A DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRESSIVE ASPECT IN BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH

C.M. PIOTROWSKA

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Supervisor: Prof. Bertus Van Rooy

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Abstract: Current research into language change and evolution focuses on native varieties of English, Schneider's (2007) settler strand, but we have little knowledge concerning diachronic changes in non-native varieties of English, Schneider's (2007) indigenous strand. Such a theory must take into account language contact as well as theories pertaining to Second Language Acquisition. This dissertation describes the diachronic changes which occur in one feature of Black South African English (BSAE), namely the progressive aspect. Current synchronic research on BSAE suggests that the progressive aspect is overextended to include stative verbs. This dissertation aims to evaluate the value of this hypothesis, and determine whether there is evidence of this overextension in diachronic data. In order to observe instances of language change, a diachronic corpus of BSAE was complied. This corpus consisted of data from letters, fiction, and newspapers ranging from the 1870s until the 2000s. Using this corpus, analyses were performed in order to determine the frequency of progressive use, the distribution of aktionsart categories, and which temporal meanings were denoted by stative verbs and activity verbs used in the progressive aspect. These analyses were then repeated for data taken from the historical corpus of White South African English (WSAE), in order to ascertain whether changes in BSAE developed parallel to WSAE, or if it follows its own trajectory of change. One further analysis was conducted on BSAE: the aspectual categories of 71 state verbs were analysed in order to determine whether speakers of BSAE indeed do overextend the *–ing* progressive form onto stative verbs describing states and qualities.

The results indicate that the frequency of verbs used with the progressive aspect increases for BSAE, but decreases for WSAE. The comparison of aktionsart distribution indicates that BSAE has a higher overall frequency of communication verbs and accomplishments, while WSAE has a higher frequency of activity verbs, verbs denoting the future, and stative verbs. Achievements are used as expected by both varieties. The analysis of the temporal meanings of stative verbs indicates that speakers of WSAE denote the prototypical short duration associated with the progressive aspect for 74.83% of the verbs, while BSAE uses an extended temporal meaning for 46.86% of the verbs, indicating that speakers of BSAE more likely to overextend the temporal duration of stative verbs than WSAE speakers. The temporal meanings for activities

were the same for both varieties; the prototypical short duration is denoted by 77.83% of the total activities in BSAE, and 77.11% of the activities in WSAE. The extended duration in both varieties may be due to language change in general, while the additional temporal meanings for statives in BSAE are a result of substrate transfer.

Keywords: Black South African English, White South African English, diachronic change, progressive aspect, stative verbs, activity verbs, corpus.

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List of glossing abbreviations

(10) ……Word Class 10

1……..First Person

ADV…….….Adverbial

COP……..…Copula

IPFV…….Imperfective

N……..…..Neutral

PL……....Plural

PROG…….….Progressive

SBJ……..Subject

SG……..Singular

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

South African English comprises five main ethnic Englishes; namely White South African English (henceforth WSAE) which is spoken mainly as a first language, Indian South African English which has developed into a first language variety, and three second language varieties termed Black, Coloured, and Afrikaans South African English (Mesthrie, 2010:5). Each of these varieties are sharply differentiated in both accent and syntax due to the diverse phonological and grammatical features they contain (Mesthrie, 2010:5). In recent years much attention has been given to Black South African English (henceforth BSAE) as a non-native variety of English, with research being conducted on its phonological, grammatical, lexical, and discoursal features (Gough, 1996; De Klerk, 2003, 2006; Mesthrie, 2004; Van Rooy, 2004, Siebers, 2007; Minow, 2010). BSAE can be defined as the variety of English spoken by people who have an indigenous African language as their first or home language (Minow, 2010:6), and typically acquire English as a second language through primary school education.

1.1 GENERAL AIM

The general aim of this dissertation is to investigate how the progressive aspect is used by speakers of BSAE, in comparison to speakers of WSAE, and whether any diachronic developments and changes can be attested in the data. The overarching aim of this dissertation is to describe and explain a feature of a BSAE, as a non-native variety of English, in order to set the stage for future research into the developments of features which occur in other non-native varieties, so that a theory of diachronic change in non-native varieties may be postulated. A theory of diachronic changes in non-native varieties of English, which can outline prototypical change through theories of language contact and second language acquisition, does not yet exist. In achieving this aim, the research presented in this dissertation can serve as a foundation from which such a theory can be postulated.

1.2 Problem Statement

The current research on diachronic language change focuses on changes which occur within, and between, native varieties of English. However, no theories documenting diachronic changes exist for non-native varieties of English. One reason for the lack of theoretical information pertaining to diachronic changes in non-native varieties of English is the lack of diachronic corpora, which can be used to investigate the developments of salient features found across non-native varieties of English. Consequently, a call has been made for more descriptive studies profiling diachronic changes (Noël *et al*., 2014). One feature of non-native varieties of English that has received much attention in research on BSAE is the so-called overextension of the progressive aspect to include stative verbs. Current studies on the progressive are all synchronic, and focus mainly on the description of stative verbs when used with the progressive aspect. Therefore, diachronic studies which examine this feature's saliency throughout history are needed. Furthermore, research is needed on how dynamic verbs are used with the progressive aspect as well, as these have not yet been profiled in much detail. A further issue is that the progressive aspect in BSAE has not yet been compared to the use of the progressive in WSAE, particularly diachronically.

1.3 Research Questions

Based on the gaps identified in the problem statement above, this dissertation has three research questions:

1) Have there been any changes in the frequency and meaning of the progressive aspect in BSAE since the colonial period (1880s) until contemporary times (2000s)?

2) How do the findings from the BSAE (Schneider's (2007) indigenous strand) data compare to those of WSAE (Schneider's (2007) settler strand)?

3) Which theoretical factors pertaining to language change are required to explain the changes found in the empirical data?

1.4 OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of this dissertation is to provide an account of diachronic changes of the progressive aspect in BSAE. The majority of current studies examine the specific use of statives as progressives in contemporary data, while only a few (Siebers, 2007; Minow, 2010) deal with the progressive aspect as a whole. However, we do not know how long this feature has been present in BSAE nor how the progressive aspect has developed over time, making it essential to do research on diachronic changes in BSAE. This dissertation will attempt to rectify this by analysing the frequency of verbs used with the progressive aspect in BSAE, as well as the aktionsart distribution of these verbs in order to determine whether there have been changes in frequency and meaning of the progressive aspect. Furthermore, this dissertation will analyse the temporal meanings of the stative verbs, as well as dynamic activity verbs, in order to ascertain whether speakers of BSAE use a longer duration than is prototypical for the progressive aspect.

It is important to know not only how the progressive aspect has developed, but also whether it has developed in accordance with other varieties of South African English. The second objective is to relate and contextualise the findings in the light of other South African varieties, particularly by observing whether developments in Schneider's (2007) IDG strand (BSAE) correspond to the STL strand (WSAE). Thus, the focus is on whether BSAE and WSAE develop along a parallel path, or if each variety moves along its own trajectory.

The third objective of this study is to account for the changes (or the lack thereof) which are found while examining the data, using existing knowledge on theories of language change and evolution, as well as second language acquisition. Specifically, the importance of language contact and language isolation to the development of new features is stressed, as well as theories pertaining to language transfer from contact linguistics (transmission and diffusion) and SLA (interlanguage and substrate influence).

1.5 METHODS

In order to investigate how language changes diachronically, this dissertation makes use of a corpus-based approach. Corpus linguistics has provided researchers with an effective way of analysing patterns of use, ensuring that frequencies of features are reported accurately, and confirming whether a feature is truly characteristic of a variety (Biber *et al*., 1998:4; Minow, 2010:1). A corpus-based approach makes a quantitative study of this size feasible, as a wide variety of texts can be searched and examined for specific features in a fraction of the time that it would take to go through each text manually.

1.6 OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation begins, in Chapter 2, with an overview of the existing body of literature surrounding theories of language contact and change, as well as Second Language Acquisition (SLA). This chapter is focused on describing language evolution and change by means of discussing how language contact and language isolation drive linguistic innovation. Thereafter, the discussion turns to review processes of selection and new dialect formation. World Englishes are subsequently reviewed by means of exploring Kachru's Three Circles Model and Schneider's Dynamic Model, in order to illustrate that BSAE represents the indigenous (IDG) strand, while WSAE can be said to represent the settler (STL) strand. Subsequently, SLA is reviewed with a focus on the processes of acquiring a second language, and the tasks that learners need to overcome to reach native-like competence. Finally, this chapter draws together the two lines of thought and illustrates how theories of language contact and SLA can be used together in order to describe non-native varieties of English. This chapter is important to the dissertation as it explains the theoretical constructs which underlie my own thinking, and also highlights existing gaps in the literature regarding the diachronic development of non-native varieties.

Chapter 3 of this dissertation describes grammatical and lexical aspect, or aktionsart, of Standard English and Zone S Bantu languages. This chapter therefore describes the feature which is investigated in this dissertation, namely the progressive aspect, and contributes to the classification of the categories for my analysis. In the first section, the

perfective versus imperfective distinction is discussed in relation to Standard English, followed by a review of the aktionsart categories used to describe the function of verbs. Thereafter, the inherent temporal meanings which are denoted by verbs used in the progressive aspect are discussed. The second section focuses on the aspectual categories found in Zone S Bantu languages, and highlights the additional imperfective category present in Bantu aspect, namely the persistitive aspect. The third section reviews current literature on the changes in the use of the progressive aspect for non-native varieties of English, with a particular focus on the literature surrounding BSAE. The gaps in the current description of the progressive aspect in BSAE are subsequently highlighted.

Chapter 4 of this dissertation describes my methodology. The chapter first explores the advantages of using a corpus-based approach to study diachronic changes in language. Thereafter, this chapter addresses issues in compiling a historical corpus of a non-native variety, namely data collection, corpus design, and possible sources of data. Next, the corpora used in this dissertation, the diachronic corpus of BSAE and the diachronic corpus of WSAE, are described. Subsequently, the discussion turns to outline the types of analyses that were performed on the BSAE and WSAE corpora; namely the 1) determination of the frequency of the verbs used with the progressive aspect, 2) the distribution of the aktionsart categories for the verbs with the progressive aspect, 3) the identification of the temporal meanings for stative verbs, and 4) the identification of the temporal meanings for the activity verbs. Since the feature analysed here is typically defined as the overextension of the progressive aspect to include state verbs, one extra test was performed on BSAE alone, namely the classification of aspectual categories used in combination with state[1] verbs, in order to determine whether the claim of overextension is accurate. Finally, the statistical measure used to calculate the significance of any differences found in the data is outlined.

Chapter 5 of this dissertation presents the findings from the analyses described in Chapter 4, in three sections. The first section presents the results from the analysis of

[1] State verbs are considered a subcategory of stative verbs, and are used to describe private states, intellectual states, states of emotion and perception, and states of bodily sensation (Quirk et al., 1985:203).

the historical BSAE corpus, in the order in which the analyses where performed. The second section presents the results from the analysis of the historical WSAE corpus. Finally, the last section aims to compare the results from the WSAE to those of the BSAE corpus, in order to identify any differences and similarities in the frequency of the progressive aspect across each time period, and for each of the newspaper, letter, and fiction subcorpora. Thereafter, the aktionsart distribution is compared in order to determine whether or not BSAE overextends the progressive aspect to stative verbs, or whether BSAE distributes the aktionsart in the same way as WSAE. In addition, the temporal meanings of the stative and activity verbs for WSAE and BSAE are compared, in order to determine whether speakers of BSAE denote a longer duration than what is prototypical for the progressive aspect in Standard English.

Chapter 6 of this dissertation critically discusses the findings from the analysis of BSAE and WSAE, with particular focus on the results which arise from the comparison of the two varieties. These findings are discussed in light of the theoretical constructs explored in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, namely language contact and change and SLA. The conclusion of this chapter serves as a conclusion to the dissertation. The conclusion returns to the three research question posed in this introductory chapter, along with the objectives of the study in order to determine whether this dissertation achieved all that it set out to do. Finally, the limitations or this dissertation are reviewed, and recommendations for future studies are made.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

This chapter presents an overview of the existing body of literature surrounding the theoretical and contextual concerns relevant to the study of the progressive aspect in BSAE on a diachronic level. This chapter critically reviews the theories and frameworks which are adopted in this dissertation, and is divided into three sections.

This chapter begins with a discussion of language evolution and change, in order to explain the existence of the different varieties of English. Specifically, the factors which influence language evolution and change are first discussed, followed by an explication of the effects that language contact and isolation have on innovation. Thereafter, the discussion turns to examine theories of World Englishes. The Three Circles model proposed by Braj Kachru is first examined, followed by an exploration of The Dynamic Model of the Evolution of Post-Colonial Englishes (henceforth the Dynamic Model) by Edgar Schneider. This section ends by briefly situating South Africa within the Dynamic Model.

Subsequently, this chapter examines first language acquisition and second language acquisition (henceforth SLA), as the type of language acquisition plays a role on an individual speaker's competence and proficiency in a particular language. Since English is learnt as a second language by black children in South Africa, the notion of second language acquisition makes up the crux of this section. This section explores theories concerning SLA, six dimensions of language acquisition which determine and characterise the process of acquisition, four problems that SLA learners frequently encounter, and the major differences between first language acquisition and SLA. Within this discussion, attention will be drawn to the issue of temporality, a part of the embedding problem that many learners are faced with, as it is here where the issue of aspect lies.

The final section of this chapter draws together language contact and SLA, showing how SLA can be applied to research on language contact and change, particularly when dealing with World Englishes. The *errors* versus *features* debate is reviewed in order to

highlight the issues of describing features of non-native varieties in deficiency terms. Finally, the issue of language transfer is discussed due to its particular importance for this dissertation. Attention is drawn to the difference in description of transfer for contact linguistics and SLA, the former focusing on transfer between individuals in groups, the latter how individuals transfer features from their native language into a target language.

2.1 Language Evolution and Change

This section introduces theories of language change and languages contact, which as the primary theories in which this dissertation is grounded, serve as a point of departure for my own thinking. The discussion is divided into three parts, and begins with a brief definition of the concept of language evolution in Section 2.1.1, which is used in the literature to refer to changes, and explores the internal and external factors which influence change. Thereafter, the notion of innovation is explored in the Section 2.1.2, by means of discussing languages in isolation and languages in contact, and by surveying the processes of new dialect formation as well as competition and selection. This discussion is followed by an explication of the processes of language transfer, reviewing the role of adults and children in feature transmission, and briefly discussing substrate influence. Section 2.1.3 deals directly with theories pertaining to World Englishes, namely Kachru's Three Circles model and Schneider's Dynamic Model, and situates South African English within these models.

2.1.1 Defining language evolution and change

Linguists work on the premise that languages are dynamic, constantly undergoing change and evolving, so long as there are still speakers of the language (Mufwene, 2013:206). Language evolution is a slow process that takes place across many generations which consists of two stages: mutation, or innovation, and selection. In their book *Evolutionary Linguistics*, McMahon and McMahon (2012) deal with the genetic evolution of language, and note that when linguists use the term "evolution" they mean something a little different, and examine 4 cases: 1) Samuels' (1972) use of evolution evoke a framework for understanding language change, and consists of a spoken chain and system which are connected by the process of selection. 2) Mufwene (2001) uses

concepts from ecology and population genetics in an approach to creolisation and language change. 3) Croft (2000; 2006) draws on David Hull's (1988; 2001) generalised analysis of selection and replication (imperfect copying of a feature). Croft applies this to language change, noting that speakers will produce different variants of "linguemes" (structures in utterances) in different contexts, the frequency of which will alter over time, thereby causing change. 4) Blevin's (2004) book *Evolutionary Phonology* deals with the development of sound patterns across time, and that patterns may recur in languages which belong to different families. Thus, when linguists speak of language evolution they essentially mean language change.

Language change is a complex process driven by linguistic (internal) and social (external) factors (Trudgill, 2004; Schneider, 2007; Mufwene, 2008; Labov, 2010). Internal changes are driven by linguistic processes such as grammaticalization. External factors include age, gender, race and ethnicity, and social class (Stockwell, 2007; Labov, 2010). The latter two factors are particularly important in the context of South Africa (Lanham & MacDonald, 1979; Coetzee-van Rooy & Van Rooy, 2005; Bekker & Eley, 2007; Mesthrie, 2010), as the varieties of South African English are shaped by the different racial groups within South Africa. Language change is generally studied diachronically, through the use of corpora that can stretch back centuries, but can also be studied synchronically by profiling the speech patterns of people in various age groups, representing different generations of speakers (Stockwell, 2007:15). Language change is evidenced by innovations in the language, on a broader level wherein borrowing and koinéisation occurs, and on a more specific level wherein existing features develop new meanings and new uses.

2.1.2 Innovation

Linguistic innovation can occur in phonology, morphology, syntax, grammar, and in meaning. Innovation can occur both in situations of isolation and language contact (Labov 2010). Languages left in isolation will develop in their own direction, and typically become increasingly complex. With no external interference, competition between features is not as fierce, which results in the accumulation of irregularity. This is evidenced by the fact that the most morphologically complex languages have been

historically the most isolated, such as Icelandic and Faroese. In contrast, languages that are in contact with one another may share features, but the new feature will frequently replace an older one, which results in simplification. The process of language change is, of course, far more complex with a multitude of processes, some of which are now discussed in connection to language contact.

2.1.2.1 Languages in contact

Competition and selection are integral parts of language change (Mufwene, 2008:132). In the event that two linguistic communities converge, they will interact and share linguistic features; these features will then compete. Mufwene (2008:117) explains that according to the feature-pool approach, in times of language contact members of a community will interact and contribute different phonological, lexical, or grammatical features to the feature pool. These features are the result of mutations or deviations from the norm, and can be classified as innovations. The community will then unconsciously[2] select features from the feature pool and incorporate these in their speech. However, the same feature is not necessarily chosen by each individual, or the feature could be used in different ways. Selection is possible because language, unlike genetics, is acquired piecemeal (Mufwene, 2008:120) and because individual speakers will make accommodations for other speakers. Linguistic conventions therefore arise from - and are enforced through - cultural interaction (Tomasello, 2008:296), they are based in a shared common ground and can be motivated by a need for communication, collaboration and identity alignment. Factors that play a role in selection include frequency and salience of a feature, markedness, historical depth, transparency and regularisation, similarity of features, the status of the speakers, and the identity with which speaker wish to align (Schneider, 2007:110-111). Labov (2010:244) notes that there is a possibility that ideology is a driving force behind change, but also a barrier that inhibits its expansion, since people will not speak in the same way unless they share a sense of community. Thus people with the same ideologies will identify with one another and speak the same dialect, but separate themselves linguistically from people who do not share their views.

[2] While the selection process is largely unconscious, sometimes speakers may consciously select a specific feature in order to align their identity with other speakers of a particular group.

Language contact leads to the formation of new dialects (Trudgill, 2004:84-89) Trudgill (2004:84-89) identifies six mechanisms which are involved in the formation of new dialects. The first process is called mixing, which occurs when people of different dialects of mutually intelligible languages come together in one location. The second process is called levelling, and involves the loss of minority features, and is determined by which group of people will accommodate other speakers. The third process is termed unmarking, a type of levelling which involves the degree of linguistic markedness ad regularisation, and inevitably dictates which features may be lost. The fourth process is interdialect development, where newly created features result from the interaction of differing dialects. The fifth process is reallocation, wherein any surviving features from the original dialects are reassigned as specific social class, stylistic, or allophonic variants. Taken together, these five processes can be called koinéisation (Trudgill, 2004:89). For new dialect formation to be successful, a sixth process is necessary. This final process, focusing, allows the new dialect to acquire norms and stability.

One important factor leading to the differentiation of dialects and languages is isolation. As noted above, communities will unconsciously create and select the features to incorporate into their speech; but these features will differ for different communities, isolation thereby allows each community to develop along its own path. Regardless of their separation, some languages will develop along similar patterns, a phenomenon known as “drift” (Trudgill, 2004:131). Languages that are geographically separated but which derive from the same source will have their own trajectory, but will most likely pass through the same phases since some of these changes were already in place when the languages separated (Trudgill, 2004:132).

At times, the normal progression of a language can be interrupted for about one generation, after which the development of linguistic changes may continue. This phenomenon is generally known as colonial lag (Trudgill, 2004:34), wherein a delay in the normal progression of linguistic change can be observed in new colonial situations, with the consequence that there is no peer-group dialect for the children to acquire. As a result, children’s speech is more influenced by their parents’ than it would be otherwise.

2.1.3 World Englishes

The theory of new dialect formation cannot account for what happens when languages which are not mutually intelligible come into contact. This section focuses on language contact resulting from British colonisation, and the varieties of English which emerged as a consequence of colonisation. First, the different types of Englishes are reviewed with Kachru's Three Circles model in mind. Thereafter, Schneider's Dynamic Model is briefly explained.

2.1.3.1 Three Circles Model

The notion that there is a difference between native and non-native varieties of English first emerged in the distinction of Englishes into three categories depending on the functional and political role of English in a given country (Schneider, 2003:236). The first differentiation was between countries in which the people spoke English as a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL), or English as a Foreign Language (EFL). In 1985, Braj Kachru created the Three Circles model, which consisted of three varieties of English that corresponded to the ENL/ESL/EFL distinction (Schneider, 2003:237; Van Rooy & Terblanche, 2010:358). Kachru differentiated between Inner Circle varieties (ENL) such as British English and American English, Outer Circle (ESL) countries wherein English is used in public life for communication among non-native speakers, such as India or South Africa, and Expanding Circle (EFL) countries wherein English is mainly used for contact with foreigners but hardly in the country itself, such as Japan.

Since then, research on non-native varieties of English expanded, along with the terminology used to describe these varieties[3]. To clarify my own usage: the term 'native variety of English' refers to varieties of the Inner Circle, ENL, or Standard English[4]; whereas the term 'non-native variety of English' refers to varieties of the Outer Circle or

[3] In addition to the ones listed here, linguists also distinguish: Metropolitan Standard Englishes, Colonial Standard Englishes, Regional/ Social dialects, Pidgin Englishes, Creole Englishes, Immigrant Englishes, Language-shift Englishes, Jargon Englishes, Hybrid Englishes, English as a Lingua Franca, English as an International Language, and English as an Additional Language (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008:3-11).

[4] Standard Englishes, particularly those of Britain and America, may also contain non-standard dialects. However, these are not essential to my discussion.

ESL, as well as the varieties of the Expanding Circle or EFL, and can also be referred to as New Englishes or World Englishes[5].

2.1.3.2 The Dynamic Model

The Dynamic Model was proposed by Edgar Schneider in 2003, and later expanded in his 2007 book *Postcolonial Englishes: Varieties around the World*. The Dynamic Model was informed by theories of language contact, including the impact of multilingualism, SLA, and transfer, as well as theories pertaining to sociolinguistics, social identity, and language evolution (Schneider, 2014:11). The Dynamic Model outlines language development and change in countries that have been colonised, with a focus on the language of both the settlers (henceforth the STL strand) and the indigenous people of the country (henceforth the IDG strand).

According to his Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2003; 2007) which shows the evolutionary stages of New Englishes, English settlers would arrive in a country wherein the indigenous people had no previous exposure to English and only spoke their native language(s). As the settlers come into contact with the indigenous people in the foundation stage, there is koinéization and toponymic borrowing by the settlers, followed by lexical borrowing of terms for fauna and flora and cultural items in stage two (Schneider, 2007). This borrowing occurs when the settlers have more contact with the locals and begin to learn about their customs. Thereafter, there is a third stage of heavy lexical borrowing, until the new variety reaches stabilization in stage four. In stage five, we see the beginning of new dialect birth, with varieties emerging that are group specific (Schneider, 2007).

Schneider (2007) notes that there is a social pre-condition for any linguistic change to happen, and identifies identity construction as an important factor for converging language change. This is clearly seen in the Dynamic Model, in which each stage of development relies on reconstruction of identity. During the foundation stage, the settlers identify themselves with their original nation, while the indigenous community

[5] Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:3) prefer the term English Language Complex (ELC), arguing that New Englishes is sometimes applied to varieties that are not at all new, such as Indian English which is in fact an older variety than Australian English, while the term World English is over-general since it does not encompass Standard varieties of English.

retain their local identity. In stage two, the exonormative stabilization, settlers view themselves as an outpost of their original nation, meaning that they acknowledge themselves as settlers, but still identify with England. While in stage three, nativization, members of the STL strand become permanent residents in the country, yet still acknowledging their English origins, in the same way that the IDG strand differentiates themselves as permanent residents of indigenous origin. Thus, in the first three developmental stages, there is a clear separation between the two groups in terms of their identity. It is only in stage four, endonormative stabilization, when the two groups align themselves in terms of identity, and view themselves as members of a new nation. For this alignment to take place, Schneider (2007) suggests that a historical or political event (Event X) must occur to create a sense of community, and feeling of post-independence or self-dependence. As a result of this alignment of identity there is an acceptance of the local norm, and people have a positive attitude towards this, and we also find stabilization of the new variety of English, homogeneity and codification (Schneider, 2007). Finally in stage five, differentiation, identity becomes group specific but remains a part of an overarching new national identity, which results in dialect birth. Therefore, in the last two developmental stages, there is no longer a differentiation between the STL strand and IDG strand but instead an idea of a unified national identity. Once this national identity is in place, people may group themselves in terms of their ideologies and these groups may begin to develop unique features, forming new dialects.

Traditionally, Schneider (2003, 2007) uses the term Post-Colonial Englishes (henceforth PCE) to refer to varieties of Kachru's Inner and Outer Circle, as this was the focus in his Dynamic Model. However, Schneider's (2014) more recent work explores the possibility of applying the Dynamic model to Expanding Circle varieties as well. Schneider (2007) provides a few possible causes for why PCEs differ from Standard English: 1) language is closely related to culture, 2) can be explained to an extent by universal laws of ontogenetic second language acquisition and phylogenetic language shift, 3) selections conform to an overarching language type, with innovations being typologically similar. While PCEs may differ from Standard English, there are a striking amount of similarities

between the PCEs themselves, regardless of whether the variety arose from a different country and different context (Schneider, 2007:83).

One issue with the application of the Dynamic Model is that most current research focuses on the developments and changes in the STL strand in countries that were previously colonised. There is currently no existing theory of diachronic change for the non-native varieties of English, Schneider's IDG strand. Change within newly emerging varieties is discussed as emergence of new features via innovation and effects of language contact, but the idea of ongoing internal change within such varieties in not directly addressed in the Dynamic Model, although the possibility is not ruled out (Schneider, 2013 personal communication). Consequently, we do not know what is considered to be prototypical change in a non-native variety, or if changes occur at all. The fact that English is learnt as a second language for speakers of BSAE creates a complication. In the IDG strand it is not predominantly child first language acquisition that shapes features, but adult SLA under contact conditions (Schneider, 2013 personal communication; Schneider, 2013:143).

2.1.3.3 Situating South African English within the Dynamic Model

In applying the Dynamic Model to South Africa, Schneider (2007:188) argues that South African English is entering phase 4, endonormative stabilization. Van Rooy and Terblanche (2010:407) investigate Schneider's (2007) claim regarding South African English and note that while lexical innovation is fully incorporated and accepted, morphological complex forms are largely but not wholly accepted by speakers of South African English. Thus, there is evidence that South African English is moving beyond phase 3 and into phase 4 (endonormative stabilization) (Van Rooy & Terblanche, 2010:407). Bekker (2009:86) emphasizes that the sub-varieties of South African English should be allowed to develop along their own paths, and places BSAE in phase 3 (nativisation) while in WSAE he observes original settler-based regionalisms instead of phase 5 (differentiation) developments. Following this view, we can identify WSAE as the representation of the language of the STL strand of the Dynamic Model, while BSAE represents the IDG strand.

In summary, language change can occur in situations of language contact and isolation. When speakers with different linguistic repertoires interact, they may share features. These features form a feature pool, in which variations must compete and become selected by speakers. If speakers of different dialects converge in one location, a complex process of koinéisation may begin, resulting in the formation of new dialects. The Dynamic Model explores the development of English in a colonial situation, wherein speakers of a Standard variety of English settle in a country where no English exists. The indigenous people of the colonised country come to acquire English through prolonged contact with the settlers, resulting in two distinct strands of English, namely the STL strand, a native-variety of English, and the IDG strand, a non-native variety of English. Current research focuses its attention on how native varieties of English changed and developed diachronically, but little attention is given to the historical development of the non-native varieties of English. One primary difference between the two strands is that in the STL strand it is child first language acquisition that shapes the features, while in the IDG strand it is adult SLA under contact conditions. Therefore it is empirical to consider theories of SLA alongside language contact when attempting to describe developments or changes over time. In the next section, the processes driving SLA will be discussed.

2.2 Second Language Acquisition

This section deals with theories pertaining to the process of acquiring a second language, and begins with a brief definition of what is meant by *first* and *second* language. Researchers have long held the assumption that there are differences between first and second language acquisition (SLA), however this notion only became systematically addressed in the late 1960s (Meisel, 2011:2-3) In section 2.2.2, five prominent theories of SLA are evaluated; namely Krashen's monitor theory, identity hypothesis, contrastive hypothesis, theories of learner varieties, and pidginization theory.

A second language can be either tutored through systematic guided language learning, or learnt spontaneously through everyday communication. According to Klein (1990:35-52), the process of acquiring a new language is determined by three factors –

propensity, language faculty, and access – and characterised further by three categories – structure, tempo, and end state – which together create the six dimensions of SLA. These dimensions are subsequently discussed in section 2.2.3. While acquiring a new language learners are faced with four tasks which they need to carry out. The topic of section 2.2.4 is the problems that may arise from these four tasks, namely the problems of analysis, synthesis, embedding, and matching. Particular attention is given to the notion of temporality, a part of the embedding problem, which deals with time reference, aspect, and action type.

2.2.1 What is a second language?

All people use language, whether spoken or signed, in order to express themselves and communicate with other members of society. From birth (and perhaps already in the womb) they are exposed to at least one language which they inevitably learn to speak. Later in life, during childhood or adulthood, the individual may be exposed to other languages and decide to learn one or more. At other times, languages are thrust upon them during education. Research has shown that there are differences in the acquisition process depending on whether an individual learns a first, or a second language. To clarify, a language that is taught from birth as a mother tongue is referred to as a first language; even if the individual learns two or more languages at this time (Klein, 1990:3). Alternatively, any language that is learnt later in life can be classified as a second language (Klein, 1990:3),[6] whether learned inside or outside a classroom (Ellis, 1997:3). These differences in the acquisition process may account for the different levels of proficiency in a first and second language. Other factors, as can be seen in sections 2.2.3 – 2.2.4, also influence a speaker's competence in a second language. Corder (1967; in Meisel, 2011:8) lists a few differences between first language acquisition and SLA, most notably that 1) children are more successful in acquiring their first language rather than a second language, 2) first language develops as part of a child's maturation process, 3) at the onset of SLA, there is already another language

[6] This distinction is somewhat hazy, as if is possible for children to begin learning a second language before they have mastered the first. Thus, an exact definition for first language acquisition and SLA is difficult to formulate.

present, and therefore 4) the motivation for language learning is different for the first and the second language.

2.2.2 Theories of SLA

There are two major goals of SLA research, namely to describe the process of acquiring a second language, and then to explain this process by means of identifying the external and internal factors which contribute to this acquisition (Ellis, 1997:4). It is clear from the above section that the process of acquiring a language is vastly complex, and differences in this process arise whether the language a person learns is their first (native) language, or a second language acquired later in life. Although these differences have always been noted, serious empirical research to back these findings only began in the 1960s (Meisel, 2011:2-3). This research lead to a number of theories and hypotheses regarding SLA, five of which will be discussed in turn below.

2.2.2.1 Krashen's monitor theory

Krashen's monitor theory differentiates between subconscious acquisition and the conscious learning of a language (Klein, 1990:28). Although it is not a model for language acquisition in general, it highlights the way in which the process of acquisition is influenced by conscious awareness. Learning is monitored by the speaker, who consciously corrects and controls their language output and follows grammatical rules (Klein, 1990:28). Alternatively, speakers who acquire language subconsciously are concerned with the content of their utterances (not the form), and aim to communicate meaningfully with other speakers (Klein, 1990:28).

2.2.2.2 The Identity hypothesis

The identity hypothesis proclaims that all types of language acquisition essentially follow the same process with the same laws, regardless of whether a language has been learned before (Klein, 1990:23). This view has not since been widely upheld, since differences between first language acquisition and SLA do exist, and each method of acquisition is in itself highly variable depending on whether the process is tutored or untutored.

2.2.2.3 The Contrastive hypothesis

Contrastive hypothesis, on the other hand, asserts that the acquisition of a second language is largely influenced by the structure of an earlier acquired language (Klein, 1990:25). Contrastive Analysis (CA) stemmed from a line of thought expressed by Charles C. Fries in 1945, and was refined by a former student of his, Robert Lado, who made a rather generalised claim that learners tend to transfer forms and meanings from their native language into a new language that they are learning (Meisel, 2011:3-4). Structures which corresponded in both languages are learnt easily with the help of "positive transfer" (Klein, 1990:25; Ellis, 1997:51), while contrasting structures often proved problematic due to the effect of "negative transfer" or "interference"[7] (Klein, 1990:25; Ellis, 1997:51). The role of this transfer was, however, overemphasised due to CA's focus on structures. Acquisition is concerned with the actual comprehension of a language, rather than the replication of a structure or abstract linguistic form (Klein, 1990:25-26). This is not to say that transfer plays no role in SLA, as many learners rely on knowledge of their first language to assist them in comprehending and producing utterances, but this is only one of many resources that are available to them (Klein, 1990:27). Expending on this notion, researchers such as Corder (1967) suggest that the focus of acquisition studies should be not on the production of structures, but instead on the learners.

2.2.2.4 Theories of learner varieties

Learner varieties of a target language represent the learner's current linguistic repertoire, and several theories have been formulated around this concept (Klein, 1990:29-30). Theories of learner varieties are premised on the notion that 1) all language varieties have an intrinsic systematicity, and 2) the process of language acquisition can be viewed as a series of transitions from one language variety to the next, which in turn reveals an inherent systematicity (Klein, 1990:29). An initial proposal of this kind was put forth by Corder (1967), who noted that in the process of SLA learners make both random mistakes and systematic errors (Meisel, 1990:8), the latter

[7] The issue of transfer (interlanguage) is discussed in some detail in Section 2.3.2, taking into account SLA as well as issues pertaining to language contact.

revealing the learners' "transitional competence" (Corder, 1967:166). Arguably the most influential concept developed as a learner variety was the notion of interlanguage, made popular by Selinker in 1972 (Klein, 1990:29; Meisel, 2011:9; Schneider, 2013:143). Interlanguage is determined by the combined factors of type of transfer and strategy of acquisition (Klein, 1990:29). Interlanguage is usually viewed negatively; Thomason (2001:146; in Schneider 2013:144) offers an alternative position in hypothesising a gap-filling approach, in which the learner uses their native language to assist them in filling gaps in their knowledge of the target language.

2.2.2.5 Pidginization theory

Pidginization accounts for the acquisition of a language under conditions of restricted input to the target language. A pidgin can be defined as "a second language which comes into being whenever speakers of a politically, socially, or culturally subordinate language try to acquire some knowledge of a dominant language for specific purposes." (Klein, 1990:30.), Pidgins can be considered as special cases of spontaneous SLA, and are similar to learner varieties in their structure and emergence. For further discussion of the similarities, refer to Klein (1990:30-32).

In summary, a variety of theories have been proposed with regards to SLA. Krashen's monitor theory demonstrates that language learning differs if acquisition is tutored or untutored. While identity hypothesis proposes that knowledge of another language is irrelevant to SLA, it is challenged by the contrastive hypothesis which states that learners transfer structures from their native language into the language they are learning. When this transfer is negative, it may give rise to errors in use as a result of interference. Theories on learner varieties focus on learners' competence during the transition between beginning learning and become a fluent speaker. The process of language acquisition is thus a complex one, determined by six factors which will be subsequently discussed. In cases where a learner's contact with the target language is severely restricted, speakers of a subordinate language may develop a pidgin in order to communicate with speakers of the dominant language.

2.2.3 The six dimensions of SLA

This section arranges the multitude of factors influencing the process of language acquisition along six dimensions, as described by Klein (1990:35-52). These dimensions are comprised of three components which determine the process, and three categories that characterise the process of SLA. Regardless of whether the learner obtains the second language through systematic learning or spontaneous acquisition, the following six dimensions influence their ability to learn the new language with a degree of proficiency.

2.2.3.1 Propensity

The term propensity covers the factors that encourage learners to apply their language faculty to acquiring a new language, and it is the outcome of this interaction that determines their propensity (Klein, 1990:35). This includes four types of motivations. Firstly, the learner may be motivated by social integration. Although this is more important for child first language acquisition, it may also influence adult SLA to a degree as a learner may be motivated to learn the second language in order to align their identity and to successfully integrate themselves into the community of speakers (Norton Pierce, 1995:17; Ellis, 1997:75). This may also have an adverse effect if the learner resists in order to keep the identity associated with their native language (Klein, 1990:36). Secondly, the learner can be motivated instrumentally, and will learn a language in order to satisfy their communicative needs (Klein, 1990:36-37; Ellis, 1997:75) and also for utilitarian purposes (Norton Pierce, 1995:17). The third type of motivation is resultative, since the result of their learning may dictate whether learners become more, or less, motivated to learn after experiencing success (Ellis, 1997:75). The final type of motivation is intrinsic, which requires learners to keep themselves interested and maintain their curiosity in learning a new language (Ellis, 1997:76).

In addition, the learner's attitude may also influence the process of acquisition, as some learners are more willing than others to communicate with speakers of the target language regardless of their imperfect command over the language and the embarrassment that may come from the experience (Klein, 1990:37-8). The subjective attitude may also influence, consciously or unconsciously, the speaker's need to learn a

new language (Klein, 1990:38). Speakers who are willing to communicate in the new language expose themselves to further contact its speakers, thus enabling them to progress. The final factor of propensity is education. Research has found that even if children are taught the target language at school, a child might not be successful without the first three propensity factors (Klein, 1990:38-39). Education may also provide motivation for learning a language, as the child may learn well in order to achieve social advancement or to avoid punishment from teachers (Klein, 1990:39).

2.2.3.2 Language faculty

Humans have the ability to understand and process languages, and the language processor in our brains can adjust according to the particular linguistic material of a language while we learn (Klein, 1990:39). The functioning of the language processor is dependent on certain biological determinants and the knowledge available to the learner. Biological determinants include our peripheral organs and central nervous system, which enables us to hear speech sounds and decode them, and also to produce utterances (Pinker 1994: 158-170). The knowledge available to the learner can be conscious (contextual), or tacit (Klein, 1990:40-43); and in order to communicate effectively the learner is required to combine contextual and linguistically conveyed information.

2.2.3.3 Access

In order for the language processor to operate, the speaker must first have sufficient access to the target language. The term access covers two components, namely input and opportunities to communicate (Klein, 1990:43-47). The learner receives input from the speech of others and the corresponding contextual information. Although the speech is usually authentic, it can be adjusted by the speaker in attempts to accommodate the language learner (Klein, 1990:45). This may include foreigner talk, simplified registers, and motherese. Although the speaker assumes that this assists in language development, researchers discredit this assumption (Pinker, 1994:39-40). Learners also gain access through opportunities to communicate with native speakers (Klein, 1990:46-47), wherein they can hear the language and have a chance to speak.

Propensity, language faculty, and access determine the process of language acquisition. This process can be further characterised by three categories, namely the structure of the process, the tempo, and the end-state. The propensity, language faculty, and access to the target language directly coincide with, and influence, the remaining three factors.

2.2.3.4 Structure of the process

Klein (1990:47) notes that there are two key notions regarding the structure of the process of language acquisition. The first deals with the way in which the various elements that make up proficiency in a language are synchronised. The speaker is expected to make proper use of information from phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical domains (Klein, 1990:48) in synchrony, and not learn each in isolation. The second notion deals with the issue of variability, as the structure of acquisition varies across individual learners (Klein, 1990:49). Consequently, SLA cannot be viewed as a uniform process.

2.2.3.5 Tempo of acquisition

Propensity, the language faculty, and access to the target language influence the tempo at which a learner acquires a language (Klein, 1990:50). The issues of propensity and access have a significant impact here, since they can contribute to the acceleration of the learners' progress (Klein, 1990:50) under the condition that the learner has sufficient access to the language and is prepared to communicate with other speakers. Thus, opportunity and motivation may have a positive outcome in that they accelerate the process. On the other hand, if a speaker's attitude does not reflect willingness to communicate or the speaker is simply not afforded the chance, it may result in a deceleration of progress. With regards to the language faculty (Klein, 1990:50), an impairment of a biological determinant may also slow down the process.

2.2.3.6 End-state

Ideally, the end-state would represent complete proficiency and native-like command of the newly acquired language (Klein, 1990:50). However, this is not the case for many learners as fossilization sets in before the learner has mastered the language.

Fossilization can be described as a premature termination of the progress of a certain domain–such as pronunciation–while the learner continues to develop in the remaining domains–such as morphology and syntax (Klein, 1990:51; Siegel, 2009:584; Schneider, 2013:144). Fossilization occurs selectively, and varies grossly between individuals. However, one issue with the notion of fossilization is an apparent lack of stability of performance, which is why some researchers in SLA prefer to avoid the term fossilization (Birdsong, 2009:403). Occasionally a learner may also experience backsliding (Klein, 1990:52; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008:170), which occurs when a learner suddenly, during an exchange and only for a short duration, regresses into an earlier stage of acquisition and makes errors.

The above dimensions further illustrate that the process of SLA is a complex and challenging undertaking. Factors in the environment, such as the opportunity to communicate with others, but also factors within the individual, such as motivation and attitude, play a role in the structure and speed at which a person may acquire a language. However, this only represents a part of SLA. Even in an ideal environment with access to the target language and accommodating speakers, wherein the learner is fully motivated, invested, and has an open attitude toward the target language; learners are faced with four tasks that they must overcome to reach complete proficiency.

2.2.4 The four problems for learners

Learners of a second language encounter four main tasks in their transition into a fluent speaker. As noted in section 2.2.2, the language of the learner at various levels of competence are referred to as learner varieties of language. The learner transitions from one variety (or system) to one which is more advanced. Thus, the four tasks discussed below can be viewed as transitional steps. Once the learner is able to overcome the first problem, they transition into a new level of competence and can now address the second problem. A short summary of these four problems is provided here; for a full exposition refer to Klein (1990).

2.2.4.1 The problem of analysis

The problem of analysis lies in the ability to perceive and understand word boundaries in spoken language. The input available to the learner consists of a string of utterances embedded within visual contextual information (Klein, 1990:59). The learner's task is to divide the acoustic signals into understandable segments representing linguistic information, and to interpret the parallel visual signals (such as gestures) along with the words. Speech perception, or the ability to convert meaningless sounds into meaningful words (Pinker, 1994:161-163), is the first step for SLA.

2.2.4.2 The problem of synthesis

Once learners can recognise words, and can produce utterances that go beyond one word, they have to attempt to put words together. This is the learner's synthesis problem, as the learner needs to grasp the respective syntactic and grammatical rules of the language for two reasons (Klein, 1990:61). Firstly, the learner needs this information to comprehend the speech of others when there is little situational information to assist them. Secondly, in order to produce sentences the learner must have sufficient command of these rules (Klein, 1990:61).

2.2.4.3 The embedding problem

Up to this point, the learner should be fairly proficient in composing sentences necessary to inform others of something or formulate requests. However, narratives and conversations are more complex as they are embedded with contextual information, and thus if a learner wishes to speak they are expected to fit their utterance into the information flow (Klein, 1990:61). This is the embedding problem, which becomes easier for the learner depending on how advanced their current language variety is (Klein, 1990:61). The learner must therefore be able to balance the use of contextual information and visual cues with linguistic information, gradually becoming less dependent on the former. The learner must also learn to embed situational and contextual knowledge into their utterance, as well as acquire the ability to use deixis, anaphora, ellipsis, and temporality (Klein, 1990:113-137) while composing narratives.

2.2.4.4 The matching problem

In order to increase their own proficiency, a learner must constantly compare their current language variety to the target language. This matching problem becomes increasingly difficult for the learner as their perception of their own language may not be completely accurate (Klein, 1990:62). Consequently, this may result in fossilization of a certain aspect of their language variety, as the learner may either overestimate their own ability, or gradually become unaware of the differences between their variety and the target language.

In summary, if a learner wishes to acquire a new language they must first be able to identify words from strings of speech, and understand these words with the aid of visual cues. Once the learner knows a few words, they must now learn the target language's grammatical rules in order to form basic sentences. Thereafter, they must learn gradually more complex structures and begin embedding information about the situation or context into the linguistic information. As the learner progresses and becomes more in tune with the new language, it is important that they constantly evaluate their own performance and realise where there is room for improvement; in this way the learner will become a completely proficient speaker of the target language. As it is of particular importance to the context of this dissertation, I will expand on a component found within the embedding problem, namely the issue of temporality.

2.2.4.5 Temporality

Temporality refers to the temporal marking of events, actions, and states. In English, each complete utterance contains a time reference, with the finite verb acting as the main carrier of this information (Klein, 1990:123-124). Successful time marking involves the use of verbs or adverbials which indicate time spans or relations, knowledge about discourse rules, common points of reference, and a shared conception of time by the speakers (Klein, 1990:125). Klein (1990:124) distinguishes between three ways to mark temporality:

- *Time reference* marks the temporal relation of an event in an utterance, to a specifically stated or implied reference point. This reference point will be situated

in the situational or interpersonal knowledge of the speakers. In English, this is shown through tense marking and the use of adverbials.

- *Aspect* refers to a specific time perspective adopted by the speaker in his reference to an event, and is used to indicate whether an event or action is complete or in progress. In English, the use of auxiliary and main verbs (usually inflected) indicate the aspect.
- *Aktionsart* (action type) refers to the temporal properties of an event which are implied by the lexical meaning of the expression or verb.

Klein (1990:124) notes that along with aspect, aktionsart is thought to have little bearing on the embedding problem, thereby suggesting that learners acquiring a second language struggle more with issues of tense rather than aspect. In an analysis of narratives in German learner varieties, Klein (1990:136) notes that speakers employ four techniques to construct a temporal framework in a narrative; namely framing (a time frame is explicitly stated), chaining (the time frame of a mentioned event is used to describe another event), repeated anchoring (utterance time is indicated by a reporting verb, and the quoted speech is referred to that time by deictic means), and reset (the temporal reference of earlier-mentioned events can be inferred only from world knowledge). A learner of a new language must therefore learn to employ these techniques in order to effectively communicate with others, to understand time reference and also to describe a situation using temporal embedding.

In summary, researchers of SLA aim to describe how learners acquire a second language, and explain which external and internal factors affect the process. Six components which directly influence the process of acquisition have been identified, namely propensity (motivation), the ability to understand and process language, the degree of access to the target language, the structure of acquisition, the tempo of acquisition, and the end-state. Learners hoping to acquire a second language with native-like proficiency must perform four tasks. Firstly, learners must be able to identify word boundaries in spoken language. Secondly, learner must construct sentences grammatically. Thirdly, learners must be able to embed contextual information into their utterances. Finally, learners need to match their own proficiency to that of native

speakers, in order to identify any errors in their own usage. This fourth task, which focuses on achieving native-like proficiency, has come under fire by some researchers and is subsequently discussed in section 2.3.1. Theories of SLA are important in the description of non-native varieties of English, and should therefore be considered alongside language contact and change.

2.3 World Englishes and Second Language Acquisition

This section draws together theories of language contact and change with those of SLA. The discussion begins with a brief exploration of how end-state may differ for learners acquiring non-native varieties of English, as opposed to Standard English. Thereafter, the merger of contact linguistics and SLA is discussed as a useful tool in analysing non-native varieties of English. Finally, the discussion turns to examine the notion of transfer, by means of exploring transmission and diffusion, as well as interlanguage and substrate influence.

2.3.1 Merging contact linguistics with SLA

SLA researchers have been criticised for their intense focus on learners acquiring native-like competence to the point that they have forgotten that the purpose of learning a new language is to be functionally bilingual (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008:157-158). Indeed, since learners already have and use a native language alongside the English that they are learning, it is not necessary for English to fulfil as many functions as for monolingual speakers (Siegel, 2009:585). Furthermore, Siegel (2009:585) argues that the notion that a native variety of English is used as the target language is misguided, since many learners acquiring a second language do so in a multilingual setting, and are more likely to aim to use a non-native variety of English, and attain non-native-like proficiency instead, even if implicitly rather than expressly so.

Researchers on World Englishes are increasingly considering SLA as a useful tool in describing non-native varieties of English (Mesthrie, 1992; Mufwene, 2008; Van Rooy, 2010; Hamid & Baldauf, 2013; Schneider, 2013). There exists, however, a discrepancy between studies incorporating SLA and studies on World Englishes. Researchers working with SLA typically make use of Error Analysis in order to describe errors or

deviations from Standard English, the target language, in the speech of individuals learning a second language (Hamid & Baldauf, 2013:476). Error Analysis is used in order to explain why errors are made by second language speakers, as the identification of these errors may, paradoxically, help learners self-correct their errors (Ellis, 1997:15; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008:160). In addition, errors are distinguished from mistakes, in that the former reflects a gap in the learner's knowledge, while the latter reflect occasional performance lapses (Ellis, 1997:17). World Englishes, or non-native varieties of English, consist of a range of deviations which are considered innovations, instead of errors; these innovations are then considered to be features unique to non-native varieties of English.

A problem which Hamid and Baldauf (2013:476-477) identify is that while analysing World Englishes, or non-native varieties of English found within Kachru's Outer Circle, researchers attempt to compare it to Standard English, or Kachru's Inner Circle varieties; and subsequently struggle to distinguish between errors in the SLA sense and innovations in non-native varieties in the World Englishes sense. I postulate that South Africa might not be as greatly affected by this issue. While describing Schneider's Dynamic Model, Bekker (2009:86-87) argues that the sub-varieties of South African English should be allowed to run their own course, thereby creating a wedge between WSAE and BSAE. This distinction allows us to propose that Black South Africans who learn English as a second language may use WSAE as the target language, instead of a Standard British English of Kachru's Inner Circle. WSAE and BSAE are both located within South Africa and are therefore not as far removed as a non-native variety is from Standard English, therefore a comparison between the two South African English varieties is sensible.

However, Hamid and Baldauf (2013:477) note that the paradigm gap between World Englishes and SLA is yet to be bridged. Therefore, instead of focusing only on Error Analysis, researchers should draw from a variety of notions which fall under SLA theories. Schneider (2014:16) reiterates Van Rooy's (2010:10) call for a perspective on the development of non-native varieties that is grounded in SLA, since contact features most typically become established in new varieties through transfer of first and second

language features (Schneider, 2013:143). SLA is an important theory to consider as English is learned as a second language by Black South Africans, not as a first language. Processes of SLA are widely considered to be relevant to researchers in new varieties of English, and have been applied to creolistics and contact linguistics (Mufwene, 2008:149-158; Siegel, 2009:572). Indeed, SLA and New Englishes researchers can learn a great deal from one another.

Two studies which incorporate innovation, language contact, and SLA are conducted by Thompson (2013) and Mesthrie (1992). Thompson (2013:286) proposes two categories of innovation, namely borrowing and substrate influence, and aims to determine whether adults or children are responsible for these types of changes. Adults, in this case, are classified as anyone passed the critical age for language acquisition and therefore includes adolescents. Thompson's (2013:289-292) findings indicate that adults are responsible for innovations that resulted from borrowing and substrate influence, largely due to their failure to achieve native-like command of the target language. Mesthrie (1992:152-182) uses perspectives from SLA to assist in understanding many of the features of Indian South African English; specifically discussing the issues of transfer from the first language, universals in SLA, strategies of second language learning, and parameter settings. The issue of transfer is subsequently discussed.

2.3.2 Language transfer

The term *transfer* is used differently for contact linguistics and SLA (Siegel, 2009:577). Contact linguistics uses the term to describe how features may be transferred from one variety to the next, and also in discussions of intergenerational transfer, wherein parents may transfer features to their children. Thus, the focus is on transfer of features between individuals in a group. In SLA, transfer describes a psycholinguistic process that occurs when an individual learning a new language transfers the linguistic features of their native language into the target language (Siegel, 2009:577). This type of transfer is also called interference, interlanguage transfer, and substrate transfer (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008:163). Thus, the focus here is on transfer that occurs for one person, between the languages in their own repertoire.

Researchers of language contact and change differentiate between two types of transfer, namely transmission and diffusion. Transmission, or linguistic descent, refers to the unbroken sequence of native language acquisition by children (Labov, 2010:307). Labov (2010:307) notes that languages are able to continue across time without change only if children replicate the language of their parents flawlessly; but this, of course, is not possible since replication is imperfect. This highlights one way in which features in one language can be transferred, namely parent to child. A second way in which features are spread is through the interaction of children with their peers, which is conventionally considered to be more influential than parent to child transfer (Trudgill, 2004:34). Transfer across languages with dissimilar historical origins, specifically between different language families, is referred to as diffusion (Labov, 2010:308). Thus, transfer in theories of language contact focuses on groups of speakers.

In contrast, SLA researchers focus on how individual learners may transfer specific features from their native language into the target language. This phenomenon has been also called interference, but because of its negative connotations the terms interlanguage and substrate influence are more widely used (Mesthrie, 1992; Ellis, 1997; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Mufwene, 2008; Siegel, 2009; Schneider, 2013). Transfer can be either positive, wherein features that are transferred match those in the second language, or negative, wherein features do not match (Siegel, 2009:578). Thus, an individual's first, or substrate, language can have a direct influence on their second, or superstrate, language.

In summary, combining theories of language contact with SLA is necessary to describe non-native varieties of English, since language change is driven by adult SLA and contact. Therefore, any study on BSAE would have to consider both theories in attempt to comprehensively describe a feature. There has been some contention on whether innovations in non-native varieties of English should be considered as errors or as features of the variety. One issue is that in the description of non-native varieties of Kachru's Outer Circle frequently compares features to Standard English of Kachru's Inner Circle. Since languages develop along their own trajectories, differences can be expected between two varieties that have not had much contact over several decades.

Therefore, a sensible comparison would be between varieties within the same circle; which is possible for BSAE due to the variation in South African Englishes.

A phenomenon that we noted in Chapter 1 is that speakers of non-native varieties of English, such as BSAE, tend to overextend the meaning of the progressive aspect to include stative verbs. Thus, during the process of SLA, something must have happened while they were learning to overcome the problem of embedding temporality. To investigate this further it is necessary to examine the process of acquiring aspect; one such theory is The Aspect Hypothesis. Before moving on to The Aspect Hypothesis, however, it is necessary to explain exactly what aspect entails, its semantic and lexical properties, and how it is used by native speakers of English. In order to consider possible effects of interlanguage, it is necessary to describe aspectual categories in Bantu languages. These issues are dealt with in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3 ASPECT

In Chapter 2 we saw that in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) one of the issues that learners encounter falls under the embedding problem, which focuses on issues with temporality, aspect, and aktionsart. This chapter aims to explain the concepts of aspect and aktionsart, and discuss how these concepts are manifested in Standard English, Bantu Languages, as well as World Englishes.

This chapter provides an overview of aspect, paying particular attention to the progressive aspect, and is divided into four sections. The first section focuses on Standard English, and endeavours to explain the distinctions found within grammatical aspect, lexical aspect or aktionsart, and the temporal meanings denoted by the use of the progressive aspect. Thereafter, the second section provides an overview of aspect according to the Bantu languages of Zone S, focusing on the distinctions of grammatical aspect in Bantu, and the presence of an additional aspectual category not found in English, namely the persistitive. The third section provides a brief explanation of The Aspect Hypothesis, which foregrounds the relation of verb types (aktionsart) to the process of acquiring the progressive aspect. This serves as a theoretical basis for the analysis of the data used for this dissertation.

The final section of this chapter reviews the current body of literature on research into the progressive aspect. This section provides an overview of how the progressive aspect is used by non-native speakers of English, with a particular focus on speakers of BSAE. The so-called over-extension of the progressive aspect to include stative verbs, a feature that is common in non-native varieties of English, is scrutinised. Recent synchronic corpus-based studies on BSAE (Van Rooy, 2006; 2014) indicate that there is an extension of the temporal meaning of the progressive aspect when combined with stative verbs. Within the current literature several unresolved issues are identified and addressed; most notably that the majority of studies focus solely on the stative verbs and not on the issue of aspect as a whole, and that there is a need for a diachronic (or historical) study of changes in the progressive aspect in BSAE over time. The aim of this dissertation is to fill the gaps identified in this section.

3.1 ASPECT IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

This section of the Literature Review provides an overview of the theoretical constructs surrounding the aspectual categories in language. The first part of this section describes aspect in relation to English, distinguishing between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect. Grammatical aspect refers to the morphological or syntactic realisations of a verb that modify the internal temporal constituency of a situation (Croft, 2012:31; Williams, 2002:70), thereby distinguishing between perfectivity and imperfectivity, habituality, progressive and non-progressive. In contrast, lexical aspect deals with the inherent temporal structure of a situation, focusing on the semantic properties of the verb in use. Lexical aspect is sometimes called aktionsart, which classifies verbs according to three distinctions, namely whether the verb is durative or punctual, telic (bounded) or atelic (unbounded), and stative or dynamic (Vendler, 1957; Comrie, 1976; Quirk, *et al*.1985; Williams, 2002; Croft, 2012). The meaning of the grammatical aspect is influenced by the aktionsart. This section begins with a discussion on perfectivity and imperfectivity in English. Thereafter, the four aktionsart categories first described by Vendler (1957) are reviewed, namely activities, accomplishments, achievements, and statives. This is followed by a discussion of alternative aktionsart subtypes which have been proposed by linguists who elaborate on Vendler's (1957) classification. Next, this discussion examines the prototypical temporal meanings which are denoted by the progressive aspect, as well as highlighting the possible extensions found in non-native varieties of English. Finally, this discussion turns to critically examine both grammatical and lexical aspect, and highlight the issues which have been noted in the classical representations; namely the problem of categorisation surrounding habituals and iteratives (Williams, 2002) and the idea of pluractionality (Bertinetto & Lenci, 2012). A synthesis of the literature surrounding duration and pluractionality is then proposed.

3.1.1 Grammatical aspect: Perfectivity and Imperfectivity

Comrie (1976:5) notes that aspect is concerned with the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Speakers may select a verb form which is either marked or unmarked for aspect in order to relate the degree of completeness of an event in time. Aspect is used in conjunction with tense, which situates an event in the past or the present.

Grammatical aspect refers to the morphological or syntactical realisation of a verb which modifies the internal temporal constituency of a situation[8] (Croft, 2012:31; Williams, 2002:70).

In English, the main verb in a clause can be inflected and combined with an auxiliary verb to indicate perfectivity or imperfectivity. According to Biber *et al*. (2002:158), the simple or unmarked form of the verb is typically used in about 90% of utterances, and is therefore the most dominant form in both spoken and written texts. The perfect aspect, realised by the use of the auxiliary verb *have* and a main verb with the past participle –*ed* as seen in example 1 below, is most common in fiction and newspaper texts. The progressive aspect, realised by the use of the auxiliary *be* and a main verb inflected with –*ing* as seen in example 2, is notably more common in spoken language.

(1) You **have worked** very well lately. (Fiction "The Bride-Price", *Drum*, July 1952)

(2) He **was working** for a firm of lawyers in Market Street. (Fiction "Mob Fashion", *Drum*, April 1953)

Grammatical aspect includes several categories, based on three main distinctions. The first distinction is that of perfectivity versus imperfectivity. The perfective takes an external view of a situation, without distinguishing any of the internal structures (Comrie, 1976:4). The perfective is used to describe a situation, in either the past of present, which has been completed at the point of the utterance. In contrast, the imperfective focuses on the internal temporal structure of a situation, thereby segmenting the beginning, process, or end of a situation by looking both forwards and backwards in an event (Comrie, 1976:4). The imperfective is used to describe a situation which is incomplete or ongoing at the time of reference, whether in the past, present, or future.

While some languages may only have one category to express imperfectivity, in English we can further subdivide imperfectivity into three categories. The second distinction

[8] I use the terms "situation" and "event" interchangeably in this chapter. A single situation refers to one clause in the sentence, and the situation type is profiled by the verbal phrase. One sentence can therefore consist of multiple situations or events in the case that more than one clause is included within the sentence.

made for grammatical aspect is thus the subdivision of the imperfective into the habitual and the continuous (Comrie, 1976:24-25). The habitual aspect indicates that an event occurred in the past with some frequency, and is profiled by the phrase *used to* preceding the main verb. The continuous aspect denotes an event that is ongoing at the time of reference, and can be further subdivided according to whether the event is progressive or non-progressive. The progressive aspect is profiled by the *be*+ *-ing* construction, and is essentially the same as the continuous, which is in turn imperfectivity that is not determined by the habitual (Comrie, 1976:34). The core meaning of the progressive aspect can be divided into three components, namely that the situation has a duration, this duration is temporary and limited, and that it is incomplete (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 198). While the habitual and progressive remain distinct categories, it is possible to combine the two in a sentence, for example: *he used to be playing*. The non-progressive aspect uses the verb in its simple form, yet encodes the temporal meaning of incompleteness and continuity. A summary of the distinctions for grammatical aspect, adapted from Comrie (1976), is shown in Figure 1 below.

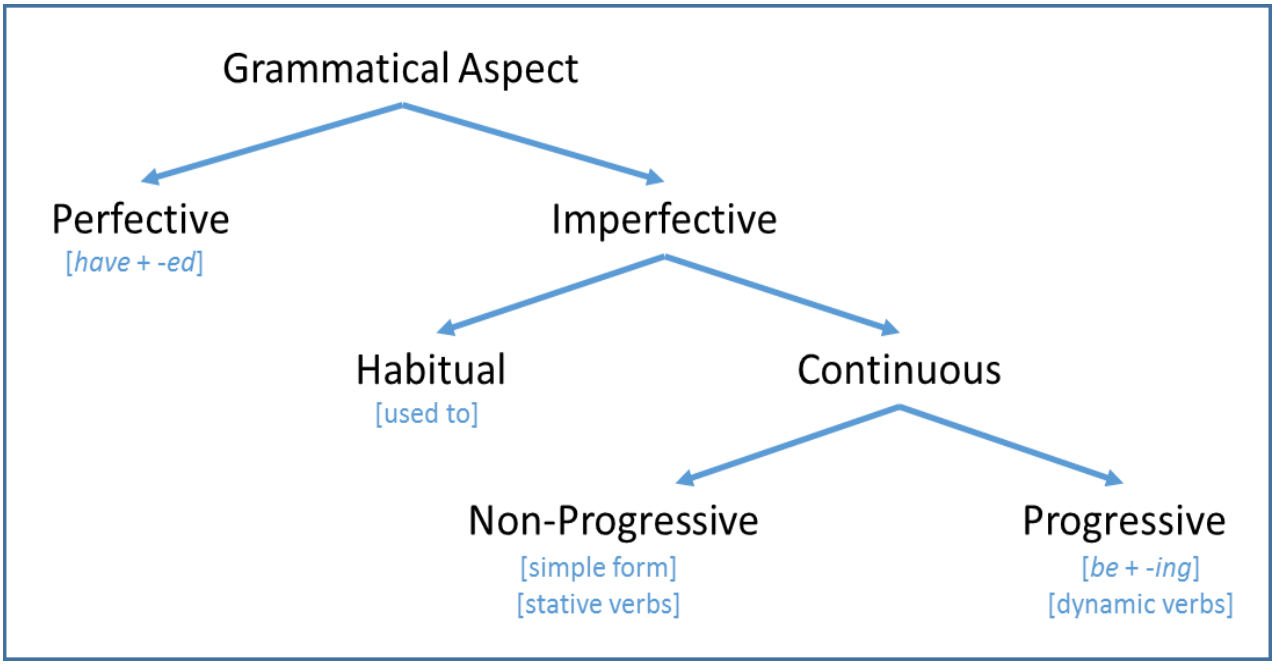

Figure 1: Grammatical aspect, adapted from Comrie (1976:25).

The distinction between progressives and non-progressives is made due to the fact that some verbs can take the progressive form naturally, while others do not. Stative verbs which reflect physical characteristics and qualities, or internal states of mind, cannot take the progressive form as this would imply a contradiction in the inherent meaning of a progressive (Comrie, 1976:35). The progressive aspect, as mentioned above, is characterised by the notion that the described event is incomplete or ongoing, and that the event has a beginning and an end. This requires that the verb be dynamic in nature, and susceptible to change (Williams, 2002:88). However, stative verbs describe a situation that has no beginning or terminal point, involving no change. In a sense, statives are already completed (Declerk 1991, in Williams, 2002:77). Comrie (1976:35) therefore defines the progressive aspect as a combination of the continuous meaning along with a non-stative meaning.

While Comrie's (1976) classification of grammatical aspect seems comprehensive, several issues have been raised concerning the segmentation of the four categories (Mair, 2012). One such issue is the fact that the distinct categories can be combined, as can be seen in the use of the habitual with the progressive, or the perfect with the progressive aspect. In addition, the habitual aspect has since developed beyond the compulsory inclusion of *used to*, and can be realised through the use of the progressive *be*+ *-ing*, or through the use of *do* (Gachelin, 1997), or left in the simple form while retaining the habitual meaning (Quirk *et al*., 1985:199).

Another argument is that habituals fall under the domain of "gnomic imperfectives" (Bertinetto & Lenci, 2012:860), which are used to express a generalisation of some kind. Bertinetto and Lenci (2012:860) note that gnomic imperfectives have five subtypes; the first is for habituals, which seem to express character traits of a person, such as consistently becoming angry as a result of another's behaviour. The second subtype is for attitudinals, which are used to denote that a person repeats a particular activity, such as smoking. The third is for potentials, which denote that a person has an inherent ability or capacity for doing something, such as the ability to speak French. The fourth is called an individual level predicate, which generally refers to a permanent and unchangeable quality that can be attributed to a particular carrier, such as being tall or

being Finnish. The final subtype is generic, which denotes a universal characteristic that is true for all members of a species, such as dogs having four legs (Bertinetto & Lenci, 2012:860).

In summary, grammatical aspect is typically divided between the perfective and the imperfective. The imperfective aspect can be subdivided into four categories in Standard English; namely the habitual, continuous, progressive, and continuous non-progressive. Each of these internal temporal constituencies has particular morphological or syntactic realisations, and speakers of English need to mark their verbs in order to portray these meanings.

3.1.2 Lexical aspect

The focus of grammatical aspect lies in the morphological or syntactic realisation of a verb, while lexical aspect deals with the semantic properties of the verbs which portray the internal temporal structure of a situation. Therefore, lexical aspect can be said to describe the inherent meaning of the verb used in the context of the event. Lexical aspect can also be called aktionsart, as it describes the action type of the verb. In this section, the four primary aktionsart categories proposed by Vendler (1957) are reviewed, and followed by a discussion of the elaborations of these categories made by Quirk *et al*. (1985) and Croft (2012).

3.1.2.1 Aktionsart

There are four main aktionsarten, based on the distinction between whether the verb is stative or dynamic, durative or punctual, and telic (bounded) or atelic (unbounded) (Vendler 1957; Comrie 1976; Quirk *et al*.,1985; Williams 2002; Croft 2012). In his original discussion of the aktionsarten, or time-schemata, Vendler (1957) asserts that activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states are the four main meanings that are inherent in situations. The distinctions in the inherent meaning of the verb are now discussed in turn, followed by an explication of the four aktionsarten.

The first distinction that can be made is between verbs that are stative, and those which are dynamic (Comrie, 1976:49; Quirk *et al*., 1985:202-209; Williams, 2002:76-83). As noted above, the stativity of the verb in question determines whether or not the verb can

appear grammatically with the progressive aspect. While a dynamic situation is characterised by the possibility of change and requires continuous effort from the agent to maintain this action, the opposite is true for stative verbs. A stative situation will remain the same without any effort, unless something happens to change it (Comrie, 1976:49). The second distinction that can be made occurs for dynamic verbs, which can be subdivided according their inherent duration. Dynamic verbs can therefore be either durative or punctual (Comrie, 1976:41; Quirk *et al*., 1985:201; Williams, 2002:73-75). Durative situations last a certain amount of time, prototypically only temporarily, but can denote the beginning, process, and termination of a situation. In contrast, punctual situations are characterised by the idea that they do not last in time, and occur only momentarily. Comrie (1976:42) therefore suggests that punctual situations do not have an internal temporal structure, and should therefore not be compatible with imperfectivity. Comrie (1976:42) also makes the important distinction between semelfactives (situations that only occur once), and iteratives (situations that are repeated).

The third distinction that can be made is whether the situation at hand is telic or atelic (Comrie, 1976:44; Quirk *et al*., 1985:201; Williams, 2002:83-86), sometimes also referred to as bounded or unbounded[9] (Williams, 2002:86; Croft, 2012:33). Telicity occurs when the internal temporal structure has a terminal point, or goal, while atelicity is seen in situations that can be stretched for an indefinite time, or broken off at any point in the process. An important characteristic of telic situations is that they should include both the process leading up to the terminal point, as well as the terminal point itself in the internal structure (Comrie, 1976:47). Thus, we can distinguish between situations that can only be completed once they have surpassed this goal, and the situations that can be discontinued at any point in time and be considered complete. Characteristics from each of these three sets (stative or dynamic, durative or punctual,

[9] There is a slight difference in boundedness and telicity. A situation is “bounded if [it] is represented as reaching a terminal point”, whereas it is “telic if the situation is described as having a natural end-point […] which has to be reached for the situation (as it is described in the clause) to be complete and beyond which it cannot continue” (Depraetere 1995:44, quoted in Williams 2002:86).

and telic or atelic) can be combined to create four situation types, namely activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states.

Activities are dynamic, durative and atelic. They describe a situation that is in-progress at the time of reference, but there is no indication of a definite time that signals the beginning or end of the activity (Vendler, 1957:146; Huddleston, 2002:164). Activities are dynamic, and describe a situation that can change over time (Croft, 2012:34). They are compatible with adverbials and verbs of simple duration (e.g. for one hour), but incompatible with verbs of completion (e.g. in one hour) (Smith, 1997:178), denoting that activities do not have telicity (Croft, 2012:34).

Accomplishments are dynamic, durative and telic. They describe a situation that is currently in progress, but that have a definite end point or goal which they must reach in order to be considered complete (Vendler, 1957:145-146; Croft, 2012:35). In contrast to activities, accomplishments are not compatible with adverbials of simple duration, but are can be used with verbs of completion. Accomplishments are also considered ambiguous when used with “almost” (Smith, 1997:180), as in the example **I almost ran in one hour.*

Achievements are dynamic, punctual, and can be both atelic or telic. Achievements are used to describe a change or event which is instantaneous (Vendler, 1957:147; Croft, 2012:34), and can be split into two categories, namely semelfactives and achievements proper. Semelfactives are punctual events that only occur once and as such they cannot be used with the imperfective meaning (Smith, 1997:180); if you knock on a door once, the knock cannot be said to continue. It is only when the event is repeated, or becomes an iterative, that the imperfective can be used; as in *he was knocking on the door*. Semelfactives are incompatible with forms of duration and completion (Smith, 1997:181). Furthermore, semelfactives are generally considered to be atelic (Kranich, 2010:25). Achievements proper are dynamic, and telic. When used with the progressive aspect, achievements draw attention to either the beginning stages of end points of a particular event. Achievements are incompatible with adverbials of simple duration, but can sometimes be used with verbs of completion (Smith, 1997:182).

States are stative, durative, and atelic. States describe situations which do not change over time (Croft, 2012:32). Vendler (1957:150) notes that qualities, as well as habits, can be categorised as types of states since they do not imply that any action or process is being performed. Vendler (1957:151) distinguishes between *specific* states for smokers or painters, and *generic* states for rulers, servants, or educators. As such, states cannot take the continuous or progressive aspect, and but accept the perfective aspect (Vendler, 1957:148; Smith, 1997:184). Certain states which denote a bodily sensation, like being tired, can be used with adverbs of duration (Smith, 1997:184).

3.1.2.2 Alternative aktionsart subtypes

In addition to Vendler's (1957) four categories, and the distinctions between durative/punctual, telic/atelic, and stative/dynamic, there have been some elaborations and subtypes have been identified. A total of eleven categories have been recognised as situation types; a summary of which is illustrated in Figure 2 below.

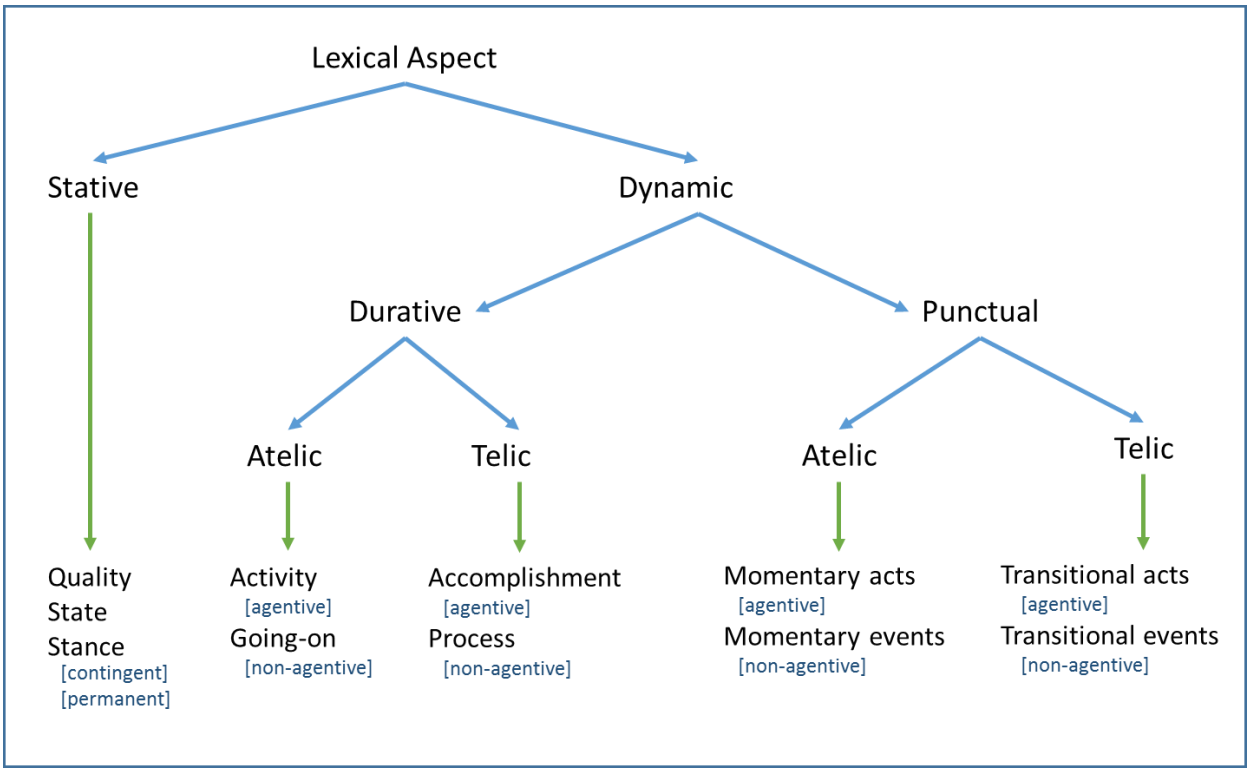

Figure 2 Lexical aspect, adapted from Quirk et al. *(1985:201).*

Arguably the most substantial refinement of aktionsart categories is offered by Quirk *et al*., (1985), who provide a modification of stative verb types, and propose a distinction between agency and non-agency for activities, accomplishments, and achievements. Quirk *et al.* (1985:201) take the telic/atelic distinction further, and note that we can divide the verbs which fall into these groups according to their agency. If a durative event is non-conclusive (atelic), and there is an agent then these verbs are called activities, and when there is no agent then the verbs refer to goings-on. The sentence of example 3 describes an activity, since the agent "I" is actively engaging in the playing, while example 4 describes to be a going-on, since there is no human agent that is purposely doing the sparkling.

(3) I **have been playing** tennis at the Bantu Sports Club for the last ten months; and I met a thrilling boy four months back. (Reportage, *Drum*, November 1952, p.33)

(4) He is about the oldest man in the Refuge; his face **is** always **sparkling** with joy, and he has a way of making people believe that there is good in the world. (Fiction "The Dignity of Begging", *Drum*, September 1951)

Van Rooy (2014), informed by Van Valin and La Polla (1997), draws attention to a particular group of verbs that denote a communicative act, as seen in example 5 below. Acts of communication generally fall into the activity category, but can occasionally be achievements, or ambiguous between the two. Thus, it is sensible to group communicative acts on their own. In some instances, the sentence may refer to an event that has not yet begun, and is profiled by the construction *be going to*, as can be seen in example 6. However, the *be going to* construction has recently gone through a process of grammaticalization, in which the progressive meaning has been semantically bleached, and therefore this construction is widely considered as a semi-modal (Hundt & Vogel, 2011:152). Alternatively, when the verb is combined with the modal *will*, or if the sentence has an adverbial, the sentence can still refer to a future event. These sentences can be categorised separately as verbs which denote the future.

(5) I **have been interviewing** people in Swahili, and I don't know enough to translate it. (Personal Letter, National English Literary Museum, September 1965)

(6) Statutory recognition has been promised by the Government but there is, as yet, little sign that the necessary measures **are going to** be passed this session. (Reportage, *Imvo*, April 1947)

According to Quirk *et al*., (1985: 207-208) if a durative event is conclusive (telic), and has an agent then it is considered to be an accomplishment, and when there is no agent these verbs are termed processes. The sentence in example 7 below is considered an accomplishment, as the family is in the course of eating their dinner, an event that can only be accomplished once they have finished all their food. Alternatively, the sentence in example 8 is considered a process, since the youth is not actively involved in their growth, rather it is a process that takes place on its own.

(7) Lesane and his family **are eating** supper in their room at Rose Street. (Fiction "Lesane", *Drum*, December 1956)

(8) I have a small country, the youth **is** now **growing** and multiplying that now I have no place to give them and no place for gardens. (Application Letter B159, University of Cape Town, May 1898)

Punctual events can also be subdivided according to conclusivity and agency. Non-conclusive punctual verbs can be either momentary acts (agentive) or events (non-agentive). Momentary acts and events occur effectively without any duration, and only make sense when used with the progressive aspect if we assume that some repetition takes place (Quirk *et al.*, 1985:208). These can also be called iteratives. The sentence in example 9 below is considered a momentary act, since the agent "he" repeatedly tapped his knuckles on the door to produce a knocking sound. In contrast, the sentence in example 10 can be considered a momentary event, since a volcano is an inanimate subject, and the act of erupting involves short bursts of lava to repeatedly fire out of the mouth of the volcano.

(9) A few minutes later he **was knocking** at a room in a backyard four houses down. (Fiction "Lesane", *Drum*, December 1956)

(10) Africa's one active volcano, Mount Nyiaragongo in the Kivu district of the Belgian Congo, **is erupting** again. (Reportage, *Imvo*, 1948)

The conclusive punctual verbs can be transitional acts (agentive) or events (non-agentive), and differ from the momentary acts and events in that they involve a consequent change of state (Quirk *et al*., 1985:209). The sentence in example 11 is considered a transitional act, as the straw which is being caught by the "many" agents changes from being in a state of flight into a state of rest. Conversely, the sentence in example 12 is considered a transitional event, since the people who were dying changed from a state of being alive into a state of being deceased, and an inanimate subject, starvation, is responsible for this change. These four punctual verbs all fall under Vendler's (1957) achievement category.

(11) Many **are** just now desperately **catching** at every straw that something must be done. (Reportage, *Imvo*, May 1945)

(12) When he reached his home he told his hungry wife that he found a worse drought at her home, and people **were dying** of starvation. (Fiction "The Wicked Ken", *Drum*, May 1951)

Quirk *et al*. (1985:200) divide statives into three subcategories: qualities, states, and stance. Qualities are considered permanent characteristics of a person or object, and generally do not occur with the progressive aspect. The sentence in example 13 is considered a quality, as the agent "he" has the characteristic of being tall. States are considered less permanent, and can include a variety of private states; such as intellectual states, states of emotion, states of perception, and states of bodily sensation (Quirk *et al*., 1985:203). The sentence in example 14 describes a state of emotion, which occurs with the progressive aspect in order to illustrate the attitudinal past.

(13) He **was tall** and rather good-looking. (Fiction "Down the Quiet Street", *Drum*, January 1956)

(14) To my greatest surprise I see that the price of DRUM has been reduced to 4d. I **was expecting** it to cost more because for every copy of DRUM I get more about Africa. (Letter to the editor, *Drum*, November 1952)

Stance refers to bodily positions or postural verbs, and can be further subdivided into contingent (temporary) and permanent stances. The sentence in example 15 below is considered a contingent stance, as one can assume that the agent will only be squatting for a short time. In contrast, the sentence in example 16 is considered a permanent state, since the village (hamlet) is likely to remain on top of the hill unless an external force acts upon it to remove it.

(15) It was pay day on the farm and Jack **was squatting** outside a bungalow with the other workers. (Fiction "The Bride-Price", *Drum*, July 1952)

(16) The architecture is Roman and has a nostalgic air of Italy with the Fathers and Nuns parading, in mid-afternoon, with prayers mumbled. In residential Iringa, the hamlets seem to **be balancing** on top of hills. (Personal Letter, National English Literary Museum, September 1965)

While Quirk *et al.* (1985) expand on the aktionsart categories, other scholars have attempted to combine the existing aktionsart categories. Croft (2012) proposes a phase model, which focuses on the various stages that a verb encompasses. Croft (2012:38-41) notes that since a verb does not inherently belong to a single aspectual type, and has the potential to be conceptualised in multiple aspectual types according to the context of the verb, we can therefore note a few new aspectual types which can be considered combinations of verb meanings. These include:

- Inceptive states: verbs that have the potential to be states or achievements;
- Disposition: verbs that can be states or activities;
- Inactive actions: semantically stative, but can take the progressive (postural verbs);
- Cyclic achievements: semelfactives;
- Cyclic actions: semelfactives used as activities;
- Run-up achievements: non-incremental process leading up to a transition into a state.

Croft (2012:42-44) also notes that states, achievements, and activities can be further subdivided semantically. States can be divided into three types (Croft, 2012:42-43); the first object-level states and are termed permanent states, which can be inherent or acquired, and coincide with what Quirk *et al.* (1985) term qualities. The second are stage-level, or transitory states, which correspond to Quirk *et al.*'s (1985) category of

state statives. The third are termed point states, but these have not yet been explored in detail by Quirk *et al*. (1985)

Achievements can be subdivided according to reversibility (Croft, 2012:43). Reversible achievements can occur more than once for the same subject, and could be essentially reversed, just as a door can be opened and closed repeatedly. In contrast, irreversible achievements can only occur once per subject, and cannot be reversed or undone, just as a shattered glass cannot become whole again, nor can an animal die twice. Activities can be subdivided according to directionality (Croft, 2012:44). Directed activities encompass dynamic and gradual completion verbs. Undirected activities describes cyclic actions, such as girls chanting, and are consistent with Vendler's (1957) description of activities.

In summary, lexical aspect deals with the inherent temporal structure of a situation or event. Vendler (1957) identifies four basic aktionsarten that he believes any verb can be classified into. The first aktionsart is activities, which are dynamic, durative, and atelic. The second is accomplishments, which are dynamic, durative, and telic. The third is achievements, which are dynamic, punctual, and can be atelic when describing semelfactives but telic when describing achievements proper. The final aktionsart is for statives, which are stative, durative, and atelic. Quirk *et al*. (1985) expand on the original four aktionsarten by proposing that a distinction be made in the dynamic verbs according to agency, while the stative aktionsart can be classified according to three subtypes, namely states, qualities, and stance (bodily position). Croft (2012) makes the observation that no verb has one inherent aktionsart, and instead the classification of aktionsart relies on context; thus the same verb can be present in multiple categories. Consequently, Croft (2012) proposes categories for verbs which can have multiple meanings, and also elaborates on Vendler's four aktionsarten, suggesting that statives be subdivided according to levels, achievements according to reversibility, and activities according to directionality. This discussion now moves to examine the temporal meanings which are denoted by dynamic and stative verbs when combined with the progressive aspect.

3.1.3 Temporal meanings of the progressive aspect

One central concern surrounding the literature on the progressive aspect is the notion that an event has an internal temporal structure, signifying that the event has duration. The key factor is, however, the idea that although there is a duration, it should only signify a limited duration (Quirk *et al*., 1985:198). Therefore temporariness, rather than permanence, is the hallmark of the progressive aspect. This section briefly discusses the prototypical short duration denoted by the progressive aspect before considering the extensions of this temporal meaning to include both on-going and unlimited meanings, and subsequently reviews three specialised meanings that may occur with the progressive, namely attitudinal stance, the futurate, and pluractionality.

3.1.3.1 Prototypical temporal meaning

The prototypical meaning for the progressive aspect is centred on the idea of temporariness, and as such denotes a limited duration (Kranich, 2010:46). In Standard English, the progressive rarely occurs with verbs that denote states of unlimited duration. Van Rooy (2006:51) notes that the prototypical meaning is characterised not only by shorter duration, but also by the notions that the event is both incomplete and ongoing at the reference time. This prototypical meaning is applied to dynamic verbs, such as the activity viewed in example 17 below, but can also be used to describe temporary states. The progressive aspect can be used with certain stative verbs, particularly verbs denoting bodily position as is exemplified in sentence 18, and serves to emphasise that the state is temporary.

(17) The burgher congress **was being held** in Bloemfontein by General Hertzog, who was always harassing the Government. (Reportage, *Imvo*, February 1914)

(18) He felt that he **was standing** on ancestral ground and made moving reference to the traditions of Healdtown and its honorable associations. (Reportage, *Imvo*, April 1918)

Quirk *et al*. (1985: 200) note that state verbs may also occur with the progressive aspect in special cases, wherein the stative verb is reinterpreted to contain a dynamic

predication. Therefore, the use of the state verb implies that the state is a temporary behaviour rather than a permanent characteristic. Furthermore, when combined with postural verbs the progressive aspect places emphasis on the limited duration of a contingency state, but cannot be used for permanent states (Quirk *et al*., 1985:206). Thus, the implication in example 18 is that the "he" was only standing on the ancestral ground for a limited duration, particularly during the course of his speech, and will eventually move away from that particular spot. Thus, the prototypical meaning denoted by verbs when they are combined with the progressive aspect is a short, temporary duration.

One sub-type of the prototypical meaning still denotes a short duration, but presents an event in a sentence which has a specific function, namely to frame another event (Van Rooy 2006:43; Kranich 2010:35). The time-frame meaning of the progressive aspect is used for dynamic verbs, as in example 19, and stative verbs, as can be seen in example 20.

(19) I **was walking** away when one of the stable boys shouted at me to put the things back in the office. (Reportage, *Drum*, November 1951)

(20) I **am** still **ruminating** when old man Rantolo comes paddling along on his seat. (Fiction, "The Diginity of Begging", *Drum*, September 1951)

The purpose of a time-frame meaning is to frame a shorter event within a slightly longer, on-going event. In example 19, the agent "I" was engaging in the action of walking (first event), and it was during this time that a stable boy shouted (framed second event). The temporary meaning, along with the subtype time-frame meaning, are commonly found in Standard English.

3.1.3.2 Extended temporal meanings

The progressive aspect has been observed to extend beyond the prototypical short duration, particularly for non-native varieties of English. Van Rooy (2006) examines the temporal duration denoted by the progressive aspect for three learner corpora, namely the Tswana Learner English corpus, the German Learner English Corpus, and the

LOCNESS for British English and American students; finding several new categories that extend beyond the prototypical short duration. The extended temporal meanings established by Van Rooy (2006)[10] are illustrated in Figure 3, and are now discussed in turn.

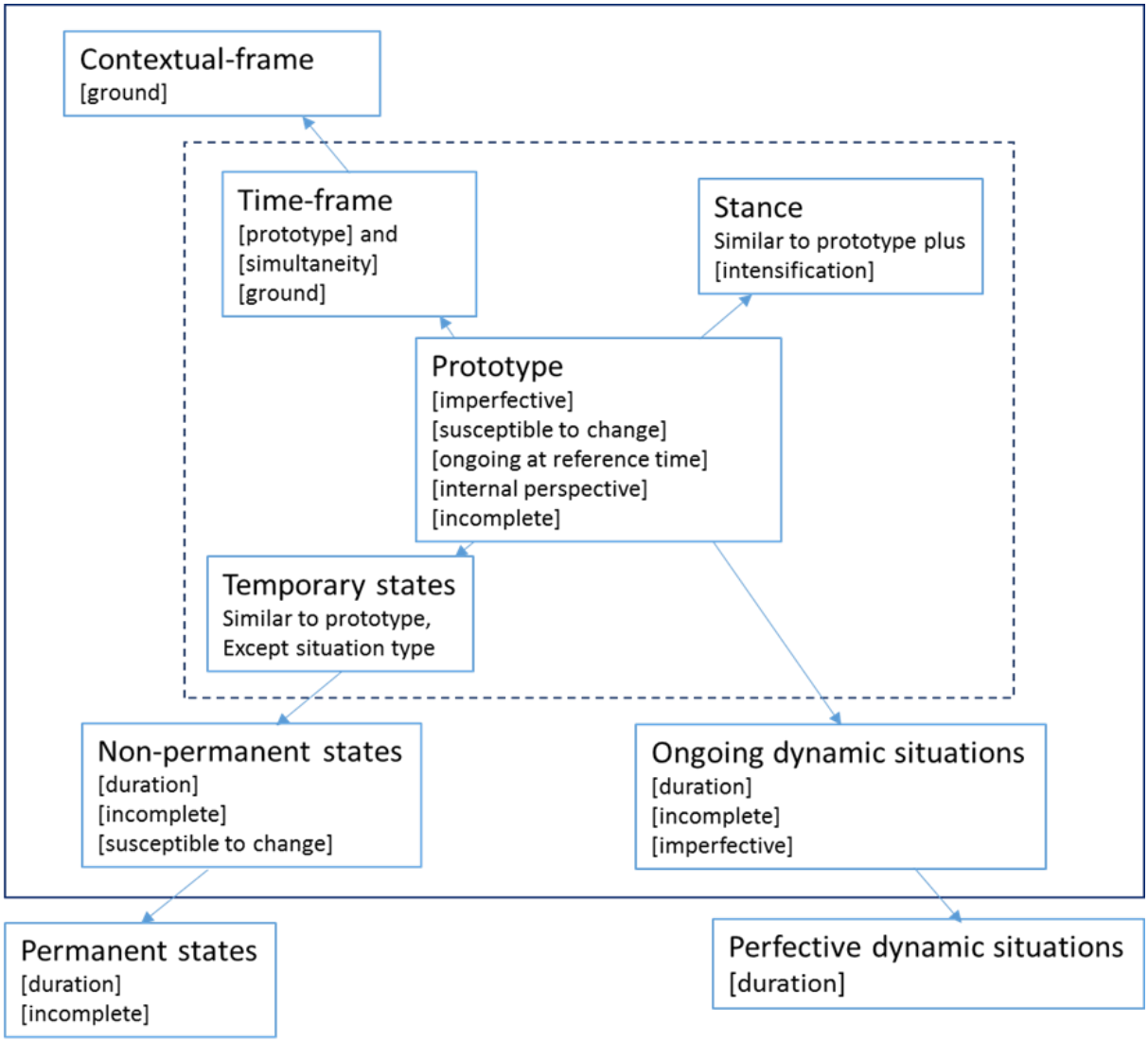

Figure 3 Schematic representation of temporal meanings of the progressive, adapted from Van Rooy (2006:51)[11]

[10] The information presented in this section is all taken from Van Rooy (2006), and exemplified with sentences taken from the BSAE historical corpus collected for this study.

[11] In Figure 3 – "Stance" here refers to the expression of attitude, and should not be confused with Quirk *et al*.'s (1985) idea of bodily position.

The first extension of the temporal meaning is for on-going dynamic situations, and non-permanent states. The verbs denoting an on-going temporal meaning retain the characteristics of incompleteness and continuity associated with the progressive aspect, but the duration of the event is considerably longer. The argument can be made that essentially these verbs are used with the continuous aspect, since the progressive requires a temporary duration. The sentence in example 21 below can be considered an on-going activity, while example 22 can be considered an on-going state.

(21) We **are opposing** a system which has for years kept a vast section of the non-European people in bondage. (Reportage, *Drum*, August 1952)

(22) Why **are** we **allowing** the government to squander the resources of our country on arms when the real war facing us demands anti-retrovirals? (Fiction "Beauty's Gift", Kwela, 2008)

A possible subtype of the on-going temporal meaning is the use of the perfect progressive aspect. Perfect progressives are considered to be slightly different from simple progressives, in that the limited duration is typically excluded from the perfect progressives. The perfect progressive aspect is realised by the use of the perfective *have* + *-ed* alongside the progressive *be* + *-ing* form, as can be seen in the example of an activity in sentence 23, and stative in sentence 24 below.

(23) According to the last "Imvo" I received, it seems that Jabavu is trouble in consequence of the foolish policy he **has been pursuing** in his paper. (Personal Letter C167.36, University of Cape Town, March 1900)

(24) General J.C.G. Kemp […] who **had been lying** critically ill at Piet Retief Hospital, died there early on Tuesday last week and was buried on his farm Vroegeveld. (Reportage, *Imvo*, January 1947)

The second extension of the temporal meaning is for permanent states and activities. The implied duration of permanent states or activities is that of indefiniteness or unlimited time. Thus, the event in the sentence is described in such a way that suggests that the event will continue without effort unless something happens to change it. An

example of an unlimited activity can be seen in sentence 25, since the blood will continue to flow through the person's veins until he dies. An example of an unlimited state can be seen in sentence 26, since the Native Commissioner will deal with the Natives indefinitely, or at least as long as he is the Native Commissioner, just as a Governor governs an area indefinitely. Therefore, in this case "deal" is used to signify the Native Commissioner's profession.

(25) Last night I bugged that chap who calls himself President. His blood **is flowing** in my veins, so I'm his blood relation in a way. (Fiction "If Bugs were Men", *Drum*, February 1958)

(26) Now, Sir [The Native Commissioner], as you **are dealing** with natives I think you are aware that some of our native boys such as this one are always playing fool of the poor girls, after they have seduced them. (Letter of complaint N165, Pretoria National Archives, May 1946)

Two subtypes of the unlimited temporal duration can be identified. The first subtype has a characterising function, and is generally found within a relative clause. The sentence in example 27 can be considered a characterising activity, as it provides additional information regarding the whereabouts of the minister. Alternatively, the sentence in example 28 can be considered a characterising state, where the relativiser *that* is omitted.

(27) In the unavoidable absence of the Rev. Dr. Kingon, the resident Methodist Minister who **was attending** a conference in Durban, the Rev. Barnard of the Dutch Reformed Church conducted the funeral service. (Reportage, *Imvo*, August 1947)

(28) DRUM is definitely worth treble the 4d. you **are charging**. (Letter to the editor, *Drum*, September 1952)

The second subtype is closely related to the time-frame, in that it also frames another event in the sentence. The contextual-frame presents a context or background that

provides a condition under which another event should be interpreted. A stative verb which is presented within a contextual frame can be seen in example 29, in which the agent “I” makes a series of statements regarding gambling which could result either in annoyance or helpfulness.

(29) Be wise and stop this gambling; it will ruin your life […] I hope I **am** not **annoying** the lovers of these games, but helping those who are newcomers to them. (Letter to the editor, *Drum*, April 1951)

The progressive aspect can also be used with verbs to denote a specialised set of meanings, one of which is the expression of attitude, specifically one that is non-neutral (Van Rooy, 2006:43). Also called speaker stance, this expression of attitude can be quite negative when combined with the adverbial “always” (Kranich, 2010:63), but the progressive aspect can make the statement seem more tentative and polite. Along with the stance meaning, two other specialised meanings can be found with the progressive aspect, namely the ideas of futurates and pluractionality, each of which is now discussed in turn.

3.1.3.3 The futurate and susceptibility to change

The progressive aspect is commonly used to refer to events or situations that take place in the present or the past, but it can also be used to denote future time. When combined with the present tense, the progressive aspect can be used for events that have not yet begun in current time, and when combined with the past tense the progressive aspect can refer to events that may have occurred in the past but had not yet begun during the time of reference (Quirk *et al*., 1985:210). Future time can be indicated by using the progressive form *be going to*, or by adding the modal *will* to the verbal phrase (Quirk *et al*., 1985:201; Williams, 2002:90; Smith, 1997:190). However, when used in the present tense and combined with an adverbial of future time, such as *tomorrow* or *in the morning*, the form becomes known as the “futurate” (Smith, 1997:189-190). The futurate, as Smith (1997:189-190) explains, is not the same as a *will* future, since the futurate denotes some sort of schedule, plan, control, or pattern in the event, while the

will future is not as restricted. An example of the future can be seen in example 30 below, with the adverbial “tomorrow”.

(30) We **are trekking** *tomorrow* Baas. (Fiction “The Harvest is Waiting”, *Drum*, June 1951)

The futurate and *will* future are best differentiated using the theory of “susceptibility to change”, proposed by Williams (2002:87). The rationale behind susceptibility to change is the notion that the situation or event which is described in the sentence might still change, and therefore when used with the progressive it is seen as non-permanent (Williams, 2002:87). Susceptibility to change is particularly prominent in futurate sentences, as there is a possibility that the future event might not take place, if something were to happen. However, the modal *will* in a *will* future sentence denotes a definiteness and sense of obligation, thereby framing the event as one that will not and cannot be altered; making it less susceptible to change.

3.1.3.4 Pluractionality

Thus far, the discussion of the progressive aspect has centred on the presupposition that there is one event in a sentence, and has aimed to describe the internal temporal structure in terms of duration alone. However, as can be seen in the description of time-frame temporal meanings, it is possible to have multiple events within one sentence. Once there are multiple events in a sentence, or an indication that a singular event is repeated multiple times, the notion of pluractionality becomes important. Simply put, pluractionality is concerned with the frequency of an event, rather than duration. Pluractionality is frequently expressed through the use of adverbials of cyclicity, frequency, habituality, and reiteration (Bertinetto & Lenci, 2012:854). An example of an iterative can be seen in sentence 31 below.

(31) More than a hundred voices **were counting** with the referee. (Fiction, “The Fighter that Wore Skirts”, *Drum*, January 1952)

Pluractionality was first proposed by Newman (1980, cited in Bertinetto & Lenci, 2012:852) and has since been developed to differentiate between situations that denote 1) event-internal pluractionality, where the event consists of one or more sub-events

occurring in the same situation, such as a time-frame usage, or 2) event-external pluractionality, in which the same event is repeated on multiple occasions, as can be seen in a habitual usage. Bertinetto and Lenci (2012:853) make a further distinction in event-external pluractionality for 1) macro-events, where a series of singular events make up one pluractional event, and 2) micro-events, where each singular event is considered one pluractional event. Cases of pluractionality can be further categorised for reduplicativity, usitatives, frequentative/ saepitive, discontinuative/ raritive, potentiality, (non)distributive pluractionality, and dispersive/amulative; however these categories are not needed for my analysis and will consequently not be discussed here (interested parties may direct their attention to Bertinetto and Lenci (2012:853-854) and the references provided there for a comprehensive discussion).

Pluractionality is generally applied to habituals and iteratives, as both of these categories rely on the notion of repetition. There is some inconsistency among scholars about whether habituals and iteratives should be considered part of grammatical aspect or lexical aspect (Williams 2002; Bertinetto & Lenci, 2012). Since habituals can also occur with the progressive form (*be* + *-ing*), they can be considered as activities that denote a longer duration, rather than the prototypical limited duration.

3.1.3.5 Towards a synthesis

Pluractionality can be related to duration (Xrakovsky, 1997:4-5 and Van Geenhoven, 2004, cited in Bertinetto & Lenci, 2012:854) and it would be useful to consider them together. In order to determine the internal temporal structure of dynamic verbs, both duration and pluractionality should be taken into account. Consequently, we can distinguish between events that are punctual or durative (whether the duration is shorter or longer), and that occur only once or multiple times. A set of categories is proposed in Figure 4 below, wherein the duration and frequency of the event gradually increases from the left to the right.

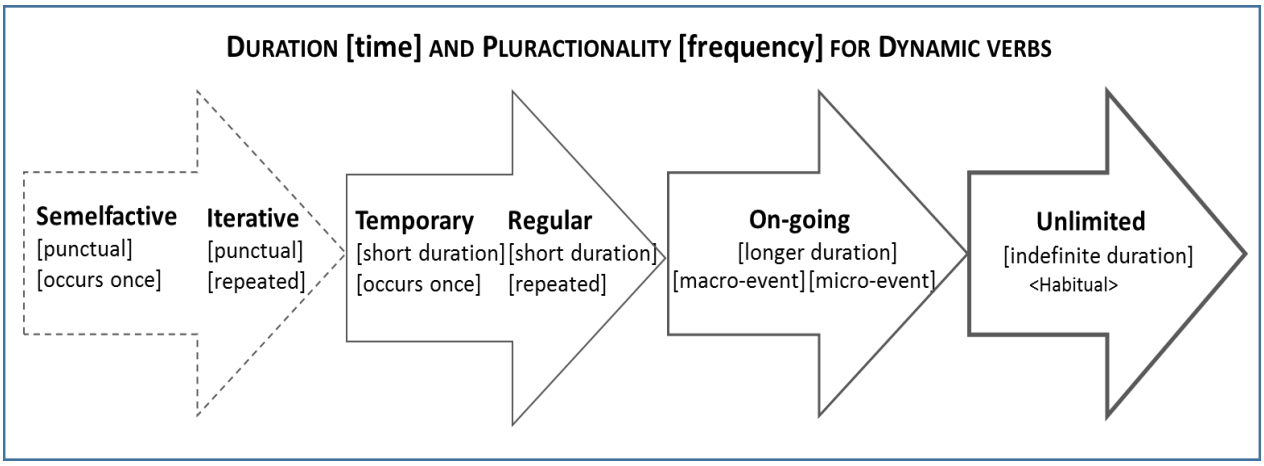

Figure 4 Temporal meanings of the progressive when combined with dynamic verbs

The categories listed in Figure 4 correspond with the list of prototypical and extended temporal meanings of the progressive which were discussed in Sections 3.1.3.1 and 3.1.3.2; which focus on the meanings for durative verbs. Figure 4 takes into account the punctual verbs, or achievements, and indicates the gradual increase in duration starting from punctual verbs which occur instantaneously, and ending with the unlimited temporal meaning, which showcases events that may go on indefinitely. In addition to the duration of the event, Figure 4 highlights the role of frequency, by means of differentiating between events that occur once and those that occur repeatedly.

In addition to the categories of temporal duration established by Van Rooy (2006), I propose that a separate category be made for regular activities. Regular activities have the same short duration which is denoted by the temporary meaning, but differs in that the regular activities imply that the event or action has been repeated a few times. The regular meaning differs from that of iteratives and habituals. On the one hand, the iterative is generally used for punctual, instantaneous events, and as such do not denote duration. On the other hand, habituals imply that an action is repeated frequently enough to become characteristic of a person's behaviour. The regular activities are profiled by the notion that the action has duration, and is only repeated a few times. Thus, in a sentence, the verb may have collocates such as "still" or "again", which imply that the action has been performed once before, or will be repeated in the

near future. An example of the regular category can be seen in sentences 32 and 33 below.

(32) Sir, I **am** hereby again **aplying** to you as prevous, and I **am** still **aplying** to you for a transfer, to any place, in Natal the Frystate Kimberley or in the Cape. [*sic*] (Application letter N35, Pretoria National Archives, December 1957)

(33) SIX blokes **are making** the headlines once more - "Lo Six" under Ernest Mohlomi. (Reportage, *Drum*, November 1952)

In sentence 32, the use of the adverbials “still” and “again” indicates that the agent “I” has applied for a transfer at an earlier point in time, and is repeating this activity for a second time. The application itself has a short duration, and can by no means be said to constitute a habit. In sentence 33, the use of “once more” suggests that the agents have been in newspaper headlines before, and would have to be very fortunate to appear in the headlines habitually.

In summary, the prototypical temporal duration for verbs used in the progressive aspect is profiled by notion of temporariness. Thus, dynamic and stative verbs when combined with the progressive aspect in Standard English denote a short duration. At times, one event can be used as a time-frame for another even shorter event. This core meaning of the progressive can, however, be extended in non-native varieties of English. One extended temporal meaning describes actions and states that are on-going, but non-permanent. A subtype of the on-going temporal meaning is profiled by the use of the perfect progressive aspect, which typically does not have the limited duration denoted by simple progressives. Another extended temporal meaning describes actions and states that are unlimited, or permanent. There are two subtypes of the unlimited temporal meaning, one which provides a contextual-frame describing the conditions under which an event should be interpreted, while the other has a characterising function. There are also three specialised meanings that can be found with the progressive. The first is the expression of attitude, called speaker stance. The second deals presents events which have not yet begun, called the futurate or *will* future. The third emphasises the frequency of the event, or pluractionality, as one event can be

repeated multiple times. The notion of frequency can be combined with that of duration, in order to create a system of categorisation for both dynamic and stative verbs.

Since English is learned as a second language by speakers of BSAE, it is important to consider the aspect of the home languages which are used by these speakers, in order to account for the possibility of interlanguage transfer. The following section provides an overview of aspect in relation to the Bantu languages in South Africa (Zone S), in order to illustrate any differences between aspectual realisations in Bantu languages and English.

3.2 ASPECT IN THE BANTU LANGUAGES

This section of the Literature Review presents an overview of the aspectual categories found in the Bantu languages. It begins by identifying the languages which can be considered as Bantu, with a focus on the Zone S, or Southern Bantu, languages which are found within South Africa. Thereafter, the traditional literature surrounding tense and aspect in the Zone S languages is reviewed, outlining the general aspectual structures before surveying the minor variations found in Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Ndebele, Tsonga, and Venda. Particular attention is given to inchoative verbs and the so-called stative aspects in which they can appear. The traditional account is then compared to more contemporary literature available on the topic, highlighting some changes in the terminology used to describe the aspectual categories. Here, attention is given to the reclassification of the *progressive* (characterised by the use of *still*) as a new aspectual category named the *persistitive*. This section is concluded with a brief comparison of English and Southern Bantu aspectual categories.

3.2.1 The Bantu languages: Zone S

If one were to draw a line across Africa – stretching from Nigeria, across the Central African Republic, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, and Kenya, to southern Somalia – then most of the language communities south of that line can be considered Bantu (Nurse & Philippson, 2003:1). Since this encompasses a wide range, Bantu languages are categorised according to letter and number. Guthrie (1967:71 cited in

Nurse & Philippson, 2003:3) systematically divided the Bantu languages into sixteen zones (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, P, R, S), which were further subdivided according to 85 decades (A10, A20, B10, etc.) that refer to groups of languages. Within each group, specific languages are identified using decimals (A11, A12, A13, etc.). The Bantu languages within South Africa fall into the category of Zone S languages. The map of Africa in Figure 5 below shows the location of the Bantu languages, while Figure 6 shows Guthrie's language Zones.

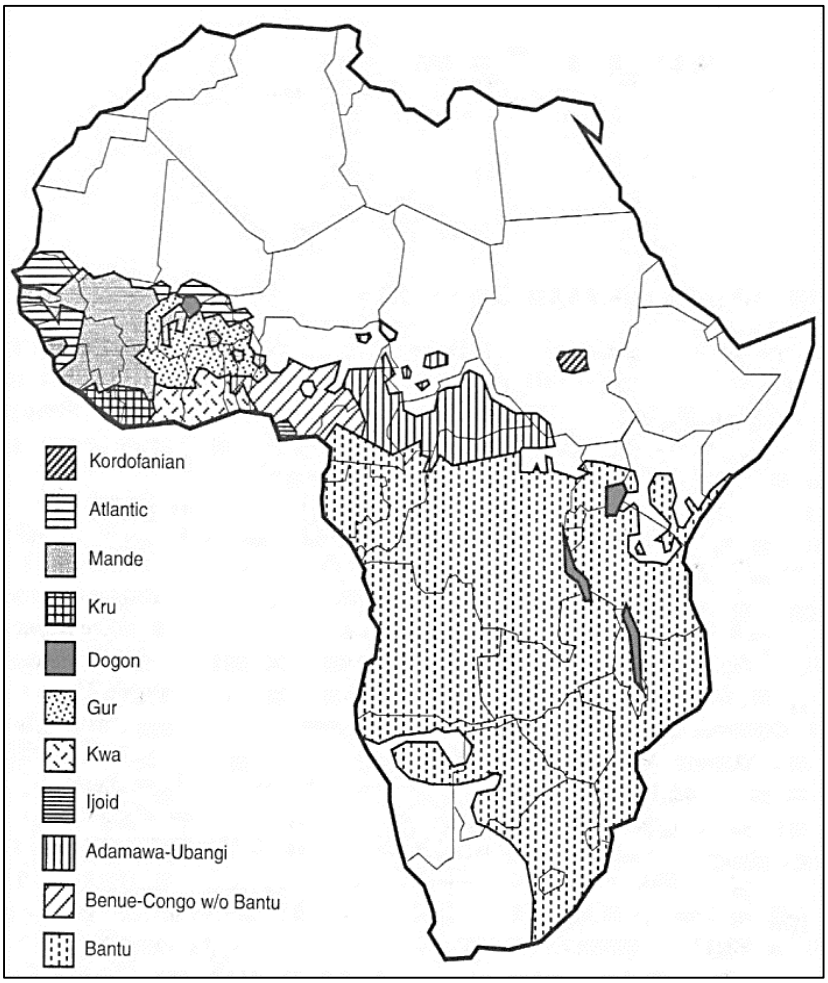

Figure 5 A map of the Niger Congo languages, adapted from Nurse & Philippson (2003:2)

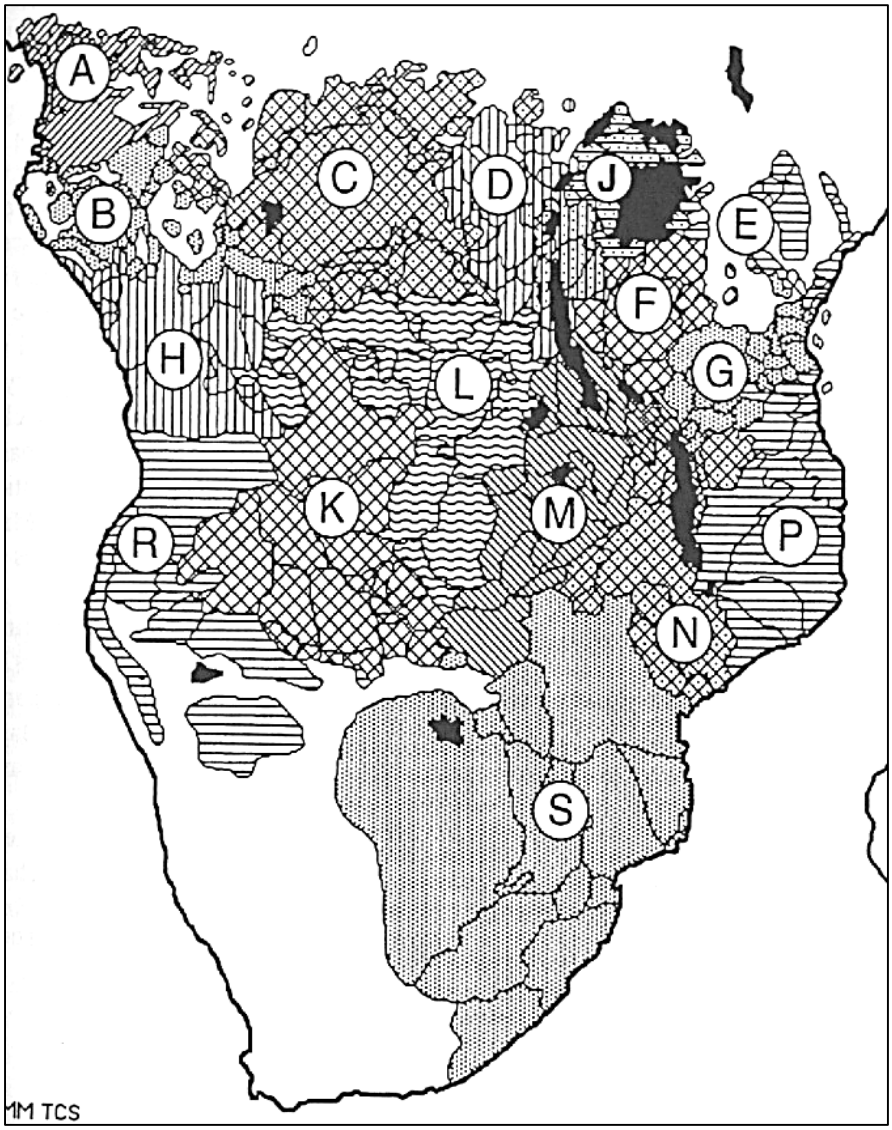

Figure 6 A map of Guthrie's Zones, adapted from Schadeberg (in Nurse & Philippson, 2003:145)

The following Bantu languages are located in South Africa:

Table 1 Zone S Bantu languages in South Africa

Languages (Gowlett, 2003:609-611)	Provinces in which the language is spoken:	Official language	% of SA population that are L1 speakers (Census, 2011)
S20 Venda Group:			
S21 Venda	Limpopo	Yes	*Tshivenda* 2.4%
S30 Sotho-Tswana Group:			
S31a Central Tswana	Limpopo, Gauteng, Free State, Northern Cape	No	n/a
S31b Eastern Tswana		No	n/a
S31e Southern Tswana	Northern Cape	Yes	*Setswana* 8.0%
S32a Northern Sotho	Limpopo, Gauteng, Mpumalanga	Yes	*Sepedi* 9.1% (dialect of N.Sotho)
S32b Lovedu	Limpopo	No	n/a
S33 Southern Sotho	Free State, Gauteng	Yes	*Sesotho* 7.6%
S302 Kutswe; threatened	Mpumalanga	No	n/a
S303 Pai; possibly extinct	Mpumalanga	No	n/a
S304 Pulana; threatened	Mpumalanga	No	n/a
S40 Nguni Group:			
S41 Xhosa	Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Gauteng, Free State	Yes	*IsiXhosa* 16.0%
S41a Mpondo	Eastern Cape	No	n/a
S41b Xesibe	Eastern Cape	No	n/a
S42 Zulu	KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Mpumalanga	Yes	*IsiZulu* 22.7%
S43 Swati	Mpumalanga	Yes	*SiSwati* 2.5%
S407 Northern SA Ndebele/Sumayela Ndebele	Limpopo		n/a
S408 Southern SA Ndebele	Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Gauteng	Yes	*IsiNdebele* 2.1%
S406 Lala	KwaZulu-Natal	No	n/a
S50 Tshwa-Ronga Group:			
S53 Tsonga	Limpopo, Gauteng, Mpumalanga	Yes	*Xitsonga* 4.5%

3.2.2 Traditional literature on aspect in the Zone S languages

The traditional literature dealing with the Zone S languages presents an overview of verb conjugation by means of surveying tense, aspect, mood, and negation. However, the terms *tense* and *aspect* have been used in a rather liberal manner, and often "without clear understanding of what the concept aspect really entails" (Louwrens, 1994:117). Consequently, perfectives and imperfectives are described by some as aspects, and by others as tenses. The discussion that follows is an attempt to decipher the existing literature by means of categorising the structures according to tense and aspect as defined by Comrie (1976).

Tense situates an event in time. While in English only two tenses are found, namely the past and the present, Bantu languages employ a range of tenses. Broadly, all the Zone S languages make a basic distinction between past, present, and future tense (Gowlett, 2003:631); yet differ in whether or not tenses can be combined or if the past and future tenses can be subdivided into remote, immediate, or general. For example, Tswana uses combinations of the three tenses, yielding a wide range of tenses such as present, past, future, past-perfect, and past-future (Cole, 1982:242). Tswana also distinguishes between a sequential and a narrative past (Pretorius, 1997:163). Zulu subdivides the past and future into immediate (yesterday, today, or tomorrow) and remote (anything more than two days) (Doke, 1990:162). Northern Sotho tenses reflect those of Zulu (Louwrens, 1991:39), while Southern Sotho has the addition of a general past (Gowlett, 2003:631). Tense is always used in conjunction with aspect.

As mentioned in the discussion of English, aspect is concerned with the internal temporal constituency of a situation, and is used to relate the degree of completeness of an action (Comrie, 1976:5). The literature on Bantu aspect deals primarily with grammatical aspect, which is the morphological or syntactic realisation of a verb which modifies the internal temporal constituency of a situation (Croft, 2012:31; Williams, 2002:70). In Zone S languages, aspect can be indicated by the use of 1) a special auxiliary verb, 2) a post-subject-concord-prefix, or 3) a suffix (Gowlett, 2003:634). There is a general consensus in the traditional literature on Zone S languages that a

distinction is made between actions which have been completed and those which are ongoing.

The perfective aspect is used to denote that an action which took place in the past has been completed. Alternatively, ongoing actions can be classified as either 1) continuous, denoting that the action is currently in progress, or 2) progressive, denoting that the action began in the past and is still ongoing. The progressive form in Bantu is characterised by the use of *–sa*, which can be directly translated into the word "still" in English. The Zone S languages may also include other aspectual categories, some of which are reviewed in the subsequent section.

3.2.3 Aspect in South African languages

The grammatical aspect of the individual South African languages will always include the perfective and at least one category denoting an on-going process or action. This section provides a short review of the aspectual categories found within Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Ndebele, Tsonga, and Venda.

3.2.3.1 Northern Sotho[12]

Northern Sotho also makes the distinction between perfectivity and imperfectivity, both of which can be subdivided into further categories. The perfective in Northern Sotho is formed by adding the suffix *–ilê* to the verb stem after removing the final *–a* of the verb (Ziervogel *et al*. 1969:31), as in example 34 below, and expresses a finalised event. The perfective can also be split into completives and statives. Completives, or completion aspect, imply that an action or process was completed sometime in the past (Lombard *et al.*, 1985:142), as can be seen in the sentence of example 35. The stative implies that someone or something is in a certain state at a certain point in time (Lombard *et al*., 1985:142), as can be seen in example 35.

[12] The discussion of Northern Sotho will contain examples of the various aspectual categories, which were morphologically glossed and translated with the assistance of Prof Elsabe Taljard. Since the aspectual categories for the Zone S Bantu languages are similar, the discussion of the other Bantu languages within this section is supported by examples which are translated only.

(34) *re* *fihl* *-ilê* *gaê*
SBJ concord-1PL arrive PFV home
"we arrived home"

(35) *ke-* *rôbêtše* *maabane*
SBJ concord-1SG sleep ADV
"I slept yesterday"

(36) *Mmê-* *o-* *rôbêtše*
mother SBJ concord-(1a) sleep
"mother is asleep".

The imperfective can be subdivided into five categories. The first is the momentary action, denoting an action being performed at the moment that the speaker mentions it, implying that they are busy with this action right now and have not yet concluded it (Lombard *et al*., 1985:141), as can be seen in example 37. The second is the habitual aspect, which indicates that someone has a habit of performing an action, even though they may not be busy doing it right now (Lombard *et al*., 1985:141; Louwrens, 1991:46), which is shown in example 38. The third is the universal aspect, which denotes that a certain action or process can be applied universally to an entire species or group (Lombard *et al*., 1985:141; Louwrens, 1994:120), which can be seen in the sentence in example 39 below.

(37) *ke-* *a-* *ngwala*
SBJ concord-1SG IPFV write
"I am writing"

(38) *ke-* *a-* *gôga*
SBJ conrord-1SG IPFV smoke
"I smoke"

(39) *ditau* *di-* *ja* *nama*
lion SBJ concord-(10) eat meat
"lions eat meat".

The fourth is the continuous aspect, which implies that an action or process continues uninterrupted over a certain period of time, but not necessarily while the speaker is relating this event (Lombard *et al*., 1985:141), as in example 40. The final category is the progressive aspect, which denotes that an action or progress is still ongoing (Ziervogel *et al*., 1969:34; Louwrens, 1991:57), as can be seen in example 41, or in copula sentences like example 42. The progressive aspect can only occur with verbs

denoting the present, future, or a state, and therefore *–sa* cannot be used alongside a verb with a perfect meaning (Ziervogel *et al*., 1969:34).

(40) *ke-* *šoma-* *letšatši ka moka*
SBJ concord-1SG work (day whole)=ADV
"I work the whole day"

(41) *di* *sa* *elwa*
SBJ concord-(8 or 10) PROG fight
"they are still fighting"

(42) *tatê* *e* *sa* *le* *morutiši*
father N-SBJ concord PROG COP teacher
"father is still a teacher"

A graphical representation of the aspectual distinctions found in Northern Sotho is presented in Figure 7 below.

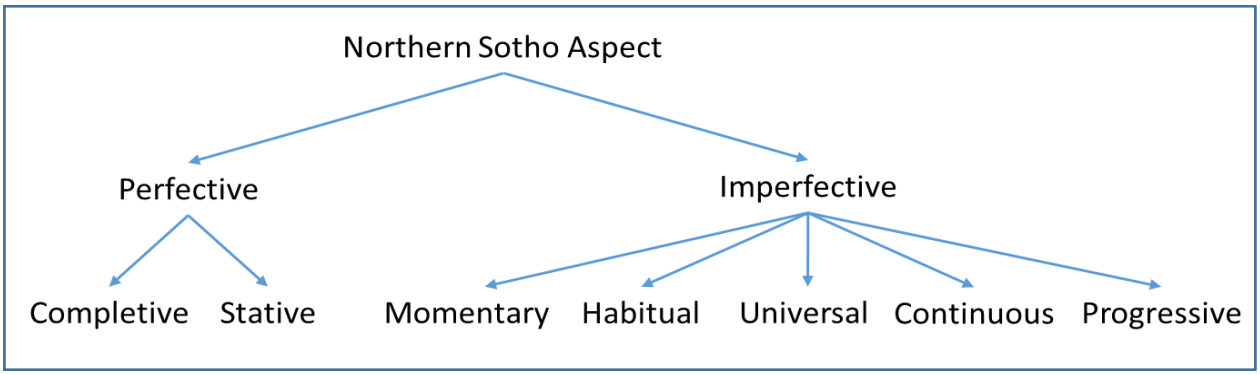

Figure 7 Grammatical aspect in Northern Sotho

3.2.3.2 Southern Sotho

Southern Sotho aspectual categories include the perfective, continuous, and progressive (Guma, 1971:168), as well as up to 17 minor aspectual categories. These included categories such as the anterior, completive, simultaneous, continuative, durative, consecutive, immediate, interim, persistitive, permanent, frequentative, occasional, habitual, iterative, experiential, nocturnal, and matinal (for explanations and examples of each, see Gowlett, 2003:634), thereby illustrating the richness of aspectual

categories in some Zone S and Bantu languages. The aspect of Southern Sotho is the same as that of Northern Sotho.

3.2.3.3 Tswana

Tswana maintains the perfective and imperfective distinction (Cole, 1982:242), but it is interesting to note that the perfective is considered as the default aspect for a verb and it is therefore unmarked (Pretorius, 1997:166). The implication is that Tswana does not have a simple aspect, since the unmarked form of the verb retains a perfective meaning. Tswana only has two auxiliary verbs which are truly aspectual in meaning, namely the deficient auxiliary *–sa* and the improper auxiliary *–ntse* (Pretorius, 1997:145). Tswana separates the continuous into two categories. The pre-continuous (Sandilands, 1953:181) or progressive (Pretorius, 1997:166) indicates that an action which started in the past is still ongoing, or will go on until an indicated time. The progressive is indicated by the use of the auxiliary verb *–sa* inserted in front of the verb *nna/ntse*, as can be seen in the sentence 43.

(43) *ke sa ntse ke rèka*, “I am still buying”

Alternatively, the post-continuous indicates that an action has been or will be going on from an indicated time (Sandilands, 1953:186). Sandilands (1953:186) notes that the post-continuous implies that an action is continuous after the time indicated by the speaker, and can sometimes have the meaning of “always”. The verb *nna/ntse* denotes this action when used as an auxiliary, as can be seen in the sentence 44. Pretorius (1997:166) states that the use of *nna/ntse* can also be classified as the persistive aspect. In addition, Tswana has a characteristic formation of the verb which denotes that the action is habitual, and can express something that happens usually, generally, or repeatedly (Sandilands, 1953:197). An example of this is the sentence 45.

(44) *ke ntse kea rèka*, “I am going on buying”

(45) *re(a) tle re reke*, “we buy” habitually

Pretorius (1997:145) suggests that the origin of the auxiliary *–sa* derives from the verbal stem *–sala*, which means to remain or stay behind in a particular location or time. The

use of –*sa* implies the persistence or maintenance of a course of action. As an auxiliary –*nna* (-*ntse*) has the meaning of "keep on doing", and can be used to express a perfective form when combined with a stative verb, in which case it denotes that there is no change in the temporal continuity of the event (Pretorius, 1997:146). Pretorius (1997:230) later goes on to say that the progressive in Tswana is marked by the auxiliary –*ntse*, which has a persistive semantic value, and essentially the persistive –*sa* and progressive –*ntse* are synonymous and interchangeable. The only difference between –*sa* and –*ntse* is that the –*sa* implies that a process is happening at the moment of speech, while –*ntse* indicates that the process has started some time prior to the moment of speech.

3.2.3.4 Zulu

The aspectual categories in Zulu have been divided into "implications" and "manners" (Doke, 1990:162; 1954:71). A sentence in Zulu will have both an implication and a manner, alongside tense. The first implication in Zulu is the progressive, characterised by the formative –*sa*, denoting that an action is still ongoing (Taljaard & Bosch, 1993:61; Doke, 1990:177). The second implication is the exclusive, which denotes an action which has not been going on previously. The exclusive, when used in the present tense, can be identified through words such as "now" or "not yet" (Doke, 1990:179-183) as can be seen in sentences like examples 46 and 47. In addition, the exclusive can be identified by the word "then" when referring to the past (Doke, 1990:181), as in example 48 below. The final implication in Zulu is the simple implication, which corresponds directly with the indefinite manner. These are both represented as unmarked verb forms (Doke, 1990:166), as can be seen in example 49.

(46) *useyahamba manje umntwana*, "the child is now walking"

(47) *angikathandi* "I do not yet love"

(48) *besengilele*, "I was then asleep"

(49) *ngithanda*, "I love"

The remaining two manners are the continuous and the perfect. The perfect differs from the perfective in that the former relates to the state which resulted from a completed

action (Doke, 1954:71). The perfect can be expressed by a long *–ile* form or a short *–e* form (Taljaard & Bosch, 1993:55), and is also known as the anterior aspect. The perfect manner can have a progressive implication, as in example 50, or an exclusive implication, as in example 51 (Doke, 1990:169-180). The continuous manner can also be used with both implications (Doke, 1990:169-180), as seen in example 52 where the continuous is used with the progressive, and the exclusive in example 53.

(50) *ngisalele* “I am still asleep”

(51) *sengilele* “I am now asleep”

(52) *ngiyokube ngisathanda* “I shall still be loving”

(53) *ngise ngiyathanda* “I am now loving”

Doke (1954:143) believes that the implication and manner distinctions can also be applied to the languages of the Sotho Group, but this is not documented in any of the other sources listed here.

3.2.3.5 Northern Ndebele

Northern Ndebele falls into the Nguni Group, and thus shares the aspectual distinctions that are identified in Zulu (Doke, 1954:107). Northern Ndebele has an unmarked form which indicates a simple aspect, as well as marked forms to indicate whether the aspect is continuous, progressive, or perfect (Ziervogel, 1959:88-89). The progressive is characterised by the form *–sa*, as with the other Nguni languages. When the progressive aspect is used with a stative verb, it does not have the same meaning of a perfect aspect.

3.2.3.6 Tsonga

Tsonga makes a distinction between the perfective and continuous, (Doke, 1954:196), which can be seen in the comparison between the sentences in examples 54 and 55. There are only trace amounts of the progressive aspect in Tshwa-Ronga Group, which is indicated by the infix *-ha-*, translated as “still” (Doke, 1954:196), as can be seen in the Tshwa example 56, or in the Ronga/Tsonga example 57. The exclusive can also be

found in trace amounts, and is signalled by the deficient verb –*se* (Doke, 1954:196), as can be seen in example 58.

(54) *nḍi-vonile* “I have seen”

(55) *nḍa-vona* “I am seeing”

(56) *wa-ha-caba ku-fa* “he still fears death”

(57) *nḍa-ha-vona* “I still see”

(58) *a-nga-si-vuya*, “he has not yet come back”

3.2.3.7 Venda

Three aspects can be identified in Venda. The first is the perfective, which denotes an action that took place in the past and was completed (Poulos, 1990:259). While the aspectual categories may not be easy to distinguish, the use of the perfective with stative verbs is clear (Doke, 1954:172). An example of a perfective sentence is seen in example 59. The second is the present-continuous, which represents an action that is ongoing at the time that the participants are speaking (Poulos, 1990:258) and therefore has to currently be in progress. The third aspectual category is the habitual, used to express a customary action or habit that takes place in the present time (Poulos, 1990:254). Traces of the progressive can be found in Venda, but the form is not very dominant (Doke, 1954:172). An example of the progressive, sentence 60, can be compared to the simple, unmarked form in sentence 61. Venda also has a verb form that denotes the future tense, indicating that an action will take place, but has not yet started (Poulos, 1990:259).

(59) *ndo-neta* “I am tired”

(60) *ndi-ḍo-vhuya nda-vhona* “I still see”

(61) *ndi-a-vhona* “I see”

3.2.3.8 The stative verbs in Bantu languages

I have only briefly mentioned the stative verbs until now, but these are often given special consideration in the discussion of aspect in the literature. It is useful to distinguish between verbs that are stative in the sense of Quirk *et al*. (1985:201), and

those which are inchoative. Inchoative verbs are considered “fastidious” since they occur very frequently in some aspects, but relatively infrequently or never in other aspects (Cole, 1982:276). Inchoative verbs occur commonly in the perfect (anterior) aspect, since the verb stems denote that an action continued for a limited period of time before resulting in a mental or physical state (Cole, 1982:277). Sentences 62, 63, and 64 below are examples of Tswana sentences using inchoative verbs include:

(62) *thipa yame elatlhêgilê*, “my knife is lost”

(63) *setulô sêo serôbêgilê*, “that chair is broken”

(64) *bana barôbêtse*, “the children are asleep”

In each case, something happened that resulted in the physical state; the misplacement of the knife resulted in the state of it being lost, etc. When inchoative verbs are used in the continuous aspect, it is usually to signify that something is “becoming” or entering a state (Cole, 1982:277). While inchoative verbs are relatively infrequent in the continuous aspect, stative verbs of quality and state are used frequently in the continuous aspect. Sentences 65-68 below show Tswana examples of stative verbs used in the continuous aspect.

(65) *kenê keitse*, “I knew” or “I was knowing”

(66) *renê rebôifa gotsêna môlogagêng*, “we were afraid to go into the cave”

(67) *ngwana yôolwalang oararoma*, “the child was shivering”

(68) *mêtse ana aphatsima môletsatsing*, “the water was glittering in the sun”

3.2.4 The rise of the persistitive

Nurse (2003; 2006) proposes that there are six main aspectual categories found within the Bantu languages, and a number of minor categories. These categories are based on those found in the traditional literature, some of which Nurse (2003) has renamed so that the terminology is consistent with Comrie (1976) and Quirk *et al*. (1985). The following aspects, summarised in Figure 8, can be identified:

1. Anterior: also known as the perfect, illustrates that the performance of a short action resulted in a state which is ongoing.

2. Perfective: represents an event as a time-bounded whole, generally denoting that the event or action has been completed.
3. Continuous: represents events that are ongoing over a certain amount of time, and are therefore considered durative events instead of punctual.
4. Progressive: denotes an action which was ongoing for a short period, at the point of another event. This is can be considered as a time-frame use of the verb, and therefore what Nurse (2003:98) calls the progressive differs from the traditional literature discussed above.
5. Persistitive: denotes an activity that started in the past, and is still ongoing at the time of reference. Thus, the persistitive holds the meaning of the progressive in the traditional literature; and is profiled by the use of the word "still".
6. Habitual: denotes an activity that characterises an entire period.

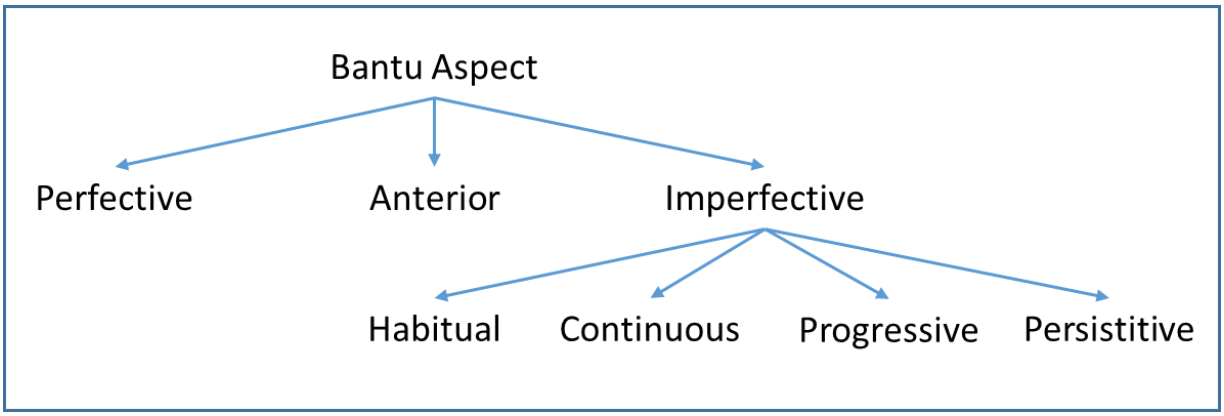

Figure 8 Grammatical aspect in Zone S Bantu languages

The continuous, progressive, persistitive, and habitual aspects would all fall under the imperfective category described by Comrie (1976:4). The persistitive aspect is unique to Bantu languages (Nurse, 2003:96), and is documented widely in both traditional and contemporary literature. As noted above, the persistitive is denoted through the use of *–sa* or *–ha* (meaning "still") in the Zone S languages, thereby indicating a longer temporal meaning than one expects from the progressive aspect. This is not to say that Bantu speakers will consistently insert the adverbial "still" into English when describing an event that has started in the past and is still ongoing. Since there is no corresponding inflectional morpheme in English, native speakers of Bantu might express the meaning

of the persistitive while using the progressive aspect. Consequently, non-native varieties of English such as BSAE may have examples of the progressive aspect used to denote extended temporal frames.

In summary, grammatical aspect in the Zone S Bantu languages display minor variations, but all agree that a perfective and imperfective distinction needs to be made to denote events that are completed in contrast to events that are on-going. In this respect, Bantu aspect is similar to English aspect. The difference between Bantu and English can be found in the number and types of imperfective categories found within each language. Where English makes a distinction between the habitual, continuous, progressive and non-progressive (for continuous states), Bantu has an additional category to denote that an event started in the past and is still on-going at the moment of speech, named the persistitive aspect. Bantu languages indicate this aspect by means of inflecting the verbal stem with the morpheme *–sa* (*-ha* in Tsonga). In English, since there is no separate persistitive aspect, no such distinction is made morphologically and the closest manner of indicating something similar would be through the use of the adverbial “still”.

Now that the differences and similarities between English and Bantu aspect have been established, the implications thereof for SLA need to be considered. The subsequent section provides a brief overview of the Aspect Hypothesis, which foregrounds the relation of verb types (aktionsart) to the process of acquiring the progressive aspect, and any issues which may result from this acquisition process. Thereafter, the progressive aspect is reviewed with specific reference to BSAE and other non-native varieties of English. The progressive aspect in BSAE is discussed with reference to previous studies, illustrating the current view of how aspect is realised in BSAE.

3.3 THE ASPECT HYPOTHESIS

Discussions of tense and aspect in SLA research typically takes into consideration the Aspect Hypothesis. The Lexical Aspect Hypothesis addresses the distribution of grammatical aspect across verbs with the four original aktionsart categories described by Vendler (1957) (Bardovi-Harlig, 2012:481). The Lexical Aspect Hypothesis

encompasses four separate claims; 1) learners first use perfective past marking with achievements and accomplishments, gradually extending to activities and statives, 2) Imperfective marking occurs after perfective marking is established, and begins with statives, extending to activities, then accomplishments, and then achievements, 3) in languages that have a progressive aspect, the progressive *–ing* morpheme is first applied with activities, and gradually extends to accomplishments and achievements, and 4) the progressive *–ing* is not incorrectly extended to the stative verbs (Bardovi-Harlig, 2012:484). Thus, the use of the progressive aspect is most frequent for activities, relatively common for accomplishments, rare for achievements, not used with the types of states examined by Vendler (1957). The Lexical Aspect Hypothesis was originally described for L1 acquisition, and focused on how children apply tense and aspect categories to their language; until researchers of SLA applied the theory to adults who were acquiring an L2.

The order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes differs for L1 and L2 speakers (Meisel, 2011:63-65); L1 speakers of English acquire the present progressive *–ing* morpheme first, while L2 speakers of English seem to acquire pronoun case and articles before acquiring the present progressive *–ing*. The acquisition of the progressive follows a specific pattern, outlined by Andersen and Shirai (1996 in Bardovi-Harlig, 2012:489):

> Process (activity > accomplishment) > iterative > habitual or futurate > stative.

The Lexical Aspect Hypothesis can be criticised for its separation of lexical and grammatical aspect, and its intense focus on the aktionsart alone (Sharma & Deo, 2010:114). Sharma and Deo (2010:115) propose that a sentential approach should be taken, which considers both the lexical aspect of the verbal phrase as well the sentential context. Unlike the Lexical Aspect Hypothesis which was designed for child L1, the Sentential Aspect Hypothesis was proposed with adult L2 speakers in mind. Sentential Aspect Hypothesis predicts that the progressive *–ing* will not be restricted to dynamic progressives, but instead has the capacity to extend to all categories found within the imperfective aspect (thereby including habituals and statives), but will not be extended to perfective sentences (Sharma & Deo, 2010:119). Thus, whereas the Lexical Aspect

Hypothesis predicts no progressive marking for statives, the Sentential Aspect Hypothesis considers the possibility that habits and states can occur with the progressive *–ing* in non-native varieties of English.

3.4 THE PROGRESSIVE ASPECT IN WORLD ENGLISHES

A feature of World Englishes that is particularly widespread across Asia and Africa is the over extension of the progressive *–ing* to stative verbs, particularly to the state verbs as described by Quirk *et al*. (1985:200), which cannot be used with the progressive *–ing* in Standard English. The distinction between statives and dynamic verbs is frequently overruled by speakers of non-native varieties of English (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008:67). In almost all non-native varieties of English, statives are used with the progressive aspect, but why this might happen across so many different varieties remains somewhat of a mystery. Factors such as substrate influence, overgeneralisation, regularisation processes of SLA, language universals, linguistic ecology, and verbal fluidity across aspects in Standard English have all been listed as possible suspects (Paulasto, 2014:256).

Sharma (2009:171) examines two non-native varieties of English, namely Indian English and Singapore English, in search of English language universals, or “angloversals”, to see whether the progressive aspect is used in the same way by two completely different substrate languages. Instead, Sharma (2009:192) finds evidence of interlanguage transfer or substrate influence on the superstrate, since Hindi and the four Chinese languages examined do have an effect on how the progressive is used. Most notably, Indian English does over extend the progressive form to state verbs that are otherwise considered ungrammatical since imperfective marking of the all four imperfective categories is obligatory in Hindi (Sharma, 2009:185), while the Singapore English does not extend to include statives as much because it does not have the substrate pressure to mark imperfectivity overtly (Sharma, 2009:187). Thus, the extent to which the progressive aspect is extended to stative verbs seems to vary across non-native varieties of English. This variation is further evidenced by Paulasto (2014:260), who compares Indian English to Welsh English and Standard English, finding again that

Indian English extends the progressive aspect to the stative quite liberally, while Welsh English is more conservative.

The progressive itself is constantly undergoing changes in Standard English varieties, such as British English and American English. Some varieties are more advanced than others at spreading the progressive aspect (Hundt & Vogel, 2011:146), and it stands to reason that non-native varieties may develop trajectories of their own, not necessarily conforming to other non-native varieties of English, or to Standard English. Hundt and Vogel (2011) set out to determine whether the claim of overextension of the progressive aspect to stative verbs in World Englishes has any truth behind it, by means of comparing Standard Englishes (specifically, British, Irish, and New Zealand English) to second language varieties (Fiji, Kenyan, Filipino, Singapore, and Malay English) and learner varieties (German, Swedish, Finland-Swedish, and Finnish English). As anticipated, no unexpected combinations of the progressive aspect with statives are found in the Standard varieties, but surprisingly these combinations were relatively rare in the second language varieties, with only a few examples in the Kenyan English and Singapore English, and the unusual combinations were rarer still for learner varieties of English (Hundt & Vogel, 2011:157). Hundt and Vogel (2011:158) therefore suggest that while second language varieties may have a higher overall frequency of verbs used with the progressive aspect, this is attributed not to statives, but instead to the notion that verbs are selected from contexts where Standard English would prefer the simple form. Consequently, an appropriate question would be whether verbs used with the progressive aspect denote different meanings in native and non-native varieties of English.

In BSAE, particular interest has been given to this so-called over-extension of the use of the progressive aspect (De Klerk, 2003; Makalela, 2007; Mesthrie, 2002; Minow, 2010; Siebers, 2007; Van Rooy, 2006, 2008, 2014; Van Rooy & Piotrowska, in press). De Klerk (2003:253) analyses the overuse of the progressive aspect with stative verbs in Xhosa English, stating that there is an overuse, but regrettably reports no frequencies; taking the presence of the feature as evidence of its use. Mesthrie (2002:351) employs a different strategy, electing to use perception tests in order to determine whether the

use of the progressive aspect with statives is acceptable. The findings indicate that if the stative progressive is combined with *busy* is considered ungrammatical even in BSAE, but stative verbs used with the progressive were acceptable. Van Rooy (2006) moves beyond the idea of simply attesting whether or not the stative is used with the progressive aspect, and focuses instead on determining whether BSAE uses a different set of temporal meanings to that of Standard English and German learner English, finding that speakers of BSAE extend the duration beyond the prototypical short duration denoted in Standard English.

Minow (2010:197) sets out to quantify the exact frequency of the progressive, and notes that even though 20% of the progressives are used with statives, these are commonly states of occupation, private states, and to a lesser extent abilities; but the progressive is rarely used with "truly" stative verbs such as *be* and *have*. An additional finding is that BSAE speakers use the progressive to express habitual meanings, which are generally expressed in simple aspect in Standard English (Minow, 2010: 198). Minow (2010:197) therefore suggests that BSAE speakers work with a different notion of temporariness than other New Englishes.

Makalela (2007:134) believes that this over-extension of the progressive is due to the phenomenon of interlanguage. Interlanguage refers to the concept that individuals who are in the process of learning a second language will draw on their knowledge of their first language, and may thereby transfer features from their first language into the new language (Ellis, 1997:33). According to Makalela (2007:1134), Bantu speakers do not distinguish present time in terms of habituality and progressiveness, and they use the same Bantu language logic to frame the rules and production of BSAE. Siebers (2007:172) too considers the effect of interlanguage when discussing the use of the present progressive with habitual meanings, but concludes that it would be difficult to acquire proof. An alternative interpretation is given by Van Rooy (2006), who suggests that the progressive construction in BSAE is used in a way which is consistent with the persistitive aspect found in Bantu languages which is used to emphasise the long duration and incompleteness of a stative verb.

Several issues have been raised concerning the analysis of the progressive in BSAE. One major issue is that most studies focus solely on the stative verbs. Siebers (2007:140) attempts to rectify this by considering other progressive categories (aktionsart), and suggests that the extension of the progressive is more general, since BSAE speakers use the progressive where Standard English favours the simple present or past. There has also been a recommendation that the progressive aspect should not be studied on its own, but instead in the context of other related aspectual categories, such as the continuous and persistitive (Siebers, 2007:172) or the simple aspect (Minow, 2010:155). A further issue is that currently features of BSAE are analysed in terms of deficiency relative to the standard English norm (the term *over-extension of the progressive* implies an error of use), since there is no set of terms to analyse these features as non-native varieties (Van Rooy, 2008:340).

To date, all studies on the progressive aspect in BSAE provide a description of the feature using synchronic data, with the one exception. Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) analyse the frequency and meaning of the progressive aspect using a diachronic corpus of BSAE. Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) analyse a small set of newspaper and fiction data, focusing on the temporal meanings denoted by stative verbs when combined with the progressive aspect. The lack of diachronic study of BSAE is due to the fact that no diachronic corpus of BSAE was available for analysis. Thus, there is currently no research on the use of the progressive aspect as a whole in BSAE which considers historical data along with contemporary data, and which tracks any changes in not only the frequency but also the use and meaning of various progressive categories.

The lack of diachronic corpora inevitably means there is a lack of diachronic studies of the progressive aspect in BSAE, and indeed of any other non-native varieties of English, and has made comparison between World Englishes impossible. Taking these issues into consideration, this dissertation has three objectives. The first objective is elaborate on the work by Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) by means of using an additional data set, the second is to take into account the temporal meanings of dynamic verbs alongside statives, and the last objective is to compare the use of the

progressive in BSAE to another variety, namely White South African English (WSAE). The methodology employed in this dissertation subsequently discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

The previous two chapters of this dissertation reviewed the current literature on the issues of language contact and change, second language acquisition (SLA), grammatical and lexical aspect of English, as well as the grammatical aspect of Bantu languages. The literature review of the current studies on the progressive aspect in BSAE revealed that more investigation into the diachronic development of the feature is needed. The majority of studies on the progressive aspect in BSAE, and on New Englishes in general, deals only with current, synchronic data, and describes the frequency of the progressives alongside the meanings of the verbs. One study by Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) examines the progressive aspect diachronically, by means of investigating the developments in newspaper and fiction data over time. Therefore, the first objective of this study is to elaborate on the research done by Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) by means of analysing an additional genre, namely letters. A second issue which emerges from the current literature on the progressive aspect in BSAE is that when analysing the temporal meanings of the verbs used with the progressive, current studies focus solely on the stative verbs found within the data, while the dynamic verbs are not given any consideration. The second objective of this study aims to rectify this, by means of analysing the activity verbs alongside the stative verbs for temporal meaning. A final issue that emerges from the literature is that the use of the progressive aspect in BSAE has not yet been compared to that of WSAE, in order to determine whether there are any differences or similarities between the two varieties of South African English. Consequently, the third objective of this study is to compare the progressive aspect of BSAE to WSAE, by means of analysing a diachronic corpus of WSAE, in order to determine whether changes in BSAE take place independently of or parallel to WSAE.

These three objectives focus on the non-native variety of English, BSAE. However, broader issues in the literature concerning language change have been identified. The current literature regarding language change focuses on changes which occur over time in native varieties of English, Schneider's (2007) Settler Strand. However, little attention

is given to the ways in which non-native varieties of English, Schneider's (2007) Indigenous Strand, develop and change diachronically. Therefore, language change for non-native varieties has not yet been profiled, and we do not know what patterns of change are expected or prototypical. The lack of theoretical reflection pertaining to language change in these varieties may be due to the general non-existence of diachronic corpora of various non-native varieties of English. This is detrimental because empirical data is needed before any type of theory can be formulated. Since a theory of language change in non-native varieties cannot be formulated by examining one feature of one non-native variety in isolation, this dissertation aims instead to create a foundation or at least a starting point from which such a theory could materialise.

This Chapter outlines the methods which were used for this study. This Chapter begins with a discussion on corpus-based approaches in Section 4.1 and indicates why a diachronic corpus is the best method in which to study historical language change. Thereafter, in Section 4.2, the discussion turns to describe the design for the diachronic corpus of BSAE, while taking into account the history of writing in BSAE and the possible constraints on data collection. This is followed by a brief indication of the sources at which data were gathered. In Section 4.3 the composition of the data used for this study is described, alongside a description of the current content and size of the historical corpus of BSAE. Section 4.4 briefly describes the historical corpus of WSAE, which is used for the comparison of data between the non-native and native varieties of English in South Africa. Section 4.5 describes the four types of analyses which were performed on the BSAE and WSAE corpora; the first pertaining to the frequency of the verbs used in the progressive aspect, the second analysing the aktionsart of the verbs, the third dealing with the temporal meanings of stative verbs, and the fourth examining the temporal meanings of activity verbs. In an additional examination, the state verbs of the BSAE historical corpus were categorised according to their aspectual realisations, in order to determine how frequently speakers of BSAE use true state verbs with the progressive aspect. This chapter ends in Section 4.6 with a brief description of the statistical measures which were used to determine the significance of results.

4.1 CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

The most effective method to study a grammatical feature in a specific variety of English is through the use of corpora. A corpus is a large collection of texts, and can be either synchronic or diachronic. Synchronic corpora consist of texts from one time frame, while diachronic corpora consist of texts from several time frames and are used to track changes in language use across time. Corpora can also be general, presenting an overall description of a language, or specialised, presenting genre specific texts (McEnery *et al*., 2006:12-13). Corpora should aim to be as balanced and representative as possible (Biber *et al*., 1998:246). The size of a corpus needed depends on the feature which will be investigated, as some features are more common than others. If the corpus size is too small, a single text can have unexpected effects on the results of the investigation (Biber *et al*., 1998:249), and therefore a diversity of texts is needed that encompasses many authors and different genres.

Corpus linguistics has provided researchers with an effective way of analysing patterns of use, ensuring that frequencies of features are reported accurately, and confirming whether a feature is truly characteristic of a variety (Biber *et al*., 1998:4; Minow, 2010:1). In the past observations on language were formulated intuitively, based on the researcher's experience with the language, which could result in an over-estimation of how frequently a feature actually occurred (Kahneman, 2011:322-333); a process known as confirmation bias. Alternatively, data was collected opportunistically, and could therefore not provide a systematic picture of the prevalence of a feature. Corpus-based approaches to studying language use are empirical, in that they represent actual patterns of use in natural texts (Biber *et al*., 1998:4). A corpus-based approach makes a quantitative study of this size feasible, as a wide variety of texts can be searched and examined for specific features in a fraction of the time that it would take to go through each text manually. In addition, corpus linguistics goes beyond the quantitative count of a linguistic feature and recording patterns of use, since it is also qualitative as the patterns must be interpreted within a theoretical framework. The aim of this study is to track the changes in the use of the progressive aspect by speakers of BSAE, from the 1880s until the 2000s. To do this, a diachronic corpus of BSAE is needed.

4.2 DATA COLLECTION

4.2.1 Corpus design

Diachronic studies of Modern English make use of a corpus-based approach to study the progressive aspect. For example, Kranich (2010:10) uses the ARCHER-2 corpus, which contains texts spanning from 1600 until 1999, and divides the data into sets of 50 years. The ARCHER-2 corpus includes written texts from a wide variety of genres; namely drama, fiction, religious sermons, journals and diaries, medical texts, newspaper writing, scientific texts, and private letters (Kranich, 2010:22). Diachronic corpora, such as ARCHER-2, Brown, or International Corpus of English (ICE), are designed to include a wide variety of genres.

The design for the BSAE historical corpus includes four genres; namely newspaper, fiction, letters, and other non-fiction. The aim for the BSAE historical corpus is to have a balanced amount of letters, newspaper articles, works of fiction, and where possible non-fiction for each decade of the corpus; spanning from 1880 until 2010. The target word counts differ for each genre, depending on the availability of material for each decade in that particular genre. For newspaper data, I aim to gather 50,000 words per decade from the 1880s to the 2000s. For the fiction data, I aim to gather 10,000 words per decade from 1920 to 1940, and 50,000 words per decade for the 1950s to the 2000s. For letter data, I aim to gather 20,000 words per decade from the 1870s to the 2000s. For the non-fiction genre, I aim to gather 10,000 words per decade from the 1880s to the 2000s. In total, the target word count for the BSAE historical corpus upon its completion is 1,390,000 words. The collection of data for the BSAE historical corpus commenced in 2012, but before describing the current status of the corpus, the next section provides a brief overview of English writing by Black South Africans, which served as guideline for data collection.

4.2.2 BSAE in writing

English was first brought to South Africa in 1795, but it was only in 1806 that a fairly large amount of officials, soldiers, and farmers arrived in South Africa (Mesthrie, 1996:141; Bekker, 2012:129). The first wave of permanent settlers, comprising of about

4,000 immigrants, arrived in 1820. Missionary work in South Africa began as early as 1799 with four missionaries from the London Missionary School, a number which grew to twenty by 1816 (Mesthrie, 1996:141). The establishment of missionary schools provided black people with access to a high standard of education in English (Siebers, 2007:14). Black journalism has its roots in the mission presses, as the majority of newspaper material written in the early 20th century came from various mission presses across the country (Woeber, 2012:207-208). Under the care of R.H.W. Shepard, Lovedale became the publishing centre for African Literatures, printing material mostly in English and isiXhosa. However, most of the mission presses were edited by white people, and therefore any material that was written by black authors would first pass through the editor, who may adjust the language and content of the article. Therefore, this type of data has been somewhat tainted and would not represent truly BSAE. Fortunately, a number of newspapers which started as missionary publications acquired black editors, while several others were created and run completely by black intellectuals of the time; therefore newspaper data which accurately represents BSAE is available.

In the Eastern Cape (Woeber, 2012:211-214), the first significant newspaper to be published with both English and isiXhosa articles was *Indaba* [News], which was launched in 1862 by the Glasgow Missionary school and Lovedale, and edited by the staff of Lovedale. The most important newspaper produced by the Mission presses was *Isigidimi sama Xosa* [The Xhosa Herald], which ran between 1870 and 1888. The *Isigidimi* was first edited by James Stewart, who was succeeded by Elijah Makiwane, followed by John Tengo Jabavu in 1881, and William Wellington Gqoba in 1884. Jabavu went on to create the newspaper *Imvo Zabantusundu* [African Opinion] in 1884 to be circulated in King Williams Town, which became the first black-owned newspaper in South Africa. The *Imvo* published lectures, essays, editorials, and letters in English, and also allowed for Jabavu to express his political opinions. Jabavu's neutral opinion of the British during the South African War of 1899-1902 was opposed by the black intellectuals who supported the British, and in 1897 the *Izwi Labantu* [Voice of the People] was founded in East London. The *Izwi* was funded by Cecil John Rhodes, and was considered more pro-Britain than the *Imvo*. The *Izwi* published material in English,

isiXhosa, and Sesotho, and was edited by Nathaniel Umhalla and George Tyamzashe. Their successors, A.K Soga and S.E.K Mqhali, along with a colleague Walter Rubusana, became rivals of Jabavu. Due to lack of funding *Imvo* closed in 1902, and the *Izwi* followed in 1909.

In the Natal Colony (Woeber, 2012:214-219), the first newspaper to publish in English and isiZulu was the *Inkanyiso yase Natal* [Natal Light]. *Inkanyiso* ran from 1889 under the supervision of Robert Grendon, and was bought by a black syndicate in 1895. However, the withdrawal of funding led to the newspaper's closure in 1896. Three years later, the *Ipepa lo Hlanga* [Paper of the Nation] was announced, printing English and Zulu articles under the editor Mark Samuel Radebe, but was shut down in 1904 following the debut of *Ilanga lase Natal* [The Natal Sun] in 1903. *Ilanga* was first edited by John Langalibelele Dube, and was originally published as a four page weekly newspaper with articles in English and Zulu. *Ilanga* enjoyed a successful publishing run, and after the death of Dube in 1936 went on to open a printing press.

In the Northern Cape Colony and Orange Free State (Woeber, 2012:219-221), the first English-Setswana periodical, *Molekoli oa Becuana* [The Bechuana Visitor], ran between 1856 and 1858. However, the first Native founded newspaper was only created in 1901 by Chief Silas Molema, and ran until 1908, named *Koranta ea Becoana* [The Bechuana Gazette]. Two years later, Sol Plaatje founded *Tsala ea Batho* [The People's Friend] in Kimberley, which almost succeeded in becoming a national newspaper by 1912, publishing in English, Setswana, Sesotho, isiXhosa, and Sepedi. However, once Plaatje left for England in 1914, the paper came to an end.

The first national black owned newspaper was created in 1912 in Johannesburg (Woeber, 2012:222-223), and lasted until 1931. *Abantu-Batho* [The People] published its material in English, isiZulu, Sesotho, isiXhosa, and Setswana. During its run, it incorporated two smaller papers, namely *Moromioa* [The Messenger] which ran Setswana and Sepedi articles, and *Umlomo wa Bantu* [Mouthpiece of the People] which ran English and isiXhosa articles. Unfortunately, almost no copies of *Abuntu-Batho* have survived. The steady growth in readership saw the successful launch of the national

newspaper *Bantu World* in 1932, and *Drum* magazine in 1951 which continue to be published until today.

In addition to news articles and opinion pieces, many of these newspapers also included letters, essays, poetry, and short stories (Peterson, 2012:293). Therefore, newspapers launched the careers of authors such as Gqoba, Jabavu, Bokwe, Rubusana, Dube, Plaatje, Mgqwetho, as well as H.I.E Dholomo and his brother R.R.R. Dhlomo. BSAE fiction had a slow start. The first novel written in English by a Black South African was Sol Plaatje's *Mhudi*, completed by 1920 but only published in 1930 (Peterson, 2012:296). R.R.R. Dhlomo had published his novel *An African Tragedy* in 1928, while H.I.E. Dhlomo published *Girl who killed to save* in 1935, along with a series of short stories in *The Sjambok*. Peter Abrahams published two novels, namely *Dark Testament* in 1942 and *Mine Boy* in 1946 (Chapman, 1996:481). The 1950s saw a sudden explosion in fiction by BSAE authors, with stories in *Drum, New Age, Cape Times* and other newspapers, along with several novels. Prominent authors who had their work published in the 1950s include Peter Abrahams, Richard Rive, Alfred Hutchinson, Alex la Guma, Arthur Maimane, Bloke Modisane, and Es'kia Mphahlele (Chapman, 1996:481-515). In the 1960s, Albert Luthuli had also had some of his work published, and in the 1970s several authors joined the ranks of published BSAE authors, including Mtutuzeli Matshoba and Can Themba, while Mbulelo Mzamane, Njabulo Ndebele and Miriam Tlali published during the 1980s (Chapman, 1996:481-515).

The small amount of available material for BSAE fiction prior to the 1950s has implications for corpus building. While collecting the manuscripts of all of these materials would make the corpus representative of all of the published material for each decade, this unfortunately means that there will only be one or two works of fiction per decade for the 1920s-1940s, and that there is no available data prior to Plaatje's *Mhudi*. If any unpublished materials could be located, if such materials even do exist, it would make the corpus more substantial and representative.

4.2.3 Sources

The collection of data for the diachronic BSAE corpus commenced in 2012, and has been funded by the National Research Foundation since 2013. As mentioned above, four genres were selected to be included in the BSAE historical corpus; namely newspapers, fiction, letters, and other non-fiction. For this study, the target word count for the BSAE corpus is 550,000 words, as this is the same size as the biggest currently available synchronic corpus in South Africa, namely the spoken Xhosa English corpus complied by De Klerk (2003) which contains just over 540,000 words. To date, the following materials have been collected and are being processed for inclusion in the BSAE historical corpus.

The newspaper genre currently holds data collected from the *Imvo*, taken from three continuous 5-year windows, three decades apart (1884-1888; 1914-1918; 1944-1948). The *Imvo* newspaper is available at the Corey Library at Rhodes University in Grahamstown. Reports, letters to the editor, editorials, and other non-fiction texts are taken from the 1951 and 1952 issues of the *Drum* magazine. Contemporary newspaper data includes news articles, sports articles, editorials, and letters to the editor from 1996 and 2006 issues of the *Sowetan*, which is available online. In addition, the corpus has newspaper articles taken from newspapers edited by Sol Plaatje, which were recovered at the Sol Plaatje Museum in Kimberley.

The fiction genre holds both chapters from novels and short stories. The 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s hold a copy of a chapter from Sol Plaatje's *Mhudi* as well as a few short stories by H.I.E Dhlomo and R.R.R Dhlomo, retrieved from the National English Literary Museum in Grahamstown. Short stories are taken from various issues of the *Drum* magazine spanning from 1951 to 1959. In addition, the corpus has a collection of fiction taken from volumes of the journal *Staffrider*, spanning from 1991 to 1996. There is also a fair amount of fiction by a wide variety of authors for the 1970s to the 2000s.

The letter genre contains a wide variety of letters, including personal letters, business letters, and application letters. In Grahamstown I visited the Corey Library at Rhodes University as well as the National English Literary Museum, where I acquired letters written between 1911 and 1965. Thereafter, I travelled to Kimberley where I visited the

Sol Plaatje Museum, which gave me access to letters written to and from Sol Plaatje. I also visited the Africana Library, where I acquired a variety of letters written between 1908 and 1953. I subsequently travelled to Cape Town, spending time in the National Library of South Africa and the Special Collections library at the University of Cape Town, where I attained additional letters written between 1867 and 1938. The National Archives in Pretoria was my final destination, where I enriched our letter collection by adding letters written between 1899 and 1957. Our letter collection stands at 439 letters in total, spanning from 1867 to 1965.

The non-fiction genre is the smallest, and includes a few police statements, petitions, resolutions, affidavits, written speeches, and essays. This genre consists primarily of types of persuasive writing, and includes some data ranging between the 1900s and 1950s. It also includes academic writing, such as student essays, samples from theses, and high school exams, but such data has only been collected for the 2000s. However, there is not yet enough data collected in this genre for it to be included in research on a feature of BSAE.

Data gathering continues to this day. We are currently utilising online sources, such as the *Wits Historical Papers* online and *Digital Innovation of South Africa* created by the University of Kwazulu Natal, in order to fill in the gaps in the corpus. These online sources have provided us with letters written between 1948 and 1989, as well as some fiction, journal articles, essays, books, and a wide variety of newspapers that were run by Black South African editors. Efforts to create a comprehensive and balanced historical corpus of BSAE are ongoing.

4.3 BSAE CORPUS

As noted in the previous section, the historical corpus of BSAE is still under development. This section of the chapter describes the composition of the data used in this dissertation.

This dissertation builds on existing research on the use of the progressive aspect conducted by Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) and Van Rooy (2014). Therefore, I

have taken the data used in those studies, namely the newspaper and fiction data, and supplemented it with letter data, in order to get a more comprehensive picture of the changes which may have occurred in the frequency and use of the progressive aspect in BSAE. Van Rooy (2014) conducts a synchronic study using both written and spoken contemporary data for BSAE, which includes the newspaper data from the 2006 issues of the *Sowetan*, and a variety of fiction spanning between 2000 and 2012. Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) add historical written data to Van Rooy (2014), namely newspaper data from the *Imvo* newspaper, as well as newspaper and fiction taken from the *Drum* magazine during the 1950s. Both of the studies, Van Rooy (2014) and Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press), present a comprehensive overview of the changes taking place in the genres of fiction and newspaper, and while efforts to collect more data for those genres continue, there are not yet sufficient amounts of extra data to conduct meaningful research. My focus, therefore, was to gather data to analyse for a genre which neither of the abovementioned studies used.

The decision to include letter data in the corpus was based on the idea that while newspaper articles and works of fiction were widely circulated and easily accessible to the public at the time of their production, they would have undergone some editorial changes. In addition, the writing of fiction and newspaper articles was reserved for those who considered themselves to have a manageable understanding of the English language, and most likely had a higher degree of education in English than was typical for Black South Africans at that point in time. Letter data can be considered more representative of the general population, as individuals with varying levels of literacy and education would have written letters. Furthermore, letters are typically not edited by third parties, so the language and grammatical features may be considered more authentic or similar to that of real-time production.

While the newspaper and fiction data used in Van Rooy (2014) and Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) represented time frames which were several decades apart, I decided to use all the letter data which I had collected. The reason why I chose to include the letters from each decade was that each decade contained a small amount of letters, averaging 11,255 words per decade. The letters used for this study were divided

into three groups; the first group contained the letters written between 1867 and 1909, the second group contained letters written between 1910 and 1939, while the last group represented the letters written between 1940 and 1965. Table 2 below provides a detailed description of the data used for this study, illustrating the time window, source of the data, and word counts for each data set.

Table 2 Composition of the BSAE data used for this study.

Time window	Source	Type	Word count	Total per Genre
1884-1888	Imvo	Newspaper	33,920	414,718
1914-1918	Imvo	Newspaper	110,226	
1944-1948	Imvo	Newspaper	93,279	
1951-1959	Drum	Newspaper	135,483	
2006	Current	Newspaper	41,810	
1867-1909	Various	Letters	32,523	112,551
1910-1939	Various	Letters	62,649	
1940-1965	Various	Letters	17,379	
1951-1959	Drum	Fiction	91,922	136,426
2000-2012	Current	Fiction	44,504	
TOTAL			663,695	

The BSAE data used in this study comprises 414,718 words of newspaper data; 112,551 words of letter data; and 136,426 words of fiction. As can be seen in Table 2, the data sets in the corpus used for this study are not yet balanced. To compensate for the discrepancy in the word counts, the raw numbers yielded from the analysis are normalised per 100,000 words.

4.4 WSAE CORPUS

One of the objectives of this study is to try and contextualise the patterns of change which may emerge from the analysis of the BSAE historical data. In order to do this BSAE, a non-native variety, would have to be compared to a native variety of English.

While Standard Englishes such as British English may provide a good baseline, the amount of contact between South Africans and first generation Brits has sharply declined since the days of colonisation. South African English differentiates between five varieties; WSAE which is learnt as a first language, and four second language varieties. A comparison between BSAE and WSAE speakers may provide an accurate account of the differences between the native and non-native varieties of English, as both are situated within South Africa and its speakers have the opportunity to interact.

The diachronic corpus of WSAE[13] is designed to reflect ICE-SA, and includes fiction, newspaper, business and personal letters, and other non-fiction data such as essays. The scope of the WSAE historical corpus is larger than that of the corpus for BSAE, in that it extends as far back as 1820, when the English settlers first arrived in South Africa, and ends at the start of the new millennium, in 1999. The WSAE historical corpus is also still in the process of development, and new data is continuously being processed.

For the purpose of this study, data sets were chosen to correspond to those of the BSAE historical corpus as closely as possible. The newspaper data is taken from three time windows; the first corresponding directly with the BSAE corpus, using data from 1880-1889. Unfortunately, there was very little newspaper data for the 1910s, and this newspaper category has been left out. The second newspaper category for the WSAE data represents data from 1940-1959; merging the 1940 *Imvo* newspaper and 1950 *Drum* magazine categories of the BSAE corpus due to the smaller word counts for WSAE. The third newspaper category in the WSAE corpus is taken from 1990-1999, and represents the contemporary data.

The letter data corresponds to that of the BSAE data, and includes all letters written between 1870 and 1960, divided into three groups. The fiction data is split into two categories, the first is fiction from the 1950s which corresponds with the *Drum* fiction in the BSAE corpus, and the second is fiction written in the 1990s which represents the

[13] The WSAE historical corpus was kindly made available to me by its compilers, Bertus van Rooy and Ronel Wasserman.

contemporary data. Table 3 below shows the composition of the WSAE data used for this study, exemplifying the word counts for each time frame for the three genres.

Table 3 Composition of the WSAE data used for this study.

Time window	Type	Word count	Total per Genre
1880-1889	Newspaper	17,992	62,826
1940-1959	Newspaper	6,053	
1990-1999	Newspaper	38,781	
1870-1909	Letters	40,739	81,660
1910-1939	Letters	22,564	
1940-1959	Letters	18,357	
1950-1959	Fiction	7,897	43,583
1990-1999	Fiction	35,686	
TOTAL		188,069	

The WSAE data used in this study comprises 62,826 words of newspaper data; 81,660 words of letter data; and 43,583 words of fiction. When compared to the BSAE corpus, the data taken from the WSAE corpus is a considerably smaller amount. To compensate for this, all the raw frequencies derived from the analysis process are normalised per 100,000 words. The data from the BSAE and WSAE corpora was analysed, using the methods described in the following section.

4.5 Analysis

This section presents an overview of the framework which was used to analyse the data in the BSAE historical corpus, and repeated for the WSAE data[14], as well as the tools which were used to conduct the analysis. It begins with a brief description of the computer program which was used to sort the data, and is followed by an explanation of the four different analyses which were performed on the BSAE and WSAE data. Firstly,

[14] The analysis is described in this section with the BSAE data in mind, and presents figures and examples taken from the BSAE historical corpus. The analysis and figures for the WSAE historical corpus are presented in Section 3.5.3.

the frequency counts of the verbs used with the progressive aspect were established for each decade. Secondly, the aktionsart distribution was identified. Thirdly, the temporal meanings for stative verbs were analysed, and lastly the temporal meanings of the activity verbs were analysed in order to determine whether the temporal meanings for stative verbs and dynamic verbs were similar. An additional analysis was conducted on the BSAE corpus, in order to determine which aspectual categories are used with private states, as described by Quirk *et al.* (1985:202-203).

4.5.1 Wordsmith tools

Corpus Linguistics enables researchers to analyse and study large bodies of text, without having to manually read and search through each text. This is due to the fact that Corpus Linguistics largely relies on the existence of computer programs, automating the searching process and reducing the time it takes to find particular features to a matter of seconds. One such program is WordSmith Tools, which was developed and created by Mike Scott. WordSmith Tools has three basic functions (Scott, 2014:5-6). The first function enables the user to create a WordList for a corpus, providing a list of words which occur in the corpus, sorted according to frequency or alphabetically. The WordList function also provides statistical information about the texts, such as word counts of individual texts, or the corpus as a whole. The second function, KeyWords, can be used to compare the word lists of two different corpora. The third function, Concord, enables the user to search for a particular word, and creates a concordance list for each sentence in which the search word appears. The Concord function allows the user to read the search word in context, examine collocating words, word clusters, and also patterns in the data. Using the Concord function also simplifies the analysis process by allowing the user to sort and tag the data. I used WordSmith Tools version 6.0 to analyse my data for this dissertation, using the framework which is subsequently described.

4.5.2 Manually identify the progressives to determine frequency

The historical corpus of BSAE, unlike many corpora, is not tagged according to parts of speech (POS). Although automatic POS taggers are available, they are not 100% accurate, especially when applied onto a non-native variety of English since these

varieties could contain anomalies in their grammatical structure that a POS tagger would not recognise. Consequently, the first stage of the analysis involved identifying all the verbs used in the progressive aspect. In order to do this, I searched all the words ending in *–ing* and created a concordance list. Thereafter, I had to manually categorise the *–ing* forms to find the actual progressives, and exclude any nouns, adjectives, infinitives, and gerunds that were included in the *–ing* word search. The progressive aspect is used with a main verb, after some form (either finite or non-finite) of the auxiliary verb *be*; however special care had to be taken in instances where the main verb was clearly used as a progressive, but the speaker omitted the auxiliary verb. The following example illustrates a verb used in the progressive aspect with an omitted auxiliary verb:

(1) "Kindly I beg you that **I** very **suffering** from phthisis (tubercular disease) consumption in the lungs I have been in Examination of doctor he told that I cannot do anything". (Application Letter N51, Pretoria National Archives, May 1918)

While these instances were rare, they were ultimately included in the analysis. Identifying the progressives provided the raw frequency counts for each of the data sets. These frequencies were then normalised per 100,000 words, so that any changes in the frequency of use of the progressive aspect could be accurately detected. In total, 530 progressives were identified in the BSAE letter data, which were interpreted alongside the 1390 progressives from the newspaper data and the 896 progressives in the fiction. However, it was not enough to determine only whether the progressive was present historically in the letter data, as in the fiction and newspaper data presented in Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press). It was also imperative to analyse the meanings which the verbs used with the progressive aspect represented, which was done in stage two of the analysis.

4.5.3 Identifying the Aktionsart

The second stage of the analysis focused on categorising the verbs according to their aktionsart. As stated in Chapter 3, the aktionsart represent the intrinsic lexical aspect of a word, and is closely related to the time-schemata described by Vendler (1957).

Vendler (1957) identifies four time-schemata which a verb can represent; namely activities, accomplishments, achievements, and statives. Van Rooy (2014) and Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) use these four time-schemata as the basis of their analyses, while including two additional categories for verbs denoting the future, and verbs used to indicate a communicative act. Determining the aktionsart of the progressives illustrated which meanings were present in each data set, and whether any changes in the frequency of these meanings could be identified.

In my analysis of the verbal aktionsarten, I distinguish between six categories. The first category is for activities, which indicate that an action is being performed and it has duration. Activities are atelic, and can be either agentive or non-agentive. The second category is for communication verbs, which denote any form of communicative act, such as speaking or shouting. Strictly speaking, communication verbs could fall under the category of activities since an action is being performed, but the duration of the act performed by a communication verb can be either very short (almost punctual) or quite long. Therefore, the decision was made to place communication verbs into their own category. The third category is for verbs denoting the future, and refers to an event that has not yet begun. This category corresponds to the futurate and *will*-future that was discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.1.3.3. The fourth category is for accomplishments, which are characterised by the presence of a goal, or the notion of a change in process. Accomplishments thus signify events that, for example, need to be completed within a particular time frame, or may be used to indicate that one object became something else or changed through some sort of process. The fifth category is for achievements, which are generally seen as punctual events. This category includes achievements proper as well as semelfactives and iteratives, as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2.1. The final category is for stative verbs, and includes qualities, states, and bodily positions. Stative verbs typically denote that no action is being performed, and rather that an agent or object is in a particular state at a particular time. Statives are typically durative, but the length of that duration depends largely on the subtype; for example a person will remain in a bodily position for a short time, but will have a particular quality for an unlimited amount of time, such as being tall or having brown eyes. Figure 9 below

presents a flow chart of several yes/no questions that can be asked in order to determine which aktionsart category the verb falls into.

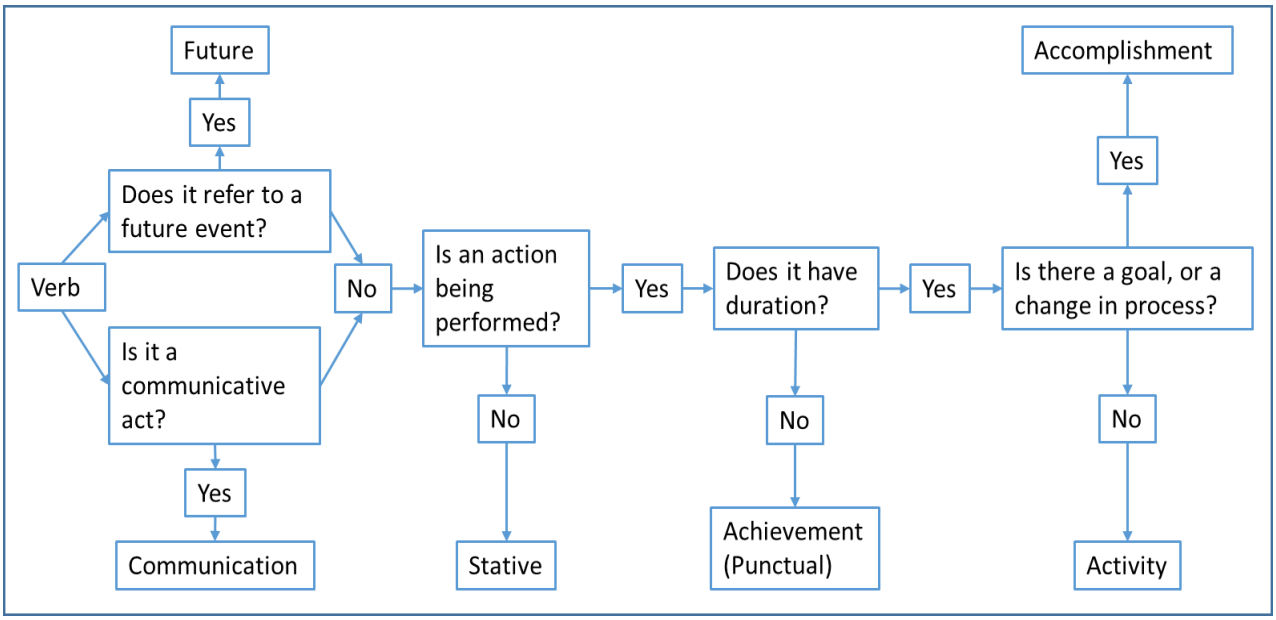

Figure 9 Flow chart which assists in determining aktionsart categories

The practicality and applicability of the flow chart in Figure 9 can be illustrated through the following example:

> (2) It has been often said that we are the wards of the white man; however it is a patent fact that as the wards grow their citizen rights **are being** systematically **curtailed**, so much so that at this time their freedom of movement **is being debarred**. (Business Letter N123, Pretoria National Archives, June 1939)

The example in 2 has two main verbs that are used with the progressive aspect. The first verbal phrase that we see in this example is “are being […] curtailed”. The verb which carries the action in this case is “curtailed”, and this verb can be now be tested. “Curtailed” is not communicative, and no reference to the future is made. It is an action that is being performed by an agent, and the adverb “systematically” suggests that the action has recurred several times, indicating this this has been going on for some time. The act of curtailing citizen rights has to, in all probability, go through a lengthy legal process, which results in the removal of certain rights from a group of people. Thus,

curtailing has duration, and also indicates a change in state. In addition, one could argue that there is a goal in mind, and that is to lessen the amount of rights which this group of people have. Therefore, the verbal phrase “are being […] curtailed” can be considered an accomplishment.

The second verbal phrase in this example is “is being debarred”. The verb “debarred” is not communicative, nor will this event take place in the future. An action is being performed, but the act of debarring does not have duration. While there will be a legal process which leads up to it, the actual debarring is instant, as it indicates that something has stopped. Therefore, the verbal phrase “is being debarred” can be considered an achievement.

4.5.4 Temporal meanings of stative and activity verbs

The third stage of the analysis focused on the stative and activity verbs identified in stage two, by means of investigating their temporal meanings. As can be seen is Chapter 3 Section 3.3.3.1, the progressive aspect is characterised by the notion that it denotes a continuous action, but it prototypically continues only for a short duration, and thus the progressive aspect is temporary in nature. However, previous studies on the progressive aspect in BSAE (Van Rooy, 2006, 2014; Van Rooy & Piotrowska, in press) indicate that the temporal meaning denoted by the progressive is sometimes extended to a longer or even unlimited duration. Thus, the third stage of the analysis aims to determine which temporal meanings are denoted with the progressive aspect historically in BSAE, whether there were any changes or developments in meaning across time, but also whether stative verbs are used in different ways to dynamic verbs such as activities.

Van Rooy (2014) describes a subcategorisation for the temporal meanings of the stative verbs which he identifies in his analysis. This subcategorisation distinguishes between stative verbs which denote a temporary, on-going, or unlimited time frame, in order to determine whether stative verbs used in the progressive aspect can be used to indicate an extended time frame in BSAE. The subcategorisation for the stative verbs and the activity verbs is subsequently described.

The temporal meanings of stative verbs fall under three broad categories, while the activity verbs include one extra category. The duration or the event, and also the frequency with which the event occurs over a period of time, are taken into account in the description of these categories. The first category for the temporal meanings of the stative and activity verbs is the temporary category. *Temporary* events last a short duration, and are considered as the prototypical meaning which occurs with the progressive aspect. Verbs denoting actions which are used to frame another event, termed *time frames*, are included in the temporary activity category. The activities are divided into two categories, based on the frequency at which the event occurs. If the activity lasts a short duration and occurs once, it is labelled temporary; but if the activity is repeated a few times within a specified time period, it is labelled *regular*. This additional category is used for sentences whose context suggests that the event was longer than you would expect for the temporary category, but not long enough for them to be classified as on-going or unlimited. We can compare the following examples:

(3) I HAVE a 17-yar-old daughter. She has too many boyfriends. […] and she **is lingering** about with a different one every time. (Reportage, *Drum*, September 1952)

(4) Dr D--- **was** one day **operating** a woman who had something swollen. (Personal Letter C252.38, University of Cape Town, September 1901)

The verbal phrase in example 3, “is lingering”, denotes an action that has short duration. However, if one examines the context, it is clear that the daughter is performing this action on a regular basis. Alternatively, the verbal phrase in example 4, “was […] operating”, denotes a short activity, but from the context it is clear that this particular operation only took place once. Thus, example 3 can be categorised as regular, while example 4 is temporary.

The next category is for *on-going* states and activities. The on-going category can describe two types of situations: the first occurs when a single activity lasts for a prolonged period of time; and the second occurs when an activity is repeated frequently within a prolonged period of time. These types of activities can span several months or

even years. *Perfect-progressives* are included in the on-going category, since perfect progressives usually denote a longer duration. The verbal phrase in example 5, “is increasing” can be considered an ongoing activity, since the figures have been steadily increasing annually. The verbal phrase in example 6, “is […] being occupied” implies that the state of occupation has continued over several years, and will continue for many years unless the farm is sold, in which case another agent will occupy it.

(5) The number of passengers using trains throughout the Union, calculated in terms of third class passengers only, is reckoned at 135,580,131 a year and according to the Railway Administration's latest report, the number of Africans using trains **is increasing** every year. (Reportage, *Drum*, July 1952)

(6) Since he sold it to the Indian it has never been occupied or leased to anyone except my father and even at my father's death the farm **is** still **being occupied** by the family of the deceased. (Application Letter N27, Pretoria National Archives, January 1934)

The final category is for *unlimited* states and activities. Unlimited activities can also be classified as habituals, which are activities that (according to the context) are not likely to ever end, and can also be used to denote an action which is performed habitually over a prolonged period of time. The verbal phrases in sentence 7, “were weeping”, and in sentence 8, “am walking”, are activities that denote an unlimited temporal meaning. Note that the weeping of the willows, which would generally be considered as a quality or characterising state, takes a dynamic meaning in this sentence. In sentence 8, the agent “I” who is walking on two legs is Death, a force which is personified as a person who will walk the earth for all eternity, and always on two legs. Alternatively, the verbal phrase in sentence 9, “was being cherished”, is an unlimited state, since the memory of Dr Stewart will be cherished for an unlimited time without effort, unless some external force changes how the writer remembers Dr Stewart or their feelings towards him.

(7) The willows down in the valley **were weeping**, their dropping branches hung limp and forlorn with thirst (Fiction "The Harvest is Waiting", *Drum*, November 1951)

(8) Many think that I am only for the poor, and that I will never come for them, but I **am walking** with two legs amongst you. (Fiction "Book of the Dead", Kwela, 2009)

(9) Dr. Stewart's name would ever be remembered, and his example **was being cherished** and followed. (Reportage, *Imvo*, June 1915)

There are two sub-categories for unlimited states, namely *contextual frames* and *characterising* states. Contextual frames provide information that serves as a condition under which another event can be interpreted. The characterising temporal meaning is usually presented in a relative clause, and describes a characteristic or quality of a particular object or agent. Figure 2 below presents a flow chart which can be used to determine the temporal meanings of stative and activity verbs.

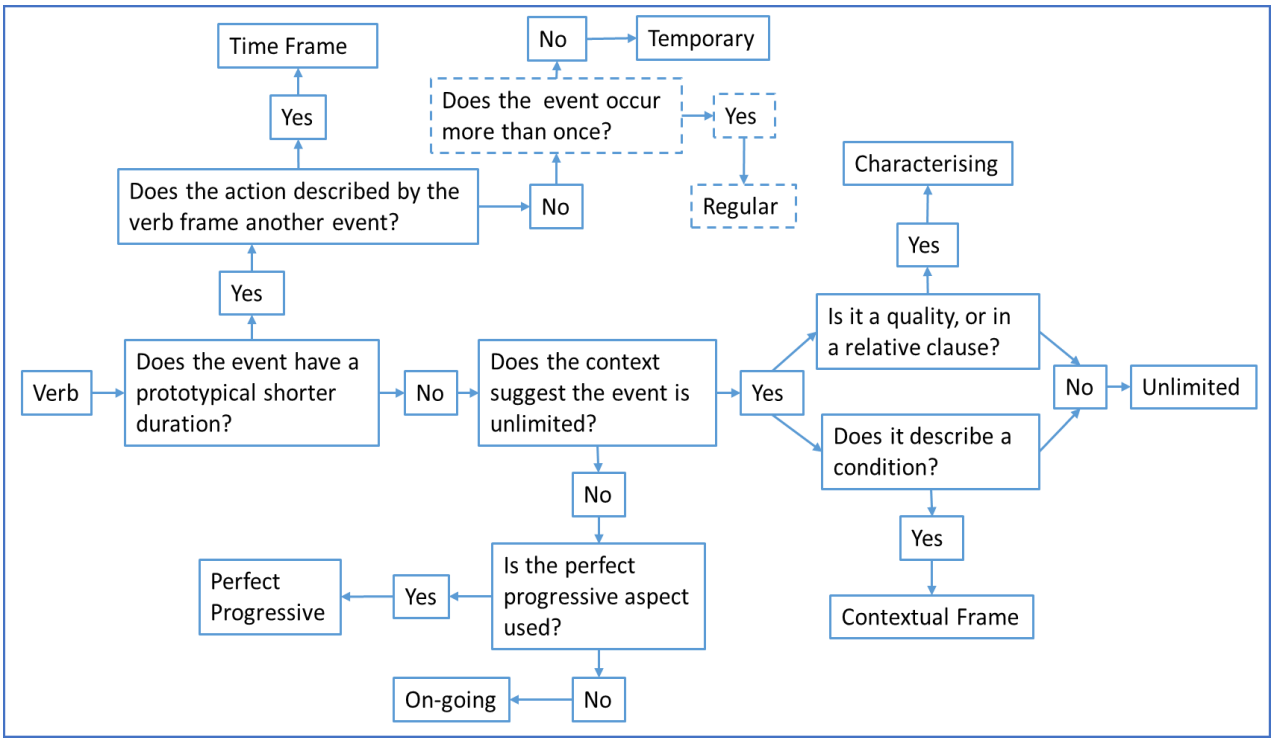

Figure 10 Flow chart which assists in determining temporal meanings of activity and stative verbs

The practicality of the flow chart in Figure 10 can be seen in the following examples:

(10) The architecture is Roman and has a nostalgic air of Italy with the Fathers and Nuns parading, in mid-afternoon, with prayers mumbled. In residential Iringa, the hamlets seem to **be balancing** on top of hills. It's a fabulous sight. (Personal Letter, 1965, National English Literary Museum)

(11) I have the honour to apply for a permanent letter of exemption. At present I **am holding** a Provisional letter which is enclosed herein together with the certificate. (Application Letter N59, 1916, Pretoria National Archives)

The verbal phrase in example 10, “be balancing”, does not have a short duration in this case. The agents which are balancing are villages, and since homesteads are generally erected and placed in a specific location, they will remain in that state unless some external force acts upon them. Thus, these homesteads will balance on top on the hills for an unlimited duration. Since the verbal phrase is not presented as a characteristic within a relative clause, and is also not considered a condition under which some other part of the information need be interpreted, this sentence can be said to denote an unlimited temporal frame.

The verbal phrase in example 11, “am holding” means that the individual is currently in possession of provisional letter of exemption. The context makes it clear that this individual is not physically holding this letter, and is instead in possession of this letter, and has probably been in possession of it for some time. However, this letter will soon expire and therefore the individual must apply for a new one. Thus, the “holding” of this letter is not unlimited. Since the perfect progressive aspect is not used, this sentence can be said to denote an on-going temporal frame.

The analysis of the stative verbs had been performed on the contemporary fiction and newspaper data by Van Rooy (2014), while Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) analysed the historical fiction and newspaper data. Therefore, only the letter data had to be analysed for the investigation of the temporal meanings of the stative verbs. However, the analysis of the activity verbs is introduced in this study, and was applied for all the BSAE historical data reported on in this study.

4.5.5 The Progressive Aspect in WSAE

The analysis of the progressive aspect used in BSAE provides a picture of how the feature is used in a non-native variety of English in South Africa. This may be compared to the use of the same feature in a native variety of English, namely WSAE. Comparing the two varieties may provide unique insight into how the Indigenous (BSAE) and Settler (WSAE) strands within a country interact and develop. In order to compare the frequency and the meaning of the progressive aspect in the two varieties, I repeated the stages of the analysis described above using the WSAE historical data. In total, 869 progressives were identified in the WSAE historical data, and were subsequently analysed according to their aktionsart categories. Thereafter, the sentences denoting activities and statives were analysed to determine their temporal meanings.

4.5.6 State verbs and their aspectual categories

The first analysis focused on finding the progressive aspect in the BSAE historical corpus, and identifying the aktionsart categories. In contrast, the second analysis sought out the state verbs in order to determine how frequently they were used in either simple, perfect, or progressive aspect. This second analysis arose from a discussion[15] regarding the authenticity of the stative category used in the first analysis. The stative category includes verbs which describe states, qualities, and bodily positions; an elaboration of Comrie's (1976) sense of the stative proposed by Quirk *et al.* (1985:201). In his discussion on aspect, Comrie (1976:35) distinguishes between dynamic verbs that can appear in the progressive form, and state verbs that cannot. Comrie (1976:35) provides a definition of progressiveness, stating that it is the combination of a continuous meaning and non-stative meaning. The implication is that state verbs do not have progressive forms, and in the occasion that they are combined, the sentence is considered ungrammatical.

The argument is that verbs denoting bodily position or mental states, when combined with the progressive aspect, can still be considered grammatical. For example, "sitting" is a non-dynamic action in the sense that the agent is not engaging in any activity,

[15] Comments from audience members at the LSSA/SAALA/SAALT 2014 Joint conference, at which I presented a talk based on my initial findings of this study.

instead the sentence describes a particular stance. Nevertheless, such a sentence is considered grammatical in Standard English. It is only when a state verb is combined with the progressive aspect that the sentence is considered ungrammatical. Therefore, if one were to do an analysis of the over-extension of the use of the progressive aspect, it is essential to consider the use of both stative and state verbs.

Consequently, a second analysis of the data was necessary. In order to determine how frequently state verbs are used in the progressive aspect, I created a list of 71 verbs which are inherently considered as states, and any combination with the progressive aspect would yield an ungrammatical sentence. Some of the verbs included in the list are *believe, have, hear, feel, know, see, remember*, and *wish* (for a comprehensive list, see Appendix 1). I created concordance lists for each of the 71 verbs, using the entire BSAE historical corpus; comprised of historical and contemporary newspapers, letters, and fiction. Thereafter, I manually sorted the data to exclude any nouns, adjectives, adverbs, or prepositions. Special care was taken with the verb *have*, as it is also used as an auxiliary verb, and my interest was solely in the main verbs which denote possession. In total, there were 10,720 state verbs in the BSAE historical corpus. Each of these state verbs was subsequently categorised.

The categories for this analysis included the simple aspect (which was subdivided between the present tense form of the verb, the past tense form *–ed*[16], the third person *–s*, and the non-finite *–ing* form), the perfective aspect, the progressive aspect, and the perfective-progressive aspect. The aim of this analysis was to determine if the state verbs are used in the progressive aspect frequently enough to be considered a feature of BSAE, or whether they are occasional performance errors. The main objective was to confirm whether or not the feature of this non-native variety is the notion that the progressive form is over-extended to state verbs (as suggested by the traditional literature on non-native varieties), or whether the feature is that the verbs in the progressive aspect have different meanings (lexical or temporal) for speakers of non-native varieties when compared to native speakers of English.

[16] Irregular past tense forms were also included in this category.

4.6 STATISTICAL MEASURES

In order to determine if the differences found both within and between the corpora are statistically significant, a log-likelihood test was performed following Rayson and Garside (2000). Log-likelihood tests, or log linear analyses, compare the frequency of a category between corpora, by taking into account the raw frequencies in the data and the total word count for each corpus, and evaluates the interactions between the corpora for statistical significance (Hill & Lewicki, 2006:312). Log-likelihood is similar to a *chi*-square test, since both tests calculate the expected frequencies and determine whether they are statistically different from the observed frequencies (Hill & Lewicki, 2006:315). Log-likelihood presents expected frequencies to inform the user whether the observed frequency was higher than expected for that particular data set, or if the frequency was too low. Thus, log-likelihood can assert whether any one, or even all, features increased or decreased in frequency from one time period to the next. As with *chi*-square, log-likelihood calculates the statistical difference based on differences in degrees of freedom. The comparison between the two data sets yields a log-likelihood score. The higher the value of this score, the more significant the difference between the data sets. Table 4 below provides the values for statistical significance, according to four percentiles, or levels of significance.

Table 4 Log-likelihood scores and the four percentile levels at which differences are statistically significant

Log-likelihood score			
LL = 3.84	$p<0.05$	95th Percentile	5% Level
LL = 6.63	$p<0.01$	99th Percentile	1% Level
LL = 10.83	$p<0.001$	99.9th Percentile	0.1% Level
LL = 15.13	$p<0.0001$	99.99th Percentile	0.01% Level

If the comparison between the categories in two data sets, in this case corpora, yields a log-likelihood score of 4.48, then we can say that this result is statistically significant at the 95th percentile (*LL* = 4.48; $p<0.05$). If the log-likelihood score is 12.36, then the

result is statistically significant at the 99.9th percentile (*LL* = 12.36; *p*<0.001), and so forth. However, if the difference between the data sets has a log-likelihood score that is lower than 3.84, for example 2.55, then we can conclude that the difference is not significant, since the figure is below that of the 95th percentile (*LL* = 2.55; *p*>0.05). In this way, we can determine how great the statistical significance is between two or more data sets, and which differences are negligible. Using log-likelihood, I can compare the frequency of the progressives over time, and also account for the frequencies of aktionsart categories and temporal meanings of statives and activities across each decade in each genre of the BSAE corpus. In addition, I can compare these results to that of the WSAE data in order to assess whether the differences are statistically significant.

4.7 SUMMARY

This chapter outlined my methodology and described the way in which the progressive aspect in BSAE and WSAE was analysed. The most effective way to study diachronic language change is by using a corpus-based approach. However, in order to conduct research into changes within a feature using a corpus, you would first have to compile a corpus. A balanced, complete diachronic corpus of BSAE does not yet exist, however, efforts to create such a corpus have been on-going since 2012. The primary sources of data for the BSAE diachronic corpus comes from four genres, namely newspapers, fiction, letters, and non-fiction. For the purpose of this study, five time periods were selected for analysis from the newspaper genre, namely the 1880s, 1910s, 1940s, 1950s and the most current decade in each corpus. Two time periods were chosen for the fiction, the 1950s and the 1990s for WSAE, in contrast to the 1950s and 2000s for BSAE. All the available letter data from 1870 to 1965 was selected to be analysed, due to the low word counts in each decade.

Four analyses were performed on both the BSAE and WSAE data. The first involved manually identifying the verbs used in the progressive aspect from the concordance list of all the words in the corpora ending on *–ing*. This was done in order to establish the frequency counts for each time period within each genre. The second analysis

categorised the verbs according to their lexical aspect, or aktionsart, in order to determine if there were any changes in verb types over the decades, or whether particular verb types were more predominant in either variety of SAE. The third analysis aimed to determine which temporal meanings are denoted by stative verbs, while the fourth examined the temporal meanings of activity verbs for BSAE and WSAE, in order to establish whether speakers of BSAE denote an extended duration when combining verbs with the progressive aspect, and whether speakers of BSAE use the progressive aspect differently to speakers of WSAE. One additional examination was performed on BSAE alone, which focused on the aspectual representation of true state verbs, in order to determine whether speakers of BSAE incorrectly extend the progressive *–ing* onto verbs which would not typically occur with the progressive aspect in Standard English.

The results from the analysis of BSAE and WSAE were evaluated using log-likelihood; the frequency counts from all three analysis where compared within each genre and between each time period for BSAE, and repeated for WSAE. Subsequently, the results from BSAE and WSAE were compared. The following Chapter presents the findings from these analyses systematically.

CHAPTER 5 RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the four analyses described in the methodology chapter, namely the 1) determination of the frequency of the verbs used with the progressive aspect, 2) the distribution of aktionsart categories for the verbs with the progressive aspect, 3) the identification of the predominant temporal meaning for the stative verbs, and 4) the identification of the temporal meanings for activity verbs. Log-likelihood tests were conducted on the results from these four analyses, in order to determine if there were any statistically significant differences between time periods and genres, and also between the varieties of BSAE and WSAE.

The first section of this chapter discusses the results from the BSAE historical corpus. Along with the four analyses outline above, one additional test was performed on BSAE, which aimed to determine which aspectual categories are used with true state verbs. The second section presents the findings from the analyses performed on the WSAE historical corpus. The final section serves to compare the findings from WSAE to those of BSAE, in order to determine whether there are any similarities or differences in the frequency, aktionsart distribution, and temporal meanings of statives and activities.

5.1 BSAE HISTORICAL DATA

This section presents the results from the analyses performed on the BSAE historical corpus. It begins with a discussion of the frequency of the verbs used in the progressive aspect for each of the newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora. Thereafter, the distribution of the aktionsart categories is presented, followed by a discussion of which aspectual categories are used with true state verbs by speakers of BSAE. Subsequently, the results from the analysis of the temporal meanings for stative verbs are outlined, followed by a discussion of the temporal meanings for activity verbs. The section ends with a brief summary of the statistically significant findings from the five analyses of the BSAE historical corpus.

5.1.1 Frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect

The first step of the analysis was to identify the frequency of the progressive aspect for each decade, in order to observe whether any changes take place. The results indicate that genre plays an important role in the frequency of the progressives. The changes in frequency across genre and decade can clearly be seen in Figure 11 below, which presents the normalised frequency values for each sub-corpus.

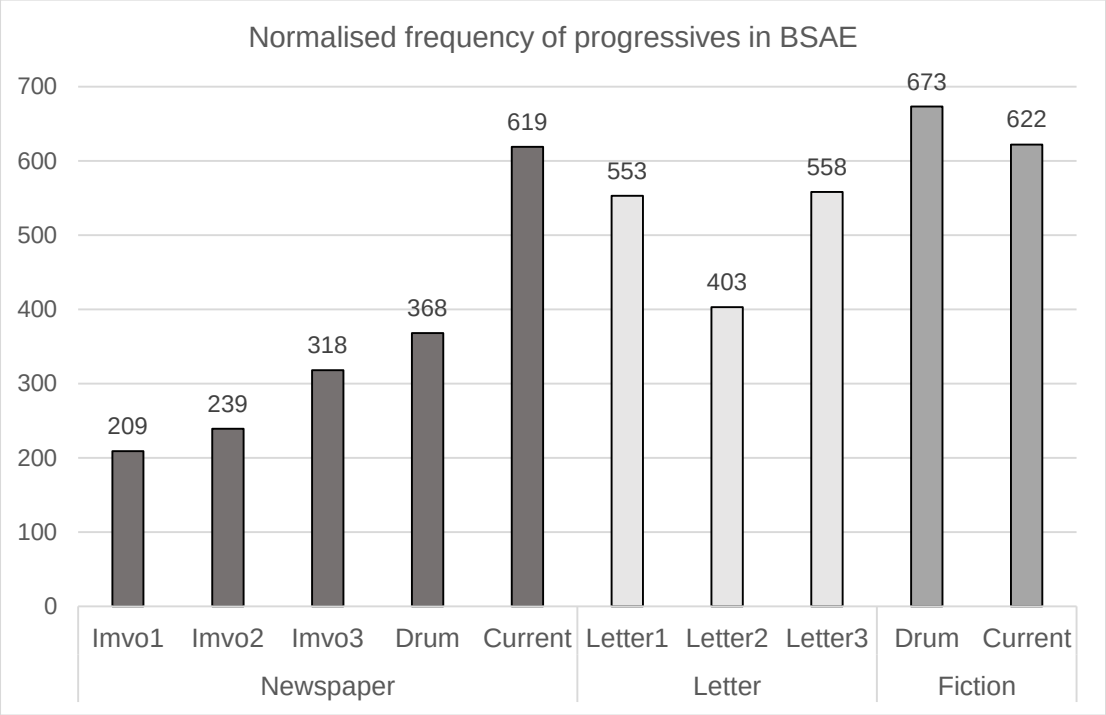

Figure 11 Frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect in BSAE, normalised per 100,000 words.

In the newspaper data, the 14% increase from *Imvo1* to *Imvo2* is below the level of statistical significance[17] (*LL* = 1.04; *p*>0.05), while the 33% increase in frequency between *Imvo2* and *Imvo3* is significant (*LL* = 11.36; *p*<0.001). Even though the *Imvo3* and *Drum* are only one decade apart, the 15% increase in frequency is significant (*LL* = 3.99; *p*<0.05). The most substantial increase of 68% (*LL* = 43.26; *p*<0.0001) is seen between the *Drum* newspaper corpus of the 1950s and the current newspaper corpus of

[17] For a tabular summary of all the statistically significant differences discussed in this chapter, with the values for observed and expected frequency, please refer to Appendix 2.

the 2000s, possibly due to the forty year gap between the two corpora. The 7% decrease in frequency from the *Drum* fiction corpus to the current fiction is negligible (*LL* = 1.20; *p*>0.05). Since the letter data did not have a clear increase or decrease in one direction across all three groups, further examination was necessary. The letter data was therefore divided by decade, in order to determine the pattern of change more systematically. Figure 12 below presents the normalised frequency of the progressive aspect in the letter data, divided per decade.

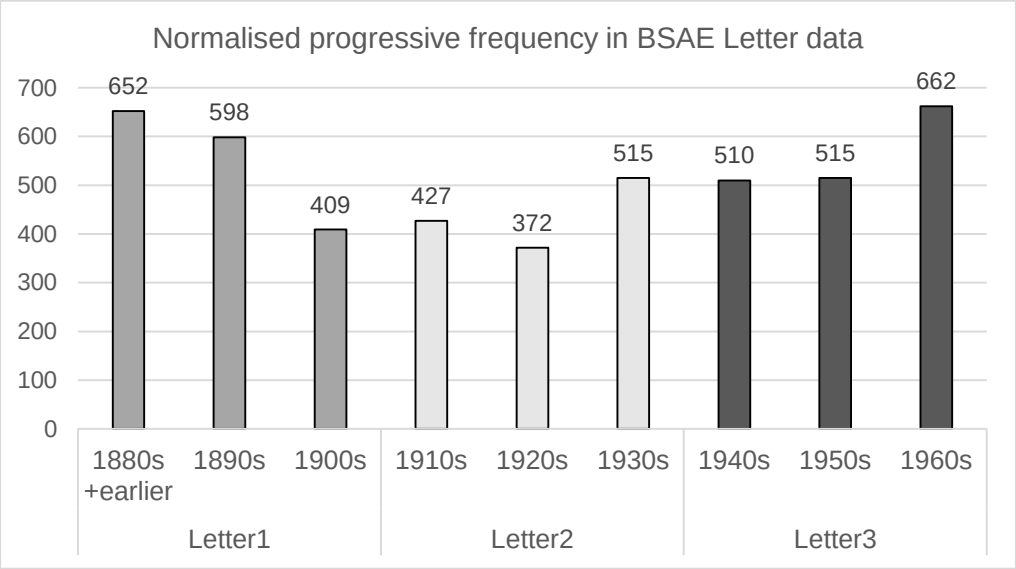

Figure 12 Frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect in BSAE Letter data per decade, normalised per 100,000 words.

It is clear from Figure 12 that the frequency of the progressive aspect in BSAE letter data decreases in the early 20th century, before increasing in the latter half of the century. The 31% decrease from the 1890s to the 1900s is statistically significant (*LL* = 4.21; *p*<0.05), as is the 38% increase from the 1920s to the 1930s (*LL* = 4.99; *p*<0.05). The 28% increase from the 1950s to the 1960s is, however, not significant (*LL* = 0.70; *p*>0.05). The discrepancies in this pattern of change may be due to the type of letters found in each corpus; the majority of the letters were written by the general public to the government, as well as by former students to the principals of Lovedale. However, there are a handful of letters written by Sol Plaatje during the 1910s and 1920s. The types of letters also differ, ranging from business letters, personal letters, and application letters.

This suggests that there may be a difference in progressive use for each sub-genre of letters, but also that there may be a difference between those who were formally educated in English and those who were not. These differences need to be taken into account during the corpus building processes, in order to ensure a balanced amount of letters from each sub-genre and by each type of author is present in all decades in the corpus.

5.1.2 Aktionsart categories in BSAE

The second analysis focused on verb semantics, and aimed to determine which aktionsart categories were found within the data, and whether there were any changes in the lexical meaning of the verbs used in the progressive aspect. Table 5 below gives the raw numbers for each aktionsart category, for each genre and corpus, while Figure 13 illustrates the normalised aktionsart distribution.

Table 5 Raw Aktionsart distribution in BSAE

Aktionsart (raw)	Newspaper					Letters			Fiction	
	Imvo1	Imvo2	Imvo3	Drum	Current	Letter1	Letter2	Letter3	Drum	Current
Activity	21	127	148	262	108	74	79	32	279	112
Communication	18	17	24	23	12	18	29	18	57	39
Future	1	8	8	36	22	9	18	4	62	24
Accomplishment	18	46	56	92	58	29	49	11	65	33
Achievement	4	29	35	36	21	20	31	16	81	18
Stative	9	37	26	50	38	30	47	16	75	51
Grand Total:	71	264	297	499	259	180	253	97	619	277

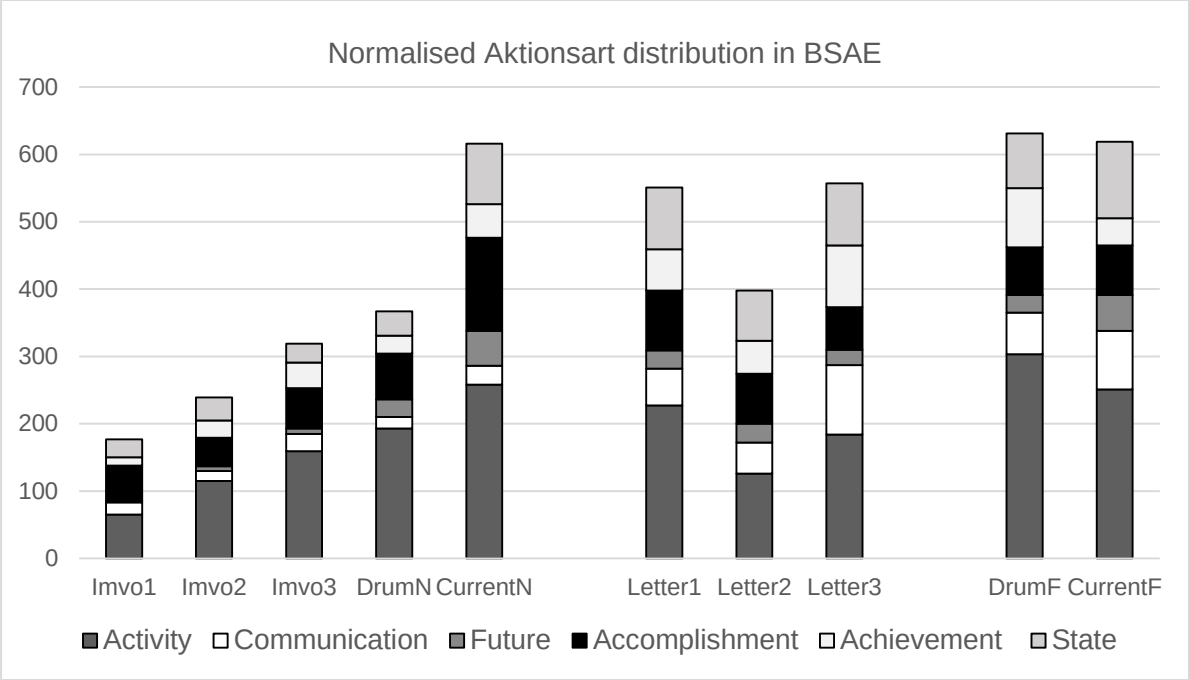

Figure 13 Aktionsart distribution in BSAE, normalised per 100,000 words.

Since there are five newspaper corpora, and the comparison of the frequency of the progressives for each corpus indicated that there were significant differences across all five corpora, it was decided that the genre should be divided into two groups for the statistical tests. The first group compared the three *Imvo* newspaper corpora in order to identify any statistical differences in the aktionsart distribution. The second group compared the differences between the *Drum* newspaper corpus and the current newspaper corpus.

The comparison of the three *Imvo* corpora shows that *Imvo*3 has a higher than expected frequency of verbs denoting activity, while both *Imvo*1 and *Imvo*2's frequency were below the expected amount; a difference which is statistically significant using log-likelihood (LL = 21.94; p<0.0001). *Imvo*3 also has a significantly higher than expected frequency of achievements (LL = 6.88; p<0.01), while the higher frequency of accomplishments (LL = 3.41; p>0.05) and verbs denoting the future (LL = 1.33; p>0.05) were just below the level of statistical significance. In addition, *Imvo*1 has a significantly higher than expected amount of communication verbs (LL = 6.88; p<0.01), the

frequency of which were low for *Imvo*2 but normal for *Imvo*3. *Imvo*2 has a higher frequency of stative verbs, but the difference is not significant (LL = 0.73; p>0.05). Thus, sentences with activity verbs as in example 1, and those with achievements as in example 2, are more likely to be found in the 1940s *Imvo* data, while sentences with reporting or communication verbs such as in example 3 are most common in the *Imvo* 1880s data.

(1) One speaker suggested that both the railways and steel works **were competing** with farmers for labour. (Reportage, *Imvo*, October 1946)

(2) Admittedly, the Belgian Congo **is** only just **beginning** to carry this policy to function. (Reportage, *Imvo*, September 1946)

(3) The former possessions to which the Governor **was alluding** are the Glen Grey lands, which he defined in a subsequent proclamation. (Reportage, *Imvo*, October 1886)

The comparison between the *Drum* newspaper corpus and current newspaper corpus indicates that the current newspaper had a higher than expected frequency for all six aktionsart categories. While the difference in communication verbs was negligible (*LL* = 2.04; *p*>0.05), the five categories, namely activity verbs (*LL* = 6.14; *p*<0.05), verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 5.94; *p*<0.05), accomplishments (*LL* = 16.90; *p*<0.0001), achievements (*LL* = 5.02; *p*<0.05), and stative verbs (*LL* = 16.34; *p*<0.0001), all indicate a statistically significant difference.

While the decrease in the frequency of the progressives in the fiction was negligible, there is one statistically significant difference in the aktionsart distribution between the two fiction corpora. The *Drum* fiction corpus has a significantly higher than expected frequency of achievements (*LL* = 10.41; *p*<0.01) than the current fiction corpus whose frequency was below the expected amount. The *Drum* fiction corpus also has a higher amount of activities (*LL* = 2.88; *p*>0.05) and verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 0.89; *p*>0.05) but these were negligible. Alternatively, the current fiction has higher frequencies of statives (*LL* = 3.41; *p*>0.05), communication verbs (*LL* = 2.70; *p*>0.05), and accomplishments (*LL* = 0.05; *p*>0.05), but these were not statistically significant.

Thus, sentences such as example 4, which shows an achievement, were more common in 1950s fiction, while sentences such as example 5, which shows a stative, were more common in the fiction of the 2000s.

(4) One of the small fry was dispatched for some dagga and a half-jack brandy and soon they **were lighting** zolls. (Fiction "Dead End!", *Drum*, September 1954)

(5) Excuse me, but I don't believe I **was having** a relationship with myself all these months! (Fiction "The Thirteenth Candle", Pan Macmillan, 2009)

The comparison of the three letter corpora indicates that the largest significant difference is for activity verbs (*LL* = 13.51; $p<0.001$), whose frequency is the highest for the Letter1 corpus, and while Letter3 is only slightly above the expected frequency, the observed frequency of activities in Letter2 is well below the expected figure. Thus, the letters written between 1870-1909 and 1940-1965 had more activities, as the one in example 6, when compared to letters written during 1910-1939. Letter3 has a significantly higher frequency of communication verbs (*LL* = 6.67; $p<0.01$) when compared to Letter1 and Letter2, an example of which can be seen in sentence 7.

(6) Church monies **are** not **being collected** or they are not given in at the Deacons court and therefore there is no money for paying the minister. (Personal letter C167.8, University of Cape Town, September 1896)

(7) Kindly accept my letter in which I **am** respectfully **begging** for a loan bursary, to study for a Diploma in Social Work. (Application letter N28.1, Africana Library, July 1947)

Furthermore, Letter3 has a higher than expected amount of achievements (*LL* = 3.79; $p>0.05$), but the difference is just below the level of statistical significance. In addition, Letter1 has a higher than expected frequency for accomplishments (*LL* = 1.00; $p>0.05$) and statives (*LL* = 0.98; $p<0.05$), but the differences between the corpora are too small to be significant. The observed frequency of the verbs denoting the future matches the expected frequency for all three corpora (*LL* = 0.17; $p>0.05$), and therefore no statistical difference is observed.

5.1.3 Distribution of state verbs according to morphology and aspect

Combining the raw aktionsart distribution in Table 5 provides a grand total of 379 stative verbs that were found in the BSAE historical corpus. These can be subdivided into verbs which express states, qualities, or bodily positions. Since this feature of non-native varieties of English is frequently listed as the use of the progressive *–ing* with stative verbs (Platt, Weber & Ho, 1984 in Schneider, 2007:83-85), one would expect a fairly large amount of verbs describing states to occur in the progressive aspect within the BSAE historical corpus. This, however, is not the case. The apparent lack of state verbs used in the progressive aspect lead to a follow-up investigation to determine which aspectual categories are used with state verbs. The analysis of 71 state verbs, fully listed in Appendix 1, indicated that out of the 10,720 occurrences in the BSAE historical corpus, only 50 were used in the progressive aspect. The findings indicate that 95.96% of the state verbs were not marked for aspect (simple), 3.53% had perfective aspect, 0.47% were marked as progressive, and 0.04% were perfective-progressives. Out of the 71 verbs analysed, only 16 occurred with the progressive aspect, as can be seen in Table 6 below. The verbs *feel*, *have* (possession), *hear*, *see*, *want*, and *wish* have more than one occurrence. Even if one takes into account the total percentages for each aspectual category for the 16 verbs alone, the progressive aspect is still only used 0.83% of the time.

This finding is similar to the observation made by Minow (2010:197), who noted that the progressive is rarely used with true state verbs. Likewise, Hundt and Vogel (2011:156) note that in the English Second Language (ESL) corpora which they analysed, the unusual combination of the progressive aspect with state verbs is rare. In the BSAE historical corpus, the normalised frequency of state verbs is 7.53 occurrences per 100,000 words; accounting for 1.77% of the total amount of the progressives in the corpus. This confirms Minow's (2010:197) account that the feature of BSAE is not that the progressive aspect is incorrectly extended to include state verbs. Instead, it could be that the verbs denote a different notion of temporariness than other non-native varieties and native varieties of English.

Table 6 Raw frequency of the aspectual categories of 16 state verbs in BSAE which occurred in the progressive aspect

State Verbs	**Simple aspect**				**Perfective aspect**	**Progressive aspect**	**Prefective Progressive aspect**	**Total:**
	Present tense	*Past tense (-ed)*	*Third person (-s)*	*Non-finite -ing*				
Desire	32	15	1	5	4	1	-	58
Feel	198	188	27	11	7	8	-	439
Have (possess)	947	545	329	73	83	15	2	1994
Hear	183	140	10	16	71	2	1	423
Intend	16	24	9	1	1	1	-	52
Look (seem)	27	53	21	8	1	1	1	112
Measure	3	3	-	1	1	1	-	9
Recall	13	12	3	1	-	1	-	30
Remember	139	54	3	10	1	1	-	208
Require	35	50	18	4	-	1	-	108
Satisfy	14	52	1	-	4	1	-	72
See	689	311	17	64	104	7	-	1192
Smell	6	2	2	2	-	1	1	14
Think (opinion)	306	133	27	12	2	1	-	481
Want	297	140	79	8	4	5	-	533
Wish	184	56	27	14	3	3	-	287
Total:	**3089**	**1778**	**574**	**230**	**286**	**50**	**5**	**6012**
Percentage:	**94.33%**				**4.76%**	**0.83%**	**0.08%**	

Furthermore, this finding points to the possibility that the so-called overextension of the progressive aspect to include state verbs is an example of confirmation bias (Kahneman, 2011:322-333), instead of a feature of BSAE. Without proper quantification, observers who notice a few instances of *having* combined with the progressive aspect overreach in their conclusions that this is a common feature.

Hundt and Vogel (2011:156) attribute the lower frequency of state verbs used with the progressive aspect to the type of data that was used, since the study only used written

data and excluded spoken data. The same can be said for this study, as it only deals with newspaper, fiction, and letter data. According to Biber *et al*. (2002:158), the simple aspect is used for 90% of the verbs in Standard English, the perfect aspect is a bit more common in the newspaper and fiction registers, while the progressive aspect is most commonly found in conversation. Indeed, this is reflected in Van Rooy's (2014) findings that the progressive aspect occurred at a frequency of 4.1 words per 1000 in the written contemporary BSAE data, but the progressive had a frequency of as much as 11.4 words per 1000 in the spoken data.

During this analysis, a few grammatical anomalies that appeared exclusively in the letter data were noticed. The occurrence of these were very rare, with a total of only 13 out of the 10,720 sentences analysed. The sentences in examples 8, 9, and 10 below illustrate the types of errors that were found in the data.

(8) I am very happy *to heard* you returned to Lovedale safely without any trouble from Scotland. […] I *am had* left school without *get* education, now *I am wish* to be back Lovedale again […] Remember me when you pray, I *am remember* you. (Personal letter C252.19, University of Pretoria, April 1890)

(9) I *am desire* to let you know that I am uncertificated teacher. (Application letter N5, Pretoria National Archives, January 1933)

(10) the sick man people *he want* the doc-tor *I could not writing* the Government (Application letter N100, Pretoria National Archives, May 1938)

5.1.4 The temporal meanings of stative verbs in BSAE

In order to determine whether speakers of BSAE have a different notion of temporariness when using verbs with the progressive aspect, the temporal meanings of the stative verbs and also the activity verbs were analysed. Three broad categories were identified for stative verbs, namely temporary states, on-going states, and unlimited states. The raw distribution of the temporal meanings along these three categories, and their subcategories, can be seen in Table 7. Figure 14 below shows the percentage of the three temporal categories for each of the newspaper, letter, and fiction corpora. The category labelled as "other" indicates that the sentence did not fit

into any of the temporal (sub)categories described in the methodology chapter, and therefore displayed another meaning; for example, expressing an attitude. This "other" category is listed here, but is not used for the statistical comparison between corpora.

Table 7 Raw distribution of the temporal meanings of the progressive when combined with stative verbs in BSAE

BSAE Statives (raw)	Newspaper					Letters			Fiction	
	Imvo1	Imvo2	Imvo3	Drum	Current	Letter1	Letter2	Letter3	Drum	Current
Temporary	2	18	12	17	18	8	15	7	52	20
Temporal Frame	-	1	-	2	-	-	3	-	11	8
On-going State	4	9	9	19	9	9	14	1	7	15
Perfect Progressive	1	1	1	2	4	1	3	-	3	-
Unlimited state	-	2	1	6	1	3	6	3	-	3
Characterising	1	2	1	1	-	4	2	2	-	3
Contextual Frame	1	3	2	2	-	5	4	2	2	1
Other	-	1	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	4
Grand Total:	9	37	26	50	38	30	47	15	75	51

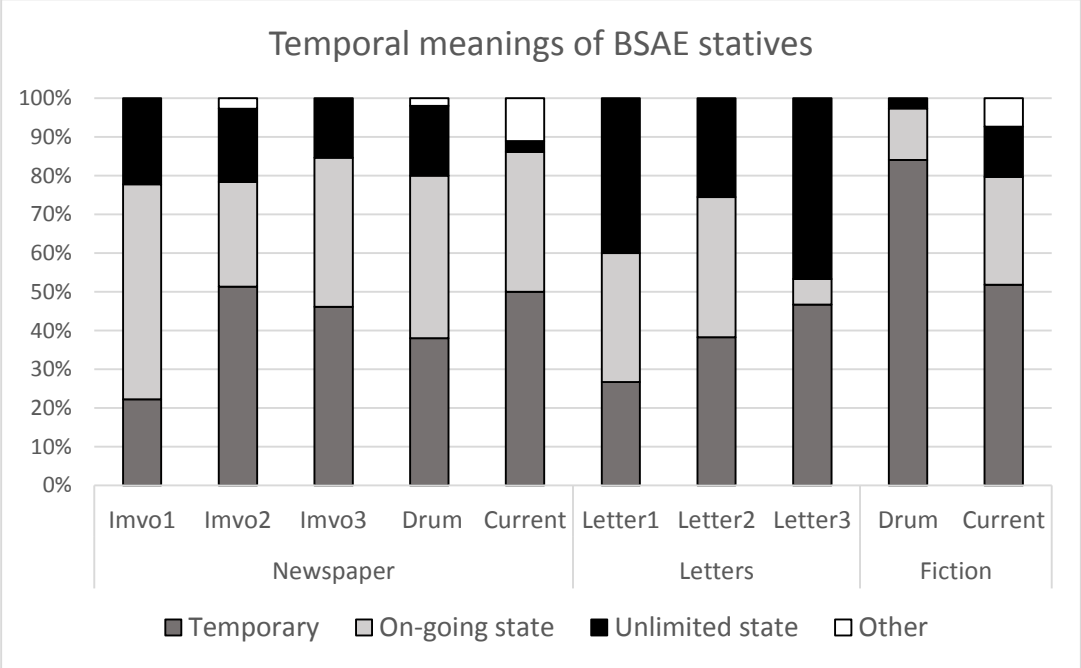

Figure 14 Percentage of temporary, on-going, and unlimited states in BSAE

It is clear that all three of the main categories for the temporal meaning of stative verbs are present in all three of the letter corpora; as in the newspaper and fiction corpora, first reported in Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press). This indicates that the extension of the duration typically denoted by the progressive aspect has been present in BSAE since the 1880s until the 2000s, thereby proving that this is not a recent trend. In addition, there are minor differences with regards to the distribution of each temporal meaning within each genre.

The comparison of the three *Imvo* corpora show that there are no statistical differences between the three corpora, but *Imvo*2 does have a slightly higher than expected frequency for the temporary states (*LL* = 2.89; *p*>0.05). The observed frequencies of on-going (*LL* = 0.74; *p*>0.05) and unlimited states (*LL* = 0.42; *p*>0.05) are the same as the expected frequencies for all three corpora. Alternatively, the comparison of the *Drum* newspaper corpus and current newspaper corpus indicates that the current newspaper corpus has a significantly higher frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 10.96; *p*<0.001) than expected, an example of which can be seen in sentence 11 below. The current newspaper corpus also has a slightly higher frequency of on-going states (*LL* = 3.62; *p*>0.05), while the *Drum* newspaper has a higher frequency of unlimited states (*LL* = 1.23; *p*>0.05), but these differences are negligible.

(11) It was a day of great rejoicing to all creation. Men **were standing** near the kraals. (Reportage, Drum, October 1951)

If we take into account all five of the newspaper corpora, and compare them, the increase in the frequency of the temporary states is profiled by the significantly higher than expected frequency for the current newspaper (*LL* = 18.65; *p*<0.0001). In addition, when comparing all five corpora, it would seem that the *Drum* newspaper and current newspaper have a higher than expected frequency of on-going states (*LL* = 6.76; *p*<0.01), and therefore the increase of on-going states over time is statistically significant; while the differences for unlimited states (*LL* = 1.65; *p*>0.05) remains negligible.

The comparison of the two fiction corpora indicates that the current fiction corpus has a statistically significant higher than expected frequency of on-going states (*LL* = 7.85;

p<0.01) and unlimited states (*LL* = 7.73; *p*<0.01) than the Drum corpus. The difference for the temporary states is, however, negligible (*LL* = 0.14; *p*>0.05). Thus, the fiction of the 2000s is more likely to include on-going temporal meanings for statives, as can be seen in example 12 below, as well as unlimited meanings, as can be seen in example 13, than the fiction of the 1950s. These findings show that over time there has been an increase in frequency for the temporary and on-going states in newspaper writing, and an increase for the on-going and unlimited states in fiction writing. This suggests that temporality may be treated differently across genre; since news reports on recent events which may not necessarily extend far back in time, while fiction typically encompasses a wider time frame and may be used to account for events which took place over years. The content within the genre, therefore, influences what types of temporal meanings are portrayed.

(12) My grandchild **is living** like a white man there. (Fiction "Love Interrupted", Modjadji, 2012)

(13) Perhaps her protective soul - which must still **be hovering** around the stone she had laid, as ancestors are wont to jealously guard what used to be theirs in life - thought that her presence was desecrating this building. (Fiction "The Madonna of Excelsior", 2002)

The comparison of the three letter corpora shows that Letter1 and Letter2 have a statistically significant higher frequency of on-going states (*LL* = 4.26; *p*<0.05) while Letter 3 has a lower than expected frequency. Letter1 and Letter3 also seem to have a higher than expected frequency for unlimited states, while Letter2 has a lower than expected frequency, but this difference is just below the level of statistical significance (*LL* = 3.62; *p*>0.05). There is also an apparent decrease in frequency from Letter1 through to Letter3 for the temporary states (*LL* = 0.91; *p*>0.05), but this is negligible. This finding suggests that there was a decrease in the frequency of on-going states for the latest time period available in the data, spanning from 1940-1965. Further investigation is needed to establish whether this trend continues into contemporary times; but there is some evidence of historical change.

5.1.5 The temporal meanings of activity verbs in BSAE

Studies on the temporal meanings denoted by the progressive aspect have thus far only analysed the use of stative verbs, while the other aktionsart categories remained unexamined. It is useful, however, to determine whether the extended duration is present only when stative verbs are used in the progressive, or whether this occurs in other aktionsart categories as well. Since the activity category is the most common aktionsart category in all corpora, the temporal meanings of the activity verbs when combined with the progressive aspect are also explored here. Activities fall under four broader temporal categories, namely temporary activities, regular activities, on-going activities, and unlimited activities or habits. The raw distribution of the temporal meanings of activities in these four categories, as well as their subcategories, can be seen in Table 8. Figure 15 below shows the percentage of each of the broader categories for the BSAE newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora.

Table 8 Raw distribution of the temporal meanings of the progressive when combined with activity verbs in BSAE

BSAE Activities (raw)	Newspaper					Letters			Fiction	
	Imvo1	Imvo2	Imvo3	Drum	Current	Letter1	Letter2	Letter3	Drum	Current
Temporary	12	87	99	137	63	34	48	14	237	93
Temporal Frame	-	3	1	5	5	-	2	-	7	1
Regular	4	10	16	45	12	7	7	5	10	2
On-going activity	1	20	20	47	12	13	9	6	9	8
Perfect Progressive	4	7	10	23	15	13	11	7	13	7
Unlimited activity	-	-	-	1	-	6	2	-	2	1
Characterising	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-
Contextual Frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Grand Total:	21	127	148	262	108	74	79	32	279	112

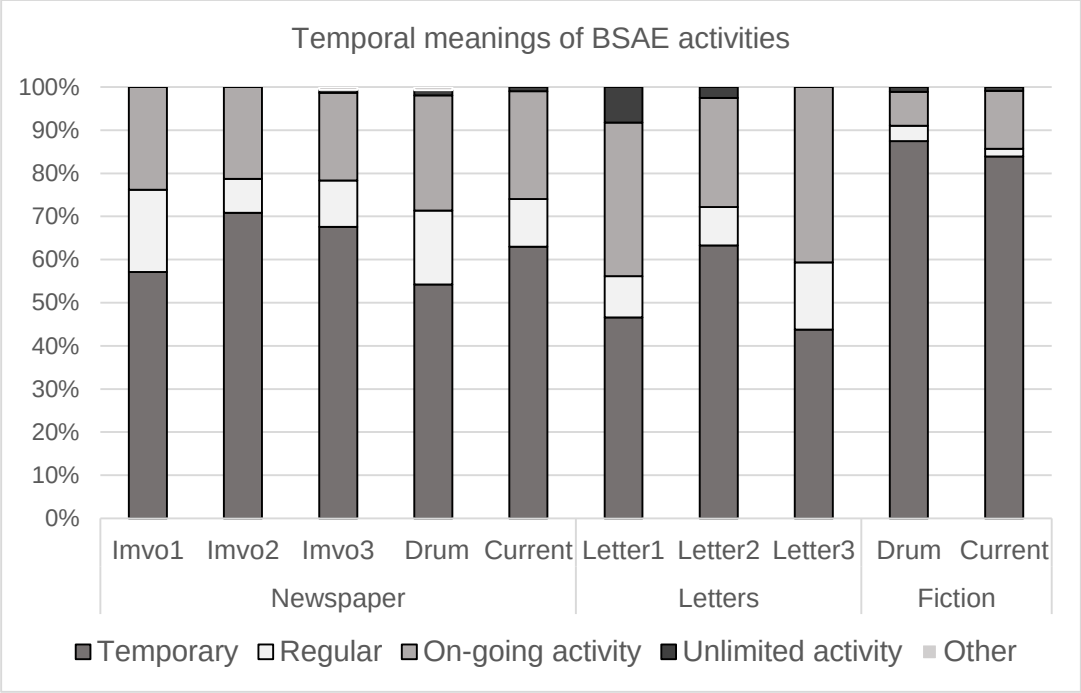

Figure 15 Percentage of temporary, regular, on-going, and unlimited activities in BSAE

The temporary, regular, and on-going temporal meanings are present in all of the newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora. The unlimited temporal meaning, however, does not seem to be as widespread since there are no instances of unlimited activities in the *Imvo*1, *Imvo*2, and Letter3 corpora. On average, the unlimited temporal meaning accounts for only 1.36% of the activities found within the BSAE historical corpus, which contrasts with the unlimited statives that averaged 15.9%. Furthermore, the average percentages for the temporary and on-going temporal meanings also differ for activities and statives. In the BSAE historical corpus, temporary activities average 68.33%, with a further 9.5% that can be classified as regular activities. Temporary statives have a lower average of 49.49%. Furthermore, while on-going activities account for 20.54% of the occurrences, on-going statives average 30.96%. This indicates that speakers of BSAE are more likely to use an extended duration with the progressive aspect with stative verbs, rather than verbs denoting activities – 77.83% of activities denote the short duration which is prototypical for the progressive aspect, while only 49.49% of statives do, illustrating that half of the statives in BSAE denote an extended duration.

Similarly to the statives, there are differences in the distribution of the temporal meanings for activity verbs across and within each genre, as can be seen in Figure 8. The comparison of the three *Imvo* corpora indicates that *Imvo*3 has a significantly higher frequency of temporary activities than expected (*LL* = 17.77; *p*<0.0001), compared to *Imvo*1 and *Imvo*2 which both have a lower than expected frequency. Thus, the 1940s newspaper had more sentences denoting the temporary meaning, such as the one seen in example 14 below, while the 1880s and 1910s newspaper data had fewer. *Imvo*3 also has a higher frequency of regular (*LL* = 2.60; *p*>0.05), on-going (*LL* = 3.33; *p*>0.05), and unlimited activities (*LL* = 1.87; *p*>0.05), but the differences between the corpora are not statistically significant.

(14) Perused in a casual manner, these items would appear to be quite innocuous, but reading between the lines leaves one with the misgivings that the old battle **is** still **being fought** in earnest. (Reportage, *Imvo*, August 1946)

The comparison of the *Drum* newspaper corpus and the current newspaper corpus indicates that the current newspaper corpus has a significantly higher than expected frequency of temporary activities (*LL* = 8.38; *p*<0.01), an example of which can be seen in sentence 15 below. The current newspaper also has a higher frequency of on-going activities (*LL* = 0.94; *p*>0.05), but this difference is negligible. The observed frequencies of regular activities (*LL* = 0.21; *p*>0.05) and unlimited activities (*LL* = 0.00; *p*>0.05) are the same as the expected frequencies for both corpora.

(15) I just hope somebody at SABC **is listening**. (Reportage, *Sowetan*, March 2007)

However, when all five of the newspaper corpora are compared, then the differences for all four categories become significant. The *Drum* newspaper corpus and current newspaper corpus have a significantly higher than expected frequency than the three *Imvo* corpora for temporary activities (*LL* = 37.39; *p*<0.0001), regular activities (*LL* = 21.06; *p*<0.0001), on-going activities (*LL* = 25.63; *p*<0.0001), and to a lesser degree unlimited activities (*LL* = 4.78; *p*<0.05).

The comparison of the two fiction corpora yield no statistically significant results, although the *Drum* fiction does have a higher than expected amount of temporary

activities (*LL* = 3.66; *p*>0.05) and regular activities (*LL* = 1.56; *p*>0.05). Alternatively, the current fiction corpus has a higher frequency of on-going activities (*LL* = 1.02; *p*>0.05), but this too is negligible. The observed frequency of the unlimited actives (*LL* = 0.11; *p*>0.05) matched that of the expected frequencies for both fiction corpora. While the differences between the two fiction corpora are negligible, it is interesting to note that the fiction has the highest percentage of temporary activities when compared to the newspaper and letter genres, as can be seen in Figure 8. Temporary activities account for 86.44% of the total activities found in fiction, but only 61.86% in newspapers and 53.26% in the letters.

The comparison of the three letter corpora indicates that Letter2 has a significantly lower frequency of on-going activities (*LL* = 11.35; *p*<0.001), while Letter1 and Letter3 both have a higher than expected frequency; a difference which is statistically significant. In addition, Letter1 has a significantly higher frequency of unlimited activities (*LL* = 8.24; *p*<0.01). An example of the on-going meaning can be seen in sentence 16, while sentence 17 denotes the unlimited meaning.

(16) I **am** still **remembering** Lovedale for the kind favour that was extended to me during my staying there. (Personal letter C252.31, University of Cape Town, December 1897)

(17) Africa is a dark continent and she wants twenty Dr Stewart's more; even that will prove too little for her, because the greater part of her children **are brooding** on darkness as if on white fresh eggs. (Personal letter C152.1, University of Cape Town, October 1892)

Letter1 also has a higher amount of temporary activities (*LL* = 1.55; *p*>0.05) but the difference between the corpora is not significant. Both Letter1 and Letter3 have a higher than expected amount of regular activities (*LL* = 2.96; *p*>0.05), but this difference is below the level of statistical significance.

5.1.6 Summary of BSAE statistically significant findings

The findings from the analysis of the progressive aspect in the BSAE historical corpus indicate that genre plays an important role, as the newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora show different types of changes over the decades which are surveyed in this study. The

increase of progressive frequency from *Imvo*2 to *Imvo*3, *Imvo*3 to *Drum*, and *Drum* to current newspapers was statistically significant. While the difference in progressive frequency was negligible for the fiction, the letter data saw a significant decrease in frequency from the 1890s to the 1900s, and an increase from the 1920s to the 1930s. The analysis of the aktionsart frequency for each genre indicated that there was a significant difference in the use of activities, communication verbs, and achievements between the three *Imvo* newspaper corpora. The comparison of the *Drum* and current newspaper had significant differences for activities, verbs denoting the future, accomplishments, achievements and states. The two fiction corpora only had one statistically significant difference, which was for achievements. The three letter corpora indicated that there are statistically significant differences for both activities and communication verbs.

In addition to the frequency of progressive use and the aktionsart, the temporal meanings of the stative verbs and activity verbs was analysed. This analysis indicated that, overall, 77.83% of the activities in BSAE retain the prototypical short duration associated with the progressive aspect, while only 49.49% of statives do. Therefore, half of the stative verbs denote an extended duration; which suggests that speakers of BSAE are more likely to use an extended duration meaning when using stative verbs rather than activities. Further study is needed in order to determine what temporal meanings are denoted by the remaining aktionsart categories. Considering the more specific findings within each genre, the analysis indicates that for the three *Imvo* newspapers, there were no significant differences between the corpora for the temporal frames of the statives, but there was an increase in the use of temporary activities from the 1880s to 1940s. The comparison of the *Drum* newspaper and current newspaper corpora indicates that there was a statistically significant increase of both temporary statives and temporary activities from the 1950s to 2000s. There was also a significant increase of on-going states and unlimited states from the *Drum* fiction of the 1950s to the current fiction of the 2000s, but there were no differences in the temporal meanings of activities. Finally, the comparison of the three letter corpora indicates that there was a significant decrease for on-going statives and unlimited activities from the 1880s to 1960s, while the ongoing activities seem to display a drop in frequency from Letter1 to

Letter2, followed by an increase in frequency from Letter2 to Letter3. Having recorded the findings from the BSAE historical corpus, the discussion now proceeds to the WSAE historical corpus.

5.2 WSAE HISTORICAL DATA

This section presents the results from the analyses performed on the WSAE historical corpus. It begins with a discussion of the frequency of the verbs used in the progressive aspect for each genre. Thereafter, the discussion moves to the distribution of the various aktionsart categories for each of the newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora. Subsequently, the temporal meanings of the stative verbs when combined with the progressive aspect for WSAE are reviewed, followed by a discussion of the temporal meanings of the activity verbs. This section ends with a summary of the statistically significant differences observed in the results of the four analyses performed on the WSAE historical corpus.

5.2.1 Frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect

The first analysis performed on the WSAE historical corpus aimed to determine if there are any changes in the frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect within the newspaper, fiction, and letter genres. Figure 16 presents the frequency of the verbs used with the progressive aspect, normalised per 100,000 words, for the WSAE sub-corpora.

In the newspaper data, the 115% increase in frequency between News1 and News2 is statistically significant using log-likelihood (LL = 9.83; p<0.01), while the 12% decrease from News2 to News3 is not significant (LL = 0.45; p>0.05). The 47% decrease in frequency from Fiction1 and Fiction2 is also significant (LL = 20.29; p<0.0001). While these differences are substantial, a word of caution is needed; the word counts for each corpus outlined in the methodology chapter indicated that News2 and Fiction1 are by far the smallest corpora in the data set used in this study, with the former totalling 6,053 words and the latter 7,897 words. It would be wise to verify these findings once more data is made available, as a larger corpus may be more representative and reliable.

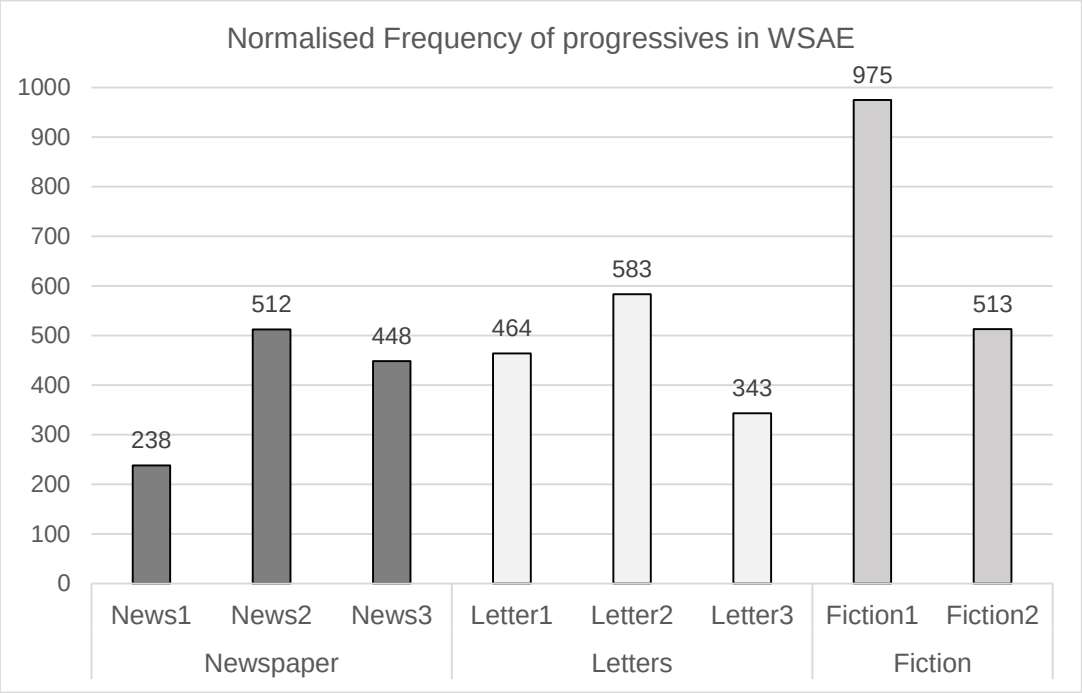

Figure 16 Frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect in WSAE, normalised per 100,000 words.

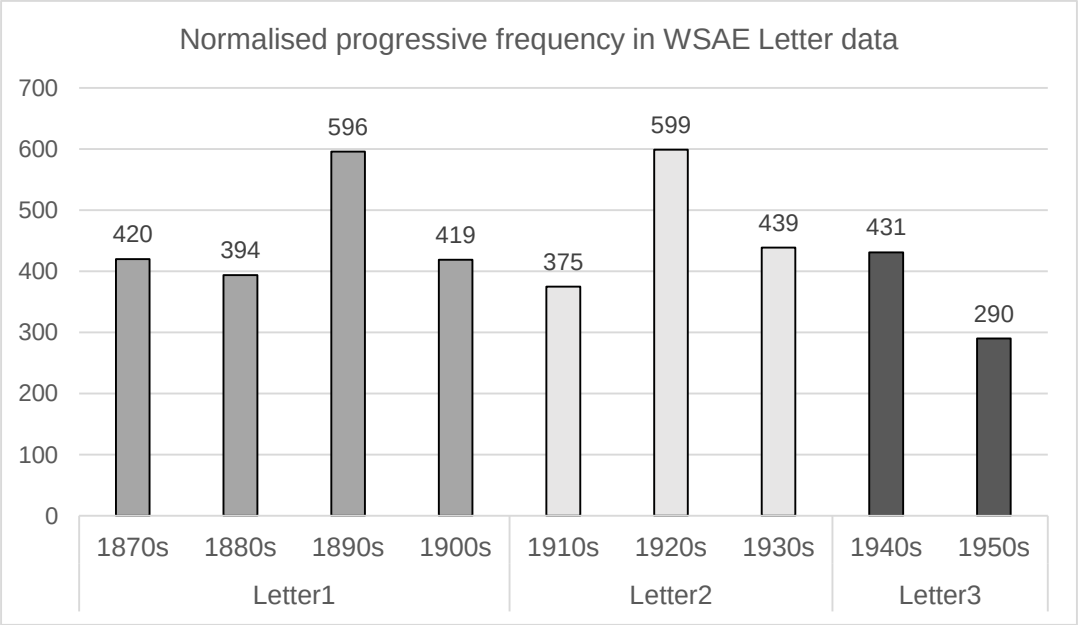

Figure 17 Frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect in WSAE Letter data per decade, normalised per 100,000 words.

Since the letter data stretched over a wide time frame, and there was sufficient data for each decade from the 1870s to the 1990s, the frequency of the progressives will be compared for each decade. Figure 17 shows the frequency of the verbs used with the progressive aspect in the WSAE letter data per decade, normalised per 100,000 words.

It is clear that there is no consistent pattern of increase or decrease in one direction within the letter data. The 51% increase from the 1880s to the 1890s is statistically significant (*LL* = 3.89; $p<0.05$). The 29% decrease from the 1890s to 1900s is just below the level of statistical significance (*LL* = 3.56; $p>0.05$), as is the 59% increase from the 1910s to the 1920s (*LL* = 3.27; $p>0.05$), the 26% decrease from the 1920s to 1930s (*LL* = 2.07; $p>0.05$), and the 32% decrease from the 1940s to 1950s (*LL* = 2.44; $p>0.05$).

5.2.2 Aktionsart categories in WSAE

The second analysis aimed to determine the aktionsart distribution for the newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora in WSAE, in order to ascertain whether there were are changes in the lexical meaning of the verbs found in the data. Table 9 below presents the raw distribution of each aktionsart category for the newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora in WSAE. Figure 18 provides a graphical representation of these distribution values normalised per 100,000 words.

Table 9 Raw aktionsart distribution in WSAE

WSAE Aktionsart (raw)	Newspaper			Letters			Fiction	
	News1	News2	News3	Letter1	Letter2	Letter3	Fiction1	Fiction2
Activity	22	18	79	95	44	26	33	85
Communication	4	3	13	5	3	2	9	15
Future	1	-	26	12	6	1	9	21
Accomplishment	9	5	19	25	17	11	6	14
Achievement	5	2	17	17	13	8	3	13
Stative	2	3	20	35	24	15	17	35
Grand Total:	43	31	174	189	107	63	77	183

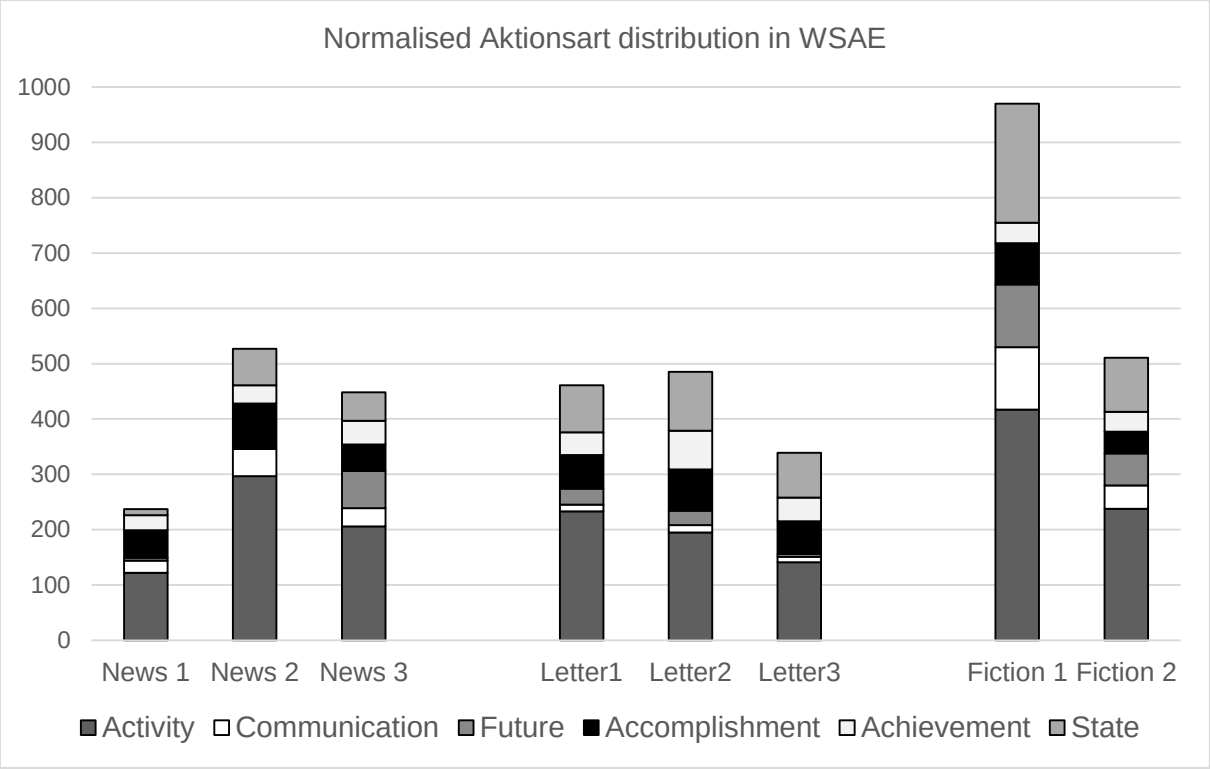

Figure 18 Aktionsart distribution in WSAE, normalised per 100,000 words.

The comparison of the three newspaper corpora indicates that News2 and News3 both have a significantly higher than expected frequency of activity verbs (*LL* = 8.48; *p*<0.01), and therefore the increase in activities from News1 is statistically significant. An example of the activity aktionsart taken from the 1990s can be seen in sentence 18 below. In addition, News3 has a significantly higher frequency of verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 19.03; *p*<0.0001) and stative verbs (*LL* = 6.59; *p*<0.05). Sentence 19 illustrates that type of sentences denoting the future that are common in the 1990s data. News3 also has a higher frequency of achievements (*LL* = 0.92; *p*>0.05) but this increase in frequency is not statistically significant. News1 has a slightly lower than expected frequency of communication verbs (*LL* = 1.13; *p*>0.05) when compared to News2 and News3, while News2 has a slightly higher than expected frequency of accomplishments (*LL* = 1.00; p>0.05), but these differences are negligible.

(18) That made me think that I might have a talent as a clown of sorts as I **was making** people laugh when I was dead serious about my intention to become white when I grew up. (Reportage, *Mail and Guardian*, April 1996)

(19) This soup kitchen **will be operating** from the Community Centre in Umasizakhe every week-day morning Mondays to Fridays. (Reportage, *Graaf-Reinet Advertiser*, April 1996)

The comparison of the two fiction corpora reveals that Fiction1 has a statistically significant higher than expected frequency of activity verbs (*LL* = 6.86; $p<0.01$), communication verbs (*LL* = 4.99; $p<0.05$), and stative verbs (*LL* = 6.35; $p<0.05$), when compared to Fiction2. The sentence in example 20 of an activity was more prominent in the fiction of the 1950s. Fiction1 also has a higher than expected frequency of verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 2.49; $p>0.05$) and accomplishments (*LL* = 1.66; $p>0.05$), but the differences between the two corpora are not significant. The observed frequency matched that of the expected frequency for achievements (*LL* = 0.00; $p>0.05$) for both corpora.

(20) But it was our business what we **were doing** with that piccanin, especially as we weren't going to hurt him. (Fiction "A day in the country", 1950s)

The comparison of the three letter corpora indicates that Letter1 has a significantly higher than expected frequency of activity verbs (*LL* = 5.63; $p<0.05$) and verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 4.36; $p<0.05$), and therefore there was a decrease in the use of activities and verbs denoting the future from Letter1 through to Letter3. Letter2 has a significantly higher frequency of stative verbs (*LL* = 7.23; $p<0.05$), an example of which can be seen in sentence 21 below. Letter2 also a higher amount of accomplishments (*LL* = 0.51; $p>0.05$) and achievements (*LL* = 0.80; $p>0.05$), although these differences are not statistically significant. The observed frequency of communication verbs (*LL* = 0.05; $p>0.05$) matches that of the expected frequency for all three letter corpora, and therefore no statistical difference is noted.

(21) I see you **have been having** violent storms at the Cape again, but as I have had no urgent messages on the subject I presume the St. George held on to the ground. (Personal Letter, June 1937)

5.2.3 The temporal meanings of stative verbs in WSAE

The hypothesis that speakers of BSAE use a different notion of temporariness can only become meaningful when compared to a Standard, or native, variety of English such as WSAE. Therefore, in order to determine if there are any differences in the temporal meanings of the progressive aspect between BSAE and WSAE, the stative verbs and activity verbs of WSAE had to be analysed. Using the same framework as for the BSAE analysis, stative verbs could either denote the prototypical temporary meaning, or could be extended to denote an on-going or unlimited meaning. Table 10 provides the raw distribution of the temporal meanings along these three temporal categories, as well as their subtypes, for each genre in WSAE. Figure 19 below shows the percentage of each of these categories for the newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora.

Table 10 Raw distribution of the temporal meanings of the progressive when combined with stative verbs in WSAE

WSAE Statives (raw)	Newspaper			Letters			Fiction	
	News1	News2	News3	Letter1	Letter2	Letter3	Fiction1	Fiction2
Temporary	2	3	10	24	18	12	15	29
Temporal Frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
On-going State	-	-	3	8	3	3	1	-
Perfect Progressive	-	-	1	-	3	-	1	4
Unlimited state	-	-	4	2	-	-	-	2
Characterising	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Contextual Frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total:	2	3	20	35	24	15	17	35

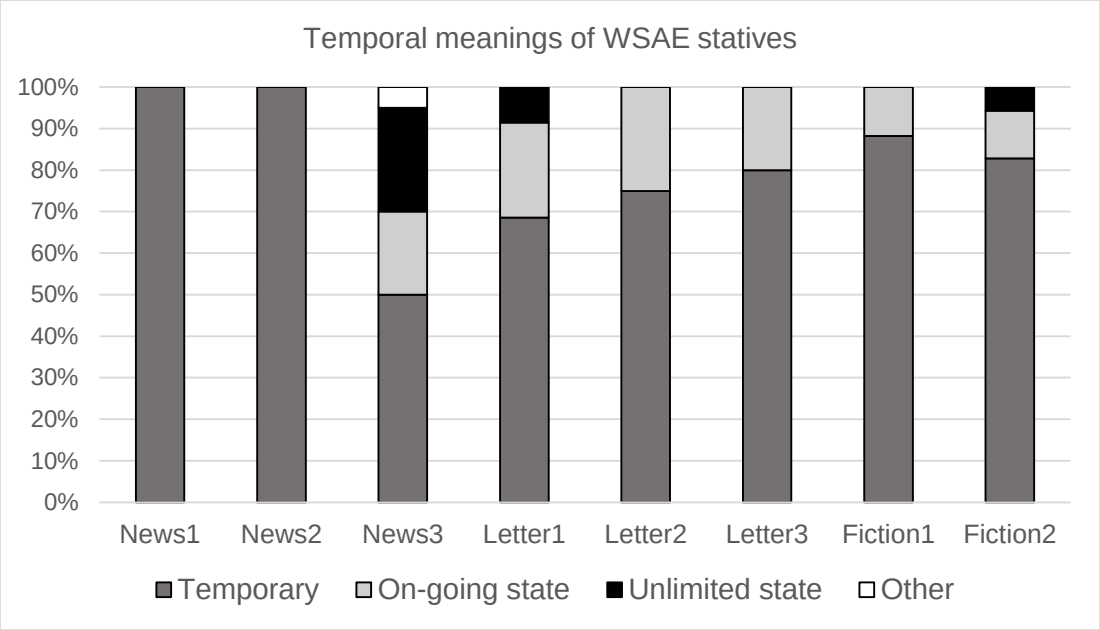

Figure 19 Percentage of temporary, on-going, and unlimited states in WSAE

The findings indicate that the temporal meanings of stative verbs in WSAE are predominately temporary, indicating that speakers of WSAE denote the prototypical short duration meaning when using verbs in the progressive aspect. However, use of the on-going temporal meaning is not uncommon, as it appears in six of the eight subcorpora analysed. The unlimited temporal meaning is only present in News3, Letter1, and Fiction2.

While the numbers for the statives in the first two news corpora are very small, the comparison of the three newspaper corpora using log-likelihood suggests that News1 has an expected frequency of 4.3 words for the temporary states, News2 of 1.45 words, and News3 of 9.26 words. However, this slight variation of frequency is not statistically significant (LL = 2.86; p>0.05). The presence of both on-going (LL = 3.86; p<0.05) and unlimited states (LL = 4.82; p<0.05) in News3 is significant, since neither of these extended durations are present in News1 and News2. A follow-up investigation would be necessary in order to verify this finding, once more data is made available. Sentence 22 below shows an example of an unlimited state, which was found in the current newspaper. This sentence can be classified as unlimited as the inanimate object “ship”

will suffer from metal fatigue indefinitely, remaining in this state unless it is rebuilt completely.

(22) Some of the ships **are** now **suffering** from metal fatigue and cracking up. (Reportage, *Sunday Times*, June 1996)

The comparison of the two fiction corpora indicates that Fiction1 has a significantly higher than expected frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 6.38; *p*<0.05). The observed frequency for both on-going states (*LL* = 0.79; *p*>0.05) and unlimited states (*LL* = 0.80; *p*>0.05), are the same as the expected frequencies for Fiction1 and Fiction2. Therefore sentences with the prototypical short duration meaning, such as the one seen in example 23, are particularly common in the fiction of the 1950s.

(23) Inside, our car, everyone with the exception of my father, **was dreading** the scene that we knew was about to follow. (Fiction "A day in the country", 1950s)

The comparison of the three letter corpora indicates that Letter1 has a higher than expected frequency of unlimited states (*LL* = 4.17; *p*<0.05) while both Letter2 and Letter3 have a lower than expected frequency, a difference which is statistically significant. Letter2 seems to have a higher than expected frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 0.93; *p*>0.05) and on-going states (*LL* = 0.55; *p*>0.05), but the differences between the corpora are negligible. These findings indicate that the unlimited duration is used less frequently than expected, suggesting that speakers of WSAE do not denote an extended duration when using the progressive aspect, and instead adhere to the prototypical temporary meaning.

5.2.4 The temporal meanings of activity verbs

The analysis of the temporal meanings included the examination of the activity verbs in WSAE, along four temporal categories, namely temporary activities, regular activities, on-going activities, and unlimited activities. Table 11 presents the raw distribution of the WSAE activities along their four categories, and their subcategories, while Figure 20 below provides the percentage of each temporal meaning for the various newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora.

Table 11 Raw distribution of the temporal meanings of the progressive when combined with activity verbs in WSAE

WSAE Activities (raw)	Newspaper			Letters			Fiction	
	News1	News2	News3	Letter1	Letter2	Letter3	Fiction1	Fiction2
Temporary	12	13	50	63	26	19	24	72
Temporal Frame	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Regular	2	2	8	7	2	3	2	3
On-going activity	1	2	9	9	8	1	4	5
Perfect Progressive	5	-	6	12	5	2	3	2
Unlimited activity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Characterising	2	1	6	3	3	-	-	1
Contextual Frame	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total:	22	18	79	95	44	26	33	85

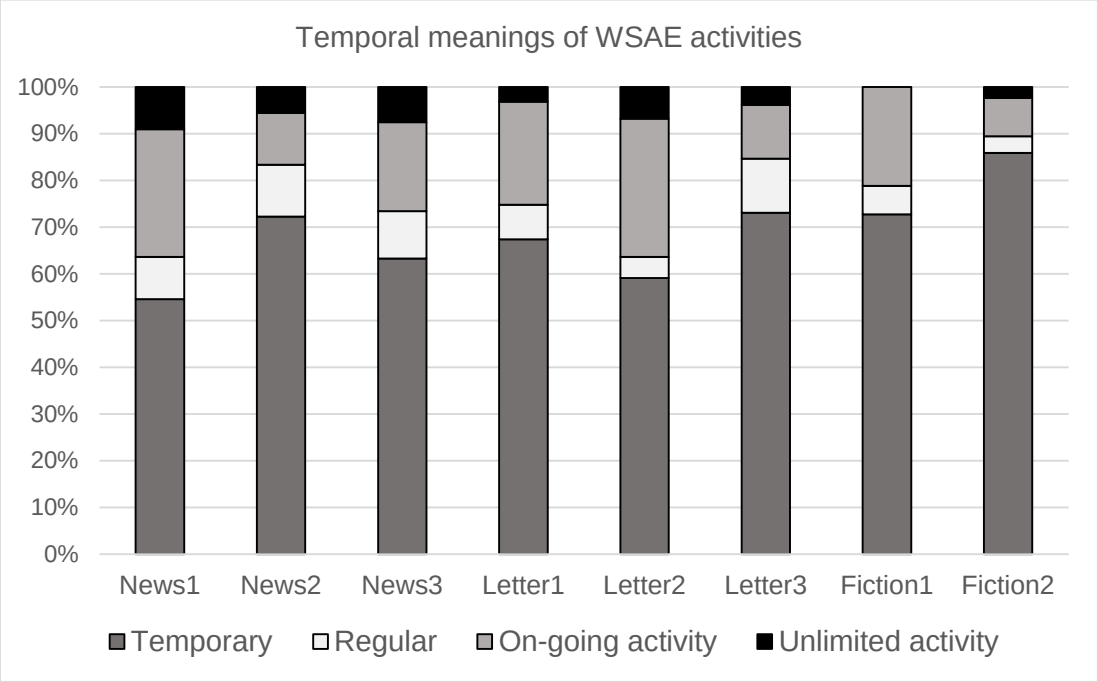

Figure 20 Percentage of temporary, regular, on-going, and unlimited activities in WSAE

The temporary, regular, and on-going meanings are present in all of the corpora, while the unlimited meaning is not found in Fiction1. Looking at the overall percentage for each temporal meaning, the temporary meaning accounts for 69.9% of the activities in WSAE, while the regular activities average 7.21%. Therefore the shorter duration is expressed in a total of 77.11% of activities, and 74.83% of stative verbs in WSAE. In addition, on-going activities in WSAE average 18.4%, which is similar to the 17.88% of on-going statives. Unlimited activities account for only 6.62% of the total activities, which is slightly higher than the 4.48% of unlimited statives in WSAE. Therefore, when taking into account the broader percentages, it would seem that the same amounts of temporal meanings are used for both activity verbs and stative verbs in WSAE.

The comparison of the newspaper corpora indicates that News2 and News3 have significantly higher than expected frequencies of temporary activities (LL = 9.00; p<0.01), while the frequency for News1 is significantly lower than expected. Therefore sentences which denote temporary meanings, as seen in example 24, were not used as frequently as expected in the 1880s news. News1 also has a lower than expected frequency of regular activities (LL = 1.26; p>0.05), but the difference between the corpora is not statistically significant. The observed frequencies match the expected frequencies of on-going activities (LL = 0.12; p>0.05) and unlimited activities (LL = 0.19; p>0.05) for all three of the newspaper corpora.

(24) Police and marshals **were** slowly **shepherding** people into the hall through the narrow entrance when impatient sections of the crowd tried to force their way in. (Reportage, *The Cape Times*, May 1996)

The comparison of the two fiction corpora indicates that Fiction1 has a statistically significant higher than expected frequency of on-going activities (LL = 7.31; p<0.05) than Fiction2. Thus, sentences such as the one in example 25 were common in the fiction of the 1950s. Fiction1 also has a higher frequency of temporary activities (LL = 2.64; p>0.05), but the difference is negligible. The observed frequency of regular activities (LL = 1.30; p>0.05) and unlimited activities (LL = 0.80; p>0.05) matches that of the expected frequencies for both corpora, and therefore no statistical difference can be ascertained.

(25) In front of the last shop stood the black Dodge we **had been chasing**.
(Fiction "A day in the country", 1950s)

Finally, the comparison of the letter corpora revealed that Letter1 and Letter 2 had a significantly higher than expected frequency of on-going activities (*LL* = 5.55; p<0.05) while Letter 3 had a lower than expected frequency; a difference which is statistically significant. Letter1 had a higher frequency of temporary activities (*LL* = 3.54; p>0.05), but the difference between the corpora is just below the level of statistical significance. The observed frequencies match the expected frequencies for regular activities (*LL* = 0.80; p>0.05) and unlimited activities (*LL* = 0.82; p>0.05) for both corpora.

5.2.5 Summary of WSAE statistically significant findings

The findings from the analysis of the verbs used with the progressive aspect in WSAE reveal genre specific changes in frequency and meaning over the decades surveyed in this study. The analysis of progressive frequency indicated that there is a statistically significant increase in progressive frequency from the News1 corpus of the 1880s to the News2 corpus of the 1940s and 1950s. There is also a significant decrease from the Fiction1 corpus of the 1950s to the Fiction2 corpus of the 1990s. Amongst the letter data, which ranges from 1870 to 1959, there was only one statistically significant difference, namely the increase of frequency from the 1880s to the 1890s. The second analysis focused on the distribution of aktionsart categories in each genre. These results revealed that there are significant differences between the three newspaper corpora for activities, verbs denoting the future, and stative verbs. The comparison of the two fiction corpora show that there is a statistically significant difference for activities, communication verbs, and stative verbs. Lastly, the comparison of the letter corpora indicated statistically significant differences for activity verbs, verbs denoting the future, and stative verbs[18]. There were no significant differences in the use of accomplishments or achievements.

[18] It is interesting to note that the two aktionsart categories which undergo the most change in WSAE, namely activities and statives, are the same two categories whose temporal meanings were examined in the last stage of the analysis. There are statistically significant differences in each genre (newspaper, fiction, and letters) for activity verbs and stative verbs.

In addition to the frequency of progressive use and the aktionsart, the temporal meanings of the stative verbs and activity verbs were analysed. The overall percentages for the temporal meanings in the WSAE corpus indicate that the prototypical short duration associated with the progressive aspect is used for 74.83% of statives and 77.11% of activities, and can therefore be considered the dominant temporal meaning denoted by speakers of WSAE. The analysis of the temporal meaning of statives and activities indicated that for the newspaper corpora, there was a significant difference for on-going and unlimited states, as well as temporary activities. The comparison of the fiction corpora indicated that there was a change in frequency for temporary states and on-going activities. Finally, the comparison of letter data revealed that there were statistically significant differences for the unlimited states and on-going activities. Overall, there was a lower than expected amount of on-going and unlimited states, and a decrease in on-going activities alongside an increase in temporary activities. Therefore, speakers of WSAE use the progressive aspect to denote states or activities that are on-going, but only last a short duration. Having describe the trends and changes in BSAE and WSAE, the discussion now compares the two varieties in order to determine whether the progressive aspect is used in similar or different ways.

5.3 Comparison of WSAE and BSAE data

This section compares the results described above, in order to determine whether speakers of WSAE and BSAE use the progressive aspect in similar or dissimilar ways. The discussion systematically compares WSAE and BSAE by examining each sub-corpus of the three genres; News1 represents the newspapers of the 1880s, News2 exemplifies the 1940s and 1950s (the *Imvo*3 and *Drum* newspaper are combined to represent BSAE), News3 is for the contemporary newspapers from each variety (1990s for WSAE and 2000s for BSAE); Fiction1 represents fiction from the 1950s, while Fiction2 is the contemporary fiction; Letter1 represents a collection of letters spanning from the 1870s to 1900s, Letter2 for the 1910s to 1930s, and Letter3 for the 1940s to 1950s for WSAE and to 1965 for BSAE. The discussion begins by comparing the frequency of the verbs used with the progressive aspect, which is followed by a comparison of the aktionsart distribution. Thereafter, the temporal meanings for stative

verbs and activity verbs are compared. This section ends with a brief summary of the statistically significant differences which were identified between WSAE and BSAE. The aim of this section is to determine whether speakers of BSAE used a different notion of temporariness with the progressive aspect.

5.3.1 Frequency of the progressive aspect

The first comparison is of the frequency of the verbs used in the progressive aspect in WSAE and BSAE. Figure 21 presents the values for each of the newspaper, letter, and fiction corpora of WSAE and BSAE, normalised per 100,000 words.

It is clear that there are some variations in the progressive frequency between the two varieties. The difference between the varieties for News1 is negligible (*LL* = 0.47; $p>0.05$), but the higher frequency of News2 progressives for WSAE is statistically significant (*LL* = 3.97; $p<0.05$), as is the higher frequency of News3 for BSAE (*LL* = 4.88; $p<0.05$). The comparison of the fiction corpora indicates that the higher frequency of Fiction1 for WSAE is significant (*LL* = 8.53; $p<0.01$), as is the higher frequency of Fiction2 for BSAE (*LL* = 4.18; $p<0.05$). Thus, the newspaper and fiction data indicates varying frequencies for the progressive between the varieties.

The general trend indicates that in the earlier decades examined, such as News1, News2, Letter2, and Fiction1, WSAE has a higher frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect. However, BSAE seems to overtake WSAE at some point as the latter decades, such as News3, Letter3, and Fiction2 all have a higher frequency of progressives. Thus, WSAE seems to start from a higher point than BSAE and gradually decrease, while BSAE starts from a lower point and overtakes WSAE, indicating that the direction of change in the frequency of verbs in the progressive aspect is opposite for the two varieties. This finding is similar to that of Van Rooy and Wasserman (2014:63), who examine the use of modals and semi modals in WSAE and BSAE from the 1950s to the 1990s, noting that the direction of change for BSAE is opposite of that for WSAE. The frequency of modals seems to increase in frequency for BSAE from the 1950s to the 1990s, while the WSAE modals show a pattern of decline (Van Rooy & Wasserman, 2014:59).

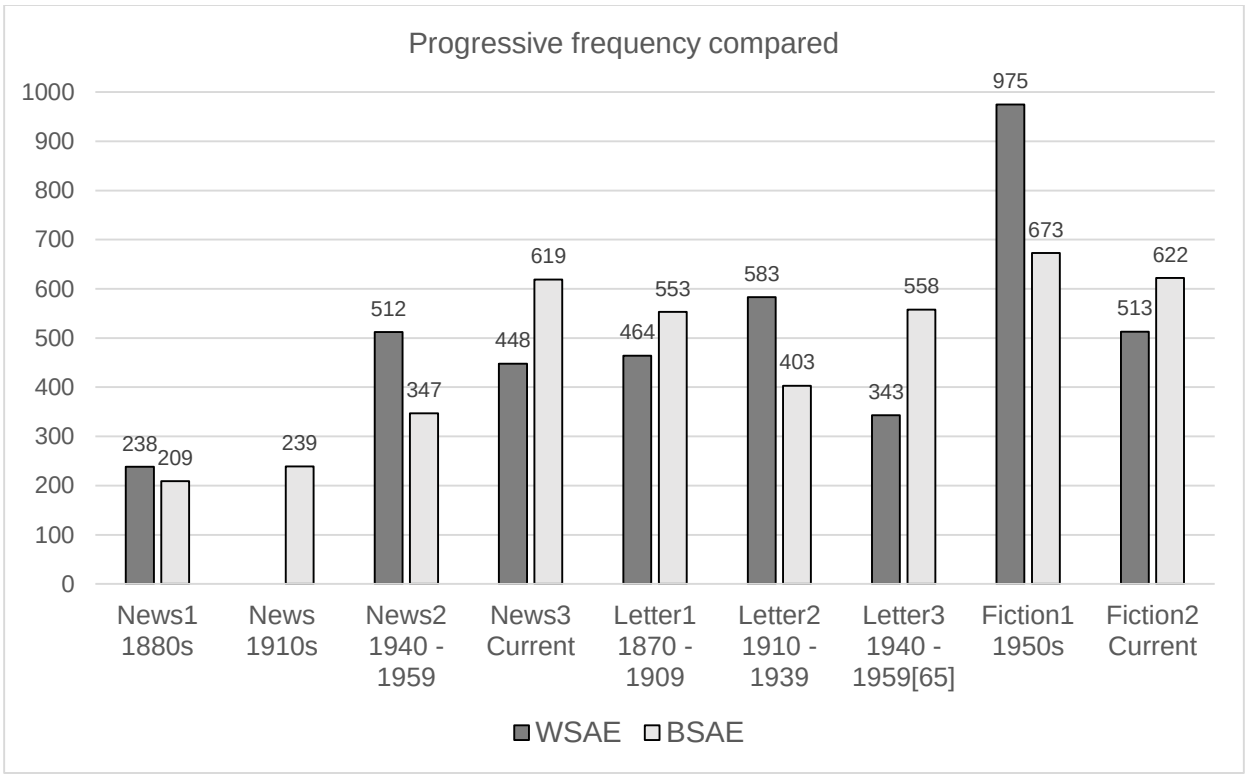

Figure 21 Comparison of progressive frequency in WSAE and BSAE, normalised per 100,000 words.

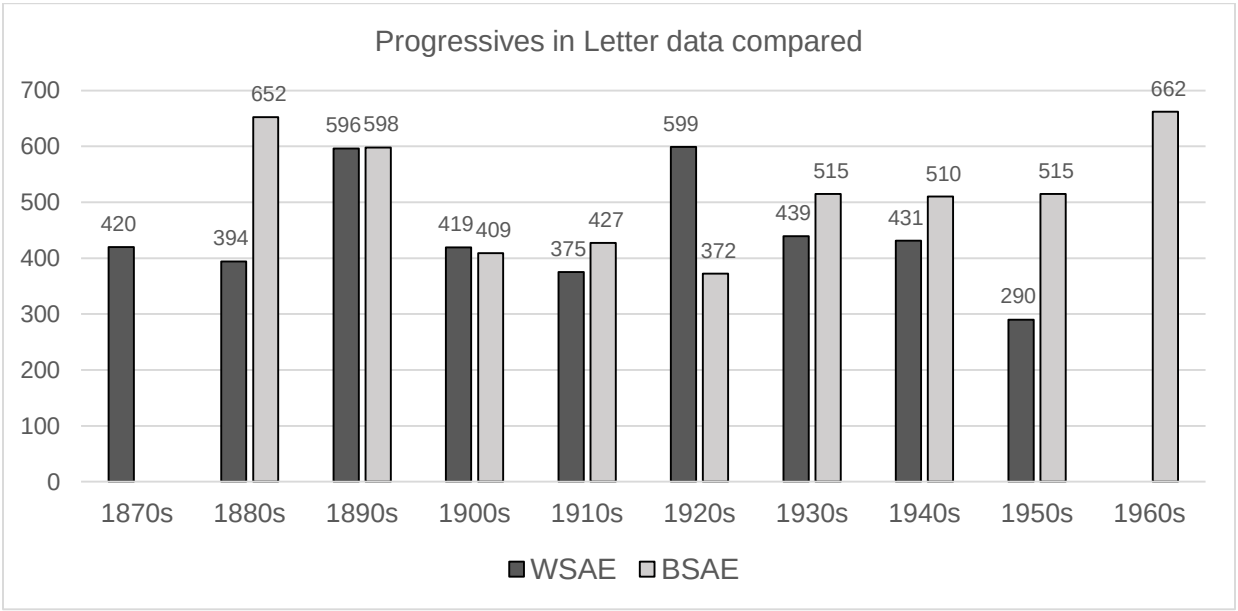

Figure 22 Comparison of the progressive frequency for letter data per decade, normalised per 100,000 words.

As in the preceding sections, the letter data has been divided per decade for comparative purposes, as can be seen in Figure 22 above. In the discussion of BSAE, the 1880s letters are combined with the several letters from earlier decades, therefore for the purpose of comparison the WSAE 1870s and 1880s letters are combined. The comparison of the 1870s-1880s letters indicates that the higher frequency of progressives in BSAE is statistically significant (*LL* = 6.83; *p*<0.01). In addition, the higher frequency of progressives in the 1920s WSAE data is significant (*LL* = 6.63; *p*<0.01). The remaining decades do not show statistically significant differences between WSAE and BSAE; 1890s (*LL* = 0.00; *p*>0.05), 1900s (*LL* = 0.01; *p*>0.05), 1910s (*LL* = 0.29; *p*>0.05), 1930s (*LL* = 0.73; *p*>0.05), 1940s (*LL* = 0.54; *p*>0.05), and 1950s (*LL* = 3.48; *p*>0.05). Thus, the frequency of the verbs used in the progressive aspect is quite similar in the WSAE and BSAE letter data.

5.3.2 Aktionsart distribution across WSAE and BSAE

The comparison of News1 indicates that WSAE has a statistically significant higher than expected frequency of activity verbs (*LL* = 4.91; *p*<0.05), a difference which is significant next to the lower than expected frequency of activities for BSAE. WSAE also has a slightly higher frequency of achievements (*LL* = 1.64; *p*>0.05) but this is not statistically significant. BSAE has a higher frequency of both communication verbs (*LL* = 2.93; *p*>0.05) and stative verbs (*LL* = 1.47; *p*>0.05) but these are not statistically significant. The observed frequency matches that of the expected frequency for verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 0.20; *p*>0.05) and accomplishments (*LL* = 0.02; *p*>0.05) for both WSAE and BSAE.

The comparison of News2 reveals no statistically significant differences between the two varieties. However, WSAE did have a higher than expected frequency for activities (*LL* = 3.80; *p*>0.05) and communication verbs (*LL* = 1.71; *p*>0.05), as well as a lower than expected frequency for verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 2.30; *p*>0.05). The observed frequencies for accomplishments (*LL* = 0.27; *p*>0.05), achievements (*LL* = 0.01; *p*>0.05) and statives (*LL* = 0.41; *p*>0.05) are similar to the expected frequencies for both WSAE and BSAE.

The comparison of News3 indicates that BSAE has a significantly higher than expected frequency of accomplishments (*LL* = 17.87; *p*<0.0001) and statives (*LL* = 4.41; *p*<0.05), while the corresponding frequencies for WSAE are lower than expected. Thus, sentences like example 26 below, showing an accomplishment, are more common in BSAE current news. BSAE also has a higher amount of activity verbs (*LL* = 2.60; *p*>0.05), but the difference between the corpora is not statistically significant. Observed figures for communication verbs (LL = 0.15; p>0.05), verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 0.70; *p*>0.05), and achievements (*LL* = 0.17; *p*>0.05) are the same as the expected frequencies for WSAE and BSAE.

(26) Steal it, don't let them know that you **are bringing** it here. (BSAE Reportage, *City Press*, April 2007)

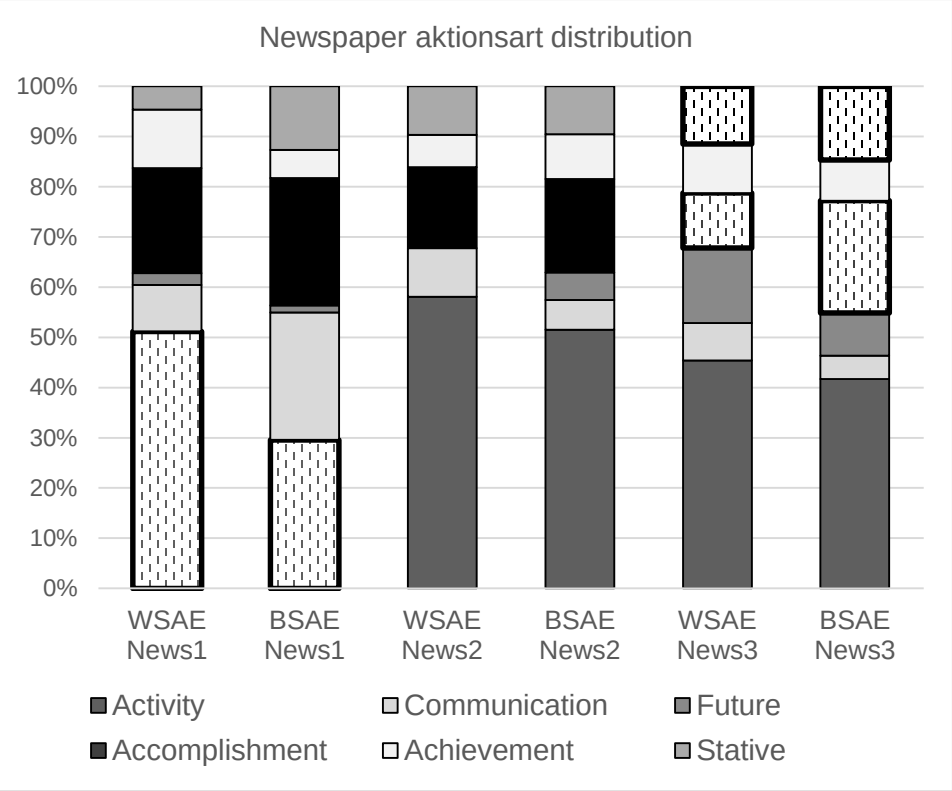

Figure 23 Aktionsart distribution according to percentage for WSAE and BSAE newspaper data

Figure 23 above presents the percentage of each aktionsart category for the WSAE and BSAE newspaper data, with the statistically significant differences demarcated. The percentages for News1 clearly shows the difference in activity verbs, where about 50% the verbs in WSAE are activities, but only 30% of the verbs are activities in the BSAE data. The other 20% in BSAE seems to be spread between the categories for communication verbs and accomplishments. Although not statistically significant, achievements in WSAE account for a slightly larger percentage when compared to BSAE; in contrast BSAE has more stative verbs. In News3, accomplishments account for about 20% of the verbs in BSAE, while in WSAE there is only about 10% of accomplishments, and the remaining 10% is spread between the activities and verbs denoting the future. The stative verbs in News3 account for about 15% in BSAE and 10% in WSAE; and as in News1, the difference is assigned to a higher percentage of achievements.

The comparison of Fiction1 shows that there is a statistically significant difference for stative verbs (*LL* = 10.56; $p<0.001$), which are higher than expected for WSAE but lower for BSAE. An example of the stative as used in WSAE fiction of the 1950s can be seen in sentence 27 below. WSAE also has a higher frequency of activities (*LL* = 2.77; $p>0.05$), communication verbs (*LL* = 2.48; $p>0.05$), and verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 1.90; $p>0.05$), but these are not statistically significant. BSAE has a higher than expected frequency of achievements (*LL* = 2.69; $p>0.05$), while WSAE's frequency is lower than expected, but this difference is also negligible. The observed frequencies for accomplishments (*LL* = 0.03; $p>0.05$) match the expected frequency for WSAE and BSAE.

(27) Her legs **were worrying** her, or she'd have gone up there after him.
(WSAE Fiction "Ah, woe is me", 1950s)

The comparison of Fiction2 indicates that BSAE has a significantly higher than expected frequency of communication verbs (*LL* = 6.41; $p<0.05$) and accomplishments (*LL* = 4.28; $p<0.05$), while the corresponding frequencies for WSAE are much lower than expected. BSAE also has a slightly higher amount of stative verbs (*LL* = 0.51; $p>0.05$), but this difference is negligible. The observed frequencies for activities (*LL* = 0.15;

p>0.05), verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 0.09; *p*>0.05), and achievements (*LL* = 0.08; *p*>0.05) match the expected frequencies for both WSAE and BSAE.

Figure 24 below presents the percentage of each aktionsart category for the WSAE and BSAE fiction data, with the statistically significant differences demarcated. In the fiction data, we see the opposite trend than that for newspaper data in the distribution of statives and achievements. In Fiction1, the statives account for just over 20% of the verbs in WSAE, some 10% more than for BSAE. To compensate, BSAE has a higher percentage of achievements. In Fiction2, BSAE has a higher percentage of communication verbs, while WSAE seems to compensate for the deficiency in communication verbs by having a higher percentage of activities. In addition, BSAE also has a statistically significant higher percentage of accomplishments, while WSAE has a higher percentage for verbs denoting the future that may account for the discrepancy.

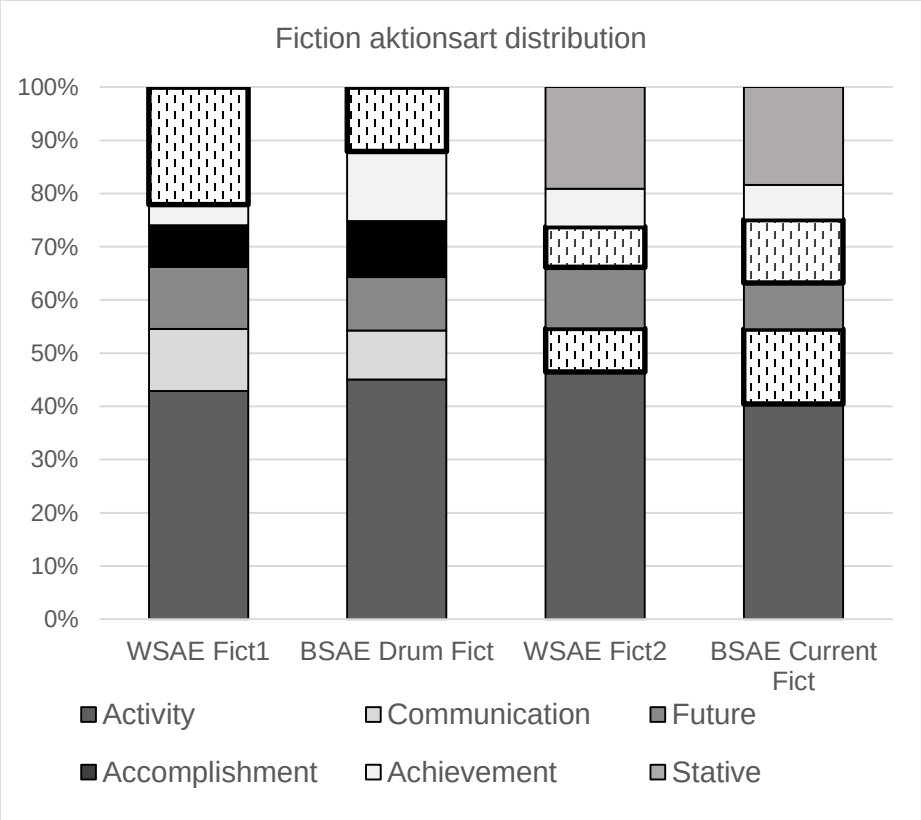

Figure 24 Aktionsart distribution according to percentage for WSAE and BSAE fiction data

The comparison of Letter1 indicates that BSAE has a significantly higher frequency of communication verbs (*LL* = 11.02; *p*<0.001), while the figures for WSAE are lower than expected. Thus, sentences such as the one in example 28 are much more frequent in BSAE. BSAE also has a higher amount of accomplishments (*LL* = 1.88; *p*>0.05) and achievements (*LL* = 1.39; *p*>0.05), but even next to the lower than expected WSAE frequency, the difference between the two varieties is not significant. The observed frequencies for activities (*LL* = 0.03; *p*>0.05), verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 0.02; *p*>0.05), and statives (*LL* = 0.08; *p*>0.05) match the expected frequencies for both varieties.

(28) We think it right to testify also on this occasion that those who say that education such as the natives receive at Lovedale makes them to be above what is called manual labour, **are** not correctly **stating** the true facts of the case. (BSAE Letter of congratulations C252.22, University of Cape Town, May 1890)

The comparison of Letter2 reveals that WSAE has a significantly higher than expected frequency of activity verbs (*LL* = 5.12; *p*<0.05) while the figures for BSAE are lower than expected. Alternatively, BSAE has a significantly higher frequency of communication verbs (*LL* = 5.90; *p*<0.05) while the WSAE figures are lower. WSAE also has a slightly higher frequency of statives (*LL* = 1.86; *p*>0.05), but the difference between the two varieties is negligible. The observed frequencies for verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 0.03; *p*>0.05), accomplishments (*LL* = 0.02; *p*>0.05), and achievements (*LL* = 0.21; *p*>0.05) are similar to the expected frequencies for WSAE and BSAE.

The comparison of Letter3 indicates that BSAE has a significantly higher than expected frequency of communication verbs (*LL* = 15.61; *p*<0.0001), next to the lower than expected frequencies in WSAE. BSAE also has a higher than expected frequency of activities (*LL* = 0.99; *p*>0.05), verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 2.10; *p*>0.05), and achievements (*LL* = 3.17; *p*>0.05), but even next to the lower frequency in WSAE the differences between the varieties are not statistically significant. The observed frequencies match the expected frequencies for accomplishments (*LL* = 0.02; *p*>0.05) and statives (*LL* = 0.11; *p*>0.05) for both WSAE and BSAE. Thus, there is a clear trend

for BSAE to have more communication verbs, such as the one in example 29, when compared to WSAE.

(29) We **were** just **asking** our Honourable Lord to give us an allowance of our school to be under His Excellency's supervision. (BSAE Application Letter N122, Pretoria National Archives, March 1938)

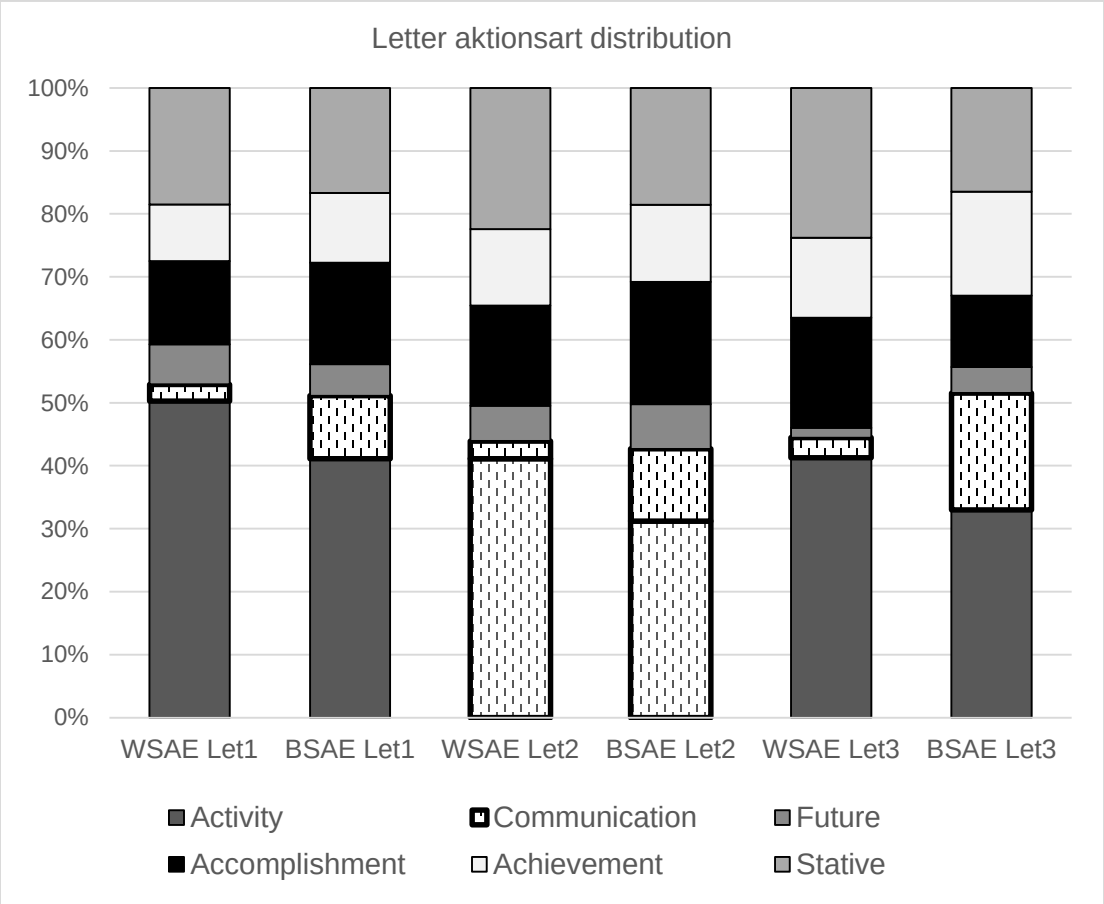

Figure 25 Aktionsart distribution according to percentage for WSAE and BSAE letter data

Figure 25 above presents the percentage of each aktionsart category for the WSAE and BSAE letter data, with the statistically significant differences demarcated. It is clear that across all three letter data sets, the communication verbs account for a higher percentage in BSAE when compared to WSAE. In Letter1 and Letter2, WSAE has a higher percentage of activities to compensate. In Letter3, WSAE seems to spread the difference across activities, statives, and accomplishments. The statistically significant

difference between the activities in Letter2 is also clearly seen here, where BSAE has just over 30% for activities, and 10% for communication verbs, in contrast to the 40% of activities and under 5% for communication verbs in WSAE.

If we combine all the genres in order to get a broader sense of the differences between the varieties, it seems that WSAE has an overall higher frequency of activities (*LL* = 5.25; $p<0.05$), verbs denoting the future (*LL* = 5.78; $p<0.05$), and statives (*LL* = 11.90; $p<0.001$), while BSAE has a higher frequency of communication verbs (*LL* = 4.02; $p<0.05$) and accomplishments (*LL* = 3.59; $p>0.05$). Achievements are treated as expected in both varieties (*LL* = 0.19; $p>0.05$). Having identified the differences in the frequency of the progressive and the aktionsart distribution for each time period, the comparison of WSAE and BSAE now moves towards the temporal meanings which are used with stative and activity verbs.

5.3.3 The temporal meanings of stative verbs in WSAE and BSAE

The comparison of the temporal meanings of stative verbs is divided into two parts. Firstly, the differences are discussed per subcorpus so that each time period is compared, and secondly the average percentage of each temporal meaning per genre is compared in order to get a broader picture of the differences between WSAE and BSAE.

The comparison of News1 indicates that BSAE has a statistically significant higher than expected frequency of on-going states (*LL* = 4.26; $p<0.05$). BSAE also has a slightly higher frequency of unlimited states (*LL* = 1.70; $p>0.05$), yet lower than expected frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 0.40; $p>0.05$), but the difference between BSAE and WSAE is not significant. News2 indicates that WSAE has higher than expected frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 3.28; $p>0.05$), and lower frequency of on-going (*LL* = 1.62; $p>0.05$) and unlimited states (*LL* = 0.68; $p>0.05$), but neither of the three differences are statistically significant. The comparison of News3 indicates that BSAE has a significantly higher frequency of on-going states (*LL* = 4.36; $p<0.05$), while the frequency for WSAE is lower than expected. In contrast to News1 and News2, here it is BSAE which has a higher than expected frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 1.76; $p>0.05$), and WSAE that has a higher frequency of unlimited states (*LL* = 3.22; $p>0.05$);

however, the differences between the varieties are below the level of statistical significance. Thus, sentences with an on-going temporal meaning, such as the one in example 30 below, would have been more common in the 1880s and contemporary news in BSAE than in WSAE.

(30) He would not be their friend if he held out to them false hopes; but all the land they **are occupying** now must be fixed. (BSAE Reportage, *Imvo*, April 1886)

The comparison of Fiction1 indicates that WSAE has a statistically significant higher than expected frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 10.12; $p<0.01$), while BSAE presents a lower frequency. WSAE also has a fractionally higher amount of on-going states (*LL* = 0.98; $p>0.05$), but this difference is negligible. The observed frequency for unlimited states (*LL* = 0.33; $p>0.05$) matches that of the expected frequency for WSAE and BSAE. The comparison of Fiction2 shows that BSAE has a significantly higher frequency of on-going states (*LL* = 4.58; $p<0.05$), while WSAE has a lower frequency. BSAE also has a slightly higher frequency of unlimited states (*LL* = 1.95; $p>0.05$), but the difference between the two varieties is not significant. Alternatively, WSAE has a slightly higher frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 0.93; $p>0.05$), but even alongside the lower frequency of BSAE, the difference is not statistically significant.

The comparison of Letter1 reveals that WSAE has a significantly higher frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 5.17; $p<0.05$), while the frequency for BSAE is lower than expected. In contrast, BSAE has a significantly higher frequency of unlimited states (*LL* = 8.00; $p<0.01$) while WSAE has a lower frequency. BSAE also has a slightly higher than expected frequency of on-going states (*LL* = 0.90; $p>0.05$), but the difference between the varieties is negligible. The examples in sentences 31 and 32 below are both of unlimited statives that occurred in the BSAE letter corpora.

(31) The Doctors say I **am suffering** from Asthma. I feel worse when the weather is bad; but when it is clear I feel well. (BSAE Personal letter B75, University of Cape Town, November 1923)

(32) The people are very poor all over. In the veld it is dry and locust; in the towns natives are chased out of jobs to make room for the Whiteman and

natives **are starving**. (BSAE Personal Letter B1, Sol Plaatje Museum, September 1924)

The comparison of Letter2 indicates that, in this case, BSAE has the significantly higher frequency of temporary states (*LL* = 9.00; *p*<0.01), and it is WSAE which has the lower than expected frequency. In addition, BSAE has a significantly higher frequency of unlimited states (*LL* = 7.38; *p*<0.01). The observed frequencies for on-going states (*LL* = 0.00; *p*>0.05) match the expected frequencies for both WSAE and BSAE. Thus temporary meanings, as can be seen in example 33, are more frequently combined with statives in WSAE than in BSAE. The comparison for Letter3 indicates a significantly higher than expected frequency of unlimited states (*LL* = 10.09; *p*<0.01) for BSAE, and a lower frequency for WSAE. In addition, WSAE has a slightly higher than expected amount of temporary states (*LL* = 1.07; *p*>0.05) and on-going states (*LL* = 0.94; *p*>0.05), but the differences between the varieties are not statistically significant.

(33) So we **are hoping** to see him & his young wife at Xmas time. (WSAE Personal letter, November 1939)

In order to get a better sense of how not only time period compare in WSAE and BSAE, but also how each genre differs, Figure 16 below present the percentage of each temporal meaning for the stative verbs in WSAE and BSAE newspaper, fiction, and letter data.

Figure 26 clearly illustrates that the temporal meanings of stative verbs are treated differently for the various genres, and also between the two varieties of South African English. In the newspaper genre, the temporary meaning accounts for 60% of WSAE statives, and only 44.3% of BSAE statives, however, this difference is not significant (*LL* = 1.38; *p*>0.05). The on-going meaning accounts for 16% of WSAE statives, and 37.3% of BSAE stative; the difference is just below the level of statistical significance (*LL* = 3.08; *p*>0.05). The unlimited meaning is denoted for 20% of WSAE statives, but only for 14.6% of BSAE statives, but the 5.4% difference is not statistically significant (*LL* = 0.50; *p*>0.05).

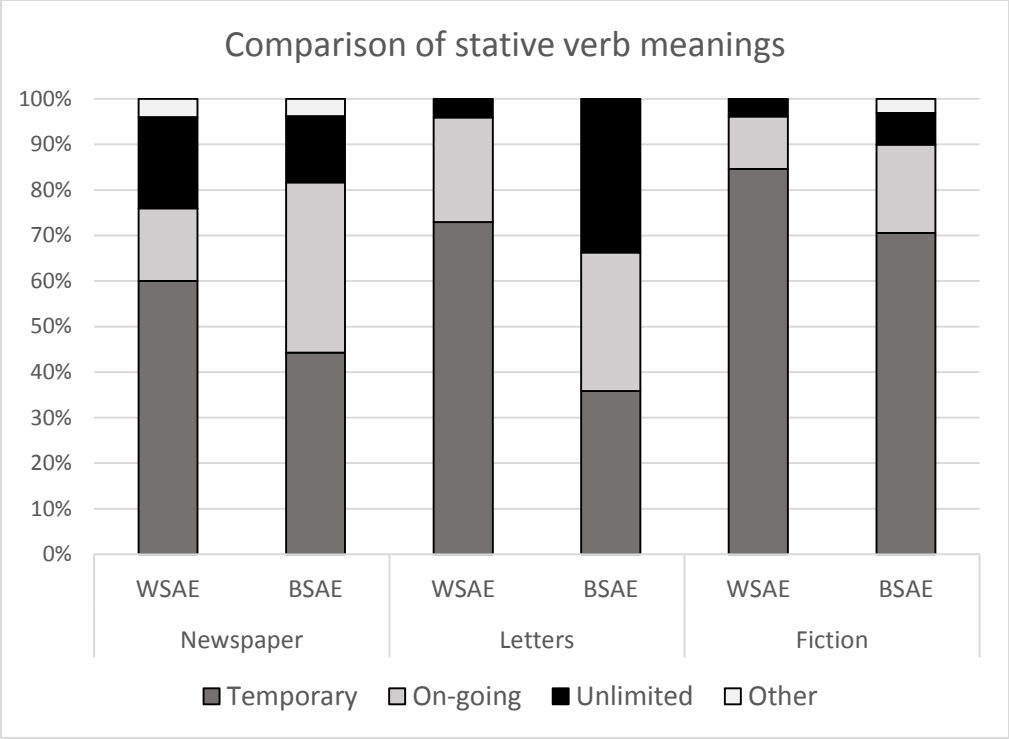

Figure 26 Comparison of the percentage of temporary, on-going, and unlimited states in WSAE and BSAE

The fiction genre seems to have the highest percentage of temporary meanings, with 84.6% of the WSAE stative denoting the short duration, and 70.5% of BSAE; a difference which is statistically significant (*LL* = 4.83; *p*<0.05). The on-going meaning accounts for 11.5% of WSAE statives, compared to the 19.4% for BSAE statives, but the difference is negligible (*LL* = 0.42; *p*>0.05). The unlimited meaning accounts for only 3.8% of WSAE statives and 7% of BSAE, but this too is not statistically significant (*LL* = 0.23; *p*>0.05).

The letter genre has the most variation between WSAE and BSAE. The temporary meaning accounts for 73% of the WSAE statives in the data, but only 35.9% of BSAE, a difference which is statistically significant (*LL* = 14.09; *p*<0.001). The on-going meaning is denoted for 23% of WSAE statives, and 30.4% of BSAE statives, but this is negligible (*LL* = 0.34; *p*>0.05). The unlimited meaning accounts for only 4% of the WSAE statives, compared to the 33.7% for BSAE stative, a large difference which is statistically significant (*LL* = 18.73; *p*<0.0001).

In summary, the comparison of WSAE and BSAE temporal meanings for stative verbs indicates that where there was a statistically significant difference for temporary states, the higher frequency was attributed to WSAE. In contrast, where the statistics indicated a significant difference between the varieties for on-going states and unlimited states, the higher than expected frequency was attributed to BSAE for both temporal meanings. This finding echoes the statement made in the discussion of BSAE temporal meanings in Section 5.1.5, which notes that only 49.49% of the total statives in BSAE denote the prototypical short duration of the progressive aspect, and therefore half of the stative verbs denote an extended duration. This was not true for WSAE statives, as discussed in Section 5.2.4, wherein the prototypical short duration was used for 74.83% of the stative verbs. It is important to note that even though the majority of WSAE statives denote short duration, the remaining 24.5% have a longer duration, indicating that it may not be as prominent as in BSAE but the extended duration does still occur in WSAE. Recent studies reporting the changes in the progressive aspect for Standard English indicate that new uses of the progressive have emerged (Mair, 2012:817); such as the increasing tendency to combine statives with the progressive aspect, resulting in *–ing* forms which denote a continuous meaning. Thus, the finding that WSAE has verbs which denote a longer duration confirms that new uses of the progressive have emerged in native varieties of English.

5.3.4 The temporal meanings of activity verbs in WSAE and BSAE

The comparison of the temporal meanings of activity verbs in WSAE and BSAE follows the same structure as that for the discussion of the stative verbs. The temporal meanings for each time period will first be compared, in order to outline the specific differences between WSAE and BSAE. Thereafter, the average percentages of each temporal frame for each genre will be compared in order to discern how temporal meanings of each genre are treated within WSAE and BSAE.

The comparison of News1 indicates that WSAE has a significantly higher than expected frequency of unlimited activities (LL = 4.24; p<0.05) while BSAE has a lower frequency than expected. In addition, WSAE has a higher frequency of temporary (LL = 2.37; p>0.05) and on-going activities (LL = 1.81; p>0.05), but the differences between the

varieties are negligible. The observed frequencies of regular activities (*LL* = 0.00; *p*>0.05) match the expected frequencies for both WSAE and BSAE. The comparison of News2 shows that WSAE has a significantly higher frequency of temporary activities (*LL* = 5.04; *p*<0.05). In addition, WSAE has a slightly higher frequency of unlimited activities (*LL* = 2.52; *p*>0.05), but this is negligible. The observed frequencies of regular (*LL* = 0.08; *p*>0.05) and on-going activities (*LL* = 0.17; *p*>0.05) match the expected frequencies for both varieties. The comparison of News3 also indicates a significantly higher frequency of unlimited activities (*LL* = 4.35; *p*<0.05) for WSAE, while BSAE has a lower than expected frequency. BSAE has a slightly higher frequency of temporary (*LL* = 1.57; *p*>0.05), regular (*LL* = 0.53; *p*>0.05), and also on-going activities (*LL* = 2.63; *p*>0.05), but the differences between the varieties are not statistically significant. Example 34 shows a temporary activity, a category which is frequently found in WSAE news from the 1950s. Example 35 shows an unlimited temporal meaning, or more specifically a characterising meaning, for an activity verb taken from the WSAE contemporary newspaper.

(34) Members of the Dutch Reformed Church **are opposing** the opening of the baths on Sundays and religious holidays on the grounds that it would be contrary to the principles of Christianity. (WSAE Reportage, *The Cape Argus*, October 1950)

(35) Over in Mahwelereng the number of parents who **are considering** the newly-open Potgietersrus Primary as a future option for their children is enough to cause sleepless nights in the laager. (WSAE Reportage, *Mail and Guardian*, February 1996)

The comparison of Fiction1 reveals that WSAE has a significantly higher than expected frequency of on-going activities (*LL* = 7.09; *p*<0.05), while the frequency for BSAE is lower than expected. The sentence in example 36 exemplifies the on-going temporal meaning denoted by activities in WSAE. WSAE also has a slightly higher amount of regular activities (*LL* = 0.98; *p*>0.05), but the difference is not significant. The observed frequencies match the expected frequencies for temporary (*LL* = 0.39; *p*>0.05) and unlimited activities (*LL* = 0.49; *p*>0.05) for both WSAE and BSAE. The comparison of

Fiction2 yields no statistically significant differences, but BSAE does have a slightly higher than expected frequency of on-going activities (*LL* = 1.48; *p*>0.05). The observed frequencies of the temporary (*LL* = 0.04; *p*>0.05), regular (*LL* = 0.48; *p*>0.05), and unlimited activities (*LL* = 0.60; *p*>0.05) match the expected frequencies for both varieties.

(36) She sent them to boarding school. [...] But they **were being educated**. (WSAE Fiction "Ah, woe is me", 1950s)

The comparison of Letter1 does not have any statistically significant differences, although WSAE does have a much higher than expected frequency of temporary activities (*LL* = 3.82; *p*>0.05). Alternatively, BSAE has a higher frequency of on-going (*LL* = 2.25; *p*>0.05) and unlimited activities (*LL* = 1.81; *p*>0.05). The observed frequencies of the regular activities (*LL* = 0.18; *p*>0.05) is similar to the expected frequencies for both varieties. Letter2 also does not present any significant differences. However, WSAE does have a higher than expected frequency of temporary (*LL* = 2.21; *p*>0.05), on-going (*LL* = 2.60; *p*>0.05), and unlimited activities (*LL* = 2.47; *p*>0.05). The regular activities (*LL* = 0.09; *p*>0.05) frequencies match the expected amounts for both WSAE and BSAE. The comparison of Letter3 indicates that BSAE has a significantly higher than expected frequency for on-going activities (*LL* = 7.30; *p*<0.01), while the WSAE frequency is lower than expected. A sentence such as the one in example 37, showing an activity with an on-going temporal meaning, is therefore more likely to be found in BSAE letters, rather than in WSAE. BSAE also has a slightly higher frequency of regular activities (*LL* = 0.62; *p*>0.05), but the difference is negligible. WSAE does have a fractionally higher frequency of temporary (*LL* = 0.51; *p*>0.05) and unlimited activities (*LL* = 1.33; *p*>0.05), but the difference between the varieties is also negligible.

(37) I hereby apply for a bursary to study for the B.Sc. Degree at Fort Hare University College in the year 1966. At present I **am doing** Course I B.Sc. at the same college. (BSAE Application Letter MS16557, Corey Library Grahamstown, July 1965)

Figure 27 below illustrates the variations in the percentage of each temporal meaning for the three genres analysed for WSAE and BSAE. The variation between the temporal

meanings in each genre for WSAE and BSAE activities is not as diverse as with the stative verbs.

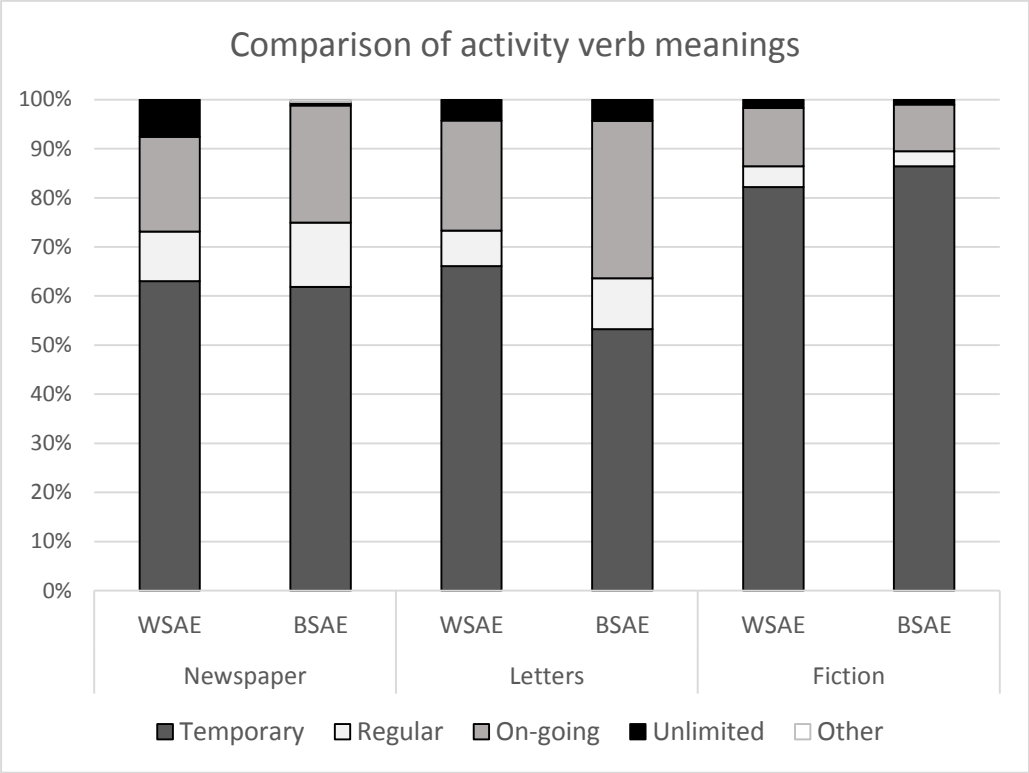

Figure 27 Comparison of the percentage of temporary, regular, on-going, and unlimited activities in WSAE and BSAE

In the newspaper genre, the temporary meaning is used with 63% of WSAE activities and 61.9% of BSAE activities, a difference which is not significant (*LL* = 2.05; *p*>0.05). The regular meaning accounts for 10.1% of WSAE and 13.1% of BSAE activities, but both these frequencies are expected for their varieties (*LL* = 0.09; *p*>0.05). The on-going meaning is denoted for 19.3% of WSAE and 23.9% of BSAE activities, which are also the expected frequencies for each variety (*LL* = 0.04; *p*>0.05). The unlimited meaning, however, is used for 7.6% of the WSAE activities and only 0.7% of BSAE activities, a difference which is statistically significant (*LL* = 19.67; *p*<0.0001).

In the fiction genre, no statistically significant differences are observed. The temporary meaning occurs with 82.2% of WSAE and 86.4% of BSAE activities (*LL* = 0.88; *p*>0.05). The regular meaning is found in 4.2% of WSAE and 3.1% of BSAE activities (*LL* = 0.24;

p>0.05). The on-going meaning is denoted by 11.9% of WSAE and 9.5% of BSAE activities (*LL* = 0.28; *p*>0.05). Lastly, the unlimited meaning accounts for only 1.7% of WSAE and 1% of BSAE activities (*LL* = 0.25; *p*>0.05). Each of the frequencies for these four temporal meanings are similar to the expected frequencies, for both WSAE and BSAE, and therefore no significant difference can be ascertained.

Finally, in the letter genre the temporary meaning accounts for 66.1% of the WSAE activities, but only 53.3% of the BSAE activities, a difference which is statistically significant (*LL* = 9.42; *p*<0.05). The regular meaning is used with 7.3% of WSAE and 10.3% of BSAE activities, which reflect the expected frequency for each variety and is not significant (*LL* = 0.14; *p*>0.05). The on-going meaning accounts for 22.4% of WSAE activities, but 32.1% of BSAE activities; yet the difference is not significant (*LL* = 0.49; *p*>0.05). The unlimited temporal meaning is denoted for 4.2% of WSAE and 4.3% of BSAE, which matches the expected frequencies (*LL* = 0.13; *p*>0.05.)

In summary, the differences in the selection of temporal meanings between WSAE and BSAE is not as clear cut for activities as it is for stative verbs. The majority of the statistically significant differences between the two varieties can be attributed to WSAE, which has the higher than expected frequencies for temporary meanings as well as on-going and unlimited meanings. Only one of the significant differences showcases BSAE as having the higher than expected frequency, namely the on-going meaning in Letter3. As can be seen in Section 5.2.4, WSAE has an overall percentage of 4.48 for the unlimited temporal meaning, while BSAE only has a total of 1.36% for the same category, which suggests that speakers of WSAE extend the duration of activity verbs more often than speakers of BSAE.

5.3.5 Summary of statistically significant differences between WSAE and BSAE

The comparison of WSAE and BSAE for the four analyses revealed an array of statistically significant differences between the two varieties of South African English. The comparison of frequency of the verbs used in the progressive aspect indicated that there were significant differences between News2, News3, Fiction1, Fiction2, and for two of the decades in the letter data, namely the 1880s and the 1920s. An important finding is that WSAE and BSAE seem to move in opposite directions in terms of

frequency. In the earlier data sets, WSAE has a higher frequency of verbs used with the progressive aspect, while BSAE has a higher frequency in the most recent data sets in all three genres; indicating that BSAE gradually increases to surpass WSAE, whose frequency gradually decreases.

The comparison of aktionsart distribution revealed significant differences for the use of activities in News1, and accomplishments and statives in News3. In the fiction, there were differences in the use of stative verbs in Fiction1, and communication verbs and accomplishments in Fiction2. The comparison of the letters indicated that there were differences for communication verbs in Letter1, activity and communication verbs in Letter2, and communication verbs in Letter3. Overall, WSAE had higher than expected frequencies of activities, verbs denoting the future, and statives, while BSAE had the higher frequencies of communication verbs and accomplishments. Achievements were used as expected in both WSAE and BSAE.

In addition to comparing the frequency of progressive and the aktionsart distribution, the temporal meanings for stative and activity verbs were compared. The higher than expected frequencies for temporary states in WSAE for Letter1, Letter2, and Fiction1 were statistically significant. In addition, the higher than expected frequencies of on-going states for BSAE in News1, News3, and Fiction2, along with the higher frequencies of unlimited states for BSAE in Letter1, Letter2, and Letter3, were statistically significant. These results indicate that speakers of WSAE use the short duration prototypically denoted by the progressive aspect 74.83% of the time, but do use an extended duration as well for 24.5% of the stative verbs. In contrast, speakers of BSAE denote the short duration for 49.49% of the stative verbs, and denote an extended duration for 46.86% of the statives; which is a significantly larger percentage than for WSAE, indicating that speakers of BSAE do use a different notion of temporariness when using the progressive aspect with stative verbs.

The comparison of the temporal meaning of the activity verbs indicated that the majority of statistically significant differences can be attributed to the higher than expected frequencies for WSAE for temporary activities in News2, on-going activities in Fiction2, and unlimited activities in News1 and News3. BSAE had a higher than expected

frequency of on-going activities in Letter3. The temporal meanings for activity verbs are distributed in similar ways across WSAE and BSAE, however, WSAE does have more temporary and unlimited activities than BSAE. This finding suggests that the extended duration used by speakers of BSAE is exclusively applied with stative verbs, although this can only be confirmed if the remaining aktionsart categories are also analysed according to temporal meaning. In the following Chapter, the results from the analyses and comparison of WSAE and BSAE will be discussed and interpreted alongside theories pertaining to language contact and change, as well as theories of SLA.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

This chapter interprets the findings discussed in Chapter 5 alongside theories pertaining to language contact and change, as well as SLA. In addition, the findings are considered in the context of existing literature regarding the use of the progressive aspect in non-native varieties of English. In the first section, the frequency of the verbs used with progressive aspect is compared to changes in Standard English. The finding that WSAE and BSAE frequencies move in opposite directions is evaluated in the light of language contact and isolation. Subsequently, the aktionsart distribution of the verb in BSAE and WSAE is interpreted according to findings from Standard English. Thereafter, the temporal meanings of the activity and stative verbs is discussed with the notion of substrate influence in mind. The second section of this chapter serves as a conclusion to this dissertation, by means of reviewing the research questions and objectives posed in Chapter 1. Thereafter, the limitations of this study are outlined, and recommendations for future studies are made.

6.1 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

6.1.1 Frequency of the progressive

The comparison of the frequency of verbs used in the progressive aspect in WSAE and BSAE indicated that BSAE started at a lower point, but overtakes WSAE. This trend was especially clear in the fiction and newspaper data, wherein WSAE has a higher frequency during the 1950s, but BSAE has a higher frequency for the contemporary data. This finding is similar to that of Van Rooy and Wasserman (2014:63) whose analysis of modals and semi modals, in the same historical corpora of WSAE and BSAE that are used here, shows the same general trend of increase for BSAE, contrasted with a decrease in frequency in WSAE. Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press) note that the pattern of increase found in BSAE concurs with patterns found for another non-native variety, namely Philippine English, as well as most native varieties, such as British English (Kranich, 2010). Therefore, it would seem that in terms of frequency BSAE behaves more like native varieties of English, while WSAE follows its own pattern of change.

The time frames in which these changes in frequency occur may provide some insight into why these two varieties of South African Englishes diverge. In the fiction and newspaper data, the 1950s data sets both indicate that WSAE has a higher frequency of progressives than BSAE, yet when the current data sets are examined, BSAE surpasses WSAE and has a higher frequency of progressives. Thus, something must have happened in order for these two varieties to change in opposite directions. One possibility is that the inception of the Bantu education policy in 1953, and Apartheid in 1948 disrupted these patterns. Prior to the 1950s, speakers of BSAE and WSAE would have had frequent contact. Black people were educated in prestigious Missionary Schools, and taught by native speakers of English. However, when Apartheid started and the Bantu education policy was passed, black people and white people were segregated, and thus the amount of contact between the two varieties decreased.

Theories of language change note that innovation can occur in situations of contact, and also in isolation. When languages are in contact, speakers are likely to share features, and therefore developments in the two languages may be quite similar due to convergence and accommodation (Mufwene, 2008:120; Labov, 2010:244). However, isolation drives divergence and allows a language to develop along its own path since the reduced amount of contact reduces the amount of features which are shared. It could therefore be argued that WSAE and BSAE underwent change in a normal contact situation prior to the 1950s. Thereafter, due to social segregation, speakers of each variety had limited contact with one another. Consequently, each variety *drifted* (Trudgill, 2004:131) and developed along its own trajectory.

The letter data includes letters written between the 1870s and the 1950s, and therefore the same trend cannot be verified since no data extending beyond the 1950s was analysed. However, the picture which is painted with the letter data shows the similarity between the two varieties in terms of frequency of progressive use. Apart from the 1880s, 1920s, and 1950s, the remaining decades (1890s, 1900s, 1910s, 1930s, 1940s) show surprisingly similar frequency counts. This reinforces the notion that speakers of WSAE and BSAE were in contact and shared features.

This notion would have to be verified by means of examining letter data from the 1960s until the 2000s, to see whether the same trend is visible as for the fiction and newspaper data. Furthermore, it would be worthwhile to examine what happens during the 1960s to 1980s in the fiction and newspaper data, to determine whether a gradual increase is found for BSAE, with a steady decrease in WSAE. If this is the case, it would confirm that the two varieties gradually shifted away from one another in the time of Apartheid. The influence of language contact on language change in South Africa may therefore account for the changes that have been found thus far in fiction and newspaper data.

Furthermore, it would be interesting to see whether the two varieties have since converged, following the end of Apartheid in 1994, since speakers of WSAE and BSAE are in contact once again. As twenty years have passed, some evidence of this may be available in data from the 2010s, although it is unlikely that too much convergence has happened in only one generation. Further investigation would be needed in order to determine whether the varieties will continue along their own trajectories, or merge once again.

6.1.2 Aktionsart

The analysis of the functions indicated that no new categories or functional meanings could be attested in the data in WSAE and BSAE. All the aktionsart categories were present from the earliest time period analysed, in the newspaper, fiction, and letter genres. Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press), who observe the same trend, note that this finding is similar to studies done on Standard varieties, such as the work by Leech *et al*. (2009:142) on British English and American English, who find an increase in frequency of progressive use, but no new special uses.

The analysis of the aktionsart distribution indicated that WSAE has a higher than expected frequency of activity verbs, verbs denoting the future, and stative verbs. Alternatively, BSAE had a higher than expected frequency of communication verbs and accomplishments. Achievements were used as frequently as expected in both WSAE and BSAE. The fact that WSAE combines more stative verbs with the progressive aspect than BSAE does is quite surprising, especially considering that the feature of

non-native varieties is the over extension of the progressive aspect to include stative verbs. Thus, one would expect the non-native variety of English, BSAE, to have a higher frequency of stative verbs than the native variety of English, WSAE.

This led to a consideration of how frequently speakers of BSAE combined the progressive aspect with state verbs, a subtype of the stative category which produces ungrammatical sentences when combined with the progressive *–ing*. Findings indicate that state verbs were unmarked for aspect (simple) in 95.96% of all the occurrences in the historical BSAE data, while only 3.53% were marked with perfect aspect, 0.47% with the progressive aspect, and 0.04% with perfect progressive aspect. Thus, a total of only 0.47% of the state verbs were used with the progressive. The verb *have* used to denote possession, which is generally used to exemplify this feature and which is indeed the most frequent state verb to be used with the progressive, occurs a total of 15 times (out of 10,720 total occurrences) throughout the BSAE historical corpus. This calls into question why this unexpected combination is considered to be a feature of BSAE if the frequency count is so low. One possibility is that this feature is an example of confirmation bias; wherein an anomaly in language is realised, and its prevalence in a variety is overemphasized. The only way to guard against confirmation bias is through proper quantification.

The idea that the progressive aspect rarely combines with state verbs is not new, even in studies on non-native varieties. Research done by Hundt and Vogel (2011:158) on the progressive aspect in native varieties, second language varieties, and learner varieties indicated that native varieties and learner varieties did not have any unusual combinations of the progressive with state verbs. Only two of the five second language varieties which were analysed, namely Kenyan and Singapore English, had some examples of these types of combinations. However, one notable exception is Indian English (Sharma, 2009:192; Paulasto, 2014:260), which seems to have a high frequency of state verbs used with the progressive aspect. This finding, along with my own, reinforces the idea by Winford (2013) that non-native varieties of English use the progressive aspect in different ways, and that this feature is not a language universal.

The degree to which the progressive is extended to include state verbs may be determined by considering the role of substrate transfer. Sharma (2009:187) finds evidence of this for Indian English, since imperfective marking is obligatory for all four imperfective categories in Hindi, the substrate pressure to overtly mark the imperfective is strong for speakers of Indian English. Alternatively, imperfective marking is not as strict in languages such as Welsh and the various Chinese languages (Sharma, 2009:187; Paulasto; 2014:260), and therefore the stative verb occurs less frequently in Welsh English and Singapore English.

While the Zone S Bantu languages mark the persistitive through the use of *–sa* (*-ha* in Tsonga), and have a perfective marking *–ile* in Northern Sotho, Zulu and Tsonga, not all of the various aspectual categories are marked overtly. Bantu languages do however make a distinction between inchoative verbs, which are used fastidiously with the anterior (perfect) aspect, and stative verbs which appear frequently in the continuous aspect. In English, stative verbs also fall under the continuous aspect, but cannot typically occur in the progressive aspect. Since distinctions are made within Bantu between inchoative and stative verbs, and there is a strong sense that each can be used with a specific aspect, it is not difficult to imagine that speakers of BSAE are able to make similar distinctions of which types of stative verbs can combine with which aspects.

It is important to note that language is constantly changing, and that even Standard English is spreading its use of the progressive (Mair, 2012:817), albeit each at a different rate. Due to drift, non-native varieties, native varieties, learner varieties, and any others which stem from the Modern English of colonists, may develop along their own paths, regardless of the fact that they share a common core. This finding supports the notion that language contact is a very important factor for language change.

6.1.3 Temporal meanings

The analysis of temporal meanings was performed first on stative verbs, and then on activity verbs. The analysis of the temporal meanings of stative verbs showed a clear differentiation between speakers of WSAE and speakers of BSAE. The prototypical short duration, or temporary meaning, occurred more frequently in WSAE and

accounted for 74.83% of the occurrences in the historical corpus. However, 24.5% of the statives in WSAE denoted an extended duration. In contrast, the two extended durations both occurred more commonly for BSAE, with the on-going meaning accounting for 30.96% of the occurrences and the unlimited meaning for 15.9%. Thus, half of the statives in BSAE denoted the prototypical short duration, while the other half denoted an extended duration.

This findings lends itself to two concerns. The first concern is that the presence of the extended duration in the native variety, WSAE, reflects that the progressive has acquired new meanings, and is an indication of language change. A similar finding for Standard English is discussed by Mair (2012:87), who notes that an increasing tendency to combine statives with the progressive may result in *–ing* forms which denote a continuous meaning. As discussed in the chapter dealing with grammatical aspect, the imperfective distinguishes between the habitual and the continuous aspect, and the latter is then subdivided to account for dynamic verbs which can take the progressive and stative verbs which are non-progressive. The progressive is characterised by the notion of temporariness, while the continuous serves only to indicate that the event described by the verb is on-going, and is therefore not temporally bound and allows for extended meanings.

The second concern is that the frequency of statives denoting an extended duration in BSAE is effectively double that found for WSAE. This indicates that another factor may be responsible for this feature, as it is much more salient in BSAE. This factor is substrate influence. Substrate influence predicts that speakers may transfer features from their native variety onto the target language. Bantu aspect consists of four aspectual subtypes in the imperfective aspect, namely the habitual, continuous, progressive, and persistitive. The persistitive aspect is used to denote events that started at some point in the past and is still on-going at the time of utterance. This aspectual feature is denoted by the auxiliary *–sa* (*-ha* in Tsonga), and can be roughly translated into English as *still*. Thus, the persistitive encodes a longer duration than is prototypical for the progressive aspect. In English, there is no inflectional morpheme which corresponds with the Bantu auxiliary *–sa*, and therefore there is no way for

speakers of Bantu to express the persistitive adequately. Consequently, Bantu speakers are required to transfer the meaning of the persistitive onto another inflectional morpheme, such as the progressive *–ing*, if they wish to indicate that an event or process is still on-going. Therefore, the extension of the progressive to denote new meanings is due to language change and substrate influence on the superstrate. This finding is similar to that of Van Rooy (2006) and Van Rooy and Piotrowska (in press), who assert that since the extended temporal meaning is present in the data from the earliest time period, it did not arise as a result of language change alone, and it can therefore be considered persistent substrate influence.

The analysis of the temporal meanings denoted by activity verbs indicated that speakers of WSAE and BSAE denote the time frame for dynamic verbs in similar ways. The prototypical short duration is denoted by 77.83% of the total activities in BSAE, and 77.11% of the activities in WSAE. Once again, the presence of the extended durations can be attested in both varieties, which is evidence for language change. It is interesting to note that the activities in BSAE behave as those in WSAE, which suggests that the extension of duration occurs in BSAE more saliently for statives than for dynamic verbs. This finding gives rise to the belief that statives are indeed treated differently by speakers of BSAE, but in a way that was not expected; since the extension is not for state verbs in the progressive, but rather for the temporal meaning of the statives that are used with the progressive. The question that remains is why the temporal meanings seem to extend for stative verbs so often, and the same logic is not applied for dynamic verbs. One possibility is that the extension began for stative verbs, and gradually spread to activity verbs, but this seems unlikely because the data does not indicate that the extension of temporal meanings of activities are only present in the more recent data. Further investigation is necessary in order to determine how the other dynamic aktionsart categories, particularly the accomplishments and achievements, are used to denote temporality.

6.2 CONCLUSION

6.2.1 Research questions and objectives

This dissertation aimed to answer three research questions:

1) Have there been any changes in the frequency and meaning of the progressive aspect in BSAE since the colonial period (1880s) until contemporary times (2000s)?

2) How do the findings from the BSAE (the IDG strand) data compare to those of WSAE (the STL strand)?

3) Which theoretical factors pertaining to language change are required to explain the changes found in the empirical data?

These research questions corresponded to three objectives, namely to 1) identify any patterns of change and development in the use of the progressive aspect in the historical BSAE corpus, focusing on frequency, function, and meaning, 2) compare these patterns to that of WSAE in order to determine whether developments in the IDG strand occurred parallel to, or independently from, the STL strand, and 3) explain the patterns in the data using theories of language contact and change, and SLA.

The general findings indicate that there has been an increase in frequency in the use of verbs with the progressive aspect in BSAE. All the functions, or aktionsarten, were present from the earliest time periods, and no new functions were found. The temporal meaning of stative verbs indicated that the prototypical short duration is only denoted 49.49% of the time, and therefore half of the statives in BSAE denoted an extended temporal meaning. The temporal meanings of the activities indicated that the prototypical short duration is used 77.83% of the time, so the dynamic verbs did not indicate a wide extension of duration. In addition, only 0.47% of state verbs were unusually combined with the progressive aspect in BSAE.

In comparison, there has been a decrease in the frequency of progressives in WSAE, showing an opposite trend to BSAE. All the aktionsart categories were present from the earliest time periods, but the frequency of the stative verbs was higher in WSAE than it

was for BSAE. The temporal meanings for stative and activity verbs showed the same trends, with 74.83% of the statives and 77.11% of the activities denoting the prototypical short duration.

The movement in opposite directions in the frequency for each variety can be explained through the concept of language contact and change. Prior to the 1950s, speakers of BSAE and WSAE were regularly in contact with one another, and were able to share linguistic features. Due to the social segregation enforced by Apartheid laws, speakers of BSAE and WSAE came to have limited contact between the 1950s and 1990s, enabling each variety to develop in relative isolation, thereby changing along its own path. The analysis of temporal meanings yielded two main findings, firstly that language contact is responsible for the presence of the extended temporal duration in each variety, as this reflects similar changes occurring for Standard Englishes, and secondly that substrate influence may be responsible for the large amount of BSAE stative verbs denoting an extended duration.

6.2.2 Limitations

This study has several limitations. The first limitation is that the corpora from which the data was taken are still in the process of being developed, and therefore the word counts for each data set were relatively small by corpus linguistics standards. Linked to this is the issue that not all decades could be studied for each of the newspaper, fiction, and letter corpora. A larger, more balanced and representative corpus would allow for better analysis of trends and developments. Furthermore, this study takes into account only written data, which is problematic since the progressive aspect is known to be more salient in spoken data.

A second limitation is that only the stative and activity verbs were analysed for temporal meaning. A more comprehensive study would be necessary to determine whether the temporal meaning for the remaining aktionsart categories conform with the prototypical short duration as can be seen in activity verbs, or whether they extend to denote a longer duration as BSAE stative verbs.

A third limitation is that the scope of this dissertation only allowed for the in depth analysis of one feature of one non-native variety of English. Consequently, results cannot be generalised and a theory on diachronic changes cannot be formulated at present. However, the research presented in this dissertation may serve as a starting point from which such a theory can be postulated.

6.2.3 Recommendations for future studies

This dissertation has several recommendations for future studies. The first comes in the form of an appeal that more diachronic corpora of non-native varieties are created, so that studies can be done on their developments and changes. This would allow for direct comparison between non-native varieties, but also to native varieties. Research into the diachronic development of non-native varieties may lead to a theory outlining the prototypical changes that occur for such varieties, but also explaining why such changes are found using theories pertaining to language contact and change, as well as SLA.

The second recommendation concerns enhancing our current knowledge of diachronic changes in BSAE. Now that a corpus of historical BSAE is being developed, it will soon be available for research on a variety of topics. One such topic is to trace the diachronic existence of the remaining features of non-native varieties which are commonly attested to BSAE; in order to determine whether these are new features and how these features may have come about.

The third recommendation is that direct comparisons between varieties of South African Englishes be conducted, not only for WSAE and BSAE, but also to Indian SAE, Coloured SAE, and Afrikaans SAE. Research into this area would map the history of language contact and change in a comprehensive manner, using empirical data from corpora. The final recommendation is to ascertain the acceptability of the features from the different varieties of SAE, by speakers of each variety. In this way, we can determine which features are truly characteristic of which varieties. It is my hope that this dissertation will pave the way for such studies in the future.

APPENDIX 1: 71 State verbs and their aspectual realisations in BSAE

State verbs	Simple aspect				Perfective aspect	Progressive aspect	Perfective Progressive aspect	Total:
	Present tense	*Past tense (-ed)*	*Third person (-s)*	*Non-finite -ing*				
Abhor	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Adore	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Agree	48	52	2	3	12	-	-	117
Appear	72	73	41	8	7	-	-	201
Appreciate	41	25	1	2	-	-	-	69
Astonish	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
Believe	204	62	20	15	-	-	-	301
Belong to	29	21	14	22	1	-	-	87
Concern	6	24	5	2	-	-	-	37
Consist of	5	10	11	13	-	-	-	39
Contain	11	18	17	11	-	-	-	57
Cost	22	-	4	1	-	-	-	27
Deny	7	18	4	3	2	-	-	34
Depend on	23	8	15	7	-	-	-	53
Deserve	15	15	16	8	-	-	-	54
Desire	32	15	1	5	4	1	-	58
Detest	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Disagree	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	6
Dislike	11	5	-	-	-	-	-	16
Doubt	18	-	1	2	-	-	-	21
Equal	11	2	-	-	-	-	-	13
Feel	198	188	27	11	7	8	-	439
Fit	18	2	-	-	-	-	-	20
Forgive	6	2	1	1	1	-	-	11
Guess	11	4	-	3	-	-	-	18
Hate	19	10	4	1	-	-	-	34
Have	947	545	329	73	83	15	2	1994
Hear	183	140	10	16	71	2	1	423
Imagine	24	4	2	1	2	-	-	33
Impress	11	13	-	-	-	-	-	24
Include	38	30	17	-	4	-	-	89
Intend	16	24	9	1	1	1	-	52
Involve	3	33	7	12	3	-	-	58
Know	723	344	56	38	22	-	-	1183
Lack	12	4	5	-	-	-	-	21
Like	189	26	10	2	2	-	-	229

State verbs	Simple aspect				Perfective aspect	Progressive aspect	Perfective progressive aspect	Total:
	Present tense	*Past tense (-ed)*	*Third person (-s)*	*Non-finite* -ing				
Loathe	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Look (seem)	27	53	21	8	1	1	1	112
Love	59	52	24	3	-	-	-	138
Matter	14	5	3	-	1	-	-	23
Mean	94	51	52	5	4	-	-	206
Measure	3	3	-	1	1	1	-	9
Mind	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Need	102	48	37	4	-	-	-	191
Owe	22	6	2	-	-	-	-	30
Own	14	21	7	1	1	-	-	44
Perceive	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	5
Please	38	64	6	1	1	-	-	110
Possess	16	15	3	7	1	-	-	42
Prefer	16	15	7	1	-	-	-	39
Presuppose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Promise	15	43	5	6	16	-	-	85
Realise	50	44	3	5	2	-	-	104
Recall	13	12	3	1	-	1	-	30
Recognise	10	17	2	-	3	-	-	32
Regard	25	53	1	3	1	-	-	83
Remember	139	54	3	10	1	1	-	208
Require	35	50	18	4	-	1	-	108
Resemble	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	8
Satisfy	14	52	1	-	4	1	-	72
See	689	311	17	64	104	7	-	1192
Seem	90	103	146	3	-	-	-	342
Smell	6	2	2	2	-	1	1	14
Sound	8	15	10	2	-	-	-	35
Suppose	33	18	-	4	1	-	-	56
Surprise	2	34	1	1	1	-	-	39
Taste	2	4	1	-	1	-	-	8
Think (opinion)	306	133	27	12	2	1	-	481
Understand	149	44	7	2	2	-	-	204
Want	297	140	79	8	4	5	-	533
Weigh	2	3	-	1	1	-	-	7
Wish	184	56	27	14	3	3	-	287
TOTAL	**5448**	**3255**	**1149**	**435**	**378**	**50**	**5**	**10720**
Percentage:	**95.96%**				**3.53%**	**0.47%**	**0.04%**	

APPENDIX 2: Summary of statistically significant differences (higher than expected)

p<0.05 = 3.84 **p<0.01 = 6.63** **p<0.001 = 10.83** **p<0.0001 = 15.13**

Statistics 1: Significant differences in progressive frequency between decades in BSAE

BSAE progressive frequency	observed frequencies		expected frequencies		**log likelihood**
	corpus1	corpus2	corpus1	corpus2	
Imvo 2 -3	264	297	303.86	257.14	**11.36**
Imvo 3 - *Drum* News	297	499	324.57	471.43	**3.99**
Drum – Current News	499	259	579.25	178.75	**43.26**
Letters 1 - 2	180	253	147.97	285.03	**10.22**
Letters 2 - 3	253	97	273.99	76.01	**6.98**
Letters 1890s – 1900s	75	46	63.80	57.20	**4.21**
Letters 1920s – 1930s	119	81	134.10	65.90	**4.99**

Statistics 2: Significant differences in the aktionsart frequency in BSAE

BSAE: AKTIONSART		observed frequencies			expected frequencies			**log likelihood**
		corpus 1	corpus 2	corpus 3	corpus 1	corpus 2	corpus 3	
Imvo 1,2,3	Activity	21	127	148	42.29	137.42	116.29	**21.94**
	Communication	18	17	24	8.43	27.39	23.18	**12.76**
	Achievement	4	29	35	9.71	31.57	26.72	**6.88**
News *Drum* & Current	Activity	262	108		282.75	87.25		**6.14**
	Future	36	22		44.32	13.68		**5.94**
	Accomplishment	92	58		114.63	35.37		**16.90**
	Achievement	36	21		43.56	13.44		**5.02**
	Stative	50	38		67.25	20.75		**16.34**
Letters 1,2,3	Activity	74	79	32	53.46	102.98	28.57	**13.51**
	Communication	18	29	18	18.78	36.18	10.04	**6.67**
Fiction *Drum* & Current	Achievement	81	18		66.70	32.30		**10.41**

Statistics 3: Significant differences in the temporal meanings of stative and activity verbs in BSAE

BSAE: STATIVES		observed frequencies			expected frequencies			log likelihood
		corpus1	corpus2	corpus 3	corpus1	corpus2	corpus3	
News *Drum* & Current	Temporary	19	18		28.27	8.73		10.96
Letters 1,2,3	On-going	13	10	1	8.09	15.59	4.32	4.26
Fiction *Drum* & Current	On-going	10	15		16.84	8.16		7.85
	Unlimited	2	7		6.06	2.94		7.73
BSAE: ACTIVITIES								
Imvo 1,2,3	Temporary	12	90	100	28.86	93.78	79.36	17.77
News *Drum* & Current	Temporary	142	68		160.48	49.52		8.38
Letters 1,2,3	Ongoing	26	20	13	17.05	32.84	9.11	11.35
	Unlimited	6	2	0	2.31	4.45	1.24	8.24

Statistics 4: Significant differences in progressive frequency between decades in WSAE

WSAE progressive frequency	observed frequencies		expected frequencies		log likelihood
	corpus1	corpus2	corpus1	corpus2	
News1 – News2	43	31	55.37	18.63	9.83
Fiction1 – Fiction2	77	183	47.11	212.89	20.29
Letter2 – Letter3	107	63	93.74	76.26	4.25
Letters 1880s – 1890s	32	68	41.58	58.42	3.89

Statistics 5: Significant differences in the aktionsart frequency in WSAE

WSAE: AKTIONSART		observed frequencies			expected frequencies			log likelihood
		corpus1	corpus2	corpus 3	corpus1	corpus2	corpus3	
News 1,2,3	Activity	22	18	79	34.08	11.47	73.46	8.48
	Future	1	0	26	7.73	2.60	16.67	19.03
	Stative	2	3	20	7.16	2.41	15.43	6.59
Letters 1,2,3	Activity	95	44	26	82.32	45.59	37.09	5.63
	Future	12	6	1	9.48	5.25	4.27	4.36
	Stative	35	35	15	42.41	23.49	19.11	7.23
Fiction 1,2	Activity	33	85		21.38	96.62		6.86
	Communication	9	15		4.35	19.65		4.99
	Stative	17	35		9.42	42.58		6.35

Statistics 6: Significant differences in the temporal meanings of stative and activities in WSAE

WSAE: STATIVES		observed frequencies			expected frequencies			log likelihood
		corpus1	corpus2	corpus 3	corpus1	corpus2	corpus3	
News 1,2,3	On-going	0	0	4	1.15	0.39	2.47	3.86
	Unlimited	0	0	5	1.43	0.48	3.09	4.82
Letters 1,2,3	Unlimited	3	0	0	1.50	0.83	0.67	4.17
Fiction 1,2	Temporary	15	29		7.97	36.03		6.38
WSAE: ACTIVITIES								
News 1,2,3	Temporary	12	13	50	21.48	7.23	46.30	9.00
Letters 1,2,3	On-going	21	13	3	18.46	10.22	8.32	5.55
Fiction 1,2	On-going	7	7		2.54	11.46		7.31

Statistics 7: Significant differences in the progressive frequency between BSAE and WSAE per decade

COMPARISON: progressive frequency	observed frequencies		expected frequencies		log likelihood
	WSAE	BSAE	WSAE	BSAE	
News2 (1940s+50s)	31	796	21.32	805.68	3.97
News3 (current)	174	259	151.84	281.16	4.88
Fiction1 (1950s)	77	619	55.06	640.94	8.53
Fiction2 (current)	183	277	204.71	255.29	4.18
Letter3	63	97	82.19	77.81	9.26
1880s + earlier	73	57	87.31	42.69	6.83
1920s	43	119	29.68	132.32	6.63

Statistics 8: Significant differences from the comparison of aktionsart frequency between BSAE and WSAE

COMPARISON: AKTIONSART		observed frequencies		expected frequencies		log likelihood
		WSAE	BSAE	WSAE	BSAE	
News1 (1880s)	Activity	22	21	14.90	28.10	4.91
News3 (current)	Accomplishment	19	58	37.05	39.95	17.87
	Stative	20	39	27.91	30.09	4.41
Letter1 (1870-1909)	Communication	5	18	12.79	10.21	11.02
Letter2 (1910-1939)	Activity	44	79	32.57	90.43	5.12
	Communication	3	29	8.47	23.53	5.90
Letter3 (1940-1950[65])	Communication	2	18	10.27	9.73	15.61
Fiction1 (1950s)	Stative	17	75	7.28	84.72	10.56
Fiction2 (current)	Communication	15	39	24.03	29.97	6.41
	Accomplishment	14	33	20.92	26.08	4.28

Statistics 9: Significant differences from the comparison of the temporal meanings of BSAE and WSAE verbs

COMPARISON: STATIVES		observed frequencies		expected frequencies		log likelihood
		WSAE	BSAE	WSAE	BSAE	
News1 (1880s)	On-going	0	5	1.73	3.27	**4.26**
News3 (current)	On-going	4	13	8.18	8.82	**4.36**
Letter1 (1870-1909)	Temporary	24	8	17.79	14.21	**5.17**
	Unlimited	3	12	8.34	6.66	**8.00**
Letter2 (1910-1939)	Temporary	18	18	9.53	26.47	**9.00**
	Unlimited	0	12	3.18	8.82	**7.38**
Letter3 (1940-1950[65])	Unlimited	0	7	3.60	3.40	**10.09**
Fiction1 (1950s)	Temporary	15	63	6.17	71.83	**10.12**
Fiction2 (current)	On-going	4	15	8.46	10.54	**4.58**
Genre: Letters	Temporary	54	33	36.58	50.42	**14.09**
	Unlimited	3	31	14.30	19.70	**18.73**
Genre: Ficiton	Temporary	44	91	32.69	102.31	**4.83**
ACTIVITIES		observed frequencies		expected frequencies		log likelihood
		WSAE	BSAE	WSAE	BSAE	
News1 (1880s)	Unlimited	2	0	0.69	1.31	**4.24**
News2 (1940-50s)	Temporary	13	242	6.57	248.43	**5.04**
News3 (current)	Unlimited	6	1	3.37	3.63	**4.35**
Letter3 (1940-1950[65])	On-going	3	13	8.22	7.78	**7.30**
Fiction1 (1950s)	On-going	7	22	2.29	26.71	**7.09**
Genre: Newspaper	Unlimited	9	5	1.84	12.16	**19.67**
Genre: Letters	Temporary	109	98	87.04	119.96	**9.42**

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