperatives, Community Development, etc., who were within easy reach of the LLO's station. These were to be supplemented by farmers who had received at least seven years of education where such need arose. Secondary schools, whose students would be used to complement the farmer-instructors, were seen as another source.

Originally, the teaching materials to be used in the project were to include three textbooks: one on maize production, the second on health and nutrition, and the third on citizenship (emphasising the national philosophy of Humanism.)<sup>7</sup> Along with technical skills, the skills of reading and writing were to be introduced in stages throughout the three textbooks. In addition to the textbooks, it was planned to produce two periodicals which would be prepared on the spot in response to local needs. It was hoped that these would provide relevant and timely reading material based on the expressed needs of the local population and on the problems faced by them. A timetable for their production was not specified, but presumably this was to depend on local need.

Before his departure from Zambia in 1974 Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed, the

UNESCO expert who had played a central role in conceiving and initiating the functional literacy scheme, undertook a "terminal" evaluation of the scheme at the end of his contract. Not publicly available and obtainable only in mimeographed form from the Department of Community Development, the evaluation report pointed to several significant developments since the inception of the scheme. Notable among these was the extension of the scheme to all the provinces of Zambia from 1974 to 1976. Another notable development was the identification and designation of maize production as the principal economic activity and the major teaching subject in the Central, Copperbelt, Luapula, Northern, Northwestern, Southern and Western provinces, while groundnut production was earmarked for Eastern Province because maize production there was considered to be already sufficiently advanced.

A particularly important development concerned the shift from a reliance in the "traditional", non-functional Literacy Programme almost entirely on part-time, unpaid, voluntary literacy instructors to a total reliance in the functional literacy scheme on full-time, paid instructors. Experimentation with paid instructors had shown that the deployment of paid teaching staff yielded better results, led to a lower rate of student drop-out, and attracted relatively greater numbers of male students than was the case in the traditional programme. Paid instructors in particular seemed to give rise to a higher standard of instruction and a correspondingly higher degree of student performance. As a result, the Department of Community Development has now opted for the utilization of its own full-time Community Development workers as literacy instructors; only the Urban Local Authorities, the Mines and Zambia Railways at present have continued the practice of using unpaid, voluntary instructors as the major source and mainstay of their teaching manpower.

The textbooks presently in use have kept close to the original intentions and comprise a primer dealing with either maize or groundnut growing, an arithmetic book, and a health and nutrition book. Limited financial resources have precluded the production of a book on citizenship. There appear to have been no attempts to produce the two periodicals which it had originally been hoped would be prepared on the spot in response to and reflecting local needs.

## 8.0 *Conclusion*

In the space and limitations of this brief report, it has not been possible to devote attention to every aspect of the Programme nor has it been feasible to consider in exhaustive detail even those aspects which have been covered. The scope of emphasis has deliberately been kept

narrow as it seemed advisable to confine the description to those aspects of the Programme about which there was at least reasonably accurate information. In the main, nearly all that has been said in the preceding pages has been concerned with the Literacy Programme as formalised since 1965 into an arm of the Department of Community Development.

Desirable and informative as it would have been to have given some attention to the ancillary literacy programmes being run by voluntary agencies, the difficulties which were experienced in obtaining basic information on these programmes and the limited time available in which to do this suggested their exclusion in preference to a report of limited accuracy and validity. In the future, it would seem of great importance to have an account of the programmes being organised and conducted especially by urban councils and mining companies. These voluntary agencies maintain records of their activities, but the main difficulty lies in the amount of time it requires to collect and go through these records before a reasonably coherent statement can be compiled.

In the meantime, the present report should be read and considered in the light of the limitations mentioned above. It is, however, reasonably accurate to assert that, as most of literacy education in Zambia today is borne by the Department of Community Development, the information contained in this report represents the greatest portion of literacy activity in the country at this stage.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The illiterate adult population as broken down by region was as follows: Central Province, 173,000; Copperbelt (Rural), 14,000; Copperbelt (Urban), 119,000; Eastern, 208,000; Luapula, 115,000; Northern, 197,000; Northwestern, 105,000; Southern, 149,000; Western, 167,000.

<sup>2</sup> Undated (but 1967) circular. File No. CD/LIT/1.

<sup>3</sup> A Kwacha is roughly equivalent to one US dollar and forty cents.

<sup>4</sup> A slightly different arrangement was made with regard to urban councils. Here the community was required to contribute the initial 50% and the council and the government 25% each respectively.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that the Ndola District is practically a province in itself and includes all the rural areas adjoining Kitwe, Mufulira, Luanshya, Chingola, Kalulushi and Chililabombwe.

<sup>6</sup> Figures supplied by Mr. Ahmed, UNESCO Expert (personal communication).

<sup>7</sup> Humanism, as propounded by Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda and as accepted and adopted by the ruling United National Independence Party, is based on the principle that Man is central to all that he does. Humanism also has its roots in African traditions and in this sense is parallel to Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's African Socialism, Ujamaa.

<sup>8</sup> Thanks are due to Dr. John Oxenham of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, for supplying a number of these references.



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## 0.0 *Introduction*

In the Introduction to this volume, written in 1972, Don Bowen noted the limitations of a one-year survey conducted with only two full-time academic staff on a rather small budget. He rightly stressed the need for a continuation of this research effort. Since the publication of the survey findings has been so greatly delayed (cf. Foreword) the opportunity now arises to consider how far this necessary continuation has in fact taken place. A number of the developments reviewed in this chapter can be traced more or less directly to the impetus generated by the 1970-71 Survey. Many other factors, of course, have also contributed to changes in Zambian society over the past six years. I begin by describing in sections 1 and 2 certain major trends and developments whose influence on the society has been extremely pervasive. In sections 3 and 4 I review developments in education and the mass media. And in sections 5 and 6 I describe two specific outgrowths of the survey, the Zambia Language Group and recent research on language. Finally in section 7 I attempt an evaluation of the overall impact of the Survey on Zambian society.

## 1.0 *The Population of Zambia*

### 1.1 *Ethnic Composition*

Zambia inherited at independence in 1964 a population socially segregated and stratified along racial lines, as did many other states in Africa. The absolute numbers of European origin residents, as well as their proportional representation in the total population, was greater than in any previous African state on the attainment of independence. This factor combined with the presence, on three of Zambia's borders, of colonial-type societies in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola, to generate many tensions between the races in Zambia.

By 1969 the proportion of the population who were of European origin had dropped from the 1961 figure of 2.14% to 1.07% (Census of population and housing, 1969). Results of the 1974 sample census have not yet been published to show whether this proportion has dropped any further. Probably more significant than any drop in this figure however is the changing composition of the "European" population of

Zambia. First the proportion of the European-language speaking population who speak English as their first language has almost certainly decreased from the figure of 86%, which can be derived from the 1969 census data. Secondly within the Anglophone section of this population there has been a very high turnover. Statistics on this phenomenon are hard to find, but in one particular employment sector, the teaching profession, Elliot (1972) cites Stannard (1970) as estimating that only between 10% and 20% of expatriate teachers renew their contracts of service. Thus, while the proportion of Zambia's population who are of European origin remains quite high, only a very small proportion of this sector can be properly described as "remnants" of the colonial era.

The significance of the European minority in Zambian society with respect to language is difficult to gauge. They occupy a privileged position in the economy, since the great majority are professionally trained (cf. Sanyal, Case, Dow & Jackman, 1976). But their influence on policy is largely contained by the increasing "Zambianisation" of senior executive positions throughout all sectors of the society (cf. section 3.3 below). Moreover, although English is the principal medium of communication with Zambians for non-Anglophone Europeans, they presumably place less value on this language than did the earlier generations of expatriate professionals who were almost exclusively Anglophone and British. To the extent that one accepts the historical thesis that the dominant position of English in Zambia derives in part from colonial ideology (Higgs, n.d.; Kamayoyo, 1974) the increasing linguistic diversity of Zambia's expatriate population is consistent with a reduction of political pressures to maintain that dominance (cf. section 3.4.2 below).

A second sector of Zambia's population which has undergone significant changes since independence is the population of Indian origin. The trends of these changes were, however, clearly apparent already in 1971 and are well documented in Ansu Datta's chapter (Chapter 9).

There is no reason to believe that the rapid growth of the so-called Zambian Asian population documented in Table 9:1 by Datta has slowed down. The main effects of the Mulungushi Economic Reforms introduced in 1969 seem to have been to encourage many resident businessmen of Indian origin to apply for Zambian citizenship, and to emphasise for their children the value of branching out into other occupations. Most of the post-secondary educational institutions in Zambia now have a higher proportion of Zambian Asians among their student body than is true of the population at large. These educationally ambitious young people continue, as shown by Datta, to use English as their preferred language for most situations.

The Hindustani films which provided such an important source of cultural stimulation for the Asian communities in Zambian cities are less frequently advertised now in the press, probably because shortage

of foreign exchange interferes with their regular importation. Although most of the younger generation now aspire to move into alternative, less marginal occupations, the public visibility of *Zambian Asian-owned retail shops* serves to reinforce the stereotype of Indians as traders par excellence. Within these shops the vignette depicted by Datta of a morning's speech pattern in Kabwe is probably just as representative today as it was in 1971.

A third exogenous sector of the *Zambian population* which received very little attention in the Survey is as linguistically heterogeneous as the European-origin sector. These are the refugees from neighbouring African states. Statistics are very scarce in respect of this population. Some reside in "transit camps" whose composition is necessarily shrouded by military security. Others mingle with varying degrees of legality with the general civilian population. Along *Zambia's borders* with Angola, Zaïre, Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique, daily life often involves informal commuting across the international border. Since the ethnic composition of the population on either side of these borders is essentially the same, such interchange has little effect on the census data. But the *Zambesi river* constitutes an ancient natural boundary between *Zambia and Rhodesia*.

Shona-speaking migrants from Rhodesia constitute a distinct minority group in *Zambia* whose numbers are extremely difficult to estimate. In the 1969 census, respondents who stated that they were Shona speakers were apparently categorised as "other African" along with a variety of other smaller exogenous groups. From Zaïre there has also been migration of Lingala-speaking people originating in regions which do not border on *Zambia*. Both of these groups appear to be more significantly represented in urban and peri-urban than in remote rural areas of *Zambia*, and their economic marginality is associated with socially conspicuous roles. Thus Hellen (1968, p. 164) reports the presence in the early 1960s of an estimated 9,000 Rhodesian-origin African settlers near Mumbwa, whose greater success in farming than the indigenous Lenje-speaking people drew attention in the colonial era and continued to do so in 1969 (Elliott et al. 1970). Jules-Rosette (1975) has described two highly organised independent Apostolic church groups, in shanty-town areas of *Lusaka* in which the principals are Lingala speakers of Zaïrean origin and Shona speakers of Rhodesian origin. The dynamics of interaction between these migrant groups and the host population are marked with widely publicised hostility, as indeed is true of the relations with migrants of European and Indian origin. In the case of the Zaïre-origin population, the *Zambian press* has frequently given publicity to generalised stereotypes concerning criminal activities such as burglary and prostitution.

Despite the salience of the various exogenous groups described above,

much greater social significance must be attached in the long run to indigenous ethnic groupings within Zambia. No data have been published on the numbers of these groups enumerated in the 1975 sample census. There is, therefore, no way of knowing whether their proportions have changed since 1969 (see Table 1:1 of this volume, p. 19). Public reticence on this subject is enforced by a semi-official taboo on citing any figures in this connection. It is arguable that the significance of these groupings arises more from attempts to exploit them for individual political gain than from any pervasive ethnic or regional consciousness among the various groups in Zambia. Molteno's (1974) account, for instance, emphasises the role of political "alliances" between traditionally quite unrelated groups. Whether such phenomena have played an important part in political developments in Zambia since 1971 is a question which the present writer feels incompetent to estimate. But one generally agreed observation may serve to summarise this complex situation: no single indigenous ethnic or linguistic group in Zambia can lay a plausible claim to constitute an overall majority of the population.

### 1.2 *Rural-Urban Migration*

A systematic study of migration in Zambia since independence was made by Jackman (1973) based on the 1969 Census of Population. Her report documents a striking pattern of influx from rural into urban areas throughout the country. Between 1963 and 1966, for instance, the population of Lusaka rose by 81% and that of Chingola by 74%, while the population of Lundazi rose by less than 1% and that of Chinsali actually dropped by 19%. Furthermore in 1969 26% of the enumerated population reported that they had changed their Districts of residence during the previous 12 months, and 66% of these had moved into a district somewhere along the line-of-rail. No comparable figures are available at the time of writing from the 1975 sample census. The widely publicised pressure on housing in all the cities suggests, however, that the pattern of migration from rural into urban areas has continued apace since the time of the Zambia Language Survey. Marter and Honeybone (1976, p. 12) estimate that the urban proportion of the population had increased from 20% in 1963 to 35% in 1974 and project figures of 37% for 1976 and 45% for 1984. Graham Mytton's survey data (Chapters 1 and 7) indicate that individual multi-lingualism is especially prevalent among the urban population, and we may therefore infer that *multilingualism has continued to grow in Zambia since 1971*, as was predicted in Chapter 1.

### 2.0 *The National Economy*

From 1971 to 1974 the price of Zambian copper on the international

market rose steadily to a peak of US.\$0.93 per lb. With copper earnings contributing between 50 and 60% of the Government's total recurrent revenue and around 90% of total export earnings, the state of the economy has, ever since independence, been very closely related to the international price of copper. In 1975 partly as a consequence of the rise in international oil prices and the ensuing cut-back on industrial production in many nations, the price of copper abruptly fell to US.\$0.56 per lb. In 1976 and 1977 there was little improvement, and the state of the Zambian economy has been very severely affected. The nation's foreign exchange reserves fell from K380 million in 1970 to K44 million in March 1976.

The sudden shortage of foreign exchange has precipitated far-reaching political changes, aimed at accelerating the growth of self-sufficiency in production of essential commodities and eliminating the dependence on imported goods. An agrarian revolution has been declared which carries with it significant implications for education. The implementation of these implications is, however, a gradual process. The educational reform proposals discussed in section 3.4.4 below are still far from constituting an agreed policy structure. But if the institutional mechanisms are only gradually emerging, national consciousness is nevertheless permeated by an awareness of the need for reorientation. One component of this projected change is an increase in autonomy which contrasts somewhat with the cosmopolitan style of Zambia's first few years of political independence. In this context a growing emphasis on indigenous cultural resources, including African languages, has become acceptable in public behaviour and associated attitudes.

### 3.0 *The Educational System*

#### 3.1 *Institutional Structure*

Six years after the survey, the basic institutional structure of the Zambian educational system remains largely unchanged. A seven-year primary course is administered in schools scattered throughout the country. A centrally marked examination sets the criterion for selecting between 18 and 20% of Grade 7 school leavers for places in the 122 secondary schools which are distributed across all regions. These now provide a three-year course to all of their intake which is followed by a further selection examination admitting about 50% of the students completing Form III to the final two years of secondary education. Certification at Form V is primarily based on the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC) Examination marked in Britain. A variety of tertiary colleges provide courses for Form V school leavers and a smaller group for Form III school leavers. In addition to the University of Zambia

there are 12 Training Colleges for Primary and/or Secondary School Teachers, a Natural Resources Development College, 4 in-service Schools of Mining, and the Commission for Technical Education administers 13 other colleges. The overall scope of the tertiary educational facilities thus now includes a much needed emphasis on technical and scientific specialisations appropriate to the employment sector in which expatriate manpower is currently most predominant.

Within the University of Zambia in addition to the existing Schools of Agriculture, Education, Engineering, Humanities & Social Sciences, Medicine and Natural Sciences, the year 1973 saw the foundation of a new School of Mines. And in 1974 the Chancellor of the University, President Kaunda, announced plans to establish two additional campuses, one to specialise in Business & Professional Studies in the city of Ndola, and another for Agricultural Studies in the rural centre of Solwezi. Tenders have already been made for the architectural design of premises for these new campuses, and staff for the Ndola campus are being recruited.

### 3.2 *Student Enrolment and Certification*

The most notable growth in the educational system since 1971 has been the expansion of student enrolment in post-primary institutions. From 1971 to 1975, the number of students rose in the primary schools from 729,801 to 872,392 (an increase of 20%), in the secondary schools from 56,036 to 73,049 (an increase of 30%), in Technical and Vocational Colleges from 3,656 to 5,216 (an increase of 43%) and in the University of Zambia from 1,566 to 2,354 (an increase of 50%).

Rapid expansion of student enrolment normally carries with it the danger of overloading staff and hence reducing the proportional rate of educational attainment. Judging by the record of certification, however, no serious drop in standards has accompanied the growth in the secondary school population over this period. Although the number of candidates for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate rose only slightly from 7,038 in 1971 to 7,251 in 1975, the proportion of candidates meeting the requirements for a full certificate rose from 35% in 1971 to 55% in 1975, yielding an absolute increase in the number of certificates obtained of 1,482 (60% of the 1971 figure). The number of students graduating from the University of Zambia also rose dramatically during this period from 136 in 1971 to 450 in 1975 (an increase of 230%). In October 1977 close to 500 University students are expected to graduate.

### 3.3 *Zambianisation of Education Manpower*

With the change in economic conditions, the need to replace expatri-

ate employees with local citizens has acquired a new urgency, since "contract salary and gratuities transfer alone accounted for 50 million Kwacha in 1972" (Sanyal et al., 1976, p. 49). Moreover national political aspirations naturally place great emphasis on indigenous staffing of responsible positions in society.

By 1971, the primary teaching profession was already almost entirely manned by Zambian nationals. In the secondary schools, however, expatriates on contract remain even now in the majority. There has been a substantial proportional increase in the number of teachers graduating from various institutions in Zambia: from 119 in 1971 to 473 in 1975, a rise of nearly 300%. But the absolute number remains small and has scarcely begun to overtake the expansion of student intake. There is moreover a very high attrition rate for Zambian secondary school teachers, estimated by Jackman (1977) at an annual average of 18% over the years 1970 to 1974. Thus the proportion of secondary school teachers who were Zambian nationals rose only from 13% in 1971 to 37% in 1976. And according to Jackman's (1977) projections this proportion will only reach 52% by the year 1981 if the present rate of attrition remains stable, thus falling far short of the target of complete Zambianisation by 1980 (see Chapter 13). A policy of accelerated promotion has, however, placed Zambian nationals at the head of most educational institutions: 58% of secondary school heads were Zambians by 1977, 85% of the heads of Teacher Training Colleges and 88% of School Inspectors.

Within the University of Zambia, senior administrative positions have also been principally filled by Zambian nationals in the past few years. Recruitment and training of Zambian academics has progressed at a slower pace. Less than 30% of the academic staff are Zambian citizens in 1977, but more than 100 Zambian graduates are currently studying for higher degrees at various foreign institutions under the sponsorship of the University of Zambia's Staff Development Scheme. Thus it may be confidently predicted that the proportion of Zambians on the academic staff will rise dramatically during the next five years.

### 3.4. *Curriculum Development and Reform*

#### 3.4.1 *Implementation of Policy*

The "New" Zambia Primary Course, which was first launched on an experimental basis in 1966, was already well under way in many schools in 1971, embracing more than half the Grade 1 and Grade 2 classes in the country as a whole. Implementation was, however, rather uneven, affecting urban schools much more than rural schools. By 1974 virtually



all upper primary schools were using the new curriculum, and 83% of Grade 1 classes were using it, including all Lusaka and Copperbelt schools and between 60 and 95% of schools in the various rural regions.

In this primary school curriculum children are introduced to reading, writing and arithmetic in the medium of English irrespective of their home language background, and one of the seven recognised Zambian languages is taught for just two periods per week. The Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) has been responsible for writing textbooks and other teaching materials for this course. A rough index of their productivity is the figure of 350 Zambia Primary Course books and visual aids printed between 1967 and 1975 by the National Educational Company of Zambia.

Zambian languages are available as an option in 68% of the secondary schools as against 40% offering this option in 1971. Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga are all offered up to COSC Level (Lozi and Tonga only since 1975), but none of the schools in Zambia offer more than one Zambian language. In 1975, 3,327 students sat for COSC in a Zambian language. This figure may be compared to the 644 COSC candidates in French and over 7,000 candidates in English in the same year. The proportional success rate in the COSC in Zambian Languages compared favourably in 1973 and 1974 with results in English and were much higher than in French.

At the University of Zambia a Major concentrating on Zambian languages was offered for the first time in 1976. This programme includes a Teaching Methods course so that graduates will be qualified to teach Zambian languages in the Secondary Schools. Other courses in the programme are: "An introduction to Bantu Languages"; "General Linguistics"; "Intensive Analysis of a Zambian Language" (which in 1977-78 will be Tonga); "African Oral Literature"; "Psycho- and Socio-linguistics"; "Analysis of Texts in Zambian Languages"; "Research and Creative Writing in Zambian Languages"; and "Research in Zambian Language Problems". Nine students are presently enrolled in this programme, and are expected to graduate in 1979.

Nkrumah Teachers' Training College also now offers a course for secondary school teachers of Zambian Languages, the first graduates of which will complete their studies in 1978. All teacher training colleges in Zambia now have a fully fledged department of Zambian Languages with a Head of Department appointed.

### 3.4.2 *The Debate on the Role of English*

The rosy picture painted by Bryson McAdam in this volume (Chapter 12) has not been the only view expressed in Zambia of the New Zambia

Primary Course. As early as October 1969 Simon Kapwepwe, at that time Vice-President of Zambia, had this to say:

... we should stop teaching children through English right from the start because it is the surest way of imparting inferiority complex in the children and the society. It is poisonous. It is the surest way of killing African personality and African culture. From my experience people defend what they have and not what they do not have. The African children will only defend the European culture because that is what they will be taught from the start to the finish (Kapwepwe, 1970, p. 68).

The very fact that this heated attack could emanate from so highly placed an individual at Zambia's first National Education Conference calls into question the following confident assertion by John Mwanakatwe, then Minister of Education:

... even the most ardent nationalists of our time have accepted the inevitable fact that English — ironically a foreign language and also the language of our former colonial masters — has definitely a unifying role in Zambia (Mwanakatwe, 1968, p. 213).

In the early years of independence protests such as Kapwepwe's were generally muted because of the stigma attached to public assertions of ethnicity. The national motto of "One Zambia, One Nation" was frequently invoked as a prohibition on discussions of the positive cultural values attached to Zambian languages. The widely agreed need for "unity in diversity" was interpreted by many officials as implying that Zambia's linguistic and cultural diversity should be mentioned as little as possible, if not actually denied.

The controversy, however, has begun to acquire greater publicity and greater sophistication since 1971. McAdam (1973), who as director of the English Medium Centre from 1969 to 1971 was responsible for much of the development of the New Zambia Primary Course (ZPC), carried out a comparative study of the attainments in English language and reading skills, mechanical and problem arithmetic and social studies (tested in English) of urban and rural children in two provinces attending either schools which had adopted the ZPC or schools in which the earlier syllabus was still in operation. He found, as might be expected, that ZPC pupils scored significantly better on the tests of English and social studies, but significantly worse on problem arithmetic (cf. Mac-Namara, 1966 for similar findings in Eire). The groups scored equally well on mechanical arithmetic. Unfortunately, McAdam did not evaluate pupils' attainment of proficiency in the Zambian languages. One further finding of peculiar interest was that scores on the English tests by ZPC pupils were bimodally distributed, with about half the pupils scoring as

poorly after 4 years of 70% English medium education as those who under the old syllabus had been exposed to the English language for about 17% of their corresponding time in school. The gross retardation of this large group of ZPC pupils seems to be due to a failure in learning to read in the medium of English. A questionnaire to ZPC teachers in the same study revealed a rising proportion of pupils over Grades 2 to 5 with severe reading handicaps. Sharma (1973) similarly found extensive reading deficiency in an independent survey of ZPC pupils in Grade 3. In spite of the very mixed blessings revealed by his study, McAdam (1973) concluded from his findings that the "advantages of the use of English as a medium of instruction appear to be attainable without any serious educational loss" (p. 534).

Other observers have been impressed with three main problems arising from the introduction of the English medium, new Zambia Primary Course: (1) language stratification, (2) dislocation between home and school ethics and (3) insufficient linguistic competence for a "complete and terminal" primary education.

(1) *Language stratification* is a widely attested phenomenon in multi-lingual societies. Its first formal recognition was by Ferguson (1959) who coined the term "diglossia" to refer to the functional separation of two widely used languages in a community into a High status language reserved primarily for religious, educational and other formal aspects of the culture and a Low status language used in the context of informal activities at home and at work. In the colony of Northern Rhodesia the Christian churches couched most of their proselytising and much of their other education in the medium of the local Bantu languages (Snelson, 1974). The state authorities on the other hand tended to define English as the language of the ruling class and the Bantu languages as the language of the workers and peasants. During the period of transition to independence an expectation grew up that those Africans who took over senior government positions must be competent in English, the language of the ruling class. This was of course not a logical necessity. An equally plausible strategy would have been for the new political order to assert its independence of the colonial tradition by deliberately emphasising a language or languages other than English. But – whatever the reasons, and they are as debatable as those behind the 1966 Education Act decision to introduce the Zambia Primary Course – the actual pattern was that the English language became, along with the colonial styles of housing, cars and to a lesser extent, clothing, a symbol of power and prestige.

One of the arguments against the introduction of English as the universal medium of education in Zambia is that a "package" is thus built up in which education, a well-established entrée to the class of professional élites, endows the former colonial language with yet another

element of prestige. It should, in fairness, be noted however that the prestige of English derived from education was already there under the pre-1966 system of education since upper primary education and beyond were in the medium of English. Advocates of the English medium scheme can reasonably argue that the introduction of English in Grade 1 tends to democratise the status of the language by making it available even to those who do not enter the class of élites. On the other hand, if English acquires a monopoly of the educational curriculum the misconception is in danger of becoming legitimised that nothing of social value or of economic significance can or should be expressed in the Bantu languages. This danger leads us to the second major concern that has been expressed.

(2) *Dislocation between home and school ethics.* The language of the home in all but a very few Zambian families is one or other of the local Bantu languages. The contrast between this environment and the English-medium school poses two kinds of problem for the child. Initially the child is confronted with a largely incomprehensible situation. This, it is argued, must surely be less conducive to learning the basic skills of literacy and numeracy than the former situation in which the Grade I pupil was taught either in the dialect of his home or in a related Bantu language. Not only is it difficult for the child to grasp what is required of him, but he also has little hope of applying to the learning tasks of school the skills and knowledge he has acquired at home, since they are phrased in mutually unintelligible terms.

A further problem arises subsequently for those pupils who eventually overcome these obstacles to learning and acquire new skills and knowledge in school. This school knowledge is compartmentalised in a language which they seldom if ever use in their home. Only with the greatest amount of effort, therefore, can they apprehend the relevance of what they have learned at school to their home situation. The principles of selecting a nutritionally balanced diet or of preventing soil erosion in agriculture may be memorised for purposes of school examinations without precipitating in the student any reappraisal of the contrary practices of her or his home community. Moreover even if the student "makes the connection", any attempt to implement a change in the community will be frustrated, not only by the social dynamics discussed below, but also by the barrier of communication. The English medium educated student can neither express what he has learned in school effectively in the language of his home (in which he has a generally diminishing articulacy and no experience of discussing this particular topic), nor relay effectively in English to the teacher the contrary arguments he encounters from his elders in the home language (since, in addition to his limited comprehension, he has no guided experience of translating between the two languages).

(3) *Insufficient linguistic competence* has been advanced as an inherent problem in the English-medium system, not only for the communication problems outlined above. There is also the question of the pupil's competence in English. Since many children are still forced to leave school after Grade 4 and the vast majority after Grade 7 (see section 3.1 above), the competence attained at these levels should be adequate for the school-leavers to operate effectively in the outside world. It has been argued that, building on a foundation of little or no prior experience of the language, it is unrealistic to expect to impart more than a very basic literacy and numeracy through the medium of 4 years of English-medium education. Indeed even the rather low levels of these basic skills projected in the ZPC for Grade 3 pupils were found in two nation-wide surveys to be well beyond the actual attainment of more than half the pupils tested (Sharma, 1973; Henderson and Sharma, 1974).

These issues have been discussed in a number of publications since 1971 (Chisowa, 1975; Chomba, 1975; Dyamini, 1975; Kamayoyo, 1974; Kashoki, 1971, 1973b; McAdam, 1973; Mwanakatwe, 1973, 1976; Serpell, 1975, 1976; Sharma, 1973; Sharma and Higgs, 1975; Tembo, 1973). In the present writer's view two key theoretical issues separate the adversaries in the debate, one of them political, the other psychological. At the political level the issue at stake is how best to achieve national integration. As Das Gupta (1968) puts it, there are two models for achieving this political goal, the homogenisation model and the co-ordination model. The prevalent view which underlies many contributions to the Zambian debate is that only when the nation has become linguistically more homogeneous will the tensions arising from linguistic diversity be removed. The alternative approach has been well articulated by Kashoki (1971, 1973b), who argues that linguistic and cultural diversity are "in many respects a national asset and not altogether a national liability" (1973b, p. 36). The goal of language policy should therefore in his view be, not the gradual elimination of linguistic diversity, but rather "to harness and utilise it in Zambia to our best advantage" (1973b, p. 36).

To achieve national integration without homogeneity calls above all for mutual respect and understanding among the diverse elements that make up the nation. In terms of political process this calls for decentralised negotiation and compromise rather than centralised monolithic administration from above. At the level of individual behaviour this approach places a premium on multilingual versatility. The goal of the educator thus becomes a multilingual graduate who can adjust to the demands of various situations. Many contributors to the Zambian debate adopt a compartmentalised approach, as if each language belonged to a particular ethnic group or region. Yet as Graham Mytton's data show

(see Chapter 1), individual multilingualism is the rule rather than an exception in the adult Zambian population. Moreover Zambian school children in urban areas (Serpell, 1976) and in certain rural areas (Carter, 1969) show a remarkable flexibility in coordinating several linguistic codes.

A secondary issue which has also received special attention in the debate concerning the role of English in Zambia concerns the varieties of English that can and should be employed in education. The Zambia Primary Course, as described in McAdams' chapter in this volume lays considerable emphasis on oral features of English, with daily pronunciation and intonation drills, and tape recorded examples of speech by "native speakers of English" aimed at circumventing the Zambian teachers' "ingrained speech habits". Considerable debate has been addressed to this feature, with some contributors contending that, if English is to feature so prominently in the Zambian school curriculum, a local variety of English should receive positive encouragement. Most of the debate, which has involved staff of the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Development Centre and Teacher Training Colleges, remains unpublished in the files of the Zambia Curriculum Council's English Curriculum Committee. Provocative discussions, however, are available by Kashoki (1976) and Africa (1977). The related question of whether and how a dialect constituting Zambian English can be defined has been considered from different angles by Serpell (1975, 1977) and Simukoko (1977a and b).

### 3.4.3 *Debates on Language Zoning*

Prior to the Education Act of 1966 which sanctioned the introduction of the English medium Zambia Primary Course, primary education in the unscheduled (formerly African) Schools was in the medium of Zambian languages for the first four grades (see Part 3 Chapter 10). The seven languages officially designated for this purpose (Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga) were allocated to schools on the basis of their location. Two kinds of controversy have been known to arise in connection with this zoning policy. In certain rural areas a regional dialect sometimes commands sufficient emotional allegiance for parents and/or teachers to object to the use of a somewhat different language officially prescribed for the zone to which their school was assigned. And in certain urban areas parents of children whose ethnic group constitutes a large minority of the school population have protested at the use in classes of the urban lingua franca rather than their mother tongue.

Although reports occasionally appear in the national press on these matters, more often these objections remain a matter for private con-

versation without giving rise to public protest. Moreover the unofficial taboo referred to earlier on printed references to ethnicity tends to reduce the extent of press coverage when public protests do occur. Over the years the present writer has on occasion heard about such protests through reliable personal communication for the following areas. In the Copperbelt Province complaints have been voiced by Lamba-speaking parents against the use of Bemba as the medium of instruction. In the Mbala district of Northern Province complaints have been voiced by Mambwe and Lungu-speaking parents against the use of Bemba as the medium of instruction. In Lundazi district of Eastern Province teachers have been known to use Tumbuka in preference to Nyanja as the medium of instruction. And finally in the Livingstone district of Southern Province, protests have been made by Tonga-speaking parents against the use of Lozi as the medium of instruction.

The last of these areas was the subject of an analysis by Kashoki in an unpublished conference paper delivered in Lusaka in August 1975. Citing a number of press reports which appeared in 1971, 1972 and 1975, he sets out to illustrate "the controversial and even explosive aspects of the policy" of language zoning in Zambia (Kashoki, 1975b, p. 1). The author points out that contrary to the public opinion quoted in the newspapers, the official policy throughout the period was for English to be used as the principal medium of instruction in all Livingstone schools, as indeed elsewhere in Zambia. Two or three periods per week however are allocated in the Zambia Primary Course to the teaching of Zambian Languages, and the Ministry of Education has extended the former zoning policy for medium of instruction to the languages specified in each area for these Zambian Language classes. Kashoki bemoans the lack of flexibility which this policy entails, so that pupils can only study a given language at school if they happen to be located in the zone for which it is prescribed, and if a teacher is transferred to a region where his language is not prescribed "you have by that very transfer deprived the nation of one good teacher of" that language (p. 9). Kashoki also remarks that the educational zoning policy "has now been extended to serve political ends as well" (p. 10), so that arguments are reported in the press concerning which language may be used in political meetings. In conformity with his general preference for the promotion of multilingualism, Kashoki ends with an appeal for greater flexibility and less official specification in respect of which languages may be used in particular regions of the nation.

#### 3.4.4 *The Draft Statement on Educational Reform (1976)*

During 1975 an ambitious programme of reviewing the entire educational system was undertaken by the Ministry of Education. Teams of educators and administrators visited a number of different countries

(including China, Cuba and several West African nations) to study their systems, and a wide-ranging set of reports were compiled on specific aspects of education. A report-back seminar for about 100 people was then held to consider the various documents. The deliberations of the seminar were focused as a detailed set of proposals in an 81-page document entitled "Education for Development: Draft Statement on Educational Reform", published in 1976. A national debate was proclaimed on this document and a number of institutions, including the University of Zambia and the Zambia Language Group organised formal discussions and submitted written comments to the Ministry of Education during 1976.

Somewhat to the disappointment of those in Zambia concerned with issues of language in education, the Ministry's Draft Statement included only a very terse statement covering less than one whole page on the medium of instruction. In view of its brevity, the statement is reproduced in full below. It occurs in Chapter 2, entitled "A national education system for all" under the heading "Full-time education" and the sub-heading "Basic Education":

"46. *Medium of instruction.* The child must be introduced to formal education through the medium of a familiar language in which he can communicate easily. Although English is the national language, it is not a familiar language to the overwhelming majority of Zambian children when they enter Grade 1. For them, communication through the medium of English at that stage is far from easy. In fact it is impossible.

47. Nevertheless, for the sake of communication between Zambians whose mother tongues differ and in order to promote the unity of the nation, it is necessary for all Zambian children to learn the national language as early as possible and to use it confidently.

48. These principles will be combined in the new system of Basic Education. The seven Zambian languages which are presently prescribed as languages of education will become the media of instruction from Grades 1 to 4. English will be introduced into the curriculum from Grade 1, in a gradual manner appropriate to the age of the children and the subject to be taught, so that students may be prepared for the use of English as medium of instruction from Grade 5 onwards. At that stage, and throughout Basic Education, Zambian languages will be among the core subjects in the curriculum." (Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 11). Other sections of the document briefly indicate that the Adult Literacy Campaign, education for the deaf and hard of hearing and preschool education will all be conducted exclusively in one of the seven official Zambian languages (paragraphs 118, 147 and 174).

The University of Zambia's reaction to this aspect of the proposals was prepared by a small study group in 1976 comprising lecturers and



students and is reproduced in full in Vol. 3 No. 1 of the *Bulletin of the Zambia Language Group*. The group looked favourably on the principal proposal to reintroduce the seven official Zambian languages as media of instruction in the lower primary grades, but felt that the rationale for the change was insufficiently expounded in the Ministry's Draft Statement. Additional arguments in support of the proposal which deserved publicity were: the widespread existing social functions performed by these languages; their role as vehicles of the nation's cultural heritage; the need for them to be encouraged to expand to cover the subject matter of modern civic institutions, science and technology; and their use as lingua francas in urban areas. Secondly, a number of criticisms were made of the phrasing of the Draft Statement, especially the expressions "the national language" and "a familiar language" in paragraph 46. Third, the need for more detailed planning was emphasised with special attention to the following issues:

- (a) the definition of geographical zones, enrolment quotas or alternative criteria by which to determine which of the seven official Zambian languages shall be used as the medium of instruction in any given school.
- (b) the redesigning of teachers training programmes and of teacher posting policies in such a way as to ensure an appropriate supply of teachers with the necessary language skills for each school.
- (c) the development of a bilingual or multilingual curriculum which will enable students to achieve competence both in English and in one or more of the Zambian languages, and the production of books and other teaching materials suitable for implementing that curriculum.
- (d) the coordination of language policy across the various branches of the educational system.
- (e) the provision of incentives in places of employment for the attainment of certified competence in one or more of the Zambian languages.

The general thrust of these recommendations was endorsed by a forum attended by 23 members of the Zambia Language Group in November 1976, although details of how enrolment quotas might be applied to the teaching of several Zambian languages within a single school or region gave rise to some controversy. A record of the forum appears in the same issue of the *Bulletin of the Zambia Language Group*.

Unfortunately at the time of writing (October 1977) the revised policy statement from the Ministry of Education is not yet available. It is therefore not possible to tell how much, if any, of the suggested articulation of policy outlined above is likely to be implemented.

#### 4.0 *The Mass Media*

The distribution of "air time" on Radio Zambia across the eight official languages remains essentially the same in 1977 as in 1971: 38% for English, 13% each for Bemba and Nyanja, 10% each for Lozi and Tonga and 5% each for Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale (cf. Table 1:4 in this book, p. 27). Likewise in the printed media, the predominance of English-medium publications has persisted, with both of the daily newspapers and the only school magazine written exclusively in English. Zambia Information Services continues to print fortnightly newspapers in eight of the Zambian languages. Only two of these (*Imbila* in Bemba and *Tsopano* in Nyanja) print more than 10,000 copies, as compared with 40,000 to 60,000 for the English medium dailies (the *Zambia Daily Mail* and the *Times of Zambia*).

A number of policy pronouncements have been made by the Government since 1971 aimed at bringing the mass media more in line with national aspirations and cultural traditions. Changes, however, have been confined to the contents of the media, e.g. increased coverage of economic development projects, agriculture and locally composed music. The possibilities of using local languages to broaden the scope of the audience reached by the media or to assert their indigenous quality have received little or no publicity.

#### 5.0 *The Zambia Language Group*

In March 1968, two years before the beginning of the Zambia Language Survey, a group of writers, teachers, researchers and administrators concerned with language in Zambia foregathered at the University of Zambia in Lusaka and formed the Zambia Language Group. The impetus for that meeting came from the Council of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa. But the activities of the Group have been quite independent of the survey itself. Beginning with a series of informal seminars, the Group has since expanded to encompass a variety of activities, including addresses by distinguished speakers, a biennial conference, sponsorship of small-scale research projects and the publication of an occasional Bulletin. The membership of the Group has fluctuated since its establishment between 15 and 30 members.

Distinguished speakers who have addressed meetings of the Group have included Zambian authors, Government Ministers, editors, publishers and scholars with an interest in language. The first biennial conference was held in February 1973 around the theme of "Problems of language in a multilingual society". The theme of the second conference, in August 1975, was "Language and education in Zambia", and the

theme of the third conference, in August 1977, was "Oral and written literature in contemporary Zambia". Breaking away from the pattern of the first two conferences which consisted entirely of academic presentations in English, the 1977 conference included a session with performances in several Zambian languages, and an informal discussion of problems faced by Zambian authors.

The *Bulletin of the Zambia Language Group* has yielded five issues between 1973 and 1977. Volume 1 No. 1 contained short articles on the Zambia Language Survey (Kashoki, 1973a), the medium of instruction debate (Tembo, 1973), the Zambian Languages component of the Zambia Primary Course (Phiri, 1973), the Adult Literacy Programme (Lamba, 1973), Zambian Language newspapers (Kaemba, 1973), and a book review (Moody, 1973a).

Volume 1 No. 2 included five of the papers delivered at the first Zambia Language Group Conference: Mwanakatwe (1973) "Language and national unity"; Kashoki (1973b) "Language: a blue-print for national integration"; Mytton (1973) "Multilingualism in Zambia"; Moody (1973b) "Possible sources of errors in the English of First-year students at the University of Zambia"; and Lehmann (1973) "The use of Zambian languages in Adult Education programmes".

Volume 2 No. 1 comprised reports on six undergraduate research projects undertaken within the framework of the first course in Zambian Languages at the University of Zambia. Three of these dealt with the issue of the medium of instruction in primary schools (Chisowa, 1975; Chomba, 1975; Dyamini, 1975), one with attitudes to the issue of a national language (Lisimba, 1975), one with language acquisition by children of marriages between two different language speakers (Nanchengwa, 1975) and one with language use in Zambian churches (Nsonta, 1975).

Volume 2 No. 2 contained a report on the second Zambia Language Group conference (Africa, 1976), an article on "What kind of English can the Zambian teacher of English realistically be expected to teach?" (Kashoki, 1976) and the texts of three addresses by invited speakers to the Zambia Language Group: Mwanakatwe (1976) "Reflections on the use of English as a medium of instruction in schools"; Chimuka (1976) "The teaching and learning of Zambian languages in secondary schools and teacher training colleges"; and Punabantu (1976) "Journalism in Zambia".

Volume 3 No. 1 contains two contributions to the debate on Educational Reforms (see section 3.4.4 above): the resolutions of a study group at the University of Zambia and notes on a forum convened by the Zambia Language Group. This issue also contains articles by Kashoki (1977) on "the use of mother tongue education in Zambia", by Africa (1977) on "the use of English in Zambia", and by Simukoko (1977b) on the "search for an authentic Zambian drama and theatre idiom".

### 6.0 *Research on Language*

Formal research on language in Zambia since 1971 has predominantly taken place under the auspices of the University of Zambia. The Departments of English and French were transferred in 1973 to the School of Education under the new heading of a Department of Languages and Literature, which also encompasses the teaching of Zambian languages and linguistics. The present establishment of the Department comprises 21 academic staff of whom six are Zambian citizens. As in most universities, lecturing staff of the University are expected to undertake research as well as teaching. One thriving branch of the Department has concentrated on literary and artistic issues extending into the areas of oral literature, folklore, drama and music. No attempt will be made here to review these studies. Another branch has been collecting over a number of years a representative sample of spoken and written English from Zambian sources with a view to generating a systematic "description of the variant features which mark the use of English in Zambia" (Mukama, Africa, Simukoko and Moody, 1976). A preliminary theoretical framework for the study has been proposed by Simukoko (1977a).

At the Institute for African Studies the two Research Fellowships in Linguistics funded by the Ford Foundation in 1971 for the Zambia Language Survey have been retained as part of the internally funded establishment in subsequent years up to the present time. Here too a long-term project has been launched, aimed at compiling comprehensive lists of all vocabulary items appearing in print in each of the official Zambian languages. The project is designed to provide a data base for the production of "general and specialised dictionaries e.g. English-Zambian language dictionary for Secondary Schools, dictionary of agricultural terms, etc." (Kashoki and Lehmann, 1976). The first such dictionary envisaged is a Tonga-English dictionary for use in Zambian secondary schools.

A special interest of one of these researchers is the accretion of new vocabulary as a result of language contact. Kashoki (1975a) has analysed the mutual interaction of urban and rural dialects in expanding Bemba vocabulary; and Musonda & Kashoki (1976) have made a comparative study of lexical change in the Luunda dialect of Luapula province and the Bemba dialect of Northern province. The latter study illustrates the effect of different political factors on the pattern of "loan-words" incorporated within a single host language. The Luunda dialect has absorbed a number of French forms as a result of the Belgian occupation of neighbouring Zaïre, whereas these are not found in the Bemba spoken in Northern province.

A more behavioural approach to language contact, complementary

to Kashoki's (1975a) "loan-word" conception and Simukoko's (1977a) "interlanguage" formulation, is the present writer's analysis in terms of "code-switching" and "repertoire fluidity". Drawing on Gumperz's (1971) theoretical work in other multilingual communities, I have stressed the fluidity of urban Zambian speech repertoires (Serpell, 1975), the flexibility of primary school pupils in alternating among several languages (Serpell, 1976), and a creative use of context in which meaning is actively negotiated among interlocutors (Serpell, 1977).

Matching the initial focus on Tonga of the Dictionary Project and of the Zambian Languages degree programme, Omondi (unpublished) has initiated a study of Tonga grammar. An independent grammatical study has been undertaken by Vail (1972, 1975) of Tumbuka. The latter study is worthy of special mention since the language in question, although spoken by about half a million people in Northern Malawi and Eastern Zambia, has not been accorded official status in either nation.

This brief and by no means comprehensive account, together with the contents of section 5, illustrates the fact that a good deal more linguistic research and analysis has been undertaken in Zambia between 1971 and 1977 than in the six years which preceded the Survey.

### 7.0 *The Impact of the Zambia Language Survey*

It might appear anomalous to assess the impact of research which has yet to be published. And yet it may well be the case that the visible product of a book is not the principal medium of influence on policy for an enterprise of this kind. The very presence in Zambia during 1971 and 1972 of a small but active team of researchers into issues of language must initially have caused a number of administrators to turn their attention to questions which might otherwise have appeared less significant. Moreover drafts of many chapters contained in the present volume have circulated widely within Government circles.

Data which had been collected by other agencies, such as the 1969 Census of Population and Housing and the Ministry of Education statistics on students and staffing in various subject areas, were analysed by the Survey team and thus brought into focus. Additional data collected by the researchers were discussed at seminars in the Zambia Language Group and have often been incorporated into teaching at the University of Zambia.

But perhaps more important than any specific body of data has been the arousal of interest in issues of language. The Zambia Language Group described in section 5 has been one major agent for maintaining this interest. In addition the two Research Fellowships in Linguistics at the Institute for African Studies and the growing Zambian Languages component of the School of Education's Department of Languages and

Literature have institutionalised within the University of Zambia a tradition of research and teaching concerned with Zambian languages. If it was the Strevens Report (1966) which laid the foundations of these developments, it was the Zambia Language Survey (1971) which provided the impetus for their implementation.

Another concrete area of development which the Survey helped to identify was the provision of teaching facilities in the secondary schools for the four most widely spoken Zambian languages: Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga. The shortcomings of the existing services identified by the Survey provided a basis for policy planning which is now beginning to bear fruit as indicated in sections 3.2 and 3.4. Complementary research aimed at the production of school dictionaries and grammatical descriptions has been described in section 6.

A great deal of detail concerning language in Zambia is still confined to latent, oral evidence. This volume records some preliminary steps towards the task of documenting the situation. The data which have been accumulated and the theoretical interpretations placed on them provide a set of resources for policy formulation which are undoubtedly superior to what existed before.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Jacob S. Tembo of the University of Zambia in collecting statistical data for this chapter.

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