

Exploring contact in Rangi- and Alagwa-speaking communities

This chapter examines the impact of contact between Rangi-speaking and Alagwa-speaking communities. Rangi is a Bantu language spoken by some 310,000 people in central Tanzania. Alagwa is a Cushitic language spoken by approximately 52,000 people in the same region. Histories of central Tanzania suggest that these languages have long been in contact, with this situation continuing to the present day. We report here on the shared history and interactions between the groups, focusing particularly on the social domains of family, kinship and marriage where there is evidence of sustained contact. We explore also the broader community context and social exchange, as well as acknowledging the role of Swahili as the language of wider communication throughout the region.

Hannah Gibson, University of Essex

Maarten Mous, Leiden University

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore the historical and ongoing contact between Rangi-speaking and Alagwa-speaking communities and to summarise the resultant linguistic change in these two unrelated and structurally different languages in the northern region of Central Tanzania. The linguistic diversity and interaction between the groups found in this area is a key feature of the linguistic geography and history of the region. Here we seek to better understand the contact between the communities and the impact of this contact on the languages in question. This chapter also furthers our understanding of contact between unrelated languages, drawing on insights from contact between a Bantu language and a Cushitic language. This contact also takes place against a broader backdrop of language contact in Central Tanzania, and indeed language contact as a wider phenomenon. We focus primarily on social contact in the domains of family, kinship and marriage, but consider also local community and social exchange, labour and trade and knowledge and the ways in which these shape and reflect patterns of interaction between the groups.

The Central Tanzania region is home to Bantu, Cushitic and Nilotic languages, as well as the isolates Hadza and Sandawe. The area has a sustained history of language contact, with bilingualism, multilingualism, and patterns of language shift between smaller and larger groups. The nature of the linguistic contact in central Tanzania is further characterised by the fact that the languages in question represent different language types. In terms of basic word order for example, the Cushitic languages and Sandawe are SOV languages, the Bantu languages are typically SVO, whilst the Southern Nilotic language Datooga exhibits a predominantly VSO order (Kießling et al. 2008: 189). Determining outcomes of language contact is further complicated by the fact that the languages come from different language families. Studies suggest that the contact between Bantu and Cushitic languages has had a significant impact on the linguistic ecologies of the region, as well as the languages found therein. The evidence of contact and diffusion of features has further led Kießling et al. (2008) to suggest that the Rift Valley area of central Tanzania represents a linguistic area.

The rest of the chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the sources of data used in the chapter, as well as exploring some of the previous work on the

languages. We also provide a brief note on us as authors and our work in this part of Tanzania. Section 3 explores the history of contact between the Rangi and Alagwa communities, as well as acknowledging the role of the wider lingua franca and national language Swahili. Section 4 discusses past and continuing contact between Rangi and Alagwa. Section 5 examines the role of Swahili in the wider language ecology. Section 6 examines a number of features found in Rangi and Alagwa which appear to result from language contact with a view to highlighting the structural consequences of this contact. Section 7 constitutes a summary and conclusion.

2. Background to the languages

2.1. Rangi

Rangi is a Bantu language spoken in Kondoa District, central Tanzania. Estimates of the number of Rangi-speakers range from 270,000 (Bergman et al. 2007) to 310,000 (Gordon 2005), whilst Cox and Stegen (2007) calculate the Rangi-speaking population to be as high as 420,000. The Atlas of Languages of Tanzania lists Rangi as number 23 in terms of speaker-size among the approximately 150 languages of Tanzania with 370,578 speakers (Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania 2009:2). Rangi is the largest linguistic group in the Babati-Kondoa area, which is home to more than 40 languages (Eberhard 2022, Dunham 2005). In addition to Rangi, the main languages found in this area are the Bantu languages Mbugwe, Gogo and Chaga; the Nilotic languages Datooga and Maasai, the isolates Sandawe and Hadza, and crucially for current purposes, the Cushitic languages Iraqw, Burunge, Gorwaa and Alagwa.

There is close geographic proximity between Rangi and Alagwa communities. However, the degree of contact differs across the areas. Most villages are almost entirely Rangi with no Alagwa contact, some villages are mixed with both Rangi-Alagwa communities present (Kolo, Mwenbeni, Amaxwanti, Pumpúu', Humáy, Makafe, Changai, Kikilo, Kikore, Sirop, Gisambaang, Magafáa, Matangana'imoo), while other villages are home mainly to members of the Alagwa community (Sakaami, Duuqa, Amaʔuutsi, Ungutó, Kulandé, Soera). Moreover, it is important also to acknowledge the role of the regional lingua franca and national language Swahili which is central, particularly for the domains of labour and trade, and knowledge (a point to which we will return in Sections 3 and 4).

The main road in the area cuts through the Rangi-speaking area, running between the Tanzanian administrative capital Dodoma and the northern city Arusha. Rangi populations are found in villages all along this road, from Kidoka (60km south of Kondoa) to Bereko (60km north of Kondoa). An important cluster of villages for the Rangi community is found around Haubi. Sizeable Rangi-speaking communities are also found in the city Arusha and the economic capital Dar es Salaam. The formation of Rangi-speaking communities outside of the Kondoa District is the result of economically-driven rural-to-urban migration, often associated with perceived increased employment opportunities and better living standards in the cities.

Following the referential classification system developed by Guthrie ((1967-71:II:48) (and the updated system outlined in Maho (2003:646)), Rangi has been classified as F33 following Guthrie (1967-71:II:48). Under the revised ISO system Rangi is given lang1320 ISO code 639-3 lag in glottolog. Closely related languages include Nyaturu (Rimi), Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Kimbu, Nilamba and Sumbwa, all of which are classified under Guthrie's (1967-71) F branch (although there has been some discussion of this classification, including a problematisation of this account (Nurse 1999:11)). The language most closely related to Rangi is Mbugwe (F34) which is spoken in and around the town of Magugu in the Babati District.

In terms of structure, Rangi exhibits the SVO constituent order associated with many Bantu languages. There is some flexibility of word order for pragmatic purposes. The language has a system of 17 noun classes which trigger agreement across a range of dependents (e.g., adjectives, numerals, demonstratives), as well as being reflected in subject and object agreement. Rangi also demonstrates tone and has a two-way distinction between high and low tone. Rangi makes use of a system of verbal extensions which encode a range of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions. Verbal extensions include the passive, causative, reciprocal, separative and stative. In common with many Eastern Bantu languages, Rangi has a system of tense-aspect-mood distinctions which are encoded through a combination of simple and complex (auxiliary-based) constructions. The language has a near and distant past tense, as well as an immediate and general future tense. A range of aspectual distinctions including progressive, habitual and perfective are also available.

2.2. Alagwa

Alagwa is spoken in Kondoa District, around the town of Kolo (*Kooloo* 'heel, hoe' in Alagwa), which is famous for its rock paintings (Leakey 1983). The primary Alagwa-speaking areas are between the Kondoa-Babati road and the Bubu River (*Dudu* in Alagwa). Villages which are predominantly Alagwa are Thawi (*tlawi* 'lake' in Alagwa) and to a lesser extent Soera (*Soo feera* in Alagwa). Other villages with a sizeable Alagwa population are Sakaami, Duuqa ('whetstone' in Alagwa), Amaʔuutsi, Ungutó, Kulandé (the Alagwa name

for a species of plant), Amaxwanti, Pumpúu', Humáy ('red soil' in Alagwa), Ga'ár (=Magafáa in Alagwa), Changai, Kikilo, Kikore, and in Hanang district Sirop, Gisambalang, and Matangana'imoo. In the majority of these villages the Alagwa have Rangi neighbours while in Gisambalang the Alagwa community mixes with the Datooga (Nilotic) and in Matangana'imoo with speakers of the Cushitic language Gorwaa.

The Alagwa language is classified as West-Rift Southern Cushitic, in the Afroasiatic phylum (Kiessling 2002), ISO code 639-3 wbj. As is often the case, the number of speakers is difficult to ascertain. Mous (2017) considers the number to be slightly over 10,000, while the Atlas of Languages of Tanzania estimates 53,000 (Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania 2009). Ethnologue and Glottolog categorise the language as 'threatened' (Eberhard et al. 2022; Hammarström et al. 2021) and our impression is that this is indeed the case. This also reflects a decline in language use. In 1988 for example, in Kolo one would hear people speaking Alagwa and Rangi. However, in 2019 Kolo appears to be a predominantly a Rangi town and Alagwa is only spoken (at least publicly) in the villages away from this town. There is, as elsewhere in Tanzania, a strong presence of Swahili. However, in contrast to many other places in the country, the immediate threat to the Alagwa language lies in the ongoing shift to Rangi rather than to Swahili.

In Alagwa the language is called *Alagwa'isa* with the suffix *-isa* for language names. However, the Alagwa are better known in Tanzania under the name of Wasi or Waasi; and are called *Vasi* in Rangi, a Bantu term meaning 'original inhabitant' (Nurse 1979: 390-392). The regular reflex *Wahi* of this same term is used in the region for part of the Nyaturu community (Schneider 1970) and of the Hadza (Reche 1914:24). This term itself shows that the Rangi consider the Alagwa to be the original inhabitants of the area and themselves as newcomers. The Alagwa language is often called *Chasi* with the Bantu class 7 prefix that is used for language names. There is also a variant of the name *Alawa* that appears in the literature (Greenberg 1966, Tucker and Bryan 1956: 137) which is the Iraqw version of the same name. There is an important clan among the Sandawe which is called Alawa who are of Alagwa (and Nyaturu) origin (Ten Raa 1969:93-94).

Alagwa is a typical Cushitic language with verb final dominant word order. However, despite being verb-final it has noun-modifier order in nominal constituents and is disharmonic like its nearby relatives in South Cushitic. The vowel system is simple with five vowels and length distinction. The language has tone with a limited distribution (essentially only the final syllable of the word displays a contrast) and function (mainly grammatical and marginally lexical). Alagwa has a number of consonants that sound distinctively different for their Rangi neighbours: voiced and voiceless pharyngeals; ejective affricates in three different places of articulation and a lateral voiceless fricative. Nouns have gender with three values: masculine feminine and a third gender which shows third person plural agreement. However, gender is not predictable from form nor meaning and governs agreement in the noun phrase and at sentence level (e.g. subject and object). Lexemes tend to have different gender for various number forms. Number marking in nouns involves marked singulars and plurals and all number affixes impose a gender value. A sentence contains an inflectional clitic that is separate from the verb – termed "selector" in work on Southern Cushitic – which encodes sentence type, subject, object, tense-mood-aspect, negation. Aspect and the gender of the subject are inflected on the verb. Verbs express causative, middle and progressive functions derivationally. Further details of the grammar of Alagwa can be found in Mous (2016).

3. Research context and background

The earliest linguistic description of Rangi dates back to the end of the 19th century. Seidel (1898) is a first sketch of Rangi grammar based on a questionnaire that Lieutenant Werther leader of the Irangi expedition used for data collection. Shortly after that, Dempwolff (1916) published a more elaborate sketch based on his own data collection and as part of his series of linguistics sketches of the languages in the area. Berger collected some texts as part of the Kohl Larsen expedition in the 1930s, this material would later form the basis of a Master's thesis. Kesby (1986,1996) did extensive anthropological research among the Rangi and his data contain lexical material in Rangi.

In terms of descriptions of Rangi, early works were primarily ethno-linguistic in nature (e.g. Seidel 1898; Dempwolff 1916; Kesby 1986; Kesby 1996). It is only in the last decades that a number of modern and extensive linguistic studies have been carried out, resulting in three linguistic PhD theses and work examining the morphology and/or morphosyntax of Rangi. The 2005 published doctoral thesis by Margaret Dunham entitled *Eléments de description du langi: language bantu F.33 de Tanzanie; phonologie, grammaire, lexique*. This thesis focuses primarily on Rangi phonology and verbal morphology, although a number of other features of Rangi grammar are also discussed. After this, the 2011 doctoral thesis by Oliver Stegen entitled *In quest of a vernacular writing style for the Rangi of Tanzania: Assumptions, processes, challenges* provided an in-depth analysis of Rangi narratives with the aim of providing an appropriate Rangi orthography. Gibson's (2012) *Auxiliary placement in Rangi: a Dynamic Syntax perspective* provides a morphosyntactic description of Rangi, while also developing a formal analysis of Rangi auxiliary constructions from a theoretical perspective.

In addition, several articles, most of which are written by the abovenamed authors, consider more specific aspects of the Rangi language. These include Stegen (2001), which looks at the functions of auxiliaries and the copula; Stegen (2002), which examines Rangi derivational processes and Dunham (2004), which considers the Rangi verbal system as a whole. Stegen (2004) looks at Rangi orthography development, Stegen (2005) discusses Rangi literature production and Stegen (2007) examines lexical density in Rangi narratives. Gibson (2012) provides a morphosyntactic description of Rangi, as well as a formal analysis of Rangi auxiliary constructions from a theoretical perspective. Gibson and Marten (2019) examine the role of contact in the emergence of a number of features of Rangi grammar. There is also a Master's thesis which examines Rangi grammar on the basis of data collected by Berger in the 1930s (Akhavan- Zandjani 1990).

Linguistic work on Alagwa remains scarce. Whiteley (1958) contains some remarks on Alagwa in connection to Iraqw which is the central concern in his description. He notes on numerous occasions that his data on Alagwa are insufficient to allow him to say more. His work does, however, contain the same amount of lexical material for Alagwa as for the other languages, Iraqw, Gorwaa and Burunge. Ehret (1980) contains considerably more lexical material woven into his reconstruction of Southern Cushitic. Kießling has done fieldwork on Alagwa, the results of which appear in his morphological reconstruction of Southern Cushitic in Kießling (2002). Mous (2016) is the first and only published full grammar of the Alagwa language.

This article investigates Rangi/Alagwa language contact in its social context and publications on culture, history and society are crucial in this respect. Such studies start with the observations by early explorers in the beginning of the colonial era. On the basis of these, Luschan (1898) and Reche (1914), give a picture of what was known about the larger area at that time and devote sections to Rangi and Burunge, but not to Alagwa. This is typical for the colonial period in which the Alagwa are often not recognised as a separate ethnic group.

Kannenberg (1900) does clearly distinguish between Rangi and Alagwa in his ethnographic observations and collects more Alagwa words (50) than Rangi words (10), while Baumstark (1900) in the same year provides fascinating details about Rangi culture and lexicon but does not mention Alagwa, a trend we will see continued in the later British administration. The major ethnographic source for Rangi, and for Alagwa in fact, remain Kesby's work (1981, 1982, 1986). Finally, Ten Raa (1986a,b) studied Sandawe culture but includes observations on Rangi and Alagwa.

The findings we share here are based on a combination of our own ongoing linguistic research in the central regions of Tanzania. Maarten Mous started collecting data on Alagwa in 1988 in Babati, and has since collected data in Kolo and Kwa Dinu for short periods in 1989, 1993, 1994, 1994, 1995, 2002, 2019 working intensively with about 6 speakers. Hannah Gibson began working in the Kondoa region in 2008 at the outset of her doctoral studies. She has spent over 13 months conducting primary field-based data collection in Kondoa District and shorter periods of time working with Rangi-speakers in Dodoma. Findings reported in her doctoral thesis (Gibson 2012) and subsequent work are based primarily on one-to-one semi-structured interviews supplemented with elicitation sessions with Rangi-speakers, and observational data. The majority of this research was conducted in the predominantly Rangi-speaking village of Haubi.

For both of us, the focus of our attention has been on linguistic structure and we did not focus on sociolinguistic questions. However, we have both collected oral histories for both groups as a result of our work with the speaker communities. And, having spent considerable periods of time in the region, we have gained insights into relations, group dynamics and conceptualisations of identity amongst the communities in the region under examination

4. Past and continuing contact between Rangi and Alagwa

The history of contact between Rangi and Alagwa can be divided in two periods: The first, constitutes the early period from the time of the entry of the Rangi into the area where they encountered the Alagwa until the beginning of the historical period, i.e., the end of the 19th century. For the first period we rely on a combination of oral history and linguistic evidence. The second spans the historical period of colonial and post-colonial Kondoa District. The contact during this second period is characterised by an increasing dominance of Rangi and the denial of Alagwa as a separate and distinct ethnic identity. In all cultural aspects, from an outside perspective, the Rangi and the Alagwa have come to be seen as one ethnic entity during this period.

4.1. Contact in the historical period

The first published mention of the Rangi and the Alagwa appears in Baumann (1895) who reports on his travels from Kondoa through Alagwa area to the north. He spends Christmas in 1892 at the hospitality of Arab traders in Kondoa who advise him to avoid the Alagwa area because the Alagwa people are "boshaft und kriegerisch" ('malicious and hostile'). A few years later, Kannenberg (1900) travels through the same area and complains that the Alagwa villages do not recognize German control, need to be punished, are 'suspicious and uncultured', and in these respects different from the Rangi. Werther (1898:20) states that at this time, all Europeans passing this route of Kondoa to Babati had experienced trouble. At the time of the first encounters with European explorers and administration, the Rangi were the most populous group of the Kondoa area. Yet the Rangi

were newcomers to the area and found the Alagwa already in the area when they arrived. There is no image of unity of Rangi and Alagwa in these early accounts.

The centre of administration, Kondoa town, developed out of a temporary settlement of Makua elephant hunters in the second half 19th century where Arab or Swahili traders settled. From 1889 onwards, Kondoa has been a permanent village (Reche 1914). The Kondoa area was the first point for fresh food for those who crossed the Maasai plains from Bondei on the coast into the mainland. This is further reflected in the Rangi name for the Swahili/Arab traders who arrived in the area – *va-bondei*. This settlement with its market at the huge baobab tree on the Ula River, also called Kondoa, was not only the centre of the Rangi people but also for various other communities in the area, and for the German and subsequent British colonial administration.

However, the Rangi and Alagwa must have had intense contact before the encounter with the colonial powers. The Rangi traditions state that they met the Alagwa when they settled in the hills near Haubi – to the north-East of Kondoa – at the edge of the Maasai plains (Kannenbergh 1900:158). However, contact must already have been going on for a long time by this period and the Rangi have clans that claim to have Alagwa origins.

Kannenbergh (1900) reports that the Alagwa have only one leader who is actually Rangi but knows the Alagwa language. This is most likely the father of Salim Kimolo. Salim Kimolo is the locally famous paramount chief of the Rangi (and Alagwa) who was appointed by the German administration during the colonial era and based in Kolo. Salim Kimolo had converted to Islam in his move to improve links with the Swahili traders in Kondoa. During the First World War he changed sides to support the British administration who also subsequently chose him as paramount chief of the area. For the Alagwa, Salim was Alagwa, but the Rangi see him as one of their own. Interestingly, he most likely spoke both languages.

The choice to have one chief for both people reflects what must have been perceived as a certain cultural relatedness – or close proximity – of the two groups as other peoples in the region had their own chiefs. The view of the colonial administration is that the cultural differences between these two people were negligible despite the significant differences in their languages. Bagshawe reports that the Alagwa merged into the Rangi people although they remain distinct therein and reports that one of them, Salim Kimolo, is Sultan of the Irangi amongst which the Alagwa live (Bagshawe 1925:61-62). While Kannenbergh considered his father to be the leader of the Rangi; twenty-five years later Bagshawe puts forward his son, from a Rangi mother, to be a Rangi leader, which is in-line with the matrilineal rule of the Rangi and confirms the balance of power is now firmly on the side of the Rangi. He repeatedly stresses the civilising influence that the Rangi have on the Alagwa and that the latter have grown to conform more or less to the customs of the former (Bagshawe 1925:68).

Later in the colonial period, just after the Second World War, the Alagwa seem to become almost invisible. In his memories, district administrator Donald Barton describes all the different ethnolinguistic groups in the Kondoa District except for the Alagwa. He even visits Bereko, which has and had an important contingent of the Alagwa community, several times, and uses Rangi there seemingly unaware of the presence of another group/language (Barton 2004). In all cultural aspects then, from the outside perspective, the Rangi and the Alagwa are seen as one ethnic entity. Fosbrooke (1958a, b) discusses rituals and ceremonies in which customs of the Rangi and Alagwa were blended. In the *Tribal and Ethnographic map in the Tanganyika* handbook (Moffett 1958:298-299) Alagwa does not have its own designated area, but is represented as a cross-hatching showing a mixed of groups moving into the area,

while all other ethnic groups, such as the Burunge, have their own demarcated area.

More recently, *The Language Atlas of Tanzania* (Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania 2009:15) provides separate maps for first- and second-language speakers of Alagwa in the district. The area around Kolo (traditionally considered to be central Alagwa area) and along the main Kondoa-Babati road shows a patch of second language speakers of Alagwa for which their first language is Rangi in the first language map, and vice versa for the interior. This reflects that the erstwhile Alagwa speakers now consider Rangi to be their first language and are in the process of language shift in the areas of economic importance; and first language Alagwa speakers are only found in the mountains of the interior. There is no longer any area where Alagwa is not in contact with Rangi. An important factor in this shift is that Rangi-Alagwa mixed marriages lead to Rangi ethnicity as we explain further in the next section.

4.2. Marriage, kinship, and language shift into the present-day

The fact that the Rangi community are traditionally matrilineal and the Alagwa patrilineal is an important force in the acculturation of Alagwa to Rangi. In a situation in which the matrilineal group (Rangi) is dominant, this difference strongly favours becoming Rangi. In a mixed marriage in which the man is Alagwa and the woman Rangi, the children will be considered Rangi by the matrilineal woman, but also by the man who accepts this hegemony. Likewise, if the man is Rangi and the woman is Alagwa, then the woman from the patrilineal community will consider her children Rangi and the Rangi man will accept that. Had the patrilineal Alagwa been dominant in an earlier time, the outcome would have been less unidirectional because a patrilineal Alagwa man marrying a matrilineal Rangi woman would consider his child to be Alagwa even if it were Rangi for his wife, while a matrilineal Rangi man marrying a patrilineal Alagwa woman would have a child that is Rangi, according to the then dominant patrilineal Alagwa.

Moreover, the Rangi are not only numerically dominant in the Kondoa area but have also often been seen by the Alagwa, and others, as representing progress in agricultural techniques and products and “development” in general. This is very clear in an anecdote recounted by Kesby (1982:151-3) which is about Burunge turning Rangi but it is equally valid for Alagwa turning Rangi:

When we met the husband in their fields for the first interview we asked him by way of conversation if we perhaps knew his parents. This turned out to be the case, and they are both Burunge. “But how is it that you are listed in the roster as Rangi?” The answer was that he had married a Rangi woman. Three Rangi farmers who were also present quickly assured us that our interviewee was fluent in the Rangi language, had converted to Islam on marriage, and that obviously the children would grow up to be Rangi. The correct designation of the family was, we were told, “Rangi with Burunge ancestry”. That formula describes one important dimension of the rapid Rangi expansion into the Alagwa, Burunge and Gogo areas. Rangi society has been successful in incorporating the indigenous populations. Marriage and conversion to Islam are obvious entry tickets, but more diffuse characteristics like living in a Rangi-dominated part of the village, socializing freely with the Rangi and being economically or politically successful may also lead in the same direction.

The varied origins of people who identify as Rangi is furthermore reflected in the clan structure. The Rangi clan structure includes those that have Alagwa origin (Reche 1914,

Stegen 2003), as well as the Vaasinduu¹ which are of either Alagwa or other origins who have shifted their ethnicity to Rangi (Kesby 1981:68). The view on ethnic affiliation as a comprehensive (perhaps immutable) categorization came only with the establishment of administration.

Overall, the situation is one in which the Rangi and Alagwa groups had extensive interaction and contact at the family level. Inter-marriage and shifting identities between the groups (in the present day primarily from Alagwa to Rangi) is also widespread. We see networks in which although members might speak Rangi, their origins and those of their family members might be amongst the Alagwa. Patterns of bilingualism and language shift also reflect the Rangi matrilineal tradition, with children raised speaking Rangi and, where relevant, bilingual Rangi- and Alagwa-speaking mothers speak Rangi (almost exclusively) to their children.

5. The role of Swahili: labour, trade and knowledge

A key consideration when examining language contact and interaction between communities in Tanzania is the presence of Swahili. Swahili is a Bantu language which has assumed the status of a regional lingua franca and is spoken by some 100 million people across much of East Africa (Mugane 2015). Historically, the homeland of the Swahili-speakers is a narrow strip stretching approximately 2,500 kilometers along the East African coast, often referred to as the ‘Swahili Coast’. The last 200 years have seen Swahili become further established throughout East Africa (Mazrui and Mazrui 1995, Blommaert 2014).

In addition to trade, Swahili was used as a language of administration by German and British colonial administrations in Tanzania and Kenya, leading in the twentieth century to the development of ‘Standard Swahili’ based on a southern urban dialect of Zanzibar (Kiunguja). At independence in 1961, Tanzania became the only African country to choose an African language – Swahili – as its official language. In 1963, Kenya announced Swahili as its national language, alongside English. Ongoing widespread rural-urban migration and increased regional mobility, along with forced dispersals, have meant that in the present day, in addition to Tanzania and Kenya, Swahili is also spoken in Mozambique, Uganda, DRC, Rwanda, Burundi and north-eastern Zambia (Eberhard et al. 2022).

The role of Swahili as a contact language for both Rangi and Alagwa communities, as well as a means of mediated contact between the two groups cannot be ignored. The regional importance of Swahili and its status as the official language of Tanzania means that Swahili is the primary language used amongst both the Rangi and Alagwa communities in the domains of labour and trade where Rangi is used only marginally and Alagwa even less. This includes both trade between the two groups, and trade between these groups and other communities in the wider area. The central role played by Swahili in education also means that it is the primary language in the domain of knowledge, while Rangi and Alagwa cannot be used in school. This is the case in terms of formal education where Swahili is the medium of instruction in Tanzania in public primary schools.

The one other domain for which language is a central consideration relates to rituals and religious beliefs. Both Rangi and Alagwa have long been used in traditional rituals and rites.

¹ This clan name is in fact a compound of *va-asi* ‘original inhabitants’ and the local label for the Alagwa and *nduu*, the Rangi cognate of Swahili *ndugu*, ‘relative, friend’.

However, the role of Islam and Christianity in the area also introduces a place for other languages. Muslim communities in the region are likely to also use Swahili for wider communication, alongside Arabic which also assumes a religious function. Similar patterns of Swahili usage can also be noted in churches and Christian institutions in the area and amongst the Rangi and Alagwa communities.

6. Contact induced change and convergence

6.1 Lexical transfer

Given the bilingualism and intense contact (see also Section 3.1) between Alagwa and Rangi it comes as no surprise that there is lexical transfer and evidence of structural convergence. Evidence for lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa is presented in Tables 1-5. The direction of transfer is determined by establishing that these words are not retentions from proto-West-Rift South Cushitic (Kießling and Mous 2001) and/or that the Rangi terms have a wider distribution in Bantu, using the historical reconstructions and the tables with historically cognate roots in Masele (2001). The Rangi data come from a range of sources, while the Alagwa data from Mous (2016). Here and throughout the subsequent pages, the acute accent (the ‘*accent aigu*’) represents high tone, whilst an absence of the accent represents low tone.

Rangi	Alagwa	meaning
kirumbu	kirambó	spinach (kind of)
kitunguru	kitunguru	onions
makéwé	makewe	potatoes (dried sweet)
mungú	mungu	pumpkin, edible calabash
imoha	mooga	spinach (kind of)
tétere	teteré	seeds of an edible calabash
viraaji	viraasi	sweet potatoes
sasauri ²	sosawri	peas

Table 1: Lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa: Vegetables

Rangi	Alagwa	meaning
ibangasa	bangasi	plank of door, pole above the door

² The word exists in addition to the Swahili (cognate) loan *iri-sawa* ‘peas’

kikalango	kikalaango	pot (kind of)
kipunde	kiponde	ladle
mkwato	mkwato	hammer
milambu	milambu	troughs
tangaza	tangasa	drum
kitambara	kitambara	cloth (piece of)
ngovi	ingoowa ~ ungoowa	sling for baby
isanúa	sanúa ~ ishanúa	comb
ipoo	poo	bracelet
singáni	singani	needle
nta	inta	wax
moringa	maringa	beehive
-chana	chaanim	forge

Table 2: Lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa: Instruments and other items of material culture

Rangi	Alagwa	meaning
mujungu	mujungu	white men
(mo)kolo	mukolokoli	clan
kipanya	panyá	age set leader

Table 3: Lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa: Social categories

Rangi	Alagwa	meaning
dilai	diláy	tatera gerbil
monjo	monjo	jackal
nyúri	nyurí	elephant shrew

Table 4: Lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa: Birds and small animals

Rangi	Alagwa	meaning
-fula	fulim	wash
nditi	nditi	way, road

Table 5: Lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa: Other terms

These loans are the typical loans in areas of the lexicon in which there is innovation in Alagwa under items and concepts that may have been introduced by the Rangi. Various vegetables fall into this category and these products were probably introduced to the Alagwa by the Rangi. A next category is that of instruments and certain cultural items. Some of these instruments were probably introduced by the Rangi. Remarkable in this set may be the words for beehive and wax. To collect honey by using a hollowed-out part of a tree trunk with two halves was probably an innovation introduced by the Rangi, or by the pre-Rangi as all the West-Rift Cushitic languages have a similar Bantu loan (Kießling and Mous 2001:203). That the word for forging is borrowed may be an indication that the Alagwa did not work iron and again, this is an area for which the Rangi are well known.

With the growing dominance of Rangi culture, it is logical that concepts and their terms for clan and age set leader follow the Rangi model. In the domain of flora and fauna transfer went in both directions.

Lexical transfer from Alagwa into Rangi is also well attested. The semantic areas in which we see transfer from Alagwa into Rangi are actually similar to those of the other direction; indicating that Rangi-Alagwa bilingualism was more balanced in former times and there was less of a hierarchy of dominance between the two languages in earlier times.

Most borrowings in Rangi appear to be integrated into noun classes 5 or 9 as is common in transfer into a Bantu noun class system (Mous 2019). Noteworthy is the addition of a consonant initial noun class prefix in m-púnta (9) ‘ram’ and kɪ-déékɔ (7) ‘circumcision knife’. Both words are in the ritual domain; rituals that are often conducted with both Rangi and Alagwa present. The fact that Alagwa words enter Rangi in this domain reflects the respect Rangi have for the Alagwa as original inhabitants and ‘owners of the land’. Transfer in the domain of flora and fauna is also understandable from the fact that Rangi were newcomers in the area where the Alagwa were already present and had vocabulary for the local flora and fauna. The Rangi word for ‘mother’, *íjo* (1a), is taken from Alagwa *’iyoo* ‘mother’ and such a transfer in a close kinship term shows the positive attitude of Rangi speakers towards the Alagwa language and the close relations between the groups. In the table, numbers in the Rangi column refer to noun class membership while morpheme breaks are indicated through hyphens.

Alagwa	meaning	Rangi	meaning
buusi	maize cobs	i-buusi (5)	maize cobs
puuntsu	wether	m-puúnta (9)	ram (especially black one used in sacrifice)
qwaama	fort, fence	waáama (9?)	fence, fence pole, compound
tsaxasaa	salt	saŋgaáa (9)	salted food

Table 6: Examples of lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa.: *Subsistence*

Alagwa	meaning	Rangi	meaning
dangú	bluntness	i-dan̄gu (5)	blunt knife; short sword
qafiya	piece of bark	i-kaafí (5)	wooden tray
deeqwaa	razor blade	kɪ-déékɔ (7)	circumcision knife

Table 7: Examples of lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa: *Instruments and tools.*

Flora and fauna

Alagwa	meaning	Rangi	meaning
makaa	animal, person	maka (9)	beast/wild animal
faamfee'u	poisonous snake	fɛfɛú (9)	green mamba
kutaa	moles	i-kutaá (5)	mole species
kuti	puppy	mw-ana-kuúti (1)	puppy (lit. child-puppy)
manahá	termite species	namaha (9)	big, winged termites
chunchu	sunbird	n-chunchu (9)	sunbird
saga-da'átu	red bishop bird (lit. 'red-head')	shadare (9)	red bishop bird
?	?	chéél-imu ³ (9)	indigo-bird

Table 8: Examples of lexical transfer from Rangi into Alagwa: Flora and fauna.

6.2 Transfer of functional lexemes

A number of functional lexemes reflect structural transfer from Alagwa into Rangi, again suggesting contact induced change. Rangi has the prepositional and subordinating element *sa* indicating purpose 'because of, for' from the Alagwa reason case marker *sa*; and the clause linker *maa* 'and then' from the similar Alagwa clause linker *mmaa*. Both have been mentioned in passing as possible transfers from a Cushitic language into Rangi by Stegen (2011:199 footnote 126), but they are not discussed in Dunham (2007). In Rangi *sa* introduces purpose clauses, as in examples (1) and (2) from Stegen (2011:153).

- (1) *Tɔ-kalar-ir-e* *ko-tomama sa* *tɔ-valok-e* *na* *vii-nto*
 SM1PL-be.eager-APPL-SBJV 15-work for SM1PL-become-SBJV with 8-thing
 'We should be eager to work so that we become prosperous.'
- (2) *sa vaa-nto* *va-ko-of-e* *na* *va-kw-eend-e*
 for2-person 2-OM2SG-fear-SBJV and 2-OM2SG-love-SBJV
 '... so that people fear you and love you.'

This is also mentioned by Dunham who provides instances in which the complement of *sa* is a noun (phrase), as in examples (3) and (4) below (Dunham 2005: 200-201)

- (3) *sa arusi yaatfwɛ aahɛɛwa vintɔ viri fɔɔ*
sa *arusi* *ɪ-a-tfwɛ* *a-a-hɛɛr-w-a* *vi-ntovi-ri fɔɔ*
 for 9-marriage 9-ASSOC-POSS3SG 1-PRF-give-PASS-PRF 8-thing 8-COP many
 'For his/her marriage s/he received lots of things'

³ No source word in Alagwa has been found. However, the ending *-imu* in Rangi is originally an Alagwa suffix.

- (4) *kimba nḍeri sa mwaana waani*
k-imb-a ndi-ri sa mṵ-ana ṵ-a-ni
 INF-sing-FV SM1SG-AUX for 1-child 1-ASSOC-POSS1SG
 ‘I sing for my child’

In Alagwa *sa* is also used as a preposition. Its function is to introduce a beneficiary, (5), or reason (6). It can also be used to introduce reason/purpose clauses, (7) (Mous 2017: 218)

- (5) *kuu marée hhaab-it sa taatáà*
 2SG PROH inform-2SG BEN father
 ‘You don’t tell father!’ (Kießling 1995:37)

- (6) *ána kitengeeri-li gu’umaamim sa tsaakwa.*
 1SG rank-ALL sleep:HAB:IPFV BEN cold
 ‘I slept on the rank because of the cold.’

- (7) *sa hhiḍu ti-k-i-ni ku’umis-i*
 BEN medicine that-IPS-O.P-PRF spill-PAST
 ‘Because of the medicine that was spilled.’

In Alagwa the function of *sa* is wider. Moreover, it is derived from a case prefix *s-*, prefix to the inflectional complex which introduces a beneficent entity in the clause, as shown in example (8) (Mous 2017:176ff). Due to this, and because the element is reconstructable to proto-West-Rift (and beyond) (Kießling 2002), the direction of transfer must be from Alagwa to Rangi; as this marker is not used in other Bantu languages. The case function that the element has in Alagwa is not a factor in the transfer: it was borrowed as a preposition and functions to introduce clauses – specifically purpose clauses – only one of the many senses available in Alagwa.

- (8) *kúu loo-s-oo hhab-it Juma*
 2SG.M OPT-BEN-O.M tell-2SG Juma
 ‘You should tell Juma’

In Rangi, the discourse marker *maa* is very common in narration and recounting events and stories. In linguistic analyses, *maa* has been glossed as ‘and then’ in Rangi and is often seen in combination with the narrative tense marked by *ka*, as in examples (9) – (11) from one narrative sequence (Stegen 2011:117).

- (9) *Maa sikṵ 1-mw1 n-kókv maa 1-kiiṭ-o-kaazima siken1*
 then 9.day 9-one 9-chicken then 9-CONSC:go-REF-borrow 9.needle
kw-a mw-eevi
 17-ASSOC 3-eagle
 ‘Then one day, the chicken then went and borrowed a needle from the eagle’
- (10) *maa 1-ka-hee-w-a. Maa 1-ka-hee-w-e*
 then 9-CONSC-give-PASS-FV then 9-CONSC-give-PASS-SBJV
 ‘and it was given (it). And when it was given (it)’

- (11) *maa i-kiit-o-tɨmam-ir-a* *mō-rimo w-aachwe,*
 then 9-CONSC:go-REF-work-APPL-FV 3-work 3-3SG.POSS
 ‘then it went and did its work..’

A similar sequence of clauses is common in Alagwa and involves *mmaa* ‘and then’ as a discourse marker as in examples (12)-(13). Note the parallel combination of the use of consecutive element in *ningi* in the same clause. In Alagwa the discourse particle has several shapes: *maa* varies with *mmaa* and *kimaa* is also used (Mous 2017: 9, 205). This variation in shape could be seen as indication that it is more established in Alagwa compared to Rangi and suggests transfer from Alagwa into Rangi. However, the direction of transfer of this discourse marker is more difficult to establish since it is not present in the related Cushitic languages; nor in neighbouring Bantu languages. Examples are from Mous (2017:240).

- (12) *mmaa burungee slee ninga ha’ut-iyee’ koloo tí,*
 then Burunge also CSEC:3:ABLleave-3PL:PAST Kolo LOC.DEM1:ALL
 ‘...and then the Burunge too left from Kolo....’

- (13) *mmaa ningi burungee-li tleehha-kayêe;*
 then CSEC:3 Burunge-ALL building-go:3PL:PAST:BGND
 ‘...And then they went to build Burunge.’

6.3 Convergence with or without contact induced change

Rangi and Alagwa share some morphosyntactic properties which suggest that the two languages have become structurally more similar to each other, in spite of them being genealogically unrelated (Rangi Bantu, Alagwa Cushitic) and typologically different (Rangi VO, Alagwa OV). This convergence can only partly be shown to be the result of contact. While several points of apparent convergence are just as likely to be internal developments for which the other language may (or not) have served as catalysts, the broader background of language contact and multilingualism in the area cannot be ignored.

One of these points of convergence is the position of the object. Alagwa allows for post-verbal objects, mirroring the VO order in Rangi while Cushitic is rigid verb-final. Example (14) illustrates that on a first mention in a story the object, *mlambée* ‘troughs’ typically occurs following the verb while the subsequent sentence has it preceding the verb; the subject in this second clause is the post-verbal *ilibaa* ‘milk’ to which the verb agrees in gender (Mous 2007: 223).

- (14) Alagwa
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| <i>i-n</i> | <i>háts-is</i> | | <i>mlambabee</i> | | <i>mlambabee-wá-d</i> |
| 3-PFV | full-CAUS:3M | | troughs | | troughs-P-DEM |
| <i>i-yaa</i> | <i>háts-ir</i> | <i>ilibaa.</i> | <i>Ilibaa</i> | <i>k-i</i> | <i>hatsiríi ...</i> |
| 3-PAST | full-3PL | milk.P | milk | DEP-3 | full:3PL:BGND |
- ‘He filled troughs. Milk filled those troughs. The troughs being filled with milk, ...’

A second point is number agreement on the verb. Alagwa, like the other Tanzanian Cushitic languages, has strict gender agreement on the verb and no number agreement.

However, it has plural number agreement on the verb as an acceptable variant while the original strict gender agreement to the exclusion of number agreement on the verb is still considered more widespread and ‘proper’. In (15) the feminine noun *Gooruwa* for the Gorwa people triggers plural agreement on the verb (*looh[ir]*); in the next clause the equally feminine *alagwa* for the Alagwa people takes the proper feminine agreement (*há’ut*), however, when the Alagwa are not explicitly repeated but referred to in the following clause, the ending is third person plural (*há’ut-ir*).

(15) Alagwa: Semantic external verb agreement in number

<i>gooruwa</i>		<i>ningi</i>		<i>looh-ir</i>		<i>hara gooruwa,</i>
PLACE.NAME.F		CSEC:3		move-3PL		to PLACE.NAME
<i>hara galapo.</i>		<i>Alagwa</i>		<i>ṭé</i>		<i>ning-aa há’ut,</i>
to PLACE.NAME		PLACE.NAME.F		also		CSEC:3-ABL leave:F
<i>ning-aa há’ut-ir</i>		<i>hara isaabee</i>				
CSEC:3-ABL		leave-3PL		to PLACE.NAME		

‘The Gorwa moved to Gorwa, to Galapo. The Alagwa too left from it, they left to Isabe.’

In Rangi, agreement on the verb is also strictly with gender (noun class) but in the Bantu noun class system number is marked cumulatively with noun class and hence implicitly number is always expressed in the agreement on the verb. Whereas, the dominant Tanzanian Cushitic pattern is that subjects that are plural in meaning may trigger feminine or masculine agreement on the verb with no indication of number of the subject, Alagwa does show some variation where subject marking on the verb follows semantics and indicates plurality rather than the more regular strict gender agreement.

In both respects Alagwa and Rangi have become more alike but these developments are typologically too common to exclude the possibility of internal development rather than these similarities being the result of structural transfer from Rangi. The dominant national language Swahili is a Bantu language like Rangi and has the same properties as Rangi in this respect. The fact that everyone also speaks Swahili strengthens the Rangi structural pressure.

There are a number of other syntactic features that also appear to reflect structural transfer. We explore here two such possible instances of contact-induced change in the domain of morphosyntax: verb-auxiliary order and clause final negation.

Rangi exhibits verb-auxiliary order in two constructions – the immediate future (16) and general future (17) tenses. As can be seen on examination of the examples below, this is not simply a pragmatically motivated variant word order given that an attempt at pre-verbal auxiliary placement in this tense construction results in ungrammaticality (18) (data from Gibson (2020:763); Gibson & Marten (2019:68)).

(16) *Mama jót-a á-ri maaji mpoli*
 1.mother get.water-FV SM1-AUX 6-water later
 ‘Mother will get water later’

(17) *Ki-lwire ɪ-ki kwa-n-jul-a ki-ri*
 7-illness DEM-7 INF-OM1SG-kill-FV SM7-AUX
 ‘This illness will kill me’

(18) **Ndí-ri térek-a chá-korya.*

SM1SG-AUX cook-FV 7-food
Intended: ‘I will cook food.’

The verb-auxiliary order is unusual from a typological perspective since SVO languages are expected to exhibit head-initial auxiliary-verb order. Similarly, the order is unusual from a comparative point of view since the vast majority of Bantu languages exhibit auxiliary-verb order. Gibson (2020) shows that this order arose in Rangi in these tenses as a consequence of internal developments. This development made Rangi and Alagwa more similar and results in convergence. Alagwa has this Verb Auxiliary order as shown in example (19) The auxiliary in (19) is *káyo*, *maaxa* ‘annoint’ is the main verb while *kaa* is an inflectional complex which is required in most clauses.

- (19) *waaree k-aa maaxa káy hara maaxu.*
youth IPS-O.F:PAST smearing go with white.clay
‘The youth went on the annoint with white clay.’ (Mous 2016: 242)

This word order type of auxiliary following the verb is the only admissible order in Alagwa and it cannot be excluded that bilingualism in Alagwa may have played a role in the emergence of this construction in Rangi.

Similarly, Rangi has innovated a clause final negative particle that seems a transfer from Alagwa, or pre-Alagwa. Main clause negation in Rangi is formed of two elements: a pre-verbal negative marker *sí* and the negative marker *toko* which appears either post-verbally ((20)-(21)) or clause-finally (22) (Gibson & Marten 2019:74)).

- (20) *Isiko vi-viiswi sí v-ój-ire toko.*
today 2-our.fellow NEG SM2-come-PFV NEG
‘Today our friends did not come.’

- (21) *Sí n-íyó-dom-a toko na Dodoma.*
NEG SM1SG-PROG-go-FV NEG PREP Dodoma
‘I am not going to Dodoma.’

- (22) *Nkuku sí jí-ri ku-tu-héer-a mayi toko.*
10.chicken NEG SM10-AUX INF-OM1PL-give-FV 6.eggs NEG
‘The chickens will not give us eggs.’

Main clause, sentential negation in Bantu is most commonly marked verbal-internally through one of two positions – a pre-initial position before the subject marker or a post-initial position after the subject marker (cf. Meeussen 1967, Kamba Muzenga 1981, Güldemann 1999). Some languages also mark negation in a post-verbal position which has been suggested to historically be associated with non-main clause contexts such as infinitives, relatives and subjunctives (Güldemann 1996, 1999). However, the combination of the pre-verbal negative marker *sí* and the post-verbal particle *toko* in Rangi appears to be the result of contact with Cushitic languages. Alagwa, like the other Tanzanian Cushitic languages, mark negation mainly by nominalising the clause and adding a negative marker verb-finally that originates in a negative verb (‘be absent’ or *bał* ‘lacking’) as in (23).

- (23) *kii a-na hiru-w-óor guł-ut-í-bał*

2SG.F 1/2-PF man-M-1PL.POSS swallow-2SG-PAST:NOM-NEG
'You didn't swallow our man.'

Kamba Muzenga (1981: 100-101) suggests that Rangi is one of the Bantu languages in which an original negative marker *nka-/ha-* has been replaced by the negative copula *si*. As such, it appears that the pre-verbal negative marker *si* is of Bantu origin and can be considered as a reflex of the Proto-Bantu pre-initial negative marker **tilci* (Nurse 2008: 181 and further references therein). However, the post-verbal negative marker *tokō* went through a stage of serving as intensifier and is taken from Alagwa where *túku/tuku* means 'all', a quantifier that Alagwa in turn may have taken from Maasai (see also Gibson & Wilhelmson 2015 for further details of this).

7. Summary and conclusions

Rangi and Alagwa were in such close contact that during the period of the colonial administration the two groups were considered one. The numerical dominance of Rangi and their position of regional power within the district, has resulted in a decreased 'visibility' of the Alagwa community and a gradual shift of power towards Rangi dominance. This is also reflected in patterns of language use and speaker-numbers, up to the present day.

By some groups in the area, the Rangi community are associated with progress and development. This is the case for the Alagwa in part due to the new agricultural products and techniques that the Rangi introduced to the region. This perceived position of power is also a consequence of the association of the Rangi with the world religion of Islam that was introduced in the area towards the end of the 19th century. We see therefore a gradual shift away from Alagwa and towards Rangi, reflecting shifting power relations.

In the domain of family, kinship and marriage, an important factor in the dynamics of contact between the two groups is the difference in traditional kinship systems. The Rangi used to be matrilineal while the Alagwa always were traditionally patrilineal. In a situation in which the power balance is towards the matrilineal group this results in an ethnic re-orientation towards the matrilineal group, the Rangi. Thus, one of the main areas of focus in this chapter has been on the social connections, kin and marriage relations between the groups.

A number of lexical and morphosyntactic features show evidence of the possible consequences that close and sustained contact between the Alagwa and Rangi-speaking communities might have had at the linguistic level.). This multi-directionality is likely to be a reflection of an earlier more balanced power relation, as is also suggested by the earliest written reports on the region from the end of the 19th century (Kannenberg 1900). The evidence of contact-induced change and structural convergence that we have discussed in the present chapter also takes place against a broader backdrop of linguistic diversity and multilingualism, characterized by shifting patterns of power relations, across the region.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to two anonymous reviewers and to the editors of the volume who all provided detailed and insightful comments on earlier versions of this paper. We would also

like to thank the wider GramAdapt team for the invitation to be involved in this work and for sharing their research with us. Hannah Gibson's part of this work was in part supported by a Leverhulme Trust Research Project Grant (RPG-2021-248) for the Project 'Grammatical variation in Swahili: change, change and identity'. Maarten Mous's part was partly supported by NWO grant 406.18.TW.013 'Unravelling East Africa's Early Linguistic History'. We are grateful to these funders for their generous support.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules with the following additions: ASSOC associative, CSEC stands for consecutive, BGND background, DEP dependent, FV final vowel, IPS impersonal, SM and OM stand for subject and object marker respectively, O for object, OPT optative, M,F and P as gender values, REF referential. The numbers in the Rangi examples refer to noun classes.

References

- Akhavan-Zandjani, Firouzeh. 1990. Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Irangi anhand des materials aus dem Nachlass Dr Paul Berger. University of Hamburg, Hamburg. MA thesis.
- Bagshawe, F. J. 1925. The Peoples of the Happy Valley (East Africa): The Aboriginal Races of Kondoia Irangi. Part IV: The Goroa and Their Kindred Hamitic Tribes, the Wambulu, or Erok, the Wasi, or Alawa, and the Burungi *Journal of the Royal African Society* 25(97). 59-74
- Barton, Donald. 2004. *An affair with Africa; Tanganyika remembered*. Hertford: Authors Online.
- Baumstark, Paul. 1900. Die Warangi. *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten* 13. 45-60.
- Bergman, Ted, Joseph Mbongué, Rachel Sowers & Tracy Tooley. 2007. Sociolinguistic survey among the Rangi people. Unpublished manuscript. SIL International.
- Cox, Richard & Oliver Stegen. 2007. A Dialect Survey among the Rangi of Tanzania. Unpublished manuscript. SIL International.
- Dempwolff, Otto. 1916. 'Beträger zur Kenntnis der Sprachen in Deutsch-Ostafrika - Irangi' *Zeitschrift für Kolonial-Sprachen* 7. 319– 326.
- Dunham, Margaret. 2004. 'On the verbal system in Langi, a Bantu language of Tanzania (F.33).' *Studies in African Linguistics*. 33(2) 199–234.
- Dunham, Margaret. 2005. *Éléments de description du langi, langue bantu F.33 de Tanzanie*. (SELAF, 413). Louvain: Peeters.
- Dunham, Margaret. 2007. Le Langi et la vallée de Rift Tanzanien: contacts et convergences. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 102. 399-427.
- Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2022. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Twenty-fifth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>. Accessed on 20.04.2022.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1980. *The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology and Vocabulary* (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, 5). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Ehret, Christopher, Patricia Ehret (eds) compiled by Eric ten Raa, in collaboration with Edward D. Elderkin. 2012. *A Dictionary of Sandawe: The Lexicon and Culture of a Khoesan People of Tanzania* (Research in Khoisan Studies, 27). Cologne: Rüdiger

- Köppe.
- Elderkin, E. Derek 1988. A note on ? as a plural marker in Iraqw nouns. In Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst & Fritz Serzisko (ed.), *Cushitic — Omotic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, January 6-9, 1986*, 491-500. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Fosbrooke, Henry Albert. 1958a. Blessing the year: a Wasi/Rangi ceremony. *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 50. 21-29
- Fosbrooke, Henry Albert. 1958b. A Rangi circumcision ceremony: blessing a new grove. *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 50. 30-38.
- Gibson, Hannah. 2012. Auxiliary placement in Rangi: A Dynamic Syntax perspective. PhD thesis. SOAS University of London.
- Gibson, Hannah & Vera Wilhelmsen 2015. Cycles of negation in Rangi and Mbugwe. *Africana Linguistica* 21(1). 233-257.
- Gibson, Hannah & Lutz Marten. 2019. Probing the interaction of language contact and internal innovation: four case studies of morphosyntactic change in Rangi. *Studies in African Linguistics* 48. 63-92.
- Greenberg, Joseph Harold. 1966. *The Languages of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Guthrie, Malcolm. 1967–1971. *Comparative Bantu: An Introduction to the Comparative Linguistics and Prehistory of the Bantu Languages*. Farnborough: Gregg Press
- Güldemann, Tom. 1996. *Verbalmorphologie und Nebenprädikation im Bantu*. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.
- Güldemann, Tom. 1999. The genesis of verbal negation in Bantu and its dependency on functional features and clause types' In Jean-Marie Hombert & Larry M. Hyman (eds), *Bantu historical linguistics: theoretical and empirical linguistics*, 545-587. Stanford, CSLI.
- Hammarström, Harald, Robert Forkel, Martin Haspelmath & Sebastian Bank. 2021. Glottolog 4.5. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5772642> (Available online at <http://glottolog.org>, Accessed on 2022-04-20.)
- Heine, Bernd & Derek Nurse (eds.). 2008. *A Linguistic Geography of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kamba Muzenga, J. G. 1981. *Les formes verbales négatives dans les Langues bantoues*. Tervuren: Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale.
- Kannenberg, Carl. 1900. Reise durch die hamitischen Sprachgebiete um Kondoia. *Mittheilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten* 13. 144-172.
- Kesby, John D. 1981. *The Rangi of Tanzania: An Introduction to Their Culture*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files.
- Kesby, John D. 1982. *Progress and the Past among the Rangi of Tanzania*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files.
- Kesby, John D. 1986. *Rangi Natural History: The Taxonomic Procedures an African People*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files.
- Kießling, Roland. 1994. *Eine Grammatik des Burunge* (Afrikanistische Forschungen, 13). Hamburg: Research and Progress.
- Kießling, Roland. 1995. Muganga, story in Alagwa narrated by Salum Mafiita, with English translation. Ms.
- Kießling, Roland. 1998. Reconstructing the sociohistorical background of the Iraqw language. *Afrika und Übersee* 81. 167-225.

- Kießling, Roland. 2002. *Die Rekonstruktion der südkuschitischen Sprachen (West-Rift): Von den systemlinguistischen Manifestationen zum gesellschaftlichen Rahmen des Sprachwandels* (Cushitic Language Studies, 19). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Kießling, Roland. 2007. Alagwa functional sentence perspective and “incorporation”. In Azeb Amha, Maarten Mous & Graziano Savà (eds.), *Omoti and Cushitic Language Studies, Papers from the Fourth Cushitic Omotic Conference, Leiden 10-12 April 2003*, 187-198. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Kießling, Roland & Maarten Mous. 2003. *The Lexical Reconstruction of West Rift (Southern Cushitic)* (Cushitic Language Studies, 21). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Kießling, Roland, Maarten Mous & Derek Nurse 2008. The Rift valley area of central Tanzania as a linguistic contact zone. In Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (ed.), *A Linguistic Geography of Africa*, ed. by, 186-227. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leakey, Mary. 1983. *Africa's Vanishing Art: The Rock Paintings of Tanzania*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Luschan, Felix von. 1898. Beiträge zur Ethnographie des abflusslosen Gebiets von Deutsch-Ost-Afrika. In C. Waldemar Werther (ed.), *Die mittleren Hochländer des nördlichen Deutsch-Ost Afrika*, 323-368. Berlin: Hermann Paetel.
- Luschan, Felix von. 1898. Beiträge zur Ethnographie des abflusslosen Gebiets von Deutsch-Ost-Afrika. In C. Waldemar Werther (ed.), *Die mittleren Hochländer des nördlichen Deutsch-Ost Afrika*, ed. by, 323-368. Berlin: Hermann Paetel.
- Maghway, Josephat B. 1995. *Some Salient Linguistic Features of an Iraqw Narrative Text* (African Language Study Series, 3.) Tokyo: Institute for the study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Moffett, J. 1958. *Handbook of Tanganyika*. Dar Es Salaam: Government of Tanganyika.
- Mous, Maarten. 1993. *A Grammar of Iraqw* (Cushitic Language Studies, 9.) Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Mous, Maarten. 2008. Number as exponent of gender in Cushitic. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier & Erin Shay (eds.), *Interaction of Morphology and Syntax: Case Studies in Afroasiatic*, 137-160. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mous, Maarten, Martha Qorro & Roland Kießling. 2002. *Iraqw-English Dictionary: With an English and a Thesaurus Index* (Cushitic Language Studies, 21.) Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Mous, Maarten. 2016. *Alagwa Grammar, lexicon and texts*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Mous, Maarten. 2019. Language Contact. In Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippon (eds.), *The Bantu Languages*, 355-380. London: Routledge.
- Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania [Tanzania Languages Council]. 2009. *Atlasi ya Lugha za Tanzania* [Atlas of the languages of Tanzania] Dar es Salaam: Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam [Dar es Salaam University].
- Nordbustad, Frøydis. 1973. *Historia Fupi ya Lugha ya Kiiraqw*. Mbulu: Christian Literature Centre.
- Nurse, Derek. 1999. Towards a historical classification of East African Bantu languages. In Jean-Marie Hombert & Larry M. Hyman (eds.), *Bantu Historical Linguistics*, 1-42. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Nurse, Derek. 1979. *Classification of the Chaga Dialects. Language and History on Kilimanjaro, the Taita Hills, and the Pare Mountains with 24 Tables and 3 Maps*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Reche, Otto. 1914. *Zur Ethnographie des abflusslosen Gebietes Deutsch Ost Afrikas auf Grund der Sammlung der Ostafrika-Expedition (Dr. E. Obst) der Geographischen*

- Gesellschaft in Hamburg* (Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts, 17.) Hamburg: L. Friederichsen.
- Schneider, Harold. 1970. *The Wahi Wanyaturu: Economics in an African Society*. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
- Seidel, A. 1898 Grammatik der Sprache von Irangi. In Waldemar Werther (ed.), *Die mittleren Hochländer des nördlichen Deutsch-Ost-Afrika: Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Irangi-Expedition 1896-1897 nebst kurzer Reisebeschreibung*, 387-434. Berlin: Hermann Paetel.
- Stegen, Oliver. 2001. To be, or not to be: functions of copula and auxiliaries in Rangi. Unpublished manuscript. SIL Tanzania.
- Stegen, Oliver. 2002. 'Derivational processes in Rangi'. *Studies in African Linguistics*. 31(1/2). 129–153.
- Stegen, Oliver. 2003. First steps in reconstructing Rangi language history *Presented at the 33rd Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics at Leiden, August 25-27, 2003*.
- Stegen, Oliver. 2004. 'A pilot study of writing in Rangi society'. *Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics* 13. 102–111.
- Stegen, Oliver. 2005. 'Editing Rangi narratives: a pilot study in Literature production.' *Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics* 14. 68–98.
- Stegen, Oliver. 2006. Participatory Research, TAM Functions, and Dialect Survey Among the Rangi. Unpublished manuscript.
- Stegen, Oliver. 2007. 'Lexical density in oral versus written Rangi texts.' *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 15. 173–184.
- Swynnerton, G. H. 1946. Vernacular names for some of the better known mammals of Central Province. *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 21. 21-38.
- Tanganyika Government. 1964. *Ordnance Survey Maps, Published by the Directorate of Overseas (D.O.S.) Series Y742 Sheets 85/3, 104/1, 104/2*. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Lands, Forests and Wildlife, Survey Division.
- Ten Raa, Eric 1986a. The acquisition of cattle by hunter-gatherers: A traumatic experience in cultural change. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 7(2). 361-374.
- Ten Raa, Eric. 1986b. The Alagwa: A northern intrusion in a Tanzanian Khoi-San culture as testified through Sandawe oral tradition. In Rainer Vossen & Klaus Keuthman (eds.), *Contemporary Studies on Khoisan* 2, 271-299. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Tucker, Archibald N. & Margaret Bryan 1956. *The Non Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
- Tucker, Archibald N. & Margaret Bryan. 1966. *Linguistic Analyses: The Non-Bantu languages of North-Eastern Africa*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
- Whiteley, William H. 1958. *A Short Description of Item Categories in Iraqw (with Material on Gorowa, Alagwa and Burunge)*. (East African Linguistic Studies, 3.) Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere College.