Dissertation Module

ETP UK

A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SOME BANTU LANGUAGES IN TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

This report compares the discourse features of Bantu narrative texts using data from the Ngoreme, Ikizu and Kabwa languages of the Mara region of Tanzania and reports written on this data. The particular discourse features under examination fall into the categories of event line construction, where background, foreground, highlighting, text conclusions and points of departure are considered, and participant reference, where participant introduction, further reference to active participants and reactivation of participants after an absence are the subject areas. After an introduction to relevant theoretical material, general lexical and grammatical patterns are observed for each of the languages in every subject area with similarities and differences highlighted in the following comparison sections. Any variation caused by manner of production or text genre is also noted. In general, a high level of unity among the discourse features of the languages of the corpus is seen, though many exceptions are observed and analysed.

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Abbreviations used in figures:

CF	*Counter-factual*	IMP	*Imperative TAM*	Pro:Add	*Additive Pronoun*
CONSEC	*Consecutive TAM*	LOC	*Locative*	Pro:Diff	*Differential Pronoun*
CONT	*Continuous TAM*	NARR	*Narrative TAM*	Pro:One	*Pronominal Numeral*
D:Dist	*Distal Demonstrative*	NEG	*Negative*	PROG	*Progressive TAM*
D:Prox	*Proximal Demonstrative*	O/C	*Object/ Complement*	PERF	*Perfect TAM*
D:Ref	*Referential Demonstrative*	P1	*Simple Past TAM*	PVE	*Perfective TAM*
F1	*Simple Future TAM*	P1.REL	*Simple Past Relative TAM*	REL	*Relative*
GEN	*General (null-marked) TAM*	P2	*Far Past TAM*	SUBJ	*Subjunctive*
		P2HAB	*Far Past Habitual TAM*	TAM	*Tense, Aspect, Mood*
		PRO	*Pronoun*		

Most of these abbreviations are grammatical categories marked in text excerpts in orange brackets after the relevant word. For instructions on how the text excerpts in these figures are charted see Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 44-47). All these abbreviations follow conventions in the original reports including where different labels are used for TAM forms constructed using similar or identical morphemes in different languages (for example, narrative/consecutive (/ka/), progressive/continuous (/ra/) and perfective/perfect (/ir/)).

1 INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation it is proposed to compare narrative discourse features among Bantu languages spoken in the Mara region of Tanzania. In doing this, it is hoped that the norms of discourse in these languages will become apparent, leading to a greater understanding of what makes a text in these languages natural and clear. It is also expected that the findings outlined in what follows may assist those working in related languages.

To this end, the research focuses on the usage of lexicogrammatical structures motivated by the pragmatic requirements of discourse arrangement (Lambrecht 1994: 5). The corpus is composed almost entirely of oral narrative texts, with the exception of a few which are written. The primary source of data for this document has been reports written by Hazel Gray (2009), Johnny Walker (2009) and Rundell (2009) based on these narrative texts. The transcriptions and, in some cases, original recordings were also available for further research.

Within the limits of the analysis provided by previous research, three languages have been chosen as representing the various Bantu languages in the Mara region, with other languages being referred to as appropriate. These three reference languages are Ngoreme (ISO code [ngq]), Ikizu (ISO code [ikz]) and Kabwa (ISO code [cwa]) (Lewis 2009). They are all Bantu Lacustrine languages, a name given because of the proximity to Lake Victoria. Within the classification of Bantu languages (Maho 2003: 645), they fall into E40, the Ragoli-Kuria group.

The original oral texts were collected in the latter half of 2008. One mother tongue speaker went into each language area and recorded approximately 30 short texts from various narrators, with a mixture of fiction and non-fiction narratives. More specifically, traditional folktales (fiction) and autobiographical, third person eyewitness and historical accounts (non-fiction) were collected (text genres follow Levinsohn 2009: 12). These texts were transcribed by the same mother tongue speakers and glossed in Swahili. Several clear and complete texts for each language were chosen for use in a discourse workshop in February 2009. The data generated from this workshop, along with all the original collected texts, were used to compile the reports which are the main source of reference for this dissertation. In some cases, the poor quality of the original recordings led to new data collection or the use of previously recorded texts. In addition, during the discourse workshop, a number of written texts were produced for comparison with the orally-given narratives. For all of the oral texts used, informed consent forms were signed by the narrators which contained an explanation of the possible uses of the data.

The texts will be referred to in the body of the report below using an abbreviated form of the filename of the original recording. In general, this code begins with an abbreviation of the language name ('N' for Ngoreme, 'Iki' for Ikizu and 'Ka' for Kabwa), followed by 'H' for fiction or 'S' for non-fiction and ending with a reference number (see appendix A below). Data from Mara region languages will be presented as <orthographic> or /phonemic/ as appropriate. Within figures, the data will be written in the current trial orthography unless otherwise stated. As well as the text reference code, figures containing excerpts from texts will be labelled with the sentence and clause number(s). The data has been glossed mainly at the word level, rather than breaking down the words into their constituent morphemes, since the agglutinative morphology often leads to lengthy glosses which tend to obscure, rather than clarify, the structure of the texts.

The discourse features that will be examined in most detail concern event line construction and participant reference, with additional comments on further features where relevant. Each section will be introduced by a short theoretical discussion of the relevant discourse area and, where needed, pertinent linguistic details of the language family. The approach taken to discourse analysis is mainly based on Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) and Levinsohn (2009).

The remaining portion of the introduction contains a brief overview of aspects of the morphosyntax of the languages under investigation that will be useful for interacting with the data throughout the dissertation. The most pertinent features are the agglutinative morphology and noun class system found in many Bantu languages. Nouns take prefixes dictated by the noun class to which they belong; verbs carry prefixes that agree with the noun class of the subject and that can also agree with up to two objects of the verb; adjectives and other constituents of the noun phrase agree with the class of the head of the phrase; and various other items take noun class agreement affixes.

Consider the examples <omokungu onde> ‘another woman’, <abaana bande> ‘other children’ and <rinani rinene reere> ‘that big ogre’, where the portions underlined show class agreement with the head of each Ngoreme noun phrase (the first word in each example).

The semantic motivation for this range of noun classes, which number around 20 in the languages under discussion, is difficult to discern despite various suggestions from research into the subject. Having said this, there is a clear singular/plural divide along with human, abstract, locative, diminutive and augmentative classes as well as a tendency for certain kinds of things to go in certain classes (for example, plants and animals). For the texts which follow, class one and two are the most significant. These are, respectively, the singular and plural classes for human beings (and often personifications, mainly animals in folktales).

In addition, these noun classes have agreement on the verb for first, second and third person (beyond the usual class and number agreement for other noun classes).

The standard construction of the verb in the languages under consideration follows (see Bastin 2003: 522):

(NEG)-(FOC)-(SM)-(NEG)-(TAM)-(OM)-(OM)-root-(EXT)-(TAM)-FV-(LOC)

NEG=negative affix; FOC=focus marker; SM=subject marker; TAM=tense aspect mood affix; OM=object marker; EXT=verbal extension (applicative, reciprocal, habitual etc.); FV=final vowel (usually 'a'); LOC=locative clitic; constituents in brackets are optional.

Figure 1

A Framework for Mara Region Verbs

Some of the verbal constituents do not co-occur and some are more common in certain of the languages, but the framework above should be a helpful guide for understanding Bantu verbs.

For example, the Ngoreme verb, <umanye> 'you should know' is composed of subject marker <u->, verbal root <many> and subjunctive final vowel <-e>; <bakamtanda> 'they cut him' is made from subject marker <ba->, narrative TAM prefix <ka->, object marker <m->, verbal root <tand> and final vowel <-a>; <ribinire> 'it had sung' has subject marker <ri->, verbal root <bin>, perfect TAM affix <-ir> and final vowel <-e>.

2 EVENT LINE CONSTRUCTION

2.1 Introduction

The first topic under consideration is that of event line construction. The event line refers to the basic framework of the text which the narrator uses to tell the story. In looking at its construction, the essential concern of this section will be the relative salience given to different portions of a text. This, in turn, has to do with presenting information in a natural way, enabling the receiver of a text both to relate it to his or her existing understanding of the world and also to create a consistent internal picture of the text itself (the text world) to build a mental representation (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 21-24).

Broadly speaking, text can be divided into background and foreground information. These two levels of salience perform different functions: 'The terms FOREGROUND and BACKGROUND describe parts of a text which, respectively, do or do not extend the basic framework of the mental representation' (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 79). Foreground information breaks new ground in the story world, containing the essential events of a narrative text: it carries the storyline. On the other hand, background information consolidates a text, adding further description or referring to other parts of a text, relating a text to itself or the cognitive context of the listener, i.e. background information provides auxiliary internal and external coherence. As such, foreground material usually consists of events, whereas background is characterised by non-events.

The part that background information plays is subtle, since theoretically it would be possible to remove it from a text without compromising the outline of the plot. However, background information seems to be necessary to ease the listener into a mental representation, to provide ongoing clues as to how to process new information and to signal closure of communication (Dooley 2007: 37). Without background information, the foreground information would be less relevant (i.e. it would require greater cognitive effort to

be engaged with and yield more limited contextual effects). From this perspective, background material manages the reception and processing of the information contained in a text. It enables efficient access to the text world and eases the task of relating it to the outside world and to itself. This can come in the form of explicit statements about the text world or in a less overt manner. For example, Dressler (1992: 15) states, 'The stronger the contrast between figure and ground, the better the figure is perceived.' With foreground information as the 'figure' and background information as the 'ground', this quotation illustrates a more subtle function of background information as an aid to processing narrative: its presence can serve to highlight foreground sections by the contrast between the two.

This contrast is chiefly provided by the distinction between events and non-events noted above. Inevitably, real texts exhibit greater complexity than a simple dichotomy between events and non-events; foreground and background. Longacre (1996) suggests several salience schemes which arrange elements of a text according to how strongly they belong to the foreground. A simplified version from Burquest (1992: 414) is presented below:

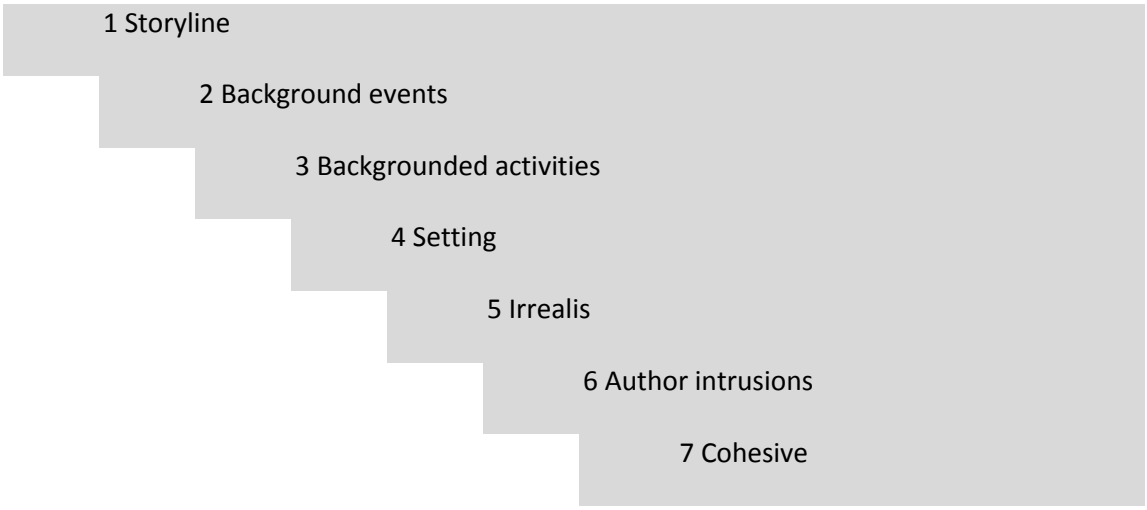

Figure 2

Ranking Events in Narrative Text

The figure above arranges a selection of elements in a narrative text in order from most foreground (storyline) to most background (cohesive). Events are naturally foreground,

and non-events are naturally background but it can be seen from the figure above that events can be made less thematic. It is also possible to give non-events more significance and, more commonly, to further highlight information that is already foreground (see section 2.4 below).

This natural spectrum from foreground to background is also reflected in the linguistic forms used. This is not wholly an idiosyncratic choice for each language, rather there are some grammatical features commonly associated with foreground or background information. Common correlations drawn from Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) and Levinsohn (2009) are tabulated below:

	Foreground	Background
Verbal transitivity	High transitivity	Low transitivity
Verbal TAM	Default form (e.g. simple past, narrative, neutral, perfective)	Past referring to before point of reference, perfect, future, completive, imperfective
Timing of event	Chronologically sequential with theme-line events	Before/after theme-line events
Clause type	Main clause	Subordinate clause
Marking	Unmarked or minimally marked	Marked
Semantic verb type	Achievement, accomplishment	Activity, state

Figure 3

Common Features of Background and Foreground in Narrative Texts

It is important to note that all of the features noted in figure 3 are commonly observed linguistic patterns, rather than universal absolutes and so do not automatically identify a section as either foreground or background. Having said this, many of the features have an obvious logical motivation to explain their connection with either the foreground or the background.

The specific lexicogrammatical features associated with foreground and background information in the Bantu languages of the Mara region will be observed in the following sections. It will be seen that many of the general patterns noted in figure 3 are present, though often to differing degrees and in varying manifestations. The main focus will be on whole sentences as background or foreground, but devices used within sentences will also be noted where pertinent.

2.2 Background

This section will examine and compare the characteristics of background material in the Ngoreme, Ikizu and Kabwa languages. As may be expected from its role in event line construction, a key location for background material is at the start of a text. Background information later in texts will also be reviewed.

2.2.1 Ngoreme

Of the ten texts examined (see appendix A), all but one begin with a background section. These sections are all framed in the past tense and are normally one or two sentences long. Most commonly (seven of the nine), the first clause is used to introduce a character around whom the mental representation is built using the verb 'to be' with a locative suffix (<*-ho*>). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
1a			Omomura onde (Pro:Diff)	aareho (P1)			
			youth other	he.was-LOC			
1b			omomura oyo (D:Ref)	aare kuberekeru (P1)	Matinde		
			youth this	he.was to.be.called	Matinde		

'There was a certain youth, this youth was called Matinde.'

Figure 4

NSC 1a-b

The two texts which do not follow this pattern for initial background material both retain the past tense but do not reserve the first clause for participant introduction (see section 3.2.1 below for more on participant introduction).

As mentioned above, there is only one text which has no apparent initial background information (NS10). This text is in the first person and is non-fiction. It is not known if the lack of background information is made acceptable by the first person narration alone or whether it is mitigated by the shared geographical context of the original speaker and audience and their previous mutual acquaintance.

It can be noted that these observations fit well with the expected necessity of background information to provide access into a text world. The use of the past tense and clauses introducing entities or setting information is also unsurprising.

After the beginning, most of the texts contain few additional sentences devoted to presenting background information. Most of these twenty sentences found in the corpus add information about the setting of the events of the storyline, often elaborating on an event or entity. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
38a			Ogosukaare	gwaareho (P1)			
			sugar	it.was-LOC			
38b			---	guraberekeru (PROG)	sukaare nguru ogomwamu ogukong'u		
				it.is.called	sugar unrefined black hard		

'A kind of hard unrefined black sugar called 'ogosukaare' was there.'

Figure 5

NS10 38a-b

As with initial background information, the most common feature of additional background material is that it starts with the past tense (half of the twenty examples, including

figure 5 above). However, unlike initial background sections, the perfect TAM form can be used by itself without the past tense. In addition, author intrusions can use the subjunctive or progressive TAM forms to introduce background information relating to the setting. Most other verb forms can also be used after the background section is introduced.

Two of the texts in the corpus contain no background sentences after the start (NH3 and NH5). However, all the texts do contain subordinate clauses which often present background information. Some occurrences of background material other than for providing information about the setting will be noted in sections 2.4 and 2.6 below.

It can be observed that the background material in the corpus fits well into the salience scheme in figure 2 above with the most distinctive linguistic feature being the presence of the past tense.

2.2.2 Ikizu

Of the fourteen texts in the corpus used for event line analysis (see appendix A), eleven begin with at least one background sentence introducing participants or the setting, including all but one of the folktales. All eleven begin with a compound past tense involving 'to be' and most commonly (eight of the eleven) include a second occurrence of the verb 'to be' with a locative suffix. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
1	Zamw~~i~~ mbaan~~i~~		>>	aar~~i~~ ar~~i~~h~~u~~ (P1)			m~~u~~k~~i~~k~~u~~r~~u~~ w~~u~~mw~~i~~
	now friend			she.was she.is-LOC			old.woman one

'Now, friend, there was a certain old woman.'

Figure 6

IkiH3 1

The single fiction text without an initial background section is not considered well formed but this omission is more acceptable in non-fiction narratives which are also often in

the first person. In addition, non-fiction texts can begin with a direct address to the listeners, calling their attention.

The pattern of background material beginning with the past form of the verb 'to be', e.g. <*aarɨ*> 's/he was', is often repeated in the body of the texts in the corpus. After this introduction, background sections can continue with a range of other TAM forms, though they are often brief in duration. It is also sometimes possible for background information to begin immediately with another TAM form, for example author intrusions giving performative or evaluative information using the continuous aspect:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
17a		Nawe inyɨ (PRO)	ɨkara	ɨrabuga (CONT)			[17b]
		but I	spirit	it.says			
17b		[hamwɨ	---	anyaharikirɨ] (PVE)			
		maybe		he.is.hurt			

'But, as for me, my heart is saying, "Maybe he's hurt."'

Figure 7

IkiS1 17a-b

2.2.3 Kabwa

All but one of the eleven texts in the corpus (see appendix A) begin with at least a sentence of background material. Even before this, four of the texts have a question and answer introduction to the story and three (including the two written texts) have a title. Both devices could be considered background material easing access to the text world. One of the oral texts has both features:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1			---	Mbaganire-ko (SUBJ) I.you.tell.a.story-LOC			
2a			---	Nganira (IMP) I.tell.a.story			
2b			---	Nganira (IMP) I.tell.a.story			
3	Erigano rya Wakatuuju na Wang'iti story of hare and hyena		---	---			

'"Shall I tell you a story?" "Tell me a story, tell me a story!" "The story of Hare and Hyena."'

Figure 8

KaH2O1 1-3

Such an introduction gives a large amount of contextual information to a listener about the text, including its genre, main characters and probably the plot itself.

Beyond these features, initial background material predictably contains the far past habitual TAM form. Often (eight of eleven texts) this involves forms of the verb 'to be' including a locative suffix introducing a participant. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1		Akare hayo (D:Ref) ages.ago then	>>	yabhanga-ho (P2HAB) he.was-LOC			omuntu umwi person one

'Once upon a time there was a certain person.'

Figure 9

KaHK2 1

One of the exceptions is KaH2O1 which has a title introducing the first participants (see figure 8 above). The other two are true stories which have very brief introductions to the theme of the text (one being less than a sentence) but still contain far past habitual TAM forms.

Background sections within the body of a text also use the far past habitual TAM form, continuing with the present continuous. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
6a			Omukari uyo (D:Ref) woman this	yaringa aramutema (P2HAB) she.was she.hits.him			
6b			---	aramusuna (CONT) she.him.pinches			
6c			---	aramwima (CONT) she.him.deprives	ebhyakurya food		
6d			---	aramuhaana (CONT) she.him.gives	mirimu mikong'u work hard		

'This woman she used to hit him, pinch him, deprive him of food, give him hard work...'

Figure 10

KaHK1 6a-d

2.2.4 Comparison

It can be seen from the data presented above that the Ngoreme, Ikizu and Kabwa languages demonstrate clear similarities in the construction and location of background material.

Virtually every text begins with a background section and most of these introduce a participant in a non-event sentence. In all three languages, background sections are strongly associated with a past TAM form particularly involving the verb 'to be' and a locative suffix. Similarly, each corpus shows that background material can use nearly every TAM form after the initial past TAM clause.

Another feature noted across the languages is that non-fiction texts do not require initial background material as strictly as fiction. This is especially true of first person texts since they don't need to introduce the speaker. By contrast, the written fiction stories follow the pattern for initial background material most strongly. These observations tally well with the understanding that non-fiction and oral stories require less introduction since the mutually

accessible information between audience and narrator is greater than for fiction and written texts. However, the number of non-fiction and written stories in the corpus is not large so conclusions can only be tentative.

Dissimilarities are seen in Ikizu and Ngoreme attesting to author intrusions and other background material without the usual past TAM which is not noted in the Kabwa corpus. Another difference in the Kabwa corpus is the more frequent presence of the call-response introduction for folktales, which is not seen at all in the Ikizu corpus and only once in the Ngoreme texts. A larger corpus would be needed to demonstrate that the differences noted are truly representative of texts in each language rather than being statistical anomalies of a small sample set.

In summary, it can be seen that TAM forms are the key lexicogrammatical feature marking background information (see section 2.3 below for further confirmation of this observation in the foreground). The topic of background material, particularly initial background, overlaps significantly with participant reference, especially participant introduction, and will come into discussions in section 3.2 below.

2.3 Foreground

2.3.1 Ngoreme

As with background information, a distinctive feature of foreground information in the Ngoreme corpus is the TAM form of the verb. This is perhaps unsurprising given that TAM can often be the only available discourse marker due to the agglutinative verbal morphology of the Bantu languages under examination, which means that a single verb with its affixes can constitute an entire sentence.

In the texts studied, the default verb form in the foreground is the narrative TAM. This TAM indicates a consecutive aspect and a past tense and is structured as follows:

SM-ka-root-FV

SM=subject marker; FV=final vowel (default is <a>); optional constituents have been omitted from this simplified structure; /ka/ is the underlying form of the affix which indicates this TAM: it can surface as <ga> caused by a voicing dissimilation process known as Dahl's law (Hyman 2003: 56) or with a different vowel due to vowel adjacency processes.

Figure 11

Structure of the Ngoreme Narrative TAM

In every single text of the corpus, the narrative is the most used TAM form in main clauses of the foreground and in most texts (seven of ten) it is in the large majority. Often the text is a string of verbs using the narrative TAM with little extraneous material. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
3b		ro kwanza of first	---	bakagi (NARR) they.went			
3c			---	bakabori (NARR) they.missed			
3d		ro ga kabere of of second	---	bakagi (NARR) they.went			
3e			---	bakabori (NARR) they.missed			
3f		ro gatato of third	omugaruka old.man	akarosa (NARR) he.was.tired			
3g			---	akaborra (NARR) he.told	omoona child		[3h-3i]

'...on the first day, they went [to check the trap], they got nothing, the second day, they went, they got nothing, the third day, the old man was tired, he told the child, "...'

Figure 12

NH6 3b-g

Other verb forms that appear frequently to report foreground events include the progressive, perfect and general TAM verb forms. All of these appear in the corpus in strings

of foreground clauses, though this happens only once for the perfect and may be best analysed as background events leading up to a climactic incident. These sequences of verbs will be considered in section 2.4 below on highlighting.

The progressive and perfect can also be used to subordinate or coordinate clauses with a verb in the narrative TAM form in the same way as in background sections when related to a verb in the past. This is simply the expected default use of these aspects.

In summary, the data in the corpus agrees well with the expectation that the foreground is indicated by a default verb form, a chronological sequence of theme-line events and minimal marking.

2.3.2 Ikizu

In all of the stories except one (IkiH3), the most common TAM form in foreground clauses is the narrative (referred to in Gray (2009) as the consecutive (CONSEC) with the same morpheme as Ngoreme /ka/: these terms will be used interchangeably). It is in the large majority in ten of the fourteen texts including both of the written texts and three of the four non-fiction stories.

In text IkiH3, the continuous TAM form occurs narrowly more than the narrative TAM. It is also well attested in the foreground of other texts and its structure is similar to the narrative TAM but with the marker /ra/ (this morpheme is labelled progressive (PROG) in Ngoreme). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	Object/C	Inner	Outer
14a			---	Barab~~uu~~ka (CONT) they.awake			
14b			---	baragega (CONT) they.carry	ibyakurya foods		
14c			---	baraja (CONT) they.go			
14d			---	barahira (CONT) they.bring		y~~ii~~ka home	
14e			---	barарya (CONT) they.eat			

'They get up, they gather food, then they take it home and they eat it.'

Figure 13

IkiH3 14

Figure 13 above shows the continuous aspect being used for chronologically sequential foreground events of the theme-line. This was not poor story-telling according to Ikizu speakers. The motivation for its use will be discussed in section 2.4 below on highlighting.

Conversely, the next most common verbal form (an absence of tense marking referred to as the general TAM form) was considered 'a lazy way of speaking' (Gray 2009: 7-8) and was not observed in the written texts.

2.3.3 Kabwa

In the Kabwa corpus, the most common verb form in the foreground is the narrative TAM, especially in main clauses (referred to in Walker (2009) as the consecutive). This TAM form is never found in subordinate clauses and is constructed like the equivalents in Ngoreme and Ikizu with the /ka/ morpheme. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
17a		Hanu (D:Prox) here	---	yamara (P2) he.finished			
17b			---	akagurya (CONSEC) he.sold	ng'inawabho mother.his		
17c			---	akagura (CONSEC) he.bought	entikiri donkey		
17d			---	akagenda (CONSEC) he.walked		ebhaga etambi time long	

'When he had finished, he sold his mother and bought a donkey, then he walked for a long time...'

Figure 14

KaWP1 17a-d

The Kabwa texts also contain examples of foreground marked with the continuous TAM form. This has been remarked upon as poor storytelling technique by the mother tongue Kabwa translators.

2.3.4 Comparison

As may be clear from the analysis above, there is a considerable amount of overlap between the reporting of foreground information in the three languages. As with background information the defining feature seems to be the TAM forms of the verb. As Walker (2009: 6) remarks, 'In general, it seems that when [the narrative TAM] is not used in the main clause, the information presented in that main clause can be interpreted as background information'.

In each language, the correlation is extremely strong between foreground and the narrative TAM form. This form also happens to be constructed very similarly in each language (also using the same morpheme as the national language of Swahili /ka/) though this same pattern is observed in analysis of Jita, another language in the Mara region which forms the narrative TAM very differently (Rundell 2010: 3):

n(i)-SM-(a)-(OM)-root-(EXT)-a

SM=subject marker; OM=object marker; EXT=verbal extension (applicative, reciprocal, habitual etc.); constituents in brackets are optional.

Figure 15

Structure of the Jita Narrative TAM

Each language also contains a slight residue of occurrences of the narrative TAM form in material that would otherwise be identified as background. Similarly, each language attests the use of several other TAM forms in main clauses of foreground theme-line events including the progressive, general and even the perfect TAM forms. It is difficult to understand the cause of these occurrences and comments have been recorded indicating that at least some come from poor storytelling. However, patterns can be noted, several of which will be commented on in section 2.4 below on highlighting. Having said this, a larger, better evaluated corpus would be necessary to complete the analysis. For example, Longacre (1996:27) notes, 'Some languages, especially in East Africa, distinguish a primary storyline from a secondary storyline whose verb is morphosyntactically distinct (Longacre, 1990a)'.

Before concluding, it is worth noting a couple of other features common to the foreground in all three languages. Firstly, apart from using the narrative TAM for the main verb, each language uses other TAM forms as expected in subordinate or coordinate clauses, especially the progressive and the perfect. Secondly, it is observable in all three languages that foreground sections usually contain little material outside the nucleus of each clause, with the event line sometimes just consisting of a series of verbs.

In summary, the techniques each language uses in marking foreground information are remarkably similar. This is most apparent in the repeated use of the narrative TAM form for main theme-line clauses.

2.4 Highlighting

> Sentences are typically highlighted when they relate to a **climax**...or when a **significant development** (e.g. an 'inciting incident' or a 'complication') or a **change of direction** occurs. Typically, some of the same rhetorical devices are used for both, but climaxes are more extensively marked. (Levinsohn 2009:79)

As the above quotation implies, highlighting is a feature of foreground information which gives more significance to certain events of the storyline.

2.4.1 Ngoreme

The Ngoreme corpus yields a number of rhetorical devices for highlighting sections of a text. The most common feature relating these devices is that they introduce extra (background) material immediately before highlighted clauses. This means that highlighting is not chiefly marked by features within the highlighted clauses themselves, but by the presence of certain material in surrounding clauses.

The most reliable signal of highlighted material is a subordinate relative construction introduced with the word <nigo> (see section 2.6.3 below for additional description). This introduces extra material in the form of background events either immediately before or within the climax of a text, often repeating a previous clause. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
29b			---	akamtema (NARR)		ko-mote	kooo
				he.him.hit		LOC-tree	(ideophone)
29c		nigo	---	akomutema		ko-mote	
		it.is.this.way		he.him.hitting		LOC-tree	
30		Igo	wunsi (Pro:Add)	arirambi (F1)			
		this.way	and.he	he.will.die			

'...he hit him by the tree, 'kooo,' that's how he hit him by the tree. Thus he himself will die.'

Figure 16

NH5 29b-30

Figure 16 above shows the climactic incident of text NH5 where Hare kills his enemy with a stone. This event is repeated in clause 29c before its result is reported in sentence 30, resolving the inciting incident around which the text is based.

Unlike these <nigo> clauses, other highlighting techniques are not limited only to this function but are features that tend to occur with greater frequency in association with highlighted sections. For example, extra material can be introduced by inserting background clauses immediately before highlighted material or the use of ideophones (for example, see figure 16 above). Conversely, the climax can contain a string of short clauses, often with only one word per clause. There is also a wider range of TAM forms used, as well as a higher incidence of reordering sentence constituents than in clauses that are not highlighted. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
42d			>>	baramenya (PROG)			bansi ee moja kwa moja
				they.live			all ee one by one

'...they live, all of them, 'Oh!' happily ever after.'

Figure 17

NH6 42d

This example shows the postposing of the subject <bansi> 'all' as well as the use of a non-default TAM form for the event line.

In summary, highlighting is achieved in Ngoreme by reporting events in a way that is 'different from the norm' (Levinsohn 2009: 81). The most distinctive feature is the use of a relative clause introduced by <nigo>.

2.4.2 Ikizu

Several techniques have been observed in the Ikizu corpus to highlight significant developments in texts. A number of these involve inserting additional material. The first

noted is the use of a temporal relative clause to repeat the event of a previous clause in the lead-up to the climax of the story. This is known as tail-head linkage (see section 2.6.1.2 below for further information).

Repetition of identical verbs is also used in several texts to introduce extra material by extending the foreground without moving the event line forward before a highlighted section. This seems to be an oral technique since it is not found in the written texts of the corpus. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
15a			Imbwa	ɨkarya (CONSEC)			
			dog	he.ate			
15b			---	ɨkarya (CONSEC)			
				he.ate			
15c			---	ɨkarya (CONSEC)			
				he.ate			
16a			[---	yahika (REL)		iyaasɨ]	
				he.arrived		below	
16b	[16a]		---	ɨkabʉna (CONSEC)	zɨnyama	iyaasɨ	
				he.found	meat	below	

'Dog ate and ate and ate and when he got below (the rice) he found meat underneath.'

Figure 18

IkiH7 15a-16b

Finally, in some texts, the use of the continuous aspect in the foreground (as noted in 2.3.2 above) coincides with significant developments.

2.4.3 Kabwa

The Kabwa discourse report also notes several techniques for indicating highlighted sections. Most highlighted clauses are seen at the climax of the story and are associated with the introduction of extra material used to slow down the narrative immediately before a climax or significant development.

The first method noted is repetition of the verb in the sentences immediately preceding the climax. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
13a		Kimwi	---	bhakagya (CONSEC)			
		then		they.went			
13b			---	bhakaambuka (CONSEC)			
				they.crossed			
14a			Wakatuuju	akaambuka (CONSEC)			
			Hare	he.crossed			
14b			Wang'wena	yaaja okuhinda (P2)			
			Crocodile	he.came to.return			
14c	[14b]		---	akanyoora (CONSEC)			[14d]
				he.found			
14d			[amagi	gariirwe] (PVE)			
			eggs	they.had.been.eaten			

'Then they went and they crossed [the river]. Hare crossed but when Crocodile returned he found the eggs had been eaten.'

Figure 19

KaH1WA 13a-14d

As well as repetition of the verb <-ambuka> 'cross', figure 19 above illustrates the use of connectives (<kimwi> 'then') as well as a subordinate clause to introduce additional material immediately before the end of the climax in clauses 14c-d. These techniques are observed in other texts, as well as the introduction of background sections before the climax.

Additionally, the Kabwa corpus sees the use of strings of verbs in the narrative TAM form to build suspense. It is also of note that the two written texts of the corpus do not clearly show any of these highlighting techniques prior to the climax, which suggests that these are purely oral techniques.

2.4.4 Comparison

All of the languages examined are alike in their insertion of extra material to highlight what immediately follows. This extra material slows down the theme-line, building suspense and creating a contrast with the important event coming.

Many of the different techniques for introducing this additional material are shared among the three languages but each report identifies different features as the most prevalent. This seems to occur because every feature also has a different function which means it is not uniquely associated with highlighted material. The result is that a section is highlighted by the presence of a greater than normal selection of these devices in the same place rather than these devices always signalling highlighted material. Of course, the possibility remains that a clearer picture would be obtained by collecting a larger corpus.

The exception to this general pattern is the <nigo> relative clause in Ngoreme which is almost entirely associated with highlighted material. No parallel grammatical feature has been noted in the corpus in either of the other languages.

Also of interest is that some of the techniques seem to be oral techniques. In fact, the Kabwa report comments that none of the highlighting techniques for the climax are clearly seen in the written texts. This is perhaps linked to the presence of conclusions in the folktales which teach a moral (see section 2.5 below). It is also unsurprising if written texts contain less repeated material than oral texts (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 15-16).

One particular feature that could benefit from future research is the unexpected use of TAM forms other than the default narrative TAM to report theme-line events, particularly when these occur in long strings, since the motivation for switching away from the default is not well understood. This feature is often associated with highlighted sections and is also the only device which seems to reduce the content of highlighted sections, rather than adding additional material. On the one hand, it is probable that these events stand out more strongly

since they are reported differently; on the other hand, the change to a present TAM form with the use of short clauses allows these sections to be passed over quickly in order to reach an approaching significant event.

2.5 Text conclusions

The corpora of the three languages contain a number of distinctive patterns for consolidating a story after the climax. Technically, in the genre of narrative text, most of this concluding material is background since it summarises the storyline or offers performative analysis. However, in the more specific genre of a folktale, the moral of the story could be considered as the most thematic material in the entire text using 'an apparently complete text...to function as a step in the production of a higher-level unit' (Dooley 2007: 46). This section aims to examine these contrasting functions of text conclusions.

2.5.1 Ngoreme

Seven of the ten texts in the corpus contain clear concluding material. Of these, six contain a final sentence stating that the story ends here. Five of these texts are folktales but the last is an autobiographical, written story (NSM). Most use the perfect TAM form, which implies they are background, but one includes a narrative TAM construction (NH1):

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
37			Rigano reene	rikaba rirasera (NARR) (PROG)		hayo (D:Ref)	
			story my	it.was it.is.finishing		here	

'Then my story was finishing here.'

Figure 20

NH1 37

Figure 21 below summarises the concluding material of Ngoreme texts:

Text	Ending phrase (TAM of verb)	Other concluding material
NH1	'Then my story was finishing here' (Narrative + Progressive)	Run of short clauses after (or completing) climax
NH3	'The story here has ended' (Perfect)	-
NH4	'So, the story has finished' (Perfect)	(N.B. The climax contains a song cf NH5)
NH5	'The story has finished, uncle' (Perfect)	Warning song repeated from earlier in text after climax (cf NH4)
NH6	'We have finished the story' (Perfect)	-
NH9	-	-
NH10	-	Run of short clauses after (or completing) climax
NS10	-	Short summary in 2nd person
NSC	-	-
NSM	'Here indeed is the end of these words' (Emphatic Copula)	Short summary explaining outcome of events

Figure 21

Ngoreme Text Conclusions

As can be seen from the table, there is little concluding material apart from the ending phrases. The clearest additional example of concluding material is in NS10, where the narrator summarises the story as an aside in the second person:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
42a			---	Uragora (PROG) you.are.buying			
42b			---	uraacha (PROG) you.are.coming		ne ngebo with piece.of.clothing	
42c			---	uraare (SUBJ) you.should.sleep		boki all.night	
42d			---	ugarokeri (SUBJ) you.should.return.to	omonto person		

'You buy and bring some clothes just to sleep until morning and take them back.'

Figure 22

NS10 42

So it can be seen that Ngoreme texts regularly contain little concluding material after the climax apart from a final sentence stating that the end of the story has come.

2.5.2 Ikizu

Of the fourteen complete Ikizu texts, half contain no clear concluding material after the climax. Interestingly, two of these texts contain morals within speech in the climax. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
27a			~~U~~mu~~u~~kari wurya na baana baazi~~i~~ (D:Dist) woman that and children her	bakasaaga (CONSEC) they.remained			
27b			---	barar~~u~~gu~~u~~ra (CONT) they.are.surprised			
28a			---	Barabuga (CONT) they.are.saying			[28b]
28b	[Ru~~u~~bangu~~u~~ rwa muu~~u~~tu~~u~~ luck of person		---	tuku~~u~~tu~~u~~ra kururibi~~i~~ra NEG.you.can to.it.cover	< <]		

'That woman and her children were left behind, surprised and saying, "You can't bury someone's luck."'

Figure 23

IkiHC 27-28

Of the remaining seven texts, six end with concluding statements after the climax, indicating the text is complete. Of note is the fact that both a fiction and a non-fiction text end with a statement equivalent to 'this is how it happened' (IkiH4 and IkiS4). Also significant is the fact that text IkiH2 has a concluding statement which is in the narrative TAM (marked CONSEC in Gray (2009)) and is the second half of a highlighted foreground sentence:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
31a			Umwana wurya (D:Dist)	akashara (CONSEC)			
			child that	he.got.away			
31b		na	rigan~~u~~	r~~i~~kasira (CONSEC)			
		and	story	it.finished			

'The child escaped and the story finished.'

Figure 24

IkiH2 31

Only one Ikizu text (IkiHP) has concluding material after the climax without an ending statement. This is reproduced in full below:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
31a			Rigan~~u~~ r~~i~~n~~u~~ (D:Prox)	ryatw~~i~~r~~i~~cha (CONT)			k~~u~~ba
			story this	it.us.shows			that
31b	h~~i~~i~~n~~i	han~~u~~	~~u~~m~~u~~kar~~u~~ka	ak~~u~~nama (PROG)			
	truly	where	old.man	he.sees			
31c			mumura	takunama-h~~u~~			
			youth	NEG.he.sees-LOC			
31d			---	angatiira (CF)		k~~u~~-m~~u~~t~~i~~	
				even.if.he.climbs		LOC-tree	
32a		K~~u~~ k~~u~~ba	~~u~~m~~u~~kar~~u~~ka wurya (D:Dist)	aar~~i~~ y~~i~~i~~z~~i (P1)	~~i~~nz~~i~~ra y~~u~~ k~~u~~b~~u~~na ubuniibi		
		for to.be	old.man that	he.was he.knows	way of to.get wealth		
32b		naw~~i~~	umumura	akar~~i~~gana (CONSEC)			
		but	youth	he.scorned			
32c		na mah~~i~~i~~n~~i	---	akaba (CONSEC)	muhab~~i~~		
		and truly		he.was	poor		

'This story shows us that, truly, an old man sees where a young man can't, even if he climbs a tree. For the old man (in the story) knew the way to get rich but the young man scorned him and, truly, he became poor.'

Figure 25

IkiHP 31-32

Generally, the moral lessons and concluding consequences in the texts of the corpus use present TAM forms since they have timeless application (Gray 2009: 11). Notably, this feature is also associated with highlighting.

The concluding material of all the complete Ikizu texts is summarised in the table below:

Text	Ending phrase (TAM of verb)	Other concluding material
IkiH1	-	-
IkiH2	'...and then the story ended' (Narrative)	-
IkiH3	-	(N.B. Mother sings song in climax expressing regret at not having listened to child)
IkiH4	-	'Now, this is how this deception was' (Past) (phrase alluding to opening sentence)
IkiH5	-	(N.B. The last sentence has continuing effect: 'Since that day Hare lacked (people) to deceive' (Narrative))
IkiH7	'The story has stopped here' (Perfective)	The last seven sentences explain how the events of the story led to the current eating habits of chickens and dogs. This includes performative information in the 2nd person and mainly subjunctive and continuous TAM forms.
IkiH10	'Then it (the story) stopped here' (Narrative)	-
IkiH12	-	(N.B. The text ends with five repetitions of the tree's speech, either by the child or the tree)
IkiS1	'I have finished warning of it' (Perfective (+ Infinitive))	The last four sentences contain a summary and contemplation of the story, including advice.
IkiS4	-	'These are indeed the things that happened to me in my history, with respect to studies, I

		didn't continue with school'
IkiS5	-	-
IkiS11	-	-
IkiHC	-	(N.B. The final speech in the climax gives a lesson from the story)
IkiHP	-	The last two sentences tell us the moral of the story basing it on the events of the text. (N.B. Speech at the end of the climax prepares the way for the moral of the text)

Figure 26

Ikizu Text Conclusions

It can be seen from figure 26 above that, while only half of the texts contain clear concluding material after the climax, there is great variation in that concluding material in content and length, including quite long sections of text (particularly IkiH7) and moral lessons in both fiction and non-fiction texts.

2.5.3 Kabwa

The texts of the Kabwa corpus display some very clear patterns with respect to consolidating material after the climax. Every single one of the nine folktales has clear concluding material. In six of the seven oral folktales, this concluding material is a variation of a phrase meaning 'my story has finished here'. Text KaHK1 contains the paradigmatic form:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
11			Erigano ryani	rihweereri (PVE)		hayo (D:Ref)	
			story my	it.has.finished		here	

'My story has finished here.'

Figure 27

KaHK1 11

The most significant variation from this formula is the use of the narrative TAM instead of the perfective in two of the texts (KaH1O1 and KaH3O1). Significantly, neither the written nor the non-fiction texts contain this ending formula.

The concluding material in the other folktales also follows a clear pattern. These texts finish with a statement of the lesson of the story each starting with similar phrases equivalent to 'this story teaches us that...'. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
25a			Erigano rinu (D:Prox) story this	riratwihigirya (CONT) it.us.teaches			ega that
25b	abhana bhetu children our		---	tubhehigirye (SUBJ) we.them.should.teach	<< teemo njomu habits good		
25c		naho so.that	---	bhabhe (SUBJ) they.should.be		na egintungwa with obedience	
25d			---	bhatarija kusarika (SUBJ) they.NEG.should.come to.be.bad			

'This story teaches us that we should teach our children good manners so they will be obedient and not turn out wicked.'

Figure 28

KaWP1 25

The opening clause of figure 28 above occurs in both written texts (N.B. these are written by the same author) with a close variant in the oral occurrence (KaH1WA).

Apart from these two very distinctive patterns, one or the other of which is contained in every folktale, there is little other concluding material, as indicated by the following table:

Text	Ending phrase (TAM of verb)	Other concluding material
KaHK1	'My story has finished here' (Perfective)	The last sentence explains how snakes shed their skin, mostly in the continuous TAM.
KaHK2	'This story has finished here' (Perfective)	Two short sentences explaining that monkeys are scared of people due to the events of the text, mostly in continuous TAM.
KaH1WA	-	'My story teaches us that we should be faithful to our friends' (Continuous (+ Subjunctive))
KaH1O1	'So then my story finished here' (Narrative)	-
KaH2O1	'My story has finished here' (Perfective)	-
KaH3O1	'Then my story finished here' (Narrative)	-
KaH4O1	'My story has finished' (Perfective)	(N.B. This text continues after the point where NH9 (which is very similar) ends, including a further event and a proverb in speech)
KaWP1	-	'This story teaches us that we should teach our children good manners so they will be obedient and not wicked' (Continuous then Subjunctive)
KaWP2	-	'This story teaches us that we should make laws which don't harm people when we're in charge because at any time we could be replaced by somebody else ruling'

KaH6	-	The text ends with an explanation of the benefits of the completed bridge
KaH19	-	-

Figure 29

Kabwa Text Conclusions

In summary, as figure 29 above shows, the Kabwa corpus contains a large quantity of highly formulaic text conclusions. This seems to correspond well with the generally formulaic text introductions (see section 2.2.3 above). Most of the text conclusions have the characteristics of background information but there are several examples counter to this general rule, some of which could even be considered highlighted material.

2.5.4 Comparison

There is considerable variation in content, length and frequency of occurrence of final concluding material across the corpus.

The Ngoreme texts contain little concluding material apart from ending statements despite seven of the ten texts including text conclusions. There is no conclusive evidence differentiating between written and oral texts, though one of the two written texts has no conclusion compared to only two of the eight oral texts.

By way of contrast, only half of the Ikizu texts have any concluding material after the climax independent of genre or manner of production. In addition, there is no formulaic pattern across the concluding material that is present, even taking into account the short ending statements.

This is completely different in the Kabwa fiction texts of the corpus where the concluding material is extremely formulaic. The ending statements (which only occur in oral folktales) alternate with a formula for introducing the moral lesson of a text in every fiction text. The one non-fiction text with concluding material does not follow these patterns.

These language specific differences could benefit from further research to discover how many of these features can be attributed to the style of individual writers and how many would also occur in the other languages in a larger corpus.

Apart from this variation, there is also considerable variation in the grounding of concluding material. Most commonly, material after the climax is background in character. However, some concluding material resembles foreground information. These sections include runs of short clauses elsewhere typical of highlighting and clauses using the narrative TAM, particularly ending statements.

These discrepancies could be explained by extending the scope of the climax or viewing final background material as introduced to highlight the climax more strongly. However, possibly the best analysis is to acknowledge that some texts treat concluding material as background and some as foreground. The key factor is whether the concluding material 'is "tacked on" at the end of the narrative...[or] if it is elaborated structurally' (Dooley 2007: 46). The former has the concluding material as part of the schema of the narrative, which would tend to make concluding material background, and the latter makes the concluding material the foreground of a text of a different genre (e.g. argumentational or hortatory). This also explains how material that would be considered inherently background in a narrative text can be marked as foreground and even highlighted.

2.6 Points of departure

In this final section on event line construction, one further feature relating to the presentation of the events of a text will be examined in the three languages of the corpus. This feature involves topicalised constituents at the start of sentences used to ease information flow, particularly at discontinuities. Levinsohn terms these topicalised constituents 'points of departure' to avoid confusion with the term 'topic' used elsewhere in his work (Levinsohn 2009: 39). His definition is suitably concise:

The term POINT OF DEPARTURE designates an element that is placed at the beginning of a clause or sentence with a dual function.

1. It establishes a starting point for the communication; and

2. It "cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer's mental representation)." (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:68, Levinsohn 2009: 40)

Most typically, the sentence or clause which follows the point of departure (PoD) is located in relation to its context with respect to time, space or participants. This establishes cohesion along either the situational axis (time and space) or the referential axis (participants). Situational and referential PoDs will be examined below along with a PoD unique to Ngoreme (discussed above in section 2.4.1).

2.6.1 Situational points of departure

Situational PoDs are mostly adverbial phrases or clauses referring to space or time.

2.6.1.1 Ngoreme

The most common situational PoD in the Ngoreme corpus is a temporal PoD involving renewal, i.e. a PoD that accesses a previously mentioned situation or reference. This PoD is constructed as a temporal relative clause using the proximal demonstrative for noun class 16 <hano> (used for references to both space and time). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
5b			---	akagora (NARR)	ekewancha	Nyasho msikitini hayo (D:Ref)	
				he.bought	field	Nyasho mosque there	
6a		[Hano (D:Prox)	---	agorre (PERF)	ekewancha keere] (D:Dist)		
		here		he.has.bought	field that		
6b	[6a]		---	akabuga (NARR)			[6c]
				he.said			

'...and he bought a field over near the mosque in Nyasho. When he had bought that field, he said...'

Figure 30

NSC 5b-6b

The example above in figure 30 is typical of <hano> used in this way to immediately renew a temporal reference. The same construction can also be used without renewal, though this is rare in the corpus.

The only other common pattern for situational PoDs uses phrases referring to the class 11 noun 'day' <orosiko>. Usually the word 'day' itself is omitted and has to be inferred by the presence of a class 11 pronoun (usually identified by the prefix <oro->). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
12a		Oronde gwiki (Pro:Diff) other again	---	akagi gwiki (NARR) he.went again			

'Again, on another [day], he went [away] again. '

Figure 31

NH9 12a

As is often the case, the above example occurs at a discontinuity of time. The temporal PoD both signals the discontinuity and helps to maintain continuity through it.

Interestingly, there is only one spatial PoD in the corpus. This corresponds to a very low incidence of spatial discontinuity in the Ngoreme texts with most location changes occurring alongside the movement of participants (Rundell 2009: 48-50).

2.6.1.2 Ikizu

In Ikizu, the most common situational PoDs use the noun class for the word 'day' <urusiku>. As with Ngoreme, this is often just implied by the use of agreement with noun class 11 but can also include the word for 'day' itself. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
8		Rusiku rumwi	umwana wu mutimi	akinda	kukwira (CONSEC)		
		day one	child of king	he.wanted	to.marry		

'One day the child of the king wanted to get married.'

Figure 32

IkiHC 8

The example shown above in figure 32 occurs at a discontinuity of time and action, marking the resumption of the event line after a background section. Similar temporal PoDs can also use other terms for parts of the day.

The other common format for situational PoDs uses temporal relative clauses involving renewal. These clauses, as noted in section 2.4.2 above, involve tail-head linkage and are often associated with highlighting in Ikizu. Tail-head linkage is a specific kind of PoD involving renewal which uses 'the repetition in a subordinate clause, at the beginning (the 'head') of a new sentence, of at least the main verb of the previous sentence (the tail)' (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 16) (N.B. As Levinsohn notes, 'neither 'head' nor 'tail' have their usual linguistic meaning here' (2009:46)). Tail-head linkage PoDs can be constructed in a number of different ways in Ikizu. The construction noted in the highlighting section above (2.4.2) uses a form of the verb 'to come' together with the infinitive of the repeated verb, for example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
32b	[32a]		---	rikatanga kubatema (CONSEC)			
				it.began to.them.hit			
33a		[Nawe	---	ryaaza kubatema] (P1.REL)			
		but		it.came to.them.hit			
33b	[33a]		umukari wuyu (D:Ref)	akatanga kuba ararira (CONSEC) (CONT)		ninu (D:Prox)	
			woman that	she.began to.be she.is.crying		here	

'...it began to hit them. But when it hit them, that woman began to cry here...'

Figure 33

IkiH3 32b-33b

The second construction noted in the Ikizu discourse report (Gray 2009) for temporal PoDs involving renewal uses an imperfective aspect and tail-head linkage. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
18b			---	ɨkabumara (CONSEC)		hayʉ (D:Ref)	
				it.slept		there	
19a			[---	ikubumara (PROG)		hayʉ] (D:Ref)	
				it.sleeping		there	
19b	[19a]		abiburi bi kisusu	bakaaza (CONSEC)			
			parents of hare	they.came			

'...[Lion] slept there. While he was sleeping there, Hare's parents came...'

Figure 34

IkiH4 18b-19b

The example in figure 34 above introduces a significant development in text IkiH4. This is consistent with Levinsohn's observations about the use of imperfective heads in tail-head linkage before significant developments (2009: 47).

Interestingly, among the Ikizu texts there is not a single example of a spatial PoD: all the situational PoDs are temporal.

2.6.1.3 Kabwa

Situational PoDs in the Kabwa texts of the corpus are mostly, though not uniquely, temporal. One of the most striking patterns of usage of a temporal PoD is the phrase <akare hayo>, loosely translated as 'once upon a time', which occurs in the first background sentence of every fiction text, both oral and written, but in neither of the non-fiction oral narratives, thus seeming to indicate the start of a fictional account. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
4		Akare hayo (D:Ref)	>>	yanga ari-ho (P2HAB)	omukungu omugotu		
		ages.ago then		she.was she.is-LOC	old.woman old		

'Once upon a time there was an old woman.'

Figure 35

KaH1O1 4

Similar to these temporal adverbial phrases is the range of noun class 11 pronouns using or implying the word for 'day', <rusiku>. These phrases are often used to indicate the start of the event line after the initial background section, for example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
6a		Rusiku rumwi	omukama uyo (D:Ref)	akakeerya (CONSEC)	abhantu bha ekyaro kyaye		ega [6b]
		day one	king this	he.told	people of country his		that

'One day, this king told the people of his country that...'

Figure 36

KaWP2 6a

The Kabwa corpus also sees temporal PoDs involving renewal formed using relative clauses constructed with the verb 'to come' as in Ikizu, see figure 33 above, or <hanu>, equivalent to the Ngoreme <hano> in figure 30 above.

Apart from the temporal PoDs, there is one example of a spatial PoD noted. This example uses the referential demonstrative from the locative noun class 23 and involves renewal, as this demonstrative refers to the location introduced in the previous sentence:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
19			---	Akang'anyira (CONSEC)		kyaro kindi	
				he.moved		country other	
20		Eyo (D:Ref)	---	yakeeryanga (P2HAB)	abhantu amang'ana ganu (D:Prox)		[21-23b]
		here		he.was.telling	people riddles these		

'He moved to another country. Here, he used to tell people these riddles...'

Figure 37

KaWP1 19-20

2.6.1.4 Comparison

The three languages of the corpus display a high level of similarity in the area of situational PoDs. All three languages use adverbial phrases involving or implying the word 'day' and all three use certain constructions to create temporal relative clauses as PoDs, usually involving renewal.

There is some variation among these temporal relative clauses, with both Ikizu and Kabwa using the two types of temporal relative clause observed, i.e. clauses with 'to come' or <hanu>, whilst Ngoreme only has examples with the equivalent <hano>.

Another area of similarity is the very low incidence of spatial PoDs, with only one each reported in the Kabwa and Ngoreme texts and none at all in the Ikizu corpus. This implies a very strong line of spatial continuity in the texts of the corpus but also, counterintuitively, means that the spatial axis is not significant for coherence since it is referred to little. These languages seem to prefer the participant and temporal axes (as demonstrated by the temporal and referential PoDs observed, as well as further features of participant reference in section 3 below, though participant tracking is outside the scope of this report).

The most consistent usage of a temporal PoD in the corpus is the Kabwa phrase equivalent to 'once upon a time' (<akare hayo>) used at the start of every fiction text in the corpus. The equivalent of this phrase occurs much more infrequently in both Ngoreme (two occurrences, both in fiction texts) and Ikizu (three occurrences, all in fiction texts). The only barrier to concluding that this phrase is always associated with fiction is its occurrence in one non-fiction Ikizu text which was not part of the corpus for this report. This could imply the reason for the absence of the phrase <akare hayo> (more literally 'a long time ago back then') in most non-fiction stories is that many of them occur in the fairly recent past, rather than 'a long time ago'.

In conclusion, there is a great deal of similarity across the corpus in this area: virtually all situational PoDs are on the temporal axis, with many examples involving renewal.

2.6.2 Referential points of departure

Referential PoDs are mostly noun phrases or prepositional phrases indicating a nominal constituent or a theme, respectively, as the primary basis of relating the following clause or sentence to the text as a whole. An interesting feature of nominal constituents used as PoDs is that they are often core clause components, such as the subject or object, marked as PoDs by being brought to the start of the clause (this process is called preposing (Levinsohn 2009: 44)) or by other techniques discussed below.

2.6.2.1 Ngoreme

Referential PoDs in the Ngoreme texts usually involve renewal and often use a noun phrase including a distal demonstrative (<-re> with the appropriate noun class prefix (see section 3, particularly 3.1 for more on the distal demonstrative). When this noun phrase is also the subject of the clause, it is preposed by the introduction of material between itself and the verb. This material, which has a default position elsewhere in the clause and is often

introduced specifically to indicate the discourse function of the subject as a referential PoD, is known as a spacer (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 73). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
38	Amanani gaare mbe (D:Dist)		<<	gagaacha (NARR)			
	monsters those now			they.came			

'Those monsters, now, they came.'

Figure 38

NH10 38

In figure 38 above the subject of the sentence, <amanani gaare>, is marked as a PoD by the insertion of the connective <mbe>, 'now' or 'so', which normally occurs before the subject and is here functioning as a spacer.

The Ngoreme corpus also contains examples with two PoDs, one referential and one temporal. In these clauses, 'the first [PoD, i.e. the referential in these examples] will indicate the primary basis for relating the sentence to its context' (Levinsohn 2009: 44). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
5a	[Boono omomura woore (D:Dist)	hano (D:Prox)	<<	akurora (CONT)	[5b-5c]		
	now youth that	here		he.seeing			
5b			abanto	barebiru (PERF)			
			people	they.have.been.eaten			
5c			---	baasire (PERF)		mo-kyaro]	
				they.have.finished		LOC-land	
5d	[5a-5c]		---	akagita (NARR)	oboori		
				he.covered	pen		

'Now that youth, upon seeing that the people had been eaten and were all gone from the land, he covered up a cattle pen...'

Figure 39

NH9 5a-d

Apart from referential PoDs involving the subject, the object of a clause can also be used. When the object of the clause is used as a PoD, it is preposed to the start of the clause. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1d			---	gareta (GEN) they.bring	chinyama meat		
1e			---	gatereka (GEN) they.cook			
1f	echemwe (Pro:One) some		---	gari (GEN) they.eat	<<		
1g	echemwe (Pro:One) some		---	gatiga (GEN) they.leave	<<		

'...they bring the meat, they cook [it], some they eat, some they leave.'

Figure 40

NH1 1d-g

In figure 40 above, the preposed objects of clauses 1f and 1g have been analysed as PoDs rather than contrastive focus because Ngoreme postposes elements in focus and preposes topicalised elements unless a cleft constriction is used (Rundell 2009: 27-33). This is also confirmed by the application of Levinsohn's conditions for distinguishing focus from PoDs (2009: 59).

There is also a single example in the corpus of a referential PoD which is an external topic, i.e. a nominal constituent that is not the subject or object of the clause but is the topicalised PoD:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
34c	amang'ana go moona words of child		---	nkabuga (NARR) I.said			[34d]
34d			[---	n-geere] (D:Dist) is-that			

'In the words of a child, I said, "That one."'

Figure 41

NS10 34c-d

Figure 41 above is one of the few examples of a referential PoD that does not involve renewal. This scarcity is not surprising when it is taken into consideration that PoDs by definition make use of contextually available information and that the available nominal references in a text will mostly be previously mentioned participants.

2.6.2.2 Ikizu

In the Ikizu corpus referential PoDs can be formed by the preposing of the relevant object phrase or the introduction of a spacer after the subject. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
20a	~~U~~mu~~k~~iku~~r~~u wuyu nangu (D:Ref)	ruyu (D:Ref)	<<	aranama (CONT)			[20b-21]
	old.woman this now	that		she.sees			

'Now this old woman, on that day, she sees...'

Figure 42

IkiH3 20a

Interestingly, in figure 42 above both <nangu> 'now' and <ruyu> 'that [day]' occur between the subject and the verb to mark the subject as a referential PoD involving renewal. As remarked upon in section 2.6.1.2 above, <ruyu> can be used as a situational PoD but that function seems highly limited here since not only is it the second potential PoD in the sentence but, also, <nangu> has been introduced out of its default position at the start of the sentence even though, strictly speaking, it is not necessary as a spacer because of the presence of <ruyu>. Alternatively, a simpler analysis may be that the subject is preposed. In any case, it is clear the primary basis for relating this sentence to its context is the referential PoD.

As in Ngoreme, examples of referential PoDs involving the object of a clause, an external topic or without renewal are also noted.

2.6.2.3 Kabwa

Referential PoDs seem to be very rare in the Kabwa corpus. There are three clear examples in the corpus of the subject of a clause being used as a referential PoD, two of which occur in one text (KaH3O1). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
18a	Bhoono omukari	rundi	<<wonse (Pro:Add)	anyooreri (PVE)	ebhyokurya		[18b]
	now woman	one	and.she	she.had.got	foods		

'Now the woman, one day, she also had got some food... '

Figure 43

KaH3O1 18a

This example is notable since it contains <rundi> 'one [day]' as a spacer as well as maintaining a pronominal trace in the usual position for the subject of a clause, technically known as left-dislocation (of the noun phrase <omukari> 'woman'). This means two techniques are used here to mark the woman as the referential PoD involving renewal. In addition, this clause contains two PoDs, the second being the temporal PoD <rundi> 'one [day]' (also functioning here as a spacer).

Similarly, the object of a clause can be preposed to function as a PoD. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
18a	Bhoono	abhantu bhayo (D:Ref)	Abhaitariano	bharabhabhuurya (CONT)	<<		ega [18b-18e]
	now	people these	Italians	they.are.them.telling			that

'Now, these people, the Italians were telling them, "..."'

Figure 44

KaH6 18a

The example in figure 44 above occurs after a short background section and the referential PoD is used to renew the theme which was being talked about before this interlude.

In the Kabwa corpus a referential PoD can also be formed from an external topic. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
7d	Amaahiro		---	bhakeekara (CONSEC)			
	discussions			they.sat			
7e			---	bhakaahira (CONSEC)			
				they.discussed			

'...in discussions they sat and discussed.'

Figure 45

KaH19 7d-e

Finally, there is one clear example of a referential PoD involving a prepositional phrase:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
12d		ku-bhebhuri bhaye	---	bharoranga (P2HAB)			[12e]
		LOC-parents his		they.saw			
12e			[---	m-bhwahene] (GEN)			
				is-good			

'...as for his parents, they used to think it was fine.'

Figure 46

KaWP1 12d-e

This example involves renewal and emphasises the fact that his parents had a different opinion to everyone else. Though the locative construction could theoretically have a spatial meaning, it seems clear here that it is being used to create a referential PoD.

2.6.2.4 Comparison

The different ways of forming referential PoDs are very similar among the three languages of the corpus. Each language has examples of subjects, objects and external topics used as the topicalised element at the start of a clause indicated by preposing or the use of spacers. Additionally, each language has double PoDs with both a situational PoD and a referential one used in the same clause.

Only in Kabwa is a prepositional phrase noted as forming a referential PoD, though there is only one instance of this. Also only observed in Kabwa is left dislocation, where the constituent is preposed to the start of the sentence with a pronoun in the constituent's usual position. The occurrence of these unique features in the Kabwa texts is more surprising given the relative number of referential PoDs observed in each language (19 in Ngoreme, 32 in Ikizu and only 11 in Kabwa).

2.6.3 Other points of departure

As mentioned above in section 2.4.1, a particular relative construction is strongly associated with highlighting in the Ngoreme texts. It functions as a PoD and involves renewal in half of the examples in the corpus. This construction involving the word <nigo> 'it is this way' is not clearly referential or situational and could instead be referred to as a PoD of manner since it signals continuity of action through its agreement with the verbal noun class. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
32b			---	arasoha (PROG) she.enters		nyumba inside	
32c		nigo it.is.this.way	---	asohire (PERF) she.has.entered		nyumba inside	
32d			---	rirahika (PROG) it.arrives			

'...she goes inside; having gone inside in this way, [the monster] arrives...'

Figure 47

NH9 32b-d

This PoD is unique to Ngoreme among the texts of the corpus. In fact, this represents possibly the largest difference between the languages of the corpus in terms of PoDs. Apart from this and a few other isolated examples mentioned in the sections immediately above, the languages of the corpus exhibit a great deal of similarity in the use and construction of PoDs.

3 PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

3.1 Introduction

The subject under consideration in this third chapter is strategies for referring to the participants of a text. Similarly to event line construction, participant reference has to do with the management of information flow and establishment of cohesion to create a coherent mental representation. However, participant reference is particularly interested in how a character in a text is made identifiable to the audience on a continuing basis and how that identifiability aids the information flow of a text (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 111, Dooley 2007: 46-47, 72-73, Lambrecht 1994: 77).

This all starts with the introduction of participants, the first of the subjects of this chapter (section 3.2). In order for a participant to be available to a mental representation, it needs to be 'in the addressee's consciousness' (Dooley 2007: 47). This is referred to as an active or given concept or, more specifically for this subject area, an active participant (Levinsohn 2009). The other possibilities are for a participant to be semiactive or inactive. An inactive or new concept, as the name suggests, is one which is not currently in the addressee's consciousness and a semiactive or accessible concept is half way in between, either by 'fading from active status' due to lack of recent reference or by being inferable from the frame of a text (Dooley 2007: 47).

In order for a participant to move from a lower activation state to a higher one and take part in a text for the first time, it needs to be activated. This is referred to as participant introduction and is influenced by various factors, two of which will be considered in detail. The first of these is the importance of the participant, as defined by the duration of their activation in the text and the significance of their role, and uses the categories of major and minor participants (Levinsohn 2009: 118). The second factor is whether the participant introduction is effectively the start of a text (introduction into a new mental representation) or

part of the continuing text (introduction into an existing mental representation) (Levinsohn 2009: 119).

The topic of introduction into a new mental representation has a large amount of overlap with discussions of initial background material (section 2.2 above), since it is very common for a participant to be introduced in the first clause of a text or even in the title. Dooley even talks about participants introduced in this way as serving an 'access function...as a start for building the discourse space' and then continuing to provide an 'integration function', acting as the topic and providing ongoing thematic cohesion (2007: 72-73). This is demonstrated particularly clearly by the function of referential PoDs in event line construction (section 2.6.2 above).

The integration function of participants leads into the second theme of this chapter: further reference to active participants (section 3.3). A particular focus of this theme is exploring the linguistic motivation for the amount of material used to mention a participant at each further reference, from complete ellipsis to the use of an extensive noun phrase (this is referred to as coding weight (Dooley 2007: 47)). There are a number of factors that influence coding weight. These 'tasks of a scheme of reference' (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 112) are represented below, adapted from Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) and Dooley (2007):

Semantic	identify the referents unambiguously, distinguishing them from other possible ones: *coding weight increases with danger of ambiguity and disruption*
Conceptual	signal the activation, identifiability or prominence of referents: *coding weight increases with lower activation and prominence*
Contrastive	signal contrast with another referent: *coding weight increases with greater contrast*
Processing	overcome disruptions to the flow of information: *coding weight increases at discontinuities*

Figure 48

Tasks of a Scheme of Reference

In this chapter, the main focus will be on how the conceptual and contrastive functions affect participant reference. Even so, the other tasks of a scheme of reference must be held in mind to avoid mistaking motivations for differences in coding weight.

The third and final theme of this chapter is the reactivation of participants after an absence (section 3.4). This topic overlaps with both participant introduction and further reference to active participants as it engages with the reintroduction of participants that have fallen from an active to semiactive, or even possibly inactive, status. Key factors in this section include the length of absence of the participant and its prominence, which both affect its level of activation.

Taking these three themes into consideration, it can be seen that participant reference is a key element in the management of information flow in a text, helping the addressee to access and establish a coherent mental representation for the text. This is achieved not only by ensuring the unique identifiability of participants but also by using participant reference to aid continuity, signal the importance of characters or events and act as a reference point to anchor the entire text.

The remainder of this introduction to participant reference consists of a brief presentation of the demonstrative forms in the languages under investigation since these forms occur frequently in noun phrases referring to participants in all three sections of this chapter. The Bantu languages under examination each have a set of three demonstratives referred to in this report as proximal, referential and distal. Exophorically, these demonstratives are used to refer to things that are close, less close and far away, respectively, and this has an interesting participant reference correlation with text-internal anaphoric deixis (see sections below). To form these demonstratives, the three stems in each language take

noun class prefixes which agree with the noun class of the referent. The three stems for each language are tabulated below for ease of reference:

	Ngoreme	Ikizu	Kabwa
Proximal	-no	-nʉ	-nu
Referential	-yo	-yʉ	-yo
Distal	-re	-rya	-rya

Figure 49

Demonstrative Stems for the Languages of the Corpus

3.2 Participant introduction

3.2.1 Ngoreme

The default format for participant introduction into a new mental representation uses a non-event clause with the participant as the subject of the verb 'to be' with a locative suffix <-ho>. This is also the pattern recorded for presentational articulation (Rundell 2009: 33-34). In addition, the participant introduced into a new mental representation is nearly always a major participant. This corresponds well with the theory outlined in section 3.1 above that participant reference provides access to a text world and ongoing cohesion, i.e. the participant introduced first remains a constant reference point in the text. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
1			Omomura	aareho (P1)			
			youth	he.was-LOC			

'There was a youth.'

Figure 50

NH10 1

The example above in figure 50 gives the pattern for six of the ten Ngoreme texts with only slight variation. The specialised use of this format is emphasised by it only being used

once in the corpus for introduction into an existing mental representation with that example also using a different locative suffix (<-mu> 'inside') (NS10 17a).

Of the four exceptions to the pattern for introduction to a new mental representation, two are told in the first person (NSM and NS10). It is probably valid to argue that when the narrator is the first participant introduced it does not constitute introduction into a new mental representation (and is possibly not even technically participant introduction). Another exception has the same construction as the default except the participant is postposed to after the verb (NH5). Notably, this is the only text with the call-response introduction (see section 2.2 above) and so possibly also doesn't qualify as introduction into a new mental representation. The final unexplained exception introduces the participants as the topic in a backgrounded event clause:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			Amanani	gaare kogi (P1)	rigwema		
			monsters	they.were to.go	hunting		

'[Some] monsters used to go hunting...'

Figure 51

NH1 1a

Interestingly, this is also the only text which introduces more than one character in the first clause. In any case, the standard pattern is to introduce a major participant before a locative verb to establish a new mental representation.

On the other hand, participants introduced into an existing mental representation are nearly always presented after the verb. Often this involves an active participant as the subject of a verb introducing a new participant in the object or other post-verbal phrase. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			Omugaruka	aareho (P1)			
			old.man	he.was-LOC			
1b			---	ana (GEN)	omugaikoro		
				he.has	wife		
1c			---	baana (GEN)	abaana		
				they.have	children		

'There was an old man, he had a wife and they had children.'

Figure 52

NH6 1a-c

After the introduction of the old man into a new mental representation in figure 52 above, his wife and then their children are introduced as the objects of successive clauses. Another possibility is postposing the subject referring to the new participant after the verb. There is even an example of introduction as an object being postposed after an accompaniment noun phrase. All of these examples have in common that they occur after the verb in the clause.

It is also possible to introduce a participant into an existing mental representation in a subordinate clause. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
24d			---	akabona (NARR)			[24e]
				he.got			
24e			[abaana bande (Pro:Diff)	baratiba] (PROG)			
			children other	they.are.swimming			

'...and he found some children swimming.'

Figure 53

NH4 4d-e

There are only five instances in the Ngoreme texts of introduction into an existing mental representation as the subject of the sentence with no marking. In all these examples,

the participants in question can be judged to be expected in the frame of the text and so not require the normal activation.

In terms of distinguishing the introduction of major and minor participants, there is no consistent signal except the introduction of major participants first in a text. However, the introduction of major participants is often indicated by participants introduced in postposed positions, with the verb 'to be', in relative clauses, as one of a previously mentioned group or with more encoding material than usual, though scattered examples of minor participants introduced in these ways occur in the corpus.

In summary, participants introduced in Ngoreme narrative texts into a new mental representation appear as the subject of the verb 'to be' with a locative suffix and are normally major participants. Introduction into an existing mental representation is nearly always post-verbal.

3.2.2 Ikizu

In the Ikizu texts of the corpus, introduction into a new mental representation most frequently involves the participant postposed after a particular construction of the verb 'to be' including a locative suffix (seven of sixteen texts, all fiction). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
1	Zamwɨ mbaanɨ		>>	aarɨ arɨhʉ (P1)			mʉkɨkʉrʉ wʉmwɨ
	now friend			she.was she.is-LOC			old.woman one

'Now, friend, there was a certain old woman.'

Figure 54

IkiH3 1

The example in figure 54 above shows a typical introduction into a new mental representation using two forms of the verb 'to be', the second having a locative suffix <-hʉ>, with the subject postposed. This example also features the use of the quantifier <wʉmwɨ>

'one (class 1)'. This exact pattern, including all the elements noted in figure 54, is repeated in five of the twelve folktales with four further texts having close variants and only one occurrence for introduction into an existing mental representation.

Interestingly, two of the texts which begin with this construction reference entities which are not easily classified as participants. One of these is <amakangirirya> 'deception' (IkiH4) and the other is <rubiri> 'country' (IkiH1). These examples certainly feature the establishment of a new mental representation but arguably do not include participant introduction. The three remaining folktales do not contain any clear alternative pattern for introduction to a new mental representation.

The four non-fiction texts also exhibit no clear format for introduction into a new mental representation. The only uniting factor is that they feature introduction in a topicalised position, possibly implying communication prior to the recording of the text which is especially likely for the first person texts.

Introduction to an existing mental representation most often involves the participant appearing in a post-verbal position (34 of 49). This includes objects, adjuncts, postposed subjects and post-nuclear subordinate clauses. Roughly half (16) are objects or adjuncts with an active participant in the subject position. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
2			---	Akakwɨra (CONSEC)	mʉkari waazɨ		
				he.married	wife his		
3a			---	Bakibʉra (CONSEC)	mwana wʉmwɨ wa kɨkari		
				they.birthed	child one of female		
4			Umusubɨ wurya (D:Dist)	akakwɨra (CONSEC)	ʉmʉkari ʉwʉndɨ (Pro:Diff)		
			man that	he.married	woman other		
5			Ʉmʉkari wurya (D:Dist)	akibʉra (CONSEC)	baana babɨrɨ ba kɨkari		
			woman that	she.birthed	children two of female		

'He married his wife and they had one girl... Then that man married another woman. That woman gave birth to two girls.'

Figure 55

IkiHC 2-3a, 4-5

Figure 55 above shows participants introduced in every clause as objects of the verb who then feature immediately in the next clause as subjects.

Of the fifteen post-nuclear subordinate clauses introducing participants, nine use the verb <-bʉna> 'get' as the main verb. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
6b			---	gakabʉna (CONSEC)	[6c]		
				they.got			
6c			[umwana	ararisha] (CONT)			
			child	he.is.farming			

'...and they came across a child farming.'

Figure 56

IkiH2 6b-c

In addition to the examples above, there are three examples involving postposed subjects. Two of these occur close to the start of their texts (IkiH1 and IkiH9) and could possibly qualify as introduction into a new mental representation. The other is from one of the written texts:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
11a			[---	Baaza kuja they.came to.go		mu-ribina] LOC-dance	
11b	yiika inu [11a] (D:Prox) house here		>>	kakaaza (CONSEC) it.came		<<	kanyunyi little.bird
11c			---	kakikara (CONSEC) it.sat		ku-nyumba LOC-house	

'When they had left for the dance, back at home a little bird came and sat on the house.'

Figure 57

IkiHC 11a-c

This example seems to be a highlighted introduction (see Gray 2009: 30-31 on identificational sentence articulation) and occurs at a key development in the text. However, there are no comparable examples in the corpus, so this hypothesis cannot be tested.

All the other instances of introduction into an existing mental representation, apart from three in direct speech, present the participant before the verb in the clause (fifteen examples). The clearest pattern among these is that they introduce minor participants made accessible by being local authority figures (often assumed, see Levinsohn (2009: 119)) or bystanders at the scene of the action. One noteworthy example remains:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1			Amakangirirya gayu (D:Ref) deception these	gaari gari-hu (P1) they.were they.are-LOC			
2a			ɬka ni kisusu lion and hare	byari (P1) they.were	busaani friends		

‘There was once this deception. Lion and Hare were friends...’

Figure 58

IkiH4 1-2a

This example is noteworthy because it introduces the first participant of the text in clause 2a, the initial sentence being dedicated to the theme of the text. The only other similar example follows the pattern for introduction into a new mental representation (IkiH1). More examples would be required to analyse these and a further three anomalies with participants introduced in preposed positions.

In terms of the marking of major and minor participants, the most salient feature is that every instance of introduction into a new mental representation features a major participant . This overlaps with the fact that every postposed introduction references a major participant. On the other hand, every participant introduced in speech is a minor one. Otherwise, the data shows more of a mixture, with even numbers of major and minor participants introduced in subject positions and slightly more minor than major participants introduced after the verb.

In summary, introduction into a new mental representation in Ikizu usually uses a double form of the verb ‘to be’ including a locative suffix, with the subject noun phrase postposed and including <-mwɨ > ‘one’ when singular. Introduction into an existing mental representation most often occurs post-verbally. This includes subordinate clauses which are frequently dependent on <-bʉna> ‘get’ as the main verb of the sentence.

3.2.3 Kabwa

In the Kabwa texts of the corpus, introduction to a new mental representation involves the participant as the subject postposed after a ‘to be’ verb involving a locative suffix (eight of the nine folktales). For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
2		Akare hayo (D:Ref)	>>	yaringa-ho (P2HAB)			mukaruka umwi na mukaye
		ages.ago then		he.was-LOC			old.man one and his.wife

'Once upon a time there was an old man and his wife.'

Figure 59

KaWP1 2

This example, which is from a written text where the title is charted in the first sentence, follows the pattern for presentational articulation (Walker 2009: 26-27) and is a typical introduction to a new mental representation, though the construction of the 'to be' verb is highly variable. This figure also shows the use of the morpheme for 'one' <-mwi>, included in four of the eight examples. Notably, it occurs in every text without a call-response introduction so it is possibly required when the participant introduction does the main work in establishing a new mental representation.

The one folktale that does not follow presentational articulation for the introduction of the first participant is the only oral text which includes a verbal statement of the story's title:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
3	Erigano rya Wakatuuju na Wang'iti						
	story of Hare and Hyena						
4		Akare hayo (D:Ref)	Wang'iti na Wakatuuju	bhanga (P2HAB)	bhasaani		
		ages.ago then	Hyena and Hare	they.were	friends		

'The story of Hare and Hyena. Once upon a time Hyena and Hare were friends.'

Figure 60

KaH2O1 3-4

This text also has a call-response introduction and it seems likely that sentence four does not constitute introduction into a new mental representation since the participants are mentioned in the title in sentence three. This is very similar to a comparable example in Ikizu (IkiH4: see figure 58 above).

The two non-fiction texts do not give a clear format for introduction into a new mental representation since both have inanimate entities introduced first as their main themes (war for KaH19 and a bridge for KaH6).

In an existing mental representation the new participant is most often introduced post-verbally. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
6b	[6a]		---	akasikana (CONSEC) she.met		na amanani gabhiri with monsters two	

'...she met two monsters.'

Figure 61

KaH1O1 6b

Apart from being introduced in object or adjunct positions or the single clear example in a subordinate clause, participants can also sometimes occur post-verbally as postposed subjects (four examples). Most of these examples are minor unpredictable participants but the final example introduces major participants:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
4a	Bhoono		---	rikarya (CONSEC)	abhantu	ego	
	now			it.ate	people	thus	
4b			---	rikamara (CONSEC)		ku-kyaro	
				it.finished		LOC-country	
4c			>>	Bhakasaaga (CONSEC)	mwana umwi wa kihara na wa kimura		
				they.remained	child one of female and of male		

'Now [the monster] ate people so much that, when it finished in the land, only one boy and one girl were left.'

Figure 62

KaH4O1 4a-c

The example in figure 62 above is of note because the word <umwi> 'one (class 1)' is used. However, it seems <umwi> has a more literal numerical meaning here selecting them from the original group of people in clause 4a. This is similar to its two other uses in introduction to an existing mental representation.

The remaining instances of participant introduction to an existing mental representation occur in the default subject position. Thirteen of the fifteen examples involve participants inferable from the context. One of the more striking examples involves the first President of Tanzania:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
7a	Bhoono	orundi	omukuru wetu wa ekyaro	yanga ari-ho (P2HAB)			
	now	other	head our of country	he.was he.is-LOC			
7b			---	Arabhikirwa (CONT)	Juliasi Nyerere		
				he.is.called	Julius Nyerere		

'Now some time later the head of our country was there, called Julius Nyerere.'

Figure 63

KaH6 7a-b

It would seem that President Nyerere is an automatically accessible participant in a Kabwa text set in Tanzania. This example (figure 63 above) also uses a variation of the presentational articulation construction. This is the only example of a locative verb used for participant introduction in a non-fiction text.

The two remaining examples of participants introduced in the subject position both involve major participants (and monkeys, presumably coincidentally!). More data would be needed to ratify potential explanations.

In terms of major and minor participants, introduction into a new mental representation nearly always involves major participants (eight of nine folktales). After a mental representation has been established, participant introduction in the default subject position usually involves minor participants inferable from the context (twelve of fifteen examples). Introduction post-verbally can feature both major and minor participants.

In summary, introduction into a new mental representation normally involves a major participant as the postposed subject of one of a number of constructions involving a 'to be' verb with a locative suffix. References to participants introduced into an existing mental representation usually occur post-verbally, though a significant number of minor participants inferable from the context are introduced before the verb.

3.2.4 Comparison

In the entire corpus, nearly every text begins with participant introduction. In some ways this could be viewed as an obvious statement, since it is hard to imagine a narrative text without participants, but the presence in the corpus of scattered examples of texts that do not begin with participant activation strengthens the idea that the widespread use of participant introduction to establish new mental representations is significant rather than incidental.

As such, in every language of the corpus, participant introduction into a new mental representation involves a distinctive format. In all three languages this format uses forms of the verb 'to be' including a locative suffix from noun class 16. However, each language then has distinctive constructions within these parameters. Significant differences include the form of the 'to be' verb (Ngoreme uses a single verb and Ikizu mostly uses a compound form whilst Kabwa varies widely) and the use of 'one' which occurs commonly in Ikizu and Kabwa but never in the Ngoreme texts of the corpus. The most striking difference is the lack of postposing in Ngoreme, since the postposing observed in Ikizu and Kabwa agrees well with the expectation of introduction into a non-topic position (Levinsohn 2009: 118), i.e. at the end of the sentence in these languages (Rundell 2009: 27-28, Gray 2009: 26-29, Walker 2009: 21-25).

Other similarities among all the languages of the corpus include the first participant introduced nearly always being a major participant and the strong link between presentational articulation and the establishment of a new mental representation.

Another similarity worthy of further investigation is the introduction of more than one participant in the same clause, particularly when the word 'one' is used or the verb is singular (see figure 59 above). The same is true of introductions to non-fiction narratives as there is little consistent pattern among the few texts apart from the wide use of the first person. Further fruitful research could also be undertaken to discover the role of titles and call-response introductions in establishing new mental representation.

Introduction into an existing mental representation, in contrast, provides no unique default within each language. The most widely observed pattern is that participants introduced into an existing mental representation are introduced post-verbally. Also notable is that Kabwa has extremely few introductions in subordinate clauses whilst Ikizu has a significant number of introductions in subordinate clauses after the verb 'to get', which is much less common in Ngoreme and almost non-existent in Kabwa.

In terms of marking major and minor participants the corpus again offers little in the way of unambiguous differentiating features. The most consistently observed pattern is that introduction into a new mental representation features major participants. This is true for every single Ikizu text and nearly all the Ngoreme and Kabwa texts. Other, less consistent, patterns occur for introduction into an existing mental representation, including a tendency for participants introduced in the default subject position to be minor participants inferable from the context. This is nearly always true in Ngoreme and mostly true in Kabwa with Ikizu having much more ambiguity. By contrast, in Ikizu every participant introduced in a postposed position is major. Whilst in Ngoreme this tends to be true, the opposite is true in Kabwa.

In summary, despite various exceptions and generalisations the data of the corpus agree well with expected theory: most notably, the use of major participants to provide access to and integrate a mental representation (Dooley 2007: 73) and the tendency especially for major participants to be introduced in a 'non-topic, non-interactive role' (Levinsohn 2009: 118). This is shown particularly in the corpus by major participants being introduced first and the ongoing introduction of major participants in post-verbal positions and non-event clauses with only minor participants permitted to be introduced 'as topic in an interactive role' (Levinsohn 2009: 119). In other words, major participants require 'more' activation for the purpose of becoming easily accessible to facilitate the establishment and ongoing coherence of a mental representation. All of the languages in the corpus show this pattern overall, along with plentiful variation in the detail.

3.3 Further reference to active participants

3.3.1 Ngoreme

The default for continuing to refer to active participants is to use the verbal prefix subject and object agreement markers. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
35a		[Hano (D:Prox) here	---	akorirasa] he.it.piercing			
35b	[35a]		---	akamara (NARR) he.finished			
35c			---	akaryera (NARR) he.ran			
35d			---	agi korigeecha (SUBJ) he.should.go to.it.cut			
36a		[Hano (D:Prox) here	---	akogi] he.going			
36b	[36a]		---	arigeecha (GEN) he.it.cuts			
36c			---	rikabuga (NARR) it.said			[36d-36g]

'When he shot it and he finished, he ran to cut it. As he went to cut it, it said, "..."'

Figure 64

NH9 35a-36c

The example above in figure 64 involves a monster referred to by the class five subject and object prefix <ri-> and a man referred to by the class one third person subject agreement marker <a->. Each of these active participants is ongoingly referenced by just these verbal prefixes even despite a switch in the subject of the verb in clause 36c. In practice this is the least coding weight possible since subject agreement is nearly always obligatory on the verb, though there is the possibility of complete ellipsis for the object.

This pattern is broken when there is semantic ambiguity between two participants who are in the same noun class and so are referred to with identical verbal prefixes. This is highly expected given the semantic element of the tasks of a scheme of reference as outlined in figure 48 above. When this semantic ambiguity occurs due to a change in subject (either a switch from one to another or to one of a previous plural subject) the default is to clarify the reference with a simple single word noun phrase. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
7a		[Hano (D:Prox)	---	aha (GEN)		omoona]	
		here		she.gives		child	
7b	[7a]		omoona	anga (GEN)			
			child	he.refuses			

'When she gave [the food] to the child, the child refused...'

Figure 65

NH1 7a-b

This is not necessarily the case for every change in subject when there is potential for semantic ambiguity since the participant in the subject role can sometimes be clear from the context alone, especially when repetition is involved. Other exceptions to this pattern occur when the distal demonstrative <-re> is used as part of a noun phrase (see section 3.4.1 below for additional information).

Marked instances of further reference to active participants occur immediately after participant introduction and after reported speech. The first of these involves the referential demonstrative <-yo>. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
1a			Omomura onde (Pro:Diff)	aareho (P1)			
			youth other	he.was-LOC			
1b			omomura oyo (D:Ref)	aare kuberekeru (P1)	Matinde		
			youth this	he.was to.be.called	Matinde		

'There was a certain youth, this youth was called Matinde.'

Figure 66

NSC 1a-b

The Ngoreme texts have six examples like the one above in figure 66 of a referential demonstrative being used to cement the introduction of a participant. It also occurs a further

four times after speech to refer to the participant who has just been speaking. Similarly, the distal demonstrative immediately after speech nearly always refers to the addressee.

Further rare examples of reference to active participants feature two extensive noun phrases used to introduce new ways to refer to a participant and two uses of the proximal demonstrative, which do not constitute enough data to yield clear conclusions, though both occurrences are within the first two sentences of their texts.

In summary, further references to active participants are, by and large, made with the minimal coding weight of verbal subject and object prefixes.

3.3.2 Ikizu

In Ikizu, the default pattern for encoding of further reference to active participants is the use of verbal prefixes. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
21	Nangu		Zenge	akaryara (CONSEC)		mpaka mu-kituo	
	now		Zenge	he.ran		until LOC-station	
22a			---	Akiri kuhika (GEN)		mu-kituo	
				he.is.still.being to.arrive		LOC-station	
22b			---	bakamotema mutama (CONSEC)			
				they.him.hit sorghum.plant			
22c			---	akagwa (CONSEC)		haasi	
				he.fell		down	

'Now Zenge ran towards the [police] station. Before he could get to the [police] station, they hit him with a sorghum plant and he fell over.'

Figure 67

IkiS11 21-22c

As can be seen from the example in figure 67 above the participant called Zenge is tracked through sentence 22 with subject and object agreement markers (<a-> and <mo->

respectively) even as the subject changes to and from the third person plural <ba-> in clause 22b.

Exceptions to this pattern occur in a variety of environments, including greater coding weight after speech, other discontinuities and introductions, for semantic clarification and to highlight contrast. This greater coding weight is usually just a single word noun phrase except for a few specific situations. For example, the referential demonstrative can be added to a noun phrase referring to an active participant immediately after its introduction, after speech or after it has been referenced in the previous clause, particularly with just an object prefix. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subject	Verb	Object/Complement	Inner	Outer
13a			Akasusu	kakabuga (CONSEC)			[13b-13j]
			hare	it.said			
14			Akataaro	kakaha (CONSEC)	ikisusu kiy~~u~~ amanzi (D:Ref)		
			river	it.gave	hare this water		

'Hare said, "..." The river gave this Hare water.'

Figure 68

IkiH5 13a, 14

This example illustrates well the complications of a scheme of reference in a Bantu language. The hare and the river are both referred to using the same, diminutive, noun class 12 (<ka-> verbal prefix and <aka-> noun class prefix) and so require semantic clarification, but the fact that the hare has just spoken instigates the use of the referential demonstrative which occurs in a class 7 noun phrase, the normal noun class for <ikisusu> 'hare' (it is also worth noting that the national language of Tanzania, Swahili, uses noun class 7 for diminutives).

This example (figure 68 above) also highlights the potential for a participant, particularly an animal, to be referred to with varying noun classes. This creates more semantic

ambiguity which possibly explains the greater coding weight than normal in texts with animals as major participants also seen in texts with several participants in the same noun class (IkiH4, IkiH5, IkiH7 and IkiHP).

Many of the observations in this section indicate general tendencies rather than strict rules, with differences in coding weight and content noted in seemingly analogous situations. This is perhaps unsurprising given the complex and complementary roles of a scheme of reference. However, in summary, it can be noted that further reference to active participants in the Ikizu texts of the corpus is achieved mainly using verbal prefixes with simple noun phrases inserted chiefly after discontinuities and where semantic clarification is required.

3.3.3 Kabwa

The Kabwa texts of the corpus show that most further references to active participants use verbal subject and object agreement markers. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
24a			---	Kweki ekagamba (CONSEC) again it.said			[24b]
24b			[---	Karanga (IMP) fry	eindi] other		
24c			---	Akakaranga (CONSEC) she.fried			
24d			---	Ekabhururuka (CONSEC) it.jumped			
24e			---	ekagwa (CONSEC) it.fell		heeru sitting.room	
24f			---	Akagega kweki (CONSEC) he.took again			
24g			---	akarya (CONSEC) he.ate			

'Again he said, "Fry some more." She fried and it jumped and landed in the sitting room. He took [it] again and ate [it].'

Figure 69

KaH4O1 24a-g

The section of KaH4O1 in figure 69 above shows alternation between three different subjects using just prefixes on the verbs, with a monster the subject of clauses 24a, f and g, a fried nut the subject of 24d and e and a girl the subject of 24c, who has the same noun class prefix as the monster. This example tolerates more apparent semantic ambiguity than usual since the same series of events has already occurred in the text preceding sentence 24.

The default where semantic clarification is necessary uses a simple noun phrase usually involving a single noun but possibly including an adjective or possessive pronoun. This also often occurs after reported speech or other types of discontinuity as part of the processing task of a scheme of reference, i.e. greater coding weight to increase continuity on the participant axis and help overcome disruptions to the flow of information.

In a number of environments the coding weight can be greater than a simple noun phrase. These environments include after speech where the addressee can be referred to with a distal demonstrative (five occurrences) or the referential demonstrative (two occurrences) (also used once to refer to the speaker). Similarly, there are scattered examples of these two demonstratives to refer to active participants after discontinuities where no other motivation for their presence is apparent (see section 3.4.3 below for uses of the distal demonstrative).

Other frequently occurring patterns of reference include the use of the referential demonstrative in a subject noun phrase immediately following the activation of a participant, possibly to aid the participant's transition to topic status. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	Inner	Subj.	Verb	O/C	Inner	Outer
4		Akare hayo (D:Ref) ages.ago then	>>	yanga ari-ho (P2HAB) she.was she.is-LOC	omukungu omugotu old.woman old		
5a	Omukungu omugotu uyo (D:Ref) old.woman old this	rundi other	<<	akamwenja (CONSEC) she.breakfasted		nyenkyo morning	

'Once upon a time there was an old woman. This old woman one day got up and ate in morning...'

Figure 70

KaH1O1 4-5a

This example involves the referential demonstrative <uyo> 'this (class 1)' even though the noun phrase has a qualifying adjective. This implies its use is not just for semantic clarification, i.e. to specify that the subject of the clause is the participant just introduced. However, other uses of the referential demonstrative are more difficult to analyse though all the examples reference a locally salient participant, with examples even observed when this participant is not the head of its noun phrase. Other residue in the data includes a couple of examples of the proximal demonstrative and some instances of greater coding weight than expected, particularly at the climax of a text.

In summary, further reference to active participants in the Kabwa texts of the corpus most commonly uses verbal prefixes, with simple noun phrases inserted as necessary according to the semantic, conceptual, contrastive and processing tasks of a scheme of reference.

3.3.4 Comparison

As the discussion above clearly demonstrates, the several tasks of a scheme of reference together with the range of options for referring to a participant create a complex interplay of

competing factors affecting coding weight, further entangled by stylistic variation and the large number of pronominal word forms.

Despite this complexity, there is a wide ranging consistency between and within the languages of the corpus. These general patterns include the default use of verbal agreement markers alone, the introduction of simple noun phrases when necessary for semantic or processing reasons, the inclusion of the referential demonstrative after participant introduction and the addition of a referential or distal demonstrative after reported speech.

Even within these general features, however, there is variation. For example, the referential demonstrative is used throughout texts after participant introduction in Ikizu and Kabwa but only at the start in Ngoreme. Again, its use after speech refers to either speaker or addresse in Ikizu or Kabwa but only the speaker in Ngoreme, with the distal demonstrative in the same environment used only for the addressee in Kabwa and progressively less strictly in Ngoreme and Ikizu.

The remaining few exceptions which fall outside these general observations mainly involve higher than usual coding weight in noun phrases, particularly the unexpected presence of demonstratives, but also include some instances of unexplained minimal coding weight. One of the most elusive indications is that Ikizu may consistently use more coding weight than Ngoreme or Kabwa. This seems to be caused coincidentally by a few of the Ikizu texts involving several participants in the same noun class but a much larger corpus would be required to verify this hypothesis.

In summary, the general picture is of a uniform and consistent pattern of further reference to active participants within and between the languages of the corpus. However, there is much complexity in the fine detail with analysis often being hindered by the limited examples of each kind of exception.

3.4 Reactivation of participants after an absence

3.4.1 Ngoreme

The default for reactivating a participant after an absence in the Ngoreme texts is a noun phrase involving the distal demonstrative <-re>. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuc.	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**In.**	**Out.**
25a			Omokungu woore (D:Dist)	akaberekera (NARR)	mosube waache		
			woman that	she.called	husband her		

'That woman called her husband.'

Figure 71

NH10 25a

In this example, the woman is reactivated after an absence by the use of the distal demonstrative <woore> 'that (class 1)'. This pattern is used for reactivation of both major and minor participants in both subject and object positions. The exception is made for participants whose identity is unambiguous, in which case the distal demonstrative is not present. The identity of a participant can be made unambiguous by the use of proper nouns, including personified animals, or relational terms that have a unique referent, for example, <mosube waache> 'her husband' in figure 71 above used to reactivate the participant previously referred to with <omomura> 'youth'. This also illustrates the possibility of introducing a new term for a participant at reactivation, particularly one that further strengthens coherence by relating participants to each other. It is also notable that when a proper noun takes a diminutive prefix, it ceases to function as a proper noun and so can use the distal demonstrative.

The way the distal demonstrative is used for reactivation generally but not with unambiguous referring expressions implies that its task is not only conceptual, signalling activation state, but also has a semantic element, identifying the participant. It also has a

processing element when used after speech. These overlapping functions help to explain the presence of distal demonstratives after only short participant absence, since most of these instances occur after discontinuities, especially when the participant is a constituent in a PoD. Of the 55 uses of the distal demonstrative, this leaves only four exceptions without participant absence which may be influenced by the factors described above combined with further causes mentioned immediately below.

Usually reactivation is required after an absence of a couple of sentences but it tends to be needed sooner after a participant is referenced in a non-subject position or if a participant has a more minor role. However, the opposite is true at the climax of a text with six examples of participants being referred to using verbal prefixes alone where otherwise reactivation might be expected. This is also true of the extremely minor <abanto> 'people', often introduced and reactivated with just a verbal prefix. Interestingly, in both the first person narratives the narrator is not absent and so no reactivation is observed but there is an example of other participants being reactivated by inclusion in the first person plural verbal prefix <tu-> (NSM 18).

In summary, reactivation of participants after an absence in the Ngoreme texts of the corpus uses a distal demonstrative unless a proper noun or relational term is involved.

3.4.2 Ikizu

The default for reactivation of participants after an absence in the Ikizu texts is a noun phrase including the distal demonstrative <-rya>. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-n.	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**In.**	**Out.**
27a			~~U~~mu~~u~~kari wurya na baana baazi~~i~~ (D:Dist)	bakasaaga (CONSEC)			
			woman that and children her	they.remained			

'That woman and her children were left behind...'

Figure 72

IkiHC 27a

This example shows the reactivation of the woman with a distal demonstrative <wurya> ‘that (class 1)’ and her children without one. It is standard not to use a distal demonstrative with expressions that relate participants together including words like <wiise> ‘his/their father’ and <unina> ‘his/their mother’ which do not contain an explicit possessive morpheme. Proper nouns and anthropomorphic animal participants, including monsters, also do not take the distal demonstrative. Additionally, there is one participant twice reactivated in IkiH1 using different noun phrases involving the word <umwene> ‘owner’, for example <umwene mʉgʉndʉ> ‘farm-owner’. The connection between all these participants that do not use the distal demonstrative seems to be that they are unambiguous and identifiable by these terms alone, unlike other nouns which could refer to different participants or even other people not yet introduced.

There are very few exceptions to these general rules in the Ikizu texts but scattered examples do use different formats for reactivation. One such different format is the use of the referential demonstrative. This occurs four times in the corpus, twice each in IkiH3 and IkiS5, and is possibly a stylistic variation, especially since IkiH3 has no examples of reactivation with a distal demonstrative. There is also one example of reactivation with a proximal demonstrative in IkiH2 but this single occurrence does not reveal a clear explanation for its use. Other exceptional formats include four instances that seem to be reactivation using just verbal prefixes of which three are in IkiH3. The other example references people present at the scene and so may be generic rather than a reactivation of a specific minor participant. This does not include participant references in the first person which usually only feature verbal prefixes, even at reactivation.

As well as these additional formats for reactivation, there are also a few exceptions which break the general patterns outlined above. Apart from the single example of reactivation without an expected distal demonstrative in the conclusion of IkiHP, all of these

exceptions involve the distal demonstrative, with six of the eight examples occurring in IkiHC. Six of these examples use the distal demonstrative after the participant appears in the previous clause in a similar way to the referential demonstrative. The remaining two exceptions, both occurring in complex constructions in IkiHC, use a distal demonstrative at reactivation together with a relational term which would normally preclude its use.

Despite these exceptions to the rule, seven of the sixteen Ikizu texts follow the basic pattern completely and an additional four texts notably do not seem to require any reactivation since there are no participants returning after an absence.

In summary, the pattern for reactivation of participants after an absence in the Ikizu texts of the corpus is for the distal demonstrative to be used alongside another noun referencing the participant. The distal demonstrative is not necessary with proper nouns, animal names and relational terms. The various alternative formats and exceptions to these two patterns are mainly limited to particular texts.

3.4.3 Kabwa

The Kabwa texts of the corpus do not clearly contain a distinctive format reserved for reactivation of participants after an absence. In six of the eleven texts of the corpus, reactivation is achieved by the use of a simple noun phrase similar to those used for semantic clarification. Some of these texts use a mixture of proper nouns and relational terms for reactivation and others use only one kind. This difference is assumed to be incidentally due to the particular participants in a text and the subgenre, for example if the participants are part of a family group in a folktale it is unlikely that proper nouns will be used as much as relational terms. In a similar way the non-fiction texts are both historical accounts of the Kabwa people and so contain many proper nouns. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
18a	Bhoono	abhantu bhayo (D:Ref)	Abhaitariano	bharabhabhuurya (CONT)	<<		ega [18b-18e]
	now	people these	Italians	they.are.them.telling			that

'Now, these people, the Italians were telling them, "..."'

Figure 73

KaH6 18a

In this example, the proper noun <Abhaitariano> 'Italians' is used at reactivation as described above. The only exceptions in these six texts are for reactivation of the king and generic onlookers in KaWP2, assumed to be inferable from context, and one example for the wife of the crocodile in H1WA 11e, possibly used here as a relational term (also in H3O1): these all use a single noun. There is also one example in KaH6 where just a verbal subject prefix is used, though this occurs in the conclusion which possibly allows for greater distance before reactivation, especially for salient participants. These limited exceptions mean the pattern for reactivation in most of the corpus is very consistent, especially when noted that two further Kabwa texts do not contain any instances of reactivation. It is also significant to note that none of these eight texts contains a single example of the distal demonstrative used for participant reference.

That leaves three texts of the corpus which present a much more complicated picture (KaH1O1, KaH3O1 and KaH4O1). These texts share some of the patterns of reactivation mentioned above but also include reactivation with distal demonstratives and a higher incidence of reactivation with a single noun or short non-relational noun phrase. In terms of the distal demonstrative, KaH1O1 and KaH3O1 only have three examples each, with no patterns emerging and only one use for reactivation.

The final text, KaH4O1, is the longest text in the corpus by some margin and presents a correspondingly complicated picture of reactivation. Firstly, the text contains six uses of the distal demonstrative in reactivation referring to three different participants who are elsewhere reactivated with simple noun phrases. For example:

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus			Post-nuclear	
	Outer	**Inner**	**Subject**	**Verb**	**O/C**	**Inner**	**Outer**
7a			Omwana wa ekisaaja urya (D:Dist) child of male that	yagyanga okuriisya (P2HAB) he.used.to.go to.farm			
7b			owa ekikari LOC female	arasaaga (CONT) she.is.staying		ku-mugi LOC-town	

'That boy used to go out to farm, as for the girl, she was staying at home.'

Figure 74

KaH4O1 7a-b

This example shows the boy, <omwana wa ekisaaja> (literally 'child of maleness'), reactivated with the distal demonstrative <urya>. It is worth noting that the girl is reactivated by the elliptical locative phrase <owa ekikari> (literally 'for femaleness') which is contrasted with the fuller noun phrase for the boy. N.B. These noun phrases are not the same as the relational terms noted previously since the associative <wa> 'of (class 1)' together with a class 7 noun of quality (e.g. <ekisaaja> 'maleness') is an adjectival construction. Additional uses of the distal demonstrative include two for the addressee of reported speech and one with a presumed resumptive function, similar to an example in the climax of KaH1O1.

It is significant that the distal demonstrative is used to reactivate only locally salient major participants in this text. Interestingly, this includes the noun phrase <omwana urya> 'that child' used to reactivate the girl and the boy alternately as each becomes locally salient.

In summary, the most common format for reactivation in the Kabwa texts of the corpus is a simple noun phrase using a relational term or a proper noun. Notably, <omukari>

'woman' (or 'wife') functions like a relational term in a couple of the texts, whilst most other cases of reactivation with a single noun feature minor participants. A couple of the texts in the corpus also present reactivation with a distal demonstrative as an option, though the overall pattern for use of the distal demonstrative is far from clear.

3.4.4 Comparison

The subject of reactivation of participants after an absence displays a high number of similarities between the languages of the corpus whilst at the same time offering many differences and exceptions to the rule. A prevalent source of unavoidable complexity is the fact that each different noun phrase constituent has a variable range of overlapping functions from semantic clarification to overcoming processing discontinuities to signalling activation states. This means that the construction of each distinct referring expression could be motivated by any one of the contributing factors possible for its constituents or, indeed, any combination of these influences.

Despite these complexities, the general picture of the three languages of the corpus shows that reactivation involves a distal demonstrative unless the participant is referred to with a proper noun or a noun phrase describing its relationship to another participant. Anthropomorphic animal participants are included in the category of proper nouns and the relational terms usually involve family groups. Reactivation is required sooner after the participant is mentioned in a non-subject role, after a discontinuity such as background information or speech and for more minor participants. On the other hand, minimal encoding is required for first person references and generic groups of people, and reactivation distance is increased at the climax of texts.

These generalisations hold true for a surprisingly large amount of the reactivation observed in the corpus. However, they also conceal a certain number of exceptions. The most significant of these exceptions is that the use of the distal demonstrative for reactivation is

only observed in two of the Kabwa texts. This is possibly influenced by the short average length of the Kabwa texts (about 192 words compared to about 256 in Ngoreme and Ikizu (see Appendix A below)). This average is even shorter for those texts which do not use the distal demonstrative (about 169 words).

Other smaller exceptions include a limited number of examples of the proximal and referential demonstratives used in reactivation in Ikizu, which is not seen to occur in Ngoreme or Kabwa in the corpus. Also in Ikizu, references to the mythical participants <amanani> 'monsters' are treated in the same way as proper nouns, which is often the case in Kabwa but never in Ngoreme. Additionally, the only examples of a distal demonstrative used with a relational term are observed in the Ikizu text IkiHC. The Ikizu texts also have one exception which uses a single noun to reactivate a participant with a few more examples of this observed in the Kabwa texts. It is also worth noting that there are four Ikizu texts and two Kabwa texts that do not contain any reactivation, whereas every single Ngoreme text in the corpus has this feature.

Most of these differences between the languages are not highly significant as many involve very limited numbers of exceptions. However, a larger corpus, particularly longer texts in Kabwa, would help distinguish alternative strategies for reactivation from rare exceptions, stylistic variation or mistakes in speech or writing. Additionally, though the use of the distal demonstrative at reactivation is generally clear, its use elsewhere remains incompletely analysed as it lies outside the scope of this study and would be worthy of further research.

In summary, the general pattern for reactivation of participants after an absence in the corpus is well described by the use of distal demonstratives, relational terms and proper nouns. However, the complexity in the detail, much like in the other areas of participant reference, could well benefit from further research.

4 CONCLUSION

Comparing narrative event line construction and participant reference among the Ngoreme, Ikizu and Kabwa languages of the Mara region in Tanzania has led to the observation of a wealth of interrelated discourse features. The bulk of the analysis is contained in the comparison sections above; so this conclusion will deal briefly with general patterns and possible avenues for further research.

Many of the observed discourse features display a remarkable amount of agreement across the languages of the corpus and between fiction and non-fiction, written and oral texts: TAM forms are key in event line construction, particularly the past to introduce background material and the narrative TAM to carry the events of the foreground. Similarities are also seen in highlighting climactic events by the insertion of neighbouring background material and the preference for points of departure to create continuity along the referential and temporal axes, with a large proportion of PoDs involving renewal.

The importance of referential coherence is further seen in the topic of participant reference, with participant introduction vital for the establishment of mental representations across the corpus thus creating a strong link with initial background information. Further participant introduction then occurs by default in a non-topic role, especially for major participants. The languages of the corpus continue to show widespread agreement in the construction of further references to active participants with the minimal coding weight of verbal prefixes replaced by simple noun phrases when necessary for semantic or processing reasons. Finally, reactivation consistently involves the distal demonstrative, except with proper nouns and relational terms.

However, beyond this broad consistency lies a depth of contrasting detail between and within the languages of the corpus, fiction and non-fiction, written and oral. Some of these differences reveal apparent distinctions in strategies for marking discourse features, for

example the tendency for written and fiction texts to follow default patterns more than oral and non-fiction texts, the formulaic text openings and conclusions in Kabwa and, in Ngoreme, the distinctive highlighting function of PoDs formed with <nigo> as well as lack of postposing for introduction into a new mental representation.

On the other hand, other observed discrepancies seem to be statistical anomalies of a small sample set, possibly caused by error, stylistic choice or random variation. Examples potentially in this category include the low occurrence of concluding material and higher than average coding weight in Ikizu, together with the general lack of distal demonstratives for reactivation in Kabwa.

To this set of data warranting further research can be added features which do not occur consistently enough to reach a conclusive hypothesis. This group requiring more examples includes the occurrence of the narrative TAM form in the background, the use of the progressive, general and perfect TAM forms for reporting foreground events, the function of text conclusions and call-response introductions, the appearance of the word 'one' in participant introduction and the distribution of demonstrative forms beyond their most common locations, particularly in Kabwa.

All of these features, including the similarities, differences, possibly misleading discrepancies and infrequent examples, could benefit from a larger, well edited corpus with more examples of non-fiction and written texts, especially since these languages have only recently come to be written down. There is also plenty of scope for extension of the analysis of the current corpus within the topics covered and beyond, as well as potential for comparison with additional Bantu languages.

However, whilst much further research remains possible, the intent of this report to outline and compare the norms of event line construction and participant reference as marked by lexicogrammatical structures in the three languages of the corpus has been substantially

achieved. This remains the case even considering the exceptions, for 'some [formal signals] may be systematic and regular, but many are one-to-many or many-to-one, partially grammaticalized, and inconsistent in their occurrence. After all, regular, unambiguous, and consistent signals would belong to a coding model of discourse, whereas much of discourse processing is inferential' (Dooley 2007: 55).

[Word Count: 16,478]

APPENDIX A: THE TEXT CORPUS

This appendix contains a summary table of all the texts in the corpus separated into fiction, non-fiction, oral and written texts within each language and referred to using their abbreviated codes. The total size of the corpus is 8777 words.

In further sections on the texts of each language, additional details are noted.

Language (Words in Corpus)	Fiction Texts		Non-fiction Texts	
	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
Ngoreme (2556)	7 (NH1, NH3, NH4, NH5, NH6, NH9, NH10)	0	1 (NS10)	2 (NSC, NSM)
Ikizu (4107)	10 (IkiH1, IkiH2, IkiH3, IkiH4, IkiH5, IkiH7, IkiH8, IkiH9, IkiH10, IkiH12)	2 (IkiHC, IkiHP)	4 (IkiS1, IkiS4, IkiS5, IkiS11)	0
Kabwa (2114)	7 (KaHK1, KaHK2, KaH1WA, KaH1O1, KaH2O1, KaH3O1, KaH4O1)	2 (KaWP1, KaWP2)	2 (KaH6, KaH19)	0

Figure 75

Summary Table of the Texts in the Corpus

A.1 Ngoreme texts

The table below contains the full codes referenced by the abbreviated code. Most commonly this full code is comprised of a letter indicating the language (N for Ngoreme), H or S for fiction or non-fiction texts respectively, a reference number and, finally, the date of collection for the text. The source of exceptions is noted. All texts are narrated in the third person except where noted.

Abbreviated Code (Words in Text)	Full Code	Production	Genre	Story Summary/Extra Notes
NH1 (311)	NH1040908	Oral	Fiction	A monster traps someone stealing their food who escapes by plaiting its hair to a stick.
NH3 (207)	NH3180908	Oral	Fiction	A couple abandon their baby daughter and later their son almost marries her.
NH4 (192)	NH4180908	Oral	Fiction	Hare goes to Goat's house and eats him, then lays the blame on Hyena.
NH5 (193)	NH5180908	Oral	Fiction	Monsters eat a dead animal but it's Hare's and he kills the monster chief.
NH6 (346)	NH6180908	Oral	Fiction	A father and son go hunting, the son frees the animals and so the father puts him in the trap. An animal comes to free him and he becomes rich. When his father comes to find him, the father ends up in the trap.
NH9 (341)	NH9200908	Oral	Fiction	A man hides his daughter from a monster but the monster tricks his way in and eats her. The man comes back and cuts the monster to release many eaten people.
NH10 (341)	NH10200908	Oral	Fiction	A monster puts a girl in a bag but her family rescue her. The monster invites his friends to eat the girl but when they discover she's gone they eat him instead.
NS10 (261)	NS10070908	Oral	Non-fiction	The narrator bought a skirt for her mother but she sent her to change it for another one. (1st person)
NSC (198)	Esaike ya Chacha	Written (Produced orally and edited)	Non-fiction	A young man became wealthy and started building a house but dropped a stone on his foot leading to his death. (Produced at Writers' Awareness Workshop August 2008)
NSM (166)	Esaike ya Muhoni	Written (Produced orally and edited)	Non-fiction	The narrator studied hard at school and succeeded in his exams leading to his new job. (Produced at Writers' Awareness Workshop August 2008, 1st person)

Figure 76

Details of Ngoreme Texts in the Corpus

A.2 Ikizu texts

The table below contains the full codes referenced by the abbreviated code. Most commonly this full code is comprised of letters indicating the language (Iki for Ikizu), H or S for fiction or non-fiction texts respectively, a reference number and, finally, the date of collection for the text. The source of exceptions is noted. All texts are narrated in the third person except where noted. The quality of the oral folktales, as judged by one of the Ikizu translators, is noted with 10 being good and 1 poor. Notably, IkiH8 and IkiH9 were not included in the corpus for analysis of features requiring a complete event line.

Abbreviated Code (Words in Text)	Full Code	Production	Genre	Story Summary/Extra Notes
IkiH1 (358)	IkiH1020908	Oral	Fiction	A farmer catches Hare eating his peanut crop and intends to cook him. Hare tricks his wife into cooking for him instead and escapes. (10)
IkiH2 (218)	IkiH2030908	Oral	Fiction	Some monsters bring a boy cowherd back home to an old woman to eat but she hides him so he can escape. (7)
IkiH3 (341)	IkiH3030908	Oral	Fiction	A woman goes to steal food secretly from monsters in a famine but they eventually realise and catch her. (7)
IkiH4 (251)	IkiH4040908	Oral	Fiction	Hare and Lion decide to kill their parents to save food but Hare hides his instead. Lion eventually realises and kills Hare's parents so Hare kills him. (10)
IkiH5 (321)	IkiH5100908	Oral	Fiction	Hare asks Chicken for an egg and tricks a series of people to exchange it for food until they catch on and warn everyone of his trickery. (10)
IkiH7 (276)	IkiH7110908	Oral	Fiction	Chicken and Dog go on a journey. Chicken stumbles across food and doesn't tell Dog, then doesn't want to eat when they arrive because he thinks it's just rice. Dog eats this food, which has the meat hidden under the rice. This explains the eating habits of dogs and chickens. (6)

IkiH8 (352)	IkiH8110908	Oral	Fiction	A man with six wives gives them each a guinea fowl to cook for him but the last eats it herself secretly. They test by fire to see who ate it and the sixth wife burns up. However, she comes back to life and hides to bring up her children. The husband finds out and brings her back home... (Incomplete recording: text not used when this would undermine analysis, same narrator as IkiH9) (6)
IkiH9 (316)	IkiH9110908	Oral	Fiction	A sister becomes pregnant but the baby won't come out. She has eleven siblings, the youngest of them disabled, who seek the reason why and discover they need to kill a creature in the water. Eventually the disabled sibling succeeds and she gives birth... (Incomplete recording: text not used when this would undermine analysis, same narrator as IkiH8) (7)
IkiH10 (207)	IkiH10110908	Oral	Fiction	A farmer traps a monkey stealing from his successful farm but his son frees it so he puts the son in a tree stump to be eaten. He is saved by the monkey. (9)
IkiH12 (161)	IkiH12180908	Oral	Fiction	Some young women go to gather olives. One of them doesn't get any ripe ones and goes back alone, encountering a talking tree. (7)
IkiS1 (254)	IkiS1040908	Oral	Non-fiction	The narrator took a passenger on his motorbike and had an accident avoiding a collision with a friend. (1st person)
IkiS4 (130)	IkiS4180908	Oral	Non-fiction	The narrator was prevented from continuing in school by a serious injury to her foot. (1st person)
IkiS5 (206)	IkiS5210908	Oral	Non-fiction	The narrator lived near a fractious old man who used to argue with everyone and shoot arrows at them. His father tried to stop him but it didn't work. (1st person plural)
IkiS11 (240)	IkiS11111008	Oral	Non-fiction	A man was going to visit a sick relative when he was accused of stealing a bicycle and beaten until he was seriously injured, eventually escaping into a police station.

IkiHC (193)	Cinderella	Written	Fiction	A girl is treated badly by her stepmother but ends up marrying the king. (Produced during discourse workshop)
IkiHP (283)	Proverb	Written	Fiction	An old man tells his children he knows how to find great riches. His son scorns him and stays poor whilst his daughters become rich teaching us about the wisdom of old age. (Produced during discourse workshop)

Figure 77

Details of Ikizu Texts in the Corpus

A.3 Kabwa texts

The table below contains the full codes referenced by the abbreviated code. The full codes are not consistent as the original text collection for Kabwa had to be supplemented in various ways. The full codes have letters indicating the language (Ka for Kabwa), H or W for oral or written texts respectively (H was originally designated for fiction texts, two of which were later seen to be non-fiction), a reference number (or letter and number) and, finally, the date of collection for the text (or a code representing the event at which the text was produced). Sources other than the original collection period are noted. All texts are narrated in the third person.

Abbreviated Code (Words in Text)	Full Code	Production	Genre	Story Summary/Extra Notes
KaHK1 (141)	KaHK1140109	Oral	Fiction	One of a man's two wives dies and the remaining wife mistreats the child. The dead wife comes back but the living wife tells her not to be like a snake who comes alive out of his old skin. (Supplementary text collected immediately before discourse workshop, same narrator as KaHK2)
KaHK2 (116)	KaHK2140109	Oral	Fiction	A farmer wants to discover who's eating his corn. He hides and shoots one of the monkeys stealing from him. That's why monkeys are scared of people. (Supplementary text collected immediately before discourse workshop, same narrator as KaHK1)
KaH1WA (150)	KaH1WA	Oral	Fiction	Hare eats the eggs of his friend, Crocodile, and manages to escape. (Produced at Writers' Awareness Workshop August 2008)
KaH1O1 (120)	KaH1O1	Oral	Fiction	An old woman goes to collect firewood and meets two monsters. She runs away and tells people about it. (Produced at orthography 1 workshop in 2007)
KaH2O1 (75)	KaH2O1	Oral	Fiction	Hare invites Hyena to visit with him but tricks him into not getting any food to eat. (Produced at orthography 1 workshop in 2007)
KaH3O1 (137)	KaH3O1	Oral	Fiction	In a famine, a man eats secretly without his wife and child. She finds out and throws a rock at him. (Produced at orthography 1 workshop in 2007)
KaH4O1 (475)	KaH4O1	Oral	Fiction	A boy hides a girl in a cave but a monster tricks his way in. The boy hunts it down and cuts it to release many eaten people. (Produced at orthography 1 workshop in 2007)

KaWP1 (212)	KaWP1150509	Written	Fiction	Parents have a child in their old age and are so happy that they don't teach him manners. He ends up selling them both. (Supplementary written text produced after discourse workshop, same author as KaWP2)
KaWP2 (350)	KaWP2150509	Written	Fiction	A king says that whoever tells him the name of his two daughters can marry them. Monkey cleverly finds out but the king's guard gets the wives because only he can talk to the king. The people depose the king for being unjust. (Supplementary written text produced after discourse workshop, same author as KaWP1)
KaH6 (211)	KaH6130908	Oral	Non-fiction	Many different nationalities of foreigners failed to complete the bridge at Kirumi until the Italians came to help.
KaH19 (127)	KaH19160908	Oral	Non-fiction	During a period of war the Kabwa people couldn't get any food and had to move. Then the Germans used them as servants so they decided to move again.

Figure 78

Details of Kabwa Texts in the Corpus

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