MODELLING NARRATIVITY IN EAST AFRICAN ENGLISH

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Opsomming

Sleutelterme: narratiwiteit, korpus-gebaseerd, Oos-Afrikaanse Engels, ICE-EA, registerverskille, Wêreldengels, tekstipes

Narratiewe is die produk van 'n basiese menslike geneigdheid om van werklike of fiktiewe gebeurtenisse sin te maak. Die navorsingsvraag in die verhandeling is: hoe word narratiwiteit in Oos-Afrikaanse Engels geënkodeer? Kan die narratiwiteitsmodel wat in die verhandeling voorgestel word, onderskei tussen registers met 'n prototipiese narratiewe fokus teenoor registers wat nie primêr op narratiwiteit fokus nie?

Die narratiwiteitsmodel bestaan uit vier hoofgroepe morfo-sintaktiese kenmerke**:** Agensie, Kousaliteit, Kontekstualisering en Evaluering. Hierdie groepe verteenwoordig die fundamentele struktuur van narratiewe: dinge gebeur met mense op 'n spesifieke tyd en plek. Agensie behels die mense wat die gebeure inisieer of wat daardeur beïnvloed word. Die dinge wat gebeur kan deur Kousaliteit uitgedruk word wanneer dit die gevolg is van oorsaak en gevolg in die wêreld. Kontekstualisering verwys na die tyd en plek waar gebeure plaasvind. Evaluering handel oor die reaksies op en houdings van mense teenoor die gebeure.

Agttien taalkundige verskynsels soos derdepersoonsvoornaamwoorde (deel van die Agensiegroep) en verledetydswerkwoorde (deel van die Konteksualiseringsgroep) is geanaliseer as mikro-vlak indikators van narratiwiteit. Die korpus-gebaseerde ondersoek behels die analise van die taalkundige verskynsels wat gebruik word om narratiwiteit te enkodeer in 22 gesproke en geskrewe registers van die Oos-Afrikaanse komponent van die *International Corpus of English* (ICE-EA). Die analises is uitgevoer met behulp van *WordSmith Tools* 4.0 sagteware. Die rou frekwensies van elke morfo-sintaktiese kenmerk is in elke register gestandardiseer, sodat vergelykings tussen kenmerke, sowel as tussen registers, moontlik is.

Die resultate toon aan dat narratiwiteit 'n gradeerbare fenomeen is wat regoor 'n verskeidenheid geskrewe en gesproke registers in die ICE-EA korpus voorkom. Na afloop van die aanvanklike analises is die narratiwiteitsmodel hersien om slegs elf kernkenmerke in te sluit. Hierdie kenmerke is verledetydswerkwoorde, derdepersoonvoornaamwoorde, eiename, aktiwiteitswerkwoorde, tydbywoorde en plekbywoorde, die perfektum, die emosionele houdingswerkwoord *feel*, eerstepersoonsvoornaamwoorde, evalueringsadjektiewe en nie-finitiewe kousale klouse.

Die ICE-EA registers wat op narratiwiteit fokus as 'n MIDDEL om sin te maak van gebeure (wat die DOEL vorm), is Fiksie, Vriendskaplike briewe, Mondelinge vertellings, Aangesig-tot-aangesig gesprekke, en Kruisondervragings. Met ander woorde, die kernkenmerke is die MIDDEL en die DOEL is om sin te maak van die gebeure en om begrip te fasiliteer deur middel van narratiewe vertelling. Twaalf registers vertoon 'n intermediêre fokus op narratiwiteit. Narratiwiteit is 'n sekondêre of gelyktydige doelwit in hierdie registers naas die primêre fokus wat wetenskaplike uiteensetting, oortuiging,

inligtingsoordrag of interpersoonlike wisselwerking kan insluit. Vyf registers het lae tellings vir die kern-narratiewe verskynsels: Studente-opstelle, Sakebriewe, Populêre skryfwerk, Akademiese skryfwerk en Instruktiewe skryfwerk. Hierdie registers vertoon nie ’n primêre fokus op narratiwiteit nie en het ander primêre of selfs sekondêre doelstellings soos wetenskaplike uiteensetting of oorreding.

Die narratiwiteitsmodel toon hoe narratiwiteit geënkodeer word deur middel van morfo-sintaktiese kenmerke. Nuwe insigte oor die aard van registerverskille in Oos-Afrikaanse Engels word ook aangebied.

Abstract

Key terms: narrativity, corpus-based, East African English, ICE-EA, register variation, world Englishes, text types

Narratives are the product of a basic human tendency to make sense of real or imagined experiences. The research question posed in the dissertation is: how is narrativity encoded in East African English? Can the narrativity model in the dissertation distinguish between registers that prototypically focus on narration versus registers that do not primarily focus on narration?

The narrativity model consists of four main groups of features, namely Agency, Causation, Contextualisation and Evaluation. These groups are representative of the fundamental structure of narratives: things happen to people at a specific time and place. Agency concerns the people who either instigate or are affected by the events. The things that happen can be denoted by Causation when they are the result of cause and effect in the world. Contextualisation refers to the grounding of events in time and space. Lastly, Evaluation concerns the reactions and attitudes people have towards the events.

Eighteen linguistic features such as third person pronouns (part of the Agency group) and past tense verbs (part of the Contextualisation group) were analysed as micro-level indicators of narrativity. The corpus-based investigation analysed the linguistic features used to encode narrativity across 22 spoken and written registers of the East African component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-EA) using WordSmith Tools 4.0. The raw scores for each feature were standardised across all registers to enable comparisons between features, as well as between registers.

The results indicate that narrativity is a gradient phenomenon that occurs across a variety of East African English spoken and written registers. After the initial analyses were done, the narrativity model was revised to include only 11 core narrativity features. These features are past tense verbs, third person pronouns, proper nouns for persons, activity verbs, time and place adverbials, perfect aspect, emotional stance verb *feel*, first person pronouns, evaluative adjectives and non-finite causative clauses.

ICE-EA registers that focus on narration as a MEANS to make sense of experiences (the objective or END) are Fiction, Social letters, Oral narratives, Face-to-face conversation and Legal cross-examination. In other words, the core narrativity features are the MEANS and the END is to make sense of experiences and facilitate understanding using narration. Twelve registers have an intermediate focus on narrativity. Narration is a secondary or simultaneous objective in these registers alongside primary objectives such as scientific exposition, persuasiveness, information presentation or interpersonal interaction. There are five registers with low scores for the core narrativity features: Student writing, Business letters, Popular writing, Academic writing and Instructional writing. These registers do not primarily focus on narration and have other primary and even secondary objectives such as scientific exposition and persuasiveness.

The narrativity model sheds light on the way narrativity is encoded using linguistic features and gives insight into East African English register variation.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> When you are in the middle of a story it isn't a story at all, but only a confusion; a dark roaring, a blindness... It's only afterwards that it becomes anything like a story at all. When you are telling it, to yourself or to someone else.
> Margaret Atwood, *Alias Grace* (1996: 298).

The research presented here is the result of a life-long interest in stories and narration. The dissertation is a quantitative, corpus-based analysis of the linguistic features used to encode narrativity in East African English that sheds light on the permeation of narrativity across different spoken and written registers.

Toolan (2001:xv [1988]) remarks that "narrative is a mode that, indirectly or more directly, may inform almost every aspect of human activity." The most prototypical narrative register, Fiction, is but one of the registers with a narrative focus in the dissertation. Other registers with a narrative focus include Oral narratives and Legal cross-examinations.

The aim of the dissertation is to uncover the linguistic features (and their co-occurrence patterns) used to encode narrativity in East African English across a variety of spoken and written registers. In other words, the aim is to model narrativity across registers in the East African component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-EA). Van Rooy, Terblanche, Haase and Schmied (2010) found that the features used to encode narrativity in ICE-EA are not the same as in British and American English in Biber (1988).

The dissertation presents a method for modelling narrativity in a non-native variety of English that is unique in its ability to distinguish registers with a narrative focus from those with other foci. In other words, the narrativity model represents the degree of narrative focus across registers, because narrativity emerges as a permeating and gradient resource used in spoken and written discourse.

1.1 Context of the research

1.1.1 Defining narrativity

Narrative can be broadly defined as "the primary way in which humans organize their experiences into temporally meaningful episodes," (Richardson, 1990:118). Another useful definition is "texts which relate a series of at least two time-sequenced and causally-related events involving one or more specific individuals," (Semino & Short, 2004:20). The episodic nature of narratives also comes to the fore in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:363) and Ong (2004:144 [1982]). Virtanen (1992) hypothesises that narrative is a 'basic' text type, i.e. more fundamental than descriptive, instructive, expository and argumentative types of texts. The implication is that narrativity may be present in varying degrees across registers.

The distinction between *narrativity* and *fiction* must be clarified. Firstly, narrativity is defined by Bundgaard (2007:247) as the principle which governs the organisation of narrative text. Secondly, narrativity occurs in both fictional and non-fictional texts (Fludernik, 1996:38). For example, biographies are narrative in focus but are not fictional *per se*. Fictional and non-fictional narration involves 'rethinking something' that is taken out of 'earlier frames', in other words recontextualised, and placed into a new frame of expectations or a new context (Goodwin & Duranti, 1994:31).

From a literary theory perspective, narratives make use of *temporality*, *causation* and *human interest* to form the basic plot structure (Cortazzi, 1993:85). When one considers the three criteria of basic plot structure, these literary concepts can be 'translated' into linguistic features. For example, temporality will typically be encoded using past tense verbs and time adverbials such as *yesterday, then* or *two weeks ago*. Causation is encoded by means of causative verbs (e.g. *become, grow, cause*) and adverbials such as *because,* or *to help them out* (in the adverbial clause "They gave food **to help them out**.") Human interest can be translated into a linguistic concept such as the agency of characters, which is encoded linguistically using personal pronouns (*I, we, theirs*) and proper nouns for persons (*Andrew, Africans, Professor*).

Bundgaard (2007:253) observes that narratives are part of our everyday experiences. Herman (2003a:2) describes narrative text as 'polyfunctional' and, at a general level, a description of what happened to specific people in specific circumstances with particular consequences. Narratives are found in all cultures and are used to solve problems in many contexts (Herman, 2003b:163). Tomasello (2008:283) notes that narratives are a universal venue used to share information and attitudes.

Narrative can thus be a powerful instrument for thinking that enables one to produce and interpret fiction, make sense of (spoken and written) news reports, write and assess medical case histories, as well as provide testimony in court (Herman 2003b:163). The particular text type of narrative corresponds to the communicative profile of the discourse context in which it occurs (Herman, 2003b:169).

These common occurrences of narrative show how widespread a phenomenon it is. The dissertation will examine a range of registers such as those mentioned by Herman (2003b) in order to determine whether there are certain linguistic features used in very specific registers, or a core set of linguistic features associated with narratives across registers.

Two main purposes or ENDS are realised when narrativity is used as a MEANS. Bundgaard (2007:249) explains that these purposes are firstly to help people understand "inaccessible, but existentially essential, content" and secondly to make sense of experiences by resolving the conflict between issues that are mutually exclusive, but are also correlated. Bundgaard (2007:249) deduces that narratives are a key cognitive MEANS to interpret human actions in our surroundings.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:175) state that a figure, as represented in the grammar of the clause, consists of a process unfolding through time; participants who are involved in the process; and circumstances associated with the process. These three parts are organised in the configurations or schemata that are used to construe our experiences. In the dissertation, narrativity is one of the ways a

schema can be organised. In other words, narrativity is a MEANS towards an END. The form/function and MEANS/END mapping will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 4. The nature of narrative as an abstract, yet basic schema to make sense of experiences will be carried throughout the dissertation.

Biber (1988:36) refers to the functions served by linguistic features. He theorises that a group of linguistic features can share one common, underlying function. Furthermore, texts are systematically related by their use of the functions. In the dissertation, the results are analysed by "determining the most widely shared functions underlying a group of co-occurring features," (Biber, 1988:36). However, unlike Biber's study, the dissertation focuses on the narrative function and linguistic features hypothesised to contribute to the narrative function.

In the dissertation, narrativity is defined as follows. Firstly, narratives are the product of a basic human tendency to make sense of real or imagined experiences. Secondly, a narrative has the following structure: things happen to people at a specific time and place. The *things that happen* are the result of cause and effect in the world. The *people* either instigate or are affected by these events. The contextual grounding relate to the *time and space* in which the events occur.

Section 1.1.2 is a discussion of the concepts *register* and *genre*, as well as the ambiguity associated with the terms in different studies.

1.1.2 Register and genre

Register concerns characteristics such as written versus spoken mode, interactiveness, domain, communicative purpose and topic (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan, 1999:15). Registers are often institutionalised text types or varieties such as short stories, letters, classroom lectures or courtroom testimonials. However, Biber *et al.* (1999:15) remark that register can be defined at various levels of generality. To illustrate, short stories are a sub-register of the broader category of Fiction[1], but short stories can be sub-classified into detailed categories like murder mysteries.

According to Halliday and Matthiesssen (2004:27), one can either study a particular text, or analyse different texts with shared patterns, known as text types. System and text form poles of a continuum, but between the poles is a semiotic region of intermediate patterns such as instance types (text types), as well as sub-systems (registers). Text is defined as "a process of instantiation" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:524-525). Texts vary systematically according to contextual values. In other words, the context in which a text occurs determines its nature. This is the reason for the difference between a bedtime story and an instruction manual, or between an email and a sermon. A register is a functional variety of language, "the patterns of instantiation of the overall system" that occur within a specific type of context (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:27). A register can be regarded as a specific setting of systemic

[1] Throughout the dissertation, title case is used to denote registers, e.g. Fiction, Academic writing, Broadcast discussions etc.

possibilities and this is why Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:27) note that it is more likely to encounter the future tense in a weather forecast than in Fiction.

According to Lee (2001:10), *register* and *genre* are essentially two points of view that cover the same ground. The term *genre* is typically used to describe short stories or murder mysteries. Genre concerns texts that are grouped as members of culturally recognised goals or artefacts. Lee (2001:10) and Biber (1989:5) regard genres as a more dynamic term that is established by consensus in a specific culture. In the dissertation, I will make use of the term *register*, except when a particular source uses *genre*. Lee argues that when text is viewed as the instantiation of a conventionalised configuration of language tied to a broad societal situation, it is typically referred to as *register*. A speaker or writer has to make use of the 'appropriate' register in a specific context.

'Register appropriateness' is described as the highest level of language proficiency by Berman (2001:422). It entails the ability to observe cultural norms and register conventions, as well as the ability to maintain the appropriate level of formal or colloquial forms. The ability to select the most appropriate linguistic features for a particular register depends on exposure to a vast array of narrative as well as non-narrative texts (Berman, 2001:422).

Besides similarities between texts from a specific register, there is also extensive register-internal variation between texts (Biber, 1989:6). Biber (1989) identified eight text types based on his earlier work on multi-dimensional analysis of English. Each text type is a grouping of texts that is markedly similar with respect to their dimensional characteristics (Biber, 1989:3). In other words, there are similar linguistic features that occur frequently in a specific text type. In his quantitative study, he first grouped texts according to their linguistic similarities and then interpreted the results from a functional perspective. Two of the text types are relevant for the dissertation, namely imaginative narratives and general narrative exposition. The other text types are intimate interpersonal interaction, informational interaction, scientific exposition, learned exposition, situated reportage and involved persuasion.

Chapter 4 discusses text types in more detail. The next section looks at register variation in East African English.

1.1.3 Register variation in ICE-EA

The field of world Englishes encompasses numerous research strands, e.g. English studies, English corpus linguistic studies, sociology of language, applied linguistics, pidgin and creole studies and lexicography (Bolton, 2003; Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009). As these different approaches show, World Englishes have been analysed from various theoretical perspectives since it became increasingly popular in the last 30 years. Bolton (2003:3) notes some of the different terms that have been used to describe English as spoken by non-native speakers, e.g. global Englishes, second language varieties, world Englishes and new Englishes.

East African English is one of the many varieties that have been studied, but unlike previous studies of linguistic features, the present research does not focus on pronunciation, lexis or grammar. Rather, the dissertation follows a road less travelled, since I analyse variety-internal variation using corpus-based analyses in a new variety of English. Recent research that look at registers, but from a comparative framework where native and non-native varieties are analysed, are Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) and Xiao (2009).

In Van Rooy *et al.*'s (2010) multi-dimensional analysis of ICE-EA, they compared the results to Biber's (1988) corpus-based analysis of British and American English corpora. Multi-dimensional analysis of linguistic features was first used by Biber (1986). The purpose of multi-dimensional analysis is to investigate the quantitative distribution of linguistic features across texts and registers by means of multivariate statistical techniques (Biber, 1993:331). Biber's (1988) multi-dimensional analysis groups 67 linguistic features on various dimensions. These dimensions are used to quantitatively identify co-occurrence patterns between linguistic features (Biber, 1993:333).

Dimension 2 on Biber's (1988) model distinguishes between narrative and non-narrative discourse. Biber (1988:109) describes the dimension as "active, event-oriented discourse" versus "more static, descriptive or expository types of discourse." The linguistic features Biber (1988) associates with narrativity are past tense verbs, third person pronouns, perfect aspect verbs, public verbs, synthetic negation and present participial clauses.

In Van Rooy *et al.* (2010), there are substantial differences between specific linguistic features used to encode narrativity in East African English and first language English. Except for Fiction, the linguistic features used to encode narrativity in Biber (1988) are not as prevalent in East African English (Van Rooy *et al.*, 2010). For example, present participial clauses are used 23% more often in ICE-EA than in Biber's (1988) study. Perfect aspect verbs have a relative difference of only -1%. The rest of the features all occur more frequently in Biber's study than in ICE-EA. Third person pronouns (-35%), past tense verbs (-36%) and synthetic negation (-36%) all show a substantial difference relative to the results in Biber (1988). The results in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) show that the original Biberian multi-dimensional analysis might obscure some of the characteristics of East African narratives, or even narratives in general.

Registers have cultural expectations that can be national, ethnic and/or disciplinary (Upton & Connor, 2001:314). A writer/speaker of a second or foreign language needs to understand and negotiate cultural differences in registers (Upton & Connor, 2001:314). ICE-EA has clear register differentiation, as can be seen from the similar spread of the registers across the dimensions when compared to Biber's study (Van Rooy *et al.*, 2010). The findings in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) imply that the East African non-native users are 'linguistically literate' and know that different registers call for different linguistic features.

Overall, Biber's (1988) model has its limitations when it comes to an accurate description of the linguistic features used to encode narrativity in East African English. Van Rooy (2008a:291) indicates similar concerns for Black South African English, since Biber's narrativity features are not used in the

Tswana Learner English Corpus. As Van Rooy *et al.* (2010:330) point out, "it seems prudent to explore the encoding of narrative concerns in African Englishes in more detail."

1.1.4 The ICE-EA corpus

Sinclair (2004:188) distinguishes between a corpus and a text. A text, even a long one, can often be analysed exhaustively and the researcher can 'know' the entire text. A text has structure: a beginning, middle and an end. The researcher can locate all the phenomena in a text accurately. However, a collection of texts analysable in this way does not constitute a corpus (Sinclair, 2004:189). A collection of texts – such as those typically used in corpus-stylistic studies – is not necessarily ordered; is not chosen based on linguistic criteria; and can make no claims that the material is representative of a language or a variety of language (Butler, 2004:151).

A corpus lies beyond the scope of close reading and control which is possible with a text. For example, the order of texts in a corpus is usually arbitrary. A corpus makes it possible to observe linguistic features indirectly (unlike the direct observation typical of text analysis) by means of statistical or concordancing software. The crucial distinction between a corpus and a text is the different methodology of linguistic inquiry (Sinclair, 2004:189).

ICE-EA consists of 1,4 million words and the data are from Kenya and Tanzania. Schmied (2008:468) notes that a third of the corpus is spoken data and 22 registers are included that range from Fiction to Academic writing. In the dissertation, I analysed the corpus using Scott's (2004) WordSmith Tools 4.0 software. The results from the corpus-based concordance analysis offer insight into narrativity in East African English on an unprecedented scale.

1.1.5 Micro-level features of narrativity in ICE-EA

In order to determine which linguistic features are used in registers with a narrative focus, a narrativity model which has 18 lexical and grammatical features is proposed in Chapter 2. These linguistic features are called micro-level indicators of narrativity, because they do not function on the level of the overarching structure of a narrative text (e.g. a narrative has a beginning, middle and an end) nor do they encompass stylistic devices such as repetitions or imagery. Rather, the linguistic features that form part of the model are used differently across registers. The differences between registers or texts that focus on narration and those with other primary foci are of central importance in the dissertation.

The narrativity model has four main groups of features: Agency, Causation, Contextualisation and Evaluation. These groups of features represent the fundamental potential in the system of narrative and include features such as present and past tense verbs, pronouns and the causative subordinator *because*. The model is an original representation of the linguistic features associated with narrativity and it is tested

using ICE-EA to determine whether it can accurately distinguish between registers with a primary focus on narration and registers that have other primary objectives, such as information presentation.

1.2 Research objectives

The aim of this investigation is to understand how narrativity is encoded in the ICE-EA corpus across spoken and written registers. Biber, Conrad and Reppen (2006:3) mention two core research goals in analyses of language use: firstly, one needs to assess the extent to which a pattern is found and secondly, the contextual factors need to be analysed that influence the variability of a feature.

In the dissertation, I will analyse the features associated with narrativity, while at the same time keeping the sociolinguistic context in mind. By developing a model with the micro-level linguistic features associated with narrativity in East African English, it will be possible to identify registers with a narrative focus. The whole corpus is analysed, which means that *a priori* decisions about what constitutes a narrative register or text are avoided. The narrativity model proposed in the dissertation is tested on the East African English data, but future research can possibly test the model on other varieties of English.

1.3 Research questions

The main research question is: *How is narrativity encoded in East African English?*

The main research question can be divided into two related questions:

- *Are there other linguistic features of narrativity not included in Biber's (1988) multi-dimensional analysis of register variation?*
- *Can the narrativity model in the dissertation distinguish between varying degrees of narrativity across registers?*

1.4 Central theoretical statement

Based on the results for Dimension 2 (Van Rooy *et al.*, 2010), it is postulated that a new model, specifically adapted for narrativity, can be used to model narrativity across different registers of East African English.

1.5 Assumptions about language

Some assumptions about language form part of the theoretical grounding of the dissertation. Firstly, language is regarded as a functional means to communicate and its use is influenced by the sociolinguistic context. Secondly, language has a compositional structure. Thirdly, language is regarded as explicitly multi-dimensional; there are multiple parameters of variation that occur in any discourse domain (Biber 1993:332).

1.6 Limitations

The study concerns only narrativity in East African English. Therefore, although it is postulated that the linguistic features used to encode narrativity will also be found in other varieties of English, to prove so is beyond the scope of the dissertation.

1.7 An overview of the structure of the dissertation

Chapter 1 provided background and contextualisation for the study. The introductory chapter also delineated the central theoretical statement and research questions, as well as limitations and assumptions about language.

In Chapter 2, the literature review is presented. A brief overview of Narratology is given and the theoretical grounding in a functionalist approach to language is described. The East African sociolinguistic context is discussed, before I move on to an in-depth discussion of the narrativity model.

The third chapter is a discussion of the methodology that was followed in order to extract the narrativity features. The research design is discussed to give an overview of the method. The research instruments used in the dissertation are delineated, as well as the limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 presents the results and interpretation. In the chapter, core narrativity features are identified that conspire in registers with a narrative focus. Furthermore, the results indicate the gradient nature of narrativity in ICE-EA.

The Conclusions in the final chapter give a summary of the findings. The theoretical implications and limitations of the study are also discussed. Last but not least, suggestions are given for further research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The present chapter looks at different perspectives on narrativity and their influence on the narrativity model. Useful insights and definitions come from fields as diverse as stylistic studies, functional linguistics, cognitive science, literary theory and studies on African literature.

According to Ong (2004:137 [1982]), narrative is dominant among all verbal art forms such as lyrics, descriptive discourse, oratory, philosophical and scientific works, historiography and biography. This dominance is due to the fact that narrative underlies many of these art forms, even the most abstract such as scientific work. For example, scientific reporting has at its base the narration of observations that are used to formulate abstractions. In other words, scientists 'write up' or narrate their method and findings, which makes it possible to come to generalisations or abstract conclusions (Ong, 2004:137 [1982]). Furthermore, "the memory of human experience strung out in time and subject to narrative treatment" underlies proverbs, philosophical speculation and religious rituals (Ong, 2004:137 [1982]). Thus, human experience shapes knowledge and discourse. Ong (2004:137 [1982]) declares the following:

> The elemental way to process human experience verbally is to give an account of it more or less as it really comes into being and exists, embedded in the flow of time. Developing a story line is a way of dealing with this flow.

Furthermore, he theorises that narrative texts serve more functions in primary oral cultures. The term *primary oral culture* refers to societies where the people have no knowledge of writing. Admittedly, primary oral cultures are rare in the strict sense of the term today, but Ong (2004:11 [1982]) notes that the mindset of primary oral cultures is still predominant in some places around the world. It should be noted that I do not consider East Africa as a primary oral culture, but there is a *secondary orality* characterised by the use of technology. In a context where secondary orality occurs, a 'new orality' is sustained through telephone conversations, radio and television broadcasts (Ong, 2004:11 [1982]).

Narrative discourse is dependent on the socio-cultural context; the shared cultural knowledge between speaker and hearer is essential for decoding the message (Ojwang, 1994:67). In other words, the sociolinguistic context needs to be kept in mind – no claims are made that the results of the dissertation will hold true for narrative texts in, for example, British English or Singaporean English. As Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) point out, the features used to encode narrativity in British and American English (Biber, 1988) are not used to the same degree in East African English.

The point of departure for the present chapter is that narrativity is expressed by means of certain linguistic features. Biber (1988:109) distinguishes between narrative, or "active, event-oriented discourse" and non-narrative discourse, or "more static, descriptive or expository types of discourse." Narratives are a universal venue for sharing attitudes and information (Tomasello, 2008:283). Multi-dimensional analysis of Somali, Korean and English all show a 'narrative' dimension characterised by the past tense and temporal features that distinguish Fiction and traditional stories from other registers (Biber, 1993:341).

The linguistic features associated with narratives in Biber's (1988) multi-dimensional model are past tense verbs, third person pronouns, perfect aspect verbs, public verbs, synthetic negation and present participial clauses. As can be seen, the linguistic features mentioned in Biber (1988) are also found in other types of text. Neither Biber nor I claim that when a third person pronoun occurs in a text, a story is being told. It is the co-occurrence of features that becomes significant and indicative of narration. Ultimately, the narrativity model proposed in this chapter aims to clarify why certain registers in East African English focus more on narration than others.

Oakes (2009:183) claims:

> ...(T)he problem of different types of linguistic variation masking each other can be alleviated by finding linguistic features which are particularly good at identifying one source of linguistic variation, without being indicative of others. Such a proposal suggests a way forward for a more robust form of studies of corpus variation.

In the present dissertation, the linguistic variation in question is the spread of narrativity across different registers. Chapter 2 of the dissertation seeks to identify a set of linguistic features that are associated with narrative texts. The narrativity model aims to be indicative of narrative texts, "without being indicative of others" (Oakes, 2009:183) as far as possible. When the specific linguistic features are present in other texts, these texts possibly have traces of narrativity.

Section 2.1 gives a brief overview of Narratological studies. The subsequent sections provide background regarding functionalist approaches to linguistics and discuss the corpus linguistic tradition. Section 2.3 concerns the sociolinguistic context in East Africa. The narrativity model is presented in Section 2.4 and the final section of Chapter 2 has closing remarks.

2.1 Background: Narratology

The theory of Narratology aims to formulate a 'grammar' or 'syntax' of narrative (Todorov, 1969; Prince, 1982; Chatman, 1978). Narratological models use terminology borrowed from Structural (and later Generative) linguistics in the study of literature. The idea is that narratives have a universal structure similar to sentence structure. However, from a discourse point of view narrative is not a 'long sentence', nor an analogy of a sentence (Cortazzi, 1993:87).

Propp's (1968 [1928]) study of Russian folktales showed that the interaction between functions (significant actions) and roles (spheres of action) are the basic units of narration. His study had a marked influence on subsequent Structuralist narrative research (e.g. Greimas, 1971; Rimmon-Kenan, 1983; Genette, 1980; Bal, 1985). In earlier works on narrative, the concept is defined as a chronologically ordered representation of a series of events (e.g. Chatman, 1978; Genette, 1980; Prince, 1982) where events are specific time and place transitions from a source state X (*The man is sick*) to a target state X^n (*The man dies* or *The man recovers*).

Criticism against the Structuralist approach to narrative includes the over-emphasis on structure and rigour. This reductionist approach often occurs at the expense of narrative content. Some narrative models do not have a clear distinction between deep and surface structure and do not stipulate the interaction between these structures. In other words, there is a failure to specify the exact status of the structure. Thus, narratologists fail to explore the full implications of using a linguistic system as an analogous model for the system used in narrative texts (Herman, 2003a:9).

The analogy between narratives and Generative Grammar is also problematic when one considers the Chomskyan concept *transformation.* In narratives, it may be more accurate to speak of *elaborations,* since the basic plot is 'fleshed out' (Toolan, 2001:12-13 [1988]). Early Structuralist models were based on a small genre (e.g. Propp's Russian folktales) and models such as that of Todorov (1969) relied on paraphrasing prior to the analyses (Cortazzi, 1993:98). The Structuralist approach to narrative makes use of linguistic terminology, but does not rely on linguistic analyses *per se*. In other words, Structuralists use linguistic terminology as an analogy to describe narrative texts. This approach is not suited for the dissertation, since the aim is to analyse the linguistic features that contribute to the larger structure of narrative text.

Longacre (1976), Labov and Waletzky (2003 [1967]) and Labov (1972) have a more language-centred approach than the early Structuralist models. Longacre (1976) identifies four major types of discourse genres or registers: *procedural* (how-to-do-it); *expository* (explanations/essays); *hortatory* (persuasive texts/'sermons'); and *narrative*. Longacre's (1976) model also relies on Structuralist terminology like deep structure and surface structure. Some of the deep structure features of narrative discourse in Longacre's work are first or third person pronouns, agent orientation, and chronological ordering. The surface structure in Longacre resembles Labov's (1972) Evaluation model. Longacre (1976) and Labov (1972) both point out that narrators use evaluation and rhetorical measures to highlight the main points in a narrative.

Labov and Waletzky (2003 [1967]) and Labov (1972) analysed the formal structural properties of narratives. Labov and Waletzky (2003:75 [1967]) observe that narratives serve two functions: a referential and an evaluative function. The referential function concerns the information that the teller gives when telling the story, whereas the evaluative function concerns the meaning of the narrative as presented by the teller. In their analysis of oral narratives, they were concerned with the clause, which is the smallest unit of linguistic expression that defines the functions of narrative. According to Labov and Waletzky (2003:75 [1967]), words and phrases play a role in evaluating a narrative. Labov's model can be used to identify certain linguistic features found in narratives in general. The basic framework of the model relies on the temporal sequencing of events (Labov & Waletzky, 2003:81 [1967]).

The overall structure of a narrative is presented in Labov and Waletzky (2003:100-101 [1967]) as Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda. The Orientation situates the story and tells us more about *who, what, when* and *where*. The Complication tells us what happened next. The Evaluation is an integral part of the narrative, because it gives the narrative a 'point' or purpose and

reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 2003:94, 97 [1967]). The Resolution usually follows the Evaluation and it tells us what happened in the end. If the latter is the final part of the narrative, the Resolution coincides with the Evaluation. The Coda is a functional device used to return the verbal perspective to the present moment, e.g. "and they lived happily ever after" or "that was it" (Labov & Waletzky, 2003:100 [1967]).

Criticism against the Labovian model includes difficulty in isolating the evaluation devices in a narrative text, since they can occur anywhere in the narrative. Furthermore, the model has been criticised for its cultural specificity, since the original narratives were told by African Americans in central New York (Cortazzi, 1993:48). However, this criticism is ungrounded. Labov and Waletzky (2003:75 [1967]) conducted interviews with black and white respondents from both rural and suburban areas. None of the participants had completed high school and they ranged from 10-72 years of age.

It has to be kept in mind that Labov and Waletzky developed the model to analyse the structure of "oral narratives of personal experience", so many other types of spoken and written narratives cannot be analysed using the same Structural principles. Labov's motivation for his restrictive definition of narrative was influenced by the behaviour of his informants. In the context of the oral narratives in his studies, the main-clause/main-event pairing led to a successful description of the data (Toolan, 2001:181 [1988]).

Schegloff (2003:106-107) levels the following criticism against Labov and Waletzky's article: the examples of narratives in the study embody an ideal. None of the expected features of conversation occurs; there are no false starts, silences nor hesitations. According to Schegloff, the analysis of an 'ideal narrative' ignores the interactional context and has implications for the application of Labov and Waletzky's model to present-day data characterised by extensive contextual and sociolinguistic detail.

Fludernik (1996, 2003) was inspired by the analyses of conversational narratives such as Labov to develop her Natural Narratology model. She combined insights from oral narratives and cognitive linguistics. In Natural Narratology, the practical realisation of narrative relies on five cognitive frames or schemata. These frames are Action, Telling, Experiencing, Viewing and Reflecting. The frames form the basic perspectives on human experience in its narrative mediation.

Two key tenets underpin Fludernik's framework. Firstly, she works from the assumption that the cognitive framework found in natural spoken narratives can be applied to all types of narratives, since natural spoken narrative is seen as the prototype. She therefore extends Labov's (1972) original oral framework to account for fictional texts. The second tenet of Fludernik’s approach is that the reading process forms an integral part of the constitution of a narrative. Narrativity is defined not as an inherent quality of the text, but as an attribute imposed on the text by the reader. The reader interprets the text as narrative; therefore the text is narrativised (Fludernik, 2003:244).

This second tenet is not supported in the dissertation, because according to a functionalist approach to language, the communicative exchange depends on a speaker/writer and a listener/reader. The reader/listener plays a vital role in the reception of a narrative text, yet the role of the speaker/writer is also integral to the exchange of information involved in reading or speaking. Jakobson and Halle (1956:

72) declare that "the efficiency of a speech event demands the use of a common code by its participants." The participants include both the *addresser* (the speaker/writer) and the *addressee* (the listener/reader). All the participants need to know the common code and the context, i.e. the communication process occurs when all the participants are aware of the code used (the code being narrative text in this case). Whereas Fludernik (1996, 2003) places a strong emphasis on the reader/listener, I believe the intention to create a narrative on the part of the speaker or writer will lead to the use of linguistic features associated with narrative text.

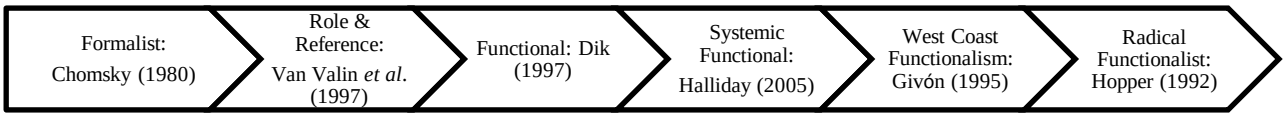
For ease of reference, the definition of narrativity presented in Chapter 1 is paraphrased here. Narratives are used to make sense of either real or imagined experiences. In narrative texts, things happen to people in a spatio-temporal context. Cause and effect influence the things that happen to people. People can function as agents who instigate events, or can be affected by events or the behaviour of others. Whereas I briefly discussed some approaches to narrative in this section, the next section situates the dissertation with regard to a functionalist approach to language.

2.2 Theoretical grounding: a functionalist approach to language

As opposed to a formalist, Chomskyan approach to language, I analyse and interpret language from a functionalist, Hallidayan point of view. Whereas the former is primarily concerned with what the study of language can teach us about the human mind, functionalist approaches emphasise the communicative function of language (Butler, 2004:149). Chomsky disputed the study of communicative purpose in language:

> Human language is a system for free expression of thought, essentially independent of stimulus control, need-satisfaction or instrumental purpose.
> (Chomsky, 1980: 239).

Figure 1: Approaches to grammar



The distinction between formalist and functionalist approaches to grammar is described as a continuum by Butler (2004:163). Figure 1 is a graphic representation of the continuum. On the one pole are various Chomskyan models. At the other pole are Radical Functionalist models. The functional approaches to language such as Role and Reference Grammar, Functional Grammar and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) share an emphasis on language as a communicative device. Furthermore, these approaches all acknowledge the central role of meaning (Butler, 2004:161).

Traditionally, formalists do not analyse authentic texts, because the grammaticality of a sentence takes precedence over its semantics. Of course, it cannot be denied that introspection plays a role in the analysis of grammar, yet introspection does not constitute data (Butler, 2004:150). According to Butler (2004:163), both Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997) and Functional Grammar (Dik, 1997) place less emphasis on authentic text and more emphasis on typological adequacy. However, there has recently been a move towards the use of authentic text in Formal Grammar (Butler, 2004:163). At the other end of the spectrum are the more functional grammars such as Halliday (2004), Givón (1995) and Hopper (1992).

The study of authentic texts plays an indisputable role in Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and the same can be said for what Butler labels Givón's 'West Coast Functionalism.' However, corpus-based studies in functional grammar are infrequent and the use of textual material is often limited to isolated fragments or a few short texts that are analysed by hand (Butler, 2004:164). As Sinclair (2004) insists, collections of texts are not corpora. The methodology in functional studies can range from manual analyses to computer-assisted analyses or a combination of manual and automatic techniques (Butler, 2004:165).

In the present dissertation, a functional approach to language is followed. In *Language structure and language function*, originally published in 1970, Halliday (2005:173) states that the nature of language is closely related to the demands we make on it. In other words, language structure reflects its function. *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (henceforth *LGSWE*) (Biber *et al.*, 1999:41) has a functionalist approach to language, similar to SFG. In Biber *et al.*'s (1999:41) view, linguistic features perform six major tasks or functions in discourse:

- Ideational: can identify the referents or conveys propositional information about the referents.
- Textual: marks the information structure or the cohesion in a text.
- Personal: denotes an individual's thoughts, attitudes and feelings.
- Interpersonal: illustrates the relationship among participants.
- Contextual: refers to or depends on an aspect of situation that is shared by the participants.
- Aesthetic: refers to what is considered 'good style' or 'proper grammar'.

SFG aims to "describe and explain the meaning-making resources of modern English" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:4). Meaning refers to the functions that language realises in context. In other words, language is a system humans use to construe meanings and perform functions in social contexts. Language has three metafunctions that denote the different modes of meaning construed by grammar. The interpersonal metafunction enacts interpersonal relations and can be paraphrased as "language as reflection." The ideational metafunction or "language as action" construes experience. The textual metafunction enables the construction of text and concerns the presentation of the interpersonal and ideational meanings (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:29-30).

In SFG, a text is the product of an ongoing selection in a very large network of systems. The name Systemic Functional Grammar refers to the view of grammar as system networks, rather than as an inventory of structures. Language is a complex semiotic system with a compositional structure. In SFG, structure is the syntagmatic ordering of patterns or regularities, i.e. *what* ***goes together with*** *what*. The system refers to the paradigmatic ordering of patterns, i.e. *what* ***could go instead of*** *what*. Any set of alternatives, together with a condition of entry, constitutes a system (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:22). An example of a system is polarity whose terms are positive and negative ("The dog died" versus "The dog did not die").

Structure is important for linguistic description, but in SFG it is interpreted as the outward form taken by systemic choices instead of a defining characteristic of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:23). Every system or moment of choice[2] contributes to the formation of structure. Structural operations such as inserting or ordering elements are the realisation of systemic choices. This means that when a text is analysed, the functional organisation of its structure is illuminated and the analyst can infer the meaningful choices that have been made by the text-producer.

In SFG, forms have different functions. In other words, the forms (linguistic features) have different textual functions or purposes. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:60) put it,"...the structure as a whole, the total configuration of functions, (...) construes, or realises, the meaning." For example, the function 'Actor' is only interpretable in the context of representational functions such as Process/Goal.

The form/function mapping can be further explained as follows. On the one hand, when you say something with the aim of getting something in return (e.g. asking someone to close the window) the exchange commodity is non-verbal. This means that an action or an object (e.g. "Please pass the salt") is demanded and language is used to help the process along. On the other hand, if you say something to me with the aim of getting me to tell you something (e.g. "How are your parents?"), information is demanded. In the latter example, language serves as both the ENDS and the MEANS, because the answer is verbal and leads to the exchange of information (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:107).

The dissertation is a functional, corpus-based analysis of East African English and I will therefore use Biber *et al.*'s (1999) terminology, unless otherwise specified. The dissertation is a study of narrativity and its register-variation which follows the basic method and presentation in Biber and his associates' work. Biber and his associates have a long tradition of using corpora for quantitative analysis and working with concordancing tools, which makes it possible to apply similar analytical techniques in the dissertation. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:34-36) also acknowledge the usefulness of corpora, but there is less of a quantitative angle to their work. English grammar is analysed, yet not with the same focus on register or corpora as in Biber's work.

The corpus can play one of two main roles in functional studies of language: the corpus can be used to describe a specific lexico-grammatical feature and exemplify the results with authentic corpus data, or it

[2] The moment of choice does not refer to a conscious decision by the speaker or listener. Rather, the moments refer to the analytic steps in grammar to construe meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:24).

can be used to modify certain details of the theory. However, Butler (2004:169) notes that the theory rarely needs to be adjusted drastically. Most corpus-based functional studies fill in details in the bigger theoretical framework "whose basic architecture is taken for granted," (Butler, 2004:169).

2.3 Corpus Linguistics

Both computer-aided corpus linguistics and variationist sociolinguistics emerged as new fields of research in the 1960s (Mair, 2009:7). Initially, sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics were separate fields of research, but nowadays some of the boundaries have become blurred. At the onset of corpus studies, there was a bias towards the written standard, the exact opposite of the object of study in sociolinguistics. On the one hand, there was an emphasis on lexico-grammar in corpus linguistic studies. On the other hand, sociolinguists typically studied phonetics. In later years, there has been cross-pollination of sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics, partly due to the widening of databases in both fields (Mair, 2009:8). Even though both fields are interested in linguistic variation, each approach has different analytical methods (Mair, 2009:24).

Corpora can help us to come to a better theoretical understanding of *what* language is and *how* it functions (Halliday, 2005:9). Corpus linguistics is probably best known as a means for analysing 1) large amounts of data using concordancing software; 2) the influence of structural context on the choice of a linguistic feature(s); as well as 3) corpus-internal variability according to register (Mair, 2009:24). Corpus linguists typically express their results as a normalised frequency per million words.

At the other end of the spectrum, sociolinguists aim to discover the association between dependent linguistic variables and independent social variables. Sociolinguists typically report on group-specific realisation rates such as the per cent of a variable that is manifested as variant X (Mair, 2009:24). The dissertation is a corpus-based study in the first instance and therefore makes use of a functional paradigm that relies on the quantification of corpus-internal differences between texts with a narrative focus and texts that do not primarily focus on narration.

At a very general level, corpus linguistics can be described as any linguistic framework that uses computer corpora as data source and software for analysis (Virtanen, 2009:49). Sinclair (2004:189) asserts that corpora allow for the indirect observation of linguistic features with software tools such as concordancers, collocators and parsers. These tools allow the researcher to isolate and analyse features that are too far apart, or otherwise only observable after statistical analysis (Sinclair, 2004:189).

The three basic requirements for corpus linguistic studies are a representative corpus, computer programs to analyse the data and human intuition to interpret the results (Anthony, 2009:90). Butler (2004:151) also insists on the representativeness of a corpus to ensure the results can be extrapolated to the language variety being studied. The main advantage of a large and representative corpus is that

underlying regularities have a better chance of showing in spite of superficial variations (Sinclair, 2004:189).

Stubbs (1996:232) observes that when one applies quantitative methods to "very large amounts of data", the result is more than a summary. When the data are analysed, it can lead to insights otherwise not possible. By using a corpus, I will not rely on intuition or anecdotal evidence to look for typical patterns. Many stylistic studies depend on the researcher's ability to spot themes, authors' idiosyncratic use of language, or a very specific feature such as discourse presentation. Studies such as those of Fludernik (1996, 2003) and Toolan (2009) use authentic texts, but (more often than not) certain relevant passages or short stories are 'cherry-picked' (to use Mautner's term) to prove the point the author wants to make. In contrast, when you use a corpus, the resulting analyses are empirically credible (Mautner, 2009:32). By doing a descriptive study of authentic texts, it is possible to uncover characteristics that were not even conceived of by the researcher at the onset of a study (Biber *et al.*, 1999:7).

Another significant advantage of the corpus-based approach is the software-assisted analysis of a large amount of data from a range of speakers (Biber *et al.*, 2006:3). This enables the researcher to use software such as WordSmith Tools (Scott, 1996, 2004) to do automatic and interactive analyses. It should be kept in mind that corpus-based studies do not end with a quantitative description of language use. Rather, Biber *et al.* (2006:4) emphasise that the qualitative interpretation is a crucial step of the analysis.

Virtanen (2009:50) views corpora as essentially static. She holds forth that the inherently dynamic nature of context as a social action (which affects and instigates discourse) is beyond the scope of corpus linguistics[3]:

> Even linguists vouching for unedited, non-manipulated discourse are still aware of the recontextualisation processes that have taken place for the data to end up on their desks and screens. The dynamism of discourse is irretrievably lost in concordances, lists, and samples of various kinds.
> (Virtanen, 2009:51).

Virtanen (2009) highlights some of the main differences between discourse linguistics and corpus linguistics. The former has significant advantages in her eyes, since only studies of discourse (described as 'text in context' à la Sinclair 2004) can truly account for factors such as situational and socio-cultural context (Virtanen, 2009:62). On the other hand, Mautner (2009:34) argues that the decontextualisation involved in corpus compilation can have a positive influence. For instance, it is easier to make generalisations without considering all the socio-cultural contextual information (such as 35-year-old American female) during certain stages of analyses.

I concur with Virtanen (2009) that many difficulties arise when context-dependent features such as deictics are studied in a corpus. In certain cases, it may be impossible to use corpus linguistic measures to analyse such features automatically. However, this is not true for all context-dependent features. For

[3] Nevertheless, Virtanen (2009) does not consider the dynamic nature of context beyond the scope of discourse linguistics.

example, it is relatively straightforward to automatically retrieve deictic adverbials such as *here* and *then* from a corpus.

Furthermore, many corpus linguistic studies of World Englishes consider sociolinguistic contexts (e.g. Baker & Eggington, 1999; Purvis, 2008; Van Rooy, 2008; Van Rooy *et al*., 2010; Xiao, 2009). Whereas Virtanen (2009:55) implies that the socio-cultural dimensions of discourse do not lend themselves to corpus studies, I believe language needs to be studied in its sociolinguistic context. The corpus-based approach in this study strives to balance the quantitative results with a qualitative interpretation of the East African context.

2.3.1 Corpus-based versus corpus-driven linguistics

There is a distinction to be made between corpus-based and corpus-driven linguistics. Tognini-Bonelli (2001:84) argues for a corpus-driven approach:

> In a corpus-driven approach the commitment of the linguist is to the integrity of the data as a whole, and the descriptions aim to be comprehensive with respect to corpus evidence. The corpus, therefore, is seen as more than a repository of examples to back pre-existing theories or a probabilistic extension to an already well-defined system. The theoretical statements are fully consistent with, and reflect directly, the evidence provided by the corpus.

In short, a corpus-driven study derives descriptions and theoretical statements directly from corpus data. The theory of language is constructed based on what is found in the corpus. Sinclair's (2004:12) stance is that computer-aided analysis should not merely serve to demonstrate patterns that were predicted from other areas of language study, as is typically the case in a corpus-based study.

Tognini-Bonelli (2001:153) warns against corpus-based studies that use corpora "to expand, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study." In Tognini-Bonelli's view, corpus-based studies serve only to refine theoretical models and provide a quantitative dimension, instead of challenging existing theories and categories in language (according to Butler, 2004:153).

The corpus-driven approach was developed by Sinclair to minimise the effect of preconceived notions about lexico-grammar. Sinclair (2004:192) discredits the use of automatic part-of-speech tagging, because it forces "the attention (and resources) on pre-corpus models of language which require only small corpora anyway." Tagged corpora are regarded as too insensitive by Sinclair and Tognini-Bonelli.

Although the dissertation has a functional, corpus-based approach to language, I agree with Tognini-Bonelli that corpus-driven studies have led to important insights into language. One of the most important findings is the inseparable bond between lexical and grammatical patterning, as well as between meaning and form. Corpus-driven studies such as Sinclair (2004) have shed light on collocational patterns and Butler (2004:157) concurs that these detailed analyses provide 'snapshots' of individual words. These 'snapshots' can illuminate the intricacy of lexico-grammatical patterning.

However, Butler (2004:157) maintains that we still need to understand how the 'snapshots' interact in the overall picture in at least a sizeable portion of a language. Corpus-based investigations of language have made fruitful use of tagged corpora to facilitate the analysis of large corpora. A researcher needs to check automatic tagging and manually correct tagging errors, but the principal advantage of tagged corpora is quick and effective analysis of large amounts of data.

Whereas corpus-driven linguists are quick to reject many of the categories and distinctions in both functional and traditional grammars, Sinclair (1997:22, as quoted by Butler, 2004:161) acknowledges that the resulting theories and descriptions of grammar might be similar to more functional or traditional grammars. Butler (2004:163) disapproves of the rejection of existing theories to build a new theory piece by piece. However, he concedes that functional theories need to take note of corpus-driven studies if they aim to model communicative interaction.

2.3.2 (Corpus) stylistic studies of narrative

Recently, corpus analyses have also been applied to literary texts (see Dillon, 2007; Fludernik, 2003; Hori, 2004; Herman, 2005; Hoover, Culpeper & Louw 2007; Moon, 2007; Pennebaker & Ireland, 2008; Semino & Short, 2004; Toolan, 2009; Yevseyev, 2005). In these corpus-stylistic studies, fictional narratives are analysed and often specific novels or short stories form part of the research. For my purposes, many of these studies are too focused on a specific genre or a writer's oeuvre: e.g. Hori (2004) and Mahlberg (2009) use a corpus of works by Charles Dickens. On the other hand, Herman (2005) has a strong corpus linguistic focus in his work on motion verbs across eight spoken and written narratives.

The narrow focus of some stylistic studies, where particular issues such as lexical or thematic repetition in a particular text are addressed, is different from the approach of the dissertation. Whereas the objective of the former is to come to a better understanding of a particular text or more generally fictional texts, I explore the diffuse boundary between texts with a narrative focus or other foci in the East African component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-EA) which comprises 1,4 million words. ICE-EA has a wide range of spoken and written registers, some of which are traditionally accepted to be more narrative than others e.g. Fiction has a stronger narrative focus than Instructional writing. The main difference between stylistic or discourse-analytic studies of language and corpus linguistics lies in the distinction between a systematic, comprehensive close reading of a specific text (or a collection of texts) versus an analysis of a representative corpus.

The merit of corpus linguistic analysis lies in the ability to analyse large amounts of natural language and the aim is to describe the data in a manner that clarifies certain patterns or structures. Stylistic methods such as those used in Toolan (2009) cannot be applied to a corpus of 1,4 million words, since there are too many variables such as different authors, different genres, as well as different registers.

For example, Toolan (2009:99) analyses the "disproportionately recurrent words" in a short story as a partial guide to narrative structure and progression. It is logistically impossible to look for specific repeated words, as well as their synonyms and/or paraphrases in each individual text in ICE-EA. At the most, this technique will identify major themes in the corpus as a whole (see Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009 for a thematic analysis of East African English). This example illustrates some of the main methodological differences and difficulties between (corpus) stylistics and corpus linguistics. The present section has touched upon the ICE-EA corpus and the discussion continues in Section 2.4.

2.4 The East African sociolinguistic context

Toolan discusses the role of culture in narrative:

> It may well be that communities have different kinds of story points because they have different perspectives on the proper functions and nature of storytelling. If that is so, we are driven back from the earlier task of correlating delimited story points with possible culture values, to the harder task of holistically assessing all of a community's tendencies in narrative use in relation to inferred cultural values.
> (Toolan, 2001:165 [1988]).

Sociolinguistic context cannot be ignored when modelling narrativity in *any* cultural context. In this section, I consider the sociolinguistic context of East African English. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda form part of East Africa. The political conditions in Uganda ensured that there is little documentation available regarding Ugandan English (Schneider, 2007:189). For this reason, Uganda does not form part of ICE-EA and is not included in the dissertation. In the dissertation, I investigate the English used in Tanzania and Kenya as exemplars of East African English, which is regarded as a distinct variety of English (Buregeya, 2006:200).

East Africa is one of the linguistically most heterogeneous regions in Africa. It is difficult to determine the exact number of languages spoken in the region, because of the difficulty in distinguishing a language from a dialect, or a language from a tribe (Simango, 2006:1964).

Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009:25) claim that the end of colonialism led to the rise of distinct national varieties of English. Since the independence of East African countries over forty years ago, a 'trifocal language system' has developed: the use of English is widespread, but Kiswahili is used in high language functions and other vernacular languages have low functions (Schmied, 2008:470; McArthur, 2003:280).

Kiswahili was already an established lingua franca in East Africa when English was introduced. Kiswahili currently has informal status, whereas English is seen as more formal and authoritative (McArthur, 2003:281; Schneider, 2007:196). In East Africa, private conversations are likely to take place in either Kiswahili or an indigenous language (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:4).

Ong (2004:73 [1982]) notes that countries where more than two languages are spoken find it difficult to establish and maintain national unity. After independence, the governments wanted to promote national

unity and chose to promote English and Kiswahili. This decision suppressed rather than encouraged linguistic diversity in East Africa (Simango, 2006:1965).

Similarities between Tanzania and Kenya include similar cultural backgrounds, both countries use Kiswahili, there are similar linguistic substrates and the countries share a geographical proximity (Schneider, 2007:197). There are also differences between the two countries (Schneider, 2007:197). Tanzania was not a settler colony, so the British rule was much shorter and less influential. Tanzania followed a quasi-socialist path and adopted an African-centred language policy (Schneider, 2007:189). In Tanzania, the role of English is largely limited to education, administration and a small range of other 'high' domains, whereas Kenyans use English on a much broader scale (Schneider, 2007:197). The following subsections discuss the Tanzanian and Kenyan sociolinguistic contexts.

2.4.1.1 Tanzania

Linguistically speaking, Tanzania is the most diverse country in East Africa (Simango, 2006:1966). Kiswahili has been the national language since 1967. The use of Kiswahili is more widespread than English or the other indigenous languages (Schmied, 2004:252). In fact, around 10% of Tanzanians speak Kiswahili as a first language and approximately 90% of the population are second language Kiswahili speakers (Simango, 2006:1966). Since Kiswahili was already a widespread indigenised lingua franca when Tanzania became independent, it was declared the national language. English serves as a joint official language. Kiswahili is the language of the white-collar Tanzanian worker and is perceived as more prestigious than English (Simango, 2006:1967). However, Simango also notes that Tanzania realises the economic power of using English in foreign relations. Government has therefore slowed down the 'Swahilisation' process.

Tanzania is in Phase 3 (nativisation) of Schneider's (2007:199) model for processes underlying the development of New Englishes around the world[4]. Tanzania is an example of a country where the developments of the Dynamic Model have stopped. Many of the constituent elements of Schneider's model can only be identified weakly (Schneider, 2007:197).

Initial contact with English occurred in the mid-19th century. Most of the Europeans at the time were missionaries and explorers who relied on Kiswahili to communicate. In 1885, Tanzania became a German colony. The German settlers used Kiswahili, already an established lingua franca, for administration. During this period (Phase 1), English use was restricted.

After World War I, the League of Nations mandated Tanganyika (present-day Tanzania) to the British. However, the British were not very interested in the country due to two factors: economically, the country did not offer much and the British legal hold was less immediate than in a colony (Schneider, 2007:197).

[4] The Dynamic Model emphasises the characteristic stages of identity construction by both the settlers and indigenous populations. According to Schneider, a speech community undergoes five phases: (1) foundation, (2) exonormative stabilisation, (3) nativisation, (4) endonormative stabilisation, and (5) differentiation. Thus, the final phase is marked by evidence of newly recognised and self-contained varieties (Schneider, 2003:235).

To a certain extent, the British adopted Kiswahili and the German administrative system. English was gradually introduced into the education system and administration. World War II led to more widespread English exposure in both Kenya and Tanzania, since Tanganyika was reassigned to Britain as a United Nations trust territory in preparation for independence.

In 1961, Tanzania became independent and a triglossic language situation arose with indigenous languages as the primary tools for socialisation. From the 1940s to 1967, English was taught extensively. It was the medium of instruction in primary school and was used in public domains (Schneider, 2007:198).

A radical change swept through the country with the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Tanzania adopted an African version of socialism and moved towards self-reliance. This led to the promotion of Kiswahili as a national language and symbol for a new identity. Kiswahili replaced English on many terrains – administration, the armed forces, civil service, as well as in primary and secondary education (Schneider, 2007:199).

The mid-1980s saw the rise of some concern regarding the decline of English, mainly due to fears regarding international trade relations. Today, Tanzanian English is largely confined to sectors such as administration, education and other 'high' domains (Schneider, 2007:197). However, English remains important for international relations, the media and higher education (McArthur, 2003:284). Kiswahili is preferred in parliamentary debate and the lower courts, but English is the language of diplomacy and the High Court (Schmied, 1991:41; Simango, 2006:1967). Whereas Kiswahili is used for official business, English is used for foreign business (Simango, 2006:1967). In Tanzania, the preferred language for casual conversation is Kiswahili.

The structure of Tanzanian English has some distinct properties, but less than Kenyan English. Some of the structural properties are shared with Kenyan English. In newspapers, there is evidence of unusual preposition use, e.g. *indulge on, an effect to* and unusual verb complementation, e.g. *justified to think* (Schneider, 2007:199).

The impact of English is less intense than in Kenya (Schneider, 2007:199). In fact, it is estimated that only 5% of the population has knowledge of English (Schmied, 2008). In Tanzania, English does not have status as a clear-cut second language variety (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:4). Compared to Kenya and West African countries, the impact of English is less intense and it is regarded as an international language (Schneider, 2007:199).

2.4.1.2 Kenya

Kenyans have embraced English. English is a strong second language and functions as the co-official language, together with Kiswahili. It has a secure role as the language of education, commerce and administration. Schneider (2007:193) noted that English is regarded as the language of the white-collar worker from the middle classes or upper classes.

The country has a trifocal language hierarchy: English is used for higher national and international functions; Kiswahili is the nationwide lingua franca; and numerous African languages play dominant roles in their respective ethnic strongholds (Schmied, 2004:252). According to Simango (2006:1965) there are between 30 and 40 indigenous African languages in Kenya. Approximately 65% of Kenyans speak Kiswahili, for the most part as second language speakers. Kiswahili is a compulsory subject at school. Kiswahili has a relatively low status; is used in informal contexts; and is a popular choice for oral communication (Simango, 2006:1966).

Kenya was a settler colony. During the 1860s, the British became involved in the coastal cities of East Africa (Schneider, 2007:189). After Kenya became independent, the government wanted to promote a Kenyan culture without tribal, colonial or religious links (Simango, 2006:1966). English was chosen as the official language and was regarded as a 'neutral choice.' Kiswahili became the national language, despite its association with Islam. The government shied away from 'Swahilising' the nation and English therefore became the prime official language.

Since the 1940s, Kenya is in Phase 3 (nativisation) of Schneider's model (2007:192). In the aftermath of World War II, Britain decided to 'modernise' its African colonies in preparation for independence. The Kenyans saw English as a utilitarian tool. One of the ways to modernise colonies was to teach English on a broader scale to build and maintain economic and political ties after independence. During the Mau Mau rebellion (1952-1959), the two major population groups in Kenya started to develop separate identities and most settlers left the country (Schneider, 2007:192).

When Kenya became independent in 1963, the local culture was transformed (Schneider, 2007:192). English became nativised and started to spread rapidly. Kiswahili became the 'national language' in a constitutional amendment in 1974 and the language was officially promoted against English. Kiswahili was the sole language of parliamentary debate until English was reinstated in 1979 (Schneider, 2007:193). In the 1960s, half of the primary schools in Kenya used English as the medium of instruction.

Today, Kenyans use English and Kiswahili among different ethnic groups when they interact with each other. English is defined as a second language or international language (Schmied, 1991:39). English is used from secondary education onwards, as well as in Parliament and the High Court (Schmied, 1991:39). Kenyans have exposure to a wide range of English communicative contexts. Radio and television broadcasts are in both Kiswahili and English (McArthur, 2003:283). Whereas English newspapers sell more than Kiswahili newspapers, the latter is the more popular choice for radio broadcasts (Simango, 2006:1966). This example shows the general attitudes towards English and Kiswahili: English enjoys a high status, is regarded as more formal and is preferred in written communication.

In education, Standard English is regarded as the target, but a handful of loan words are judged acceptable. Newspapers have been known to lament the 'declining standards' of English (Schneider, 2007:194). However, structural nativisation has been going on for many decades and there are distinctly

Kenyan forms in the grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary of English. One of the reasons for a distinct Kenyan English is that textbooks and teachers have been of local origins since the 1970s.

Most grammatical innovations are at the interface between grammar and lexis, as well as structural behaviour (Schneider, 2007:196). For example, East Africans omit or insert particles (East African English *pick* versus Standard English *pick up*; East African *leave* versus Standard English *leave in/out*). There are also creative verb complementation patterns, for example *discuss about, mind to tell* and *made him to do it*. Due to the multilingual language contact situation in Kenya, there is language mixing. In Nairobi, Sheng is a mixture of English, Kiswahili and indigenous languages used by youths to strengthen group identity (Schneider, 2007:196).

Nativisation is still going strong in Kenya. English is spreading gradually and will continue to coexist with Kiswahili and indigenous languages (Schneider, 2007:196). Because Kiswahili is the regional lingua franca used in informal contact situations, it is unlikely that English will form the basis of a new national identity. According to Schneider (2007:196) it is difficult to predict whether English in Kenya will progress along the Dynamic Model into Phase 4. Overall, Kenyans use English more than Tanzanians do (Schmied, 2008).

To the best of my knowledge, register variation in East African English was first studied quantitatively by Van Rooy *et al.* (2010). The dissertation is the continuation of quantitative, corpus-based study of registers in ICE-EA. The next section is a brief discussion of East African storytelling.

2.4.2 East African oral and written narratives

The culture of a speaker/writer influences the manner in which space, time and interpersonal relationships are perceived (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:22-91). The effect of a different culture plays a role (however small) in the different encoding of narrativity in East African English. Baker and Eggington (1999:355) propose that texts written by L2 English speakers are influenced by the oral and cultural traditions of the L2 users' native languages.

There is an increasing body of English-medium literature by East African writers such as John Mbiti, Peter Palangyo and David Rubadiri (McArthur, 2003:281). Schneider (2007:196) notes that although some Kenyan authors write in English, there are also instances of a return to indigenous languages, notably the Kikuyun author Ngugi wa Thiong'o.

Ojaide (1992:43) points out that Ngugi first wrote some of his works in Kikuyu before translating them into English. Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (1986) strong opinion on 'the language of the coloniser' is clear. He regards English as a cultural bulldozer that destructs African culture and he therefore opts to write fiction in Kiswahili and Kikuyu.

Ojaide (1992:43) declares that written African literature is a new phenomenon compared to the (still widespread) indigenous oral tradition. Most African writers use the language of the colonisers, i.e.

French, English and Portuguese (Ojaide, 1992:43). Ojaide (1992:44-55) discusses aspects of cultural distinctiveness in modern English-medium African literature, some of which are relevant to the dissertation.

Aspect A is the ethical and moral nature of African civilisation. Traditionally, stories are told around the fireside and the elders use stories to teach young ones ethics, morality and the culture of the community. Literature and morality are interwoven, as can be seen in the poetic traditions of Africa. In other words, African literature fulfils a didactic role. In fact, a writer plays the role of the conscience of a society. For example, Ngugi's works are criticisms of social and political practices.

Aspect B is a utilitarian role: culturally speaking, literature has a social function. Ojaide (1992:44) reasons that songs, prayers and praise chants all serve the community. In fact, narratives are a *universal* device for sharing attitudes and information (Tomasello, 2008:283).

Aspect C is an elaboration of the utilitarian function of orature, because it concerns the social cohesive role. Africans have a strong sense of community and focus on society, rather than the individual (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:72, 77). Mbiti (1969:108-109 as quoted by Ojaide, 1992:45) writes "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am."

Aspect D concerns the language of African literature, but it is not discussed at length. The English used in fiction is distinctly African and is peppered with proverbs, axioms, rhythms and oratical structures unique to the continent (Ojaide, 1992:54).

Aspect E is very important for the dissertation, since it concerns African concepts of *time* and *space*[5]. In Ojaide's view, African concepts of time and space have an impact on literary form and vision. Time is seen as linear *and* cyclical – death is seen as the beginning of one's spiritual existence and birth as the end of one stage of existence. Regarding the form of time presentation, Ojaide (1992:53) notes that the refrain in traditional song is a manifestation of the cyclical view on a creative level. In addition, the beginnings and endings of poems are often connected. Novels often diverge from linear time and Ojaide implies that this departure might be unusual for outsiders. However, one should consider that Western novels do not necessarily follow a linear plot. From a more global perspective on oral culture and time, Edwards and Sienkewicz (1990:196) and Ong (2004 [1982]) note that narratives often depart from analytic linearity.

In Ojaide's (1992:54) opinion:

> African people's culture is so strong that when they change their medium of artistic expression from oral to written, their creative products still bear their deep-rooted response to reality. African concepts of time and space inevitably form part of the 'literary' aesthetics.

Drama, fiction and poetry all bear traces of the oral tradition. The latter still influences written literature and makes it vibrant, live and audience-conscious (Ojaide, 1992:56).

[5] The Contextualisation features of the narrativity model concern *time* and *space* (see Section 2.4).

Tala (1984:95-96) suggests that oral literature is included in African fiction "to give a flavour of authenticity", to link the past with present experiences, to localise the content, to educate fellow Africans and give them confidence in their shared heritage, while at the same time enlightening outsiders.

Stylistic characteristics of the African oral tradition are repetition; lexical parallelism, where two contrasting elements are juxtaposed using the same or similar structures; piling or linking, which is used to develop episodes; and digression (Okpewho, 1992: 71-97). Other characteristics of oral narratives include additive rather than subordinate structure, an emphasis on present events rather than a focus on the unchangeable past, and an empathetic or participatory focus (Ong, 2004 [1982]).

Section 2.4 of the dissertation focused on the sociolinguistic context in East Africa and the oral tradition in Africa. East African narratives are part of a specific culture and should be studied as such. In Section 2.5, the model for East African English narratives is discussed.

2.5 The narrativity model

Figure 2: The feature groups

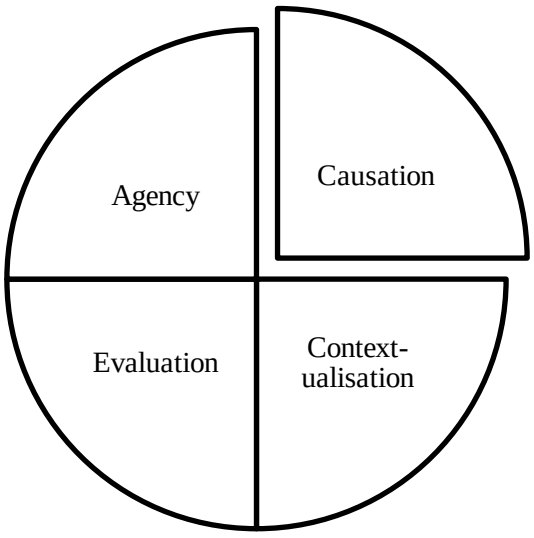


Figure 2 is a graphic representation of the four main groups of linguistic features in the narrativity model: Agency, Causation, Contextualisation and Evaluation. The model is not hierarchical: the results could possibly be skewed if I were to superimpose an *a priori* hierarchy of features that are hypothesised to be *more* or *less* important in East African English narratives.

I compiled the model to map narrativity in ICE-EA, but many of the linguistic features are typical of narratives in general. For example, narratives use Causation in different cultures and languages. Of course, the linguistic features used to encode Causation will differ and no claims are made that the model maps 'Universal Narratives'; I set out only to understand East African English narratives across registers. As Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) and Ojaide (1992) assert, culture influences language use.

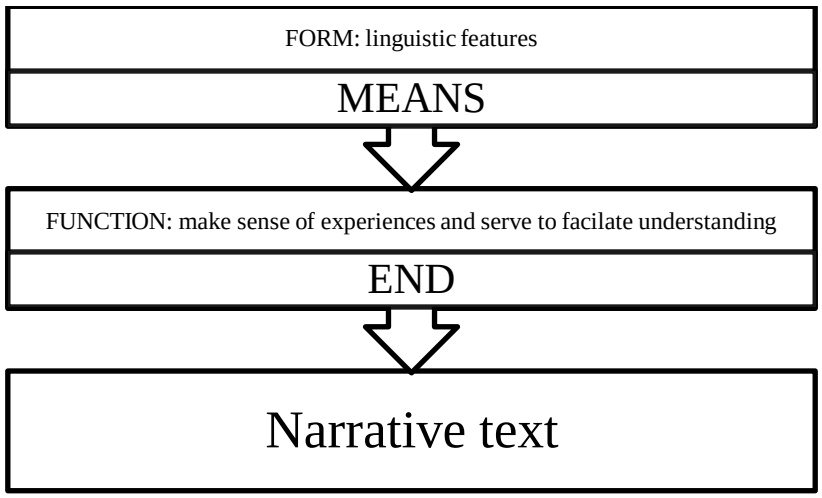
Bundgaard (2007) investigated the origin of narrative schema in the perception of intentional movements. Although he uses a more Narratological, Structuralist theory of narrativity, Bundgaard's (2007:247) definition of a narrative schema as a basic cognitive principle of intelligibility is useful. In other words, narratives are the result or END of a human tendency to make sense of experiences. Narrative is a major cognitive schema. As Bundgaard (2007:248) explains:

> (Narrative is) an internally organised semantic *gestalt* in terms of which partial significations can be combined into a coherent whole – which is deeply embodied and rooted in perceptual experience.

The narrative schema is defined as the process structure of any given story. Narrative schemas serve two purposes: 1) to give people an indirect cognitive hold on inaccessible, but existentially essential, content; and 2) to resolve the conflict between mutually exclusive, but correlated contents (Bundgaard, 2007:249). In other words, narratives are used to interpret events in their temporal order and to organise the stories we tell. On the whole, narratives are "a crucial cognitive means to interpret actions in our surroundings" (Bundgaard, 2007:259).

From a functionalist approach to language, the linguistic features in the model are the *forms* (MEANS) that represent narrative *functions* (the END). The MEANS/END distinction is at a higher level of abstraction than form/function mapping. Narrative is a resource used for a specific textual or rhetorical END. The rhetorical/textual END can be realised by other strategies as well, which means that the MEANS/END mapping is MANY to MANY. Specific features in the narrativity model can thus function either as a MEANS for encoding narrativity, or as a MEANS for information presentation. Furthermore, there can be an overlap between strategies or ENDS and these strategies can be mutually enforcing or conflicting. When narrativity is regarded as a functional resource, the conflicting demands between e.g. information presentation and narrativity can occur in a single text. The concepts presented here can be visualised as follows:

Figure 3: Form/function mapping



As the diagram illustrates, the form refers to the linguistic features or the MEANS. The function refers to the strategy or resource that is the END. Throughout the remainder of the dissertation, the MEANS/END mapping will be used to highlight the functional relationship between the two concepts.

The model does not claim to be the only possible description of narrativity that includes all narrative features. Other linguistic features such as discourse presentation also affect narrativity in ICE-EA and the model does not claim to map each individual aspect of narrativity. For example, discourse presentation depicts the thoughts and words of the participants (Semino & Short, 2004; Vandelanotte, 2009), but was not included in the narrativity model. One of the main reasons for the exclusion of Discourse Presentation was the difficulty of pinpointing and identifying features such as Free Direct Speech versus Direct Speech in a 1,4 million word corpus.

Semino and Short's (2004) study is more stylistic than corpus-based, although they used a corpus. Their aim was to understand the differences between speech and thought presentation in narrative and not on the central narrative elements as presented in the dissertation, namely Agency, Causation, Contextualisation and Evaluation. Semino and Short hand-annotated each sentence in their collection of texts according to 22 main tags and five sub-tags. As Semino and Short (2004:226) put it, the type of research they conducted relies on considerable financial support, and substantial amounts of time and resources.

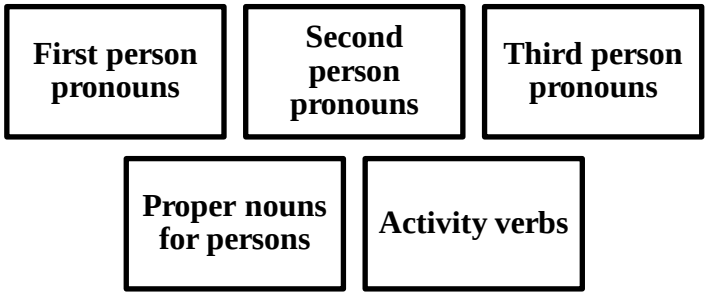
The linguistic features analysed in the dissertation are typical of narrative texts, so it is expected that the texts across registers will have a different distribution for the specific features. In addition, unlike a literary or stylistic study, I never claim to explore all the possible avenues for a single text. The level of analysis in stylistic studies will not be reached. The study is corpus-based and the aim is to analyse general distributional patterns and trends.

The application of the model to ICE-EA is an integral step from theory to practice. Does the model show that Fiction has more narrative features overall than Academic writing? Does Fiction use a particular group of features such as Agency in a unique manner? These are some of the questions I hope to answer. Analysing ICE-EA cannot prove what goes on in speakers' or readers' minds, but as Emmott (1997:99) states, it can illustrate the complexity of texts and thereby indicate the nature of the task at hand.

In Sections 2.5.1-2.5.4, the linguistic features associated with narrativity are discussed according to their functional grouping into Agency, Contextualisation, Causation and Evaluation. The examples are from ICE-EA and the source text is in <brackets> after the extract.

2.5.1 Agency in narratives

Figure 4: Agency features



Narratives are agent oriented (Longacre, 1976). To measure Agency in ICE-EA, I will analyse the following features: proper nouns for persons, first person pronouns, second person pronouns, third person pronouns and activity verbs. A brief discussion of the features is presented in this section and a more detailed operationalisation follows in Chapter 3. Example 1 is a short narrative that has many of the Agency features. **Proper nouns for persons** are in bold, *pronouns* are in italics and **activity verbs** are bold underlined.

1) **Hawkins left** with the Jesus[6] **to steal** some more **Africans** and *he* **returned** to England with such <_devidens> <+_dividends> that **Queen Elizabeth made** *him* knight. <NT-ESS8T>

As the example illustrates, humans are agents: they cause things to happen, or they are participants who are affected by things that happen to them. A text with **proper nouns for persons** is more likely to be agent-oriented. In SFG terms, Agency in the dissertation included *agents* and *actors* in the analysis of proper nouns for persons, as well as *participants* in the analysis of pronouns. Nouns of titles such as Mrs, Professor, Aunt and Dr were included in the dissertation (Example 2). Proper nouns (e.g. Susana) were also analysed.

2) **Aunt Susana** had stayed at her bedside until she was out of the worst. <W2F034T>

Activity verbs were included in the narrativity model, because they usually require human agents. In Conversation and Fiction, the majority of verbs (irrespective of semantic domain) take animate subjects or agents (Biber *et al.*, 1999:378). Approximately 50% of all the common verbs in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (LGSWE)* are activity verbs and the other 50% of common verbs include all the other semantic domains (Biber *et al.*, 1999:367). Biber *et al.* (1999:366) found that activity verbs are most common in Conversation, Fiction and News. The 49 most common activity verbs in the *LGSWE* were analysed in the dissertation, e.g. *arrange, divide, exercise, join, obtain, pull, smile, visit* etc. (Biber *et al.*, 1999:370). In Example 3, the plural human agent *many people* is used in conjunction with the activity verb *to buy*:

3) Many people **buy** our chicken on credit <W2F028T>

[6] In context, *Jesus* does not refer to Christ. The 16th century explorer John Hawkins set sail in the Jesus of Lubeck on an expedition.

Pronouns are used for deictic reference (Bosseaux, 2007:28; Hanks, 1994:378). **Third person pronouns** frequently co-occur with past tense and perfect aspect forms as a marker of narrative style (Biber, 1988:225). Pronouns are used when the referent is defined interpersonally by the speech situation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:325). On the other hand, proper nouns are used when the referent is defined experientally, because there only exists one person with the proper noun, or only one person is relevant in the context (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:325).

The use of proper nouns versus third person nouns are somewhat at odds with each other: although proper names or full noun phrases are more blatantly agent-specific, Emmott (2003:297) states that when a character in Fiction is at the forefront of the action in a narrative, s/he can be evoked using pronouns. On the other hand, when a character is not currently prominent in the narrative, s/he needs the more specific use of proper names or other full noun phrases. If a pronoun is used when we expect a proper name, the social relations in the narrative world are foregrounded (Emmott, 2003:298). However, when a character is not named it may show how central the character is to the narrative or even indicate a taboo about naming influential and powerful people (Emmott, 2003:299). Overall, third person pronouns require a lot of processing on the part of the addressee (Biber *et al.*, 1999:331).

Emmott (1997) analysed anaphoric pronouns in Fiction from a discourse-analytic and cognitive linguistic perspective, but some of her findings can be applied to non-fictional registers as well. She found that third person pronouns can span vast amounts of text when a central character is at stake. To interpret the pronoun references, information may be required that occurs much earlier in the text. The reader needs to store knowledge about both the context and the characters in order to establish 'textual coherence' (Emmott, 1997:9). The same can be said for non-fictional registers. Emmott (1997:14) reports that corpus linguistic studies do not frequently track chains of reference (e.g. anaphoric pronouns) across a stretch of text, because concordancing programs are not geared to track information flow across a text. The result is that most concordancing software cannot account for the use of deictic references such as pronouns and determiners. Her proposed (untested) solution is to combine corpus-based analyses with discourse grammar, so that the hierarchy and dynamics of specific texts can be mapped.

Emmott (1997:211) affirms the difficulty of using functional models such as SFG that look back in the text to track a pronoun's antecedent. Emmott's solution is to regard anaphora as forward-oriented. When a reader encounters a noun, the entity representation of the noun is activated. The reader automatically slots the appropriate information about the noun into the pronoun slot(s), until a new noun denoting a different character occurs. The process then repeats itself (Emmott, 1997:231). Emmott's discourse analytical techniques rely on manual tracking, which makes it possible to interpret pronouns across context boundaries. When a series of pronouns seem to refer to the same person, but actually refer to two people, it will only become apparent when the analyst looks beyond context boundaries. The current reference set in a text can be narrowed down, for example if a single character is female, all the female pronouns necessarily refer to her in the context (Emmott, 1997:208). The dissertation does not analyse pronominal

reference in such detail, because manual tracking of pronouns across context boundaries is extremely time-consuming and beyond the scope of the study.

First person plural pronouns can refer to the speaker/writer + person X as in Example 4 from Tanzanian Fiction. The pronoun can also refer to an inclusive group to which the speaker/writer and the addressee belong (see the Kenyan Broadcast in Example 5). In this case, the first person plural pronoun serves to address the audience or to make general comments. Plural pronouns such as *we* and *they* often have antecedents that occur paragraphs or even pages earlier in a fictional text (Emmott, 1997:210).

4) Now Furaha is my wife. **We** married two months ago at Saint Alban's Anglican Church, in the City. <W2F036T>
5) <$A> Secondly are you <-_>are you<-/> convinced that extension officers from your ministry are doing a good job to advise the farmers
<$B> Thank you um to answer the first one I would uh like to say yes I think **we** are all concerned <S1B036K>

A stylistic device that developed in 20th century Western Fiction is the use of second person pronouns in one of two ways (Fludernik, 2003:254). Firstly, the EXPERIENCING frame can be used when the pronoun *you* is used in interior monologue to give the illusion of direct access into a character's mind. Secondly, the frames of TELLING and EXPERIENCING can become blurred to foreground the addressee function. In this case, the reader is transported into the fictional world and becomes part of the narrative (Fludernik, 2003:254). Narratives that use second person pronouns "clearly establish experiential[7] deixis and aligns this with the *you*-protagonist who may or may not have a clear addressee function," (Fludernik, 2003:254). Non-fictional registers that use second person pronouns include trial discourse and instruction manuals.

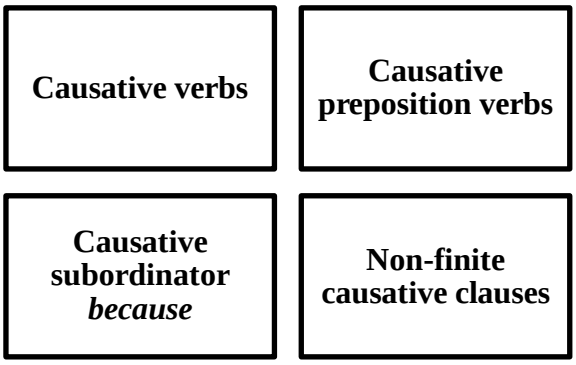
Fludernik's (2003:255) model shows how the originally realistic storytelling frames of ACTION, TELLING and VIEWING are transported to new literary contexts to which they cannot realistically apply. There is a transposition of non-natural narrational frames to naturalised narratives. For example, the use of third-person narration in its authorial mode has become natural and non-salient due to its widespread use. Present-day readers are frustrated when they do not have full access to a protagonist's mind. The development of narrative frames rely on previously natural storytelling frames: the use of second person pronouns in narrative was at first met with hesitancy on the part of readers, but due to exposure to the technique readers can now move into an EXPERIENCING frame (Fludernik, 2003:255). Generally, second person pronouns can refer to the addressee(s) (Example 6), or to people in general (Example 7).

6) "When shall I see **you** again?" I asked him softly. <W2F035T>
7) But if <-/>if **you** are poor like me and **you** have many problems yeah <S2B056K>

[7] Experientiality refers to the dynamics between the Labovian concepts of *point* and *tellability*, where a protagonist experiences surprising events and reacts accordingly (Fludernik, 2003:245).

2.5.2 Causation in narratives

Figure 5: Causation



Narratives describe causally related events (Semino & Short, 2004:20). Cortazzi (1993:85) identifies three basic characteristics in narrative plot: temporality, human interest and causation. We do not only want to know *how* X or Z happened, we also want to know *why* X or Z happened. As Palmer (2003:338) points out, actions are often explained by giving the reason behind the action and by placing the action in context. When a reader is confronted with a fictional text, s/he needs to establish causal links between events (Emmott, 1997:ix). This is true not only for Fiction, but also for other types of narrative. Things happen in the real world and the reader/listener has to keep track *why* they happen. In this section, the linguistic features that construe Causation are discussed.

Causative verbs are one of the seven major semantic verb domains[8] (Biber *et al.*, 1999:360). Many verbs have meanings that overlap between the semantic domains, e.g. *make* and *get* can be used as activity verbs or as causative verbs (Biber *et al.*, 1999:361). The most common verbs of causation in the *LGSWE* are analysed in the dissertation, namely *affect, allow, assist, cause, enable, ensure, force, guarantee, help, influence, let, permit, prevent* and *require*. These verbs are used when someone or something brings about a new state of affairs. They often occur with a nominalised direct object or with a complement clause following a verb phrase (Biber *et al.*, 1999:363).

According to Herman (2003b:176), the default human tendency is to superimpose both temporal and causal relationships onto the logico-semantic structure of sentences. The following examples are not from ICE-EA:

8) The body decomposed, *because* the victim died.
9) The victim died, *because* the body decomposed.

In Examples 8 and 9 above (not from ICE-EA), a reader/listener will use knowledge of the real world to infer that the logical event sequence is given in Example 8, since bodies decompose after death. After the causative subordinator *because*, the reason for the decomposition becomes clear.

[8] The semantic verb domains are activity verbs, communication verbs, mental verbs, causative verbs, verbs of simple occurrence, verbs of existence or relationship and aspectual verbs (Biber *et al.*, 1999:360).

Reason clauses can be introduced with causative subordinators such as *because, since* and *as* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:838). *Because* is the most common causative subordinator in British and American English Fiction, Conversation, News and Academic writing in the *LGSWE* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:845). *Because* is the only subordinator that functions unambiguously as a causative adverbial according to Biber (1988:236). The lexemes *as, for* and *since* can function either as causative subordinators, or they can refer to time and manner (Biber *et al.*, 1999:846). In the dissertation, as in Biber (1988:236), only the causative subordinator *because* is analysed due to its unambiguous form and function.

Two relevant patterns of **non-finite causative clauses**, also referred to as "verbs of modality or causation" in the *LGSWE* are analysed in the dissertation. Causative verbs that were already mentioned were not searched for these patterns. Pattern 1 consists of a verb + *to*-clause. The verbs that frequently follow this pattern in the *LGSWE* are *get, afford, arrange, deserve* and *vote*. Pattern 2 consists of a verb + noun phrase + *to*-clause (Example 10), or *be* + the past participle of the verb + *to*-clause. Verbs in the *LGSWE* that follow Pattern 2 are *appoint, authorise, compel, counsel, defy, drive, elect, encourage, entitle, forbid, inspire, lead, leave, be made, oblige, order, persuade, prompt, raise, summon* and *tempt* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:703-704):

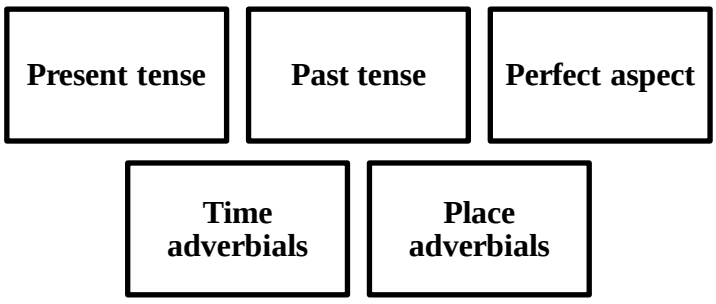
10) then she said, "Shall we go inside and *order* something to eat?" <W2F019T>

Another feature used to express Causation is **causative prepositional verbs**. The causative prepositional verbs analysed in the dissertation follow the pattern verb + preposition + noun phrase (see Example 11) and the verbs *lead to, come from, result in, contribute to, call for* and *allow for* follow this pattern. Pattern 2 consists of a verb + noun phrase + preposition + noun phrase. The causative prepositional verb *be required for* frequently follows the pattern in American and British English (Biber *et al.*, 1999:417-418). However, this pattern occurs only once in ICE-EA (Example 12) and is therefore omitted from the dissertation.

11) This will not immediately *lead to* a flood of dollars. < W2E001T>
12) The soil conservation approach differs from the first mainly in the comprehensiveness of the range of measures which *may be required for* the protection of the soil and its fertility. <W2A040K>

2.5.3 Contextualisation in narrative

Figure 6: Contextualisation



The contextualisation of a narrative depends on a time frame and spatial setting (Tomasello, 2008:284; Verhoeven & Strömqvist, 2001:2). The reader needs to keep track of temporal information in Fiction and map the plot on a mental timeline (Emmott, 1997:ix). In non-fictional registers, temporal information also needs to be kept in mind. Contextualisation features in the dissertation are concerned with time and place. Deictic reference lends spatiotemporal specificity to a narrative text (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:314; Toolan, 2001:35 [1988]; Bosseaux, 2007:28). In other words, deictic features such as tense and temporal categories (i.e. adverbials) anchor utterances in the context of space or time relative to the speaker's point of view (Bosseaux, 2007: 28, Bradford, 1997:61; Herman, 1994:378).

Labov (1972: 361) defines a minimal narrative "[as] a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered... a minimal narrative is defined as one containing a single temporal juncture." Labov and Waletzky (2003:87 [1967]) explain that a temporal juncture could be semantically paraphrased as *(and) then*. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:363) are also of the opinion that temporal relators such as *(and) then* are used to link narrative episodes. For example, the clause "I cooked and ate the lamb" has a temporal juncture (i.e. "I cooked the lamb **and then** I ate the lamb"). A temporal juncture refers to the non-reversibility of two narrative clauses without changing the original semantic interpretation of the narrative (Toolan, 2001:151 [1988]).

The strongest criticism levelled against Labov and Waletzky (2003 [1967]) and Labov (1972) concern the emphasis on temporal ordering (Toolan, 2001:181-182 [1988]). According to Labov and Waletzky (2003 [1967]), the head of a narrative clause is a main clause with finite verbs. These verbs are usually in the simple past or present tense and sometimes in the progressive or perfect aspect. In the Labovian model, only independent clauses can carry the fundamental, temporally fixed order of narrative (Toolan, 2001:181 [1988]). Consequently, this rules out the possibility of subordinate clauses carrying superordinate events. However, subordinate clauses in general do have the potential to carry integral, action-complicating events. In particular, subordinate temporal clauses (introduced by adverbs such as *after, before* and *when*) often carry important events and can move around the dominating main clause (Toolan, 2001:181 [1988]).

Time adverbials and place adverbials are the most common adverbials in the *LGSWE* and Fiction has the highest frequency of all the registers (Biber *et al.*, 1999:783). Time adverbials give direct reference to the temporal context in a text. In Fiction, they refer to the story world (Biber, 1988:224). The most common **time adverbials** in the *LGSWE* were analysed, e.g. *now, then, again, always, still, today, never, ago, ever, yesterday, already, sometimes, later, often* and *usually* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:561). The following time adverbials from Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1985 as quoted in Biber 1988:224) were also included in the dissertation: *afterwards, earlier, early, eventually, immediately, initially, instantly, late, lately, nowadays, once, originally, presently, previously, recently, shortly, simultaneously, soon, subsequently, tomorrow* and *tonight.*

The **place adverbials** analysed in the dissertation were from Biber (1988:224). Examples include *above, across, ahead, away, below, beneath, beside, downstairs, far, inside, locally, near* and *nowhere*.

Following Biber's (1988:224) methodology, words with other major functions such as *in* or *on* were excluded from the list. Example 13 of the place adverbial *nowhere* is from ICE-EA:

13) I have nowhere to go and no one to go to. <W2F032T>

Conversation has very high frequencies of the deictic place adverbials *here* and *there* in the *LGSWE*. Fiction also has high frequencies of these adverbials (Biber *et al.*, 1999:795). Existential *there* was excluded from the analysis (Biber, 1988:229). Examples of the place adverbial *here* from ICE-EA are given below:

14) The investigating officer has not brought the exhibits when we were all assembled here at 2 p.m. on the dot. <S1BCE14K>
15) From here then it could find its way to southern Europe, Asia and Middle East. <W2B028K>

Present tense verbs, **past tense verbs** and **perfect aspect** also relate to Contextualisation in time. Toolan (2009:120) states, "intuition and experience powerfully suggest that *certain clauses with past tense verbs* are crucial to narrativity"[9] (own emphasis added). On the other hand, African narratives have a strong focus on present events (Okpewho, 1992: 71-97; Van Rooy 2008b: 352-353). Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) report that past tense verbs are used 36% less in ICE-EA than in L1 texts.

Structurally, English verbs are inflected only for the present tense and past tense. Tense is not marked for imperative clauses and non-finite clauses. Finite clauses are either marked for tense or for modality, but not both simultaneously (Biber *et al.*, 1999:453). **Simple present tense** can refer to a state of existence (as in Example 16), continuing actions, or habitual actions.

16) <$A> I'm just a Kenyan anyway <S1A007K>

In British and American Fiction, **past tense** makes use of a past point of reference to describe events (Biber *et al.*, 1999:454). Past tense forms are usually regarded as "the primary surface marker of narrative" (Biber, 1988:223) as illustrated in Example 17 from East African Fiction:

17) We all protested. It was not possible since we were already five in a cell meant for only two inmates, we told the hangman. <W2F006K>

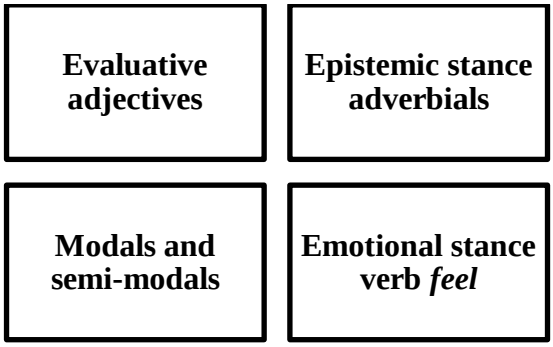
Perfect aspect denotes actions or states "taking place during a period leading up to the specified time" (Biber *et al.*, 1999:460). Perfect aspect forms are associated with narrative or descriptive texts (Biber, 1988:223). The structure of the perfect aspect is marked by the auxiliary verb *have/had* + *-ed* participle and it can combine with the present or past tense (Example 18). In narratives, perfect aspect often occurs with past tense forms (Biber, 1988:224).

18) She had been on chemotherapy with albendazole prior to surgery. <W2A022K>

[9] His aim was to find the past tense verbs that are relevant for plot development in the narrative (Toolan, 2009:120).

2.5.4 Evaluation in narrative

Figure 7: Evaluation



Narratives are characterised not only by the representation of events, but also by the feelings they evoke in the reader or listener (Martin, 2004:321). As Labov (1972:371) declares, evaluation is a natural part of narration. Therefore, the narrativity model cannot focus solely on actions, but must also take attitudes and feelings into account.

Evaluation can be broadly defined as 'the opinion element' in language (Thompson & Hunston, 2001:1). In other words, Evaluation concerns the expression of speakers' or writers' attitude or stance towards a viewpoint, or their feelings about propositions and entities that are the subject of discussion (Thompson & Hunston, 2001:5). However, there are various other terms that refer to the same phenomenon. In Hallidayan terms, Evaluation is referred to as *attitude*. Martin and Plum (1997) and Martin (2004) use the term *appraisal*. Appraisal theory is situated within the general framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Martin & Plum, 1997:299; Martin, 2003:171).

On the other hand, Conrad and Biber (2001) and Biber *et al.* (1999) use the term *stance*. Biber (1993:340) defines *stance* as the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements or commitments regarding a proposition. As these definitions show, stance and evaluation refer to the same phenomenon. I chose the term *Evaluation* as a broad cover term for the group of features in the dissertation[10], partly because of Labov and Waletzky's (2003 [1967]) use of the term in the context of narratives.

Evaluation is considered an integral part of narratives by Labov and Waletzky (2003:94 [1967]) and Labov (1972:371) and a text can be judged as narrative based on its presence. As mentioned in Section 2.1, Labov (1972) argues that Evaluation is used to organise discourse and to indicate its significance. According to Labov, Evaluation forms a 'secondary structure' in the narrative that can occur anywhere, but is frequently found in the Abstract, just before the dénouement and in the Coda.

Evaluation helps to construe the point of the narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 2003:94 [1967]). Many subsequent studies have accepted the central role of evaluative language in narratives, but Labov and Waletzky's research design probably also influenced the centrality of Evaluation in narrative text. Their

[10] However, I use the term *stance* adverbials, as in Conrad and Biber (2001) and Biber *et al.* (1999).

aim was to get an emotional response from the interviewees so that they lose self-consciousness while telling personal narratives. Therefore, Evaluation, the language of emotion, is central to the Labovian definition of narrative. Evaluation features are included in the narrativity model to determine whether they are central to all narratives.

From a broader perspective than narrative discourse, expressing an opinion is an important feature of language in general (Thompson & Hunston, 2001:19; Martin, 2003; White, 2006). The three basic functions of Evaluation are (1) to express an opinion and therefore reflect a value system; (2) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker and the listener; and (3) to organise discourse (Thompson & Hunston, 2001:6). The following Evaluation markers are mentioned by Biber and Finegan (1989:93): adverbs, adjectives and verbs that mark affect, certainty or doubt; hedges; emphatics; and modals of possibility, necessity and prediction. Modals are integral to Evaluation in Labov (1972), as well as in Biber and Finegan (1989).

Appraisal theory (Martin, 2004; White, 2005) relies on hand-annotation of (relatively few) texts, because the language of attitude, emotion and evaluation is so entrenched in lexical and grammatical features. Analysing Evaluation thoroughly is beyond the scope of most corpus-based studies. One corpus-based study that focuses on evaluation or stance is Conrad and Biber (2001). Nonetheless, they analysed only adverbials used as grammatical devices. In other words, clauses that express stance lexically (e.g. "I hate you, you are stupid") were excluded (Conrad & Biber, 2001:58).

Macken-Horarik (2003:298) mentions two modes of appraisal in narrative texts. The first is *inscribed appraisal*, which is the use of evaluative lexis or syntax to indicate attitude (e.g. "**Luckily**, we all survived"). The second mode of appraisal in narrative is *evoked appraisal* and it includes figurative language (e.g. "The joke broke the ice"). Evoked appraisal is not literal (Macken-Horarik, 2003:299). According to Macken-Horarik (2003:298), studies of stance in written text such as Biber *et al.* (1999) investigate inscribed appraisal. The overt expressions of attitude or inscribed appraisal are operationalised in the dissertation as epistemic stance adverbials.

Evaluation is a highly complex phenomenon (Cortazzi & Jin, 2001:104). Six features associated with evaluation were chosen for analysis in the present study. These features were chosen because they lend themselves to corpus-based investigation. The dissertation relied on explicit lexico-grammatical cues to analyse Evaluation. Ideational attitudinal meanings that are invoked implicitly, e.g. by means of metaphor, were not included due to the corpus-based methodology followed.

Evaluative adjectives are purely lexical expressions of Evaluation that have 'embedded' evaluative meanings (Biber *et al.*, 1999:969). The most frequent evaluative descriptor adjectives in the *LGSWE* are *good, best, right, nice, important* and *special* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:512). The following words occur frequently in Conversation and Fiction in the *LGSWE* and were analysed in the dissertation: *bad, short, young, bright, hot, cold* and *empty* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:511). These evaluative adjectives provided a basic indication of the distribution of the feature across registers. In order to study evaluative lexical resources

in more detail, an analytical model such as Appraisal theory (Martin, 2004; White, 2005) needs to be applied on samples of texts, but this is beyond the scope of the dissertation.

Modals and semi-modals that express Evaluation or stance are grouped into three subclasses (Biber, 2004:112):

- Possibility/permission/ability modals: *can, could, may, might*
- Logical necessity/obligation modals: *must, should* and semi-modals*: have to, got to, ought to*
- Prediction/volition modals: *will, would, shall* and the semi-modal: *be going to*

The most common stance adverbials are epistemic (Conrad & Biber, 2001:60). Conrad and Biber's (2001) study proved a useful point of departure for my analysis of **epistemic stance adverbials**. Epistemic stance adverbials are used by speakers or writers to comment on the status of the information presented in the main clause (Conrad & Biber, 2001:59). Therefore, epistemic stance adverbials fulfil an evaluative role in discourse. Three subclasses of epistemic stance adverbials were analysed in the dissertation, namely doubt/certainty stance adverbials, actuality stance adverbials and imprecision stance adverbials. Epistemic stance adverbials are considered hedges when they indicate that a proposition is somehow imprecise (*maybe, sort of, kind of, I think*) (Biber *et al.*, 1999:856). In Example 19, Speaker B is hesitant to commit to a statement (*I guess*) and also uses the actuality stance adverbial *in fact*:

19) <$C> He had not finished
<$B> He had not <./>fin *In fact* he was *I guess* second year <S1A005K>

Absolute judgements of certainty and various levels of probability are expressed by the following adverb(ials) in the LGSWE: no doubt, certainly, undoubtedly, probably, perhaps, surely, maybe, definitely, most likely, of course, I guess, truly and I think (Biber et al., 1999:557-558; 854-856). These are some of the most frequent stance adverbials across English registers (Conrad & Biber, 2001:64; Biber et al., 1988:240; Biber et al., 1999:557-558; 854-856). Example 19 above illustrates the use of the doubt adverbial *I guess*.

Actuality and reality adverbials comment on the status of the proposition as a real-life fact (Biber *et al.*, 1999:557-558; 854-856). The actuality stance adverbials *actually* and *in fact* were analysed. The imprecision stance adverbials *kind of* and *sort of* were also included. These adverbials were selected from the list of frequent stance adverbials in Conrad and Biber (2001:64).

I analysed the **emotional stance verb *feel*[11]** as an indicator of Evaluation. In SFG, the emotional stance verb *feel* falls under the perceptive mental verb or emotive mental verb category (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:210). In Appraisal theory, Affect is canonically construed as "I feel (very) X" and construes emotions and attitudes of the writer or speaker (Martin, 2003:173; 2004:324). In the

[11] Biber *et al.* (1999:985) list *feel* as a stance verb. However, *feel* is also classified under the semantic category of mental verbs (Biber *et al.*, 1999:368). In the dissertation, I use the self-coined term *emotional stance verb.*

dissertation, all the cases where the emotional stance verb *feel* is preceded by an animate subject were extracted (Examples 20-22):

20) *He felt* annoyed because he wanted to go to the toilet and to have a drink of water. <W2F007K>
21) *I felt* a great urge to visit my birth place. <W2F004K>
22) *I feel* like I can go mad when I know how much I have done. <S2B031K>

The preceding discussion of the narrativity model shows overlaps between linguistic features that fall into different feature groups: for example, different types of adverbials are included in Causation and Contextualisation. The model is as clear as possible with little overlap between feature groups. All the features included in the narrativity model are listed in Table 1. Before moving on to Chapter 3, closing remarks are in order for Chapter 2.

Table 1: Narrativity features

Feature group	Feature
Agency	Proper nouns for persons
	First person pronouns
	Second person pronouns
	Third person pronouns
	Activity verbs
Causation	Causative subordinator *because*
	Causative preposition verbs
	Causative verbs
	Non-finite causative clauses
Contextualisation	Place adverbials
	Time adverbials
	Present tense verbs
	Past tense verbs
	Perfect aspect
Evaluation	Modals and semi-modals
	Emotional stance verb *feel*
	Evaluative adjectives
	Epistemic stance adverbials

2.6 Closing remarks for Chapter 2

The chapter began with an overview of previous research on narratives. Next, theoretical background regarding the functionalist approach to language was given. A discussion of corpus linguistics was presented, followed by a review of the East African sociolinguistic context. The narrativity model was presented in the subsequent section. Barthes writes:

> Narrative analysis is condemned to a deductive procedure, obliged first to decide on a hypothetical model of description (...) and then gradually to work down from this model towards the different narrative species which at once conform to and depart from this model.
> (Barthes, 1977:81).

In Chapter 2, I have attempted to formulate a functionalist, linguistically formalisable account of narrativity. The chapter used sources from a range of fields such as Structuralist Narratology, translation studies, cognitive science, linguistics and stylistics to identify eighteen linguistic features that encode narrativity in ICE-EA. The aim, in Barthes' words, is to see which registers "conform to and depart from this model." The narrativity model has four groups of features, namely Agency, Causation, Contextualisation and Evaluation. In Chapter 3, I will set out the methodology.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology of the dissertation. First, I give a brief overview of the purpose of the study and the object of investigation. Next, an overview of the chapter is given.

The purpose of the study is to analyse the way linguistic features are used in ICE-EA to encode narrativity across spoken and written registers. In other words, the narrativity model has been developed in Chapter 2 to give an account of different levels of narrativity across different registers.

It is important to note that the linguistic features included in the model are not unique to narrative texts. In fact, many of the features (e.g. activity verbs, part of the Agency group) are used across registers. The aim is to interpret the differences in frequency and/or use across registers. Furthermore, the use of statistical modelling makes it possible to compare the frequency of linguistic features across registers. This means that a specific text might have many of the features from one group such as Agency, but few from another group such as Causation. Conceptually, a multi-faceted model emerges with partly overlapping, semi-independent feature sets and motivations. The interaction between the various groups of features and register variation will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Section 3.1 presents the research design, including a reflection on some of its strengths and weaknesses. Section 3.2 concerns the research instruments, the data, the statistical methods and limitations. Section 3.3 is an in-depth discussion of how each of the model's groups were extracted and analysed. Sections 3.4 and 3.5 concern the normalisation and standardisation procedures. The final section offers concluding remarks for the Chapter.

3.1 Research design

3.1.1 The overall approach

I followed the typical corpus-based method used by Biber *et al.* (1999:35) in their analysis of the *Longman Spoken and Written English* (*LSWE*) corpus. The principal concern in their study was to achieve an accurate description of the distributional patterns of various target features in English. In my study, the aim is to understand the target features of narrativity. To do so, I analysed the distributional patterns of the linguistic features in the narrativity model.

Biber and Conrad (2001:332) claim that corpus linguistics enables a researcher to do quantitative analysis that acknowledge the central role of register differentiation in patterns of language use. When the quantitative results are interpreted, it is possible to do a qualitative interpretation of the use of particular linguistic features (Biber & Conrad, 2001:333).

The literature review in Chapter 2 was used to identify features that were included in the model. The basic characteristics of narratives were operationalised as micro-level linguistic features. For example, the

cause and effect in narrative was operationalised by extracting different Causation features such as non-finite causative clauses and the causative subordinator *because*. ICE-EA was analysed according to the features in the model.

After all the features in ICE-EA had been analysed using WordSmith Tools, the data were converted to Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. Sections 3.5 and 3.6 have more detail, but in order to enable comparisons between the scores for different features, the data had to be normalised and standardised. The results in Chapter 4 are based on the standardised data.

3.1.2 Limitations

The narrativity model in the dissertation represents the manner in which linguistic features conspire to create narrativity in ICE-EA. This means that the model is culture-specific and corpus-specific. Before any claims of the universality of the model can be made, it needs to be tested on other data.

In the dissertation, the strength of the method is the ability to distinguish between registers with a narrative focus, versus registers with other primary foci. This means that even though a specific register might prove to be non-narrative, specific texts in the register can have a narrative focus. In other words, narrative features can be present in certain passages of a text or register that does not prototypically focus on narrativity.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 The ICE-EA corpus

The International Corpus of English (ICE) project was launched to create 18 corpora of one million words each for the synchronic study of World Englishes (Nelson, 1996:27). The ICE project was launched to create comparable corpora for studies of different varieties of English such as Indian English, Singaporean English, Jamaican English and East African English.

ICE corpora comprise written and spoken English produced during 1990-1994 in regions or countries where English is spoken either as a first language, or as an official language. The corpora have a common corpus design and comprise five hundred texts of 2,000 words each. Many of the texts are composite, for example a single Business letter seldom comprises 2,000 words. In these cases, two or more different samples of the same type were combined. ICE has 60% spoken and 40% written registers (Nelson, 1996:27-30).

ICE-EA[12] was mainly compiled between 1990 and 1996. The corpus consists of 1,4 million words or 953 texts. All the speakers and writers represented in the corpus are over 18 years old and have received formal education in English (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:11). Texts from Kenya and Tanzania are included and a third of the corpus is spoken data (Schmied, 2008:468). The ICE-EA corpus does not follow all the specifications of the greater ICE project to the letter due to difficulties in data collection (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:5).

Firstly, the corpus was split into Kenyan and Tanzanian subcorpora, due to sociolinguistic differences evident in the data. Secondly, the researchers encountered some difficulty acquiring data for some of the traditional ICE categories. Thirdly, texts of 2,000 words were hard or impossible to find for some registers. The result is that the Kenyan subcorpus is larger than the Tanzanian subcorpus (Schmied, 2004:256).

3.2.1.1 The spoken component of ICE-EA

Face-to-face conversation took place in informal surroundings and topics focused on day-to-day life (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:6). Some of the texts were recorded in classrooms where students discussed various issues among themselves; other texts are the result of a conversation between a German speaker, a British speaker and a Kenyan speaker where only the conversation by the Kenyan speaker was retained in the corpus. The other speakers mainly served to instigate the conversation and to keep it flowing. These samples of spoken language are regarded to be as 'natural' as possible, since in informal situations at home, African languages are preferred by most East Africans (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:7).

Spoken discourse from the public domain includes Classroom lessons, Broadcast discussions and Broadcast interviews. Broadcast lessons play an important role in educating the youth using English. Class lessons are overruled by a monologic teaching situation where the teacher talks and pupils listen in East African countries. The spoken monologues in the corpus (Broadcast news, Broadcast talks and Broadcast lessons) were scripted and not spontaneous (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:7). However, the Speeches include both scripted and unscripted texts such as lectures (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:51).

3.2.1.2 The 'written as spoken' component of ICE-EA

Hansards are transcriptions of parliamentary debate that omit repetitions and false starts. Hansards are classified as 'written as spoken' discourse by Hudson-Ettle and Schmied (1999:8). Written recordings of Legal cross-examinations form part of the 'written as spoken' component of the corpus. Legal cross-examinations and Hansards were included due to the difficulty of collecting East African spoken discourse.

[12] http://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/chairs/linguist/real/independent/ICE-EA/index.html

3.2.1.3 The written component of ICE-EA

Non-printed written registers in ICE-EA are discussed first. The Student writing in ICE-EA consists of both timed and untimed essays. Although Tanzanians do not write Social letters in English in general, Kenyan Social letters written by students to friends are included. The Business letters from Kenya and Tanzania mostly comprise 200 words, but these texts were combined into approximately 2,000 word files. Legal writing consists of handwritten legal presentations (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:8).

The printed written registers in ICE-EA were easier to obtain. Academic writing from humanities and social sciences, as well as Academic writing on natural science, trade and agriculture were sourced from academic articles and monographs (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:8-9). Popular writing has an informational focus in ICE-EA and is mainly found in newspapers, since there are few popular magazines in Kenya. Topics such as health and disease were seldom covered in newspapers, so Hudson-Ettle and Schmied (1999:9) added a 'general' category with additional texts from the humanities, social science and technology. Press news reports are different from Popular writing, because the former register concerns the reporting of events (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:9). Instructional writing in ICE-EA consists only of administrative or regulatory texts (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:9). Press editorials contain traditional editorials as well as personal columns. The latter form an important feature of East African society where popular writers have a regular column written in a humorous but critical manner. These texts often have African proverbs or sentences written in African languages (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:10).

The final register to be discussed is Fiction, which consists of novels and short stories. It should be noted that light reading in English is available to Kenyans, but there are no English novels by Tanzanians. Therefore, short stories by aspiring writers published in the Tanzanian press were included and "the quality of creative achievement… is mostly not as high" as the established Kenyan writers (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:10). Appendix A lists the 22 registers, the number of texts for each register and the abbreviations used in the subsequent graphs.

3.2.2 Research instruments

Three research instruments will be discussed: the CLAWS part-of-speech tagger, WordSmith Tools 4.0 and the MySQL database.

3.2.2.1 CLAWS part-of-speech tagger

A part-of-speech (POS) tagger assigns a grammatical 'tag' for each word in a corpus. Automatic POS tagging is a more consistent and efficient method of assigning word classes than manually tagging a corpus (Van Rooy & Schäfer, 2002:325). Automatic tagging is an integral part of efficient corpus-based studies, because even though some errors will need to be corrected manually by the researcher, the tagged

corpus facilitates data analysis beyond the level of specific words. An example of East African English tagged with the Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System, better known as CLAWS7, is given below. Table 2 lists all the tags used in the example. The complete list of tags is available on the Lancaster University webpage[13].

23) As_CSA we_PPIS2 approached_VVD the_AT town_NN1 ,_, fears_NN2 of_IO being_VBG seen_VVN with_IW a_AT1 sugar_NN1 mummy_NN1 assailed_VVD me_PPIO1 ._. <W2F004K>

Table 2: Example of CLAWS7 tag set

CSA	as (as conjunction)
PPIS2	first person plural subjective personal pronoun (we)
VVD	past tense of lexical verb (e.g. gave, worked)
AT	article (e.g. the, no)
NN1	singular common noun (e.g. book, girl)
NN2	plural common noun (e.g. books, girls)
IO	of (as preposition)
VBG	being
VVN	past participle of lexical verb (e.g. given, worked)
IW	with, without (as prepositions)
AT1	singular article (e.g. a, an, every)
PPIO1	1st person sing. objective personal pronoun (me)

A POS tagger uses word lists to assign tags to unambiguous words such as the definite article (Biber, Conrad & Reppen, 2006:261). Ambiguous words such as *book*, which can be a noun or a verb, are tagged using probabilistic information or a rule-based component (Biber *et al.*, 2006:261). Garside and Smith (1997:102) note that CLAWS is a hybrid tagger that combines probabilistic and rule-based elements. Probabilistic tagging is useful, because the information is based on previously tagged corpora which allows the tagger to determine how likely it is that a specific word (or sequence of words) is part of one grammatical class or another (Biber *et al.*, 2006:261). The rule-based component in CLAWS is used to identify syntactic structures such as *in order that* as a single token (Garside & Smith, 1997:107). As Garside and Smith (1997:107) note, the rule-based component plays an important role in disambiguation.

CLAWS is a reliable tool and was used to tag the 100 million word British National Corpus (Garside & Smith, 1997:120). The CLAWS7 tag set has 135 tags and was developed to handle large amounts of data, which allows for more fine-grained analysis than the CLAWS5 tag set (61 tags) applied to the British National Corpus (Xiao, 2009:424). In the dissertation, part-of-speech tagging was done with CLAWS7. CLAWS was chosen, since a study by Van Rooy and Schäfer (2003) showed that an older

[13] http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws/

version of the tagger had an accuracy of more than 96% on the Tswana Learner English corpus. This indicates that CLAWS is robust enough to handle non-native varieties of English.

3.2.2.2 WordSmith Tools

WordSmith Tools 4.0, developed by Scott (1996, 2004, 2008), was the principal tool used to extract and analyse the data. The software is commonly used for corpus-based analysis that does not require any programming skills from the researcher. Numerous studies have used WordSmith and recent, relevant examples include Xiao (2009) and Van Rooy *et al.* (2010). The concordancer in WordSmith allows the researcher to analyse a word or phrase in context. I analysed the data using version 4 of the program. WordSmith allows the researcher to sort the files according to their file names, according to their tags, or according to the word to the left, or for example, five words to the right, of the search word or tag.

3.2.2.3 MySQL database

MySQL[14] is an open-source database system that helps the user to organise information and provides tools to access information quickly and efficiently (Vaswani, 2004:3-4). A database is defined as a collection of data organised and classified according to specific criteria (Vaswani, 2004:3). MySQL is a 'Relational Database Management System' or RDBMS that works on the following principle: data are loaded onto tables in the database. The RDBMS then allows the researcher to extract the relationships among the tables and to combine the data from different tables in different ways. In other words, MySQL can be used to analyse data from different perspectives (Vaswani, 2004:5). In the dissertation, MySQL was used to make frequency tables for each of the linguistic features per text.

3.2.3 Analysis procedure

Biber *et al.*'s (1999:35) analytical techniques were influenced by three main considerations. Firstly, the analyses needed to be based on a representative sample of English usage across registers. In my case, the ICE-EA corpus is the most representative sample of East African English available.

Secondly, Biber's team used automatic and semi-automatic extraction techniques as far as possible. Compared to the *LGSWE*, my dissertation relied far less on automatic techniques. I used WordSmith Tools for the most part and this means that many analyses were done semi-automatically, which entailed a hefty amount of concordance-checking.

According to Biber *et al.* (1999:35), the third consideration is closely related to the second: the need to complete an individual analysis in a timely and efficient manner, so that no single investigation becomes

[14] Structured Query Language (SQL) is the syntax used in the MySQL database. 'Syntax' is used in the computer programming sense in this case.

a book on its own. For my part, I undertook not to write a hundred pages on the use of first person versus second person pronouns in narrative. However, the specialised focus on narrativity and the size of the ICE-EA corpus allowed me to analyse a smaller group of features in more detail than typical multi-dimensional analyses such as Van Rooy *et al.* (2010).

3.3 Extracting the four groups of features from ICE-EA

Table 1 in Chapter 2 lists the narrativity features. The features are grouped under Agency, Causation, Contextualisation and Evaluation. Section 3.3 is a discussion of each of these features.

3.3.1 Extracting Agency features

As the discussion in Chapter 2 showed, narratives are agent-oriented. Five Agency features were extracted from ICE-EA: proper nouns for persons, first person pronouns, second person pronouns, third person pronouns and activity verbs.

3.3.1.1 Proper nouns for persons

Proper nouns for persons represent human agents. Agency is central to narrativity, but to identify all the nouns in ICE-EA as human or not and as an agent or a patient is beyond the scope of the dissertation. Therefore, I chose proper nouns for persons as a sample group for all the human nouns. In other words, proper nouns for persons can be regarded as an indicator of the way common human nouns function in the corpus.

The following CLAWS tags were extracted from the corpus: FU (Unclassified word), FW (Foreign word), NNB (Noun of title, e.g. Mrs, Dr), NP1 (Singular proper noun, e.g. Allan, London, Smith, Kenya) and NP2 (Plural proper noun, e.g. Browns, Reagans, Koreas). By extracting these tags, all the proper nouns for persons in ICE-EA were included. To intercept all the possible proper nouns for persons, the words CLAWS could not classify, as well as 'foreign' words were checked manually. This was done to capture the many lexemes that CLAWS, originally developed for L1 English, could not tag. The nouns of title always refer to proper nouns for persons, but singular proper nouns and plural proper nouns included many place names that had to be deleted by hand.

There were approximately 44,000 concordances for these tags, which meant that I had to do extensive manual work to delete incorrect instances[15]. In some cases, the semantic classification as a proper noun

[15] 'Incorrect' in the context of Chapter 3 means (a) the CLAWS POS tagger misclassified a word, e.g. the verb *book* is classified erroneously as a noun, or (b) the concordance line is not an instance of the linguistic feature under

for a person depended on detailed semantic clues. For example, East African place names and person names had to be distinguished based on the context in the concordance line, or in the text file itself.

The first step was to delete obvious place names like Nairobi, India, New York, or Johannesburg. Secondly, nouns for persons at the end of sentences were deleted, because these nouns were not the agents. This of course means that passive sentences where the agent is in the final position were excluded from the search. By including only agents in the active position, the narrativity model is expanded to include syntactic criteria. The model is therefore more refined than previous studies such as Biber (1988) and Van Rooy *et al.* (2010). The fine-grained, syntactic level of analysis in the present study lends itself to a more nuanced view of narrativity than previously possible. To illustrate, in Example 24 the agent *Hancox* was identified due to the sentence-initial position of the agent in the active voice. Example 25 is not from ICE-EA, but it serves to illustrate why agents in the passive voice were not included.

24) **Hancox**_NP1 reversed_VVD the_AT sale_NN1 <W2E017K>
25) The sale was reversed by **Hancox**.*

Human agents in the passive voice were excluded, because passives were deemed peripheral to narratives. One of the reasons for the exclusion of proper nouns for persons in the object position is that many of the foreign and unclassified words proved difficult to classify as a person, thing or place. However, in the subject position in an active sentence, it is easier to correctly classify a proper name. This *a priori* decision might be disputed, but it must be kept in mind that I did not use sampling procedures or automatic extraction for this feature, so although some human agents were 'left out', many were included that would have been discarded if I relied on automatic techniques. For example, all the instances of *President NNB Moi FW* would have been mistagged or overseen. The passive voice is most common in academic prose (Biber *et al.*, 1999:477). Furthermore, one of the major functions of the passive voice is *to demote the agent of the verb* and give topic status to the patient (Biber *et al.*, 1999:477). Proper nouns for persons in the passive voice were excluded, because the aim was to identify agents or 'doers' in narrative.

The aim was to count only the proper names for persons that are human agents. Therefore, I searched for the proper name tags, unclassified word tags and foreign word tags followed by an optional adverb and a verb. The grammatical pattern FU/FW/N* + (adverb) + verb was searched. The grammatical pattern N* + PNQS + verb phrase was searched, because the subjective *wh*-pronoun *who* also indicated Agency. I counted only the last noun before a verb, because two following noun tags mostly referred to one person. For example *Aunt NNB Susan NP1* was not counted twice.

Example 26 from ICE-EA has the proper name *Fundikira* that functions as a human agent. In many cases, the foreign proper names for places had to be examined based on the meaning evoked in the sentence as a whole, because I did not recognise the place names for what they are. The inclusion of the

investigation. For example, I searched for proper nouns for persons, so I had to manually delete all place names, because it is *incorrect* to include them.

semantic classification 'proper nouns for persons' is an improvement on Biber's (1988) lexico-grammatical study of register differentiation.

26) **Fundikira**_NP1 said_VVD that_CST when_CS the_AT country_NN1 had_VHD opposition_NN1 parties_NN2 in_II the_AT 60_MC 's_GE many_DA2 people_NN were_VBDR detained_VVN for_IF standing_VVG up_RP against_II TANU_NP1 <W2C001T>

After deletion, there were 5,911 instances of proper nouns that function as human agents in ICE-EA.

3.3.1.2 First Person pronouns

The features *I, me, mine, we, us, our, ours, myself* and *ourselves* were included. The list of first person pronouns is from Biber *et al.* (1999:328). As in Biber (1988:225), contracted forms were included for all the pronoun features, but unlike Biber's 1988 study, the possessive pronouns *mine* and *ours* were included. Whereas the aim was to include only proper nouns who act as agents in Section 3.3.1, all the pronouns in Sections 3.3.1.2-4 were included to analyse objects in ICE-EA without subsequent manual work. The interplay between subjects and objects is an integral part of narration – the interaction between people and the manner in which they refer to one another by means of pronominal referencing are thus included in the dissertation.

First person pronouns were extracted using the following CLAWS tags: PPIO1 (first person singular objective personal pronoun, i.e. *me*); PPIO2 (first person plural objective personal pronoun, i.e. *us*); PPIS1 (first person singular subjective personal pronoun, i.e. *I*); PPIS2 (first person plural subjective personal pronoun, i.e. *we*). These tags required no editing, because they only refer to first person pronouns. However, the next group of tags was manually edited to delete all the second and third person pronouns: APPGE (all possessive pronouns such as *my, your, our* etc.); PPGE (all nominal possessive personal pronouns, e.g. *mine, yours, his* etc.); PPX1 (singular reflexive personal pronouns, e.g. *myself, yourself, herself* etc.); PPX2 (plural reflexive personal pronouns, e.g. *ourselves, themselves, yourselves*). There were a total of 30,902 first person pronouns in ICE-EA.

3.3.1.3 Second person pronouns

The second person pronoun forms *you, yours, yourself* and *yourselves* were included (Biber, 1999:328). In the dissertation, the same method was followed for all the pronouns, as set out in reference to first person pronouns above. The tag PPY (second person pronouns, *you*) was extracted and was not checked. The tags APPGE, PPGE, PPX1 and PPX2 were extracted and checked to delete first person pronouns and third person pronouns. There were 14,066 second person pronouns in ICE-EA.

3.3.1.4 Third person pronouns

The following features were included: *she, he, they, her, hers, him, them, his, their, theirs, himself, herself* and *themselves* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:328). As in Biber (1988:225), the pronoun *it* was not included. The pronoun *it* usually refers to non-humans (except when a baby is referred to as *it*) and was therefore omitted from the dissertation.

The following tags were extracted automatically: PPHO1 (third person singular objective pronouns, *him* and *her*); PPHO2 (third person plural objective pronouns, *them*); PPHS1 (third person singular subjective personal pronouns, *she* and *he*); PPHS2 (third person plural subjective personal pronouns, *them*). The following tags were checked manually to delete first and second person pronouns: APPGE, PPGE, PPX1 and PPX2. A total of 31,271 third person pronouns occurred in ICE-EA.

3.3.1.5 Activity verbs

The 49 most common activity verbs in the LGSWE were included in the dissertation, namely make, get, go, give, take, come, use, leave, show, try, buy, work, move, follow, put, pay, bring, meet, play, run, hold, turn, send, sit, wait, walk, carry, lose, eat, watch, reach, add, produce, provide, pick, wear, open, win, catch, pass, shake, smile, stare, sell, spend, apply, form, obtain and reduce (Biber et al., 1999:367).

A text file with the variants of the verbs was made; e.g. *mov** was used to extract *move/moves/moved/moving*. 'Variants' refers to the word forms of the lexeme such as *go/goes/went/gone*. In order to extract all these variants, I compiled a text file with forms such as *sit**. The wildcard* symbol allowed WordSmith to disregard the ending of the word. WordSmith thus extracted all the causative verb forms such as *sit, sits* and *sat,* but also words such as the noun *sitting*, e.g. "Dinner will be served in two sittings."

Irregular verbs such as *go* and *take* were also extracted using advanced search settings in WordSmith. Only the words with a verb tag to the right were extracted. The grammatical pattern verb (e.g. *goes*) + R1 V* tag was extracted. This ensured that only verbs were extracted, instead of nouns like *provider* or any other POS categories. Next, I manually deleted verbs like *complete* or *start* that were included due to the search strings *com** and *star**, but were not on Biber's list of frequent activity verbs. No distinction was made between past and present tense or aspect for this feature, because the aim was to form a picture of the distribution of activity verbs across registers. There were 31,557 activity verbs in ICE-EA.

3.3.2 Extracting Causation features

The causative verbs were not analysed into subclassifications, since the aim was only to identify texts or registers that use Causation to a greater or lesser extent.

3.3.2.1 Causative verbs

Causative verbs are a lexical resource. Fourteen of the most common causative verbs in the *LGSWE* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:363, 370) formed part of the present study: *affect, allow, assist, cause, enable, ensure, force, guarantee, help, influence, let, permit, prevent* and *require*. The causative verbs and their variants were extracted using WordSmith Tools. Next, I sorted the words right (R1) of the context word in WordSmith. This means that all the POS tags were sorted according to their type, e.g. all the N* tags or V* tags were listed together. This enabled me to delete all the forms such as *requirements* or *letters* that were not verbs. A few tagging errors were detected where causative verbs were wrongly tagged as nouns or adjectives and these forms were included in the final counts. In other words, the manual inspection of the concordances yielded more accurate results than simple automatic extraction would have made possible. A total of 4,254 causative verbs occurred in ICE-EA.

3.3.2.2 Causative prepositional verbs

The following causative prepositional verbs were analysed: *lead to* + noun phrase, *come from* + noun phrase, *result in* + noun phrase, *contribute to* + noun phrase, *call for* + noun phrase and *allow for* + noun phrase. The list is from Biber *et al.* (1999:415). These strings were extracted from the untagged corpus and checked manually to determine if the causative prepositional verbs were followed by noun phrases. There were 288 instances of causative prepositional verbs in ICE-EA.

3.3.2.3 Causative subordinator

Because is the only subordinator that functions unambiguously as a causative adverbial (Biber, 1988:236). Therefore, extracting this lexical resource for the expression of causation was simple. The causative subordinator *because* and the variant *'cause* were extracted using the CS tag. There were 2,736 instances of *because* and 37 of *'cause* in ICE-EA.

3.3.2.4 Non-finite causative clauses

Non-finite causative clauses are a grammatical resource for expressing Causation. Two patterns of non-finite causative clauses were analysed. Causative verbs that were already mentioned were not searched for these patterns. Pattern 1 consists of the verb + *to*-clause. The verbs that frequently follow this pattern in the *LGSWE* are *get, afford, arrange, deserve* and *vote*. Pattern 2 consists of a verb + noun phrase + *to*-clause, or *be* + the past participle of the verb + *to*-clause. Verbs in the *LGSWE* that follow Pattern 2 are *appoint, authorise, compel, counsel, defy, drive, elect, encourage, entitle, forbid, inspire, lead, leave, be made, oblige, order, persuade, prompt, raise, summon* and *tempt* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:703-704).

First, I made a text file with all the verbs and their variants, e.g. *get*, got** etc. The verbs from the CLAWS tagged corpus were extracted using WordSmith. Pattern 1 was searched by sorting one right and

looking for the II or TO tags for the word *to*. There were 186 instances of Pattern 1 in ICE-EA. Pattern 2 was identified using two steps. Step 1 comprised sorting L1 (one left), or in the case of negatives L2 (two left), so that all the VB* tags (the forms of the verb *be*) + the past participle of the verb + *to*-clause could be identified. Step 2 involved searching R4 (four right) for noun phrases followed by *to*-clauses. There were 524 instances of Pattern 2 in ICE-EA.

3.3.3 Extracting Contextualisation features

3.3.3.1 Time adverbials

The following time adverbials were extracted: now, then, again, always, still, today, never, ago, ever, yesterday, already, sometimes, later, often, usually, afterwards, earlier, early, eventually, immediately, initially, instantly, late, lately, nowadays, once, originally, presently, previously, recently, shortly, simultaneously, soon, subsequently, tomorrow and tonight (Biber et al., 1999:561; Biber, 1988:224). Since time adverbials are lexical resources that are unambiguous (they always refer to time), no further analyses were done. There were 12,144 instances of time adverbials in ICE-EA.

3.3.3.2 Place adverbials

A combination of 40 place adverbials from Biber (1988:224) and Biber et al. (1999:561) were extracted using WordSmith: here, there, away, aboard, above, abroad, across, ahead, alongside, around, ashore, astern, behind, below, beneath, beside, downhill, downstairs, downstream, far, hereabouts, indoors, inland, inshore, inside, locally, near, nearly, nowhere, outside, outdoors, overboard, overland, overseas, underfoot, underground, underneath, uphill, upstairs and upstream. However, the following place adverbials in the list never occurred in ICE-EA: underfoot, astern, ashore, downhill, hereabouts, inshore and overboard.

Following Biber's (1988:224) methodology, words with other major functions such as *in* or *on* were excluded from the list. Existential *there* was deleted by sorting R1 and deleting all EX tags (existential *there)*, as well as manually deleting the grammatical pattern *there* + forms of *be* (Biber, 1988:229). Next, I sorted one right (R1) to delete all the cases where the context word was correctly tagged as an adjective, rather than an adverbial, e.g. ***early*** *career* or ***overseas*** *trip*. All the fixed expressions that do not refer to a place or location were deleted, e.g. *above all, the above-mentioned, so far* (where it refers to time) etc.

Contrary to the Biberian method (Biber, 1988; Biber *et al.*, 1999), I manually analysed all the concordances to delete all the cases where the place adverbial does not refer to an actual location. In other words, the term *place adverbial* was taken literally. This was done to include solely the cases where there is a reference to a location, which meant that adverbials such as ***about*** *two hours* or ***about*** *5 kilometres long* were deleted. The result of this semantic analysis and extensive manual work yielded 3,598 place adverbials in ICE-EA.

3.3.3.3 Present tense

The following CLAWS tags were extracted: VBM (*am*), VBR (*are*), VBZ (*is*), VD0 (*do* base form, finite), VDG (*doing*), VD1 (*do* infinitive), VDZ (*does*), VH0 (*have* base form, finite), VHZ (*has*), VV0 (base form of lexical verb) and VVZ (-s form of lexical verb, e.g. *sings, works*).

First, I deleted the verbs in the infinitive by searching for the grammatical pattern *to* (TO or II tag) + (optional adverb R* tag) + V* in context (e.g. *to TO gladly RR work VV0*). The TO and II tags were searched in the two left (L2) or four left (L4) positions. Next, the modals (VM and VMK tags) in L2 position followed by a present tense verb were deleted. The third step comprised analysing *do* and *have* to determine if they were main verbs, because there were tagging errors where they were classified as present tense verbs.

The fourth step was the elimination of perfect aspect forms. Aspectual forms were deleted, because the dissertation focused on simple or unmarked present and past tenses (Biber *et al.*, 1999:453). Labov and Waletzky (2003 [1967]) claim that the simple present and past tenses form the core of narratives, therefore aspectual or progressive forms were not analysed in the dissertation. The exclusion of these forms might have a detrimental effect on the scores for past and present tense verbs, but any negative effect is cancelled out due to the fact that the present and past tense verbs were analysed in the same manner. In other words, the elimination of aspectual and progressive forms was consistently applied in both the present and past tense concordances.

The forms *has* and *have* were checked to eliminate perfect aspect forms. The next step involved deleting the progressive aspect: *be* + (optional adverb RR) + *-ing* form of verb (VVG, VVGK, VDG or VBG tags). The verbs in the passive voice were also deleted. The passive voice follows the grammatical pattern *be* + *-ed* participle in the two right (R2) or four words to the right (R4) position. All other invalid forms and tagging errors were also eliminated. In total, there were 60,089 present tense verbs in ICE-EA.

3.3.3.4 Past tense

The following past tense tags were extracted: VBDR (*were*); VBDZ (*was*); VDD (*did*); VHD (*had*); and VVD (past tense of lexical verb). A distinction was made between past tense forms and past participle forms and the latter were deleted. Past participle forms occur in the perfect aspect, participial clauses and passives. As mentioned in Section 3.3.3.3, the dissertation focused on simple or unmarked tenses that do not have a marking for aspect and voice (Biber *et al.*, 1999:453) and perfect aspect was counted as a separate linguistic feature in the next section.

The progressive aspect follows the grammatical pattern *be* + (optional adverbial) + *-ing* participle. Firstly, the past tense forms *was* and *were* + (optional adverbial) + *-ing* participles were deleted by searching for the VVG and VVGK tags in the R2 and R4 positions. The *-ing* participle occurred in the R2 position if there was no intervening adverbial and in the R4 position if there was an adverbial. Secondly, the perfect aspect consists of the grammatical pattern *have/had* + *-ed* participle. The *-ed* participle has the

VVN tag. The perfect aspect was deleted following the procedure explained above for the progressive aspect.

Thirdly, all the concordances where *be, have* and *do* did not function as main verbs were deleted. Fourthly, cases where words were wrongly tagged as verbs (e.g. *the accused*) were also deleted. All in all, a total of 29, 525 past tense verbs occurred in the corpus.

3.3.3.5 Perfect aspect

The tags VHN (*had* past participle), VHD (*had* past tense), VH0 (*have* base form, finite) and VH1 (*have*, infinitive), and VHZ (*has*) were extracted[16]. Manual work was done to delete *have* as a main verb. Two grammatical patterns were included: firstly, *have* + (optional adverb/s) + past participle; and secondly, have + noun/pronoun + past participle. The second pattern occurs when the perfect aspect is used in questions (Biber, 1988:223). A total of 11,949 perfect aspect forms were extracted.

3.3.4 Extracting Evaluation features

3.3.4.1 Evaluative adjectives

I extracted thirteen of the most common evaluative adjectives in the *LGSWE: good, young, best, short, bad, right, nice, important, special, bright, hot, cold* and *empty* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:511-512). After extraction, manual work was done to eliminate fixed expressions like *all right*, tagging errors like ***short**-tempered* and other tagging errors where nouns were wrongly classified as adjectives. There were 4,061 evaluative adjectives in ICE-EA.

3.3.4.2 Modals and semi-modals

Three groups of modals and semi-modals that express Evaluation were extracted: firstly, the possibility/permission/ability modals (*can, could, may, might*); secondly, the logical necessity/obligation modals (*must, should*) and the logical necessity/obligation semi-modals (*have to, got to* and *ought to*); and thirdly, the prediction/volition modals (*will, would, shall*) and the prediction/volition semi-modal (*be going to*). Tagging errors were deleted and the total for all three groups of modals and semi-modals in ICE-EA was 20,591 instances.

3.3.4.3 Epistemic stance adverbials

Three groups of epistemic stance adverbials analysed in Conrad and Biber (2001:64) were analysed. The first group comprised doubt/certainty adverbials, namely *certainly, definitely, I guess, I think, maybe,*

[16] The concordance files from Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) were used for perfect aspect. The perfect aspect forms were not re-analysed for the dissertation.

most likely, no doubt, of course, perhaps, probably, surely, truly and *undoubtedly*. The second group was the actuality stance adverbials *actually* and *in fact*. The third group consisted of the imprecision stance adverbials *kind of* and *sort of*. The epistemic stance adverbials that were analysed in the dissertation were selected from the list of frequent stance adverbials in Conrad and Biber (2001:64). All the epistemic stance adverbials were extracted from the untagged corpus, because it was easier to check the concordances in the untagged corpus. The reason is that the CLAWS had some difficulty accurately tagging adverbials such as *of course* and *no doubt*. There were a total of 3,823 epistemic stance adverbials that express Evaluation in ICE-EA.

3.3.4.4 Emotional stance verb feel

In Appraisal Theory, Martin (2003, 2004) mentions that Affect construes the emotions and attitudes of the writer or speaker. Affect is typically construed as "I feel (very) X" (Martin, 2003:173). In the present study, the following grammatical frame was used to search for the emotional stance verb *feel* in ICE-EA: subject + *feel* + (optional adverbial) + X. All the concordances with *feel*/felt* were extracted. All the nouns in the R1 position were deleted when *feeling* functioned as a noun. There were 508 instances of emotional stance verbs in ICE-EA.

3.4 From WordSmith concordance files to a master sheet

After the analyses were done, the data were still in a raw and uninterpretable format. This section describes the process of compiling a master sheet with all the data for the narrativity model.

The first step was to save the WordSmith concordance files as Excel files. For every feature in the dissertation, the Excel files with the frequencies of the occurrences of a particular feature were saved. The second step was to load the Excel files into an electronic database with the help of a MySQL expert[17]. In MySQL, I made separate tables for each of the linguistic features in the dissertation and loaded the data, i.e. the frequencies of the linguistic features, as well as additional information such as the type of modality. The third step was to run queries to extract the frequency data. This was done to determine how many times a specific linguistic feature occurred in a specific text. In other words, using the file names, I could extract the frequency for each feature. The fourth step involved extracting a 'master sheet' which is a table listing all the texts in ICE-EA, together with rows for each linguistic feature. The rows of linguistic features contain the frequencies for each text[18].

[17] The MySQL expert I consulted was Piet Terblanche, my father, an experienced computer programmer at the CSIR. He helped me to formulate the queries, so I did not have to master the syntax of MySQL. I used these queries to load the data and to extract it.

[18] The master sheet is not included in the dissertation due to its size – it is an Excel document of 231 pages.

The frequencies in the master sheet needed to be normalised per 1,000 words in order to compensate for differing text lengths (Biber, 1988:94). After the scores from ICE-EA were normalised, the frequencies were standardised to a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 for each feature so that values of features are comparable, and the different features are translated into a single scale.

The standardisation was done as follows: first, the standard deviation was computed in Excel using the STDEVP function. Secondly, the following formula was used to standardise the data:

$$Z = \frac{x - \mu}{\sigma}$$

The formula can be explained as follows: the standardised score (Z) is equated by subtracting the mean of the population (μ) from the raw score for a feature (x) and dividing it by the standard deviation of the population (σ).

Each feature was standardised according to its own mean and standard deviation. Therefore, after standardisation, the values of the features can be compared, because the same scale is used. As the Statistica website (Statsoft, 2010) explains, standardisation ensures that all the values (regardless of their distributions and original units of measurement) are expressed as comparable units from a distribution with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. This means that standardised scores can be used to compare values across variables (in this case linguistic features). The resulting master sheet with standardised scores was used for further data-mining as described in the next section.

3.5 From a master sheet to a functional interpretation of the narrativity model

The average standardised score for each linguistic feature was computed per register. This gives an indication of the frequencies of the various features. Next, these average standardised scores for the features per register were combined into one table. In order to measure narrativity, the core narrativity features were used to compute the score for each register. The core narrativity features are past tense verbs, third person pronouns, proper nouns for persons, activity verbs, place adverbials, perfect aspect, emotional stance verb *feel*, time adverbials, first person pronouns, evaluative adjectives and non-finite causative clauses. The reason why these features were chosen as core narrativity features will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

In other words, the total score per register was computed by adding the standardised scores for all the core narrativity features per register. For example, the score for Fiction was computed as follows: 2.53 (past tense verbs) + 2.40 (third person pronouns) + 1.37 (proper nouns for persons) + 1.22 (activity verbs) + 0.92 (place adverbials) + 0.90 (perfect aspect) + 0.82 (emotional stance verb *feel*) + 0.78 (time adverbials) + 0.62 (first person pronouns) + 0.22 (evaluative adjectives) + 0.11 (non-finite causative clauses) = 11.89. The resulting total score per register was used to determine which registers have a narrative focus.

3.6 Closing remarks for Chapter 3

The present chapter gave an overview of the research design and limitations of the method. Chapter 3 focused on a description of the methodology that was followed to analyse the 18 linguistic features of the narrativity model. The corpus-based method using the part-of-speech tagged version of ICE-EA and WordSmith concordances was described. The statistics behind standardisation and normalisation were also discussed. The next chapter presents the results and discussion.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Narrativity is regarded as a MEANS towards an END in the dissertation. This argument has been raised in Chapters 1 and 2, but will be discussed in more detail in the present chapter. The MEANS are the core narrativity features of the narrativity model and the END or purpose is to understand and make sense of experiences. In other words, narration is used to facilitate understanding.[19] Narratives are considered a basic text type by Longacre (1976), Biber (1989) and Virtanen (1992) and the results in Chapter 4 confirm this hypothesis. Narrativity emerges as a functional, gradient phenomenon that can diffuse amongst registers, texts, or sections of texts that do not primarily focus on telling a story.

Example 27 is from East African English Academic writing. The specific text looks at the oral artists and gender issues and the primary objectives of the article as a whole are to present information and present an argument. The first paragraph is characteristic of Academic writing and is from the introduction of the article. However, the second paragraph primarily uses narration to describe the plot of a novel. Therefore, many of the core narrativity features occur frequently in the extract, even though the rest of the article does not have a narrative focus. **Proper nouns for persons,** an **activity verb** and **third person pronouns** are in bold; the ***emotional stance verb feel*** is marked:

> 27) This chapter revisits the discussion of the oral artist for it is a discussion that we have generally tended to ignore or brush aside. It is my view that this attitude is a reflection of the scholar's attitude towards Oral Literature as a subject and its creators who are not members of the elite. It is, in my view, also a demonstration of the influence of the traditional approaches to the study of the subject and our acceptance of those theories despite our verbal dismissal of them <…>
>
> **Kathanyi** and **Mucumi** is the traditional cruel step-mother motif. **Kathanyi** is the young man who has no mother and **Mucumi** is the step brother. The two are in conflict with each other because **Mucumi *feels*** that **his** father favours **Kathanyi**. **He** therefore plots to have **Kathanyi** killed so that **he** can inherit all the property. **Karindongo**, however, releases **Kathanyi** from the trap and therefore the young man escapes. When the father learns of the plot, **he** gives **his** property to **Kathanyi** and **he** also **pays** dowry for **him** so that **he** can get married. <W2A001K>

As the example illustrates, a text can make use of the core narrativity features as a MEANS towards an END: narration is used to explain the plot or make sense of fictional experiences, so that the author's argument becomes clear. Nonetheless, text W2A001K has an overall primary focus on information presentation and scientific exposition. In other words, narrativity is a secondary objective in this specific text as a whole.

Chapter 4 has the following structure: Section 4.1 presents the results for the standardised scores. The standardised scores are used to interpret the data and are presented first. Next, Section 4.2 distinguishes between core and peripheral narrativity features. Section 4.3 looks at the ICE-EA registers with a narrative focus. The subsequent sections look at registers with other foci and the grouping of features

[19] Narratives can facilitate understanding in a humorous or entertaining fashion.

according to text types. In Section 4.8, the narrativity model is compared to Biber's (1988) narrative dimension in his multi-dimensional analysis of native speaker English and Section 4.9 looks at the sociolinguistic implications of the results. The final section has concluding remarks for the chapter.

4.1 Results

Table 3: Average standardised scores (1)

Features	Academic writing	Broadcast discussion	Broadcast interviews	Broadcast news	Broadcast talks	Business letters
Past tense verbs	-0.45	-0.76	-0.37	0.75	-0.29	-0.71
Third person pronouns	-0.38	-0.18	0.18	-0.10	0.02	-0.82
Proper nouns for persons	-0.32	-0.43	-0.40	1.67	0.05	-0.41
Activity verbs	-0.64	0.28	0.45	-0.60	-0.10	-0.49
Place adverbials	-0.42	0.16	0.40	-0.28	-0.20	-0.47
Perfect aspect	-0.36	-0.21	0.01	0.87	-0.13	-0.32
Emotional stance verb *feel*	-0.25	0.00	0.21	-0.34	-0.06	-0.07
Time adverbials	-0.59	0.38	0.58	0.24	0.00	-0.51
First person pronouns	-0.86	0.38	0.30	-0.97	-0.31	0.42
Evaluative adjectives	-0.27	0.09	0.18	-0.56	0.03	0.09
Non-finite causative clauses	-0.17	-0.12	0.08	0.00	-0.14	0.05
Second person pronouns	-0.77	0.37	0.13	-0.74	-0.26	0.89
Modals and semi-modals	-0.51	0.79	0.18	-0.71	-0.03	0.23
Causative subordinator *because*	-0.22	1.39	0.93	-0.51	0.07	-0.59
Epistemic stance adverbials	-0.39	2.05	1.26	-0.59	-0.02	-0.49
Causative verbs	-0.16	-0.16	-0.04	-0.19	-0.11	0.39
Causative prepositional verbs	0.35	0.12	0.01	-0.04	0.13	-0.32
Present tense verbs	-0.21	1.20	0.89	-1.27	0.30	-0.27
Sum for all features	-6.62	5.35	4.98	-3.37	-1.05	-3.40

Table 4: Average standardised scores (2)

Features	Classroom lessons	Face-to-face	Fiction	Hansards	Instruct-ional	Oral narratives
Past tense verbs	0.06	0.26	2.53	-0.42	-0.72	0.86
Third person pronouns	0.46	1.14	2.4	-0.19	-0.74	1.19
Proper nouns for persons	-0.27	-0.12	1.37	-0.05	-0.58	-0.64
Activity verbs	0.49	0.88	1.22	0.08	-0.06	0.64
Place adverbials	0.71	1.06	0.92	0.13	-0.43	0.86
Perfect aspect	-0.39	-0.28	0.9	0.50	-0.72	-0.20
Emotional stance verb *feel*	-0.09	0.16	0.82	-0.28	-0.22	0.29
Time adverbials	0.80	1.37	0.78	-0.17	-0.90	1.22
First person pronouns	0.04	0.60	0.62	0.14	-0.89	1.56
Evaluative adjectives	0.02	0.23	0.22	-0.32	0.33	0.21
Non-finite causative clauses	-0.04	-0.20	0.11	0.02	0.14	-0.16
Second person pronouns	0.41	1.47	-0.17	-0.41	0.10	0.70
Modals and semi-modals	0.37	0.13	-0.18	0.42	0.94	0.24
Causative subordinator *because*	0.90	1.26	-0.21	0.40	-0.52	2.58
Epistemic stance adverbials	1.66	1.47	-0.23	0.04	-0.46	2.55
Causative verbs	-0.06	-0.09	-0.25	-0.23	0.42	-0.45
Causative prepositional verbs	-0.03	0.00	-0.29	0.19	0.04	-0.17
Present tense verbs	0.99	2.20	-0.91	0.13	-0.40	1.27
Sum for all features	6.03	11.54	9.65	-0.02	-4.67	12.55

Table 5: Average standardised scores (3)

Features	Legal cross-examination	Legal writing	Parliamentary debate	Popular writing	Press editorials
Past tense verbs	1.87	0.79	-0.64	-0.80	-0.03
Third person pronouns	0.50	0.35	-0.19	-0.35	0.19
Proper nouns for persons	-0.37	-0.53	-0.56	-0.47	-0.03
Activity verbs	1.38	-0.32	0.14	-0.25	-0.09
Place adverbials	0.46	-0.35	0.18	-0.22	-0.02
Perfect aspect	0.16	0.22	0.20	-0.29	0.31
Emotional stance verb *feel*	-0.31	-0.24	0.04	-0.26	-0.11
Time adverbials	-0.19	-0.73	-0.32	-0.10	0.05
First person pronouns	1.48	-0.59	0.06	-0.76	-0.34
Evaluative adjectives	-0.45	-0.59	-0.02	0.15	0.06
Non-finite causative clauses	0.11	0.49	0.03	0.06	0.14
Second person pronouns	-0.63	-0.78	-0.35	-0.69	-0.57
Modals and semi-modals	-0.84	-0.81	0.60	0.03	0.26
Causative subordinator *because*	-0.33	-0.39	1.31	-0.23	0.07
Epistemic stance adverbials	-0.57	-0.20	-0.09	-0.34	0.04
Causative verbs	-0.67	-0.35	0.01	0.22	-0.07
Causative prepositional verbs	-0.10	-0.40	-0.16	-0.02	-0.01
Present tense verbs	-0.53	-0.75	0.21	0.29	-0.06
Sum for all features	0.97	-5.18	0.45	-4.05	-0.21

Table 6: Average standardised scores (4)

Features	Press news reports	School broadcasts	Social letters	Speeches	Student writing
Past tense verbs	0.12	-0.41	0.42	-0.39	-0.30
Third person pronouns	0.21	0.42	-0.11	-0.32	0.14
Proper nouns for persons	0.52	-0.19	-0.30	-0.54	-0.17
Activity verbs	-0.26	0.33	1.12	-0.38	0.03
Place adverbials	-0.14	0.01	1.21	-0.07	-0.30
Perfect aspect	0.04	-0.52	0.56	0.49	-0.65
Emotional stance verb *feel*	-0.25	-0.06	1.19	-0.16	-0.14
Time adverbials	-0.33	0.29	1.36	0.00	-0.69
First person pronouns	-0.78	0.00	2.08	0.01	-0.81
Evaluative adjectives	-0.31	0.59	0.62	0.10	-0.10
Non-finite causative clauses	0.07	0.03	-0.15	-0.04	-0.02
Second person pronouns	-0.73	0.11	1.42	-0.17	-0.74
Modals and semi-modals	-0.30	0.35	0.41	-0.05	0.20
Causative subordinator *because*	-0.27	-0.07	0.11	0.26	0.15
Epistemic stance adverbials	-0.37	0.08	0.33	0.28	-0.41
Causative verbs	-0.30	0.22	-0.03	0.22	0.18
Causative prepositional verbs	-0.03	0.35	-0.06	0.08	0.58
Present tense verbs	-0.50	0.89	1.31	-0.25	0.13
Sum for all features	-3.61	2.42	11.49	-0.93	-2.92

Tables 3-6 presented above are organised per register. In the following sections of Chapter 4, the results will be organised from a more functional perspective. Before I move on to in-depth discussions of register variation in the corpus, it is necessary to distinguish between linguistic features with a narrative focus versus linguistic features that do not seem to model narrativity in East African English.

4.2 Core and peripheral narrativity features

The results per register as presented in Tables 3-6 show that not all the features are frequently used in narratives. Therefore, this section presents a revision of the narrativity model according to core and peripheral narrativity features. This is the first time I distinguish between linguistic features clearly associated with narrative text or registers and features that are not indicative of narrativity in ICE-EA.

The 18 features were chosen to include a wide range of possibly significant features. However, the results in Tables 3-6 indicate that not all the features are associated with narratives. To distinguish between registers with a primary focus on narration and those with other foci, the features with positive scores for Fiction were chosen as indicative of registers or texts with a narrative focus.

Fiction is the basis for comparison because of two reasons: firstly, Fiction is the prototypical narrative register in ICE-EA. Secondly, there is a very clear split between positive and negative scores for this register. More importantly, the split can be interpreted from a functionalist perspective.

The following 11 features have positive scores and are considered central to narratives: past tense verbs, third person pronouns, proper nouns for persons, activity verbs, place adverbials, perfect aspect, emotional stance verb *feel*, time adverbials, first person pronouns, evaluative adjectives and non-finite clauses. Whereas Chapters 2 and 3 group the linguistic features according to Agency, Causation, Contextualisation and Evaluation, the present chapter focuses more on the specific features. However, the major groups are kept in mind.

All of the groups (Agency, Contextualisation, Causation and Evaluation) are represented to some extent, but Causation is under-represented with only one feature from the group included, namely non-finite causative clauses. This begs the question of whether I chose the best features to represent Causation. It does not necessarily imply Causation is unimportant for narrativity in ICE-EA, but further enquiry is beyond the scope of the dissertation. The causative subordinator *because* is relatively frequent in Face-to-face conversations and Oral narratives. The causative subordinator is used for the expression of Causation in spoken East African English registers with a narrative focus, but is not as frequent in written discourse.

Tables 7-10 give the standardised scores for the core narrativity features per register. Appendix B has the normalised scores. These tables represent the standardised scores for the eleven core narrativity features and show the average score per register, which makes it possible to identify registers with a narrative focus. The validity of the model as a whole comes to the fore when the scores for Fiction are regarded. Fiction has the highest score for the core narrativity features and is therefore the most narrative of all the registers, i.e. it is the proto-typical narrative register. Since the model is defined in terms of narrativity, Fiction is per definition the register with the most marked narrative focus. Instructional writing is the East African English register that focuses the least on narration.

Table 7: Register scores for narrativity: High scores

Feature	Fiction	Social letters	Oral narrative	Face-to-face conversation	Legal cross-examination
Past tense verbs	2.53	0.42	0.86	0.26	1.87
Third person pronouns	2.40	-0.11	1.19	1.14	0.50
Proper nouns for persons	1.37	-0.30	-0.64	-0.12	-0.37
Activity verbs	1.22	1.12	0.64	0.88	1.38
Place adverbials	0.92	1.21	0.86	1.06	0.46
Perfect aspect	0.90	0.56	-0.20	-0.28	0.16
Emotional stance verb *feel*	0.82	1.19	0.29	0.16	-0.31
Time adverbials	0.78	1.36	1.22	1.37	-0.19
First person pronouns	0.62	2.08	1.56	0.60	1.48
Evaluative adjectives	0.22	0.62	0.21	0.23	-0.45
Non-finite causative clauses	0.11	-0.15	-0.16	-0.20	0.11
Sum: core narrativity features	11.89	8.00	5.83	5.10	4.64

Table 8: Register scores for narrativity: Medial positive scores

Feature	Classroom lessons	Broadcast interviews	Broadcast news	School broadcasts	Press editorials
Past tense verbs	0.06	-0.37	0.75	-0.41	-0.03
Third person pronouns	0.46	0.18	-0.10	0.42	0.19
Proper nouns for persons	-0.27	-0.40	1.67	-0.19	-0.03
Activity verbs	0.49	0.45	-0.60	0.33	-0.09
Place adverbials	0.71	0.40	-0.28	0.01	-0.02
Perfect aspect	-0.39	0.01	0.87	-0.52	0.31
Emotional stance verb *feel*	-0.09	0.21	-0.34	-0.06	-0.11
Time adverbials	0.8	0.58	0.24	0.29	0.05
First person pronouns	0.04	0.30	-0.97	0.00	-0.34
Evaluative adjectives	0.02	0.18	-0.56	0.59	0.06
Non-finite causative clauses	-0.04	0.08	0.00	0.03	0.14
Sum: core narrativity features	1.79	1.62	0.68	0.49	0.13

Table 9: Register scores for narrativity: Medial negative scores

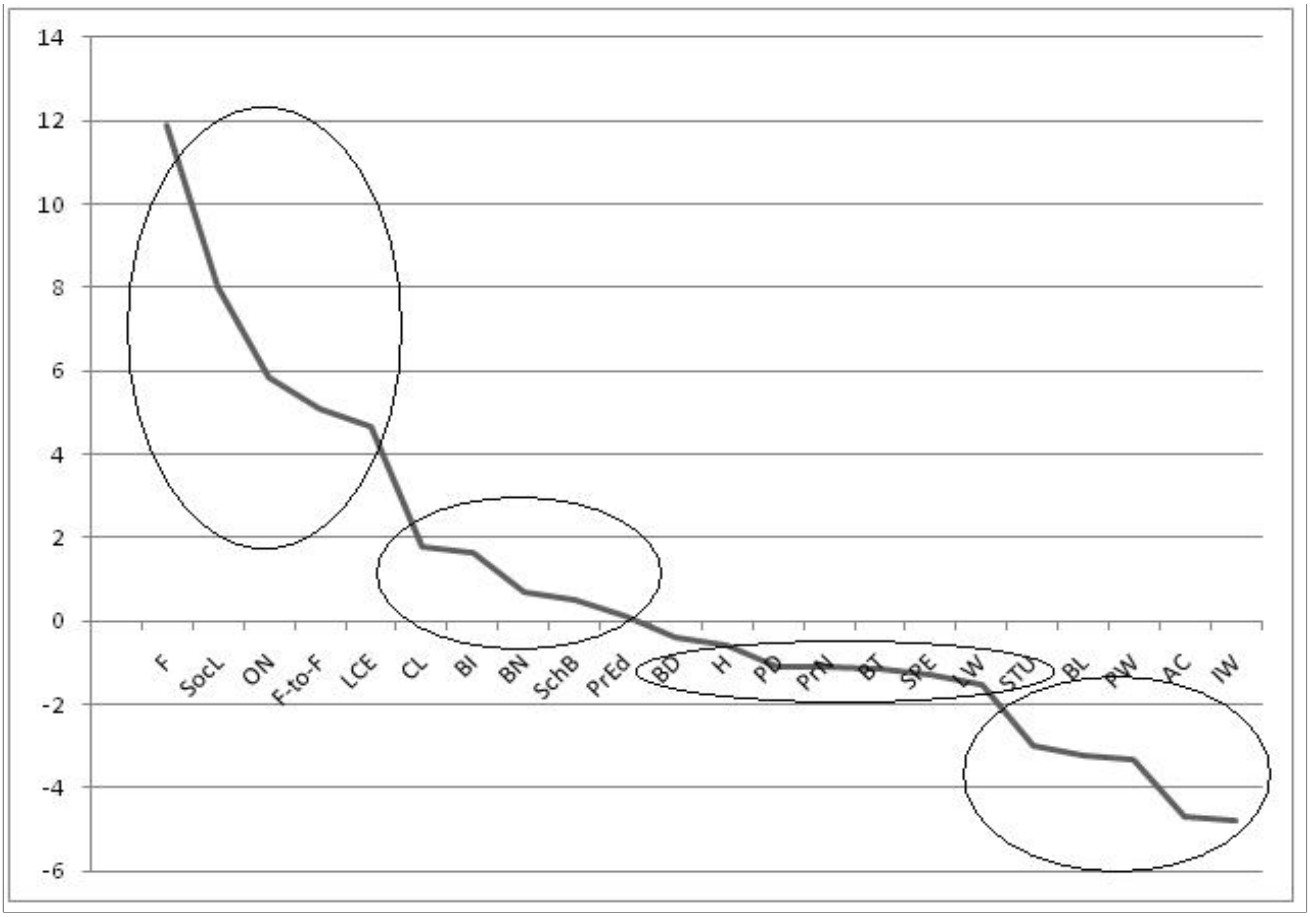
Feature	Broadcast discussion	Han-sards	Parliamentary debate	Press news reports	Broadcast talks	Spee-ches	Legal writing
Past tense verbs	-0.76	-0.42	-0.64	0.12	-0.29	-0.39	0.79
Third person	-0.18	-0.19	-0.19	0.21	0.02	-0.32	0.35
Proper nouns for	-0.43	-0.05	-0.56	0.52	0.05	-0.54	-0.53
Activity verbs	0.28	0.08	0.14	-0.26	-0.10	-0.38	-0.32
Place adverbials	0.16	0.13	0.18	-0.14	-0.20	-0.07	-0.35
Perfect aspect	-0.21	0.50	0.20	0.04	-0.13	0.49	0.22
Emotional stance	0.00	-0.28	0.04	-0.25	-0.06	-0.16	-0.24
Time adverbials	0.38	-0.17	-0.32	-0.33	0.00	0.00	-0.73
First person	0.38	0.14	0.06	-0.78	-0.31	0.01	-0.59
Evaluative	0.09	-0.32	-0.02	-0.31	0.03	0.10	-0.59
Non-finite causative	-0.12	0.02	0.03	0.07	-0.14	-0.04	0.49
Sum: core narrativity features	-0.41	-0.56	-1.08	-1.11	-1.13	-1.30	-1.50

Table 10: Register scores for narrativity: Low scores

Feature	Student writing	Business letters	Popular writing	Academic writing	Instructional writing
Past tense verbs	-0.30	-0.71	-0.80	-0.45	-0.72
Third person	0.14	-0.82	-0.35	-0.38	-0.74
Proper nouns for	-0.17	-0.41	-0.47	-0.32	-0.58
Activity verbs	0.03	-0.49	-0.25	-0.64	-0.06
Place adverbials	-0.30	-0.47	-0.22	-0.42	-0.43
Perfect aspect	-0.65	-0.32	-0.29	-0.36	-0.72
Emotional stance	-0.14	-0.07	-0.26	-0.25	-0.22
Time adverbials	-0.69	-0.51	-0.10	-0.59	-0.90
First person	-0.81	0.42	-0.76	-0.86	-0.89
Evaluative	-0.10	0.09	0.15	-0.27	0.33
Non-finite	-0.02	0.05	0.06	-0.17	0.14
Sum: core narrativity features	-3.01	-3.24	-3.30	-4.71	-4.79

4.2.1 Core narrativity features

Figure 8: Determining which registers have a narrative focus



The line graph in Figure 8 shows the total scores for the 11 core narrativity features. Four groups of registers can be distinguished in the graph and will be interpreted in Chapter 4. The ellipses give an indication of the four groups. The most distinct bends in the graph are visible between registers with a narrative focus (Group 1), versus registers with an intermediate narrative focus (Groups 2 and 3) and lastly registers that do not have a narrative focus (Group 4).

The first group which focuses primarily on narration includes Fiction, Social letters, Oral narratives, Face-to-face conversation and Legal cross-examination. The second group of registers forms an intermediate group with less of a focus on narrativity, but still has positive scores: Classroom lessons, Business interviews, Broadcast news, School broadcasts and Press editorials. The third group of registers are also an intermediate category, but they have negative scores for the overall core narrativity score: Broadcast discussions, Hansard, Parliamentary debate, Broadcast talks, Speeches and Legal writing. The fourth group of registers have low scores that are an indication that these registers have a different focus in ICE-EA: Student writing, Business letters, Popular writing and Instructional writing.

The total score for the 11 core narrativity features was used to determine if a register as a whole has a narrative focus or not. For example, as the graph shows, Broadcast Interviews has positive scores for nine of the narrativity features. Due to the fact that nine out of 11 features are present, Broadcast Interviews could be labelled as more narrative than Oral narratives. However, this would be a wrong assumption – Oral narratives have a high narrativity score of 5.83, but Broadcast Interviews have a comparatively low score of 1.62. In other words, Oral narratives have higher scores for the core narrativity features than Business interviews. Even though Business interviews have more of the core narrativity features, the scores for the different features in Business interviews are consistently lower (so the core narrativity features occur less frequently).

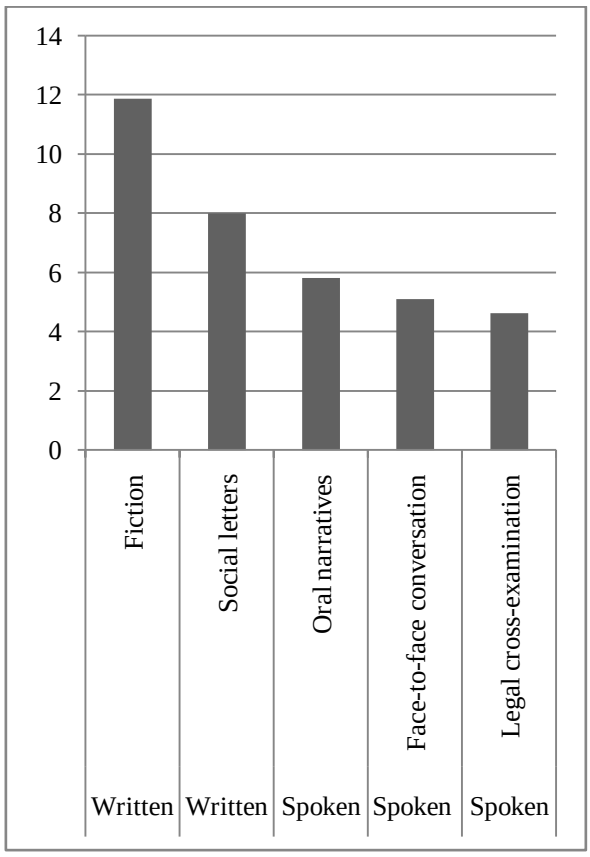
In the next two sections, I discuss each register separately. I start with the prototypically narrative register, Fiction, and continue to the register with the lowest score for the core narrativity features, Instructional writing.

4.3 ICE-EA registers with a narrative focus

As the graph in Figure 9 shows, the two registers with the highest scores for the core narrativity features are Fiction (11.89) and Social letters (8.00), both of which are written registers. The other three registers with high scores for the core narrativity features are spoken discourse, namely Oral narratives (5.83), Face-to-face conversation (5.10) and Legal cross-examination (4.64).

In other words, narrativity is present in both spoken and written modes of East African English. This means that the core narrativity features include features typical of writing and speech. In the next section of Chapter 4, I will discuss each of the five 'narrative-focus' registers to come to an understanding of the use of these features in East African English.

Figure 9: Total score for registers with a primary narrative focus



4.3.1 Fiction

As the line graph in Figure 8 shows, Fiction is the register with the strongest narrative focus in ICE-EA with a total score for the core narrativity features of 11.89. These results correspond to Biber (1988:135), who found that Fiction has the highest score for narrative concerns in his multidimensional analysis of British and American English data.[20]

Fiction has positive scores for all 11 of the core narrativity features as listed in the table below: past tense verbs (2.53), third person pronouns (2.40), proper nouns for persons (1.37), activity verbs (1.22), place adverbials (0.92), perfect aspect (0.90), emotional stance verb *feel* (0.82), time adverbials (0.78), first person pronouns (0.62), evaluative adjectives (0.22) and non-finite clauses (0.11). Table 11 lists the core narrativity features according to the formatting used in examples:

[20] Note that the linguistic features associated with narrative concerns in Biber's study are expanded in the narrativity model.

Table 11: Narrativity model grouping of core narrativity features

Agency	**third person pronouns, first person pronouns, proper names for persons, activity verbs**
Contextualisation	past tense verbs, place adverbials, perfect aspect, time adverbials
Causation	*non-finite causative clauses*
Evaluation	***emotional stance verb feel*, *evaluative adjectives***

Example 28 below is a typical extract from ICE-EA Fiction. Although the extract has non-standard forms, it is still clearly narrative. The Agency features, namely **activity verbs, first person pronouns, third person pronouns** and all the **proper nouns for persons** are in **bold**. The Evaluation feature *bright* is an ***evaluative adjective*** and is marked. The Contextualisation features are past tense verbs, time adverbials, place adverbials and perfect aspect[21]. These features are underlined in the example. The extract is from a short story published in a Tanzanian newspaper:

28) "What's it for?" "Find something for X-mas. And please **put** it in your pocket!" **He** was very lucky for hardly had **he put** it in <-_the><+_**his**> pocket when the door was **opened** and **Humphrey** on **his** usual unexpected visits, entered! "Oh **Gado**, how do you do?" **He** liked this boy and in fact **he** had some plans for **him**: "Do you have some time **Gado we** can **go** to Kilimanjaro for tea?" And it became habitual.
On the evening of the same day, **Humphrey** visited **Maliki**. The latter was preparing for **his** <-_Christians><+_Christmas> Moshi trip. After some talks, **Humphrey** asked for **Gado**. **He came** and **Maliki** <O/> exited.
"**Gado**, **I** want you to help **me** something but before **I** tell you, promise that you won't tell anybody even **Maliki**!" **Humphrey** asked.
After some hesitations, **Gado** promised. **Humphrey** told **him** that **he** wanted to hire **him** to keep an eye on **his** wife. **He**'ll **pay him** tremendously! **Gado** couldn't understand what was wrong with this rich couple. **He** recalled the previous morning when **Pamella gave him** twenty thousand shillings for nothing important. The curiosity of exhuming the hidden life of **them**, prompted **him** to accept the duty **he** was asked. <…>
A week later **Pamella** called **Gado**. **She** gave **him** ten thousands more! "**Go** and **buy** a card for your girlfriend," **she** said. "**I** don't have a girlfriend," **Gado** replied. "Then **I**'m your girl. Look, **I** have **bought** you this for you **my** boyfriend!" And **she** <-/handled> **him** a parcel.
"**I**'ll invite you in for X-mas dinner. Now **leave**!" **Gado** understood and **left** instantly. The parcel had a very expensive pair of English <-_shoe><+_shoes>. Also there was a very beautiful Christmas card. **She**'d written: **Gado** truly you mean a lot to **me**. **I** love you. With all **my** love - **Pamella**!

[21] In the examples, only the features that were analysed in the dissertation are marked. This means that some time adverbials such as *instantly* are not marked, because they did not form part of the analyses as set out in Chapter 3. The only exception to this mark-up procedure is the proper nouns for persons, which were all marked irrespective of whether they were in the subject or object position (contrary to the WordSmith analyses for proper nouns for persons described in Chapter 3).

The telephone rang at six in the evening. "What are you doing **Gado**. **Pamella** had just reminded **me** that you're all alone there, why can't you **come** and kill the night with **us**?"
Similar thing re-happened on the New Year eve. **Humphrey** was drinking <-/hsi> whisky while **Pennina** accompanied **him**. **They** were **watching** video. When **she** served **him** and <-/now> **Humphrey getting** drunk, **she** drugged **him** through **her** long beautiful coloured nails. Several seconds later **Humphrey** was snoring while the heroine **Pamella** went upstairs with **Gado**!
"**I**'m a bit pleased now **Gado**. However, **I**'ll find a trick in this year that **we**'ll have it more often and free!"
But it didn't come out until the Easter of the fifth year. **Maliki** decided to **send Gado** to deliver some money to **their** father. When **Gado** told **Pamella**, **she got** a very ***bright*** idea. It was last February when **her** doctor **got** a transfer to KCMC Moshi, and **Humphrey** was yet to **find** the substitute.
She told **Humphrey** about **her** medical check up. While **he** thought it over, **he** visited **Maliki**. Fortunately, **he** was told about **Gado's** planned trip. "When?" **He** was more than excited. "<-_**I**',><I'm> still looking for **his** fare."
"Never mind about that. **I**'ll **pay** for **his** return ticket. What's if **he** stays for a week, <-/y'know> **he** didn't **go** there for X-mas!" "**I** have no objection, maybe if **he** has." <W2F013T>

As mentioned previously, Text W2F013T is an extract of a short story from a Tanzanian newspaper. Although Kenya has a rich literary tradition in English by authors such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who nowadays writes in Kikuyu and Kiswahili, but whose works are translated into English, and John Mbiti, Tanzania has few internationally renowned authors. Therefore, short stories from aspiring authors were included in ICE-EA (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1991:10). As Hudson-Ettle and Schmied (1991) note, the quality of these short stories is not of the same calibre as published Kenyan authors whose works were included in the corpus. However, as the example above illustrates, the core narrativity features are frequent in ICE-EA Fiction, regardless of the stylistic or thematic 'quality' of the work.

An extract from Francis Imbuga's novel *Shrine of Tears* is given below to show how a published Kenyan author also makes frequent use of the core narrativity features. Note the frequent use of the Agency features **proper nouns for persons** and **third person pronouns**. The Contextualisation features in Example 29 are underlined, namely time adverbials, place adverbials, past tense verbs and perfect aspect:

29) **Sandeere**, the woman who had spoken first as the procession approached the shopping centre, spoke again and this time **her** words attracted considerable attention (…) "**She** is shy," **Sandeere** said. "**She** doesn't know how to meet **her** grandmother with **her** eyes closed. **They** should send someone home to ask **Nyamusi** to speak, to ask **her** to welcome **her** granddaughter home."
"**Sandeere** is right. Do you people know that?" another woman spoke. "What about **Minayo** here? Is **she** not the youngest from that womb? Let **her** speak to **Kanaya** on behalf of **Nyamusi**. **Kanaya** will hear **Minayo's** words." Soon there was general agreement among the women who had travelled in the minibus that **Minayo** should speak to **Kanaya** and appeal to **her** to release the wheels of the bus. **Minayo** agreed to speak to **Kanaya** on behalf of **her** eldest sister and was subsequently briefed on what to say by a few older women. <W2F008K>

As Examples 28 and 29 from ICE-EA Fiction show, the core narrativity features conspire as the MEANS used to reach the primary objective or END, namely to make sense of experiences and come to an understanding of events through the use of narration. Past tense verbs, third person pronouns, proper nouns for persons and activity verbs are used more frequently in Fiction than the other core narrativity features. These features are therefore particularly indicative of texts with a narrative focus. As Biber (1988) and Toolan (2009) note, the frequent use of past tense verbs and third person pronouns is a widely known characteristic of narrative texts.

The Agency features that are frequent in Examples 28 and 29 include proper nouns for persons, first person pronouns, third person pronouns and activity verbs. These features and their role in Fiction will be discussed briefly below.

Proper nouns for persons were included as an indicator of Agency, because narratives were hypothesised to focus on humans and their actions and/or reactions. As the examples from Fiction reflect, the frequent use of proper nouns for persons is indicative of agent-oriented text with a narrative focus.

First person pronouns and third person pronouns are frequently used in East African English Fiction. These pronouns are used to refer to characters when their proper names are not used. As mentioned in Chapter 3, when a character is at the forefront of the action, s/he can be referred to by pronominal referencing (Emmott, 2003:297). First person pronouns are not considered central to narratives in Biber (1988), but in the narrativity model, they form part of the core narrativity features. This makes sense, since person-centred narratives or dialogue often makes use of first person pronouns.

Activity verbs were included in the model, since they usually require human agents and are associated with News reports, Conversation and Fiction in L1 English (Biber *et al.*, 1999:378). In the present study, Example 28 makes frequent use of activity verbs to describe the unfolding of events or actions, e.g. "hardly had **he put** it in <-_the><+_**his**> pocket when the door was **opened**".

The frequent use of Contextualisation features is reflected by the time adverbials and place adverbials in Example 28, e.g. "On the evening of the same day" and "there". The contextualisation of narratives takes place in a spatial setting and time frame (Tomasello, 2008:284; Verhoeven & Strömqvist, 2001:2). The frequent use of time adverbials and place adverbials in the extracts, and in East African Fiction overall, provides empirical validity to Tomasello's and Verhoeven and Strömqvist's claims, since the results in the present corpus-based study show that these features are indeed central to narratives. The results in the dissertation show that similarly to British and American Fiction (Biber *et al.*, 1999:783), East African English Fiction has the highest frequency of time and place adverbials of all the registers.

Regarding tenses and Contextualisation, the examples are characterised by the frequent use of past tense verbs. However, Example 29 also makes use of present tense verbs in dialogue, e.g. "Sandeere is right." The use of present tense verbs in dialogue is typical of Fiction in general. Perfect aspect is frequently used in ICE-EA Fiction. Biber (1988:223) associates perfect aspect with narrative or descriptive texts.

The core narrativity feature that denotes Causation, namely non-finite causative clauses, does not occur in Examples 28 and 29. Non-finite causative clauses are more frequent in East African Fiction than in the *LGSWE* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:415). This feature has a score of 0.11 for Fiction and is not as frequently employed as the other core narrativity features discussed in the present section.

Evaluation is denoted by the evaluative adjective "***bright***" in Example 28. Evaluative adjectives such as such as *good, nice, cold* and *young* are frequently used in ICE-EA Fiction. These results are similar to Biber *et al.* (1999:511), who found that evaluative adjectives are frequent in Conversation and Fiction in British and American English. Only 13 evaluative adjectives were analysed in the dissertation and some of these are especially common in Fiction and Conversation in the *LGSWE*, so it is unsurprising that East African Fiction makes frequent use of them. The emotional stance verb *feel* has not been previously studied in association with narrativity, but Fiction has relatively frequent usage of the feature. The emotional stance verb *feel* is not used in Examples 28 and 29, but is typically used to construe the attitudes and emotions of the speaker (Martin, 2003:173; 2004:324).

The most prominent core narrativity features in Fiction are past tense verbs, third person pronouns, proper nouns for persons and activity verbs. These features frequently co-occur in East African English narratives as a MEANS to reach the END or primary objective. In other words, a text with many of these features is likely to have a primary focus on narration. However, all 11 core narrativity features conspire to create text with the primary objective of making sense of experiences and coming to a better understanding of fictional events. In other words, the narrative END is clear in the extracts. In Examples 28 and 29, fictional narratives are told for entertainment purposes.

In the course of these fictional narratives, the events and people are described in a manner which makes it possible for the reader to make sense of the characters' experiences and come to an understanding of the events. For example, in Example 29, the developing relationship between Gado, Pamella (sic) and Maliki is narrated. In Example 30, Sandeere, Nyamusi, Kanaya and Minayo all play a role. The core narrativity features associated with Agency, Contextualisation, Causation and Evaluation all contribute to the primary END of East African English Fiction. Furthermore, the narrativity model is robust enough to identify narratives written by experienced, as well as less experienced authors, since the basic micro-level indicators (the core narrativity features) are present to a greater or lesser extent in ICE-EA Fiction written by Kenyan and Tanzanian authors. Section 4.3.2 is a discussion of Social letters, the other written register with a high score for the core narrativity features.

4.3.2 Social letters

Social letters have positive scores for eight core narrativity features, namely first person pronouns (2.08), time adverbials (1.36), place adverbials (1.21), emotional stance verb *feel* (1.19), activity verbs (1.12),

evaluative adjectives (0.62), perfect aspect (0.56) and past tense verbs (0.42) . The total score for the core narrativity features in Social letters is 8.00, the second highest score of all the registers.

The core narrativity features for Social letters can be explained when the function of the register is taken into consideration. The example below is a copy of the complete letter[22]. The features denoting Agency are in bold, namely **third person pronouns, first person pronouns, proper names for persons** and **activity verbs.** The Contextualisation features, past tense verbs, place adverbials, perfect aspect, and time adverbials, are underlined:

30) Hello <name/>,
How are **you**? How are things? **Us** guys down here are doing fine, am really sorry **I** could not reply **your** letter soonest, <slang/>coz **I** had <-/alot> of jobs to finish.
Anyway <-_/thats><+_that's> that, how was your Easter <O/>. Imagine **I** went to Mombasa for Easter, (Smile <slang/>pliz) Guess who **I** was with? You remember that child who used to be so <-/booring> in our class, nowadays **she's** not a <ea/>'miro' anymore. So **we went** <+_to> <-_there><+_their> place, **we** arrived on Saturday morning at 8:00 am in the morning, **we** slept a bit then woke up at midday, had lunch then off to the beach till in the evening, then guess what? **We went** to have dinner at Sevena beach hotel, then later **went** to Mamba Village disco for of course <slang/>heng.
Anyway **I** have bored you enough, hey? Where did you guys **go** to, you talk about **going** to South Africa right? did you **go**? am really anxious to know what happened how was it, hey! before **I** forget Imagine <name/> are no longer hanging out with **us**, <ea/>ati **they** only hang out with guys who have mobile Imagine, hey! <ea_>Si ati<ea/> <+_I> am bothered **I** just wanted you to know <-_whats><+_what's> cooking down here, ooh yes **I** miss you too and am looking forward to hearing from you. <slang/>Pliz **give** my love to everyone and a big kiss to **him** okay. <W1B-SK31>

The example is typical of the register: in the first paragraph, general letter-writing protocol is followed and the writer enquires about the receiver's well-being. The second paragraph has a narrative focus where the writer tells what happened during a previous event, an Easter vacation. The third paragraph once again focuses on the receiver: "Anyway I have bored you enough, hey?"

The structure of the letter is typical of Social letters in general and so are the functions. The first function is enquiring about someone's well-being and what is going on in their lives, whereas the second function is telling the receiver about events in the writer's life, i.e. narrating a part of the writer's experiences as a MEANS of making sense of experiences. The END is the narrative text.

Social letters often focus on relating a series of events and enquiring about events in the receiver's life and on emotions, as can be seen in Example 31 below where the evaluative adjectives ***cold*** and ***nice*** frequently occur:

31) How is the weather over there? Let me <-_ope><+_hope> is not all that ***cold*** like here. Imagine, here we are almost freezing because of ***cold***. <…> Anyway how is life over there? Is it enjoyable or is it boring? Let me <-_ope><+_hope> that is more than enjoyable.

[22] Social letters in ICE-EA have an average word count of 432 words, which is one of the reasons why the data were standardised. Otherwise, a short Social letter with for example three past tense verbs cannot be compared with Classroom lessons where the average text is 2,121 words long and may have 30 past tense verbs.

> Otherwise, also let me <-_ope><+_hope> that you had a ***nice*** journey from <name/> to Nanyuki. <…> On my side I had a very ***nice*** journey, from home up to here. I left everybody very fine except those who decided to leave us. <W1B-SK49>

The evaluative adjectives *cold* and *nice* are repeated in short succession in Example 31 and this is an indication of the focus on feelings or attitudes, part of the Evaluation group. Emotional stance verb *feel* is also frequent in Social letters as part of Evaluation. The core narrativity features from the Contextualisation group that frequently occur in Social letters are past tense verbs, time adverbials, place adverbials and perfect aspect. The features with high scores from the Agency group are third person pronouns, proper nouns for persons, activity verbs and first person pronouns. The core narrativity features associated with Causation are not frequent in Social letters, although the peripheral narrativity feature, the causative subordinator *because*, has a positive score (0.11). This indicates that when Causation occur in Social letters, it is more likely to be expressed by the explicit lexical resource *because*.

The core narrativity features with a low frequency in Social letters can be explained. Third person pronouns (-0.11) and proper nouns for persons (-0.30) both have negative scores for this register. The low score for third person pronouns compared to other registers can be attributed to the fact that other persons or referents are not typically introduced in Social letters, so the need to use third person pronouns to refer to other persons or referents is restricted. The low score for proper nouns for persons might be explained by the fact that proper names in the register were intermittently omitted from the ICE-EA corpus for privacy reasons. On the other hand, there might also be less proper noun usage between friends, since they know each other well.

The only other core narrativity feature that is infrequent in Social letters is non-finite causative clauses, probably due to the informal and conversational style of the letters. The causative subordinator *because* has a positive score (0.11) for Social letters and seems to be the preferred method for expressing causation. In other words, the writers do not focus on cause-and-effect using non-finite causative clauses, but rather make use of *because* to express Causation.

Present tense verbs (1.31) have a higher score than past tense verbs (0.42) for Social letters. The opening sentences in Examples 31 and 32 are in the present tense, e.g. "How are you?"; "How is the weather over there?" Since Social letters are short texts, this is a possible explanation for the higher frequency for present tense verbs than past tense verbs. As Examples 30 and 31 indicate, the narrative sections of the Social letters use the past tense and perfect aspect, for example "we arrived on Saturday morning… had lunch then off to the beach."

The different functions Social letters perform, lead to different foci in various sections of the texts. For example, the introductory section in Example 30 enquires about the receiver's well-being and does not have a primary narrative focus. The second paragraph makes use of the core narrativity features as a MEANS to make sense of and share experiences. The third paragraph moves away from a primary focus on narration, towards an interactive and interpersonal focus. In general, these examples show how sections of a text (or some texts in a register) can have a narrative focus, but other sections (or texts) can

have a different primary focus such as interpersonal interaction and do not make use of narrativity as a MEANS to make sense of experiences.

4.3.3 Oral narratives

Universally, Oral narratives are told for their aesthetic value; as acts of celebration; as education for the youth; for the strengthening of group identity; and as a way of keeping alive lore (Ong, 2004:158 [1982]). Ong (2004:8 [1982]) is of the opinion that across cultures, the spoken word is still present in the world of writing. As he puts is, "(w)riting can never dispense with orality." Oral narratives are the prototypical spoken narrative register in ICE-EA.

In Ojaide's (1992:43) view, written African literature is a new phenomenon compared to the still widespread indigenous oral tradition. Ong's (2004 [1982]) research on orality and literacy presents a more nuanced view where cultures across the globe have an 'oral-literate' continuum. As Ong (2004 [1982]) and Edwards and Sienkewicz (1990:6) explain, the presence of literacy does not remove all the traces of orality and oral culture does not always function independently of literacy. Universally, oral narratives are interactive and some of the building blocks used by storytellers across cultures and across time are descriptive passages, digression, exaggeration and repetition (Edwards & Sienkewicz, 1990:143-147).

Structurally, Oral narratives in general are "synthetic, a constant elaboration of elements added to the fibre of the web of words," (Edwards & Sienkewicz, 1990:144). Ong (2004:144 [1982]) also establishes that exact sequential ordering is not typical of oral narratives. Ong (2004 [1982]) and Edwards and Sienkewicz (1990:196) observe that oral narratives often depart from analytic linearity. Other characteristics of oral narratives include additive rather than subordinate structure, an emphasis on present events rather than a focus on the unchangeable past, as well as an empathetic and participatory focus rather than objective distance (Ong, 2004 [1982]).

Eight of the core narrativity features have high positive scores for Oral narratives and the total for these features is 5.83, the third highest of all the registers in ICE-EA. The features are **first person pronouns** (1.56), time adverbials (1.22), **third person pronouns** (1.19), past tense verbs (0.86), place adverbials (0.86), **activity verbs** (0.64), ***emotional stance verb feel*** (0.29), and ***evaluative adjectives*** (0.21). As the extract in Example 32 below shows, Oral narratives typically have a clear narrative focus:

32) <$B> Well yah **I** have these memories living with **my** grandfather who was a ***very very old man***
and **I** remember **he** used **we** used to **go** there to be sent there to cultivate by **my** parents you know
We had a piece of land there it was about <-_>it was about<-/> fifteen kilometres away from home
So **I** had the chance of living in a round thatched hut where everything took place there cooking
The fire-place is there
My grandfather is there In the evening **he** would be telling **us** stories because **he** was a warrior **my** grandfather

He had been fighting <…>
When **he** was a young man **he** was a warrior In fact **he** had a big dent here and **he** had a nickname because of the dent
This dent **he got** fighting with the **Maasai** You know the **Kikuyus** and the **Maasais they** used to have tribal wars and **he** used to **go** fighting and even brought a wife from Maasailand
So **he** used to **tell us** all these stories about fighting with the **Maasais** all kinds of things and **I** was so fascinated
You know there was no light there was nothing
The fire would be small dying there in the middle of the <-/>ah
It was so wonderful
And then during the day there were those girls you know **we** used to call **them they** used to **wear** these calico sheets you know not modern dress tribal traditional
And **we** would **go** collecting firewood In fact you know in <title/> there is a place where **I**'m talking about insects you know
You somebody's saying you take a heap of insects like this you **go** around your head seven times
This is something **I** did **I went** there with that girl in the forest to collect firewood and **she** showed **me** all these <O/> these <-/>these black insects you know a heap like this <…>
Yah you know also when **I** was writing you know **I** as **I** was writing that novel **I** had a lot of problems within **myself**
And in fact **I** remember **I** was ***weeping*** sometimes as **I** was writing that time **I** was ***weeping weeping weeping***
So **I** don't know but maybe the reflection of ***what I was feeling at that time I don't know***<S1A024K>

The extract makes use of the past tense verbs and other core narrativity features such as time adverbials and place adverbials that denote Contextualisation. Agency features in the extract are **third person pronouns**, **first person pronouns**, **proper nouns for persons** and **activity verbs** such as *go*, *get* and *wear*. The ***emotional stance verb feel***, part of the Evaluation group also occurs: "what I was feeling at that time I don't know". Evaluative adjectives also occur frequently in Oral narratives. These core narrativity features conspire to create a text with a primary focus on narration as a MEANS to recount and make sense of experiences.

However, Oral narratives also make use of linguistic features associated with interpersonal interaction, rather than narration *per se*. Present tense verbs (1.27) have a higher positive score than past tense verbs (0.86) in Oral narratives, which is indicative of the spoken nature of the register. As already mentioned, Ong (2004 [1982]) states that Oral narratives focus on present events, rather than the unchangeable past. Therefore, the higher frequency of present tense verbs is to be expected, for as Cortazzi (1993:26) mentions, Oral narratives universally reflect a dynamic process influenced by the ongoing sequence of the conversation.

Five peripheral features have positive scores for Oral narratives, but do not have positive scores for Fiction: the causative subordinator *because* (2.58), epistemic stance adverbials (2.55), present tense verbs (1.27), second person pronouns (0.70) and modals and semi-modals (0.24). These features are associated with conversation in the *LGSWE* (Biber *et al.*, 1999). The dual nature of Oral narratives comes to the fore when the peripheral features are examined, since these features are typical of spoken discourse in general.

Firstly, Conversation avoids the specification of meaning or syntactic elaboration that is associated with writing (Biber *et al.*, 1999:1044), so it is unsurprising that non-finite causative clauses (-0.16) do not have a positive score for Oral narratives, but the peripheral narrativity feature the causative subordinator *because* has a high score (2.58). Oral narratives in ICE-EA prefer the lexicalised expression of Causation by using *because* to the more syntactically elaborated method of using non-finite causative clauses. Furthermore, Biber *et al.* (1999:1049-1050) note that conversation makes use of the same words over and over again. The implication is that the causative subordinator *because* is used frequently and repetitively in Oral narratives, since the register has many of the characteristics of spoken discourse. This means that in Oral narratives, speakers prefer to use the lexical resource *because* to indicate cause-and-effect relationships.

Secondly, in the *LGSWE*, stance adverbials are most common in conversation. The high frequency of epistemic stance adverbials can be explained when one considers the focus on interpersonal interaction and the expression of subjective information (Biber *et al.*, 1999:859). These adverbials also serve to link the transition between parts of discourse (Biber *et al.*, 1999:1046). In the dissertation, the high frequency of epistemic stance adverbials in Oral narratives is indicative of the subjective nature of the register and the focus on interpersonal interaction between the storyteller and the audience/listener. In Example 33, there are two speakers who use epistemic stance adverbials ***I think*** and ***of course***:

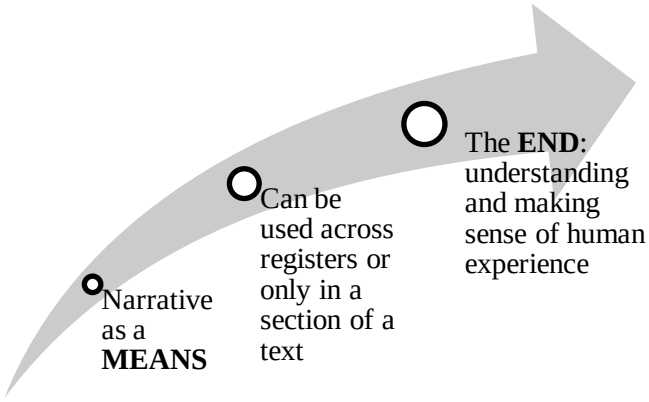
> 33) <$A>So ***I think*** that's just being unfair to the women that when we <-/>we <-/>we portray them we tend to make them weak and weak and weaker <…>
> <$B> No not <-/>not anymore
> and ***of course*** it also depends on the various ethnic groups because uh it is what the society wanted the woman to be <S1A025K>

Although the example above does not focus on narration, the epistemic stance adverbials convey the Evaluative attitudes of the speakers.

Thirdly, Biber *et al.* (1999:1042) note that second person pronouns are frequent in conversation and they refer directly to the participant *you*. As Ong (2004 [1982]) states, Oral narratives around the world have an empathetic and participatory focus. In the dissertation, second person pronouns are used in Oral narratives to encourage audience-participation in the storytelling. Fourthly, modals and semi-modals are very common in conversation in the *LGSWE* (Biber *et al.*, 1999:486). Since Oral narratives form part of the spoken component of ICE-EA, it is unsurprising that features typically associated with Conversation are also frequent in Oral narratives.

Biber *et al.* (1999:1041) state that the primary function of conversation is to "establish and maintain social cohesion through the sharing of experience." Secondary functions are the exchange of information, control of others' behaviour and entertainment such as jokes or narratives. In the dissertation, narration emerges as a basic method or MEANS of sharing experiences and entertainment. Sharing experiences are a primary objective in Oral narratives such as Example 32. In other words, narrativity is a MEANS towards an END (understanding our experiences) and can be mapped as follows:

Figure 10: MEANS/END mapping of narrativity



As Figure 10 illustrates, the core narrativity features are the MEANS that form the END of making sense of experiences and events. Oral narratives can be seen as an 'in-between' register, where many of the features associated with East African English narratives are present, but features typical of spoken discourse or interpersonal text types are also used. The following register to be discussed, Face-to-face conversation, also has many of the core narrativity features, as well as features associated with spoken discourse.

4.3.4 Face-to-face conversation

Face-to-face conversation has positive scores for eight of the 11 core narrativity features, namely time adverbials (1.37), third person pronouns (1.14), place adverbials (1.06), activity verbs (0.88), first person pronouns (0.60), past tense verbs (0.26), evaluative adjectives (0.23) and emotional stance verb *feel* (0.16). The total score for all the core narrativity features in Face-to-face conversation is 5.10, the fourth highest score of all the registers.

The following extract is a typical example of a conversation with a narrative focus with frequent past tense verbs and **third person pronouns.** The time adverbial *after* is underlined, the **activity verb** *go* is in bold, as are the **first person pronouns** and **third person pronouns**:

34) <$?> That guy is proud uh Imagine Uh
The way **he** refused that appointment and decided to **go** back to the roots to **his** farm
And in fact **he** was the one who was on top of the tractor ploughing <O/>
he was even ploughing for **his** neighbours after **he** finishes <O/>
<…>
<$?> **He** decided **I** have better become a farmer than to become <ea/>sijui the under-secretary of <O/> <S1A012K>

The core narrativity features associated with Agency in Face-to-face conversation are **third person pronouns, activity verbs** and **first person pronouns**. Contextualisation is evoked using past tense verbs, as well as time adverbials and place adverbials.

Face-to-face conversation has a higher score for present tense verbs (2.20) than past tense verbs (0.26) due to the interactive and interpersonal function of the register. Present tense verbs situate the conversation in the deictic frame of the *here and now* that is typical of spoken discourse. Face-to-face conversation has both of the core narrativity features that denote Evaluation, namely evaluative adjectives and the evaluative stance verb *feel*. Evaluation is closely related to the nature of interpersonal interaction that denotes subjective values in the register.

According to Biber *et al.* (1999:1042), conversation takes place in a shared social and cultural space. In ICE-EA, the frequent use of pronouns is testimony to the large amount of shared context or knowledge between speakers. Although second person pronouns do not form part of the core narrativity features, the high frequency (1.47) is to be expected in conversational discourse. Furthermore, Biber *et al.* (1999:1047) note that conversation is expressive of emotion and attitude. In the dissertation, Evaluation is expressed by the core narrativity features evaluative adjectives (0.23) and emotional stance verb *feel* (0.16), as well as the peripheral narrativity feature epistemic stance adverbials (1.47).

The interactive nature of conversation and the emphasis on the telling of personal experiences contribute to the high score for the core narrativity features. In other words, since Face-to-face conversation makes use of narration as a MEANS towards the END of understanding and making sense of experiences, the register emerges as one of the five major registers with a primary objective of focusing on narration. Similarly to Oral narratives and Social letters, the interactive nature of the register conspires to support the primary END of making sense of experiences through the use of core narrative features.

However, Social letters, Oral narratives and Face-to-face conversation simultaneously focus on interpersonal interaction. The frequent use of features typically associated with spoken discourse, namely present tense verbs, the causative subordinator *because*, second person pronouns and epistemic stance adverbials all indicate that Face-to-face conversations do not focus solely on narration as a MEANS to make sense of experiences. Instead, the interplay between interpersonal interaction and features associated with spoken discourse, versus the core narrativity features associated with narration, form part of the intricate relationship between telling and experiencing. The result of the interplay between interpersonal interaction and narration in Face-to-face conversations is a shift from making sense of experiences through narration to maintaining social relationships.

4.3.5 Legal cross-examination

Legal cross-examination has seven core narrativity features, namely past tense verbs (1.87), third person pronouns (0.50), activity verbs (1.38), place adverbials (0.46), perfect aspect (0.16), first person pronouns (1.48) and non-finite causative clauses (0.11). The total score for the core narrativity features in Legal

cross-examination is 4.64, the fifth highest score in ICE-EA. In other words, Legal cross-examination has a narrative focus.

This finding makes sense, because in Legal cross-examination the accused or witnesses tell what happened in a situation where a crime occurred. Herman (2003b:163) lists testimony in court as one of the everyday occurrences of narratives. The example below is an extract from one of the Legal cross-examination texts that has many of the characteristics of narratives. The Agency features are in bold (**third person pronouns, first person pronouns, proper names for persons, activity verbs**); and Contextualisation features are underlined (past tense verbs, place adverbials, perfect aspect, time adverbials):

35) **I** am No <number/> P.C. <name/> attached to J.K.I.A. Police Station.
On 12.7.92 **I** recall was on duty as airline stand by that night around 8.30 p.m. **we** were tipped that a <-/immgration> officer was demanding money from the accused.
On hearing this **I** and P.C. <name/> and P.C. <name/> proceeded to unit 2
There **I** saw a man and the passenger **going** towards international arrivals. **I went** to <-/internationa> <-/arrival> while the other two **followed** the officer and the person.
By then **I** <-_know><+_knew> who the <-/Immgration> officer was.
He is that person over there accused identified. **I** knew **him** previously as an <-/Immgration> officer at the airport <…>
We went to unit 1.
The two men entered a taxi from the taxi rink.
I saw **them** as they boarded the taxi. It was Reg. NO. <number/>.
I went towards <-/inter> arrivals. The taxi moved to unit 3 towards the lady at unit 3 the lady joined the two men.
We arrived after taxi had already arrived.
We stopped the taxi all 3 were inside two men were in the back seat.
<-/lady> in the front seat P.C. <name/> was also <-/three>.
We asked the accused and complainant to **come** out.
They came out.
The complainant said accused was demanding U$ 200 from **him**.
This was so that **he** could stamp his passport.
Complainant handed over to <name/> U$ 100 that **he** <-/daid> accused had refused to **take** <…>
I was not there then **I** do not know what was recovered from accused.
I had seen accused around the airport prior to this day.< S1BCE04K>

First person pronouns, third person pronouns and activity verbs indicate Agency, which is of central importance in court cases to determine who committed a crime. The high frequencies of past tense verbs, place adverbials and perfect aspect all concern Contextualisation. The context is integral to determine the outcome of a case and to determine the position of the accused at the time of the crime. Causation is used to express *who did what* and is frequently expressed by means of non-finite causative clauses in Legal cross-examination.

As expected, Legal cross-examination does not have positive scores for the Evaluation group, since court proceedings focus on facts, rather than feelings or attitudes. This means that a specific context or register can suppress some core narrativity features (i.e. evaluative adjectives and emotional stance verb *feel* in the case of Legal cross-examination), because of conflicting demands. There are constraints that

apply in certain registers that do not apply in others. For instance, even though Legal cross-examination has little use for the Evaluation group, a register such as Social letters makes frequent use of the emotional stance verb *feel* and evaluative adjectives.

On the one hand, Social letters and Face-to-face conversation show mutual enforcing overlap between core narrativity features such as Evaluation features mentioned above and features that are associated with interpersonal interaction such as present tense verbs. On the other hand, there is conflicting or interfering interaction between the everyday use of narratives, associated with Evaluation features, and the factual demands of legal contexts. In Legal-cross-examinations, the core narrativity features associated with Evaluation are not an appropriate MEANS to reach the END of coming to an understanding of experiences. Rather, the register is characterised by a focus on facts and the aim is to present these facts in an objective manner, i.e. not loaded with Evaluative or attitudinal meaning.

4.3.6 Concluding remarks for registers with a narrative focus

As the narrativity continuum in Figure 11 shows, Fiction is the prototypical narrative register at the far right of the continuum:

Figure 11: Narrativity continuum for registers with a primary focus on narration

These registers use narration as the primary MEANS to make sense of experiences or understand events. Legal cross-examinations, Face-to-face conversation, Oral narratives, Social letters and Fiction focus more on narration than the other 17 registers of East African English. The effectiveness of the narrativity model to distinguish between registers or texts that focus on narration, regardless of the spoken or written mode, is once again emphasised. The results show that the eleven core narrativity features are not restricted to written or spoken discourse.

As mentioned in Section 4.3.5, the interaction between narrativity and other factors such as interactivity and legal 'objectivity' influences the use of the core narrativity features. For instance, the interactive and familiar tone of Social letters encourages the use of Evaluation features such as the emotional stance verb *feel* and evaluative adjectives. Legal cross-examination, however, 'blocks' or discourages the use of Evaluation features, since there is an emphasis on the objective representation of facts in the register. These examples show the tensions in a text between different factors such as interpersonal interaction and factual objectivity. The registers that do not focus on narration are discussed in the next section where they are grouped according to their scores in the graph presented in Figure 8.

4.4 Registers with other foci: the three remaining groups

The graph in Figure 8 shows a clear break between Legal cross-examinations (4.64) and Classroom lessons (1.79). This break was used to distinguish between registers with a narrative focus versus registers with an intermediate narrative focus. Even though the registers discussed in the present section have comparatively low scores for the core narrativity features, they are not non-narrative. As the results in Chapter 4 indicate, narrativity cannot be classified according to a binary model where one register or text is narrative and another is non-narrative. The gradient nature of the phenomenon is particularly visible in the intermediate or medial group of registers that are discussed in the present section.

Figure 12: The distribution of narrative focus

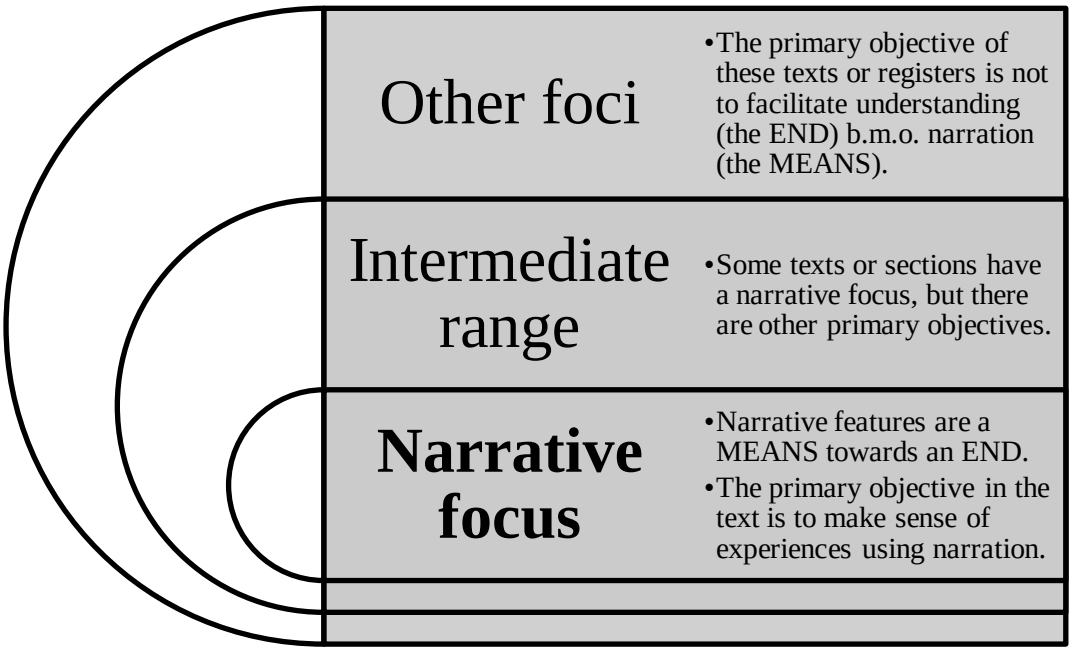


Figure 12 is a representation of the different foci in ICE-EA texts. The dissertation focuses on the inner band of the diagram, namely registers or texts with a narrative focus. The five registers with a markedly narrative focus – Fiction, Social letters, Oral narratives, Face-to-face conversation and Legal cross-examinations – form the core of the diagram and are the object of investigation in the study.

However, the results indicate that there is a considerable difference between the use of core narrativity features for a more prototypical narrative register such as Fiction or Oral narratives and a register that has another focus, such as Instructional writing or Academic writing. When the 11 core narrativity features are not frequently used, there is a move *away* from a focus on narration as a MEANS for facilitating understanding and a move *towards* other MEANS for different ENDS. The present section looks at the intermediate group of registers.

Most registers fall in the intermediate range, which is split into positive and negative scores. On the one hand, the registers with a medial positive score for the core narrativity features are Classroom lessons (1.79), Broadcast interviews (1.62), Broadcast news (0.68), School broadcasts (0.49) and Press editorials (0.13). On the other hand, the following registers have a negative medial score: Broadcast discussions (-0.41), Hansards (-0.56), Parliamentary debate (-1.08), Press news reports (-1.11), Broadcast talks (-1.13), Speeches (-1.30) and Legal writing (-1.50).

The remaining five registers in the corpus have a low score for the core narrativity features and therefore do not focus on narration. Of course, a specific text or part of a text can still have many of the core narrativity features, but the overall picture that emerges is that these registers do not use narration to make sense of experiences. The registers that fall under this group are Student writing, Business letters, Popular writing, Academic writing and Instructional writing. These are all written registers that have a strong emphasis on factual information presentation.

In Section 4.4, the three groups of registers with medial (positive and negative) and low focus on narrativity are briefly discussed. Section 4.5 is a discussion of the peripheral features.

4.4.1 Registers with intermediate scores

Classroom lessons (1.79) and Business Interviews (1.62) have average scores above 1 for the core narrativity features. Broadcast news (0.68), School broadcasts (0.49) and Press editorials (0.13) have positive scores below 1.

Except for Press editorials, these registers are all in the spoken mode. Press editorials in East African newspapers are characterised by an informal and colloquial style (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999). This could signify that these registers do not primarily focus on narration, although they do make use of the core narrativity features *intermittently* to facilitate understanding. In other words, specific texts or sections of texts use narrative features. An example is given below from Broadcast interviews where there are frequent use of **third person pronouns**, **activity verbs**, present and past tense verbs and perfect aspect:

36) You may have a student who was who wanted to do for example law
and uh **they** didn't **make** it you know in <-/>in terms of the points that **they they got** at the end of the examination
and uh **they** were for example given uh a BA uh programme to pursue
and **they** feel all the time that **they** wanted to pursue this
so **they** would come to for example to a warden and ask what exactly **they** should do
They find it very difficult to adjust to this other uh degree that **they** had not chosen
and uh usually what would happen is uh a lot of counselling **goes** on to this so that the student does not waste time thinking about something that **they** cannot be uh **given** because of the problem of the points
uh and being encouraged to **take** uh what **they** **have been given** not to give up and to uh <-/>to <-/>to realise to try to realise uh uh a different kind of goal with this degree that **they** have <-_>that **they** have<-/> been asked to you know to <-/>to <-/>to pursue which is a BA General <S1BINT4K>

The extract in Example 36 makes use of narrative features to describe a typical student's behaviour. The registers with an intermediate positive score for the core narrativity features either have another primary focus besides narration, or have another simultaneous primary focus. In the case of the latter, a text or register can focus both on narration and information presentation, with some sections using the core narrativity features as a MEANS to make sense of experiences, and other sections focusing on the factual representation of information.

The following seven registers have medial negative scores for the core narrativity features: Broadcast discussions (-0.41), Hansards (-0.56), Parliamentary debate (-1.08), Press news reports **(-**1.11), Broadcast talks (-1.13), Speeches (-1.30) and Legal writing (-1.50).

Broadcast discussions and Broadcast talks are registers that Biber (1988:140) define as 'strictly non-narrative.' He explains that Broadcasts report on events as they happen with the aim of informing or entertaining and therefore do not have narrative concerns. The results in the dissertation beg for a more delicate analysis, because Broadcast news and School broadcasts also have an intermediate narrative focus. These results indicate that East African English Broadcasts incorporate the core narrativity features to a greater or lesser extent as one of the MEANS towards the END of making sense of experiences. Section 4.4.2 looks at the registers with low scores for the core narrativity features.

4.4.2 Registers with low scores

Five registers in ICE-EA do not primarily focus on narration, namely Student writing (-3.01), Business letters (-3.24), Popular writing (-3.30), Academic writing (-4.71) and Instructional writing (-4.79). These registers have other primary foci which will be discussed in Section 4.6.

Biber (1988:140) notes that Instructional writing has a low score for Dimension 2, which means that it is classified as 'non-narrative' according to his model. Business letters and Academic writing are also 'non-narrative' in Biber's study. This means that three of the corresponding registers in the dissertation that Biber labels 'non-narrative' do not primarily focus on narration as a MEANS for facilitating the understanding of experiences.

The results in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) indicate that British and American Student writing is characterised by a persuasive and factual focus on information. Biber (1988) did not include Student writing in his study. However, Van Rooy *et al.* (2010:314) added student writing from the Louvain Corpus of Native British and American Essays (LOCNESS) (see Granger, Dagneux, Meunier & Paquot, 2009) to compare the results in ICE-EA with first language student writing[23]. Van Rooy *et al.* (2010:326) found that Student writing has a non-narrative focus according to Biber's model. In addition, Student writing has the highest score for Dimension 4 ('overt expression of persuasion') in Van Rooy *et al.*

[23] The LOCNESS corpus consists of American and British student writing and the data were analysed by Van Rooy (2008a) using Biber's (1988) model.

(2010:335). Dimension 5 presents information in an abstract, technical and formal manner (Biber 1988: 113). Academic writing and Student writing had the highest scores for this dimension in the British and American corpus in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010:338).

In the present study, it is predictable that East African English students do not make frequent use of the core narrativity features in their writing, because Student writing can be regarded as a developing variety of Academic writing. The results in Biber (1988) and the present study show that Academic writing, Business letters and Instructional writing do not primarily focus on narration. Whereas Biber makes a binary distinction between 'narrative and non-narrative concerns', the more gradient view in the dissertation boils down to the same conclusion.

All five ICE-EA registers with low scores for the core narrativity features do not use narration as a MEANS to facilitate understanding. As mentioned earlier, specific texts or sections of texts can still use narration as a MEANS toward an END, but in general, these registers have other foci discussed in Section 4.6. The next section looks at peripheral narrativity features.

4.5 Peripheral features

The peripheral features of the narrativity model are discussed to explain why these features are not included in the revised model used to analyse the results. Seven features have negative scores for Fiction: second person pronouns, modals and semi-modals, the causative subordinator *because*, epistemic stance adverbials, causative verbs, causative preposition verbs and present tense verbs. Tables 12-15 list the peripheral features and their standardised scores per register.

Table 12: Average standardised scores for peripheral features (1)

	Fiction	Social letters	Oral narratives	Face-to-face conversation	Legal cross-examination
Second person pronouns	-0.17	1.42	0.7	1.47	-0.63
Modals and semi-modals	-0.18	0.41	0.24	0.13	-0.84
Causative subordinator *because*	-0.21	0.11	2.58	1.26	-0.33
Epistemic stance adverbials	-0.23	0.33	2.55	1.47	-0.57
Causative verbs	-0.25	-0.03	-0.45	-0.09	-0.67
Causative prepositional verbs	-0.29	-0.06	-0.17	0	-0.1
Present tense verbs	-0.91	1.31	1.27	2.2	-0.53

Table 13: Average standardised scores for peripheral features (2)

	Classroom lessons	Broadcast interviews	Broadcast news	School broadcast	Press editorials
Second person pronouns	0.41	0.13	-0.74	0.11	-0.57
Modals and semi-modals	0.37	0.18	-0.71	0.35	0.26
Causative subordinator *because*	0.9	0.93	-0.51	-0.07	0.07
Epistemic stance adverbials	1.66	1.26	-0.59	0.08	0.04
Causative verbs	-0.06	-0.04	-0.19	0.22	-0.07
Causative prepositional verbs	-0.03	0.01	-0.04	0.35	-0.01
Present tense verbs	0.99	0.89	-1.27	0.89	-0.06

Table 14: Average standardised scores for peripheral features (3)

	Broadcast discussions	Hansards	Parliamentary debate	Press news reports	Broadcast talks	Spee-ches	Legal writing
Second person pronouns	0.37	-0.41	-0.35	-0.73	-0.26	-0.17	-0.78
Modals and semi-modals	0.79	0.42	0.6	-0.3	-0.03	-0.05	-0.81
Causative subordinator *because*	1.39	0.4	1.31	-0.27	0.07	0.26	-0.39
Epistemic stance adverbials	2.05	0.04	-0.09	-0.37	-0.02	0.28	-0.2
Causative verbs	-0.16	-0.23	0.01	-0.3	-0.11	0.22	-0.35
Causative preposition verbs	0.12	0.19	-0.16	-0.03	0.13	0.08	-0.4
Present tense verbs	1.2	0.13	0.21	-0.5	0.3	-0.25	-0.75

Table 15: Average standardised scores for peripheral features (4)

	Student writing	Business letters	Popular writing	Academic writing	Instructional writing
Second person pronouns	-0.74	0.89	-0.69	-0.77	0.1
Modals and semi-modals	0.2	0.23	0.03	-0.51	0.94
Causative subordinator	0.15	-0.59	-0.23	-0.22	-0.52
Epistemic stance adverbials	-0.41	-0.49	-0.34	-0.39	-0.46
Causative verbs	0.18	0.39	0.22	-0.16	0.42
Causative prepositional	0.58	-0.32	-0.02	0.35	0.04
Present tense verbs	0.13	-0.27	0.29	-0.21	-0.4

The seven features in Tables 12-15 are now considered peripheral to narrativity. Of course, these features may still play a role in contributing to a narrative focus and can certainly occur in registers or texts with a narrative focus. The peripheral features are not necessarily indicative of a register or text that does *not* focus on narration. However, the features with positive scores for Fiction, i.e. the core narrativity features, are considered integral to narration and are therefore prototypically more frequent in ICE-EA registers with a narrative focus.

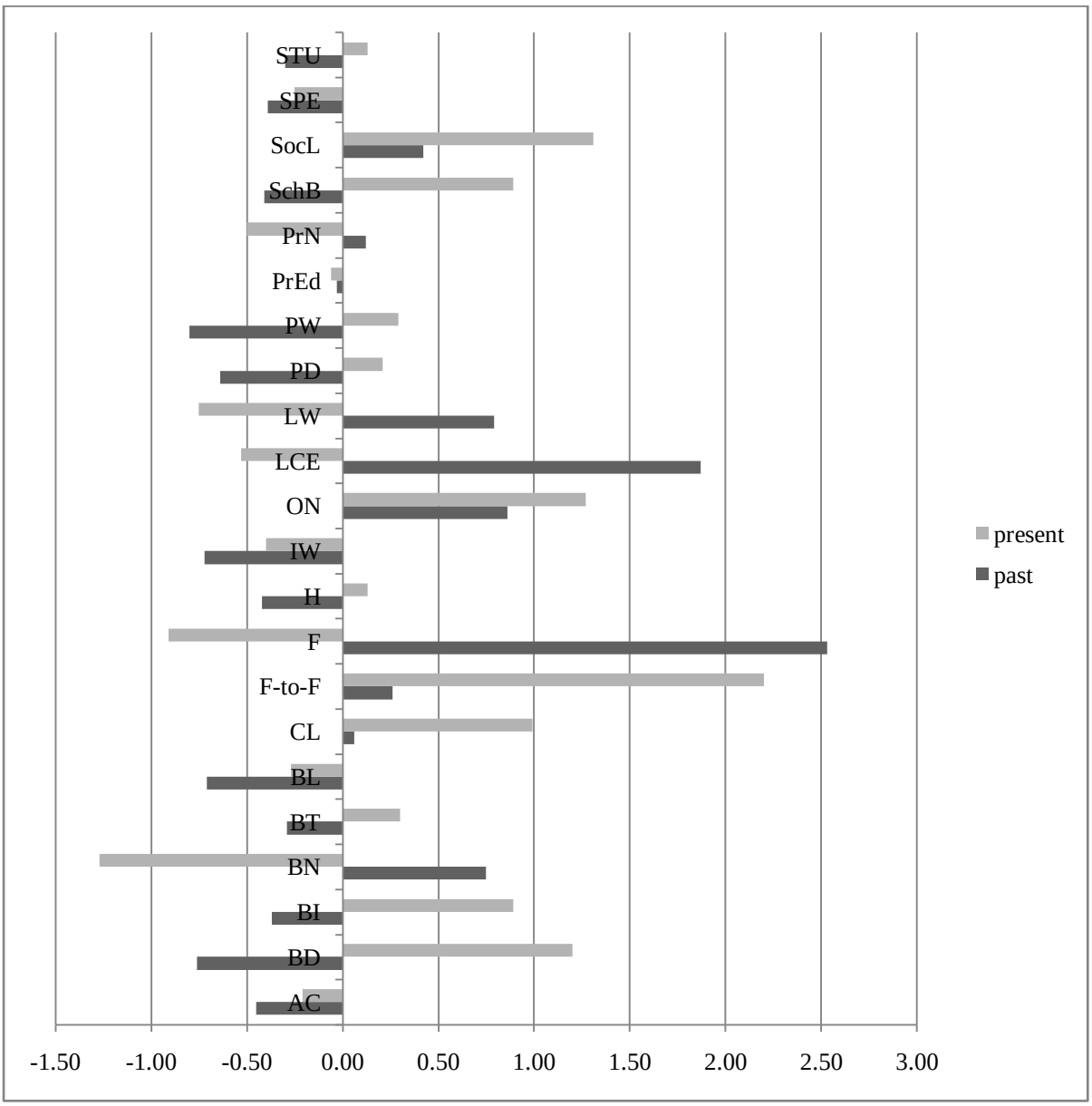
In this section, the present tense/past tense distinction is discussed briefly, and then different ways of expressing Causation are interpreted. This is followed by discussions on the use of second person pronouns, modals and semi-modals and epistemic stance adverbials.

4.5.1.1 Present tense verbs

The past tense is preferred in narrative discourse (Toolan, 2009:120; Biber, 1988:223). The results in the dissertation also indicate that Fiction and Legal cross-examination, two of the registers with a narrative focus, use the past tense more than the present tense. This finding may be indicative of a written bias in the core narrativity features; the written registers use the past tense more, but the spoken registers with a primary narrative focus use the present tense more. Figure 13 is a graph of the different distributions of present and past tense verbs[24].

[24] Refer to Appendix A for the abbreviations used in the graph.

Figure 13: Present and past tense verbs across registers



As the graph shows, the following ICE-EA registers have higher scores for **past tense verbs** than present tense verbs: Fiction (2.53), Legal cross-examination (1.87), Legal writing (0.79), Broadcast news (0.75), Press news reports (0.12), Press editorials (-0.03), Speeches (-0.39)[25], Academic writing (-0.45), Business letters (-0.71) and Instructional writing (-0.72). In other words, these registers use the past tense more than the present tense.

The **present tense** is used more frequently than the past tense in Face-to-face conversation (2.20), Social letters (1.31), Oral narratives (1.27), Broadcast discussions (1.20), Classroom lessons (0.99), Broadcast interviews (0.89), School broadcasts (0.89), Broadcast talks (0.30), Popular writing (0.29), Parliamentary debate (0.21), Hansards (0.13), Student writing (0.13) and Press editorials (-0.06). The

[25] Speeches have low scores for both present tense (-0.25) and past tense verbs (-0.39).

registers with more present tense verbs are more interactive and involved. These registers centre around present events which focus on interpersonal interaction or information presentation.

In Classroom lessons, the teacher interacts with the class in the present tense and explains the subject matter using the past tense when applicable. Example 46 from Classroom lessons (Text S2B052K) is mainly written in the past tense and narrates events from World War II, but also uses present tense verbs when the teacher comments on the historical events, e.g. "We **are not talking** about if war **comes** but we **are talking** now of when." School broadcasts are similar to Classroom lessons in this respect.

Face-to-face conversation, Social letters, Oral narratives, Broadcast discussions, Broadcast interviews, Parliamentary debate and Broadcast talks focus on interpersonal communication and/or information presentation. The informational focus is at the forefront in Popular writing, Hansards, Student writing and Press editorials. Press editorials use both present and past tense verbs and have close scores for past tense verbs (-0.03) and present tense verbs (-0.06).

Face-to-face conversation, Social letters and Oral narratives are three of the five registers with a narrative focus discussed in Section 4.3. Although these registers focus on narration, they also share an interpersonal focus and are bound to the deictic *here and now* of the discourse setting, i.e. these registers focus more on the present state of events. The speaker(s) and hearer(s) (or the writer in the case of Social letters) share a contextual setting and this leads to the frequent use of present tense verbs. These registers use the present tense when there is an informational or interpersonal focus, but use past tense verbs as a MEANS to understand and recount experiences when narratives serve to facilitate understanding.

Example 37 from Oral narratives uses the present tense for sharing information or stating generalities and opinions:

> 37) Uh I don't think there is any discrimination in the publishing houses as such I think the situation is simply that fewer women have been writing again for obvious reasons that probably I don't know what the situation is now but there have been less educated women because it is only very recently that we are beginning to see many many girls you know going to school In certain districts in this country you'll find there are more girls in school than boys at certain levels in the primary school <S1A030K>

Ong (2004 [1982]) remarks that Oral narratives worldwide tend to emphasise present events, rather than focusing on the unchangeable past. This explains why present tense verbs have a positive score for this register. Thus, the same MEANS or features can be multi-functional in the sense that they are subject to the demands of competing, yet partially overlapping, ENDS.

4.5.1.2 Expressing Causation: non-finite causative clauses versus the causative subordinator because, causative verbs and causative preposition verbs

The causative subordinator *because* is a peripheral narrativity feature, since it is not frequently used in Fiction. However, especially spoken registers seem to prefer the lexical resource *because* to express causation. Two registers with a primary focus on narration use *because* frequently: Oral narratives (2.58)

and Face-to-face conversation (1.26). Other registers with positive scores for the subordinator *because* are Broadcast discussions (1.39), Broadcast discussions (1.39), Parliamentary debates (1.31), Broadcast interviews (0.93), Classroom lessons (0.90), Hansards (0.40) and Broadcast talks (0.07).

Biber *et al.* (1999:822, 1050) point out that conversational discourse often focuses on "explaining one's own or others' thoughts, feelings and actions", so it is to be expected that reason and cause adverbial clauses are frequently employed. The causative subordinator *because* seems to be the preferred feature in spoken discourse. Non-finite causative clauses are a more complex tool for the expression of causation and are more frequent in the written registers.

Due to the high positive scores for the causative subordinator *because* in Oral narratives (2.58), the feature could possibly be reconsidered as a core narrativity feature. Other registers that primarily focus on narration with positive scores for *because* are Face-to-face conversation (1.26) and Social letters (0.15). These results indicate that even though the feature is not one of the 11 core narrativity features, it plays a role in encoding narrativity in ICE-EA. However, further investigation is needed to determine how a range of causative subordinators such as *because*, *as* and *since* are used in the corpus, before the causative subordinator *because* can be labelled as a core narrativity feature.

Written registers with positive scores for the causative subordinator *because* are Press editorials (0.07), Social letters (0.11) and Student writing (0.15). Student writing has a relatively high frequency of the lexical resource, possibly because East African English students have not yet mastered more complex or grammatical means for expressing Causation, or simply because the students write more like they speak.

Van Rooy and Terblanche (2006) compared student writing from the Tswana Learner Corpus (see Van Rooy & Schäfer, 2003) and the Louvain Corpus of Native British and American Student Essays (see Granger *et al.*, 2009) using a multi-dimensional, corpus-based approach. Their results indicate that student writing resembles spoken discourse more than written discourse (Van Rooy & Terblanche, 2006:178). The latter explanation may also be behind the higher score for *because* in Social letters where writers use a colloquial tone similar to spoken discourse. Press editorials make use of the causative subordinator *because* and non-finite causative clauses due to the emphasis in editorials on *who* caused *what*.

Causative verbs have a positive score in the following registers: Broadcast talks (0.39), Legal writing (0.01), Popular writing (0.22), School broadcasts (0.22), Speeches (0.22) and Student writing (0.18). Legal writing, Popular writing and Student writing are written registers and Broadcast talks, School broadcasts and Speeches are spoken discourse. The example below has extracts from Broadcast talks with different **causative verbs**:

38) In hospitals malaria death ranged from three to five per cent of all admissions and it alone **causes** twelve to fifteen per cent of the childhood deaths <…>
With this background it is high time to devise strategies to **prevent** and control these public health problems <…>
Because of their crucial role in the society **let** all those concerned come up with tangible solutions to these health problems facing women and children <S2B035BT>

Biber *et al.* (1999:366) found that in British and American English, causative verbs are relatively rare across registers. Contrary to the results in the *LGSWE*, East African English Academic writing (-0.16) does not use causative verbs more often than other registers. The causative verbs (*affect, allow, assist, cause, enable, ensure, force, guarantee, help, influence, let, permit, prevent* and *require*) analysed in the dissertation are not indicative of narrativity in ICE-EA. In hindsight, these verbs can be judged as peripheral to especially fictional narratives, because they do not reflect a wide range of causative meanings used across formal and informal discourse.

Causative preposition verbs have positive scores for nine registers in ICE-EA. The spoken registers with a positive score for causative preposition verbs are Broadcast discussions (0.12), Broadcast interviews (0.01), Broadcast talks (0.13), Hansards (0.19), School broadcasts (0.35) and Speeches (0.08). The three written registers with positive scores are Academic writing (0.35), Instructional writing (0.04) and Student writing (0.58). The verbs *lead to, come from, result in, contribute to, call for* + noun phrase were analysed in the dissertation, but are considered peripheral to narrativity at this stage due to the low score for the prototypical narrative register, Fiction (-0.29), and the corresponding low score for Oral narratives (-0.17). It is hypothesised that the causative preposition verbs are more likely to be indicative of scientific exposition and information presentation, which explains the high score for Student writing (0.58) and Academic writing (0.35). However, in-depth analyses of causative preposition verbs are beyond the scope of the present study.

4.5.1.3 Second person pronouns

The use of second person pronouns is frequent in the following spoken registers: Face-to-face conversation (1.47), Oral narratives (0.70), Broadcast discussions (0.37) and School broadcasts (0.11). These results can be explained when one considers the interactional nature of spoken discourse. The empathetic or participatory focus of Oral narratives (Ong, 2004 [1982]) is reflected in the high frequencies for first person pronouns and second person pronouns in East African English Oral narratives.

In ICE-EA, writers stick to more traditional second person pronoun usage than in Fludernik's (2003) corpus of English Fiction, since East African English Fiction does not use the second person pronoun to address the reader and pull him/her into the narrative. Written registers with positive scores for second person pronouns are Social letters (1.42), Business letters (0.89) and Instructional writing (0.10). Social letters are informal and closely resemble speech in some texts. Therefore, Social letters are a type of written interpersonal interaction with an informal focus on narration.

Business letters, however, are a type of interpersonal interaction that is decidedly more formal and do not have a narrative focus:

> 39) RE: VISIT TO MARIDADI FABRICS Oral narratives 18TH OCTOBER, 1994
> We send **you** our warm greetings from Maridadi Fabrics hoping that **you** are doing well at **your** work after **your** recent travel to Germany.

We kindly invite **you** to visit Maridadi Fabrics as agreed during our telephone conversation on 7th October, 1994. We know that **you** must be very busy at this time however, we hope that **you** will have a little time to pay us a visit on the date requested above.
We send **you** a map for direction regarding the whereabouts of Maridadi Fabrics.
Yours Sincerely,
<name/>
General Manager. <W1B-BK84>

The use of second person pronouns in the Business letter above is clearly used to address the receiver of the letter. Business letters focus on interpersonal interaction of a less personal kind, as well as information presentation. Similar to Business letters in the focus on information presentation, the example below is from Instructional writing and has many **second person pronouns**:

40) Even if **you**'ve been a full time mum for the past ten years, if **you** put your mind to it **you**'ll be able to think of at least 50 people **you** could contact who might be useful to **you** in **your** hunt for a job. <W2D008K>

Instructional writing such as business advice frequently uses second person pronouns to focus on information presentation using an informal tone associated with interpersonal interaction in the corpus.

4.5.1.4 Modals and semi-modals

Fourteen of the 22 registers in ICE-EA have a positive score for modals and semi-modals. The written registers with a positive score are Instructional writing (0.94), Social letters (0.41), Press editorials (0.26), Business letters (0.23), Student writing (0.20) and Popular writing (0.03). The spoken registers with a positive score for modals and semi-modals are Broadcast discussions (0.79), Parliamentary debate (0.60), Hansards (0.42), Classroom lessons (0.37), School broadcasts (0.35), Oral narratives (0.24), Broadcast interviews (0.18) and Face-to-face conversation (0.13).

The example below from Instructional writing uses the **prediction/volition modal *will*** to convince the readers of the cause at hand. The **logical necessity** or **obligation modal *should*** and **semi-modal *have to*** are also used for this purpose:

41) Whether or not parliament **will** represent our interests **will** depend on the quality of the people we choose. Because those we elect pass laws and policies which affect all of us it is necessary that we **should** all vote to make sure that the candidate we elect **will** represent our views. <…> One only needs **to have** registered as a voter and **to have** been issued with a voters' card to vote.<W2D001K>

Biber *et al.* (1999:1049) mention that modals are very frequent in Conversation and this is also the case in ICE-EA. These results indicate that modals and semi-modals are a widely-attested linguistic feature in ICE-EA. However, modals and semi-modals are considered peripheral to narratives due to the low score for Fiction (-0.18). The frequency *across* registers is the best indicator that modals and semi-modals are not especially important in narratives, but are typical of East African English in general.

4.5.1.5 Epistemic stance adverbials

Epistemic stance adverbials have positive scores for ten registers. The spoken registers with positive scores are Oral narratives (2.55), Hansards (0.04), Face-to-face conversation (1.47), Classroom lessons (1.66), Broadcast interviews (1.26), Broadcast discussions (2.03), School broadcasts (0.08) and Speeches (0.28). The written registers with a positive score are Social letters (0.33) and Press editorials (0.04). The use of epistemic stance adverbials such as *actually, definitely, I think, I guess, in fact, maybe, no doubt, of course, perhaps* and *surely* is clearly more widespread in spoken than written East African English. The example below is from a Face-to-face conversation:

42) <$A> ***I guess*** the pain he <-_feel><+_feels> hurt there is this person he loves very much but apparently is far for him
<$B> uh the nature of the finals of the final line ***I think*** it's very emphatic but I can't write to see that oh my hopelessness
I can't write it ***I think*** it's very emphatic <-/>emphatic as to suggest that uh
but the way for this guy there is not to have education he feels some form of adoration from <-/>from what ***perhaps*** he would like to be or something like that <…>
They want to ***perhaps*** to have <./>some uh something better than just being mere contract workers <S1A014K>

The kind of waffling illustrated in Example 42 is typical of spoken discourse where the speaker does not want to come across too strong or is unsure of facts.

Oral narratives (2.55) have a very high score for epistemic stance adverbials in ICE-EA. Adverbials were included in the Labovian model as evaluative devices. The results of the present study reiterate the role of Evaluation in Oral narratives as described in Labov and Waletzky (2003 [1967]) and Labov (1972), since epistemic stance adverbials are most frequent in Oral narratives of all the ICE-EA registers.

The 18 original features of the narrativity model have been reduced to 11 core narrativity features in Chapter 4. The discussion in Section 4.5 explained why seven of the features were deemed peripheral to narrativity and looked at present tense verbs, second person pronouns, the causative subordinator *because*, causative verbs, modals and semi-modals, as well as epistemic stance adverbials in turn. Whereas the core narrativity features contribute directly as MEANS for the realisation of the END (making sense of experiences through narration), the peripheral features mainly contribute to other primary foci. In the next section, the registers are grouped in terms of text types such as information presentation or interpersonal interaction.

4.6 Grouping the registers with other foci according to text types

Figure 14: Different means for different ends

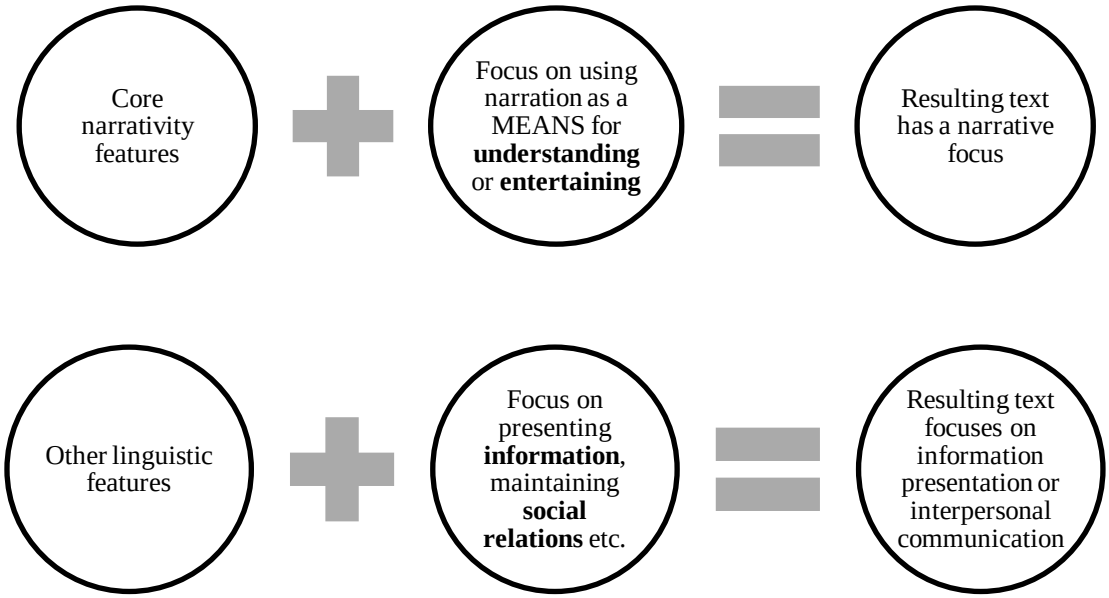


Figure 14 is a graphic representation of how the use of linguistic features leads to texts with different foci. The different foci lead to different ENDS. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Virtanen (1992) hypothesised that narrative is a more fundamental and 'basic' text type than descriptive, expository or argumentative text types. In the dissertation, I propose that registers that do not focus on narration as a MEANS for making sense of experience can have a range of functions such as persuasiveness, information presentation, scientific exposition or interpersonal interaction. These functions were loosely adapted from Biber's (1989:38) work on text types to suit the needs of the dissertation. I use simpler and fewer terms, but the basic underlying functions remain unchanged.

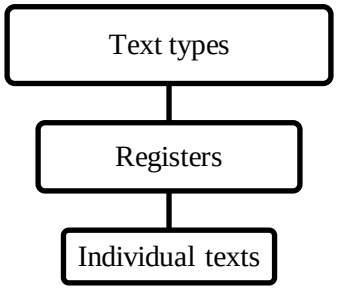
Biber (1989) identified eight text types based on his earlier multi-dimensional analysis of English. The original text types were intimate interpersonal interaction, informational interaction, scientific exposition, learned exposition, imaginative narrative, general narrative exposition, situated reportage and involved persuasion (Biber, 1989:38). These text types occur in different registers, but represent texts that have similar dimension characteristics. The term *register* refers to different contexts and situations of use, whereas the term *text types* refer to purely linguistic differences or similarities between texts (Biber, 1989:39).

In the dissertation, linguistic and functional similarities are used to group the registers into text types (refer to Figure 15). For example, Academic writing and Student writing do not have a primary narrative focus and fall under the text types scientific exposition and information presentation. Figure 15 below shows the classification system used in the present study.

Biber's (1989) original eight text types were reduced to five for the dissertation, based on the functional interpretation presented in this section. Some of Biber's text types were conflated into single categories in the dissertation, for example, 'imaginative narrative' and 'general narrative exposition' were grouped under 'narratives'. The reduced number of text types in the present study is based on the results for ICE-EA.

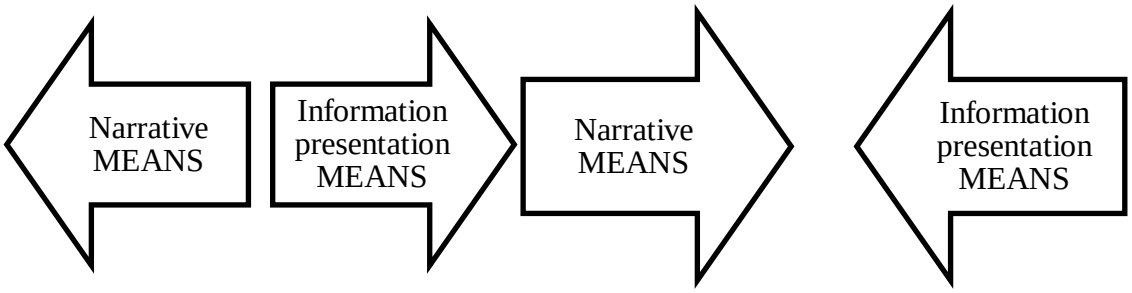
Note that Biber's (1989) original classification of text types was grouped based on specific linguistic features, but the present study does not group the registers according to linguistic features. The reason is that the narrativity model focuses solely on features associated with narratives in ICE-EA. In other words, the present study does not analyse the specific linguistic features associated with scientific exposition. The five text types are used in the dissertation to group the registers according to their ENDS, but I do not analyse the MEANS used to encode the text types unrelated to narrativity.

Figure 15: Levels of classification



Text types can be regarded as broader categories used to group registers according to their function (Biber, 1989; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:27). Figure 15 illustrates the classification system used in the dissertation. At the top of the hierarchy, text types are the broadest category. The dissertation focuses on narrative as a basic text type or MEANS to make sense of experiences, but there are four other basic text types in ICE-EA: persuasive texts, informative texts, scientific exposition and interpersonal interaction. The middle level of the hierarchy is the 22 registers in ICE-EA and the lower level represents individual texts. The latter is characterised by differences in style due to the idiolectal language use. At any level of the hierarchy, narrativity is a gradient phenomenon. A specific text may focus on scientific exposition, but have a paragraph or sentence that has a narrative focus. Figure 16 is a visual representation of the concept:

Figure 16: Competing and converging demands in a text



In the diagram with the diverging arrows, narrativity is conceptualised as a resource or MEANS that is used as a primary objective when the purpose or END of a text is narration. At the same time in the same text, information presentation can be a resource used when the primary objective is information presentation.

The diagram with the converging arrows illustrates the scenario when there are conflicting demands (i.e. narrative MEANS and information presentation MEANS) in a text, or when there is a secondary as well as primary objective. For instance, the primary objective in a Press news report is to present factual information using features associated with information presentation as a MEANS, but the secondary objective can be to achieve the main objective by using the narrative MEANS to make sense of events.

The grouping of registers according to text types is discussed only briefly, since the dissertation focuses on narrativity and further discussion of the other text types is beyond the scope of the study. The linguistic characteristics of text types are not discussed either, because the narrativity model was not developed to analyse features associated with each of the other text types.

4.6.1 Persuasion

Biber (1989:35) notes that persuasive and argumentative texts have a colloquial and interpersonal rather than informational focus. The following registers in ICE-EA fall under the persuasive text type: Press editorials, Parliamentary debate and Hansards. These registers were identified as persuasive in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) after a multi-dimensional analysis of ICE-EA was done[26]. In other words, according to the 67 linguistic features in Biber (1988) and Van Rooy *et al.* (2010), these registers had a high score for persuasiveness.

Press editorials contain columns regularly written by East African authors in a humorous yet critical fashion to address social issues (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:10). The main focus of Press editorials is on subjective commentary and not on narration. In Example 43 below, the writer addresses a generic

[26] Instructional writing is another register with high scores for persuasiveness in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010). However, in the dissertation Instructional writing is discussed under information presentation.

reader directly using the **second person pronoun** *you*. Note the colloquial tone, combined with a judgemental attitude that serves as implicit argument for the need to speak 'correct' English:

> 43) If **you** cannot speak English, **you** feel out of place and it is embarrassing not to **you** alone, but even Italians, Swedes, Germans, Chinese, Bulgarians etc. <W2E012T>

Parliamentary debate and **Hansards** are very similar registers, since Hansards are transcriptions of Parliamentary debate or 'written as spoken' discourse (Hudson-Ettle, 1999:7). The results also show that these registers have similar scores for the core narrativity features and both are grouped under the medial negative scores: Hansards have a score of -0.56 and Parliamentary debate has a score of -1.08. An example of a persuasive extract from Parliamentary debate is given below. The Agency features **proper nouns for persons** and **first person pronouns** are in bold:

> 44) **Mr. Speaker, Sir**, **I** think if the amendment being asked for is put in place, **we** may be able to revive this particular business and, in the process, promote other businesses which are allied to these liquors.
> **Mr. Speaker, Sir**, it is also important to unban these brews for another reason, namely that it is a known fact that in the neighbouring countries, notably Tanzania and Uganda, they have what has come to be known as their national spirits.
> These are the Konyaki in the case of Tanzania and Waragi in the case of Uganda.
> **I** think <-_these><+_this> is already proving to be a reliable source of income for these countries. <S1B060HK>

The extract does not display a range of features associated with narrativity. As the example above shows, Parliamentary debate and Hansards have an argumentative focus and the same can be said for Press editorials.

Dimension 4 in Biber's (1988:111) multi-dimensional analysis of English is 'overt expression of persuasion'. Two different types of persuasion are mentioned: (1) the explicit marking of the speaker's/writer's own point of view, or (2) argumentative discourse that aims to persuade the addressee. In the dissertation, Press editorials are an example of the explicit expression of the columnist's point of view, whereas Hansards and Parliamentary debate are argumentative discourse.

Overall, the persuasive text type shows very little overlap with the MEANS or ENDS of narratives in ICE-EA. Hansards, Parliamentary debate and Press editorials all focus primarily on presenting an argument and using persuasion to do so, rather than making sense of experiences, which is the END of narratives.

4.6.2 Information presentation

There is a difference between intimate interpersonal interaction and informational interaction (Biber, 1989:23). On the one hand, intimate interpersonal interaction focuses on maintaining interpersonal relationships and includes registers such as Face-to-face conversation and Telephone conversations between friends. On the other hand, informational interaction focuses on conveying information and

concerns person-to-person interaction with an informational focus such as Interviews and Face-to-face conversations in a professional setting (Biber, 1989:23).

In the dissertation, the information presentation text type is the largest group of all the text types, including narrativity. Biber's (1989) grouping was done after a multi-dimensional analysis of L1 English and he found that General narratives and Imaginary narratives account for most of the linguistic variation compared to the other text types. However, the narrativity model in the dissertation uses different linguistic features to identify registers with a narrative focus and most East African English registers are not grouped under the narrative text type.

The following registers had high dimension scores for informational production in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010): Broadcast news, Business letters, Academic writing, Instructional writing, Popular writing, Press news reports, Speeches, Broadcast talks, Student writing and Legal writing. In the dissertation, Academic writing and Student writing admittedly have an informative focus, but they are discussed as a separate text type labelled scientific exposition.

Broadcast interviews, Classroom lessons and Broadcast discussions have high scores for Dimension 6 ('online information elaboration') in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010), but are included under the text type information presentation in the dissertation. These three registers are spoken and as such have characteristics of discourse influenced by real-time constraints (Van Rooy *et al.*, 2010), but still have an informational rather than interpersonal focus. School broadcasts are also included under information presentation in the present study.

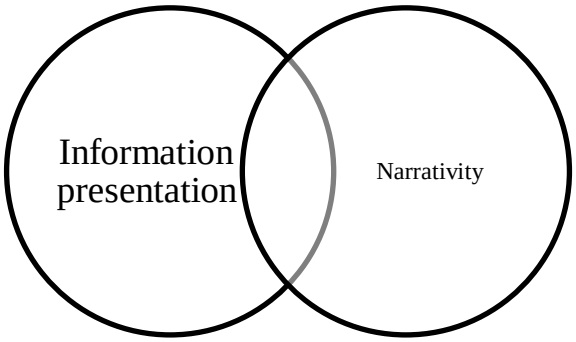
Broadcast news has positive scores for four of the core narrativity features: proper nouns for persons (1.67), perfect aspect (0.87), past tense verbs (0.75) and time adverbials (0.24). The overall score for all the core narrativity features is 0.68 and Broadcast news has no positive scores for any of the peripheral narrativity features. A typical example of Broadcast news is given below. Note the frequent use of **proper nouns for persons** that is associated with news reportage with an emphasis on information presentation. Agency is at the forefront in Broadcast news and **proper nouns for persons** are in **bold**. The perfect aspect, past tense verbs, and a time adverbials form part of the Contextualisation group. Non-finite causative clauses are used to denote Causation in Broadcast news, but the example below does not have instances of this feature.

45) Kenya is to receive a grant of one hundred and twenty million shillings from the British government in emergency support for the essential drugs programme
A senior UNICEF official **Dr James Maneno** has said that the low measles coverage in the country threatens the achievement of the mid-decade immunization goals
The Attorney General Mr <name/> has said that he will organize consultations on street children in November this year to help improve their quality of life
Exiled Haitian **President Jean Bertrand Aristide** has insisted that military leaders in the country should leave under terms of the United Nations resolutions which force the restoration of democratic rule in the country <…>
A soldier and three rebels were killed in an ambush on a major highway to Sierra Leone's Diamond Ridge corner region

The **Government Minister Tom <name/>** said in Freetown <-_>in Freetown<-/> yesterday that the deaths occurred during a three-hour battle shortly after a five truck convoy left the central town of <?/>Mkali one hundred and ten miles East of Freetown
Three Nigerian soldiers were injured in another ambush on the same route a short time later <S2B009AK>

The main focus of the example above (and Broadcast news in general) is on factual information presentation, rather than narration. Figure 17 shows the hazy boundary and overlap between information presentation and narration in Broadcast news. In other words, Broadcast news has a dual focus on information presentation and narration, but the primary focus is on information presentation.

Figure 17: The boundary between text types for Broadcast news



Classroom lessons are grouped under information presentation. Hudson-Ettle and Schmied (1999:7) note that lessons are monologic in East Africa; the students do not actively participate in the classroom on a continuous basis. An extract from a Classroom lesson is given in Example 46. The Agency features (**first person pronouns**, **third person pronouns, activity verbs** and **proper nouns for persons**) are in bold. The Contextualisation features (time adverbials and place adverbials, past tense verbs, perfect aspect) are underlined. The evaluative stance adverbial ***I think*** is also marked. Causation is expressed by the *non-finite causative clause* at the end of the passage:

46) **They** started to construct air raid shelters also trenches were dug Trenches were dug
They also distributed gas masks to their population to the civilians gas mask masks were supplied to the population and conscription was introduced in Britain Conscription was introduced in Britain and above all a race for armaments began
A race for armaments began
These **Europeans** now started to arm themselves just like uh the **Europeans** before the First World War when there was a race for armaments
Now here again it is started
But ***I think*** the timing was somehow late because the war was just around the corner
So it was no longer now
From then onwards it was no longer a question of if war **comes**
We are not talking about if wa**r comes** but **we** are talking now of when <-/>when the war comes <…>
Let **us** start on the politics of the Second World War the politics of the Second World War
The interpretation **I**'ll not go into details much <-/>much detail because **I** have already mentioned them when **I** was talking about this

The interpretation was that this was Hitler's war The interpretation was that **Hitler** and **his Nazis** were responsible for the Second World War and **their** contributions were as follows **Their** contributions were as follows
One the nazi ideology The nazi ideology was inherently expansionist and aggressive
The Nazi ideology was inherently expansionist and aggressive
You have seen how aggressive **they** were and **I**'ll not <-_>**I**'ll not<-/> <./>rep repeat that
So **their** expansionist and war-like ideas eventually *led to the outbreak of the war* <S2B052K>

In Example 46, the lesson focused on World War II and therefore has many of the features associated with narrativity. In fact, Classroom lessons have positive scores for seven of the core narrativity features: past tense verbs (0.06), third person pronouns (0.46), activity verbs (0.49), place adverbials (0.71), time adverbials (0.80), first person pronouns (0.04) and evaluative adjectives (-0.04). The positive score for present tense verbs (0.99) is due to production pressures of real-time constraints, which are also responsible for the repetitions of words and phrases (e.g. "I'll not go into **details much** <-/>**much detail**"). Repetition is a common occurrence in spoken discourse (Biber *et al.*, 1999:1042). The overall score for all the core narrativity features in Classroom lessons is 1.79, so similarly to Broadcast news, the register forms part of an intermediate group with an informational focus.

School broadcasts and Classroom lessons share an informational focus. The example below is aimed at teachers and councillors at school. The present tense verbs and past tense verbs are underlined and **first person pronouns** are in bold:

47) <$A> **We** present the work of school guidance counsellors for all **our** listeners and especially to the teacher counsellors
<$A> Programme two The essentials for good guidance and counselling
<$B> Last week **we** talked of the meaning of guidance and counselling and of the student's need for this kind of assistance
We recognised that the student must be at the centre of **our** thinking as **we** plan and operate our educational system
<S2B077K>

As the example shows, **School broadcasts** are not prototypically narrative. The use of present tense verbs (0.89) is more prominent than past tense verbs (-0.41). The core narrativity features that have positive scores for the register are: evaluative adjectives (0.59), third person pronouns (0.42), activity verbs (0.33), time adverbials (0.29), non-finite causative clauses (0.03) and place adverbials (0.01). The overall score for the core narrativity features is 0.49, which indicates that School broadcasts do not have a narrative focus. Rather, the register focuses on information presentation and is characterised by some of the typical characteristics of spoken discourse such as present tense verbs and an emphasis on the deictic *here and now*.

Broadcast interviews have higher scores for present tense verbs (0.89) than past tense verbs (-0.37). The core narrativity features with a positive score for Broadcast interviews are time adverbials (0.58), activity verbs (0.45), place adverbials (0.40), first person pronouns (0.30), emotional stance verb *feel* (0.21), third person pronouns (0.18), evaluative adjectives (0.18), non-finite causative clauses (0.08) and

perfect aspect (0.01). The overall score for the core narrativity features is 1.62. Example 48 primarily focuses on information presentation, since a process is described. Nonetheless, the extract also has narrativity features such as **first person pronouns, third person pronouns**, **activity verbs** and time adverbials:

48) <$B> **I**'m told that uh you are also embarking on a programme of using raw materials because of the constraints of foreign exchange
Uh could you tell **us** something on this programme
<$C> Uh really **we**'d send **our** <-/>**our** report **getting** the raw material quantity **we** need from the Bank of Tanzania but **we** didn't **get**
Then **we** are now **using** some other companies which uh **they** need paints **they** just bring **us** uh the quantity of paints **they** want
Then **we** can **we** write down uh a list of raw material **we** need for making that <-_paints><+_paint> and then **they** just **send** a letter to the Bank of Tanzania that's just to cover foreign currency then **they bring** the materials then **we** make the paint for you <S1BINT10T>

Example 48 above illustrates that although the register as a whole has a medial positive score for the core narrativity features, the extract describes a process using the core narrativity features. In other words, the extract use narrative features as a MEANS to describe a process.

Broadcast discussions and **Broadcast talks** are spoken discourse grouped under information presentation. An excerpt from an informational text type from Broadcast discussions is given in Example 49. The present tense verbs and the place adverbial are underlined:

49) The international community is observing Women's day International Women's Day is an annual event marked on March the eighth by a host of activities aimed at advancing the status of women
It is observed at both national and international levels
The Declaration and Platform of Action reflects a new international commitment to the goals of equality development and peace for all women everywhere <S1B036CT>

This extract clearly has an informational rather than narrative focus – typical core narrativity features such as past tense verbs, third person pronouns, proper nouns for persons, place adverbials or emotional stance verb *feel* are not used. An extract from Broadcast discussions that focuses more on narration is given below. Past tense verbs,time adverbials and place adverbials are underlined; **first person pronouns** and **third person pronouns** are in bold and ***emotional stance verb* feel** is in bold, underlined italics:

50) <$A> And in terms of uh uh maybe success stories
Would you be in a position perhaps to pinpoint one case or two that you thought was really outstanding in which uh the Crisis Centre emerged successful
<$B> Yes uh there are two kinds of successes here that **I** <-/>**I** think **I** should say that
The first kind is where a woman whose uh <-/>whose husband was battering **her** and uh **he** was battering **her** all the time
and **she** came to see **us** and **we** asked **us we** asked **her** whether **she** wanted to press charges in court whether **she** wanted to sue for compensation or whether **she** wanted a divorce
and **she** said no that **she** was still in love with **her** husband
and ***we felt*** that okay this marriage can be salvaged
We <-/>**we** <-/>**we** can offer counselling to the husband as well because batterers are also victims in **their** own way

We called the husband forward and **he** came thank God **he** came there and **we** counselled **him**
and **we** <-/>**we went** back to the root cause of the problem and **we** discovered that **his** mother was also battered by **his** father
and **he** thought that this is a way of life this is how husbands live with **their** wives
and **we** tried to tell **him** that this is not how people live and slowly over <-/>over a period of time **he** came to accept that battering is bad and **he** was ready to reform
So ***we felt*** that **they** had to come for <./>counsel <-/>for more counselling in the Centre
but **I** think **their** marriage survived and **I** think **they**'re quite happy now
That is one success story <S1B045T>

As the example above shows, there is a narrative focus in some texts or sections of texts in Broadcast discussions. The use of past tense verbs (-0.76) is low compared to present tense verbs (1.20), but the extract above frequently uses the former. Time adverbials (0.38), **first person pronouns** (0.38), **activity verbs** (0.28), place adverbials (0.16) and evaluative adjectives (0.09) are all core narrativity features with positive scores in Broadcast discussions. The overall score for the core narrativity features is -0.41, which signifies a register that does not primarily focus on narration, although narrative elements are used from time to time as the need arises to share and make sense of experiences. However, the primary objective for Broadcast discussions is a focus on information presentation.

Legal writing has an information focus, but also has positive scores for four of the core narrativity features, namely past tense verbs (0.79), non-finite causative clauses (0.49), third person pronouns (0.35) and perfect aspect (0.22). Except for non-finite causative clauses, these are also the features associated with narrative concerns in Biber (1988). This means that Legal writing sporadically makes use of narrativity features as a MEANS to facilitate understanding, although the primary objective for the register remains information presentation. The example below is a typical text from Legal writing in ICE-EA. The **proper nouns for persons** are in bold and past tense verbs are underlined:

51) The appellant, <name/> s/o <name/>, <-/wassentenced> to death by the High Court sitting in Biharamulo (<name/>), consequent upon his conviction for the murder of one, <name/> s/o <name/> on or about the 8th day of April 1989 at Buhororo village within Ngara district, Kagera region.
Mr. <name/>, learned advocate argued the appeal before us on behalf of the appellant while **Mr. <name/>, learned Principal State Attorney** argued in support of the High Court decision. <…> In rebuttal **Mr. <name/>** argued that the identifying witness, (PW.1), was a neighbour of the appellant and that there was no reason why the witness should have told lies that **she** identified the appellant as one of the bandits who attacked and killed the deceased.
<W1C009T>

Press news reports are grouped under the information text type. The register has positive scores for five of the core narrativity features: proper nouns for persons (0.52), third person pronouns (0.21), past tense verbs (0.12), non-finite causative clauses (0.07) and perfect aspect (0.04). However, even though five of the core narrative features are used, the overall score for the core narrativity features is in the medial range (-1.11). This means that Press news reports have a primary focus on information presentation and a secondary focus on narrativity.

Instructional writing in ICE-EA consists of administrative or regulatory texts (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:9). The example below is from a business tender and has many *modals and semi-modals*:

52) Bids *should be* valid for 45 days from the date of bid opening, No bid *may be* withdrawn in the interval between the deadline for submission of bids and the expiration of the period of the bid validity. Withdrawal of bids during this interval *will* result in forfeiture of bidder's bid security. <W2D002T>

Modals are usually associated with persuasive texts (Biber, 1988:111). However, in Example 52 modal use does not convey persuasiveness, but rather stipulates specifications for a business transaction. Although Instructional writing had a high score for Dimension 4 concerned with persuasiveness in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010), the register also had a high score for Dimension 1, informational production. The frequent use of modals in Instructional writing signifies a register concerned with factual and informative representation of information as stipulated in tenders or other official documents.

Popular writing was sourced from East African newspapers, since there are not many English-medium magazines that cover topics such as health and technology in East Africa (Hudson-Ettle & Schmied, 1999:9). The example below from Popular writing focuses on information presentation:

53) According to the United Nations, the most vulnerable are the more than three million of the refugee population who are accommodated in Africa. Famine and internecine ethnic and political conflicts and persecutions in sub-Saharan Africa have triggered a massive displacement of populations and large-scale migratory movements, both within and across state boundaries. <W2B019T>

Popular writing primarily focuses on information presentation, as Example 53 shows. The extract is a factual and informationally dense account of famine in Africa.

Business letters fall under information presentation. Example 54 has many **first person pronouns** and **second person pronouns**:

54) Dear <name/>,
RE: GROUP LIFE AND PENSION SCHEME
We thank **you** for **your** letters of November 27, 1990 and December 19, 1990 on the above subject.
We confirm that **we** are now arranging for suitable quotations based on **your** letter of December 19, 1990 and **we** expect to send **you** the quotations for **your** consideration within the next two weeks.
Yours Sincerely,
<name/>
CHIEF EXECUTIVE <W1B-BK63>

The focus in Business letters is on maintaining professional relationships and conveying information. The frequent use of first person pronouns and second person pronouns is indicative of the interpersonal relationships that are maintained through these letters.

As the preceding discussion showed, information presentation is the largest group of text types. Eleven ICE-EA registers primarily focus on information presentation, namely Broadcast news, Business letters, Instructional writing, Classroom lessons, School broadcasts, Broadcast interviews, Broadcast discussions, Broadcast talks, Legal writing, Press news reports and Popular writing. These registers have a primary

focus on information presentation, although specific texts or sections of texts may have other simultaneous or primary foci such as narration. The next section looks at the text type scientific exposition.

4.6.3 Scientific exposition

Academic writing and Student writing had high scores for Dimension 1, 'Informational production', in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010). In the dissertation, these registers are classified under the text type scientific exposition. The multi-dimensional model in Biber (1988) that was used in Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) does not have a dimension labelled scientific exposition. Although these registers have an informational focus, they are different from specifically news reportage due to the focus on scientific exposition.

The example from Academic writing below is an extract from the introduction of a scholarly article that does not make use of narrative features. The primary objective of the example is to convey information and sustain a line of argumentation. Examples 55 and 56 do not use any of the core narrativity features. The narrativity features are not used as a MEANS to make sense of experiences in these extracts from Student writing and Academic writing and the primary objective (the only visible objective in the extracts) is scientific exposition. Note the frequent use of nouns and complex noun phrases such as *population situation*, *spatio-temporal context*, *development planning processes* etc. in Example 55:

> 55) Understanding of the *population situation* in a *spatio-temporal context* is of paramount *importance* for not only national but also regional *development planning processes*. This *concern* underlines the *need* for collecting, compiling and publishing *demographic data* by *national governments*, particularly using various *sources* of *data*. <W2A020K>

The example from Student writing below also has a non-narrative focus and makes frequent use of nouns such as *confederal* (*sic*) *constitution, regional government, the Acts of Union* etc:

> 56) The distinguishing *characteristic* of a *confederal constitution* is that the central *government* does not operate directly upon *the people* but through *regional governments*. This is not *the case* with *the Acts of Union*. *The Acts of Union* are therefore some *form* of *a federal constitution. The question* is what form? <W2A001T>

The frequent use of nouns and comparably infrequent use of verbs and animate referents in Examples 55 and 56 are typical of scientific exposition according to Biber (1988:137). Academic writing is the register with the second lowest score (-4.71) for the core narrativity features and Student writing has the fifth lowest score (-3.01), since these registers primarily focus on scientific exposition.

Scientific exposition in ICE-EA does not make frequent use of narration as a MEANS to make sense of experiences. In fact, the text type scientific exposition is on the opposite end of the narrativity continuum, compared to registers with a primary focus on narration. However, since narrativity is a gradient phenomenon that can occur in sections of a text or in the register as a whole, Academic writing

and Student writing cannot be classified as 'non-narrative' across the board. An example of an Academic text which makes use of the core narrativity features to reach an END was given in the beginning of the present Chapter (Example 27).

4.6.4 Interpersonal interaction

Speeches have an overall score of -1.30 for the core narrativity features, which signifies a register with a medial score that does not primarily focus on narration as Example 57 below illustrates. The **pronouns** are in bold and time adverbials and place adverbials are underlined:

57) **I** think **he** needs to be congratulated for the active manner in which **he** has been able to uh <-/>to <-/>to promote the activities of uh this uh gathering
We have amongst **us** Mr Vice Mr Chancellor some members of the diplomatic corps
They happen to be ex-alumnae too particularly **our** friend from the Canadian High from the Kenya High Commission uh
We are present <./>prese pleased to have here with **us** other ambassadors and High Commissioners as well
This uh seminar would not have been possible had it not been for the active and constant intellectual assistance that **we**'ve received over the last thirty years
And really it is the last thirty years from a group of countries who stand out for uh remarkably in this respect uh
I'm talking about Norway Denmark and Sweden through **their** agencies NORAD DANIDA and SIDA <S2B041AT>

The example above from a Speech clearly does not focus on narration, even though some of the core narrativity features are present in the extract. The use of first person pronouns and third person pronouns, as well time adverbials and place adverbials, reflects the involved and interpersonal nature of the register. In Van Rooy *et al.* (2010), Speeches had a more involved than informational focus. This is due to the spoken mode and real-time constraints of conversation.

The core narrativity features in Example 57 illustrate that these linguistic features are not solely used as a MEANS to encode narrativity, but are also used in different contexts to reach different ENDS. In the case of Speeches, the END is to convey information in a structured manner, while at the same time retaining some of the characteristics of spoken discourse.

As the discussion of the four text types that do not primarily focus on narration shows, narrativity is a gradient phenomenon that cannot be explained by a simple binary distinction between 'narrative texts' and 'non-narrative' texts as in Biber (1988). When narrativity is regarded as a MEANS towards an END, it becomes possible to explain why some texts or sections of texts have higher frequencies of the core narrativity features than others. The distinction in Section 4.4 between medial and low focus on narrativity is complimentary to the functional distinction in Section 4.6 between text types that have other primary objectives such as information presentation, persuasion, interpersonal interaction or scientific exposition.

4.7 Comparing the narrativity model to Biber's narrative dimension

Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) performed a multi-dimensional analysis according to the method explained in Biber (1988) to compare British and American English to East African English. Their results indicated that the dimension means for Dimension 2 ('narrative versus non-narrative concerns') were lower for the East African data than in Biber (1988) (Van Rooy *et al.*, 2010:326). This means that ICE-EA had lower scores for the features Biber associates with narrative text than first language corpora. Using Biber's model led the authors to comment that the dimension scores seem to imply that, except for Fiction, East African users do not use "narrative elements of any type"[27] (Van Rooy *et al.*, 2010:328). They were inclined to question whether the findings for East African English registers were valid, or whether the findings were an artefact of Biber's (1988) multi-dimensional model.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Biber (1988) set out to investigate a range of functions in language, only one of which was 'narrative versus non-narrative concerns'. By focusing solely on the narrative function or narration as a MEANS for making sense of experiences, the narrativity model initially included 18 linguistic features, compared to the six features associated with narrative concerns in Biber (1988).

The dissertation set out to model narrativity in East African English and the results speak for themselves: by using the extended list of features in the narrativity model, narrativity emerges as a gradient phenomenon that occurs across registers in ICE-EA. Therefore, the narrativity model is a more accurate description or better model of narrativity than Dimension 2 in Biber's (1988) multi-dimensional analysis. The narrativity model presents a more fine-grained and nuanced view of narrativity, as opposed to Biber's binary distinction between narrative and non-narrative registers.

The six features Biber (1988:109) associates with narrative discourse are past tense verbs, third person pronouns, perfect aspect, public verbs, synthetic negation and present participial clauses. It is important to note that unlike Biber's study, the narrativity model is *not* the result of a multidimensional analysis. However, it is clear that there are some similarities between Biber's Dimension 2 and the core narrativity features in the dissertation.

Features that frequently co-occur in texts or registers with a narrative focus in both Biber (1988) and the narrativity model are past tense verbs, third person pronouns and perfect aspect. This means that two different methodologies (multi-dimensional analysis in Biber and *a priori* modelling based on previous research in the case of the dissertation) can lead to comparable results. For example, in Biber's study, Fiction emerged as the prototypical narrative register (Biber, 1988:135). The results in the dissertation support this finding.

Whereas Biber's model did not focus on narrativity, the dissertation sheds light on narrativity, specifically in a New Variety of English. Biber's model includes six features that co-occur in registers with a narrative focus, but the dissertation analysed 11 core narrativity features. Thus, the latter is an

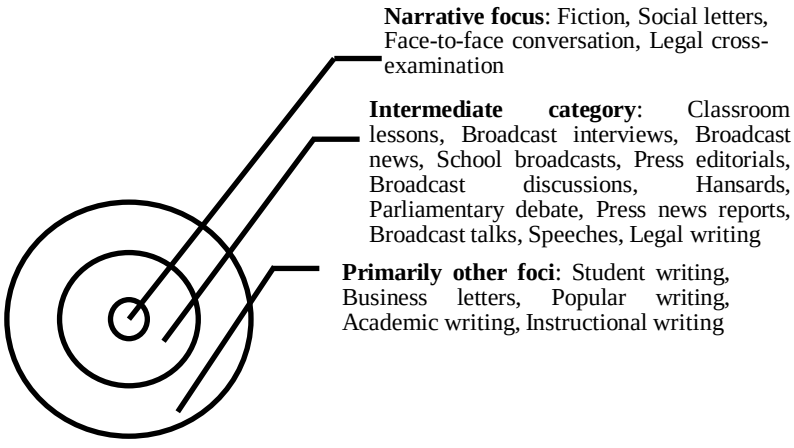
[27] The 'narrative elements' refer to the seven features associated with narrative concerns in Biber (1988.)

improvement in the number of features analysed, as well as the level of analysis. In Biber (1988), narrative concerns were one of six dimensions and he does not analyse narratives in detail. The research presented here is an in-depth analysis of narrativity and the corpus-based method allowed for extensive analysis of the whole ICE-EA corpus.

The narrativity model includes eight novel features not included in Biber's (1988) Dimension 2: proper nouns for persons, activity verbs, time adverbials, place adverbials, emotional stance verb *feel*, first person pronouns, evaluative adjectives and non-finite causative clauses. The extended feature list in the dissertation led to a gradient view of narrativity that is not reflected in Biber (1988), who views narrative as a function that is either present or absent. In other words, Biber makes a binary distinction between 'narrative versus non-narrative concerns', although most of his other dimensions show a gradient distribution. Therefore, his Dimension 2 possibly presented an inadequate account of narrativity in American and British English.

In the dissertation, the cut and dried distinction between narrative and non-narrative registers or text is rejected. Rather, narrative *focus* is defined as a pervasive quality found across registers to a greater or lesser extent. In other words, a narrativity continuum emerges where Fiction has a definitive narrative focus, but a register like Academic writing primarily focuses on scientific exposition. The dissertation shows how narrativity is a MEANS or form used across registers in order to facilitate understanding of experiences or events, which is the END or function. The gradient nature of narratives as a MEANS towards an END is illustrated in Figure 18:

Figure 18: Narrativity across ICE-EA registers



The dissertation models narrativity in East African English, so the inner circle is representative of registers or texts with a narrative focus. The intermediate or medial circle represents the registers that either have a secondary objective such as information presentation; or information presentation is the primary objective and narration is the secondary objective. The outer circle is far removed from a narrative focus and for the most, the primary objective in these registers is not to use narration as a MEANS to share experiences or provide entertainment. The low scores indicate these registers are characterised by primary objectives such as information presentation or scientific exposition.

Registers with both 'narrative and non-narrative concerns' in Biber (1988:142) are Speeches, Social letters and Face-to-face conversation. In the dissertation, these registers also have an intermediate focus on narrativity. In these registers, "narratives are typically framed within some larger interactive or expository discourse" (Biber, 1988:142). Biber hypothesises that the narrative in these registers is subordinate to a larger purpose. In the terminology of the dissertation, narrativity is not the primary function/MEANS in these registers, although specific texts or sections of texts can use the narrativity features to reach the END of making sense of experiences.

Registers with low scores in Biber (1988:135) and low scores for the core narrativity features in the dissertation, are Business letters[28], Academic prose and Instructional writing. In other words, even though I chose the initial list of 18 narrativity features prior to the analyses, Biber's multivariate statistical methods led to similar findings regarding the registers that do not primarily focus on narration. Of course, there are more differences than similarities between the two studies. However, both studies can successfully identify prototypically narrative text and text that does not primarily focus on narration. By and large, the narrativity model is a useful tool for analysing the delicate balances between texts that focus primarily on using narrativity as a MEANS to make sense of experiences (the END), and texts with an intermediate or low frequency of narrative MEANS. The next section is a discussion of new insights into world Englishes and specifically East African English.

4.8 New insights into world Englishes and East African English

4.8.1 The bigger picture: world Englishes

The overview of the theoretical domains in world Englishes in Bolton (2003) and Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) do not mention studies of register variation. The present dissertation is a step towards a more holistic view of the spoken and written modes in non-native varieties of English.

The theoretical perspectives in Bolton (2003) were expanded in Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009), who focus on English in Africa. Regarding East African English, the following issues are discussed. Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009:4-12) mention that in the tradition of English studies, Schmied's (1991) work focuses on linguistic usages and features in the broader varietal framework which overlaps with other linguistic features approaches. The English corpus linguistic method has been used to analyse East African English in Schmied (2004 & 2008), Haase (2004) and Skandera (2003). Skandera's book on idioms in Kenyan English is also classified under the lexicographic approach (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:9). Recently, Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) compared first language English to East African English using corpus linguistic methods. Schmied (1991) and Mazrui and Mazrui (1993) use what is defined as a 'linguistic situation

[28] Biber (1988) used different names for the registers, e.g. Professional letters in Biber are called Business letters in ICE-EA.

approach' according to Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009:6). The 'common errors' or prescriptive approach to East African English is used in Hocking (1974).

A critical appraisal of the world Englishes paradigm is presented in Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009:15-20). They list three prototypical categories in the study of world Englishes that have overlapping boundaries. In other words, whereas the previous paragraph discussed the grouping of research on East African English into groups (not all these groups were mentioned or applied to East African English), the three overarching categories for world Englishes are discussed next. The first prototypical category is the descriptivist approach which focuses on phonetic/phonological, lexical and grammatical features, the second category is the critical perspective and the third is the hybridisationist perspective (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:15-16).

Often, the research in the descriptive category is based on the Structuralist tradition: varieties are regarded as distinct linguistic systems and the cultural component of world Englishes is ignored. Other research in the descriptivist tradition tends to focus on sociolinguistic issues such as identity and language attitudes (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:17-20).

The second prototypical category is the critical approach to world Englishes. These studies view language as part of the socio-cultural, linguistic, political and even natural environment (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:20). Critical approaches often target ideologies such as (neo)-colonialism and elitism. The critical approach is concerned with the effects of globalisation and the assumption that world Englishes present a threat to indigenous languages such as Kiswahili in East Africa (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:20-21). Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009:24) are critical towards the approach and note that when speakers adopt English, they do not 'lose' or 'give up' their culture-specific conceptual systems.

The third category is hybridisationism, whose leading proponent is Braj Kachru. To hybridisationists, culture is an integral concern and unlike the critical approach, hybridisationists emphasise the socio-cultural and structural transformations English has undergone in various postcolonial contexts (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:26). The approach is characterised by a positive, though not uncritical, view of world Englishes. A shortcoming in hybridisationist approaches is a lack of systematic empirical study, since the descriptive tools of variationist sociolinguistics that were used, did not suit the type of research undertaken (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009:28).

The discussion above serves to show that the dissertation is a useful contribution to the study of world Englishes, in particular East African English. By analysing the encoding of narrativity across registers in the ICE-EA corpus using quantitative corpus-based methods, it is possible to compare the use of the core narrativity features across registers. This makes it possible to model that Fiction is the register which focuses the most on narrativity and that Instructional writing primarily focuses on information presentation.

The gradient nature of narrativity comes to the light in the dissertation due to the various spoken and written registers that are included in the study. In other words, if the dissertation looked only at the core narrativity features in Fiction, this could have led to a simple binary distinction between 'narrative versus

non-narrative registers'. The narrativity model makes it possible to quantitatively measure register variation in narration for ICE-EA.

4.8.2 New insights into East African English

The present study looks at features of East African English, not just on the lexical or syntactic level, but also on the discourse level, i.e. the similarities and differences between registers. As Section 4.8.1 highlighted, register studies are a relatively novel field for world Englishes and there remains much scope for new research.

According to Xiao (2009:422), previous linguistically-oriented studies of world Englishes have typically analysed only a few opportunely selected features separately. Recently, research has been expanded to analyse more features in a systematic fashion. Since 1986, Biber's model for register variation has been expanded and enhanced. A recent example is the multi-dimensional framework developed by Xiao (2009). It is an enhanced model that incorporates semantic components and is the most comprehensive analysis of new Englishes to date. Xiao (2009) compared different varieties of English using the ICE corpora for Great Britain, Hong Kong, India, the Philippines and Singapore. Xiao (2009) expanded Biber's feature list to include 141 semantic and grammatical features. He then applied multivariate statistical techniques to group the features according to dimensions. Xiao (2009:447) showed that a corpus-based approach can be effectively applied to study variation in world Englishes and across registers (Xiao, 2009:448). Although Xiao (2009) is critical of Biber's (1986, 1988) original multi-dimensional model, Biber's model was used by Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) to enable comparisons between first language English and East African English. By comparing the dimension scores in Biber's study to the dimension scores for the ICE-EA data, it was possible to determine whether the register differences are unique to East African English or not. The difference between the use of 'narrative features' in Biber's study and ICE-EA served as the starting point for the dissertation. In other words, the different use of linguistic features in Biber's work and Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) led to the research question in the dissertation, namely how narrativity is encoded in East African English.

By developing a narrativity model, it has been possible to determine that narrativity is a gradient phenomenon in East African English. This is a unique contribution to the field of East African English research, because it brings new nuances of MEANS/END mapping to the light. The eleven core narrativity features and their distribution across registers are an indication of the narrative focus in a register. When the core narrativity features co-occur and have high scores, the specific text or register has a primary focus on narration. The operationalisation of a literary concept such as narrativity in linguistic terms adds to previous research on East African English which have mainly focused on lexical and semantic analyses or comparisons with British and American varieties. The next section concludes Chapter 4.

4.9 Closing remarks for Chapter 4

Narration is a gradient MEANS for making sense of experiences. The core narrativity features occur across spoken and written registers at least sporadically to serve a greater cultural purpose or END, namely to facilitate understanding. The results in Chapter 4 illustrate that non-narrativity is absent in East African English, because the END (understanding experiences) occurs by means of narrative features in varying degrees across registers and texts.

In other words, even a register that does not primarily focus on narration (e.g. Academic writing) may have sections that use the core narrativity features as a MEANS towards the END of facilitating understanding. Thus, the MEANS become part of the END: narrative text becomes an END in itself in registers with a primary narrative focus such as Fiction or Oral narratives.

The five basic text types namely narrative, interpersonal interaction, information presentation, scientific exposition and persuasiveness are all characterised by different MEANS or linguistic features to bring across a message and reach a communicative END.

The results and interpretation in the chapter have brought new insights into East African English. By analysing the variety as a separate entity, not inferior to British and American English, the lexical and syntactic MEANS used to encode narrativity (the END) have been analysed in ICE-EA.

A range of features that have not been analysed in East African English using corpus-based methods, e.g. proper nouns for persons, activity verbs and non-finite causative clauses, have been analysed and interpreted from a functionalist perspective. Furthermore, the study contributes to research on register variation in a new variety of English. The final chapter presents the main conclusions and contributions of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

The present chapter begins with a summary of the findings. Next, the contributions of the dissertation are discussed. The following sections look at the added knowledge and implications to the field, as well as the limitations of the study. The concluding section has overall concluding remarks.

5.1 Summary of the main findings

The summary of the main findings will be discussed by referring to the research questions posed in Chapter 1. For ease of reference, the main research question is repeated:

How is narrativity encoded in East African English?

The narrativity model proposed in the dissertation looks at micro-level linguistic features used to encode narrativity across spoken and written registers of East African English. The model was developed and applied to ICE-EA and proved robust enough to distinguish between registers and texts with varying degrees of focus on narrativity.

The main research question was split into two related questions:

- *Are there other linguistic features of narrativity not included in Biber's (1988) multi-dimensional analysis of register variation?*

The narrativity model presented in the dissertation has features that were not included in Biber's model. In other words, the 11 core narrativity features show only limited overlap with Biber. Three features, namely past tense verbs, perfect aspect and third person pronouns, occur in both models. The revised narrativity model discussed in Chapter 4 includes eight new narrativity features that were not included in Biber's narrative dimension: proper nouns for persons, first person pronouns, non-finite causative clauses, activity verbs, time adverbials, place adverbials, emotional stance verb *feel* and evaluative adjectives.

The inclusion of these features makes it possible to model the gradient nature of narrativity across ICE-EA. Whereas Biber (1988) makes a binary distinction between 'narrative and non-narrative concerns', the narrativity model yields a continuum. In the continuum, some registers or texts have a primary focus on narrativity as a MEANS towards an END, but others have a different primary objective such as scientific exposition, interpersonal interaction, persuasiveness, or information presentation. The five basic text types in the corpus, namely narration, scientific exposition, interpersonal interaction, information presentation and persuasion can each function as the primary objective or END in a register.

Furthermore, the text types can exert competing or converging demands in a specific text. For example, the primary objective in Broadcast news (Figure 17) is information presentation, but the secondary objective is narration. The core narrativity features are intermittently used as a MEANS to make sense of events in Broadcast news.

In other words, narration is used as a MEANS to make sense of events from time to time, but narrative features remain a secondary or simultaneous objective. This can be contrasted with the prototypical narrative register, Fiction, where the MEANS or core narrativity features contribute to the primary objective or END (using narration to make sense of experiences). In the case of Fiction and the other registers with a primary narrative focus such as Social letters, Oral narratives, Face-to-face conversation and Legal cross-examination, the MEANS/END mapping is absolute: the core narrativity features are used to create narrative text. In these registers, the primary objective is to narrate.

- *Can the narrativity model proposed in the dissertation distinguish between varying degrees of narrativity across registers?*

As already mentioned in the present chapter, narrativity in East African English is modelled as a continuum where some registers have a clear narrative focus and use narration to make sense of experiences, and others use narration sporadically as a MEANS to facilitate understanding and make sense of events.

The central theoretical statement in Chapter 1 was that a new model, specifically adapted for narrativity, can be used to model narrativity across ICE-EA. In Chapter 2 the narrativity model was developed, based on previous research from a range of disciplines such as literary theory, cognitive science and functionalist approaches to grammar. Eighteen narrativity features were chosen that were hypothesised to encode narrativity in ICE-EA. However, after the concordances were analysed using WordSmith Tools and the data were standardised to enable comparisons across registers and features, the 18 original narrativity features were not all indicative of narrative registers or texts.

Therefore, the narrativity model was revised in Chapter 4 and the 18 linguistic features were narrowed down to 11 core narrativity features. This was done by examining the linguistic features that co-occur frequently in Fiction, the prototypical narrative register in ICE-EA. First person pronouns, third person pronouns and activity verbs are indicators of Agency. Past tense verbs, perfect aspect, time adverbials and place adverbials are grouped under Contextualisation. The Causation group has only one core narrativity feature, namely non-finite causative clauses. Evaluation is expressed by means of the emotional stance verb *feel* and evaluative adjectives in registers or texts that focus on narrativity. These eleven core narrativity features were used to identify registers and texts with a narrative focus.

The results indicate that narrativity is a gradient phenomenon that is present to a greater or lesser extent across registers in East African English. It should also be noted that narrativity is not confined to written or spoken discourse. The five registers with a narrative focus in ICE-EA are Fiction, Social letters,

Oral narratives, Face-to-face conversation and Legal cross-examination. This means that the eleven core narrativity features are not only present in written discourse such as Fiction, but are also used in spoken discourse such as Oral narratives.

Registers with an intermediate focus on narrativity are Classroom lessons, Broadcast interviews, Broadcast news, School broadcasts, Press editorials, Broadcast discussions, Hansards, Parliamentary debate, Press news reports, Broadcast talks, Speeches and Legal writing. The intermediate group of registers is characterised by an intermittent primary focus on narrativity, as well as primary or secondary objectives such as interpersonal interaction which overshadow the narrative focus in sections of the texts.

There are five registers that do not primarily focus on narrativity as a MEANS for making sense of experiences: Student writing, Business letters, Popular writing, Academic writing and Instructional writing. These are all written registers that primarily focus on information presentation and scientific exposition. This does not imply that a specific text or section of a text from Academic writing cannot use narrative MEANS to make sense of experiences or facilitate understanding, but narration is not the primary objective in these registers.

To summarise: narrativity, interpersonal interaction, information presentation, scientific exposition and persuasiveness are all different MEANS or functions used to bring across a message. The next sections discuss the contributions made by the research to the general understanding of narrativity and to the existing literature on New Englishes and specifically East African English.

5.2 Summary of contributions

The single most important contribution of the dissertation is the linguistic operationalisation of the concept 'narrativity', which is usually associated with literary studies and stylistics. The narrativity model provides a quantitative, corpus-based method to determine whether a register or text has a primary focus or a secondary and/or simultaneous focus on narrativity. Corpus-based techniques using manual and automatic analyses were used to model the four central aspects of narrativity, namely Agency, Contextualisation, Causation and Evaluation.

The results show that narratives are used across registers and narrativity is a gradient phenomenon. Thus, narratives are not restricted to registers such as Fiction and Oral narratives that are generally accepted to focus on narration. Rather, narrative is a MEANS or linguistically realised device that people use to deal with and make sense of experiences (the END) or understand the world.

Another contribution of the study is in the field of register development in a New Variety. Previous research by Schmied (1991, 2004 & 2008), Haase (2004) and Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) have used corpus-based methods to analyse East African English. However, studies of variety-*internal* register variation are rare. Van Rooy *et al.* (2010) used a multi-dimensional model developed by Biber (1988) to compare

British and American English to East African English, but the results did not provide an adequate account of narrativity in ICE-EA.

The present dissertation centres around narrativity and the linguistic features associated with the phenomenon. The linguistic features not only include semantic and lexical features, but also map the distributions and frequencies across registers. The narrativity features were not chosen 'opportunely' (Xiao, 2009), but were chosen to provide a coherent image of narrativity in ICE-EA.

5.3 Added knowledge to field and implications of added knowledge

East African English narratives have not yet been studied from a linguistic perspective. Furthermore, the application of the narrativity model to ICE-EA sheds light on the use of linguistic features not previously studied in East African English such as proper nouns for persons.

In addition, the dissertation presents a different perspective and functionalist, corpus-based operationalisation of narrativity, a field that has been studied extensively in stylistics, cognitive linguistics and Narratological studies. In other words, the narrativity model is the expansion and application of corpus linguistic techniques to a 'literary' concept on a quantifiable scale. Recent corpus analyses of literary texts such as Dillon (2007), Fludernik (2003), Hoover *et al*. (2007), Pennebaker and Ireland (2008), Mahlberg (2009) and Toolan (2009) analyse only fictional narratives. Whereas these studies mainly look at thematic repetition and lexical variation with the aim of understanding a particular text; a writer's oeuvre; or Fiction in general, the dissertation analysed 22 fictional and non-fictional registers.

Consequently, the results in the dissertation provide an overall picture of narrativity as a gradient phenomenon in East African English. The main implication of the study concerns the gradient nature of narrativity. The extent to which various registers primarily focus on narrativity as a MEANS for understanding and making sense of experiences has not been modelled before.

5.4 Limitations of study and suggestions for future research

The model does not include all the linguistic features that contribute to narrativity. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 2, issues such as discourse presentation using direct and indirect speech are not included. The model can therefore be expanded in future to include a wider range of features. Specifically more Causation features need to be included in further studies.

The narrativity model does not model narratives in all varieties of English. The model needs to be tested to determine whether it is robust enough to handle British and American corpora and other new varieties of English. It will be interesting to compare the way narrativity is encoded in native versus non-

native varieties of English. By comparing native English data with non-native data, interesting culture-specific uses of narrativity may emerge.

5.5 Conclusions

The dissertation set out to model narrativity in East African English and the aim has been achieved. Moving beyond a binary distinction between 'narrative and non-narrative' (Biber, 1988), the research presents a gradient view of narrativity. The narrativity model includes 11 core narrativity features associated with both spoken and written discourse.

Furthermore, the use of core narrativity features across registers serves as proof of the permeating and diffuses ability of narration as a functional MEANS to reach the ENDS of making sense of experiences and facilitating understanding.

Since narrativity is present to a greater or lesser extent in various East African English registers not usually associated with narration, the study expands the conventional use of the term 'narrative' to include cases where sections of texts use narrative features, although the primary objective of the text is not to relate a story.

The study shows that narration is a fundamental human drive that is not limited to traditional story-telling contexts. Rather, narratives are everyday occurrences that are embedded in our minds as a MEANS of making sense of experiences and relating to the world.

Appendix A: Abbreviations used in graphs and number of texts per register

Lists of all the source texts and file names are given in the manual by Hudson-Ettle and Schmied (1999) available at http://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/chairs/linguist/real/independent/ICE-EA/index.html

Register	Label	Nr of texts
Academic writing	AC	77
Broadcast discussions	BD	35
Broadcast interviews	BI	44
Broadcast news	BN	60
Broadcast talks	BT	52
Business letter	BL	192
Classroom lessons	CL	31
Face-to-face	F-to-F	20
Fiction	F	46
Hansard	H	16
Instructional writing	IW	18
Oral narratives	ON	10
Legal cross-examination	LCE	25
Legal writing	LW	11
Parliament debates	PD	10
Popular writing	PW	82
Press editorials	PrEd	40
Press news reports	PrN	40
School broadcasts	SchB	14
Social letters	SocL	50
Speeches	SPE	27
Student writing	STU	53
All Groups		953

Appendix B: Normalised scores and standard deviations

The normalised scores are presented in Tables 16-20. The standard deviation (SD) of each feature is given in brackets next to the register.

Table 16: Normalised scores and SD (1)

	AC	SD	BD	SD	BI	SD	BN	SD
First person pronouns	3.05	(4.86)	38.23	(13.66)	35.89	(12.48)	0.27	(0.63)
Second person pronouns	0.13	(0.52)	23.66	(15.29)	18.11	(9.77)	1.02	(0.34)
Third person pronouns	12.18	(9.97)	18.69	(9.32)	22.00	(12.96)	17.03	(6.25)
Activity verbs	15.29	(5.45)	25.71	(6.73)	26.61	(7.65)	15.70	(3.95)
Causative preposition verbs	0.17	(0.38)	0.11	(0.32)	0.11	(0.32)	0.18	(0.39)
Causative subordinator	0.96	(1.16)	4.63	(2.68)	3.68	(2.37)	0.53	(0.85)
Causative verbs	2.61	(1.87)	3.17	(2.06)	3.18	(2.24)	2.68	(1.91)
Emotional stance verb *feel*	0.06	(0.25)	0.31	(0.68)	0.57	(0.93)	0.03	(0.18)
Epistemic stance adverbials	0.71	(1.04)	9.51	(5.03)	6.66	(3.82)	0.12	(0.32)
Evaluative adjectives	1.95	(1.59)	3.40	(2.29)	3.64	(2.91)	1.10	(1.15)
Modals and semi-modals	10.52	(5.88)	20.80	(6.63)	16.82	(6.38)	8.90	(3.69)
Non-finite causative clauses	0.22	(0.45)	0.23	(0.43)	0.43	(0.79)	0.55	(0.79)
Present tense verbs	48.25	(16.36)	80.46	(22.10)	73.84	(14.39)	16.80	(5.93)
Proper nouns for persons	1.83	(2.83)	1.49	(1.96)	1.45	(2.57)	13.47	(4.57)
Time adverbials	4.75	(2.44)	10.69	(3.03)	11.82	(4.91)	9.72	(3.67)
Perfect aspect	6.45	(4.01)	7.60	(3.30)	8.59	(3.71)	13.47	(3.70)
Place adverbials	0.95	(0.94)	3.40	(2.49)	3.48	(3.05)	1.62	(1.28)
Past tense verbs	30.74	(23.46)	21.40	(19.81)	30.52	(25.14)	60.17	(21.36)

Table 17: Normalised scores and SD (2)

	BT	SD	BL	SD	CL	SD	F-to-F	SD
First person pronouns	18.54	(16.09)	39.36	(22.95)	28.73	(14.95)	43.89	(13.51)
Second person pronouns	10.46	(14.81)	33.23	(20.54)	24.03	(16.07)	44.68	(14.19)
Third person pronouns	19.27	(14.19)	4.55	(8.56)	26.83	(13.19)	38.47	(16.39)
Activity verbs	20.88	(9.31)	16.83	(11.02)	27.00	(5.97)	30.47	(11.56)
Causative preposition verbs	0.21	(0.50)	0.03	(0.31)	0.07	(0.25)	0.16	(0.37)
Causative subordinator	1.73	(2.30)	0.31	(1.39)	3.60	(2.01)	4.42	(2.83)
Causative verbs	3.08	(2.19)	4.85	(6.63)	3.10	(2.54)	3.00	(2.00)
Emotional stance verb *feel*	0.37	(0.82)	0.32	(1.47)	0.23	(0.57)	0.47	(0.96)
Epistemic stance adverbials	2.17	(2.65)	0.45	(1.74)	8.10	(5.26)	7.68	(2.65)
Evaluative adjectives	3.25	(2.46)	3.37	(5.57)	3.10	(3.34)	3.89	(2.56)
Modals and semi-modals	14.85	(8.34)	17.24	(12.71)	18.40	(8.87)	16.32	(5.18)
Non-finite causative clauses	0.38	(0.60)	0.57	(2.08)	0.37	(0.89)	0.11	(0.32)
Present tense verbs	58.04	(23.50)	41.91	(17.60)	75.73	(27.53)	106.63	(12.24)
Proper nouns for persons	4.21	(4.68)	1.57	(4.22)	2.23	(3.15)	3.21	(3.84)
Time adverbials	8.37	(4.47)	5.39	(6.75)	12.90	(4.95)	16.58	(4.48)
Perfect aspect	7.85	(3.96)	6.85	(7.06)	6.30	(2.45)	6.95	(2.57)
Place adverbials	1.79	(1.67)	0.97	(3.23)	4.53	(4.17)	5.32	(3.20)
Past tense verbs	24.31	(25.60)	1.64	(2.85)	57.33	(51.31)	63.26	(34.59)

Table 18: Normalised scores and SD (3)

	F	SD	H	SD	IW	SD	ON	SD	LCE	SD
First person pronoun	45.22	(37.23)	31.60	(10.94)	2.29	(4.43)	71	(21.29)	69.00	(19.00)
Second person	12.22	(11.61)	7.73	(4.28)	17.5	(30.41)	29.3	(13.94)	3.08	(4.61)
Third person pronoun	61.07	(23.96)	15.07	(4.20)	5.59	(3.91)	39.7	(11.72)	27.79	(11.63)
Activity verbs	34.71	(7.26)	22.47	(3.76)	21.1	(11.56)	28.4	(8.55)	36.50	(9.11)
Causative preposition	0.04	(0.21)	0.13	(0.35)	0.12	(0.33)	0	(0.00)	0.08	(0.28)
Causative subordinator	1.11	(1.27)	2.40	(1.72)	0.29	(0.69)	7.4	(3.44)	0.83	(1.31)
Causative verbs	2.40	(1.44)	2.53	(1.06)	4.59	(4.02)	1.6	(1.58)	0.79	(0.72)
Emotional stance verb	1.33	(1.49)	0.07	(0.26)	0.18	(0.53)	0.5	(0.85)	0.04	(0.20)
Epistemic stance	1.40	(1.19)	2.27	(2.09)	0.59	(1.06)	11.3	(5.21)	0.08	(0.28)
Evaluative adjective	3.82	(2.35)	1.80	(1.47)	3.94	(4.02)	3.8	(2.57)	1.38	(2.93)
Modals	13.16	(5.05)	18.93	(5.12)	23.6	(11.11)	17.4	(5.52)	7.50	(4.09)
Non-finite causative	0.67	(0.67)	0.33	(0.62)	0.65	(0.79)	0.2	(0.42)	0.54	(0.78)
Present tense verb	24.73	(14.03)	54.60	(8.48)	39.5	(24.08)	81.7	(27.00)	39.13	(16.17)
Proper nouns	11.76	(8.81)	3.40	(2.87)	0.53	(1.46)	0.1	(0.32)	1.63	(2.99)
Time adverbials	12.96	(4.15)	7.53	(2.36)	3.12	(3.46)	15.6	(2.72)	6.96	(3.36)
Perfect aspect	13.49	(5.52)	11.33	(4.08)	4.59	(2.90)	7.6	(2.07)	9.38	(3.52)
Place adverbials	5.22	(2.58)	2.73	(2.05)	1.18	(1.07)	5	(4.78)	3.88	(2.77)
Past tense verb	159.4	(48.46)	34.33	(14.60)	16.1	(23.32)	101.	(51.64)	171.0	(62.01)

Table 19: Normalised scores and SD (4)

	LW	SD	PD	SD	PW	SD	PrED	SD	PrN	SD
First person	11.3	(7.41)	29.2	(9.34)	5.77	(7.02)	18.03	(17.83)	8.05	(9.93)
Second person	0	(0.00)	8.5	(5.13)	1.58	(3.26)	4.15	(6.04)	0.85	(1.09)
Third person	25.1	(14.40)	15.3	(7.89)	19.40	(14.34)	22.21	(9.40)	26.85	(12.32)
Activity verbs	18.7	(7.50)	23.4	(7.60)	19.48	(5.22)	21.00	(6.45)	20.23	(5.96)
Causative prep	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)	0.14	(0.34)	0.10	(0.31)	0.08	(0.35)
Causative sub	0.8	(1.03)	4.4	(2.59)	1.20	(1.33)	1.67	(1.59)	1.00	(1.21)
Causative verbs	2.2	(1.40)	3.3	(2.21)	2.94	(1.78)	3.00	(1.75)	2.08	(1.44)
Emotional stance	0.2	(0.42)	0.4	(0.70)	0.19	(0.50)	0.21	(0.47)	0.13	(0.41)
Epistemic stance	1.5	(0.97)	1.9	(1.60)	0.98	(0.92)	2.08	(1.60)	0.54	(0.82)
Evaluative adj	0.8	(0.92)	2.9	(2.77)	2.81	(2.07)	3.15	(1.84)	2.05	(1.82)
Modals	8	(4.00)	20.4	(6.42)	12.14	(5.86)	17.46	(5.60)	11.67	(5.73)
Non-finite caus	1	(1.15)	0.3	(0.48)	0.44	(0.69)	0.54	(0.68)	0.38	(0.63)
Present tense	30.9	(7.50)	57.8	(21.58)	47.94	(15.54)	49.87	(10.33)	29.74	(13.33)
Proper nouns	0.9	(0.88)	0.5	(0.53)	4.49	(4.90)	3.62	(2.99)	11.00	(7.91)
Time adverbials	4.2	(3.22)	6.3	(3.02)	7.52	(3.47)	8.41	(2.73)	7.74	(3.28)
Perfect aspect	9.7	(3.47)	9.5	(4.65)	8.89	(4.41)	10.13	(3.26)	9.18	(3.84)
Place adverbials	1.4	(1.84)	2.8	(3.05)	1.59	(1.54)	2.21	(1.81)	2.08	(2.39)
Past tense verbs	91.2	(35.50)	20.9	(11.35)	45.09	(29.31)	48.85	(29.59)	95.948	(40.85)

Table 20: Normalised scores and SD (5)

	SchB	SD	SocL	SD	SPE	SD	STU	SD
First person	27.08	(15.04)	85.6	(23.30)	26.65	(16.55)	4.87	(4.01)
Second person	18.31	(15.75)	43.84	(21.27)	11.81	(13.13)	0.79	(1.82)
Third person	26.62	(14.06)	16.98	(13.89)	13.38	(9.11)	21.40	(16.31)
Activity verbs	25.92	(6.99)	33.5	(13.38)	18.12	(3.95)	21.96	(9.04)
Causative prep	0.31	(0.48)	0.14	(0.70)	0.12	(0.33)	0.38	(0.77)
Causative sub	1.46	(1.27)	1.82	(3.02)	2.27	(2.72)	1.90	(2.05)
Causative verbs	4.46	(1.90)	3.28	(4.57)	4.04	(3.08)	4.06	(3.83)
Emotional	0.31	(0.63)	1.68	(2.41)	0.23	(0.51)	0.23	(0.67)
Epistemic	2.38	(2.02)	3.38	(4.18)	3.27	(3.80)	0.71	(1.02)
Evaluative adj	5.31	(3.57)	5.24	(6.03)	3.31	(2.54)	2.75	(2.52)
Modals	18.38	(6.60)	18.86	(8.31)	15.00	(6.23)	17.02	(9.93)
Non-finite caus	0.54	(0.88)	0.34	(0.96)	0.42	(0.86)	0.46	(0.64)
Present tense	74.08	(18.94)	79.9	(24.04)	44.12	(15.91)	57.54	(18.72)
Proper nouns	2.62	(5.20)	2.16	(2.72)	0.69	(1.26)	2.90	(5.17)
Time adverbials	10.15	(4.93)	16.36	(8.20)	8.42	(5.52)	4.21	(2.02)
Perfect aspect	5.62	(2.60)	11.66	(7.39)	10.92	(8.72)	4.96	(3.44)
Place adverbials	2.54	(2.50)	6.12	(5.19)	2.08	(1.65)	1.44	(1.26)
Past tense verbs	27.08	(19.41)	14.7	(15.02)	33.35	(33.23)	35.33	(35.84)

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