Tense, Aspect and Modality in Ghanaian English: A Corpus-based Analysis of the Progressive and the Modal WILL

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present work explores functions and uses of the Progressive and the modal WILL in Ghanaian English (GhE). It presents the first corpus-based analysis of the morphosyntax of the variety that focuses primarily on spoken data. It uses new data on 'educated Ghanaian English' from the so far unpublished Ghanaian component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE; for a description cf. Greenbaum 1996a). The major aims of the study are, first, to add to hitherto missing qualitative and quantitative analyses on the description of the variety, and, secondly, to complement ongoing research on tense, modality and aspect (TMA) in New Englishes.

The past decades have seen considerable interest in the structural characteristics of the *New Englishes* (for a definition of the term cf. Platt, Weber & Ho 1984). While early work was often based on anecdotal evidence, research starting from the mid 1990s onwards includes increasingly detailed descriptions of New English varieties across various types of registers due to the compilation of language corpora including not only the major standard varieties like British and American English but also varieties used on other parts of the globe, especially Asia and to a lesser extent the Caribbean. To date, African varieties of English have not been considered adequately within this research paradigm for the lack of available corpus data. The present work thus fills one of the gaps in this area of New English research.

GhE is a variety that has developed in a complex sociolinguistic environment. In Ghana, as in many other African countries, the use and status of English as an official language is a result of colonial history. The language has gained a high number of (especially second language) speakers since independence in 1957 and has seen an extensive increase in usage in the last decades. The spread of English into various domains of public life in the country has promoted the emergence of a new variety with the resulting noticeable differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and discourse.
There is comparatively little research on GhE. Most studies on the variety available to date deal with descriptions of phonology (e.g. Dako 2003b, Adjaye 2005, Brato & Huber 2008, Huber 2008a) or lexis (Dako 2001, 2003a,

Blench 2006). With respect to grammar, there are a number of studies that mention various grammatical features found in the variety. These focus primarily on 'deviant' (Sey 1973, Tingley 1977, 1991, Gyasi 1991, Asante 1995, Ahulu 1998), or 'non-standard' features (Huber & Dako 2008, Huber 2012a). Aside these, there are a few quantitative studies which focus on individual aspects of GhE grammar such as Owusu-Ansah (1994) on modals in personal letters, or, more recently Ngula (2009, 2012) on the use of modals, and Huber (2012c) on the relative clause system, both in written GhE. In-depth, empirical research on tense, aspect and modality is missing from studies of GhE thus far. Apart from Ngula's (2009, 2012) corpus-based study on modals, there are a number of contributions that also include remarks on aspects of GhE TMA, such as Sey 1973, Gyasi 1991, and Huber & Dako 2008.

In general, the TMA system has attracted enormous attention in the New English literature. Previous research on these varieties has found a wider range of use of the Progressive (especially an extension of the Progressive to habitual and stative contexts) (cf. Platt et al. 1984, Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2004, Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013), blurred boundaries between hypothetical/non-hypothetical as represented in the variation of the modals WILL and WOULD and CAN and COULD (especially the confusion of WILL and WOULD) (cf. Platt et al. 1984, Deuber et al. 2012, Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013), as well as the use of the present tense forms for past tense forms and the use of the present perfect for simple past and vice versa (cf. Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi 2004, Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). Studies in this domain have thus suggested that TMA represent 'fragile' areas of English grammar that seem to undergo considerable changes in language contact situations and second language learning scenarios.

However, while cross-varietal studies based on evidence such as questionnaire data (e.g. Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013) point to common trends in the New Englishes, corpus-based studies show, that when considered in more detail, New Englishes often display great differences with respect to the usage of individual constructions (for the Progressive e.g. Sharma 2009, for WILL/WOULD variation Deuber et al. 2012). It is thus to be

assumed that both linguistic factors such as the typologies of the languages in contact as well as sociolinguistic factors such as the mode of acquisition and extent of usage of languages account for morphosyntactic differences across New English varieties. What is missing in research on contact-induced grammatical change in New Englishes to date are corpus-based studies on African varieties – both West, East and Southern African – especially on spoken language.

These considerations lead to the following questions:

1. How do the individual features of the TMA system analyzed in Asian and Caribbean varieties behave in the individual African New Englishes, especially in the spoken varieties?
2. Are there common trends in African varieties in the TMA system that set them apart from New English varieties in other world regions?
3. How do the sociolinguistics of African varieties reflect in intravarietal differences of TMA usage?

The present study especially contributes to the first question in this research field by providing in-depth analyses of the Progressive and the modal WILL in educated GhE vis-á-vis British English (BrE), using methodologies from quantitative corpus linguistics, probabilistic grammar and discourse analysis. When work for this thesis started in mid 2008, two West African components of the *International Corpus of English* were in the compilation phase, ICE-Ghana and ICE-Nigeria. Unfortunately, there were hardly any spoken texts available for neither of the varieties. In late 2008, an early version of the written component of ICE-Ghana was already available to a major part. Work on the spoken component was only starting. Fortunately, I was given the opportunity to become part of the team collecting and transcribing spoken data for ICE-Ghana together with researchers and students of the English Departments of the University of Giessen, Germany, and the University of Ghana in Legon/Accra, Ghana - the two departments jointly working on the

compilation of the corpus under the supervision of Prof. Magnus Huber from the University of Giessen. Since working with newly recorded material demands careful work and a lot of time, I decided to concentrate on ICE-Ghana only and leave comparisons between ICE-Ghana and other African ICE-components that are still under compilation for future projects. The only African ICE-component that was publicly available at the time of analysis was ICE-East Africa. However, due to its reduced number of spoken texts (cf. Hudson-Ettle & Schmied 1999) it did not qualify as a good basis for comparison. The second of the above outlined research questions will thus have to be answered in future studies, at least as far as there are no previous corpus-based studies on the individual TMA constructions available on African varieties. It is also hoped that with the completion of spoken ICE-Ghana in the near future as well as with the emergence of larger (including web-based) corpora, the third of the above research questions can be approached.

For the study of TMA use in GhE I decided to use the British component of ICE (ICE-GB) as a basis for comparison. BrE is both the historical input variety for GhE as well as the variety which serves as norm-giver in education in Ghana. However, it has to be kept in mind that the historical input is far from present-day spoken BrE. Furthermore, it has to be stressed that both American English as well as other varieties of English (such as Nigerian English) have a great impact on language use in Ghana. For this study BrE will thus serve as a reference point rather than as the input variety or the ultimate target variety in the contact scenario. Since many studies working with ICE-corpora take BrE as a reference point, the results of the present work should be comparable to those in studies dealing with other New English varieties.

The present work considers differences between GhE and BrE in both spoken and written data. However, qualitative analyses were carried out on spoken data only. For the written data, the analyses restrict themselves to mere frequency reports. The written texts represent a selection of the written component of the Ghanaian component of ICE (ICE-GH), which had nearly been completed at the time of analysis. The spoken texts are transcriptions of

recordings collected in Ghana in the years 2002, 2008 and 2010, most of which will eventually become parts of the spoken component of ICE-GH.
The two constructions, the Progressive and the modal WILL were chosen for analysis since they have been reported to be used differently in New English varieties as compared to native varieties of English:

Concerning the Progressive, the aim of the present study is to find out whether the construction shows innovative uses in GhE as compared to BrE, and whether these uses are similar to those reported in the literature on other (Asian and Caribbean) New Englishes, especially uses generally referred to as 'extended stative and/or habitual' uses.

Concerning the modal WILL, the situation is somewhat different as especially the variation between WILL and WOULD has been described in a number of studies working with (specifically) written material of West-African varieties. Here the aim is to show whether the findings from spoken GhE confirm the results from previous studies on West-African varieties, especially the use of WILL for past or hypothetical WOULD and vice versa, and whether we can find uses only described thus far for African varieties. Furthermore the study seeks to describe the frequent habitual uses of WILL, a phenomenon that has recently found attraction in studies of Asian and Caribbean New Englishes, and which seems to be a cross-varietal phenomenon.

Finally, in my analysis of WILL in GhE I found that WILL as a future marker is much more frequent in spoken GhE than in BrE and that certain usage constructions (e.g. constructions of the type *Won't you* or *I will not* without involving inferences such as offer or refusal) seem peculiar for spoken GhE. The aim here is to show on the basis of regression models whether the study of preferred patterns and collocations can offer insights into innovations and distinctive structural properties of GhE and eventually shed light on the contact scenario and the nativization process of the variety (in the sense of E. Schneider). While there is an emerging body of probabilistic corpus studies of New English morphosyntax (e.g. by the research group around Benedikt Szmrecsanyi) and lexicogrammar (e.g. by the research groups around Joybrato Mukherjee and Stefan Gries), the

variation of future time markers has to my knowledge not been studied in New English varieties thus far.

The present work is structured as follows: Chapter 2 explores political, historical and social aspects of English in Ghana. It gives a brief overview of the history of English in Ghana, and comment on the current sociolinguistic situation in the country and speaker attitudes towards English. Chapter 3 introduces the data used for the analysis of the present work and the methodologies that have been applied in extracting and coding the data.

Different functions and uses of the Progressive and their distribution across the data are discussed in Chapter 4. After giving an overview of discourse frequencies and semantic-pragmatic domains in which the Progressive is used, I look in more detail into the use of the Progressive in stative and habitual contexts in order to determine the usage patterns of the Progressive with respect to lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic contexts in GhE vis-á-vis BrE.

Chapter 5 focuses on functions and uses of the modal WILL and its variants in the data. Similarly as for the Progressive, an overview of discourse frequencies and semantic domains are given with specific focus on the realization of different speech acts. The remainder of the chapter discusses the use of the modals WILL and WOULD in hypothetical and non-hypothetical contexts, and provides an analysis of the use of WILL

The analysis of the modal WILL is complemented by a variation analysis of future time markers in Chapter 6. Using mixed effects logistic regression models, the analysis seeks to determine differences in the syntactic, lexical and semantic factors that constrain the variation between WILL and BE GOING TO in the spoken data.

Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the present study in relation to the two major research questions outlined above and concludes with some remarks on some of the factors in the emergence of structural patterns in GhE.

In the ensuing chapters, I use capital letters to indicate paradigms on a type-level such as the paradigm of the modal WILL with its variants *will, won't* and *'ll,* which will be put into italics. Language-specific morphosyntactic

categories such as the English Progressive are written with an initial capital letter.

2. ENGLISH IN GHANA: FROM PRE-COLONIALISM TO PRESENT-DAY

This chapter explores political, historical and social aspects of English in Ghana. It captures important historical events and constellations, as well as the resulting sociolinguistic and ecological conditions. Section 2.1 will briefly present a number of geographical, political and socioeconomic facts about the modern Republic of Ghana. Section 2.2 will focus on the history of English in Ghana from its very beginnings up to the present day and section 2.3 will deal with the sociolinguistic setting in present-day Ghana, followed by a discussion of language attitudes in section 2.4.

2.1 Ghana

Ghana is a West-African country located at the lower side of the Gulf of Guinea. It shares borders with Togo to the east, with Burkina Faso to the north, and with Ivory Coast to the west. To the south it is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean with a coast that stretches over 560 kilometers. The country spans an area of 238,535 km^2. It is divided into ten administrative regions with a population of 28,308,301 as of 2016.[1] The population density is higher in the southern and more developed parts of the country, especially in the urbanized centers of the capital Accra, Kumasi in Ashanti Region and Sekondi-Takoradi in the Western Region. The modern Republic of Ghana with its present-day borders is, linguistically and ethnically, an artifact of colonial times.

Ghana's extensive gold deposits were the major basis for trade for the Akan states for many centuries and attracted traders long before colonial times. Early contact between the Akan and European people such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danish, the Swedish, the Germans and later the British, also focused on the availability of gold before business shifted mainly towards the infamous slave trade. Subsequently, those parts of the region that were under the rule of the British Crown were called the *Gold Coast Colony*.

[1] "Population Projection by Sex, 2010-2016 National", Ghana Statistical Service. www.statsghana.gov.gh, accessed August 6th 2017.

Also, the abundance of industrial minerals and timber in the southern part of the country make it a primary location for mining up to the present day. Furthermore, Ghana is the 2nd largest cocoa producer in the world. Gold, petroleum oils/crude and cocoa beans make up the major exports of the country at present.[2]

After 83 years of being a British colony, Ghana became the first sub-Saharan country to declare independence in 1957. Since 1993, Ghana has been a unitary presidential democracy after periods of alternating military and civilian governments.

Since the mid-1980s economic growth has slowly but continuously improved in Ghana (cf. Fosu 2013). In the first quarter of 2016, service made up about 50% of the GDP, followed by industry (approximately 30%) and agriculture (approximately 20%), making Ghana a so-called lower middle-income country.[3] There is a long-term national economic target plan called *Vision Ghana 2020,* which envisions Ghana as the first sub-Saharan African country to become a developed country and to raise it to the ranks of the middle income countries of the world.[4] In spite of Ghana's economic superiority within Africa, observers of the Ghanaian diaspora have expressed concern that mass emigration has led to a lack of many skilled professionals and workers, especially in the educational and health sectors. [5]

Basic education is free for the first nine years in Ghana. With a gross primary enrolment rate of 95% and a completion rate of over 80% in primary schools, UNICEF considers the country far ahead of many other sub-Saharan

[2] "What did Ghana export in 2015?", Harvard Atlas of Economic Complexity. www.atlas.cid.harvard.edu/explore/tree_map/export/gha/all/show/2015/, accessed August 6th 2017.

[3] "Quarterly GDP at current Prices by Economic Activity and respective sectoral distribution", values are for the year 2013, www.statsghana.gov.gh, accessed July 26th 2016.

[4] "Is Ghana the next African economic tiger", *www.standardmedia.co.ke, accessed* August 6th 2017.

[5] "Ghana: Searching for Opportunities at home and abroad", www.migrationpolicy.org/article/ghana-searching-opportunities-home-and-abroad, accessed August 6th 2017.

African countries.[6] Although Ghana has been one of the most educational countries in sub-Saharan Africa, a large amount of young Ghanaians seek higher education in countries abroad, especially in Europe and North America.

2.2 A Brief History of the Advancement of English in Ghana

Exploratory searches by Europeans for trade routes to India in the 15th century accidentally brought them to the western coast of Africa. Until then the entire area had been inaccessible as a result of Muslim conquests, which sealed off routes through the north of Africa. The Portuguese made initial contact with West Africa in 1471 when they landed at the mouth of the Pra River of what later came to be called the Gold Coast. In search of trade routes to India, the Portuguese soon discovered that the availability of gold, ivory and other spices made trade with the Africans a very lucrative one. Within 11 years of their arrival, the Portuguese had already established a permanent post in 1482, the Elmina Castle, to ward off and control their vested interests in the area. This was soon followed in 1500 by trade in slaves, as this seemed even more lucrative. The amount of wealth to be exploited aroused immediate interest among other European countries and brought contingencies of expatriates to engage in business activities in the area. The Portuguese were soon followed by the Dutch, French, English, Swedish, Danish and Brandenburger, all of who established trading posts and competed, often fiercely, among themselves for control over the territory. The European invasion of the territory did not immediately assume a colonization dimension until much later. Apart from their business interests, the Europeans carried out evangelization campaigns and provided some formal education, albeit on small scale and restricted to the coastal areas (Huber 2008a).

The first English trading ships docked on the coast of West Africa only in the 16th century while their trading posts and forts were established in the

[6] "UNICEF in Ghana: Basic Education and Gender Equality", UNICEF, www.unicef.org/wcaro/wcaro_GHA_MTSP2.pdf, accessed August 6th 2017.

17th century. The Company of Merchants Trading to Guinea was the first to establish an English trading post on land in 1632 at Kormantin. In the second half of the 17th century, more trading posts followed, the biggest being the Cape Coast Castle, which remained the English headquarters from 1665 to 1877. As part of community entry strategies, the English, like the many Europeans who came before them, trained a few of the indigenes to act as interpreters in order to facilitate communication between them and the local people. It is reported that as early as 1555, five Africans had been sent to Britain to study the English language and to return as interpreters while a few other Africans also received formal education in the castles and trade posts along the coast.[7] Within this period, English language usage played a rather insignificant role as class sizes were small and the schools were often not regular. With the coming of the Wesleyan Methodists from England and the Basel Missionaries from Switzerland in the 1830s, the use of the indigenous languages was also encouraged and promoted in the schools that they set up (Schmied 1991: 16). Eventually, however, the situation along the west coast of Africa produced an incipient pidgin that was probably very rudimentary in its form but which nevertheless, set off a "commercial […] elite" (Egbokhare, cited in Schneider 2007: 201).

The entrenchment of English in the linguistic landscape of the Gold Coast was planted with the assent of the local coastal chiefs to a formal agreement with the then Governor of the Gold Coast. This contractual agreement, the so-called 'Bond of 1844' caused the locals to yield their power to the British Crown through Governor George Maclean in exchange for protection from the scourge of unscrupulous Europeans and other indigenous tribes in the midlands. This event, which marked the onset of colonialism, was further consolidated when the Dutch sold Elmina Castle to the English and retreated from the Gold Coast area. Following the withdrawal of the Dutch, Britain formally declared a strip of the Gold Coast a Crown Colony in 1874. In the decades following this declaration, Britain waged several wars against the Ashanti (Asante) and suffered several losses,

[7] "English Heritage: Timeline", www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/time-line/, accessed August 6th 2017.

succeeding only in the Yaa Asantewaa War of 1900 (cf. Wilks 1975, McCarthy 1983). With the elimination of the rebellious Ashanti leadership, Britain proceeded to annex the area and, on the 1st of January 1902, proclaimed Ashantiland together with the Northern Territories as British Protectorates. In 1922 British Togoland was incorporated into the colony under a League of Nations mandate (cf. Huber 2008a). These territories make up the modern day Republic of Ghana, which gained independence on the 6th of March 1957 and attained republican status on the 1st of July 1960; the first colony in Africa south of the Sahara to achieve this feat.

English assumed a more important role in the early 19th century when Britain became the major European trading power on the Gold Coast. After 1874, Britain began establishing public schools which, naturally, had English as the language of instruction. In order to further enhance its stake in the Gold Coast, the British gave financial grants only to setups that promoted the use of English language in their schools, compelling the Wesleyan and Basel missionaries to abandon indigenous language instruction from their schools and begin to promote the English language (Dseagu 1996: 61). In fact, among the 'Gold Coast elite' (some of whom had attended mission schools or received higher education in Europe), the view was held that English was the language of civilization and religion, and the development of the local languages was thus felt to be unnecessary (Anyidoho & Dakubu 2008: 147). The 'English only' agenda was pursued until the 1925 Education Ordinance instituted the use of the indigenous languages as the compulsory medium of instruction at Primary levels one to three (P1 - P3) while English was to be taught as a subject. From P4 to P6, however, English was to be used as the medium of instruction, whereas local languages were to be taught as subjects. Owu-Ewie (2006: 77) sums up the history of the English language situation in Ghana in the following:

> From 1925 to 1951, a Ghanaian language was used as medium of instruction for the first three years. Between 1951 and 1956, it was used only for the first year. From 1957 to 1966 a Ghanaian language was not used at all, from 1967 to 1969 it was used only for the first year, and between 1970 and 1974 a Ghanaian language was used for the first three years and

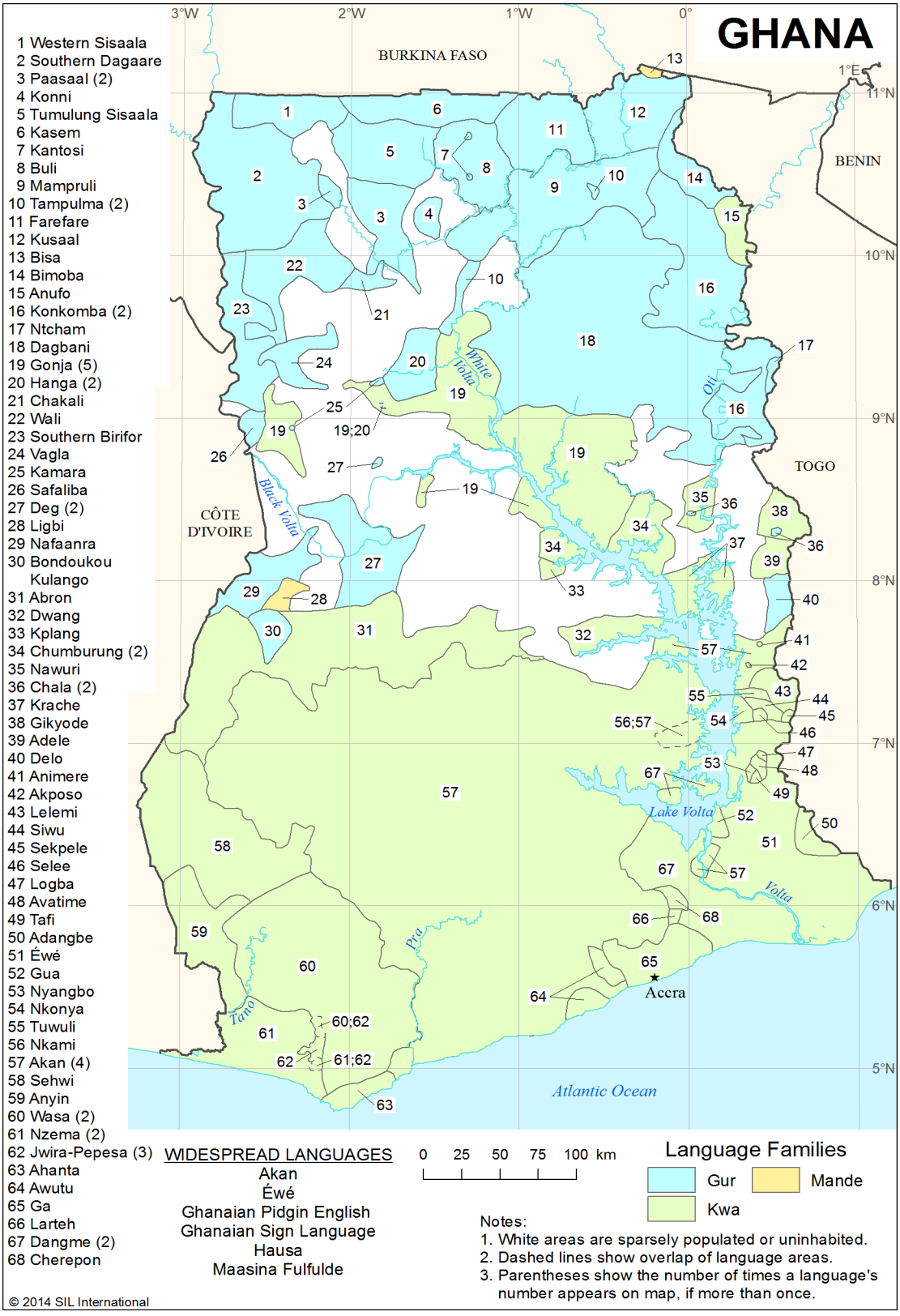
> where possible beyond (to the sixth year). From 1974 to 2002 a Ghanaian language was used for the first three years.

Since the year 2002, however, the language policy on education was once more reverted to the English-only medium across all levels of the educational cline. Amongst others, the incumbent government cited the lack of qualified Ghanaian language teachers and the fact that all major national school examinations are taken in English language as reasons for the re-implementation of the policy (cf. Azika 2012).

2.3 Sociolinguistic Situation of Ghana

Both ethnically and linguistically, Ghana is quite diverse. There are several different ethnic groups in Ghana and 40-80 different languages spoken (Lewis et al. 2014, Agbedor 1996; Bodomo 1996; Kropp-Dakubu & Dolphyne 1988), with numbers depending on the categorization of certain varieties either into dialects or proper languages. There is no single indigenous Ghanaian language that is shared by all citizens, although there is one Ghanaian language, Akan, which is the most wide-spread language in the country with approximately 40% of the population being native speakers and 70% being second or third language speakers respectively. Except two languages, Bissa and Likpe (or: Ligbi), which belong to the Mande branch, all the languages of Ghana belong to either the Kwa or Gur branches of the Niger Congo phylum. While Kwa languages are generally spoken in the rain forests of the southern part of the country, Gur languages are spoken in the savannah areas of the north. The north-south divide among the languages also maps out the distinct linguistic, socio-culturally and ecological systems of the people. Figure 2.1 below shows a map of the languages of Ghana.

Figure 2.1: Language Map of Ghana (Lewis et al. 2014, used with permission)



Within the Kwa family, the biggest languages are Akan, Ga and Ewe. Native Akan speakers account for more than 45% of the total population of Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service 2012: 34) while about 20% of the Ghanaian population also use it as their second language. Akan is sub-divided into Twi and Fante, which each consist of several sub-dialects. The second most widespread language is Ewe, also a Kwa language but not similar to Akan and spoken primarily in the south eastern part of Ghana in the Volta-Region. Ewe is also native to the neighbouring countries in the east: Togo and Benin; being a majority language, it has also spread to some western parts of the country. Ga is the language of the coastal people in and around the capital, Accra.

In the northern part of the country where the Gur cluster is found, the major languages are Dagbani, Dagaare and Gurene spoken in the central, western and eastern parts of the northern area respectively. Other smaller languages found in the area such as Kusaal, Buli, Mampruli and Kasem are generally restricted to their local domains where they play important roles in the peoples' socio-cultural lives. Gonja, a major Guan language with a large number of native speakers is spoken in the Gur area whereas its nearest relatives (in terms of language affiliation) are found either along the coasts or on recluse mountaintops in southern Ghana. The two Mande languages - Bissa and Likpe - are spoken in the Gur and Kwa language areas respectively. While the former is spoken in northeastern Ghana, the latter is spoken in the northwestern corner of the central belt. Hausa, a Chadic language of the Afro-Asiatic language family, was also introduced into the north of Ghana by Nigerians several generations ago and has gained some ground as a *lingua franca* in the area. It was used along the 'Hausa-Diagonal', the old trade route between Bawku via Tamale, Kintampo or Salaga, to Kumasi (Huber 2008a: 72). Massive immigration from the north to the south, caused by unequal socio-economic opportunities, has led to the transplantation of Hausa into the southern cities. Today, it is also used in the so-called *Zongos* (Hausa for 'foreigners' quarters'), where many northerners settled after the migration to the south. Although a relatively widespread language, Hausa is still felt to be a 'foreign' language, generally associated with Islam (cf. Huber 2008a: 72). Another language of wider communication is Ghanaian Pidgin English; an

English-lexifier language that is nonetheless greatly influenced by the indigenous Ghanaian languages. Its emergence is attributed to the need for communication amongst people without a common means of communication especially around the coastal areas and between white colonialists and their African servants. Today, it enjoys broad usage among mainly young male students in tertiary and second cycle institutions across the country.

Table 2.1 lists the major Ghanaian languages and gives a rough estimate of the number of first language (L1) speakers according to the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2014).

Table 2..1: Number of Speakers of Major Ghanaian Languages

Language Family	**Language**	**Number of L1 speakers**
Kwa	Akan (Twi, Fante)	8,300,000 (2004 SIL)
	Ewe	2,250,000 (2003 SIL)
	Ga-Dangme	1,400,000 (2004 SIL)
Gur	Dagbani	800,000 (2004 SIL)
	Dagaare	700,000 (2003)

In respect of the status of the various languages of Ghana, English assumes the *de jure* official language position: it is the language for official government business in the executive, courts of law, parliament, civil service, in the national media, in the army and for preaching by many Orthodox Churches, especially in urban areas (Dolphyne 1995). It also serves as the medium of instruction across all levels of education and is increasingly becoming a first language for some of the indigenous people. Dseagu (1996: 59) asserts that English as L1 is especially rare among urban lower classes and tradition-bound people in the countryside, but is a characteristic feature of the middle-to-upper class of the nation. Further, there is no official legislature on what the national language of Ghana is; irrespective of its *de facto* national language status, several attempts to raise the biggest language of the country (Akan, most likely the Asante-Twi dialect) to that level have been unsuccessful. Akan (Twi and Fante), together with a few local languages

(Dagbani, Ewe, Nzema, Dagaare, Ga, Ga-Adangbe, Kasem, Gonja, and to some extents Hausa) are however government sponsored languages that are used for certain distinct purposes such as education and information dissemination. More precisely, while Hausa is used in the media, it is not studied at any level of the educational system, while the others are studied in school and also used in the media. As none of the indigenous languages is shared by all citizens of Ghana, English enjoys the status of interethnic communication – the status of a language quite close to the indigenous languages of Ghana. Literacy in English was at about 67% for the population of 11 years and older in the year 2010.[8] The majority of Ghanaians learns English at school but, on the other hand, English is acquired everywhere and at any time in Ghana from all different types of sources. While it is still primarily used in formal contexts such as in parliament and in the educational system, English in Ghana is also increasingly used in more informal contexts where it is typically accompanied by heavy code-switching and borrowing from the indigenous languages with the result of a strong nativization effect within certain styles and genres of the language. A growing number of middle-class children now also acquire English in their homes and private kindergartens, alongside local languages (Huber 2012a: 832, 2014). It is important to note that while statistics indicate that two thirds of all Ghanaians are literate in English, levels of proficiency vary drastically among individual speakers, and range from 'broken' English to (near) native usage (cf. Huber 2008b, Sey 1973).

2.4 Attitudes towards English in Ghana

Considering the multitude of languages in African communities and Ghana in particular, it is not uncommon to find that people hold a strong affinity to their native languages and, by extension, to their ethnicities. In fact, issues concerning language are often taken very strongly (Armstrong 1968: 227). As Adekunle explains, the apparent introduction of a 'foreign' language may be

[8] "Population 11 years and older by region, district and language of literacy", Ghana Statistical Service. www.statsghana.gov.gh, accessed August 6th 2017.

influenced by two different factors which shape people's attitudes to language: centripetal and centrifugal factors: Centripetal factors influence members of a group towards a more introspective attitude (cited in Adegbija 2000). They tend to hold strong cultural values and to have high regard for local systems and customs. Members of such groups seek solidarity, communality and advancement of local values. They are thus less likely to adopt new or foreign concepts, be they language or otherwise. Centrifugal forces, on the other hand, push individuals to be more open to novelties and to assume a utilitarian attitude to language questions and foreign concepts in general. In the case of Ghana these two factors have finally played out in quite an unbalanced proportion tending more towards favoring English than the indigenous languages. In the first instance, the introduction of English was partly successful because of the goodwill and trust that existed between the local people and the expatriates. Dseagu asserts that,

> A non-native speaker only becomes comfortable with a language that has been socialized [...] hence far from being perceived by the coastal tribes as a an empire-building colonizer, Britain was regarded as a reliable and trustworthy ally and the English language then became associated with peace, progress and development. (1996: 60)

There is also an immediate beneficial component to accepting the use of English in the Ghanaian community. Many sectors of the economy received and continue to receive British government support in terms of financial grants, infrastructure and technical assistance. Schools that promoted the local languages, for instance, were disadvantaged because they did not qualify to access some of the needed grants (cf. 2.2).

Banjo (2000) intimates that in Nigeria in the mid-19th century, knowledge of English was highly prized and regarded as a means of upward social mobility. This is equally true for Ghana within the context of the few educated Africans who were qualified to work in the post, telecommunications and railway setups of the white imperialists. These select Africans, together with the few who played various roles as teachers and evangelists, had had formal training either in England or in privileged mission schools along the coast. Their elite status placed them on a higher

pedestal than the average people and entitled them to exceptional benefits. Today, that attitude is not any different as many of the choice positions in the country are reserved for highly educated individuals (Adegbija 2000: 83). As some authors have claimed, English is considered to be synonymous with education in general and level of proficiency in English equates with level of intelligence (cf. Schmied 1991: 14, Mfum-Mensah 2005: 83, Saah 1986: 368). English thus maintains a special position as a signifier of middle to higher social class status and has come to be used as the most important means of socialization for the younger generation within this group.

In close relation to the above is the commonly held view that the indigenous languages are quite restricted in their outlook and usage. Generally, the languages are confined to intra-community, intra-family communication purposes. Considering the multitude of different languages spoken in Ghana, only a handful receive some government support, which may be a further indication of the overall attitude of government to the language issue.

The foregoing factors notwithstanding, the current status of English as a national language, lingua franca and rising mother tongue language does not phase out the underlying centripetal factors. Individuals who have very good command of the English language but lack competence in their native language are often considered as 'lost' in the sense that they are not in touch with the very essence of their Ghanaian being (Musah, p.c.). Many people attribute the expansion of the English language to the fast diminishing role of the local languages. English continues to encroach on many domains such as the home that used to be the absolute preserve of the indigenous languages. Furthermore, some scholars such as Adegbija state that many people are still "mentally colonized" and continue to see English as "inherently superior to African languages" (2000: 84), and proposes the teaching in local languages as an effective means for cultural preservation.

Interestingly, many advocates of the promotion of the indigenous languages are academics (such as Adegbija 2000, Obeng 1997), whereas proponents of English language tend to be non-academics, e.g. reporters for newspapers. As Sellers (2007) notes, " unlike the ordinary Ghanaians […], the

academics who advocate instruction in indigenous languages are already occupying a prestige position implied by their proficiency in English – their ambitions have been fulfilled and articulated using English, placing them in a rather ironic and hypocritical position".

Until very recently, negative attitudes toward a distinct variety of English was on the agenda, which is also reflected in the work of a number of Ghanaian scholars such as Gyasi (1991) and Ahulu (1994a and b), who have analyzed features of the variety mainly from an error analysis perspective. Gyasi's position is also clear when he writes that it is a misnomer to label the variety 'Ghanaian English', as English is not native to Ghana. What he suggests is to call it 'English in Ghana', as the goal of the average English speaking Ghanaian is not to aspire to local standards but rather to use Received Pronunciation (RP). He explicitly states that:

> There is nothing like 'Ghanaian English' if we base our judgment on the occurrences of such errors as *equipments, we must voice out our views, I am going and come.* Convince the Ghanaian that these are errors or deviations from the British Standard forms and he will not intentionally use them again. (1991: 27)

Attempts to codify Ghanaian English have to a considerable part come from non-Ghanaian scholars such as Dako (2004), Kirby (1998) or Blench (2006), who have published reference dictionaries on the variety, as well as Huber (2008) and Huber & Dako's (2008) descriptions on GhE phonology and morphosyntax. However, there are more and more projects being carried out by Ghanaian scholars that seek to describe the variety not from the perspective of 'deviations from the standard', but from the perspective of an emerging variety (e.g. the studies carried out by scholars such as Anderson (e.g. 2004), as well as the PhD projects currently carried out on GhE phonology or code-switching at the English Department of the University of Ghana; see the publications in the *Legon Journal of Humanities* (ed. by Kropp Dakubu)).

A changing attitude towards the local variety can also be observed among its speakers. In a study carried out by Anderson & Osei-Tutu, 65% of a sample population of 169 university students admitted that they spoke GhE,

whereas only 29% believed that they spoke BrE and 4% believed that they spoke American English. However, as the study also showed, many speakers still feel that the variety is 'non-standard' and to some extent 'stigmatized' and should therefore not be taught at school, while others see advantages in its use because of its specific Ghanaian lexical items (Anderson 2009: 30-31). It seems that in spite of some negative associations towards it, GhE has achieved recognition as a local characteristic, i.e. something that is inherently owned by its speakers, and no longer as a 'foreign' language. It is the language that can aptly capture the literary traditions of the people and preserve them for posterity. This is among other things, embodied by a vibrant English-medium literary scene. In the sense of Schneider's (2007) Dynamic model of the evolution of New Englishes, GhE could thus be located at Stage 3 "Nativization" with slight indicators of Stage 4 "Endonormative Stabilization" (cf. also Huber 2014).

3. THE DATA

This chapter will introduce the data used for the analyses of the present work and report the methodologies that have been applied in extracting and coding the data. Section 3.1 will outline the idea of the *International Corpus of English* project (ICE) and the design of the corpora. Section 3.2 will present an overview of the written categories that were selected for the analysis. As the spoken component of the Ghanaian component of ICE (henceforth: ICE-GH) is still under compilation, data other than ICE was included for analysis. Section 3.3 will provide a detailed description of the spoken data used in the present work and of the socio-biographic background of the speakers. Section 3.4 will briefly comment on the tools used for data extraction and the factors for which the individual data points were coded.

3.1 The International Corpus of English Project

The International Corpus of English Project (ICE) is an international project founded in the early 1990s by the Survey of English Usage (SEU, University College London) under Sidney Greenbaum, which has led to the cooperation of various research teams in English or Linguistics Departments worldwide who are working to compile computer-readable corpora that consist of samples of written and spoken English from each participating country. The ICE philosophy pursues the idea that English-as-a-second-language (ESL) and English-as-a-native-language (ENL) corpora of the same design exist alongside each other. "While each component corpus can exist independently as a valuable resource for investigation into individual national or regional varieties, the value of the corpora is enhanced by their comparability with each other " (Nelson 1996: 27). The idea of the ICE project thus reflects the spirit of the comparative approaches to World Englishes that started in the 1980s and which have ever since been enhanced by the existence of comparable corpora. The countries for which the parallel corpora have been and are being compiled "count as 'English-speaking' in some sense but which in fact are as culturally and linguistically diverse as Great Britain, Australia,

India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Nigeria, or Fiji" (Nelson et al. 2002: xi). The major pre-requisite that a country needs to fulfill in order to qualify as a candidate for its own ICE component is that its inhabitants communicate with each other in English. Thereby, ICE clearly excludes so-called EFL (English as a Foreign Language) countries such as Germany, Italy, Sweden etc., in which English is a foreign language but no official status. In countries such as these English is taught at school but usually only serves for international communication. Such countries, which belong to the Expanding Circle according to Kachru (1985), are being investigated in the so-called ICLE, the International Corpus of Learner English, which is a subproject of ICE (cf. Greenbaum 1996b).

Each individual ICE component is divided into a spoken and a written part and consists of a total of 500 texts, each of them of 2,000 words, taken from various fields of daily life, as well as scientific and academic domains. Thus every component consists of about one million words, 600,000 words of spoken and 400,000 words of written English produced by educated speakers/authors of the respective variety. Appendix A gives an overview of the design of the ICE corpora and the numbers of texts for each category. The number of texts from each category is specified, as well as the period from which they should be dated. Sometimes the texts are composite, meaning they come from more than one source of the same type in order to reach the required 2,000 words per text. The text types that represent the ICE components are kept fairly general in order to be able to collect the required amount of suitable material from each country. As Nelson writes, "[a] corpus dealing exclusively with British English, for example, might include many more text types than are represented in ICE" (1996: 29). At times, however, even these very general text types pose problems for the research teams working on the ICE components. I will point to some of these difficulties with respect to the compilation of ICE-GH in the two sections below. A schematic representation of all categories and sub-categories of spoken and written texts of an ICE component can be found in the appendix.

Various guidelines for the text selection for the ICE components are specified by the SEU. Ideally, data should be dated from 1990 to 1994, as

work for the project started during that time. Obviously, this is quite difficult for those teams working on components that started their work in the 21st century, especially when it comes to the collection of private, spoken, face-to-face conversations. The most important criteria for the selection of speakers and authors are age and education as these two criteria are quantifiable. Every speaker/author needs to be at least 18 years of age and needs to have completed education in English at least until the end of secondary school. Furthermore, speakers/authors have to be natives of the respective country (born or moved there at an early age) and need to have received their education through the medium of English in the respective country.[9]

Up to date 27 countries have been included in the ICE project. The ones that present an already complete corpus include Great Britain (which was the first ICE component to be completed and served as a pioneering model for all later ones), Canada, East Africa, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Jamaica, New Zealand, Nigeria[10], the Philippines, and Singapore. The ones that are still under compilation include Australia, the Bahamas, Fiji, Gibraltar, Malaysia, Malta, Namibia, Pakistan, Scotland, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Trinidad & Tobago, Uganda, USA – and Ghana.[11]

The ICE-GH project is based at the University of Giessen in Germany and represents cooperative work between the English Departments of Giessen and of the University of Ghana in Legon/Accra. Work on ICE-GH first started in 2006. A preliminary version of the written component was already in 2010. It has already been used in a number of studies already (e.g. Huber 2012c, Hundt & Schneider 2012, Biewer 2009), and is also the basis for analysis of written data in the present study. An updated version of the written component will be part of the published ICE-GH. The ICE-GH team is still working on the collection, transcription and markup of the spoken part,

[9] "The Design of ICE Corpora"; International Corpus of English; http://www.ice-corpora.net/ice/design.htm; accessed August 6th 2017.

[10] ICE-Nigeria was released in 2014. https://www.uni-muenster.de/Anglistik/Research/EngLing/research/ice-nig.html; accessed August 6th 2017.

[11] International Corpus of English; www.ice-corpora.net/ICE/INDEX.HTM; accessed November 26th 2016.

but there is a sufficient quantity of already recorded material that could be used in the present study of educated spoken GhE.

3.2 The Written Data

Only a selection of texts from the written component of ICE-GH (2010 version) was used for analysis and compared with the corresponding written categories of the British component of ICE (henceforth: ICE-GB). The ICE categories used include student writing (W1A), academic writing (W2A), popular writing (W2B), reportage (W2C) (19 files), persuasive writing (W2E) and creative writing (W2F). Some of the categories in the 2010 version of the component are not complete, which means that in some cases there were slightly fewer words of data available from ICE-GH than from ICE-GB, which was considered in the statistics in the following chapters.[12] In total the written texts from ICE-GH comprise 296,000 words as compared to 300,000 words in ICE-GB. Table 3.1 gives an overview of the sub-categories included and the respective numbers of words.

Table 3.1: Overview Sub-categories of the Written Component of ICE-GH

	Category	**Sub-category (and number of files)**	**Number of words**
Non-printed	Student writing (W1A)	Student essays (10)	20,000
		Student exams (10)	20,000
Printed	Academic writing (W2A)	Humanities (10)	20,000
		Social Sciences (10)	20,000
		Natural Sciences (10)	20,000
		Technology (10)	20,000
	Popular writing (W2B)	Humanities (10)	20,000
		Social Sciences (10)	20,000
		Natural Sciences (10)	20,000
		Technology (9)	18,000
	Reportage (W2C)	Press news reports (19)	38,000
	Persuasive writing (W2E)	Press editorials (10)	20,000
	Creative writing (W2F)	Novels & short stories (20)	40,000

[12] For guidelines concerning numbers of texts per category see Appendix A.

The categories W1B (letters) and W2D (instructional writing) were not included in the analyses of the present work. The major part of business letters in category W1B in ICE-GH 2010 consisted of emails. As emails differ considerably from letters with respect to style, it was decided to leave out the whole category. As for W2D there were a number of changes yet to be made on behalf of the ICE-GH team with respect to the selection of texts as there were some inconsistencies concerning the source and date of some of the texts. Accordingly, I also decided not to consider this category in my analyses.

3.3 The Spoken Data

All the data for spoken GhE were collected in Ghana during fieldtrips in the years 2002, 2008 and 2010. The recordings were transcribed and annotated either by the present researcher, by members of the ICE-GH team or by visiting students from Ghana at the University of Giessen.[13] Each transcript was double-checked by a Ghanaian native speaker as well as by the present researcher.[14]

The 2008 recordings consist of classic sociolinguistic interviews in which speakers are asked to talk about topics such as traditions, childhood memories, future plans, or political issues (cf. Tagliamonte 2006), whereas the 2010 recordings consist of spontaneous conversations among friends, colleagues or family members. All sociolinguistic interviews were conducted by Ghanaians. As Schmied (1996: 186-187) asserts, the positive attitudes associated with English especially in ESL-contexts might cause what is generally known as the 'sociolinguistic paradox' or 'observers paradox'. In order to overcome this problem the interviewer has to be an in-group member because "as soon as they come as outsiders to compile data within a speech community, the conversation tends to become less natural and 'distorted' towards more formal and prestigious forms" (Schmied 1996: 186).

[13] For transcription and annotation guidelines for ICE see *Markup Manuals for Spoken Texts* on http://ice-corpora.net/ice/manuals.htm.

[14] I am grateful to Agoswin Musah for taking his time and checking all of the transcripts that are included in CS-GH and spoken ICE-GH.

Recordings conducted by a German interviewer were thus excluded from the dataset. Most recordings took place on the University Campus in Legon/Accra or somewhere close to that. Longer passages of code-switching or of extensive use of Pidgin English were not included in the dataset.

Appendix A presents tables of the 60 files that are included in the present analyses. If the file is part of spoken ICE-GH, the file name corresponds to the label given by the ICE-GH team, for example as “S1A-001” (status: November 2013). For the analysis of spoken English only private face-to-face conversations were included. Texts from other categories of ICE-GH were not sufficiently available at the time in which the majority of the data was analyzed. At the time of analysis 45 texts which will eventually be part of the category S1A (Face-to-face conversations) of ICE-GH were available. Not all of the files contain exactly 2000 words but the numbers of words vary considerably across the different files. They will eventually be cut down to 2000 words each by the ICE-GH-team when all files for the spoken component are complete.

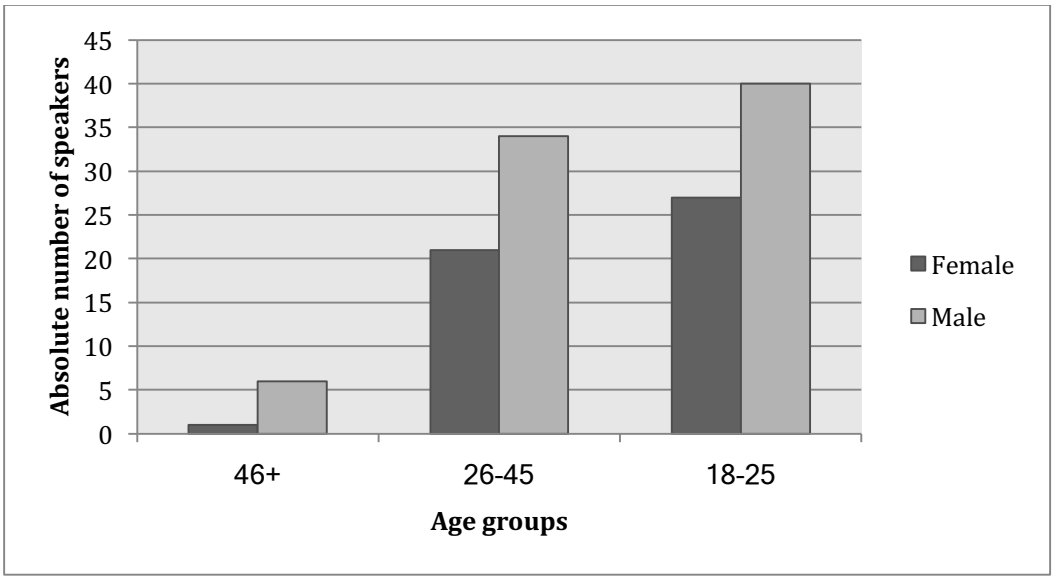
The data of spoken GhE used for this study also includes texts that will eventually not become part of ICE-GH. I decided to refer to these texts as CS-GH (Corpus of Spoken Ghanaian English). CS-GH contains 15 different files which were all collected in 2008. They will not become part of ICE-GH as they were considered too formal. However, they fulfill the requirements for speaker selection given in the ICE guidelines. The 15 files included in CS-GH were labeled "X01"-"X15". The length of these texts as well as the names of the recordings they correspond to are given in Appendix A.

The spoken data (ICE-GH and CS-GH) includes data from 133 different speakers. A few speakers occur in more than one file. However, no speaker contributes more than a total of 2,000 words to the corpus. Appendix A shows a list of all speakers contributing to the spoken data, including information on year of birth, sex, occupation and L1, as far as information was available. One of the caveats of the data used is certainly its uneven distribution across a) the age groups[15] and b) sex. As shown in Figure 3.1

[15] Speaker age was determined on the age of the speaker in the year 2010. This means that speakers who were 25 in the year 2008 were considered as belonging to the group 26-45.

male speakers are represented with almost twice the number of female speakers. Especially in the age group 46+ the share of female speakers is dramatically low. This distribution is certainly the result of practical problems when gathering spoken data on a University campus in Ghana. In addition to that, the willingness among male speakers to participate in the conversations was much higher than that of female speakers.

Figure 3.1: Distribution of Speaker Age and Sex in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH



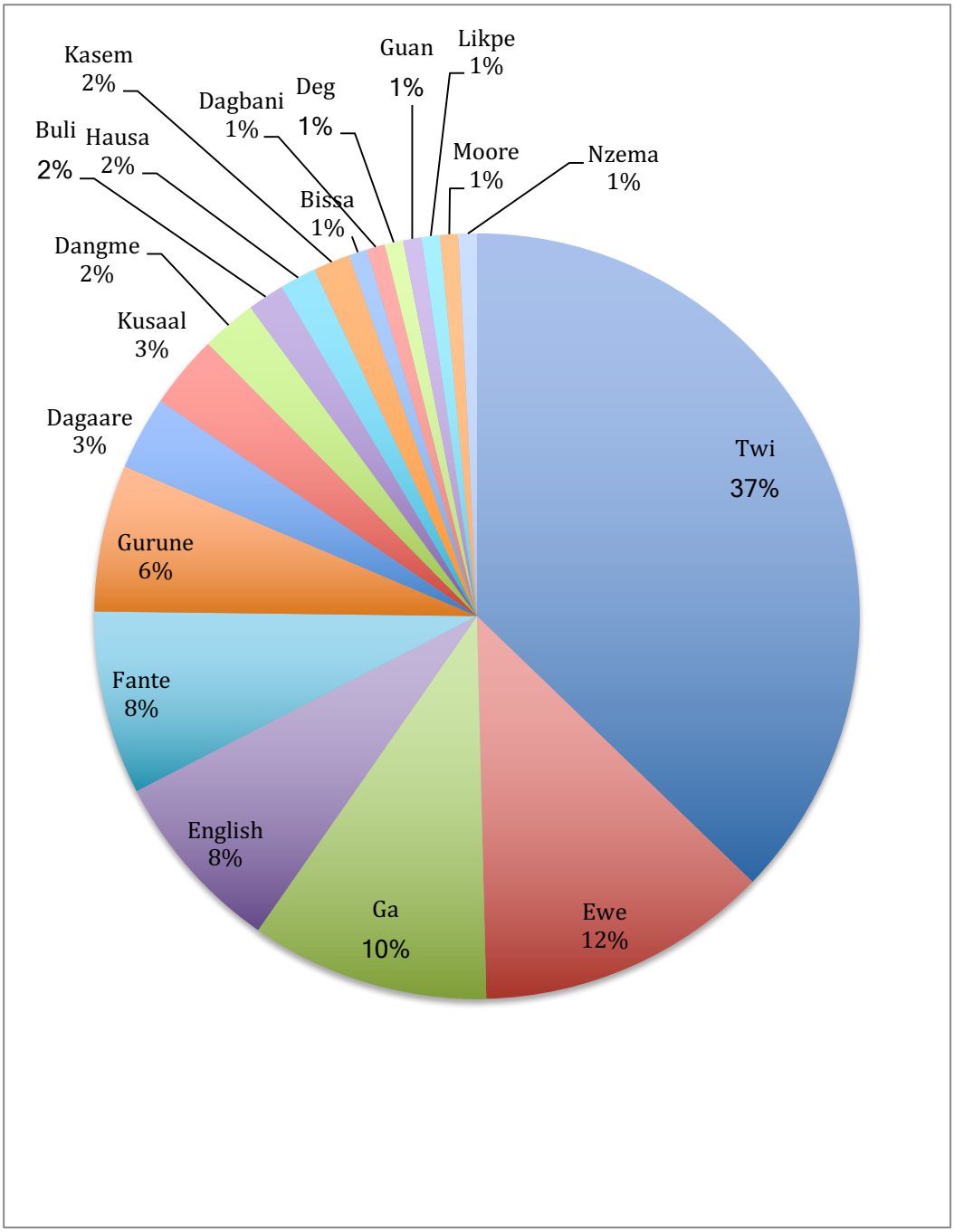
Similarly, the relatively young age of our speakers (only a few of them were above 30 years of age) can be attributed to the immediate circle of acquaintances of contact people in Ghana. During the field trip in 2008, some of the recordings were made with the help of various people from the English and Linguistics departments, some of who were already above 30 years of age. Accordingly, the range of age groups covered by the recordings from 2008 is relatively broad. The recordings made in 2010, on the other hand almost exclusively include people below 30 years of age, especially male University students in their early 20s. Among the 133 speakers in the spoken data, almost 80% are university or college students.

To some extent, the distribution reflects reality in the sense that more and more young people complete senior secondary school and thus qualify as speakers for ICE. The variety analyzed in the present work is best

characterized as 'English as spoken by young, educated Ghanaians'. Even if this does not capture the complete picture of the speech community of speakers of GhE, it gives quite a good impression on where GhE is heading towards, if we assume that young, educated speakers are most likely those who influence the development of the local standard.

The present dataset represents a good approximation of the distribution of L1s across the population according to the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2014). A total of 19 different languages are represented by the speakers in the data including English and Hausa. Figure 3.2 below gives an overview of the distribution of L1s across the speakers in the corpus. Note that Akan is divided into Twi and Fante. Similarly, Ga and Dangme are considered separately.

Figure 3.2: Distribution of L1s Across Speakers in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH



With more than 75%, the Kwa languages are slightly overrepresented in the data as compared to estimated figures provided in the *Ethnologue.* The major Gur languages, Dagbani and Dagaare, on the other hand, are underrepresented, although some other, smaller languages from that branch (e.g. Gurune, Kusaal) make up for the differences. The majority of the speakers stated the language of their ethnic affiliation as their L1. Only a few

speakers listed the language that they use most often and that they maybe even acquired first as their L1. This is why some of the speakers stated English as their L1. However, on the basis of the information given in the socio-biographic questionnaires the speakers were asked to fill out, one can assume that in most of the cases L1 of speaker is a good indicator of ethnic membership. However, whether L1 or ethnic affiliation tell us a lot about the languages a speaker actually uses in everyday life is difficult to say given the fact that most people in Ghana are multilingual.

In addition to that, those people whose parents speak different languages often acquire both languages. Furthermore, the locality in which a speaker lives most often influences the languages that he or she speaks. Finally, the L1 itself also has an impact on whether a speaker uses other languages as well. For example, if a speaker speaks a majority language like Twi, which is shared by most Ghanaians, especially in the South, there is less reason to speak another language than if he or she speaks a minority language. This means that, among other factors, an individual speaker's L1 might ultimately have an impact on the role that English has in his or her everyday life.

3.4 Data Extraction and Coding

For the analyses of the present work, individual morphosyntactic constructions with their respective variants were extracted from the corpora. As ICE-GH and CS-GH are purely lexical corpora, i.e. not tagged for parts of speech, all variants had to be extracted lexically with the help of the concordance program AntConc (www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html). In the case of the Progressive, I had to manually search for all words ending in **ing.* All words ending in *–ing* that did not represent instances of the Progressive had to be manually removed. In the case of the modals WILL, WOULD and BE GOING TO, all variant forms had to be extracted, e.g. *will, 'll, won't* for WILL. For ICE-GB the corpus utility program ICE-CUP was used (cf. for more information on the functions of ICE-CUP cf. Nelson 1996). I used the function "inexact nodal" (query: AUX(prog)) to extract all Progressives from

the individual text files. In the case of the modals the text fragment search was used.

Each data point was coded for lexical, syntactic and semantic information such as lexical verb, semantic verb class, aktionsart, agentivity, subject type (person and number, NP type, animacy of subject), clause type, sentence type and temporal adverbial modification. For the written data, variety and text category/genre was the only type of extralinguistic information provided for each data point. For the spoken data additional extralinguistic information was added to each data point, such as speaker identity, speaker age, and speaker sex. In addition to this, the spoken data contains information on variables such as L1 of speaker, occupation of speaker and degree of exposure to native varieties of English.

As the present work deals with qualitative and quantitative differences in the use of TMA markers in GhE and BrE, each data point also had to be coded for semantic domain/meaning (e.g. 'prediction' in the case of WILL). Assigning 'semantic domain' to a particular data point presupposes that the use of a construction has only one meaning. This assumption is often difficult to maintain when working with naturalistic corpus data. However, it is common practice in quantitative corpus linguistics to assign each occurrence of a construction one specific meaning. This means that each of the following chapters will present overviews of the frequencies of particular meanings. The methodologies in the assignment of meaning will be discussed for each of the constructions in the relevant chapters. Decisions for classifying tokens in particular ways and problems of classification and interpretation will be discussed in detail.

4. THE PROGRESSIVE

This chapter discusses the use of the Progressive with specific focus on the spoken corpora. After giving an overview of the frequencies of the Progressive across the different genres of the corpora of GhE in comparison to BrE in section 4.2, I focus on differences between the two varieties in the usage range of the Present Progressive and the Past Progressive in the spoken data in section 4.3. Section 4.4 discusses in more detail the functions of the Progressive when used in stative contexts, and section 4.5 analyzes differences between GhE and BrE with respect to the types of habituality most commonly expressed by the Progressive. Section 4.6 summarizes and discusses the findings. Before turning to the data analysis, I first provide a brief background on previous research on the Progressive in varieties of English (section 4.1).

4.1 The Progressive in Varieties of English

Due to its constant increase in frequency, especially since the beginning of the Modern English period, the English Progressive construction has been in the focus of numerous studies in English grammar, and is a popular research domain in corpus linguistics, especially in comparative studies of World Englishes. The combinatory possibilities of the Progressive with modal, aspectual and other morphology have been the focus of a number of studies. A case in point is the Passive Progressive, which is a relatively late development and which has seen its crucial phase of grammaticalization in the 19th century (Smitterberg 2005, Hundt 2004), and continues to rise until today, but primarily in BrE[16] (Leech et al. 2009, Hundt 2004), and much more so in written than in spoken genres (Smith & Rayson 2007). Other complex

[16] As Anderwald (2014) observes, while 19th century prescriptivism affected British English more than American English in the use of the Passive Progressive, during the 1950s modern-style prescriptivism must have had massive effects on American newspaper language and might be responsible for a general reluctance to use the construction in present-day American English.

constructions with the Progressive that have gained in frequency during the Modern English period are the Perfect Progressive and the Modal Progressive, above all in combination with the modal *will* (see also Chapter 6). Patterns consisting of a modal + Progressive date back to the Middle English period (Strang 1970: 208, Fischer 1992: 255), but show a certain increase in frequency only in the late 20th century (Kranich 2010: 179-186, Nesselhauf 2007), after having decreased significantly during the 19th century (Smitterberg 2005: 134). Its use is much lower in American than in British English (Leech et al. 2009: 139). Uses of Perfect Progressives can already be found in the early 18th century, but diachronic studies on the Progressive in Modern English suggest that overall the construction remains fairly infrequent up to the 20th century (cf. Strang 1982, Kranich 2010). Interestingly, uses of the Progressive in combination with modal verbs but also with the Perfect often do not carry progressive meaning at all but refer to situations that are perfective in meaning. These uses are specifically characteristic for spoken, conversational English (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 210).

Specific scholarly attention toward the English Progressive is also due the fact that standard varieties of English allow the use of the construction in less prototypical contexts. In fact, the general tolerance of the English Progressive to occasionally occur with stative verbs and in habitual contexts has been interpreted as an indicator for a possible change from a progressive to a general imperfective category (cf. e.g. Comrie 1976: 36, Thieroff 2000: 294), a widely attested path of grammaticalization reported in the typological literature (Bybee et al. 1994, Heine 1994, Bybee & Dahl 1989). However, Kranich (2013) cautions against premature conclusions on putative developments of the category, since when the Progressive is applied to states and habits, these situations are still quite restricted in nature. States and habits marked by the Progressive are typically of limited temporary duration (cf. also Quirk et al. 1985: 198-199, Aarts 2011: 268). In addition to that, verbs denoting qualities and states (e.g. *be, have, resemble, think*) often have to be interpreted as containing a dynamic predication, as in *Peter is being awkward* (Quirk et al. 1985: 200-202), and thus would no longer be

interpreted as states on the clause level. The subgroup "private states" (states of mind, volition, attitude, etc.) with verbs such as *want, hope,* or *wonder* the Progressive is used to emphasize tentativeness or politeness, especially in combination with the past tense as in *I was hoping you would give me some advice* (Quirk et al. 1985: 202-203), or to add an emphatic meaning as in the example from ARCHER 2.

(1) I was hoping that by now you were a settled family man and were going to sit down and give us the great fireside books of your later period. (Kranich 2013: 18, example taken from ARCHER 2)

Rather than representing a general extension to states, the last two examples illustrate what Mair (2006: 92, 2012) has referred to as 'pragmatically licensed rule-breaking' for specific rhetorical or expressive effects. Such uses fall into Kranich's (2010, 2013) category of so-called subjective uses of the Progressive, in which the construction serves as an emotive or expressive device. Besides the emphatic or tentative use on stative verbs as illustrated above, other types of subjective Progressives are to refer to a negative speaker attitude as in *Bill is always working late at the office* (example taken from Quirk et al. 1985: 199) or to serve to interpret something retrievable from the ongoing communicative situation, the so-called 'interpretative' (or: 'interpretive') Progressive as in the example from FLOB.

(2) I can only add that when Paul Gascoigne says he will not be happy until he stops playing football, he is talking rot (Mair 2012: 806, example taken from FLOB).

While the latter two types seem to be more recent developments in English, a more general emphatic use of the Progressive dates back to Old English times. Indeed, as Kranich's (2010) study on the Progressive in Modern English shows, the construction, which was already existent (if not rare) in Old

English, has developed from a stylistic device to a fully grammaticalized aspect marker (cf. also Fitzmaurice 1998, Killie 2008). She argues that the construction has, on the one hand, become less subjective in meaning by attaining the function of an aspectual (i.e. progressive) marker. On the other hand, in its subjective meanings, the Progressive has become more specialized, exhibiting a specific range of semantic/pragmatic functions for the purposes of expressing attitude, stance, and politeness/tentativeness. While there is no clear consent on whether new functions and uses of the Progressive (e.g. uses with stative contexts) are (at least partially) responsible for the increase of the construction in the past century (cf. discussion in Leech et al. 2009), data from Old English and Middle English show that there have always been uses of the construction with stative situations, and the present-day limitation of the construction to situations of limited duration is a fairly recent development (Kranich 2010: 189-191). The notion of an extension of the Progressive to a general Imperfective in Standard English is thus discouraged.

The extension of the Progressive to new contexts is an issue that has played a crucial role in studies of New English varieties. There is an enormous body of literature on the Progressive in these varieties, and earliest accounts on the Progressive in GhE date back as far as four decades. While the discussion on the functions and uses of the Progressive in New English varieties has been ongoing for several decades now, the approaches to its study and the research goals as well as the perspectives have changed considerably. However, what these studies all have in common is that they focus on those uses of the Progressive that can be considered 'extensions' or 'deviations' from the uses more commonly found in native varieties of English, specifically to Progressives applied to stative verbs and habitual contexts. Earlier approaches, especially in the 70s and 80s have viewed deviations from the standard mainly as arbitrary 'errors', possibly triggered by the frequent use of the Progressive with certain verb forms or present participles in general (Sey 1973 on the Progressive in GhE). These early studies were non-quantitative and relied on anecdotal evidence rather than authentic data. Later approaches, starting from the early or mid 90s, based

their analyses on corpus data, often with the help of parallel corpora from both New English and native varieties (e.g. Collins 2008, Sand 2005). While those studies that focused on individual varieties of New Englishes often referred to substrate influence as possible sources of the extension of the Progressive, other studies, which considered several New English varieties at a time, observed remarkable similarities in the ways the Progressive is extended to new functions and uses. The extension of the Progressive to stative verbs, for example, seems to be such a widespread feature in both African and Asian varieties of English (cf. e.g. Mesthrie 2008, Mesthrie 2012, Huber 2012), that it has been severally referred to as a universal characteristic of second language (L2)-varieties (e.g. Mesthrie 2008, Lunkenheimer 2012; Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009 call it potential *varioversal,* Sand 2005 refers to it as potential *angloversal*). Both typical learner characteristics as well as typological tendencies have been considered as possible sources for these observations. In addition, general research on second language acquisition in the domains of tense and aspect as carried out by Bardovi-Harlig (2000) or Salaberry & Shirai (2002) has provided insight into possible general learner characteristics in the use of the Progressive. However, more recent studies (e.g. Sharma 2009, Sharma & Deo 2009, 2010, van Rooy 2014) have identified differences in the way the functions of the Progressive are extended in individual varieties, leading back to the idea that substrate languages contribute in more significant ways than often assumed, often by the complex interaction between L1 and L2 properties of aspectual systems.

With respect to New Englishes in general, Platt et al. (1984: 72-73) note a frequent use of the Progressive with stative verbs which are unacceptable in native standard English such as *know* or *have* ('own') (cf. also Gachelin 1997). In their survey on morphosyntactic variation in varieties of English Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi (2004) find a wider range of the use of the Progressive as a characteristic feature of L2-varieties of English. In her corpus analysis based on several ICE components, Sand (2005) finds the use of the Progressive with stative verbs clearly referring to permanent states and qualities in contact varieties of English. Somewhat more vaguely, Collins

(2008) concludes that Outer Circle varieties are less restricted in their use of the Progressive. However, contrary to a common belief, Hundt & Vogel (2011) show that speakers of ESL and EFL varieties do not use the Progressive more frequently than native varieties. Furthermore, they find that Progressives with stative verbs are rare in all variety types of English they investigate, and thus cannot be the reason for an increased frequency of the construction in some of the varieties, but report the use of the Progressive in perfective contexts in which native Englishes would prefer simple or perfect aspect (e.g. after adverbials such as *ever since, this is the first time that*). This latter use is confirmed by Hilbert & Krug (2012) for Maltese English and by Gut & Fuchs (2013) for Nigerian English. Most recently, Rautionaho (2014) has found that there is no overall higher frequency of the Progressive in spoken Outer Circle varieties than in spoken Inner Circle varieties, but that the former show higher frequencies of extended stative uses and lower frequencies of subjective uses than the former.

While most studies suggest that New English varieties behave universally with respect to the use of the Progressive, Sharma (2009) points to important differences in the use of the Progressive between varieties of English: In her study she shows that over-extension of the Progressive is divergent in Indian English and Singapore English and attributes these differences to differences in the substrate systems (cf. also Paulasto 2014). Similarly, van Rooy (2006, 2014) sees the aspectual system of the Bantu substrates as an important factor in the use of the Progressive on states of 'extended duration' in Black South African English.

With regard to African Englishes in general, Schmied (1991: 67) claims that the *-ing*-form is extended to all kinds of verbs. Furthermore, he (1991: 67, 2008) notes that habitual situations are frequently marked by the Progressive. Gut & Fuchs (2013) report an extension of the Progressive to non-delimited states and habitual situations in Nigerian English. While this seems to be widespread within the variety, they do not find an increase of this feature in apparent time, although the Progressive as such is becoming more frequent in Nigerian English (Fuchs & Gut 2015). Similarly, van Rooy (2014)

finds that in Black South African English the Progressive is used for ongoing states and states with unlimited duration.

For GhE, already Sey (1973: 33-35) speaks of "deviant usage" of the Progressive in the variety and gives examples such as *I am doubting whether he will come* and *The Cabinet is consisting of nineteen members.* He also notes while such examples are usually only heard from less educated speakers, the most persistent examples of deviant usages that also occur with more educated speakers include uses with the verb *(to) have* as in *I am having a rich grandfather.* Similar examples of such uses of the Progressive in GhE are given by Gyasi (1991:26) as in *I am having a brother,* and Huber & Dako (2008) as in *She is having a child with a certain man from Ho.* A high acceptability of stative verbs with the Progressive by students at university level is reported by Mahama (2012). Sey concludes that this "is possibly traceable to the exceptionally high frequency of *have* in everyday usage (including certain idiomatic expressions as a perfective verb)" (1973: 34), but also mentions overteaching as a possible source of error (cf. also Platt et al. 1984: 73).

It has been repeatedly suggested (e.g. by Platt et al. 1984, Kachru 1983: 78) that the aspectual systems of the Kwa languages might in part be responsible for an extension of the Progressive to general imperfective contexts in GhE. Platt et al. (1984: 73) claim that Kwa languages make an aspectual distinction between permanent and temporary states. However, a closer look at descriptions of the aspectual systems of some of these languages make L1-influence highly unlikely (cf. also Sey 1973: 34-35). Akan, for example, has a distinct progressive affix *re-* which does not usually combine with stative verbs (Osam 2004: 14). Stative verbs are marked with a low tone as in *Mè-hyɛ* ('I am wearing a ring'). If stative verbs occur with the progressive affix, they are no longer interpreted as stative but as inchoative (or generally: perfective) as in *Mè-ré- hyɛ* ('I am putting on a ring'). Habitual situations are marked by tonal changes as well: Predicates expressing habituality are marked by tone as well as in *Ama tɔ̀n bànkye* ('Ama sells cassava'). In contrast to English, Akan does not have a past tense but a marker that would rather fall within the category of a perfective: It refers to past

situations that are represented as complete (Osam 2008: 9-16). Imperfective situations have to be marked as such (i.e. with the Progressive). This means that in contrast to English, in which the Simple Past is aspect-neutral, progressivity always has to be marked overtly.

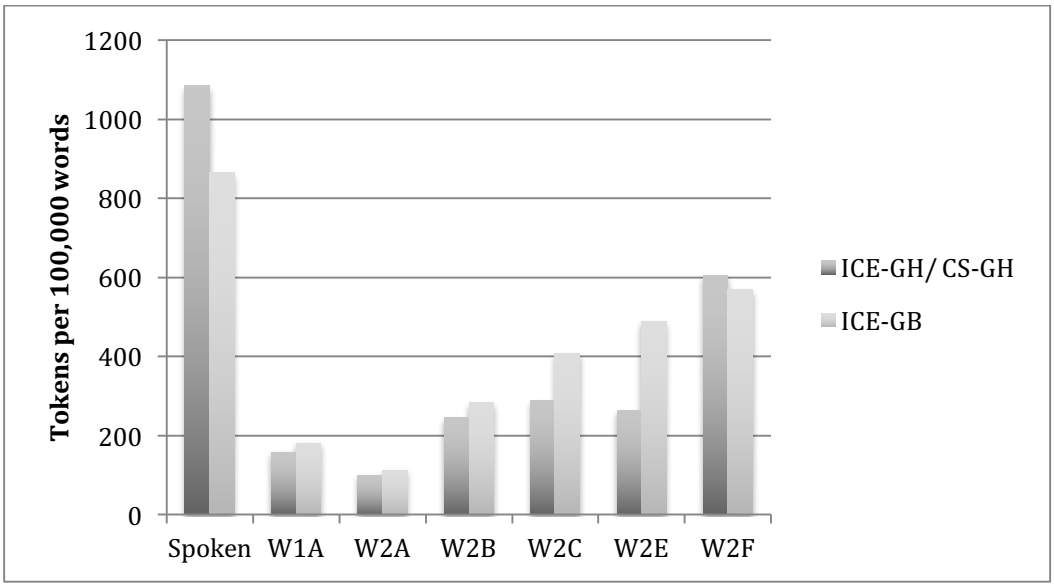
4.2 Forms and Frequencies Across Genres

In the following, I take a look at the frequencies of the various forms of the Progressive and the distribution of the Progressive across the different text categories. The absolute numbers for all forms and variants of the Progressive can be found in Appendix B. For ICE-GB the corpus utility program ICE-CUP was used. I used the function "inexact nodal" (query: AUX(prog)) to extract all Progressives from the individual text files (cf. for more information on the functions of ICE-CUP cf. Nelson 1996). For ICE-GH and CS-GH I used the concordance program AntConc (www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html, see also Ch.3). As ICE-GH is not POS-tagged I had to manually search for all words ending in **ing.* All monomorphemic words ending in –*ing* (e.g. *thing*), all nouns ending in –*ing* as well as all deverbal adjectives, non-finite verbs and deverbal prepositions had to be manually removed.

Figure 4.1 below gives an overview of the normalized frequencies of the Progressive across all text categories considered in the study. Numbers refer to tokens per 100,000 words.[17]

[17]As Aarts et al. (2010: 152-160) note, when presenting normalized frequencies of the Progressive across time or across genres, there might be the danger that we end up measuring two things at the same time: (1) the opportunity to use the Progressive, and (2) the decision to use the Progressive, once the opportunity has arisen. It was still decided to provide only normalized frequencies of the Progressive in this study: First of all, since ICE-GH and CS-GH are untagged corpora, I would have had to count all non-progressive forms, which is quite time-consuming. Secondly, as I am specifically interested in fine-grained semantic and pragmatic differences in the use of the construction, the overview of frequencies should simply serve as a starting point to dive into smaller areas of investigation. For individual lexical items I also checked simple forms.

Figure 4.1: The Progressive in ICE-GH/ CS-GH and ICE-GB Across Text Categories: Normalized Frequencies



In the spoken data GhE shows a considerably higher normalized frequency of Progressives than BrE. However, this tendency does not apply to the written data. Except in novels and short stories (W2F), the Progressive does not have higher normalized frequencies in GhE than in BrE. In press news reports (W2C) as well as in press editorials (W2E) it is BrE that has relatively high numbers of Progressives in contrast to GhE. Using Pearson's Chi-square test the differences in the absolute numbers of Progressives are very significant for press news reports with p = 0.001338 and highly significant for press editorials with p= 0.0002502, while the differences in the other genres is statistically not significant.

Figures 4.2 and 4.3 show the order of text categories ranked by normalized frequencies of the Progressive in CS-GH/ICE-GH and ICE-GB, respectively.

Figure 4.2: Text Categories in CS-GH/ICE-GH Ranked by Frequencies of Progressive

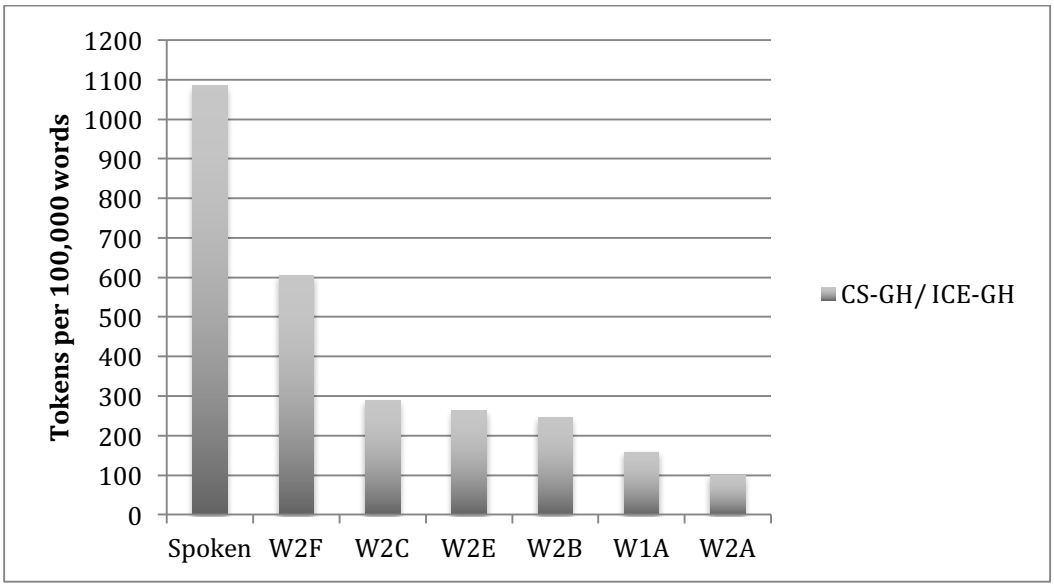
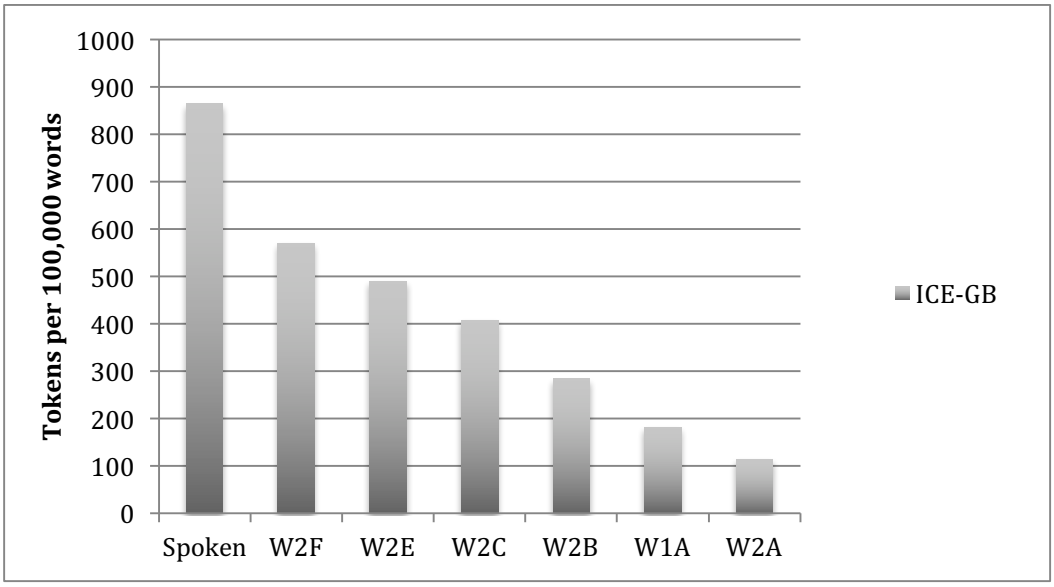


Figure 4.3: Text Categories in ICE-GB Ranked by Frequencies of Progressive



The order in which the text categories are ranked is essentially the same in GhE and BrE. The spoken conversations as well as the category of novels and short stories (W2F), which contains many instances of direct speech, exhibit

the highest frequencies of the Progressive.[18] Scientific discourse, specifically academic writing (student writing (W1A) and academic prose (W2A)), exhibits the lowest frequencies of the Progressive (for this tendency cf. also Aarts 2011, Biber et al. 1999, Leech et al. 2009: 122-123, Mindt 2000, Römer 2005). With respect to newspaper texts it has repeatedly been noted that in the 20th century press language has been undergoing *colloquialization*, shown by an increase of more speech-associated constructions such as the Present Progressive or the *be going to*-future (cf. Leech et al. 2009, Mair & Hundt 1995). As noted by Leech et al. (2009: 128-129), between the 1960s and the 1990s the amount of text within quotations has increased by a significant margin, and most quotations represent direct speech. Nevertheless, they conclude that not only an increase in the use of direct quotes in written texts but also the use of the Progressive in written language itself accounts for the general increase of the construction in some of the written genres. One could thus suspect that GhE newspaper language, represented by press news reports (W2C) and press editorials (W2E) in the corpora, is stylistically more conservative and less colloquialized than British newspaper language. Future research will have to show whether differences in the use of the Progressive or fewer uses of direct quotes account for the comparatively low numbers of Progressives in Ghanaian newspaper language. In the remainder of this chapter I focus on spoken data only.

Figure 4.4 gives an overview of the frequencies of the various Progressive forms in CS-GH and spoken ICE-GB.

[18] The Progressive has been a feature associated with spoken language throughout the history as e.g. the study by Smitterberg (2005) shows.

Figure 4.4: Progressive Forms in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies

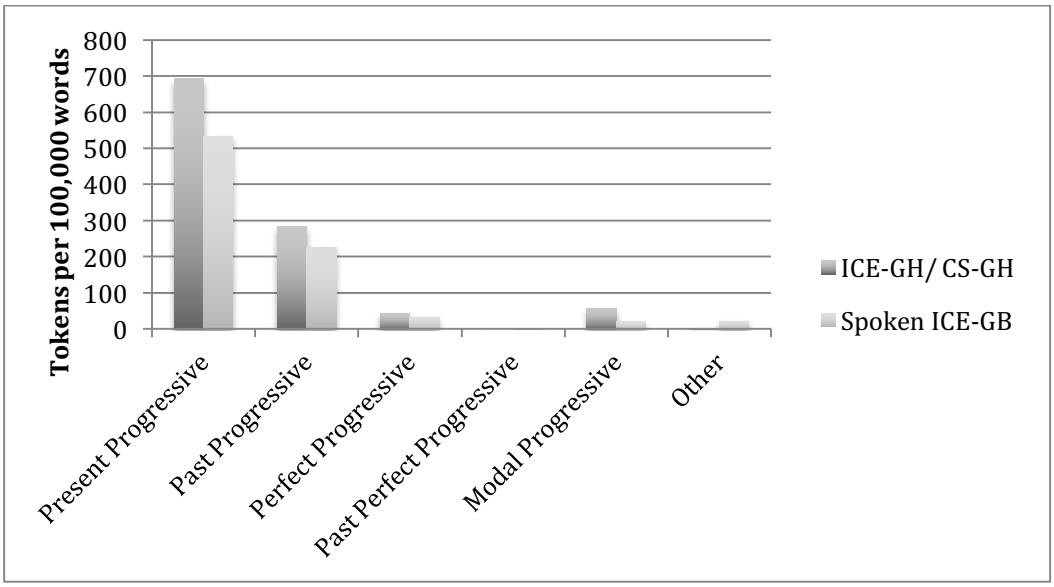


Figure 4.4 shows that in both varieties the Progressive is most frequent in the present tense, and more than twice as frequent as in the past tense. All other Progressive constructions (e.g. Perfect Progressive or Modal Progressive) seem rather marginal. Although GhE has higher normalized frequencies for Present Progressives, Past Progressives, Perfect Progressives and Modal Progressives, only the differences in the absolute numbers of Modal Progressives are statistically significant (p= 0.0001936). Only the category of 'other' types of Progressives (Progressives following infinitives or semi-modals) is more frequent in BrE. An increase of Modal Progressives in the 20th century has been observed for BrE as well (Leech et al. 2009: 124), but GhE seems to have progressed even further in this trend. As Rautionaho (2014: 107-108) suggests for Indian English, the decline of the construction in English in the 19th century but its presence in New English varieties could be the result of a colonial lag, i.e. the retention of earlier linguistic features.[19]

[19] A look at WILL + Progressive across several varieties represented in GlowBe (The Corpus of Global Web-Based English, cf. Davies & Fuchs 2015) reveals that neither GhE nor the regionally close variety Nigerian English make an exceptionally high use of the construction, at least in contrast to BrE. Normalized frequencies for the query "will be [v?g*]": All 82.19

Finally, we look at the distribution of Active and Passive Progressives in the data. In both spoken BrE and GhE, the number of Passive Progressive tokens is fairly low (22 tokens in both spoken datasets each compared to 1534 and 1506 Active Progressives in BrE and GhE, respectively).[20] An increase of the Passive Progressive in the 20th century has been noted for written BrE (cf. Leech et al. 2009: 124). In the spoken data, however, this is still a rather marginal category. Thus I will not further consider Passive Progressives in this study and focus on the functions and uses of the more frequent member in the paradigm, the Active Progressive.[21]

In the remainder of this chapter I only discuss uses of the Present Progressive and the Past Progressive in the spoken data. The construction *will* + Progressive is looked at again in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.3 Meanings and Uses of the Progressive: An Overview

In the literature on the English Progressive as well as in the major reference grammars there is general consensus that the label 'progressive' does not adequately describe the meaning range of the English Progressive, but that progressivity is just one of the meanings the construction has in present-day English. However, a look at the data reveals that the aspectual meaning 'progressive' is indeed inherent in the vast majority of situations the Progressive refers to. In this section I take a look at the uses of the Present and the Past Progressive Active in CS-GH and compare them to the uses in spoken ICE-GB. Note that I distinguish between the *aspectual context of a situation* the Progressive refers to and the *function* that the construction has

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pmw, US 63.92 pmw, GB 92.36 pmw, GH 83.73, NG 83.06. Similar tendencies can be found with the contracted form of the modal.

[20] According to Hundt's (2009) study, with respect to the Passive Progressive there are no tendencies that point towards a clustering of New English varieties with respect to frequencies of use of the Progressive. Some varieties (e.g. Indian English) have very high frequencies of Passive Progressives, whereas others (e.g. Singapore English) show very low frequencies of the construction.

in a particular instance. The *aspectual context of a situation* could be 'perfective', although the verb is marked by the Progressive. It is generally tricky to describe the precise *function* of the Progressive in a particular instance, as one always runs the danger of forcing each use into a pre-defined category. Nevertheless, since the study is about identifying qualitative as well as quantitative differences in the use of the Progressive in two varieties, certain categorization have to be made. Most scholars agree that the English Progressive has no single meaning component that unifies all uses (for a discussion, cf. Kranich 2013). Most overviews on the functions of the English Progressive distinguish between *aspectual (or: progressive and related)* and *special* functions of the Progressive (Quirk et al. 1985, Aarts 2011, Mair 2012), as the latter seem to be unrelated to the aspectual uses of the construction. Kranich's (2010, 2013) categorization into *aspectual* and *subjective* meanings or functions of the Progressive, albeit the most useful in describing most functions of the Progressive, is not unproblematic for the categorization of some uses, either, especially for some of the uses from GhE. I will comment on these difficulties with the help of examples throughout the discussion in this section. However, for the sake of comparability to other studies on the Progressive, I adopted Kranich's categorization for a first overview of distributions of functions of the construction in CS-GH and spoken ICE-GB. Appendix B provides a table with the categories and gives the normalized and absolute frequencies of these uses in the two corpora. Note that uses of the Present Progressive in protases of conditional clauses (*if*-clauses) were not considered in this analysis, as the choice of the construction in this environment underlies specific criteria, which would deserve a separate analysis (cf. Mair 2012: 821). It will thus not be discussed any further here.[22]

In English progressive meaning is the only kind of aspectual meaning that can be expressed grammatically by a specific verb form, i.e. the Progressive. Grammatical aspect is generally described as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976: 3, cf. also Declerck 2006: 28). These different ways are generally described as the

[22] There are 21 instances of such uses in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH, and 35 in spoken ICE-GB.

distinction between imperfective and perfective aspect, and progressivity is typically described as a subtype of imperfective aspect (e.g. Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, Declerck 2006, Smith 1997). There are numerous approaches that describe the distinction between imperfectivity and perfectivity. The most widely used is probably the definition by Comrie, who states that "the perfective looks at the situation from outside […], whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside" (1976: 3-4). The difference between imperfectivity and perfectivity is most clearly illustrated by models such as Klein's (1994) or Declerck's (2006), which both make a difference between the time at which a situation holds and the time for which a certain claim is made. Klein distinguishes between the situation time (TSit) and the topic time (TT). If an utterance such as *The light was on* is made on some occasion, a distinction has to be made "between the time at which the light was on, and the time for which such a claim is made" (Klein 1994: 3), hence between TSit and TT. Accordingly, if we utter a sentence such as *When I got home, the light was on,* TT is included in TSit. Although the situation of the light being on extends the boundaries of TT, it is only TT for which such a claim is made. Taking the example used by Kranich (2010: 26-30), in *Paul ran [when he noticed me]* the time of situation, TSit, is fully included in topic time, TT, whereas in *Paul was running [when he noticed me],* TT is included in TSit. Put differently, in the first example the boundaries of the situation (Paul's running) are taken into consideration, and the two situations, Paul's noticing me and Paul's running, are interpreted as occurring subsequently. In the second example, the boundaries of the situation of Paul's running are not considered, and Paul's noticing me is included in Paul's running. For situations that are viewed imperfectively TT is included in TSit, whereas for situations that are viewed perfectively TT includes TSit. Klein's TSit and TT are in principle similar to Declerck's (2006: 113-116) 'full situation' and 'predicated situation'. As Declerck explains, "[t]he predicated situation – the linguistically indicated situation – and the full situation – the inferred situation – may coincide with one another, or the predicated situation may be shorter than the full situation" (2006: 113).

Progressive meaning conveys the idea that an event is progressing dynamically over a time frame opened up by an utterance, i.e. Klein's 'topic time' (TT) (cf. Mair 2012: 803). It signals a "[p]rocess ongoing at contextual occasion (commonly the here-and-now of speech) that is projected to continue in the immediate future, but could easily change or cease" (Timberlake 2007: 304). According to the Oxford Modern English Grammar, the Progressive is "used in English to present a dynamic situation, which is not necessarily complete, as being in progress over a limited period" (Aarts 2011: 265).

The progressive function is, in fact, the most frequent function of the Progressive in the data: In both corpora more than 40% of all instances of the Present Progressives unambiguously does have this as its sole function. These typically either refer to situations that are clearly ongoing at the moment of speech as in example (3), or refer to accomplishment situation types of longer duration as in example (4), or activities of longer duration as in example (5), as such situations can be viewed as dynamically in progress, although the situation is not necessarily ongoing at the moment of utterance.

(3) We are recording (ICE-GH S1A-045)

(4) **I'm doing** four courses actually as of now (CS-GH X10)

(5) I finished the PhD. Uh uh ninety nine I started a uh postdoc programme two thousand. That's what **I'm working on.** (ICE-GH S1A-001)

Progressive meaning is also the most frequent function that can be assigned the Past Progressive, which makes more than 35% of all instances of the construction in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH as well as in spoken ICE-GB. Typically, in these contexts situations marked by the Past Progressive either frame another situation as in example (6), or the construction is used for expressing simultaneity with another situation marked by it, as in example (7).

(6) The last time I went there someone **was combing** her hair (ICE-GH S1A-032)

(7) I was just I don't know if you just saw me I **was just looking** at you and **laughing** (ICE-GH S1A-026)

A large amount of other contexts of Present and Past Progressive in the data generally fall within the category of 'imperfective', i.e. uses for which 'TT included in TSit' holds, but which are not progressive in the sense that a particular dynamic situation is in progress at TT. These include stative and habitual situations. For some of the stative situations the use of the Progressive is quite common if not obligatory, as for example with stance verbs such as *sit, lie,* or *stand,* if the situation is considered temporally restricted, or verbs referring to 'inactive actions' (Croft 2012: 39, 99-101) such as *suffer (from), work,* or *run (on).*[23]

(8) When I went there <?>*Aneen*</?> and his cousins were about to step out so they **were standing** like around the car (ICE-GH S1A-040)

(9) I I think **it's not it's not working** because people human beings work on the computer human beings assign the student to the school (CS-GH X03)

According to Kranich, stative situations to which the Progressive is generally applied have the temporary nature in common with prototypical dynamic situations (2013: 13). Most uses of stative verbs with the Progressive other than those mentioned above seem to consist of more or less routinized combinations of the Progressive with verbs like *have, look, think, be,* to

[23] Croft (2012: 39, 99-101) refers to 'inactive actions' as a semantic class that includes body posture verbs, some contact verbs, mechanical operation verbs, as well as certain mental and physiological process verbs. There is generally nothing dynamic about these verbs except the fact that they are used with the Progressive without any dynamic component being added to them.

mention the most frequent. To what extent their use is licensed by features such as temporariness or immediacy of the situation or dynamicity is different for each individual example, but some contexts seem to be more common than others. Examples like (10) and (11) seem to be common in both ICE-GH/ CS-GH as well as in ICE-GB.

(10) You **are looking** good (ICE-GH S1A-020)

(11) Because at first **they were having some injury problem** but now I think it's it's yeah the players are back Yaya Toure was injured this guy uh this Malian guy (ICE-GH S1A-051)

Some uses found in ICE-GH/ CS-GH might be analyzed as cases of permanent states. In the following example the verb *have* is used in the sense of 'hold', but it is difficult to say whether *have* actually assumes a dynamic, telic meaning in the sense of 'to receive'. The second example might refer to a temporary state. Nevertheless the progressive form of *have* is unusual in the sense of 'be employed'.

(12) Even non-prisoners **are having** degrees and all sort of things and **aren't having** jobs (ICE-GH S1A-009)

While in some cases the Progressive can be attributed certain functions such as indicating limited duration or acuteness, the question is whether this is always the case. It is a matter of debate whether the use of the Progressive actually serves any particular function in some of the more frequent constructions such as *have problems/ difficulties* etc., or whether the Progressive has become the default form, which could also trigger some rather uncommon uses in learner varieties. As I will argue in section 4.4, the extension of the Progressive to permanent states in GhE is not due to a general extension of the construction to a new meaning category but rather to the occasional extension of the form across the paradigm of certain verbs.

There is a slightly higher frequency of the Present Progressive with states in ICE-GH/ CS-GH (69.44 tokens per 100,000 words (pmw) as opposed to 46.66 tokens pmw in ICE-GB), whereas for Past Progressives there is no such difference between the corpora (29.16 tokens pmw in ICE-GH/ CS-GH as opposed to 25 tokens pmw in ICE-GB). However, given the diversity of stative situations marked by the construction in the corpora (as shown in the examples above), sheer frequencies actually do not tell us much about actual differences between the two varieties with respect to marking state with the progressive form.

Habitual situations expressed by the Progressive are in most of the cases in some sense temporary, although the length of duration differs between individual situations. Often but not always the constructions are accompanied by temporal adverbials.

(13) I have to do more than **I'm doing** now (ICE-GH S1A-032)

(14) Formerly it was six feet but now they **are digging** it to maybe two or three feet (CS-GH X01)

(15) I was already planning to get back early because last semester I **was spending** a lot a a lot of time there and I **was always leaving** late (ICE-GH S1A-050)

(16) **I'm using** the Onetouch (CS-GH S1A-010)

According to Kranich, in temporary habitual situations the situation can be viewed as dynamically in progress (2013: 12-13). These uses are thus an extension of the progressive meaning. However, as the data shows, it is generally difficult to determine whether a certain habit should be considered temporary or permanent, especially if it occurs in the present tense. Nevertheless, there are a number of cases in ICE-GH/ CS-GH in which the focus is not on temporariness or change, unlike in the examples cited above.

(17) This one **we are eating** in the bowl (ICE-GH S1A-010)

Quantitative differences between the two corpora are more striking with respect to the use of habitual Progressives than with respect to stative Progressives. With 132.63 tokens pmw of the Present Progressive and 60.41 tokens pmw of the Past Progressive in ICE-GH/ CS-GH as opposed to 68.88 tokens pmw of the Present Progressive and 23.33 tokens pmw of the Past Progressive in ICE-GB, habituality seems to be a semantic domain remarkably often coded by the Progressive in GhE. In section 4.5 I will consider both semantic, lexical/syntactic as well as discourse-specific factors for the imbalance between the two corpora.

Unlike the aspectual contexts discussed thus far, like progressive, stative and habitual contexts, the contexts of the situations referred to by the futurate Progressive are more difficult to categorize in terms of aspectual meaning. Strictly speaking, most situations referred to by the futurate Progressive are actually perfective. According to Kranich (2013: 15) "'[n]ear future' can be assumed to be closely related to the progressive aspectual function, since the 'near future' use of the progressive often denotes a situation which is firmly planned or may already be conceptualized as in progress, e.g., because preparatory activities are already ongoing", as in the following example from ICE-GH.

(18) **I'm coming** to your house right now (ICE-GH S1A-040)

As future time expressions, Progressives have their characteristic slots in questions and almost always occur with agents as subjects and frequently with definite time adverbials (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 171, Declerck 2006: 183-184, Aarts 2011: 270; see also Chapter 6 on variation in future time). This results from the fact that the Present Progressive as a future marker usually presents a situation as resulting from a present plan or arrangement. Progressives referring to future contexts are much more

frequent in the BrE data than in the GhE data.[24] In ICE-GH/ CS-GH they represent about 11% (72.61 tokens pmw) of all Present Progressives, whereas in ICE-GB they account for 20% (108.88 tokens pmw) of all uses of the Present Progressive. In the past tense the Progressive is rarely ever used in both datasets. The use of the futurate Progressive is typical for informal spoken registers (Collins 2009: 242; see also the distribution of future time expressions across genres in Chapter 6), which could be one of the reasons for its moderate spread into GhE.[25]

As Kranich (2013: 17) states, cases in which an application of the aspectual reading of the Progressive is not possible require a subjective interpretation. There are two problems with this statement with regard to the present data: First of all, some of the examples of stative and habitual Progressives from ICE-GH/ CS-GH show lack of semantic properties such as 'temporariness', 'dynamicity' or 'acuteness'. Still, the Progressive does not have any subjective or highlighting functions in these examples. As was stated above, they should rather be seen as extensions of the form over the verb paradigm. Secondly, as will be shown later in this section, there are non-aspectual uses of the Progressive in both corpora that refer to perfective, i.e. bounded, contexts but which still lack a subjective component. I will comment on these later. In the meantime, I will discuss some of the clearer subjective uses of the construction that can be found in the data.

The most frequent subjective meaning of the Progressive that can be found in both corpora is the so-called 'interpretative' (or: 'interpretive') Progressive, i.e. uses of the Progressive in which the speaker is trying to interpret someone's behavior.[26] In these cases the situations as such are represented as non-bounded but the function of the Progressive is to

[24] Cases which could not be clearly identified as referring to a situation that has not yet started were not considered as tokens of futurate but of progressive uses.

[25] Collins' (2009: 241) study on the futurate use of the Progressive in Inner and Outer Circle varieties of English supports this for Kenyan English only but not for the Asian varieties.

[26] According to Quirk et al. (1985: 198), the function of the interpretative Progressive is to show „that the event described has an interrelationship or identity with another simultaneous event". The simultaneous event does, however, not need to be overtly expressed (cf. Smitterberg 2005: 227-228).

highlight the speaker's interpretation. Or, as Huddleston & Pullum put it, "in emphasizing duration, the progressive metaphorically slows down or extends the situation in order to be able to focus on clarifying its nature" (2002: 165). In both of the following examples the speaker interprets someone's behavior. In (19) the evaluates a person's past activities. In (20) the speaker is interpreting somebody's activities. The sequence *are you trying…* is quite common in the data.

(19) Blackmailing **he was blackmailing** Asamoah (ICE-GH S1A-016)

(20) I mean **are you trying** to tell the woman that we can't handle things here or what so the guys were angry like that and they were like ah (ICE-GH S1A-026)

Interpretative Progressives occur with both the Past and the Present Progressive, but they are much more frequent in the Present Progressive (about 10% of all Present Progressives in both corpora). About two thirds of the uses of the Present Progressive in interpretative use in both varieties represent routinized expressions including the high-frequency verbs of communication *say, ask, talk* and *tell.* In these examples the speaker might be describing what she or others are doing at the moment, i.e. they could similarly represent aspectual uses of the Progressive. At the same time, however, the speaker might be giving her own interpretation of her own behavior (as in the first example) or of somebody else's behavior (as in the other examples), so they are ambiguous between aspectual and not-solely-aspectual, i.e. interpretative (cf. Smitterberg 2005 for a discussion of that matter). The meaning of *say, talk* or *tell* in some of these examples could be glossed as 'mean' as in 'I don't mean' or 'Do you mean'.

(21) That's what **I'm saying** (ICE-GH S1A-043)

(22) But you see I'm not disputing that **I'm not saying** that it doesn't exist (ICE-GH S1A-012)

(23) That's what **he's saying** (ICE-GH S1A-040)

(24) **Are you asking** me how she is (ICE-GH S1A-050)

(25) **Are you telling** me they don't pay you anything when you do attachment (ICE-GH S1A-039)

(26) **I am telling** you the truth do I lie (ICE-GH S1A-050)

(27) **am not even talking about** pouring water on the floor (ICE-GH S1A-032)

(28) What devil **are you talking about** (ICE-GH S1A-016)

Examples like these occur in both datasets. What matters here is not the choice between the Progressive and the simple form, as the use of the simple form would most probably sound odd in examples like these, but the use of expressions like these. Being a second language variety, one might expect to find fewer instances of typical features of informal language usage in GhE, as these features are normally not transmitted in classroom situations. A look at the conversations in which these expressions occur reveals that especially young speakers in their twenties make use of these. In fact, while the use is generally restricted to a few speakers only, in total such uses are more frequent in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in spoken ICE-GB.

Other subjective meanings, such as the function of the Progressive for politeness reasons (Kranich 2013: 18, Quirk et al. 1985: 202) as in *I was wondering if…* or *I was hoping that…* are more common in ICE-GB than in ICE-GH/ CS-GH (16 compared to 1 tokenen). Similarly, the attitudinal, or, ALWAYS-type Progressive (Kranich 2013: 17) and other attitudinal types are more common in ICE-GB. I will discuss examples in the subsequent sections.

Another specific use of the Past Progressive typical of informal spoken registers which has been described by Quirk et al. (1985: 210), Biber et al. (1999: 1120-1121), and Leech (2004: 32) represents a casual way of reporting bounded situations in conversation (and which will thus be referred to as *conversational* Progressive here). These uses do not fall into the

category of subjective uses of the Progressive, i.e. they do not have a 'highlighting' (Kranich 2013) or 'foregrounding' (Couper-Kuhlen 1995) function. While this type of the Progressive generally occurs with all types of activity verbs in BrE (example (29)), its use in spoken GhE is practically restricted to speech-reporting verbs such as *ask, say, tell, talk* etc. (examples (30) to (33)). With these verbs, this type of use is quite common though. Still, spoken ICE-GB displays more than twice as many tokens than ICE-GH/ CS-GH.

(29) I **was showing** Mike and uh Dinah on Thursday and we **were going** through the CV <,> and **we were backing** to the uhm <,,> F one is it you know the instructions on this account (ICE-GB S1A-077)

(30) I **was asking** her how she did it and she would <,> she taught me a bit (ICE-GH S1A-032)

(31) And you know one of them **was saying** you know over there you know whatever they do whether it's full in they're full over there (ICE-GH S1A-002)

(32) Uhm I **was just talking** to these guys if they can get me a new tie (ICE-GH S1A-042)

(33) Like I know somebody who who **I was telling** you something the other time (ICE-GH S1A-009)

As examples (21)-(28) as well as (30)-(33) show, a number of characteristic uses of informal speech that can be found in the data for BrE are also extensively used by some GhE speakers. This is an interesting fact, given that in most studies of the Progressive in New Englishes the focus is typically on 'extended' or 'deviant' uses of the construction. However, differences in the frequencies of the Progressive between native and New English varieties are most likely not due to large amounts of extended uses (cf. Fuchs & Gut 2015 for a similar finding for Nigerian English), but could well be the result of the spread of well-established uses as the ones discussed in this section. One important observation seems to be, however, that in the GhE data, certain special uses of the Progressive appear to be especially common with certain

lexical verbs, as, for example, with verbs of communication like *ask, say, talk* or *tell.*[27] In fact, a look at the verbs occurring with the Present and Past Progressive in the two spoken corpora revealed that the use of the construction is distributed across fewer verbs in ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in spoken ICE-GB. Accordingly, the amount of verbs that occur more than ten times with the Progressive in the data is larger in ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in ICE-GB. It thus remains to be analyzed in more detail to what extent certain sociolinguistic settings promote the spread of specific lexico-grammatical constructions in New Englishes.

Finally, let us consider some cases of the Progressive which are extremely difficult if not impossible to categorize. Consider the following example.

(34) You remember the day she went and took in something. And came and sat here and **was complaining** about the fan and the weather. And everything. (ICE-GH S1A-010)

The use of the construction, in *was complaining about the weather* the aspectual context should best be described as perfective, i.e. bounded. The use of the Past Progressive in this context can thus not be explained to be aspectually motivated. One possible explanation could be that the Progressive is used to highlight the activity of the subject, i.e. focus on its duration, or to express the speaker's negative attitude toward the situation. On the other hand, the function of the Progressive could be to foreground the situation – a function that can also be found in ICE-GB. This use has been described by Couper-Kuhlen (1995) with reference to narratives told by young Americans. The data shows how difficult it often is to ascribe one specific function to the construction as the speaker's motivation for the choice of the Progressive generally remains unclear. A similarly uncertain case is given in the next example.

[27] In ICE-GH/ CS-GH the verbs *say* and *tell* are ranked number 4 and 5 in the list of the most frequent verbs in the progressive form.

(35) He was there one day and it was like the son dreamt that they were in assembly and someone whacked him at the back. So you see those kind of J.S.S stuff people beating you so he waited for them/him to finish <?>matching/marching</?> so that he can beat the guy but when he finish assembly he turned back they were beating the guy and two small girls came and they hit the guy on the floor and they turned into witches and they **were chewing** the guys intestines and stuff like that. So when they went to the spiritual father it was like reversal of revelations in dream (ICE-GH S1A-034)

Finally, in some cases the application of the Progressive actually triggers an aspectual reading that is, however, impossible if one considers the context.

(36) So after **we were sitting** in the car the children **were starring** at the ice cream you could see they really wanted to eat some (ICE-GH S1A-041)

(37) When we went there I **was trying** to get the alcohol but (ICE-GH S1A-015)

(38) For me when I **was coming** to the university I wanted to read economics that was my course I wanted to read (ICE-GH S1A-029)

These cases show that at times the Progressive is simply applied without any aspectual or subjective motivation. This shows that unexpected uses of the Progressive in GhE do not generally refer to extended imperfective situations but to bounded situations as well.

4.4 Uses of the Progressive with Stative Verbs

Scholars working within a bidirectional framework of aspect assume that grammatical aspect is of a different semantic type than what is usually referred to as situation type or lexical aspect (e.g. Comrie 1976, Smith 1997). The most often-cited classification of situation types is the one by Vendler (1957), who classifies predicates as being either stative or dynamic, telic or atelic, punctual or durative, resulting in four classes of situation types, which are states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. Smith (1997) adds a fifth situation type, so-called semelfactives. The interpretation of a situation marked by the Progressive strongly depends on the type of predicate that is used in the clause.[28] The idea given is that grammatical aspect contributes to the meaning arrived at in combination with a situation, and that the grammatical aspect provides different perspectives on how a situation may be viewed. Hence, telic situations (i.e. accomplishments and achievements) are typically interpreted as incomplete when marked by the Progressive, as in the sentence *Irene is cooking fish stew, but the cat is eating the fish* (example taken from Kranich 2010).[29] Semelfactives are typically interpreted iteratively when marked by the Progressive as in *She was knocking on the door.* Stative predicates sometimes receive a dynamic interpretation when marked by the Progressive as in *John is being a fool.*[30] It is, however, important to note that situations always occur with specific tense and aspect morphology so the assumption that there is one basic semantic meaning of a predicate becomes difficult (cf. also Croft 2012: 32). The verb *see,* for example, can be analyzed as a state, as in *I see Mount Tamalpais.* In the next sentence the predicate can, however, also be interpreted as an achievement as

[28] It is not the purpose of this section to provide an in-depth discussion of that topic, but the reader is referred to e.g. Quirk et al. (1985: 198-213) for a detailed description.

[29] This presents what is usually referred to as the ‚imperfective paradox'

[30] Generally, the Progressive is not acceptable with stative predicates as in **She is having a house.* In most cases in which the Progressive is used with stative predicates, the situation is not interpreted as dynamic but the use of the construction presents a more polite or tentative way to express an utterance (see section 4.4.1).

in *I reached the crest of the hill and saw Mount Tamalpais* (Croft 2012: 54).[31] This reading is invited by the preceding clause *I reached the crest of the hill.* As the two examples with the verb *see* show, even without differences in grammatical aspectual marking, the same predicate can receive different aspectual interpretations. These aspectual interpretations may result from preceding clauses, context, or temporal adverbials. The issue here is more of a practical than a theoretical nature, i.e. what exactly we look at when we want to investigate differences in the use of the Progressive across different varieties. Are we looking at the input (i.e. the situation type of the predicate without any aspectual marking) or are we looking at the output (i.e. the interpretation of the meaning of the whole clause, including aspectual marking, adverbials, subjects, preceding clauses, etc.) as is done in unidimensional approaches to aspect like those of de Swart (1998) or Herweg (1991)? This question becomes especially important when talking about 'stative Progressives' or 'Progressive extended to stative predicates', as will be the focus of the present section.

Although there is a general consensus about what makes a specific context stative, it is difficult to assign certain verbs to specific situation types. Consider the verb *be,* which, out of context, would intuitively be categorized as a stative verb because of its major use in stative contexts. When used with the Progressive it can attain dynamic meaning in the sense of 'willful behavior'. In this respect it can also be considered as of temporal limitation, thus showing the characteristics of default progressive meaning as the following examples from ICE-GH/ CS-GH and ICE-GB illustrate.[32]

[31] The same applies to the verbs *know* and *remember* (Croft 2012: 38).

[32] As Kranich writes, „being dynamic, they [prototypical progressives] are generally connected to limited duration [...], not to permanent states of affairs" (2010: 30). However, while this is true for most situations in the Progressive, it should not be viewed as a function of the category itself. Take, for instance, *The universe is forever expanding,* (Ljung 1980: 28, cited in Kranich 2010: 48), in which the Progressive refers to a situation which is considered to be of unlimited duration.

(39) I hope **I'm not being** too personal okay (CS-GH X14)

(40) Moses **is being** a bit of a dark horse recently (ICE-GB S1A-040)

In contrast, the following example shows a stative use of the verb *be* with the Progressive from ICE-GH.

(41) No but is it is it the matter of we getting there because uhm what is most uhm most important is not what we practise but is is how how <.>wh</.> uh developed or **how progressful we are being** take a country like Switzerland (ICE-GH S1A-019)

In this section, I will focus on the use of the Progressive with a number of verbs that are used for referring to states. I will discuss to what extent semantic or pragmatic factors such as limited duration, acuteness or speaker involvement such as politeness/tentativeness might play a role in the choice of the Progressive. Furthermore I will focus on differences between the two corpora with respect to the use of the Progressive with different verbs. I will not consider the use of the Progressive with verbs that refer to 'inactive actions' such as *sleep, suffer, work* etc. (Croft 2012), as these verbs are generally used with the Progressive, although there is nothing dynamic about their meaning.

One can distinguish between stative situations that refer to *transitory states* and those that refer to *permanent states,* which can be either *inherent* or *acquired* (cf. Croft 2012). While the former type is frequently found with the Progressive, the latter type is quite rare or nearly absent with the construction. Predicates in stative situations marked with the Progressive are often *existence verbs* (cf. Biber et al.'s 1999: 360ff semantic verb types). These consist of *stance verbs* such as *live, stand* or *sit* (for definition cf. Quirk et al 1985: 205-206), or other predicates that either concern *relationships between entities* such as *have a cold/ problem/ feelings* as in, or predicates that give *descriptions about the subject entity* such as *seem, look* or *be.* What these uses

typically have in common is that an endpoint of the respective situation is inherently envisaged, which relates them semantically to the meaning of progressivity (Kranich: 2013: 13-14). Let us consider stance verbs first.

Stance verbs are a small group of verbs with a relatively high token frequency which frequently occur with the Progressive. Quirk et al. (1985: 205-206) suggest that these verbs are intermediate between stative and dynamic categories, and that their use with the Progressive indicates temporariness or limited duration (cf. also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 170). Other authors also describe the use of stance verbs with the Progressive as cases in which a stative situation is turned into a dynamic one by the use of the Progressive construction (cf. Kranich 2010: 49-51). They have also been described as 'stative progressives' (Dowty 1979: 173), or 'dynamic states' (Bach 1986: 6). Michaelis (2004: 37) claims that progressive-form state predications refer to homogenous (i.e. unbounded) activities, as they "are enabled to continue by the energy input of an animate entity" (2004: 37).[33] Croft (2012: 39, 1991: 97, 1998: 72), on the other hand, refers to them as 'inactive actions' and groups them together with predicates like *sleep* as in *She's sleeping*, suggesting that "they appear to be semantically stative, but in English they take the Progressive" (2012: 39). He acknowledges that it is an unusual feature of this semantic class that it allows the Progressive to seemingly construe an event as a transitory state in English and suggests that some "internal or invisible process" seems to be involved in these situation types of inactive actions (2012: 100).

The six most frequent stance verbs in the two corpora are *sit, stand, lie, face, stay* and *live*[34]. The verbs *lie, stand, sit* and *face,* are stance verbs that refer to the location of both animate and inanimate subjects.[35] In both

[33] As Kranich (2010: 51) notes, this classification is not unproblematic since it seems to make the concept of dynamism and agentivity quite vague, as there are cases of temporary states which have involved an agent at a certain point in time but which are not compatible with the Progressive.

[34] The other stance verbs in the data only occur exactly once and only in the Progressive, so they will not be discussed here.

[35] The verbs *stand up, sit down, sit up, lie down* etc. were not considered. Transitive uses of *sit* were also not included.

varieties there is a tendency for the use of the Progressive form with animate subjects and the simple form with inanimate subjects with only very few exceptions. The following examples show the use of the Progressive form of the various verbs from both varieties.

(42) Yes I went to visit him it was early in the morning during it was the time we were doing our project work so I had to I went to him I was going to Clement's place and I saw I went to him and I saw the girl she was like **lying** on his bed well so that struck me and I said I should ask because this one <foreign>diee</foreign> it's strange (ICE-GH S1A-040)

(43) He was **facing** me and we were chatting (ICE-GH S1A-040)

(44) When I went there <?>*Aneen*</?> and his cousins were about to step out so they were **standing** like around the car (ICE-GH S1A-040)

(45) I think you were **sitting** in front of Akuafo (ICE-GH S1A-043)

Considering the examples in the data, it is actually quite difficult to maintain characteristics such as temporariness for the use with the Progressive as predicates involving animate subjects typically refer to situations that are temporally restricted, even those with a non-progressive form of the verb. With reference to inanimate subjects the simple form is more common in both varieties.

(46) Here **lies** the case to in this university too like they don't how would I say long holidays or something (ICE-GH S1A-021)

(47) Apparently uhm the the Dutch have been exporting Edam cheese in large quantities <,> to Germany <,> but via such exotic routes as Andorra in the Pyrenees and Tanzania in whichever country that **lies** (ICE-GB S1A-062)

(48) Yes it do does actually on one of the problems is that the uhm it does actually **face** <,> south-west not west <,,> (ICE-GB S1A-023)

(49) And it it **faces** south and it has big rooms and it 's a nice house <,> and (ICE-GB S1A-033)

With respect to interpretation differences between stance verbs in the progressive versus stance verbs in non-progressive form, the idea of temporal delimitation rather seems to derive from the nature of the subject or the context rather than from the verb form itself. In addition to that, it becomes obvious that most of the Progressive forms are marked by the past tense, whereas most of the non-progressive forms are present tense forms, especially in the GhE data. In the majority of the cases there do not seem to be any aspectual differences between the use of the simple and the Progressive form with stance verbs. The use of the simple form of the verb *sit* in the past tense is only common in the BrE (example (50)) but not in the GhE data. In the latter variety, the simple forms only occur in the present tense.

(50) He he got really pissed off when we were watching Back Two He sort of **sat** in the corner He di he di he didn't give it a chance though I mean he didn't even think about it so (ICE-GB S1A-006)

(51) And we **sit** here and we say we want I mean to develop I mean how how how how can you talk about development when you a degree holder not even a degree holder people holding post graduate uh degrees (ICE-GH S1A-019)

(52) It's not like they they **sit** at home I mean you talk about work as if as soon as you start working your life has ended maybe because you like to sleep a lot (ICE-GH S1A-041)

With respect to the stance verbs *live* and *stay* it is even more difficult to interpret the progressive and non-progressive forms differently in terms of temporariness. The choice of either progressive or simple form is not necessarily determined by differences in the duration of the respective situations. However, the adverbials *now* and *then* seem to trigger the use of the Progressive form in both varieties. Similar observations with other time adverbials could not be made on the basis of the present data.

(53) Where I'm **living right now** is not my own house it was rented by my (CS-GH X06)

(54) Anyway you are **living** with an Ewe **now** (CS-GH X12)

(55) I think **then he was not living** in his own house (ICE-GH S1A-040)

(56) Are you are you **living** in Camden **now** (ICE-GB S1A-071)

As for the other stance verbs we can observe that the simple form is being avoided in the past tense in GhE.

(57) **L**isten she is in Canada Nana Yaw **wasn't she living** in Ghana <.>be<./> before she left for that place she **was living** here you get it (ICE-GH S1A-026)

(58) Now very good this guy had a friend who **was living** around a place where there is uhm a news vendor (ICE-GH S1A-042)

(59) Aha maybe# because I **was living** just a stone throw from here uh Madina °[beyond] little bit beyond Madina (CS-GH X13)

(60) He **was living** in somebody in the NPP's house or something (ICE-GH S1A-045)

In the present tense, both Progressive and simple forms occur in the datasets. Here it rather depends on the conversation: Once one of the forms has been used, it is also the preferred choice in the immediate discourse, which is shown by the example from CS-GH.

(61) <$A>uhm where do you **live**
<$B><unclear>word</unclear> at# Madina
<$A>is# this# at Madina
<$B><unclear>word</unclear>
<$A>uhm do you **live** alone [...]
<$A>mh okay °[do you **live** in] do you **live** alone in a house or do you live with other tenants
<$B>no °[we have] we have other tenants
<$C>mhm
<$B>we **live** with other tenants
<$A>oh okay okay including# your husband
<$B>yeah
<$A>do your parents **live** around (CS-GH X12)

As we have seen above, in most of the cases there do not seem to be obvious semantic differences between the two verb forms in both of the varieties. Looking at the distribution of the two verb forms in the data, it seems that GhE generally prefers the progressive form especially in the past tense. Thus there appears to be a preference for the specific form of a lexical verb rather than semantic factors.

Let us now consider those verbs that describe relationships between entities and those that give descriptions of entities. These types include verbs such as *have, be, look, depend* etc.

While having a number of dynamic uses as in *have a drink/ a meal/ a cigarette,* the verb *have* is often found in the Progressive with reference to transitory states.

(62) We we are good friends but **he 's having a few problems** with his <> girlfriend new girlfriend (ICE-GB S1A-081)

(63) **I 'm having problems** with <,> with that sound (ICE-GB S1A-044)

(64) Not even in pencil because Miss MacPherson would bash me on the head with a <three-or-four-words> because **she 's having first priority** (ICE-GB S1A-070)

(65) Yes I think at the moment there 's there 's a <,> a lot of awareness within <,> uhm within the teaching world within uhm educational establishments that dance can be a wider uh <,> can have a wider <,> influence and use than **it 's currently having** (ICE-GB S1A-001)

(66) Uhm <,,> **were you uh uh having** any particular feelings about him when you were a child of say less than eight (ICE-GB S1A-076)

(67) Because at first **they were having some injury problem** but now I think it's it's yeah the players are back Yaya Toure was injured this guy uh this Malian guy (ICE-GH S1A-051)

States like *have a problem/ influence/ first priority/ feelings* actually have some dynamic component inherent in their meaning and might somehow imply that the experiencer is actively involved in a situation that is linked to the state, although to different degrees. Having influence can be a different way of saying 'to influence'. Having problems with your girlfriend (62) and having problems with a certain sound (63) might imply that the subject is involved in certain activities. Transitory states involving the verb *have* are more frequent in BrE than in GhE.

The following examples from GhE, on the other hand, are more difficult to classify. Some of them might in fact be temporally delimited (as examples (68) to (69)), but they appear uncommon because the

constructions are not routinized expressions of typically delimited states as the examples above.

(68) Rooney **is having** about twenty-four goals in the premiership (ICE-GH S1A-051)

(69) But now Manchester too **are having** some sort of injury injuries here and there (ICE-GH S1A-051)

(70) I know it's like the way they do those movies we are not really **having it** over here so as for me I've really lost interest in (ICE-GH S1A-037)

(71) I don't think it is right and that is <?>whe<?/> my angle my angle of christianity **is having** a human person at the center and I think that's why God created us and made us separate and different and made us special among all living thing (ICE-GH S1A-037)

(72) Calibers calibers<?> and some one one creature <foreign>bi</foreign> was in the movie that was demonic looking was was **was having** some horn human with horn hair all over the body with tail looking very very scary (ICE-GH S1A-037)

In contrast to *have,* the verb *be* is not as frequently used with the Progressive if it refers to a state. Consider the three examples with the verb *be.* The first three describe transitory states but (76) from GhE refers to a permanent state.

(73) I can never think of anything to say when **I 'm <> being being under stress** (ICE-GB S1A-038)

(74) No but is it is it the matter of we getting there because uhm what is most uhm most important is not what we practise but is is how how <.>wh</.> uh developed or **how progressful we are being** take a country like Switzerland (ICE-GH S1A-019)

(75) You **are being** notorious of late (ICE-GH S1A-039)

(76) We have our leisure times but it depends on you the type of ho* uh the type of things that you like or like doing and but one thing about the school is that **everybody's being uh bookworm** and those stuffs (CS-GH X04)

In addition to the above examples involving the verbs *have* and *be,* there are only two other existence verbs in GhE that is used with reference to permanent states. Consider the next two examples of the verb *depend on*. The first has a human subject and refers to a transitory state, i.e. depending on somebody's money can be temporary. On the other hand, the second one has inanimate subject and refers to a permanent state. While the way in which a funeral is celebrated might change, the fact that it depends on the culture and family seems rather permanent.

(77) Well in the training college you know they were giving us allowance in school so the first term my dad gave me but afterwards he wasn't giving me **I was depending on the allowance** but in the university I was on study leave with pay so **I was depending on my salary and then other tips from relatives** (CS-GH X02)

(78) Well funerals are celebrated in different ways. Yes **that is depending** on the family and the culture of the people (CS-GH X09)

The next example refers to an example of the verb *hold* in the sense of 'own', i.e. it refers to a permant state (example (79)). The verb can, however, also have a dynamic meaning with a meaning close to that of 'keep' as in example (80). In its dynamic use the progressive form is not unusual.

(79) But when they **are holding** these degrees are they going to be employable (ICE-GH S1A-009)

(80) It was as if what's his name Cristiano Ronaldo **was holding** the team so much he was upfront (ICE-GH S1A-051)

Interestingly, in BrE the variety of existence verbs that refer to states, both transitory and permanent, is larger than in GhE, involving verbs as for example *seem, sound* and *go back to.*

(81) You 're not **you 're not </> <> seeing ner seeming** nervous or as if you need encouragement to me (ICE-GB S1A-075)

(82) It 's just that it 's better for it if **it 's sounding** more natural (ICE-GB S1A-047)

(83) **It 's going back** now a long time (ICE-GB S1A-013)

As the examples have shown, there are certain existence verbs that are used to refer to permanent relationships between entities in GhE but the range of verbs used in these context is quite restricted. Interestingly, the verbs that are used to refer to permanent states are typically those that are also used to refer to transitory states (e.g. *have, depend*) or that can be used in a dynamic way (e.g. *be awkward, have a meal, hold a book*), and with these types of situations the Progressive seems more common in both varieties (cf. van Rooy 2014: 167 for a similar finding on the use of the verb *have*).

Temporary delimitation is usually not a feature attributed to mental states (cf. Biber et al.'s 1999: 360ff semantic verb types) because states of mind are difficult to interpret in terms of delimitation. Temporariness is a feature that can only be assigned to a few verbs from the group of emotion verbs, such as *enjoy* or *support.*

(84) I saw uh an actor <,> on campus and when I looked at him from top down I realised that uhm this guy this guy is not **he's not enjoying** life (ICE-GH S1A-017)

(85) I I I can rightly say that **I am supporting** this or this person (CS-GH X11)

Interestingly, the range of verbs marked by the Progressive in GhE is again more restricted than in BrE. From the group of cognition verbs BrE and GhE both show instances of *think (that), wonder* and *expect,* almost exclusively with 1st person singular subjects. When sentences containing progressive uses of *think (that)* occur in the past tense, they function as a hedge. While

instances of this use are quite commonly found in ICE-GB, there is just one example in the GhE data.

(86) Anyway **I was thinking** when I give birth I want four kids right (ICE-GH S1A-022)

In both varieties, however, we find uses in which *think (that)* has the meaning of 'believe' and is stative with a possible focus on the acuteness of the situation (for such an interpretation, cf. also Aarts 2011: 268-269). These uses are found with the Present Progressive.

(87) Yeah so **I'm thinking** what you need is the money (ICE-GH S1A-004)

(88) Yeah **I'm thinking** it should be a two-hour drive or ah an hour and half because from my place it took us about two hours two and a half and Legon is half-way through (ICE-GH S1A-010)

(89) But **I'm actually thinking** that's the only movie that can overtake Avatar but (ICE-GH S1A-037)

(90) **I 'm thinking** if you have the right colours (ICE-GB S1A-086)

Interestingly, although both *wonder* and *expect* occur with the Progressive in both varieties, the function of marking an utterance as polite or tentative is found only in ICE-GB. Past progressive uses of verbs like *wonder* or *hope* with 1st person singular subjects typically express requests in a polite way.

(91) **I was wondering** if you 'd give me another prescription for it (ICE-GB S1A-089)

In GhE, the verbs used with the Progressive to refer to mental states of cognition and emotion are the same as in BrE, however, their use cannot be

characterized as polite or tentative (examples (92-95)). This seems to be a use restricted to BrE.

(92) Initially **I was expecting** that the Avatar movie uhm was going to be in line with the cartoon but I was actually very very disappointed because I kinda liked the little guy bending the stuff actually beating the <unclear word> out of the Fire Lord (ICE-GH S1A-037)

(93) I'm **I'm really wondering** how I'm going to learn all those things at surgery <O>Laughter</O> because medicine medicine was somehow easy for for for some of us (ICE-GH S1A-047)

(94) **I am only hoping** you don't get tired (ICE-GH S1A-026)

(95) **I'm hoping** I can get the receipt and the warrantee (ICE-GH S1A-045)

In some cases the uses express the acuteness of the situations, i.e. that the speaker is really concerned with how to learn all the things for class as in example (93). In other cases, however, it seems that some of these verbs have just gained some ground in their progressive forms and are simply used without any specific discourse-pragmatic motivation. The verbs *assume, consider, find, insist, remember* and *want* are only marked by the Progressive in BrE.

(96) It sounds that **you're wanting** to take care of yourself physically as well (ICE-GB S1A-059)

The use of the verb *believe* with the Progressive, on the other hand, only occurs once in GhE. However, assigning a specific subjective meaning to the Progressive is difficult in that case.

(97) **They were believing** that they should stay on (ICE-GH S1A-052)

In this example the predicate could actually be interpreted as meaning 'start to believe', which would be an inceptive reading of the verb. This is a common reading of stative verbs in Akan in which stative verbs such as *believe, love* or *hate* undergo a meaning change when used with the Progressive (cf. Osam 2008, Sey 1973: 34-35). However, the amount of examples with such uses is too infrequent to elaborate on this further on the basis of ICE-GH/ CS-GH.[36]

Verbs of perception are too rare with the Progressive in both of the varieties so that generalizations are difficult to make. They can all be said to be temporarily delimited, but this seems to be a general feature of perception.

(98) Is it irritating **I'm hearing** a little catch <„> (ICE-GB S1A-044)

(99) It's it's </> <> a a space in which <,> uhm people can <,> interact and <,> uh <,> feed off each other and and I can hear voices coming out from all over the place **I'm hearing** voices <laugh> (ICE-GB S1A-004)

(100) Still you're still reading but **you're seeing** more (ICE-GB S1A-084)

(101) **I'm seeing** one for myself today (ICE-GH S1A-032)

(102) **I'm feeling** the grieve uh °[I'm really] I'm really sad yeah (CS-GH X15)

However, not all perception verbs used with the Progressive in GhE refer to states. In a few cases they express a meaning similar to an 'experiential perfect'.

[36] A similar interpretation could be given for the example *So after we **were sitting** in the car the children were starring at the ice cream you could see they really wanted to eat some* (ICE-GH S1A-041). Examples like these also occur with the verb wear in the sense of 'to put on', but unfortunately ICE-GH and CS-GH do not give any further evidence for this use in GhE.

(103) Maybe **I'm hearing** this from you for the first time (CS-GH X13)

(104) Wow that is the first guy **am hearing** that from (ICE-GH S1A-022)

In summary, the use of the Progressive for stative situations is rather infrequent in both varieties. The groups of stance verbs, existence verbs as well as mental verbs of cognition and emotion are the ones that are most often used in the Progressive with reference to stative situations. Temporariness is a feature that might be inherent in most of those situations that contain verbs of existence but it is not the use of the Progressive itself that adds the meaning of temporariness. Contra to what has been suggested in previous studies on the category in New Englishes, there is neither a general extension of the Progressive to permanent stative situations in GhE, nor are their new semantic or pragmatic functions of the Progressive in the variety, except for the few cases in which the Progressive turns the situation from a state to inception. What the data rather suggests is that there is a small amount of cases in which the Progressive is occasionally used for permanent states. These involve verbs such as *be, have* or *hold,* which have dynamic uses as well and thus an exceptionally high frequency in the progressive form or verbs like *depend* that are occasionally used in the Progressive to express a person's financial or emotional dependence, which is in most cases of limited duration.[37] Linguistic insecurity by some of the speakers may lead to the choice of the Progressive. Polite uses of the verbs *wonder* or *hope* could not be identified in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, which is in line with the general observation that politeness conventions vary considerably across cultures and are also not typically adopted in language contact situations (cf. Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 1982; see Chapter 5 for a similar tendency concerning the hypothetical modal WOULD). A higher number of 1st person singular uses with the Past Progressive can be identified for spoken

[37] *Have* and *be* are among the top 20 verbs used in the progressive form in both ICE-GH/ CS-GH and ICE-GB.

ICE-GB (see Appendix B). However, whether this reflects higher tokens of these specific uses of the Progressive or whether other factors are at work cannot be answered at this point. With respect to the functions of the Progressive in combination with stative verbs, we might conclude that in GhE the construction is semantically and pragmatically less loaded, i.e. it occurs more often without a specific semantic or pragmatic function.

What could also be observed is that the group of verbs in the Progressive is much more restricted in GhE than in BrE, meaning that BrE speakers seem more 'creative' or 'innovative' with applying the category to verbs, so that GhE speakers are actually the ones that seem less 'adventurous' in their use of the Progressive.

4.5 Habitual Progressives

Habituality or habitual aspect, are widely used terms, but the situations that are usually considered as 'habitual' are quite different from each other (cf. also Carlson 2012). According to Declerck (2006: 34-35), habituality describes a situation as characteristic of the referent of the subject NP over a certain period of time. Bertinetto & Lenci (2012) subsume habituality under "gnomic imperfectivity" together with attitudinal, potential, generic and individual-level stative meaning. It is important to note that most languages do not employ a general, systematic means of expressing habituality (ibid., Dahl 1985). In this chapter I will not refer to all meanings that have been discussed under the heading of 'habitual(ity)' here but only to those that are relevant with the use of the Progressive.[38] As was noted earlier, certain types of habituality share with imperfectivity (and with progressivity) that the predicated situation coincides with or is shorter than the full situation. With 'certain types of habituality' I am referring to the fact that ‚habituality' in general is not a specific type of aspect, nor is it an essential component of imperfective meaning (as suggested in accounts by e.g. Comrie 1976). However, those habitual meanings that are often expressed by imperfective

[38] See Chapter 5 for habitual uses of the modal WILL, which are semantically quite different than those with the Progressive.

morphology (e.g. the Imparfait in French) also share with imperfective aspect the meaning that the predicated situation coincides with or is shorter than the full situation. A habit can, of course, also be presented perfectly as in *And for years I was doing all sorts of <unclear-word> to try and win her back* (ICE-GB S1A-072) or *They were doing that for <,> a week* (ICE-GH S1A-032). These belong to the so-called durative Progressives (Killie 2005: 72, Bertinetto et al. 2000: 527). As habits do not necessarily entail an endpoint of the respective situation in their meaning, they have been classified as types of states by some authors (e.g. Declerck 2006; cf. Carlson 2012 for a detailed discussion). However, unlike states, habitual situations consist of a series of situations, and simply because of the fact that certain types of habituality are imperfective, it should not simply be viewed as a subtype of stativity or imperfectivity. Generally, habitual situations marked by the Progressive in the data represent transitions from some dynamic, episodic situation to a habitual state, and thus differ from individual-level states as discussed in the previous section.

As was mentioned in section 4.3, in ICE-GH/ CS-GH uses of the Progressive to refer to habitual situations are much more frequent than in spoken ICE-GB, especially uses of the Past Progressive. From looking at the corpus data it was necessary to distinguish several different types of habituality: The two major types of habituality that are marked by the Progressive involve animate subjects that can commonly be held responsible for the respective situations: the first represents personal habits, i.e. describes the temporary or permanent habit of a specific person; the second represents a more common habit in which the subject consists of a group of people that is not further specified. The major difference between the two types lies in the fact that in the first one a certain situation is repeated by one and the same person (examples (105) and (106)), whereas in the second and third one a person may be involved in a certain situation only once but the situation as such is repeated severally involving different subjects every time (examples (107) and (108)).

(105) I was already planning to get back early because last semester **I was spending** a lot a a lot of time there and **I was always leaving** late (ICE-GH S1A-050)

(106) I was a Christian but I **wasn't practising** it the way I should practice it (ICE-GH S1A-036)

(107) A hospital uhm maybe these days but former days **we were all going** to hospital the normal way and pay collect your card you see (CS-GH X09)

(108) But these days pastors **are really using** the churches to make money (ICE-GH S1A-011)

Examples of the second type are rare in ICE-GB but quite frequent in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, especially in the past tense. On the one hand, the reason for the difference between the two datasets lies in the fact that in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, speakers are often asked to describe traditions or childhood memories, so the higher frequency of tokens referring to common habits in the past is naturally somewhat higher than in ICE-GB.[39] On the other hand, speakers in ICE-GB rather make use of other markers to refer to past habits such as *would* and *used to* or simply use the Simple Past.

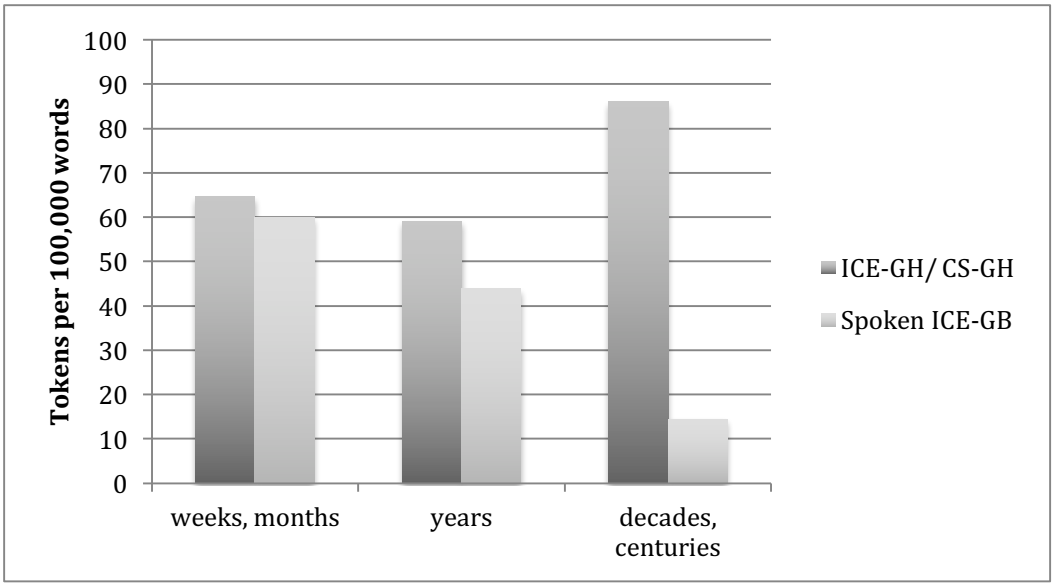
Another type of habituality is the one which describes present or past circumstances. It involves predicates with subjects that are not agents of specific situations. Again, the use of the Progressive for relating to circumstances is much more frequent in ICE-GH/ CS-GH as in ICE-GB, and most obviously in the past.

[39] Note that although there are slight quantitative differences between the use of the Present and Past Progressives in the two corpora, the distributions across different subject types is similar (see Appendix B).

(109) I cannot quite remember but it was okay you know I enjoyed it because I never had problem with money because **money was always coming** to my pocket (CS-GH X08)

Another difference with respect to the use of the Progressive for habitual situations is that of temporal delimitation. As the data in *eWAVE* (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013) shows, the extension of the Progressive to habitual contexts that are temporally not delimited is a quite widespread feature in New English varieties, including GhE (cf. Huber 2012a). When working with naturalistic corpus data it often becomes difficult to determine whether a situation should be considered as temporally delimited or not, as most situations are in some way delimited, although the criterion of temporal delimitation is regularly used in corpus-based studies on the use of the Progressive in habitual contexts (e.g. Sharma 2009, Sharma & Deo 2012). However, textbook examples of delimited habituals like *The professor is typing his own letters while his secretary is ill* (example taken from Quirk et al. 1985: 199) are rare in natural speech so using temporal adverbial modification as a criterion for distinguishing delimited from non-delimited habituals becomes problematic. Estimating the duration of certain habits in the data revealed that in both datasets the Progressive frequently marks short-term habits with a duration of several days, weeks or months or even years whereas it only frequently refers to long-term habits of decades/centuries in ICE-GH/ CS-GH (see Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.2: Length of Duration of Habits Marked by the Progressive



Interestingly, short-term habits are also those that are most frequently modified by temporal adverbials that clearly indicate the temporal delimitation such as *at the moment, when-clause, in the winter, at Legon Sec, in the traning college, at school.* Most of them refer to personal habits.

(110) Right now **you are just sleeping** so why don't you just make use of it (ICE-GH S1A-041)

(111) When I was alone in Barcelona **I was having avocado** and French bread for breakfast (ICE-GB S1A-18)

As already noted above, common habits marked by the Progressive are much more frequent in ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in ICE-GB, which also explains the fact that habits with a duration of decades or centuries are also more frequent in the former corpus, as common habits most often refer to traditions or trends. These are often marked by adverbials like *now, then, these days, those days* etc in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. In ICE-GB the occurrence of such adverbials with the Progressive is restricted to only four examples. The Progressive in BrE tends to be primarily used for personal, short-term or mid-term habits. Long-term, common habits, on the other hand, take the Simple Past or *would.*

Examples referring to habituals with truly unlimited duration, sometimes referred to as generics, are rare with the Progressive in both datasets. There are three examples in ICE-GH and CS-GH and four examples in ICE-GB.

(112) Sea bird the bird **is flying** from where to where (ICE-GH S1A-046)

(113) **It's killing off** the germs of the moment (ICE-GB S1A-087)

Duration of a situation, i.e. delimited vs. non-delimited, does not seem to be a useful criterion for explaining the differences in use of the Progressive in habitual contexts, whereas looking at the different types of habitual situation is a much better way of understanding the differences in the frequencies of use of the Progressive for habitual contexts. However, what one does find is that in ICE-GH/ CS-GH in a small number of cases the Present Progressive refers to habitual situations in which the focus is not on the temporal delimitation or the acuteness of the situation. The following examples illustrate cases of habitual situations which might, of course, change at some point in time. However, the focus is not on the acuteness of the situation. The following examples illustrate such cases.

(114) This one **we are eating** in the bowl (ICE-GH S1A-010)

(115) Men **are not giving** women the chance at all (ICE-GH S1A-014)

(116) Some people **are saying** Jesus is God (ICE-GH S1A-051)

(117) Well in England I like Arsenal because Arsenal is a kind of team that **is really uh like uh really motivating** the kids in England (CS-GH X15)

These examples are in contrast with those uses in which certain trends are mentioned. The two examples from ICE-GB illustrate cases in which it becomes clear from the context that the speaker focuses on the acuteness of

the situations. It is noteworthy that a deprecatory undertone can be read off from the examples. This is not the case for all of the examples from ICE-GH/ CS-GH, but could be a likely reading in (118) and (119).

(118) **Everyone's buying** a futon (ICE-GB S1A-030)

(119) They must do vegetarian stuff <unclear-syllable> **everywhere's doing** vegetarian stuff (ICE-GB S1A-071)

Overt habitual marking is a feature of most indigenous Ghanaian languages, which could in fact reinforce overt marking of habitual situations in English. In Ewe we find a habitual suffix *á* or *na* (Ameka 2008), in Ga a habitual suffix ɔ (Kropp Dakubu 2008). In Akan, instead of using an affix or a particle, habituality is marked via tonal changes in the verb stem (Dolphyne 1988: 172-190, Osam 2004: 15, Boadi 2008: 16-20). However, in most of the languages habitual is distinct from the progressive, as is the case in Kwa languages like Akan (Osam 2008), Ewe (Ameka 2008) or Ga (Kropp Dakubu 2008), as well as in Gur languages like Gurune (Kropp Dakubu 2003) or Kusaal (Musah 2010: 130-131). An extension of the Progressive to a general imperfective marker is thus not a development that would necessarily be supported by structures in the substrate languages. Furthermore, the frequent use of the Progressive in perfective contexts, as was shown in section 4.3, does not support such an analysis either. Another explanation could be that the progressive form is simply the preferred form for a large number of verbs. As most of the verbs used in habitual contexts are dynamic verbs, the use of the Progressive in these contexts is not perceived as uncommon as might be the case with stative verbs. This would be supported by the study by Wulff et al. (2009), who show that learners of English 'overuse' the Progressive with those verbs that show high frequency in the progressive form relative to their absolute frequency.[40]

[40] In their study on aspectual marking in learner English, Wulff et al. (2009) test the influence of input on acquisition. They find that when the factors distinctiveness (i.e. high association

4.6 Summary and Discussion

The analysis in this chapter has shown a number of quantitative and qualitative differences with respect to the use of the Progressive between GhE and BrE. In the spoken data the construction is more frequent in GhE, whereas in the written data it is BrE that shows slightly higher frequencies in its use. With respect to the use of the Present and Past Progressive in the spoken components of the corpora it was possible to show a number of interesting facts about the use of the construction in GhE.

GhE is somewhat more flexible in its use of the Progressive category in stative and habitual contexts, but a general extension to states can by no means be suggested on the basis of the data. In GhE, uses of the Progressive on stative verbs are not necessarily restricted to temporarily delimited situations, and its use does not always add a subjective tone. There seems to be a weakening of the semantic and pragmatic functions of the Progressive in GhE. The respective verbs the Progressive is applied to are the same as those in BrE, so it is reasonable to assume that Sey is right when he writes that "deviant usage may be traced to the notion formed very early at school that any English verb may collocate with *–ing* to express the continuous tense" (1973: 35). Differences in the use of the Progressive for habitual situations in GhE as compared to BrE are not due to its use for non-delimited situations but for long-term and common habits and traditions in GhE. The examples have also shown that in BrE a deprecatory tone might be a more important criterion for the choice of the Progressive than in GhE.

The question whether the Progressive is the preferred form for predicates in specific aspectual contexts (such as habitual or general imperfective) only, or whether it is the preferred default form for some speakers could not be answered within the scope of the present chapter. However, what the brief overview of the frequencies of progressive forms was able to show is that not only present and past forms but also complex forms such as the Perfect Progressive and the Modal Progressive yield higher

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of a verb with a single tense-aspect morpheme) and token-frequency coincide, there is a facilitating effect for acquisition.

frequencies in GhE. As will be shown in the following chapters, at least with respect to *will* + Progressive, this is not due to more frequent reference to progressive contexts but to the preference of the *–ing-* form in perfective contexts as well.

Considering the amount of literature published on the extension of the Progressive to stative contexts in New Englishes, the results of the present analysis are surprising. There is no functional extension of the construction to a new meaning category. Rather, linguistic nativization has left its traces in the reorganization of constraints on the choice of the Progressive. As it will have to be confirmed in future studies, syntactic and lexical factors (and possibly persistence-related factors) are more important for the choice of the category than purely semantic or pragmatic ones. This is why we find instances of 'unexpected' uses of the Progressive throughout all kinds of aspectual contexts. However, this might be a typical learner characteristic which has 'rooted' itself in the variety to some extent but which is extremely infrequent among educated speakers.

The focus on exceptional uses in most studies of the Progressive in New Englishes overlooks some interesting observations made with respect to specific uses of the construction in speech. The analysis in this chapter has shown that uses of the Progressive characteristic for informal spoken language, such as the conversational use of the progressive form of speech-reporting verbs as well as the use of interpretative Progressives in fixed constructions including communication verbs, account for a considerable amount of the overall uses of the construction in the spoken data. These two specific uses appear to be quite widespread among young speakers of GhE. Other specific uses, such as polite or tentative uses of the Progressive or the use of the Progressive for marking negative speaker attitude were not found in ICE-GH or CS-GH.

5. THE MODAL WILL

This chapter will deal with the use of the modal WILL in the two corpora. Section 5.1 will give an overview of previous research on the modal WILL in English, and specifically in GhE and other New Englishes. Section 5.2 will present the frequencies of WILL, the use of its variant forms and their distribution across the various text categories. I will discuss the distribution of the uses of WILL in the two spoken and written corpora in section 5.3 before focusing in more detail on the variation between WILL and WOULD in hypothetical contexts in the spoken corpora in section 5.4, and on the use of WILL as a circumstancial marker in spoken GhE in section 5.5. The chapter will close with a summary and discussion of the findings in section 5.6.

5.1 The Modal WILL in Varieties of English

The modality system of English has undergone drastic and rapid changes in its history and shows considerable synchronic variation within specific semantic contexts (cf. Krug 2000, Leech 2003, Mair & Leech 2006, Leech et al. 2009). While the English auxilary verb WILL is generally included in the group of the English central modal verbs, the range of meanings it exhibits makes a general characterization rather difficult. Originating from the Old English verb *willan* ('to want'), the drastic semantic changes it has undergone in its history have left it with a wide range of different meanings that find themselves within the domains of modality, tense and aspect.

From a typological perspective, the development of the modal WILL is nothing unusual (Dahl 1985, Bybee et al. 1994). Nevertheless, in traditional accounts of modality, which rest on a bipartition of modal meanings between *deontic* and *epistemic* modality, 'volition' has not always been included within the semantic domain of modality. This especially surfaces in those accounts which have defined deontic modality in a rather narrow sense or who have primarily linked modal meanings to the notions of 'necessity' and 'possibility'. However, as has been shown in accounts on modality like those by Coates (1983), Palmer (1990, 2001) or Bybee et al. (1994), the meaning

range expressed by modal WILL is generally in line with a classification of modal meanings which goes beyond the necessity-possibility range. As Krug explains, “[d]ue to the progressive grammaticalization of the *will* future since Middle English, no central modal has 'desire' as its central notional domain any longer“ (2000: 118). He concludes that “[p]erhaps it is only due to this facet of the English language (which has dominated discussions of modality) that volitional modality has scant attention in the relevant literature“ (2000: 118). In those accounts which do include volition within the domain of modality it has either been treated as a subtype of deontic modality (Palmer 1979, Traugott 1989), as 'root' modal (e.g. Sweetser 1982, Coates 1983, Declerck 2006), as 'intrinsic' (Quirk et al. 1985), as 'agent-oriented' (Bybee et al. 1994) or as 'dynamic' (Palmer 1990, 2001).

Another aspect in the discussion around the modal WILL is its status of either modal or tense marker. As Salkie (2010) suggests, WILL is primarily a tense marker, and its volitional meanings should be considered as relics of its erstwhile meaning.

As shown in studies on modals and semi-modals in British and American English like those by Biber et al. (1999), Mair & Leech (2006) and Leech et al. (2009), WILL is among the most frequently used modals found in contemporary English in spite of its decline and gradual replacement by semi-modals. Most studies on the modal WILL in English are restricted to the discussion of its use as a marker of future time reference. With the exception of Coates (1983), Biber et al. (1999) and Collins (2009) most corpus-based studies on the modals (and semi-modals) of prediction and volition of English have either focused on the grammaticalization and spread of the semi-modals (e.g. Krug 2000, Lorenz 2013a) or merely reported the decline of the modal WILL (e.g. Leech et al. 2009).

A number of qualitative differences in the use of WILL between a number of New English and ENL varieties have already been noted in some more dated studies such as Platt, Weber & Ho (1984), Schmied (1991) or Simo-Bobda (1998), who report the use of WILL instead of WOULD and vice versa, and the use of WILL in dependent temporal and conditional clauses. In a quantitative corpus analysis on several contact varieties of English Sand

(2005) identifies alternation between WILL and WOULD in real and unreal conditional constructions. And more recently, in a smaller corpus-based study Deuber et al. (2012) have reported quantitative and qualitative differences in the use of non-future WILL between a number of Asian, Caribbean and Pacific New English and ENL varieties, especially in the areas of habitual, past and hypothetical meanings.

A more extensive use of habitual WILL has been reported for a number of New English varieties. Deterding (2003, 2007) notes the use of WILL for regular events in the speech of educated speakers of Singapore English. He also mentions a number of cases in which WILL refers to regular events in the past. Deuber (2010) mentions habitual WILL to be more prominent in Trinidadian English than in native varieties of English, and Balasubramanian (2009) reports a more frequent use of this function of WILL in Indian English. Finally, in a recent study devoted to peculiarities of New Englishes in the use of WILL and WOULD, Deuber et al. (2012) find more tokens of present habitual WILL in a number of New English varieties, above all in Singapore English and Trinidadian English, but also in Indian and Bahamian English. The paper by Ziegeler (2013) confirms a higher use of habitual WILL for ICE Singapore and ICE India. Deuber et al. (2012) also find a few tokens of WILL referring to past contexts in Fiji English and Singapore English. But they note that in the Caribbean varieties the use of WOULD is more prominent than WILL for both present and past habitual situations. Finally they report a few instances of replacements of WILL by WOULD in all of the varieties they look at. Deterding (2003, 2007), in his studies on spoken Singapore English suggests that WOULD is used to refer to the future in a tentative way.

A strong tendency to substitute WILL for WOULD in both unreal conditional constructions (to express hypotheticality) as well as in more idiomatic expressions (to sound more polite or tentative) is especially mentioned for (West) African varieties (cf. Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 64-65, Platt, Weber & Ho 1984: 74). Nkemleke (2007 and 2012) notes a much higher frequency of WILL in Cameroon English, and Alo & Mesthrie (2008) report the frequent substitution of past by present modal forms for politeness reasons in Nigerian English. In studies on GhE the major focus has so far been

on the replacement of WOULD by WILL and vice versa in specific contexts. In surveys on distinct morphosyntactic properties on GhE Sey (1973) reports on the substitution of WOULD by WILL in *if*-clause environments and in some idiomatic expressions. Huber & Dako (2008) and Huber (2012a) mention a much lower rate of the politer modal form WOULD, the use of WOULD to express future in GhE and the replacement of WOULD by WILL in hypothetical contexts. And in small-scale corpus-based analyses on written GhE Owusu-Ansah (1994) and Ngula (2009 and 2012) observe the conflation between WILL and WOULD, more specifically the use of WILL with 'future in the past', 'hypothetical' and 'tentative' readings, and the use of WOULD with non-past, non-hypothetical 'intention' and 'prediction' readings.

Differences in the use of modals in New Englishes are often explained by differences in the modality systems of the potential substrate language(s). A look at the TMA systems of some of the indigenous languages in Ghana reveals that the real-unreal distinction is expressed quite differently from that in English and other European languages. In some of the Kwa languages, for example, one of the obligatory semantic distinctions in TMA is that between 'irrealis' and 'realis'. In the literature these terms have been employed differently. In Ewe the 'potential' marker *la/la* is an exponent of the irrealis category and can express hypotheticality, as well as epistemic and deontic (root) possibility (or rather: ability) (Essegbey 2008: 203). However, it also expresses 'future' in context, which has led earlier scholars to interpret this marker as a mere future marker (Ameka 2008). Similarly, in Ga there is a basic modal distinction between 'irrealis' and 'realis'. As the 'aorist' is semantically and syntactically a default form, the marked, irrealis form is often referred to as 'future', although it has various other meanings which are 'irrealis' but not 'future' (Kropp-Dakubu 2008). Hypotheticality and futurity are thus expressed by the same means in some of the Kwa languages. The difference between these systems and the English modality system, in which the past form of the future modal expresses 'hypotheticality', might thus cause difficulties for second language speakers of English. With respect to the use of WILL to refer to habitual and past habitual situations in the New Englishes reference has sometimes been made to the respective substrate

languages. Deuber (2010) and Deuber et al. (2012) mention the existence of a distinct habitual marker *does* in the Caribbean creoles as a possible reason for the extensive use of habitual WILL in the Caribbean Standard English varieties. Deterding (2003, 2007) suggests that the Mandarin Chinese habitual marker *hui* (which can also signal ability and futurity) might be a factor influencing the frequent use of WILL as a marker of present and past habituality in Singapore English.

There is little research on the use of modal WILL in second language acquisition research. As concerns modality in general, it is typical for learner varieties of English to exhibit fewer cases of epistemic uses of modals than native varieties (cf. Biewer 2011, Nkemleke 2012). Explanations rely on findings made in studies of first and second language acquisition, according to which epistemic meanings are acquired and used at a later stage than non-epistemic meanings of modals (Stephany 1995, Choi 2006, Chen 2010). However, studies on the acquisition of modality by second language learners usually deal with the modals of obligation and necessity only, and it has been shown in studies of modality in New English varieties that deontic uses are more well-represented than in native varieties and that epistemic uses of these modals are generally rare in New Englishes (cf. Biewer 2009 and 2011, Nkemleke 2005, Diaconu 2012). Insights from the area of second language research suggest that "[t]he learner will try to regularize the modal system by avoiding the plurifunctionality of modals "and rather focus on the expression of "prototypical meanings" (Biewer 2011: 16), which in the case of modals of obligation and necessity are the deontic meanings. The case of WILL is more complex in this respect as it is rather difficult to define what the prototypical meaning of WILL actually is, given the various different functions this modal has in Present Day English. At the same time, the "root" meaning of WILL, i.e. volition, is rather rare in contrast to the prediction/predictability meaning (cf. e.g. Biber et al. 1999), although the latter meanings have emerged from the former meaning diachronically (cf. e.g. Bybee et al. 1994).

The high overlap between deontic and epistemic modality is noted as a characteristic of Europe (van der Auwera & Ammann 2011). In Akan, which is probably the most influential substrate language of GhE, epistemic modality

cannot be expressed by the same means as situational modality (possibility/necessity), and, according to *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS, Haspelmath & Dry 2011) there are no verbal means to express epistemic modality in the language. For some of the other major languages spoken in Ghana, such as Ewe and Hausa, a certain degree of overlap between situational and epistemic modality is reported. However, with regard to epistemic *will* some interesting similarities to English should be mentioned. In Akan, the future marker *bɛ* can have a non-future interpretation at times, which is that of 'likelihood' and 'probability' (Boadi 2008: 23-24). Ewe shows some degree of overlap between situational and epistemic modality in the language, more specifically with respect to epistemic and deontic (root) possibility (Essegby 2008). Importantly, the 'potential' marker *à/la* in Ewe, which has sometimes been interpreted as a future marker (Westermann 1930), is a modality marker, which can – similar to English *will* – refer to (potential) future situations but also express 'ability' as well as "potential states in the present" (Essegbey 2008: 205), i.e. epistemic modality (predictability). In addition to that and unlike *will* in Standard English, it may express hypotheticality (Essegbey 2008). The idea of expressing non-future, possible situations by means of devices also used for marking future situations is thus not unknown in these languages.

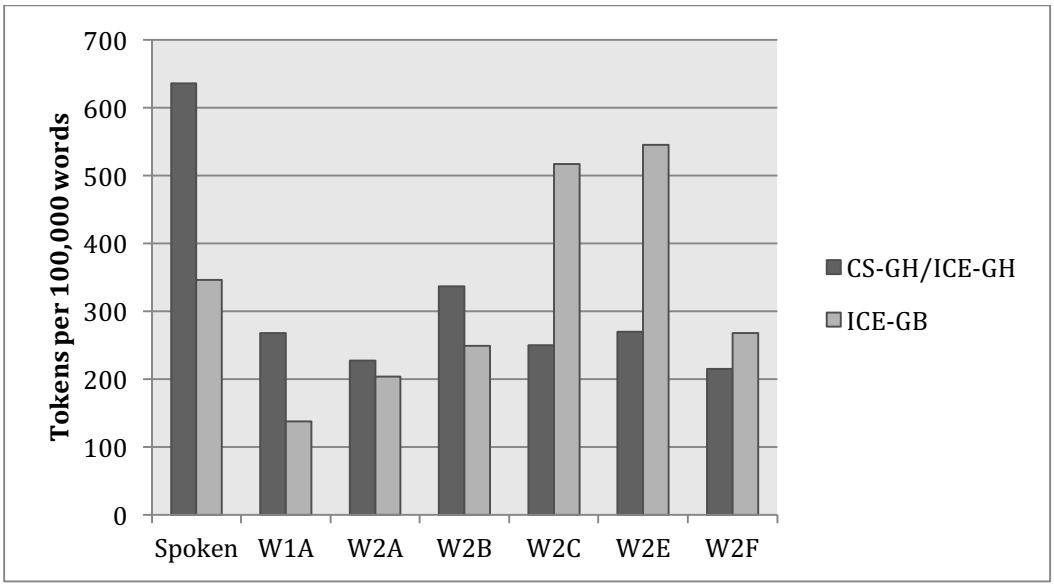
5.2 Forms and Frequencies Across Text Categories

In the following I take a look at the frequencies of the various forms of the modal WILL and its distribution across the different genres of CS-GH/ICE-GH and ICE-GB. I used the concordance program AntConc to retrieve all tokens of WILL by searching for its variant forms *will, 'll* and *won't* from ICE-GH and CS-GH. For ICE-GB, the programme ICE-CUP was used. The absolute numbers for all forms and variants of WILL can be found in Appendix B.

Figure 5.1 gives an overview of the tokens of WILL per 100,000 words in the different text categories of GhE and BrE. Included are all instances of the variant forms of WILL (*will*, '*ll*, *won't* and the relevant tokens that are part of perfect, progressive and passive forms). I consider tokens of WILL in all

syntactic contexts, i.e. in both interrogative and declarative sentences, main and sub clauses, affirmative and negative and active and passive sentences. I exclude quotations, repetitions, and self-corrections as these might either not be tokens of the respective variety (as in the case of quotations), or do not count as full tokens (as in the case of repetitions and self-corrections). Tokens of the modal in question tags are also excluded from the study because they might disturb the picture provided by the quantitative analysis as these represent a different area of the language in which New English varieties heavily diverge from BrE.

Figure 5.1: The Modal WILL Across Text Categories in CS-GH/ ICE-GH and ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies

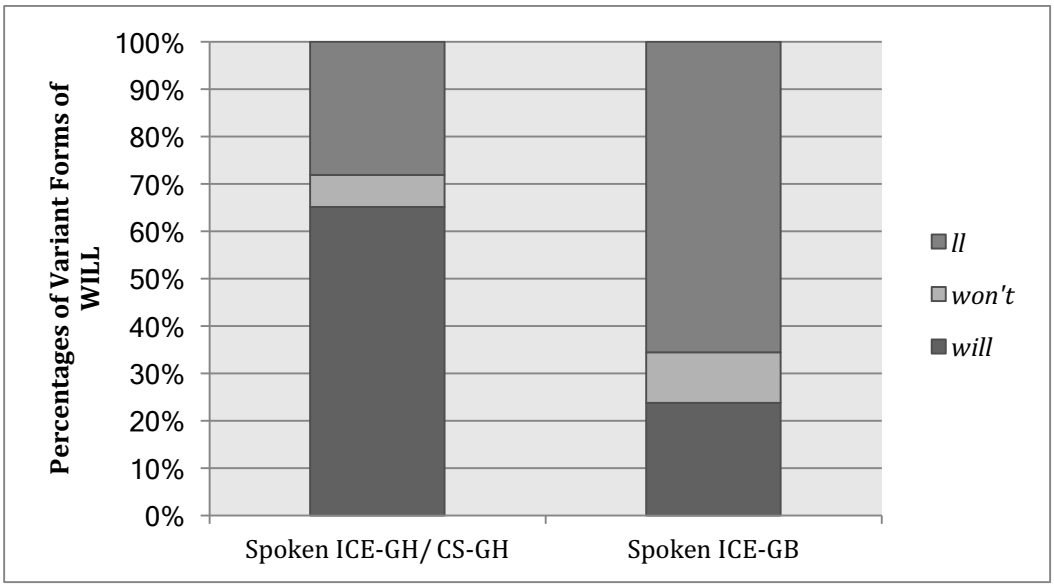


As the diagram in Figure 5.1 shows, WILL is considerably more frequent in GhE than in BrE in the spoken data as well as in student exams/student essays (W1A) and to some extent also in the academic (W2A) and non-academic scientific prose (W2B). As will be discussed in this chapter, some of these differences can be explained by a number of peculiar uses of WILL in GhE, especially for the spoken data. In newspaper texts, as in press news reports (W2C) and in press editorials (W2E), on the other hand, it is BrE which exhibits about twice the number of tokens of WILL of GhE. Except for

W2A and W2F, all differences are statistically highly significant using Pearson's Chi Square Test ($p<0.005$).

Figure 5.2 (see below) highlights the distribution of the variant forms of WILL in the spoken data. The diagram presents the relative numbers of the variants *will, won't* and *'ll.* The Figure shows that contracted forms are much more common in ICE-GB than in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. On the one hand, this is definitely due to the general preference of contracted forms in BrE. The question that comes up at this point is whether *will* and *'ll* as well as *will not* and *won't* should generally be treated as variants with the same meaning, or whether the different forms may actually have different uses in discourse (cf. e.g. Nesselhauf 2010 for the latter perspective).

Figure 5.2: Variant Forms of WILL in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Relative Frequencies

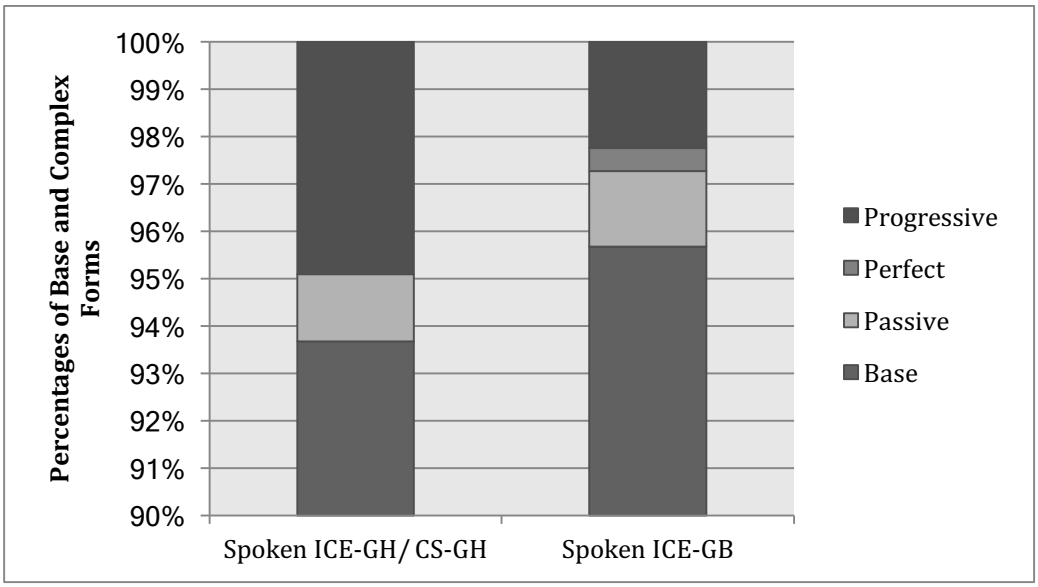


As we will see in the course of this chapter (as well as in Chapter 6), the more frequent use of the contracted form *'ll* in ICE-GB is partially due to a much higher relative use of WILL with 1st person subjects, which trigger the contracted form in the variety. On the other hand, *won't* is the preferred form in negated contexts in BrE. Only 2 out of 67 negated uses are expressed with *will not* in ICE-GB. In ICE-GH/ CS-GH, on the other hand, 25 out of 87 negated uses are not expressed by *won't,* meaning that the contracted form is not as

strongly preferred in GhE. As we will see in Chapter 6 on future marking, uses of *I won't* + agentive verb and *Will you* + agentive verb are strongly connected to the meaning of 'willingness' in BrE only, triggering interpretations of refusal as in the first case and of offers as in the second case. In ICE-GH/ CS-GH, these combinations are not as strongly tied to specific interpretations, as these are much rarer in GhE, as we will see in the following sections of this chapter.

Let us finally look at the use of complex forms with WILL in the two spoken corpora. Figure 5.3 gives an overview of the normalized frequencies of modal WILL followed by a base form, a passive, a perfect and a progressive form.

Figure 5.3: Base and Complex Forms of WILL in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Relative Frequencies



While the base form is the most frequent form in both corpora (> 90%), there is a remarkable difference in the use of WILL + Progressive. A statistically significantly higher use of modal progressives in ICE-GH/ CS-GH was already observed in Chapter 4.1 on forms of the Progressive. The preferred use of WILL + Progressive in GhE is due to its frequent use as a future marker (see also Chapter 6). In this respect the Progressive most often does not refer to an ongoing situation but refers to a perfective situation (future as a 'matter-of-

course'; cf. e.g. Leech 2004), and should thus be considered a choice in form rather than the expression of a specific meaning such as 'ongoing situation in the future'.

5.3 Meanings and Uses of the Modal WILL: An Overview

In the following I will discuss the meanings of WILL as attested in the two corpora on the basis of the relevant literature on modality such as Coates (1983), Palmer (1979, 1990, 2001), and Bybee et al. (1994), but also of descriptions of modality given in grammars such as Quirk et al. (1985), Biber et al. (1999), Huddleston & Pullum (2002), Declerck (2006) and Aarts (2011). In spite of the high amount of mergers between different meanings of the modal in individual instances I decided to still provide a quantitative overview over the numbers of individual uses in order to make future intervarietal comparisons possible. The absolute numbers of meanings and uses of WILL across the different genres in CS-GH/ ICE-GH and ICE-GB can be found in Appendix B.

While most traditional approaches to modality rest on a bipartition of modal meanings between *deontic* (or: *root*) and *epistemic* modal meanings, Palmer (1990) proposes a tripartite system which involves the types *dynamic, deontic* and *epistemic* modality.[41] As Palmer states, dynamic modality "is concerned with the ability or volition of the subject of the sentence, rather than the opinions (epistemic) or attitudes (deontic) of the speaker (and addressee)" (1990: 36). I have adopted Palmer's notion of dynamic modality for the modal meanings associated with 'volition', and reserve the notion deontic for modal meanings related to 'obligation' and 'permission'.

According to Palmer dynamic WILL includes three types of meanings that Jespersen (1909-49, IV: 239) refers to as 'volition, power and habit' (1990: 133). I will come back to the meanings of 'power' and 'habit' again below. We will look at uses referring to 'volition' first. According to Coates (1983), volitional WILL either carries the meaning of strong volition, i.e.

41 See Collins (2009) for an overview of the different terminology used with regard to modality and English modals, in particular.

'willingness', or of weak volition, 'intention'. In the following two examples WILL carries the meaning of 'intention'.

(1) Wow I **will** take you there when we are going so prepare (ICE-GH S1A-039)

(2) Because me when he I've I've been telling him that when he he backs out I **won't** enter into a relationship again. (ICE-GH S1A-016)

As this meaning most often expresses the speaker's plans/intentions, or refers to promises, threats or arrangements, it is most commonly found in the spoken corpora. The sense of 'willingness', on the other hand, is most typically found in examples with negated forms of WILL. The meaning of 'unwillingness' or 'refusal' is exemplified in (3).

(3) And our politicians **will** not tell us anything. (ICE-GH S1A-012)

Overall, uses clearly referring to the subject's willingness are low. With 14 instances (spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH) and 35 instances (spoken ICE-GB) to be found in the spoken components, they are most characteristic for spontaneously spoken informal conversations. In ICE-GB one common use of WILL in the sense of 'willingness' is found in offers and requests, as shown in the next example. Interestingly such uses are nearly absent from ICE-GH/ CS-GH, indicating that highly pragmatic uses differ across the two varieties.

(4) A: Dad **will** you have some more juice?
B: That one? Yes I **will**. (ICE-GB S1A-022)

While cases such as examples (1) and (2) above clearly refer to the speakers' intentions, not all corpus examples can be as easily classified. In the literature it is often not clearly stated where the boundaries between 'intention' and

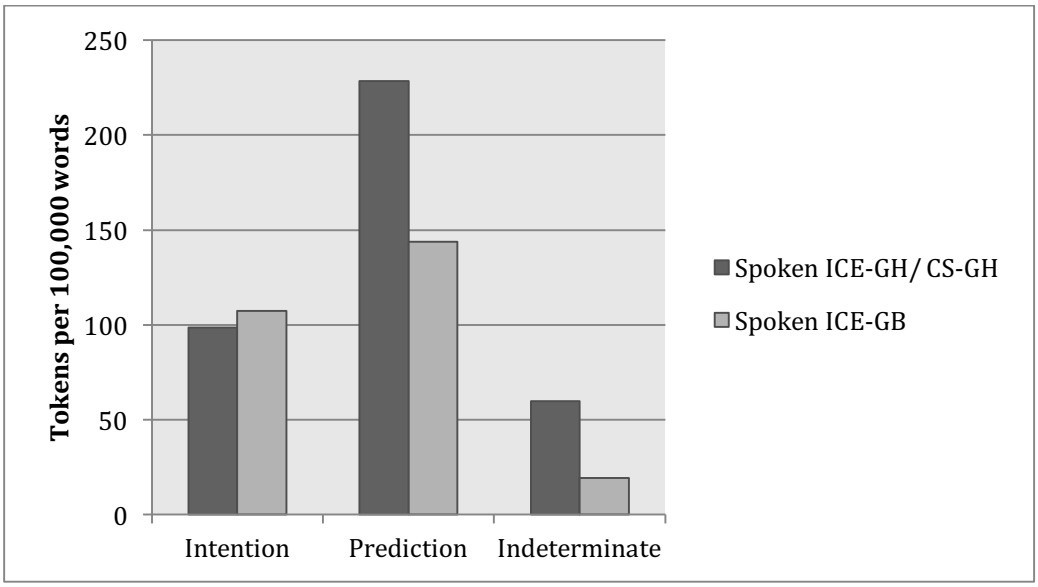
other future-relating meanings of the modal are set, as it is difficult to decide whether an example refers to the speaker's intention to do something or to the prediction that something will be happening. Cases which are ambiguous between the meanings of ‘intention’ and ‘prediction’, as in the next example, present a challenge for corpus linguistics because it is not clear whether the speaker refers to the subject's promise to tell more or whether she makes a prediction about what is happening in the future. Examples as these should best be classified as ‘indeterminate’.

(5) Now she **will** tell you more (ICE-GH S1A-011)

In order to make the classification more transparent it was decided to assign meaning categories to the examples according to explicit syntactic and semantic factors: 1st person subject uses in declarative sentences with agentive verbs as well as 2nd person subject uses in interrogative sentences with agentive verbs were classified as instances of 'intention'. 3rd person uses with agentive verbs were generally classified as 'indeterminate'. 2nd person uses in declarative sentences with agentive verbs were analyzed as cases of 'prediction'. All uses with non-agentive verbs were also classified as cases of 'prediction'.

Figure 5.4 gives an overview of the normalized frequencies of WILL with future time reference in the two spoken corpora. Included are all instances of WILL 1st person 'intention' and 'prediction' and all 'indeterminate' cases.

Figure 5.4: WILL With Future Time Reference in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies



Cases of prediction and indeterminate cases are much more frequent in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. The higher tokens for 'prediction' and 'indeterminate' meaning also figure in lower frequencies of the future marker BE GOING TO and the futurate Progressive in GhE, as will be seen in Chapter 6. Furthermore, speakers of BrE generally prefer a more tentative way of referring to future situations and use the modal WOULD more often (see section 5.4).

The vast majority of uses of WILL in the corpora refer to situations in the future, i.e. 'intention', 'prediction' and 'indeterminate' cases. There is, however, a great difference between the two varieties in different text categories: In the newspaper texts (W2C and W2E), ICE-GB contains more than twice as many tokens of future WILL per 100,000 words than ICE-GH, which seems to be one of the reasons for the higher overall number of WILL in ICE-GB in these genres. However, as these genres are both categories with fewer words in the ICE-components, it may also be likely that the nature of the topics discussed in these texts are responsible for the differences in numbers. Especially interesting are the spoken private conversations and the student exams and essays (W1A), both categories which are not public. In both of the categories GhE has a considerably higher frequency of future WILL per 100,000 words. However, a look at the percentages of future WILL

out of all tokens of WILL confirms that it is not (only) a more frequent use of the future which is responsible for the higher overall figures but an extensive use of non-future WILL in GhE, especially in private spoken conversations. In ICE-GH/ CS-GH WILL as a future marker accounts for 58% of all uses of the modal, whereas it accounts for 78% in spoken ICE-GB.

Epistemic modality, in contrast to dynamic or root modality, indicates the degree of commitment by the speaker towards a proposition. Epistemic modality has, for example, been defined as "showing the speaker's understanding or knowledge" (Palmer 1986: 51), as "the representation of the speaker's assessment of the likelihood that a proposition (i.e. the content of a clause) is true (or that the situation referred to by a proposition actualizes)" (Declerck 2006: 38-39), or as being "concerned with the speaker's assumption or assessment of possibilities" and, most importantly, as indicating "the speaker's confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth the proposition expressed" (Coates 1983: 18).

Coates (1983) distinguishes two main uses of epistemic WILL. One is labeled 'predictability' and generally refers to present or habitual situations. This use of epistemic WILL contrasts with the epistemic use of WILL which refers to future situations. This use is referred to as 'prediction' by Coates. In the literature the terms 'epistemic', 'prediction' and 'future' have been used quite differently. In some accounts, 'epistemic' refers to any use of WILL which cannot be subsumed under 'volition', thus also including any future use that cannot be interpreted as 'intention' (e.g. Collins 2009). In other accounts the term refers to a modal meaning nuance only (cf. Palmer 1990). Palmer states that "[w]here there is reference to future action, it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to distinguish epistemic WILL from the WILL of futurity" (1990: 57). Coates (1983) considers 'prediction' as the area of meaning which forms a buffer state between root and 'strong epistemic' modality (cf. also Bybee et al. 1993 on a similar but rather diachronic perspective on prediction). She explains that "[w]hile in some cases, WILL ('Prediction') is little more than a marker of future tense [...], in others it may be tinged with uncertainty" (1983: 179). And, as Huddleston & Pullum observe, "our knowledge about the future is inevitably much more limited

than our knowledge about the past and the present, and what we say about the future will typically be perceived as having the character of a prediction rather than an unqualified factual assertion“ (2002: 190). While most authors use different labels for referring to the uses of WILL, most of them agree that with reference to the future WILL can show various degrees of epistemic meaning, ranging from stronger to weaker nuances. In the following I will use the term 'prediction' to refer to future uses of WILL, excluding, of course, those uses which have been labeled classified as cases of 'intention' above.

The two following examples show the low degree of epistemic modality of prediction WILL. In (6) the speaker simply predicts a future situation with only a minimal element of speaker assessment. In (7) the statement indicates a low degree of certainty. However, it is rather the use of the modal adverb *hopefully* than WILL itself which carries the meaning of low certainty in (7). In (8) the epistemic meaning expressed is much stronger than in the other two examples.

(6) Besides the continuation with the Golden Tulip Avegoor, Alfred de Bruijn **will** also spend time in product innovation initiatives in other hotels of our chain. (ICE-GH W2C-004)

(7) And I’m wondering how we will handle the whole thing because a lot has happened already and we are not really abreast with what is going on so but **hopefully** we **will** be able to make ends meet and do something. (ICE-GH S1A-004)

(8) That's goat jollof. Try that one and see. You **will** like it <laugh> I tell you (ICE-GH S1A-010)

According to Coates (1983: 177-179) predictability uses of WILL can be paraphrased as 'I confidently predict that ...'. In example (9) the second use of WILL refers to the speaker's claim about the present and will be called 'present predictability'.

(9) Most of the people that will come **will** be females (ICE-GH S1A-007)

While uses such as in (9) do occur in the GhE data, they are far more common in ICE-GB, especially in negated contexts (10).

(10) Probably you **won't** want to go down and look at that today but at least you 'll <,> know <unclear-syllable> what the structure is (ICE-GB S1A-035)

In contrast to (9) and (10), example (11) is a statement about a general truth. However, as Coates (1983: 178) explains, general truths are usually arrived at after a series of similar events and thus factive in the strict sense. We will refer to examples like (11) as instances of 'factive predictability' in contrast to 'non-factive predictability'.

(11) Probiotic bacteria are organisms whose consumption in certain quantities **will** result in beneficial health effects. (ICE-GH W1A-017)

While examples like (9) and (10) involve subjective modality and are epistemically strong, examples like those in (11) are rather purely objective as they rely on scientific experience rather than on the speaker's personal understanding or knowledge. They generally carry a rather low degree of modality. Aarts (2011: 283) refers to these uses as cases of 'scientific prediction'.

Especially in scientific texts such as student essays/exams (W1A) as well as academic (W2A) and non-academic scientific prose (W2B), epistemic (predictability) WILL makes around 40% of all uses of WILL in both corpora. Especially examples of 'scientific prediction' like (11) are, of course, much more typical of genres like these as of spoken private conversations or novels (W2F). With regard to the written categories it appears that for those genres,

in which ICE-GH shows considerably more overall tokens of WILL (W1A, W2A, W2B), the normalized frequencies for epistemic WILL are also much higher (see Appendix B). The use of WILL indicating factive predictability is generally higher in those scientific genres in GhE than in BrE. However, this difference is most drastic in the student exam/essay category. Given the large variability of topics dealt with in texts like this, the higher use of habitual predictability WILL might be due to the inclusion of many essays and exams from the natural and social sciences and less from literary ones.

Except for the scientific genres, generally we find much higher numbers of WILL for indicating present (or non-factive) predictability in ICE-GB data as compared to those in CS-GH and ICE-GH, which suggests a generally more frequent use of epistemic WILL as of the subjective type in BrE. However, as was already pointed out in section 5.1 purely semantic differences between English and the most important Ghanaian substrate languages cannot be the reason for a comparatively low use of WILL for present predictability in GhE.

WILL for marking factive predictability is epistemically very strong and can, at the same time, be highly subjective with respect to the speaker‘s certainty about the proposition of the clause (cf. Facchinetti 2009). In this use it is close to the extreme occupied by epistemic *must,* for which the factual status of the proposition is judged highly certain by the speaker (Salkie 2009: 87). According to Aijmer (2002), the degree of certainty with which arguments are expressed depends on cultural norms. And, as Biewer puts it, “the appropriateness of the strength of a statement of probability or advice/permission is determined by the value system of the individual society“ (2011: 8). In his small-scale corpus-study on modality in written GhE Ngula (2009) does not mention any instances of epistemic predictability WILL from his data. Other means of expressing epistemic modality, for example, by modal adverbs or hedges, or by other modals has not been investigated in the present study. However, as the results in Biewer (2011) suggest, the use of epistemic *should* and *must* in (written) GhE is fairly low. Similar observations have been made for written Cameroon English (Nkemleke 2005). In addition, Nkemleke (2012) has found that epistemic

WILL for predictability is less frequent in written Cameroon English than in BrE, but that subjective, epistemic *may* is more frequent in Cameroon English than in BrE, which could be an indicator for a different degree of certainty typically expressed by speakers. Similar tendencies might be present in GhE. On the other hand, Owusu-Ansah (1994: 346) reports on a significantly higher use of so-called epistemic "lexical modals" such as *I think, I know* and *I am sure* in Ghanaian personal letters than in American personal letters, which points to the use of devices other than modal verbs for expressing epistemic modality in GhE. Propositions might thus be uttered with less certainty in GhE or not be modalized at all, which will have to be analyzed in subsequent studies. WILL as a marker of factive predictability (or: 'scientific prediction'), on the other hand, may rather represent a learned stylistic feature of especially academic and scientific writing and is thus well represented in the scientific texts of ICE-GH.

In contrast to cases of 'factive predictability' as outlined above, a number of uses of WILL, which are also associated with habitual situations and which are much more prominent in spoken language, are those that describe repeated or typical situations of (typically) agentive subjects. Palmer (1990: 133-137) has labeled these uses 'ability/power' and 'habit' and suggests that these can be regarded as extensions of the volitional ('willingness') meaning of WILL.[42] In the first case it is volition applied to inanimate objects, "to indicate how such objects will characteristically behave" (1990: 136). Bertinetto & Lenci (2012: 860) refer to such meanings as "potentials". Like habituals they have a characterizing function as they attribute a defining property to the intended referent(s). An example of WILL with the meaning of 'ability' (or: 'power') is given in (12).

[42] Some scholars have subsumed both 'ability' and 'habit' under one single heading; consider, for example, Huddleston & Pullum's (2002) category of 'preponderance' or Aarts' (2011) category of 'predisposition' ('that's what they are like' or 'that is its nature').

(12) The term platform is often used when referring to what kind of computer systems a certain software program **will** run on. (ICE-GH W2A-032)

Habits, on the other hand, are typically concerned with the habitual or typical activity or behaviour of an animate subject. Examples of personal habits are given in (13) to (16).

(13) When he becomes frustrated he **will** just mark all the rest of the papers down and then. (ICE-GH S1A-028)

(14) I don't like buying from the market especially my food. Maybe once a while I **will** buy kenkey yeah. (ICE-GH S1A-010)

(15) Sometimes I do have free days but it's like you see, some of these lecturers they **will** come and if they realise you have free day the next day they **will** fix a lecture there like they are making your this always tight but we are managing uhm (ICE-GH S1A-039)

(16) I like partying even when there is an assignment to be submitted <three unclear words> morning tonight I'**ll** go to the party and come and submit my <two unclear words> {laughs} (ICE-GH S1A-X12)

Although English only uses modal and semi-modal auxiliaries for overtly referring to habitual situations, the meaning 'habituality' as such is rather aspectual than modal (see description in Ch. 4; cf. Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, Bybee et al. 1994, Declerck 2006). According to Bybee et al. (1994: 156-157) the modal and aspectual senses of *will* (and *would*) have been unrelated from very early on in the development of the form, and the use of the modal in an habitual sense date from the earliest documented stages from Old English (cf. also Gotti et al. 2002). They note that the grammatical meaning of habitual is not too far from the earlier lexical meaning of the verb, and suggest that volition is tightly linked to disposal or inclination (Bybee et al. 1994: 157).

Palmer (1990) also classifies uses of WILL with reference to ‘habits‘ and as closely related to ‘willingness‘ or ‘volition‘, and thus as dynamic.

However, the distinction between dynamic habituality and epistemic (habitual) predictability as was discussed above is not made by all authors describing the meanings and functions of the English modal WILL. Coates (1983), for example, also subsumes habits under predictability, i.e. epistemic uses of the modal. Gotti et al. (2002), in their account on the historical development of the central modals in English subsume cases of habitual predictabilities (‘scientific predictions‘) under ‘habits‘ and suggest that this meaning most probably developed from the ‘prediction‘, i.e. future meaning of WILL. Ziegeler (2006), on the other hand, argues that the 'probability' meaning derived from 'proclivity', and 'proclivity' initially derived from 'volition', hence the overlap between epistemic meanings of acting willfully as is the case in certain examples of personal habits.

Irrespective of the historical development of the individual meanings of WILL, it is important to note that there are indeed a large number of mergers between epistemic (habitual) predictability and dynamic habituality. Consider the following example, in which the speaker describes a situation as a typical behavior of a certain group of people while at the same time assuming that the situation is predictable on the basis of previous experience. Thus personal or group habits can often be interpreted as predictable situations and thus epistemic.

(17) It's it's now when you go to the muslim they **will** tell you they are on the right path to heaven (CS-GH S1A-051)

Keeping mergers like these in mind, I categorized all instances as dynamic habits/abilities, in which the subject can be interpreted as acting willfully, i.e. agentive, at least in a metaphorical sense (as in (12) above).

The use of WILL to express ‘habit/ability‘ is drastically higher in spoken GhE than in spoken BrE. Both the normalized frequencies of this use of WILL (75 tokens per 100,000 words (pmw) in ICE-GH/ CS-GH as compared

to 11,11 tokens pmw in spoken ICE-GB) as well as the percentages of its use out of the total number of WILL (11,79% in ICE-GH/ CS-GH as compared to 3,21% in spoken ICE-GB) show a clear tendency towards a more extensive use of WILL to refer to habits in spoken GhE than in spoken BrE. In the case of GhE this might explain the higher overall number of WILL in ICE-GH/ CS-GH in the spoken text category.

To some extent the higher frequency of habitual WILL in CS-GH certainly lies in differences in the topics of the spoken conversations in the corpora. In fact, many of the private conversations collected in Ghana contain parts in which the interviewer asks the conversation partner to describe a typical situation or a traditional Ghanaian event. As I will discuss in section 5.5, habitual WILL in GhE seems to develop a specific type of function to describe sequences of successive events. This type of function of WILL is not restricted to present habits but can similarly be found with reference to past habits.

Other uses of WILL have been distinctly described for New English varieties and essentially concern those cases in which WILL assumes meanings generally covered by the modal WOULD. The issue has most recently been discussed in some detail in the study by Deuber et al. (2012), who show that for a number of New English varieties the boundaries between the two modals *will* and *would* are blurred in contrast to the ENL varieties, such as BrE or AmE, where the two modals have distinct functions. A conflation of the two modals in written GhE has been reported by Owusu-Ansah (1994) and Ngula (2009 and 2012). While historically *would* is the past tense form of *will*, it exhibits, next to its (restricted) uses in the corresponding past forms of the meanings of WILL (such as past habit/ability, past willingness, future in the past, past predictability), a range of uses that can be subsumed under the general label of 'hypotheticality' or 'unreality', including pragmatically specialized uses for reasons of tentativeness or politeness. Just like WILL, hypothetical WOULD can either be epistemic or dynamic, while the former outnumber the latter by far (cf. Coates 1983). The following examples illustrate the use of WOULD indicating 'hypotheticality' (18) and the related meaning of 'tentativeness' (19).

(18) If I were to be paid uhm let 's say uh two hundred cedis a month I think that I **would** spend like one-fifty on transportation (CS-GH X11)

(19) Well it'll be you deciding when the meeting starts but I '**d** highly recommend that it starts at about ooh ten past one (ICE-GB S1A-068)

The use of WILL as a marker of hypotheticality is (almost) exclusively found in the Ghanaian data. The following examples illustrate this. In (20) we find WILL in the apodosis of an *if*-clause with a past tense form in the protasis. Here WILL expresses hypotheticality with epistemic meaning. (21) shows the use of WILL in an environment in which WOULD would normally be used as a softener, to indicate tentativeness. In this function its meaning is dynamic.

(20) They were wondering why nobody was eating it and they were like ei if this was Ghana I'm sure this thing **will** be finished by now. (ICE-GH S1A-046)

(21) Oh sure for today I **will** say there was nothing like waste you get it there was nothing like waste. (ICE-GH S1A-026)

In some cases, however, it is not clear whether WILL is used in a hypothetical context or whether it is WOULD that is used in a non-hypothetical context

(22) Either they **would** obstain from voting <1> °[or %] or they'**ll** vote for Obama (ICE-GH S1A-004)

In addition, we find non-hypothetical, past uses of WILL in the ICE-GH/ CS-GH, as shown in example (23).

(23) They so at a point in time they were talking and during the talking they **will** just switch into singing and... (ICE-GH S1A-037)

In this example WILL is used to mark a simple event. Similarly to hypothetical WILL, past uses of WILL indicate the fuzzy boundaries between the base form *will* and the corresponding preterite form *would* in GhE. However, as I will argue in section 5.5, the use of WILL for past context cannot simply be interpreted as a substitution of WOULD by WILL in all cases. Certain usage types are peculiar for WILL as, for example, a specific type of habitual usage.

While past and hypothetical uses of WILL are nearly absent in ICE-GB, especially hypothetical uses are extremely frequent in the data from GhE. This is especially evident in the non-public categories such as spoken private conversations and student writing (W1A) but also, if to a lesser extent, in press editorials (W2E). As we will see in the next section, the use of hypothetical WILL mainly occurs in the apodoses of unreal conditional constructions in which backshifting has not been (fully) applied as well as in some more idiomatic expressions followed by speech act verbs (communication verbs such as *say* or *suggest*) for expressing tentativeness or politeness. Past uses of WILL are nearly absent in ICE-GB. The only case is one token of WILL denoting 'future in the past' in reported speech. In the GhE data past uses of WILL are more frequent but only significantly more frequent in the spoken conversations with a total number of 83 tokens. The largest amount of past uses of WILL are past habitual uses and constitute about 80% of past WILL. Interestingly, only 14 out of the past uses of WILL are 'future in the past' readings in reported speech (in which the backshifting rule obviously has not been applied). This is important because it suggests that the high usage of past WILL is not merely due to the absence of the backshifting rule as might have been expected considering descriptions of the conflation of WILL and WOULD in GhE and other New English varieties.

As has been shown in this section, the high percentages of hypothetical as well as past and non-past habitual uses of WILL account at least partially for the much higher overall frequency of WILL in some of the

text categories (especially the non-public ones), which has already been observed at the beginning of the section when looking at the total numbers of WILL in the text categories in Figure 5.1. In the following sections I will zoom in into those two areas in which GhE diverges most from BrE, which are the variation of WILL and WOULD in hypothetical contexts and the use of WILL as a habitual marker. I will focus on the spoken corpora only.

5.4 WILL/WOULD Variation in Hypothetical Contexts

Historically, *would* is the preterite form of *will*. Accordingly, some of the functions of WOULD are the expressions of the corresponding past meanings of WILL. As the present data suggest, these past functions include the expression of 'future in the past', epistemic meanings ('past predictability' and 'past habitual predictability'), as well as dynamic meanings ('past ability', 'past willingness/refusal' and 'past habit').

The more frequent function of WOULD is, however, the expression of hypotheticality. According to Coates (1983), hypotheticality is most typically found in the apodoses of unreal conditional constructions. The protasis of the conditional construction may be overtly expressed, as in (24), or remain unexpressed, as in (25).

(24) If I also had a relation around I **wouldn't** come here.
(ICE-GH S1A-018)

(25) Well that **would** be very nice for anybody with an E.
(ICE-GB S1A-010)

It can, however, also occur in the clausal complement of verbs such as *wish.*

(26) I wish you '**d** stop looking at it and <laugh> leave it alone. (ICE-GB S1A-008)

(27) I wish sometimes the ghost **would** come back and tell you what they experience when they die. (ICE-GH S1A-007)

Another use of hypothetical WOULD is its use as a marker of tentativeness. Most typically we find this use in fixed expressions such as *'d like to, 'd love to* or *'d rather.*

(28) I'**d** like to do it at that kind of speed for the moment. (ICE-GB S1A-026)

(29) Well there are ten flats. I'**d** love to see some of the forms they get in. I bet there's a lo load of old rubbish put on these forms, don't you? (ICE-GB S1A-007)

(30) I'**d** much rather buy from them than I **would** from bloody Benham and bloody boring Reid. (ICE-GB S1A-023)

Tentative WOULD is also used before speech act verbs such as *say* or *suggest*. WOULD here serves to weaken the strength of the speech act.

(31) At the front here I**'d** say that I can feel uhm it's this tooth here. (ICE-GB S1A-087)

(32) I **would** suggest uh maybe six hundred Ghana cedis would be okay to motivate them to teach. (CS-GH X14)

It may also be used in offers or requests, in which case it sounds more polite than constructions with WILL.

(33) **Would** you like a piece of that? (ICE-GB S1A-012)

(34) Perhaps you'**d** pass me the uhm the large mirror? (ICE-GB S1A-089)

While there is general uncertainty in the literature about the relationship between 'hypotheticality' or 'unreality' and the past tense use of main verbs and modals (cf. Palmer 1990, but see the discussions in Bybee 1995 and Larreya 2003), the general pathway from past tensed forms to hypotheticality is not rare among the languages of the world (cf. Bybee et al. 1994).

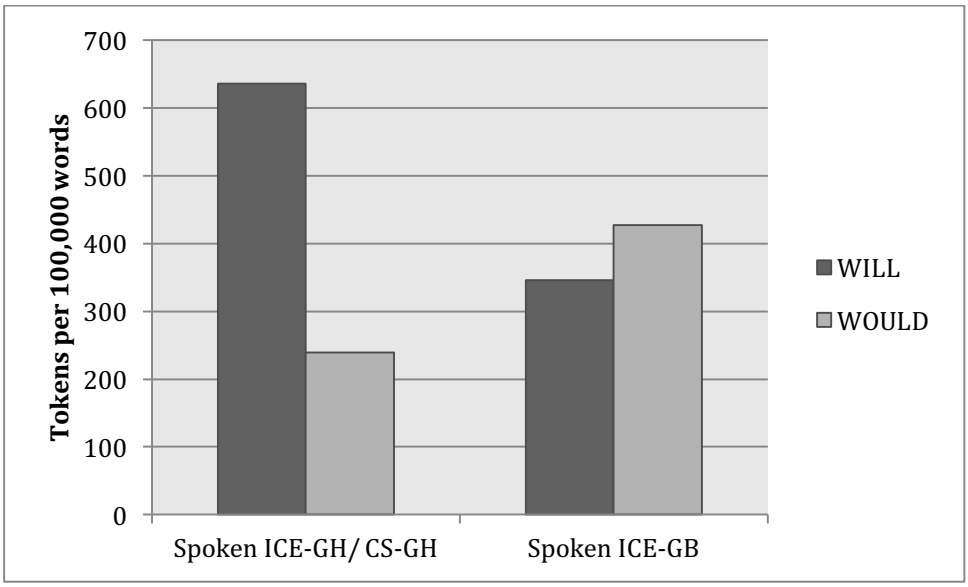
The present data from GhE suggests that there is (a) a much lower overall use of forms of WOULD, especially to indicate tentativess/politeness, and (b) the occasional substitution of WOULD by WILL to express core hypotheticality and to some extent also in cases in which WOULD functions as a softener, i.e. as a polite or tentative form. However, as will be shown, while examples (24)-(34) showed that there are typical syntactic and pragmatic environments in which hypothetical WOULD is used, the corpus data also point to the difficulty of drawing a clear line between hypotheticality and predictability/ prediction, on the one hand, and hypotheticality and tentativeness, on the other hand.

As already noted in the previous section, the substitution of WOULD by WILL is most pronounced in the spoken data. In the following discussion we will thus restrict ourselves to the spoken components of the corpora. Figure 5.5 below presents the normalized frequencies of all forms of WILL and WOULD in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and spoken ICE-GB.

As the figure shows, the use of WILL is much higher than WOULD only in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. In spoken ICE-GB, WILL and WOULD are almost equally represented, with WOULD being even more frequent than WILL. The great difference between the two corpora in the numbers of uses of the two modals calls for a detailed investigation of those areas in which the meanings expressed by them overlap.[43]

[43]For a similar observation in the comparison of BrE and Cameroon English in the use of WILL vs WOULD see Nkemleke (2012).

Figure 5.5: WILL and WOULD in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies



In the remainder of the present section we will discuss the hypothetical and related functions (i.e. tentativeness/politeness) of WOULD taken over by WILL in GhE. The following examples illustrate the various uses of WILL from spoken GhE.

(35) HYPOTHETICAL WITH OVERT PROTASIS:
So if they were human beings they **will** be Kofi. (ICE-GH S1A-051)

(36) HYPOTHETICAL WITHOUT OVERT PROTASIS:
I'm serious, I wish you were in my shoes, you **will** understand. (ICE-GH S1A-022)

(37) TENTATIVENESS IN EXPRESSING DESIRE:
Maybe they **will** like to sponsor your campaign. (ICE-GH S1A-019)

(38) TENTATIVENESS PRECEDING SPEECH ACT VERBS:
I don‘t know whether she was a fat <unclear words> she was living well I‘**ll** say yes I don‘t know she didn‘t take care of herself. (CS-GH X01)

While the use of WILL in examples (35) and (36) sounds ungrammatical, its use in (37) and (38) simply sounds rather odd.

In unreal conditional constructions the protasis usually contains a past tense form, whereas the apodosis contains the past tense form of a modal, most typically WOULD. Especially in spoken GhE this type of ‘backshifting‘ is sometimes incomplete, which means that a past tense form expressing ‘unreality‘ is often not followed by hypothetical WOULD but by WILL instead. Table 5.1 gives an overview of the use of WILL and WOULD in the apodoses of conditional sentences with different verb forms in the protases.

Table 5.1 WILL and WOULD in the Apodoses of Conditional Constructions in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB[44]

	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH **WILL**	Spoken ICE-GB **WILL**	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH **WOULD**	Spoken ICE-GB **WOULD**
Protasis: present tense	280 (35)	244.4 (44)	104 (13)	94.4 (17)
Protasis: past tense	56 (7)	5.5 (1)	168 (21)	344.4 (62)
Protasis: past perfect	0	0	24 (3)	16.6 (3)
Unclear	32 (4)	0	0	5.5 (1)

First of all, the table shows that there are far more conditional constructions with a past tense form in the protasis in ICE-GB than in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. Conditional constructions with a present tense protasis are similarly frequent in both corpora. The grey-shaded areas in the table mark those uses of the modals in which the 'backshifting' rule is not completely applied in the conditional constructions. First of all, all examples were checked for whether they expressed 'open' or 'closed' conditions (cf. Declerck 2006 on 'open' and 'closed' conditions, or Huddleston & Pullum 2002 on 'open' and 'remote' conditions). The only example of WILL in the apodosis of a conditional clause with a past tense verb in the protasis in ICE-GB is a 'closed' conditional. A closer look at the uses of WILL in apodosis with a past tense verb in the protasis in ICE-GH/ CS-GH shows that there are nine cases in which WILL substitutes WOULD but contains the meaning of hypotheticality. The following examples illustrate this. In (39) WILL expresses hypothetical prediction, whereas in (40) it expresses hypothetical intention.

[44] Numbers given refer to tokens per 1,000,000 words. Numbers in parenthesis refer to absolute tokens.

(39) <$B> no so they if we we **were sticking** strictly to the <laugh> <$A> to the rule <$B> in-out-out-in-policy <$A> yeah <$B> after level hundred go out <$C> yes <$B> we'**ll** still have a thousand legitimate students who are entitled to accommodation in this hall. (ICE-GH S1A-031)

(40) Liverpool okay uhum I think so °[if] if they said there were no# teams in the world and you were to pick from England you **will** pick what (CS-GH X15

The data reveals that, considering examples both with and without overt protasis, only in 34 instances WILL clearly has a hypothetical (i.e. unreal) meaning in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, whereas in 20 other instances it is not clear whether the meaning is hypothetical or non-hypothetical. In (41) WILL refers to hypothetical predictability. In (42) it is not clear whether WILL refers to real habituality or to hypothetical predictability. Examples of the latter type are frequent among the unclear cases in the ICE-GH/ CS-GH.

(41) I'm serious. I wish you were in my shoes you **will** understand. (ICE-GH S1A-022)

(42) Or even an ordinary Ghanaian **will** save or go and sell property worth millions of cedis just to go travel abroad and go and do some menial jobs I mean to the benefit of of of those people (ICE-GH S1A-019)

In the table the grey-shaded cells pointing to the use of WOULD with a present tense verb in the protasis in both spoken BrE and GhE are not all uses of WOULD for WILL. Rather, WOULD is used to express tentativeness or politeness. In ICE-GB eight out of the 17 uses of WOULD with a present tense verb in the protasis rather express some kind of tentativeness, but the condition as such is not unreal. The following examples illustrate this.

(43) It's like on the <,> films It just doesn't make much sense to me at all <,> that if illiteracy is down you**'d** think that more people would use <unclear-word> <,> and yet they don't... (ICE-GB S1A-084)

(44) If one 's gone through those those uh procedures then it **wouldn't take** very long I think to uh clean up the rest (ICE-GB S1A-021)

In two of the cases of WOULD with a present tense protasis in ICE-GB we deal with a closed conditional, so the use of WOULD is hypothetical but the outcome not dependent on the condition. Only in a few cases it is not clear whether WOULD expresses hypotheticality or future.

In the Ghanaian data two of the 13 examples of WOULD with a present tense protasis present closed conditions. The other cases are generally difficult to interpret in terms of real-unreal distinctions. In example (45), WOULD might express hypotheticality but could similarly be a more tentative way of expressing predictability. It could, however, also be the use of the present tense in the protasis indicating an unreal condition which makes the construction sound unusual.

(45) If you know the quality of <unclear word> you **wouldn't** watch African or Ghanaian movies. (ICE-GH S1A-004)

With regard to the use of WILL and WOULD as markers of tentativeness, it can be noted that there is a much higher use of the modals preceding speech act verbs in ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in ICE-GB. Constructions like *I'd say* or *I would suggest* are more frequent in the GhE data but also constructions like *I will say* or *I'll suggest* are quite common.[45] It is, however, important to note that the use of these expressions is restricted to a handful of speakers, who

[45] Nkemleke (2005) notes that in (written) Cameroon English must is also often used in these contexts, which he refers to as 'intentional must'. Personal impressions from spoken GhE suggest a similar tendency, which, however, remains to be tested.

use it extensively. It appears to be a fossilized L2 feature that persists for speakers who are not frequently exposed to native English. Uses of WILL in fixed expressions as *I'd like to* or *I'd rather* are generally rare. However, a search in the *Corpus of Global Web-based English* (GloWbE)[46] for the string *I will like to* reveals that this is a common West-African feature with Nigerian English displaying 322 tokens and GhE displaying 201 tokens, while all other varieties, both native and New English, show figures below 60.

Most of the time expressions with *rather* are either expressed with a form of WOULD or without any modal.[47] On the other hand, speakers of GhE do not seem to make such an extensive use of constructions of WOULD with cognition verbs like *I would think* or *I would imagine,* which are quite frequent in the GB data, nor is WOULD in these constructions commonly replaced by WILL. It seems that in this case we are dealing with a feature that is quite common in BrE spoken discourse but which is either often unexpressed in GhE or not preceded by a modal.

Offers and requests formed with WILL and WOULD are generally not as frequently represented in the GH data than in the GB data. For both varieties WILL is, however, the more frequently used variant.[48] While it could well be that the nature of the data is responsible for such differences in the results of the present analysis, it should also be noted that pragmatically specialized or idiomatic uses of WOULD for politeness reasons are not as established in GhE in general. Examples like (31) and (32) above are rare in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, but see also the comparatively high number of 1st person singular uses with WOULD in spoken ICE-GB, which most likely reflects higher uses of WOULD as in *I'd say* or *I'd recommend* (see Appendix B). As the study on polite requests in Ghanaian English by Anderson (2009) shows, speakers of English in Ghana do not frequently use modals when they make

[46] http://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe/

[47] A search in GloWbE for the string I will rather shows that while its use in GhE is moderate (22 tokens), its most frequent occurrence is in Nigerian English (87 tokens). Zambian English also displays 21 tokens while all other varieties are far below that.

[48] Compare a similar tendency for CAN/COULD observed by Ngula (2009) in his study on modality in written GhE.

polite requests but rather use 'want statements' and imperative forms together with lexical politeness markers such as *please* and *kindly.* According to Huber & Dako (2008: 370-371) directives are expressed more openly in Ghana than in Western societies. It is thus not rare that one would hear expressions like *I want to borrow your book, please* in Ghana instead of an expression like *Would it be possible to borrow your book* or *I would like to borrow your book.* While the former expression might rather sound like a command to the ears of a visitor to Ghana, we are actually faced with differences in politeness strategies, as in Ghana a sentence beginning with *Please, ...* is already perceived as a polite form (cf. Anderson 2009).[49] As Owusu-Ansah (1994: 346) notes, in Kwa languages phrases such as *me pa wok yew* (Akan), *meda kuku* (Ewe) and *ofai ne* (Ga), which translate as 'I beg you' in English, are normally used to make a request or an order sound more polite. The phrase *I beg you* as a polite deontic expression might be another strategy of GhE to express what is usually done with the past tense modals in native varieties of English.

The use of hypothetical *will* has received some attention in the literature on New Englishes throughout the past decades. For GhE already Sey (1973) notes the frequent substitution of *would* by *will,* a tendency which is later confirmed by corpus-based studies on written GhE by Owusu-Ansah (1994) and Ngula (2009 and 2012). Sey writes that the modal functions of past tense verbs are an area of grammar which is taught rather late in schools. He explains that for the language learner the meaning of hypotheticality in a past tense verb may come as a surprise, especially if they refer to present time or the (immediate) future (1973: 35-36). Accordingly, idiomatic expressions involving past tense forms are avoided and substituted by either WILL or not at all.

While less clear-cut boundaries between present and past tense modals (and verbs in general) are a feature noted for many New English varieties (cf. Deuber et al. 2012, Sand 2005), the present results provided by

[49] As Anderson (2009) notes, in Akan, the most widely spoken language in Ghana, the imperative form is not considered rude provided that it occurs with the Akan word for 'please'.

spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH give support to the earlier mentioned observation that the frequent substitution of WOULD by WILL is typical (West-) African Englishes, as has been mentioned in previous research. In language acquisition, present tense forms of modals are acquired earlier than the corresponding past forms, i.e. *will* and *can* are acquired considerably earlier than *would* and *could* (Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig 2000: 62). Very often the hypothetical meaning of past tense modals is taught specifically for *if*-clause environments. As pointed out above, for the learner the past forms of the modals may come as a surprise as past forms of verbs are not typically associated with 'unreality'. In addition, unreal conditions may not be expressed overtly with the *if*-conditional and thus make it difficult for the learner to recognize the environment for employing *would* (cf. Lock 1996). In relation to different TMA systems in substrate languages, this might be an important factor for the widespread occurrence of this feature in New Englishes. However, even if *would* is correctly applied in the appropriate hypothetical environments, it does not mean that it will be applied to the same extent as in native varieties of English. The under-use of past tense forms of modals for reasons of politeness or tentativeness has no effect on the grammaticality of an utterance in the first place but rather makes it sound less polite or simply less native. As Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig point out, "linguistic competence does not guarantee that learners will use all their available linguistic resources in the service of pragmatics", but at the same time they say that "pragmatic competence is affected by linguistic competence" (2000: 148). According to Odlin (1994: 51-52) politeness strategies differ in different cultures, and learners tend to apply the politeness strategies used in their mother tongue to the language they are learning. As Anderson (2009) notes, politeness conventions in GhE such as the use of specific lexical politeness markers have their source in the conventions of requesting in Ghanaian languages. Importantly, these 'local' strategies are primarily found in spoken English, whereas in written English the use of modal forms in generally higher. Furthermore, Anderson (2009) observes that variables like the age of the requester, the right of the requester to make the request, the degree of difficulty involved in making the request

and the degree of obligation placed on the requestee to comply with the request are important factors that have an influence on the choice of the politeness strategy in Ghana. These observations point to the dominance of local politeness conventions in the choice of linguistic forms, especially in the spoken language. With regard to the results obtained from the present study, apart from the frequent substitution of WOULD by WILL to express hypotheticality and tentativeness, the scarcity of polite WOULD might be another reason for its low overall number of tokens in spoken GhE.

A related phenomenon that has repeatedly been noted in connection with WILL/WOULD and discussed in much more detail is the substitution of WILL by WOULD in a number of New Englishes (cf. Huber & Dako 2008 and Ngula 2009 and 2012 for Ghanaian English, Deuber et al. 2012 and Sand 2005 for a comparison of varieties, Nkemleke 2012 for Cameroon English, Bautista 2004 for Philippines English, Deuber 2010 for Trinidadian English, cf. also eWAVE on feature #119, Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). According to Huber & Dako (2008: 370) WOULD in GhE commonly expresses 'definite future'. This feature, which has been reported for several New English varieties across the Anglophone world, has been labelled 'extended *would*' by Collins for the uses of non-past and non-hypothetical WOULD (mentioned by Deuber et al. 2012). He suggests that "[t]he development of extended *would* in the New Englishes is most likely motivated by the desire that speakers have to exploit the capacity of this form to convey a high level of polite and tactful unassuredness" (cited in Deuber et al. 2012: 79, cf. also Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 135 and Lock 1996 on this feature). Sey (1973: 36), on the other hand, suggests that in GhE the substitution of WILL by WOULD is a kind of hyper-correctness against the opposite tendency discussed above.

A look at the uses of WOULD in spoken BrE and GhE reveals a number of tokens in which WOULD could be assigned the meaning 'future'. However, it appeared that in each instance it is extremely difficult to decide whether WOULD really has the meaning of mere 'future' or whether there is some degree of uncertainty or tentativeness involved in its use. While in a large amount of examples it generally seemed possible to substitute WOULD by WILL, in spite of the difficulties in analysis it was possible to identify uses of

WOULD in which the meaning of 'predictability'/'prediction' or 'intention' seemed to be prevalent. Nevertheless, in many of the examples found some element of uncertainty or tentativeness could be involved, especially when the narrow context allows for both interpretations. Especially in ICE-GB there are numerous examples in which WOULD seems the more appropriate choice as it sounds more tentative. The following example illustrates such a use.

(46) A: Try and bring it in in the morning here B: That **'d** be the best thing won't it uhm (ICE-GB S1A-043)

(47) Well I **wouldn't** contribute to the grammar in the sense that you mention but I **would** contribute to this uhm new to to this idea of a grammar of efficient <,> text (ICE-GB S1A-024)

It is generally difficult to tell whether the choice of WOULD in ICE-GH/ CS-GH is always semantically or pragmatically motivated or not. Some examples could, however, contain some element of uncertainty in the prediction on behalf of the speaker, which is also somehow indicated by the use of *I think*.

(48) No uhm for what to keep I must say I haven't made a decision yet because uhm initially I wanted to keep economics and statistics but looking at the way things are going I think my my choice or my decision my earlier decision **would** change because of maybe some one or two ups and downs department. (CS-GH X10)

In the next example, WOULD is used in a negative purpose clause. While WILL would be completely acceptable in this case, the use of WOULD puts emphasis on the desired avoidance of the consequence.

(49) That is why we have these authorities being put in place they have to come out with good policies to manage things so that there **would** be no pressure. (ICE-GH S1A-031)

As Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008: 64) note, in many New Englishes the use of WOULD as in these examples can be described as a declarative softener. This type of usage is rather infrequent in the analysis of the present work. However, in more formal contexts such uses become more frequent. A good example is the sentence taken from website of the Ghanaian embassy in Germany on visa regulations: *In many cases, an interview would be conducted.* Examples as these show that while certain features unknown in native varieties of English are perceived as highly formal and accordingly frequently used in certain text types of New Englishes.

It can thus be maintained that, while future uses of WOULD occur in both ICE-GH/ CS-GH and in ICE-GB, their use is different from a semantic/pragmatic point of view. However, it seems likely that reasons like the motivation to sound polite or tentative, which is an already highly established function of WOULD in native English, could have triggered the development of future WOULD in New Englishes.

5.5 WILL as a Circumstantial Marker

In section 5.3 much higher frequency of a habitual use of WILL was observed in ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in spoken ICE-GB. In this section I will discuss a specific type of discourse in which habitual WILL in the data frequently occurs. As noted earlier, many of the private conversations collected in Ghana contain parts in which the interviewer asks the conversation partner to describe a typical situation or a traditional Ghanaian event. The following example shows a long passage in which the speaker describes how preparations for a funeral are typically made in his area in Ghana

(50) Okay Ghanaians uhm yes before maybe uh it is announced that Mister A or Mister B has died uh the family meets and then uh# a date is fixed for the funeral normally it‘s either [two] three days that is the uhm wakekeeping the burial and then on the Sunday you go to church and then [when the family] the family **will** meet maybe about three times before [the] the funeral and at every meeting we raise uhm funds to support the funeral yes that‘s what we do. Maybe the family <unclear words> of about maybe five or seven parents <unclear words> an extended family we all meet with friends. Maybe [m*uhm] Mister A **will** say he‘s helping with maybe a million cedis someone **will** come <unclear words> with maybe five hundred uh the money that we get we use that to uh start the funeral and we**‘ll** [the things] the items that will be needed for the funeral canopies chairs drinks food everything. Then someone **will** opt maybe to uhm take charge of maybe the canopies, someone **will** say I‘ll take charge of maybe the uh spinning that is the songs and everything and then the money that was raised those moneys **will** be given to those people. So during the funeral the <unclear word> **will** come and contribute something if you are giving maybe uhm fifty pesewas you have to come and pay uh fifty-thousand that kind of thing they come and contribute. [They don*] They contribute towards the funeral and then uh after the funeral maybe the Friday wakekeeping Saturday the burial Sunday we go to church sometimes immediately after the funeral the nuclear family **will** meet with the eldest they **will** meet and then uh maybe go through the books and then balance the accounts where maybe there is [a] a deficit or maybe uh they

incur some debts. Some people **will** maybe want to <unclear word> some would give freely to <unclear word> all the costs whatever is left is given to the [fa*] uh the children of the deceased to bear the costs. (CS-GH X01)

The structure in which WILL appears in this example is the so-called "circumstantial", which can be described as a type of discourse in which a type of setting is first introduced, and then sequences of events that typically occur within that setting are enumerated (Carlson 2012: 838-839). An interesting characteristic of the circumstantial is that, although habituality is commonly understood as imperfective in nature, the individual events referred to with WILL are interpreted perfectively, and only the whole sequence is to be interpreted as habitual (cf. Carlson 2012: 839). This type of usage is quite common in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. A similar usage with WILL was not found in ICE-GB. Interestingly, in GhE WILL often refers to past habits as is shown in the following example.

(51) Those times I used to do a lot I used to <?>ei</?> we used to have a lot of fun We can been there and then we**'ll** just go out g to Osu just go and hang out we**'ll** eat Frankies ice cream (ICE-GH S1A-041)

In fact, there are 51 tokens of habitual WILL that refer to past contexts. Consider the following passage in which the speaker talks about a typical day on the farm with her parents during her childhood. The passage is introduced in the past tense but the sequence of individual events is presented with the use of WILL.

(52) Oh yah it was great was interesting way back in the village you know as I said already my father and mother were farmers <,,>we **will** go to the farm <,,>a group <,,>go and weed the cocoa farm <,,>or the plantain farm <,,>or or the coco yam farm <,,>come back to the village with full staff <,,>prepare food and down<,> around our father <,>the mens **will** sit down around <,,>our father and the ladies **will** sit around our mother we**'ll** all eat together so it was uh interesting very interesting (CS-GH X08)

Here, it is the setting as well as the speaker's evaluation of the memory that are given in the past tense. The individual events that typically took place on such a day on the farm are represented in the order in which they occurred. As in example (51) above, the individual events are presented perfectively, although the whole string of events represents a habit. Although the sequence of events represent past habits, WILL is used to mark them.

As was noted in section 5.1, an extensive use of habitual WILL has been identified for a number of New English varieties (cf. Deterding 2003, 2007 on Singapore English, Deuber 2010, 2014 on Trinidadian English, Balasubramanian 2009 on Indian English, and Deuber et al. 2012 on various New English varieties, Ziegeler 2013 on Singapore English and Indian English). Explanations for the frequent use of this function of WILL are typically sought in the structures of substrate languages, specifically if they have distinct habitual markers.[50] As was already noted in the previous chapter on the Progressive, the Kwa languages have distinct ways of marking habituality. In Ewe we find a habitual suffix *á* or *na* (Ameka 2008), in Ga a habitual suffix *ɔ* (Kropp-Dakubu 2008). In Akan, instead of using an affix or a particle, habituality is marked via tonal changes in the verb stem (Dolphyne 1988: 172-190, Osam 2004: 15, Boadi 2008: 16-20). The habitual aspect in

[50] According to Ziegeler (2013) the high amount of habitual WILL in the New Englishes is visible evidence of a type of replication of the grammaticalisation route oft he diachronic development of the model, i.e. from generic sources to future-projecting meanings.

the Kwa languages is not temporally restricted but combines with time-markers in the clause to express habituality in present, past and future (cf. the respective chapters in Ameka & Kropp-Dakubu 2008a). A more extensive use of past and non-past habitual WILL in GhE may thus in principle also be reinforced by the distinct habitual marking in the substrate, and this might also be one of the reasons why we do not find the use of WILL as a past habitual marker in all New Englishes. Unfortunately, the literature on these languages gives little information on the types of discourse in which habitual marking is applied. It seems likely though that a specific discourse style triggers the use of WILL in GhE: The detailed description of affairs, presented as a long list of individual situations, most often in chronological order, is a particular characteristic of spoken GhE.[51] It is specifically in this type of discourse that we find this particular use of WILL.

In ICE-GH/ CS-GH we can find whole passages in which the speaker tells a complete story about the typical past activity of a person during a day. Example (53) illustrates a passage in which the speaker retells the story about a man who had lost almost all of his money and was left with 200 Ghana Cedis. With some of his money the man bought himself a number of suits and pretended going to work every day. The example starts with the speaker's narration about this man's typical activity during the day. Note the extensive use of WILL to refer to the individual activities presented here in temporal order, which are repeated on a daily basis.

[51] Upon enquiry, both Felix Ameka and James Essegbey mentioned a similar use of the potential morpheme in Ewe (email conversations between April and May 2015).

(53) Yes the guy **will** just move from there every morning walk straight to where the news vendor is buy a news paper and then [...] He **will** dress up in the morning as if he is working to work [...] Just as life used to be [...] So every morning he **will** dress up pick up one of the used suits and walk straight to where the news vendor is with the little money he has on him to buy some news paper. This guy was still feeding on his two Hundred Ghana. Remember the two new suits cost hundred Ghana and the used ones cost fifty so he had fifty very good [...] So the guy the guy **will** walk every morning from I mean that distance let's say five hundred me metres. [...] Very good so the guy **will** walk that distance every morning to where the news vendor is and then get the stuff he'**ll** Let's say but one news paper just stay there read for a while then later in the day around three thirty four when all workers have closed yes then he **will** return home as if he's also gone to work and is returning home [...] So if today he put on the m Pierre Cardin suit that's the new one, tomorrow he'**ll** put on the used one okay the the following day if Monday he puts on Pierre Cardin Tuesday he'**ll** out on let's say uhm Marks and Spencer used and then uhm Wednesday he'**ll** put on Biomarker hm hmm and then Thursday very good in that order. (ICE-GH S1A-042)

Note the speaker's switch into the past tense in the middle of the passage. In that part the speaker refers back to the background information provided already at the beginning of the conversation. In the main story line, however, the speaker uses the modal WILL to refer the sequence of events. While WILL has been reported to mark past events also in Singapore English and in Fiji English (Deterding 2003, 2007, Deuber et al. 2012), the function of WILL as a circumstantial has not been reported for any other variety so far.

A look at WOULD for past habitual situations and past (single) events in ICE-GH/ CS-GH reveals that, while it is used for both meanings, it is not used in the same way as the modal WILL is in narratives. First of all, it does not occur as consistently as WILL in the main story line in narratives. It is rather used to occasionally mark a past action as habitual. Example (54) is the only passage with a dense occurrence of WOULD.

(54) My father was very strict he was a very strict man a strict uh Presbyterian so I mean he always <unclear words> to go out and come back. He was very particular about our friends the friends we make, anybody who comes to us <unclear word> you **would** be questioned whoever you are or whether you're male of female he **would** question he **would** try to know your parents °[the]° what school you attend the church °[they've been]° they attend before. My father is very strict. (CS-GH X01)

Most uses of past habitual WOULD are cases in which the modal occurs rather isolated. The following example is a passage from CS-GH in which the speaker is talking about the way they played games when they were in school. Uses like this are also found in ICE-GB.

(55) Typical yes Ampe when we were in school you know Ampe it 's nice when you are many yes so when we were in school we enjoyed it and Oware when we did not have the real Oware box we **would** dig holes and put stones inside (CS-GH X11)

A look at uses of WOULD for present habituals shows that there are in fact a number of cases in which WOULD takes over the functions of habitual WILL. These are very few, however, and interestingly, they always alternate with

WILL in the examples from ICE-GH/ CS-GH. The following example illustrates this.

(56) People **would** come to learn but at times too you**'ll** well find let me not like let me not... (ICE-GH S1A-021)

Although there are cases of WOULD taking on non-past meanings, a general confusion or exchange of WILL and WOULD does not seem to be at work here. It is more likely that WILL in GhE assumes a more general function for marking sequences of events, both in the present and in the past.

It is often difficult to determine the function of a particular construction on the basis of isolated examples, as was done in section 5.3. Although most of the uses of WILL analyzed in the passages in the present section refer to (past) habitual situations, the precise function of WILL rather seems to that of a sequential marker, i.e. a marker that presents successive events perfectively. More importantly, however, it was shown that the particular type of usage of WILL owes its prevalence to a particular way of explaining states of affairs and of narrating in GhE. As Y. Kachru observes, it is the cultural context and not the language itself that leads to different discourse patterns (cited in Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 144). Differences in the organizational design of specific discourse styles may eventually be reflected in the use of morphosyntactic devices.

5.6 Summary and Discussion

The present chapter has identified a number of qualitative and quantitative differences in the use of the modal WILL between GhE and BrE in both spoken and written texts. As has been shown in section 5.3 WILL has a great variety of different meanings, which makes it difficult to assign it to only one of the domains of tense, modality or aspect. Even the attempt to assign it a prototypical meaning proves difficult in the case of WILL. In contrast to the other English modals, the original meaning of *will,* i.e. volition, plays only a marginal role, especially in GhE.

The modal WILL shows a considerably higher frequency in the spoken Ghanaian corpora than in the spoken British corpora, both in absolute as well as (compared to other modals and semi-modals of prediction and volition) in relative numbers. A closer look at the meanings and uses of WILL in the various genres showed that most of the differences in the written genres are of a quantitative nature and rather due to differences with respect to topics discussed or different discourse styles than due to functional differences between the varieties as such. The present analysis showed that higher frequencies of WILL in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH are at least partially due to two independent differences in the use of WILL between spoken GhE and BrE. The first one is the use of WILL instead of WOULD, either to refer to hypothetical situations or in those contexts in which WOULD would yield the effect of 'tentativeness' or 'politeness'. The second one is the extensive use of habitual WILL. While WILL is frequently used as a marker of habitual behavior and typical activities in the variety, its specific use in discourse is its most peculiar feature.

A number of quantitative differences with respect to specific uses of the modal could be observed in the analysis. Overall it could be shown that there is a much stronger use of epistemic WILL for the expression of subjective predictability in BrE than in GhE. This is largely in line with the findings of studies on epistemic vs non-epistemic uses of modals in second language varieties of English, but could equally be due to cultural differences with respect to the appropriateness of presenting things as uncertain. Similarly, the use of the modal in questions to make offers or requests is nearly absent from ICE-GH/ CS-GH. Local conventions seem to have won over native English conventions with respect to politeness strategies. Finally, there is a higher normalized frequency for WILL as a future marker in ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in spoken ICE-GB. Reasons for that include the preferred use of WOULD in certain environments to yield a more tentative reading in BrE (cf. section 5.4), as well as a higher number of future markers BE GOING TO and the futurate Progressive in the variety (cf. Chapter 6).

From a typological perspective, the development of the modal WILL is nothing unusual (Dahl 1985, Bybee et al. 1994). The development of a

hypothetical meaning of the past tense forms of modals is attested in many other languages, above all in the European languages. As explained by Bybee (1995), the development of the hypothetical meaning of WOULD is due to the combination of the modal sense and the past sense together, which "leaves open the possibility that certain conditions on the completion of the predicate have not been met" (1995: 514). The same explanation is given for development of the present meanings of WOULD, i.e. the polite and tentative meanings. Yet, a number of differences between GhE and BrE have been noticed. In the GhE data, especially in the spoken private conversations and in the student essays and exams, many of these hypothetical (and tentative) meanings were found to be expressed by the present tense form WILL. As Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983) write, the formal characteristics of English modals are complicated by their semantics, since they have a root and an epistemic meaning and these meanings further interact with the present or past form to indicate degrees of politeness or degrees of certainty (cf. also Bautista 2004: 122). However, differences between language learners as typically studied by second-language-acquisition (SLA) researchers and New English speakers include the following: (a) the target of learning as well as the input for New English speakers does not correspond to native (British or American) English; (b) New Englishes may thus develop characteristics that are purely stylistic in nature but which, once established, serve as the basis for further spread within a community (for a discussion of differences between ESL and EFL cf. Biewer 2011 and Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008). An explanation of features purely based on second language learner tendencies in relation to New Englishes should thus be treated with caution.

In the discussions of some of the differences between BrE and GhE some parallels with some of the substrate languages could be established, above all with respect to the blurred distinctions between WILL and WOULD and with respect to the extensive use of dynamic, habitual WILL in both present and past contexts. First of all, we saw that the realis – irrealis distinction, which is important in some of the Kwa languages, might have a triggering force on the use of WILL in hypothetical contexts and polite/tentative contexts, or at least make its use sound less peculiar (cf. also

similar findings for other West-African varieties such as Nigerian English and Cameroon English). Secondly, the obligatory use of a habitual marker (even if it is merely a tonal change, as in Akan) could encourage speakers to make extensive use of a category for which there is already a marker available in the language. The primacy of aspect over modality and tense in some of the indigenous languages is in some ways also reflected in the local variety of English.

6. VARIATION IN THE FUTURE

After having discussed the various meanings and uses of the modal WILL in the previous chapter, this chapter now looks at variation of future time expressions (FTEs) within the domain of future time reference. Using mixed effects logistic regression I model joint effects of determinants of variation of WILL and BE GOING TO in spoken GhE vis-à-vis spoken BrE.

This chapter is based on my (2016) article "Future time marking in spoken Ghanaian English: The variation of *will* vs. *be going to*", in: Timofeeva, Olga, Anne-Christine Gardner, Alpo Honkapohja and Sarah Chevalier, *New Approaches to English Linguistics. Building Bridges,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 141-174. The article is reproduced with kind permission by John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/ Philadelphia, [www.benjamins.com]. Note that the publisher should be contacted for permission to re-use or re-print the material in any form.

I the next section I briefly capture previous research on future time marking in English and comment on some aspects of future time marking in indigenous Ghanaian languages. In section 6.2 I give a description of how the FTEs have been counted and present an overview of the frequencies of the variant forms of FTEs (WILL (+ Progressive), SHALL, BE GOING TO, Progressive) in BrE and GhE. In section 6.3 I introduce the factors and the respective levels for which all instances of WILL and BE GOING TO have been coded. Section 6.4 presents the results of three mixed effect logistic regression models on the variation of WILL and BE GOING TO in the two varieties and discusses the individual differences between them. Section 6.5 then summarizes and discusses the findings and concludes with some remarks on issues for future research.

6.1 Future Time Marking in English: Previous Research

In an attempt to describe the differences between the various options to refer to the future in English most grammars focus on semantic (e.g. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, Svartvik & Crystal. 1985, Leech 2004, Declerck 2006) or

sociolinguistic (i.e. stylistic, regional) differences (e.g. Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan 1999) between the different future time expressions (FTEs).

WILL (and also SHALL) is often seen as the most neutral way of referring to the future. However, as was shown in Chapter 5, it is more often than not difficult to distinguish 'pure future' uses of WILL from its modal uses, i.e. volitional or strong epistemic uses (cf. also Palmer 1974, cf. Salkie 2010 for a full discussion). Similarly, Quirk et al. state that WILL most often carries nuances of "volition or prediction" (1985). This has led some authors to conclude that WILL is no more than a modal with 'future' connotations (e.g. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 209). Other authors (e.g. Comrie 1985, Declerck 2006, Wekker 1976) claim that in some cases WILL does refer to future situations in a neutral way and thus ascribe it the function of the English future tense marker. Furthermore, WILL often combines with temporal adverbials in adjacent parts of the discourse, which supports the interpretation of WILL as 'future' rather than 'epistemic modal' (Bergs 2010: 223-224).

In contrast to WILL, BE GOING TO is not subject to constraints in temporal or conditional sub-clauses. Furthermore, BE GOING TO does not need the kind of 'temporal anchor' that is often required with the use of WILL (Declerck 2006, Palmer 1979 and 1974, Leech 2004), because – if not accompanied by any temporal adverbial – it usually relates the future to the present and is thus often ascribed the meaning of 'future result of present intention' or 'future outcome of present circumstances' (Declerck 2006, Leech 2004). In many contexts referring to 'pure future' it is interchangeable with WILL. However, as we will see throughout the chapter, in highly pragmatic contexts, WILL is usually not substituted by BE GOING TO (cf. also Torres-Cacoullos & Walker 2009).

The Present Progressive, like BE GOING TO, relates a future situation to the present. However, while BE GOING TO might refer to a speakers' intention or a prediction based on present circumstances, the Present Progressive as a FTE usually presents a situation as resulting from a present plan or arrangement (cf. e.g. Aarts 2011: 240). Unlike the Simple Present, the

use of the Present Progressive implies that the referent of the subject NP has control over (the actualization of) the situation (cf. Declerck 2006: 183-184), i.e. it can only relate to situations that are intentional and have a human agent. Hence the strong association with human subject referents and agentive verbs, specifically motion verbs. Very often the future situation that the Present Progressive refers to lies in the not-so-far-off future (Aarts 2011: 270). However, since the Present Progressive is a present tense form, it must be clear from the context that the reference is to the future and not to the present (Declerck 2006: 184-185). These peculiarities in meaning make the Present Progressive one of the least general FTEs in English.

The study of the semantic and pragmatic differences between the FTEs of English has been subject to many controversies. While there are certain environments in which the FTEs carry different meanings and "occupy lexical, syntactic, and pragmatic niches", many differences are "largely neutralized in discourse", as shown in the study by Torres-Cacoullos & Walker (2009: 321). Grammatical context, on the other hand, has been shown to provide useful insights into synchronic distributions of FTEs and diachronic change. For this reason, studies concerned with regional and stylistic variation as well as with change in the future time system are inevitably tied to differences in grammatical context.

Most research on regional variation in future time marking has focused on differences between the major standard varieties British and AmE. For example, the modal SHALL is reported to be rare in spoken BrE and practically absent in colloquial AmE (Declerck 2006, Berglund 2005, Leech 2004: 56, Szmrecsanyi 2003). On the other hand AmE is reported to show more variants of the modal WILL that are associated with informal language such as *'ll* (Berglund 2005).

The BE GOING TO-future is a paradigm case of grammaticalization, showing layering with the FTE WILL since the late Middle English period. As Mair (2006: 95-100) suggests, the use of BE GOING TO is spreading in both AmE as well as in BrE, while the former variety is certainly the leader in this trend (cf. also Leech 2004, Leech et al. 2009, Biber et al. 1999, Hundt 1997, Mair 1997). This applies specifically to its reduced form, *gonna,* for which an

increase in use in both real time and apparent time is attested (cf. Krug 2000, Lorenz 2013a and b). However, while *gonna* is generally associated with AmEnglish, even in BrE there seems to be evidence of spread of this form against the full form in apparent time, as shown by Berglund (2000) in her study of data from the BNC. Collins (2009: 149-150) reports similar findings on his study on BE GOING TO on several ICE corpora: While all spoken components show higher usage of the semi-modal than the written components, it is AmE which is more advanced than BrE and Australian English, which behave similarly in this respect. Furthermore, Szmrecsanyi finds a regional difference in the distribution of FTEs in negated contexts: He notes that while speakers of BrE prefer *won't*, speakers of AmE favor *not going to* or *not gonna* (2003: 305). In addition to regional differences, stylistic or register-related factors play a crucial role in the choice of FTEs. According to Biber (1999: 489), BE GOING TO is almost absent in in academic writing but frequent in conversations. According to Mair (1997), the rise of the BE GOING TO-future in both BrE and AmE news texts is largely due to a change in the stylistic conventions of this genre, pointing to a 'colloquialization of the genre' already mentioned with regard to the use of the Progressive (see Chapter 4).

Inspite of the amount of literature on TMA in New Englishes in general, findings on the future time system remain quantitative, with occasional comments on stylistic tendencies. Findings include a generally low use of SHALL in colloquial discourse but higher frequencies in more formal text types (cf. Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 60, Jowitt 1991 on Nigerian English, Berglund 2005: 121 on Indian English). A lower use of BE GOING TO and a higher use of WILL has been reported for a large number of New Englishes (Sand 2005, Deuber et al. 2012, Collins 2009, Collins & Yao 2012, Berglund 2005), with the exception of Caribbean Englishes, which make more use of the BE GOING TO future, especially those that have substrates with FTEs based on motion verbs (e.g. Trinidadian Creole, Bahamian Creole; cf. Deuber et al. 2012). Berglund (2005: 121) notes that in Indian English, there are fewer tokens of the variant *'ll* than in BrE and AmE. She cites Shastri (1988: 18), who states that "the predominance of written language over spoken in

the Indian pedagogical context" is responsible for this tendency (Berglund 2005: 123). Finally, Sand (2005: 147) notes that the futurate use of the Present Progressive is rare in contact varieties.

For GhE, quantitative research on future time marking is as scarce as on the other New English varieties, although some sources suggest the development of a new FTE on the basis of the verb *come* – a construction formally similar to the BE GOING TO construction (cf. Huber & Dako 2008, Huber 2012a). The BE COMING TO-future is reported for a number of African varieties of English (cf. *eWAVE*, Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013), and Huber 2012b notes this as the only true areal feature on the African continent for varieties of English. In the data we found four of such BE COMING TO constructions that are clearly temporal, as the following examples show. They carry the meaning of 'to be about to' or even of 'future'.

(1) So we are waiting for Legon Hall to celebrate Volta Hall to celebrate and then after Commonwealth Hall have finished with theirs then we realise that we **are now coming to start** exams. (ICE-GH S1A-020)

(2) At this stage you **are now coming** to learn those things before you get married. (ICE-GH S1A-032)

(3) I thought you **were coming to talk** about something you are talking about food. (ICE-GH S1A-032)

(4) My friend I thought you **were coming to say** something for <unclear_word> if you have nothing to offer to good to offer me.

Whether the substrate languages have a general impact on the system of FTEs in GhE has not been studied in detail so far. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the substitution of WILL for WOULD and vice versa has often been mentioned in connection to the modality system of some of the indigenous Ghanaian languages. The distinction between future and non-future is the temporal opposition that is the most central and the most frequent in the Kwa languages, for example. All languages of this group have at least one fully

grammaticalized overt expression to refer to the future (Ameka & Kropp Dakubu 2008b). Akan, for example, has three to four different means to refer to the future. One of these is the future affix *be,* also referred to as the Future Aorist (Boadi 2008). According to Osam (2008) and Boadi (2008), this marker has derived from the verb *be* 'to come'. Accordingly, it does not combine with the motion verbs in the language (cf. Osam 2008), pointing to the retention of its original meaning. In addition, the time marker *na* (meaning 'then') can be used to refer to future situations, once future time reference is established. This marker also combines with aspectual affixes (Progressive) and tonal changes (habitual and continuative) (cf. Osam 2008, Boadi 2008). Similarly as in English, the Progressive itself can be used to refer to future situations, once future time reference is established (Boadi 2008). In negative contexts, the difference between 'future' and 'progressive' meaning is neutralized (cf. Osam 2004). Furthermore, the combination between the motional affix *be* 'to come' and progressive has also been classified as 'immediate future' (cf. Dolphyne 1971, 1988). Note the remarkable parallel in the combination of motional *be* + progressive in Akan to yield prospective meaning (cf. Osam 2004) and the BE COMING TO-construction in GhE, as shown above. In some languages of the Gur group, there are two-way or even three-way remoteness distinctions made in the future (Botne 2012). In Kusaal, for example, which makes a two-way distinction the distinction is between hodiernal and general future (Musah, p.c.). In Dagbani, the optional time depth markers *sa* and *dáá* denote 'one day away' or 'more than one day away' in both past and future (Botne 2012: 538). Future markers based on movement verbs are quite spread in the indigenous languages of Ghana, especially from source verbs meaning 'come'. In Ghanaian Pidgin English the general future and hypothetical marker is *go* (Huber 1996, 2008b, 2013). Regrettably, most studies on FTEs in the Kwa and Gur languages either relate to their status as tense, aspect or modality markers (cf. the volume by Ameka & Kropp Dakubu 2008a on the Kwa languages), or are parts of typological studies on areal features in grammaticalization (cf. Fleischman 1982, Heine & Kuteva 2002). Except for a number of descriptions of variation of future markers according to semantic

factors, there is, to my knowledge, no fine-grained analysis of the determinants of variation of the future markers in the indigenous languages of Ghana thus far.

6.2 Counting the Future

For the analysis of variation in future time marking all the future temporal reference constructions in the data were extracted and coded following the methodology developed in the two previous chapters. I included instances of WILL (including WILL + Progressive), SHALL (including SHALL + Progressive), BE GOING TO and the Present Progressive. I only included those expressions that were clearly temporal. I decided not to consider the Simple Present and the form *be to,* as these are generally difficult to extract in untagged corpora.[52] Note that uses of FTEs in tag questions were not counted.

With regard to WILL, only those tokens were considered as FTEs that could be ascribed the function of expressing the meanings of 'prediction' and 'intention' or 'indeterminate', as explained and shown in the previous chapter. Uses of WILL that were taken into consideration in this study include all those with reference to the future. The three examples illustrate these uses once more.

(5) **Prediction:** But I'm sure the lights **will** come back soon and you can study something. (ICE-GH S1A-041)

(6) **Intention:** I **will** name the first one Mercedes the second one Champagne the third one Paula and the boy Gerald. (ICE-GH S1A-022)

(7) **Indeterminate:** You call yourself a university lady that somebody **will** marry some day. (ICE-GH S1A-032)

As already mentioned in Chapter 5 on the modal WILL, those instances of WILL which seemed to be mergers between predictability and prediction

[52] According to Declerck (2010) the construction *be to* is highly genre-specific and generally rare in spoken English.

were eventually categorized as cases of prediction (with a rather strong epistemic meaning) and assigned FTE status. The following example illustrates such a case.

(8) That's goat jollof. Try that one and see. You **will** like it <laugh> I tell you. (ICE-GH S1A-010)

Cases of WILL that could potentially receive both hypothetical and non-hypothetical prediction meaning were also included in the analysis. All variant forms of WILL (*will, 'll, won't*) were subsumed under WILL, although it has been suggested that *'ll* and *will* should be considered independent future forms because they are found in quite diverse patterns (e.g. Berglund 2005, Nesselhauf 2010). However, as Torres-Cacoullos & Walker (2009: 340) argue, *'ll* and *will* should rather be seen as variants in complementary distribution, and the favoring of the contracted form by the first person could well be interpreted as a frequency effect. While *'ll* is most pervasive with the meaning of 'intention', this is due to its strong association with the 1st person singular and less to a distinct meaning of the form.

Some accounts treat WILL + Progressive separately from WILL + infinitive because the former construction has been described as developing into an independent future construction (cf. Celles & Smith 2010). WILL + Progressive exhibits a wide variety of functions. Only in examples like (9) below are we dealing with cases in which the construction WILL + Progressive is the sum of its components, 'future' and 'ongoingness'.

(9) You'**ll be sitting** on the phone at work ringing around. (GBSM_0914, ICE-GB S1A-079)

In other cases the use of the WILL + Progressive-construction applies to a single happening viewed in its entirety, something that is commonly referred to as 'future-as-a-matter-of-course' (cf. Leech 2004, Aarts 2011: 286) i.e. a future situation the speaker is certain about, as in examples (10) and (11).

When referring to abnormal, sudden or violent events, the use of WILL+ Progressive causes a "crazy, semi-comic air which arises from the incongruity of treating such cases as 'a matter of course'" (Leech 2004: 68). Examples like (12) represent idiomatic exploitations of such incongruities in colloquial English.

(10) The SRC elections **will be coming** off in two weeks. (ICE-GH S1A-019)

(11) I **will be going** to Sunyani Kumasi on Thursday. (ICE-GH S1A-007)

(12) Then the next thing you know is **you'll be breaking** into their safe. (ICE-GH S1A-009)

Finally, the use of the WILL + Progressive-construction is used in questions for purposes of disambiguation. While the use of WILL + infinitive often receives the reading of an invitation, request or offer, the use of WILL + Progressive avoids such an interpretation (cf. Declerck 2006: 343), as in example (13).

(13) **Will you be reading** the Bible this Sunday at church? (ICE-GH S1A-046)

As mentioned by different authors (e.g. Coates 1983, Declerck 2006), with WILL + Progressive the reference is mostly to 'pure future' or 'prediction', i.e. without any implication of willingness or intention. However, as noted by Celles & Smith (2010) there are examples in which expressions with this construction could equally receive a volitional reading. Although its disambiguating power as well as its strong deterministic meaning component seem to be important features of the construction WILL + Progressive, in other contexts its use seems to be merely a more tentative or more colloquial way of referring to the future. While the use of this construction deserves more detailed analysis, its uses in the data were too infrequent to make any

generalizations. As already noted in Chapter 4 on the Progressive, the frequent use of modal progressives in GhE may well be a purely formal choice rather than motivated semantically or pragmatically. It was thus decided not to analyze instances of WILL + Progressive as independent FTEs but to lump them together with instances of WILL + infinitive.

With respect to the modal SHALL, I counted only those occurrences which are non-deontic, i.e. only refer to future situations. In most cases this only includes uses of SHALL with 1st person subjects as in example (14).

(14) By the time it gets to my paper I mean I **shall** fall asleep. (ICE-GB S1A-005)

SHALL with 2nd person or 3rd person subjects is most often used to refer to rules and regulations (cf. Leech 2004: 89), as in example (15). In questions the use of SHALL receives the reading of an inquiry about a person's will, and is usually interpreted as a suggestion or offer of service (cf. Declerck 2006: 342-343), as in (16). Uses as in examples (15) and (16) were thus excluded from the analysis.

(15) The Act provides that any requirement im<l>posed now or later by regulations under the Act **shall** not apply to any follower of the Sikh religion while he is wearing a turban. (ICE-GB W2B-020)

(16) So uhm [shall I] **shall** I bring it in in the morning or what **shall** I do? (ICE-GB S1A-043)

With respect to BE GOING TO, the same regulations for FTE assignment were applied as for the modal WILL: All cases of BE GOING TO that could be analyzed as cases of ‚intention', ‚prediction' or ‚indeterminate' were categorized as FTEs.[53] Examples of these meanings are given in (17) – (19).

[53] I applied the same customs and practices in categorizing instances of BE GOING TO as either ‚intention', ‚prediction' or ‚indeterminate' as was done for the modal WILL (see Chapter

(17) **Intention: I'm not going to talk** in this room again. **I'm going to communicate** with you girls through sign language. (ICE-GH S1A-046)

(18) **Prediction:** He is going to die. (ICE-GH S1A-003)

(19) **Indeterminate:** And nobody **is going to referee** them, too. (ICE-GH S1A-009)

In very few cases in BrE, BE GOING TO has the meaning of 'present predictability' rather than 'prediction'. If reference was not clearly to the future, as in (20) and (21), the occurrences were not considered.

(20) This **is going to be** a question of who you know not what you know. (ICE-GB S1A-027)

(21) Even though we 've got this wretched document we 're talking about **there's always going to be** <,> an Asterix book by the bedside <,> or something like that. (ICE-GB S1A-013)

All those cases of BE GOING TO that were clearly spatial in meaning were deleted. Instances of past forms of BE GOING TO as in *What was I going to say* were excluded from the analysis as they are either analyzed as having the meaning of 'past intention' (either as 'unfulfilled situation'), or as a marker of reported speech as in *he said they were not going to do the*.... In this respect they are no future or modality markers but purely aspectual in nature. Past forms of BE GOING TO will not be discussed here and will be excluded from the tables and figures in this chapter.

Finally, as concerns the Present Progressive, I considered those occurrences in which the construction had the major function to refer to a future situation as discussed in Chapter 4. Most ambiguity occurred in

5). The categorization was mainly based on grammatical person, agentivity of verb, sentence type and, for some cases, discourse cues.

conditional and temporal subordinate clauses. While most conditional and temporal subordinate clauses do refer to future situations, they need not be marked by an FTE. However, even if the Present Progressive does not refer to 'ongoing situation', its use is not temporal in nature, carrying the meaning of 'to be about to'. An example is given in (22).

(22) Because **if I'm going** I carry one or two so as my food gets finished I have to come back cause else I'll be in trouble. (CS-GH X02)

Examples like these were thus not considered in the analysis of the present chapter.

The following table gives an overview of the frequencies of FTEs per 100,000 words in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and spoken ICE-GB. Raw frequencies are given in parentheses. For the sake of explicitness WILL and WILL + Progressive are shown separately in the table. WILL is further divided into *will, 'll* and *won't,* WILL + Progressive into *will +* Prog, *'ll* + Prog, *won't* + Prog, SHALL into *shall* and *shan't*. For BE GOING TO, I further distinguish between *be going to* and the phonologically reduced form *be gonna*, although it has to be kept in mind that the transcription conventions for spoken texts in the corpora might actually obscure the findings.

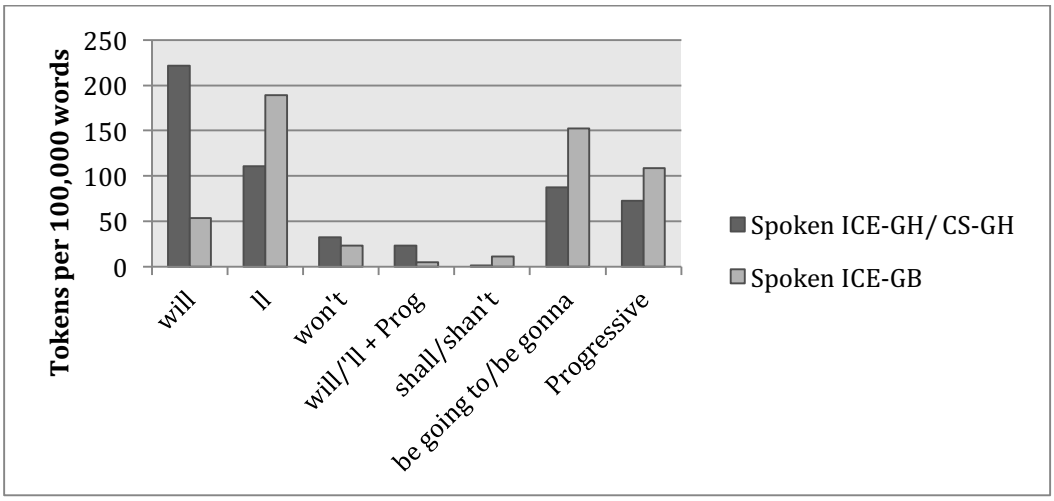
Table 6.1: FTEs in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies

Future Time Expression	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH	Spoken ICE-GB
WILL	**364.58 (525) = 66.53%**	**266.11 (479) = 48.97%**
will	221.52 (319)	53.33 (96)
'll	110.51 (159)	189.44 (341)
won't	32.63 (47)	23.33 (42)
WILL + Progressive	**22.69 (32) = 4.05%**	**4.44 (8) = 0.81%**
***will* + Progressive**	17.02 (24)	1.11 (2)
***'ll* + Progressive**	5.67 (8)	3.33 (6)
SHALL	**1.41 (2) = 0.25%**	**11.11 (20) = 2.04%**
shall	1.41 (2)	10 (18)
shan't	0 (0)	1.11 (2)
BE GOING TO	**87.23 (125) = 15.84%**	**152.77 (275) = 28.11%**
be going to	83.68 (120)	150 (270)
be gonna	3.54 (5)	2.77 (5)
Progressive	**72.91 (105) = 13.30%**	**108.88 (196) = 20.04%**
TOTAL	**547.91 (789)**	**543.33 (978)**

Table 6.1 shows that the normalized total of FTEs is relatively similar for the two spoken corpora, which means, on the one hand, that the relative frequencies of individual FTEs are comparable between the varieties and, more importantly, that future reference is made to about the same extent in both varieties, although differences between the individual texts are higher.

Figure 6.1 visualizes the frequencies of individual forms of the FTEs per 100,000 words in the spoken corpora.

Figure 6.1: FTEs in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies of Variant Forms



As Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1 show, SHALL is surprisingly infrequent in both spoken corpora, although its use in spoken ICE-GB outnumbers its use in ICE-GH/ CS-GH by far (20 tokens compared to 2 tokens). One of the two tokens that we get from ICE-GH is a paraphrased statement from the bible. It represents the rare use of future *shall* with a 2nd person subject, an example of the old-fashioned language of prophecy (cf. Leech 2004: 58). The other one is a rather formulaic expression typical for written language.

(23) For the day in which you eat this fruit rather you **shall** surely die. (ICE-GH S1A-036)

(24) <$A> Well let's uhm with me I hope uhm Inter wins <$B> Inter wins but <$C> We **shall** see latest by <unclear> (ICE-GH S1A-036)

Considering the relatively young history of the variety, it seems that SHALL actually never was part of spoken GhE. Because of its scarcity in the spoken corpora it will not receive any further consideration.

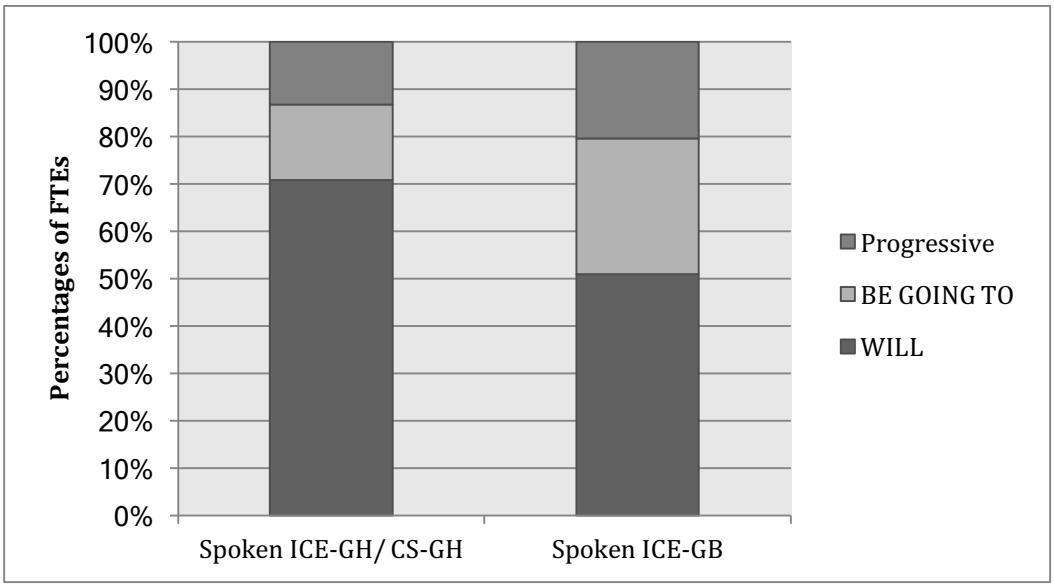
Remarkable is furthermore the high frequency of the full form *will* in ICE-GH/ CS-GH and the relatively low frequency of the contracted form *'ll.* In spoken ICE-GB the picture is reverse, and *'ll* is more than twice as frequent as

the full form.[54] On the one hand, this might show the less informal character of spoken GhE in comparison to BrE – also as a result of the status of English in Ghana and the rather artificial communicative situation during the recordings. On the other hand, it could be both the result of and the reason for lower uses of the collocation with the 1st person singular *I'll*. I will turn to these issues again below.

WILL + Prog, although much less frequent in comparison, still has a much more important role in spoken GhE than in spoken BrE, where it is – counter to expectation – extremely rare.

Figure 6.2 illustrates the percentages of WILL, BE GOING TO and the Progressive in the spoken corpora.

Figure 6.2: FTEs in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Relative Frequencies



As is evident from Figure 6.2, forms of WILL are the most frequently used means of expressing future time reference in both spoken corpora. However, remarkable is the use of WILL in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, which covers about 70% of all future reference contexts. The Present Progressive and BE GOING TO, on the other hand, cover about half of all future reference contexts in spoken

[54] This difference is highly significant with $p<0.001$.

ICE-GB, and their position in the FTE system is thus much more fundamental. In ICE-GH/ CS-GH they only represent about a third of all FTEs. Differences in frequencies of FTEs between spoken ICE-GB and ICE-GH/ CS-GH are statistically highly significant with $p<0.001$.

Judging from the core frequencies of the FTEs in the corpora we can conclude that GhE makes much more use of the modal WILL to refer to the future. The use of BE GOING TO is much less frequent. Similarly, use of the Present Progressive for future reference is much lower in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in spoken ICE-GB. In the latter corpus the construction has almost twice as many absolute tokens (N=196) than in the former (N=105). A mixed effect logistic regression model that was generated for the Present Progressive against BE GOING TO, on the one hand, and WILL and BE GOING TO, on the other hand, showed that the differences are largely quantitative (for the results of the regression model see Appendix C). In both corpora the Present Progressive favors agentive verbs, definite time adverbials and especially motion verbs like *coming* and *going.* The two examples below are questions about arrangements or fixed plans, in which the Progressive seems to be the natural choice in both varieties.

(25) Oh so what time **are** we **leaving** (ICE-GH S1A-010)

(26) So what **are** we **doing** tomorrow? (ICE-GH S1A-004)

Most differences between the varieties that are shown as significant in the regression models are, however, due to differences with respect to the other two FTEs, WILL and BE GOING TO, and not with the Progressive per se. In ICE-GH/ CS-GH in a few cases the Progressive does not carry the meaning of 'fixed plan' or 'arrangement' but rather that of a question on intention. In the next example the subject is the 1st person singular. As the question is about the speaker's own intention, the Progressive is uncommon in this use in English.

(27) Oh Shaibu what **am** I **wearing** (ICE-GH S1A-010)

In this context, BE GOING TO would have rather been the expected choice as it expresses the present intention reading intended in the above example and thus represents a characteristic slot for BE GOING TO. Examples like these are, however, rare. That the Progressive generally has the function of a marker of 'intention' could not be derived from the present data. Only in the uncommon environment of 1st person singular interrogatives the difference between the two corpora emerged. While the construction highly favors motion verbs, which may likely be the locus of its development as a FTE, the Progressive can be characterized as a construction that refers to future situations as 'arrangements' or 'fixed plans' with 'human control over the situation'. In the remainder of this chapter I will thus focus on variation between BE GOING TO and WILL only.

Let us now consider the use of FTEs in the written components. Table 6.2 gives an overview of the use of WILL, SHALL, BE GOING TO and the Present Progressive in student writings (W1A), academic writing (W2A), non-academic scientific writing (W2B), press news reports (W2C), press editorials (W2E) and novels/short stories (W2F).[55]

[55] WILL + Progressive was not considered separately here because of its general scarcity in the written text categories under investigation. The only two tokens are from ICE-GB press news reports.

Table 6.2: FTEs in Written ICE-GH and Written ICE-GB

Written ICE-GH	**W1A**	**W2A**	**W2B**	**W2C**	**W2E**	**W2F**	**TOTAL**
WILL	160 (64)	158.75 (127)	244.73 (186)	223.68 (85)	210 (42)	177.5 (71)	195.77 (575)
SHALL	0 (0)	11.25 (9)	10.52 (8)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (4)	5.29 (21)
BE GOING TO	7.5 (3)	0 (0)	13.15 (10)	2.63 (1)	0 (0)	25 (10)	8.04 (24)
Progressive	0 (0)	1.25 (1)	3.94 (3)	15.78 (6)	0 (0)	22.5 (9)	7.24 (19)
TOTAL Written ICE-GH	167.5 (67)	171.25 (137)	272.34 (207)	242.09 (92)	210 (42)	235 (94)	216.34 (639)

Written ICE-GB	**W1A**	**W2A**	**W2B**	**W2C**	**W2E**	**W2F**	**TOTAL**
WILL	87.5 (35)	155 (124)	158.75 (127)	215 (86)	440 (88)	220 (88)	212.7 (548)
SHALL	2.5 (1)	8.75 (7)	7.5 (6)	0 (0)	10 (2)	2.5 (1)	5.2 (17)
BE GOING TO	0 (0)	1.25 (1)	2.5 (2)	7.5 (3)	5 (1)	40 (16)	9.37 (23)
Progressive	0 (0)	1.25 (1)	0 (0)	5 (2)	5 (1)	5 (2)	2.7 (6)
Total Written ICE-GB	90.0 (36)	166.25 (133)	168 (135)	227.5 (91)	460 (92)	267.5 (107)	229.97 (594)

Table 6.2 shows similar overall frequencies for the individual FTEs in the two written corpora. In total, the categories from the written components of ICE-GB and ICE-GH under analysis show similar extents of use of FTEs. There is a slightly higher use of the Progressive in written ICE-GH, but none of the differences is statistically significant. Contra expectations, GhE does not make more extensive use of SHALL as could have been anticipated from earlier studies of written usage in New English varieties.[56] The use of BE GOING TO is not higher in ICE-GB than in ICE-GH[57], but here it is rather the low number of tokens in ICE-GB that come as a surprise. Counter to what Mair (1997) observes for newspaper texts in the F-LOB corpus, the use of BE GOING TO in written ICE-GB in these genres is fairly low. More remarkable are the differences in the overall uses of FTEs in the individual text categories between ICE-GH and ICE-GB. In student writing (W1A) and non-academic scientific prose (W2B) ICE-GH shows a much higher overall use of FTEs, whereas ICE-GB contains more than twice as many FTEs in press editorials (W2E). The extent to which authors use FTEs is certainly dependent on the topics dealt with in the individual texts, so a certain degree of variability should be expected, especially in small categories like the press editorials. The texts from the category of non-academic scientific writing, on the other hand, differ a lot between the two varieties. Whereas in ICE-GB most texts are taken from monographs or periodicals on popular science, ICE-GH also contains many texts from life coaching books or guides on how to pray, dress, study, eat, etc. Accordingly, these texts contain more deictic pronouns, address the reader directly, make frequent use of metaphors and refer to bible citations quite often. Furthermore, as a rhetoric strategy, they include many repetitions. With respect to future time marking this mainly results in high usage of FTEs in recommendations on how to deal with certain issues as in the example below.

[56] It should be mentioned here that many quantitative studies of the modals (e.g. Berglund 2000, Sand 2005, Hundt & Schneider 2012) do not distinguish between future uses and deontic uses of SHALL.

[57] Interestingly, all tokens of BE GOING TO in the category W2B are used by one and the same author.

(28) Here's where your research about the company **will** help you stand out among the other candidates. (ICE-GH W2B-013)

Most of the differences between written ICE-GH and ICE-GB in the use of FTE usage are topic-related or discourse-related but do not reveal any qualitative differences between the individual expressions. In the remainder of this chapter I will therefore focus on the spoken components only and concentrate on the variation between WILL and BE GOING TO in private, face-to-face conversations.

6.3 Coding the Future

Each token of WILL and BE GOING TO which qualified as an instance of a FTE as explained above was coded for a number of factors based on the findings in the literature. The factors included here were selected on the basis that they are measurable and not intuitive. For example, WILL and BE GOING TO have been described to differ on semantic grounds, as, for example with respect to modality type (prediction, intention, etc.), degree of certainty, or conditionality (cf. Declerck 2006: 352-355, Leech 2004: 59). However, if we use our own assessment in labeling the tokens on the basis of the forms we might fall into the "trap of circularity between the explanation and the explanandum, as the mere presence of one of the forms forces the researcher to read a precise meaning into the example", as Mair (1997: 1538) cautions. Thus, semantic factors were either determined on the basis of the context (temporal adverbial modification), or were excluded from the analysis (conditionality, modality type, degree of certainty). Most of the factors chosen rely closely on those used by Torres-Cacoullos & Walker (2009) and Tagliamonte et al. (2014) in their studies on FTEs, with some modifications with respect to the factor levels. An additional factor not taken into account in their studies is agentivity.[58]

[58] Both of the mentioned studies do, however, consider animacy of subject. While animacy of subject and agentivity of verb are not the same, they overlap to some extent.

Sentence Type

Torres-Cacoullos & Walker (2009) report sentence type as the most important factor in the choice of FTEs in their data of Quebec and Montreal English. According to Tagliamonte et al. (2014), 1st person singular interrogatives such as *What am I going to do?* are the locus of development of the BE GOING TO future. Declerck (2006) mentions the preference of BE GOING TO, the Progressive and WILL + Progressive in interrogatives as WILL + infinitive in interrogatives often gets the default volitional reading of 'request', 'offer', or 'invitation'. Hence I categorized all tokens in the sample according to whether they occurred in interrogative (yes/no-questions and *wh*-questions) or declarative sentences.

Polarity

Several studies have identified polarity as an important predictor for the choice of FTEs in English (cf. Berglund 2005, Szmrecsanyi 2003, Tagliamonte 2013, Tagliamonte et al. 2014, Torres-Cacoullos & Walker 2009). According to these studies, BE GOING TO has a much higher share of tokens in negated contexts than in affirmative contexts.

Explanations for the choice of BE GOING TO rather than WILL in negative contexts commonly include the possibility for negated WILL to receive a reading of 'refusal' when occurring with agentive verbs (cf. Declerck 2006, Coates 1983). Szmrecsanyi (2003), however, also notes regional differences with respect to negated contexts and choice of FTE: While American English prefers *not be going to* or *not gonna,* BrE favors the use of contracted *won't.* Apparently, the choice thus seems to be led by preferences for forms rather than semantics. In this study I will only consider those sentences or clauses as negative when they are negated by *not* (including variants like *won't*).

Subject Type

Subject type has been reported to be an extremely important factor in the choice of FTEs in several varieties of English (Berglund 2005, Poplack &

Tagliamonte 1999, Tagliamonte et al. 2014, Tagliamonte 2002, Torres-Cacoullos & Walker 2009, Wekker 1976). 1st person subjects seem to be linked to the use of WILL, whereas 2nd and 3rd person subjects are associated with the use of BE GOING TO. Torres-Cacoullos & Walker (2009) admit that a correlation between 2nd person subjects and interrogatives is likely to account for the use of BE GOING TO. Nevertheless, the use of 1st person subjects and WILL seems to be due to a strong collocational force of the pronoun and the contracted form of WILL. For the present analysis I set up two different levels for the factor subject type: 1st person singular/plural subjects, and non-1st person subjects (2nd person singular/plural, 3rd person singular/plural animate and 3rd person singular/plural inanimate subjects).

Temporal Adverbial Specification

Temporal adverbial specification is a frequently cited criterion for the choice of FTEs. As Leech notes, "a sentence with *will* describing a future event feels incomplete without an adverbial of definite time" (2004: 57), and uses without any temporal adverbial specification may sound odd in some cases, as in *She will have twins*. In contrast, BE GOING TO is said to be perfectly fine without any temporal specification, as this construction "expresses dual time reference with emphasis on the present" (Declerck 2006: 346), i.e. has a temporal anchor in the present. Declerck (2006: 351) explains that this is because it represents the post-present (i.e. future) actualization of a situation as related to the present. He adds that "[b]ecause of this immediacy implicature, *be going to* can be used without an adverbial or contextual specification of a specific future time" (2006: 351). According to Coates:

> [A] crucial feature of the meaning of BE GOING TO, both Root and Epistemic, is that the future event or state referred to in the main predication is seen as happening very soon after the moment of speaking and as being related to the present. (1983: 198)

As Leech (2004: 59) points out, "when the clause with *be going to* contains no time adverbial, immediate future is almost certainly implied […] unless some adverbial indicates otherwise", hence the association of BE GOING TO with

near future situations. Indefinite futures, it has been shown, are associated with WILL, rather than with BE GOING TO (Torres Cacoullos & Walker 2009). In order to test these hypotheses on the basis of my data, I set up three different categories: (1) no temporal adverbial specification, (2) indefinite time adverbials such as *never, always, later* etc., (3) definite time adverbials.

Agentivity

Agentivity is crucial in the development of FTEs in general. In early stages of grammaticalization, both WILL and BE GOING TO are restricted to agentive verbs, as their original meanings are 'volition' and 'movement', respectively (cf. Bybee et al. 1994). In some contexts, these meanings are still inherent. I distinguish two levels, agentive and non-agentive verbs. Agentivity had to be carefully assigned to each individual verb, as this class is highly context-dependent. For example, *(to) learn* is actually not agentive, however, in GhE it often has the meaning of 'to study', and then qualifies as agentive.

6.4 An Analysis of WILL vs. BE GOING TO

For the analysis of variation between WILL and BE GOING TO a multivariate analysis on the basis of mixed effect logistic regression[59] was carried out. Logistic regression has a long-standing tradition in quantitative, variationist sociolinguistics as it predicts the joint effect of intralinguistic and/or extralinguistic factors on the choice of a binary dependent variable. While conventional logistic regression models only predict the impact of fixed effects, i.e. factors that are repeatable over datasets, mixed effects models also consider the impact of random effects, i.e. that have infinitely many levels that are not predictable nor repeatable (cf. Baayen 2008: 263). For the present study, I included both speaker and verb as random effects. This has two major advantages: First, including speaker as a random effect will compensate for the imbalance in the amount of FTE tokens among the different discourse

[59] A regression model is a statistical process for estimating the relationship between factors that are assumed to play a role in the distribution of variants. Logistic regression is a model where the variable of interest is categorical.

participants, so that no single speaker influences the results of the study too extremely. Secondly, the random effect for speaker can itself be used as a measure for how extremely individual speakers differ from the mean. Similarly as for speaker, taking verb as a random effect both compensates for the differences in representation of individual verbs as well as gives insight into the behavior of individual verbs.

I included five main effect predictors (sentence type, subject type, polarity, agentivity, temporal adverbial modification). In order to get a clear picture of where the differences lie in terms of constraints between the two varieties, I first fitted a model for both varieties which captures the differences via interaction effects. This has the advantage that interaction effects can assess the significance of variety differences. In a second step I fitted a model for each variety separately as this will facilitate the interpretation of the interaction effects between the varieties. I generated the models including all fixed effect main predictors, all interactions as well as random effects for speaker and for verb, using the function glmer() from the package lme4 in R (Version R 3.2.2 GUI 1.66 Mavericks build)[60]. By stepwise deletion of insignificant main predictors and interactions, I then arrived at the minimal adequate model (for procedure cf. e.g. Gries 2009). In order to avoid collinearity,[61] I calculated the generalized variance inflation factor for each of the predictors in each of the models.[62]

Table 6.3 reports fixed and random effects in the minimal adequate mixed effect logistic regression model, Model 1, for variety differences between BrE and GhE. In addition to the five main effect predictors, I included interactions between another predictor, variety, and all other

[60] R is a programming language which is also increasingly used for statistical computing in linguistics.

[61] If the predictors in a regression model enter into strong correlations, we speak of collinearity. This is problematic because it makes it difficult to ascertain which oft he predictors has explanatory value (Baayen 2008: 198).

[62] The generalized variance inflation factor (gvif) was calculated using the function vif() from the package car in R. As none of the gvifs for particular predictors was above 10, all main predictors and interactions were maintained in the model. For descriptions of the gvif, cf. Fox (1997).

predictors. In addition, I included random effects for both verb and speaker.[63] All predicted estimates are for the modal WILL. The model has a good fit (C=0.8883, Somers' Dxy=0.7766) and predicts 82.24% of all outcomes correctly, which is 9.91% above baseline (baseline: 72.33%).

[63] Call: GBGH.glmer <- glmer(GBGH$FTE2~Variety*(SenT + Pol + SubT + Adv + Agentivity) + (1|Speaker) + (1|Verb), data=GBGH, family=binomial, control=glmerControl(optCtrl=list(maxfun=100000))).

Table 6.3: Results of Minimal Adequate Mixed Effect Logistic Regression Model 1: Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB

Random Effects:						
Groups	Name	Variance	Std. Dev.			
Verb	(Intercept)	0.2991	0.5469			
Speaker	(Intercept)	1.2974	1.1391			
Number of observations: 1442, Groups: Verb, 269; Speaker, 265						
Fixed Effects:						
		Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)	
(Intercept)		1.3899	0.2134	6.513	7.37e-11	***
Variety						
	ICE-GH/ CS-GH	0.9361	0.3397	2.755	0.005865	**
Sentence type						
	Interrogative	-1.5297	0.3082	-4.964	6.92e-07	***
Subject type						
	Non-1st person	-1.3016	0.2366	-5.502	3.76e-08	***
Polarity						
	Negative	-0.4848	0.2247	-2.157	0.030983	*
Agentivity						
	Non-agentive	0.8770	0.2554	3.434	0.000595	***
Temporal adverbial specification						
	Definiteite	-0.3562	0.2311	-1.541	0.123212	
	Indefinite	0.8486	0.3833	2.214	0.026847	*
Variety*Subject type						
	ICE-GH/CS-GH*Non-1st person	0.9899	0.3713	2.666	0.007667	**
Variety*Agentivity						
	ICE-GH/CS-GH*Non-agentive	-0.8650	0.3551	-2.436	0.014856	*

Let us discuss the results of Table 6.3 step by step. The top lines in the table report the standard deviations for the random effects for verb and speaker. For random effects for verb, for example, each individual verb receives its own adjusted intercept, which is either positive or negative. If a particular verb receives a negative adjusted intercept, this means that there is a

preference for BE GOING TO for this verb after considering the predictions of the fixed effects that the model makes for the choice of FTEs. The higher the adjusted intercept is away from 0, the larger the effect size for the choice of a particular verb for a FTE. For high-frequency verbs, a high adjusted intercept could point to a strong collocation between a verb and a particular FTE. We will look at the random effects for verbs and speakers in more detail below. The line below the values for random effects gives an overview of the number of observations considered in the model (1442)[64], the number of individual verbs considered (269) and the number of speakers included (265).

The subsequent lines give an overview of the significant fixed effect predictors in the model. The figure reports the coefficient estimates, which are expressed in logits. As stated above, predicted estimates are for the modal WILL. As for random effects, a positive coefficient indicates that the probability for the occurrence of WILL increases, while a negative value indicates that the probability for WILL decreases (and thus increases for BE GOING TO). The higher the value of a coefficient estimate, the stronger the effect size of a predictor. Each coefficient estimate is further accompanied by its standard error, a z-value and the significance level. Now consider the predictor variety: The default level of this factor is 'ICE-GB'. The positive coefficient estimate for the level 'ICE-GH/ CS-GH' (0.9361) means that speakers in ICE-GH/ CS-GH contexts favor WILL more than speakers of ICE-GB do. As the p-value indicates, this predictor is very significant ($p<0.01$).

Sentence type, subject type, polarity, temporal adverbial modification and agentivity are all significant in Model 1. Furthermore, variety is a significant predictor for FTE choice. Turning to the most important aspect of this model, the interactions between variety and other main effect predictors, we observe that there are two significant interactions between variety and other main predictors. There is a very significant interaction between variety and subject type ($p<0.01$), and a significant interaction between variety and agentivity ($p<0.05$). The differences in future marking between the two varieties thus lie within the domains of agentivity and subject type. In order

[64] One datapoint for each WILL and BE GOING TO were removed from the sample of ICE-GB because a clear categorization for "speaker" was not possible.

to understand the differences between the two varieties, we will now have a look at the models for each of the corpora individually. Since spoken ICE-GB shows more complex patterns in terms of main effect predictors, we will start with the model for ICE-GB and explain the patterns found in ICE-GH/ CS-GH based on the differences of the two models.

Table 6.4 shows the results for the minimal adequate mixed effect logistic regression model for spoken ICE-GB, Model 2.[65] Model 2 considers 760 datapoints from 149 speakers. The model considers 159 different verbs. It has a good fit (C=0.8437, Somers' Dxy=0.6875) and predicts 77.23% of all outcomes correctly, which is 13.28% above baseline (baseline: 63.95%). The standard deviation for random effects for verb is at 0.5633, and the standard deviation for random effects for speaker is at 0.7039.

[65] Call: LRGB.glmer <- glmer(LRGB$FTE2~SenT + Agentivity +Pol + SubT + Adv + (1|Speaker) + (1|Verb), data=LRGB, family=binomial, control=glmerControl(optCtrl=list(maxfun=100000))).

Table 6.4: Results of Mixed Effect Logistic Regression Model 2: Spoken ICE-GB

Random Effects:						
Groups	Name	Variance	Std. Dev.			
Verb	(Intercept)	0.3173	0.5633			
Speaker	(Intercept)	0.4955	0.7039			
Number of observations: 760, Groups: Verb, 159; Speaker, 149						
Fixed Effects:						
		Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)	
(Intercept)		1.3272	0.1986	6.682	2.36e-11	***
Sentence type						
	Interrogative	-1.3257	0.3679	-3.604	0.000314	***
Subject type						
	Non-1st person	-1.2222	0.2301	-5.312	1.08e-07	***
Polarity						
	Negative	-0.6207	0.2717	-2.284	0.022354	*
Agentivity						
	Non-agentive	0.7277	0.2545	2.860	0.004243	**
Temporal adverbial specification						
	Definite	-0.3618	0.2649	-1.366	0.172093	
	Indefinite	1.4676	0.6682	2.196	0.028078	*

As Table 6.4 shows, temporal adverbial specification, sentence type, subject type, agentivity and polarity – starting from the predictor with the largest effect size (see coefficient estimates) to the one with the smallest - are all significant predictors for the choice of FTEs in ICE-GB.

Figure 6.3 visualizes the effect size of the significant fixed effect predictor levels on the choice of the FTEs. Columns stretching to the right are predictor levels favored by WILL, whereas columns stretching to the left are predictor levels favored by BE GOING TO.

Figure 6.3: Visualization of Effect Size of Fixed Effect Predictors in Model 2: Spoken ICE-GB

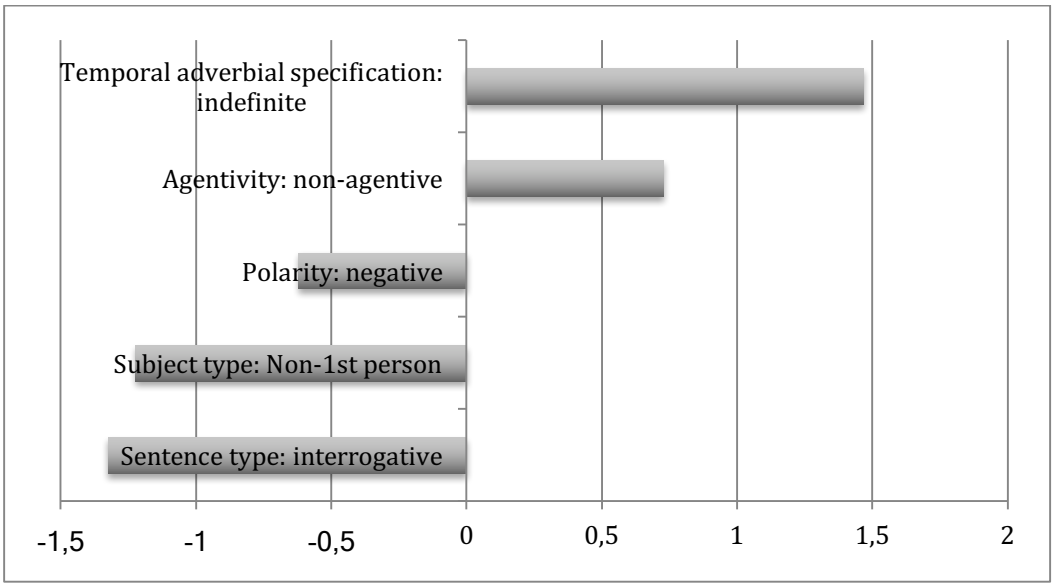


Table 6.5 shows the minimal adequate mixed effect logistic regression model for ICE-GH/ CS-GH, Model 3.[66] Model 3 considers 682 data points from 52 files and 116 speakers. The model considers 182 different verbs. The model has a very good fit (C=0.9511, Somers' Dxy=0.9023) and predicts 88.12% of all outcomes correctly, which is 6.36% above baseline (baseline: 81.76%). The standard deviation for speaker is very high (1.7202), indicating that there is a high variability among the speakers within the variety, much higher than in spoken ICE-GB.

[66] Call: LRGH.glmer <- glmer(LRGH$FTE2~SenT*Agentivity+Pol*Agentivity + ClT + SubT + Adv + (1|Speaker) + (1|Verb), data=LRGH, family=binomial, control=glmerControl(optCtrl=list(maxfun=100000))).

Table 6.5: Results of Mixed Effect Logistic Regression Model 3: ICE-GH/ CS-GH

Random Effects:						
Groups	Name	Variance	Std. Dev.			
Verb	(Intercept)	0.957	0.9782			
Speaker	(Intercept)	2.959	1.7202			
Number of observations: 682, Groups: Verb, 182; Speaker, 116						
Fixed Effects:						
		Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)	
(Intercept)		2.5369	0.3628	6.993	2.7e-12	***
Sentence type						
	Interrogative	-2.2090	0.6030	-3.664	0.000249	***

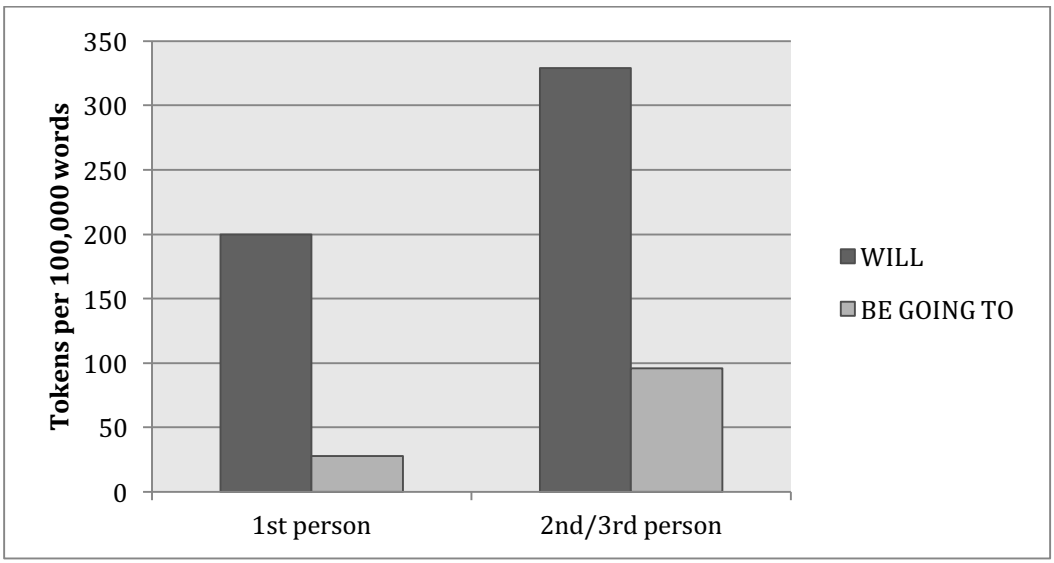
As Table 6.5 shows, only sentence type is a significant predictor for the choice of FTEs. BE GOING TO favors interrogative environments (see the negative coefficient estimate for interrogatives in the table). Subject type, agentivity, temporal adverbial modification and polarity do not play an important role in the choice of FTEs in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. There are thus far fewer fixed effect predictors that govern the use of FTEs in ICE-GH/ CS-GH than there are in ICE-GB.

Let us put the results of the three regression models into context: As was shown, in both varieties BE GOING TO favors interrogative contexts over declarative ones. This is the only environment for which the occurrence of BE GOING TO is predicted in GhE. The situation in BrE is much different: BE GOING TO is not only much more frequent in BrE than in GhE, it also 'pushes' WILL back into specific syntactic and semantic slots. For GhE the regression model did not identify such characteristic slots. It rather seems like the division of tasks between WILL and BE GOING TO which we can find in BrE are neutralized in GhE. However, with the exception of subject type, in ICE-GH/ CS-GH the two FTEs still favor the same linguistic environments as in spoken BrE, showing that most of the differences are rather quantitative than qualitative, with the interactions of variety with polarity and temporal adverbial modification in Model 1 not even being significant.

Let us consider subject type first. Subject type is only a significant predictor in ICE-GB. In ICE-GB more than 90% of all cases in which 1st person

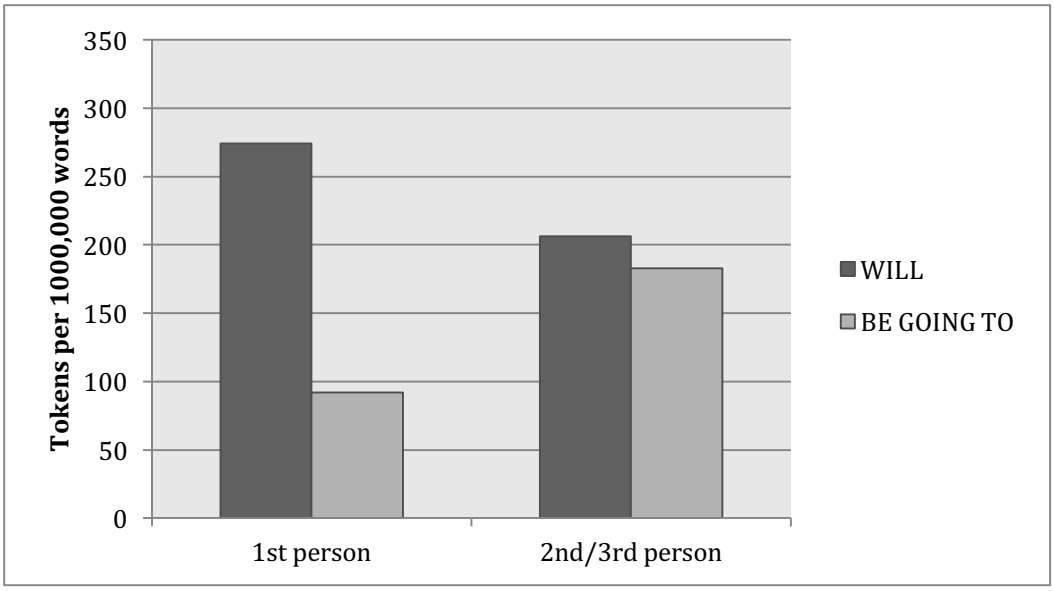
singular subjects occur with WILL in affirmative contexts are the contracted *'ll* forms, and 80% of all 1st person plural subjects with WILL are also found with the contracted form. On the other hand, in ICE-GH/ CS-GH only 50% of all cases of 1st person singular subjects and only 57% of all cases of 1st person plural subjects occurring with WILL are cases of the contracted form. This points to the strong collocational force between the pronoun and the modal verb form in spoken BrE, which is not visible to this extent in spoken GhE. In addition to that, the number of 1st person singular subjects with WILL in ICE-GB is about 50% higher than in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, whereas the numbers for the other subject types occurring with WILL are lower in ICE-GB than in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. Besides the distributional difference between the varieties there is thus also a discourse difference: Apparently, the speakers in ICE-GH/ CS-GH do not talk about their own plans, intentions, predictions etc. as much as speakers in spoken ICE-GB do.[67] This is shown in Figures 6.4 and 6.5.

Figure 6.4: Distribution of FTEs by Subject Type in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH



[67] A higher frequency of 1st person subject uses with WILL + agentive verbs in spoken ICE-GB was already noted in Chapter 5.

Figure 6.5: Distribution of FTEs by Subject Type in Spoken ICE-GB



In contrast to subject type, for all other predictors WILL and BE GOING TO show the same preferences in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and spoken ICE-GB, but these preferences are only significant for ICE-GB. For example, polarity is an important fixed effect predictor in ICE-GB only. Negative contexts are associated with BE GOING TO more than affirmative contexts in both varieties, whereas in affirmative contexts WILL is preferred. The difference in the percentages of the two FTEs between affirmative and negative contexts is larger in ICE-GB than in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. In ICE-GB, BE GOING TO reaches 50% in negative contexts, whereas in ICE-GH/ CS-GH it is still only at about 30%. This is shown in Figures 6.6 and 6.7.

Figure 6.6: Distribution of FTEs in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH: Polarity

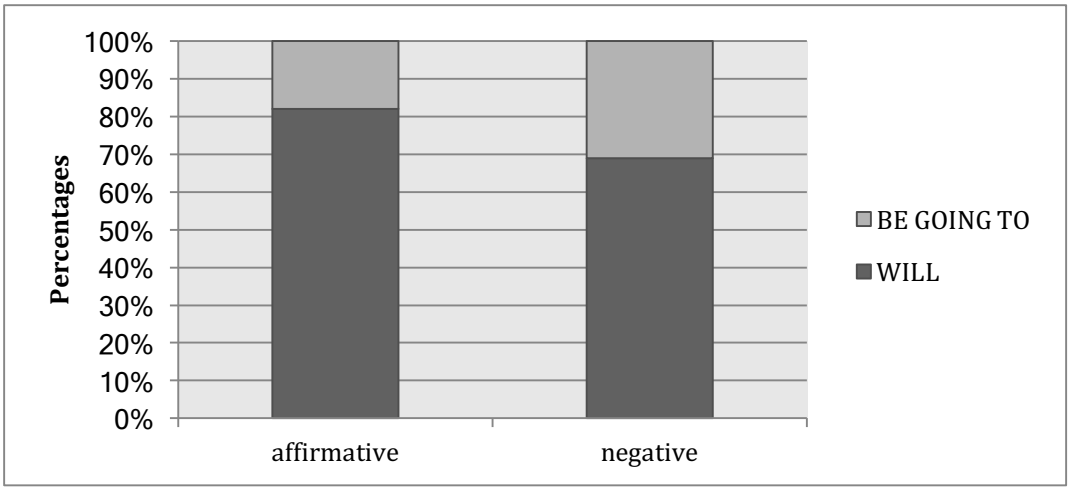
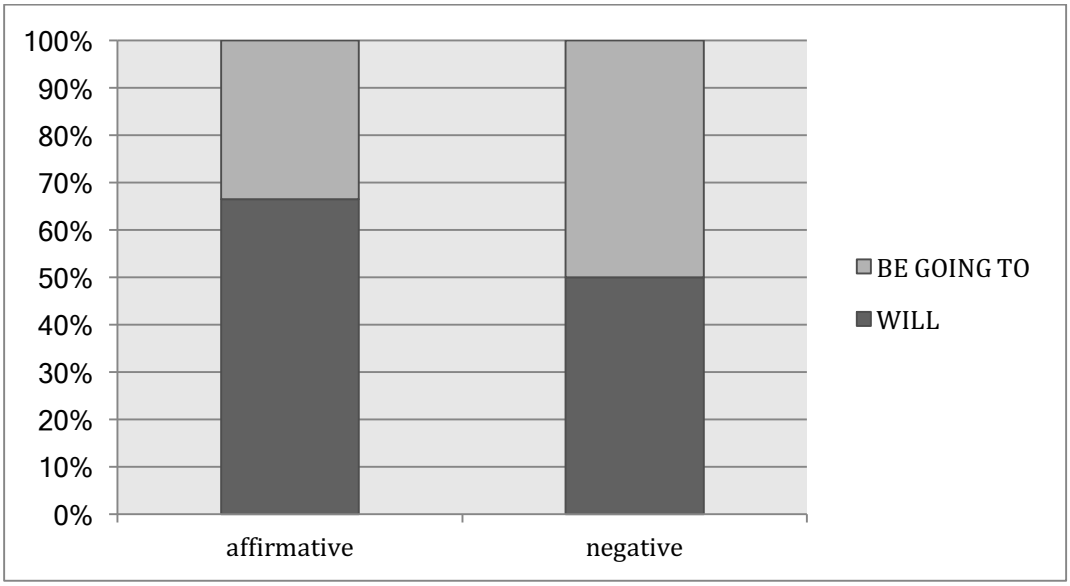


Figure 6.7: Distribution of FTEs in Spoken ICE-GB: Polarity



The distribution of affirmative and negative contexts is very similar in the two varieties with a ratio of 9:1. All tokens of WILL in negated contexts in ICE-GB are instances of *won't,* with only one exception. This indicates a strong use of the contracted form *won't* in BrE, a tendency already mentioned by Szmrecsanyi (2003). In ICE-GH/ CS-GH, 12 out of 44 negated tokens of WILL are not instances of *won't.* In negative contexts the collocated forms *I'll* and *we'll* are generally not used (there are four such cases in the ICE-GH/ CS-GH).

Agentivity was shown to be significant in spoken ICE-GB only, although BE GOING TO favors agentive contexts over non-agentive ones in both varieties. However, there are some interesting differences between spoken BrE and spoken GhE for negative and interrogative contexts: As Figure 6.9 shows, in ICE-GB, in negated sentences BE GOING TO is specifically preferred in agentive contexts, meaning that *not going to/not gonna* is favored in environments that express 'no intention' on behalf of the subject. This is different in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, as Figure 6.8 shows. Here, WILL is even more frequent with agentive verbs, whereas BE GOING TO is more frequent with non-agentive verbs. The distribution of WILL and BE GOING TO is not significant in GhE, though.

Figure 6.8: Distribution of Forms in Negative Contexts by Agentivity in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH

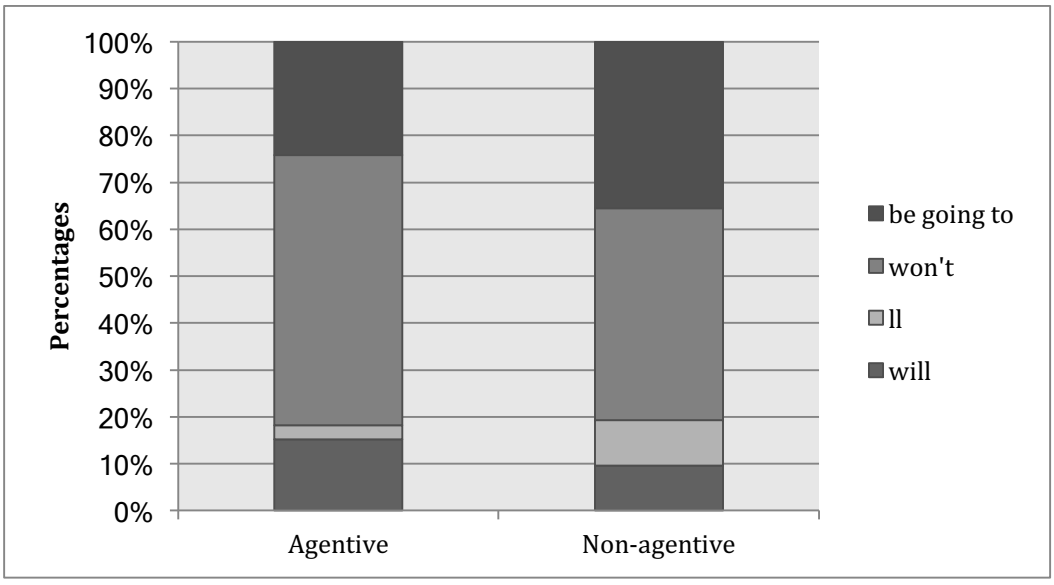
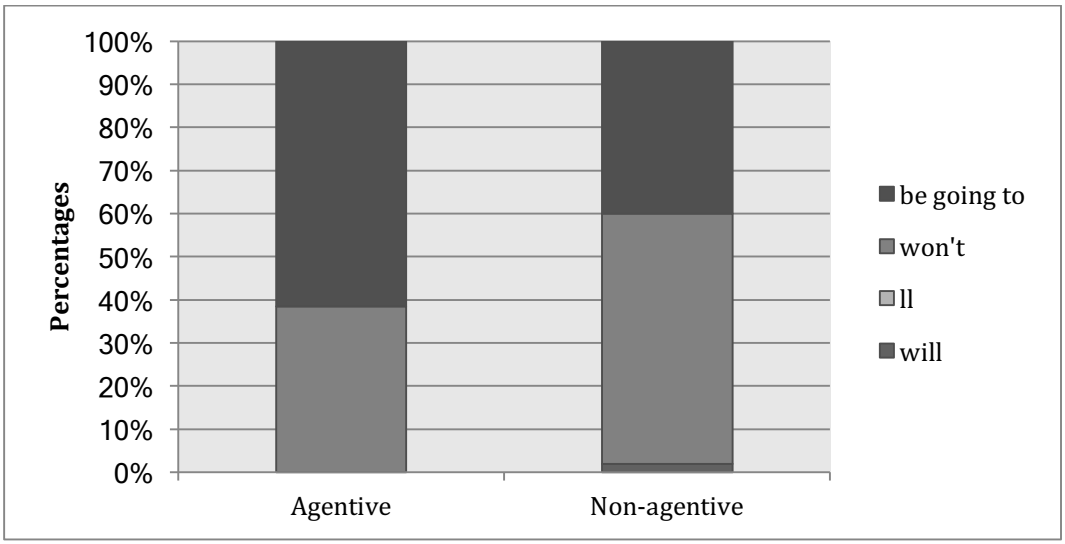


Figure 6.9: Distribution of Forms in Negative Contexts by Agentivity in Spoken ICE-GB



Looking at negated contexts in the data, it is found that especially in 1st person singular contexts there is a clear preference for the use of BE GOING TO in BrE (examples (29)-(30)), whereas quite a number of cases of *won't* are found in GhE (example (31)).

(29) Well **I am not going to do** all the furniture rubbish myself (ICE-GB S1A-030)

(30) **I'm not just going to go and do** it off the top of my head (ICE-GB S1A-082)

(31) Me **I won't waste** my money to go and buy ticket and then go and watch beauty contests (ICE-GH S1A-021)

We can thus identify a division of tasks between individual variants in BrE: While in affirmative contexts 1st person (singular) subjects most likely occur with *'ll,* the use of *won't* is dispreferred with agentive verbs, especially *I won't* + agentive verb. This seems to be an environment in which WILL retains its original meaning of 'willingness' (or: 'refusal') in BrE. This is the environment in which BE GOING TO is preferred. In GhE, such a division of tasks cannot be identified on the basis of the present data. *Won't* and *will not* are frequently

used with agentive verbs in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, both with 1st person as well as with non-1st person subjects, with the meaning of 'intention' rather than 'refusal'. An example of WILL in conjunction with the 1st person singular from ICE-GH is given in (32).

(32) That's why I **will not** wait for maybe twelve thirteen years (ICE-GH S1A-032)

Let us now consider agentivity in interrogative contexts. A look at the data shows that, similarly to the observations made above, there are quite a few instances in which *won't* is used with agentive verbs in interrogative contexts in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. Examples (33) – (35) illustrate this use.

(33) Now you no go you no **won't** you go school again? (ICE-GH S1A-007)
(34) **Won't** they involve him? (ICE-GH S1A-012)
(35) **Won't** she collect money for it? (ICE-GH S1A-014)

In spoken ICE-GB, *won't* rarely ever occurs in interrogative contexts. There are three instances of such uses, but these contain non-agentive verbs. Combinations like *I won't* + agentive verb or *won't you/she/he* + agentive verb thus seem to be reserved for interpretations subsumed under 'willingness' (refusal or offer/threat/request) but are dispreferred in more general future contexts. In specific syntactic-semantic environments, BE GOING TO is the natural choice in BrE. There are thus clearer form-meaning correspondences in BrE than in GhE. The special semantic-pragmatic nuances that WILL still has in these environments in BrE seem to be obsolete in GhE.

Let us finally consider temporal adverbial specification: It is not clear at this point whether temporal adverbial modification should be viewed as a semantic or a lexical/syntactic factor or a mixture of both. In spoken ICE-GB WILL favors indefinite temporal adverbials. Given that these often occur

preverbally (e.g. *never, always,* etc.), the reason might lie within syntax rather than semantics. This would, however, also mean that adverbials such as *certainly,* which also occur preverbally, should be favored by WILL. Subsequent research will have to shed more light on this issue. A look at spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH reveals that indefinite temporal adverbials also occur primarily with WILL but the distribution of the two FTEs across the three factor levels is not significant.

Let us now look at the random effects in the models. Considering the individual verbs that have an exceptionally high or low adjusted intercept for random effects in ICE-GB, we can see that the most extreme cases are actually the high-frequency verbs *(to) come, (to) tell* and *(to) be.* The first two are strongly associated with the use of WILL, whereas the latter is associated with the use of BE GOING TO. Since non-agentive verbs are associated rather with WILL in the model (even if not significantly), there are a number of high-frequency stative verbs, like *(to) be* and *(to) have* which collocate with BE GOING TO and thus have negative intercepts. As Hilpert (2008) notes, collocations with high frequency stative verbs such as *(to) be* are indicative of later stages of the grammaticalization of BE GOING TO. Similarly, a number of high-frequency agentive verbs, e.g. *(to) ask, (to) talk, (to) give, (to) tell, (to) get,* and *(to) come* collocate with WILL. This points to some important collocations of verbs and FTEs in BrE. The corpus data shows that some of the examples containing the high-frequency verbs favoring WILL are fixed expressions as in the following example.

(36) No. Glass is very expensive, I**'ll tell** you. (ICE-GB S1A-007)

A much lower frequency of confirmatory uses of constructions of the *I'll tell you*- type in ICE-GH/ CS-GH might be one of the reasons for lower numbers of 1st person uses in GhE.

A look at the intercepts for the individual verbs in CS-GH shows that the high standard deviation for random effects for verbs is due to high intercepts for a number of verbs. These include some high-frequency verbs

such as *(to) do, (to) ask, (to) talk* and *(to) give,* which are preferred by BE GOING TO. The verb *(to) go* is the only high-frequency verb which strongly collocates with WILL. Interestingly, apart from two exceptions, motion verbs, including *go, come, leave* and *send* ('bring' in GhE) are not associated with BE GOING TO. As suggested by Torres-Cacoullos & Walker (2009), the dispreference of BE GOING TO for motion verbs could be the retention of the meaning of 'movement' in the construction. However, the meaning of 'movement' inherent in the meaning of the BE GOING TO construction could well be a feature of GhE proper. In fact, the meaning of GhE *I'm going to come* is actually 'I will go and then come back' (Musah, p.c.), which has parallels in some of the local languages (e.g. Akan or Hausa; cf. Boadi 2008, Osam 2008).[68] As already mentioned in section 2, the Akan future marker *be,* which is itself derived from the verb 'to come', does usually not co-occur with motional affixes. This could thus be seen as an environment in which a routinized expression from GhE proper which is itself directly copied from substrate languages puts constraints on the use of FTEs.

In contrast to Model 2 for ICE-GB, the intercepts for individual speakers vary considerably in Model 3 for ICE-GH/ CS-GH. We find values ranging from -4.04 to +1.67, which points to the heterogeneity in the choice of FTEs within the variety, i.e. that there are great qualitative and/or quantitative differences in the use of WILL and BE GOING TO between individual speakers. Twelve speakers exceed the threshold of the standard deviation, i.e. +/- 1.6. All but one of them have negative intercepts, meaning that they tend to use BE GOING TO to a greater extent than the mean predicted by the model. Unlike for spoken ICE-GB, a great deal of variation in the use of BE GOING TO vs WILL cannot be accounted for by fixed effect predictors (i.e. syntactic, morphological and semantic predictors) in ICE-GH/ CS-GH but is to a large degree dependent on random effects for speakers. In GhE the choice of BE GOING TO seems to be more dependent on individual

[68] According to Sey (1973: 2) in *broken English,* a kind of English typically associated with uneducated speakers, *I go come* means 'I am going away, but I'll be back'. This expression can be seen as a direct copy from a number of indigenous Ghanaian languages.

speakers, as the random effects have a large standard deviation in the regression model.

Let us consider the use of WILL and BE GOING TO in discourse from one selected conversation. Especially specific speakers make frequent use of the BE GOING TO-construction. It is interesting to observe that at times, this even spreads to the other speakers in the conversations. The following excerpt is taken from the file with both the highest overall frequency of FTEs and the highest number of tokens of BE GOING TO. Whereas two of the speakers (speaker <$B> and speaker <$D>), almost exclusively use BE GOING TO, speaker <$A> sticks to WILL in most of the cases. Only in some cases do the speakers change the FTE, namely in those contexts in which a different FTE has preceded.

(37) $D> You see this time he is not got the crowd behind him the crowd is against him though they **will** accord him some respect but then **they are not going to cheer him up** like how they used to do when those days you see<$A> yes yeah

<$B> well uhm with me I don't think the crowd **is going be** a problem

<$D> I think Mourinho is someone who is cool headed all the time he doesn't care what other people say but then it is it has an effect even on the players they **are not going to get** the fans at Sansiero to make that noise about <?>the/uhm</?> Inter today **is going to be** a different issue altogether

<$B> well let's uhm well with me I hope uhm Inter wins

<$A> Inter wins but

<$D> we shall see uh latest by let's say ha

<$A> it's my prayers that Chelsea **will** win by three goals to one

<$B> well even if Chelsea **is going to win it's not going to be** I mean with a high margin just a minute I mean difference

<$A> whe* whether high margin or small margin it's my prayer that Chelsea **will** win

<$D> I'm staking my doubt from the two two goal interval **will** work for Chelsea

<$A> I I I I I

<$B> uhm I think I think **it's going to be** a I think the game is uhm well <.>cheals</.> well uhm for Chelsea to have the best results **it's going to be** on I mean on the penalty scores

<$C> that is a prediction

<$D> yeah what are you saying here

<$B> yeah it's a

<$A> **it's going to be** what

<$B> on the penalty spot

<$A> nah

<$D> this match is not it's it's it's a one touch win for Chelsea it's a one touch win for Chelsea

<$A> this match **will** end in ninety minutes it **will** end within ninety minutes this match (ICE-GH S1A-033)

In the example in line 3 speaker <$D> introduces BE GOING TO, which is taken over by the subsequent speaker <$B> in the next turn. In line 15 speaker <$A> reintroduces WILL, which is interrupted by speaker <$B> with BE GOING TO in the following turn. Speaker <$A>, however, sticks to WILL, which is continued by speaker <$D>. Speaker <$B> continues with BE GOING TO in his next turn in line 23. This time, in reacting directly to speaker <$B>'s comment, speaker <$A> also sticks to BE GOING TO. A few lines later he uses WILL again. This example shows that while there is still great variation between WILL and BE GOING TO even within one part of the file, there is a tendency for individual speakers to stick to the FTE that they have used before. However, when reacting directly to another speakers' utterance, it seems likely that this is also used by the other speaker.

What is the reason for these tendencies? Generally, persistence or repetition is a phenomenon that has been noticed by many corpus-linguists when studying morphosyntactic variation (e.g. Poplack 1980, Poplack & Tagliamonte 1993, Weiner & Labov 1983, Szmrecsanyi 2006). Szmrecsanyi's (2006: 109-129) multivariate study on persistence-related and non-persistence-related factors in the choice of WILL and BE GOING TO in several spoken native varieties of English shows that "speakers have a very marked tendency to avoid switching between future markers" (2006: 127). More precisely, he notes that recency of use is a significant factor, especially if the future marker was produced in the same turn and by the same speaker. The situation in ICE-GH represented a mixed picture: We saw that some speakers generally stick to one FTE. However, some speakers also show a high degree of convergence toward their interlocutors in conversations. Judging from the predictions of our regression models, factors related to individual speakers and/or discourse events explain more of the variation of FTEs in spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH than in spoken ICE-GB.

6.5 Summary and Discussion

As was shown in this chapter, in spoken GhE WILL and BE GOING TO generally favor the same linguistic environments as in spoken BrE, but that in

the former they are not as clearly distributed syntactically and semantically, with sentence type being the only significant constraint. In spoken BrE BE GOING TO is highly grammaticalized and becomes more and more frequent in those contexts in which it is interchangeable with WILL (cf. also Mair 1997). WILL is more and more pushed back into 1st person, declarative contexts, most likely as the result of the *I'll*-collocation. However, while most constraints seem to be of a lexical and syntactic nature (cf. also Torres-Cacoullos & Walker 2009), WILL seems to persist in its original meaning of 'willingness' or 'volition' in highly specific contexts, reserving slots like *I won't* and *won't you* to interpretations of 'refusal' and 'offer'.

In spoken GhE the variant forms of WILL and BE GOING TO are not to be taken as heavily loaded forms in terms of syntactic, lexical, and pragmatic functions. These differences are most likely due to the nature of the (historical) input and the mode of acquisition and use of English in Ghana. Language contact and the nativization of English in New English contexts may lead to the transformations of variable systems on the levels of syntax/lexis, semantics/pragmatics and style or other extralinguistic dimensions, but the present study has shown that major differences are not found on higher levels such as the syntactic and semantic predictors chosen for analysis but on smaller levels. This is in line with more recent studies by Szmrecsanyi and colleagues on probabilistic grammars in World Englishes (cf. Szmrecsanyi 2015), and will have to be confirmed by further studies of the future time systems of other New Englishes. Transfer of patterns from the substrate languages into English might eventually lead to the emergence of novel constraints, for example, by the avoidance of BE GOING TO with motion verbs. It will have to be shown whether other New Englishes behave differently in this respect. As E. Schneider states,

> [i|nnovations and distinctive structural properties of PCEs [Postcolonial Englishes] are frequently positioned at the interface between lexis and grammar, i.e. certain words but not others of the same word class prefer certain grammatical rules or patterns. (2007: 83)

It will have to be shown in future studies whether the strength of constraints in the future time system of New English varieties correlates in any way with

the developmental stage in the sense of the Dynamic Model. The currently fewer constraints in the variable system of GhE than in BrE and the extreme differences of individual speakers in the choice of future time expressions mark it as a very heterogeneous variety and could also be seen an indicator for its status as an L2 variety.

In language contact situations, as much as in adult second language acquisition scenarios in general, patterns of variation of a system are not always fully acquired, but at times only certain constraints. While reasons for this may be manifold, one important aspect is certainly the nature of the target language (cf. Bayley 2005: 4-5). As Bayley suggests, "we must compare the pattern of variation in learner speech with the pattern of variation in the vernacular dialects with which learners are in contact and which they may select as the target" (2005: 5). In the case of the present data, we must assume that the patterns of variation apparent in the spoken, informal part of ICE-GB are not the kind of English that all Ghanaian speakers of English are primarily exposed to. But these patterns of spoken English are exactly those that shape the variable system of FTEs. English in Ghana is, on the one hand, acquired via formal education in schools and, on the other hand, via grassroots spread from other speakers of English within the same speech community. Input from native varieties of English is present, of course, but more often through various types of public media than through direct contact. The particular constructions that are important for the shape of the variable system in one variety of a language might not necessarily be important in another variety of the same language. Most of the conventionalized expressions that are deeply entrenched in the native variety and that are responsible for the emergence of such constraints do not have the same effect in another variety. As BrE and GhE also differ drastically with respect to their speakers' discourse conventions (e.g. politeness strategies, cf. Anderson 2013), we can assume that these differences account for differences in patterns of variation to some extent. In classroom situations, lexical, syntactic and semantic constraints are usually only explicitly taught if they would produce ungrammatical structures otherwise. While FTEs constitute a topic of grammar that is discussed in schools, discourse

conventions and fixed expressions are typically transmitted in the appropriate context only. Many English teachers in secondary schools in Ghana are not familiar with idiomatic usage of native English. Furthermore, a local variety will rather stick to their own discourse conventions which are more entrenched the more frequently they occur. Less semantic and pragmatic load on individual variant forms of the FTEs WILL and BE GOING TO and the concurrent redistribution of predictors in the variable system in favor of cognitive or psycholinguistic constraints (syntactic/lexical, frequency- and/or persistence-related factors) might be seen as the result of such types of language contact scenarios.

What did not become clear from the data is whether the choice between WILL and BE GOING TO represents a stable situation or ongoing change. At this point it can only be concluded that the generally more frequent use of WILL in GhE points to a more conservative system, possibly shaped by written usage and the type of English taught in Ghanaian schools. Increased use of BE GOING TO by some speakers, on the other hand, seems to be a local development rather than a direct copy from BrE or AmE. However, as Mair suggests, "with very few exceptions regional contrasts in the use of modals and semi-modals across varieties of English are embedded in more important diachronic drifts and are therefore generally temporary and ephemeral" and may often rather represent genre differences than clearly regional ones (2015: 141). Future research into the diachronic development of GhE may shed light on that matter.

Emerging constraints may also be of a sociolinguistic nature: Among GhE speakers, unlike *be going to, be gonna* is strongly associated with AmE and, if used by a GhE speaker, dubbed as LAFA (locally acquired foreign accent; Bruku 2010, Shoba et al. 2012). The (non-) use of *be gonna* in GhE could thus consciously or unconsciously be triggered by attitudinal factors, whereas in BrE and American English its use is primarily determined by style. Huber (2014) reports differences between written GhE and BrE with respect to stylistic variation in the relativization system and concludes that in some cases the social prestige of linguistic variants adopted from the input variety is neutralized. While research on the acquisition of sociolinguistic variables

has been carried out in the area of second-language acquisition studies, it has thus far been largely neglected from New English studies and will have to be more thoroughly investigated in future studies.

In studying the sociolinguistic meaning of variables it will increasingly become important to consider intravarietal differences within New Englishes. Unfortunately, the ICE-components are too small in order to compare subgroups of speakers, especially if researchers want to go beyond long-established categories such as age, gender and education. Specifically fruitful seem to be new sociolinguistic categories such as "extent of contact to native speakers" or "domains of usage", i.e. text-type proficiency. Genre-differences as well as interspeaker differences based on new variables will ultimately help in understanding the complex processes at work in the emergence of a New English variety.

7. CONCLUSION

The aim of the present work was to show how the individual features of the TMA system that have been analyzed in Asian and Caribbean varieties behave in the African New English varieties, in this case GhE. Furthermore, the present work aimed at pointing to possible distinctive trends in (West-) African varieties in the TMA system on the basis of previous research and the present data analyses. I will summarize the findings of this work in the following.

Chapter 4 showed a slightly higher use of the Progressive in spoken GhE, but not in the written genres. A look at the uses of the Present and Past Progressive in the spoken data only showed quantitative differences in the expression of habituality, which is remarkably more frequent in GhE, and the expression of futurity, which is more frequent in BrE. Habitual meaning is in fact a potential candidate for those meanings that seem to be more consistently marked by the Progressive in GhE. 'Deviant' or 'extended' uses of the Progressive as have often been described in the literature on GhE and New Englishes in general, are found to be rare in the data. A number of rather unusual uses of the Progressive with stative verbs (*be* and *have*) or in habitual contexts but also in perfective contexts could be identified but their numbers are in general too low in order to account for higher uses of the Progressive in total. It appears that the Progressive is not extended only to specific aspectual contexts by some speakers but to generally to certain verbs, irrespective of aspectual context. In this sense, the findings from GhE run counter to what was reported in previous research on other New English varieties. Interestingly, a number of non-aspectual uses of the Progressive that are highly characteristic for informal spoken conversations in ICE-GB were also found for individual speakers in ICE-GH/ CS-GH, such as the interpretive Progressive with communication verbs as in *Are you telling me that…?* or *What I'm saying is that…* and the use of speech-reporting verbs referring to perfectively interpreted situations as in *She was telling me that…* Future studies on the basis of much larger and sociolinguistically more stratified data as well as historical data could shed light on the emergence of

these features associated with spontaneously spoken native English. On the other hand, it was found that uses of the Progressive in expressions that serve as hedges for politeness reasons as in *I was wondering if…* as well as uses of the Progressive to express a negative speaker attitude seem to be variety- or culture-specific uses and in the present work restricted to ICE-GB. Overall, the Progressive in GhE can be characterized as semantically weakened, displaying uses that often cannot be attributed any aspectual or subjective function.

Chapter 5 showed remarkably higher uses of the modal WILL in spoken GhE, whereas the situation in the written genres proved to be rather mixed. A closer look at the meanings and uses of WILL in the various genres showed that most of the differences in the written genres are of quantitative nature and rather due to differences with respect to topics discussed than due to usage differences between the varieties as such. However, the use of WILL in the spoken data revealed some interesting differences between the two varieties. First of all, 'deviant' or 'extended' uses of the modal such as the use of WILL with hypothetical meaning (i.e. instead of WOULD) are well represented in the data. However, they are too infrequent to account alone for the high numbers of uses of WILL in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. To some extent higher uses of WOULD in BrE are also due to the fact that speakers tend to choose the variant that sounds more tentative, which in this case is the modal WOULD. Uses of WOULD instead of WILL, which have been reported for Asian varieties of English, are rare in spoken GhE but it is quite likely that the use of WOULD for future meanings is a feature typical of written and/or formal usage, whereas the use of WILL in hypothetical contexts is a feature typical of spoken and/or informal language in West African varieties, a feature most likely triggered syntactically and lexically from English and possibly reinforced by the structures known from substrate languages. A number of discourse-pragmatic features mentioned for second-language varieties in general could also be found: Highly routinized expressions with WILL for making offers or requests as in BrE can hardly be found in GhE, giving support to an observation already made for the use of the Progressive: Politeness conventions differ across varieties and cultures and are not

adopted in language contact scenarios. Secondly, highly subjective epistemic uses of WILL are rarely found in spoken GhE. This could be interpreted in different ways, including the use of different means to express epistemic modality (e.g. by adverbs, hedges, etc.) in the variety but also to differences in the degree of speaker certainty that is judged as appropriate in a particular speech community. Finally, a much higher use of the modal WILL to refer to habits was observed in spoken GhE – a feature also noted for other New Englishes in various parts of the globe. A thorough discourse-analytic study of habitual WILL showed a particular type of structure that could be characterized as "circumstantial", the enumeration of individual events in an order that is typical of a habitual situation, whereby the individual events are presented perfectively. This type of usage has not been reported in any study on New Englishes before. It seems to be inherently bound to a specific style of narration, which was found to be quite common in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. Future work will have to consider possible similarities in specific discourse styles in the indigenous languages. Unfortunately, by the time of writing, no such information was available. As the section on the habitual Progressive in Chapter 4 as well as the discussion of the uses of habitual WILL in Chapter 5 showed, habituality comprises various different meanings, and cross-linguistically, habitual markers vary considerably with respect to the individual meanings they express (cf. Carlson 2012). This means that the mere presence of a habitual marker in a substrate language is not a sufficient reason to assume that its use in a New English variety is triggered by it. However, detailed analyses of specific discourse styles in the indigenous languages may provide ground for further research on discourse differences between New Englishes and native varieties. It is most likely that the availability of a marker in the target language coupled with a specific discourse style in the L1 may trigger the development of new functions of that marker. As E. Schneider remarks,

> Grammatical features of PCEs [postcolonial Englishes, A.S.] emerge when idiosyncracies of usage develop into indigenous and innovative patterns and rules. It is noteworthy that in this process speakers are not merely passive recipients of linguistic forms drawn from the input varieties, exposed to

> processes of contact-induced change such as "interference"; in contrast, they function as "language builders" (Heine and Kuteva 2005:35) actively involved in the creation of something new. (2007: 44-45)

In contact linguistics, most notably in pidgin and creole studies, the role of substrate influence in the development of morphosyntactic patterns is a frequently discussed issue. Similarly, in New Englishes studies the impact of the local languages on the emergence of characteristic features in the nativization of English has been mentioned with respect to various structural developments on all levels of language structure. Most notable is the influence of indigenous languages in the domains of phonology and lexis (cf. Schneider 2007: 71-90). As Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982: 6) observe, discourse conventions are the most likely features to persist and to be transferred in language shift situations. In fact, they seem to be one of those characteristics of language which are most tightly bound to the culture of its speakers. In this sense, the present study should be seen not only as a contribution to morphosyntactic studies in contact varieties but also as an inspiration for future work on a more recently developed field in linguistic, variational pragmatics (cf. Schneider & Barron 2008). This will also be a promising area for the investigation of differences between various New English varieties and also for a discussion of the relevance of substrate languages in the emergence of linguistic forms.

Finally, in variation with BE GOING TO in the domain of future, variants of WILL (*will, won't, 'll*) were found to be syntactically and semantically more determined in spoken ICE-GB than in ICE-GH/ CS-GH. In BrE, WILL is avoided in certain environments in which the modal most often retains its original meaning of 'willingness', i.e. in questions and negative contexts containing agentive verbs. Taking into consideration that in BrE routinized form-meaning interpretations as in *I won't...* or *Will you...?* are more established than in GhE, this shows the importance of the existence of such routinized expressions for the determinants of variation. In GhE, WILL can be characterized as a more neutral future marker without the semantic-syntactic restrictions it has in BrE.

Especially this final part of the work on the structures of GhE raised awareness on the difficulty in determining what exactly is meant when we talk about 'reasons' or 'explanations' for certain uses. Are we talking about the historical development of a particular structure that has been retained in the variety for several decades, or are we talking about the factors for the choice of a particular variant in a specific situation? This is, in fact, not always easy to keep apart as it is generally difficult to separate an individual's linguistic repertoire from that of the whole speech community, and in this sense this problem is not confined to the study of New Englishes. Put simply: Our lack of knowledge of the contents of the linguistic 'feature pool' (in the sense of Mufwene 2001) makes it difficult to determine whether the absence of a certain feature in a New English variety is due to the fact that it was never part of the speakers' input or whether speakers simply chose not to use it. The study on future time marking showed that very often, reasons for differences between New English and native varieties might lie in the mode of acquisition and in the nature of the input. Paraphrasing Bayley (2005), a learner only acquires variation to the extent that he or she is exposed to it. This makes explanations based on SLA research difficult in the context of New Englishes, as we often do not know about the nature of the input at a particular point in time. It is to be hoped, however, that with the release of historical counterparts of ICE, which are currently being developed for different New English varieties, researchers will be able to better explain the emergence of preferred patterns in a specific variety. Furthermore, it should also become possible to explain cross-varietal differences not only on the basis of different substrate languages but also on the basis of the types of discourses the varieties have emerged out of.

Taken together, the present work has shown that systematic corpus-linguistic analyses that go beyond identifying 'deviations' from standard English usage can provide a good picture of usage differences between varieties within specific grammatical domains. It has also shown that the description of usage differences between varieties should not only rely on semantic categories (like 'habitual') but should also include the description of lexical relationships (e.g. collocations) as well as discourse-pragmatic

functions. Corpus-linguistic studies of the investigated constructions are thus promising areas for detecting the effects of structural nativization (in the sense of E. Schneider 2007) in New Englishes, not only on a purely grammatical level but also on the level of discourse. While discussing the sources for the differences between individual varieties (e.g. structures in the substrates) was not at the center of this work, it could be shown that particular uses are deeply embedded within certain discourse-conventions and thus more likely to be shaped by local usage than others.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Data

Appendix A1: Text Categories and Sub-Categories International Corpus English

SPOKEN (300)	DIALOGUE (180)		S1
	Private	**(100)**	**ICE-GH S1A**
	Direct (face-to-face) conversations	(90)	ICE-GH S1A-001 to ICE-GH S1A-090
	Distanced conversations (phonecalls)	(10)	ICE-GH S1A-091 to ICE-GH S1A-100
	Public	**(80)**	**S1B**
	Class lessons	(20)	S1B-001 to S1B-020
	Broadcast discussions	(20)	S1B-021 to S1B-040
	Broadcast interviews	(10)	S1B-041 to S1B-050
	Parliamentary debates	(10)	S1B-051 to S1B-060
	Legal cross-examinations	(10)	S1B-061 to S1B-070
	Business transactions	(10)	S1B-071 to S1B-080
	MONOLOGUE (120)		S2
	Unscripted	**(70)**	**S2A**
	Spontaneous commentaries	(20)	S2A-001 to S2A-020
	Unscripted speeches	(30)	S2A-021 to S2A-050
	Demonstrations	(10)	S2A-051 to S2A-060
	Legal presentations	(10)	S2A-061 to S2A-070
	Scripted	**(50)**	**S2B**
	Broadcast news	(20)	S2B-001 to S2B-020
	Broadcast talks	(20)	S2B-021 to S2B-040
	Speeches (not broadcast)	(10)	S2B-041 to S2B-050

WRITTEN (200)	NON-PRINTED (50)		W1
	Student writing	**(20)**	**W1A**
	Student essays	(10)	W1A-001 to W1A-010
	Student examinations	(10)	W1A-011 to W1A-020
	Correspondences	**(30)**	**W1B**
	Social letters	(15)	W1B-001 to W1B-015
	Business letters	(15)	W1B-016 to W1B-030
	PRINTED (150)		W2
	Academic writing	**(40)**	**W2A**
	Humanities	(10)	W2A-001 to W2A-010
	Social sciences	(10)	W2A-011 to W2A-020
	Natural sciences	(10)	W2A-021 to W2A-030
	Technology	(10)	W2A-031 to W2A-040
	Non-academic writing	**(40)**	**W2B**
	Humanities	(10)	W2B-001 to W2B-010
	Social sciences	(10)	W2B-011 to W2B-020
	Natural sciences	(10)	W2B-021 to W2B-030
	Technology	(10)	W2B-031 to W2B-040
	Reportage	**(20)**	**W2C**
	Press news reports	(20)	W2C-001 to W2C-020
	Instructional writing	**(20)**	**W2D**
	Administrative/regulatory	(10)	W2D-001 to W2D-010
	Skills/hobbies	(10)	W2D-011 to W2D-020
	Persuasive writing	**(10)**	**W2E**
	Press editorials	(10)	W2E-001 to W2E-010
	Creative writing	**(10)**	**W2F**
	Novels & short stories	(20)	W2F-001 to W2F-02

Appendix A2: Overview Text Files of Spoken Ghanaian English: ICE-Ghana

File name	Date of recording	Number of words	Number of speakers
ICE-GH S1A-001	2002	2100	2
ICE-GH S1A-001	2002	0	2
ICE-GH S1A-002	2002	1100	2
ICE-GH S1A-003	2002	2200	2
ICE-GH S1A-003	2002	0	2
ICE-GH S1A-004	2008	6300	2
ICE-GH S1A-005	2008	2431	2
ICE-GH S1A-006	2010	2270	3
ICE-GH S1A-007	2010	1917	4
ICE-GH S1A-009	2010	2089	4
ICE-GH S1A-010	2010	1715	3
ICE-GH S1A-011	2010	2037	4
ICE-GH S1A-012	2010	2049	2
ICE-GH S1A-014	2010	1632	2
ICE-GH S1A-015	2010	3432	3
ICE-GH S1A-016	2010	2052	2
ICE-GH S1A-017	2010	2427	2
ICE-GH S1A-018	2010	2346	2
ICE-GH S1A-019	2010	2681	2
ICE-GH S1A-020	2010	2016	2
ICE-GH S1A-021	2010	2104	2
ICE-GH S1A-022	2010	1840	4
ICE-GH S1A-024	2010	1980	3
ICE-GH S1A-026	2010	2224	2
ICE-GH S1A-028	2010	2010	4
ICE-GH S1A-029	2010	978	3
ICE-GH S1A-031	2010	2127	3
ICE-GH S1A-032	2010	3300	2
ICE-GH S1A-033	2010	2578	4
ICE-GH S1A-034	2010	2699	4
ICE-GH S1A-036	2010	2376	2
ICE-GH S1A-037	2010	2491	2
ICE-GH S1A-039	2010	4712	2
ICE-GH S1A-040	2010	5335	2
ICE-GH S1A-041	2010	2485	2
ICE-GH S1A-042	2010	2121	2
ICE-GH S1A-043	2010	2417	4
ICE-GH S1A-045	2010	2230	4

ICE-GH S1A-046	2010	2390	2
ICE-GH S1A-047	2010	2423	2
ICE-GH S1A-048	2010	2296	2
ICE-GH S1A-049	2010	2450	2
ICE-GH S1A-050	2010	2096	3
ICE-GH S1A-051	2010	2921	2
ICE-GH S1A-052	2010	2139	4

Appendix A3: Overview Text Files of Spoken Ghanaian English: Corpus of Spoken Ghanaian English Conversations (CS-GH)

File name	Date of recording	Name of recording	Number of words	Number of speakers
CS-GH X01	2008	JDKB-080925-a000	2299	2
CS-GH X02	2008	JO-080926-a000	2401	2
CS-GH X03	2008	ASCH-080925-a000	2052	2
CS-GH X04	2008	AS-080924-a000	2471	3
CS-GH X05	2008	JD-080924-a000	2168	2
CS-GH X06	2008	AW-080926-a000	2399	2
CS-GH X07	2008	AS-080926-a000	2365	2
CS-GH X08	2008	MH-080925-a000	2422	2
CS-GH X09	2008	AW-080924-a000	2315	2
CS-GH X10	2008	AS-080925-b000	2240	2
CS-GH X11	2008	MH-080925-b000	3763	2
CS-GH X12	2008	SL-080926-a000+a001	2187	3
CS-GH X13	2008	SL-080926-b000	2184	3
CS-GH X14	2008	KB-080925-a000	2180	2
CS-GH X15	2008	AS-080925-c000	2276	2

Appendix A4: Overview Speakers ICE-GH and CS-GH

Code	Year of Birth	Sex	L1	Occupation	Files
001A	1980	Male	Fante	?	ICE-GH S1A-001
001B	1980	Male	Twi	?	ICE_GH S1A-001
001C	1950	Male	Twi	?	ICE-GH S1A-001
001D	1969	Male	Twi	?	ICE-GH S1A-001
002A	1976	Male	Twi	?	ICE-GH S1A-002
002B	1972	Male	Twi	?	ICE-GH S1A-002
003A	1968	Female	Twi	?	ICE-GH S1A-003
003B	1968	Female	Kasem	?	ICE-GH S1A-003
003C	1946	Male	Hausa	?	ICE-GH S1A-003
003D	1976	Male	Twi	?	ICE-GH S1A-003
004A	1984	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-004, CS-GH X01, X05, X14
004B	1982	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-004
005A	1983	Female	Ga	Student	ICE-GH S1A-005
005B	1963	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-005, CS-GH X07
006A	1980	Female	Twi	Bank accountant	ICE-GH S1A-006
006B	1973	Male	Twi	Lecturer	ICE-GH S1A-006
006C	1970	Female	Ga	Interior decorator	ICE-GH S1A-006
007A	1986	Male	English	?	ICE-GH S1A-007
007B	1984	Male	Gurune	Student	ICE-GH S1A-

					007, S1A-015
007C	1984	Male	Kusaal	Student	ICE-GH S1A-007, S1A-015, CS-GH X10, X15
007D	1979	Female	Gurune	Teacher	ICE-GH S1A-007
009A	1980	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-009
009B	1985	Female	Ga	Student	ICE-GH S1A-009
009C	1984	Male	Fante	Student	ICE-GH S1A-009
009D	1984	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-009
010A	1979	Female	Ga	Student	ICE-GH S1A-010
010B	1980	Male	Fante	Civil servant	ICE-GH S1A-010
010C	1984	Female	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-010, CS-GH X08, X11
011A	1990	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-011
011B	1983	Female	Kusaal	Student	ICE-GH S1A-011
011C	1989	Female	Ga	Student	ICE-GH S1A-011
011D	1984	Male	Gurune	Student	ICE-GH S1A-011
012A	1981	Male	Twi	Medical doctor	ICE-GH S1A-012
012B	1982	Male	Ga	Student	ICE-GH S1A-012
014A	1985	Male	Likpe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-014
014B	1982	Female	Fante	Student	ICE-GH S1A-014
015C	1984	Male	Gurune	Technician	ICE-GH S1A-015
016A	1989	Male	Kusaal	Student	ICE-GH S1A-016

016B	1988	Female	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-016
017A	1987	Male	Ewe	Library Assistant	ICE-GH S1A-017
017B	1989	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-017
018A	1984	Male	Kasem	Student	ICE-GH S1A-018
018B	1982	Male	Dagbani	Student	ICE-GH S1A-018
019A	1987	Male	Dangme	Student	ICE-GH S1A-019
019B	1986	Male	Gurune	Student	ICE-GH S1A-019
020A	1987	Female	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-020
020B	1987	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-020
021A	1987	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-021
021B	1987	Male	Fante	Student	ICE-GH S1A-021
022A	1986	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-022
022B	1990	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-022
022C	1987	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-022
022D	1987	Female	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-022
024A	1989	Male	Dagaare	Student	ICE-GH S1A-024
024B	1989	Male	Dagaare	Student	ICE-GH S1A-024
024C	1981	Male	Dagaare	Student	ICE-GH S1A-024
026A	1984	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-026
026B	1988	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-026
028A	1989	Male	Kusaal	Student	ICE-GH S1A-028

028B	1988	Female	Buli	Student	ICE-GH S1A-028
028C	1989	Female	Moore	Student	ICE-GH S1A-028
028D	1989	Male	Buli	Student	ICE-GH S1A-028
029A	1989	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-029
029B	1991	Female	Fante	Student	ICE-GH S1A-029
029C	1989	Female	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-029
032A	1987	Female	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-032
032B	1987	Female	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-032
033A	1987	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-033
033B	1984	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-033
033C	1988	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-033
033D	1987	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-033
034A	1987	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-034
034B	1982	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-034
034C	1988	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-034
034D	1986	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-034
036A	1986	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-036
036B	1986	Male	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-036
037A	1986	Male	Ga	Student	ICE-GH S1A-037
037B	1984	Male	Ga	Student	ICE-GH S1A-037
039A	1985	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-039

039B	?	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-039
040A	1989	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-040
040B	1988	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-040
041A	1987	Female	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-041
041B	?	Female	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-041
042A	?	Male	Dangme (Krobo)	Student	ICE-GH S1A-042
042B	1986	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-042
043A	1986	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-043
043B	1985	Female	Ga	Student	ICE-GH S1A-043
043C	1985	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-043
045A	1967	Female	?	Student	ICE-GH S1A-045
045B	1985	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-045
045C	1986	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-045
045D	1977	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-045
046A	1990	Female	Fante	Student	ICE-GH S1A-046
046B	?	Female	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-046
047A	1986	Male	Gurune	Student	ICE-GH S1A-047
047B	1985	Male	Dagaare	Student	ICE-GH S1A-047
048A	1981	Male	Bissa	Student	ICE-GH S1A-048
048B	1983	Male	Gurune	Student	ICE-GH S1A-048
049A	1989	Male	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-049

049B	1991	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-049
050A	1989	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-050
050B	1990	Male	Fante	Student	ICE-GH S1A-050
050C	1989	Female	English	Student	ICE-GH S1A-050
051A	1986	Male	Twi	Student	ICE-GH S1A-051
051B	1989	Male	Gurune	Student	ICE-GH S1A-051
052A	1981	Male	Twi	Teaching assistant	ICE-GH S1A-052
052B	1986	Male	Ewe	Student	ICE-GH S1A-052
052C	1984	Female	Fante	Student	ICE-GH S1A-052
052D	1982	Female	Ga	Managing director	ICE-GH S1A-052
X01B	1960	Male	Ga	Photocopy operator	CS-GH X01
X02A	1971	Male	Ewe	Student	CS-GH X02
X02B	1971	Female	Dangme	Teacher	CS-GH X02
X03A	1984	Female	?	Student	CS-GH X03
X03B	1984	Female	Twi	Teaching assistant	CS-GH X03
X04A	1977	Male	Deg	Student	CS-GH X04
X04B	1992	Male	Twi	Student	CS-GH X04
X04C	1989	Male	Nzema	Student	CS-GH X04
X05B	1979	Male	Fante	Student	CS-GH X05
X06A	1973	Male	Twi	Student	CS-GH X06
X06B	1984	Female	Twi	Student	CS-GH X06
X07B	1968	Male	?	Librarian	CS-GH X07
X08B	1964	Male	Ewe	Front Desk Officer	CS-GH X08
X09B	1952	Female	Twi	Teacher	CS-GH X09
X10B	1989	Male	Ga	Student	CS-GH X10
X11B	1986	Female	Ewe	Student	CS-GH X11
X12A	1977	Female	?	Student	CS-GH X12, X13
X12B	1974	Female	Hausa	Student	CS-GH X12

X12C	1984	Female	Twi	Student	CS-GH X12, X13
X13B	1962	Male	Guan	-	CS-GH X13
X14B	1990	Female	Ga	Student	CS-GH X14
X15B	1987	Male	Twi	Student	CS-GH X15

Appendix B - Frequency Tables for Chapters 4 and 5

Chapter 4

Appendix B4.1: Frequencies of the Progressive Across Text Categories in ICE-GH/ CS-GH and ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies

Text Category	ICE-GH/CS-GH	ICE-GB
Spoken	1,083.68 (1528)	864.44 (1556)
W1A	160 (64)	182.5 (73)
W2A	101.25 (81)	115 (92)
W2B	247.43 (193)	285 (228)
W2C	289.47 (110)	407.5 (163)
W2E	265 (53)	490 (98)
W2F	605 (242)	570 (228)

Appendix B4.1: Forms of the Progressive in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies

	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH	Spoken ICE-GB
Present Progressive	692.19 (976)	533.33 (996)
Past Progressive	285.1 (402)	226.66 (408)
Perfect Progressive	44.68 (63)	35 (63)
Past Perfect Progressive	0	3.33 (6)
Modal Progressive	57.44 (81)	22.22 (40)
Other	4.25 (6)	23.88 (43)
TOTAL	1,083.68 (1,528)	864.44 (1,556)

Appendix B4.2: Functions of the Present Progressive Active: Normalized Frequencies[69]

Present Progressive		**Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH**	**Spoken ICE-GB**
ASPECTUAL	Progressive	279.8 (403)	227.77 (410)
	Habitual	132.63 (191)	68.88 (124)
	Stative	69.44 (100)	46.66 (84)
	Futurate	72.91 (105)	108.88 (196)
SUBJECTIVE	Interpretative	58.33 (84)	39.44 (71)
	Polite/Tentative	0	0
	Attitudinal (ALWAYS)	0.69 (1)	1.66 (3)
OTHER	Conversational	0.69 (1)	3.33 (6)
	Other perfective	6.25 (9)	3.33 (6)
?	?	31.94 (46)	28.33 (51)
TOTAL		649.30 (935)	548.33 (987)

[69] *If*-clauses are excluded.

Appendix B4.3: Functions of the Past Progressive Active: Normalized Frequencies[70]

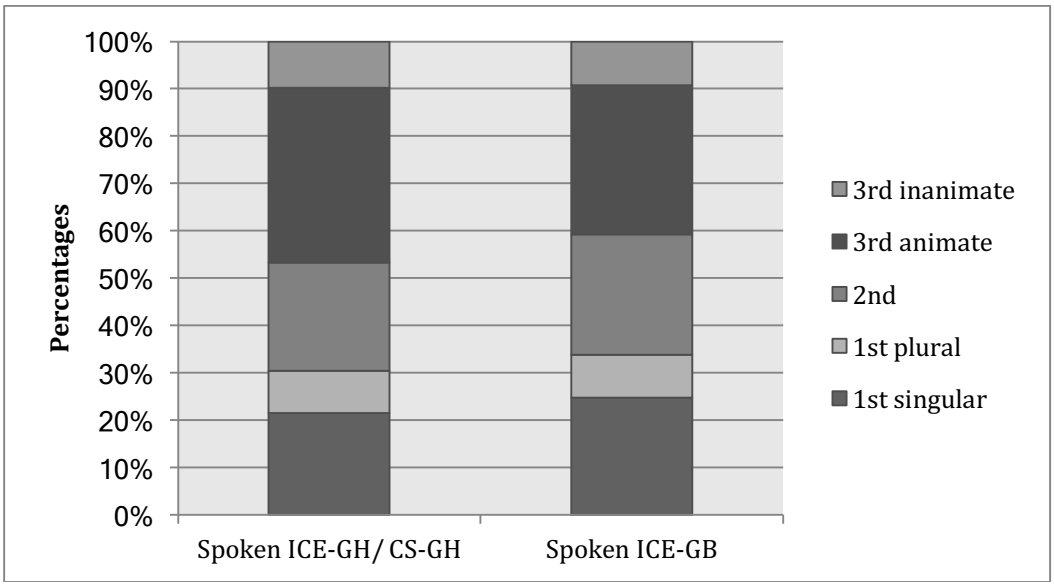
Past Progressive		**Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH**	**Spoken ICE-GB**
ASPECTUAL	Progressive	108.33 (156)	84.44 (152)
	Habitual	60.41 (87)	23.33 (42)
	Stative	29.16 (42)	25 (45)
	Futurate	3.47 (5)	3.88 (7)
SUBJECTIVE	Interpretative	9.02 (13)	11.11 (20)
	Polite/Tentative	0.69 (1)	8.88 (16)
	Attitudinal (ALWAYS)	0	0
OTHER	Conversational	30.55 (44)	58.88 (106)
	Other perfective	28.47 (41)	16.66 (30)
?	?	13.88 (20)	8.33 (15)
TOTAL		283.33 (408)	235 (423)

Appendix B4.4: Present Progressive Active Across Subject Types in the Spoken Corpora: Absolute Frequencies

	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH	**Spoken ICE-GB**
1st singular	207	239
1st plural	86	89
2nd	219	246
3rd animate	354	307
3rd inanimate	94	100
?	2	6
TOTAL	962	987

[70] *If*-clauses are excluded.

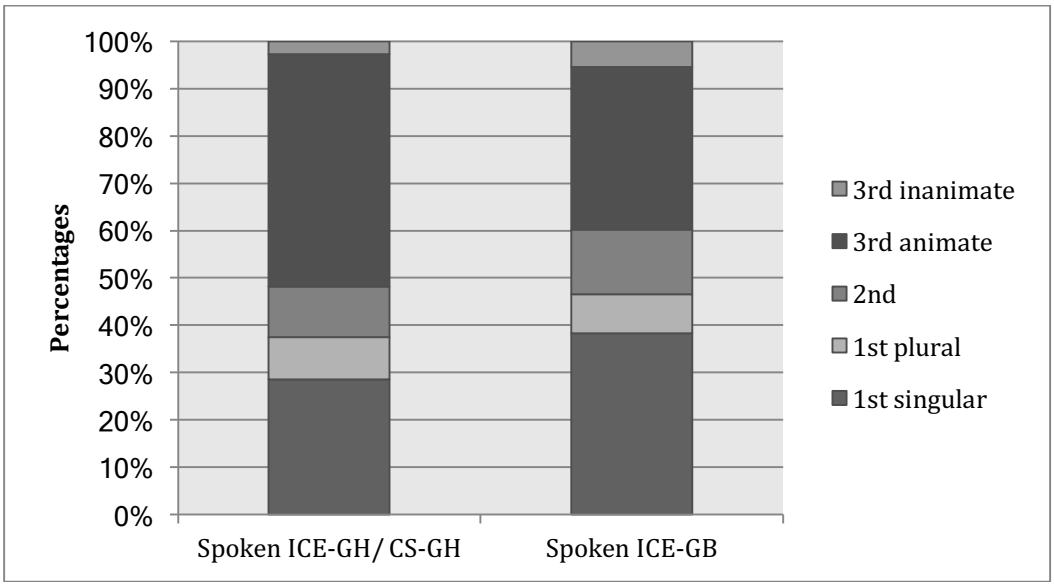
Appendix B4.5: Present Progressive Active Across Subject Types in the Spoken Corpora: Relative Frequencies



Appendix B4.6: Past Progressive Active Across Subject Types in the Spoken Corpora: Absolute Numbers

	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH	**Spoken ICE-GB**
1st singular	112	154
1st plural	35	33
2nd	42	55
3rd animate	192	138
3rd inanimate	11	22
?	3	0
TOTAL	395	402

Appendix B4.7: Past Progressive Active Across Subject Types in the Spoken Corpora: Relative Frequencies



Chapter 5

Appendix B5.1: Frequencies of WILL Across Genres in ICE-GH/ CS-GH and ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies

	ICE-GH/ CS-GH	ICE-GB
Spoken	636.11 (916)	346.11 (623)
W1A	267.5 (107)	137.5 (55)
W2A	226.92 (177)	203.75 (163)
W2B	337.17 (263)	248.75 (199)
W2C	250 (95)	517.5 (207)
W2E	270 (54)	545 (109)
W2F	215 (86)	267.5 (107)

Appendix B5.2: Variant Forms of WILL in Spoken ICE-GH/ SSGH and Spoken ICE-GB: Absolute Frequencies

	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH	ICE-GB
will	595	148
won't	62	66
'll	257	409

Appendix B5.3: Base and Complex Forms of WILL in Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Normalized Frequencies

	Spoken ICE-GH/ SSGH	ICE-GB
Base	595.83 (858)	331.11 (596)
Passive	9.02 (13)	5.55 (10)
Perfect	0	1.66 (3)
Progressive	31.25 (45)	7.77 (14)

Appendix B5.4: Functions of WILL Across Genres in ICE-GH/ CS-GH and ICE-GB: Absolute Frequencies

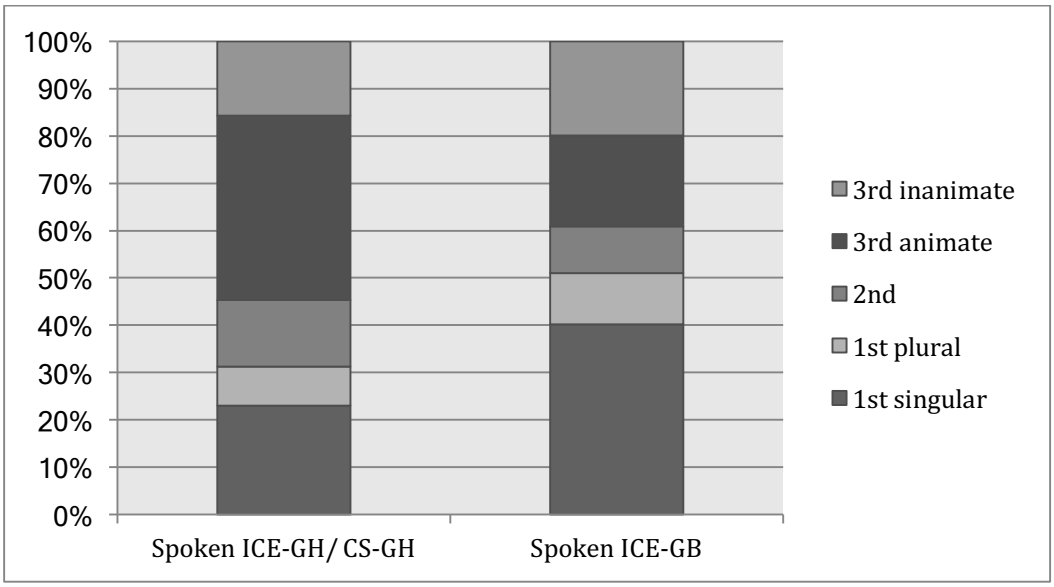
		ICE-GH/ CS-GH						
		Spoken	W1A	W2A	W2B	W2C	W2E	W2F
Dynamic	Willingness	14	2	0	6	3	0	10
	Intention	142	1	7	14	1	4	18
	Habit/Ability / Disposition	108	4	7	7	1	0	0
Epistemic	Predictability	39	30	29	47	3	5	1
	Prediction	329	54	117	160	60	31	41
Indeterminate	Prediction/ Intention	86	0	2	12	23	5	11
Past	Future in the Past	14	2	0	2	0	0	0
	Past/Past Habit	65	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Predictability	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Past Willingness	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hypothetical	Hypothetical (dynamic and epistemic)	32	2	1	5	1	1	0
	Fixed expressions	20	0	0	1	0	2	0
Hypothetical/ Non-hypothetical (Dynamic and epistemic)		23	9	1	1	1	2	1
Unclear		40	3	12	8	2	4	4
TOTAL		916	107	177	263	95	54	86

		ICE-GB						
		ICE-GH S1A	W1A	W2A	W2B	W2C	W2E	W2F
Dynamic	Willingness	35	0	0	0	5	2	3
	Intention	193	0	1	2	1	2	23
	Habit/Ability Disposition	20	3	2	4	2	3	2
Epistemic	Predictability	48	32	29	58	5	5	10
	Prediction	259	35	121	123	158	86	60
Indeterminate	Prediction/ Intention	35	0	2	1	27	6	5
Past	Future in the Past	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Past/Past Habit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Predictability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Past Willingness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hypothetical	Hypothetical (dynamic and epistemic)	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Fixed expressions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hypothetical/ Non-hypothetical (dynamic and epistemic)		2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Unclear		29	1	7	10	9	5	4
TOTAL		623	71	163	199	207	109	107

Appendix B5.5: WILL Across Subject Types in the Spoken Corpora: Absolute Frequencies

	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH	Spoken ICE-GB
1st singular	211	250
1st plural	76	67
2nd	128	62
3rd animate	357	119
3rd inanimate	144	124
TOTAL	916	622

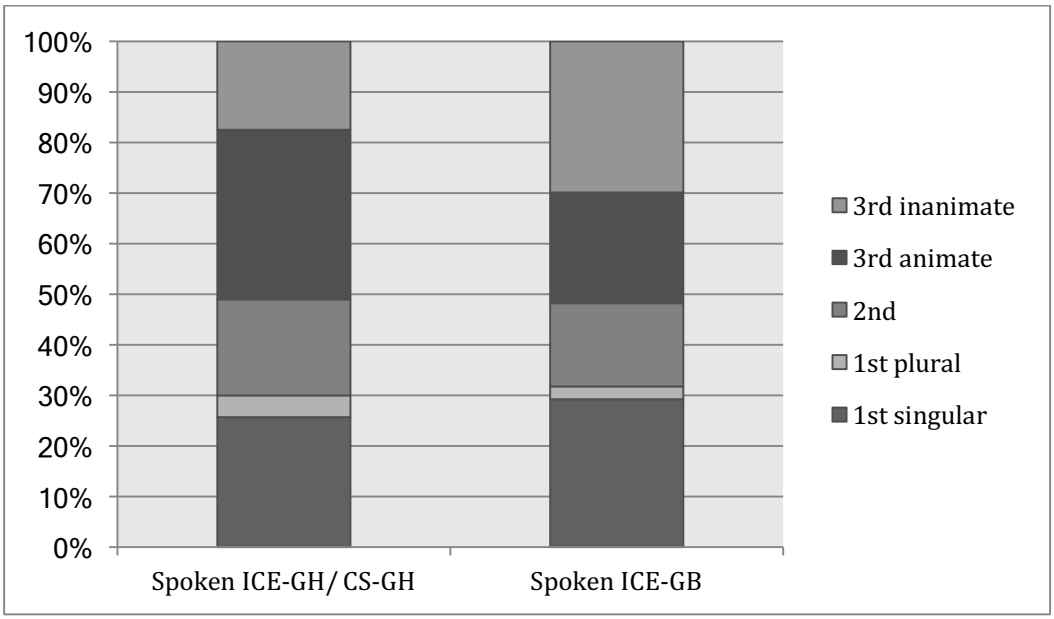
Appendix B5.6: WILL Across Subject Types in the Spoken Corpora: Relative Frequencies



Appendix B5.7: WOULD Across Subject Types in the Spoken Corpora: Absolute Frequencies

	Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH	**Spoken ICE-GB**
1st singular	88	225
1st plural	15	19
2nd	65	127
3rd animate	115	168
3rd inanimate	60	230

Appendix B5.8: WOULD Across Subject Types in the Spoken Corpora: Relative Frequencies



Appendix C - Results of Regression Models

Appendix C1: Results of Minimal Adequate Mixed Effect Logistic Regression Model: Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Progressive vs BE GOING TO[71] [72]

Random Effects:

Groups	Name	Variance	Std. Dev.
Verb	(Intercept)	2.254	1.501
Speaker	(Intercept)	1.096	1.047

Number of observations: 694, Groups: Verb, 136; Speaker, 195

Fixed Effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)	
(Intercept)	-0.9199	0.3281	-2.804	0.00505	**
Variety					
ICE-GH/ CS-GH	0.7256	0.3367	2.155	0.03115	*
Agentivity					
Non-agentive	-2.1378	0.3804	-5.620	1.9e-08	***
Polarity					
Negative	-0.8342	0.4002	-2.085	0.03711	*

[71] 6 datapoints from ICE-GB for Progressive had to be ignored due to insufficient information on speaker identity.

[72] Predicted estimates are for the Progressive. Model fit: C=0.956, Somers' Dxy=0.912

Appendix C2: Results of Minimal Adequate Mixed Effect Logistic Regression Model: Spoken ICE-GH/ CS-GH and Spoken ICE-GB: Progressive vs WILL/ BE GOING TO[73] [74]

Random Effects:

Groups	Name	Variance	Std. Dev.
Verb	(Intercept)	2.008	1.417
Speaker	(Intercept)	1.235	1.111

Number of observations: 1743, Groups: Verb, 277; Speaker, 275

Fixed Effects:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)	
(Intercept)	-2.34624	0.38768	-6.052	1.43e-09	***
Variety					
ICE-GH/ CS-GH	-0.01038	0.33122	-0.031	0.975002	
Sentence type					
Interrogative	0.52437	0.38004	1.380	0.167652	
Agentivity					
Non-agentive	-2.09260	0.29497	-7.094	1.30e-12	***
Subject type					
Non-1st person	1.03639	0.26756	3.873	0.000107	***
Agentivity					
Non-agentive	0.8770	0.2554	3.434	0.000595	***
Temporal adverbial specification					
Indefinite	-0.88501	0.44876	-1.972	0.048594	*
No adverbial	-0.73379	0.25272	-2.904	0.003689	**
Variety*Sentence type					
ICE-GH/CS-GH*Interrogative	1.65814	0.60327	2.749	0.005985	**
Variety*Subject type					
ICE-GH/CS-GH*Non-1st person	-1.08469	0.39340	-2.757	0.005830	**

[73] 6 datapoints from ICE-GB for Progressive had to be ignored due to insufficient information on speaker identity.

[74] Predicted estimates are for the Progressive. Model fit: C=0.945, Somers' Dxy=0.891

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DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die vorliegende Dissertation beschäftigt sich mit dem Gebrauch des Progressivs und des Modalverbs WILL im *Educated Ghanaian English* (GhE), einer sogenannten *New English variety* (Platt et al. 1984). Sie stellt die erste korpusbasierte Beschreibung morphosyntaktischer Strukturen in der Varietät dar, in der auch gesprochene Daten berücksichtigt werden. Zwar sind die *New Englishes* dank neuerer Korpora in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten verstärkt untersucht worden, jedoch sind afrikanische Varietäten aufgrund der bisher prekären Datenlage weitestgehend unberücksichtigt geblieben. Die vorliegende Arbeit soll dazu beitragen diese Lücke zu schließen.

In der Arbeit werden quantitative und qualitative Unterschiede im Gebrauch morphosyntaktischer Strukturen zwischen dem GhE und dem Britischen Englisch (BrE), seinem historischen Superstrat und gegenwärtigen Adstrat, untersucht. Die Arbeit vereint sprachkontaktrelevante Interessen mit Methoden der quantitativen Korpuslinguistik, der Diskursanalyse und mit variationslinguistischen Methoden wie der logistischen Regression.

Grundlage der Analyse ist ein Korpus privater Gespräche, die zwischen 2002 und 2010 in Ghana aufgenommen wurden (ca. 144 000 Wörter), sowie geschriebene Texte aus dem *International Corpus of English – Ghana Component* (ICE-GH) (ca. 294 000 Wörter). Als Vergleich wurden Teile des parallelen Korpus ICE-GB hinzugezogen, welches aus gesprochenen und geschriebenen Texten des BrE besteht. Während die gesprochenen Daten sowohl quantitativ als auch qualitativ analysiert werden, beschränkt sich die Beschreibung der geschriebenen Daten lediglich auf Häufigkeiten.

Sowohl die Progressivkonstruktion wie auch das Modalverb WILL zeichnen sich durch ihre mannigfaltigen Funktionen im Diskurs aus und sind in der Literatur zu den Themen Tempus, Modus und Aspekt im Standardenglischen detailliert untersucht und beschrieben worden. Auch in Beschreibungen des GhE wurde auf den Gebrauch beider Konstruktionen Bezug genommen, wobei sich die meisten Studien auf diesem Gebiet auf die Beschreibung ‘abweichender’, ‘ungewöhnlicher’ oder ’ungrammatischer’ Verwendungen beschränken (z.B. Sey 1973, Huber & Dako 2008). Ebenso ist

die Variation im Bereich der Futurformen des Englischen ein stark erforschtes Thema, insbesondere in der modernen Soziolinguistik und der probabilistischen Grammatik (Szmrescanyi 2006, Torres-Cacoullos & Walker 2009, Tagliamonte et al. 2014). Was das GhE wie auch andere *New English varieties* betrifft, gibt es bisher noch keine detaillierten, variationslinguistischen Studien in diesem Bereich. Ziel dieser Arbeit ist die genaue Darstellung individueller Merkmale im Bereich der Progressivkonstruktion und des modalen WILL, die schon für andere, insbesondere asiatische und karibische Varietäten korpuslinguistisch untersucht wurden, im GhE, vor allem im gesprochenen Bereich. Desweiteren soll versucht werden, auf Grundlage existierender Beschreibungen und der jetzigen Korpusanalysen, typische (west-) afrikanische Merkmale zu identifizieren, die in zukünftigen Studien näher untersucht und beschrieben werden können.

Nach einer allgemeinen Einleitung in die Thematik in Kapitel 1 widmet sich Kapitel 2 der Geschichte des Englischen in Ghana und der gegenwärtigen soziolinguistischen Situation des Landes. Kapitel 3 führt die Datengrundlage der Arbeit ein und erklärt die verwendeten Methoden der Datenextrahierung- und kodierung.

Kapitel 4 bis 6 bilden die Kernkapitel der Arbeit und beschreiben quantitative und qualitative Unterschiede im Gebrauch von Tempus-, Modalitäts- und Aspektmarkern zwischen dem GhE und dem BrE. In den Kapiteln 4 und 5 werden die verschiedenen Verwendungsweisen und Funktionen der Progressivkonstruktion und des Modalverbs WILL und ihre Häufigkeiten beschrieben und diskutiert. Außerdem wird genauer auf bestimmte Verwendungsweisen der Konstruktionen im Diskurs eingegangen. Kapitel 6 beschäftigt sich mit der Variation von WILL und dem Semi-Modalverb BE GOING TO in einem bestimmten semantischen Kontext (Zukunft). Im Gegensatz zu den vorherigen Kapiteln liegt hier das Augenmerk auf den Faktoren, die die Wahl von Varianten in den beiden Varietäten bedingen und inwiefern sich diese im GhE von denen im BrE unterscheiden.

Die Analyse der Progressivkonstruktion in Kapitel 4 zeigt einen insgesamt leicht häufigeren Gebrauch im gesprochenen Ghanaischen

Englisch, nicht jedoch in den geschrieben Textsorten. Dies bestätigt die in einschägigen Studien beschriebene Tendenz eines häufigeren Gebrauchs der Konstruktion in *New English varieties*. Quantitative Unterschiede im Gebrauch des *Present Progressive* sowie des *Past Progressive* im gesprochenen Korpus lassen sich nur für den Gebrauch der Konstruktion zum Ausdruck von Habitualität, der im GhE deutlich häufiger ist, sowie für den Gebrauch der Konstruktion zum Ausdruck des Futurs, welcher im BrE häufiger ist, erkennen. Qualitative Unterschiede sind kaum zu finden. So ist zum Beispiel der Gebrauch der Progressivkonstruktion für zeitlich nicht begrenzte statische und habituelle Situationen im GhE wie auch im BrE äußerst selten. Interessanterweise sind es im Bereich der statischen Situationen nur ein paar wenige Verben, wie *have, be,* und *depend,* die im GhE für zeitlich nicht begrenzte Situationen mit dem Progressiven gebildet werden. Dies lässt darauf schließen, dass die Ausweitung des der Konstruktion auf zeitlich unbegrenzte statische Situationen nicht semantisch, sondern syntaktisch/lexikalisch motiviert ist, und dass der häufigere Gebrauch spezieller Verben im Progressiven eine solche Ausweitung begünstigt und sich dieser Gebrauch im GhE deshalb festsetzt. In diesem Sinne weicht das GhE von sowohl anderen afrikanischen wie auch nicht-afrikanischen Varietäten ab. Sogenannte subjektive Gebrauchsweisen der Progressivkonstruktion, zum Ausdruck von Höflichkeit in Bitten (*I was wondering if...)* oder zum Ausdruck von Sprecherhaltung (*They are always doing that*), hingegen sind auf das Britische Englisch beschränkt. Interessanterweise lassen sich im GhE einige Gebrauchsweisen, die typischerweise mit informeller, spontangesprochener Sprache assoziiert sind, im GhE verstärkt nachweisen, wie zum Beispiel bestimmte interpretive Gebrauchsweisen wie *I am just saying that...* Insgesamt ist die Progressivkonstruktion im GhE semantisch geschwächt, sowohl was aspektuelle als auch subjektive Bedeutungen angeht.

Kapitel 5 zeigt, dass sich quantitative Unterschiede zwischen den Varietäten auch hinsichtlich des Gebrauchs des Modalverbs WILL vor allem in den gesprochenen Texten zeigen. Die häufig in der Literatur zu den New Englishes beschriebene Verwendung von WILL anstatt WOULD in

hypothetischen Kontexten findet sich auch in den Daten zum gesprochenen GhE. Bei näherer Betrachtung zeigt sich, dass nicht alle Fälle eindeutig ‚ungrammatische' Verwendungen darstellen. Vielmehr fällt auf, dass Sprecher des BrE oftmals die ‚vorsichtigere' Variante WOULD wählen, auch in Fällen, die nicht notwendigerweise als hypothetisch anzusehen sind. Die umgekehrte Verwendung (also WOULD anstelle von WILL) im GhE ist hingegen selten. Vor dem Hintergrund von früheren Beschreibungen der WILL/WOULD-Variation in westafrikanischen Varietäten, die sich vor allem auf formalere oder geschriebene Textsorten beziehen, wäre eine mögliche Erklärung, dass in westafrikanischen Varitäten ein verstärkter Gebrauch von WILL typisch für die gesprochene Sprache ist, während der Gebrauch von WOULD als Futurform eher eine formelle und/oder geschriebensprachliche Gebrauchsweise ist, was jedoch in zukünftigen Studien bestätigt werden muss. Dass viele der Unterschiede zwischen GhE und BrE im Gebrauch von WILL diskurspragmatischer Natur sind, zeigen auch quantitative Unterschiede im Gebrauch von anderen Verwendungsweisen des Modalverbs: So wird WILL im GhE kaum für die Konstruktion für Bitten oder Angebote (*Will you have more juice?*) verwendet. Ebenfalls sind epistemische, präsens-orientierte Verwendungen von WILL (*You won't know what I want*) im GhE im Gegensatz zum BrE selten. Ein hervorstechendes Merkmal im gesprochenen GhE ist die Herausbildung des Modalverbs WILL zum sogenannten *circumstantial marker*, also die Verwendung des Verbs zur Aufzählung einzelner Situationen in chronologischer Reihenfolge, die als typisch oder habituell angesehen werden. Diese Verwendungsweise des Modalverbs ist im gesprochenen GhE sowohl im Bezug auf gegenwärtige wie auch auf vergangene habituelle Situationen sehr häufig und weist auf eine für das GhE charakteristische Erzählweise hin.

In Kapitel 6 werden die Verteilung und der Gebrauch von den Futurmarkern WILL und BE GOING TO in den gesprochenen Daten anhand eines gemischten logistischen Regressionsmodells untersucht. Der Gebrauch von BE GOING TO zeigt sich im GhE als deutlich seltener. Die Regressionsanalyse zeigt, dass einige syntaktische und semantische Faktoren, die für die Wahl des Futurmarkers im BrE relevant sind, im GhE keine Rolle

spielen. Im BrE ist WILL in bestimmten semantisch-syntaktischen Kontexten (in negierten Sätzen sowie in Fragen mit agentivem Verb) sehr viel spezifischer und behält dort seine ‚ursprüngliche' Bedeutung des ‚Wollens' und wird daher in diesen Kontexten von BE GOING TO ersetzt. Da die im BrE verwendeten routinierten Ausdrücke wie *Won't/Will you...* + agentives Verb. und *I won't...*+ agentives Verb im GhE so nicht etabliert sind, haben sie keine Auswirkung auf die Variation zwischen WILL und BE GOING TO. Die Analyse zeigt außerdem, dass der Gebrauch von BE GOING TO im GhE sehr viel mehr sprecherabhängig ist als im Britischen. WILL kann damit im GhE als neutraler Futurmarker ohne syntaktisch-semantische Restriktionen charakterisiert werden.

Kapitel 7 fasst die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der drei Teilstudien zusammen. Abweichungen von anderen *New English varieties* lassen sich für das GhE vor allem im Bereich des Progressivs finden. Die Analysen zum Modalverb WILL hingegen weisen einige Merkmale auf, die tatsächlich distinktiv für (West-) Afrika sein könnten, was in zukünftigen korpuslinguistischen Studien gezeigt werden muss. Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass viele Unterschiede im Gebrauch der Progressivkonstruktion und des Modalverbs WILL zwischen dem gesprochenen GhE und dem gesprochenen BrE im Bereich des Diskurses gefunden werden. Dies zeigt die Bedeutung der Substratsprachen im diskurspragmatischen Bereich für den Nativisierungsprozess des Englischen. Andererseits muss betont werden, dass es sich bei den festgestellten Unterschieden zwischen Varietäten hauptsächlich um Merkmale der informellen gesprochenen Sprache des BrE handelt und dass genannte Merkmale nicht notwendigerweise Teil des Inputs, weder historisch noch gegenwärtig, für Sprecher des GhE sind.