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**In quest of a vernacular writing style for the
Rangi of Tanzania:
Assumptions, processes, challenges**

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Abstract

Despite increased efforts by linguists and educationalists to facilitate literacy and literature development in minority languages, there are still many languages worldwide which do not have a written form. One area that needs attention in literature production for a newly written language is the question of writing style. As the features of good style are language-specific, writing style guidelines have to be developed for each language anew. It has been assumed that such vernacular writing style develops predominantly by mother tongue speaker intuition. However, very few studies have been carried out to verify this.

This research is set within the confines of the literacy project in the Rangi language of Northern Tanzania. As a contribution to the development of a natural writing style in Rangi, this research investigates what evidence for stylistic preferences can be found in texts that were produced by Rangi authors writing in their mother tongue for the first time. The main data of this study are 112 texts which were collected during a one-day writers workshop conducted between May 2005 and January 2006 in four different locations.

One way of observing stylistic preferences is through analysing the changes which authors make in successive versions of their text. Of the 112 texts in the database, 71 display stylistic changes between draft and revised versions. These texts are then investigated in more detail, e.g. with regard to text length, lexical density and story components. The subsequent comparative analysis of draft version versus revised version of each text operates at three levels: narrative elements at the text level, lexical choice at the word level, and word order, tense-aspect verb forms and participant reference at the clause level. At all three levels, stylistic conventions could be identified, e.g. formulaic introductions and codas, elimination of Swahili loanwords, or certain tense-aspect usages.

Despite such commonalities, this research suggests that, far from developing intuitively, vernacular writing style is influenced by a variety of factors, not least by previously available literature in languages of wider communication or in the target language itself. Among the concluding recommendations of this study for future vernacular writers workshops is the advice to employ guided editing which encourages multiple drafting and treats the different levels of editing separately, i.e. story structure, lexical choice and grammatical features.

Declaration

I hereby declare that I composed this thesis myself and that it has not been submitted previously.

Oliver Stegen

28th February 2011

Dedication

To the memory of

Teofilo Mwenda,

army officer and church elder in Kondoia,

died April 2005,

and

Josua Mattias Stegen,

died September 2003,

and

Else Stegen,

died December 2007.

“Hail the victorious dead!”

(King Théoden in *The Return of the King*)

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Abbreviations

1-19	–	noun classes 1 to 19
1sg	–	first person singular
2sg	–	second person singular
3sg	–	third person singular (also 1 = noun class 1)
1pl	–	first person plural
2pl	–	second person plural
3pl	–	third person plural (also 2 = noun class 2)
AGNT	–	agentive (nominalisation)
ANT	–	anterior (aspect)
APPL	–	applicative (verbal extension)
ASSOC	–	associative (preposition)
C	–	consonant
CE	–	Christian Era
cf.	–	compare
COND	–	conditional
CONS	–	consecutive (tense-aspect)
COP	–	copula
DEM	–	demonstrative (pronoun)
dir.sp.	–	direct speech
e.g.	–	for example
ff	–	following (page numbers or similar)
FV	–	final vowel (in verbs)
GEN	–	general (tense)
HAB	–	habitual (aspect)
IDEO	–	Ideophone
i.e.	–	that is
IMP	–	Imperative
INCH	–	inchoative (verbal derivation)
INSTR	–	instrumental (nominalisation)
INT	–	intensifier (usually through reduplication)
ITER	–	iterative (aspect)

lit.	–	literally
LOC	–	locative
LWC	–	Language of Wider Communication
NEG	–	negative
PASS	–	passive
pl	–	plural
POSS	–	possessive (pronoun)
PREP	–	preposition
PROG	–	progressive (aspect)
PRON	–	(personal) pronoun
Q	–	question marker
RECIP	–	reciprocal
ref.	–	reference (to database numbering)
REF	–	referential (esp. of demonstratives)
RFL	–	reflexive
SBJV	–	subjunctive (mood)
sg	–	singular
SUB	–	subordinate (in verbs)
T/A	–	tense/aspect
V	–	vowel
v	–	version
VENT	–	ventive (in verbs)
viz.	–	namely

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Soli Deo gratia

1. INTRODUCTION

African-language writing in general offers an unparalleled laboratory in which to ask questions about innovation and creativity about new genres and how they come into being; about the innumerable, protean ways in which orality combines with literacy; about the changing constitution of publics and imagined communities; about cultural nationalism and forms of the imagination that exceed cultural nationalism; and about the self-conception and representation of the individual through writing. African-language writing is a field of intense creative experimentation. (Barber & Furniss 2006: 1)

In 2002, the Rangi¹ language project in Tanzania had reached a point where we, the project team,² could contemplate the running of writers workshops.³ A trial orthography had been developed in 1999 and revised in 2002, a small group of enthusiastic Rangi speakers was meeting regularly to discuss remaining orthography issues and to plan literacy classes, and we needed Rangi

¹ The Rangi call their language *Kilaangi*, their people *Valaangi*, and their country *Iraangi*, whereas in Swahili, the national language of Tanzania, they are called *Kirangi*, *Warangi* and *Irangi* respectively. As is common in English, I intend to use the referent Rangi throughout, adding 'language', 'people' or 'country' where necessary, other practices in quotes notwithstanding.

² At that stage, the team consisted exclusively of expatriate members of SIL International working under the Anglican Diocese of Kondo, namely Sally Dechert, Margaret Hartung, Dorothea Stegen and myself. Sally Dechert left the project in November 2003, being replaced by Richard and Barbara Cox in November 2004; the first full-time Rangi team member, Paul Kijuu, was employed in May 2005; Margaret Hartung retired in March 2006; and Dorothea and I left the project in June 2006.

³ As all three spellings (*writer's workshop*, *writers' workshop* and *writers workshop*) occur equally in the literature, I have decided to let go of the apostrophe.

authors for the production of initial literacy material. We were not too familiar with training manuals for writers workshops, and a natural place for us to look was SIL publications easily available to us.⁴ One of the few examples which we came across is represented by the following excerpt, constituting the beginning of the first lesson of a creative writing module in an Africa-based introductory course in applied linguistics:

Read this story:

John walked to the river but when he got there he saw that the bridge had disappeared. He looked around and found a log. He put the log across the river and he crossed to the other side.

This story is not very interesting. Why not?

- a) We do not know anything about John, or why he wanted to cross the river.
- b) There is only one character. Nobody is opposing him. He has no serious problem to face.
- c) There is no suspense in the story and so it is not very interesting.
- d) We do not learn anything from the story.

(NBTT n.d.: 20)

In a first reaction, we did not feel comfortable using this approach which struck us as Anglocentric. At that stage, we were not aware that other approaches to the teaching of vernacular writing existed. So, we argued, if such

⁴ As for most literacy projects in rural areas of developing countries, neither the internet nor libraries were options open to us. The most easily accessible resource was SIL's *LinguaLinksLibrary*, distributed to SIL language teams on CD.

an Anglocentric approach was the only one ready-to-use for us, we would rather design our own workshops from scratch than teaching prospective Rangi authors a writing style⁵ which may be appropriate in English but possibly not in Rangi. One of our key assumptions was that the characteristics of a good writing style are language- and culture-specific. We often reminded each other that what was good writing style, for example, in German was not good writing style in English and vice versa.⁶ So, in their development of literary skills, we did not want to influence the Rangi one way or another but rather encourage them to explore and discover their very own stylistic conventions. In our analysis of the Rangi language, we had been descriptive rather than prescriptive, and our approach to orthography development had been participatory (Kutsch Lojenga 1996).⁷ Another assumption which we took for granted was the universal applicability of writers workshops in minority language projects, albeit with culturally appropriate adjustments to local context. All in all, it was our desire to continue in a similar vein, i.e. participatorily yet universally, which germinated the idea for this research.

⁵ The terms “writing style” and “written style’ are used synonymously in this study.

⁶ English and German were the two mother tongues represented in the team prior to the employment of Paulo Kijuu, the first Rangi team member.

⁷ Learning the Rangi language, describing it linguistically and developing an orthography were among our tasks after Dorothea and I had been assigned to the Rangi project as the first SIL members in late 1996.

1.1 The Search for a Research Question

The basic idea was to hold writers workshops for those Rangi who had been trained in using the new orthography and let them experiment without any prior project input on stylistics or creative writing, as far as that was possible. Monitoring their stylistic development would then result in a description of their own consensus on writing style which could then be used as feedback for future writers workshops. Two linguistic pilot studies were conducted to gauge the feasibility of this approach; these two studies are described in more detail in the next paragraph. At the same time, Margaret Hartung continued to design a brief introductory writers workshop and to train two retired Rangi-speaking teachers, Mr. Andrew Michael and Mr. Gervas Simon Vita, in teaching it.

The first pilot study, as described in Stegen (2004), investigated existing writing practices and desires in Rangi society. The responses of 113 Rangi speakers to a sociolinguistic questionnaire were elicited, with about one third claiming to write Rangi regularly; this practice of writing in the mother tongue was found to be independent of gender, age or education. The questionnaire focused particularly on the use of different genres, and the study consequently pursued the only genre in more detail which was reported as being actively and predominantly used, namely letters. Findings concluded that official letters closely follow Swahili letter writing conventions whereas private letters adhere more to conversational features like turn-taking and direct reported speech.

The second pilot study, written up in Stegen (2005) and based on two stories prepared for the first Rangi story booklet (SIL 2005a), compared oral, written and edited versions of these two stories with the aim to identify any linguistic features which seemed to be relevant to building Rangi writer consensus about written style. Several observations in this study, like lower lexical density of the written versions,⁸ lower vocabulary elaboration and smaller range of subordination devices, were taken as evidence that, due to stylistic conventions not having had the time to develop yet, “Rangi writers, who have hitherto only been trained in writing Swahili, have not yet become accustomed to the wider range of stylistic options available to them when writing in their mother tongue” (2005: 84).

It was in the context of these two pilot studies and of the first emergent steps towards conducting writers workshops for the Rangi, that I chose to establish my specific research question. My primary interest lay in finding out what constitutes good writing style in Rangi, i.e. what are the particular elements and features of Rangi writing which cause Rangi readers and editors to consider a text to be stylistically good. A related question which interested me was which factors would influence the Rangi in their choices of vernacular

⁸ This finding seemed to contradict Halliday’s (1985) prediction that written texts have higher lexical density than oral ones, and consequently resulted in a follow-up study (Stegen 2007) which showed that the lower density in the previously investigated written Rangi texts mainly resulted from the relative inexperience of the writer over against the more sophisticated language use of the Rangi narrator.

writing style development. A combined investigation of the writers workshops and of interviews with the workshop participants seemed a good way of collecting information about both stylistic features and initial writers' opinions about them. However, as the design and organisation of the writers workshop were not within my responsibility, it was decided that I should not directly be involved at all. Consequently, my research would also be restricted to the texts as workshop products, and not include direct interaction with the writers themselves (see discussion in 1.4 below). To that extent, the larger part of this study will consist of a detailed description of the workshop products. In order to be pertinent to my original research interest, I formulated my more specific research question to be as follows:

- **What evidence for stylistic preferences can be found in texts that were produced by Rangi authors writing in their mother tongue for the first time?**

On the one hand, the limitation of my research to “evidence in texts” defers to the workshop team's preference that I be confined to the analysis of workshop products without direct access to workshop participants. On the other hand, the investigation of stylistic preferences in successive drafts is an area of

developmental stylistics⁹ which is relevant to the determination and further development of vernacular writing style. In that way, I expect to be able to still profitably inform the future discussion on Rangi style.

The investigation of stylistic preferences is connected to two other tasks, one preceding, one following, which provide me with my secondary objectives: a) to provide a description of Rangi narrative discourse as none exists to-date, and b) to compile recommendations for future writers workshops, both in Rangi and other vernacular languages.

In order to facilitate understanding of the wider context of my research, I give some background information on the history of the Rangi and on relevant features of the Rangi language, before launching into the specifics of investigating the development of a vernacular writing style by means of writers workshops.

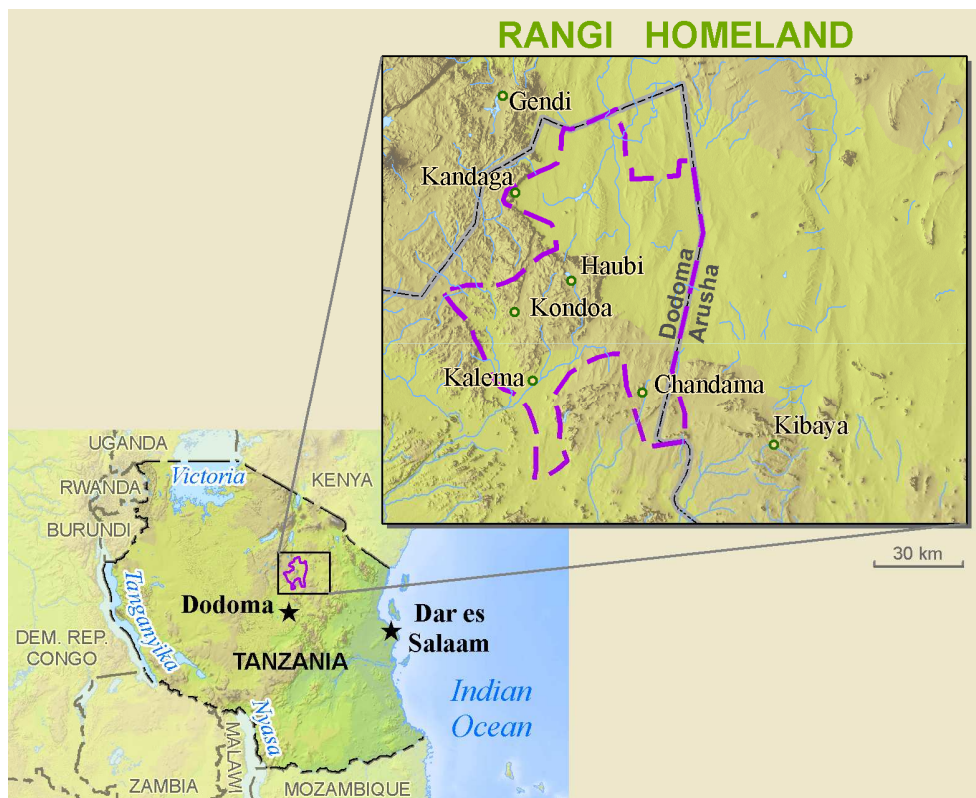
1.2 A Brief History of the Rangi

The Rangi people live in Northern Central Tanzania at the escarpment of the Eastern branch of the Rift Valley. The Rangi area lies mainly within the borders of Kondoa District, the northernmost district of Dodoma Region, bordering on

⁹ I am grateful to Hugh Trappes-Lomax for the suggestion of the term “developmental stylistics” for the analysis of changes within the writing of one author as opposed to “comparative stylistics” which implies the investigation of stylistic changes between authors.

Arusha Region to the North and East, as shown on the map in figure 1.1. The population of Rangi speakers was estimated at 350,000 in 1999 (Lewis 2009).¹⁰

Figure 1.1 Map of Rangi speaking area



An invaluable resource on Rangi history and culture, especially for the period 1900-1960, is the work of social anthropologist and ethnographer John Kesby (1981; 1982) who lived among the Rangi from 1963-66. His publications have therefore been frequently consulted by me. The origin and historical development of the Rangi people is not as homogeneous as most Rangi

¹⁰ The 2002 Tanzanian census gave the population of Kondo District as 428,090 (United Republic of Tanzania 2003), indicating that at the time of this research, the Rangi population may well have reached 400,000.

themselves can be heard to assert. Different influences from all directions regularly impacted the Rangi area, situated at the crossroads of trade routes both in North-South direction along the Rift Valley and in East-West direction between coast and hinterland. Kesby (1981: 19-48) identifies a dominant migration story from the North, possibly influenced by Muslim orientation towards the Middle East, as originating with the Cushitic ancestry of the Rangi;¹¹ the sources of competing migration stories from the West or the South, he traces to the Bantu ancestry of the Rangi. It is estimated that Cushitic speakers migrated to the area 3,000 years ago, and the Bantu ancestors of the Rangi 1,700 years ago (Ehret 1998: 189, 204). The resulting *Sprachbund* of the Tanzanian Rift Valley is further described linguistically by Kießling, Mous & Nurse (2008). By 1900, five major Rangi settlement areas had emerged: Kolo and Haubi in the North, and Kondoa, Mondo and Busi in the South (Kesby 1982: 191). They were by no means united but, resulting especially from times of localised famine which forced people to move regularly, “each area can be seen as a sink into which water was trickling from all directions” (Kesby 1982: 197). Later, from the 1930s to the 1960s, the Haubi community was advancing faster economically and socially than any other Rangi area. This progress occurred mainly through the involvement of Catholic priests from Europe and

¹¹ People of Cushitic linguistic and cultural affiliation, formerly prevalent in the Kondoa highlands, are nowadays a minority.

instigated the now wide-spread Rangi belief that they all originate from the Haubi valley from where they spread everywhere else. This version of their origin has been promoted by school teachers since the 1950s and was even taught as part of the curriculum in standard 5, especially in the 1960s and 1970s (Kesby 1981: 34).

The last one and a half centuries (1850-2000) have seen radical demographic changes in the Rangi area: the first major change came in the middle of the 19th century when the caravan trade increased exponentially and Kondoa was discovered as a suitable place for stocking up supplies. This increased demand for food, fodder and water seriously aggravated already beginning over-grazing and soil erosion, a process which continued into the second half of the 20th century and has been dubbed the “Kondoa transformation” (Östberg 1986: 26f; summarizing Christiansson 1982).

A second period of economic strain came with the arrival of German colonial administrators in the early 1900s, culminating in the events during First World War when German and British forces fought for dominance in East Africa. Both German General von Lettow-Vorbeck’s troops and the South African 2nd Division under van Deventer camped in and around Kondoa, with battles being fought in the months of April and May of 1916 (Strachan 2004: 142-144).

Although the Second World War did not bring military action to Kondoa, population growth had by that time reached such proportions that drastic action was required. Inhabitants of the highlands were forcibly moved to the lowlands North and East of the escarpment starting in 1947 (Kesby 1982: 232). These lowlands had undergone tsetse clearing in the 1930s and 1940s, resulting in accelerated erosion through deforestation and concomitant increasing dependency of Rangi families on famine relief (Östberg 1986: 27f). By 1960, pressure had built up to an extent that many Rangi moved to the lowlands voluntarily, leading to a considerable expanse of Rangi territory. Soil erosion only came under control with the establishment of the HADO project¹² in 1973 and its putting most of the Kondoa highland area under a no-grazing policy in 1979 (Östberg 1986: 16), a measure that was still in place when I left the Rangi project in 2006.

Kesby (1982: 327) reports that these socio-economic changes between 1900 and 1960 have resulted in changes to the Rangi language, especially in the area of vocabulary acquisition and thereby even in its phonological inventory.

1.3 Relevant aspects of the Rangi Language

Rangi is a Bantu language, classified as F.33 in the revised Guthrie system (Maho 2003: 646). Linguistic research on the Rangi language has been

¹² HADO is a Swahili acronym standing for *Hifadhi Ardhi Dodoma*, that is ‘Soil Conservation in Dodoma’ (Kondoa District is part of Dodoma Region).

conducted in the context of accelerated socio-economic change, spanning especially the last century, as described in section 1.2. Such research starts with Seidel (1898) and Dempwolff (1916a), moving to the originally unpublished work of Paul Berger in the 1930s (later partly published by Akhavan 1990), and more recently leading to work by Dunham (2005) and publications by our project team (e.g. Stegen 2002; Lujuo & Stegen 2004; Cox & Stegen, to appear). All of these constitute a description of one or more linguistic aspects of the Rangi language, particularly phonology and/or morphology. By contrast, with the exception of Stegen (2004), hardly any sociolinguistic work on the Rangi language seems to be available.

Rather than giving a full overview of the Rangi language in all its linguistic aspects, I focus, in this section, on those two aspects most relevant for understanding the texts and language examples in this thesis: a) Rangi orthography, b) the morphosyntax of the Rangi language.

1.3.1 Rangi orthography

The orthographic conventions used here for representing Rangi texts are based on the Rangi Writer's Guide (SIL 2007) and the third edition of the Transition Primer (SIL 2006b). The alphabet, as displayed in table 1.1, is based on the Roman script and has seven vowels and twenty-two consonants. Orthographic symbols are shown with corresponding sounds in phonetic brackets [].

Table 1.1 Rangi alphabet

a	[a]	b	[b]	ch	[tʃ]	d	[d̥]	e	[ɛ]	f	[f]	g	[g]	h	[ɦ]
i	[i]	ĩ	[ĩ]	j	[dʒ]	k	[k]	l	[l]	m	[m]	n	[ɲ]	ng'	[ŋ]
ny	[ɲ]	o	[ɔ]	p	[p]	r	[r]	s	[s]	sh	[ʃ]	t	[t̥]	u	[u]
u	[u]	v	[v]	w	[w]	y	[j]	z	[z]						

Vowels can occur long, e.g. <aa>,¹³ or with acute accent to mark high tone, e.g. <á>. Most consonants can be labialised and palatalised, e.g. [m^w] or [m^j] which are written <mw> and <my> respectively. Where palatalisation of [ɲ] occurs, it is written <n'y> to distinguish the palatalised dental nasal [ɲ^j] from the palatal nasal [ɲ] which is spelled <ny>.

Tone marks are only used for underlying high tone on non-final noun stem syllables, and to distinguish a couple of ambiguities in the verbal tense-aspect system, as exemplified in (1a-b).

- 1a) *nchúnkula* 'hare'
 b) *adómire* 's/he has gone'

Tones on grammatical words, on nominal prefixes and final syllables as well as on most verb forms are not marked in the orthography; (2a-d) gives examples of these categories with orthographically unmarked tones; the actually pronounced high tones are given in brackets. So, the correct tonal pronunciation of Rangi words cannot be deduced from the orthography alone; only a high level of Rangi language competency can achieve that.

¹³ Pointed brackets for orthographic representation are only used in this paragraph. Afterwards, Rangi language examples are given in italics.

2a)	<i>ava</i>	(ává)	‘these (people)’
b)	<i>isaka</i>	(ísaka)	‘forest’
c)	<i>nkúku</i>	(nkúkú)	‘chicken’
d)	<i>nooloomba</i>	(nóólóomba)	‘I am requesting’

I have come to the conclusion that for the purposes of this research, it is generally not necessary to provide tonal information going beyond what is encoded in the orthography.

1.3.2 Rangi morphosyntax

As a typical East African Bantu language, the Rangi language exhibits many of the common Bantu morphosyntactic features. These concern mainly the noun class system and its agreements, and the structure of the verb form and its different slots.

Bantu nouns typically consist of a prefix, indicating membership in a noun class, and a stem (Katamba 2003: 103), and Rangi nouns are no exception. Table 1.2 gives a list of noun classes encountered in the Rangi language. The usual singular/plural pairings are 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11/10 and 12/19. These pairings and any allomorphs of the noun class prefixes are reflected in the choice of example words.

Table 1.2 Rangi noun classes

#	Prefix	Allomorphs	Example Word(s)	Glosses
1	mɘ-	mw-	<i>mɘdala; mwíívi</i>	‘woman’; ‘thief’
2	va-		<i>vadala</i>	‘women’
3	mɘ-	mw-	<i>mɘti; mwééri</i>	‘tree’; ‘month’
4	mi-	my-	<i>miti; myééri</i>	‘trees’; ‘months’
5	i-	ri-	<i>ichu; ríso</i>	‘cloud’; ‘eye’
6	ma-		<i>machu</i>	‘clouds’
7	ki-	ch-	<i>kimaka</i>	‘thing’
8	vi-	vy-	<i>vimaka</i>	‘things’
9	n-	m-; Ø-	<i>njira; mbiri; sálu</i>	‘path’; ‘curse’; ‘sand’
10	n-	m-; Ø-	<i>njira; mbííhi</i>	‘paths’; ‘falcons’
11	lɘ-	lw-	<i>lɘvííhi</i>	‘falcon’
12	ka-		<i>kanyaáú; kaána</i>	‘kitten’; ‘infant’
14	ɘ-	w-	<i>ɘfira; wari</i>	‘pus’; ‘mush’
15	kɘ-	kw-	<i>kutu</i>	‘ear’
16	ha-		<i>haantu</i>	‘place’
17	kɘ-		<i>kɘuntu</i>	‘place’
19	fi-	fy-	<i>finyaáú; fyaána</i>	‘kittens’; ‘infants’

Noun modifiers (adjectives, numerals, demonstratives etc) as well as subject and object markers on verbs agree with the class of the corresponding noun, as the example sentence in (3) shows with noun class 9.¹⁴

¹⁴ For interlinearisation, I am using the Leipzig Glossing Rules, available at www.eva.mpg.de.

- 3) *i-ra* *n-daafu* *y-aani* *y-a-kw-ĩre*
 9-DEM 9-billy_goat 9-1sg:POSS 9-GEN-die-ANT
 ‘That billy goat of mine has died.’

The structure of the Rangi verb is summarised in Stegen (2002: 134) as follows (with optional components in brackets):

4) Subject – Tense/Aspect – (Object) – Root – (Extension) – Final Vowel

As mentioned above, the slots for subject and object consist of markers which agree with the referenced noun class. The extensions signal valency-changing suffixes like applicative, causative, stative and passive.¹⁵ For the tense-aspect (T/A) system, a few common morphemes are given in (5a-d).¹⁶

- 5a) progressive -oo- as in *nooloomba* ‘I am requesting’
 b) anterior -ire as in *nadómire* ‘I have gone’
 c) past habitual -áa as in *nabokáa* ‘I used to dig’
 d) past subordinate -ka- + -e as in *vakafike* ‘when they arrived’

In line with the discussion of tone above, all T/A forms only bear such tone marks as are written in the Rangi orthography.¹⁷

¹⁵ A detailed description of these for Rangi can be found in Stegen (2002: 139-145). Schadeberg (2003) contains a general introduction to verbal extensions in Bantu.

¹⁶ In accordance with Nurse (2008), I am using the term progressive instead of continuous, and anterior instead of perfect. A fuller description of all Rangi T/A morphemes occurring in the story database is given in 7.3. This is based on a comprehensive account of the Rangi T/A system by Stegen (2006) which is a detailed response to a preceding analysis by Dunham (2004; 2005).

¹⁷ For full surface tone notation of Rangi T/A forms, the reader is referred to Stegen (2006).

With regard to word order, Rangi exhibits a default SVO order; exceptions will be presented and discussed in 7.1 in connection with word order changes in the clause. In the NP, as observable in (3) above, the demonstrative precedes the noun whereas all other modifiers like possessives, numerals and adjectives follow the noun; again, exceptions where the demonstrative follows the noun are presented and discussed in 7.2.2. A distinctive feature of Rangi is its way of forming the negation which is by way of a *si ... tuku* circumfix as exemplified in (6) which at the same time gives an example of future formation with the auxiliary *-ri*.

6)	<i>si</i>	<i>n-diri</i>	<i>fyuka</i>	<i>tuku</i>
	NEG	1sg-be	return	NEG
	‘I will not return.’			

This overview of the basic linguistic features should suffice to follow the clause-by-clause translations of the Rangi texts in the corpus used for this research (cf. appendix I) as well as the examples in the later descriptive chapters.

1.4 Some Remarks on Research Constraints

The fact that I was not directly involved in the writers workshops and did not have access to the writers themselves is certainly among the more serious constraints of my research, even though it may avoid some other problems which may arise for a participant researcher in attendance. In addition to these obvious constraints, there are more subtle ones which are related to our team’s

dependence on the authority, publications and project instructions of SIL. Concerning the establishment of guiding principles for the development of a vernacular writing style, I have mentioned above that the Rangi project team was committed to a participatory approach.¹⁸ This commitment was bolstered by quotes in the SIL literature on literacy and vernacular literature production.¹⁹ Quotes like the following were taken as a confirmation of our intended approach.

Every language that develops a written literature, has to develop its own written style. This written style will probably reflect to some degree what is considered good oral style of that language. What seems to be certain is that written style should never be copied from another language, but rather be developed through usage by the speakers of the language themselves. Only they are entitled to judge whether a story sounds good or bad. (Bolli 1983)²⁰

Outside of SIL sources, we also found endorsements of the importance of mother tongue speaker involvement, for example that “one of the most important considerations in the success or failure of bilingual programmes is the extent to which marginal language communities participate in the design and implementation of their own language provisions” (Stroud 2001: 339).

¹⁸ Other SIL-internal considerations will be discussed in section 2.3.

¹⁹ As with the teaching approaches mentioned in the opening section of this introduction, we did not seriously investigate alternatives outside of SIL.

²⁰ Citations from SIL sources accessed on electronic media are unpaginated and therefore, if I could not access the original publication, given without page numbers.

Apart from the Rangi team's close adherence to standard SIL procedures and recommendations of the day, SIL's status as an NGO and the concomitant expectations of the Rangi population were also a non-negligible influence on my research. Especially in my role as the project's linguistic advisor, I was and continue to be aware of my position as an authority figure who by my very presence can influence the decisions of individual members of the Rangi language community in one way or another. Even if only pointing out that a certain stylistic feature originated from their Swahili or English literacy skills, I could cause them to accept or reject that feature. Although explicitly discarding any form of prescriptivism, I had to deal with the inherent prescriptivist properties of my position of power. This potentially high level of influence which I held was another factor in the decision of being absent from the writers workshops themselves which are described in detail in chapter 3 when discussing the methodological approach of my research.

While I as a linguistic researcher was committed to only describe and not prescriptively influence what the workshop participants produced, additional restrictions had to be taken into account. For example, how realistic was it to avoid stylistic influences from Swahili or English in a situation where all literate Rangi speakers had acquired their writing skills in one or the other of these two languages of instruction in Tanzania? So even if we avoided any prescriptive tendencies e.g. in our workshop instructions (which I am sure we did not

succeed completely), the Rangi participants would still be influenced in their stylistic decisions by the instructions which they had received in formal education in Swahili and, for those who attended secondary school, in English.

On the whole, it was on this tightrope between prescription and description, between being the project's linguistic advisor and trying to arrive at an outside researcher's stance, that much of the research reported in this thesis was designed and conducted. Now, with the hindsight of the results in hand, I hope to be able to assert that, despite prescriptivist elements in the workshop instructions, in our status as SIL members and in formal education in Tanzania, the descriptive side of my research has won out. The results of my research, particularly my description of Rangi narrative discourse and of the stylistic revisions by the workshop participants, as summarised in chapter 8, have been expressed in a way to encourage discussion among Rangi writers about stylistic features rather than to be taken as normative for future writing in Rangi.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Subsequent to the introductory remarks in this chapter, this thesis is organised as follows: in chapter 2, I relate how the Rangi project is situated historically, socially and organisationally. This concerns a) the project's place in the history of literacy and language development in Sub-Saharan Africa, b) its place within Rangi society, and c) its place within SIL International. In addition, chapter 2 explores the relation of writing to oral language and to writers

workshops. In chapter 3, I lay out the methodology of how narrative texts have been elicited and how they have been processed for data analysis. Chapters 4-7 constitute the main part of my analytical results and their discussion. In chapter 4, I give a general overview of the results, preceded by a categorisation of the texts into different story types and followed by a discussion of text length and lexical density. The next chapters then contain detailed discussions of Rangi stylistic phenomena at the text level (chapter 5), the word level (chapter 6) and the clause level (chapter 7). Particularly, chapter 5 starts with a description of Rangi story components and their stylistic characteristics and includes a discussion of text level changes and their motivations; chapter 6 investigates lexical choice including Swahili loanword replacement and describes additions and deletions of words according to part of speech; chapter 7 gives a detailed description of the stylistically relevant changes in word order at the clause level, in participant reference and in usage of tense-aspect forms. Finally in chapter 8, I present my conclusions from this research, starting with a summary of the observed stylistic features and changes, describing limitations of this study which could open up avenues for future research, and including recommendations for narrative discourse analysis in general and for teaching creative writing in workshops in particular.

2. CONTEXTS AND RELATIONS OF WRITING

Helping communities to build their capacity for sustainable literature development helps to ensure that [mother tongue] speakers will have access to information and ideas from outside their community. It also provides them with the means to preserve their history and cultural heritage, by putting their traditional wisdom, knowledge and experiences into written form. (UNESCO 2004: 89)

The state of the Rangi language project and of Rangi writing in particular can be described with regard to several different dimensions. In the first three sections, I follow these dimensions working from the more general to the more specific: first, I locate the project in the history of literacy and writing in the general region of Sub-Saharan Africa with particular focus on the country of Tanzania; then, with regard to the place of writing in society; and finally, its connection to language development as a project under the auspices of SIL International.

Proceeding from the SIL context, I conclude this chapter with two sections on specific aspects of writing, first its relation to oral language, and finally the development of writers workshops. These three contexts plus two particular aspects of writing should sufficiently set the stage for describing my research into Rangi writing style from chapter 3 onwards.

2.1 Literacy and Writing in Sub-Saharan Africa

Of course, a vast area like Sub-Saharan Africa is by no means homogeneous with regard to literacy and writing. However, it is fair to say that, by world historical standards, writing on a large scale has arrived comparatively late in that region, notwithstanding the efforts of indigenous African scholars to defend the antiquity of education in Africa, e.g. by demonstrating that the development of writing in Ancient Egypt originated with black populations from the South (Nafukho, Amutabi & Otunga 2005: 21). Modern-day literacy in Sub-Saharan Africa has, with the exception of Ge'ez in Ethiopia and a few lesser known cases, been initiated and essentially shaped by the encounter with writing in languages from outside. This includes, in the first half of the second millennium CE, the transfer of Arabic literacy to African languages like Hausa, Fulani and Yoruba in the West, and Somali and Swahili in the East (Martin 1986: 92). Later, literacy in European languages has been similarly transferred to these and other African languages throughout the colonial period and beyond. The focus of most, if not all of these literacies brought to Africa from outside lies in the limited domain of the religious, as adherents of Islam or Christianity sought to bring a "writing [system] as a means of communicating with God and other supernatural agencies, rather than as a means of social and personal advancement" (Goody 1987: 139). Rangi literacy is no exception to this as it was the initiative of the Anglican Diocese of Central Tanganyika to invite SIL

International to lay the linguistic foundation for Bible translation and literacy (Bergman et al. 2007: 8).²¹

In general, literacy in Sub-Saharan Africa seems to have moved from writing about African themes in foreign languages (often by non-Africans at that) to writing in African languages in addition to the still dominant foreign languages. For Southern Africa, Chapman (2003) has covered the history of literacy and literatures, including literature in South African vernacular languages in the 19th century like Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho, as well as later, since the 1950s, Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe, and Njanja in Zambia and Malawi. Originally, indigenous writing “usually appeared to be an exercise in self-devaluation” (Chapman 2003: 157, referring to Kunene 1970 and Gérard 1981), presumably under a perceived superiority of the colonial languages over against the local minority languages. Only from the early 20th century did vernacular literature in Southern Africa start to flourish independently, blending traditional African themes with European Christianity (Chapman 2003: 204f).

²¹ The survey report only mentions that “a letter of introduction was obtained from the Anglican bishop in Dodoma”. However, it was the Anglican Church who acted as sponsor for work permits for all expatriate SIL members assigned to the Rangi language project since 1996.

No similar overview seems to exist for East Africa²² but it can be deduced from those works which do exist that literacy and literature development in East Africa progressed along comparable lines. This progress can be traced from the emergence of Swahili as a literary language under Arabic influence in the first half of the second millennium CE,²³ through the 16th and 17th century of Portuguese presence (although not of lasting significance for most of East Africa's languages and education) to the predominance of English in the colonial period and beyond.

Prior to the second half of the 19th century, hardly any of this seems to have reached the Rangi population, safely sheltered from non-African influences by their geographical distance from the coast. It can be assumed that whatever familiarity with Arabic literacy may have been brought by traders from the coast will have been confined to individuals. The building of permanent settlements in the location of previously temporary markets at Kondoa, Busi-Sambwa and Kisese has been postulated for the period between 1850 and 1880

²² Discussions of literacy in East Africa are more dispersed, e.g. Ricard & Morgan (2007) discuss writing in Amharic, Swahili and Gikuyu extensively, especially in their chapters 3 and 5; Gérard (1981) contains an entire chapter on Swahili literary historiography; and Mojola (1999) describes in detail the significance of Bible translation for linguistics and literacy in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda from 1844 to 1998.

²³ Ricard & Morgan (2007: 63) assert that parts of early Swahili literature “have no relation to Arabic literature”, and, supporting the preeminence of religious themes, they list “the four essential components of Swahili literature: the epic (*Fumo Lyongo*), Islamic wisdom (*Al Inkishafi*), practical life from the female viewpoint (*Mwana Kuponu*) and lastly, considerations on the end of the world [...] (*utenzi ‘wa Kiyama’*)”.

(Kesby 1981: 47f). Thus, as more and more Rangi in and near those settlements professed Islam from the 1880s onwards, that time can be taken as some start of literacy in Arabic among the Rangi on a broader basis, at least among those who had converted to Islam and were expected to learn to recite in Arabic. The arrival in 1907 of Father Andreas Krieger, the first resident Catholic priest in Kondoa, and subsequent religious instruction for children throughout the central part of Rangi-speaking area (Kesby 1982: 204) added the soon to become dominant European component to literacy among the Rangi. Although Swahili seems to have been used for teaching at the Catholic mission of Kondoa (Cortesi & Tarchini 1984: 46), Latin, as the language of the mass, must have played a major part of that religious instruction.²⁴

As for most of Sub-Saharan Africa, official institutional schooling came to Rangi country in the colonial period, particularly with the British from the 1920s. Wallenius summarises the history of formal education in Tanganyika, as Tanzania was known from 1920 to 1964, for the relevant period succinctly:

The colonial government was content to leave the education of Africans in the hands of the missionary bodies and did no more than set up an Advisory Council on African Education in 1925. In its Annual Report of 1937 the Education Department stated that [...] there were 300 [schools] for Africans (29 942 pupils), 52 for Indians (3 863 pupils)

²⁴ Originating from Alsace, Father Krieger may also have used German and French. To what extent he also used the Rangi language, as later missionary fathers have done, especially Father Cipriano Sangaletti (Kesby 1982: 311), I have not been able to establish.

and 18 for Europeans (823 pupils). About one-third of the schools for Africans were managed by the government, leaving the rest almost entirely under the auspices of missions which were only supervised by the government. In 1947 a Ten-Year plan was drawn up and in the 1952 Annual Report of the Education Department there were 335 post-primary schools, that is, all classes above Standard IV, for Africans, 8 for Indians and 2 for Europeans. At the same time there were 1 699 lower primary schools for Africans, 90 for Indians and 24 for Europeans. It was in January of 1962 that all schools in Tanzania were fully integrated. (Wallenius 1971: 88)

A 1953 UNESCO report gives further details on language use in Tanganyika in these lower primary schools (up to Standard IV); language of instruction was exclusively Swahili for which the East African Literature Bureau was providing textbooks (UNESCO 1953: 74). On the one hand, this educational system has been severely criticised, especially after independence, as being “motivated by a desire to inculcate the value of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state” (Wallenius 1971: 92, quoting Nyerere 1968: 269). On the other hand, scholars and even colonial educationalists can be found advocating at least the equality, if not the superiority of African mother tongues over against English in education (e.g. Hopgood 1948; Doke 1948; Milburn 1959) and consequently promoting not only vernacular literacy but also “education and literature for their own intrinsic value and not merely for utilitarian ends” (Hopgood 1948: 119). The political dimension of evaluating education in colonial times is obvious. As one can only speculate to what extent the Rangi themselves were concerned with it, Kesby’s statement “that these

administrative changes went over their heads” (1982: 219) probably also applies to educational changes.

Insofar as the Rangi did partake in literacy activities as can be found throughout colonial Sub-Saharan Africa, this was confined to those who had gone through afore-mentioned post-primary education and especially those who continued to work in the education sector, e.g. teachers writing about Rangi culture and/or history in Swahili in the 1950s and 1960s (Kesby 1981: 34). That acquisition of higher education took its time is exemplified by the first ever Rangi to attend university who started his law course at Dar es Salaam in 1963 (Kesby 1982: 297).

Just before independence and into the first decade of independence, increased efforts in literacy campaigns throughout Tanzania focused on the adult population who had failed to learn to read and write during childhood; for example, a combined vernacular literacy programme in the neighbouring and closely related Bantu languages of Nilamba and Rimi with transition into Swahili in Central Tanzania, running from 1955-68, has been described in detail by Halvorson (1970). It had been observed that vernacular literacy by itself seemed in many cases to be a dead end, not least due to disappointment of the minority language community itself with the lack of educational opportunity if restricted to their mother tongue. Decades later, Fasold (1997)

comes to similar conclusions in an in-depth study of vernacular literacy in Africa. In the same volume, Le Page warns:

As long as all the people with the best jobs in the government and in large corporations expect to operate in English, aspiring parents will want to have an English-medium education for their children and it may well be difficult to convince them that the best route to that is through a vernacular-medium primary school. (Le Page 1997: 68)

To some extent, Tanzania is a special case as English has a serious competitor in Swahili, an African language with a centuries-old literary tradition. However, to claim that the “predominant use of Swahili as a medium of instruction at most levels of primary and some secondary schools [...] made Tanzania one of the most (if not the most) literate countries in sub-Saharan Africa” (Obeng & Adebija 2001: 358f) seems to be exaggerated. How literate a country is depends on a number of factors and cannot be reduced to a single parameter like official school medium of instruction. Taking other measures into account, recent statistics on media access and use of print publications in various sub-Saharan countries show Tanzania just below average (Afrobarometer 2009: 4), thus painting a different picture. To give yet another indication that Obeng & Adebija have overrated Tanzania’s literacy rate, the World Bank (2004, as quoted in Verspoor 2008: 327) has observed that “Tanzania has one of the lowest secondary enrollment rates in Africa”.

Despite various recommendations by experts as well as United Nations declarations, especially United Nations (1993), progress in implementation of mother tongue education programmes has been slow so that e.g. combined research by ADEA, GTZ and UNESCO still feels compelled to suggest “using African languages as media of instruction for at least six years and implementing multilingual language models in schools” (Alidou et al. 2006: 7). Drawbacks and struggles with vernacular literacy notwithstanding, general educational development in Sub-Saharan Africa saw “a massive expansion at all levels” in the second half of the twentieth century (Mazonde 1995: 8). Similarly in Rangi country: in 1996, Kondoa District had 182 primary schools and 5 secondary schools²⁵. However, only 65.4% of the population at primary school age were actually enrolled, and the rate of those who actually attended primary school decreased from 85% to 81.5% of those enrolled between 1991 and 1996, which corresponds to 55.6% and 53.3% of the primary school age population. This decrease in percentage was largely due to high population growth rates as the absolute numbers in attendance rose from 44,670 to 50,258 over the same period (Kondoa District Council 1998) which corresponds to an absolute growth of the primary school age population from 80,342 to 94,293 children. While educational facilities have continued to be expanded at a considerable rate (I

²⁵ Of these, 146 primary and 4 secondary schools are in the predominantly Rangi-speaking area.

myself observed the emergence of at least five new secondary schools in addition to dozens of new primary schools in the Rangi speaking parts of Kondo District during my ten-year stay there up to 2006), the relationship between formal schooling in Swahili and vernacular literacy in Rangi remains ambivalent.

When looking at literacy rates in general, no statistics for literacy in Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole are available for the times prior to 1970. Between 1970 and 2004, the number of illiterates in that region has increased, partly owing to population growth rates, from 108 million to 141 million people (UNESCO 2005: 165). Given the school enrolment and attendance rates cited above for Kondo District, a safe estimate would be that around half of the Rangi population can be considered literate. Of course, “the elusive nature of literacy” (Holme 2004: 1) raises the question what it means to be literate in this context. This issue will be dealt with in the next section.

2.2 Literacy and Writing in Society

In a literate society, individual members of that society will be literate not only to varying degrees but also in different domains. Since the 1980s, literacy is therefore regarded in the plural, literacies, as a diversity of “social practices” (Street 1993: 1; Barton, Hamilton & Ivanič 2000: 8), in order to take into account the fact of this variety of degrees and domains. This is not to say that all older interpretations of literacy, especially functional literacy and critical

literacy, have been superseded. Functional literacy, which arose in the wake of the industrialisation of society (Toffler 1980: 183, 357), has been explained as “having the level of reading and writing that allows you to follow your chosen career path and to do what society requires of you” (Holme 2004: 11). In reaction to the excesses of such economic functionality, critical literacy emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, and “the purpose of this literacy is to empower people, to help them reclaim culture, community, beliefs and knowledge” (Bhola 2008: 33). The relevance of these two conceptions of literacy will be investigated in the discussion of the literacy approaches within SIL projects in section 2.3.

Apart from different interpretations of the functions and aims of literacy within a society, various theories have been developed concerning the transition of an oral society to a literate one. Especially the “Great Divide Theory” (e.g. Ong 1982) sees a categorical difference between language use in an exclusively oral society, being based on the auditory sense, and in a literate society, focusing more strongly on the visual sense.²⁶ Criticisms of this theory abound.²⁷ Such criticism often refers to research into vernacular literacy among the Vai of Liberia by Scribner & Cole (1981) which “found little evidence that

²⁶ Holme (2004: 205-210) provides an excellent summary and discussion of Ong’s tenets within a Vygotskian framework of cognition.

²⁷ Much of the discussion hinges on the exposition of the Great Divide Theory in Goody (1977) and the prolific responses to that particular account, for example, to pick a representative sample, Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz (1981), Gee (1986), and Street (1996).

literacy per se caused transformations in cognitive processes” (Clark 1984: 8), or it objects to the “logical terminus of [this] questionable view of literacy”, namely the fallacy of “people com[ing] to regard meaning *as residing in the words themselves*” (Harris 2000: 236; emphasis in the original). Street lists other scholars critical of Ong who, during the early 1980s, advocated a continuum rather than a divide; however, he concludes that “the concept of a ‘continuum’ is inadequate because spoken and written activities and products do not in fact line up along a continuum but differ from one another in a complex, multidimensional way both within speech communities and across them” (1993: 4). Yet, even sympathetic presentations of the Great Divide come to the conclusion that “there seemed to be few grounds to maintain that literacy’s reshaping of cognition was other than an influence in a wider educational process” (Holme 2004: 214). Particularly, as Gee summed it up,

[t]he work of Scribner and Cole (1981) calls into question what Street, in his book *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (1984), calls “the autonomous model” of literacy: the claim that literacy (or schooling for that matter) has cognitive effects apart from the context in which it exists and the uses to which it is put in a given culture. (Gee 1986: 731)

With regard to writing in Rangi society, it is important to bear in mind that a sizeable proportion of the Rangi population was already literate in Swahili when vernacular literacy was started systematically. To that extent, the development of a Rangi writing style does not occur in the context of transition

from exclusive, or primary, orality to literacy but in the context of combined vernacular orality with literacy in a LWC.²⁸ Also relevant here is research by Adejunmobi who has postulated “the significance of the fact that people learn and begin to use a language that is not their mother tongue” (2004: 164) for any investigation of literacy and literature development in vernacular languages.

The aforementioned pilot study of writing in Rangi society (Stegen 2004) found that over 95% of the study’s participants used writing habitually, with one third of writers claiming to use their mother tongue, Rangi, at least occasionally. The study also investigated which genres were in use in Rangi society; mentioned are letters, stories, songs, poems, recipes, diaries, technical instructions and jokes in descending order of frequency. The study surmised that, “apart from letters and stories, most of the other genres mentioned will only have been read, rather than written by Rangi people themselves” (Stegen 2004: 105). One of the aims of the study was to determine which genres should be taught in future workshops of the Rangi language project.

As mentioned in chapter 1.1, literacy planning by the Rangi project team was influenced by an expectation, expressed in SIL publications on literacy, that

²⁸ Ong distinguishes primary orality in cultures with no literacy from secondary orality in literate cultures where “forms of language and thought developed in writing come to saturate the forms and content of oral language” (Leander & Prior 2004: 203).

“the newly literate [...] seem to have an intuitive sense of what elements should make up their written style, even before any body of literature has been produced” (Poulter 1991: 44). However, in the process of becoming literate, these newly literates must have come into contact with some literature.²⁹ Even in monolingual literacy, there are literacy materials like primers and readers, the layout of which portrays a certain view of what writing means. Such external pressures on public attitude towards writing would be even more pertinent in a country like Tanzania where written materials in Swahili are ubiquitous. Admittedly, other SIL authors concede that consistency in producing a written style is contingent on practice (Jacobs 1977) or on working with familiar texts (Kerr 1980). Part of the claim for mother tongue speaker intuition about written style in a language community before the arrival of literacy may have arisen from a misinterpretation of Johnston’s statement that “there is a grammar of the written mode even in hitherto unwritten languages” (Johnston 1976: 67). While he referred predominantly to necessary redundancies as well as non-verbal means of expression in speech, like intonation patterns and gestures, which need to be compensated for in writing, at least Kilham understood him to imply that “speakers of non-literary languages have an innate feel for the need of different styles to be used for oral versus written modes” (Kilham 1987: 36), an implication which Johnston may

²⁹ I am grateful to Jim Miller for bringing this concern to my attention.

not have intended nor indeed supported. In order to investigate these issues further and especially the influences on Rangi literacy planning, I provide a closer look at SIL's approach to literacy in a multilingual environment in general and to the transition from oral to written style in particular.

2.3 Rangi Writing in the SIL Context

SIL International started in the 1930s as an academic linguistic training organisation for missionaries who were involved in Bible translation for minority languages.³⁰ From the 1960s onwards, the domain of literacy was officially added to the domains of linguistic analysis and translation studies.³¹ Right from the start of SIL's focus on literacy, the expected stages of a literacy programme included prereading activities, basic instruction in reading and writing, bridging into a second language (mostly a LWC), and literature production for independent reading (Gudschinsky 1966).

Later internal analysis of SIL's literacy approach comes to the conclusion that "SIL literacy programs take an autonomous view of literacy by teaching general decoding and comprehension skills that we then expect participants will be able to apply to the specific literacy needs they have in their daily lives"

³⁰ The first summer course, under the name of Camp Wycliffe, was held in 1934; SIL has since been incorporated as a Texas non-profit educational corporation.

³¹ Within SIL's "Notes on ..." series, *Notes on Literacy* was published from 1966 until the termination of the entire series in 2001. Previous literacy activities in SIL projects did not seem to have the same official status as linguistics and translation.

(Matthews 1995: 35). Such a view and expectation is clearly linked to functional literacy as defined in section 2.2. Even though it is also observed that some SIL programmes tend towards a critical literacy approach (ibid.), critical literacy has not been widely endorsed within the organisation. This can be shown by a quick search of the *Notes on ...-series*. In over thirty years of output, critical authors like Derrida or Foucault are mentioned only once and three times respectively,³² and the term “critical theory” can only be found in relation to Biblical studies where it has a different meaning. Discussions about the methods of critical literacy activist Paulo Freire are more common (e.g. Bendor-Samuel 1977; Lindvall 1980; Robinson 1992; Seyer 1997), with earlier articles being more skeptical and cautious, and later articles being more open and assimilating.

SIL-internal discussions about ideology notwithstanding (e.g. Berry 1999), most literacy programmes of the organisation utilised mainly those aspects of underlying theories, if at all, which could be applied to the practical implementation of literacy for minority language communities. For the average programme, and the Rangi project is no exception in this regard, this was confined to aspects of primer production and modes of teaching, particularly literacy classes and workshops. As I have related in the opening paragraphs of this thesis, the Rangi project team has been looking specifically into the running

³² All of these mentions are confined to book reviews.

of writers workshops. In addition, we focused on the question of how to transfer the stylistic features, characteristic of the oral mode of communication, to the development of an appropriate style for written literature in the Rangi language; we did not consider any categorical differences between the oral and the written mode of communication as suggested, for example, by Harris (2000). Rather, we followed recommendations for combining an oral with a written approach as is described in *Notes on ...* articles, e.g.:

One of our bilingual school teachers [...] became better aware of appropriate 'book language' through the following process: We had her first 'orally' translate to a live audience of children and we taped it. At a later date, she worked on a written translation of the same story. Meanwhile, I transcribed the oral version. Afterwards, she sat and studied the two drafts, creating out of both sets of alternatives a final version she felt best for the book. Her final product was not simply a choosing between two alternatives, but often the creation of something better stimulated by that choice. (Eckert 1981: 27f)³³

Such a combined oral-written approach had also been used in the production of the first booklet published by the Rangi language team, three parables from the Gospel of Luke (SIL 2004).³⁴

Another tenet gleaned from the SIL literature and adopted for the Rangi language project was the uniqueness of each language. If certain aspects of writing style are language specific, research has to be conducted anew for each

³³ For an application of this approach particularly to Bible translation see Crofts (1985).

³⁴ The 2004 edition is a reprinted version of the 2000 edition using the revised orthography.

individual language; adopting principles of good writing style from other languages does not necessarily lead to appropriate results in vernacular literature production, as the following quote cautions:

However, there is a danger in emphasizing a foreign style of writing so the tutor must be sensitive to the indigenous speaker's feeling as to good style in his own language. A good style is not something acquired quickly by the language learner. (Roke 1973: 8)

Other similar warnings abound, especially in the 1970s.

It should be noted in this connection that, as writers produce and refine more and more literature in their own language, a written style will develop. It is essential that this style develop relatively independently of "good" writing style in other unrelated languages. (Gudschinsky 1974b: 24)

In trying to develop such an independent style, SIL researchers discovered that speakers of newly written minority languages "have developed a writing style that is quite different from oral story-telling style" (Gudschinsky 1973: 19). The ensuing dilemma can be expressed as follows: if what constitutes good writing style in a previously unwritten language cannot be derived directly either from good oral style in that language or from what constitutes good style in other languages, the features of that style have to be determined from scratch, requiring detailed descriptive studies. In addition, it was claimed that such a writing style "emerged spontaneously and was quite consistent from one author to another" (Wise 1991). I have already mentioned at the end of section 2.2

that such a view is problematic considering the potentially consistent pressure of external literary influences.

Within SIL, the peak of descriptive studies into vernacular writing style seems to have been in the 1970s and 1980s; these studies included comparisons between oral and written style (e.g. Adams 1972; Duff 1973; Deibler 1976; Carl 1986), as well as investigations into the development of written style (e.g. Gudschinsky 1974a; Farnsworth 1976; Johnston 1976; Jacobs 1977; Bolli 1983). The findings of these SIL publications will be given in detail in section 2.4. In most, if not all cases, such research always had the application to literature production in mind. For example, in order to find the “type(s) of discourse [which] most closely match(es) the prospective literate’s listening skills” Lee (1982) suggests asking

which types of oral material have changed the least in becoming written types? Only a parallel study of the oral and written forms of each type of discourse will reveal which types have the closest match.

(Lee 1982: 397)

The aim of Lee’s match-finding investigation of oral versus written discourse types was to design literacy primers.

Despite this plethora of good advice, our use of SIL publications on literacy for determining the best approach to establishing Rangi writing was rather eclectic. A more comprehensive study would have revealed a broader range of approaches advocated by different proponents within SIL throughout the

history of the organisation. By the 1990s, however, procedures had been standardised so that literature production through writers workshops and functional literacy for adults were considered “typical SIL strategies” (Bendor-Samuel & Bendor-Samuel 1996: 145). This is notwithstanding the fact that individual projects may have been given considerable freedom in choosing their strategies, including the afore-mentioned use of critical literacy (Matthews 1995) as well as non-Western approaches (Berry 1999). Still, most SIL projects used more or less traditional writers workshops and, in the design of these, had to deal with the question of the development of a natural vernacular writing style:

The idea of developing indigenous style has been inherent in SIL’s writers workshops from their beginning. [...] In other words, the problem boiled down is, ‘How do you teach people in another language group what makes for good style in their own language?’

(Collins 1979: 20)

Poulter, in the hope of giving “input [...] to indigenous authors as they begin to write” yet “keep[ing] hands off as far as actual elements of style are concerned” (Poulter 1991: 44), has developed a list of questions to be asked of vernacular writers on how to develop a written style from an oral style. This questionnaire covers the areas of audience, grammar (including implicit information, redundancy and information structure), editing, text comparison, speech patterns (including intonation, punctuation and quotations), phonology

(about contraction and elision only), loan words, conversation and format. Relevant questions from Poulter's list were translated into Swahili and used in my informal interviews with writers and editors (cf. section 3.4). Whether this questionnaire has been used widely across SIL projects is impossible to determine, yet even Poulter himself (in an email of November 22, 2009) doubts that many SIL members ever applied it in a given language situation or literacy training.

Two aspects of writing explored in more detail within SIL were particularly relevant to the investigation of Rangi written style. These are the relationship of writing to oral language and the development of writers workshops.

2.4 Writing and its Relation to Oral Language³⁵

In the SIL publications of the 1970s and 1980s, partly listed in section 2.3, each researcher exhibits grammatical and other differences between oral and written style in the particular minority language they have been working in. Presumably these studies had been initiated after the appearance of complaints that “[e]nough attention has not been given to the difference between oral and written style, and perhaps even structure” (Larson 1965: 2). As a result of their research, the SIL authors report, for example, that vernacular editors delete repetitive or redundant sections or add emphasis or implicit information when

³⁵ An earlier instance of treating this topic, based on a smaller survey of the literature, can be found in Stegen (2005: 70-73).

adapting oral stories to the written medium, and they make suggestions for writers workshops on how to encourage vernacular writers to develop a language-specific written style. While detailed investigations into the process of the development of written style, and into the reasons why vernacular editors adapt oral texts to the written medium in the way they do, do not seem to have been undertaken, a categorised pool of such differences could serve as a valuable starting point for systematically interviewing writers and editors about stylistic changes within their narrative texts transcribed or adapted from oral recordings. The common ground for most of SIL's research into the differences between oral and written discourse may be found in Nida.³⁶ Table 2.1 replicates the differences as systematically listed by Nida himself (1967: 156).³⁷

³⁶ Nida was an SIL member before becoming a consultant with the United Bible Societies (Olson 2009: 649).

³⁷ The table is also reproduced verbatim in the annotated bibliography on spoken versus written language by Leuthkemeyer, Van Antwerp & Kindell (1983), within the SIL publication of *Notes on Linguistics*.

Table 2.1 Differences between oral and written style (Nida 1967)

Oral style	Written style
Parallel structure of kernels	Greater inbedding [sic] and subordination
Psychological atmosphere provided mainly by intonation	Psychological atmosphere provided by the selection of terms having fitting connotations
Numerous onomatopoeic expressions and frequent use of sound symbolism	Much less sound symbolism except in poetic utterance
Relatively frequent syntactic abnormalities	Greater syntactic consistency
Less careful sequencing	Studied sequencing
Limited vocabulary	Richer vocabulary
More words in proportion to the number of ideas	Fewer words in proportion to the number of ideas
Frequent changes resulting from feedback from receptors	Not subject to sudden shifts as result of feedback

Similar to Nida's features of oral versus written style, other categorisations of the differences have been drawn up (e.g. Poole & Field 1976; Boltz 1977; Jacobs 1977), yet for our purposes, these categories are best organised into the three domains of word level, clause level and text level. The caveat that "[s]ome differences between oral and written style will be language specific, so generalizations can't be made for every possible difference" (Bartsch 1997: 43) applies here as well, especially as the studies cover such a wide geographical, typological and genetic range of languages.³⁸

³⁸ As the same observations about differences between oral and written texts have been made in several articles, and at the same time, individual articles list a range of differences, even in different domains, I do not give references after each observation but rather list them

At the word level, Nida's "richer vocabulary" (see table 2.1) may correspond to Jacobs' "lexical accuracy" (1977), meaning to say that the use of vocabulary in written texts is not only broader but also more precise. At the same time, it has been observed that the vocabulary in oral texts is more emotive whereas in written texts, it is more attributive. However, especially in initial writing, the simpler vocabulary in spoken styles is offset by a reduced vocabulary in writing, due to a concern about unfamiliar or difficult words in literature for new readers. The higher variety of vocabulary in writing is still used concisely, whereas spoken language usually exhibits more wordiness and repetition. This goes together with the concept of lexical density which will be dealt with below. Finally, loanwords seem to be more acceptable in speaking than in writing where vernacular authors seem to be careful to weed them out.

At the clause level, length again plays a role in that written texts display longer clauses (again, see the discussion of lexical density below). This may have to do with a greater explicitness in writing, e.g. through the addition of "verbs to otherwise elliptical clauses" (Eckert 1981: 30), the addition of specific pronouns in order to clarify participant reference, or the substitution of explicit noun phrases for pronouns. This is notwithstanding the fact that initial

here: Drieman 1962; Adams 1972; Duff 1973; Herzog 1974; Deibler 1976; Farnsworth 1976; Hooley 1976; Johnston 1976; Jacobs 1977; Hurd 1979; Eckert 1981; Wendell 1982; Carl 1986; Kilham 1987; Wise 1991; Bartsch 1997. For some of these, summaries in Frank 1983 and Leuthkemeyer, Van Antwerp & Kindell 1983 have been used.

literature for new readers often has shorter, i.e. intentionally shortened clauses. In general, written texts also exhibit a higher level of cohesion, through a more prominent use of clausal connectives, and of embedding, i.e. a higher frequency of subordinate clauses. This may lead to use of a more varied range of different verb forms in a language's tense-aspect system. At the same time, regularly fronted subordinate clauses which repeat parts of the preceding sentence are often discarded in writing. Other observed changes at the clause level include changes in word order due to focus or to accompanying deletions of redundant repetitions.

At the text level, written texts have been found to follow chronological or logical order more consistently than oral discourse which is characterised by more temporal leaps like flashbacks. Edwards (1987), for teaching vernacular writers the components of a good story, proposes a structure for vernacular stories consisting of introduction, development, suspense, resolution and conclusion. This is reminiscent of Labov & Waletzky's (2003)³⁹ proposal that narrative texts comprise orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. Whereas both oral and written discourse show all of these elements, most written narrative texts have a greater tendency to follow them in linear order than their oral equivalents. This leads to them having more background

³⁹ This seminal article by Labov & Waletzky first appeared in 1967. References to it in this thesis, including page numbers, are to the reprint in Paulston & Tucker's (2003) sociolinguistic anthology.

information in the introduction than spoken language which needs to capture the attention of its audience more immediately. The higher level of embedding, mentioned at the clause level, can also lead to restructuring of the entire text. Finally, changes to the story's content, e.g. giving a different reason for a participant's behaviour, have been observed when recorded and transcribed oral stories were edited for written publication.

As mentioned above, a diagnostic for distinguishing spoken and written discourse is lexical density. This has been developed within the school of systemic-functional linguistics, based on Halliday's research. Halliday defines lexical density as "the proportion of lexical items (content words) to the total discourse" (Halliday 2002a: 329). Both measurements of lexical density over the entire running text and of lexical density per clause have been employed in various analyses (e.g. Halliday 2002c: 164; 2002d: 243). Lexical density seems to be not only diagnostic of spoken versus written medium, with the latter usually displaying a higher density, but also of a formal-informal cline, with density rising analogous to formality. For the Rangi language, Stegen (2007), a follow-up study of lexical density from this thesis' second pilot study (Stegen 2005), has corroborated these findings. Not only were the written texts lexically denser than the oral ones, but comparable texts in Swahili as the predominant literary medium in Tanzania had higher lexical density measurements than their corresponding Rangi texts, representing more the colloquial medium. Also,

both experienced narrators and experienced writers showed higher lexical density in their texts than inexperienced ones. Features which were identified as contributing to lower lexical density included direct speech, opening and closing devices, connectives and pronouns; whereas the repetition of verb forms, used in Rangi as cohesive device, increased lexical density.

Whereas research within SIL applied Nida’s and similar models predominantly to the confines of literature production for newly literates and of Bible translation, researchers outside of SIL, especially Chafe and researchers following him, investigated the differences between oral and written language under broader perspectives (Chafe 1986; Chafe & Danielewicz 1987; Chafe & Tannen 1987). Chafe’s discussion of the “differences between the activities of speaking and writing” (1994: 42-45) deals not only with structural or stylistic differences but takes the dissimilar modes, environments and processes of both activities into account. Table 2.2, taken from Stegen (2005: 70f), charts the six contrastive areas identified by Chafe.

Table 2.2 Differences between speaking and writing (Chafe 1994)

Speaking	Writing
Evanescence	Permanence and transportability
Higher tempo	Slower tempo
Spontaneity	Deliberate “working over”
Prosodically rich	Prosodically “impoverished”
Natural to humans	Has to be taught
Situated (co-presence of communicators)	Desituated (lack of immediate interchange)

Another table on the oral-written dichotomy is provided by Horowitz & Samuels (1987: 9) combining pragmatic features like +/- interpersonal, +/- spontaneous and +/- situational with more structural ones like paratactic versus hypotactic. They do caution, however, that “[o]ral and written language do not constitute unitary constructs. Rather there is much variation and overlap”, depending, among other things, upon genre (Horowitz & Samuels 1987: 8). That genre differences within the same medium can be greater than differences between oral versus written language has been corroborated by a range of various studies (e.g. Maw 1974; Tannen 1982; Biber 1988).

It has to be taken into account that much of this research concerns language communities with a long literary tradition whereas SIL is primarily concerned with non-literate and newly literate societies. Rangi society, due to its history of wide-spread Swahili literacy since at least the 1970s, may fall in between the two ends of the spectrum. Ong’s differentiation between primary and secondary orality (cf. footnote 28) plays a role here, in that literary traditions re-influence the oral modes of the corresponding literate society. Writing seems to have permanent effects on language use in general, and the acquisition of literacy and of writing does not happen in a vacuum but is more influenced by other literary practices in the environment than by the oral modes of the language. This is also the conclusion of Purcell-Gates that “[o]ral language in and of itself, is not directly relevant to the study of emergent literacy” (Purcell-Gates 2001:

8). More corroborating evidence comes from Rubin who, reporting on a comparative study of dictated writing versus oral composition of primary school students, assumes that “the source of these schemata for written style must lie in the materials read to children by caretakers and teachers” (Rubin 1984: 218). While most of this research concerns literate societies in the West, African language examples exist. For example, Diop (2006) describes the collection of two Wolof epics and the production of written versions; he includes discussions of literary influences on the oral performance, predominantly the Qur’an and Islamic folklore, and of the influence of French as the colonial and apparently superior language on these epics. Another study investigates the transcription of Sotho poetry in South Africa by French missionaries in the 19th century (Ricard 1997); Ricard draws particular attention to the fact that, as literacy arrived in Sotho, orality did not fade out but contributed to a “mixture” of the media, producing unique written genres. Unfortunately, most literary studies in African languages concern languages with a comparatively long literary tradition at the time of research.

By contrast, in non-literate or newly literate societies, principles of writing and stylistic conventions are not prevalent in the society’s context or everyday life.⁴⁰ Hence they have to be taught in specially designed settings. The primary

⁴⁰ As conceded above, literacy in a LWC, like Swahili in the Rangi context, may be a source of such conventions.

means for doing so in vernacular literacy projects under the auspices of SIL seem to be writers workshops.

2.5 The Development of Writers Workshops

SIL was by no means the first to utilise writers workshops. As creative writing became a distinct academic field, first in the United States and later in other Anglophone countries and finally throughout the world, it was at the University of Iowa where writers workshops were first institutionalised in the 1930s and refined in the 1940s under the leadership of Paul Engle (Swander, Leahy & Cantrell 2007: 12). This approach was later adapted to Christian writing by Van Horne (1962)⁴¹ for the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature. One of the first recorded SIL writers workshop took place in 1970 in Mexico (Gudschinsky 1973: 19), and this new workshop approach to training writers was pronounced as “signal[ing] the entrance of the [organisation] into a new era in which [...] minority people will write for their own communities” (Henne 1973: 3). By 1978, Wendell (1982) estimates that 35-50 such workshops had been conducted worldwide under the auspices of SIL; since then, the numbers must be in the thousands, considering that in the Rangi project alone, four writers workshops have been conducted in the course of this research.

⁴¹ This is by far the earliest reference to writers workshops within publications compiled by SIL in the *LinguaLinks Library 6.0 Licensed Edition* 2009. The next references to writers workshops in that compilation date from the 1970s.

After the first decade of writers workshops in SIL, typical workshop components in SIL projects were standardised and consisted of exercises in three stages, namely on letter formation, on spelling and on creative writing (Lee 1982). From the 1990s, SIL's development of literacy activities was characterised by an increasingly closer cooperation with UNESCO, spreading particularly from work in South-East Asia, significantly by SIL scholar Susan Malone (e.g. UNESCO 2004, which she prepared and edited). One could argue that this reinforced the emphasis on functional literacy (Bhola 2008), combined with a creative writing approach (UNESCO 2007). The dichotomy between functional and critical literacy thus also influenced the design of writers workshops with "one emphasis[ing] vocationalism and profit, while the other emphasises activism and critical consciousness" (Dawson 2007: 86). Suggestions have certainly been made with the aim to broaden the theoretical horizon of SIL literacy projects. For example, Meyer (1986) wrote an article intended to be "a first step in acquainting [SIL] literacy workers with current research in composition teaching", yet his suggestion does not seem to have been picked up, going by the fact that a search of the *LinguaLinks Library* (SIL 2009) for the term "composition teaching" does not produce a single hit in the remaining 15 years of *Notes on Literacy*, nor in any other SIL publication for that matter. Writers workshops in SIL continued to focus on spelling and stylistic conventions despite the interpretation of "[l]earning to write [as] learning how

to transcribe language in a written form, learning spelling and grammatical conventions; learning the principles of a good style by examining exemplary models; and learning conventional text structures” (Galbraith & Rijlaarsdam 1999: 93f) having given way to “writing [being] viewed as a process of problem-solving in which ideas were actively constructed to satisfy communicative goals [...] including planning, translating and reviewing” since the 1970s (ibid.: 94). Nor do recommended practices like brainstorming, outlining, free writing or multiple drafting seem to have entered standard SIL procedures on teaching writing. A recent publication by SIL literacy scholars on writers workshops (Weber, Wroge & Yoder 2007),⁴² while acknowledging writing as a process, still depicts the main aim of writers workshops as literature production for newly literates, and the main workshop components as “what makes a good story, good writing, descriptive writing, punctuation, revising and editing” (ibid.: 81).

As the Rangi language project team started to design writers workshops, we were most strongly influenced by this SIL context of focusing on literacy activities like spelling and the stylistic conventions for writing good stories.

⁴² Although they explicitly mention non-SIL writers workshops at US-based academic institutions, Weber, Wroge & Yoder do not seem to be aware of the history of the Iowa University Writers Workshop nor of the connection via Van Horne (1962) as on page 78, they claim SIL International being the first to use the term, based on the development of a writers workshop programme by Wendell (1982).

3. METHODOLOGY

Many such questions need to be answered, and many ethnographies need to be done on writing within indigenous cultures, and on the value of certain types of workshops for indigenous writers. Descriptive reports and case studies are not enough. Rather, qualitative and quantitative studies, both longitudinal and latitudinal, are needed to assess what impact writers' training has had on writers and their communities, and on issues related to language vitality and loss.

(Weber, Wroge & Yoder 2007: 90)

The key events for eliciting the data used in this study were the first four instances of holding a one-day writers workshop in the Rangi language project. Consequently, I start this methodology chapter with a description of the context and the content of the writers workshops as well as how the texts were elicited during the workshops. The remaining sections of this chapter then deal with the processing of the elicited data. First, I explain the processes of computerizing the elicited texts and of converting them into databases of the Toolbox software. Then, I discuss the parameter choices for stylistic features according to which the data was tagged within the Toolbox database. Finally, I describe the additional editor's interviews which were conducted as background information.

3.1 Workshop context and content

From the time I started my doctoral research in 2003 to the time I completed data elicitation and left Tanzania in 2006,⁴³ the Rangi language project was divided into three parts: linguistic analysis, literacy and Bible translation with an assigned SIL member as specialist in each domain. The two relevant domains for my research, literacy and linguistics, were headed by Margaret Hartung and myself respectively. Although there is potential for considerable overlap between these project components, in our case, there was minimal technical interaction. As linguistic advisor, I was not involved in the design and implementation of literacy events, and during the seminar series of which the writers workshops were a part, I was not even present. Consequently, for the content of this section, I am relying on information from Margaret Hartung who prepared, coordinated and led all seminars in all locations (Hartung 2005; 2006 which are given in appendix IV).

A series of three seminars was developed, and the first four locations where these were conducted were the town of Kondoa (20426 inhabitants), and the

⁴³ After I completed elicitation for this study, the Rangi literacy team conducted more writers workshops, resulting in the production of more Rangi story texts. Also, Kijuu and Maingu attended two workshops which I co-taught, the first on narrative discourse from April 20 to May 8, 2009, the second on hortatory and expository discourse from September 20 to October 8, 2010. For these, more Rangi texts were collected, charted and analysed. The results of these written discourse analyses are not yet publicly available and have not been used in the research of this study.

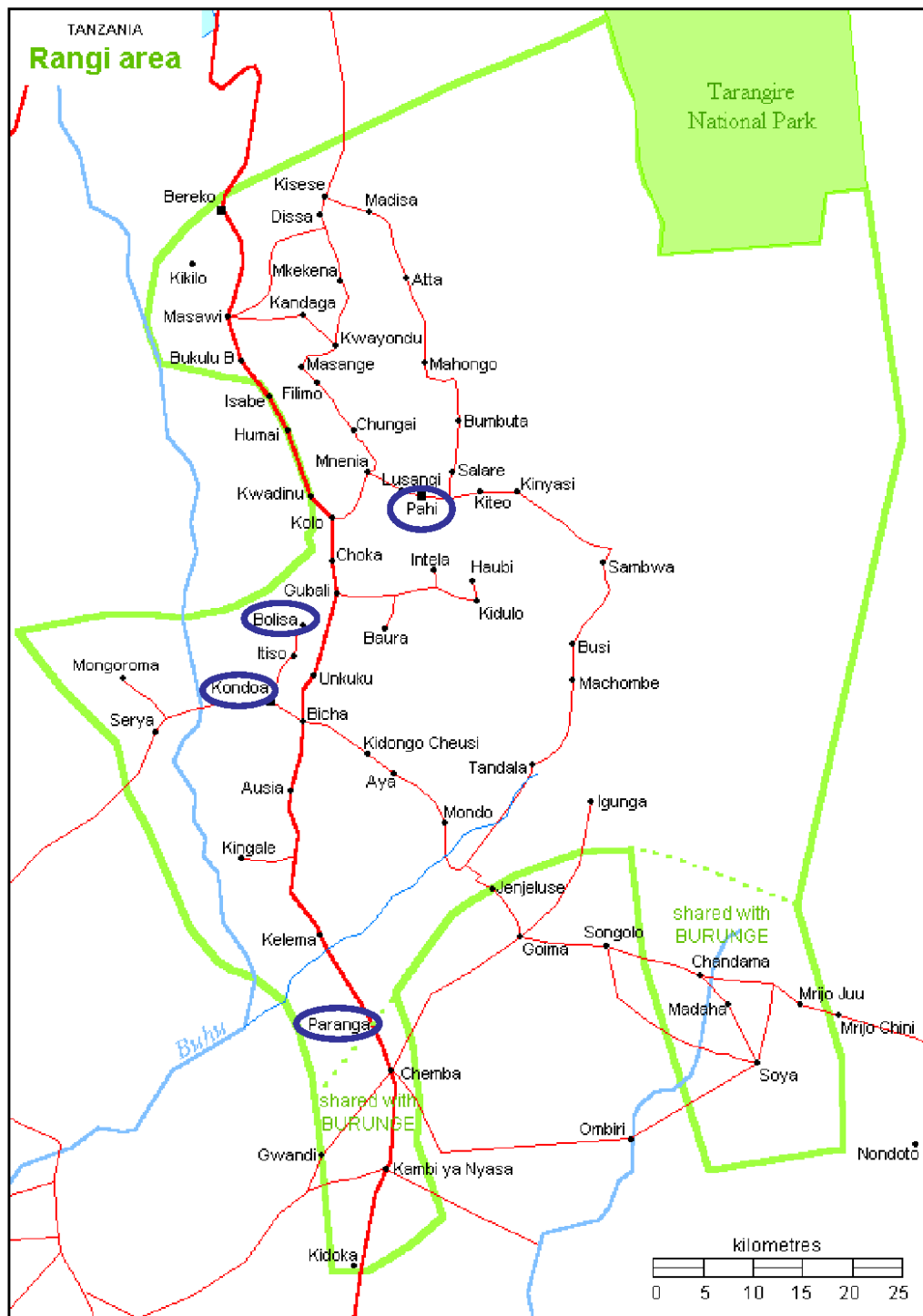
three villages of Pahi (5874 inhabitants), Bolisa (3514 inhabitants) and Paranga (1402 inhabitants).⁴⁴ The location of these four venues within Rangi-speaking area is shown in figure 3.1, each encircled in blue.⁴⁵ According to Cox & Stegen (to appear), all four venues lie in the domain of the lowland dialect, although Pahi may be strongly influenced by the highland dialect of Haubi which covers the area within the ring road to the East of the Great North Road (roads are marked red on the map). The ring road leaves the Great North Road at Kolo, goes through Pahi, Busi and Mondo and joins the main road again at Bicha near Kondoa. In each location, the writers workshop was preceded by literacy training, consisting of two one-day seminars covering twenty lessons of reading and writing as presented in the Rangi project's transition primer (SIL 2006b).⁴⁶ Those participants who passed both reading and writing exams at the end of the second seminar became assistant literacy teachers in the Rangi project and started literacy classes in their location.

⁴⁴ All population figures originate from *The United Republic of Tanzania 2002 Population and Housing Census*.

⁴⁵ The map indicates areas in which Rangi and Burunge are equally spoken. Due to lack of comparable data, such areas of overlap with the Alagwa to the Northwest, the Gorowa to the North, the Maasai to the East or the Sandawe to the Southwest are not included in the map.

⁴⁶ A transition primer teaches those who are literate in one language to transfer their literacy skills to another, in this case Rangi speakers who are literate in Swahili to apply these Swahili literacy skills to their mother tongue.

Figure 3.1 Writers workshop locations within Rangi-speaking area



For the third seminar, that is the writers workshop, all participants of the first two seminars were invited, regardless of whether they had passed the exams or not. Table 3.1 lists the dates and participant numbers for all seminars in each location.

Table 3.1 Dates and participant numbers of seminar series by location

	Seminar 1		Seminar 2 ⁴⁷		Writers workshop	
Kondoa	12/19-2-2005 ⁴⁸	40/18	19-3-2005	25	28-5-2005	20
Pahi	27-8-2005	27	1-10-2005	13	3-12-2005	17
Bolisa	17-9-2005	47	19-11-2005	27	10-12-2005	41
Paranga	26-11-2005	69	7-1-2006	37	28-1-2006	53

In the implementation of these literacy events, Margaret Hartung was assisted by two Rangi teachers, Mr. Andrew Michael and Mr. Gervas Simon Vita. In view of the fact that I would not attend any of the workshops, I had requested Margaret Hartung to add two aspects to her workshop preparations: a) that my doctoral research be explicitly mentioned on the informed consent form which writers could sign if they agreed their stories to be used by SIL; b) that the workshop participants write their first draft from scratch without any stylistic instructions in order to curb outside influence on these aspiring Rangi authors. Unfortunately, the former was omitted due to an oversight; as the copyright to the stories of consenting writers has been bought by SIL, I was

⁴⁷ Attendance at the second seminar was always lower than at the first as the second seminar was meant only for those interested in becoming assistant literacy teachers. In each location, four or five participants of the second seminar passed both reading and writing exams at the end of the seminar and did actually become teachers in the project.

⁴⁸ The first seminar was held twice in Kondoa.

nonetheless given permission to use them. The second request turned out to be unrealistic due to the previous literacy training which all participants had gone through. During those seminars, several Rangi publications were offered for sale one of which featured seven Rangi stories (SIL 2005a). Some participants, instead of writing a story of their own, simply copied one of those published stories. I discuss how these previously published Rangi stories have influenced the stories of the writers workshops in connection with table 4.2 below.

The components of the Rangi project writers workshop have been summarised by Margaret Hartung as follows:

All attendees of the first seminar and the second, as well as successful students are invited to the writers' seminar. How to write Rangi is reviewed, along with punctuation, paragraphing and what makes a good story. They will write stories first because that is the easiest genre to do. They are given examples of stories by Vita and Michael. They write a story in Rangi, learn how to edit it and translate it into Swahili. They are given certificates, sign contracts and are paid Tsh. 1,000/= per page for one story in Rangi and one in Swahili.⁴⁹

(Hartung 2006: 2)

The ensuing list gives an overview of the editing instructions which were given to the participants after they had written a first draft of their story (Hartung 2005):⁵⁰

⁴⁹ At the time of the workshops, 1,000/= Tanzanian shillings corresponded roughly to one US dollar and was the equivalent of one day's wage for an unskilled worker in rural areas.

⁵⁰ The original is written in Swahili and contains many more details, mainly specific examples of Rangi orthographic conventions.

- Read your story aloud several times.
- Check the spelling (vowels, tones, special consonant combinations).
- Check word boundaries, capitalisation, punctuation, hyphenation and setting of paragraphs.
- Check that your story is clear, natural and interesting.
- Check that your story has an introduction, an explanation of the situation, a solution and a coda.
- Exchange stories with a fellow participant, discuss them; then rewrite your story according to any corrections or comments made.

For the purposes of my study, the outcome of the writers workshops were four documents from each participant who agreed to have their writings used by SIL: a signed informed consent form (see appendix I), a first draft of a Rangi story, a revised edition of the same Rangi story and a free translation in Swahili. The latter three are all handwritten (see example page, also in appendix I).

Altogether, 112 narrative texts from 108 consenting writers were elicited.

Table 3.2 shows how these are distributed by location.

Table 3.2 Numbers of participants, consenting writers and elicited stories

	# participants	# consenting writers	# stories
Kondoa	20	18	18
Pahi	17	15	15
Bolisa	41	30	32 ⁵¹
Paranga	53	45	47 ⁵²

⁵¹ Two writers in Bolisa wrote two stories each.

⁵² One writer in Paranga wrote three stories.

The high proportion of consenting writers to participants (ranging from 73% in Bolisa to 90% in Kondoa) is probably due to the remuneration which writers received for each page that they submitted. After elicitation, all 112 stories were transferred from handwritten to electronic form.

3.2 Computerising handwritten texts

The handwritten documents were typed into the computer by a Rangi-speaking employee of the project, Elizabeth Alphonse (EA). In most cases, she only typed the revised version. She had been instructed not to change any wording but to apply the spelling rules as taught in the Rangi transition primer (SIL 2006b). She nevertheless undertook some minor editing apart from orthographic corrections (hence an additional typist's version of each story). Also, two other employees of the project got involved in typing, partly to alleviate time pressure on EA, partly out of their own interest: Paul Kijuu (PK) and Adelina Biira (AB). PK dealt with the texts from Kondoa and AB with those from Paranga.⁵³ It should be noted that PK was much freer in his editing of texts, whereas AB stayed closer to the handwritten originals (including spelling mistakes). For the texts from Kondoa and Paranga, EA then worked on the versions as typed by PK and AB, whereas for the Pahi and Bolisa texts, she alone undertook the typing task. Although I have a good understanding of the

⁵³ There was no particular reason for this distribution of typing work apart from the Kondoa texts being mainly worked on in 2005 when PK expressed interest, and the Paranga texts in 2006 when AB was available.

Rangi language and each writer provided a translation of their story into Swahili, EA produced an additional word-for-word Swahili gloss of each story as a reference aid for me.

Working from the typists' copies, I first completed the step of standardizing the orthography,⁵⁴ only partly undertaken by the typists. Spelling mistakes in the originals were quite common, as is to be expected in first texts by aspiring authors. These had to be weeded out by hand so that computerised searches for specific words or phrases, which constitute an essential prerequisite for stylistic comparative analysis, would list all tokens.

From the typists' documents, I created electronic versions of each story's draft and revision which matched their handwritten counterparts.⁵⁵ Both versions were then broken up clause by clause, with each clause ideally containing one finite verb only. In the process, the numbering system was established.⁵⁶ Locations were abbreviated **B**(olisa), **K**(ondoa), **P**(ahi) and **(Pa)R**(anga); each location had a running number of texts, and each text had a

⁵⁴ The database has been standardised to the Rangi orthography as of May 2006 when a conference in Kondoa ratified the proposal of the SIL team. A couple of minor changes have occurred since which are not reflected in the data of this thesis.

⁵⁵ Originally, it had been planned to include the typists' versions in the comparison. However, it was later decided to confine the analysis to the intra-author stylistic changes; the above mentioned differences between typists were one factor in that decision.

⁵⁶ In order not to change existing references in the database, it was decided not to correct inconsistencies which were discovered later, e.g. some infinite verb forms were sometimes joined into the same clause with a finite verb and sometimes put into a separate clause.

running number of clauses. The results of the clause-by-clause text processing were displayed in a Word document table, one column per version, so that equivalent clauses across the two versions appeared in the same table row. Changes between draft and revision were highlighted in the revised version's column in bold underline, with deletions marked by underlines in square brackets. A third column was added giving a close translation of the revised version into English; where necessary, a translation of the draft version was provided in italic square brackets. Table 3.3 gives an example from P9.1-5, whereas the full data is found in appendix I.

Table 3.3 First five clauses of text P9 charted

v1 (original by author)	v2 (revision by author)	translation
1. Kijeengi cha Siimba na Nyeere Chasaambulwa ni Ntuuju	Kijeengi cha Siimba na Nyeere Chasaambulwa ni Ntuuju <u>au Nchúnkula</u>	The friendship of Lion and Badger is destroyed by spring hare or Hare
2. Aho kali siimba na nyeere javijáa jiikwaata kijeengi.	Aho kali siimba na nyeere j[]ijáa jiikwaata kijeengi.	In times of old Lion and Badger used to be friends [lit.: hold friendship].
3. Nyeere yoyo ni huuiki yavijáa yariina	<i>(cf. clause no.5)</i>	<i>[Badger he it's honey he used to harvest]</i>
4. na Siimba nayo yasakaatáa.	Siimba yoyo <u>noo</u> yasakaatáa	Lion he that's he used to hunt
5. <i>(cf. clause no.3)</i>	na nyeere nayo <u>noo []</u> yariináa. <i>(from 3.)</i>	and badger and he that's he used to harvest (honey).

However, not all texts could be put into this format as not all texts were available in two distinct versions. Some writers submitted only one version;

quite possibly, they did not have time during the workshop to revise their first draft. Others simply copied the first draft verbatim and returned that copy as revision. Also excluded from the comparative analysis of their stories were those who copied stories verbatim from the Rangi story booklet (SIL 2005a), and those who were indisputably identified as non-Rangi speakers by Mr. Michael and Mr. Vita (B7 as a non-Rangi example is extensively discussed in their joint interview, tape 1). Table 3.4 gives an overview of these categories by location.

Table 3.4 Suitability categories of stories for analysis

	only v1	v1 = v2	copied	non-Rangi	Suitable
Kondoa	2	7	1	1	7
Pahi	2	2			11
Bolisa	2	1		2	27
Paranga	14		5	2	26

While this results in a reduced numbers of texts used for the stylistic comparison, all texts were used for the text-type categorisation described in 4.1.

3.3 Toolbox databases

Toolbox is a database software (SIL 2006a) for language analysis at both the word and the text level, including features like filtered searches and semi-automatic interlinearisation. Each data entry is called a record. Each record contains different fields for entering different kinds of information. Each field is identified by a unique record field marker.

Toolbox was chosen because I was able to use it easily to devise solutions for tagging the stylistic differences between successive text versions.⁵⁷ Moreover, when investigating other database software programmes, including Microsoft Excel, XML Editor, Fieldworks Language Explorer, and Multilinear Discourse Analysis, similar solutions were either much more complex, without providing necessarily better results, or not as immediately obvious to both me and the consulted experts on the respective programmes.⁵⁸

In Toolbox, each clause was entered as a separate record, with the different versions of that clause in separate record fields. For example, the first clause in table 3.3 above would be referred to by a unique reference field (abbreviated in \ref as first clause in the ninth text from the village of Pahi), as displayed in table 3.5, with the fields \v1, \v2 and \v3 for the draft, revised and typist's version respectively.

Table 3.5 Toolbox record fields for data of first clause in table 3.3

\ref	Pahi09 001
\v1	Kijeengi cha Siimba na Nyeere Chasaambulwa ni Ntũũju
\v2	Kijeengi cha Siimba na Nyeere Chasaambulwa ni Ntũũju au Nchũnkũla
\v3	Kijeengi cha Siimba na Nyeere Chasaambulwa ni Nchũnkũla

For the encoding of differences between versions, two general record field markers were devised: \d1 for differences between the draft and the revised

⁵⁷ I have worked with Toolbox and its predecessor software Shoebox since 1990.

⁵⁸ I am particularly grateful for input from Allan Jay, Miriam Meyerhoff, Ron Moe, Steve Nicolle, Phil Quick, Alan Vogel, and Ursula Wiesemann.

version, and \d2 for differences between the author's revision and the typescript.⁵⁹ These differences fall into three main categories as explained in the next section.

3.3.1 Parameter choice

As the focus of my research lies on developmental stylistics, I paid particular attention to parameters which might influence the particular writing of an individual author and to parameters which could categorise the stylistic changes and preferences found in the database. Concerning the first type of parameters, I differentiated workshop location (for reasons of potential differences in dialect and in presentation of workshop instructions leading to different discourses during each workshop), the story type of the submitted text (cf. 4.1), and perceived quality (see evaluation by A. Michael and G. Vita as explained in 3.4 below). While intended audience is also a determining factor in writing style (Bell 1984), I did not receive reliable information on who the Rangi writers had in mind when composing their stories. Concerning the second type of parameters, I differentiated the position of stylistic changes in a story (cf. 5.1) and three different levels into which stylistic features may be categorised: a) the word (or lexical) level, b) the clause (or morphosyntactic) level, and c) the level of text organisation. Partly, these levels have been chosen by perusing investigations of components of good writing style which were

⁵⁹ Only differences between draft and revision have been considered for this study.

found, among others, in Jacobs (1977) and Poole & Field (1976) as discussed in 2.4. Also, a pilot study of three parameters, viz. word order, tense-aspect and participant reference, on a subset of 26 texts reinforced the feasibility of investigating the parameters in question (Stegen 2010).

At the word level, additions and deletions as well as lexical substitutes (both Rangi-internally and for Swahili loanwords) were tagged because of their high frequency. No particular a priori expectations were connected with these changes between draft and revised versions. Changes in word order were also tagged; these relate to both the lexical and the clausal level. In the literature, word order changes had been reported to indicate different degrees of prominence of different participants in the story (cf. 2.4). Orthographic changes, however, were not tagged; first, that would have required an additional layer of text processing (cf. the need for uniformity of spelling mentioned in 3.2 above); second, it belongs more to the fields of spelling development and reading theory (Alcock & Ngorosho 2003) than to stylistics; and third, although attention to orthographic accuracy influences a writer's attention to stylistic features (Rempel 1994), it does not contribute to stylistic preferences themselves.

At the clause level, participant reference and tense-aspect have been identified as containing salient stylistic features. To the former, Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) dedicate three entire chapters. The latter is particularly

complex in Bantu languages (Nurse 2003), and the richness of its system in Rangi and its functions in text have been detailed in Stegen (2006b). A variety of other morphosyntactic elements which have not prominently featured in the literature on narrative style, e.g. verb valency and noun class agreement, have been subsumed under the label “other changes” which also includes sociolinguistic aspects like dialectal variation.

At the text level, changes in the organisation of supra-clausal elements, up to entire paragraphs, have been marked. This includes additions, deletions and movements of these text sections. Also, all stories were divided into their narrative components, i.e. orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda, according to Labov & Waletzky (2003). Dividing the narratives into these categories facilitates the investigation into whether stylistic changes may have been undertaken due to their specific place in the narrative. The relevance of Labov & Waletzky’s narrative categories for my research is explained in more detail in 5.2.

3.3.2 Differential analysis in Toolbox

When defining the differential fields in the Toolbox database which label the changes between different text versions, the range of permitted data entries was restricted to twelve abbreviations which are listed in table 3.6; these correspond to the chosen parameters at the three levels outlined above. For most of these fields, subfields were created into which the relevant Rangi word could be

inserted, e.g. if a word was deleted in the revised version over against the draft version, field \d1 would show “delW”, and field \d1d would show the specific word which had been deleted.

Table 3.6 Range set for differential fields \d1 and \d2 and their meanings

abbreviation	subfield	meaning
addS		a sentence was added
delS		a sentence was deleted
mvS	\d1h	the order of sentences was changed
rplS		sentence replaced for another of equivalent content
addW	\d1a	a word was added
delW	\d1d	a word was deleted
mvW	\d1g	the order of words within the clause was changed
lex	\d1l	one lexical item was substituted for another
Swah	\d1m	a Swahili word was replaced by a Rangi word
PR	\d1p	a change in participant reference occurred
T/A	\d1t	a change in a tense-aspect form occurred
other	\d1z	other changes, e.g. voice, class agreement, dialect etc.

This separation of stylistic changes into different fields and subfields combined with the search, sort and filter functions of the Toolbox software provided effective means of displaying all changes of the same category at one glance. In the course of labeling inter-version differences, it was decided to drop the changes of the typists’ versions from my investigation. After all, they had been asked not to change the texts stylistically but only to standardise the orthography. Consequently, most observed changes in the typists’ versions do

not relate to stylistic preferences; for example, deletions of words or clauses are more often than not due to errors of omission.

Finally, it should be noted that, with the exception of lexical density (cf. 4.3.1) which is a statistical calculation, most frequency counts for stylistic changes are not for statistical purposes but to get an indication of which aspects would be worthwhile to investigate further. Thus, a few quantitative measurements notwithstanding, this study is predominantly a qualitative investigation.

3.4 Teacher's and editor's interviews

In addition to eliciting and processing the text versions which are the main basis for my analysis, I conducted interviews with several Rangī writers and literacy teachers for additional support, and where necessary correction, of my text-based findings. These interviews are based on Poulter (1991) which mainly consists of a questionnaire about domains to be considered when developing literature in a newly written vernacular, e.g. consideration of the audience, grammatical phenomena to take into account, questions on the editing process, and dealing with loan words. Printouts of example texts from writers workshops, as were available at the time of the respective interview, were given to the interviewees during the interview for reference. Table 3.7 gives the names of the interviewees and their functions within the Rangī language project, and the date of each interview.

Table 3.7 List of interviewees

<u>name</u>	<u>role</u>	<u>date</u>
Paul Kijuu	workshop participant and translator	Sep 29, 2005
Gervas Simon Vita	workshop supervisor and teacher	Sep 29, 2005
Yohana Sumaye	assistant literacy teacher	Mar 8, 2006
Andrew Michael	workshop supervisor and teacher	Mar 22, 2006
Yovin Maingu	independent author ⁶⁰	May 17, 2006
Andrew Lujuo	independent scholar	Jun 22, 2006

These interviews were conducted, recorded and transcribed in Swahili, and summarised in English (cf. appendix III).

With the two workshop supervisors, Mr. Vita and Mr. Michael, a longer interview session was planned and recorded. They were given the printouts of the revised versions of 64 stories⁶¹ and asked to evaluate them into three categories according to their own perception: stories which they would recommend to be published as is, stories which could be published after editing, and stories which would be unsuitable for publishing. A few weeks after supplying them with the printed texts, I met with both of them on June 17, 2006, in order to discuss the results of their evaluation. This discussion was also recorded and consulted for subsequent qualitative analysis.

While the Toolbox database of the narrative texts was definitely my primary source of data in the investigation of stylistic preferences, these interviews

⁶⁰ Maingu was later that year employed as a second translator to work together with Kijuu.

⁶¹ At that stage, not all stories had been typed and their spelling corrected. Ready for printing were 18 texts from Kondoa, 15 from Pahi, and 31 from Bolisa; but none from Paranga.

helped me to get an impression of Rangi thinking about written style and drew my attention to some relevant stylistic features which I might have missed otherwise.

4. OVERVIEW OF THE TEXT CORPUS

As I see it, comparative studies as a whole need to break camp from either end of the “Great Divide” and create a spectrum of possibilities that more nearly corresponds to the reality of what we have found in the field and in the archive. We must be willing to calibrate our comparisons and our conclusions by taking account of differences in at least three areas: the tradition (whether Native American, Turkish, medieval English, or whatever), the genre (as closely as one can track this aspect across traditions), and the nature of the documents. (Foley 1991: 36)

Before launching into the analytical results at text, word and clause levels respectively in the subsequent chapters, I deal in this chapter with those factors which may influence the nature of or motivation for stylistic changes between the draft and revised versions of a given text. First, the texts are categorised according to their text type.⁶² While most texts fall into one or another narrative subgenre, the categorisation will also specify those texts which follow previously available literary examples or which do not fall into the narrative category at all.

Another dimension in which the texts differ is the nature of the changes made between versions. Both the domain and the extent of those changes vary considerably from text to text. Hence an overview will be given of which texts

⁶² I am grateful to Hugh Trappes-Lomax for pointing out to me the necessity of such a categorisation for my research.

have small, intermediate or large amounts of changes, and at which level – word, clause or text – these changes predominantly lie for each text.

A third variation of the texts in the database is according to their length. In particular, the length of the draft version may have a bearing on the motivation of its writer to lengthen or shorten the story in the revised version. Such shortening or lengthening of texts has implications for the text’s lexical density which will also be discussed in the section on text length. So, all texts will be plotted according to their original length, changes in length and lexical density. Also, those texts which have been submitted in an incomplete form are listed; most often, they are lacking the end of the story, as their writer presumably ran out of time.

Finally, as mentioned in 3.4, the two literacy supervisors Mr. Michael and Mr. Vita had evaluated 64 texts with regard to their publishability. The results are displayed in table 4.1. Texts which were not included in the developmental stylistic analysis are marked in italic underline.

Table 4.1 Evaluation of publishability of 64 database texts

	long publishable	short publishable	unpublishable
B	2, 6, 8, 10, 17	1, 3, 5	4, <u>7</u> , 9, 11, 12, 13a, 13b, 14, <u>15a</u> , 15b, <u>16</u> , 18, 19, 20, <u>21</u> , 23, 24, <u>25</u> , 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31
K	<u>3</u> , <u>5</u> , <u>6</u> , 7, <u>9</u> , 14, 15	8, <u>12</u> , <u>13</u> , 17	1, <u>2</u> , <u>4</u> , <u>10</u> , <u>11</u> , 16, <u>18</u>
P	7, <u>8</u> , 9	1, 3, 5, <u>6</u> , 10, 11, 14, 15	<u>2</u> , <u>4</u> , 12, 13

It should be noted that only the texts produced in Kondoa, Bolisa and Pahi were evaluated (at the time of evaluation, Paranga texts had not yet been typed). The evaluators further distinguished between longer texts, potentially publishable as self-contained stories e.g. in a story booklet, and shorter texts which may be more suitable in primers or easy readers. Texts from Kondoa and Pahi were perceived as of higher quality (11 of 17 and 11 of 15 texts respectively considered publishable) over against those from Bolisa (8 of 32 texts recommended for publication). This evaluation of quality certainly provides useful insights from a Rangi perspective into the appropriateness of individual stylistic features, as my interviews with the literacy supervisors also make frequent reference to their evaluation (cf. appendix III). However, I was not able to define their criteria for evaluating publishability suitably enough to take their grouping of the texts into account as a factor for categorising stylistic changes and preferences.

So, it is the categorisation of the texts according to the first three factors – genre, nature and amount of changes, and text length – which is explored in this chapter and which will contribute to our subsequent discussion of the individual changes at word, clause and text level in later chapters.

4.1 Story types and themes

That genre plays an important role in stylistic differences has been shown both in general (Biber 1988) and for East African Bantu languages like Swahili

in particular (Maw 1974). The genre differences in the text databases of both Biber and Maw are decidedly bigger than in mine which consists almost exclusively of narratives from the narrowly defined context of writers workshops. Still, the genre of narrative falls into various subcategories, not least stylistically – Schmidt whose categorisation I use below calls these “tale types” (Schmidt 2001: 192). For example, a story relating the origin of a natural phenomenon may exhibit different features from a story relating the exploits of an ancestral figure or leader. It is easy to imagine, regardless of whether it occurs in actual practice, how such differences may affect various aspects of stylistic preferences, from the choice of vocabulary and the use of certain tense-aspect forms of the verb to the tracking of the story’s participants and the arrangement of entire paragraphs. Therefore, all texts in my database have been categorised with regard to their story type in order to be able to relate differences in style to different story types where appropriate. Such a categorisation of the story database into different story types has the additional advantage of providing an overview of themes in Rangi oral tradition.

Schmidt (2001) applies a more general framework for categorising narratives⁶³ particularly to the African context for which she distinguishes myths, trickster tales, animal tales, magic tales, and legends as well as personal

⁶³ The sources given for this general framework include Aarne & Thompson (1964) and Thompson (1955) (Schmidt 2001: 336).

experience stories (Schmidt 2001: 7). She defines these different story types as follows: myths give an explanation of the present world order (ibid.: 194); trickster tales can be divided into stories about an “ambiguous and anomalous” anthropomorphous trickster (ibid.: 236) and animal tricksters, the hallmark of both of which is the contrast between cleverness and stupidity (ibid.: 251); other animal tales are usually just-so stories without any obligatory moral, although they can be didactic like the fables of Europe and India (ibid.: 247ff); magic tales tell stories of liberation from evil forces, e.g. an ogre, by means which come from outside of reality (ibid.: 260f); legends or anecdotes purport to be true accounts of historical characters or at least real people (ibid.: 308f). Finally, Schmidt adds personal experience and autobiographical stories which, although stylistically distinct from traditional stories, still rely on traditional sources (ibid.: 324).

At times it may not be easy to categorise a story without doubt; there may be indicators of two story types in one and the same story. Schmidt’s distinction between primary and secondary aetiologies (2001: 249) is helpful in such cases. The fact that a story ends with an explanation of, say, an animal’s characteristic, e.g. “And that is why from this day on ...”, does not make that story a myth of origin; the main focus of the story may still indicate it to be, for example, an animal tale or a legend. In the categorisation of the texts, I also give information on such secondary aetiologies.

Before I can go into the discussion of the story types found in our database, it has to be pointed out that some stories have probably been prompted by available Rangi literature. In the preparatory literacy classes prior to the writers workshops, both the Rangi story booklet (SIL 2005a) and the Rangi primer (SIL 2006b) were not only used for reading exercises but also available on sale.⁶⁴ All seven stories of the former and the one in the primer's appendix were used by writers during the workshops. Two of them are animal trickster tales (*Nchúnkula na Njou* 'Hare and the Elephants', and *Nkúku-Lúme na Siimba* 'Rooster and Lioness'), and the other six are legends and anecdotes. The themes of these legends are misunderstanding between husband and wife (*Mboa ja swehera*), intertribal marriage (*Dinú*), intergenerational conflict (*Imala vavini*, *Juma na Kwíiru* and *Moosi Ibuuo*) and friendship destroyed by famine (*Njala isúula ndúú*). The stories and their copies in the database are displayed in table 4.2. Verbatim copies are given in italics and have been excluded from the comparative analysis (cf. table 3.4); those texts which have been excluded for other reasons are in square brackets. Only those texts in which writers retold the stories in their own words and submitted two distinct versions were considered suitable for the discussion of changes in chapters 5-7.

⁶⁴ It is not known to me how many copies were actually sold in the period prior to the writers workshops, let alone how many workshop participants may have had access to these booklets.

Table 4.2 Pre-workshop stories and their copies

<u>story title</u>	<u>list of copied stories</u>	<u>suitable</u>
Mboa ja sweehera	R6.5 ⁶⁵	0
Dinũ	R7.5, R10	1
Imala vavini	[R28], R31, R43	2
Nchũnkũla na Njou	B17, R26	2
Nkũkũ-Lũme na Siimba	[R19]	0
Juma na Kwiiro	R40.5	0
Njala isũũla ndũũ	[R4], [R25], [R25.5], R30.5	0
Moosi Ibuuo	K17, R7	2

In addition to these Rangi models, several texts are explicitly based on the stories of Biblical characters, namely Cain and Abel (K6), King David (K7), Adam and Eve (K18) and Noah (R34). Of these, only K7 fulfils the criteria for inclusion in the comparative analysis. A text with less direct Biblical influence is R35 in which a young man leaves home to work in the city but returns after only securing a job at cattle herding; apart from the entire general setting, his argument “What has caused me to fail (that) I fled from there while I left porridge for nothing indeed at home?” (R35.21-23) is starkly reminiscent of the Biblical parable of the Prodigal Son and especially his thoughts prior to returning home (Luke 15:17-18).

It is conspicuous that there seems to be a strong correlation between workshop location and preponderance of story precedents: three of the four

⁶⁵ The Paranga texts have been numbered in an unusual way, giving .5 numbers to any text which was considered unusable due to high similarity with already published stories.

Biblical stories were submitted in Kondoia, and 14 of the 16 stories copied from the available Rangi booklets were submitted in Paranga. Participants of these different workshops obviously discussed potential sources for their stories, possibly for lack of themes proposed by the workshop leaders. Once I have categorised the bulk of the stories according to narrative subgenres and story themes, more common characteristics per workshop location may come to light.

In the category of myth, no primary examples are found in the database. However, several animal tales have secondary mythical aetiologies. In the conclusions of these stories, the previous events are depicted as explanation, for example, why Hare has long ears (K4), how Chicken became domesticated (K15), why Falcon hunts Chicken (P15), or how the Snake got eyes and the Millipede got legs (R15). These conclusions still do not establish these stories as myths as their focus is on other themes than explaining the origin of present-day phenomena. In all four examples, the story starts with the friendship between two animals and then progresses with events which lead to the termination of that friendship. A number of these themes, like friendship, cut across the range of narrative subgenres, and I come back to this interaction of story types and story themes when discussing table 4.3 below.

With regard to trickster tales, the distinction between human and animal tricksters can be found in the stories of our database too. In Rangi, the

anthropomorphous trickster is called Laahi.⁶⁶ In our database, we find five stories about him, one (K3) trying to establish an epic of his life from birth to acquiring wealth,⁶⁷ the other four relating individual snippets from that epic, including the murder of his brother-in-law (R41) and various incidents of playing tricks on people. By contrast, the animal trickster is most often Hare (*nchínkula* in Rangi). His pranks include swindling the greedy hyena out of food (P12, R16, R24, R30), muddying the common waterhole and escaping punishment (P6) and protecting a field against elephants (B17). However, Hare does not always win. In the Rangi versions of the internationally known tar-baby story (Espinosa 1930), Hare does not escape but once gets his ears drawn long (K4) and twice is killed (K8, P14). Also, in three stories (B4, P11, R38), Hare is outwitted by Chameleon, another contender for the character of animal trickster (Schmidt 2001: 226). One of these (P11) is the story of a race between a slow and a fast animal, Tortoise (or Hedgehog) and Hare in Europe, Tortoise and Ostrich or Frog and Horse in South and West Africa respectively (Schmidt 2001: 250), and Chameleon and Hare among the Rangi; and of course, the slow animal outwits the fast one.

⁶⁶ A local influence between the Sandawe *laa'e* 'hare', which is the animal trickster in their stories (Dempwolff 1916b), and the Rangi human trickster *Laahi* can be assumed. The direction of this local influence can no longer be determined with certainty. Note however, that Schmidt declares human tricksters to be a unique feature of Khoisan folklore where other African people groups purportedly only have animal tricksters (Schmidt 2001: 7).

⁶⁷ Unfortunately, for a revision, the writer only handed in a verbatim copy of the first draft.

The animal tales in our database not only comprise those stories about friendship mentioned under the section on myths or those stories where Hare does not come out as the trickster as mentioned in the preceding section. In addition, two stories (R17, R19) are found which concern the friendship between Lioness and Cow and its termination, without any concluding secondary aetiologies. Finally, there is one story about the greediness of Hyena being invited to two weddings (B21). This theme of Hyena's greed, especially in the context of two wedding invitations, is common across Africa, as is story P15 of Chicken losing the needle borrowed from Falcon (Schmidt 2001: 248).

The majority of magic tales in our database are told around the topic of marriage, either finding a spouse through magic means (K9, K10, R14) or trying to escape from a marriage to an ogre or demon, be it successfully (K14, P2, R29) or not (R5, R12, R23). The concept of escape from an ogre, yet without the marriage concept, is also present in the story of the ogre *Muntaira*, found twice in our database (B8, R27); whereas the text from Bolisa tells the second part of the story how the ogre is overcome, the text from Paranga relates the events which led to the emergence of *Muntaira*. Often these stories end either with the ogre or demon being killed (B8, P2, R29) or with it killing its victim (R5, R12). In another story (B18), the murder of the victim is committed by other family members. Another theme, represented in three texts (B26, P5, P7), is the acquisition of children by a childless woman through magic means. Two

of these (B26, P7) tell the story of the magic girl *Mbũũũ* who in the end escapes again miraculously. Three texts deal with the gratitude of rescued animals, one leading to the winning of the bride (K9), one with the rescued snake promising a magic ring (B20, obviously incomplete), and one with the rescued elephant finally rescuing his rescuer. The remaining magic tale in our database (R33) tells how a Maasai cattle raid against the Rangi is thwarted through a magic mortar.

Legends and anecdotes are by far the most numerous in our database, possibly due to them being the most common story type in the Rangi story booklet (SIL 2005a). The theme of conflict, often triggered by the unequal distribution of wealth, which is found in the primer story of *Ibuuo*, is also present in K1, K5, K17, B12, R7 and R8; yet only in two of these (K1, K17) is the conflict resolved. The related concept of destroyed relationship, already encountered in a number of animal tales above, runs through a high proportion of legends and anecdotes, be it among friends (B30,⁶⁸ R20a, R22), among spouses (B23, B28) or between parents and children (B7, B31, P4, P8, R20c, R21). A subtheme of the latter parent-child category, which could be termed tales of intergenerational conflict, are stories of disobedient children being punished (B3, K12, R6, R42), other examples of which have already been

⁶⁸ B30 constitutes a version of the story of Mbui which had been recorded by Paul Berger in 1935 whose transcription of and field notes on it later served as source for Akhavan's (1990) phonological and morphological description of Rangi.

mentioned above with *Imala vavini* and *Juma na Kwiru* from the story booklet. In some of these stories, the broken relationship leads to murder which is, however, discovered in the end (B27, R36). At least, there are also parent-child stories which end on a positive note (B15b, R13). The themes of finding a bride (B29, P3, R11) or of finding children (R40), already found in magic tales, are also present in legends, there of course without the magic component. Over against these stories of gain, we also find those of loss, either of life (B9, K16, R1), of wealth (B6) or of health (R37); in one story (R18), these are combined as one man's loss becomes another man's gain. Yet other stories of gain are set in the context of famine which is overcome (B14, B15a). In a similar vein, R26 tells how the loss of food (through a field's destruction by elephants) is averted.⁶⁹ The theme of famine, by contrast leading to broken relationships, as in *Njala Isuula Nduru* from the story booklet, is also present in R3. In a more historical context, two stories relate a Rangi clan war (K13) and the killing of a notorious local robber (R9). Finally, there is a story about the king with a horn on his head and his barber (B1) and the story about three Rangi beer-drinkers (B2).

In addition to stories from Rangi oral tradition, four accounts of personal experience were handed in. These are about material gain through work (K2) or

⁶⁹ The topic of preventing elephants from destroying a field has probably been taken from the published trickster tale *Nchúnkula na njou*, also retold in B17. In R26, however, the involvement of Hare is not mentioned at all, turning this trickster tale into an anecdote.

farming (B13a), a broken work relationship (R32) and hospitalisation after an accident (B13b).⁷⁰

This overview by genre is summarised in table 4.3, with texts not suited for comparative analysis given in italics. As mentioned above, several story themes cut across genre boundaries. These themes, like the conversational themes which Kesby comments on, are closely linked to the life-cycle (Kesby 1981: 78ff), particularly the stages of growing-up, marriage and death, and its relationships, particularly parents, friends and spouses. Especially the theme of broken relationship is found in all genres, trickster tales, animal tales, magic tales, legends/anecdotes and in personal experience stories. Another topical axis is that of loss versus gain, which could be said to correlate to the cline of cleverness and stupidity in the trickster tales. This axis could also subsume themes like cattle raids (found in both magic tales and legends/anecdotes), results of famine (mentioned in trickster tales, magic tales and legends/anecdotes) and the treatment of other people's wealth (also found in the latter three subgenres).

⁷⁰ This hospitalisation story may have been inspired by a similar short story in the Rangī primer.

Table 4.3 Categorisation of story types

<u>story type</u>	<u>list of representative stories</u>	<u>suited</u>
myth	no primary (secondary: K4, K15, P15, R15)	(3)
trickster		
a) Laahi	B11, B24, K3, R2, R41	4
b) Hare	B17, P1, P6, P9, P12, R16, R24, R30	7
c) Chameleon	B4, P11, R38	3
animal tale		
a) friendship	K15, P10, P15, R15, R20b	4
b) Lion and Cow	R17, R19	1
c) non-trickster Hare	K4, K8, P14; (B4)	2
d) Hyena	B21	0
magic tale		
a) ogres	B8, K14, P2, R5, R12, R23, R27, R29	5
b) marriage	K9, K10, R14	0
c) parenthood	B26, P5, P7	3
d) murder	B18	1
e) Maasai raid	R33	0
f) other	B10, B20	2
legend / anecdote		
a) rich person	K1, K5, K17, R7, R8	4
b) friendship	B30, R 20a, R22	2
c) marriage	B23, B28, B29, P3, R10, R11	5
d) parenthood	B7, B15b, B31, P4, P8, R13, R20c, R21, R40	3
e) obedience	B3, K12, R6, R31, R35, R42, R43; (B18)	4
f) murder	B27, K16, R36; (B18)	3
g) famine / gain	B14, B15a, R3, R4, R18, R25, R26	3
h) loss	B6, B12, R1, R37, (R18)	4
i) history	K13, R9	1
j) other	B1, B2, B9, B25	3
personal account	B13a, B13b, K2, R32	2

When categorising the story types of the 71 analysed texts in our database by frequency of occurrence, I found 32 legends and anecdotes, 14 trickster tales, 11 magic tales, 7 animal tales, and only 2 accounts of personal experience. This leaves five texts uncategorised; one is the Biblical narrative of King David (K7), and the remaining four are non-narrative texts: two hortatory texts (P13, R39), one description of a traditional Rangi circumcision ceremony (B5) and one explanation of the meaning of a proverb (B19). That legends and anecdotes are the most frequent type of story submitted, followed by animal trickster tales, may have been influenced by the two previously available Rangi publications, i.e. the story booklet and the primer, which only feature these two story types, and in the same order of frequency.

4.2 Overview of changes between text versions

The texts vary considerably in the extent of changes they exhibit between their draft and revised version. Between the 2749 clauses of the draft versions of the 71 analysed texts and the 2840 clauses of the corresponding revised versions, almost half of the clauses, viz. 1315, do not exhibit any changes at all.⁷¹ Those changes which do occur are fairly evenly spread across the three levels, with 891 changes at the text level, 1046 changes at the word level, and

⁷¹ Tables listing the number of changes of each tagged category at the text, word and clause level for each analysed story can be found in appendix II.

713 changes at the clause level.⁷² The division of changes into categories within each level domain and their frequency is given in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Number of changes by domain level and category

<u>text level</u>		<u>word level</u>		<u>clause level</u>	
moved	89	lexical	275	word order	69
added	417	Swahili	84	participants	247
deleted	326	added	387	tense-aspect	175
replaced	59	deleted	300	other	222

Those texts with the fewest changes, either have only text level changes (B9, B19) or only word level changes (B2, B29, K17, P14, R31). There are no texts which only have changes at the clause level. With one exception (P14), the reverse is also true: stories which either have no changes at the word level or no changes at the text level also have no changes at the clause level. This may be explainable with the help of findings by Rempel (1994) who observed that writers in their editing started either with focusing their corrections at a lower level of their stories (spelling or lexical choice) or at a higher level (text organisation) but not at an intermediate level (morphosyntax), at least not at the beginning of their editing. Rempel also observed that a simultaneous focus on orthography negatively influenced stylistic awareness at the creative writing level (ibid.: 10f).

⁷² Note that changes tagged as “word order” have been included under the category clause level even though they overlap in part with word level changes. Changes tagged as “other” concern clause-level phenomena like agreement or active-passive transformation.

Different workshop locations vary with regard to the reasons for which stories were not suitable for comparative analysis. Whereas in Kondoa, there is a high incidence of authors submitting two versions of their story which are identical, in Paranga, many writers only submitted one version in the first place (cf. table 3.4). As for the different levels of change (text, word, clause), no locational preference could be perceived. In all workshop locations, texts with high instances of change at all three levels were submitted. For example, all six stories which have less than 10% of their clauses unchanged (B14, B15b, B27, K7, R1, R38) have high instances of change at all three levels.⁷³ Also, with regard to different subgenres or story themes, no tendency of any one category for preferring a certain level for higher incidents of change has been observed.

4.3 Story length and lexical density

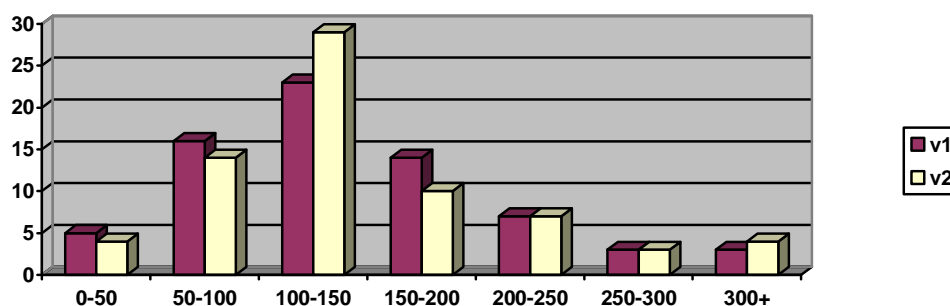
The stories produced during the writers workshops are of varying length, with numbers of words ranging from 18 and 20 words only for draft and revised version respectively (B19) to 330 words for the longest draft (B10) and even 462 words for the longest revised version (P9).⁷⁴ In general, the Bolisa

⁷³ It is not known whether their authors went over their stories multiple times, focusing their editing at a different level at each cycle, as is suggested by Rempel (1994). Such an approach to editing had not been part of the Rangi project's workshop series.

⁷⁴ Tables with numbers for all 71 analysed stories are provided in appendix II. The word counts of five stories, viz. B3, B8, B20, R5 and R36, have to be taken as exceptions as they constitute incomplete stories, i.e. their authors did not manage to finish the submitted text during the workshop.

workshop has produced a number of comparatively short texts; the five shortest both in draft and revised version in the entire database all come from Bolisa (B4, B13a, B13b, B14, B19), with lengths ranging from 18-33 words for the draft and 20-54 words for the revision. By contrast, the shortest drafts in the other three locations contain 59 words (P13), 62 words (R18) and 91 words (K8) respectively. When it comes to longest texts, all locations are represented with texts around 300 words for both their draft and revised versions (B10, K16, P9, R29). With regard to genre, examples of both very long and very short texts can be found for all story types with the exception of personal accounts, of which the only two analysable examples in the database are very short (B13a with 33-54 words; B13b with 26-44 words). By way of an overview, figure 4.1 shows the distribution of the 71 stories by length across the database, both for the draft and the revised versions.

Figure 4.1 Story length by number of words



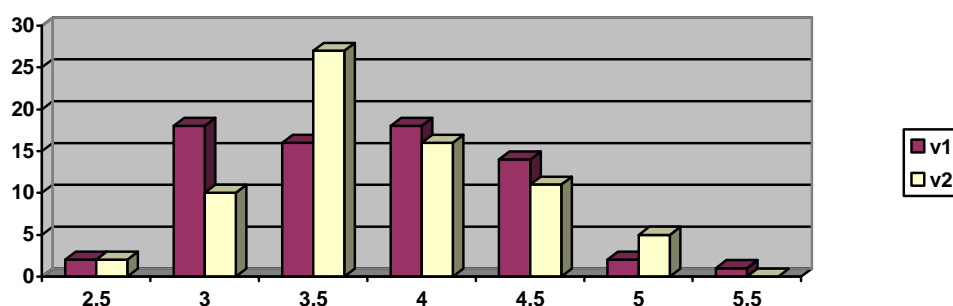
On average, a story only increased by 6-7 words from draft to revised version or by 4.7%. Of course, individual stories can be observed to increase or decrease

by much more significant amounts. For example, two stories are more than 100 words shorter after revision (K1, R38), whereas one story increases by more than 100 words (P9). Potential reasons for such massive changes in text size will have to be investigated with the discussion of text level changes in section 5.3.3. Aside from these individual outliers, figure 4.1 shows that after revision, there is a higher number of stories in the 100-150 word range.⁷⁵ Whereas 19 stories are in that range for both their draft and revised versions, there are four stories which were shortened to fall into that category (B8, P10, R8, R38), and six stories which were enlarged (B9, B23, B26, P1, R18, R37). Whether there are general trends in changes made to these stories will also have to be investigated in chapter 5.

Another comparative feature of stylistic quality in narratives is clause length. Especially in editing, clauses which are too long for acceptable reading comprehension are shortened, and stretches of exceedingly short clauses, if not intended for special effects, may be embellished. The changes of average clause length between draft and revised versions are displayed in figure 4.2.

⁷⁵ That none of the Kondoa workshop texts fall into this particular range must be a statistical fluke as texts both above and below that range were produced in Kondoa.

Figure 4.2 Average clause length



As with overall text length, a convergence in a particular length range after editing can be observed. Whereas at draft stage, average clause lengths from 3 to 4.5 words are roughly equal, after revision, an average clause length of 3.5 words is by far the most common. Fifteen stories retained this average of 3.5 after editing⁷⁶ whereas six stories had their clause length increased to attain this average (B1, B11, B23, B27, R2, R38) and six stories had it shortened (B4, B6, K1, K14, P3, R36). Again, stories with exceptionally high increases (B8, B13a, B23) or decreases (B15b, K1, K8) in average clause length will be more closely examined in chapter 5.

Looking at potential location- or genre-specific elements in clause length, it is again noteworthy that stories submitted at the Bolisa workshop exhibit the shortest clause lengths in drafts (B13b, B18, B20, B23), whereas in the category of particularly long clauses, all four locations are equally present (B5, B29, K8,

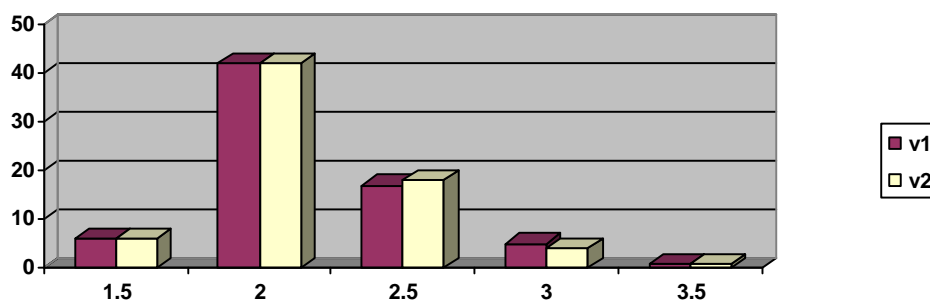
⁷⁶ These 15 stories are proportionally equally distributed across the four workshop locations.

P15, R1). With regard to genre, no correlation between story type and average clause length could be established which may be due to the fact that all stories constitute sub-genres under the main genre of written narrative.

4.3.1 Lexical density

Lexical density (LD) is not only an indicator for oral versus written discourse (cf. 2.4 where Halliday's treatment of LD has been discussed). It has also been shown to distinguish inexperienced writers from experienced ones; Stegen (2007) gives LD values of around 50% for inexperienced Rangi authors versus a LD above 60% for experienced ones. In order to gauge the quality of the writers workshop participants, all stories in the database had their LD measured, both per clause (figure 4.3) and across the entire running text (figure 4.4).

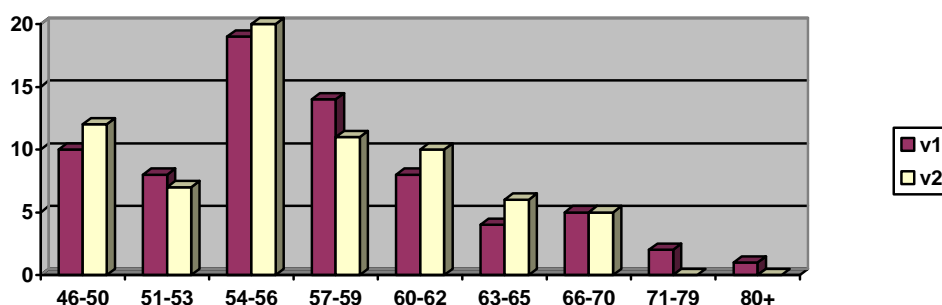
Figure 4.3 Lexical density per clause



The fact that more than half of all texts in our database have an average of two lexical items per clause corroborates the observation that this number is a defining feature of monologic discourse over against only one lexical item per clause in dialogue (Stegen 2007: 177). Apart from this theoretical assumption

however, the measurement of LD at the clause level is not very meaningful with regard to stylistic quality, given the uniform distribution across the spectrum. Measuring LD across each text in its entirety, by contrast, has been shown to reflect a writer's experience (Stegen 2007: 183).

Figure 4.4 Lexical density as percentage per running text



A straightforward correlation between LD per text and stylistic quality is difficult to maintain. While a distinction between texts below 50% LD and those above 55% could be made, that distinction is far from categorical with too many texts falling in between. Also, exceptionally high LD percentages were also edited out; all stories above 71% in draft (B4, B19, R1) had less than 71% after revision. In any case, stories with two-digit percentage increases (B14, B15b) or decreases (B4, B13a, P12) should be more closely examined during the discussion of changes at different levels.

Location may have an influence on LD per text although the underlying causes of this have to remain speculation. Six of seven draft versions with LD

percentages of less than 50% originate from Paranga, five of which remain below 50% after revision. By contrast, seven of nine draft versions with LD percentages higher than 65% originate from Bolisa. LD percentages in Kondoa are fairly homogenous (50.7-55.6% in draft; expanded to 48.4-58.7% after revision), whereas Pahi displays a wide range: 53.8-69.4% in draft and even 47.5-68.3% after revision. Across the different genres, however, high and low LD percentages are evenly distributed.⁷⁷

Another worthwhile comparison is whether the evaluation performed by the Rangi literacy supervisors on a subset of stories correlates to these stories' LD. They had sorted the revised story versions from Bolisa, Kondoa and Pahi into two categories, either recommending the story for publication (after appropriate further editing) or rejecting it for publication. Table 4.5 displays the stories of both categories with the respectively three highest and lowest LD percentages, as one hypothesis could be that they rejected stories with exceptionally high or low LD percentages.

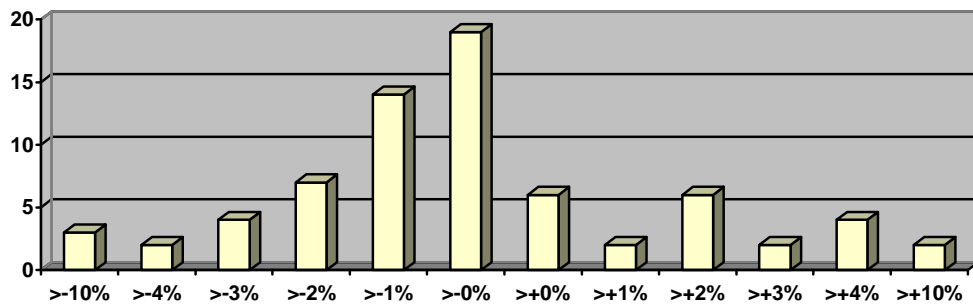
⁷⁷ While this may sound like a finding contrary to those of Biber (1988) and Maw (1974), it needs to be remembered that they dealt with different main genres whereas the texts in this study are all subgenres of the same main genre, namely written narrative.

Table 4.5 Lexical density percentages of accepted versus rejected stories

<u>rejected stories</u>		<u>accepted stories</u>	
P12	47.4%	K8	50.0%
K1	48.3%	K14	50.5%
B31	49.2%	P7	52.6%
[...]		[...]	
B14	69.7%	B10	65.3%
B19	70.0%	P1	68.2%
B4	70.8%	B2	68.6%

Overall, the LD differences between the rejected and the accepted stories are not significant enough to warrant the claim of them being categorical. In short, the conclusion is that no strong link can be established. Consequently, other factors, to be investigated during the discussion of changes at the three distinct levels, must have played a role in the supervisors' quality ranking of the stories.

Figure 4.5 Lexical density percentage changes between draft and revision



As shown in figure 4.5, a significant number of stories exhibit a lower LD after revision. This comes as a bit of a surprise as our assumption was that LD percentages across the entire text were indicative of stylistic quality which

should increase with editing. As changes in LD between successive story versions depend on the kind of words and text sections added or deleted in revision, this discussion will be taken up again when looking at text structure (chapter 5) and at changes at the word level (chapter 6).

4.4 Order of levels: text, word, clause

With regard to the order of the following three analytical chapters, there are three reasons for starting with the text level, following with the word level and finishing with the clause level.

First, it has been observed that in narratives, phenomena like lexical choice or choice of tense-aspect form are dependent on which section of the narrative they occur in (Levinsohn 2007: 71f). Consequently, it will allow our analysis of word level and clause level changes to refer to the overall structure of the narrative if we have analysed the text level first.

Second, the tagged categories at the word level concern both lexical choice and the addition or deletion of individual words. These two kinds of changes have been observed to be connected to participant reference, one of the two tagged categories at the clause level. Given this connection, it should be easier to understand changes in participant reference after additions and deletions of individual words have been discussed.

Third, it has been observed that authors whose texts exhibited changes at the clause level also had them at text and/or word level; whereas many texts have changes at only text and/or word level without any at the clause level. This seems to suggest that text and word level, macro and micro end of the spectrum, have chronological precedence over the clause level in the mind of the author, at least during revision.

For these three reasons, this order – text, word, clause – is the order in which I have chosen to proceed with the following three chapters.

5. RANGI STYLE AT THE TEXT LEVEL

Just like the overall textual meaning is composed of interacting layers of local and global coherence, the world-defining information is hierarchic, and is used for determining local frames and global frames of which textual meaning is composed of. (Pitkänen 2003: 23)

My investigation of stylistic preferences at the text level will consist of two main parts: first a description of the composition of Rangi narratives, and then a comparison between the narrative structures of the draft versus the revised story versions. It is assumed that it will be easier to discover evidence for stylistic preferences if the two respective story versions are not only compared but their basic composition is described so that the ensuing comparison can be seen in context. After the description and before the comparison, I briefly introduce the theoretical approaches which underlie or have influenced my description of narrative structure, mainly Labov & Waletzky (2003) and Levinsohn (2007).

At the text level, four parameters of change were tagged in the database: clause additions, deletions, replacements and movements (or rearrangements). Not many stories in the database exhibit rearrangements in text structure between draft and revised version. Simple additions or deletions of clauses, occurring altogether 743 times in the database, are much more common than

actual reorganisation of story sections, of which there are only 89 instances. In order to be able to show where in the narrative these changes occur, the preceding description gives an overview of the components of Rangi stories in the database. It is the narrative structure of the revised story versions which are described here as it is assumed that these contain fewer inaccuracies than the draft versions. Based on this description, the chapter closes with a detailed examination and discussion of each category of change, i.e. additions, deletions, replacements and rearrangements, at the text level.

5.1 Overview of Rangi story components

Certain components are common to all stories (with the exception of, for example, incomplete stories, cf. footnote 74). At the beginning, the stage is set in some kind of introduction; then the main narrative events are related, usually describing a problem or otherwise building tension which is resolved at the end of the story's main part, followed by more or less optional conclusions or codas. So, in this section, an overview is given of these three parts, beginning, middle and end of the texts as they occur in the revised versions. There could be various reasons for the inclusion of a particular narrative component in a Rangi story: either it is a narrative universal as claimed by Labov & Waletzky (2003) – this will be discussed in 5.2 below –; or it is a language-specific integral part of Rangi oral tradition; or it has been motivated by external influences like workshop instructions or expectations from Swahili

literacy. Despite the aspiration of the Rangi project team not to influence first-time writers in Rangi directly in their development of a vernacular writing style (cf. the discussion in chapter 1), the workshop leaders saw the need to include a list of preferable story components in the editing instructions distributed to the participants at the beginning of the workshop. These include, in Swahili, the terms *mwanzo (utambulisho)* ‘beginning (introduction)’, *kati (maelezo)* ‘middle (explanation)’, *kilele (tatizo limetatuwa au hapana)* ‘climax (resolution)’ and *mwisho (fundisho au methali)* ‘end (moral or proverb)’ (section 3b in Hartung 2005, cf. appendix IV). Depending on the degree to which the workshop participants followed these instructions, the fact that these story components were suggested in the workshop handout may have become an overriding factor in the writers’ composition of their Rangi stories during the workshops.

5.1.1 Story titles

Most writers, before starting with a story introduction, provide a title. Eighteen texts, that is a quarter of the analysable database, give *Lusímo lwa Kilaangi* ‘Story of Rangi’ as title. A further 32 texts start with *Lusímo* followed by some other modification. Four texts (B1, B13b, B28, R1) use the Swahili word for ‘story’, *hadithi*, or its Rangi equivalent *hadísi*; two (B26, R18) use the plural

símo ‘stories’,⁷⁸ and one (R12) the diminutive *kalusímo* ‘little story’. Only five texts (P9, R8, R30, R31, R35) have descriptive titles without explicit mention of a word for ‘story’, e.g. *Mũũntũ mũsũũngũ* ‘The miser’ (lit. ‘Bitter person’) or a proverbial idiom like *Chamũhaanda mũtavana* ‘What grounded the boy’.⁷⁹ Of the nine texts which do not have any title in their revised version (B3, B4, B6, B13a, B15b, B18, B27, P12, R38), five have one in the draft version (B3, B13a, B15b, B27, R38), all of which contain an explicit word for ‘story’ (see the mention of deleted titles in 5.3.1). Finally, six texts (B9, R10, R13, R15, R17, and R37) provide a second title of a more descriptive nature; all of them have *Lusímo lwa Kĩlaangi* ‘Story of Rangi’ as first title.

The high frequency of *Lusímo lwa Kĩlaangi* and other instances of *Lusímo* as title may be an indication that a certain form of title has been prescribed or at least suggested by the workshop leaders. Moreover, two local preferences are conspicuous: the absence of any title is disproportionately high in Bolisa, and titles without a word for ‘story’, whether as first or as second title, with only two exceptions all come from Paranga. While Hartung’s workshop notes stipulate identical instructions, these divergent preferences by location seem to

⁷⁸ While the plural of the class 11 noun *lusímo* is *símo* in class 10, this could also be a variant of the singular which some Rangi speakers put in class 9, which also is *símo* (still with a class 10 plural).

⁷⁹ A freer translation would be ‘What caused the boy to be stuck’. In the English translation of this idiomatic title, I have tried to capture the sense of the Rangi *-haanda*, literally ‘to plant’, through the image of ‘grounding’ a ship or airplane.

indicate different discourses about titles during the respective workshops. Another influence on title choice may have been the story titles in the story booklet and the primer (cf. table 4.2) which were available for sale during the workshops. These were demonstrably used for story composition in at least Kondo, Bolisa and Paranga, judging from close correspondence of titles and story content in these three locations, e.g. B17, K17 and R26. In the previously distributed publications, the titles of seven of altogether eight stories start with *Lusímo lwa* ... 'The story of ...', and the eighth title is a proverb, *Njala Isuuu Ndúu* 'Famine detests relatives'. A similar proportion of *Lusímo*-titles and proverb-titles is found among the workshop texts, which also suggests that the available Rangi literature has influenced title choices during the writers workshops. To what extent story titles are natural in Rangi narrative discourse will be discussed in 5.3.1 below when investigating stylistic changes between draft and revised story titles.

5.1.2 Story introductions

Looking at the story openings, 69 of the 71 texts in the database, the exceptions being B14 and B19, start more or less immediately after the title or titles with a Rangi equivalent of 'In times of old ...',⁸⁰ which usually introduces

⁸⁰ These 'old times', *kali* in Rangi, have been equated by some scholars with a general African mythological past, in contrast to the present of reality (e.g. Okole 1994: 50; Kalumba 2006, both based on Mbiti 1990). In light of descriptions of traditional customs like B5 or personal family stories like B13a starting with the *aho kali* formula, I consider that

a major participant of the story (cf. 7.2.1). The most prevalent version of this introduction is given in (7) with interlinearisation:

7)	<i>Ah-o</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>kw-a-vij-áa</i>	<i>kw-a-tiite ...</i>
	DEM:16-REF	ancient_times	17-PAST-be-HAB	17-PAST-have

Notable variants include the distant demonstrative of locative noun class 16, *hara*, in one fifth of the texts, instead of the referential demonstrative *aho*. Also, dialectal variants of the past habitual *kwavijáa* abound, from *kwajáa* and *kwijáa* to *kwaijáa*. One text (B2) has the past progressive *kwaaja* instead of the habitual. Some texts have the preposition *na* ‘with’ instead of *kwatiite*. Yet, not all texts display the full formula but replace either the first or the second part with a noun phrase denoting a major character of the story; (8) gives an example of from R30.2.

8)	<i>Ah-o</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>m-píchi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>n-chúnkula</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ki-jeeng-i</i>
	DEM:16-REF	ancient-times	9-hyena	and	9-hare	COP	7-build-AGNT

‘In times of old, hyena and hare are friends.’

In table 5.1, I have listed all stories according to their variant of the introductory formula. Those parts of the variants which deviate from the most common form, which is given in the first row, have been marked in **bold underline**.

interpretation rather untenable in a Rangi context. Note, however, that Kijuu in his interview (cf. appendix III) has criticised the use of *aho kali* in non-mythological contexts.

Table 5.1 Variants of introductory formula by story reference

aho kali kwavijáa kwatiite	B8 B26 B30 B31 K1 K7 K8 K14 K16 K17 P1 P3 P10 R1 R2 R5 R7 R12 R13 R22 R29 R35 R39
<u>hara</u> kali kwavijáa kwatiite	B10
aho kali kwavijáa <u>na</u>	B5 B17 B29 P7 R15 R16 R17 R26 R38 R41
<u>hara</u> kali kwavijáa <u>na</u>	B1 B18 P12
aho kali kw <u>ai</u> jáa kwatiite	R37 R43b
aho kali kw <u>ai</u> jáa <u>na</u>	B12 R43a
aho kali kw <u>a</u> jáa kwatiite	B23 P5 P11 P13 R36
aho kali kw <u>a</u> jáa <u>na</u>	P14 R31
<u>hara</u> kali kw <u>a</u> jáa <u>na</u>	R8
aho kali kw <u>aa</u> ja kwatiite	B2
aho kali kw <u>i</u> jáa <u>na</u>	B28 R10
<u>hara</u> kali kw <u>i</u> jáa <u>na</u>	B3 R24
<u>hara</u> kali kw <u>i</u> jáa kwatiite	B6 B11 B26
aho kali <u>NP</u>	B9 B15b B27 K15 P9 P15 R30
<u>hara</u> kali <u>NP</u>	B4 B13a B13b
<u>NP</u> kwavijáa kwatiite	B20

Some of the variants apparently are local preferences. For example, 10 of the 13 instances of *hara* were written in Bolisa. Bolisa workshop participants also favour *kwijáa* (5 of 7 instances), whereas *kwajáa* is more frequent in Pahi (4 of 8 instances). All but one of the story beginnings in Kondoa consist of *aho kali kwavijáa kwatiite*, the most common form, which could be explained by the fact that the Rangi spoken in Kondoa constitutes the main dialect which has spread from the town to most Rangi lowland areas (Cox & Stegen, to appear). In contrast to the titles, the story openings do not seem to be as directly influenced

by the story booklet and primer texts. Of these, only the primer story starts with the common *Aho kali kwavijáa kwatüite*; in the story booklet, four stories substitute *kwaaja* for *kwavijáa*, two have *na* for *kwatüite*, and one starts with *aho kali* plus NP.⁸¹ On the other hand, the mere fact that all previously published Rangi stories contain some version of the *aho kali*-opening may have pushed that formula to the forefront of the workshop participants' conceptualisation of their stories.

The only two texts which do not contain any form of the formula, B14 and B19, start with a general statement and a proverb respectively, as shown in (9) and (10). As B19 is not a narrative but an expository text explaining the meaning of a proverb, it seems only natural that it would start with that proverb. By contrast, B14 is a proper narrative. However, it falls into the category of texts which lack a proper beginning or introduction, as has been criticised by the literacy supervisors Vita and Michael (tape 1).

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 9) | <i>M-bula</i> | <i>y-a-rim-ir-a</i> | <i>kii-vaa</i> | |
| | 9-rain | 9-PAST-go_out-APPL-FV | 15:RFL-hit | |
| | 'The rain stopped raining.' | | | |
| | | | | |
| 10) | <i>mw-iikal-o</i> | <i>müüja</i> | <i>w-a-tema</i> | <i>i-rira</i> |
| | 3-sit-INSTR | 3:good | 3-GEN-cut | 5-path |
| | 'A good meeting prepares the way.' | | | |

⁸¹ Authors' preferences are evident here: both instances of *Aho kali kwavijáa na* originate with the same author whereas the four stories starting with *Aho kali kwaaja kwatüite* have been either written or edited by one other Rangi writer.

Based on the data in table 5.1, I have devised a formula for narrative openings in the database, as put forward in (11). Variants are presented above each other in curly brackets, with the more frequent variant underlined.

11) { aho
hara } kali { kw (avi) jáa
kwaaja } { kwatiite
na }

In correspondence with the editing instructions which were handed out to workshop participants (cf. 3.1), it was expressed also during several editor's interviews that all texts should have a proper and identifiable beginning, middle and end. Such conformity to overall structure notwithstanding, specifically the stereotypical *aho kali* at the start of most of the texts was criticised.⁸² In their joint interview, Vita and Michael (tape 2) explicitly called for more variation, arguing that in English, not every story starts with "Once upon a time" either. While this criticism may be more of an indication that the interviewees received an education which was mainly influenced by English, their remark and comparison with English story beginnings could just as well have been triggered by genre-specific stylistic requirements in Rangi. For example, Kijuu stated in his interview that *aho kali* was only appropriate for stories happening in the mythological past, i.e. for myths, trickster and animal tales, and legends.

⁸² The literal equivalent of *aho kali* in Swahili, 'hapo zamani', which is a common formula in Swahili narratives (Rollins 1983: 55), may have been an incentive to criticise this particular beginning as Rangi writers and editors tried to make Rangi prose distinctive from Swahili.

On the other hand, apart from the necessity to use genre-appropriate beginnings, there is also the question of standardisation versus diversity.⁸³ In the Rangi language project as presumably in other projects for newly written minority languages as well, pressure towards uniformity of style may result from at least two factors: 1. the attempt of policy makers like project managers and consultants to keep writing rules as simple as possible, and 2. the tendency of new writers to copy existing literature, be it from outside or from within the target language. This uniformity is offset against an academically and ethically motivated desire of other project team members to preserve linguistic diversity, be it variation of a dialectal, social or other nature. While these underlying expectations and agendas play an influential role in the direction which a minority language project takes in its early stages, they are unfortunately seldom discussed, let alone a consensus arrived at, before writing instruction commences. It is to be expected that the use of opening formulae in Rangi narratives will undergo these divergent processes of standardisation versus preservation of diversity, too.

On the whole, even only looking at the story introductions in the revised versions without comparing them to the draft versions seems to indicate a convergence of stylistic preference for the *aho kalī* formula. On the other hand, dissident voices, especially in the post-workshop interviews, have encouraged

⁸³ For European minority languages, this has been discussed extensively by Sayers (2009).

me to pay closer attention to potential diversification of story beginnings in the development from draft to revisions as discussed in 5.3.1 below.

5.1.3 Overview of the main part of the narrative

The main part of the average narrative text in the database is split into two components: a) the description of a problem leading up to a climax,⁸⁴ and b) the resolution of the problematic situation. The nature of the narrated problem in focus varies considerably from story to story. As with the story themes listed in table 4.3, many of the different complicating actions cut across different story types: the main character(s) setting out to win a bride (R38 for trickster tales, P3 for legends); venturing out to look for food in times of famine (P1 for trickster tales, K15 for animal tales, R1 for anecdotes); or going hunting (R41 for trickster tales, P10 for animal tales). That does not mean that the beginning action is necessarily representative of that story's theme, e.g. K15 is about broken friendship but starts with going hunting, or B18 is a murder case but starts with the children disobediently eating potatoes. In other stories, the complicating action is closely intertwined with the story theme or even genre: anecdotes about a rich person (K1, K17, R7) start with that person doing something which upsets the villagers so that they decide to do something against him or her; those stories starting with an older person asking children

⁸⁴ This section of a narrative is also called "complicating action" by Labov & Waletzky (2003: 93).

for help (R31, R43) are anecdotes about the theme of obedience; and those stories where the protagonists rescue an animal in the beginning (B10, B20) are magic tales. Yet other complicating actions are isolated instances of problems: getting drunk and consequently threatening to bewitch the beer-brewer (B2), an accident while collecting firewood (B13b), or a stranger chancing upon a street robber (R9). By way of summary, it is possible to categorise most complicating actions into two different kinds according to the nature of the problem: general (e.g. famine, having no children, being unmarried) versus specific (e.g. meeting a dangerous animal, and many of the examples just mentioned above).

A special case of the interaction between story theme and a story's complicating action are those texts in the database which seem to be part of a larger epic. While workshop participants were asked to produce a self-contained narrative, some stories of the Rangi oral tradition have proven to be too extensive in order to be dealt with in a one-day workshop. One of these is the story of the trickster *Laahi* which the writer of K3 attempted to produce a complete version of. While producing more material than the average workshop participant, at the end of the workshop, his text was still incomplete, and the revision did not differ from the draft. By contrast, the writers of B24, R2 and R41 also dealt with the story of *Laahi* but chose only to include a particular episode of the entire epic. While this was a manageable task for a one-day workshop, it also meant that the resolution of their individual story may feel

incomplete as it really constitutes the starting point of the next episode. Consequently, the resolution and/or moral of such stories may seem to be broken off or even contrived. B24.45-47 and R41.42-46, presented in (12) and (13) respectively, are examples of such intermediate story resolutions.

12a) *Mw-eene-kaáya a-m#heera i-ra n-daafu a-ka-s#m#la.*
 1-owner-house 1:PAST-1- 9-DEM 9- 1-CONS-take
 give billy_goat

‘The house-owner gave him that billy goat, and he took it.’

b) *Aho noo mw-iisho w-a l#s#m-o lw-aani*
 16:DEM COP:REF 3-end 3-ASSOC 11-tell-INSTR 11-1sg:POSS

‘Here is the end of my story.’

13a) *maa a-ka-toola n-kamaango a-m#va-e Laahi.*
 and_then 1-CONS-take 9-stone 1-1-hit-SBJV Laahi

‘And she picked up a stone in order to hit Laahi.’

b) *I-r#mb# r-aani a-ny-eenda maatuk# a-f#r#-e i-boot-ii*
 5-sibling 5- 1-1sg-love much 1-jump- 5-river-
 1sg:POSS SBJV LOC

‘My sister loves me so much that she cross the river.’

In (12), the receipt of the billy goat, constituting the conclusion of the story, seems to be an end in itself rather than the starting point for further wealth as other Laahi narratives, e.g. K3 and R2, show. In (13), the concluding line is so cryptic that I presume it makes sense only to those who know the larger context of the story.

Another example of a story being dependent on others is R27 (although only being submitted in a single version and hence not in the database appendix)

which tells the story of a man who consecutively kills seven wives; he himself is then killed by his in-laws as a result of which a gourd grows into the ogre *Muntaira*. This final introduction of a new story character presumably only makes sense to those readers or listeners who are familiar with stories about *Muntaira*, like B8, for which R27 could be regarded as something of a prequel.

This overview of the main narrative body of Rangi stories in the database has indicated that at least two factors may play a role in stylistic preference: 1. the interaction between a story's theme and the portrayal of its complicating action, and 2. the degree to which a story is complete in itself, i.e. whether it is self-contained or part of a larger story.

5.1.4 Features of the complication section

At the dividing line of introduction and story proper, several features have been observed which seem to be indicative of the start of the complicating action. Even though most of these features are dealt with in detail in later chapters, their relevance for the narrative element of complicating action will be presented and discussed right here.

First, the transition from introduction to complicating action coincides with a change in tense-aspect. Whereas the introduction is characterised by the past habitual suffix *-áa*, the consecutive prefix *-ka-* is usually found throughout the main body of the story (for a full discussion of tense-aspect throughout the

narratives, see chapter 7.3). In (14a-b), representing clauses B13a.2-5, a concise example of such a transition is given, with the contrasting tense-aspect morphemes shown in bold underlined. Other, similarly brief examples include P11.2-3, R16.2-3, R24.2-3 or R41.2-4.

14a) *Hara kali taáta a-dom-áa noo koo-cheta,*
 16:DEM old_times father 1:PAST-go-HAB COP:REF 17:REF-clear
 ‘In times of old, father used to go and clear (the bush) there,’

b) *a-ka-rima a-ka-rim-ir-a a-ka-chwii ma-robota ikimi.*
 1-CONS-hoe 1-CONS-hoe-APPL-FV 1-CONS- 6-bale ten
 harvest

‘and he hoed, and he weeded, and he harvested ten bales.’

In some cases, the first verb form of the complicating action is given in recent past, with consecutive *-ka-* occurring only from the second clause onwards, as shown in (15a-d), representing the clauses R12.4-7. (15a-b) are still part of the introduction in past habitual, following from a preceding *aho kali kwavijáa kwatíite* formula. (15c) then exhibits the first event of the story proper in past tense, and (15d) continues the story line by commencing with the first of a long series of consecutive tense-aspect forms. Other instances of this tripartite tense-aspect phenomenon are found in B6.2-4, B27.3-5 and R43.3-6.

15a) *Mo-osi Lɔbɔɔva a-vij-áa a-tíite mw-aana*
 1-elder NAME 1:PAST-be-HAB 1-have 1-son
 ‘Old Lɔbɔɔva had a son’

- b) *a-se-w-áa* *Mwiiru.*
 1:PAST-say-PASS-HAB NAME
 ‘who was called Mwiiru.’
- c) *Siku i-mwi Mwiiru a-saaka loola*
 9:day 9-one NAME 1:PAST-want marry
 ‘One day, Mwiiru wanted to marry’
- d) *na a-ka-mu-wiira taáta w-aavo*
 and 1-CONS-3sg-tell father 1-3pl:POSS
 ‘and he told his [lit.: their] father.’

Quite possibly, this has been copied from Swahili where narratives do not usually open with the *-ka-* prefix⁸⁵ but the first verb form exhibits past tense *-li-*, followed by consecutive *-ka-* verb forms for the rest of the story. However, it could also be possible that these new Rangi writers may not be confident in their spelling of rather similar tense-aspect forms, especially recent past *vadoma* ‘they went’ versus past progressive *vaadoma* ‘they were going’ versus past habitual *vadomáa* ‘they used to go’ (cf. the more detailed discussion in 7.3.2).

Second, the beginning of the complicating action is often indicated with a temporal adverbial like *siku imwi* ‘one day’ or *haaha* ‘now’.⁸⁶ Examples from stories’ onset of the event line are given in (16) and (17), representing clauses

⁸⁵ Rangi and Swahili both have the same verbal prefix, viz. *-ka-*, to represent consecutive tense-aspect.

⁸⁶ This form *haaha* is a homonym with the reduplicated near demonstrative of locative noun class 16, thus implying a close relationship between spatial and temporal deixis in Rangi.

be found in 6.3). An example of such a succession of *maa* at the start of a complicating action is given in (18a-c), representing clauses P15.3-6.

- 18a) ***maa*** *siku* *i-mwi* *n-kúku* ***maa***
 then 9:day 9-one 9-chicken then
i-küt-o-kaazima *sikeni* *kw-a* *mw-eevi*
 9-cons:go-ref-borrow 9:needle 17-assoc 3-eagle
 ‘Then one day, the chicken then went and borrowed a needle
 from the eagle’
- b) ***maa*** *i-ka-hee-w-a.* ***Maa*** *i-ka-hee-w-e*
 then 9-CONS-give-PASS-FV then 9-CONS-give-PASS-SUB
 ‘and it was given (it). And when it was given (it)’
- c) ***maa*** *i-küt-o-tumam-ir-a* *mú-rimo* *w-aachwe,*
 then 9-CONS:go-REF-work-APPL-FV 3-work 3-3sg:POSS
 ‘then it went and did its work,’

Finally, prenominal demonstratives are sometimes found in the first event-line clause after the introduction. Any of the three forms of the demonstrative occur: referential, e.g. *úwo mɔdala* ‘that woman’ (in B8.6); proximate, e.g. *úhú Laahi* ‘that Laahi (NAME)’ (in B24.4); or distant, e.g. *úra mukúulu* ‘that elder (daughter)’ (in K14.5). As the main function of demonstratives seems to lie elsewhere, judging from the fact that they occur much more often in other sections of a story than at the juncture of introduction and main narrative body, a more detailed description will be given when discussing participant reference in 7.2.

Table 5.2 categorises the database stories according to their usage of the first three features for the beginning of the main event line. The first row lists those stories which only have consecutive *-ka-* in their first clause of complicating action. The second row shows those stories which in addition employ the conjunction *maa* or its variant *na*. The third row has those stories which exhibit temporal adverbials together with consecutive *-ka-* at the start of their first complicating action; those which also have *maa* or *na* are marked in bold underlined. Exceptions are listed in the last row.

Table 5.2 Features of complicating action by story

	trickster	animal	magic	legend
T/A <i>-ka-</i>	B4 P1 P11 R41	P14	B20 R5	B1 B2 B14 B15b
+ <i>maa / na</i>	B17 P12 R16 R24 R38	P15 R15 R17	B8 B26 K14 P7	B3 B9 B12 B30 B31 K1 K16 K17 P3 R1 R8 R9 R13 R18 R26 R31 R35 R36 R37
+ <i>siku</i> etc.	B11 R2 R30	<u>K8 P15</u> <u>R17</u>	B18 <u>B26</u> P5	B23 B29 <u>K1 K16 K17 P3</u> R7 <u>R8 R9</u> R10 R13 R26 <u>R37</u>
exception	B24 P9	K15 P10	B10 R12	B6 R22 R43

The overwhelming majority of texts, irrespective of location or narrative genre, use the tense-aspect marker *-ka-* to demarcate the start of the story proper after the introduction, either in combination with the conjunction *maa* or a temporal adverbial phrase or both. The few exceptions to this canonical transition are not necessarily of low quality; five of the six stories evaluated were considered

publishable, the only rejected story being B24.⁸⁷ Consequently, as the way in which the writers were handling the post-introductory transition may be evidence of stylistic skill, these alternative transitions are investigated in more detail.

In all of these non-canonical stories, the features which have been identified as marking the transition from introduction to complication are spread over two to four successive clauses, and the narrative tense-aspect marker *-ka-* usually occurs later than expected. A simple example is found in K15.9-13, shown in (19a-d).

19a) *Mw-aaka* *u-mwi* *kw-a-j-áa* *na* *n-jala* *тппттпттп.*
 3-year 3-one 17-PAST- with 9-famine too_much
 be-HAB

‘One year, there was a very bad famine.’

b) *Maa* *N-kũkũ* *a-ka-sea,*
 and_then 9-chicken 1-CONS-say

‘And the chicken said,’

c) *“Lamũtoondo* *tũ-dom-e* *noo* *saaka* *ch-ákũrya.”*
 tomorrow 1pl-go-SBJV COP:REF want 7-food

‘Tomorrow we should go and look for food.’

d) *Sikũ* *i-yo* *va-ka-doma* *noo* *koo-saaka* *ch-ákũrya.*
 9:day 9-DEM 2-CONS-go COP:REF 17:REF-want 7-food

‘That day they went and looked around for food.’

⁸⁷ Recall that only stories from Bolisa, Kondoa and Pahi but not from Paranga were evaluated concerning their publishability.

The two temporal adverbials, *mwaaka umwi* ‘one year’ in (19a) and *siku iyo* ‘that day’ in (19d), as well as the conjunction *maa* in combination with the first occurrence of consecutive *-ka-* in (19b) could be depicted as vying for the position of starting the complicating action. However, this particular complicating action constitutes a situation the start of which cannot be pinpointed to one moment in time; the famine and the subsequent plan to look for food and the actual setting off in search for food are three discrete, though partially overlapping events, and in the same way, the markers for the beginning of the complication are spread over three clauses. Similar phenomena can be observed in B6.3-10 and P10.4-8. A slightly different, though related case is found in B10.8-13, presented in (20a-d).

- 20a) *Maa haaha aa-ndo-va-tuma va-ana va-achwe*
 and_then now 1-ITER-2-send 2-child 2-3sg:POSS
 ‘And now he repeatedly sent his children’
- b) *koo-laanga kooni maka ji-wiriire.*
 17:REF-look if 10:animal 10-fall:APPL:ANT
 ‘to look there if animals have fallen in.’
- c) *Va-ri koo-fika va-ka-shaana*
 2-be 17:REF-arrive 2-CONS-meet
 ‘When they arrived there they found’
- d) *n-jou i-mudu ya-wiriire.*
 9-elephant 9-one 9- fall:APPL:ANT
 ‘one elephant has fallen in.’

Here, the temporal adverbial *maa haaha* ‘and now’ in (20a) goes together with the iterative aspect *-ndo-*, and the first instance of consecutive *-ka-* in (20c) only occurs after the temporal subordinate clause *vari koofika* ‘when they arrived there’. Whereas the introduction (not shown in 20) sets the stage by stating that the father of the family is a trapper, the complication only sets in when he sends his children to check the trap. This action is done repeatedly, hence the iterative aspect in (20a), and on one of these occasions, the children encounter the trapped elephant, signalled by the first occurrence of *-ka-*.

The last story with an unusual transition from introduction to complication which is considered publishable is P9. Here, the complication, indicated by *siku imwi* ‘one day’, only starts in clauses 16-18, which are given in (21a-b).

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 21a) | <i>Siku</i> | <i>i-mwi</i> | <i>N-tuuju</i> | <i>noo</i> | <i>y-oo-looka</i> |
| | 9:day | 9-one | 9-hare | COP:REF | 9-PROG-pass |
| | <i>na</i> | <i>ha-ra</i> | <i>katikati</i> | | |
| | with | 16-DEM | middle | | |
| | ‘One day Hare was passing there in the middle’ | | | | |
| b) | <i>maa</i> | <i>i-ka-teera</i> | <i>ja</i> | <i>vy-eene</i> | <i>vii-eenda</i> |
| | and_then | 9-CONS-hear | like | 8-having | 2:REFL-love |
| | ‘and it heard how they loved each other’ | | | | |

The long introduction of this story describes the friendship between Badger and Lion in detail and already contains a number of consecutive *-ka-* occurrences (clauses 6, 8, 13, 14 and 16). In those clauses, however, *-ka-* signifies rather consecutive events than the main narrative.

In summary, a story's complication section is marked by an initial temporal adverbial, by continued reference to the initially introduced participant by means of a pronominal demonstrative, and by a T/A switch from the introductory past habitual *-áa* to consecutive *-ka-* verb forms, which are often connected through the conjunction *maa*. Whether these features are concentrated in one clause or spread out over several depends on the complexity of the complicating action.

5.1.5 Features of the post-complication section

The development of the main part of the stories between initial complicating action and resolution is too diverse to make a summary of occurring features feasible. Of course, consecutive *-ka-* verb forms are very characteristic of this section and, if there are any dialogues in the story, this section is the predominant place for them. At the text level, it is not possible to spell out more specific characteristics which would hold generally for all main narrative bodies. Consequently, I turn to the resolution now, being the last part of the main narrative body before the conclusion or coda.

Here, we find a greater uniformity again than in the initial complication section. The vast majority of stories, regardless of location or narrative subgenre, present the resolution in a simple statement in the consecutive *-ka-* tense-aspect form, opened by the conjunction *maa*. One-line resolutions from each location and subgenre are exemplified in (22-25), representing clauses

B11.21, P14.35, R29.69 and K17.29 respectively. In the trickster tale B11 from Bolisa, Laahi tries to cheat people into giving him a cow, and in the end, he succeeds.

- 22) *Maa a-ka-rih-w-a ng'oombe y-iingi.*
 then 1-CONS-pay-PASS-FV 9:cow 9-other
 'And then he was paid another cow.'

In the animal tale P14 from Pahi, the farmer tries to catch the groundnut-stealing hare, and in the end, he kills it.

- 23) *U-ra mo-osi maa a-ka-i-ulaa n-chúnkula.*
 1-DEM 1-elder then 1-CONS-9-kill 9-hare
 'That elder then, he killed Hare.'

In the magic tale R29 from Paranga, the wife realises that her baboon lovers have been killed by her husband, so she kills herself.

- 24) *maa a-ki-i-ulaa.*
 then 1-CONS-REFL-kill
 'and she killed herself.'

And in the anecdote K17 from Kondoa, the villagers who intended to kill rich Old Itaaso contemplate his behaviour again, and in the end, they leave him alive.

- 25) *maa ki-komi va-ka-mu-reka.*
 then 7-true 2-CONS-3sg-leave
 'and indeed, they left him.'

All these resolutions sound, at least in my perception as a non-Rangi, rather matter-of-fact and succinct. Whether this brevity indeed is a feature of Rangi

story-writing art or whether, with time, Rangi narrative resolutions will grow in complexity will have to be left to the discussion and experimentation of Rangi authors. There are, however, even now some indications in the database that in a story's resolution, there is room for expansion. Examples of longer resolutions may be rare but they do exist. A case in point would be K16, the story of the lazy Mwiiru who goes cattle-raiding against the Maasai. His demise from being stabbed by a blind Maasai is reported in line 71. This end result of the story plot is then followed by a section about Mwiiru's brother-in-law discovering the corpse and discarding it in a termite hill (up to line 82). And finally, it is reported how the news reach Mwiiru's home (lines 83-88), and the traditional mourning is conducted and concluded (lines 89-91); this is then the last part of an altogether more than 20 clauses long resolution. A less extended, yet still comparatively long resolution is found in R12.46-49, as shown in (26a-c).

- 26a) *Maa* *a-ka-mu-ulaa* *mɪ-lúme* *w-aachwe*,
and/then 1-CONS-3sg-kill 1-husband 1-3sg:POSS
‘And then she killed her husband,’
- b) *maa* *a-ka-looka* *büla* *ko-on-w-a* *ni* *vaa-ntɩ*.
then 1-CONS-leave without 15-see-PASS-FV COP 2-person
‘and she left without being seen by people.’
- c) *Maa* *va-nduu* *v-a* *mɪ-lúme*
then 2-relative 2-ASSOC 1-husband
va-ka-zika *mɪ-nduu* *w-aavo*.
2-CONS-bury 1-relative 1-3pl:POSS
‘And the relatives of the husband buried their relative.’

These two examples from K16 and R12 show that in some cases, resolutions contain a chain of events and therefore have to be longer than the more common one-clause end of a story, especially in cases where the main protagonist of the story is killed in the end and some additional closure of that event, like burial and/or mourning, is required. The question may now arise whether there is a direct correlation between a story's overall length and the length of its resolution. However, a quick look comparing the four longest, 300+ word stories (B30, K16, P9, R29) with the four shortest, <50 word stories (B4, B13b, B14, B19) shows, that one-clause resolutions are found among the long texts (B30, R29), and a comparatively long four-clause resolution is part of a short narrative (B14.9-12).

Finally, a number of exceptions to the prevalent occurrence of *maa* and/or *-ka-* in the resolution section have been observed. Of these, the resolution of one text has not been taken as potentially acceptable stylistic variation as this story was rejected by the editors in their evaluation of the story's publishability: B12 which ends with a succession of past tense, consecutive *-ka-* and subjunctive *-e* (clauses 14-16). Some stories present their resolution in past tense (B8.57-60;⁸⁸ R37.27); this may be an analogous variation to the replacement of *-ka-* with past tense in the first clause of the complicating action

⁸⁸ Note that the resolution of B8 only exists in the draft version as the revised version is incomplete.

discussed above. Then, whereas of the stories which express their resolution in direct speech, most, e.g. B6, B15b, B23, R31, introduce that speech with the quotative in consecutive *-ka-*, one story (R22) has the quotative with present progressive prefix *-oo-*. And yet other stories employ towards the end other tense-aspect forms in addition to consecutive *-ka-*, e.g. *noo* ‘that is’⁸⁹ plus infinitive as in K8.9-18,⁹⁰ displayed in (27a-d).

- 27a) *Ki-maari* *i-ra* *n-chũnkũla*
 7-true 9-DEM 9-hare
 y-a-kwaat-w-a *aho* *n-kalaang-ii*
 9-PAST-catch-PASS-FV 16:DEM 9-groundnut-LOC
 ‘Truly, that hare was caught there in the groundnuts’
- b) *noo* *shaan-i-w-a* *noo* *ku-va-w-a*
 COP:REF encounter-CAUS-PASS-FV COP:REF 15-hit-PASS-FV
 ‘and met (impl.: by the farmer) and beaten’
- c) *fũũũũ* *maa* *y-a-ka-kwya*.⁹¹
 until then 9-PAST-CONS-die
 ‘until it then died.’

⁸⁹ Unfortunately, there is an indeterminacy whether the first component of *noo* is the copula *nĩ* or the conjunction *na* ‘and’; the second part is definitely the referential suffix *-oo*. Post-2006 orthography testing has experimented with differentiating *noo* for referential copula versus *no* for referential conjunction. However, the indeterminacy has not yet been successfully resolved as both markers seem to be pronounced identically. On the relationship between *maa* and *noo*, further discussion is found in section 6.1.3.

⁹⁰ Note that five of these ten clauses are empty in the story’s revised version so that this section is five, and not ten clauses long in its revision, viz. clauses nos. 9, 14, 16, 17 and 18.

⁹¹ The simultaneous use of past prefix and consecutive prefix is ungrammatical. An alternative interpretation takes the first syllable *ya-* to be noun class 6 prefix which then would constitute a mismatch with the verb’s subject, the class 9 noun *nchũnkũla* ‘hare’.

- d) *Aya* *maa* *ya-ka-va* *noo*
 6:DEM then 6-CONS-be COP:REF
mw-iisho *w-aachwe* *i-ra* *n-chúnkula*
 3-end 3-3sg:POSS 9-DEM 9-hare
 ‘This then was the end of that hare.’

However, in the case of K8, it is doubtful whether the use of *noo* in (27b) is part of the resolution already.⁹² A comparison with the final section of R7.35-42, as shown in (28a-i), suggests that *noo* as well as the iterative prefix *-ndo-* occur in the pre-resolution section with a double function of accelerating the action preceding the climax and of increasing tension.⁹³

- 28a) *Maa* *va-ra* *va-tavana* *maa*
 then 2-DEM 2-young_man then
*vaa-**ndo**-m̩-kwaata* *ɥ-ra* *m̩-dala*
 2-ITER-3sg-seize 1-DEM 1-woman
 ‘Then those young men seized that woman’
- b) *maa* *va-**ka**-m̩-viik-ir-a* *i-saam̩* *m̩-lomw-ii*
 then 2-CONS-3sg-put-APPL-FV 5-cloth 3-mouth-LOC
 ‘and put a cloth in her mouth’
- c) *maa* *vaa-**ndo**-m̩-kɛva* *ɥ-ra* *m̩-dala*
 then 2-ITER-3sg-strangle 1-DEM 1-woman
 ‘and they repeatedly strangled that woman’

⁹² By contrast, the *noo* in 17d) is part of the compound verb *yakava noo*, missing the following infinitive, and hence does not qualify as a tense-aspect form separate or in addition to *-ka-*.

⁹³ Tense-aspect markers in example 28 are shown in bold underlined.

- d) ***noo*** *m̥-tema~tema*
 COP:REF 3sg-cut~INT
 ‘and slashed her’
- e) ***noo*** *m̥-reka* *haaho* *ny̥mb-ii* *kw-aachwe*
 COP:REF 3sg-leave 16:DEM 9:house-LOC 17-3sg:POSS
 ‘and left her there in her house’
- f) *na* *va-ra* *va-tavana* *vaa-ndo-kii-lok-er-a*
 and 2-DEM 2-young_man 2-ITER-REFL-turn-APPL-FV
 ‘and those young men kept turning round’
- g) ***noo*** *chuunga* *m̥-ryaango* *maa* *vaa-ndo-looka.*
 COP:REF close 3-door then 2-ITER-leave
 ‘and closed the door, and then they left.’
- h) *Maa* *va-ra* *va-tavana* *va-ka-sea,*
 then 2-DEM 2-young_man 2-CONS-say
 ‘Then those young men said,’
- i) *Haaha* *ki-jiji* *mi-it̥* *boha* *k̥-ri* *maat̥k̥*
 now 7-village 4-1pl:poss be_good 17-be very_much
 ‘ ‘Now our village will be very well’ ...’

There are four instances of *maa* followed by iterative *-ndo-* which indicate the main actions of the young men against the woman (28a, c, f and g), namely seizing her, strangling her, turning around and leaving. By contrast, both the use of once *maa* plus *-ka-* (in 28b) and of three times *noo* plus infinitive (in 28d, e and g) can be interpreted as denoting subsidiary actions, namely the gagging as being dependent on the seizing, the slashing and leaving the woman on the strangling, and the closing of the door on the turning around. The resolution of

the complication of that story, viz. that the woman had started to bewitch the children of the villagers (as reported in R7.5-6), is then expressed only in the direct speech of the young men in (28h) following. This also suggests that a story's resolution cannot be identified on grammatical markers alone but that such an identification has to take the story's complicating action into account.

5.1.6 Story conclusions and codas

Most stories in the database do not end with their resolution but wrap up the narration with some conclusion or coda. This final part of a story, even though not necessarily less formulaic than its beginning, is still much more diverse in its range of options and combinability thereof. Seven distinct elements have been identified, occurring in the following general sequence (the frequencies in brackets signify how often that particular element is the only coda element of a story, and how often it occurs in total):

1. the announcement that this is the end of the story (2 of 13);⁹⁴
2. the formula *noo kalusímo ja aka* 'it is a little story like this' (3 of 20);
3. the exhortation to tell the story to the next generation (1 of 11);
4. the assertion that the following summary of the story is true (0 of 5);
5. the moral or lesson of the story (8 of 28);

⁹⁴ As this never co-occurs with either item #2 or #3, it could also have been set after these two items in the sequence. However, it seemed appropriate contentwise to let it start the list.

6. a proverb or saying summarising the story (3 of 24);

7. a statement about the authorship of the story (1 of 13).⁹⁵

Of the 71 stories in the database, 17 do not have a coda at all (the five incomplete texts plus 12 others: B13a, B13b, B15b, P3, R2, R18, R26, R31, R36, R38, R39, R43), and 18 only have one of the seven elements, leaving 36, just over half of the texts, having more than one element in their coda. The text with the most complex coda, comprising five distinct elements, is P5, as shown in (29a-e), representing its clauses 32-39. R22 also has five elements, followed in coda complexity by B31, K16, P14 and R15 with four items each.

- 29a) *I-fuund-ish-o: Ka-si-t-oo-vyaala tɛ-si-ker-e tamaa tɛkɛ.*
5-learn-CAUS- COND-NEG-1pl- 1pl-NEG- 9:desire NEG
INSTR PROG-bear cut-SBJV
'Moral: if we do not bear (children), we should not lose hope.'
- b) *Mɛ-lɛɛngɛ noo a-heera va-ana vaa-ntɛ.*
3-God COP:REF 1:GEN-give 2-child 2-person
'It is God who gives children to people.'
- c) *Va-ana ni ma-lɛva kɛ-fuma kw-a Mɛ-lɛɛngɛ.*
2-child COP 6-flower 15-come_from 15-ASSOC 3-God
'Children are flowers from God.'

⁹⁵ As this followed morals and/or proverbs just as often as it preceded them, namely four times each, it could have been listed before morals and proverbs. However, as it was most often not followed by anything at all, it was put last in the list. Apart from the ordering of authorship versus moral/proverb, there are only four exceptions from the presented sequencing: B23, B31, P5 and R22, all of which involve the preposing of a moral or a proverb.

- d) *Ka-lɛ-sím-o* *ja* *aka*
 12-11-tell-INSTR like 12:DEM
 ‘A little story like this’
- e) *mũũ-ndo-sim-ir-a* *va-jũkũũ* *va-anyu.*
 2pl-ITER-tell-APPL-FV 2-grandchild 2-2pl:POSS
 ‘tell it again and again to your grandchildren.’
- f) *Ka-sím-ir-w-e* *ni* {*NAME*}.
 12-tell-ANT-PASS-FV COP {name of author}
 ‘It has been told by {name}.’

Item #1, the announcement of a story’s end, has two basic forms: either based on *mwiisho* ‘end’, a loan noun from Swahili, as shown in (30), representing identical clauses in B24.47, B26.27 and R11.24; or formed with a verb, *-sira* or *-hera* ‘end’, as shown in (31), representing the identical clauses P1.31 and R7.46.

- 30) *Aho* *noo* *mw-iisho* *w-a* *lɛ-sím-o* *lw-aani.*
 16:DEM COP:REF 3-end 3-ASSOC 11-tell-INSTR 11-1sg:POSS
 ‘That is the end of my story.’
- 31) *Maa* *lɛ-sím-o* *lɛ-ka-sira.*
 and/then 11-tell-INSTR 11-CONS-end
 ‘And then the story ended.’

Variations on (30) include *aha* instead of *aho* (B11.22, R12.50), ‘story’ in the diminutive *kalusímo* (R12.50), and the omission of the final possessive (B18.73, R35.26). Variations on (31) are more extensive, including having *na* instead of *maa* (P14.36, R30.47), using the diminutive *kalusímo* (P14.36), having *-hera*

instead of *-sira* (R10.31, R30.47),⁹⁶ adding the applicative verbal extension (B31.54, R30.47), adding a final locative *aha* (B31.54, R10.31, R30.47), and using anterior aspect *-ire* instead of consecutive *-ka-* (R10.31). Neither end statement is confined to one location only, nor does it occur in any previously published Rangi stories. This could indicate that these statements are oral formulae which open a story's conclusion; only in one instance does a coda element, the moral of B31, precede this opening formula. However, due to the heterogeneity of the second end statement, I would grant formulaic character only to the first statement as shown in (30).

Items #2 and #3 are often found together. Whereas #2 occurs on its own half the time, #3 in all but one instance (P12) follows immediately after #2. Both statements are presented in (32a-b), corresponding verbatim not only to clauses B23.41-42, K16.92-93 and R9.48-49 but also to the conclusions of the three story booklet stories *Dinũ*, *Nchũnkũla na Njou* and *Njala Isũũla Ndũũ*.

- 32a) *Noo ka-lũ-sĩm-o ja aka*
 COP:REF 12-11-tell-INSTR like 12:DEM
 'That's a little story like this,'
- b) *mũũ-ndo-sim-ĩr-a va-jũkũũ va-anyũ*
 2pl-ITER-tell-APPL-FV 2-grandchild 2-2pl:POSS
 'you continue to tell your grandchildren.'

⁹⁶ The end statements of R10 and R30 only occur in the draft versions but have been edited out of the revised versions.

Similar versions are found in B17.56-57, K8.20-21, P5.38, P14.37-38, R15.29-30, R17.45-46, R22.80 and R37.31-32 as well as the story *Nkúku-Lúme na Siimba*. Observed variations include omitting the copula *noo* (P5) or moving it to a later position (all others except P14), dropping the diminutive prefix *ka-* (B17, K8, P14, R15, R22), replacing the comparative *ja aka* with possessive *lwaani* ‘my’ (K8, R15) or leaving it out completely (R17, R22, R37), having singular in the second part (B17), inserting a class 2 object marker to give *mũndov̄asimira* (K8, R22, R37), using consecutive *-ka-* tense-aspect instead of iterative *-ndo-* (P14), adding *vaana na* ‘children and’ before *vajukulu* (B17), or having *viiswi* ‘our’ instead of *vaanyu* (R22). In most cases, the first clause opens a story’s conclusion, quite similar to the statement *Aho noo mwiisho wa lusímo*, of which *Noo kalusímo ja aka* could be seen as an equivalent alternative. Only in one story (P14) do they co-occur, with item #1 preceding items #2 and #3 in the established sequence. In three further exceptions to that sequence, a moral (in B23) or a proverb (in P5 and R22) precedes these two coda elements. It is not unlikely that they, like item #1, also are oral formulae. Still, the verbatim recurrence in three out of four workshop locations, despite simultaneous heterogeneity of expression across workshop texts, suggests that they were copied from the story booklet. So, although they originated from oral tradition, their appearance in the workshop texts is probably also a result of their previous usage in the published Rangi stories.

Item #4 is the rarest of all coda elements, occurring only five times. It could have been listed before the previous two items as it never co-occurs with them. However, as it always immediately precedes either a moral (K17, R22) or a proverb (B29, K14, R7), that is where it has been placed in the sequence. Example (33) represents verbatim this coda element as found in B29.25, K17.30, R7.47 and in the primer story *Moosi Ibuuo*, by which the former three presumably have been influenced.

- 33) *Iki* *kii-ntu* *ni* *ch-oo-cho:*
 7:DEM 7-thing COP 7-REF~INT
 ‘This is a true saying:’

In R22, this form of the formula only occurs in the draft version, having been reduced to *kweeri* ‘truly’ in the revision; copula *ni* plus *kweeri* is also the form in which this coda element appears in K14. Altogether it can be said that *Iki kii-ntu ni choocho* is an introductory formula for a story’s morals and proverbs.

Morals and proverbs, items #5 and #6 respectively, are the most common coda elements. In total, 28 morals and 24 proverbs have been counted. Only seven stories contain both a moral and a proverb (B9, B28, B31, P5, R10, R15,⁹⁷ R22), and in every case, the moral precedes the proverb. Under morals, I have subsumed not only hortatory clauses but also explanatory and summarising

⁹⁷ R15 may not belong in this category. What has been counted as moral in R15 is located at the boundary between story resolution and coda and contains a secondary aetiology of origin which may rather be part of the resolution than of the coda.

ones. The first category, hortatory, is characterised by the subjunctive suffix *-e*, either as a positive appeal (B5, P13, R22) or, more often, as a negative injunction expressed with the verb *-reka* ‘leave’.⁹⁸ *-reka* occurs in three forms: second person plural subjunctive as exemplified by B18.74 in (34), first person plural subjunctive as in P14.40 in (35), and first person plural iterative in R13.45 in (36).

- 34) **Mu-rek-e** *mi-tima* *y-a-vii-h-a*,
 2pl-leave-SBJV 4-heart 4-GEN-bad-INCH-FV
 ‘You should stop (having) bad attitudes,’
- 35) **tu-rek-e** *kw-iiva* *vii-ntu* *vy-a* *vaa-ntu*.
 1pl-leave-SBJV 15-steal 8-thing 8-ASSOC 2-person
 ‘Let us stop stealing things of (other) people.’
- 36) **tuu-ndo-reka** *suu-la* *viiv-iiswi*,
 1pl-iter-leave hate 2:fellow-1pl:POSS
 ‘We should stop hating our fellow (human beings),’

While it is not necessarily indicative of local preferences, it is notable that all instances of *mureke* occurred in Bolisa whereas the two cases of *tuundoreka* are confined to Paranga. With regard to text type, however, the instances of morals using *-reka* are spread across all four major narrative subgenres of the database. Other phrases being employed in coda morals include *noo maana* ‘that is the reason’ (B31, R10, R15), *ifuundisho* ‘teaching’ or *Lusimo ulu lootufuundisha* ‘This story is teaching us ...’ (B9, P5, P14, P15, R22), *Fuma siku iyo* ‘From that day on

⁹⁸ Two stories, B26 and R10, have their negative injunctions in Swahili, consequently using the Swahili negative prefix *-si-* instead of Rangi *-reka*.

...’ (K15), *jangaari* ‘if only’ (P7) or a general truth to be deduced from the story. Remarkably, such a general statement about miserly people, as shown in (37), is found in three stories from Paranga: R8, R24 and R30.⁹⁹

- 37) *Muu-ntu mu-súungu a-sii-na mare tuku.*
 1-person 1-bitter 1-NEG:be-with 9:friend NEG
 ‘A miser does not have any friends.’

From such general truths it is only a small step to proverbs, and it has proven to be difficult in some cases to differentiate between moral and proverb unambiguously. For example, the conclusion of B1 that liars are still living today, as shown in (38), has been counted as a proverb because an initial *baa* ‘even’ seems to be common in Rangi proverbs (SIL 2005b).

- 38) *Baa isiku va-loongo va-mwaari.*
 even today 2-liar 2-be_there
 ‘Even today liars exist.’

On the whole, morals are more explicit in their application, as the phrases listed above show, whereas proverbs are more metaphorical, including the at times downright cryptic. Examples (39-42) show those proverbs which occur in the database more than once, and table 5.3 gives an overview of all proverbs’ distribution including notes on their applicability.

- 39) *Mw-aana mu-rúng-i~rúngi a-hám-ir-aa lu-kaande.*
 1-child 1-wander-AGNT~INT 1-hit-APPL-HAB 11-wall
 ‘A wayward child hits the wall.’

⁹⁹ In R30, the statement is found only in the draft version. Also, it uses *kijeengi*, another word for ‘friend’.

- 40) *U-ka-wuma mu-usi u-kii-lor-er-a!*
 2sg-CONS-throw 3-pestle 2sg-CONS:REFL-turn-APPL-FV
 ‘When you throw the pestle, you should look behind you!’
- 41) *I-tuundu ni mu-ntu.*
 5-thicket COP 1-person
 ‘(Even) a thicket is a person.’
- 42) *Ki-jeeng-i ni n-koondo.*
 7-build-AGNT COP 9-war
 ‘Friendship is war.’

Table 5.3 Distribution of proverbs in stories

proverb	reference	notes
<i>mwaana muringi ...</i>	B14, K14, R12	no ‘wayward child’ in B14
<i>kuulu rilingi ...</i>	B11	Laahi not disadvantaged in story
<i>mweekenye muja ...</i>	R10	‘sugarcane’ comparison unclear
<i>vaana ni ...</i>	P5	
<i>vavavana ni ...</i>	R7	proverb adapted from story booklet
<i>ituundu ni muuntu</i>	B2, K16	in-house context in K16
<i>kijeengi ni nkoondo</i>	R15, R22	
<i>nguru ni ...</i>	K1	
<i>mariko noo ...</i>	B27	
<i>noo isasire ...</i>	B28	‘sour’ relationship is resolved
<i>iyesi si ...</i>	R17	proverb adapted from story booklet
<i>si achuunda ...</i>	R35	
<i>yavyaala yanaampa</i>	B31	
<i>ukawuma muusi ...</i>	B2, B10	no dangerous consequence in B10
<i>changuchangu ...</i>	B9	
<i>ntaandamalo ...</i>	R29	reference to different story (hyena)
<i>hena ukanyiirye ...</i>	R9	

Those proverbs which are adapted from other sources or referring to other stories (R7, R17, R29) are nevertheless appropriate to their respective story themes, yet the remaining proverbs with obscure relevance to their story still constitute one quarter of all stories containing proverbs. Schmidt's caution against the connectivity of morals to their story may also be valid for proverbs, albeit without necessarily an educational or religious bias, namely that

the morals are mainly contributions of the individual narrators. Particularly teachers, nursery teachers and church people like to stress endings of this kind. Sometimes such a moral is only loosely [sic] connected with the story, like the secondary aetiology of explanatory tales, sometimes far-fetched. (Schmidt 2001: 250)

Remarkably, none of the stories from the story booklet (SIL 2005a) contain an explicit moral, and only two, *Nkúku-Lúme na Siimba* and the primer text *Moosi Ibuuo*, include a proverb. The high frequency of morals and proverbs in the database texts may indicate either that workshop participants closely adhered to the workshop editing instructions, which mention morals and proverbs explicitly, or that the influence of previously published stories does not always override oral tradition.

By contrast, the last one of the coda elements, the statement about the story's authorship, is the only one which is found at the end of all texts in the story booklet. Without exception, these previously published texts use *lwasímírwe* 'it has been told', the anterior aspect plus applicative extension of

the verb *-sima* ‘tell’. In the workshop stories, however, that verb form does not occur even once, the most frequent being *lwasímirwe* (in B2, B27, B31, K15, K16, P5, P9, P15), without the applicative.¹⁰⁰ One story uses the verb *-aandika* ‘write’ (K14), another a combination of copula and associative *ni wa* ‘is of’ (B12), and one writes it in Swahili (B28). Two stories, B14 and P11, as shown in (43) and (44) respectively, give the name of the original narrator instead of their own name.

43) *Noo sím-o n-a-sim-ir-w-áa ni babu.*
 COP:REF 9:tell-INSTR 1sg-PAST-tell-APPL- COP grandfather
 PASS-HAB

‘That is the story I used to be told by (my) grandfather.’

44) *Lú-sím-o ulú n-aa-sim-ir-w-a ni biibi y-aani*
 11-tell- 11:DEM 1sg-PAST:PROG- COP grandmother 9-
 INSTR tell-APPL-PASS-FV 1sg:POSS

‘This story I was being told by my grandmother.’

The absence of any final statement of authorship in the Paranga stories is striking. However, all stories, as originally hand-written on paper, have the name of the workshop participant who produced it written on the top of the page, so that the need to spell out the authorship at the end of the story again may not have been perceived as strongly as in the production of the story booklet. In addition, differences in both small group and plenary discussion

¹⁰⁰ It has to be conceded that workshop participants may not have been sufficiently adept in the Rangi orthography guidelines in order to correctly spell an intended difference between *lwasímírwe* and *lwasímirwe*. In any case, both forms are acceptable in the given context.

topics between the different workshop locations, which were not recorded, may have to account for differences such as the inclusion or absence of a specific element in a particular location.

5.2 Two approaches to text function

Most of the story components identified in the previous section correspond to the overall features of narratives postulated by Labov & Waletzky (2003). Yet, their seminal article focuses on oral versions of personal experience. So, it cannot be assumed a priori that their findings are applicable to written versions of predominantly traditional folktales as found in the Rangi story database. Holmes says that it has been the experience of narrative researchers, however, that, without understanding the fundamental skeleton of narrative texts, it is difficult to profitably analyse other narrative aspects, and that therefore, “Labov’s research is where one starts” (Holmes 1997: 91). The differences emerging and mentioned below notwithstanding, oral narratives and written narratives seem to share the same basic functional structure.

Whereas a title is reserved for the written medium, the first story component common to both oral and written narratives is the introduction, called orientation by Labov & Waletzky, in which the story’s main characters, its place and time are introduced. The terms for the two components of the main narrative body in which the main events of a story are related, viz. complication (or complicating action) and resolution, have been adopted

straight from Labov & Waletzky who do not define these more specifically but let the terms speak for themselves. If a narrative text has a section after the resolution, they call it ‘coda’ which they define as “a functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment” (Labov & Waletzky 2003: 100). However, they maintain that narratives containing only these four structural elements are insignificant, pointless or incomprehensible; rather, the hallmark of a true narrative, for them, is evaluation, which they define as “that part of the narrative that reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others” (Labov & Waletzky 2003: 97). In stories of personal experience, such evaluative sections can be more direct. An example from the database, in which personal experience stories are rare, can be found in B13a.20, as given in (45); the narrator talks in the first person plural and identifies the result of the story as ‘bliss’ for his family.

- 45) *Uwo mw-aaka noo t-a-pata raha.*
 3:DEM 3-year COP:REF 1pl-PAST-receive 9:bliss
 ‘That year it is that we received bliss.’

More indirect ways of evaluation may involve lexical intensifiers, e.g. *vuu* ‘completely’ (B10.71; B11.8; K7.85) or the exclamation of surprise *kuumbari*¹⁰¹ (B10.67; B27.3; K15.32; R8.46).

¹⁰¹ A shorter variant *kuumba* occurs too; this form is similar to Swahili *kumbe* of the same meaning.

Originally, Labov & Waletzky had claimed that the evaluation section always immediately precedes the resolution. That this view was problematic was quickly recognised by Labov who redefined evaluation as “distributed throughout the narrative” (1972: 369) rather than as a discrete linear section. This need for reformulating evaluation in narratives has been discussed later by other narrative scholars (e.g. Baynham 2000: 113, fn.1; Carbon 2003: 228f), and in the Rangi story database also, I find plenty of evidence that evaluative sections do not appear only between the complicating action and the resolution. In particular, morals and proverbs, which most commonly occur as the final coda element in the database stories, constitute a strong evaluative component of Rangi narratives.

A different approach to the analysis of narrative structure can be found in the work of Levinsohn (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001; Levinsohn 2007).¹⁰² Although he also refers to Labovian categories, his main division in narrative structure is between foreground and background. Foreground is identified mainly with the narrative event-line, comprising pre-climactic events, the climax, an optional denouement, and the conclusion. Correspondingly, introductory information, any offline comments as well as evaluative sections are classified as background (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 82).

¹⁰² As Levinsohn is a linguistics consultant with SIL, discourse analysis workshops in SIL projects often use his method. A three-week workshop following Levinsohn’s approach has been conducted for Rangi narrative analysis in April/May 2009.

In my endeavour to detect stylistic preferences in the Rangi story database, I can see these two different analytical approaches complementing each other. Both Labov & Waletzky and Levinsohn are concerned with narrative function, albeit with function at different levels. Whereas Levinsohn is predominantly dealing with the functions of linguistic forms found in narratives (like clause connectors, speech orienters, and participant reference forms), Labov & Waletzky seem to focus on the function of larger narrative elements (like orientation section, evaluation section, conclusion section). This suggests that my analysis at the text level can benefit from an orientation towards Labovian categories and functions, and my analysis at the word and clause levels may be better assisted by keeping Levinsohn's categories and functions in mind.

In addition, Schmidt's (2001) extensive discussion¹⁰³ of different story types containing different narrative elements also bears on the investigation of stylistic preferences, insofar as the interpretation of observed stylistic preferences should take the categorisation into narrative subgenres into account (cf. 4.1). Another potentially relevant perspective is Werth's scheme of text worlds in which his concept of "common ground" (Werth 1999: 119) may be utilised in the investigation of introductory narrative sections, and his concept

¹⁰³ This theme of genre-specific narrative features runs like a thread through much of Schmidt's monograph, one example being that of her discussion of contents and structure of African magic tales (Schmidt 2001: 260f).

of “plot-advancing” (Werth 1999: 190) may explain certain features found in the narrative’s main body.

These potential insights from other narrative analytical approaches notwithstanding, it is the models of Labov & Waletzky and of Levinsohn which cover the target levels of my research most comprehensively, namely text, word and clause level. Consequently, their approaches are the main reference points for my analysis.

5.3 Text level changes

Changes between draft and revised versions at the text level fall into four categories: deletions, additions, replacements or movements to another section of the story.¹⁰⁴ For reasons of expediency, deletions and additions will be dealt with as one. Replacements and movements of clauses are not so easily categorised together and are consequently discussed separately.

5.3.1 Clause additions and deletions at story beginning and end

Both beginning and end of traditional African stories have been characterised as formulaic (Reuster-Jahn 2002: 158), so the external pressure for stylistic preference may be greater in these sections than in the more varied middle sections. Evidence for such pressure may be found in converging tendencies towards certain opening and/or closing formulae, e.g. by adding

¹⁰⁴ The special case where added words result in what was one clause in the draft becoming two clauses in the revision is dealt with in 6.2.1 under c).

corresponding clauses or by deleting clauses which do not fit the formulaic schema. The deletion of some titles has already been noted in 5.1.1 above. Table 5.4 gives an overview of added and deleted clauses in the initial and final story sections. The majority of added and deleted clauses, however, occur between the initial complication section and the resolution; these are not shown in the table but are dealt with in 5.3.2 below. Two of the incomplete stories (cf. footnote 74) include deleted clauses because their revised version was less complete than their draft; these have been marked in italic square brackets.

Table 5.4 Added and deleted clauses by section type

section type	added	deleted
title	B9 B10 B26 B28 B30 R7 R10 R13 R18	B3 B13a B15b B27 R38
introduction	B3 B15b B23 P9 P12 R8 R38	K1 R8
initial complication	B4 B8 B14 B20 B26 B30 K15 R1 R18	B6 B8 K7 P10 P12 R1 R24 R38
resolution	B14 K16 R8 R26	[B3] [B8] R2
coda	B5 B6 B9 B12 B14 B17 B18 B19 B23 B24 B26 B27 B30 K8 K14 P1 P5 P12 P13 P15 R7 R9 R10 R16 R22 R30 R37	[B8] B19 K1 P7 P9 P10 R10 R30

Where titles have been added, these are both generic of the *Lusímo Iwa Kilaangi* type (B26, B28, B30, R13, R18) and specific, having some relation to the actual content of the story, e.g. R7 *Lusímo Iwa Mudala Mbũva* ‘The story of Mother Mbũva’, R10 *mũhĩnja na mũmang’aati* ‘the girl and the Mang’ati man’, or, in

the case of B9, the addition of a descriptive title in Swahili on top of the original standard title in the draft. In R13, it is the other way round with a generic title being added to a descriptive one in the draft. While deletions of titles are slightly fewer, they also occur with descriptive titles (B27, R38). In the case of B27, which is about a murder mystery, the murdered man named *Nduri* is only mentioned three times in the draft: in the title, and then twice towards the end of the story (after the corpse had been discovered). In the revision, however, *Nduri* is introduced right at the start (clause #3) and then referred to throughout the text. Possibly, this early introduction replaces the need of an explicit title. In a similar manner, the title of the draft of R38, as shown together with the following introduction in (46a-b), has been deleted in the revision which retains the introductory clause with only minor changes.

46a) *Lw-sím-o lw-a lw-úvũ na n-chúnkũla*
 11-tell-INSTR 11-ASSOC 11-chameleon and 9-hare
 ‘The story of the chameleon and Hare’

b) *Ha-ra kali kw-ij-áa na lw-úvũ na n-chúnkũla*
 16- old_times 17-be- and 11- and 9-hare
 DEM HAB chameleon
 ‘In times of old there was the chameleon and Hare.’

Possibly, the title may have been perceived as too repetitive as the following introduction of hare and chameleon gives the information contained in the title anyway. This may be an indication that titles in Rangi stories are problematic, especially if they only portend what the introduction develops anyway. It would

have been insightful to receive some explanations about additions and deletions of titles directly from the writers. However, due to the sheer number of writers and their unavailability after the workshops, this was not possible or at least impractical for me. I am able to say though, that three potential influences on titles in Rangi workshop stories can be assumed, two for and one against providing a title. Firstly, as all workshop participants had learned to read and write in the Swahili medium, they will be familiar with the presence of titles in written texts and, whether with or without conscious intention, will be under a certain pressure to emulate the existing narrative patterns of Swahili in Rangi. For example, with regard to offering a proverb by way of a title, the editors of the previously published story *Njala Isuuu la Ndũũ* explicitly mentioned that “they copied this idea from Swahili” (Stegen 2005: 79). Secondly, the editing instructions handed out at the beginning of each workshop occasion (Hartung 2005) also could have been interpreted as advocating the inclusion of a title. While they do not mention the term ‘title’ (*kichwa* in Swahili) explicitly, the check-list for components to include in a good story starts with *mwanzo/utambulisho* ‘beginning/introduction’. Workshop participants, both among each other and with the workshop leaders, may have talked through issues like the provision of a title; yet, any influences due to such venue-specific discourses can no longer be differentiated. Against these incentives to start their stories with a title, there is the pull of Rangi oral tradition which foregoes titles

and commences stories with the introductory formula *aho kali kwavijáa kwatiite* straight away. Given that the clear majority of the database stories (62 of 71) have a title, the influences from Swahili literacy and the workshop instructions seem to have been stronger than those of the oral tradition.

In the orientation or introduction section, added clauses are often formulaic, that is they seem to tend towards standard clauses which may conform to external expectations from oral tradition, Swahili literacy and workshop instructions. For example, the beginning of R8 is changed from the draft version containing a title referring to the main story character plus an orientation clause, as shown in (47a), to the revision (47b) commencing with a proverb-based title followed by a variant of the standard introductory formula (cf. 5.1.2 above); the final VP is the same in draft and revision.

- 47a) *Kiloongo* *haa-ntu* *a-ij-áa* *mu-tavana*
 NAME 16-place 1-be-HAB 1-young_man
 ‘Kiloongo when he used to be a young man’
Mo-osi *Kiloongo* *haaha* *a-dálah-üre*
 1-old_man NAME now 1-become_old-ANT
 ‘Old Kiloongo had now become old.’
- b) *Muu-ntu* *mu-súungu* *a-sii-na* *mare* *tuku*
 1-person 1-bitter 1-NEG-have friend NEG
 ‘A miser does not have any friends’

Ha-ra *kali* *kw-a-j-áa* *na* ~~*mũũ-ntũ*~~ ~~*ũ-mwĩ*~~
 16-DEM old_times 17-PAST-be-HAB with 1-person 1-one
a-sew-áa *noo* *Kĩloongo.* *Haaha* *a-dálah-ĩire*
 1-say-PASS-HAB COP:REF NAME now 1-become_old-ANT
 ‘In times of old there was a man called Kĩloongo. Now he has
 become old.’

Another reason to add clauses in the orientation section is to provide brief basic information on introduced participants, e.g. B3.3 states that the children who are the main participants of the story live by themselves, B23.3-4 provides the names of the main participants, M̩p̩ũnde and Ikaampi (in the draft, they were only referred to as *moosi* ‘old man’ and *mũdala* ‘woman’), and R38.3 specifies about Hare and Chameleon that they were friends. Each of these added pieces of information meaningfully adds to the story. By contrast, deletions in the introduction concern unessential information; e.g. in K1.5-6, the draft contains conflicting statements whether Mother Mbeyũ lives alone or has a grandchild living with her (however, as this story is about her industriousness and her court case against the villagers, her living situation does not seem to be relevant), and in R8.6, the draft gives the age of Old Kĩloongo as seventy years (however, in R8.4, it had already been asserted that he had grown old). In short, whether a clause is added or deleted in the introduction seems to have more to do with content than with stylistic preferences.

In the section where the initial complication occurs, most additions bring about some crucial changes over against the draft version. For example, in the draft of the simple story of B14, all people decide to pray when the rain stopped; the addition of B14.6 *Fumira m~~unt~~ ~~u~~mudu* ‘Occur one person’ introduces a focal participant whose prayer then solves the problem. Thus a lack of complication or sophistication in the draft is remedied in the revision. Sometimes the added clauses provide essential information presumably forgotten in the draft, e.g. the rescued dog in B20.6-7, or the explicit intention of Mbui’s friends to murder her in B30.6-9. Such additions can have unforeseen consequences, e.g. in K15.9-16, clauses are added to introduce the idea of a famine and to mention Chicken and Guineafowl’s meeting place at a baobab tree much earlier in the story; when that baobab is mentioned in K15.24, for the first time in the draft but the second time in the revision, the draft’s wording as in (48) is retained.

- 48) *vii-shaan-e* *mw-iiw-ii* *u-mwi*
 2:REFL-meet-SBJV 3-baobab-LOC 3-one
 ‘they should meet at a certain baobab tree.’

However, the use of *u-mwi* suggests a previously unmentioned entity (cf. 7.2.1), causing an inconsistency in participant reference. The potential effects of added clauses are a topic which may have to be included in future writers workshops.

Clause deletions in the section of the initial complicating action predominantly occur in texts where that section is comparatively long already

in the draft. A representative example is B6.4-12, the gloss of which is displayed in table 5.5, where of the nine clauses in the draft, only four remain in the revision. In the table, deleted clauses are marked in italic square brackets.

Table 5.5 Clause deletions in B6.4-12

4. One day he went to graze (them) in the marsh with his three dogs.
5. [<i>And he untied his cows and goats in the corral,</i>]
6. [<i>he started the journey of going and grazing there in the marsh.</i>]
7. He arrived there in the marsh
8. [<i>he left the cows and the goats</i>]
9. [<i>they are grazing</i>]
10. and he had rested at a tree
11. [<i>he is watching (them)</i>]
12. while cows and goats are grazing.

As the story is mainly about what happens when the herdsman dozes off while resting at the tree, this initial complication section merits some shortening; consequently repetitions occurring in the draft, like clauses 6 and 9 which contain the same information as clauses 4 and 12, are cut out in the revision. In a similar manner, information in the initial complications section is sometimes cut out if it comes into focus again later in the story. In R1, which is about a couple going to fetch water at night, the draft mentions their action in clause 7 (49a) and clause 17 (49b); in the revision, clause 7 is deleted and the couple's action is only mentioned in a modified version of clause 17 (49c).

49a)	<i>Kɛ-kyiire</i>	<i>kw-aachwe</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>voo-kɛnɛnka</i>
	17-day_after_ tomorrow	17-3sg:POSS	and_then	2:PROG-get_up
	<i>saa</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>y-a</i>	<i>ɛ-chikɛ</i>
	9:hour	eight	9-ASSOC	14-night
	<i>kɛ-too-tah-irir-a</i>	<i>maa-ji</i>	<i>uko</i>	<i>i-boot-ii</i>
	15-ITIVE-draw-APPL-FV	6-water	17:DEM	5-gully-LOC

‘Two days later then, they are getting up at 2am at night to go and fetch water there at the river.’

b)	<i>maa</i>	<i>va-ka-looka</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>taha</i>	<i>ayo</i>	<i>maa-ji</i>
	and_then	2-CONS-leave	COP:REF	draw	6:DEM	6-water

‘... then they left in order to draw that water.’

c)	<i>wakati</i>	<i>y-a</i>	<i>saa</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>y-a</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>i-ulo</i>
	9:time	9-ASSOC	9:time	nine	9-ASSOC	COP	5-evening
	<i>maa</i>	<i>va-ka-looka</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i-boot-ii</i>			
	and_then	2-CONS-leave	PREP	5-gully-LOC			

‘... at 3pm in the evening then they left for the river.’

In the draft, clause 7 is more elaborate than clause 17; and with the deletion of clause 7, clause 17 has to be embellished in the revision (specifically, the provision of an exact time reference is taken over from the deleted clause 7) in order to retain an equal amount of information. Thus, the addition and/or deletion of clauses may result in more substantial restructuring of the entire story. As an example of this, P12 is analysed as a case study at the end of this chapter (cf. 5.3.5).

Additions and deletions in resolutions occur rather infrequently. This may be due to the fact that resolutions are rather succinct in general (cf. 5.1.6), and

maybe they are such a focal point of the narrative that writers define them well in the draft and do not perceive a need to change them later. Those few instances where resolutions are added to often expand on the main clause as given in the draft. For example, to the main resolution of B14.10 (50a) in the draft, the clauses B14.11-12 (50b) are added in the revision.

50a) *Sikɛ iyo maa va-ka-rima*
 9:day 9:DEM and_then 2-CONS-farm
 ‘That day then they farmed.’

b) *maa va-ka-chwa maa va-ka-hona n-jala voosi*
 and_then 2-CONS- and_then 2-CONS- 9-famine 2:all
 harvest recover
 ‘and they harvested and they all recovered from the famine.’

The statement ‘they farmed’ would have been sufficient to indicate that the complication of the story, viz. the absent rain, had been solved, and this one-clause resolution is comparable to others in its brevity. Still, the author decided to spell it out that ‘they all recovered from the famine’. Yet, on the whole, brief resolutions outweigh longer ones, and this preference also seems to be the primary cause of clause deletions in the resolution section. For example in R2, when Laahi’s trick on the people worked out so that they each paid him a cow, the assertion *maa akasungata* ‘and he became rich’ in draft clause 87 is deleted and only clause 88, as shown in (51), remains in the revision.

51) *Laahi na a-ka-valuka mu-temi*
 NAME and 1-CONS-become 1-chief
 ‘Laahi then became chief.’

5.3.2 Clause additions and deletions in the middle of a story

As mentioned above, the majority of clause additions and deletions occur in the middle section of the narrative between the initial complicating action and the resolution. Presumably, as this is the part where the major action is happening, this is also where an author gets active in revision; beginning and end, being more formulaic in Rangi, seem to provide less room for insertions of further events, descriptions, explanations or evaluations. As if to justify Labov's relocation of evaluative comments as distributed throughout the story (cf. 5.2), a number of clause additions right in the middle of the narrative provide such evaluative asides for the benefit of the audience, e.g. the explanation in B6.23+26 why Bodo erred, or the articulation of the main participants' sentiments in B17.48 that the elephants become angry. These additions also span the range of means which Labov lists for the embedding of evaluations in the narrative, namely through a) the narrator's own thoughts, b) addressing a participant in the narrative, and c) letting a third person in the narrative utter the evaluation (Labov 1972: 372f). Obviously, Rangi writers are employing this range of stylistic devices in their incipient mother tongue writing.

As is to be expected, clause additions do not only concern evaluations but are also aimed at fleshing out a story's episodes. For example, B8.32-33 provides two details to the scene of the son returning home after having fulfilled his mother's instructions, namely that he has strung the meat of the

hunted animals together and that the mother sees him coming, details which enliven the scene and help the audience to better visualise this home-coming. An example of a larger chunk being added in the revision is B23.21-27 in between draft clauses 19-20 (in 53a) stating that the husband is guarding the chicken and draft clauses 28-29 (in 53b) stating that the wife discovered her mistake.

- 53a) *a-ka-kiikala* *m̩-ryaangw-ii* *k̩im-irir-a* *n-kúku*
 1-CONS-sit 3-gate-LOC 15:stand-APPL-FV 10-chicken
 ‘... he sat at the gate guarding the chicken.’
- b) *M̩-dala* *a-ka-taang-e* *a-hón-iir-y-e*
 1-woman 1-CONS-know-SBJV 1-err-ANT-CAUS-FV
 ‘The woman, when she realised that she had erred, ...’

As the audience may need some more information to comprehend how the one is related to the other, the author has inserted a little conversation between the two participants which brings out the wife’s mistake more clearly. In that manner, additions are often used for clarification.

Another motivation for clause additions is to make more steps explicit in a sequence of movements or actions which logically depend on each other. For example, clause B18.30 is added in the revision stating that the little sister sat down in between failing to hoist the calabash newly filled with water onto her head (B18.29) and waiting for someone to help her (B18.31-32); or B26.9-10 is adding Mb̩ul̩’s request for a calabash and the mother giving her one in

between Mbũũũ's desire to go to the river (B26.8) and her dropping and breaking the calabash (B26.11). In all of these cases (and the two just given are not rare examples), content is provided in the revision which could be accessed by logical inference or from Rangi cultural background knowledge. However, making this content explicit reduces the processing load of the audience, thus enhancing comprehension and the ability to follow the narrative.

By contrast, where clauses in the draft are verbatim repetitions of adjacent clauses, these may be deleted in the revision. This has been observed to occur especially in reported speech sections, e.g. the clause B1.10, as displayed in (54), records the realisation of the king's barber, yet is a verbatim repetition of the previous clause; in the revision of B1, this statement only occurs once.

54) *uwii, mũ-falume a-ri na lũ-héémbe mũ-tw-ii*
 IDEO 1-king 1-be with 11-horn 3-head-LOC
 'Aiyee, the king has a horn on his head!'

Still, there is a fine balance between redundant repetition in mere speech which merits deletion and poetic repetition, especially in songs (e.g. R18.20 + 21) or magic spells (e.g. R29.10 + 11) where repetition is a special stylistic effect which should be and often is retained.

Text B13a is a telling example of deleting an entire episode. Table 5.6 gives an overview of the entire story, with deleted draft sections in italic square brackets and common sections between draft and revision in bold underline.

Table 5.6 Comparison of draft and revision of B13a¹⁰⁵

ref.	draft	revision
1	<i>[title]</i>	
2-5	<u>father farms and gets good harvest</u>	
6-10	<i>[family buys goods]</i>	
11		father rejoices
12	<u>family living well without problems</u>	
13-17		next year no harvest, father does not return home
18-20		father moves to Matireko, good harvest there, whole family benefits

As it stood, the draft story (clauses 1-12) did not contain any complication to speak of. Presumably in order to make the story more interesting, only clauses 2-5 and 12 are taken over from the draft into the revision. By adding two more episodes, a bad harvest (clauses 13-17) followed by a good harvest again (clauses 18-20), the author creates a tension between the good and the bad harvests, including describing some of the problems connected with a bad one. As a consequence, one of the main sections of the draft, namely what the family does with the profit (clauses 6-10), no longer fits the focus of the revised story and is removed.

This example of text B13a also shows how, sometimes, comparatively high levels of additions are offset by similar levels of deletions (other examples are

¹⁰⁵ The same story is analysed in table 5.9 below and discussed again under the aspects of replaced clauses and text restructuring.

B15b, B27, K7, R8). In a way, these examples fall rather into the category of narrative restructuring which is discussed in 5.3.5 in more detail.

5.3.3 Notable instances of lengthening and/or shortening

In section 4.3, some stories were noticed which had been either extremely lengthened or extremely shortened in their revision. These are now investigated in greater detail. One qualifying notice should be given first: an increase or decrease in the overall word total is not necessarily due to the addition and deletion of entire clauses; it may just as well be caused by the deletion of individual words within clauses. For example, the story of B15b is in its revision only 4 clauses but 52 words shorter than the original draft and exhibits a corresponding drop in average clause length from an average of 3.7 words per clause in the draft to 2.5 in the revision. In comparison, the extremely lengthened or shortened texts which are analysed in this section have word-per-clause averages for both draft and revision which are mostly around the common 3.5 mark established in 4.3.

In story P9, narrating the enmity of Lion and Hare after Hare destroyed Lion's and Badger's friendship, the revised version is 33 clauses or 135 words longer than its draft.¹⁰⁶ Table 5.7 shows where the majority of these added

¹⁰⁶ By comparison, the next stories in the list with highest increases exhibit the following statistics: R18 plus 21 clauses and 72 words; K15 plus 20 clauses and 61 words; K14 plus 20 clauses and 55 words.

clauses are inserted into the story. Individual additions, constituting e.g. speech-initiating quotatives, have not been listed.

Table 5.7 Added clauses in P9

ref.	content of added clause(s)
6-8	Lion suggests the exchange of food to Badger
40-41 + 43	Lion's plan to find the perpetrator
48-49 + 51-54	Lion's plan to kill Hare and Hare's realisation of that plan
59-61	Hare's reasoning for being tenderised in the sand
64 + 66	Hare stretches out paws, Lion's eyes fill with sand
69-71	Lion's unsuccessful pursuit of Hare
98-101	Hare's enticement of Hyena with honey
120-126	Lion's musings about eating Hare

As was observed for clause additions in general as summarised in section 5.3.2 above, these additions also consist mainly of reported speech sections, and quite often reported speech where a main participant is thinking for or speaking to himself (additions from clause 40 to 54, and 120-126). Some of these fall into Labov's category of evaluation. Also, the narrative episode with the most additions is Lion's first encounter with Hare (clauses 40-71), narrating the events from Lion's attempt to find out who destroyed his friendship with Badger to Hare's first escape from Lion. This high level of clause additions in this episode may be an indication that this episode is the central one.¹⁰⁷ By contrast, a possible motivation for the added section 120-126 may be to increase the

¹⁰⁷ Of course, if given more time during the workshop, the author may have equally embellished the episode of the second encounter between Lion and Hare.

tension before the climax where Lion discovers Hyena and realises that he has been tricked by Hare again. Cross-checks with other texts having a high number of added clauses in their revision confirm that one potential reason for clause additions is to supply evaluative comments in reported speech (cf. K15.10-12 and R18.9-12). However, they also reveal that some draft sections were exceedingly brief or even left out parts of the story which then had to be inserted in the revision, e.g. the climactic meeting of the demons and the in-laws in K14.71-81. This latter reason for adding clauses may be rather related to the brevity of the workshop than to stylistic preferences.

In story R38, the revision is 37 clauses or 110 words shorter than the draft.¹⁰⁸ Table 5.8 provides an overview of the deleted sections.

Table 5.8 Deleted clauses in R38

ref.	content of deleted clause(s)
6-12	exchange of greetings between Sultan, Hare and Chameleon
13-20	dialogue between Sultan and messenger to set the task
28-34	Hare's and Chameleon's acceptance of the challenge
47-50	Chameleon's announcement of people coming
52-56	Chameleon sees people, and they are coming indeed
66-68	Chameleon's announcement to have fulfilled the challenge
73-77	Sultan asks and Chameleon answers that task is completed
81-83	Chameleon and Hare are invited and congratulated

¹⁰⁸ By comparison, the next stories in the list with largest reductions exhibit the following statistics: K1 minus 20 clauses and 120 words; B8 minus 17 clauses and 30 words.

In contrast to the additions in P9, the deletions in R38 occur throughout the story without any clustering in a certain narrative section. As with the added clauses, the deleted clauses also predominantly contain reported speech. The main motivation for their deletion seems to be the elimination of repetitive dialogue which, admittedly, may have been a particular weakness of the draft of R38. Cross-checks with other significantly reduced stories show, however, that repetitive dialogue is deleted elsewhere too, e.g. B8.25-27.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, the text of K1 does not exhibit any deletion of repetitive dialogue but its shorter revision is due to the fact that of the two episodes in the draft, the entire first episode is deleted in the revision (K1.21-36). Again, the quality of the draft has a direct influence on the nature of changes in the revision. The qualitative difference between B8 and K1 is corroborated by Mr. Michael's and Mr. Vita's evaluation who deemed the former publishable and the latter not (cf. table 4.1).

5.3.4 Replaced clauses

The replacement of a clause in a draft version by a different clause in the corresponding revised version could be described as the deletion of the draft clause plus the addition of the revised clause. Yet, in cases like R1.23 versus 24,

¹⁰⁹ The main reason for a shorter revision in B8, however, is again time pressure during the workshop. The author of B8 did not manage to finish the revision in time resulting in clauses 41-62, that is up to the end of the story, only existing in the draft but not in the revised version. Strictly speaking, these instances are not deletions then.

as presented in (55a-b), where clause 23 only exists in the draft and clause 24 only in the revision, this has not been counted as a replacement as both content and function of the two clauses are considerably different. The preceding clause 22 appears in both draft and revision and relates how the lions were seizing the old man; whereas clause 25 tells in both draft and revision how the woman comes up from the waterhole. In between these two events, draft and revision differ completely with regard to content. Therefore, clause 23 (i.e. 55a) is counted as deleted and clause 24 (i.e. 55b) as added.

55a) *maa ja-kii-said-ir-a ku-mu-rya u-ra mo-osi Keha*
 then 10:PAST-RECIP- 15-1-eat 1-DEM 1-old_man Keha
 help-APPL-FV

‘and they helped each other to eat that old man Keha.’

b) *mu-dala Mbeyu maa a-humw-iire ku-tah-irir-a maa-ji*
 1-woman NAME then 1-finish-ANT 15-fetch- 6-water
 APPL-FV

‘Mother Mbeyu then has finished fetching water.’

In contrast to this non-replacement example, however, there are 59 instances in the database in which a clause in the revised version, although not necessarily containing any identical words, shows sufficient overlap in meaning and/or function with the corresponding clause in the draft version to be counted as replacement. These instances include the replacement of titles (B13b.1; R8.1), of introductory information (B15b.4-5; B30.5; R1.6), of initial complication (B6.10-13), of resolutions (B30.77; K16.91; P1.29) and of coda elements

(R22.77). Sometimes, the predominant change in the clause replacements seems to be one of lexical choice, as in R16.33 with draft and revision presented in (56a-b). The preceding clause tells about Hyena hunting the entire day, and the difference between ‘not receiving anything’ and ‘hunting without success’ appears to be restricted to a selection preference of words rather than a farther-reaching functional variation.

- 56a) *na pata tuku mpaka kw-a kw-iira*
 and get NEG until 15-ASSOC 15-get_dark
 ‘and not catching anything until nightfall.’
- b) *bila y-oo-tur-y-a*
 without 9-PROG-hit-CAUS-FV
 ‘without it succeeding.’

Such examples are comparable in nature to replacement at the word level which will be discussed in detail in 6.1.

Other examples of clause replacement entail larger functional changes, e.g. in B13a, clause 12, see (57) below, is the conclusion of the harvesting episode in the draft, yet the setting of the ensuing complicating action in the revision which adds an entire episode of its own, not present in the draft.

- 57a) *Maa ta-ka-anza ku-ishi vi-booha*
 then 1pl-CONS-begin 15-live 8-be_good
 ‘And we began to live well.’

- b) *Uwo* *mw-aaka* *si* *t-a-pata*
 3:DEM 3-year NEG 1pl-PAST-get
taabu *y-a* *n-jala* *tɪkɪ*
 problem 9-ASSOC 9-hunger NEG
 ‘That year, we did not have any problem of famine.’

A summary of the entire story, as given in table 5.9, shows how the draft did not really contain a problem on which to hinge a complicating action for the narrative. Consequently, the main episode of the draft was shortened in the revision (deletion of clauses 6-10), and the setting of planting and harvesting was reinterpreted in order to create a complicating action (addition of clauses 13-17), to be resolved in an added episode of its own (in clauses 18-20).

Table 5.9 Overview of story B13a

clause #	draft version	revised version
1	generic title	<i>[deleted]</i>
2-5	Intro: father plants and harvests	
6-10	sell harvest and buy things	<i>[deleted]</i>
11		+ father was happy
12	live well / no problem of famine	
13-17		+ next year no harvest
18-19		+ harvest in other place
20		+ doing well again

As such structural reorganisations involve not only clause replacements but also other changes like clause deletions, additions and movements, they will be examined in a couple of more detailed case studies below. Most clause

replacements, however, operate at the lexical level rather than the level of reorganising the narrative structure. Still, other functions of clause replacement have been observed. Among these are the transformation of indirect into direct speech (e.g. in B23 and K7), the expanding of quotatives (R18) and the conversion of general into more specific statements (K8). Example 58a-b shows the story passage B23.9-11 consisting of two events both of which are reported in clauses undergoing replacement: the old man's request for a chicken, and the fact that he is stripping and replastering his house.¹¹⁰

- 58a) *na a-ka-mu-loomba n-kuuku a-tas-ire*
 and 1-CONS-1-ask_for 9-chicken 1-plaster-ANT
 'and he asked her for a chicken (as) he had plastered.'
- b) *Siku i-mwi mo-osi Mpunde a-ka-mu-sea*
 9:day 9-one 1-old_man Mpunde 1-CONS-1-say
mu-dala w-aachwe, "M-peera n-kuuku
 1-woman 1-3sg:POSS 1sg-give 9-chicken
nj-alur-ir-e ny-umba y-aani."
 1sg-strip-APPL-SBJV 9-house 9-1sg:POSS
 'One day, Old Mpunde told his wife, 'Give me a chicken so I should strip my house.'

One of the discourse-pragmatic factors of reported speech in narratives which has been observed in different languages worldwide is the use of indirect speech for background information over against the use of direct speech for

¹¹⁰ The implicit cultural information is that nobody can plaster their house by themselves but will have to invite neighbours and friends to help in the task. In recompense for the requested labour, the host will provide a meal, usually containing chicken or goat meat.

farmer had planned whereas the revision spells out that “Hare was caught here in the groundnuts”. Again, explicit information is added; however, this information is implicitly available to the reader even in the draft version.

- 60a) *Ki-maari* *maa* *i-ka-va* *ji-ra*.
 7-true then 9-CONS-be 10-DEM
 ‘Truly, then it happened like that.’
- b) *Ki-maari* *i-ra* *n-cháinkála* *y-a-kwaat-w-a*
 7-true 9-DEM 9-hare 9-PAST-catch-PASS-FV
aho *n-kalaang-ii*
 16:DEM 9-groundnut-LOC
 ‘Truly, that hare was caught here in the groundnuts.’

Even though clause replacements are the least frequent category of change at the text level, they do comprise a wide scope of purposes ranging from predominantly lexical replacement to changes in the function of the replaced clause within the broader narrative structure.

5.3.5 Changes in the sequence of clauses

Where the order or sequence of clauses has been changed between draft and revised versions, considerable latitude in the degree of change can be observed. Some cases consist only of minimal partial moves¹¹¹ which are connected to the addition of a verb resulting in a separate clause (cf. 6.2.1), as displayed in (61a-

¹¹¹ These are usually not counted in the statistics of moved clauses (tagged as “mvS”, cf. 3.3.2).

b), representing P3.30 in the draft version over against P3.29-30 in the revised version.

61a) *Mu-ki w-aako a-mwaari aha w-eerw-ii.*
 1-female 1-2sg:POSS 1-be_there 16:DEM 14-be_dark-LOC
 ‘Your wife is here outside.’

b) *N-a-ku-reet-ire mu-ki w-aako*
 1-PAST-2sg-bring-APPL:ANT 1-female 1-2sg:POSS
a-mwaari aha w-eerw-ii.
 1-be_there 16:DEM 14-be_dark-LOC
 ‘I have brought you your wife, she is here outside.’

In this case, the NP *mu-ki waako* is moved from its subject position in the draft to the object position of the preceding and newly created clause in the revision.

Other minor moves involve the order of adjacent clauses, e.g. switching proverb and formulaic coda at the end of a story (B11.22-25), or switching the order of two parallel clauses, as shown in (62a-b) from B23.33-35. While the former switch may conform to an ideal order of coda elements (cf. 5.1.6), the latter switch may be arbitrary like switches of nouns in a list (cf. 7.1).

62a) *M-búri ni ji-iswi na n-kúku ni ji-iswi*
 10-goat COP 10-1pl:POSS and 10-chicken COP 10-1pl:POSS

b) *N-kúku ni ji-iswi na m-búri ni ji-iswi*
 10-chicken COP 10-1pl:POSS and 10-goat COP 10-1pl:POSS
 ‘The goats are ours and the chicken are ours → The chicken are ours and the goats are ours.’

In other instances, the order of adjacent clauses may have more far-reaching implications. For example, in B23.36-39, the order is switched of the wife’s

permission for her husband to slaughter one of her chicken and the reason given for that permission, viz. that the goat meat is finished. This may be related to a preference for inductive versus deductive reasoning, a detailed investigation of which is beyond the scope of this study.¹¹²

Long-distance moves of clauses are less frequent than switches of adjacent clauses. In R8, the statement that Kiloongo ate the provisions for the journey alone without sharing with his nephew is moved from clause 30 in the draft to clause 44 in the revision. The intervening stretch (clauses 31-43) gives Kiloongo's lengthy explanation why his nephew should not eat. So, even though the move from clause 30 to clause 44 is long-distance, this example may still constitute an instance of switching adjacent sections caused by a preference for inductive reasoning. By contrast, the long-distance move of the introduction of Nduri from the end of the story (B27.34) all the way to the front (B27.3) is obviously motivated by an appropriately early introduction of this participant (cf. 7.2.1).

An extreme case is the story of P12 where clause relocations are part of a major restructuring of the entire text; fully 17 of its 23 clauses are either

¹¹² For a non-narrative discourse workshop held in Dodoma from September 20 to October 8, 2010, fifteen newly written Rangi texts were compiled and charted, and their analysis included an investigation of inductive versus deductive reasoning.

moved, added, deleted or replaced between draft and revised version. Table 5.10 provides an overview of all the changes.

Table 5.10 Overview of story P12

ref.	draft	revision
2		intro of narrator's grandmother <i>(moved from 11)</i>
3	<u>a story to tell the grandchildren, about Hyena and Hare</u>	
4		Hare used to be Hyena's friend
5	Hyena's search for food	
6	<u>Hare takes away Hyena's food</u>	
7	food is eaten by Hare	food is sweet <i>(replaced clause)</i>
8	coda formula: end of story	
9-10	story to be told to future generations	<i>(moved to 23-24)</i>
11-12	story told by grandmother and retained	<i>(moved to 2)</i>
13	a story to tell the grandchildren, about Hyena and Hare	<i>(deleted as repetition of 3)</i>
14	Hare leaves Hyena hungry	<i>(deleted as repetition of 6)</i>
15-19	Hare takes food and eats it, Hyena looks for food and finds none	
20-22	<u>Hyena worries, Hare leaves and laughs</u>	
23-24		story to be told to future generations <i>(moved from 9-10)</i>

The draft almost looks like a puzzle where all the pieces have been jumbled up: both the beginning (clause 11) and the end (clauses 9-10 and 13) are found in the middle, and there are many repetitions (clauses 7, 13, 14, 15 and 17). Possibly, this has been the strategy of this particular writer, to jot down

unordered anything that came to mind and sort it out later during revision. Still, the result does not seem to be of high quality and, even in its revised form, P12 is one of the few stories from Pahi which Mr. Michael and Mr. Vita deemed unsuitable for publication.

Table 5.11 Overview of story K7

ref.	draft version	revised version	comments
1	Title: Story of David		
2-3	Intro: person called David		
4	before becoming king	<i>[deleted]</i>	but repeated in 29.
5-6	young shepherd		
7-14	bad king removed	<i>[deleted]</i>	
15-16		+ herder of people	
17	David is given kingship		clause replaced
18-28		+ doubts dispelled	cf. 36-46
29	David is chosen by God		clause replaced
30	before enthroning	<i>[deleted]</i>	
31-35	asked about and confirmed ability		#35 replaced
36-46	asked / doubted again	<i>[deleted]</i>	but partly in 18ff
47	David trusts God		clause replaced
48-49		+ as with lion	
50-52	attributes of God	<i>[deleted]</i>	
53-55	David's story of killing a lion		
56-59	lion wanted sheep	<i>[deleted]</i>	but partly in 49.
60-63		+ promise of help	
64-67	prophet's praise	<i>[deleted]</i>	
68-70	anointed, dressed and armed		
71-73		+ encouragement	
74-75	David sees new arms	<i>[deleted]</i>	but partly in 76.

76-83	takes off new arms, uses familiar ones	#78 replaced
84-86		+ wins war
87	Coda: that is the story	

A much more organised and elaborate reworking is found in K7 as presented in table 5.11; the story is a free retelling of the Old Testament account of King David being anointed as king by the prophet Samuel.¹¹³ Although over half of the draft's clauses are deleted, a skeleton of main events remains as marked in the table in bold across both draft and revised columns, even if many of those main event clauses are rephrased or replaced, e.g. David's reply in clause 35 to the question whether he would be able to lead the people is changed from a simple *eeye* 'yes' in the draft to a more explicit *daha ndiri* 'I will be able' in the revision. Also, content from deleted draft sections is often recycled in sections which are added in the revision, thus constituting more instances of moved and replaced clauses. The difference in degree of accomplishment between the revisions of this (K7) and the previous story (P12) is categorical, and K7 is recommended accordingly for publication by the literacy supervisors.¹¹⁴

Other cases of text restructuring (e.g. B23 with its expanded revised introduction and concomitant separation of introduction and complication)

¹¹³ A comparison with the Biblical source text reveals that the wording of clauses 49 and 53-55 may have been influenced by 1 Sam.17:34-35, and of clauses 76-83 by 1 Sam.17:39-40. Otherwise, K7 has a different order and focus of events, e.g. clauses 68-70 combine events from 1 Sam.16:13 and 17:38, and the Biblical character of Goliath has been omitted completely.

¹¹⁴ Upon inquiry about the author of K7, I was told that he was an active lay member of the church in Kondoa with decades of experience in telling Biblical stories.

confirm that a separate session on planning narrative structure may be beneficial in writers workshops. In such a session, participants with experience in that area could assist those for whom writing stories is a new endeavour.

5.4 Summary of text level phenomena

A Rangi narrative can be divided into three components: a) a formulaic introduction, b) the main narrative body consisting of at least complication and resolution (in accordance with Labov & Waletzky 2003), and c) a conclusion for which a larger variety of more or less formulaic elements can be drawn from.

Stylistic changes at the text level show a tendency of convergence towards the formulaic standards at beginning and end of the story, the most frequent addition being morals and proverbs in the coda. In the main section from complication to resolution, however, text level changes are more dependent on individual story lines and the quality of the draft. Reasons range from adding relevant content which had been left out in the draft and increasing the tension right before the climax to deleting redundant material or shortening overly long sections. Often, added content in the form of reported speech is evaluative which confirms Labov & Waletzky's (2003) assertion that evaluation is the hallmark of good narration. In the ultimate analysis, the quality of a text is not primarily the result of the amount of change or restructuring done in its revision but at least equally of its author's experience.

6. RANGI STYLE AT THE WORD LEVEL

Vocabulary is essential for language acquisition and language use. Its extent and quality with regard to variation and the use of content words and form words are part of the linguistic competence, which in different studies has proved to be covariant, for instance, with grammatical competence. (Laurén 2002: 66)

When it comes to examining changes of individual words between draft and revised version, these can be distinguished along several parameters. First, there are the different categories of change following from the methodology: lexical changes (including the replacement of Swahili loanwords), word additions and deletions, and word order changes. A second parameter would, in analogy to the text level, again be the location of the change within the narrative. However, in contrast to stylistic preferences at the text level, it does not seem to be most relevant to sort these lexical changes according to which section in the narrative they occur in. Most differences at the word level are observed in the middle section of a story, i.e. in the main event line stretching from the initial complicating action to the resolution. Consequently, each category of change will be described according to a third parameter, namely part of speech. Such separation by part of speech may be able to reveal whether, for example, nouns and verbs are treated differently by the authors with regard to stylistic changes at the lexical level. Finally, a fourth parameter

which may be relevant for word level changes is the distinction between semantic versus stylistic, or correspondingly denotational versus connotational differences (DiMarco, Hirst & Stede 1993).¹¹⁵ This differentiation monitors whether an author chooses a word for factual accuracy or for contextual effect.

Only two texts in the database do not exhibit any changes at the word level: B9 and B19. Of these, the former only exhibits two changes between the draft and the revised version, namely the addition of a title and of a concluding proverb, and the latter is the shortest text in the database and constitutes the explanation of a proverb, its only changes being the correction of a grammatical error and the substitution of the final sentence. All other texts in the database contain stylistic changes at the word level between their draft and revised version.

6.1 Lexical changes

Lexical choice, that is to find the right word for both the right concept and the right context, is an integral part of text formation (Halliday 2002b: 41f). It has to be borne in mind, however, that, in contrast to writers in well-developed languages, the Rangi authors did not have dictionaries available, let alone a

¹¹⁵ Note that Edmonds & Hirst (2002) subcategorise DiMarco, Hirst & Stede's two discrimination types for synonyms into four dimensions of variation. However, the binary distinction is considered sufficient for the purposes of this investigation.

thesaurus. For languages with a long literary tradition, Purcell-Gates has argued for a vocabulary distinction between spoken and written language:

The vocabulary chosen for written language includes words that most users of the language would agree belong in books or other print contexts rather than in speech. These vocabulary items are identified as lexical choices between words with the same meaning, with the more “common” word (for example, *use, show, pay attention to*) being rejected by the writer in favor of a more “literary” one (for example, *employ, state, heed*).
(Purcell-Gates 2001: 12)

In languages without established written practice(s) like Rangi, such distinctions between “common” and “literary” words may well correlate to conventions in more informal versus more formal oral genres. However, without access to information which Rangi lexemes are perceived as common or informal and which are perceived as literary or formal, it may be impossible to evaluate the underlying reasons for individual lexical choices. Also, it may be equally difficult to judge whether a lexical change was motivated by an author’s desire for factual accuracy or for stylistic variation.

With these caveats in mind, the substitution of lexical items between draft and revised version can now be analysed. Of 275 lexical changes in total, the largest category concerns full verbs, namely 126 instances. The remaining 149 lexical changes can be grouped into two domains: words within nominal phrases (full nouns, adjectives and other noun modifiers), and words with

discourse functions like conjunctions and other members of closed morpheme groups.

6.1.1 Lexical choice in verbs

Looking over the list of lexical changes involving verbs, the largest group in this category are motion verbs, and among motion verbs, the most frequently changed verb is *-doma* ‘go’. However, when listing all instances of lexical changes involving *-doma* (as displayed in table 6.1), no pattern becomes immediately obvious. There are just as many instances of *-doma* which are changed into another verb than instances where another verb is changed into *-doma*, namely seven. What is more, three other verbs are glossed as ‘go’, namely *-yeenda*, *-tamanya* and *-ita*.

Table 6.1 Lexical changes involving the verb *-doma* ‘to go’

<i>-doma</i> changed into other verb		other verb changed into <i>-doma</i>	
<i>-tiijira</i> ‘flee’	R43.21	<i>-inuka</i> ‘get up’	B24.36
<i>-fuma</i> ‘come out’	B30.25	<i>-yeenda</i> ‘go’	B31.19
<i>-uja</i> ‘come’	R1.34	<i>-mwaari</i> ‘be there’	B31.8
<i>-looka</i> ‘pass’	B3.9, B10.45	<i>-ita</i> ‘go’	B26.8
<i>-tamanya</i> ‘go’	P9.13,16	<i>-tuuba</i> ‘follow’	P7.16
<i>-ita</i> ‘go’	P7.48	<i>-looka</i> ‘pass’	P1.13
<i>-fyuka</i> ‘return’	R22.29	<i>-fika</i> ‘arrive’	K15.28, R38.35

In order to understand the semantic and stylistic relationships between these motion verbs, an overview of all motion verbs occurring in a lexical change between draft and revised version is provided in table 6.2. Their glosses are

translated from the Swahili interlinearisation provided by the typists, and their overall frequency in both draft (v1) and revised (v2) version given. Special observations on occurrence are noted in the comments column.

Table 6.2 Meanings and frequencies of motion verbs

verb	gloss	# v1	# v2	comments
<i>-doma</i>	‘go’	89	94	
<i>-yeenda</i>	‘go’	17	18	
<i>-ita</i>	‘go’	3	5	includes some intermediate stages of grammaticalisation (cf. 7.3.7)
<i>-tamanya</i>	‘go’	6	7	only in Bolisa and P9
<i>-tweera</i>	‘go’	3	5	only in Bolisa and R2
<i>-looka</i>	‘pass, leave’	47	43	
<i>-i/inuka</i>	‘get up, leave’	4	4	initial vowel variant is dialectal
<i>-tīj(ir)a</i>	‘flee (to)’	19	26	
<i>-kibirira</i>	‘flee, run to’	1	2	
<i>-fuma</i>	‘come from’	15	20	
<i>-uja</i>	‘come’	41	45	
<i>-fika</i>	‘arrive’	74	73	~20% in anterior aspect form
<i>-seengerera</i>	‘approach’	0	2	
<i>-fyuuka</i>	‘return’	18	19	only in Bolisa and Paranga
<i>-shuuka</i>	‘return’	4	4	dialectal variant of <i>-fyuuka</i> (only in Paranga)
<i>-hīinduka</i>	‘return’	5	7	only in Bolisa and Kondo
<i>-churukuka</i>	‘return’	0	2	both instances in B27
<i>-tuuba</i>	‘follow’	15	16	
<i>-loonda</i>	‘track’	1	3	

The fact that most motion verbs occur more often in the revised version than in the draft version is presumably due to the revised versions being longer on average, thus also exhibiting more verbs. Still, the general motion verb *-looka* is

less frequent in the revised versions. Taking a closer look at the six replacements of *-looka* (B6.14, K14.64, P1.13, P9.68, R2.50 and R22.29), most of these seem to concern the accuracy of the motion described. For example, when Hyena asks where Hare's children are (P1.13), the focus of Hare's answer *valóokire na lujii* 'they have left for the river' (with unspecified implicit action) is changed to *vadómire na lujii* 'they have gone to the river' (implying a task to be done there like fetching water); or when Hare escapes from Lion (P9.68), it does not simply leave (*-looka*) but actually runs (*-tija*). Only in R2.50, as shown in (63), the change apparently was not for reasons of greater factual accuracy but more for stylistic reasons.

63)	<i>n-dook-e</i>	→	<i>kuu</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>yeenda</i>
	1sg-leave-SBJV		FUT	COP:REF	go
	'[that] I may leave'		'to be going'		

While both *ndooke* and *kuu noo yeenda* express a visitor's wish to take leave, the latter is a much more colloquial phrase over against the more formal and almost stilted connotation of the former.

More specific and hence less frequent motion verbs like *-seengerera* or *-loonda* either only occur in the revised versions or have an increased frequency in the revised versions. Such more specific motion verbs usually substitute a motion verb of similar yet more general meaning. Examples of replacement of more general verbs for more specific ones include *-tuuba* 'follow' changed to *-loonda* 'track' (with a specific hunting context) in K14.66; and *-hiinduka* 'return'

to *-churukuka* ‘return’ (in a specific sense, e.g. from the toilet or other similarly private activities) in B27.7. Such greater specificity could be taken as a third motivation for lexical substitution in motion verbs, i.e. in addition to the two above postulated motivations of greater accuracy and of stylistic preference. Alternatively, it could be considered as a subcategory of the search for greater accuracy of the described action.

A second group of verbs with almost as high a frequency of lexical substitution as motion verbs are utterance verbs. These are almost always followed by direct speech, as indirect speech in Rangi narratives seems to be very rare, for example, P13.4ff being the only example in the database with the most frequent utterance verb *-sea* ‘say’. Table 6.3 gives an overview of utterance verbs in both draft and revised versions.

Table 6.3 Meanings and frequencies of utterance verbs

verb	gloss	# v1	# v2	comments
<i>-sea</i>	‘say’	265	261	
<i>-luus(ik)a</i>	‘speak’	21	26	<i>-luusa</i> variant never in Kondo
<i>-würa</i>	‘tell’	22	21	
<i>-sim(ir)a</i>	‘tell, narrate’	28	28	
<i>-kembra</i>	‘call, name’	17	17	
<i>-anir(ir)a</i>	‘call’	4	8	most frequent in Pahi
<i>-ürya</i>	‘ask’	23	23	
<i>-itika</i>	‘reply’	2	2	only in B30
<i>-shuukira</i>	‘reply’	1	0	in R41.35, changed to <i>-luusa</i>

In comparison to the motion verbs, the range of the semantic field of utterance verbs is much smaller in our database. What is more, there are also no instances of new, more specific verbs which were used in the revised but not the draft versions, like *-seengerera* and *-churukuka* among the motion verbs. A potential motivation of greater specification can still be detected in those instances where the general utterance verb *-sea* ‘say’ is changed into *-imba* ‘sing’ (B10.84), *-wiira* ‘tell’ (B8.22; R15.24) or *-kembra* ‘call’ (B24,13; K16.3). However, there are at least as many instances where utterance verbs of greater specificity are changed into *-sea*, e.g. *-urya* ‘ask’ (B8.19), *-wiira* ‘tell’ (B24.28; P3.28, 31; P7.29), *-simira* ‘narrate’ (K14.83) and *-kembra* ‘call’ (P7.22; R41.17), a process which remains unexplained in the absence of writers’ interviews.

For other verbs, i.e. neither motion nor utterance, there are also a number of examples for greater specification, as displayed in table 6.4, which gives frequency counts across the database for both the original verb in the draft version and the substituted verb in the revised version.

Table 6.4 Verb substitutions with greater specification

verb in v1	# v1/2	verb in v2	# v1/2	reference
<i>-wooja</i> ‘wait’	4/ 5	<i>-riindira</i> ‘guard’	5/ 7	B4.3
<i>-ulaa</i> ‘kill’	21/25	<i>-tunga</i> ‘pierce’	9/12	K16.74
<i>-foita</i> ‘throw away’	10/10	<i>-burukya</i> ‘tumble into’	1/ 1	K16.81
<i>-vaa</i> ‘hit’	31/28	<i>-gida</i> ‘strike, attack’	1/ 2	P9.6
<i>-pata</i> ‘get, receive’	22/18	<i>-chwa</i> ‘harvest’	3/ 5	R16.27

Whereas usually the more general verb in the draft version is also the more frequent one, a notable exception is the replacement of *-wooja* by the more specific, yet also more frequent *-riindira* in B4.3. Whereas *-wooja* only occurs in Bolisa and Kondoia (B10.69, 18.31, 18.65; K14.60, 15.49) and is used mainly for the event of waiting for other story participants,¹¹⁶ *-riindira* only occurs in Bolisa and Paranga (B13b.13, 17.7, 18.6; R10.7, 26.10, 26.22) and is used mainly for the event of guarding a field against animals.¹¹⁷ So in B4.3, *-wooja* is used to denote the animals' waiting at the waterhole for Hare, who muddied the water; this is changed into *-riindira* to specify that the animals are not only waiting but actually guarding the waterhole against Hare. The higher frequency of the more specific verb may be due to the activity of guarding a field being a rather common topic in our particular database of Rangi stories.

As with utterance verbs, there are also instances, albeit much less frequently, of verbs of greater specificity being changed into more general verbs, e.g. *-serera* 'bend down' is changed into *-chaala* 'remain' in B27.30, and *-sikikirya* 'make s.o. incline or lean on s.th.' into *-chuunga* 'tie' in P9.109.

¹¹⁶ The only exception is in K14.60 where the man waits for the midday meal; this deviation from waiting for a person is marked on the verb with the applicative, thus yielding *-woojera*.

¹¹⁷ Again, there is one exception, viz. B13b.13 where the action of *-riindira* is geared towards securing a nurse for a patient in hospital, again marked with the applicative *-riindirira*.

An example of substitution being motivated by a search for greater accuracy, as so frequently observed above with motion verbs, is found in R16.39 where Hyena, in search of food, *yakiihaata na irivii* ‘throws itself into the lake’ in the revised version rather than merely the draft version’s *ikaburukira irivii* ‘tumbled into the lake’.

A further category of cause for lexical change in verbs may be the disambiguation of homographs. The verb *-suula* can either mean ‘hate’ or ‘remove’. Instances of the first sense have been replaced in the revised version by *-kalala* ‘get angry’ in B30.7, of the second sense by *-toola* ‘take out’ in R18.24. After revision, only instances of *-suula* in the second sense remain.

Even though the Rangi language lacks a detailed lexical description, a number of motivations for lexical substitution have been identified: a search for greater accuracy or for greater specificity, expressing stylistic preference in a choice of register, and avoiding homographs.

6.1.2 Lexical choice in nouns

As with motion and utterance verbs among verbs, there is also a distinct group of nouns which occurs frequently in lexical substitution, namely nouns denoting generic people. These are displayed in table 6.5, and the columns of draft and revised version respectively give frequency counts for both singular and plural forms of each noun being considered.

Table 6.5 Meanings and frequencies of nouns denoting people

noun	gloss	# v1	# v2	Comments
<i>mũũntũ</i>	‘person’	54/66	60/72	sg instances in v2 reduced in Pahi (from 7 to 2)
<i>mũũntũ mũki</i>	‘female’	6/ 0	8/ 0	
<i>mũũntũ mũlĩme</i>	‘male’	13/ 0	10/ 0	
<i>mũki</i>	‘wife’	19/ 1	20/ 1	
<i>mũlĩme</i>	‘husband’	9/ 7	10/ 6	pl only in R29 (and v1 of K14)
<i>mũdala</i>	‘adult woman’	84/ 5	98/ 5	
<i>moosi</i>	‘old man’	101/ 2	106/ 2	
<i>ĩyo</i>	‘mother’	23/ 0	40/ 2	pl changed from <i>taáta</i> in K14
<i>taáta</i>	‘father’	13/ 2	19/ 0	pl changed to <i>ĩyo</i> in K14
<i>mũhĩnja</i>	‘teenage girl’	12/12	13/13	8 sg instances in B29
<i>mũtavana</i>	‘young man’	27/ 8	31/10	pl only in K14, R7, R43
<i>mwaana</i>	‘child (by descent)’	56/38	71/37	incl. 1-2 instances with <i>-ki</i> and <i>-lĩme</i> in each category
<i>mũsinga</i>	‘child (by age)’	13/15	6/19	only in Bolisa and Paranga
<i>mũjukũũ</i>	‘grandchild’	4/24	0/26	sg in K1, R8 all changed
<i>mũwihwa</i>	‘nephew’	0/ 0	2/ 0	only in R8
<i>mare</i>	‘friend’	8/ 7	9/ 8	pl only in B30, once in R38
<i>kĩjeengi</i>	‘friend, in-law’	15/ 1	19/ 2	only in Paranga and P9

Of these generic people nouns, only *mũũntũ* ‘person’ and *mwaana* ‘child’ are frequent in both singular and plural and in both draft and revised versions throughout the database. For most nouns, either the singular or the plural is prevalent, presumably depending on the distribution of participants and their occurrence in the stories; for example *mũdala* ‘adult woman’ and *moosi* ‘old man’ predominantly occur in the singular. Such phenomena will be taken up again in the discussion of participant reference in 7.2. For other nouns, where

singular and plural seem to occur equally frequently, the frequency count of one or the other is dependent on a single text, e.g. the plural of *mare* ‘friend’ in B30 and the singular of *muhítnja* ‘girl’ in B29.

In investigating motivations for lexical substitutions, the same categories can be observed as for verbs. First, there are instances of greater accuracy; for example, when the daughter in K14.11 has come to reject seven suitors for marriage, it is more appropriate changing the reference to them from the draft *valúme* ‘husbands’ to *vatavana* ‘young men’ in the revised version. The accuracy may not only extend to matters of reference but also to matters of focus in the flow of the story. In B31.47, just before the climax of the story, the reference to the two mothers, who are fighting over whose child the boy in question is, is changed from *ura mudala na ura maama mweyeni* ‘that woman and that mother guest’ to *vara vazáazi vaviri* ‘those two parents’, shifting the focus from the one being a guest at the other’s house to both being competitors for parenthood of the boy. Second, there are also instances of greater specificity, e.g. the general *muuntu* ‘person’ is changed to *íyo* ‘mother’ in P7.28 and to the proper name *Nduri* in B27.32. Third, there are stylistic preferences with regard to register choice. In the draft version of R8, the grandchild who Old Kiloongo does not share his food with is referred to by the neutral term *mujukulu* ‘grandchild’. In the revised version however, the diminutive *kaana ka mwiihwa* ‘nephew’s little son’ is used in R8.15, and *kasinga ka mwiihwa* ‘nephew’s little child’ in R8.45.

Both the mention of the nephew¹¹⁸ and the emphasis on the helplessness of the younger family member by using diminutive noun class 12 *ka-* lay bare the hideousness of Old Kiloongo's action. The final motivation for lexical change, namely disambiguation of homographs, has not been observed for nouns.

Lexical substitution in non-people nouns occurs less frequently and is catalogued alphabetically in table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Lexical substitution in other nouns

v1 noun	gloss	v2 noun	gloss	reference
<i>itúuja</i>	'young rooster'	<i>nkúku</i>	'chicken'	B24.10
<i>kisúju</i>	'calabash'	<i>nyíngú</i>	'pot'	P7.20
<i>maaji</i>	'water'	<i>lúji</i>	'river'	R22.47
<i>mpúlo</i>	'club'	<i>nkome</i>	'stick'	R1.15
<i>njou</i>	'elephant'	<i>maka</i>	'animal'	B10.7, 10
<i>nyama na húki</i>	'meat and honey'	<i>wíngi</i>	'other, more'	P9.115
<i>úchiku</i>	'night'	<i>ílo</i>	'evening'	B10.43

Some of these nouns still refer to story participants, e.g. *itúuja* in B24, the story of Laahi and his chicken which gets killed. This is an instance of standardising the reference as the clause B24.10 is the only one in the draft version which refers to the chicken as *itúuja*, which denotes a young male chicken, whereas elsewhere the generic term *nkúku* is used. In the second example, namely *njou* 'elephant' being changed into the generic term *maka* 'animal', the case is slightly different. As can be seen in table 6.7, the first two references to *njou* in

¹¹⁸ In the traditional matrilinear system of Rangi society, a man is obliged to care for his nephews, ie. his sister's children, more than for his own biological children.

the draft version (clauses 7 and 10) are not to the elephant who is a story participant and actually falls into the pit. Hence, the replacement of *njou* in the revised version is presumably motivated by the disambiguation of the elephant as story participant from the generic reference to animals expected to fall into the pit. This also facilitates a more natural introduction of the elephant as participant in clause 13 (cf. section 7.2.1).

Table 6.7 Draft and revision of clauses B10.6-13

6. <i>Baabwaavo avijáa asiimba l̥hina</i> ‘Their father used to dig a pit’	<i>Taáta</i> <i>waavo avijáa asiimba l̥hina</i> ‘Their father used to dig a pit’
7. <i>sa njou jiwüire.</i> ‘for elephants they should fall.’	<i>sa maka ji isaka jiwüire.</i> ‘for animals of the forest they should fall.’
8. <i>Maa haaha kira k̥ri kweera aandovat̥ma</i> ‘And now each time it dawned he repeatedly sent them’	<i>Maa haaha [] aandovat̥ma vaana vaachwe</i> ‘And now he repeatedly sent his children’
9. <i>vakalaange</i> ‘they should look’	<i>koolaanga</i> ‘to look there’
10. <i>kooni njou iwíriire.</i> ‘if an elephant had fallen in.’	<i>kooni maka jiwíriire.</i> ‘if animals had fallen in.’
11.	<i>Vari koofika</i> ‘As they arrived there’
12. <i>Iyo sik̥ maa vakashaana</i> ‘That day then they encountered’	[] <i>vakashaana</i> ‘they encountered’
13. <i>yawíriire.</i> ‘it has fallen in.’	<i>njou imudu</i> <i>yawíriire.</i> ‘one elephant has fallen in.’

Of the remaining lexical changes in nouns, they either change the factual identity of the referent (B10.43; P7.20; R1.15), or they change the degree of specificity of the referent (P9.115; R22.47). Also, a special case could be made

of changes in noun class membership of individual nouns; with the exception of one case, *luuji* ‘river’ to *maaji* ‘water’ in B3.18, these all involve either diminution (e.g. R1.16, R37.31) or augmentation (e.g. B10.102, P9.94), and do not contribute significantly to lexical choice.

In conclusion, there does not seem to be a categorical difference between nouns and verbs when it comes to lexical substitution. For both parts of speech, there are special subgroups: motion verbs and utterance verbs on the one side, and generic people nouns on the other. And, special individual reasons notwithstanding, the majority of changes are either due to improve factual accuracy or to provide a more appropriate specific term.

6.1.3 Lexical choice in other parts of speech

The remaining parts of speech involved in lexical substitution are conjunctions and similar discourse particles, adverbs (including locative pronouns), and negation particles. The most frequently substituted words occurring in these categories are a chain of interrelated clause-level connectors as listed in table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Lexical replacement of frequent connectors

Rangi word	English gloss	replaced in v2 with			
		<i>maa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>dee</i>
<i>maa</i>	‘and then’		11x (B + R)	6x	1x (B6.33)
<i>na</i>	‘and’	20x		5x	-/-
<i>noo</i>	‘and’	14x	4x		-/-
<i>ni</i>	‘that is’	-/-	4x	2x	-/-
<i>baa(si)</i>	‘even’	2x	-/-	-/-	-/-
<i>dee</i>	‘then’	-/-	1x (P9.23)	-/-	

The change from *na* to *maa* falls into the category of Swahili loan-word replacement, which is dealt with in 6.1.4 below. The unexpected corresponding reverse change from *maa* to *na*, although frequent with 11 instances, only occurs in the locations of Bolisa (3 different stories) and Paranga (6 different stories); it is difficult to distinguish Swahili influence from slips of handwriting. Similar cases may be the change from a Rangi use of *ni* to a Swahili use of *na* where these indicate the agent in a passive sentence as shown in (64) from B14.2, with the arrow indicating the change from draft to revised version. This particular relationship between *na* and *ni* will be discussed in more detail under the topic of Swahili loanword replacement in 6.1.4 below.

- 64) *n-a-sim-ir-w-a* *ni* → *na* *babu*.
 1sg-PAST-tell-APPL-PASS-FV COP → PREP grandfather
 ‘I was told by grandfather.’

Where *maa* is changed into *noo*, this always involves a change from a mere consecutive relationship between the two connected clauses to one of emphasis

or actuality, as exemplified in (65a-b) from R2.51. Changes from *na* to *noo* mirror this change in relationship, whereas changes from *noo* to *maa* or *na* involve the erasure of such emphasis.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------|----------------|
| 65a) | <i>Ɔ-ra</i> | <i>mɛ-maka</i> | <u><i>maa</i></u> | <i>a-ka-doma</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>waam-ii</i> |
| | 1-DEM | 1-guy | then | 1-CONS-go | and | yard-LOC |
| b) | <i>Ɔ-ra</i> | <i>mɛ-maka</i> | <u><i>noo</i></u> | <i>a-ka-doma</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>waam-ii</i> |
| | 1-DEM | 1-guy | COP:REF | 1-CONS-go | and | yard-LOC |
| | ‘That guy then went → actually going to the yard ...’ | | | | | |

Likewise, *dee* indicates the result of a preceding statement; such a resultative relationship is added in B6.33, and removed in P9.23.

Lexical substitution of conjunctions outside of this interrelated chain is confined to two examples: *mpiindi* ‘during’ being changed into *keenda* ‘since’ in P13.8, and *veene* ‘like’ being changed into *wakati*¹¹⁹ ‘while’ in B6.12. Both involve a correction of the temporal or logical relationship between the connected clauses.

Among adverbs, locative pronouns are the most common in lexical substitution. The observed changes are listed in table 6.9, and the frequency counts for each in draft and revised versions noted.

¹¹⁹ This is a loan from Swahili where it is written ‘wakati’, i.e. without the barred *i*.

Table 6.9 Substitutions involving locative pronouns

locative in v1	# v1/2	locative in v2	# v1/2	reference
<i>aha</i> (16 proximate)	21/11	<i>kũũũ</i> ¹²⁰ (17 proximate)	13/ 9	B10.66
		<i>hahara</i> (16 redupl.)	0/ 1	B27.30
		<i>aho</i> (16 referential)	87/84 ¹²¹	R35.26
<i>aho</i> (16 referential)	87/84	<i>hara</i> (16 distant)	29/37 ¹²²	B6.1
<i>hara</i> (16 distant)	29/37	<i>aho</i> (16 referential)	87/84	R38.2, 41.2
<i>haro</i> (16 referential)	13/ 9	<i>hara</i> (16 distant)	29/37	B3.13
<i>kũũũũ</i> (17 relative)	9/ 12	<i>haantũ</i> (16 relative)	17/19	R1.31

Locative pronouns follow the same pattern as demonstratives, with a VCV form for proximate, VCo for referential and CVra for distant. As a detailed description of locative pronouns' functions is not available, it would be mere speculation to discuss the authors' potential motivations for changing one form into another. The only change where an underlying motivation is transparent is the one in B27.30, where the villagers are shown the corpse of the murdered Nduri by a bird as they wonder why that bird is hovering *aha itũũndwii* 'here at the bush' in the draft version but *hahara vii* 'at this very same place' in the revision. Considering that the villagers are all looking at the bush, it sounds more natural for them not to mention it explicitly.

¹²⁰ This is a widespread variant for the proximate pronoun of noun class 17, the canonical form of which is *ũkũ*.

¹²¹ Sixty-two and sixty-one of these instances respectively occur in the phrase *aho kali* at the beginning of a story (cf. 5.1.2).

¹²² Twelve and fourteen of these instances respectively occur in the phrase *hara kali* at the beginning of a story (cf. 5.1.2).

Non-locative adverbs are replaced only in two instances, *kulii* ‘far away’ by *kiduudi* ‘a little’ in R12.27, and *тнпнттнпн* ‘too much’ by *таатткн* ‘very’ in B30.71. In both instances, the modification of the verb has been alleviated, in the former the distance of the safari, in the latter the degree of the grandfather’s anger.

Finally, there are two examples for changes of negation particles, in R15.27 the more emphatic *bweete* being changed into the neutral *tukn*, and in R16.26 *tukn* being changed into the yes-no question marker *wun*. The latter instance is probably the correction of a grammatical error, as Hyena’s question to Hare as displayed in (66) does not make sense with a negative particle in the draft version.

66)	<i>Kooni</i>	<i>n-a-pát-ire</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ni-kn-reet-er-e</i>	<i>tukn</i> → <i>wun</i> ?
	If	1sg-PAST-	and	1sg-2sg-bring-APPL-	NEG → Q
		receive-ANT		SBJV	

‘If I have received then should I bring (something) for you?’

Lexical substitution of these non-verbal and non-nominal parts of speech shows different patterns from lexical change in nouns and verbs. Even though a presumed aspiration towards greater accuracy triggers word-level changes in both categories, the proximity of discourse patterns to Swahili, including overlap of the common conjunction *na*, may colour the stylistic preferences of clause-level connectors and discourse particles more strongly than is the case for nouns and verbs.

6.1.4 Replacement of Swahili loanwords

All 85 instances in the database, where a non-Rangi word was replaced with a proper Rangi one in the revised text, involve Swahili examples; loanwords from other languages have not been observed in the database. Table 6.10 lists all those Swahili loanwords which were replaced more than once.

Table 6.10 Swahili loan replacements and their frequency

Swahili	sub	v2	reference	Rangi	v2
<i>-anza</i> ‘begin’	6	14	K14; R5, 29, 39	<i>-anda</i>	30
<i>-f(ũ)ũnza</i> ‘teach’	2	0	R35	<i>-chuunda</i>	2
<i>ba(a)ba</i> ‘father’	3	4	B10; 18	<i>taáta</i>	18
<i>dada</i> ‘sister’	5	0	B28; R41	<i>irũmbũ</i>	15in3
<i>kazi</i> ‘work’	4	0	K15; R35	<i>mirimo</i>	5in2
<i>ma(a)ma</i> ‘mother’	11	5	B8, 18; R2, 13, 36	<i>íyo</i>	40
<i>mbuzi</i> ‘goat’	2	0	B6	<i>mbúri</i>	24
<i>(n)kw(á)are</i> ‘fowl’	4	1	K15	<i>mbũwe</i>	9in1
<i>mpaka</i> ‘until’	3	20	K14, 15, 16	<i>fũru</i>	6in3
<i>na</i> ‘and’	20	532	B1-18; P 3, 9; R2-38	<i>maa</i>	746
<i>sa(a)na</i> ‘very’	4	7	K1, 15; R8	<i>maatuku</i>	45

In this list of more-than-once replaced Swahili loanwords, there are two verbs, six nouns, three of which are kinship terms, two conjunctions and one adverb. Some of them, like *-funza* or *dada*, are replaced completely, i.e. no instances of them remain in the revised versions (as indicated in the v2 column for the Swahili words). Others, like *-anza*, *mpaka* or *sana*, are still comparatively frequent even in the revised versions; the special case of *na* will be dealt with below. On the other hand, the Rangi words into which the loanwords have been

changed are also distributed unevenly. Some of them, like *-chuunda*, *mirimo* and *mbũũwe*, only occur in the one or two stories in which the lexical substitution occurred. Others, like *-anda*, *mbúri* and *maatũku*, are common also outside of the texts with replaced Swahili loanwords. Finally, the occurrence of these frequently replaced Swahili words has only been observed in Bolisa, Kondoa and Paranga but not in Pahi where the Rangi equivalents are used throughout. This may be due to Pahi's proximity to Haubi where the purest Rangi is perceived to be spoken (Cox & Stegen, to appear).

The two areas of Swahili loanword replacement which seem most relevant to the development of a vernacular writing style are kinship terms and conjunctions. As Kesby (1981: 73ff) has observed even in the 1960s, and as is displayed in table 6.11, Rangi kinship terms have undergone a shift under the influence of Swahili.

Table 6.11 Kinship terms in Rangi and Swahili

Rangi	v1	v2	gloss	Swahili	v1	v2
<i>íyo</i>	22	40	'mother'	<i>mama</i>	16	5
<i>taáta</i>	14	18	'father'	<i>baba</i>	7	4
<i>maama</i>	0	0	'grandmother'	<i>bibi</i>	11	12
<i>baaba</i>	0	0	'grandfather'	<i>babu</i>	5	7
<i>irũmbũ</i>	10	15	'opposite-sex sibling'	<i>dada</i> (female); <i>kaka</i> (male)	5 1	0 0

The focal point is that the terms *ma(a)ma* and *ba(a)ba*¹²³ denote parents in Swahili but traditionally grandparents in Rangi. As Rangi has shifted to *bi(i)bi* and *ba(a)bu* for the grandparents, *maama* and *baaba* has become available as reference for ‘mother’ and ‘father’. While the Swahili terms have come to be commonly used orally as address for one’s parents in Rangi society, there seems to be resistance to mirror that usage in writing. For the Swahili sibling terms *dada* and *kaka*, the rejection in writing seems to be even stronger. For the grandparents’ terms however, the Swahili forms of address have completely supplanted the traditional Rangi terms to the point that *maama* and *baaba* are no longer found in writing with the meaning ‘grandmother’ and ‘grandfather’.

Before turning to the second domain of interest with regard to Swahili loanword replacement, viz. conjunctions, it is necessary to include those Swahili words of which only one instance has been replaced. Table 6.12 lists these once-replaced Swahili loanwords of which there are still unchanged instances in the revised versions; the list also provides frequency counts in the revised versions for both the remaining loanword and the Rangi substitute, and the reference to the clause in which the one-time substitution occurred. Where the gloss of the Rangi word deviates from the gloss of the Swahili loanword, this has been noted in the Rangi word column. In the table, there are five verbs,

¹²³ Although pronounced the same, Rangi writes long vowels due to phonemic vowel length while Swahili does not.

three nouns, and five other parts of speech, mainly conjunctions and similar discourse particles.

Table 6.12 Once-replacements of recurring Swahili loans

Swahili	# v2	Rangi	# v2	reference
- <i>endelea</i> ‘continue’	4	- <i>kũũka</i> ‘begin’	1	P15.16
- <i>kata</i> ‘cut’	1	- <i>kerá</i>	6	P5.35
- <i>la(a)la</i> ‘sleep’	5	- <i>nyeyya</i>	2	R16.14
- <i>safiri</i> ‘travel’	1	- <i>kerá njira</i>	1	R18.15
- <i>shangaa</i> ‘be surprised’	2	- <i>hwaalala</i>	1	P9.28
<i>hadithi</i> ‘story’	8	<i>lũsĩmo</i>	94	B1.1
<i>maisha</i> ‘life’	2	<i>mirimo</i> ‘works’	5	R35.4
<i>mwa(a)nzo</i> ‘beginning’	1	<i>ncholo</i>	1	P13.5
(<i>h</i>) <i>apana</i> ¹²⁴ ‘no, not’	1	<i>tũkũ</i>	69	P7.15
<i>au</i> ‘or’	3	<i>baa</i>	25	P7.16
<i>halafu</i> ‘and then’	1	<i>maa</i>	746	P9.109
<i>kwa(a)nza</i> ‘first’	4	- <i>mũũnchi</i>	2	R31.13
<i>wakati</i> ‘while, during’	9	<i>mpĩndi</i>	3	R16.12

In this list, a distinction can be observed between those Swahili words like *-kata*, *hadithi*, *hapana* and *au*, where a commonly used Rangi equivalent exists and probably should be used in the remaining instances of the Swahili word, and those like *-endelea*, *-lala*, *kwanza* and *wakati*, which seem to have gained a strong enough hold in the Rangi language to replace their Rangi equivalents. In

¹²⁴ Whereas the other orthographic differences between Swahili words and their representation in Rangi reflect the issue of vowel length, the Swahili *hapana*, consisting of the negative verbal prefix *ha-* and the existential verb *pana* ‘there is’, is written as *apana* in both instances in the database.

the case of *-endelea*, this is particularly remarkable given the fact that Rangi has a verb *-domerera* meaning ‘continue’, which is found in two texts (B26; P7), whereas the verb *-kuuka* replacing *-endelea* in P15.16 not only has a different meaning but only occurs this once in the entire database. Another unexpected observation is that *kwanza* is used for the first ordinal number more often than *-muunchi*, although this may be under the influence of the Swahili verb *-anza* which occurs frequently in Rangi texts and from which *kwanza* is derived. As Rangi speakers and writers continue to deal with the influences of Swahili on their mother tongue, it can be expected that varying consensuses will develop over time which would make for a fascinating topic of further research. Monitoring this process of loanword negotiation would also benefit from a detailed lexical description of the Rangi language.

Finally, there are also those Swahili words that only occur once in the draft version and that have been replaced out of the revised version. Table 6.13 gives a list of these.

Table 6.13 Once-occurrences of Swahili words

Swahili	Rangi	# v2	reference
- <i>geuka</i> ‘turn’	- <i>valanduka</i>	1	R43.36
- <i>jalia</i> ‘care for’	- <i>heera</i> ‘give’	21	R13.24
- <i>p(i)isha</i> ‘go away’	- <i>tiija</i>	29	B3.18
- <i>uza</i> ‘sell’	- <i>taaha</i>	1	B12.8
-(<i>wo</i>) <i>onja</i> ‘taste’	- <i>saira</i>	2	P9.102 (100)
<i>kaka</i> ‘brother’	<i>mwaaniitu</i>	2	B18.50 (R36.23)
<i>m(ũ)z(i)igo</i> ‘load’	<i>mũrua</i>	3	R38.24 (57, 71)
<i>kuni</i> ‘firewood’	<i>kwĩini</i> ¹²⁵ (= <i>inkwi</i>)	24	R31.22
<i>nchani</i> ‘at the top’	<i>nchólwii</i>	2	R38.51 (24)
<i>m(ũ)z(i)ima</i> ‘whole, all’	<i>woosi</i>	38	R16.32
<i>tangu</i> ‘since’	<i>keenda</i>	2	B29.23 (P13.8)

In this list too, a distinction can be made between those Swahili terms which have a common Rangi equivalent like *-tiija* or *-oosi*, and those where the Rangi replacement is equally rare, occurring only in a particular event of one story. The pervasiveness of Swahili in Rangi society may contribute to an author coming up with the Swahili term more easily than the Rangi word for less frequent lexical items like *-valanduka* ‘turn’, *-hwaalala* ‘be surprised’ or *-saira* ‘taste’. A Rangi dictionary, or at least a list of such less frequent Rangi words, would be useful for aspiring Rangi authors.

¹²⁵ As written, *kwĩini* ‘firewood’ constitutes something of a hybrid between Swahili *kuni* and Rangi *inkwi*. Correspondingly, the frequency count in the revised versions refers to *inkwi* rather than *kwĩini*.

Turning now to the second area of interest, viz. conjunctions and similar discourse particles, some obvious replacements can be observed,¹²⁶ like *maa* for *halafu* ‘and then’ or *keenda* for *tangu* ‘since’, where the Rangi word is such a firm part of the language that the Swahili word is perceived as a foreign object. Then there are cases like *mpaka* versus *furu* ‘until’ and *wakati* versus *mpiindi* ‘during, while’ where the Rangi word does not seem to be widely enough known to prevent a widespread use of the Swahili term. For example, *furu* only occurs in three texts in Kondo; and even for *mpiindi*, although its three occurrences in the database cover three different locations, the Swahili equivalent *wakati* is used three times as often and found in all four locations. Finally, there is the relationship between *na* and *maa*, the former occurring in both Swahili and Rangi with different functions while the latter is a pure Rangi conjunction. Table 6.14 presents an overview of the similarities and differences between Swahili and Rangi with regard to different functions of *na*.

¹²⁶ Older levels of loans which have their origin in Burunge, a neighbouring Cushitic language (Kießling 1994), I still count as Rangi words as they have long been established in Rangi, even if *maa* can be derived from a Burunge consecutive conjunction, *sa* ‘for’ from a benefactive preposition, and many more such examples.

Table 6.14 Swahili and Rangi functions of *na*

function / gloss	Swahili	Rangi
‘and’ as inter-clausal conjunction	<i>na</i>	<i>maa ~ na</i>
‘and’ as inter-phrasal conjunction	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
‘with’ as comitative preposition	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
‘to’ as directional preposition	<i>(na)</i> ¹²⁷	<i>na</i>
‘at’ as temporal preposition	<i>wakati wa</i>	<i>na</i>
‘by’ as agentive preposition	<i>na</i>	<i>ni (~ na)</i>

Of the 532 occurrences of *na* in the database, most instances are covering those four functions where *na* is the only option in Rangi (i.e. the second to fifth example rows in the table). In (67-70), examples are given from the database for *na* as inter-phrasal conjunction (from B6.8), as comitative preposition (from B8.34), as directional preposition (from R8.16), and as temporal preposition (from R16.15). For each example, the Swahili equivalent is given below the interlinearisation.

67)	<i>a-ka-reka</i>	<i>ng’oombe</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>m-buri</i>
	1-CONS-leave	10:cow	and	10-goat
	<i>akaacha</i>	<i>ng’ombe</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>mbuzi</i>
	‘he left the cows and the goats’			

¹²⁷ In proper Swahili, *na* is hardly ever used as directional preposition. It is more natural to say *Nilikwenda sokoni* (‘I went to the market’) than *Nilikwenda na sokoni*. Still, L2 speakers of Swahili with Bantu mother tongues, depending on the usage of *na* in their own language, as well as those influenced by English can often be heard to insert *na* before a locative noun.

- 68) *mw-aana* *y-oo-fy~~u~~ka* *na* *nyama*
 1-child 1-PROG-return with 9:meat
mwana *anarudi* *na* *nyama*
 ‘[her] son is returning with meat’
- 69) *Ku-fuma* *Ula* *v-a-dom-áa* *na* *Haubi*
 15-go_out Kondoá 2-PAST-go-HAB to Haubi
Kutoka *Kondoá* *walikwenda* (*na*) *Haubi*
 ‘From Kondoá they went to Haubi’
- 70) *Na* *m~~u~~-toondo* *na* *i-ka-sea*
 at 3-morning and 9-CONS-say
Wakati wa *asubuhi* *na* *akasema*
 ‘In the morning then it said [...]’

Evidently, it is in the two functions of *na* in Swahili where Rangi uses different forms, viz. *maa* and *ni*, that this Swahili usage of *na* is encroaching upon the Rangi expressions. This is less prominent with the agentive preposition in passive clauses as these occur rather infrequently in Rangi narratives. Eighteen instances of passive plus *ni* have been counted, distributed across all four workshop locations, over against only seven instances of passive plus *na* (B4.2, 14.2, 17.24, 28.41; P3.5; R24.20, 35.27). The case is much more noticeable with the consecutive conjunction *maa* which is one of the main cohesive devices in Rangi narratives, occurring 746 times in the database. Still, in 164 instances of *na*'s 532 occurrences in the database, *na* functions as consecutive conjunction, thus constituting an obvious rival for *maa*. The *na* variant (and therewith Swahili influence) seems to be stronger in Bolisa and Paranga where

almost every text has instances of *na* in place of *maa*, and five texts have *na* as the only consecutive conjunction without any occurrence of *maa* (B12, 20, 23; R16, 24). Still, even in Bolisa and Paranga, *maa* is used more often than *na*, and in twenty instances, a *na* in the draft version has been changed into *maa* in the revised version. A much stronger preference for *maa* can be observed in Kondoa (only two instances of consecutive *na* each in K7 and K17) and in Pahi (one instance of *na* each in P3 and P14, yet P10 exclusively uses *na* instead of *maa*). To what extent it may be achievable (or even desirable) to change all instances of *na* as consecutive conjunction into *maa* will have to be a point of discussion among Rangi writers in future workshops and conferences.

6.2 Additions and deletions

With the investigation where words have been added or deleted between the draft and the revised version, a first step is being taken in the direction of the clause level. Changes of addition and deletion are not predominantly about lexical choice but influence the clausal focus through explicitly mentioning a particular constituent versus leaving it implicit (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 113). Word additions and deletions are the second most frequent change; only clause additions and deletions are more numerous. The absolute numbers are given in table 6.15, also listing those stories not exhibiting any changes in these two categories.

Table 6.15 Absolute numbers of word additions and deletions

	# words	in # clauses	stories without change
additions	463	387	9: B4, 9, 19, 28, 29; P13, 15; R31, 36
deletions	376	300	14: B2, 9, 11, 12, 13a, 19, 20, 29; P11, 13, 14, 15; R7, 43

As with clause additions and deletions, more words are added than deleted, thus being another contribution to the fact that revised versions on average are longer than the respective draft versions. The number of stories which do not exhibit word additions or deletions is proportionally high in Bolisa and Pahi, whereas all Kondoa stories have both kinds of changes and so do all Paranga stories except four which, however, have at least one or the other.

The additions and deletions of words are categorised according to part of speech again, as was done with the lexical changes above. However, it will not be possible to deal with the topic here in its entirety, as the addition and deletion of verbs and nouns crosses the threshold into clause-level types of changes. For nouns, these changes will be taken up again under participant reference in 7.2; and for verbs, the corresponding changes, especially involving auxiliaries, will come up again with tense-aspect changes in 7.3.

6.2.1 Verbal additions

Examples of verb additions at the word level are not very numerous as they either constitute the addition of an entire clause in its own right or, especially where auxiliary verbs are added, they involve a change in tense-aspect form.

The remaining verb additions, which fall into neither of the two categories just mentioned, all provide additional information in one of three closely related ways: a) completing an elliptic clause; b) adding greater specificity to a clause's verb; c) expanding one clause into two (without this constituting the addition of an entire clause).

There are only three instances in the database where the addition of a verb completes an ellipsis: in the draft versions of both B11.24 and R12.51, only the initial subject noun of the concluding proverb is mentioned, and the revision then adds the missing verb phrase. In the third case from B13a.2, as shown in (71) with the added verb in bold underline, the clause in the draft version does not contain a finite verb but only the referential copula *noo* in its prepositional function meaning 'in order to', an ellipsis which the insertion of the full verb *adomáa* 'he used to go' resolves.

- 71) *Ha-ra* *kali* *taáta* **a-dom-áa** *noo* *koo-cheta*
 16-DEM old_times father 1-go-PAST COP:REF 17:REF-clear
 'In times of old, father **used to go** to clear (impl.: the bush) there.'

Where a verb is added to another verb already present in the draft, such an addition often provides greater specificity to the action described by the first verb, not unlike some lexical substitutions described in 6.1.4 above. This increased specificity can occur with utterance verbs as in (72) taken from P9.55, with perception verbs (73 from K16.58), or with verbs of completion or

refusal (74-75 from R22.25 and P1.23 respectively). Again, the components added in the revision have been marked in bold underline.

- 72) *N-tuuju* *maa* *i-ka-anza* *ku-loongoha*
 9-hare and_then 9-CONS-begin 15-lie
kw-a *siimba* *noo* *sea,*
 17-ASSOC 9:lion COP:REF say
 ‘The Hare then said / [began to lie to the lion by] saying’
- 73) *baa* *mo-ona* *Mwiiru* *y-oo-kuuja* *tuku*
 yet 3sg-see Mwiiru 1-PROG-come NEG
 ‘yet not seeing Mwiiru [come] (lit.: he is coming).’
- 74) *maa* *va-ka-humula* *ku-tema* *in-kwi*
 and_then 2-CONS-finish 15-cut 9-firewood
 ‘And then they finished [cutting firewood].’
- 75) *N-chunkula* *a-ka-siita* *ku-toola* *mw-aana*
 9-hare 1-CONS-refuse 15-offer 1-child
 ‘Hare refused [to offer a child].’

In other cases, the added verb is part of a noun phrase, specifying the function of the main noun as in (76) taken from B17.30, or specifying a temporal noun phrase (77 from B27.39).

- 76) *n-ka-tem-e* *in-kwi* *ja / joo* *korerya* *mooto*
 1sg-CONS-cut- 10-firewood 10:ASSOC / kindle 3:fire
 SBJV 10:REF
 ‘(that) I may cut firewood for [kindling] a fire.’
- 77) *maa* *fika* *siku* *ya* *i-nywa*
 and_then arrive 9:day 9:ASSOC 5-drink
 ‘And on [arriving] the day of drinking,’

As shown in (78a-b), taken from B26.8's draft and revision respectively, the addition of a verb can also be used to modify, in this case mitigate, a request.

- 78a) *Íyo, naani ni-it-e luuji-ii*
 mother and:1sg 1sg-go-SBJV 11:river-LOC
- b) *Íyo, n-oo-saaka n-dom-e na luuji-ii*
 mother 1sg-PROG-want 1sg-go-SBJV to 11:river-LOC
 'Mother, I should go / [would like to go to] the river.'

In some cases, the addition of a verb results in the expansion of the original clause into two clauses – even the example given in (78) could be argued to be such a case. Two possible purposes have been observed for such a split of one clause into two: the provision of a verb of entrance for the introduction of a new participant to the story as shown in (79) (taken from R18.15-16), and making a previously implicit step in a logical sequence explicit (80 from R29.60-61).

- 79) *maa a-kuu-ja mui-ntu u-mwi*
 and_then 1-CONS-come 1-person 1-one
a-ka-i-shaana i-ra m-búri
 1-CONS-9-encounter 9-DEM 9-goat
 'Then [came] a man (and) encountered that goat.'
- 80) *Rya / n-a-térek-ire nyama ka-ry-e*
 eat / 1sg-PAST-cook-ANT 9:meat CONS-eat-SBJV
 'Eat meat!' / 'I have cooked meat, then eat (it).'

A subcategory of this second function of verb addition, i.e. of explication, may be instances where the added verb provides a reason or cause for a verbal

event, which had been left implicit in the draft. An example is displayed in (81), taken from R35.24-25, where the draft only reports that the young man ran home while the revision also provides the reason for it, namely that he could not find enough food.

81)	<i>Maa</i>	<i>u-ra</i>	<i>m̄-tavana</i>	<i>a-ka-siind-w-a</i>	<i><u>ku-riish-a</u></i>
	and_then	1-DEM	1-young_man	1-CONS-win- PASS-FV	15-eat:CAUS- FV
	<i><u>noo</u></i>	<i>tija</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>kaáy-ii</i>	<i>kw-aavo</i>
	COP:REF	run	to	home-LOC	17-3sg:POSS
	‘Then that young man [<u>failed to feed and</u>] ran home.’				

All of these verbal additions can be analysed as having the function of providing more specific information, on a continuum from resolving ellipsis through supplementing verbal arguments to certain verbs, e.g. verbs of completion or verbs of perception, to providing additional verb phrases denoting introductory or causal information.

6.2.2 Nominal additions

Examples of nominal additions are even more related to changes in participant reference than verb additions are to tense-aspect changes. Still, there are several categories of nominal additions which are relevant to stylistic preferences outside of participant reference. In the area of full nouns or NPs, additions include explicit objects, prepositional phrases, temporal and locative NPs. For explicit nominal objects, table 6.16 provides information on those six examples which do not involve story participants. In each of these clauses, the

draft version uses the verb without an explicit direct object which, while grammatically permissible in Rangi in all cases but one (R22.27), often creates potential uncertainty or even ambiguity on the part of the reader.

Table 6.16 List of added explicit nominal objects and their contexts

reference	verb	added object	comment
B8.30	<i>-lasa</i> 'shoot'	<i>maka ji isaka</i> 'wild animals'	The draft of the hero's hunt is very brief: 'he went, he shot, he returned'.
B27.41	<i>-nywa</i> 'drink'	<i>irusu</i> 'beer'	<i>wiiswa</i> 'bran' for beer-brewing is mentioned in the draft but not the beer itself.
P14.21	<i>-vaa</i> 'hit'	<i>rira imuti</i> 'that tree trunk'	This is 9 clauses after the last mention of the tree trunk.
R1.26	<i>-shaana</i> 'meet'	<i>ingo</i> 'clothes'	The wife finds the clothes of her husband who has been eaten by a lion.
R22.27	<i>-imyā</i> 'stand up'	<i>inkwi jaavo</i> 'their firewood'	The causative <i>-imyā</i> requires an object.
R43.15	<i>-hokera</i> 'carry'	<i>isiri raachwe</i> 'his hoe'	This is 8 clauses after the last mention of the hoe.

Approximately of equal frequency are added prepositional phrases with *na*, as displayed in table 6.17.

Table 6.17 List of added prepositional *na* phrases

reference	verb	added phrase
K6.74	- <i>ɥlaw</i> a ‘be killed’	<i>na lɥfy</i> o ‘with a knife’
K8.5	- <i>tea</i> ‘set a trap’	<i>na fimiti</i> ‘with twigs’
P7.10	- <i>kunikirira</i> ‘cover’	<i>na nyiingu</i> ‘with a pot’
R16.14	- <i>laala</i> / - <i>nyeyya</i> ‘sleep’	<i>na njaa</i> ‘hungry (lit.: with hunger)’
R41.12	- <i>fyɥika</i> ‘return’	<i>na nyama</i> ‘with meat’

The first three examples are instrumental, the fourth circumstantial and the fifth comitative. While less mandatory than direct objects, all of these added prepositional phrases provide additional information which is contributing to an enhanced understanding of the respective context.

Additions of temporal NPs have been observed four times, three instances involving *iy*o *siku* ‘that day’ (B1.12, 26.11; P9.24) and once *isiku* ‘today’ (R29.58). Presumably, temporal NPs are not added more often as they are such a prominent feature of starting a narrative episode (cf. 5.1.4) that they are hardly ever forgotten in the draft version. By contrast, locative NPs provide more opportunities for addition, and with 14 instances, as listed in table 6.18, they are the most frequent nominal addition in revised versions.

Table 6.18 List of added locatives

reference	verb phrase	added locative
B10.19	<i>-ruta</i> ‘draw’	<i>mpaka taano</i> ‘up to the edge’
B10.60	<i>-looka</i> ‘leave’	<i>na kaáyii</i> ‘for home’
B10.109	<i>-va musungaati</i> ‘be rich’	<i>kũiko isekii</i> ‘there in the forest’
B20.13	<i>-twaalwa</i> ‘be taken’	<i>kaáyii kwaavo</i> ‘(to) their home’
B30.45	<i>-ũndũriwa iduundwii</i> ‘be thrown into a hole’	<i>kũra lũlũwii</i> ‘there at the mountain’
K7.68	<i>-haka makúta</i> ‘smear oil’	<i>mũtwii</i> ‘on the head’
K14.53	<i>-tũija</i> ‘run’	<i>na meevo</i> ‘to their (home)’
P9.127	<i>-fika</i> ‘arrive’	<i>hara mũtii</i> ‘there at the tree’
P14.26	<i>-namata</i> ‘get stuck’	<i>imũtii</i> ‘at the tree trunk’
R2.6	<i>-shaana ibaánde</i> ‘find a grasshopper’	<i>lwaanjwii</i> ‘in the beans’
R9.2	<i>-vijáa kwatũite</i> ‘used to be’	<i>kũra Ausia Marabau</i> ‘at Ausia Marabau’
R17.22	<i>-doma</i> ‘go’	<i>na kaáyii</i> ‘home’
R18.13	<i>-ifoita</i> ‘throw it’	<i>ibootii</i> ‘into a gully’
R29.54	<i>-fika</i> ‘arrive’	<i>ĩũndii</i> ‘at the field’

In most cases, the added locative serves as a telic point for either an intransitive or a transitive movement verb. In other instances like K7.68, P14.26 or R2.6, the locative provides information on the specific place of the described event. And in two cases, the added locative information is more existential, occurring either in the introductory opening (R9.2) or in the summarising conclusion (B10.109). In all cases, the added locative information would have been retrievable from the context or background, yet the authors seem to have a preference for making such information explicit.

Other additions in the nominal domain concern pronouns, especially demonstratives and possessives. In table 6.19, pronominal additions have been listed by type; the list includes only those pronouns which have been added in the revised version by themselves, i.e. the corresponding noun was already present in the draft.

Table 6.19 List of added pronouns by type

Type	form(s)	occurrences
Personal	<i>weewe</i> (2sg)	P9.47
Emphatic	<i>naye</i> (3sg)	R9.33
	<i>nayo</i> (cl.9)	P10.40
Relative	<i>-ene</i>	P7.39, 9.19, 9.45; R13.31
demonstrative	<i>-ra</i> (remote)	B24.45; R2.28, 8.11, 29.62
	<i>ulu</i> (cl.11)	K8.20
possessive	<i>-ani</i> (1sg)	P9.50, 12.3; R12.50
	<i>-achwe</i> (3sg)	5x B; 1x K; 3x R
	<i>-iswi</i> (1pl)	K14.40
	<i>-avo</i> (3pl)	K14.67; R10.23

Still, the addition of demonstrative or possessive pronouns is closely linked to the disambiguation of referents and cannot be separated from issues of participant reference. Personal and emphatic pronouns, on the other hand, seem to have been added for emphasis, although the data is too sparse to make definite statements. Lastly, the addition of relative pronouns is often to specify the manner of the corresponding main clause's action, as exemplified in (82) by

the change in P9.18-19 from the draft version's perception of the friends' relationship to the revised version's perception of the manner of their love.

82) *maa* *i-ka-teera* *ja* *vy-eene* *vii-eenda*
and_then 9-CONS-hear like 8-REL 2:PROG:RECIP-love
'and it heard the way in which they loved each other.'

On the whole, it has been observed that the primary motivation for nominal additions lies in the realm of participant reference to be dealt with in 7.2. Only with prepositional and locative phrases is there a higher opportunity for adding content rather than structure.

6.2.3 Other additions

All additions which are neither verbs nor nouns can be grouped into one of three categories: terms of address, discourse particles including conjunctions, and adverbial constituents. All six instances of an added term of address occur within direct speech and add an oral dimension and hence a more authentic feel to the text; this includes the colloquial *aai* 'mate' (P9.80; R38.40), the more formal *ee kijeengi* 'oh friend' (P9.32)¹²⁸ as well as interjections of disgust like *aka* (R17.38) and *oko* (R22.76) and of dread like *uwii* (B24.29).

Table 6.20 lists all discourse markers and conjunctions which have been added in the revised versions more than once. In addition to showing how often

¹²⁸ Note that both *aai* and *ee kijeengi* are added within the same text, viz. P9.

each item has been added, the list also gives each item’s frequency count across all revised versions.

Table 6.20 Multiply added discourse markers including conjunctions

item	gloss	# add	# v2	comments
<i>maa</i>	‘and then’	51	745	
<i>na</i>	‘and’	23	164	only uses as consecutive conjunction were counted
<i>kei</i>	‘again’	9	24	used as conjunction of repetition
<i>baa</i>	‘even’	5	25	mostly emphatic usage
<i>haaha</i>	‘now’	5	39	used as marker of new section
<i>ja</i>	‘like’	4	24	only uses as comparative conjunction were counted ¹²⁹
<i>kũmba(ri)</i>	‘surprise’	4	21	used as counterexpectation
<i>noo</i>	‘that is’	4	183	
<i>ni</i>	‘it is’	4	118	conjunctions and prepositions were both counted
<i>kaa(ni)</i>	‘if, when’	2	16	dialectal forms of <i>kooni</i> ¹³⁰

On the whole, the number of additions corresponds to the total of occurrences; between a fifth and an eighth of all occurrences of a particular conjunction in the revised versions constitutes an addition over against the draft version. The exceptions are, on the one hand, *maa*, *noo* and *ni* which are among the most frequent conjunctions to start with and may therefore have been felt by the authors to occur in the texts often enough not to warrant too many further

¹²⁹ The associative nominal connector of noun class 10 also has the form *ja*.

¹³⁰ The standard form *kooni* occurs fourteen times across all four locations whereas both instances of the added variants *kaa* and *kaani* were observed in Pahi, specifically in P5 and P15 respectively, whereas P7, 9 and 14 have instances of *kooni*.

additions. Especially of *maa*, a complaint has been reiterated in the interviews (e.g. Vita and Michael as well as Lujuo) that it is used excessively so its use should be reduced. The additions of *maa* will be compared to its deletions in 6.2.6 and discussed accordingly. On the other hand, *kei* has been added proportionally about twice as often as the average conjunction. All nine instances of added *kei*, of which (83) provides an example from P9.91, are distributed evenly across the four locations and concern an action which has occurred in a similar fashion earlier in the story.

83) *Siimba* *kei* *maa* *i-ka-ruma*
 9:lion again and_then 9-CONS-agree
 ‘Lion again then agreed.’

Obviously, marking a repeated action with *kei* is something which authors tend to notice rather in revision than in drafting.

Conjunctions which were only added once include *baasi* ‘in conclusion’, *bila* ‘without’, *daa* ‘even’, *dee* ‘that is when’, *halafu* ‘and then’, *ree*¹³¹ ‘indeed’ and *sa che* ‘why’. This is a mixed bag insofar as *bila* and *halafu* are Swahili loans which Rangi writers otherwise would replace with a negative *si* phrase and *maa* respectively; *baasi* also is a Swahili loan (from *basi* ‘enough’), although widely accepted in Rangi as a discourse marker starting a concluding section; *dee* and

¹³¹ This is shortened from *reeru* being the noun class 5 form of the adjective *-eru* ‘white’. In the interlinearisation, it has been glossed by the Rangi typist with Swahili *ndio* ‘yes’. It occurs often together with *maa*, and this combined *maa ree(ru)* is used as an affirmative consecutive conjunction which can be translated as ‘and indeed ...’.

sa che are common conjunctions, occurring 15 and 10 times respectively in the database; and *ree* is a rare conjunction only appearing in B27 and K16, even though it is given by Kijuu in his interview as an example of a good connector to be used more often in Rangi writing.

The last group in this section are adverbial constituents. In this, locatives have been included even though, strictly speaking, they are demonstrative pronouns of the noun classes 16 and 17. Still, they are never used as participant reference and hence fit into this category here more appropriately. Table 6.21 gives an overview of additions of these locatives into the revised stories.

Table 6.21 Locative additions

item	# add	# v2	comments
<i>aha</i> (16 proximate)	1	11	
<i>aho</i> (16 referential)	2	84	often at story start: <i>aho kali</i>
<i>haant̩</i> (16 relative)	1	19	13 in Paranga
<i>hara</i> (16 distant)	3	37	
<i>hooha</i> (16 emphatic)	1	3	all in R1 (incl. variant <i>hoohara</i>)
<i>k̩ra</i> (17 distant)	6	32	17 in Bolisa
<i>s̩i</i> 'down'	2	8	excluding <i>s̩i</i> 'country'

On the whole, additions of locative adverbials are almost as infrequent as locative substitutions (cf. table 6.9). Even for the two common locatives *hara* and *k̩ra*, there are only a couple of additions, being confined for *hara* to two specific references to previously mentioned locations (B27.33; P9.127) and one formulaic reference to 'times of old' (B13b.2), and for *k̩ra* to three specific

references to previously mentioned locations (B10.61, 30.45; R38.35), two references to a participant’s location (B10.36, 30.43) and one introduction of the local setting (R9.2).

Of the remaining adverbs, one is an adverb of manner, *jei* ‘like this’ (2 additions in a total occurrence of 12), whereas the other five are adverbs of degree: *kamwi* ‘always’, *kiduudi* ‘a little’, *maatuku* ‘very’, *vii* ‘only’, *vuu* ‘completely’. With four additions each, *maatuku* and *vii* are most frequent, and they are used in emotive contexts for which (84-85) are representative examples from R37.8 and B11.9 respectively, as usual with the added adverb in bold underline.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 84) | <i>Ku-ulu</i> | <i>kw-aani</i> | <i>kw-iyeluma</i> | <u>maatuku</u> |
| | 15-foot | 15-1sg:POSS | 15-PROG-hurt | very |
| | ‘My foot is hurting [<u>very much</u>].’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| 85) | <i>na</i> | <i>a-ka-cheer-y-a</i> | <i>mu-kira</i> | <u>vii</u> |
| | and | 1-CONS-remain-CAUS-FV | 3-tail | only |
| | and he was left with [<u>only</u>] the tail. | | | |

By way of summary, it can be said that the stylistic preferences for this category of parts of speech are focusing on bringing colloquial and emotive dynamics into the texts (especially through terms of address and adverbs of degree) and on increasing text connectivity (through conjunctions between clauses and through locatives for phrasal reference).

6.2.4 Verbal deletions

The deletion of a verb is not simply the opposite of its addition. Of course, some verb deletions have a reversal character, i.e. they can be described as the opposite of the corresponding verb addition. For example, the removal of modifying verbs like *-anza* ‘begin’ (R31.13), *-daha* ‘be able’ (R38.22) or *-yera* ‘try’ (K8.7) has the opposite effect of adding such verbs, i.e. instead of adding a greater degree of specification to the main verb’s action, that specific aspect is removed and the main verb’s action in general comes into focus. Other cases of reversal include the reduction of two clauses to one, which results from the deletion of the subordinated clause’s verb as is exemplified in (86-87) with clause reductions in B10.61-62, where the father returns home without his son, and in P7.19-20, where a certain period has to pass for the magic to take effect.

- 86) *A-ri fika kaáy-ii* → *Kt-ra kaáy-ii*
 1-be arrive home-LOC → 17-DEM home-LOC
íyo wala mw-aana a-mu-urya
 mother family 1-child 1:PAST-1-ask
 ‘[When he arrived home] → There at home, the mother of the child asked him ...’
- 87) *Siku ji-ka-fik-e* → *Iyo siku ya mufungati*
 10:day 10-CONS- arrive-SBJV → 9:DEM 9:day 9:ASSOC seven
maa a-ka-kunukula i-ra ny-iingũ
 and_then 1-CONS-uncover 9-DEM 9-pot
 ‘[When the days arrived] → On the seventh day, she uncovered that pot.’

However, in the majority of cases, verb deletion brings other functions and stylistic motivations to the fore. For example, a verb may be deleted in order to remove repetition, e.g. *simire* ‘tell’ in R15.30 (to conform to the coda formula *m̄undovasimira* ‘you repeatedly tell’), *umirira* ‘hold on’ in B10.86 (to remove the double imperative), or *-anza* ‘begin’ in R5.33-34 as shown in (88).

88)	<i>maa</i>	<i>a-ka-anza</i>	<i>k̄i-vaa</i>	<i>i-ra</i>	<i>n-tangasa</i>
	and_then	1-CONS-begin	15-9-beat	9-DEM	9-drum
	<i>noo</i>	<i>a-ka-anza</i>	<i>k-iiimba</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>k-iiimba</i>
	COP:REF	1-CONS-begin	15-sing	→	and_then 15-sing
					‘And then he began to beat that drum, [that is he began to sing] → and sang.’

This example is also combined with a change from *noo* to *maa*, i.e. the removal of purpose from the consecutive clause connection (cf. 6.1.3); presumably, the drum-beating and the singing are meant to be consecutive actions rather than the drum-beating being the purpose for the singing.

In a similar way, other verbal items are deleted as they seem inappropriate in their draft context. For example, in R5.29-30, the direct speech of the husband is reduced to the narrator’s simple statement of his actions; or in K7.1, the relative verb form *akemerwáa* ‘who was called’ is removed from the title.

Often such deletions and concomitant changes of text passages occur within those events immediately leading up to the climax. In K7.69-70, with its draft version displayed in (89a) and its revision in (89b), the two consecutive verb

phrases are reduced to one, and the sense of urgency with one equipment following after the other enhanced by successive nominal *na* phrases.

89a) *a-ka-mu-viik-ir-a* *ji-ra* *in-go* *ja* *ki-temi*
 1-CONS-1-put-APPL-VF 10-DEM 10-clothes 10:ASSOC 7-king
a-ka-mu-heera *ma-ta* *mii-wi* *na* *ma-chimu*
 1-CONS-1-give 6-bow 4-arrow and 6-spear
 ‘And he put on him those royal robes, and he gave him bows, arrows and spears.’

b) *a-ka-mu-viik-ir-a* *n-go* *ja* *ki-temi* *ja-rutaha*
 1-CONS-1-put- 10-clothes 10:ASSOC 7-king 10-be_heavy
 APPL-VF
na *ma-chimu* *na* *ma-ta* *na* *mii-wi* *yaachwe*
 and 6-spear and 6-bow and 4-arrow 4:3sg:POSS
 ‘And he put on him heavy royal robes and spears and bows and their arrows.’

In another pre-climactic, tension-building episode, B10.90 displayed in (90), all that is left of the hero’s direct speech in this highly emotive context is the direct object and the negation; the long version originally written in the draft would not have fitted the urgency of the impending rescue.

90) *Si* *ndiri* *daha* *ulu* *tuku* *lu-ri* *teretere*
 NEG 1sg:be be_able 11:DEM NEG 11-be smooth
 ‘I won’t be able (impl.: to climb) this one which is smooth.’ → ‘Not this one!’

In summary, it can be said that verb deletions have less to do with specificity like verb additions, and they are rather linked to text cohesion and

its corresponding condensing where appropriate, especially in emotive episodes leading up to the climax.

6.2.5 Nominal deletions

As with nominal additions, the same categories occur again in nominal deletions, and most of the observed changes concern issues of participant reference which will be dealt with in 7.2. Still, as with verbal deletions, there are a number of instances which reveal motivations for change which are not simply the reversal of the corresponding addition. For example, in P9.3-5, as displayed in (91a-b), the deletion of the explicit object *hũũki* ‘honey’ occurs within the restructuring of the parallelism between the two introductory statements about Badger and Lion.¹³² In the revised version, both clauses have the structure *subject + pronoun + copula + past habitual verb*. The connection with the conjunction *na* ‘and’ has been retained but no slot for a direct object remains.

91a)	<i>Ny-eere</i>	<i>yoyo</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>hũũki</i>	<i>ya-vij-áa</i>	<i>ya-rĩĩna</i>
	9-badger	9:PRON	COP	14:honey	9:PAST-be-HAB	9-gather
	<i>na</i>	<i>Siimba</i>	<i>na-yo</i>	<i>ya-sakaat-áa</i>		
	and	9:lion	and-9:PRON	9:PAST-hunt-HAB		
	‘Badger, he, it is honey he used to be gathering, and Lion, and he, he used to hunt.’					

¹³² This restructuring also involves a reversal of both clauses so that the second part of (19a) corresponds to the first part of (91b) and vice versa, or in other words, (91a) represents clauses P9.3-4 whereas (91b) represents clauses P9.4-5.

clause 21, it is only relevant for the continuation of the story that Hare saw Hyena coming back, whether with or without water does not play a role.

Again, the deletion of temporal adverbial phrases reveals a similar picture. Of five deletions involving *sikɛ* ‘day’, three occur in B10. In the draft, the author of that story has freely allotted temporal references throughout the story, so *sikɛ iyo* ‘on that day’ in clause 12, *sikɛ ya kaviri* ‘on the second day’ in clause 35 and *sikɛ ya saano* ‘on the fifth day’ in clause 41, references which he later no longer seems to have considered relevant to the story and thus deleted. Of course, it is mere speculation whether he received particular feedback during the workshop which may have caused these deletions, and whether these were motivated by a perceived redundant repetition or by a perceived lack of relevance.

Table 6.23 Deletions of locative noun phrases

ref	verb	deleted item	comment
B15b.33	<i>-fyɛɛka</i> ‘return’	<i>na kaáyii</i> ‘home’	<i>kaáyii</i> in 31
B24.5	<i>-ira</i> ‘be dark’	<i>njirii</i> ‘on the way’	travel introduced in 4
P7.48	<i>-chimika</i> ‘burn’	<i>na kaáyii</i> ‘home’	<i>kaáyii</i> not in focus since 8
P9.65	<i>-pala salɛ</i> ‘throw sand’	<i>na miiswii</i> ‘into the eyes’	effect of sand in eyes in 66
R18.16	<i>-shaana</i> ‘encounter’	<i>ibootii</i> ‘in the gully’	goat thrown <i>ibootii</i> in 13 but found anywhere
R22.18	<i>-tíite</i> ‘there was’	<i>njirii</i> ‘on the way’	travel explicit in 17

Turning to locatives now, table 6.23 gives an overview of all locative nouns having been deleted in revision. Again, either the specific place has been mentioned in the immediate context as in B15b, B24, P9 and R22, or the location is not directly relevant to the event of the clause in focus, as in P7 and R18.

Finally, while most pronominal deletions relate directly to participant reference, there are a few instances which do not, viz. *niini* ‘I’ in R41.20, *weewe* ‘you’ in P1.11, R16.9 and R38.70, and *voovo* ‘they’ in R8.16. Three of these can be explained by issues of emphasis, e.g. in R41, the statement by Laahi that he is not hungry does not call for special emphasis; in P1, the focus in Hyena’s question “Why have you not cooked a child?” is shifted from 2sg subject to the object; and in R16, the focus in Hyena’s question “Hare, have you caught something?” is shifted from 2sg subject to the verb. The personal pronoun deletions in the remaining two cases are embedded in restructuring of larger text passages which no longer require special emphasis of the referents.

In contrast to nominal additions which are mainly motivated by expansions on story content, nominal deletions tend to occur more often in environments of unnecessary repetition, or they are linked to issues of relevance and focus.

6.2.6 Other deletions

Deletions of other parts of speech cover the same categories as additions in 6.2.3 above, viz. terms of address, conjunctions and adverbs. However, whereas terms of address were added for emotive impact, their deletion does not seem to be aimed at emotive reduction in other contexts but rather, they are removed in instances where an emotive element remains even in the corresponding revised version. For example, where *aaĩ* ‘mate’ is removed in P9.57, the colloquial *heende* ‘let’s go’ remains; and where *aka* ‘yikes’ is removed in R22.67, the equally interjectional *kũmbari* ‘surprise’ is left standing.

With regard to conjunctions, table 6.24 lists the most frequently deleted ones in descending order of occurrence. The first five of these items also occur in table 6.20.

Table 6.24 Multiply deleted discourse markers including conjunctions

item	gloss	# del	# v2	comments
<i>maa</i>	‘and then’	45	745	
<i>na</i>	‘and’	21	164	only uses as consecutive conjunction were counted
<i>haaha</i>	‘now, well’	8	39	used as marker of new section
<i>noo</i>	‘that is’	4	183	
<i>ni</i>	‘it is’	4	118	conjunctions and prepositions were both counted
<i>dee</i>	‘that is when’	3		

Proportionally, most *maa* deletions occurred in Bolisa (21 of 45) and most *na* deletions in Paranga (13 of 21), indicating potential dialectal differences in the

usage of these two consecutive conjunctions. The relevance of *maa*'s first versus second position in the clause will be discussed in 6.3 but at this stage, it suffices to note that most, viz. 34 deletions are from first position, seven from second position, and four where *maa* had been used redundantly both before and after the subject. Deletions of *haaha* either occurred in connection with an explication of an overt subject (B1.5; P9.9, 92) or in instances of two conjunctions at the start of the clause, i.e. the other one remained in the revised version, that is *maa* (B10.21, 94), *daa* (P9.115) and *kũmba* (K16.65). All deletions of *noo* corresponded to the removal of purpose from the relation between the two connected clauses, whereas the deletion of *ni* resulted either in valence changes of the main verb (B3.24; P5.17) or it eliminated repetitive instances of *ni* (R35.28). All draft occurrences of *dee* are edited out so that only the one added instance in R41.28 (see 6.2.3 above) remains; this observation suggest that the naturalness of *dee* in writing over against speech should be investigated. Finally, the once deletions of the emphatic particles *baa* 'even' (B26.19) and *ree* 'indeed' (B10.34) are probably due to the flow of the direct speech and of the story episode respectively.

Deletions of non-nominal adverbial components are comparatively rare. For locatives, there is only one instance of *isi* 'down' deleted (R37.23), and the deletion of locative demonstratives is restricted to *kũnũ* (class 17 proximate), *kũra* (class 17 distant) and *ũko* (class 17 referential); remarkably, locative

deletions are restricted to class 17 where for additions, class 16 *ha-* predominated. Whether this is connected to the preference for class 16 relative *haantu* in Paranga over against the preference for class 17 distant *kura* in Bolisa, as observed in table 6.21, cannot be determined without further research. Finally, of non-locative adverbs, only two instances of *vii* ‘only’ were edited out (K14.67, 15.6) as these were used as modification of locatives.

On the whole, deletions of this heterogeneous group of parts of speech seem to occur most often in order to remove unnecessary repetitions.

6.3 Word order changes at the lexical level

With the domain of changes in word order, we come close to leaving the lexical level and entering the clause level, as word order is more of a syntactic than a lexical phenomenon (Givón 1984: 35f). However, some changes in word order bring to light certain aspects in the meaning of a specific word; this is particularly true of the conjunction *maa* which has been mentioned both in connection with Swahili loans in 6.1.4 and with added conjunctions in 6.2.3 above. Therefore, I deal with the lexical aspects of word order changes especially of *maa* in this section, while discussing the remaining aspects of these changes in 7.1.

Of 745 occurrences of *maa* in the revised versions in the database, 612 are in clause-initial position. Most of these can be interpreted as consecutive

conjunction which connects clauses portraying events that immediately follow onto each other in the narrative, as (93) represents an example from P9.66-68.

- 93) *maa miiso ya siimba yakamema* and the eyes of the lion filled (with)
salu, sand,
maa ikarekerwa and it (i.e. the hare) was let go
maa noo tüija and that's running (away)

Only three texts in the database do not have any instance of a consecutive conjunction, neither *maa* nor *na*, viz. B4, B19 and P13. Of these three texts, the last two are not narratives while the story of B4 only contains seven clauses. Still, over against the ubiquitous use of *maa* as consecutive conjunction in initial position in the clause, *maa* also occurs in the second position in the clause where it cannot in most cases be interpreted as simply consecutive. Most stories only have a few instances of *maa* in second slot position of the clause over against the majority of *maa*'s in initial position as exemplified in (93) above. For example, B2, a story about three drunkards, has stretches of *maa*-initial clauses (starting with B2.4-7) alternating with *maa*-less direct speech clauses (first in B2.8-11). Only two clauses, viz. B2.22 and B2.29 as displayed in (94a-b) below, have *maa* in second slot position with a preceding subject.

- 94a) *Mo-osi* *Lubuvva* *maa* *a-ka-mu-teeng-y-a* *i-chuumb-ii*
 1-elder NAME and_then 1-CONS-1- 5-chair-LOC
 approach-CAUS-FV

‘Old Lubuvva then offers him a chair.’

b)	<i>Mo-osi</i>	<i>L̥b̥uwa</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>a-ka-m̥-sea</i>
	1-elder	NAME	and_then	1-CONS-1-say
	‘Old L̥b̥uwa, however, told him, ...’			

In both cases, the action and statement respectively of Old L̥b̥uwa are giving a new direction to the development of the story, in the first case that he is friendly to the angry drunkard who wants to bewitch him, and in the second case that he refuses to drink beer. Hence, these two clauses can be interpreted as having a contrastive or counterexpectational function and, instead of translating *maa* as ‘then’ in those second-position occurrences (as done in 94a), it could just as well be translated with ‘however’ as in (94b).

An alternative interpretation would be to analyse *maa* as an additive or development marker (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 92f) which usually characterises simply the next event in the narrative. In clauses with subject topicalisation, however, *maa* would act as a “spacer” (ibid.: 75) and demarcate the topical subject from the rest of the clause.

Under both interpretations, two lexical senses of *maa* could be justified, one as consecutive conjunction or additive marker, and the other as contrastive / counterexpectational conjunction or subject topicalisation “spacer”. Of interest for evidence of stylistic preferences or corrections are now those instances where one usage of *maa* is changed into the other and vice versa. Table 6.25 lists all instances of *maa* changed from initial into post-subject second position.

Table 6.25 Initial-position *maa*'s changed into second position

ref	subject	comments
B3.8	<i>umudu</i> 'one (person)'	only sg subject in 6 pl clauses
B10.60	<i>moosi</i> 'elder'	father leaves after quarrel
B10.109	<i>ura musinga</i> 'that child'	counterexpectational conclusion
B26.24	<i>Mbuulu</i> 'Mbuulu'	Mbuulu flees despite mother's plea
B30.71	<i>baabu yaachwe ya Mbui</i> 'Mbui's grandfather'	grandpa's anger after friend's reply
P1.17	<i>mpichi</i> 'hyena'	hyena agrees to cook child
P5.14	<i>vaantu</i> 'people'	first pl subject after 13 sg clauses
P7.46	<i>ngo jaachwe</i> 'her clothes'	opposite action to previous subject
P9.113	<i>ntuujũ</i> 'spring hare'	four 2 nd position <i>maa</i> 's in dialogue
R2.88	<i>Laahi</i> 'Laahi'	counter-conclusion (thief becomes rich)
R17.35	<i>ng'oombe</i> 'cow'	counterexpectational realisation that calf is in lioness's stomach

For each of these switches from a consecutive to a contrastive function, an element of contrast which is central to the story can be identified, with the possible exception of P9.113 which constitutes simple turn-taking in a dialogue. By contrast, all instances of *maa* in post-subject, second slot position which have been changed into initial position in the clause have been given in table 6.26, and in those cases, again only with one exception, viz. the counterexpectational rescue in B10.19, all changes are in the context of continued or repeated events.

Table 6.26 Post-subject *maa*'s changed into initial position

ref	subject	comments
B10.19	<i>Saito</i> 'Saito'	counterexpectational rescue of elephant
B30.33	<i>Mbui</i> 'Mbui'	Mbui answers after being called
P7.45	<i>ura muti</i> 'that tree'	tree continues growing (as in clause 39)
P9.72	<i>siimba</i> 'lion'	lion catches hare again (as in clause 46)
R39.21	<i>vara vajukulu</i> 'those grandchildren'	grandchildren follow grandpa's command (as given in clauses 19-20)

A detailed description of different conjunctions and their functions used in Rangi narratives still has to be drawn up. However, Rangi writers' awareness of the differentiated usage of *maa* can already be utilised in further training events for Rangi literacy production.

6.4 Summary of word level phenomena

At the lexical level, there are several areas which a Rangi writer should pay attention to stylistically. First, there is the distinction between semantic versus stylistic changes where the former focuses on issues of accuracy and adding content information, as observed in lexical changes and word additions; and the latter deals more with contextual effects like matters of register choice, e.g. as was seen in the use of terms of address.

Second, writers workshops would do well to actively pay attention to different parts of speech. This could include focusing on the one hand on subcategories like utterance verbs or kinship terms, and on the other, editing

those sections which are particular to a certain part of speech, like verbs in the pre-climactic sections of a story.

Third, Rangi writers need to pay attention to the treatment of loanwords, especially negotiating which Swahili terms are acceptable in Rangi texts and for which other ones equivalent Rangi terms should be reinforced through written usage.

Fourth and lastly, the lexical nuances of the wide variety of conjunctions can help the aspiring author to link the word level with the clause level. In all parameters, from lexical choice through additions and deletions to word order, the way how conjunctions and other connectors express the relationship between adjacent clauses is part and parcel of the art of writing a good and well-connected story.

7. RANGI STYLE AT THE CLAUSE LEVEL

Strategies of reference vary with the language, and within a language can vary with genre, individual style, and medium of production. (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 124)

Since Bantu tense / aspect systems are in constant motion and have been for some five thousand years, uniformity of function or meaning cannot be expected. (Nurse 2008: 75)

The clause level by its very nature has fuzzy edges on both sides. On the one side, it is influenced by the lexical domain as best recognised in the domain of word order, which spans both the preceding and this present chapter. This is also evident from examples of participant reference in 7.2 below insofar as different lexical items are used to refer to the same participant. On the other side, individual changes at the clause level feed into the larger text; especially the flow of participant reference features and of tense-aspect forms cannot be recognised from dissociated clauses but has to be viewed and analysed within each narrative as a whole. So, changes in word order, participant reference and tense-aspect, while anchored in the clause, very much rely on the results of the analysis at the text and word levels presented in chapters 5 and 6 respectively. These observations notwithstanding, I am far from considering these three phenomena at the clause level a mixed bag but hope to show how they interact,

and how the aspiring Rangi writer can learn to combine them profitably in narrative composition.

7.1 Word order and related changes at the clause level

It is not easily possible to separate clause-level word order changes according to part of speech as most of these changes involve both verbs and nouns. Nevertheless, the occurrences observed in the database can be categorised into a number of distinct cases which have been listed in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Categories of word order changes in the clause

type of change	references
1. active to passive and vice versa	R1.31, 13.47; and B15b.6, 24.29; K7.29; R18.34
2. verb phrase constituents	B10.43, 30.36; P13.6
3. adverbials	B10.27, 26.11-13; K14.24
4. noun phrase constituents	B24.43; K7.53; P7.30, 9.39
5. order of adjacent nouns	B10.107, 30.64; K7.70; P5.36, 9.132; R38.2
6. position of nominal object	B10.67, 26.19; P9.86, 10.18, 10.40; R8.16, 13.15, 37.27
7. position of nominal subject	B1.22, 30.70; K7.2, 14.8; P7.14; R1.31, 5.6, 8.46, 9.41, 43.14

Remarkably, none of these categories occur very frequently, most of them exhibiting only a handful of examples. Of course, this is in all probability due to the fact that word order changes between draft and revised text versions are with 69 occurrences among the rarest in our database. Also, 16 changes, viz. those involving *maa*, have already been dealt with in 6.3, and the remaining 53

instances are distributed over a good third of the database texts, with an average of two such changes per applicable text; i.e. 45 texts do not have any changes in word order at all between their draft and revised version.

Before delving into individual examples, one theoretical concept needs to be introduced which is directly relevant to this section. Word order in the clause relates to information structure (Lambrecht 1994), often taken to be a clause's division into topic versus comment. However, it is not possible "to divide all sentences [...] into just a topic and a comment" (Levinsohn 2007: 39). In order to account for clause constituents preceding the topic, I follow Levinsohn's notion of "a point of departure [which] establishes a setting for what follows" (ibid.). Thus, in the following, a "point of departure" denotes an extra-topical constituent in initial position of the clause, with that clause's topic constituent then in second position.

The first category of word order changes is related to the voice of the verb; changes from active to passive and vice versa naturally require a re-ordering of constituents. Still, a number of changes in voice of verb do not involve a change in word order, e.g. due to the absence of explicit nouns in the verb phrase as shown in (95) from R35.13. Of course, the verb-internal subject marker *a-* refers to a different participant but no word order change occurs.

95) *maa a-ka-wiir-w-a* → *maa a-ka-mu-wiira*
 and_then 1-CONS-tell-PASS-FV and_then 1-CONS-1-tell
 ‘then he was told ...’ ‘then he told him ...’

Another voice of verb change avoiding word order changes, this time from active to passive, is keeping the subject of the passive clause in post-verbal position as displayed in the revision of (96a) to (96b) from K16.8.

96a) *maa a-ka-mu-vyaala Mwiiru*
 and_then 1-cons-1-bear NAME
 ‘and then she gave birth (to) Mwiiru.’
 b) *noo a-vyaal-w-a Mwiiru*
 COP:REF 1-bear-PASS-FV NAME
 ‘that is Mwiiru was born.’

All the more remarkable it is that, against 18 voice of verb changes without word order changes, there are only six which do involve a change in word order. Yet even these six do not exhibit consistent patterns of changes. For example, of the two changes from active to passive, that is R1.(30-)31 and R13.(46-)47, even though both occur in relative clauses, the former, as shown in (97a-b) puts the subject of the passive sentence from its former object position even in front of the relative pronoun.

97a) *maa ja-ka-mu-rut-y-a na hoo-ha-ra*
 and_then 10-CONS-1-pull-CAUS-FV to 16:REF-16-DEM
kuntu jaa-ri ja-mu-ri-ire u-ra mo-osi
 17:rel 10:PAST-be 10-1-eat-ANT 1-DEM 1-elder
 ‘Then they (= the lions) pulled her (= the woman) to the same place where they had eaten that (her) husband.’

- b) *maa noo rut-i-w-a na hoo-ha-ra*
 and_then COP:REF pull-CAUS-PASS-FV to 16:REF-16-DEM
mo-osi *haantɿ aa-ri a-ri-irwe*
 1-elder 16:rel 1:PAST-be 1-eat-ANT:PASS
 ‘and that’s being dragged to the same place (her) husband where
 he had been eaten.’

By contrast, the latter, as displayed in (98a-b), moves the pre-relative subject back into the relative clause.

- 98a) *si ɿ-ri taanga*
 NEG 2sg-be know
Mu-luungu *ch-eene a-va-pang-ir-a tuku*
 3-God 7-rel 1-2pl-plan-APPL-FV NEG
 ‘You don’t know, God what he planned for you.’

- b) *si ɿ-ri taanga*
 NEG 2sg-be know
vy-eene wa-pang-ir-w-a ni Mu-luungu tuku
 8-rel 2sg-plan-APPL-PASS-FV COP 3-God NEG
 ‘You don’t know how you have been planned for by God.’

Such individualised adjustments, rather than showing a preference for a particular voice of verb, probably have more to do with the participant which the author wishes to be the topic of the clause or clauses in question, i.e. in the first case the woman rather than the lions, in the second the addressee rather than God.

Second, there are a couple of instances where the order of two parts of a verb phrase is changed, e.g. in B10.43 as displayed in (99a-b), *noo riina* is fronted, presumably to topicalise the purpose of the main verb.

- 99a) *Isiku nɯ ɯ-chiku doma tɯ-ri noo riina*
 today COP 14-night go 1pl-be COP:REF collect
 ‘Tonight we will go in order to collect (impl.: honey).’
- b) *Isiku noo riina too-doma ni i-ulo*
 today COP:REF collect 1pl:PROG-go COP 5-evening
 ‘Today in order to (lit.: that’s) collect (impl.: honey), we are going in the evening.’

The order in the verb phrase can also be changed to alter the scope of negation as shown in (100a-b) from P13.6.

- 100a) *vaa-ntɯ si voo-doma tuku noo rima*
 2-person NEG 2:PROG-go NEG COP:REF farm
 ‘People are not going to farm.’
- b) *vaa-ntɯ si voo-doma noo rima tuku*
 2-person NEG 2:PROG-go COP:REF farm NEG
 ‘People are not going to farm.’

The difference in negative scope is not easily translatable into English as in both cases, the people are not going. However, in the first case, the emphasis is only on the negation of the movement verb *doma* ‘go’, whereas in the revised version, the emphasis of the negation rests on the entire proposition ‘going to farm’.

The third type of word order change concerns shifts in the position of adverbial temporal phrases. In all cases, five instances in three stories (B10, B26

and K14), the temporal is fronted to the beginning of the clause. While temporals may be perceived as serving as a “point of departure” in that position (there are plenty of examples where they do), it also seems to be the case that the initial position in a clause is the default or natural place of temporals. At least in B10.27, as displayed in (101), the temporal *na mutoondo* ‘in the morning’ is not a point of departure. This is indicated by the temporal flow from the previous clause that “three days passed” (B10.26), and by the fact that *maa* is used consecutively and not as a spacer (cf. 6.3), in which case it would have appeared after the temporal.

- 101) *maa* *na* *m̄-toondo* *voo-rya* *i-kóko*
 and_then with 3-morning 2:prog-eat 5-crust
 ‘and in the morning they are eating crust.’

The function of temporals in different positions is definitely an issue which has to be investigated further, especially those instances where the temporal is not in initial position (e.g. B10.43 or K14.62).

Fourth, there are word order changes within the NP, all of which concern the order of the noun and a demonstrative pronoun. The default order in Rangi is DEM N with a N DEM order usually denoting contrastive focus. As N DEM is the default order in Swahili, a number of corrections from N DEM in the draft, presumably written under Swahili influence, to DEM N in the revision could be

expected. However, only one true case has been observed (K7.53),¹³³ while the reverse change has also been found only once (P7.30). Ostensibly, Rangi writers have a strong awareness of the difference between Swahili and their mother tongue with regard to the order of nouns and their demonstratives. The function of demonstratives in reactivation of participants will be discussed in 7.2.2 below.

Fifth, the order of adjacent nouns, either as nouns in a list or as objects of ditransitive verbs, has been observed to be changed. For the former, these may be cases of corrections to an existing standard order; like for *mata na miiwi* ‘bow and arrow’ (K7.70), Rangi may prefer *mbúri na mũundi* ‘goats and sheep’ (B10.107) and *vandũũ na isaamba* ‘relatives and non-relatives’ (B30.64) over the opposite order which occurs in the respective drafts. However, in the case of R38.2 where *nchúnkũla na lúvũ* ‘Hare and Chameleon’ is changed to *lúvũ na nchúnkũla*, the matter may be more complicated. Hare may be expected to be mentioned first as the more prominent animal in Rangi stories, especially in trickster tales. Yet, as Chameleon wins over Hare in R38, the order in the introductory mention of these two animals may have been reversed in order to mention the winner first. Still, in P11, where Chameleon also wins against Hare, the order in the joint NP is ‘Hare and Chameleon’ in both draft and

¹³³ B24.43 involves an additional possessive, and in P9.39, the draft has a numeral which by default follows the noun.

revision. Also, of the five trickster tales starring Hare and Hyena, only three start the joint NP with Hare (P1, R16, R24) while two have the order ‘Hyena and Hare’ (P12, R30). For the second occurrence of adjacent nouns, the order of the two objects of a ditransitive VP is also far from clear. In P5.36 as shown in (102), the recipient is moved from first post-verbal position to second, whereas in P9.132 as displayed in (103), the change is the other way round.

- 102) *Mu-luungu noo a-heera vaa-ntu va-ana*
 3-God COP:REF 1:GEN-give:APPL 2-person ↔ 2-child
 ‘It is God who gives [people children] → children (to) people.’
- 103) *Siimba maa ya-ka-i-vaa ma-kóofyo m-píchi*
 9:lion and_then 6-CONS-9-hit 6-slap ↔ 9-hyena
 ‘Lion then hit [slaps to Hyena] → Hyena slaps.’

Unfortunately, unchanged clauses in the database are not disambiguating this issue. In most cases, the recipient is expressed as object marker on the verb without a corresponding explicit noun following, e.g. *akavaheera* ‘s/he gave them’ (in B31.23 and R2.28). In the only two cases where both the recipient and the object given are expressed explicitly as post-verbal nouns, B26.10 as in (104) has the recipient first, and B24.45 as in (105) has the recipient second.

- 104) *a-ka-mu-heera Mbũũlu sua*
 1-cons-1-give:APPL NAME 9:calabash
 ‘she gave Mbũũlu a calabash.’
- 105) *a-ka-mu-heera n-daafu Laahi*
 1-cons-1-give:APPL 9-billy_goat NAME
 ‘he gave the billy goat (to) Laahi.’

So, both the order of constituents in joint NPs and the order of objects in ditransitive VPs warrant more investigation in conjunction with further discussion among and consensus-building input from Rangî writers.

The sixth type of word order change concerns nominal objects, mainly their position with regard to the main verb of the clause in question. Given the default SVO order of Rangî, any object in pre-verbal position would be topicalised. Of the nine instances involving the movement of a nominal object, in seven the object is moved from a pre-verbal to a post-verbal position, thus constituting a detopicalisation of that object. A representative example is R37.27 as displayed in (106), which constitutes the final statement about a lazy man who had bandaged his leg in order to avoid work; the surprising fact was not that he tied a rat into the bandage as opposed to something else, as the wording of the draft would imply, but the entire clause is subject to surprise.

- 106) *Kuumbari* [ni fuunde] ↔ *ii-chuung-ir-a fuunde*
 surprise COP 9:rat 1:REFL-tie-APPL-FV 9:rat
 ‘Surprise, [it is a rat] he tied to himself a rat.’

With the exception of B10.67, all of these detopicalised objects are not affecting participant reference. Of the remaining two object position changes, one involves the scope of the adverbial *vii* ‘only, indeed’ (P10.40),¹³⁴ and only one

¹³⁴ The best way to analyse *vii* may be as adverbial intensifier. It usually occurs clause-finally, modifying the entire VP.

change results in the fronting and therewith topicalisation of the nominal object, see (107a-b) from P9.22.

- 107a) *Mpaka ni-saambul-e ki-jeeng-i ch-aavo*
 until 1sg-destroy-SBJV 7-build-AGNT 7-3pl:POSS
 ‘Until I destroy their friendship ...’
- b) *ki-jeeng-i ch-aavo mpaka ni-ki-saambul-e*
 7-build-AGNT 7-3pl:POSS until 1sg-7-destroy-SBJV
 ‘... their friendship, until I destroy it.’

This example also shows how fronted objects cause an object marker to be prefixed to the corresponding verb, in this case the prefix *-ki-* for noun class 7 agreeing with *kijeengi* ‘friendship’.¹³⁵

Seventh and last, there is the category of nominal subjects. In contrast to nominal objects, word order changes of subjects are not as homogeneous. In three cases, the nominal subject is moved in front of a conjunction or discourse marker, namely conditional *kooni* (P7.14), locative *haantu* (R1.31) or marker of surprise *kũmba* (R8.46);¹³⁶ and in all three instances, the subject is a major participant of the story being topicalised. Twice, a fronted subject is moved into its default position after a temporal adverbial phrase (B1.22, K7.2), thereby reducing that subject’s prominence; both of these are in the context of a

¹³⁵ The relationship between object fronting and verbal object markers, which becomes evident through the word order changes in P9.22 and B10.67, has previously been discussed in Stegen (2011 (in press)).

¹³⁶ Additional cases involving the consecutive conjunction *maa* have been dealt with under 6.3 as they concern *maa*’s semantics; they too are instances of subject topicalisation.

formula, either in the introduction or as a concluding proverb. In K14.8, as displayed in (108), the subject-verb order of the draft is reversed, resulting in a post-verbal position of this subject.

- 108) *W-iingi* *a-kuuja* → *A-kuuja* *w-iingi* *kei*
 1-other 1-CONS:come 1-CONS:come 1-other again
 ‘Another came → (There) came another again.’

This is in the context of the eldest daughter, the main character of this narrative, refusing one suitor after another. Consequently, the subject *wiingi* ‘another’ should not be the topic of this clause as he is not really a participant but merely another rejected suitor without any relevance for or further mention in the story. In an opposite change, four clauses exhibit a post-verbal subject being moved into its default position; three reintroducing participants which had occurred earlier in the story (B30.70, R5.6, R9.41) and one introducing a new group of major participants (R43.14), none of which should be in the post-verbal position of a detopicalised subject.

These last examples of word order changes involving nominal subjects, especially where they concern the topicalisation of story characters, bring us to the topic of participant reference.

7.2 Participant reference¹³⁷

The 247 participant reference changes observed in the database are distributed over 54 texts, i.e. three quarters of the texts have some change in their participant reference between draft and revised version. While most texts only show a few changes, 17 texts, namely eight from Bolisa, three from Kondoa, four from Pahi and two from Paranga, exhibit changes in participant reference in more than ten percent of their clauses, P7 being the one with the highest relative frequency (27%) and B10 the one with the highest absolute number (22 changes). In table 7.2, an overview of P7, its plot and the occurrence of all its participant reference changes is given which will serve as a case study on the basis of which three topics of participant reference which are relevant to stylistic change, namely introduction of participants, reactivation of participants and motivations for changes in participant reference, are dealt with in the three sub-chapters of this section. The division of the theme of participant reference into participant introduction and participant reactivation is following Levinsohn (2007: 119ff). Demonstratives like *ura* or *uwo* are mentioned verbatim in the table with the referent given in brackets.

¹³⁷ Following Levinsohn (2007: passim), I call all characters occurring in narrative texts “participants”. By contrast, Werth divides the category of protagonists, a “general term for sentient entities who are involved in one way or another with discourse”, into participants as “the people who function in the discourse world – language users – and who are busy negotiating discourses” and characters as “the people that the participants people the text world with” (Werth 1999: 189). Hence, what I (and Levinsohn) call participants is equivalent to Werth’s characters.

Table 7.2 Participant reference changes in P7

clause #	plot summary	participant reference change
1-3	title and intro of childless woman	
4-6	she goes to see a doctor	5: full object inserted
7-16	doctor's instructions	14: <i>#wo</i> (child) added
17-18	she follows instructions	17: 'person' changed to 'mother'
19-22	she finds the girl Mbүүлү	22: object marker inserted into verb
[23-27]	[draft moved to 14-16]	
28-29	woman forgets instructions	28 like 17 29: <i>#ra</i> (doctor) removed
30-33	Mbүүлү goes to river and climbs tree	33: full object removed
34-36	Mbүүлү reject woman's offer	34 like 29
37-39	Mbүүлү and tree grow together	38: <i>Mbүүлү</i> as subject removed
40-44	woman weeps and sings	44: <i>Mbүүлү</i> as address removed
45-46	as Mbүүлү goes up, clothes fall down	45: <i>#ra</i> (tree) removed and <i>Mbүүлү</i> added
47-48	woman burns clothes	47 like 29
[49]	[draft coda deleted]	
50-52	moral "if she had listened"	50 like 17

This story has three human participants, viz. the childless woman, the doctor or medicine man, and the girl Mbүүлү, and one non-human participant, the tree. They are introduced as they occur in the story one after the other, first the woman (clause 2), then the medicine man (clause 4), the child Mbүүлү (clause

22)¹³⁸ and finally the tree (clause 31). Whereas the woman, Mbүүлү and the tree are introduced with presentational phrases involving *kwatiite* ‘there is’ or *noo* ‘that is’, the medicine man simply appears as the goal of the woman’s movement in P7.4. These four participants are then referred to according to their prominence in the story. The woman and Mbүүлү as the main participants of the story are mentioned as *íyo waavo* ‘her mother’ and with the proper name *Mbүүлү* respectively whenever they are reactivated as subjects after a subject switch, and the following verbs, of which they are also the subject, only bear the subject marker *a-* to refer to them. The doctor and the tree, by contrast, occur as single nouns *mwaanga* and *muti* respectively, and subsequent verbs involve a subject switch again. Demonstratives *ura* and *uwo* are reserved for the woman (clauses 17, 28) and Mbүүлү (clause 14), and where they referred to the doctor (clause 29) or the tree (clause 45) in the draft, they are removed in the revision.

Furthermore, the text of P7 presents examples for all three tasks of participant reference according to Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 112), that is a) the semantic task for the disambiguation of referents, b) the pragmatic task for the signaling of the referents’ prominence, and c) the processing task for the coherence of information flow. In P7.5, as displayed in (109), the insertion of

¹³⁸ Before her first actual appearance in the story, she is mentioned by name in the medicine man’s instructions in clause 13.

110a) *Ɔ-ra mɛ-ti maa ɛ-ndo-dom-er-er-a na mw-eeri*
 3-DEM 3-tree and_then 3-ITER-go-APPL-APPL-FV to 3-moon
vii-ntɛ Mbɛɛlɛ a-kasiine kw-aambɛka
 8-thing NAME 1-continue:ANT 15-climb
 ‘That tree then repeatedly went on upwards as Mbɛɛlɛ continued to climb.’

b) *vi-ra vy-eene y-oo-kaambɛka*
 8-DEM 8-having 1-PROG-climb
Noo vy-eene mɛ-ti w-oo-doma na mw-eeri
 COP:REF 8-having 3-tree 3-PROG-go to 3-moon
 ‘The more she is climbing, the more the tree is going upwards.’

The phenomena observed in P7 as case study are extended to the entire database in the following sections.

7.2.1 Introduction of participants

When it comes to investigating a narrative text’s participants, it has proven useful to distinguish major participants, like the childless woman and Mbɛɛlɛ in P7 above, versus minor participants, like the medicine man and the tree. Dooley & Levinsohn define the distinction as follows,

“MAJOR PARTICIPANTS are those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles; minor participants are activated briefly and lapse into deactivation. [...] Major participants commonly have a formal introduction, whereas minor participants do not.”

(Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 119)

This concurs very well with the introductory formula *Aho kali kwavijáa kwatite* ‘In times of old there used to be ...’, analysed in 5.1.2, where the noun

following the formula almost always denotes a major participant of the story. Exceptions to this tenet are, on the one hand, non-narrative texts where the formula introduces the theme of an exposition or exhortation as in B5, P13 and R39. On the other hand, there are a few cases where the formula introduces a participant which does not seem to fit Dooley & Levinsohn's definition of a major participant in that they do not play a leading role in the rest of the story. For example, both B12 and R12 introduce an old man called L**abuuva**¹³⁹ but the major participants of the story are his offspring, his three sons in the former, his son Mwiiuru in the latter, and L**abuuva** is not mentioned again. In some way, L**abuuva** is not a minor participant either as he does not even play a minor role for the remainder of the story. In the context of Rangi culture however, where family ties and community relationships are of high importance (Kesby 1982: 82), I would suggest such participants to function as frame (Werth 1999). In a slightly different, although directly related case, B17 opens with a woman owning a pumpkin field which is ravaged by elephants. As the story unfolds, it becomes clear that the major participants throughout the story are those elephants and Hare, as trickster, who defeats them. The woman, after following Hare's advice in B17.18, does not appear in the story again until the end in B17.51-55 where she confirms to Hare that the elephants no longer ravage her

¹³⁹ I am aware of the fact that the L**abuuva** of B12 and the one of R12 are not necessarily the same person but probably only incidentally named identically.

field. So she too, in her function as field owner, could be taken more as a frame than as either a major or a minor participant.

That Hare is not introduced formally in B17, even though he is a major participant, may be due to the fact that as trickster, he is so much part of the mental representation of the audience that his appearance immediately establishes him as a major participant. Another example of this is P9, where the first 16 clauses describe the friendship between Lion and Badger, and in clause 17, as displayed in (111), Hare appears without any further introduction.

- 111) *Siku* *i-mwi* *N-tuuju* *noo*
 9:day 9-one 9-hare COP:REF
 y-oo-looka *na* *ha-ra* *katikati*
 9-PROG-pass and 16-DEM mid~LOC
 ‘One day, Hare was passing in between there.’

By contrast, where major participants are introduced later in a story who are not as well established in the narrating tradition as tricksters, like Mbүүл in P7 above, they are more formally introduced. Another such example would be Old Mavere in R9.16-17 where he is introduced with the formula *moosi umwi asewáa noo Moosi Mavere* ‘one old man who was called Old Mavere’.

Sometimes, an entire group or family is introduced by the introductory formula, and only the further development of the story determines which of the group are major and which are minor participants. Such is the case with the trapper’s family in B10, a story which turns out to be about the trapper’s son

Saito with father, mother and daughter of the family playing subsidiary roles to Saito's advancement. In the same story, we find a typical example of a minor participant, that is *njou* 'the elephant', being introduced later into the story with the numeral *-mudu* 'one'¹⁴⁰. The difference between the non-participant elephants and this particular minor participant has been discussed in connection with lexical substitution in table 6.7. Here, (112) repeats B10.12-13 as the relevant clauses.

- 112) *va-ka-shaana n-jou i-mudu y-a-wííire*
 2-CONS-meet 9-elephant 9-one 9-GEN-fall:APPL:ANT
 'They encountered one elephant has fallen in.'

This elephant then plays an important role in the rescue and advancement of the story's hero and major participant Saito, and he contrasts with other elephants, both hypothetical and real ones, which are less than minor participants as they simply feature in the background without any particular role in the story.

Such extras with lesser significance than minor participants have been defined as "props" which "have only a passive role in the story; they never *do* anything significant" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 40). Some of these props are

¹⁴⁰ While major participants are also often introduced with this numeral, or the alternative *-mwí* 'one', they are brought in with a presentational phrase in addition as described above. Minor participants lack this presentational introduction and often only have the numeral, like *ndee imudu* 'one bird' in B27.19 which later discovers the corpse, *Mumang'aati umwi* 'one Mang'ati man', *mudala umwi* 'one woman' and *moosi umwi* 'one old man' in R10.9, 17 and 22 respectively, or *munttu umwi* 'one person' as the son's employer in R35.7.

easily identified as such: Bodo's wife in B6.38 as she is only the addressee of Bodo's final speech without taking any action or saying anything herself; the couple's goats and chicken in B23 as they are only the object of the couple's quarrel; the rejected suitors in K14.11; the tar-baby in P14, whose passivity and inability to react is one of the main jokes of that story and shows that it is not meant to be a participant; Keha and Mbeyu's children in R1.9-13 who are sent to sleep while the couple fetches water at night; the lioness's cub in R17.5 whose only function seems to be to parallel the cow's calf – most of these receive no further mention in the story after their one appearance.

What about those entities in a story then which are less active than minor participants, yet play a more important role than the props just mentioned, like the tree climbed by Mbүүлu in P7 discussed above? If there is only a categorical choice between minor participant and prop, the tree may be perceived as too passive to count as a minor participant; on the other hand, it assists in Mbүүлu's flight, thus being of similar importance to the major participant Mbүүлu as the medicine man, the other minor participant, is to the childless woman. Yet, there are more instances of semi-active participants with less than minor roles. For example, in Namibian stories, it has been observed that "the personnel of the minor roles is reduced to an unspecific 'they'" (Schmidt 2001: 275). Such is also the case for Rangi, e.g. in B27.8-12 where the murderers of Nduri are questioned by unnamed people in their village, or in R37.5 where the lazy man

is confronted by unnamed people from his village – neither of these groups of villagers is referred to with a full noun. In other instances like B11.4-8, K7.18, P5.14-24, to name but a few, a generic *vaantu* ‘people’ represents this omnipresent group which is just as inseparable from the setting of African village life as the choir is from classical Greek drama.

Finally, the case of the goat kids in R29 is worth mentioning – they only occur in the wife’s reported speech (clauses 22, 34 and 58) who blames them for the hair in her husband’s porridge in order to cover for her baboon lovers who are the real cause of the hair. So, here we have participants which do not occur at the story level of the main plot but rather at a subsidiary level in one major participant’s reported speech where they play a significant role. To the story’s audience, they are not as real as the participants who are directly acting in the story itself. Werth has called such entities “sub-characters” (Werth 1999: 190).¹⁴¹

It seems that the Rangi text database leaves room for more distinctions in story participants than only major participants, minor participants and props. In addition, cases can be built for frame participants, tricksters as automatically being major participants even without corresponding introduction, and categories in between minor participants and props, like generic ‘they’ or

¹⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of such participants in sub-worlds, see Werth (1999: chapter 8).

‘people’ which are part of the mental representation of the audience as a general back-drop of the typical African village setting.

7.2.2 Continuation and reactivation of participants

The bulk of participant reference, of course, concerns how a participant or prop is referred to once it has been introduced, which can be either through continued reference, or through a reactivation after a gap of absence in the story. In Rangi, the linguistic devices available for such references range from full NPs through independent pronouns (including demonstratives) to bound pronouns like subject and object markers.¹⁴² Previous narrative research has found that “the participant central to the story, once activated, will typically require only minimal coding, whereas referents of short-term significance (hence many props) may have full descriptive noun phrases” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 113). Examples of minor participants almost always being referred to by full NPs can be easily found in the database. In R2, both groups of people which Laahi meets are invariably referred to as *vara vaantu* ‘those people’, the first one in clauses 26-39, the second 77-86; or in P3, the little firefinch which helps Maámbi to find a bride is always labeled with the full NP *kara kanchii* ‘that little firefinch’ even if it has just been mentioned in the previous clause. However, the matter does not seem to be quite as simple; for

¹⁴² Zero anaphora does not play a role in Rangi as verb agreement with the subject is obligatory. The categorisation of referential means is based on the discussion of Givón’s scale of devices by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 111f).

example, Laahi in R2 is just as often identified by his name as the minor participants are with a full NP.

One factor in participant reference must be the number of participants in a story. A more detailed analysis of R2, as displayed in table 7.3, shows that a high number of participants results in frequent subject switches and corresponding full references. For each episode, the table compares the references to Laahi as major participant versus those to the main minor participant, detailing the frequencies of full NPs over against those of VPs without explicit subject noun and only subject markers on the verb, *aka-* for singular and *vaka-* for plural narrative tense. Props are identified in italic brackets but not entered into the analysis of references and switches.

Table 7.3 Participants and subject switches in R2

ref.	participants	Laahi	minor	switches
4-20	Laahi, mother, <i>[grasshopper]</i>	<i>aka-</i> (5x, 4-10); <i>Laahi</i> (2x, 13-17)	no reduction; <i>íyo waavo</i> (5x)	5x (11-20)
21-41	Laahi, people, <i>[cow, knife]</i>	<i>aka-</i> (3x, 22-24); <i>Laahi</i> (5x, 21-37)	<i>vaka-</i> (1x, 31); <i>(vara) vaant#</i> (5x)	8x (26-40)
42-62	Laahi, host, <i>[goat, cow]</i>	<i>aka-</i> (5x, 42-48); <i>Laahi</i> (3x, 57-61)	<i>aka-</i> (1x, 53); <i>(#ra) m#nt#</i> (5x) ¹⁴³	4x (51-61)
63-88	Laahi, people, <i>[cow's tail]</i>	<i>aka-</i> (6x, 65-74); <i>Laahi</i> (2x, 13-17)	<i>vaka-</i> (1x, 72); <i>(vara) vaant#</i> (4x)	8x (71-88)

¹⁴³ In two instances, the generic *m#nt#* 'person' has been lexically substituted, once for *mweene kaáya* 'house owner' (R2.48) , once for *m#maka* 'guy' (R2.51).

What distinguishes Laahi as major participant from the other participants in the story is that at the start of each episode, there is a section of consecutive clauses with Laahi as subject, where he is marked only in the subject marker of the verb. As soon as the interaction with the respective minor participant of that episode starts, however, both interactants are referred to with a full NP, i.e. either the proper name *Laahi* or a generic people noun with a possessive or demonstrative pronoun. Where the minor participant is an individual, like Laahi's mother in R2.4-20 or his overnight host in R2.42-62, the full reference serves to disambiguate the interactants.¹⁴⁴ Yet even where the minor participant is a group and the subject marker would suffice to disambiguate between the singular *Laahi* and the plural *vaantu* 'people', still full references are used for both interactants,¹⁴⁵ thus not making the above quoted distinction between minimal coding for major participants versus full referencing for minor participants.

By contrast, where a narrative only has one participant, the entire story may be able to make do without explicit subject nouns after the initial introduction. For example, B6 introduces its major participant Bodo in clauses 2 and 3 by name; all the other entities in the story are props: the goats, cattle and dogs

¹⁴⁴ As Rangi does not mark gender on verbal subject markers, the prefix *aka-* could refer to either Laahi or his mother.

¹⁴⁵ The only exception to this tendency is R2.74 where Laahi's response to the people is introduced by a simple *akasea* 'and he said' without an explicit subject noun.

which Bodo takes out herding, the hyenas which kill his goats, and even his wife who he tells about the event at the end. Consequently, the name *Bodo* is not mentioned again in the remainder of the story, and all main clauses from B6.4-38 have VPs which start with *aka-*, the 3sg subject marker in consecutive narrative tense.

Another factor in participant reference is the difference between proper names and indefinite or generic participants. This difference even extends to major participants some of which are introduced with a proper name whereas others are referred to e.g. as *uwo moosi* ‘that old man’ throughout the story (as in R29). That difference may be related to the difference between the “permanent file” which “stores shared background knowledge held by all members of the culture/group” and the “active file” which “is the knowledge file maintained by speakers/hearers for the purpose of producing and interpreting a *particular* discourse” (Givón 1984: 401). In the former, any Rangi audience would recognise proper names of participants which are well established in Rangi narrative tradition like Laahi; this also includes participants like Hare as trickster or Hyena as stupid glutton. In the latter, any participant introduced generically as ‘a certain man or woman’ would be recognised by the audience as being established for this story only, and contrary to participants like Laahi or Hare who are always major participants, the

audience will have to work out for ‘that certain person’ whether it is a major or a minor participant.¹⁴⁶

With *ɥwo moosi* ‘that old man’, we encounter demonstratives again, first mentioned in the discussion in 5.1.4 of distinguishing the onset of a complicating action from the preceding introduction. Demonstratives are a major device of participant continuation and reactivation in Rangi. As first brought up in connection with table 6.9, they fall into a tripartite system. Table 7.4 gives the forms of the three demonstrative dimensions for those noun classes which are particularly common in the database (forms not observed in the database are given in brackets).

Table 7.4 Rangi demonstrative system of select noun classes

class	proximate	referential	distant
1	ɥhɥ	ɥwo	ɥra
2	ava	avo	vara
6	aya	(ayo)	yara
8	ivi	ivyo	vira
9	ihi	iyō	ira
10	iji	ijo	jira
16	aha	aho	hara
17	(ɥkɥ) → kɥnɥ	ɥko	kɥra

¹⁴⁶ Whether a generically introduced participant is major or minor, presumably is a matter of perspective as conceivably one and the same story could be told with different participants as major or minor.

Originally, the three dimensions correspond to 1sg, 2sg and 3sg which is best visible in the demonstratives of locative classes 16 and 17, where *aha* can still mean ‘here at the speaker’, *aho* ‘here/there at the hearer’ and *hara* ‘over there away from both’. These clear-cut correspondences break down when demonstratives are applied to participant reference in narrative, although in reported speech, the proximate demonstrative is still found to be predominantly used in the person-specific locative way as shown in (113) from R10.10 where the Mang’ati warrior asserts his intention to take the girl Dinꞑ, whom he just encountered in the field.

- 113) *ʃhꞑ* *mꞑ-singa* *nĩni* *kꞑ-mꞑ-sꞑmꞑla* *n-dirĩ*
 1:DEM 1-child 1sg:PRO 15-1-take 1sg-be
 ‘This child, I will take her.’

Outside of reported speech, the proximate demonstrative is found to refer to participants only three times: once in the introduction of the participants, *ava vaoosi* ‘these elders’ (K14.3), and twice at the start of the complicating action referring to the participant just introduced previously, *ʃhꞑ Bodo* ‘this Bodo (NAME)’ (B6.3) and *ʃhꞑ Laahi* ‘this Laahi (NAME)’ (B24.4).¹⁴⁷ More often however, this latter function is carried by the referential demonstratives *ʃwo* and *avo*, whereas the distant demonstratives *ʃra* and *vara* are employed when a participant is reactivated after a longer gap of absence or when two (groups of)

¹⁴⁷ Possibly, the proximate demonstrative is preferred with proper names as even in reported speech, they occur together: *ʃhꞑ Mbꞑĩ* (B30.9 + 70), *ʃhꞑ Mꞑdala Mbꞑꞑva* (R7.8).

participants take turns in actions or dialogue. Correspondingly, the distant demonstratives occur more frequently (179 instances of noun class 1 and 2 referring to participants) than the referential ones (52 instances).¹⁴⁸ Such generalisations notwithstanding, in some contexts and for some authors, the distinction between referential and distant demonstratives seems to become blurred. One indication of such a blend is the narrative introductory formula *aho kali* ‘in times of old’ with the referential class 16 demonstrative which has a variant *hara kali* with the distant class 16 demonstrative (cf. 5.1.2). An extreme case of seemingly indistinct use of both demonstratives is the story in R29 where the two major participants, a husband and his wife, are referred to with both demonstratives at nearly equal frequencies and apparently without the above-mentioned functional distribution. Table 7.5 logs the demonstrative references throughout that text. The minor participants of R29, baboons and goat kids, although they are referred to by distant demonstratives only, *jira* and *vara* respectively, are also logged, as their occurrence reveals an alternative pattern of referential versus distant demonstrative interaction.

¹⁴⁸ Noun classes 9 and 10 seem to have similar distributions of distant versus referential; as these refer not only to participants (usually animals as opposed to humans which are referred to by classes 1 and 2) but also to props, inanimate objects and measures of time, no exact counts have been undertaken.

Table 7.5 Participant reference by demonstratives in R29

ref.	husband	wife	baboons	goat kids
3-5	<i>ɛwo</i>			
7-8		<i>ɛwo</i>		
12-14			<i>jira</i>	
18-19	<i>ɛra</i>	<i>ɛwo</i>		
21		<i>ɛra</i>		
22				<i>vara (dir.sp.)</i>
25	<i>ɛwo</i>			
26	<i>ɛra</i>			
29	<i>ɛwo</i>			
30		<i>ɛwo</i>		
31	<i>ɛra</i>			
34				<i>vara (dir.sp.)</i>
35	<i>ɛra</i>			
36			<i>jira</i>	
37	<i>ɛwo</i>			
42			<i>jira</i>	
43	<i>ɛra</i>			
45			<i>jira</i>	
46		<i>ɛwo</i>		
50			<i>jira</i>	
53		<i>ɛwo</i>		
55	<i>ɛwo</i>			
58				<i>vara (dir.sp.)</i>
63		<i>ɛra</i>		

While there are no hard and fast rules, as exceptions can be found to any regularities, *ɛwo* tends to be used to reactivate a major participant after an episode involving other participants, whereas *ɛra* tends to be used to continue the active status of a major participant. Whether this use of demonstratives is

just an idiosyncrasy of this particular story's author or whether it is a viable stylistic alternative cannot be determined from the database alone but will have to be investigated with input from further texts and Rangi writers' discussion. In any case, the distribution of demonstratives in R29 is the same in the draft as in the revised version, and one can only speculate whether the author would have made any participant reference changes had she been made aware of the issue.

7.2.3 Motivations for participant reference changes

Taking the threefold distinction of participant reference function by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) as a starting point, it is possible to categorise motivations for stylistic changes accordingly. Additions of explicit nouns as in P7 above as well as the greater specification of individual nouns at the lexical level as demonstrated in the discussion of table 6.5 in 6.1.2 belong to the semantic category of disambiguating participants. This is probably the function most easily and consciously accessible to the authors. At least one interviewee (Kijuu) comments on the appropriateness of explicit subjects.

By comparison, the discourse-pragmatic function of regulating the activation status or prominence of participants presumably requires more conscious processing effort. Although pragmatic changes do not show up as topic in the editors' interviews, there are still certain trends evident in the story revisions. For example, it can be observed that the prominence of a major participant is

more often upheld by the insertion of that participant's proper name, as exemplified in (114) from R9.30, than it is reduced by equivalent deletions.

- 114) *Maa* *Isaka* *a-ka-anda* *ku-doma*
 and_then NAME 1-CONS-begin 15-go
 'And then [he] → Isaka began to go ...'

In the story, this clause occurs immediately after Isaka's speech so the explicit insertion of his name again keeps Isaka in the active file of the audience. How often to refer to a major participant explicitly with a name or a noun phrase, and when to let a simple subject marker on the verb suffice, seems to be a delicate balance, admittedly not only in Rangi but in other languages as well.

Conversely, the reduction of a participant's prominence is more often achieved through the deletion of accompanying demonstratives rather than the noun itself, as observed in the case study of P7 above. That this can extend to major participants as well is shown in (115a-b) from B10.19.

- 115a) *U-ra* *Saito* *maa* *a-ka-ruta* *i-ra* *n-jou*
 1-DEM NAME and_then 1-CONS-pull 9-dem 9-elephant
- b) *maa* *Saito* *a-ka-i-ruta* *mpaka* *taano*
 and_then NAME 1-CONS-9-pull up_to 9-rim
 '[That] Saito then pulled [that] elephant (out) → Then Saito pulled it up to the rim.'

In this as in some other cases, the use of distant demonstratives in the draft borders on overkill which is rightly corrected in the revision.

The third participant reference function then, the processing task at narrative breaks, not only features simplifications of subject switches as in P7 above but also increased referencing in order to overcome potential disruption at boundaries, e.g. between episodes. The repeated reactivation of Laahi in R2 at the beginning of each episode as described in table 7.3 under 7.2.2 above falls into this category. Also, the preference of some authors to specify each turn in dialogues with explicit names or nouns is an example of increased referencing at discourse boundaries, e.g. in B24.15 and 42, *akasea* ‘he said’ in the draft is augmented to *Laahi akasea* ‘Laahi said’ in the revision even though Laahi is talking to a group so the difference between sg and pl quotatives would suffice to disambiguate the dialogue partners. On the other hand, all four instances of reported speech between two parties in R37 only have *akasea* without an explicit subject (clauses 5, 7, 19 and 21). To what extent the speech sections are perceived as disruptions of the narrative may play a role in the preference of presence or absence of explicit subjects.

Finally, the motivation for some changes, especially if it is the only participant reference change in that particular text, can only be speculated about, e.g. in P14.21, as displayed in (116), where both object marker and explicit object noun are added in the revision.

- 116) *N-chúnkula* *a-ka-[rɪ-]vaa* *[rɪ-ra* *i-mu-ti]* *n-gúumi*
 9-hare 1-CONS-5-hit 5-DEM 5-3-tree 9-fist
 ‘Hare then hit [**that big tree**] (with his) fist.’

The addition is all the more puzzling as no object marker or explicit object occurs either in the preceding instance of *-vaa* ‘hit’ (clause 19) where Hare announces his intention to hit the tar-baby, or in the following instance (clause 23) where Hare hits the tar-baby again. More discussions directly with the writers themselves would have been an asset to the investigation of stylistic preferences and change in this matter.

Participant reference is a topic which, with a database as large as this study’s, could fill a book in its own right, and hence, a comprehensive treatment of all participant reference occurrences in the database is beyond the scope of this study. Still, I believe to have outlined the most relevant instances of changes in participant reference and given reasons for such changes.

7.3 Tense-aspect changes

As the keystone to T/A analysis, I give again the formula of Rangi verbal structure from (4) in 1.3.2, repeated here as (117).

- 117) Subject – Tense/Aspect – (Object) – Root – (Extension) – Final Vowel

Actually, that formula is a simplified one, as T/A morphemes can be found in the database which occur not as prefixes before the root but as suffixes between the verbal extension and the final vowel.

Table 7.6 T/A forms in the database

T/A label	morpheme	# v1	# v2
narrative	<i>-ka-</i>	1107	1147
past tenses	<i>-áa / -a^(ˀ) 149 / -aa-</i>	177/67/5	186/67/4
anterior aspect	<i>-ire</i>	188	170
progressive aspect	<i>-oo- / -ee- / -iyo-</i>	55/12/9	59/11/10
iterative aspect	<i>-ndo-</i>	48	56
general present/habitual	<i>-a / ´-aa</i>	17/7	14/9
future tenses/aspects	<i>-ri / -iise / -kaari / -naa-</i>	44/8/4/4	41/7/3/1
subjunctive/hortative ¹⁵⁰	<i>-e</i>	203	250
other subordination	<i>-ka- + -e / -ri ktt-</i>	27/12	21/11
copula + V	<i>ni + V / noo + V</i>	4/88	6/103
other compounds	<i>-j(á)a + V / -ari + V</i>	60/5	60/6
movement grams	<i>-too-¹⁵¹ / -joo- / -koo-</i>	15/15/8	14/20/12

By way of an overview, table 7.6 provides a list of the T/A forms occurring in the database with their frequency counts in both draft and revised versions. The T/A forms in the table at hand are an extended set compared to Stegen

¹⁴⁹ The distant past suffix *-a* is pronounced with a high tone which, however, does not appear in the Rangi orthography and hence not in the story database, as word-final high tones are never written.

¹⁵⁰ As the Toolbox software has not been set up to distinguish different functions of identical forms, both the subjunctive and the hortative functions of the suffix *-e* have been subsumed under one count in the statistics.

¹⁵¹ In the frequency counts of the verbal prefix *-too-*, all grammaticalisation stages of *-ñta* ‘go’ have been included.

(2010). In 5.1.4, two of the most frequent T/A forms, viz. past habitual *-áa* and consecutive *-ka-*, have been linked to particular sections of the narrative, namely the introduction and the main body of the story respectively. This concurs with Nurse's observation that

in narratives containing a string of situations, the general time framework is established initially, subsequent actions being indicated by the use of consecutive, narrative, or subsecutive. (Nurse 2007: 165)

Going beyond such previously confirmed general observations, the stylistic changes for each T/A category displayed in the table are exemplified and discussed one-by-one in the following sections.

7.3.1 Consecutive narrative tense

As is to be expected in narratives, the narrative tense prefix *-ka-* is by far the most frequent T/A morpheme found in the database. Accordingly, *-ka-* occurs almost exclusively after the introduction, which is usually governed by another past tense (cf. 7.3.2), and before the story's coda, where habitual or general present may be found (cf. 7.3.4). The narrative tense carries the main plotline and designates the consecutive events and actions of the major and minor participants of the story. Consequently, changing a *-ka-* clause into another T/A form tends to result in that clause being taken off the main plotline. Such a change has been observed 36 times in the database; most often, viz. twelve times, *-ka-* was changed into distant past *-a*, and other common changes involve progressive aspect, anterior aspect and the referential copula *noo*. The

motivation for the resultant T/A form is dependent upon its place in the narrative in relation to the main plotline, for example, whether its offline action is concurrent or preceding. However, in most cases, a change in the plotline status of the changed clause's events is involved. For example, in B6.27, as displayed in table 7.7, the consecutive *-ka-* of *akachuungira* 'he tied' is changed to distant past *-a* of *akulua* 'he drove' in the context of clauses 22-28; the concurrent lexical change from *-chuungira* to *-kulua* is not directly relevant to the T/A change here. The table follows the convention in the database appendix of marking in italic square brackets the translation of draft sections which have been changed in the revision.

Table 7.7 T/A forms in B6.22-28

verb in v1	verb in v2	clause event summary
22. A- <u>ka</u> -fika	A- <u>ka</u> -fika	he arrived home in the dark
23.	si a- <u>ko</u> -ona	he did not see well
24. <u>jiing-iire</u>	a- <u>ka</u> -anda kulua	[<i>cows entered</i>] → he started driving animals
25. arék- <u>ire</u>	(<i>cf. 28.</i>)	[<i>he left the goats</i>]
26.	si ataang- <u>a</u>	he did not realise
27. a- <u>ka</u> -chuungira	akul <u>u</u> - <u>a</u>	[<i>he tied the cows</i>] → he drove the cows
28.	a- <u>ka</u> -reka	he left the goats (<i>from 25.</i>)

The T/A sequence of consecutive-anterior-consecutive in the draft is changed to consecutive-past-consecutive in the revision, a change which includes the shifting of clause 25 to become clause 28 and the adding of clauses 23 and 26 as well as other T/A changes, namely twice changing anterior *-ire* to consecutive *-ka-* whereby clauses 24 and 25, being offline in the draft, become

part of the main plotline in the revision. The author thus elevates the status of the events of the cows entering the corral and the goats being left out, while adding the explanatory and hence offline event of not realising this mistake (clause 26) and making clause 27 an offline coordinate of that explanation.

Comparable albeit not necessarily similarly elaborate rearrangements of the main plotline can be observed in instances where *-ka-* is changed into other T/A forms, e.g. into subordinate temporal *-ka- + -e* in K16.67 as shown in (118) where the fact that the blind Maasai is hearing Mwiiru come is subordinated to him hiding himself, or into subjunctive *-e* in R38.5 as shown in (119) where the visit to the Sultan is subordinated to the two main participants talking about it.

- 118) *a-ka-teera* → *A-ka-teer-e* ~~*mũũ-ntũ*~~ *y-oo-kũũja*
 1-CONS-hear 1-CONS-hear-SBJV 1-person 1-PROG-come
 ‘and he heard ...’ → ‘When he heard someone coming ...’
- 119) *va-ka-doma* → *va-kii-sea* *va-dom-e* *kw-a*
 2-CONS-go 2-CONS:RECIP-say 2-go-SBJV 17-ASSOC
 ‘and they went...’ → ‘And they told each other that they should go to ...’

An exception to a resultant demotion to offline is a change from consecutive *-ka-* to referential copula *noo* in its emphatic function (on the dual function of *noo* cf. 7.3.6 below). This change, instead of taking the clause offline, rather highlights this clause’s particular consecutive action within the event structure. For example, Hare’s escape from Lion in P9.68, as displayed in (120), is by no

means taken off the plotline in the revision but rather marked as the climax of this particular episode of the story.

120) *maa* *n-tuuju* *i-ka-looka* → *noo* *tija*
 and_then 9-hare 9-CONS-leave COP:REF run_away
 ‘and then Hare left’ → ‘and then that’s running away’

If a T/A change of *-ka-* commonly indicates the target clause’s offline status, changes into *-ka-* conversely signal an elevation of that particular clause onto the main plotline. That another T/A form has been changed into *-ka-* has been observed 43 times in the database, thus constituting almost a quarter of the 175 T/A changes. Most often, anterior aspect *-ire* and distant past *-a* have been changed into *-ka-* (nine times each). A typical example is found in the concluding resolution of R43, clauses 23-24 as displayed in (121), where the draft’s two coordinate past clauses (121a) are differentiated in the revision into a subordinate anterior and a main plotline narrative clause (121b).

121a) *Va-ra* *va-hiinja* *va-tij-ir-a* *m-t-ii* *va-hona*
 2-DEM 2-girl 2-run-APPL-FV 3-tree-LOC 2:PAST-recover
 ‘Those girls ran to the tree, they recovered.’

b) *Va-ra* *va-hiinja* *va-tij-ire* *m-t-ii* *va-ka-hona*
 2-DEM 2-girl 2-run-ANT 3-tree-LOC 2-CONS-recover
 ‘Those girls (who) had run to the tree then recovered.’

As the girls had been advised to run to the tree beforehand (clause 19), this is not new information in clause 23, does not move the plotline forward and consequently can be relegated to a subordinate clause. By contrast, the fact that

they are spared from the catastrophe at hand is not only part of the main plotline but also a direct consequence of their following the advice and running to the tree, an action the description of which thus doubly warrants the use of consecutive *-ka-*.

Consecutive *-ka-* also occurs in combination with other T/A markers, e.g. *-katoo-* which will be dealt with under movement grams in 7.3.7, and *-ka- + -e* which, as a subordinate T/A form, will be discussed under 7.3.8. One combined T/A form, however, namely the joint narrative-anterior *-ka-* plus *-ire* does not fall into any of the following T/A categories. It only occurs once in the draft texts of the database, that is in R1.33,¹⁵² and that instance has been edited out in the revision as shown in (122a-b).

- 122a) *Vaa-nt# va meevo maa va-ka-fúm-ire*
 2-person 2:ASSOC 4:3pl:POSS and_then 2-CONS-appear-ANT
 ‘People from their (place) then ?had? appeared ...’
- b) *maa vaa-nt# vaa-ngi maa va-kuuja*
 and_then 2-person 2-other and_then 2-CONS:come
 ‘And then other people came ...’

¹⁵² The mention of two more occurrences in Stegen (2011 (in press)) is due to the erroneous interpretation of the form *akasiine* in P7.36 and 38 as containing the narrative morpheme *-ka-* when in reality, the form is a simple anterior of the root *-kasana* ‘continue’. The unusual suffix *-iine* is caused by the process of imbrication (Nurse 2008: 311) where in some verb roots ending in *-la* or *-na*, the anterior suffix *-ire* results in a consonant-vowel metathesis plus individual verb-dependent processes of deletion and vowel assimilation. Other examples would be B15b.15 *mwiiine* ‘you (pl) have seen’ from *mu + ona + ire*, P14.33 *nakushihiiine* ‘I have met you’ from *na + ku + shaana + ire*, or R7.21 *alwiiire* ‘she has fallen ill’ from *a + lwaala + ire*.

As surmised by Stegen (2010), this form is removed from a narrative context because it does not have a consecutive function. Rather, the combination of *-ka-* and *-ire* bears an irrealis function as evidenced in (123) from R8.49, constituting the conclusion of the miser’s nephew after the experience of being denied food during a joint journey.

123) *Siku yii-ngi si n-ka-yeend-ire neye tuku*
 9:day 9-other NEG 1sg-CONS-go-ANT with:3sg NEG
 ‘Another day I would not go with him.’

The proper use of this T/A form may have to be part of future training for Rangi writers.

7.3.2 Other past tenses

A table in Stegen (2006b: 8), here reproduced as table 7.8, links the four past tenses established by Masele & Nurse (2003) for the core Bantu F languages to the corresponding T/A forms in Rangi.

Table 7.8 Comparison of past tenses between Rangi and other Bantu F languages

	core Bantu F (Masele & Nurse 2003)	Rangi forms (<i>with semantic shift</i>)
Far Past	S-àa-V-a	S-áá-Ŵ-a (<i>Past Progressive</i>)
Hesternal Past	S-á-V-íle	S-á-Ŵ-iré (<i>Recent Past</i>)
Hodiernal Past	S-á-V-aga	S-á-V-áa (<i>Past Habitual / Distant Past</i>)
Immediate Past	S-á-V-a	S-a-V-á (<i>Intermediate Past</i>)

Three of these four Rangi past T/A forms are observed in the database; the omission of the recent past *-iré* form could be due to the Rangi writers failing to

distinguish this particular past orthographically from anterior aspect *-ire* (cf. 7.3.3). However, an inspection of all relevant forms in the database did not produce an example which was unambiguously past rather than anterior. Possibly, the *-iré* past is not appropriate in narrative contexts.

The orthographic similarity of the remaining three past forms is an equal challenge to Rangi writers. Moreover, as shown in (124a-e), two of these forms are only distinguished tonally from two present T/A forms (cf. 7.3.4), and one of these changes, viz. simple past versus general present, is not marked in the orthography. To enhance comprehension, the actually pronounced high tones have been given in square brackets behind the orthographic forms.

124a)	<i>nadoma</i>	[nadomá]	‘I went’	(simple past)
b)	<i>nadoma</i>	[nadóma]	‘I go’	(general present)
c)	<i>nadomáa</i>	[nádómáa]	‘I used to go’	(past habitual)
d)	<i>nadómaa</i>	[nadómáa]	‘I go’	(present habitual)
e)	<i>naadoma</i>	[náádóma]	‘I was going’	(past progressive)

Correspondingly, this results in a number of changes between these forms which do not seem to be motivated by stylistics but rather by orthographic uncertainty, among them simple past to past progressive (e.g. in K1.43), to past habitual (e.g. R7.6) or to present habitual (e.g. K15.33), and past habitual to simple past (e.g. in R9.18).

Still, there is evidence that at least past habitual *-áa* and simple past *-a* have distinct uses in narrative. While the overwhelming majority of *-áa* occurrences

are in the introductory sections prior to the main narrative body (as stated in the introduction of 7.3 above), there are a few non-introductory uses, e.g. in R8.15-18 as shown in (125a-d), where the past habitual interrupts a sequence of consecutive *-ka-*'s in order to provide some explanatory background information.

- 125a) *Siku i-mwi maa a-ka-keru n-jira ...*
 9:day 9-one and_then 1-CONS-cut 9-path
- b) *Ku-fuma Ula va-dom-áa na Haubi*
 15-come_from NAME 2:PAST-go-HAB to NAME
- c) *too-lumbya n-duu jaachwe*
 ITIVE-greet 10-relative 10:3sg:POSS
- d) *n-jir-ii maa va-ka-humuluka*
 9-way-LOC and_then 2-CONS-rest

‘One day then, he started a journey ... From Kondoa, they went to Haubi to greet his relatives. On the way then, they rested.’

Remarkably, all such non-introductory uses are absent in the drafts but have been added in the revision only. More frequently, such explanations employ compound verbs (cf. 7.3.6).

The past progressive marker *-aa-* is exceedingly rare in the database. Only three stories, B10, R12 and R24, have it in both their draft and revised version. In addition, it occurs in the draft of K7 and R7 and in the revision of K1. As the representative example in (126a-b) from R24.19-20 shows, which occurs directly after the story’s section of the discussion between Hare and Hyena during their journey, *-aa-* denotes an event which extends over an undefined

the narrative which are not immediately part of the main plotline. However, a closer look at its distribution across the different workshop venues reveals that its use may be influenced by locational preference; of its 67 occurrences in the database, well over half appear in texts from Bolisa (36 times in the drafts, and 37 times in the revisions). Eight uses of *-a* occur in the draft of B8 alone (between clauses 19 and 60), and listing these over against the uses of *-ka-*, supposedly the main narrative T/A form, as done in table 7.9, shows that past *-a* need not be subsidiary to consecutive *-ka-*.

Table 7.9 Past *-a* versus consecutive *-ka-* in B8.19-60

ref.	T/A form	content summary
19	amũrya (<i>-ka-</i> in revision)	son's request to be trained
22	amusea	mother's command to string a bow
26	amusea (deleted in revision)	mother's continued command
29	adoma	son goes hunting
30	akalasa (<i>-a</i> in revision)	son shoots wild animals
31	akafyũka (<i>-a</i> in revision)	son returns home
35	amũdũmba (deleted in revision)	mother's praise of her son
47	akachimika (no revision after 40)	son burns ogre's living quarters
48	rafuma	ogre comes out
50	rikafweitirwa	ogre is thrown stone into stomach
51	rikakwya	ogre dies
53	akaanza chuna	son cuts his people out of the ogre
55	akamukera	son cuts his uncle's finger
57	vamũheera	rescued people reward the son
58	aloomba	uncle requests compensation
60	amũriha	son

Only main clauses, and not subordinate clauses, are listed in the table. Unfortunately, the story's author did not manage to finish the revision; beyond clause 40, the story only exists in draft. Still, the fact that she did not edit out all occurrences of past *-a* and even changed two instances of *-ka-* to *-a* (clauses 30 and 31) shows that *-ka-* is not the only main narrative T/A form in this story. Moreover, it does not seem possible to hang the story on the events expressed with verbs in the *-ka-* narrative tense alone. Both consecutive *-ka-* and past *-a* together carry this story's main plotline. Possibly, the difference between these two forms is that *-ka-* signals an event immediately following from the previous event whereas *-a* leaves more room for temporal gaps between consecutive events. Also, it has to be noted that B8 is not unique in this particular use of past *-a*; B12 also has a stretch of *-a* T/A forms (clauses 3-14) which help carry the main plotline.

While *-ka-* is definitely the predominant T/A form in a narrative's main plotline, experiments with past *-a* in creative narrative writing and at least discussions about the effects of its alternative use in the main body of stories should be encouraged.

7.3.3 Anterior aspect

With the anterior aspect suffix *-ire*, we leave the domain of main narrative T/A forms and enter the domain of those T/A forms which relate the events of a

story to each other in a different manner from consecutive narrative chains.

Nurse states it to be a defining characteristic of anterior that

it refers to a past situation with current relevance (mostly for dynamic verbs), or to a situation which started in the past and continues into the present (mostly for stative verbs). [...] Perfect is not used in this book because experience shows that readers have trouble keeping perfect and perfective, which are not synonymous, apart.

(Nurse 2008: 308)

In the database, anterior *-ire* occurs mainly in the following two contexts: either

a) as the verb in the first clause of a longer sentence which takes up the main event of the immediately preceding sentence and which is followed by a sequence of *-ka-* clauses (this function as point of departure is discussed under subordination in 7.3.8 below), or b) as the description of an event which had occurred prior to the current event in the narrative but which has a direct bearing on the narrative flow at hand. An example of this latter use is shown in (127) from B3.15-16.

127) *Maa* *va-ka-shaana* *maa-ji* *ya-mém-ire*
and_then 2-CONS-meet 6-water 6-fill-ANT
‘And they found that the water had filled up (impl.: the gully).’

Other uses are in relative clauses referring to a participant to whom something happened earlier in the story, or in main clauses inflecting a verb which tends to have a stative connotation in Rangi. It is in these two contexts that *-ire* is often replaced by either past *-a* or consecutive *-ka-*, as exemplified in (128a-b) from P7.29 and B6.29 respectively.

- 129a) *y-oo-saakwa* 'it is being desired' (B7.42)
 b) *~~muu~~-ndo-simira* 'you repeatedly tell' (passim, cf. 5.1.6)
 c) *a-heera* 'he gives' (P5.36)
 d) *ahámír-aa* 'he habitually hits' (R12.51)

The progressive prefix *-oo-* with its dialectal variants *-ee-* and *-iyo-* is, like the anterior *-ire*, dependent on inter-clause temporal relationships. The progressive is signalling simultaneity, and as such it is the only T/A form of the four discussed in this section which is also quite frequent in the main body of the narrative. There, it often occurs in connection with perception verbs, be it e.g. that Mbúi's friends hear that *yooloolwa* 'she is getting married' (B30.4-5), be it that Chicken finds people *voorima iúndii* 'they are farming in the field' (K15.34-35). Also, the progressive marker is frequently found in combination with other T/A forms as in *vee-ndo-too-kiikala* (2:PROG-ITER-ITIVE-sit) 'they are repeatedly going to live together' in R13.36. A couple of instances where a main narrative form in the draft has been changed into *-oo-* or *-ee-* suggest that present progressive may be used for tension-building effects in pre-climactic sections of the story, e.g. in K14.53 *vakatiija* → *vootiija* 'and they ran → they are running' as the main participants start their flight from the demons, or in R1.25 *afuma* → *eefuma* 'she came out → she is coming out' as the wife is about to meet the lion which has already devoured her husband. This effect of immediacy also comes out in B14.9-10, as displayed in (130), where the second clause of the resolution is changed from consecutive *-ka-* into progressive *-ee-*.

- 130) *M-bula i-ka-vaa maa va-ka-rima* → *vee-rima*
 9-rain 9-CONS-hit and_then 2-CONS-farm 2:PROG-farm
 ‘The rain fell and they farmed → they are farming.’

Still, it seems that the use of *-oo-* can be overdone. This is observable especially in Kondoa where the majority, viz. five out of eight changes from progressive into a main narrative tense occur. As shown in (131-132) from K1.37 and K14.12 respectively, the use of progressive seems to be perceived as inappropriate at the start of a narrative episode, particularly with *siku imwi* ‘one day’.

- 131) *Siku i-mwi vaa-ntu vyoo-saaka* → *va-saak-áa*¹⁵³
 9:day 9-one 2-person 2:PROG-want 2:PAST-want-HAB
 ‘One day, the people are wanting ... → used to want ...’

- 132) *Siku i-mwi y-oo-kũja* → *a-kũja*¹⁵⁴
 9:day 9-one 1-PROG-come 1-CONS:come
 ‘One day, he is coming ... → he came ...’

The iterative prefix *-ndo-* is almost exclusively used to describe events which happen repeatedly like Isaka robbing people in R9 or the younger sibling giving food to the older ones in B12. Remarkably, in all four instances where an iterative in the draft is changed, it is changed into progressive *-oo-*; moreover, all four instances involve speech verbs (*-sea* ‘say’ in B1.14 and R30.32; *-lũsa*

¹⁵³ This revised T/A form was then changed into main narrative tense *vakasaaka* ‘they wanted’ by the typist.

¹⁵⁴ The verb stem of ‘come’ is *-ũj-*. In the progressive form *yookũja*, an epenthetic *k* is inserted between the aspectual marker and the verb stem; in the consecutive form *akũja*, the vowel of the narrative marker *-ka-* assimilates to the verb stem vowel. The distant past form would be *ũja* ‘she came’ as e.g. in K16.6, with the vowel of the subject marker *a-* assimilating.

‘speak’ in B27.21) or movement verbs (-*doma* ‘go’ in P7.39). In light of the fact that all these acts of speaking or going are actual instances of repeated actions, the motivation for these changes should be discussed among Rangi writers. Further investigation is all the more merited as a) there are several instances of iterative speech and movement verbs in the main narrative sections of the revisions (e.g. B8.15, K16.19, R7.42), and b) main narrative T/A forms in the draft which denote repeated actions are changed into iterative forms in the revision as exemplified in (133-134) from B31.46 and P3.5.

133) *a-ka-taik-ir-a* → *a-kaa-**ndo**-taika ha-ra n-dir-ii*
 1-CONS-vomit-APPL- 1-CONS-ITER- 16-DEM 9-hide-LOC
 FV vomit

‘... he **repeatedly** threw up onto the hide.’

134) *noo siit-w-a* → *ii-**ndo**-siit-w-a na va-hänja*
 COP:REF refuse-PASS-FV 1-ITER-refuse- by 2-girl
 PASS-FV

‘...that is being refused → he is **repeatedly** refused by the girls.’

The remaining two T/A forms in this section, present habitual *-aa* and general present *-a*, occur less frequently in the narrative database than *-oo-* and *-ndo-*. For once, they do not seem to have a place in the main body of a story apart from reported speech and, with a few exceptions, are confined to general statements like morals or proverbs in the coda. Possibly due to its homography with the distant past marker *-a* (cf. 7.3.2 above), the general present may be on its way of being replaced by present habitual, as has been observed in the

preparation of the Rangi proverb booklet (SIL 2005b) where “many proverbs had to be rewritten” (Stegen 2006b: 6). In the narrative database, present *-a* only occurs in the stories of P5, P9 and P10 more than once, suggesting that this T/A form may be preferred in Pahi.¹⁵⁵ Also, among the present *-a* forms in the Pahi stories are the only occurrences of the general present in titles (P5.1 and 9.1). It remains to be seen whether present habitual will be used in titles as well, taking the place of the general present like it has done in coda elements (e.g. B14.16, R10.33, R12.51 and R30.43).

7.3.5 Future and inceptive

Rangi future tense is formed with the auxiliaries *-ri* and *-iise*, for general and immediate future respectively; future forms are the only T/A compound forms in Rangi where the verb stem precedes the auxiliary.¹⁵⁶ Most often, they occur in reported speech, and the distinction between general or distant future with *-ri* and immediate future with *-iise* is clearly visible. In B15b.15-16, as displayed in (135), the mother is talking about an unspecified point in the future when the newly planted tree will dry up which will be the sign for her two sons to return home.

¹⁵⁵ Possibly, this preference may be an indication that the geographically close highland dialect of Haubi, which is more traditional than the lowland dialects, merely is slower to replace archaic forms.

¹⁵⁶ This counter-universal phenomenon has been described for the closely related Mbugwe language (Bantu F34) by Mous (2000). A detailed study of this phenomenon in Rangi is under way (Gibson 2010).

- 135) *Kooni* *mw-iine* *u-nyam-ir-a*
 If/when 2pl-see:ANT 3:GEN-dry-APPL-FV
kira *muu-ntu* *taanga* *a-ri*
 each 1-person know 1-be
 ‘When you have seen (the tree) it is dried up, each person will
 know ...’

In P14.34, as displayed in (136), the farmer threatens to kill the hare on the spot, the immediacy of *-iise* being compounded by ‘here’ and ‘now’.

- 136) *Haaha* *ni*¹⁵⁷ *ku-ku-ulaa* *n-iise* *aha*
 now COP 15-2sg-kill 1-going_to 16:DEM
 ‘Now I am going to kill you right here.’

Outside of reported speech, the general future can also be found in concluding morals, e.g. as shown in (137) from R35.27-28.

- 137) *Mw-eene* *si* *a-chuund-w-a* *na* *tyo*
 1-having NEG 1:GEN-teach-PASS-FV PREP mother
chuund-w-a *a-ri* *ni* *vaa-ntu* *au* *dunia*
 teach-PASS-FV 1-be COP 2-person or world
 ‘Who is not taught by (his) mother will be taught by people
 or the world.’

The immediate future, by contrast, has been observed outside of reported speech for special stylistic effects. For example, at the beginning of the first episode of R17, the lioness asks the cow permission to go home to drink some water; however, the evaluative comment in R17.20-21, as displayed in (138a-b), shows that she has ulterior motives.

¹⁵⁷ This copular function of focus is discussed in the next section, 7.3.6.

- 138a) *Kuumbari siimba nuu saaka y-iise*
 IDEO 9:lion DEM want 9-going_to
- b) *i-ka-mu-mery-e mw-aana w-a ng'oombe*
 9-CONS-1-swallow-SBJV 1-child 1-ASSOC 9:cow
 'Surprise, this lioness is going to want that she swallow the child of the cow!'

The immediacy of *-iise* matches well with this evaluative aside by an all-knowing narrator right in the middle of the narrative action. A similarly immediate effect is achieved by the negative inceptive *-naa-*,¹⁵⁸ as shown in (139) from R1.28 where Mother Mbeyu steps up from the waterhole to be eaten by the lion who has just devoured her husband.

- 139) *Mu-dala Mbeyu si a-naa-sea "Che?"*
 1-woman NAME NEG 1-ICPT-say what
 'Mother Mbeyu has not said "what?" yet, ...'

The affirmative equivalent *-kaari* is not tied to a specific section of the narrative either, being found in reported speech (K14.41), as a temporal adverbial at the start of a complicating action (R17.15) and, as a compound verb form together with present habitual, in a conclusion (R30.43). Neither inceptive nor future T/A forms, probably due to their referring to a specific time, are involved in any conspicuous changes between draft and revised versions.

¹⁵⁸ The inceptive pair *-kaari* 'still' and *-naa-* 'not yet' straddles the boundary between present and future. Nurse (2008) contains a detailed discussion of this T/A category.

7.3.6 Copulas and compounds

Both the copula *ni* and its referential form *noo* are usually found in the database in contexts where they function as simple and emphatic copula respectively. These uses may occur in any narrative section, e.g. in the introduction, as in (140) from R30.2, or in the phrase *asewáa noo ...* ‘s/he used to be called ...’; in reported speech in the main narrative body, as in (141) from K7.19; or in the coda in proverbs like (142) from K16.97 or in the formulas *iki k̄̄nt̄̄ ni choocho* ‘this thing is true’ and *noo kalusímo ja aka* ‘it is a little story like this’ (cf. 5.1.6).

- 140) *m-píchi na n-chúnkula ni ki-jeeng-i*
 9-hyena and 9-hare COP 7-build-AGNT
 ‘Hyena and Hare are friends.’
- 141) *ni jooli a-ri valuka m̄̄-temi*
 COP how 1-be become 1-chief
 ‘How is it (that) he will become king?’
- 142) *baa i-tuundu ni m̄̄-nt̄̄*
 even 5-thicket COP 1-person
 ‘Even a thicket is a person.’

However, *ni* and *noo* have also evolved functions as agentive preposition in passive constructions (see example (143) from B30.52) and conjunction of purpose (see example (144) from P5.5) respectively.

- 143) *a-ka-se-w-a ni va-ra va-dala*
 1-CONS-say-PASS-FV COP 2-DEM 2-woman
 ‘She was told by these women ...’

- 144) *a-ka-doma noo tema n-kwi*
 1-CONS-go COP:REF cut 9-firewood
 ‘She went in order to cut firewood.’

Finally, the copulas are employed in compound verb forms as markers of focus, as in (145) from P10.40,¹⁵⁹ or as a pre-climactic tension-building device, as in (146) from R2.51, which occurs just before the host realises that Laahi’s goat presumably has been gored to death by the host’s cow.

- 145) *kúri na-yo ni i-sakaata vii m-piimbi*
 9:dog and-9:REF COP 9:GEN-hunt only 9-hyrax
 ‘... and the dog, it only hunts hyraxes.’

- 146) *u-ra mu-maka noo doma na waam-ii*
 1-DEM 1-guy COP:REF go PREP 9:yard-LOC
 ‘and that guy, as he’s going to the yard ...’

It is in these instances of focal or emphatic function that the importance of the copulas for stylistic effect is most pronounced. Although there are only few changes involving a copula as focus marker, the change in B10.34 from a focus form of the immediate future *ni teerera iise* ‘she is about to listen’ to the main narrative *akateera* ‘and she heard’ in the revision may be indicative of the suitability of focus markers in different contexts. In B10, the issue is that the sister is blackmailing her brother into giving her his food lest she tell their father that the brother freed an elephant from their father’s trap. It is in this

¹⁵⁹ Nurse (2008: 207-209) discusses how copulas have developed into focus markers, which is attested especially for Bantu E languages in Northern Tanzania and Kenya which are geographically close to Rangi.

situation that the mother overhears the blackmail. Presumably, the author felt that the focus marker gave too much prominence to the mother's overhearing which is not that central to the story as she does not tell on her son anyway.

Other forms of auxiliaries found in compound verbs, apart from uses of the copula and the future compounds described in the previous section, are built with various forms of *-ja*¹⁶⁰ and *-ari*, distant and recent past of 'to be' respectively (cf. Stegen 2006b). As the example of (147) from K15.6 shows, these forms are mainly used to supply background information, and a number of these forms' changes between draft and revision are influenced more by the same orthographic uncertainty which has been reported for different T/A forms of past tense in 7.3.2 than by the stylistic function of compound verbs.

147)	<i>Vaa-ja</i>	<i>viikal-áa</i>	→	<i>Va-j-áa</i>	<i>viikala</i>
	2:PAST:PROG-COME	2:PAST:sit-HAB		2:PAST-COME-HAB	2:sit
	'They were usually living ... → They used to live ...'				

In light of these and other changes like from the past anterior *iija asúmwiire* 'he had taken' to a compound of two simple pasts *iija asumula* 'he was-took' in R24.4-6, Rangi compound verbs are another area which would benefit from further investigation and a detailed description.

¹⁶⁰ Cox & Stegen (to appear) have found that a number of these forms, e.g. *ajáa* versus *ijáa* versus *avijáa*, are dialectal variants. A contrast between dynamic and stative, as suggested by Dunham (2004), could not be confirmed.

7.3.7 Movement grams

Three morphemes in Rangi can be subsumed under the category “movement gram”, a term borrowed from Nicolle who defines it as a movement verb which has grammaticalised into “a morpheme of one of the functional, or grammatical, classes, such as prepositions and TAM (tense-aspect-modality) markers” (2002: 47): itive *-too-* derived from *-ita* ‘go’, ventive *-joo-* derived from *-uja* ‘come’ and switch-locational *-koo-* derived from *ku-*, the marker of locative noun class 17.¹⁶¹ For itive *-too-*, the grammaticalisation chain is actively visible in Rangi texts, as shown in the examples from B30.43, B28.18 and B30.18 in (148-150) respectively.

148)	<i>a-kiita</i> 1-CONS:go ‘she went to say (to Mbui’s grandmother) ...’	<i>ku-luusa</i> 15-say
149)	<i>va-kiito-kemer-w-a</i> 2-CONS:go-call-PASS-FV ‘they went-were called’	
150)	<i>va-ka-too-luusa</i> 2-CONS-ITIVE-say ‘they went-said’	

While the first step is even actively performed by one author, namely in R17.23, by changing *ikiita mumerya* to *ikiitomumerya* ‘she went to swallow it’, the second step has been described as follows:

¹⁶¹ Nurse (2008) also discusses the innovation of itive and, less commonly, ventive in Bantu but he only mentions explicitly forms related to *-ka-*.

the verb stem loses its initial vowel <i> which in turn causes the <a> of the narrative past marker to resurface and, by way of compensatory lengthening, the following vowel <o> to become long.
(Stegen 2010: 244f)

The use of these movement grams does not seem to be dictated by mere grammatical requirements as both their reduction to simple consecutive *-ka-* (e.g. B10.26, P7.17) as well as their addition to *-ka-* forms (e.g. B5.19, P15.3) is observed in the database in contexts where their presence, at least semantically, appears to be appropriate. In analogy to the functions of participant reference established by Dooley & Levinsohn (cf. 7.2.3), an addition of a movement gram like *-koo-* in (151) from B10.8-9 may be said to have a processing function of bridging the gap of a disruption in location.

151) *aa-ndo-va-tuma va-ka-laang-e* → *koo-laanga*
 1:PAST-ITER-2-send 2-CONS-look-SBJV LOC-look
 ‘he repeatedly sent them that they should look → to look
 there ...’

In this example, the father is sending his children to his trap where they should look whether animals have fallen in. So, there is a switch in location but neither itive *-too-* nor ventive *-joo-* would be appropriate as the participants doing the sending and the looking are different. The provision of the switch-locational *-koo-* then may enhance cohesion and enable the audience to follow the story better.

7.3.8 Subjunctive and other forms of subordination

The subjunctive, marked by the suffix *-e*, is the second most frequent T/A form in the database after consecutive *-ka-*. It denotes a variety of clause dependencies where one clause is subordinated to another, ranging from complements to hortatives, and this functional versatility certainly contributes to its frequency. While subjunctive is not inordinately often involved in changes between draft and revised versions, it is exchanged with a wider range of other T/A forms than any other T/A change observed. The T/A forms which are changed into subjunctive in the revision include consecutive *-ka-* (B6.20), anterior *-ire* (R41.46), progressive *-oo-* (P9.63) and future *-ri* (P9.50). Conversely, the T/A forms into which subjunctive is changed include all of the above plus iterative *-ndo-* (P5.38) and referential copula *noo* (K16.30). These changes in both directions occur equally frequently in reported speech as in main narrative sections, and in the latter case mainly involve major participants of the story. A good example comes from an episode of K14 where the sister-in-law finds out about the demon husband. The 4-clause stretch K14.27-30 of reported speech, which represents her formulating a plan to herself with the main idea being expressed in the subjunctive *niivise* ‘that I hide myself’, is reduced to the single narrative clause of K14.28 in the revision, shown in (152).

152) *maa* *a-kii-visa* *ka-lu-sek-ii*
 and_then 1-CONS:REFL-hide 12-11-forest-LOC
 ‘then she hid herself in a bush.’

Presumably, the author felt that the sister-in-law's plan to hide herself should not be elaborated upon extensively in reported speech, thereby giving it more prominence in the narrative than the subsequent discovery of her sister's husband's demon nature. Accordingly, the author, by using consecutive *-ka-* to express the action of hiding, turned it into an equal event in the chain of consecutive actions.

In a reverse example, a main narrative clause can be demoted to a subordinate clause. In B6, Bodo, the main participant, dozes off while herding his goats and cattle, and after waking up and realising that it is getting dark, expressed in clauses 17 and 18 with consecutive *-ka-* verb forms, he starts his journey back home. This action of starting the return journey is expressed as a coordinate clause with a *-ka-* narrative verb form in the draft of B6.19-20 (153a), yet changed into a subordinate clause with subjunctive *-e* in the revision (153b) where it is now dependent on a *-ka-* form of the perception verb *-ona* 'see'.

- 153a) *Koona* *jeyyo* *a-ka-anda* *fyɯɯka*
 15:see like:9:REF 1-CONS-begin return
 'Seeing this, he began to return ...'
- b) *A-koona* *a-and-e* *safáari* *y-oo* *fyɯɯka*
 1-CONS:see 1-begin-SBJV 9:journey 9-REF return
 'He saw that he should begin his return journey ...'

Presumably, the author considered Bodo's realisation more central to the story than the actual start of the return journey. So, the use of subjunctive forms is often related to that clause's prominence in the story line and its dependence on or link with other event clauses.

In addition to general subordination through subjunctive, there are three ways to express temporal subordination, marked by anterior *-ire*, the consecutive subjunctive expressed with the affix combination *-ka-+ -e* and a compound verb with the auxiliary *-ri* respectively. The aspectual differences correspond to the meaning of the T/A markers employed. All three temporal subordinates can function as point of departure, that is as a pre-topical cohesive device which takes an event, explicit or implicit, of the immediately preceding sentence and turns it into a subordinate hook for the next mainline event. Examples of this function for each of the subordinates are given in (154) from K16.31-33, in (155) from B13b.9-10 and in (156) from B27.8-9.

- 154) *Viínuk-ire* *va-ka-yeenda* *va-ka-fika*
 2:get_up-ANT 2-CONS-go 2-CONS-arrive
 'When they had got up, they went and they arrived ...'
- 155) *A-ka-fik-e* *sibitaar-ii* *a-ka-shaana* *va-hudumu*
 1-CONS-arrive-SBJV hospital-LOC 1-CONS-find 2-personnel
 'When he arrived at the hospital, he found the personnel ...'
- 156) *Va-ri* *fika* *kaáy-ii* *maa* *va-kũri-w-a*
 2-be arrive home-LOC and_then 2-CONS:ask-PASS-FV
 'As they were arriving at home, they were asked ...'

Changes between draft and revision again involve the movement of clauses on and off the main storyline carried by the consecutive *-ka-* verb forms. Examples of both directions are the promotion of the children’s arrival at the river in B3.13 from *vaari fika* ‘as they were arriving’ to *vakafika* ‘they arrived’, and the demotion of the blind Maasai hearing Mwiiru come in K16.67 from *akateera* ‘he heard’ to *akateere* ‘when he heard’. In addition, there are also instances where the aspectual dimension is specified more clearly. These concern not only the change of a T/A-unspecific infinitive into the specific subordinates *-ka- + -e* (R22.43, R41.40) or *-ire* (K14.21) but also, as shown in (157) from B10.49, the change of the internal structure of the expressed subordinate action.

- 157) *Vaa-ri* *joo-humula* → *Va-humwiire* *ku-riina*
 2:PAST-be VENT-finish 2-finish:ANT 15-harvest
 ‘As they were coming to finish → When they had finished
 harvesting ...’

This particular subordinate clause introduces the action of the father who starts descending from the tree and removing the pegs in order to leave his son stranded up there. The author seems to have considered it more accurate that the father started his descent after and not towards the end of their previous action of harvesting honey. So, in addition to alterations in information structure, changes are also observed which lead to greater accuracy or greater specification of aspectual features of the event in question.

7.4 Summary of clause level phenomena

The three domains which were investigated at the clause level, viz. word order, participant reference and the use and flow of T/A forms, provide powerful devices for a skilled writer to weave together a cohesive flow of story participants and story events with varying foci. The different ways in which story participants are introduced establish them as major, minor or props. Continuity and prominence of participants is achieved, for example, by topicalisation through word order changes and voice-of-verb transformations as well as by referencing through demonstratives. The same issues of continuity and prominence pertain to story events which are identified as part of the main plotline by narrative prefix *-ka-* (and sometimes by distant past suffix *-a*) and as dependent or offline clauses by aspectual markers *-ire* and *-oo-*, subjunctive *-e* and other means of subordination. The prominence of an event, especially if occurring close to the story climax, can also be marked by the copulas in their focus function. Furthermore, greater specification of the type of action and greater cohesion between participants, events and their locations can be achieved e.g. through the appropriate use of iterative *-ndo-*, ventive *-joo-* and itive *-too-*. In summary, changes in word order, participant reference and T/A forms often indicate whether the author intends to promote or demote a particular participant or event.

Two more observations may be relevant for aspiring Rangi writers. First, issues of orthographic uncertainty have been observed both in auxiliaries of verbal compounds and for certain T/A forms distinguished only by tone and vowel length (especially in past tense and habitual aspect). A focus on their differentiation and proper spelling may have to be provided in future writers workshops. Second and last, narratives can be improved and made more interesting through the insertion of evaluative comments. The use of future *-iise* and inceptive *-naa-* in narrator's asides as well as sections of reported speech by the story participants have been observed to fulfill evaluative functions and could be profitably employed in story writing.

8. CONCLUSION

[...] the multilayered view of language [...] could also be seen as a basis for imagining a holistic, comprehensive writing pedagogy. In such a view of writing, written text, writing processes, the writing event, and the sociopolitical context of writing would be understood to be progressively embedded within one another, and intrinsically interrelated. (Ivanič 2004: 241)

The quest for a vernacular writing style in Rangi is definitely still in its initial stages, given that systematic literature production in Rangi has only been going on for a few years. Even so, the text collection of this study supplies ample data to serve as a benchmark in the development of Rangi writing style. Within the confines of the chosen parameters, the data of this text corpus has been described, analysed and interpreted in the preceding four chapters. At the conclusion of this study then, the question remains how my description, analysis and interpretation of the data has contributed to answering my opening research question as formulated in chapter 1:

- **What evidence for stylistic preferences can be found in texts that were produced by Rangi authors writing in their mother tongue for the first time?**

A synopsis of the evidence, drawn from the findings as detailed in chapters 4-7, is given in 8.1; this summary recapitulates observed characteristics of Rangi

narrative discourse at the text, word and clause level, predominantly in the Levinsohnian narrative framework, but it falls short of convincingly relating these characteristics to stylistic preferences. This shortcoming may be due to the imprecision of the term “stylistic preferences”. Consequently, a more detailed discussion of style ensues in 8.2, including an evaluation of what can be said about stylistic preferences based on this study’s data.

In addition to answering my primary research question, this study has also provided supplementary outcomes like the setting up of differential parameters for successive story versions, the development of a tagging process specific to inter-text differences in the Toolbox software as well as the categorisation of Rangi stories according to Schmidt (2001). Moreover, it contributed to my secondary objectives of providing a description of Rangi narrative discourse and of making recommendations to improve future Rangi and other vernacular language writers workshops. Again, such a description is limited to the particular structural elements investigated and their functions in the narrative. Hence, a discussion is presented in 8.3 about gaps in the chosen analytical parameters for the elicited data, evaluating in particular which other linguistic levels could have been beneficially investigated. Then in 8.4, the aforementioned recommendations for writers workshops are given. The chapter closes with 8.5, a concluding outlook.

8.1 Summary of observed stylistic features

This section mainly gives a summary of the description of Rangi narrative features. It does not yet relate these observations and findings to the question of writing style or to the overall achievements of this study. Rather it aims to provide the reader with an overview of the descriptive results of chapter 5-7, so that she will not have to compile such a synopsis herself.

At the text level, a tripartite structure has been observed for Rangi narratives. While the naturalness of titles in Rangi stories is doubtful, presumably having been influenced by Swahili literature and the instructions given out at the workshops, the building blocks of a) introduction, b) main narrative body consisting of complicating action(s) and the corresponding climax, and c) resolution and/or coda have been identified. The introduction is characterised by the formula *Aho kali kwavijáa kwatĩite* ‘In times of old there used to be ...’ (although more alternatives would be appreciated), by the predominant use of past habitual verbal suffix *-áa* and by the introduction of usually at least one major participant. In the main body of the narrative, complicating actions can be distinguished into generic over against specific ones. Still, both usually start out with a T/A switch from the introduction’s past habitual *-áa* to the consecutive *-ka-*, which carries the story’s main plotline, albeit complementary uses of distant past *-a* being possible. The prominence of each episode’s most important participants is achieved through topicalisation,

similar changes in word order and the use of demonstratives. The final and concluding section of a Rangi story allows for more variety than the introduction, ranging from one-clause resolutions in the *-ka-* T/A form to formulaic codas like *Noo kalusímo ja aka* ‘It is a little story like this’ to morals and/or proverbs in a general T/A form (present *-a* or habitual *-aa*). It should be noted that introductions and codas as well as participant reference throughout the narrative are influenced by whether the text is a self-contained short story or part of a larger epic, especially where this is about a well-known character from Rangi’s oral tradition.

At the lexical level, the main motivations for stylistic changes in nouns and verbs seem to be increased factual accuracy and greater specification of individual lexical items. Less frequently employed incentives are an enlarged emotive impact, especially through the addition of adverbs and certain colloquialisms in the context of reported speech, and increased pre-climactic tension through verb deletion. A special challenge for the correct interpretation of lexical connotations is the lack of lexicographic studies and detailed lexical descriptions in Rangi so that it is difficult to impossible to categorise some lexical items as “literary” or “common” without the vagaries of mere speculation. To a lesser extent, the acceptability of individual Swahili loanwords falls into the same kind of category of requiring further discussion which will have to be held by aspiring Rangi authors themselves. Such

limitations notwithstanding, the distribution of loanwords over against original Rangi terms in kinship terminology as already observed by Kesby in the 1960s has been confirmed, and a second sense of the originally consecutive conjunction *maa* as contrastive or counterexpectational when in second position in the clause has also been established, thus giving evidence for the relevance of word order to the meaning of a word. As this contrastive function of *maa* often co-occurs with subject topicalisation, it acts as a further link to participant reference, in addition to issues of prominence through changes of nominal constituents at the lexical level.

At the clause level, in addition to its connection to the text and word levels at both sides of the spectrum, a close interaction of participant reference with word order on the one hand, and with T/A flow on the other has been observed. The typology of word order changes in the database, as established in 7.1, has covered predominantly voice-of-verb transformations and the positions of nominal objects and nominal subjects, changes which mainly increase or reduce the prominence of participants. In the analysis of participant introductions, in addition to Levinsohn's major participants, minor participants and props, the categories of frame participants and sub-participants were discussed; also, a distinction has been proposed between major participants which are part of a Rangi audience's permanent file, like Laahi or Hare in trickster tales, and those which have to be established as major participants at

the beginning of a story. In the discussion of the role of demonstratives for participant continuation and reactivation, a potential merger in function of referential demonstratives like *hwo* and distant demonstratives like *hwa* has been noted. Finally, the functional overview of Rangi T/A forms in 7.3 has covered all T/A forms occurring in the database, discussing on the one hand the main forms for each section, i.e. past habitual *-áa* in introductions, consecutive *-ka-* in the mainline events, future tenses in reported speech, and present and habitual forms in conclusions, and on the other hand those forms which mark clauses as supportive to the mainline clauses, i.e. aspectual markers and devices of subordination. In connection with the T/A analysis, the need has been highlighted both to train the spelling of certain forms, which are only tonally distinct, and to emphasise the importance of evaluation for good narration as defined by Labov (1972).

8.2 More about style

When the writers workshops of the Rangi project were first designed, the project team assumed that any change between draft and revision which was not orthographic would be indicative of a stylistic preference. This original assumption is too all-encompassing, especially as its foundation has not been scrutinised, yet it has been in the background of the methodology, data elicitation and analysis of this study and consequently contributed to the limitations of what this study can say about the relationship between narrative

analysis and style. For future research, both a clearer definition of style and a categorical demarcation of the different levels and aspects of style will have to be established.

8.2.1 Definitions of style¹⁶²

In search of a working definition of style, I consulted Eckert & Rickford (2001) which rephrases the traditional definition of style as “any intra-speaker variation that is not directly attributable to performance factors (in the strict sense) or to factors within the linguistic system” (2001: 2). Even though that definition is more positively treated and expanded by contributors of Eckert & Rickford’s volume to aspects of lifestyle, conversation topic, audience, situation and speaker identity, the concept of style as used in sociolinguistic variationist circles is confined predominantly to speech, and “I was a bit disappointed to find the topic of written style hardly being mentioned at all” (Stegen 2006a). Still, the definition of style as being characterised by speaker-internal aspects, variations and repertoires of language use, insofar as it is possible to differentiate style over against situational characteristics of register and regional characteristics of dialects, confirmed the approach taken in this study to focus on the non-orthographic changes which individual writers implemented between their draft and revised version.

¹⁶² As this section is a post-study evaluation of definitions of style, I will only deal with definitions which underlie or are otherwise relevant to my research. For a comprehensive coverage of the topic, see for example Miššíková 2003.

Similarly, where a variationist definition of style practically excludes the written domain, the concept of style is rarely mentioned in the consulted literature on literacy and writing research either. For example, neither Holme (2004) nor Harris (2000) explicitly discusses the topic of style at all, and both Werth (1999) and Bazerman & Prior (2004) only contain peripheral, one-time mentions of the term. By contrast, research into the differences between the oral and the written medium of language employs “style” freely and in a more general sense, especially in the SIL literature. This has been covered at length in 2.4, where “style” is used to denote universal and cross-language differences between speech and writing.

Still, the quest for a vernacular writing style for the Rangi has been tied particularly to a notion of language-specific style. Consequently, yet another definition of style has to be distinguished from respectively the individual and the universal ends of the spectrum.

8.2.2 Differentiations of style

As conveyed explicitly on page 3, one of the sources of the Rangi team’s assumption that characteristics of written style are language-specific was the observed stylistic differences between English and German, the mother tongues of the initial team members. A precedent for the postulation that different languages have different writing styles, particularly English and German, can be found in Bodmer (1997: 150f) who contrasts a deliberately complex style of

German academics with a democratically clear and simple style of their Anglophone peers. Such examples from languages with literary histories which have grown over centuries beg the question whether these language specificities can be transferred to newly written languages like Rangi. Then again, there are indications both in the Rangi texts, e.g. with regard to how Swahili loanwords are dealt with, and in the editors' interviews that a majority of workshop participants strive to establish a distinct identity as Rangi writers.

While it is doubtlessly true that not every change between draft and revision is due to style, equally not every stylistic change turns out to be language-specific. Starting with an undifferentiated definition of style as is done in the underlying assumption of this study, it then becomes close to impossible to attribute a particular change between draft and revised version to either personal style, language-specific style or universal writing style as opposed to oral style (as discussed in 2.4). Which additional information would have to be elicited in order to do so, will be discussed in 8.3 below.

8.2.3 Narrative analytical frameworks and style

The different approaches to narrative analysis used in this study do not contain the notion of style as a central concept if at all. Before searching for a suitable approach for future research which includes style in narrative analysis, it is only fair to summarise the merits of the consulted frameworks for narrative discourse analysis. Of those, Levinsohn's approach (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001;

Levinsohn 2007) is the predominantly used one which has proven very effective in examining the Rangi story database; it also lends itself to straightforward application to writers workshops.¹⁶³ Especially the differentiation into major participants, minor participants and props as well as the notion of “point of departure” has helped to highlight stylistic devices; the former with regard to participant introduction and reactivation, the latter with regard to such phenomena as clause-initial temporal adverbials and subordinate clauses which are employed as cohesive devices between events on the main storyline. Then, as has been shown in this study, Schmidt’s (2001) categorisation of tale types, Labov’s (1972) definition of “evaluation” and Werth’s (1999) application of cognitive linguistics to the construction of text worlds are useful tools not only in narrative discourse analysis but also for planning and leading writers workshops.

It is particularly the work of Werth and his cognitive linguistic framework which opens a window in search of a link between narrative analysis and style. In his chapter “Sub-worlds”, Werth deals with the means for establishing viewpoints within a text, listing “a range of linguistic devices: progressive aspect, temporal linkage, evaluatory expressions” (1999: 222). These devices have been described or at least mentioned for Rangi in sections 7.3.4, 7.3.8 and

¹⁶³ Both the narrative discourse workshop of April/May 2009 and the non-narrative discourse workshop of September/October 2010, which were attended by Kijuu and Maingu, have relied on Levinsohn’s textbooks.

5.2 respectively. However, they have not been analysed in their combination as contributing to a potentially distinctive narrative style of Rangi. That the combination of morphosyntactic requirements of a language can determine preferences for specific stylistic expressions has been shown by other cognitive linguistic studies. In their introductory textbook on cognitive linguistics, Ungerer & Schmid (1996) discuss the categorical differences between Germanic versus Romance languages in encoding “path” and “manner” in motion verbs. Whereas Germanic languages encode “manner” directly in the verb resulting in a preference for adverbial clauses in their narratives, Romance languages encode “path” in the verb and consequently use more locative relative clauses. Thus, “the language-specific framing of motion events has consequences for the respective narrative style” (Ungerer & Schmid 1996: 233). Again, although Rangi motion verbs have been investigated in 6.1.1, this has not been tied to their potential significance for a Rangi-specific narrative style. Some of these gaps are probably easy to fill, given that the Rangi text corpus is publicly available; for others, more background information will be needed in order to establish a link between individual linguistic features and their relevance for a language-specific writing style.

8.3 Gaps to be filled

While individual gaps in this study have been mentioned in the analytical chapters 4-7, e.g. the relationship between a story’s complicating action and its

resolution in 5.1.5, or the definite participant reference functions of demonstratives in 7.2.2, there are three areas which I consider to be important and extensive enough to warrant further studies: linguistic features which are indicative of language-specific style, the relationships and contrasts between styles, and relevant background information on the writers.

The last section has made it clear that for each linguistic feature, its relevance for language-specific style has to be determined in order to distinguish the three scopes of style: individual, language-specific and universal. Conceivably, the separation of a story into introduction, complication, resolution and conclusion is universal, so any changes in text structure which aim to better differentiate these components are unlikely to be due to the prescriptions of a Rangi writing style. At the other end of the spectrum, lexical choices can be argued to be more a matter of individual or situational preference than to be distinctly Rangi; after all, most lexical items to choose from are Rangi in the first place. Of the features investigated in this study, only those like introductory formulae, colloquialisms in reported speech or the acceptability of Swahili loanwords can be credited to a Rangi-specific narrative style. Others like the use of consecutive *-ka-* are cross-language features which occur in many Bantu languages and are thus attributable to a language family. More such language- and family-specific stylistic features need to be investigated and, à la Biber (1988), combined into stylistic feature bundles

before a comprehensive picture of a particular Rangi narrative writing style can emerge. One possible avenue may be to investigate the depiction of “manner” and “path” in Rangi motion verbs, as introduced above when discussing Ungerer & Schmid’s (1996) review of cognitive studies, and to determine whether this has any implications for a language-specific writing style.¹⁶⁴ Other features which have not been investigated in this study but which are essential parts within rhetorical analysis frameworks are stylistic devices like antithesis, hyperbole or metaphor which also have been employed in the analysis of culture-specific events (Selzer 2004: 284f). Furthermore, there are those stylistic features which have been used in the analysis of this study like reported speech, use of active versus passive, sentence length and subordination, yet their uses have not been distinguished into universal versus language-specific components of style. So there are still numerous aspects which can be beneficially researched in order to answer the question what delineates a Rangi-specific writing style more satisfactorily.

It has been presumed repeatedly in the course of this study that writers copied certain stylistic features, be it from Rangi publications available during the workshops, be it from Swahili writing habits which had been learned previously. However, one of the defining characteristics of style is that it serves

¹⁶⁴ For an alternative categorisation of an African language within the cognitive concept of framing, see Lambert-Brétière 2009.

as a marker of identity (cf. Eckert & Rickford 2001). Hence, the focus of written style development is not so much copying available sources of writing style but rather setting a specific use of language apart from other uses. This is applicable to all three domains of style differentiated above: in the universal sense of style, writing is set apart from oral uses of language; in the language-specific sense, Rangi is differentiated from e.g. Swahili; and in the individual sense, a single writer establishes his or her identity through idiosyncratic uses or combinations of stylistic features. Consequently, the stylistic features listed above for future research are not only to be described linguistically and categorised according to the domain they belong to but they should be compared to and contrasted over against other styles which occur in the literacy environment of the Rangi writers. That requires the availability of comparable descriptions of these other styles, e.g. Swahili narrative written style or Rangi oral style, not all of which have, to my knowledge, been researched comprehensively enough for such a comparative study. Finally, both the uses of specific stylistic features in writing and their demarcation over against styles in other media or languages in the repertoires of the Rangi writers will be even better understood if they can be linked to information from and about these writers.

The advantages and disadvantages of my not having had direct access to the writers workshop participants have been discussed in 1.4; this a priori constraint resulted in this study being based almost exclusively on the

workshop texts. More serious with regard to linking the Rangi writers to the texts which they produced is the lack of information on workshop participants: apart from name and current living location, no further information was recorded so that even the gender of a particular writer can only be guessed from the name given at the top of the handwritten pages and on the signed consent form. While Stegen (2004) has not found gender, age or education to play any significant role in Rangi writing habits, such factors may influence the adoption or construction of specific styles. For example, age may be a factor when it comes to comparing writing style with oral traditions; and the level of education can be expected to have an impact on the influence of Swahili or English writing conventions on the production of Rangi writing. More biographic information, at least gender, age, educational history and any significant absences from Rangi-speaking country, should, with the consent of the workshop participants, be recorded in the future. What is more, research into interactions between a writer's personal history and his or her written texts can be better informed through self-representation of the writers, e.g. in interviews. In order to avoid potential biases introduced by a non-Rangi interviewer, project team members who are Rangi themselves should conduct such interviews; either additionally or alternatively, selected group discussions during the workshops could be recorded. There still remains the fact that in the context of these writers workshops, the Rangi participants were not writing

predominantly for themselves but for the workshop and therewith for a project originally initiated by and still affiliated with an organisation from outside. Albeit only marginally, there is some overlap with the situations of Julien and Tshibumba in Blommaert (2008). Blommaert calls this “writing for export” (2008: 186), and insofar it is indeed comparable to the Rangi project situation, conducting a case study of a particular Rangi writer in detail may shed more light on the development of Rangi writing style in an individualised context.

Research into these three areas, namely a) additional linguistic features especially from cognitive linguistic and rhetoric angles, b) comparative studies with other styles in the literacy environment, and c) the interaction of a writer’s personal history with the written products, would complement the particular perspective of the narrative discourse analysis on which this thesis’ study was predominantly based and would consequently lead to a farther-reaching understanding of what are language-specific stylistic features of written Rangi.

8.4 Recommendations specific to writers workshops

Before launching into my recommendations I want to clarify one issue: my analysis of the first four writers workshops in the Rangi language could be perceived in part as criticism on their methods and focus. This may be unavoidable in a study which investigates initial writers workshops in a newly written language from different angles, and it would be surprising if a first workshop in such a context got everything right. Consequently, the focus of my

recommendations is not meant to be so much any criticism they may contain as rather a moment of stock-taking of what has happened and what may be done differently on the road of further development. In the concrete example of the Rangi project, I want to encourage those involved to now build on the results of those first workshops; for other projects, my advice is to identify those aspects of writing style which are considered crucial by interested or involved mother tongue speakers and start basing initial writers workshops on those selected aspects, being aware that other aspects will initially be neglected, only to be attended to later. My personal preference is to experiment with different approaches which I hope to have shown by my inclusion of such different ideas on narrative style and writers workshops as Labov & Waletzky (1967), Levinsohn (2007), Werth (1999) and Weber, Wroge & Yoder (2007).

As a comparison of the Rangi language project's context (especially in 2.3 and 2.5) with the actual design and implementation of the Rangi writers workshops (cf. chapter 3) quickly shows, a number of discrepancies between recommendations from the literature and implementation in the Rangi project have become obvious. The most serious of these are a) that the writing style of the workshop participants has been directly influenced by the instructions given at the start of each workshop and by the availability of Rangi publications, and b) that the workshop was too short to allow the participants a thorough

revision of their drafts which takes into account all levels of stylistic change. However, these issues can and hopefully will be addressed in future workshops.

The recommendations arising out of my study's findings concern both the preparation and the implementation of writers workshops in vernacular literacy projects. In the particular case of the Rangi language project, future writers workshops would benefit from prior research into a number of phenomena. Some of these phenomena to be investigated concern rather large issues like the negotiation of Swahili loanwords in Rangi texts or a detailed description of all possible combinations in Rangi compound verbs and their functions. Others are rather specific questions like the word order in ditransitive VPs, the functional differentiation of referential versus distant demonstratives or the usage of T/A forms which only occurred very infrequently in this study's database like past progressive *-aa-* and the inceptives *-kaari* and *-naa-*. Some of these investigations do not necessarily have to happen prior to future writers workshops but could be integrated into the workshops themselves.

Another issue which should be dealt with in the preparation phase of writers workshops is the question to what extent a vernacular writing style can develop independently, and particularly, how workshop facilitators want to handle the influence from external literacy material, e.g. Swahili schooling in the Tanzanian context or previously published vernacular story booklets. The question of standardisation versus linguistic diversity (cf. Sayers 2009) is

related to these issues of influences on vernacular writing style. In the Rangi context, this would include a discussion on whether to actively promote e.g. the use of dialectal variants or of variants for opening and closing formulae.

Future Rangi writers workshops should either be extended in length to one to two weeks in order to be able to have enough time to focus on different aspects of creative writing or, if one-day workshops are the preferred modus, should focus on one stylistic aspect only. Also, individual workshops could choose one particular story type or story theme, making use of this study's categorisation. For example, it may be possible to have a whole writers workshop on the trickster *Laahi* alone, or to assign story themes according to previously chosen proverbs. In addition, a distinction between narratives written for primers versus narratives written for advanced readers may be helpful as the stylistic requirements for different audiences differ.

With regard to successively focusing on different aspects of creative writing during a writers workshop, it may be helpful to separate matters of content from matters of style. Sessions on content could include, for example, a) general drafting of the narrative by major sections (introduction, complication, resolution, conclusion), and b) listing all major and minor participants before actual writing. Sessions on style may deal with topics like a) lexical choice (nouns and verbs covered separately from other parts of speech, especially conjunctions), b) the use of demonstratives for participant reference, and c) the

use of main narrative versus subordinate T/A forms. In contrast to the four writers workshops described in this study, future workshops should focus less on orthography. If at all, correct spelling, punctuation and similar topics should be the last items covered in a workshop in order to curb its negative interference with creative writing (Rempel 1994).

In an ideal world, literacy projects would not only have access to but also actually make use of the best guidelines and instructions on writers workshops. In reality, grass-roots level literacy projects often depend on individuals with differing experiences and preferences. Both the Rangi project as a whole and my own part played in it including this thesis are certainly no exception to this. Even so, all the greater is the need which I perceive for networking, dialoguing and building on each other's research. In that context, this study as a description of the very first Rangi writers workshops can serve as a benchmark for such dialogue and for future research into writing style development in Rangi and other vernacular languages.

Rangi will never have the same amount of research into stylistics and creative writing as LWCs like English or even Swahili, nor will its literature production ever reach a fraction of the proportions of literature in those larger languages. Still, that should not prevent those with a passion for Rangi and similarly locally restricted languages to continue to teach reading and writing

in those languages, to improve the design of writers workshops and other educational events and to enhance vernacular literature production.

8.5 Outlook

So, where do I go from here? On the one hand, the first four writers workshops in the Rangi language project have been thoroughly described: their assumptions explored, their processes scrutinised, their textual products analysed from the lexical to the structural levels; observed stylistic features have been catalogued, and resultant recommendations for future writers workshops have been noted down. On the other, there is still much left to be desired: the application of a differentiated definition of style to a narrative analysis of Rangi; making use of the personal histories of the writers and recording their editing processes first-hand; the expansion of Rangi writing style research to include rhetorical and cognitive linguistic features. The quest for a Rangi writing style certainly has multiple open paths to choose from.

So then, I have told my story, the story of my thesis about the story of Rangi writing style development. This first story's quest is ended here and now; the second story, the one about writing in Rangi hopefully will go on even though its directions are not yet known in detail. It is my hope that, beyond this first story, I will be able to continue to tell stories of Rangi literature development. I have the even greater hope that other voices will join in and be made audible as they contribute their stories about, to and in Rangi writing. My hopes for

those continuing stories are best summarised by a final lengthy quote from another concluding story within a story, the dialogue between Samwise Gamgee and Frodo Baggins towards the end of the second *Lord of the Rings* movie.

Sam: It's like in the great stories, Mr. Frodo. The ones that really mattered. Full of darkness and danger, they were. And sometimes you didn't want to know the end. Because how could the end be happy? How could the world go back to the way it was when so much bad had happened? But in the end, it's only a passing thing, this shadow. Even darkness must pass. A new day will come. And when the sun shines it will shine out the clearer. Those were the stories that stayed with you. That meant something, even if you were too small to understand why. But I think, Mr. Frodo, I do understand. I know now. Folk in those stories had lots of chances of turning back, only they didn't. They kept going. Because they were holding on to something.

Frodo: What are we holding on to, Sam?

Sam: That there's some good in this world, Mr. Frodo ... and it's worth fighting for. (Sam and Frodo in *The Two Towers*)

May those who are engaged in vernacular writing style development and other domains of mother tongue education keep going because ... “it’s worth fighting for.”

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