

**SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF LESOTHO ENGLISH IN THE KINGDOM OF
LESOTHO**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Linguistics

in the

Department of Linguistics and Language Practice

in the

Faculty of Humanities

at the

University of the Free State

Bloemfontein, South Africa

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July 2021

SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF LESOTHO ENGLISH IN THE KINGDOM OF LESOTHO

Declaration

I, Mokhoele Aaron Hala-hala, declare that the research thesis which I herewith submit for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics at the University of the Free State is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at any other institution of higher education.

.....
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.....
Date

Acknowledgements

The completion of this work could not have been possible without the assistance of God Almighty, to Whom my most sincere praise and adoration are indebted.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my promoter, Prof. Kobus Marais for the most needed mentoring, motivation and support he provided to me during this study. He came in at a most critical moment of my study, and his consistent, patient and open-minded supervision has been so constructive and enabling for my completion of the programme. He deserves my greatest vote of thanks and best wishes in his continued mentoring career. Equally well deserving my gratitude is my co-promoter, Prof. Susanne Mühleisen for her insightful mentoring. With specialist skills and inquisitive mind in my research interest, she has cast highly called-for light on the phenomena of World Englishes, thus fueling my avid interest in the area. My thanks also go to Mr Tankie Khalanyane for his critical reading and editing of this work.

Many thanks would also go to the University of the Free State, through the entire Department of Linguistics and Language Practice, particularly Dr Kristina Riedel, Dr Marlie van Rooyen, Mr Monnapula Molefe, Ms Xany Jansen van Vuuren and Ms Pulane Moliko for their unwavering academic, moral and logistical support.

My gratitude would further be to the National University of Lesotho, especially the Registrar's and the Dean's offices, and, of course, the Ministry of Education and Training as well as the target schools and teachers for allowing me access to the data for the study. The entire Department of English, of which I am proudly part, at the National University of Lesotho, are also worthy of all my thanks for the motivation and support granted me throughout this academic journey.

Without necessarily singling out anyone, I would further extend my heartily appreciation to my fellow researchers and colleagues, whose support shaped my thinking on this study. Mr Evans Chipanga, Ms Xany Jansen van Vuuren, Mr Monnapula Molefe, Ms Amina Mokoaleli, Dr Retšelisitsoe Matheolane, Mr Mape Mohlomi and Ms 'Maleshome Mpholle have been so resourceful and supportive throughout the course of my research.

Finally, I would not end this vote of thanks, leaving out my lovely wife and son, 'M'e 'Mpoi'Maamohelng and Amohelang Kamohelo, and my Mother, 'M'e 'Matanki Hala-hala, from all of whom I have had deserving moral support on this work. To them, I would say thanks so much *Bafokeng*, for being the source of motivation and comfort throughout my Doctoral journey.

Abstract

This study set out to investigate *Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho*. Mainly premised on the principles of the qualitative research design and methodology, this study adopted the narrative interviews, rapid and anonymous observations as well as documentary sources for data collection in answer to the research questions. The research questions which this study set out to answer for achieving the research objectives are as follows: Is there any emerging variety worthy of the name Lesotho English (*LesE*) amongst the Basotho in Lesotho? If any, to what extent is such a variety critical in defining *LesE* at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon? and How does *LesE* differ from Sub-Saharan Southern African Englishes, particularly Black South African English (*BSAE*) and/or other World Englishes?

With the above questions, the study has, therefore, made general observations of linguistic variations at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon of *LesE* from both the oral and written data sets for this study. In particular, using the above-mentioned instruments for collecting oral and written data from the target participants, the study has found systematic salient phonological variations from English which I assume to be *BrE*. The findings include recurrent spelling pronunciations, syllable-timing, aspiration, missing contrastive stress and syllabic consonants, diphthongal and neutralised vowel sound patterns as well as substitution of interdental fricatives across the oral data on *LesE* in the context of Lesotho.

Further, the morphosyntactic variants discovered from the data comprise the progressive aspect and levelling of the preterite and perfect aspect, the modal system, grammatical and notional concord, relativisation, pronominal appositions, the article system and prepositional usages. Qualitative evidence has thus revealed systematic morphosyntactic variants from the oral and written data for this study, thus highlighting features, possibly unique to *LesE* and/or comparable to other outer-circle, and, to some extent, inner-circle varieties of English.

Similarly, at the lexical level, *LesE* has been found to bear systematically salient lexical and orthographic variants, coupled with alternative spellings, heteronyms and dehyphenated compound words and sporadic variants of semantic extension. It is, therefore, concluded, in this

study, that sociolinguistics of *LesE* in the Kingdom of Lesotho could be seen as bearing nativised, endonormative and exonormative variations of English, making *LesE* a comparably emerging English variety to other outer-circle and inner-circle Englishes.

Key terms: Language variation, Variationist sociolinguistics, World Englishes, Lesotho English, Phonology, Morphosyntax, Lexicon, Linguistic variable, Nativisation

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AmE	–	American English
AusE	–	Australian English
BrE	–	British English
BNC	–	British National Corpus
BSAE	–	Black South African English
CamE	–	Cameroonian English
CanE	–	Canadian English
CarE	–	Caribbean English
CPE	–	Cape Flats English
CJ	–	Chief Justice
CL	–	Corpus Linguistics
COCA	–	Corpus of Contemporary American English
CR	–	Central Region teacher
CVL	–	Corpus-based Variationist Linguistics
EAE	–	East African English
Faith	–	Faith Magazine
Finite	–	Finite Magazine
GA	–	General American
GhanE	–	Ghanaian English
GHREC	–	General Human Research Ethics Committee
HkE	–	Hong Kong English
IndE	–	Indian English
IrE	–	Irish English
KenE	–	Kenyan English
LCE	–	Lesotho College of Education
LCE	–	Lesotho College of Education Strategic Plan (2016/17-2019/20)
LesE	–	Lesotho English
LT	–	Lesotho Times
LTV	–	Lesotho Television
LVC	–	Language Variation and Change
MoET	–	Ministry of Education and Training
NEs	–	New Englishes
NER	–	Northeastern Region teacher
NR	–	Northern Region teacher
NUL	–	National University of Lesotho
NUL	–	National University of Lesotho Strategic Plan (2015-2020)
NZE	–	New Zealand English
PCfm	–	People’s Choice fm
PE	–	Public Eye
PhilE	–	Philippines English
PM	–	Prime Minister
Post	–	The Post
RP	–	Received Pronunciation
SADC	–	Southern African Development Community
SAE	–	South African English

ScotE	–	Scottish English
SingE	–	Singapore English
SR	–	Southern Region teacher
SE	–	Standard English
SwazE	–	Swazi English
Ultimate	–	Ultimate Radio Talk shows
UNICEF	–	United Nations Children’s Fund
VS	--	Variationist Sociolinguistics
WAE	–	West African English
WEs	–	World Englishes
WFJ	–	Work for Justice Magazine
XE	–	Xhosa English
ZimE	–	Zimbabwean English

CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents background to the study, briefly tracing the phenomenon of variationist sociolinguistics and studies in World Englishes, both of which form the core of the theoretical framework of this study. The chapter also presents the problem statement, research questions and objectives of the study. The chapter further articulates the rationale for and briefly reviews the literature related to this study. Moreover, the research design and methodology, including ethical considerations and data analysis employed for the study are presented in this chapter.

1.1 Background to the Study

Language as a social phenomenon has been studied from different perspectives. One of the most prominent perspectives is Variationist Sociolinguistics (VS). According to this theory, language variation and sociocultural context are central to any language study (Boas, 1911/1922; Crystal, 1997; 2004; Curie, 1952; Haugen, 1953; Joos, 1962, cited in Stern, 1983; Kroeber & Kluckholm, 1952; Sapir, 1921, 1970; Weinreich, 1953). Sociolinguistic variations, including its sub-field VS, has attracted the attention of scholars in the fields of ethnography and linguistics, the prominent ones being Hymes (1971) and Labov (1972), respectively. One work of particular interest in variationist sociolinguistics is Labov's (1972) study on sociolinguistic variables amongst social classes in New York City. A scholarly offshoot of variationist sociolinguistics has been research into native varieties of major western languages generally and nativised varieties of English specifically, with the latter coming to be known as World Englishes research. According to the Kachruvian paradigm, World Englishes researchers examine the nativised varieties of English in particular settings (Kachru, 1986; Quirk, 1985, 1990).

Studies have reported the global use of English by about 400 million native speakers, be they the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, all of which are also known as the inner-circle countries (Kachru, 1986). However, well over 430 million

people have been found to use nativised varieties as the English-second language speakers in the outer-circle countries. On this basis, English is no longer owned by only English-native-speaking nations. Rather, it is a true world language, which is owned by non-native speakers who exploit it as a resource for their cultural and commercial purposes across the world (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009; Huddleston & Pullum, 2005; Kachru, 1986; Leith, 2007; Schmied, 1991). Much of the research on World Englishes away from, especially the two imperial nations, the UK and the US, has, however, examined South and Southeast Asian Englishes (Kachru, 1986; Platt & Weber, 1980; Schmied, 1991). Research on Englishes in Africa has been, at best, intermittent. The instances of extensive studies on Englishes in Africa have been done, particularly in Nigeria, Cameroon and Ghana, Adegbija (1989); Awonusi (1986); Bamiro (1994); Banjo (1995); Igboanusi (1982, 2002) and Jibril (1986); as in West Africa, the English varietal features of the major English-speaking nations as in East Africa as in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania Kembo (1992); Kioko and Muthwii (2001); Leavitt (2006); Melchers and Shaw (2003); Michieka (2005); Mutonya (2008); Ragnarsson (2011), and Schmied (2004) as well as South African English in Southern Africa Gough and de Klerk (2002); Gut (2005); Lass (2002); and Mesthrie (2002).

Predicated on this hiatus, the relevance of this study has been found in its potential to establish any emerging variety worth the name Lesotho English (*LesE*) amongst the Basotho as a speech community in Lesotho, especially with regard to determining its variety status and comparability, not only with inner-circle Englishes but also with the outer-circle Englishes. At a scholarly level, the study has set out to extend the epistemological frontiers of variationist sociolinguistics generally and the frontiers of lesser researched Englishes in Africa, specifically by focusing on a least-researched topic while using case-specific data. Within the field of linguistics, the study has examined the sub-discipline of variationist sociolinguistics, whose attention has been to World Englishes studies over decades. The study is, therefore, anchored in two main theories. The first theory is sociolinguistic variation theory (Sankoff, 1988) with its antecedents in the works of Labov (1966, 1972, 1982) and Weinreich, Labov, and Hertzog (1968). This theory has found further elaboration in the works of Labov (2001), Milroy (1992) and Tagliamonte (2012). Quoting Sankoff (1988), Tagliamonte (2012) defines sociolinguistic variation theory by documenting that variationist sociolinguistics or language variation and change (LVC) deals with systematic and inherent variation in language, both in the present (synchrony) and in the past (diachrony). The

goal of LVC studies is to understand the mechanisms which link extralinguistic phenomena (the social and cultural) with a patterned linguistic heterogeneity (the internal, variable system of language). The second theory is the Kachruvian three-concentric model, that is the pluricentric paradigm, which centres around the plurality of English across the world, as noted above (Kachru, 1986, 1990; Quirk, 1985). Adopting the case-specific data on *LesE*, the study sought to deepen insights into the frontiers of the variationist sociolinguistics within the framework of the Kachruvian paradigm theory.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

With English having spread to many parts of the world through missionary expeditions, trade, colonisation, and recently globalisation, sociolinguistic situations of many countries including African countries have since changed significantly. The main African regions which experienced such sociolinguistic changes include West Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa as well as parts of South and Southeast Asia. However, within the above-mentioned regions of Africa, there are still other countries than the Federal Republic of Nigeria, some parts of East Africa, as well as South Africa, where the Englishes spoken have not received as much attention in research as others. Effectively, there is a hiatus in research and scholarship, in such English-speaking African countries, hence lesser-researched sociolinguistic situations, where the linguistic features of English-second language have not been systematically characterised. In the absence of these, it is not clear which 'English' is used in various domains in these polities, especially in critical domains such as the state, education, judiciary, the media, commerce and tourism. This paucity in research and literature applies to the English used in Lesotho, *LesE* as noted above. According to Miti (2009), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region is one of the regions where a few countries use at least one colonial language as an official language and one indigenous language as a national language. Worth noting is that the sociolinguistic situation of Lesotho is more or less similar to that of many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Traced as far back as the arrival of the first French Missionaries in Lesotho in 1833, English has since become part of the sociolinguistic situation of Lesotho such that it later became the second official language used in different official domains in the Kingdom, with Sesotho as the national and first official language. As stated by the National and Official Languages Act of Lesotho No.21 of 1966, the national language of Lesotho is Sesotho and English is the second official language. As the second official

language, English is also used in different public domains such as the state, education, judiciary, the media, commerce, diplomacy and tourism in Lesotho. Like in other outer-circle countries, English has a prestige status, a gatekeeper to social mobility and modern science and technology, and it is taught as a subject in the first three grades and later as a medium of instruction up to the tertiary level in Lesotho.

In the context of Lesotho, scholars such as Lynn (1994) surveyed the sociolinguistic situation, and observed the majority of the population over 99% as speaking Sesotho as the first language, with English being spoken by bilingual sections of the population as the second language. However, for Lynn, some of the Basotho have command over both languages, hence complete bilinguals (Lynn, 1994). According to Lynn (1994), the English used by local English second language speakers in Lesotho generally shows typical tendencies of simplification and neutralisation of short-long vowel contrasts, thus rendering *chip* and *cheap* homophonous, typifying Sub-Saharan African English. While Lynn's (1994) study may be illuminating, it has apparently been premised on personal observations, without clearly articulating the research design and methodology. Instead, the study has given a bird's eye-view, suggesting a list of areas of research interest for English used in Lesotho.

From the World Englishes perspective, Fandrych (2008) studied unspecific deixis and found non-anaphoric items in the excerpts in question at the National University of Lesotho. However, Fandrych's (2008) findings have neither shed light on the variety status and the comparability of *LesE* to other World Englishes. The studies conducted on the English used in Lesotho so far, are apparently impressionistic mainly drawing on chance observations, with scanty and anecdotal evidence with less rigorous and systematic design and methodology for data collection and analysis. In other words, these studies have not systematically examined the following linguistic features: phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon, as noted above. This study tackles this hiatus in research with specific reference to *LesE* in Lesotho.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives of the Study

In order to investigate the Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho, the study set out to address the following specific questions and objectives:

1.3.1 Specific Research Questions

To focus the research problem, the study asks the following research questions:

- a) Is there any emerging variety worthy of the name Lesotho English (*LesE*) amongst the Basotho in Lesotho?
- b) If any, to what extent is such a variety critical to defining or characterising *LesE* at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon?
- c) How does *LesE* differ from Sub-Saharan Southern African Englishes, particularly Black South African English (*BSAE*) and/or other World Englishes?

1.3.2 Specific Research Objectives

The study also set out to achieve the following specific objectives to:

- a) Investigate any emerging variety worthy of the name Lesotho English (*LesE*) amongst the Basotho in Lesotho;
- b) Determine the extent to which *LesE* can be characterised at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon;
- c) Determine how far *LesE* differs from *LesE* and Sub-Saharan Southern African Englishes, particularly *BSAE* and/or other World Englishes.

1.4 Significance of the Study

My interest in this study has stemmed from my experience as an English language teacher at different levels, from secondary school to tertiary level where I have observed a number of challenges facing the teaching and learning of this particular language. I have been motivated by my preliminary research including a pilot study, and observed how Sesotho-English bilingual students, colleagues and other bilinguals use English in different social domains. Interestingly, listening to and reading works of the bilinguals on many occasions, I was able to observe what I considered conflation of British and American English, as well as probably other language contact-induced forms. Many of such variations, in my view, contradict claims that the Basotho English second-language speakers in the country use British English following the colonial history of Lesotho. The literature reviewed on the development of English in sociolinguistic situations across

the world, for example, in the West, Asia and Africa, has also prompted this study, with insights into the phenomenal complexity and dynamics of global English (Schneider, 2000, 2003, 2007).

On this basis, while certain characteristic features of English have been studied in many parts of the English-speaking world, I found the sociolinguistics of English in the context of the Lesotho worth while, and thus wished to establish any variety status as well as its comparability to other World Englishes, including *BSE*. Therefore, the study would be significant in different ways: theoretically, empirically and practically. The theoretical and empirical value of the study would be marked by my increased understanding of concepts in focus, that of any other readers of the work as well as extend the existing scholarship on sociolinguistics and World Englishes studies. Pragmatically, the study will probably be significant for such language practitioners as teachers, academics, educationists, editors, language policy makers and developers and the media fraternity in the Lesotho.

According to Cooper (1989), any ‘communicative innovations’ could be adopted by language-interest groups and corporate bodies such as banks, insurance companies, product manufacturers and government agencies. Although this study is not necessarily policy-orientated, it shares in passing, the concern of any language policy as constituting efforts to influence language behaviour, thus targeting a number of groups at local, national and international levels (Cooper, 1979, 1989). With the nativised innovations accepted, a variety-specific grammar would be introduced for use in different domains in Lesotho and elsewhere. Most importantly, the pedagogical implications of the study would, in the long run, make *LesE* both acceptable and codified for standard usage in the country. As Schilling (2014) stated, pedagogical grammar books serve as reference works for Standard English in many parts of the world. Similarly, Merhota (1998) argues that Standard English is not just for British and American English, but it should be peculiar to each country, with Indians as having to speak or use English which is specific to the Indians. In this view, both Nigerian and Indian English usages do not necessarily form ‘local deviations’, but they mark locally acceptable norms, which could even be treated pragmatically as valid and good for teaching models (Quirk, 1990). Against this backdrop, this study is anticipated to be invaluable in the Kingdom, possibly including other countries with lesser-researched Englishes in Africa and elsewhere.

1.5 Literature Review: An Overview

The literature review for this study, theoretically, empirically and methodologically, centres around sociolinguistic variation theories and World Englishes studies. While emphasis is laid on English in the outer-circle countries, reference is made to the inner-circle countries from which the current World Englishes derive input, as well as expanding-circle countries for comparative purposes. It is worth noting that the theoretical framework which mainly underpins this study can be traced to the early sociolinguistic theories and empirical research by such scholars as Fishman (1969, 1972); Labov (1963, 1966, 1972) and Wolfram (2006). Furthermore, closely related to the phenomena, has been the aspect of multi-feature analysis, which is considered to be vital for the corpus linguistics literature, coupled with the Multi-dimensional (MD) approach pioneered by Biber (1988). On this principle, primarily concerned with text frequencies, corpus linguists have had interest in investigating multiple variables so as to obtain more reliable, stronger, or more multi-faceted linguistic phenomena, including register-variation (Biber, 1988). Added to these, is the Kachruvian pluricentric paradigm, (the theoretical crux of this study) on World Englishes studies, focusing on the three-concentric circles such as the inner-circle, outer-circle and expanding-circle countries. These three-concentric circles represent sociolinguistic patterns of acquisition, functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages as well as types of spread (Kachru, 1985).

From these perspectives, variation in the English language has become noticeable not only in non-native Englishes, in the outer-circle countries as in parts of Asia and Africa where it has spread and has been adapted. Rather, it has also noticeably figured in native Englishes, inner-circle countries, for example, both the UK and the US (Crystal, 2004). In this light, *LesE* has been found to be a likely emerging variety with comparable features to the above-sketched World Englishes, with more details on the phenomena in the next chapters.

As observed above, language contact situations and probably other factors have played a significant role in the variations of English found at different linguistic levels. However, considering the notion of a multi-feature analysis, the variants of the linguistic variables of *LesE* at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon, have been investigated in this study.

Phonology is concerned with sound patterns of a particular language. Morphosyntax is concerned with word-formation processes, sentence structures, tense and aspect marking, to mention just a few (Crystal, 2006). Finally, lexicon is one of the most distinctive features of the metropolitan varieties, more especially British and American English. Further noted is that while demographic factors have long been observed in studies on language variation and change (LVC), such demographic factors including language change fall outside the scope of this study, despite any interest in the area amongst some readers. Instead, as a newly systematic exploratory enquiry into a possibly emerging variety of *LesE*, this study has investigated particularly English-second language as used in the target domains of formal communication in Lesotho as an outer-circle country. More details on such sociolinguistic and World Englishes studies are presented in Chapter Two.

In any case, the most common phonological features of World Englishes are as follows: spelling pronunciations, syllable-timed stress, syllabic consonants, monophthongisation and diphthongisation, neutralisation and stopping. Common morphosyntactic and lexical variants, on the other hand, involve tendencies of the zero verbal *-s* marking, modality, extension of the progressive to statives, non-congruence, relativisation, article system as well as prepositional idioms. Added to these are lexical features including orthographic variants most of which have derived from input varieties, that is the inner-circle Englishes as detailed in the next chapter (Stevens, 1972; Watt, 2016-2017). Of particular significance is that phonology, spellings and lexicon have been found to be amongst the most diverse aspects of the World Englishes, because of different sociocultural contexts to which English is adaptable. It could be noted that these phenomena, now established in the Kingdom of Lesotho *LesE*, have been found to have considerably similar and distinctive patterns, with some varying degrees, across the English native- and non-native-speaking world, as shown in the next chapters (Mesthrie, 2013; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). The following section sketches the research design and methodology for this study.

1.6 The Research Design and Methodology

The research design and methodology has been premised on the qualitative approaches to research involving human subjects, as units of analysis in a given study. With its ethnographic, content analytic and interpretative dimensions, this study has drawn on variationist sociolinguistics, World Englishes and social network paradigms (Kachru, 1976; Kerswill & Watson, 2014; Labov, 1972a;

Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Milroy, 1980; Mouton, 2001; Wardhaugh, 2006). Furthermore, drawing on Leedy and Ormrod (2005) and Creswell's (2009) qualitative, quantitative and mixed-methods approaches, however, the study employed interviews, observations and documentary sources to examine both spoken and written texts from different 'English usage' domains, Coulmas (1989a) within the Basotho English second- language-speaking community in Lesotho. For Schmied (1991), such different approaches complement one another for thorough linguistic research.

Setting out to collect both written and oral data from human subjects, the study used, as research sites, the following: four schools, one from each of the following districts: Leribe, Berea, Maseru and Mafeteng, and of course, one teacher from each selected school; the other were two tertiary institutions: the Lesotho College of Education (LCE) and the National University of Lesotho (NUL). The other target data sites or sources were the People's Choice FM, the Lesotho Television and the Ultimate Radio, the High Court of Lesotho and certain public figures in the Kingdom. Besides, for documentary data collection, the other sites are *the Public Eye*, *the Lesotho Times* and *The Post*; and magazines such as *the Finite*, *the Faith* and *the Work for Justice* in the Kingdom of Lesotho. Further notable is that from the above-mentioned research domains of English usage, I was able to collect and analyse systematic patterns of qualitative data on multiple levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon of *LesE*. In this way, I have established whether and the extent to which the findings answer the research questions and achieve its objectives. Also, the study set out to address the thesis statement and show the extent of its relationship to the theoretical and empirical literature on which it is premised. More details on the design together with its triangulated methodological orientation are presented in Chapter Three.

1.7 Ethical Considerations

Like any other research involving human subjects, this study observed some ethical considerations. Therefore, permission was first sought and granted from the General Human Research Ethics Committee (GHREC) with the following Ethical Clearance Number: *UFS-HSD2019/1458* at the University of the Free State. Permission was also requested from and granted by the Ministry of Education and Training (*MoET*) for conducting the study at the selected institutions and schools in Lesotho. Further, I observed all due ethical issues, including acknowledging all the sources of

information used, both within and at the end of the thesis, using the Harvard referencing style throughout the study (see Chapter Three for details).

1.8 Data Analysis

For data analysis, corpus linguistics (CL) was used for this study. On this basis, CL, that is corpus-based variationist linguistics (CVL) was chosen because of its propensity to meet the following criteria: being able to examine ‘alternate ways of saying ‘the same’ thing’ (Labov, 1972: 188), that is what CVL researchers define as variants of the linguistic variable, and being able to observe the ‘Principle of Accountability’ (Labov, 1969: 738), as in choosing salient linguistic aspects, not necessarily focusing on text frequencies of a search key variable.

With these two criteria, CL has been used as an analytic tool for data analysis, thus focusing on the corpus-based data transcribed from interviews, observations and documentary sources for this study. It could, therefore, be argued that this study adopted these theoretical, methodological analytical framework, following two of the pioneering corpus-based studies such as British National Corpus (BNC) and Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), within the framework of sociolinguistics and World Englishes studies, a somewhat cross-pollination between language variation and change (LVC) and corpus-based variationist linguistics (CVL) as espoused by Szmrecsanyi (2017). Similarly, Chapter Three presents in more detail the analytic framework for this study.

1.9 The Structure of the Thesis

The present chapter has presented an overview of and explained the phenomenon investigated in the study. The chapter also provides the rationale for, background to as well as the research design and methodology employed in the study. Chapter Two reviews the theoretical frameworks and literature underlying this study within the framework of sociolinguistics and World Englishes studies. Chapter Three discusses the research design and methodology, including the sampling, data collection and analysis, including ethical issues adopted for the study. Chapter Four presents, analyses and interprets the data, thus discussing the findings of the study in relation to the thesis statement, research questions, objectives of as well as the theory and literature underpinning the study. Chapter Five presents the main findings in relation to the research questions and objectives,

thereby stating the contributions, drawing conclusions and ending with the limitations of the study as well as suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE THEORETICAL FRAME WORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical (conceptual) framework and literature, with a focus on sociolinguistic variation on which this study is premised. The chapter is divided into three main sections. As such, Section 2.1 examines, in turn, the variationist sociolinguistics and World Englishes theories (New Englishes). Section 2.2 reviews the literature on World Englishes Studies in the inner-circle countries, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States of America and outer-circle countries, in the two main continental regions: South and Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa respectively. Section 2.3 synthesises the theories and case studies reviewed on sociolinguistics and World Englishes, thereby concluding with pulling together the main threads

raised and the significance of the scholarship so as to address the research questions and objectives raised in Chapter One of this study. In the next sections, I explore these aspects.

2.1 The Theoretical Frameworks of the Study

The study is premised on the Variationist Sociolinguistic and World Englishes theories, both of which stress the notion of systematic variability in language as a social phenomenon. As stated in Chapter One, this study is concerned with *the Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho*. Before exploring the Variationist Sociolinguistic and World Englishes theories, which underpin this study, it is prudent to provide a brief overview of the overarching concept of sociolinguistics. It is also worth noting that sociolinguistics basically adopts descriptive rather than prescriptive approaches to linguistics. Sociolinguistics is the area of linguistics which attracted close attention of scholars within the framework of World Englishes, most of whom studied English sociolinguistic variations worldwide. I, therefore, argue in this study that language varies, and such variability has been studied globally, regionally and nationally in different sociolinguistic situations of the English-speaking world. On this basis, English language variation is attested in this study, with *LesE* documented as reflecting some endonormative and exonormative features comparable to World Englishes.. First coined by Currie (1952), the concept of socio-linguistics came to the fore mainly when major sociolinguistic research was spearheaded, amongst others, by William Labov in the 1960s (Chambers, 2002, 2003).

Therefore, as a social science branch of linguistics, sociolinguistics has developed over time. Curie's (1952) conception of *socio-linguistics* was on the principle that sociolinguistics denotes social functions and significations of speech factors offering a prolific field for research. With its oblique relationship with dialectology which traditionally examined regional speech variation, sociolinguistics has been considered a refocusing of traditional dialectology, thereby broadening the field with its freer data-collection methods and larger and more representative population samples (Chambers, 2002, 2003). The term sociolinguistics is also concerned with language and its use in social contexts. It is further concerned with how language is used in a living and complex speech community. Sociolinguistics is the study of social uses of language with a particular focus on the social evaluation of linguistic variants, usually in natural social settings and categorising the linguistic variants according to their social distribution (Chambers, 2002). According to

Coupland and Jawaorski (1997:1), sociolinguistics is ‘the study of language in its social contexts and the study of social life through linguistics’. Scholars like Chambers (2003: ix) have viewed the concept as simply being about a correlation of dependent linguistic variables with independent variables. As such, sociolinguistics studies how speech community members can and do identify and respond to true language differences and usages associated with specific county, social, economic and political, religious or cultural divisions of a given society. From the sociolinguistic perspective, language exists in context, and is seen as a social aspect which is studied in society. In this view, in order to understand language, one should examine people, who speak a language in a given space and reasons why they use such a language. The view further examines personal history and identity in speech and sociocultural, economic and geographical co-ordinates in time and space. Taking up the point further, Tagliamonte (2006) defines English language on the basis of the people who are using it. According to the author, speech has a social function, as a means of communication and a way of identifying social groups (Tagliamonte, 2006).

For Crystal (2006:440-41), ‘sociolinguists study such matters as the linguistic identity of social groups, social attitudes to language, standard and non-standard forms of language, the patterns and needs of national language use, social varieties and levels of language as well as the social basis of multilingualism...’. Crystal’s (2006) view on sociolinguistics could, therefore, be noted as highlighting the notion of variations in language, the feature which lends itself to the sub-area known as variationist sociolinguistics. In general, sociolinguistics may be viewed as entailing an in-depth sociolinguistic profile of a country, and carrying out a national census and/or large-scale sociolinguistic surveys of L1, L2, bilingualism, language patterns, language maintenance and language attitudes in a given society. As a science of parole, sociolinguistics sees language as ‘an object possessing orderly heterogeneity’ (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog, 1968). For Weinreich *et al.* (1968), language is variable, keeps changing and expresses social meanings as in sex, age, social status and ethnic groups. In summary, sociolinguistics ‘objectively’ studies language use, that is describing how people use language, rather than prescribing what and how they should use language in a given society, sociolinguistic situation or context. It could, however, be argued that sociolinguistics draws on such areas as sociology of language, which emphasises society over language; anthropology, dealing largely with human beings, their origins and cultures, and, of course, pragmatics, which is concerned with meaning in interaction (Fishman, 1972; Hymes, 1972;

Thomas, 1995). However, since the above-mentioned related fields are inclined towards human beings, cultures and society, with less stress on language variation, close attention is drawn to VS, the closely discipline World Englishes, in this study. Variationist Sociolinguistics (VS) has drawn on different theoretical models within the framework of language variation or variability from the distant past as sketched below. With reference to the field of sociolinguistics, the Variationist Sociolinguistic and Plurocentric (Englishes) Paradigm theories are examined in turn in the next sections.

2.1.1 Variationist Sociolinguistic Theories

The concept of variationist sociolinguistics, also known as the language variation and change (henceforth: LVC) paradigm Szmrecsanyi (2017), language variation, has long been noted way prior to such scholars as Ferdinand de Saussure. Considered the father of modern linguistics, though with less focus on language variation, de Saussure observed how individuals and their social side of speech could occur in context (Bailey, 1973). De Saussure (1916) exposed a distinction between language, the grammatical system and parole, the social uses of language, though emphasising the former. Further to de Saussure's notion of language are the foundations of variation which have reportedly come from the rudimentary observation, seeing the variants of every speech as linguistically insignificant, though socially significant. While the study of socially conditioned variation in language may be considered relatively recent, being associated with the linguistic phenomena of the 1960s, language variation has always been observed by ancient classical scholars. For instance, the Sanskrit grammarian, Panini (*ca.*600 BC), and the Roman polymath, Varro (116-27 BC), the most acclaimed patriarch of sociolinguistics, had noted systematic linguistic variation in their contemporary speech communities, despite that their views had less far-reaching impact (Chambers, 2002). While Plato and Aristotle, amongst other classical scholars, were associated with the realist thinking of language, Aristotle, in particular, has also been reported as viewing man as a communal 'animace' being whose life is social, the feature which implies an interaction between humans and society (Chambers, 2002). Interestingly, all of the above-mentioned views stress the aspect of variation in human communication.

In the same vein, in the Middle English period, dialect variation was found to be common in language. In particular, variation in English has thus been attested even prior to the rise of Standard

English in the 18th century (Dazdarevic, 2012/2015). Crystal (2005) has viewed the ‘fashioning’ of language as inevitable amid any standard usages, thus considering language as a social property flexibly appropriated to different local contexts by human beings. Also noteworthy is the first task of linguistics, which is to provide objectively accurate phonetic descriptions in that ‘every single language has a definite and limited group of sounds’ (Boas, 1911: 12). From the anthropological perspective, Boas emphasised a link between language, race and culture, each of which should be studied independently before being connected. For him, language, as one of the first most emblematic aspects of structuralism, should have its data respected and be made to speak for itself. The author disputed the contemporary prejudice that ‘primitive peoples don’t pronounce accurately’ by pointing out that listeners impose their own sound systems on others and then complain that they cannot understand (Boas, 1911).

While the influence of the Bloomfieldian and Firthian movements on contemporary linguistics, including Chomsky’s (1957, 1965; 1980) theories was so profound at the time, studying language in its social context came to mark a shift from the contemporary linguistic tradition. Closely related to the above-mentioned notions have been the behaviourist arguments which stress overt observable evidence, including the principle of scientific enquiry, was also supported by Bloomfield. Bloomfield was committed to a situational theory of meaning as in ‘we have defined the meaning of a linguistic form as the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer’ (Bloomfield, 1935: 139). Bloomfield (1935) further pointed to the establishment of categories, including systematic testing of any data in all possible structural environments (its distribution) through techniques like substitution. Common in these views is the highlight of the sociolinguistic context of language, hence *LesE*, which is the focus of this study.

Interestingly, from the structuralist perspective, de Saussure, Joos and Chomsky noted the aspect of heterogeneity in speech - parole, albeit opposing the same notion of language as an object of study, an interesting feature which viewed language as invariant, discrete, qualitative and self-contained (Chambers, 2002). However, their views were premised on the axiom of categoricity, the contemporary structural linguistics which separated individual and social forms of language, thus overlooking the social uses of language as an object of study. At the time, the linguistic thinking was arguably spearheaded by Chomsky’s syntactic theory, who largely saw language as

intuitive, rather than being empirically based. With language being considered to be in the mind/brain, emphasising the notion of an ideal speaker/hearer in a completely homogeneous speech community, variability in language was masked (Kroch, 1994).

However, with the advent of *The New Framework*, the view which shares the notion of language variation came counter to the Platonic view (Bailey, 1973). Likewise, drawing on the static paradigm, also the homogeneous doctrine of language, the Platonic view embraces aspects of the structuralist, rationalist, idealist, and, of course, mentalist views of human language. The framework views time as fundamental to all analysis, thereby emphasising Labov's (1966) view on relative quantities as existing in language as well as what others call polylectal grammars of children as observed in different local contexts. The New Framework also attests to the function of language in its social contexts, an essential part of linguistics. Here grammar is seen as social-real, with children at early ages having the propensity of coping with different vocabularies and sound patterns of different people in different social contexts. In this view, children are, thus, considered to be able to distinguish sounds in terms of their nucleus and minimal pairs as well as diphthongs as heard around them. The view further sees no word as having the same or identical sounds even by one speaker in any given context (Bailey, 1973).

The theorised notion of language collided with the then Labov's more informed view, which is now accepted as corroborating the view that variation permeates human language (Bailey, 1973). As the study of patterned language variation in its communicative life, variation cannot be omitted from linguistic theory and practice without invalidating them. What is proposed in this study is not so much a new theoretical framework, which, of course, largely transforms and/or takes over from generative theory. Rather, language variation, therefore, includes levels of interpersonal and interstylistic variation, including sound relationships in phonology. In this view, any grammar should represent speakers' knowledge about language, involving competence in and understanding the language of others, regardless of how varied their grammar could be in different social contexts. In addition, such is the grammar of production competence, not just limited to sentences, but a subset of language-users' overall knowledge of their language, including speakers' intention with any utterances in actual discourses. Therefore, the notion of variability encompasses the new

work which is geared towards formulating psychologically valid polylectal grammars of language systems (Bailey, 1973).

Equally significant is the role of the Chomskian linguistic theory in variationist sociolinguistics. The Chomskian linguistic theory, which prevailed for the most part of the 20th century as well as the 21st century, has contributed to the notion of language variation today. Following his initial hard-line mentalist approach to language, Chomsky later revised his thinking, thus attesting to the interdependence between language, a conceptual system and social stimulus, and consenting to the concept of pragmatic competence. Chomsky's (1980) notion of *pragmatic competence*, thus, subscribed to the view of language use, its intentions and purposes to the linguistic means in given a institutional settings. Here, Chomsky (1980), like his contemporaries, concurred with Hymes' (1974) *sociolinguistic or communicative competence*. Although deriving from two hotly opposed schools of thought, these perspectives came to share the notion of linguistic variability, typical of modern variationist sociolinguistics. As Hall (1964:298) observed:

Every human language...has been re-made in accordance with our whims since the confusion of the Tower of Babel... and since [humankind] is a most unstable and variable being, language cannot be long-lasting or stable; but like other human things, such as customs and dress, it has to vary in space and time.

Closely related to the concept of *communicative competence* is Charles Morris's (1946) pragmatics. For the author, pragmatics attests to 'that portion of semiotics which deals with the origin, uses, and effects of signs within the behaviour in which they occur'. Likewise, pragmatics could, therefore, be analogous to Hymes' ethnography of communication, that is an equally broad area of study, which extends beyond the purely verbal means of communication. Those who limit attention to verbal language may wish to think of formal grammatical competence and pragmatic or functional competence as sub-sets of communicative competence. As such, formal competence refers to the substance of the grammar, while pragmatic competence refers to the life and use of the grammar. This revised approach to language further coincided with the newly advocated framework on studying language use, which had been heralded, amongst others, by the First Annual Colloquium on *New-Ways of Analysing Variation in English* held at the Georgetown University in October, 1972. The conference which was composed of diverse scholarship under

the influence of Firth's student, M.A.K. Halliday (see Halliday's (1978) phrase 'social semiotic'), not just forged a viable union between form and function within a general theory of language in a social context. Rather, it also marked a transition from Saussurean structuralism to functionalism. While both movements descended from different branches of the structuralist 'family tree', one, Chomskyan generativism, deriving from American structuralism, and, the other, functionalism, with more complex ancestral origins, they can both owe their origin to the Saussurean school of linguistic thought.

With structuralism, characterised, amongst others, by such labels as the axiom of categoricity, the coming into being of the variationist sociolinguistic era seemed inevitable, thus putting an end to the long-standing tradition of homogeneous doctrine of language. Since this study argues for the ubiquity of language variation, it is beyond the scope of this study to explore the axiom of categoricity in more detail here. Instead, since I argue that variation permeates language, the concept of variationist sociolinguistic theory is examined in more detail. From the variationist sociolinguistic perspective, variability is not just a matter of competing or separate individual grammars as espoused by the Chomskyan theory, but it is a marker of variable grammars within individuals over time (Kroch, 1994). In other words, even in non-contact situations, natural language developments occur, thus leading to independent linguistic variation, and, of course, some changes (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). As Tagliamonte (2006) observed, not all change involves variation, yet all variation involves changes.

On this basis, variationist sociolinguistics is premised on empirical linguistics of variation theory, and concerned with relevant explanations for regular patterns of variation in language use (Labov, 1963, 1966, 1972). As a sub-field of linguistics, variationist sociolinguistics has evolved over the last four decades and integrates social and linguistic aspects of language, coupled with language change. Variationist sociolinguistics is basically the study of the interplay between variation, social meaning and the evolution and development of the linguistic system itself. For Weinreich *et al.* (1968:188), variationist sociolinguistics comprises linguistic and social aspects of language, and has the dual essence of the variationist enterprise, the notion which has been corroborated by Guy (1993). For Weinreich *et al.* (1968), language is variable, keeps changing and expresses social meanings as in sex, age, social status and ethnic group. In this view, language is seen as 'an object

possessing orderly heterogeneity’, also called normal heterogeneity, while it is concerned with language change and social identity (Labov, 1982; Weinreich, Labov & Herzog, 1968). Further, Tagliamonte (2006:5) defines variationist sociolinguistics ‘as the branch of linguistics which is concerned with the foremost characteristics of language in balance with each other - linguistic structure and social structure; grammatical meaning and social meaning, that is properties of language which require external, social and internal systemic factors in their explanation’. Tagliamonte (2006) also sees language as inherently varied, thus sharing the notion of orderly, structured or normal heterogeneity. On this basis, heterogeneity is not just random, but it is patterned, reflecting order and structure within the grammar of a language. With speakers having more than one way of saying more or less the same thing, variation implies choices made by bilinguals or multilinguals in the entire continuum. In other words, variation could be noted even across whole languages such as French, English and Spanish, to mention just a few (Bailey, 1973; Labov, 1982; Tagliamonte, 2006; Weinreich *et al.*, 1968).

However, the effective beginnings of variationist sociolinguistics were marked by Labov’s (1963) landmark study in the US. Labov’s (1963) study is one of the foundational works to the current sociolinguistic fieldwork. His view on language as bearing ‘normal heterogeneity’ was amongst the first to challenge the view of verbal deprivation of African American Vernacular children. Labov viewed as illogical the tendency of associating African American Vernacular with verbal deprivation by psychologists. For him, the notion of linguistic deficit or deviation from the ‘norm’ simply marked development, creativity or differences amongst speakers of English in any given contexts (Ricento, 2008). As such, language varies, with speakers having more than one way of saying more or less the same thing. In this view, variability is found everywhere such that production of any linguistic element, from specific sounds and signs to the visual and auditory processing of such linguistic symbols manifests variation in language (Wolfram, 2006). On this basis, English has changed its character through borrowing from and contact with other languages, with people thereby accommodating to one another in different sociolinguistic situations (Feagin, 2002; Hazen, 2014; Tagliamonte, 2006).

Under the rubric of variationist sociolinguistics is the notion of the linguistic variable. The linguistic variable is a structural unit which sees language as varying according to social parameters: age,

sex, social class and ethnicity and stylistic parameters. As such, the linguistic variable suggests saying something in different ways (Feagin, 2002). The notion further implies alternative forms which have the same referential, cognitive or grammatical value or function. The linguistic variable is an item which has alternate realisations; as one speaker realises it one way the other a different way. Besides, the same speaker may realise the linguistic variable differently on different occasions (Feagin, 2002). Examples include casual, careful, formal as well as linguistic parameters. Further intriguing about variationist sociolinguistics is its link to Language Variation and Change (LVC). Similarly, LVC examines ways in which demographic factors such as speaker age, gender, education, or regional provenance engender variation. In this view, most early studies on language variation were primarily concerned with the direction and spread of linguistic variables. Such variables would include phonemes over specific and predetermined social variables such as the age and gender of speakers. As Fishman (1971) claims, people speak or write a certain language or a language variety to some individuals for some reasons and to a certain extent or end. Furthermore, Wolfram (2006: 333) stated that 'If structure is at the heart of language, then variation defines its soul'. For Wolfram (2006), language has an underlying structure which varies according to external linguistic variables such as age, gender, social class, community membership and nationality, to mention just a few.

However, prior to Labov, scholars like Fischer (1958) had studied the phenomenon of the linguistic variable along with extra-linguistic variables amongst children. Observing informal and formal story recitations amongst the children in classroom settings in New England, Fischer (1958) noted the *in* vs *ing* variants, realised in the words either as in *fishin* vs *fishing*. The author concluded that children's speech habits were not just variable, but such variants were also influenced by such extralinguistic variables as sex. Following this work Labov's (1963) landmark sociolinguistic research involved the least and the most formal speech patterns or styles of in the Martha's Vineyard of the coast off New England. With the participants reading out passages, Labov noted the interplay between linguistic and social factors, particularly the variables of the following diphthongs [ay] as in *right* and *white* and [aw] as in *house* and *how* respectively. The 1970s thus saw Labov expand the field of variationist sociolinguistics into urban populations in the United States. Adopting rapid and anonymous observations within quantitative sociolinguistic framework, Labov (1966,1972a) examined free variation, for example, the postvocalic,

preconsonantal or (final) *r* amongst the sales clerks in strategic locations at the department store in New York City. Labov found most frequent uses of the postvocalic /*r*/ amongst the Middle-Class the subjects under study, depending on the status and age. Typical examples included the phrase *fourth floor* where the words *fourth* and *floor* were each pronounced with the [*r*] more emphatically realised in the speech of the subjects with the higher status (Joseph, Love & Taylor, 2001; Labov, 1966, 1972a). Further phonological variants involved *singing* most of the time over *singin'*, with the former probably being occasional, while the latter being predominant, especially amongst the Working-Class (Labov, 1966, 1972a).

In light of the above variations, grammatical features could also be exemplified by such a linguistic variable as the past tense form of *dive* with either *dived* or *dove* variant. Additional examples include *Adonis saw himself in the mirror*, vs *Adonis seen hisself in the mirror*; these are variants of the respective linguistic variables of *himself* and *saw*. In the examples, one could see the simple past tense verb *saw*, a weak past, used in the South, and the latter verb *seen*, which is a strong past initially used in Northern parts of the US (Leith, 2004), on the one hand. On the other hand, the reflexive *himself* and its archaic counterpart *hisself*, has some historical implications for certain variants. Therefore, noting the equivalence of variants of a variable, variation analysis has discovered patterns of variability, their frequency occurrences in the body of material under study, though individuals cannot always use sociolinguistic variables as coherently as one would think (Guy, 2013).

Equally significantly, with the advent of corpus linguistics, multi-feature analysis has been crucial, drawing on Biber's (1988) Multi-dimensional (MD) approach. While the MD approach examines text frequencies, without being largely variationist, it recently showcased many ways of conducting variationist multi-variable research, with some possible inspiration from LVC. Corpus linguists have two motivations to investigate multiple variables: either to obtain a more reliable, stronger, or more multi-dimensional linguistically aggregated signals, and/or to investigate the extent to which variables are related or are interacting. For increasing reliability and using corpus-based data from the Freiburg English Dialect Corpus (FRED), Szmrecsanyi (2013) reported relevant work on CVL, focusing on grammatical variation patterns of Great Britain's dialect landscape. In this spirit, Szmrecsanyi (2013) investigates joint variation patterns of 57 grammatical

variants such as *would vs used to* as habitual past markers, non-standard past tense *done* vs Standard *did* respectively. Similarly, Grieve, Speelman & Geeraerts (2011) examined over 40 high-frequency lexical variables as in *if vs whether; maybe vs perhaps* in a 26-million-word corpus of letters to the editor, covering written language usage in 206 cities across the United States, with five major dialectal regions being reported. Further, Ruetten *et al.* (2016) observed about 303 lexical variables, including *holiday vs trip; cost vs expense* in the Brown family corpora of standard written-edited-published English, finding three systematically related lectal dimensions and the extent of corpus-based variation material. Relatively explaining variation, these studies examined various discourse types/genres, that is informative *vs* imaginative, as well as a standard variety as in British English *vs* American English in the real-time period from 1960s to 1990s.

The second motivation of the multi-variable studies has been to investigate the extent to which variables are related or are interacting. Marking a shift from single-feature studies, the multi-variable studies view single-feature analysis as inadequate for characterising multi-dimensional objects such as dialects. In this view, seeing only one feature as often behaving differently from any other given feature necessitates multi-feature analysis for reliably characterising dialects (Nerbonne, 2009; Szmrecsanyi, 2013). Moreover, it could be argued that studying joint variation patterns yields a more robust and reliable characterisation of multi-dimensional dialects or community grammars. As such, multi-feature analysis can shed more light on any interactions between different variables and 'general laws of linguistic variation' (Nerbonne, 2009: 177). In summary, the CVL research reviewed in this section would seem to suggest that variationist analysis can profit from multi-feature research designs.

On the whole, these empirical studies not only demonstrated the hitherto theorised ubiquity of language variation, but they also cradled variationist sociolinguistic research amongst many linguists, including World Englishes scholars across the world. Interestingly, the 'cradle' of variationist sociolinguistics of English across the world almost coincided with the waning of the prevailing axiom of categoricity with some hard-line scholars such as Chomsky beginning to review and change their long-standing linguistic thinking (Chomsky, 1980). While relationships between linguistic habits and speakers' social classes as well as language change may be interesting it is not the purview of this study to examine such extralinguistic variables and language change,

since this is an exploratory study on a possibly emerging *LesE* variety in Lesotho. As earlier noted, while demographic factors have long been observed in much LVC work, in this study such demographic factors are not considered. However, drawing on qualitative variationist sociolinguistic approaches, the Kacruvian plurocentric paradigm and the notion of multi-feature analysis, this study has investigated language internal and generic variants of the linguistic variables of *LesE* at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon in the context of Lesotho. In the next sections, the Kacruvian plurocentric Englishes paradigm and empirical studies reviewed on World Englishes are examined.

2.1.2 The Plurocentric Englishes Paradigm Theories

Empirical studies into language variation as a sociolinguistic reality found English as one of the global languages to have directly attracted sociolinguistic research from many perspectives. While scholars are unanimous in the widespread and global use of English as the only language used more than any other language, they are uncertain about precise figures and variations that obtain. Some scholars like Crystal (2005) offer no absolute figures of the population of all English users across the globe, while other researchers report about 80% of the global population as using English non-natively (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). For example, the statistical evidence points to about 350 million people as using English natively, with the rest using English as a second and/or foreign language. The figure concurs with McCrum *et al.*'s (2002) estimate that the total world English-speaking population is over 750 million - 1 billion, nearly half of whom are English-native speakers (McCrum *et al.*, 2002; Swann, 2007).

In the first place, studies on the global spread and use of English as a discipline within linguistics date back to the early 1980s, with scholars striving towards characterising or describing English as used worldwide. Many scholars, including linguists, applied linguists, sociolinguists, English language practitioners, and variation and plurocentric theorists, within the framework of World Englishes and English linguistics, drew attention to the social shapes of the language under the phrase geopolitical model-making. Therefore, the last two decades of the 20th century saw scholars in heated debates, research and publications about the reality of the English languages, that is the multiplicity of English across the globe: both English native- and non-native-speaking respectively. From the plurocentric perspective, many prominent anglicists proposed different, but

related models of World Englishes, that is pluralist constructs of English such as English World Wide, English as a World Language, Varieties of Englishes around the World. Therefore, new pluralised coinages such as New Englishes came to the fore. Specifically, such constructs as Englishes in Asia and Africa by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984); Extra-territorial Englishes or Indigenised Varieties of English as well as World Englishes by Kachru (1982), have been noted. During this period, scholars both identified and described global varieties of English, thereby shifting the focus from the single construct ‘English’, and largely recognising ‘Englishes’ in the plural and geographical ‘varieties’ of English throughout the world as ‘international Englishes’, ‘World Englishes’ or ‘new Englishes’.

This period marked a shift from the past during which the phenomenon of World Englishes’ had been overlooked. With the general view being that World Englishes merits an academic study as a discipline, scholars started engaging in and publishing handbooks, periodicals, monographs, theses, papers, articles, reports, conference proceedings and class notes on the area, to mention a few (Görlach, 1988/90; Kachru, 1988; McArthur, 1987,1998; Strevens, 1980). Before 1980, there was a general assumption within Britain, the United States and in many other societies where English was taught that the primary target model was ‘English’ in a singular, or perhaps ‘plural singular’, sense, which included the ‘Standard English’ of Britain English (*BrE*) of the United Kingdom and ‘General American’ English, also called American English (*AmE*) of the United States of America.

As an academic discipline, and a sub-field of sociolinguistics, World Englishes is concerned with the role of English in globalisation and the ever-increasing variation in English as it spreads and comes into contact with new societies, cultures and languages. In other words, World Englishes focuses on the importance of sociolinguistic realities. Within this framework, the global language is in the making in human history, and that hybridity of language and culture is inherent in current World Englishes (Mesthrie, 2011). Building on the same view, McArthur (1987) examines the core of ‘World Standard English’ in relation to localised ‘English languages’. In McArthur’s opinion, ‘World English’ generally refers to the idealised norm of an internationally propagated and internationally intelligible variety of the language, on the one hand. On the other hand, ‘World Englishes’ refers to localised varieties of English used intranationally in many English-Second

Language (ESL) societies such as Nigeria, Kenya, India, Singapore and the Philippines, to mention a few, throughout the world (McArthur, 1987).

McArthur (1998, 2002) continues to observe that English language impacts on the current scholarship on World Englishes. He accepts the global perspective on the varieties of English and the English languages, both native and non-native Englishes. Like Kachru, McArthur views English as now owned by all those who use it for different functions in particular contexts (McArthur, 1992a, my addendum). Elsewhere, English is widely held as having been colonised and twisted with its standard or localised forms as in West Africa and Southeast Asia, thus being owned by both native and non-native speakers. This view is consistent with the spread of English and increasing numbers of non-native English-speaking population all over the world, hence the phrase ‘World Englishes’ (Bolton, 2003; Kachru, 1998).

Similarly, observing the two major forces operating across World English, Butler noted the emerging English in Asia as typical of American English and culture as well as a sense of identity, despite being part of localised or new Englishes in South and Southeast Asia. It is further noted that World Englishes symbolise functional and formal variation in the language and its international acculturation as in West Africa, Southern Africa, East Africa, West Indies, and traditional Englishising countries: the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, (Görlach, 1991,1995; Platt *et al.*,1984; Pride, 1982). An equally significant construct is the phrase ‘global English’, the concept which can, for the present, be regarded roughly as synonymous with ‘World English’.

On the other hand, the term ‘new Englishes’ is broadly similar to ‘World Englishes’, albeit varying with emphasis. New Englishes can be traced to Pride’s (1982) title *New Englishes* (McArthur, 1992b). The phrase ‘New Englishes’, also called hybridised varieties of English, refers to the localised forms of English found in the Caribbean, West and East Africa and some parts of Asia (Bolton, 2003). On this basis, the concept ‘Englishes’, therefore, came to refer to ‘varieties of English’ (Bolton, 2003). McArthur (1992a) further defines ‘[N]ew Englishes’ as ‘...a recently emerging and an increasingly autonomous variety of English, especially in a non-western, non-native setting such as India, Nigeria or Singapore’ (McArthur, 1992a: 688–9).

Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) are amongst the researchers who popularised the term New Englishes, focusing on the New Englishes found in the post-colonial Asian and African, be they the former British colonies and protectorates and the former US possessions respectively (Platt *et al.*, 1984). Drawing on the plurocentric approach to English World-Wide, Platt *et al.* (1984), thus, summarised the context of outer-circle varieties Makalela (2007) and Platt *et al.* (1984), characterising New Englishes as having developed in non-native-speaking areas where English is not a dominant language, with native speakers in the minority. It is in such areas where New English was first introduced, especially by native speakers to the locals mainly through formal education, usually in written contexts in the English-medium education systems (Platt *et al.*, 1984). For Platt *et al.* (1984), New English is thus used in different institutionalised domains, performing a wide scope of official and formal functions - education, government, law, commerce, media and literary works, to mention just a few. Eventually, English has become nativised, indigenised or localised, thus being adapted to local cultures in terms of sounds, lexis, morphosyntax as well as discourse-pragmatics (Platt *et al.*, 1984). Lesotho falls within this category of countries, following its colonial history.

In addition, Brutt-Griffler (2000) uses the concept of *macro-acquisition* characterised by a controlled reading and writing environment in which non-native speakers a superstrate language such as Standard English outside a native-speaking context. For the author, in such a learning situation, English second-language learners have no exposure to native language. Brutt-Griffler (2002, 2006), corroborated by Graddol (2004), takes up the notion further suggesting that the spread of English produces both monolingual and bilingual English speakers, thus displaying a blurred distinction between English-first language and second-language speakers. For Brutt-Griffler (2002, 2006), in such contact situations, English has been influencing and been influenced by other local languages an example of which is ChiHarare, a typically urban youth vernacular, that is a mix of Shona and English in Zimbabwe (Brutt-Griffler, 2006). Seeing the number of non-native speakers of English as proliferating and exceeding that of native speakers, Brutt-Griffler (2006) also sees English as not just increasingly used in the process. Rather, it has also assumed an unprecedented status across the world, thus producing highly noticeable changes and variations, realised by non-native varieties of English or World Englishes, especially in the outer-circle

countries (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, 2006; Kachru, 1986). Taking the point further, Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) view the spread and globalisation, especially through the internet as leading to rapid expansion of Englishes worldwide. In this view, the more English spreads globally, the more heterogeneous it becomes internally; the further the language extends its geographical domains, the more it is affected by multilingual settings in which it is being used (Mair, 2013) globally.

For Graddol (1997, 2004) and Schneider (2007), the spread of English and globalisation led to plurality of the language, hence distinct Englishes. In Schneider's (2003) view, World Englishes studies has also drawn on such similar principles as contact processes, further justified by theories of accommodation and identity construction. In this view such conflation involves new dialect formation at national and international levels, with the media, local cultural forces, the US culture and globalisation playing a significant role in shaping functional and formal English domains (Schneider, 2003). Further, English emerged into New Englishes, thus developing certain characteristic phases, including new dialect formation and identity reconstructions for all those involved as well as partly being determined by similar parameters of the respective contact situations (Schneider, 2003). Using the phrase Global Englishes or Postcolonial Englishes, Schneider attaches both importance and independence to all outer-circle Englishes including American English (Schneider, 2007, 2011).

Most important for this study is Kachru's conception of English in pluricentric terms where the language is deemed to belong to both native and non-native speakers across the world. Specifically, the major paradigm shift espoused by Kachru (1992) is that the term New Englishes tends to be misleading, arguing that English in India, in particular, has a longer history than in Australia and New Zealand (Mesthrie, 2009). Therefore, Kachru's (1982) *Three Concentric Circles of English* model categorised World Englishes into the three circles: the inner-circle, the outer-circle and the expanding-circle countries. In this view, the inner-circle countries include the above-mentioned traditional English-speaking countries such as the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, Australia as well as South Africa. Kachru (1982), however, acknowledges that the inner-circle English used by native-speakers is a norm-providing model for the whole English-speaking world.

Furthermore, for Kachru (1982), the outer-circle countries are ones in which English is used as a second language. Englishes in such contexts are nativised varieties: “newer” varieties influenced by local languages and cultures since English was not originally spoken, but simply (acculturated, and indigenised (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Such are the Anglophone countries, and are norm-developing. Here, indigenised independent varieties of English have evolved, without necessarily deriving values from being similar to native English varieties, hence *nativisation* (Kachru, 1986). This notion refers to the linguistic adoption, comprising the functions and forms of English in Africa and the rise of English varieties (Kachru, 1986; Schmied, 1991). According to Schneider (2011), Kachru’s (1982) notion has become the most accepted and used generally, with an emphasis on the special importance and independence of the outer-circle Englishes. The expanding-circle includes countries which use English as a foreign language, usually in performance contexts. For example, in such countries, English has been introduced due to globalisation, and is largely norm-dependent on the exonormative models; classrooms are the main domains in which English is used as a subject (Deshors *et al.*, 2016; Kachru, 1982; Mesthrie, 2009).

Observing English as belonging to all those who use it across the globe, Kachru views variation, including creativity as a domain of all cultures depending on context. For Kachru (1985), new paradigms and perspectives are essential for linguistics, pedagogical research and for understanding the linguistic creativity in multilingual situations across cultures. While the model is partly analogous to the traditional three-way categorisation of English into English Native Language (ENL), English Second Language (ESL) and English Foreign Language (EFL), it does not share the view that ENL is superior to other English varieties across the world (Kirkpatrick, 2014).

According to Bloomfield (1933), native language is one which humans learn to speak as the first language. However, this view has been challenged by some scholars, for example, Paikeday (1985), who argued that any so-called L1 competence and grammatical correctness are just a shibboleth, but it is just variability according to class, region, generation and work, to mention a few. In this view, there is no unitary native speaker (Kachru, 1997). The issue of native speaker has been taken further to view native speakers and non-native speakers as functionally indistinguishable categories, mainly featuring biographical differences, with one attaining

language as a child, the other later and being capable of achieving it through contact and practice. On this basis, the native-non-native speaker divide has been viewed in terms of a proficiency gap, even if the performance levels of native and non-native speakers are often considered to be indistinguishable (White & Genesee, 1996).

Being one of the most widely accepted and used models, the Kachruvian pluricentric paradigm is not necessarily hard-and fast about the categorisation of English (Greenbaum, 1991). Following this major shift, the concept of World Englishes, thus, became more and more refined by various scholars, in their heated debates over the plurality and diversity of English. The debate reached the peak at the 1984 Conference, where the two prominent scholars of English Quirk and Kachru differed over the value of English as a global language. The former values Standard English, advocates its retention and spread though acknowledging diversity. For him, diversity of English would not outrank its fixed, unified and discrete structure, with many scholars viewing it as a model for teaching. Quirk (1985) emphasised the inner-circle Englishes as a norm for non-native speakers across the world and that any variety outside the ‘norm’ was an interference’, leading to unintelligibility amongst the speakers the world over, if not kept on check. The latter, on the other hand, views the plurality and diversity of English in the entire English-speaking world, thus viewing English in new pluralist labels as is the case today.

Kachru, therefore, opposed not only the notions of interference by Quirk (1985), but he also rejected the theories of *errors*, *interlanguage* and *fossilisation* as espoused by Selinker (1972), as well as the so-called *deviation* from the monomodel norm. Instead, Kachru, also supported by Widdowson (1994), highlighted the notion of creativity as part of the sociolinguistic reality, with English being localised or indigenised in different sociocultural contexts. In such relatively natural contexts of the post-colonial politics, English is acquired and learned as a second language and an institutionalised variety which has been viewed as having potential for developing new endonormative features or norms across the outer-circle world (Deshors *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, Kachru criticised any attempts at labelling the Englishes in the outer-circle as deviant or deficient and fossilised, since for him, such views were not considering the local Englishes (outer-circle) and the sociocultural context (Kilickaya, 2009).

However, such language purists as Cochrane and Quirk consider any innovations amongst non-native speakers of English as illegitimate. For them, innovations in language are a hallmark of the inner-circle countries. Equally important is a 'purely' linguistic perspective held by Singh (1995), who argues that native and non-native Englishes are qualitatively similar, both characterised by analysable words, phrases and accents by the same dialectological principles. Singh (1995) disputes the views on the superior status and over-literal interpretation of historical patterns and processes attached to native Englishes as they are spoken largely by monolinguals. As such, even the non-native Englishes spoken in multilingual contexts are equally significant and dramatically flourish. In Singh's (1995) view, a special status should not be confined to a particular variety of language on the basis of being acquired in childhood. Consistent with Singh's position is Makoni's (1992) observation that New Englishes parallel what British and American linguists have achieved by describing Standard English varieties. Bolton (2003) noted that the term 'Englishes', which, from the nativisation perspective, has been associated with 'varieties of English' over time, has been critiqued by some researchers. Particularly studying Indian English, Dasgupta (1993) views New Englishes as having not necessarily penetrated the sociocultural life of Indians to the extent of being considered a *nativised* or an *indiginised* variety. While acknowledging the spread and use of English within the Indian society, the author observes a certain non-native English, with the locals still keeping the native superstrate variety at distance, not equating it with Indian English (Dasgupta, 1993).

Elsewhere, and of course in the context of Africa, New Englishes studies have also had considerable audience, albeit with another dimension of controversy amongst many World Englishes scholars. Interestingly, documenting New Englishes, linguists have drawn attention to standardisation, quest for identity and legitimacy of English in different sociolinguistic contexts. From the political, and indeed, from the nationalistic and sentimental consciousness, New Englishes are also considered part of the repertoires of symbols, besides national flags, anthems and nation-building in the post-colonial Africa (Makoni, 1992; Phillipson, 1992). Nevertheless, critics question the claim to the ownership of English on the grounds of the majority speakers, especially by non-natives. In fact, for these particular scholars, statistical evidence, amongst others, can be rendered invalid because of 'notoriously' unreliable population censuses which are typical of African countries. According to this view, while on the democratic and human rights principles,

it is arguably legitimate to claim ownership to English, such putative numbers of English speakers cannot be valid. The pro-metropolitan English scholars further argue that despite any observation that the majority of English speakers are non-natives the world over, their English proficiency is untenable (Makoni, 1992).

Still other critics see the very notion of *nativisation* metaphor as basically delegitimising and subordinating New Englishes, thus labelling them the *Other Tongue*, altering and self-depriving them of the very legitimacy sought by the analysts through their interventionist descriptions. In this view, this aspect further testifies the inability of mastering English, that is, lack of proficiency in English on the part of non-natives. Even more significant has been contradictory linguistic behaviour amongst the English non-native scholars exemplified by the use of the phrase Standard English, despite claiming the legitimacy of nativised varieties. This tendency could be seen as unintentionally reinforcing the very cause which New Englishes scholars dispute (Makoni, 1991, 1992; Rampton, 1990).

In addition, from the pluricentric perspective, Phillipson (1997) metaphorically associates English with the linguistic imperialism, hence linguistic genocide. For him, the spread and use of English has been detrimental to other languages across the world, questioning validity of a 'pure' standard variety of English, especially that of the metropolitan countries as in the UK and the US, as the model for other varieties (Phillipson, 1997). Also drawing on the critical discourse analytic framework, Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1998) observed that any supposedly descriptive view of English language is ideological and judgemental. Phillipson's (1992) 'polemic' view of English across the world has, however, been opposed, with some scholars arguing that English has not just been detrimental to other local languages, but it has also been adapted and appropriated to different sociocultural contexts. Therefore, any English variety, whether considered peripheral or central, should be treated in its own right and be recognised as valid and rule-governed, the feature which should be central to World Englishes studies (Schneider, 2003). While the phenomenon of the Anglo-centric English model could be viewed as perpetuating social inequalities between Standard English speakers and the so-called low variety speakers as in non-native users Ricento (2000), multiple Englishes serve to liberate the languages from narrow conceptions of ownership, and that local uses and functions of English form a distinct language for strategic and political

reasons so as to reflect linguistic declarations and independence. This liberalist notion could be viewed as cohering with Noah Webster's works, two centuries ago, and Australian linguistic shift, during the last two decades of the twentieth century. Such movements view any other English-using countries as having a right to the same claim to English as do the English-native speakers (McArthur, 1998; Phillipson, 2000).

In the process, English came into contact with different indigenous languages and cultures across the world, resulting in more or less comparable sociolinguistic variations.

Many studies have thus shown the extent to which input varieties, be they British and American English, are as equally distinct and prone to variations even within themselves. In the ensuing, variation has surfaced despite any attempts at striving towards teaching Standard English as the only model in each of the countries concerned, and thus keeping it 'pure' from any 'corruption' from other cultures. While American English sociolinguistically derives from the British Isles and shares some aspects with the British English, it has reportedly heavily borrowed from the indigenous cultures of the Americas and other international communities, as noted above (Crystal, 2004). Besides its spread and adaptation to the Americas and other European communities, English, including both British and American varieties, has also adapted to other sociocultural contexts, more especially in the outer-circle countries, with which we are concerned in this study.

In particular, English was spread, largely through missionary expeditions, colonialisation, and recently globalisation, mainly to the outer-circle countries, for example, the South and Southeast Asian and Sub-Saharan African regions respectively. The South Asian countries involve India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Nepal, on the one hand. Southeast Asian countries, on the other hand, include Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and the Philippines. Likewise, English used in these regions has been studied at different linguistic levels (Görlach, 1991; Kachru, 1986; Platt *et al.*, 1984). In the African continent, English has largely been found in the three main areas of Anglophone Africa (West Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa), where it is mainly used as the second official language, and as a lingua franca because of cultural and linguistic diversity respectively. Similarly, Southern Africa, the more homogeneous region of which Lesotho is part, has English, adapted to and influenced by predominantly Bantu languages (Nguni and Sotho-Tswana), on the one hand, and Dutch-Afrikaans, one of the colonial languages, on the other hand.

In these countries, most of which are former British colonies except for Liberia, which came to be predominantly occupied by the ex-slaves from the Americas, English has been institutionalised and used as an official language in different public domains such as the government, education, judiciary, the media, commerce, diplomacy and tourism. Against this backdrop, I review the literature (case studies) on World Englishes, looking mainly at the inner-circle and outer-circle countries as shown in the next section.

While Kachru's categorisation has been widely acclaimed, some scholars, for example, Schneider (2010) pointed out an increasingly blurred distinction between the English native- and English-second or non-native language, especially due to the functions to which English has been put in multilingual communities in recent years. In any case, it is beyond the scope of this study to detail the debates on the phenomenon. Most importantly, despite such criticisms against Kachru for overlooking dynamics, vigorous spread and categorisation of English, its changes and status in many regions Schneider (2011), Kachru's (1982) model has been one of the most popular on World Englishes studies.

As noted above, within the framework of variationist sociolinguistics and World Englishes studies, English has been studied on the following linguistic levels: phonology, morphosyntax, discourse-pragmatics and lexicon across the globe. As Motzek and Yovchev (2010) observed, 'in the WE paradigm, features of new Englishes, for instance, phonological, syntactic, lexical, are often codified with some attention also drawn to supra-features as found in discourse analysis, genre analysis and pragmatics studies'. However, for the purpose of this study, only three linguistic levels: phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon are examined. As mentioned earlier, language change as well as any extralinguistic or social categories such as age, gender, social classes and regions, which engender variations, are beyond the scope of this study.

2.2 World Englishes Studies

In this section, literature, particularly on World Englishes such as British, American, South Asian, Southeast Asian and Sub-Saharan African Englishes is reviewed. Special attention is drawn to the outer-circle Englishes, considering some cross-cutting variations between the inner-circle and outer-circle Englishes. As such, it is argued in this study that language variation or, to be precise,

sociolinguistic variation has been found to be ubiquitous, albeit with some varied degrees in the English-speaking world, the feature which might also obtain in the context of Lesotho. With Lesotho sharing almost the same geopolitical context as the South Africa, the only neighbouring country in Sub-Saharan Southern Africa, English used in the country is arguably in contact with Bantu languages. These include Sotho, more especially Northern Sotho, which is one of the Bantu languages officially recognised in South Africa, where *BSAE* variety has been attested. From the translation educational perspective, Marais (2012) views the Basotho culture, like other African cultures, as a hybrid nature, having been influenced by other cultures including the French missionaries, English colonisation, apartheid South Africa as well as its particular history. This view is analogous to the sociolinguistic situation of Lesotho within the broader context of Sub-Saharan Africa. By definition, Bantu languages are a subset of Niger-Congo languages mostly spoken in the centre and southern part of Africa (Demuth, 1992; Downing, 2004). According to Downing (2004), there are more than 500 Bantu languages which extend from southern Cameroon in the west to southern Somalia in the east. Some languages of this group are tonal, whereas others bear accentual features. Many of them possess linguistic features at different levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon Downing (2004), which are of interest in this study. Therefore, this study set out to find out whether and to what extent such colonial and Bantu languages could have influenced English, particularly in the outer-circle countries including *LesE* as the focus for this study. The following linguistic levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon are examined in turn in the sections below.

2.2.1 Phonology

Phonology, which is concerned with sound patterns of particular languages, is one of the phenomena which attracted close attention of many scholars across the world. Phonology has, therefore, been observed as one of the very susceptible aspects to change, as a result of word borrowing and language contact, both on the part of the individual L2 speakers and L1 speakers. English, like any other languages, can be studied along with its sounds and pronunciation within the framework of the sub-field of linguistics known as phonology. Phonology is defined as a branch of linguistics which studies the sound patterns of language (Crystal, 2006). Phonology is, therefore, defined as the study of sounds patterning in a language. Phonology is concerned with anatomy and physiology of the speech organs and how such organs are used.

Phonology aims at demonstrating the distinctive sound patterns found in a language and making as general statements as possible about the nature of sound systems in the languages of the world (Crystal, 2006). Being concerned with anatomy and physiology as well as the speech organs and a manner of articulation of such sounds, phonology, specifically centres around vowel and consonant sounds in a language as in English. Vowels are produced with no impediment to the airstream from the lungs, while consonants are produced with some kind of friction or blocking of air passage from the lungs. Vowels can be described in terms of the position of the tongue and lips, and the degree to which the mouth is open or closed, still whether the sound is towards the back or front of the mouth. In the case of the consonants, production involves certain organs, places and a manner of articulation in the mouth. Here, production of some sounds involves vibration of vocal cords, hence voiced sounds or lack of vibration for voiceless sounds, to be noted from the phonetic perspective by the researchers (Maingay, 2014).

These phonological variables have been noted in World Englishes including inner-circle, outer-circle and expanding circle varieties, though the third is beyond the scope of this study. One of the most important phonological features which became the subject of the pioneering variationist sociolinguistic research since the early 1960s is rhoticity. Kerswill and Watson (2014) reported rhoticity in the variety known as General American, henceforth American English and British English in Britain (Leith, 2007). Kerswill and Watson (2014) further view rhoticity as involving either rhotic [r] or non-rhotic [r] variant or both, the first of which features the Standard English variety known as General American. Rhoticity thus involves the pronunciation of the post-vocalic/final or pre-consonantal [r] as in *barn* realised as [ba:rn]; *card* as [ka:rd]; *fear* as [fiə(r)]; *far* as [fa:r] and *farm* as [fa:rm]. Non-rhoticity, on the other hand, denotes the reverse of the former, also known as r-less pronunciation. Nevertheless, rhoticity is typical of certain places such as the Midland, Northern and Southern parts of the United States (Barber *et al.*, 2009). In this view, both the presence and absence of the variant are considered to be variants in any particular sociolinguistic context. Also noted is that both British English and American English varieties have distinctive phonological features, including rhoticity. While the phenomenon of rhoticity has had more noticeable attestations in the US, it has been observed in some local usages in the UK and Canada. Moreover, the two superstrate varieties on which many non-native speakers model their English learning, have been found to differ most in phonology and lexicon.

Following the Labovian sociolinguistic research in the 1960s, many scholars further pursued other phonological phenomena of English across the world (Southerland & Katamba, 1997). On this basis, phonology points to social attitudes to intonation and accent, that is different ways of pronouncing words depending on unique individual characteristics and different speech communities. Phonology even changes at the individual level as people adapt to different situations and use sounds consistently in different sociocultural contexts. Two branches of phonology are segmental phonology, which deals with discrete sound segments such as phonemes, and supra-segmental phonology, dealing with features which extend beyond one sound segment such as intonation contours. Phonology is one domain in which cross-linguistic influence is most visible (Bylund & Oostendorp, 2014).

One of the common concerns about modern English is its lack of a one-to-one relationship between symbols (spellings) and phonological segments (Solati, 2013). While one-to-one relationship was once the feature of English, especially in the Anglo-Saxon era, current irregularities have been attributed to the influence of other languages from which English has borrowed many lexical items. As such, the so-called irregularities in certain sound patterns of present-day English language point to preservation or reintroduction of the old historical spellings of the principal languages, be they Old English, Old French, Latin and Greek respectively; see more details below. However, many studies have documented the influence of recipient-language structures on foreign borrowings, as well as long-term influence on the phonology of the recipient language (Sankoff, 2001). All these variables point to the phonological and phonemic differences not only within, but also between the two metropolitan varieties of English and other World English varieties (Crystal, 2003). For the purpose of this study, it is also worth mentioning that, phonological variations, including spelling pronunciations, syllable-timed rhythm, syllabic consonants, simplification or neutralisation of short vs long vowel sounds, diphthongisation vs monophthongisation and stopping of interdental are discussed as amongst the most salient linguistic features. These features have sparked research amongst variationist sociolinguistics and World Englishes scholars in both the inner-circle and outer-circle countries as discussed in this chapter. As such, in the following sections, systematic and salient patterns of the above-mentioned phonological features are considered in turn.

2.2.1.1 Spelling Pronunciations

The phenomenon of spelling pronunciations, as an aspect of phonology, has widely been reported in World Englishes research. The English-speaking world, whether native or non-native, has been noted for spelling pronunciations, though the phenomena have had more attestations in the English non-native-speaking world than the English-native-speaking world. Spelling pronunciation simply refers to the pronunciation according to the spellings of words (Deterding, 2017). The author further defines spelling pronunciation as a way of pronouncing words according to spellings (Deterding, 2017). Different factors influencing spelling pronunciations in World Englishes have been identified. These include historical and current changes involving some reversion to earlier pronunciations.

While West African English, in particular, has been noted for having largely developed independently of the historical input varieties, and thus drawing mainly on the endonormative features Abdulaziz (1991 and Schmied (1985, 1991, 2004), studies have revealed many variations including spelling pronunciations. While Nigerian English, especially from the north, has had economic development contact with some southern British immigrants, has reportedly attested to many variations including spelling pronunciations. Typical instances involve the following: *company* and *love*, *sounded* with the [ɔ] vowel in the first syllable as in *love* as [lɔv] and *company* as [kɔmpəni], with *but* pronounced as [bɔt] and *colour* as [kɔlə] respectively. Other noticeable variants include the following words: *duck* and *dock*, both of which are pronounced as [dɔk], also noting Ghanaian English for the following spelling pronunciations: *cut*[kɔt]; *done* [dɔn], *sun* [sɔn], *some* [sɔm] and *blood* [blɔd] in the Anglophone West Africa (Addulaziz, 1991; Gramley & Pätzold, 1992; Leith, 2007; Simo Bobda, 2000). Simo Bobda (2000) further stated that the same words have been pronounced with [a] substituting for [ɔ] in East and Southern African Englishes, to which are added *said* realised as [said]; *juice* as [dʒɔis]; as well as having the silent [h] pronounced in *heir* and the medial [b] in *debt* and *doubt* sounded respectively (Addulaziz, 1991; Gramley & Pätzold, 1992; Leith, 2007; Mesthrie, 2014; Schmied, 1985a, 1991; Zuengler, 1983).

Elsewhere in East Africa, spelling pronunciations have been attributed to Bantu languages (Manuel, 2017). In the study carried out in Kenya, Njeru (2013) stated that Bantu languages

conform to pronunciation, meaning that words are written the way we pronounce them. In this view, such a one-to-one relationship between spellings and sounds has presented Bantu speakers of a Bantu (L1) with problems when learning English, seeing English as being non-phonetic with spelling (orthography) violating pronunciation. For example, Bantu language speakers have been observed as pronouncing the *schwa* [ə] with the full strong vowel sound, thus substituting the [a] vowel quality for central vowel [ə] in the final syllable of the word *farmer*, thereby displaying tendencies of spelling pronunciations as noted above (Machoria, 2013; Makalela, 2007; Njeru, 2013). The schwa [ə] is a short lax vowel, which is not articulated with much energy or force. Also known as the neutral or indefinite vowel, the schwa [ə] is one of the most common vowels realising many orthographic phonemes occurring in weak or unstressed syllables of many words in RP (Roach, 2009).

Similarly, in Southern Africa, Bantu languages have reportedly influenced local Englishes. Scholars like Mesthrie (2005) have offered some observations, particularly about Black South African English (henceforth *BSAE*). Concurring with Brown (1991), Mesthrie (2005) has observed *BSAE* as bearing spelling pronunciations, particularly unknown proper names in African Englishes. By definition, *BSAE* has been studied, and found to be used particularly in South Africa. *BSAE* has been viewed as a variety of English originating from the attempts by speakers of South African Bantu languages, for example, Zulu and Tswana, to learn English, either informally or within an educational context. While some scholars have associated the L1 or L2 status of this variety mainly with 'black' individuals, others have considered it to be English, which is simplistically characterised by L1-interference and a creole-like continuum. Further, acrolectal speakers whose usages generally approximate *WSAfE*, for instance, South African Indian English (*SAIE*) and *BSAE*, have been seen as indexing various forms of ethnic identity just like other varieties of *SafE* in the post-Apartheid South African context (Bekker, 2012).

While spelling pronunciations have been noted to be common in New Englishes, some scholars have viewed this phenomenon as transversal to other languages including inner-circle Englishes (Njeru, 2013). There are various possible explanations for such realisations. One of the explanations for such variations could be what is called reversion to or preservation of original pronunciations of English as observed in the distant past. Reversion to the original pronunciation

is probably one of the most common categories of spelling pronunciations. Typical examples involve the word *forehead*, originally with a medial [h] pronounced, suggestive of the spelling. Following spelling standardisation, together with the establishment of the printing press in Britain in the late fifteenth century, the [h] was dropped, resulting in such pronunciation as [fɔːrɪd], rhyming with *horrid*. However, the most common pronunciation of this word today is [fɔːhed], thus the reversion of the [h] sound from the last century. As such, this spelling pronunciation has shifted away from the sound [fɔːrɪd], with the silent *h*. More instances of reversion have been reported in British RP, where about 65 per cent of the respondents currently prefer an [h] in the word (Wells, 1982).

A similar process has been indicated as affecting the pronunciation of the frequency adverbial *often*. Originally, the word had a [t], as is suggested by the spelling, which, in the seventeenth century, was dropped. However, the word *often* has been pronounced with sporadic sounding of the medial [t] in the UK, albeit with many others still retaining the old sound as in the silent [t] (Algeo, 2010; Wells, 2008). According to Wells (2008), 27 per cent of people in Britain have [t] in *often*, the feature which demonstrates some reversion in progress to the original pronunciations for either word, albeit with *forehead* being more advanced (Deterding & Mohamad, 2016). Other examples include *waistcoat* [weskət] which was once realised as [weistkaut], etymologically based changes as in *fault* from Latin *fallitus*. Other examples with the medial [l] are *assault*, *cauldron*, *herald* and *realm* (Hickey, 2014). However, the following words: *falcon* and *salmon*, have, for the most part, been found to be pronounced with the medial silent [l] not only in the outer-circle, but also in the inner-circle Englishes. Studies conducted in the UK and the US respectively, have revealed the words *falcon* and *salmon* realised with no medial [l], while in the English non-native-speaking countries, for example, Singapore, West, East and Southern Africa, the words have reportedly been realised with the medial [l] respectively (Solati, 2013). Since many English words have silent letters, albeit being written, not meant to be pronounced, such words pose challenges with many English non-native speakers having a tendency of ‘erroneously’ pronouncing them on the basis of their spellings (Umera-Okeke, 2008).

Nevertheless, the words *hour*, *honour*, *henest* and *heir*, whose spellings still preserve the letter *h* borrowed from French. However, RP has been making the *h* silent in modern-day English. Other

typical French loans include *habit*, *history*, *hospital* and *human*, which entered the English system with the initial *h*. Following its entry into the English system, the initial *h*, at some stage, was dropped or became silent, but now it is currently pronounced as a norm (Umera-Okeke, 2008; Wells, 2008). The phenomenon could be analogous to the West Saxon tradition surrounding English. When developing in the West Saxon tradition, Old English spelling was at the time much closer to a one-to-one relationship with sounds (Scragg, 1974). However, with time, such a one-to-one relationship between spellings and sounds gradually disappeared (Solati, 2013). Some of the examples besides the initial *[h]* in the above-mentioned words include the words *knot*, *know* and *knife* which once had the initial phoneme *k* *[kn]* pronounced, with the resultant disappearance over time, though still keeping the spellings (Scragg, 1974; Solati, 2013).

With spelling pronunciations having been noted only in New Englishes, but also being transversal to inner-circle Englishes, including *BrE* and *AmE* respectively, for the purpose of this study it is prudent to sketch the two superstrate or reference varieties of English: *BrE* vs *AmE*. Further noted within *BrE* is the concept of Received Pronunciation (RP). RP is given to the regionally neutral accent in British English, historically deriving from the prestige speech of the Court and the public schools. The term indicates that its prestige is the result of social factors, not linguistic ones (Crystal, 2006). RP refers to a way of pronouncing Standard English (*SE*) that is actually used by about two per cent of the UK population. It remains the accent upon which dictionary pronunciation guides are based, and for teaching English as a foreign language. It is colloquially known as ‘the Queen's English’, ‘Oxford English’ and ‘BBC English’, although not every university graduate speaks with such an accent, nor is it used exclusively by the BBC (Watt, 2016-2017). Used largely by 12-15% of the population, with about 7-12% speaking with a regional Scouse or Geordie accent, RP is a minority accent, characterised by the Standard English pronunciation. Rather, *SE* is a matter of grammar, vocabulary and orthography Watt 2(016-2017), all of which could be explained historically as shown below.

Historically, the dialect, which is now called *SE* has resulted from a long process of social, political, cultural and economic changes, traced to the Middle English period in the 15th century. With the establishment of London as the new capital, the language dialect spoken in London and the East Midlands, in courts of law, and ultimately in government, literature and education became

Standard English of Britain. With the advent of printing in the mid-15th century by William Caxton in England, *SE* also rose as a constant speech and writing model, though coupled with class distinctions and stigmatisation of those who did not use it, besides being considered to be of low intelligence (Crystal, 1995). On the other side of the Atlantic, particularly in the US, an equally notable dialect, with more or less social status came into scene. First disseminated by George Philip Krapp in 1925, the term ‘General American’ is the continuum of accents Wells (1982) attributed to the majority of Americans (abbreviated *GA* or *Gen Am*, with some scholars using the phrase American English (henceforth *AmE*). *AmE* is the variety spoken by the majority of Americans, most of whom have no noticeable eastern or southern accent are considered to have General American accent (Wells, 1982). With a lack of any distinctively regional, ethnic or socio-economic characteristics (Wells, 1983), this dialect typically bears no geographically eastern, southern and coastal associations in the US. According to Wells, by 1982, two-thirds of the American population spoke with a General American accent (Watt, 2016-2017). Associated with the media outlets such as news casters, the radio and television, this generalised pronunciation has gained national credence even amongst the *Network English* or *Network Standard*. In this way, the accent reflects no particular colour and dialect, but it has mainly emerged as being relatively homogeneous in the US (Watt, 2016-2017).

On the whole, spelling pronunciations could not be considered unique only to World Englishes, thus including a possibly emerging *LesE*, see Chapter Four. Rather, like any other phenomena, spelling pronunciations, as further evidenced in this study, have been noted in such reference varieties as *BrE* and *AmE*.

2.2.1.2 Syllable-timing vs Stress-timing

Syllable-timing and stress-timing are some of the prosodic features characteristic of superstrate Englishes and World Englishes. As one of the prosodic features and a component of stress, syllable-timing involves pronunciation of all syllables each of which having more or less equal length and/or duration in certain words by language speakers or users (Roach, 1991, 2009; Zsiga, 2013). In other words, syllable-timing entails equal duration of syllables, typified amongst others, by *loudness*, *length*, *pitch* and *quality* often noted in strong or stressed syllables in English native-speaking pronunciations. Syllable-timing is one of the most common features of stress and rhythm,

both of which are central to English pronunciation. However, as a feature of both segmental and suprasegmental phonology, traditional English stress influences the syllable structure, morphology, grammar and meaning (Sole, 1991). On the other hand, stress-timing refers to variability of syllable duration, in terms of the alternation of stress or rhythm noted in syllables and words. The systematic and regular alternation of stress of syllables and/or words is a usually salient feature observed in stress-timed languages such as English and Russian (Auer, 1991).

Furthermore, syllable-timing, also known as syllable-timed rhythm, has been reported in World Englishes. Stress-timing also called stress-timed rhythm, is one of the prosodic features of suprasegmental phonology which is considered to be unique to inner-circle Englishes, both *BrE* and *AmE* as native languages. Stress-timing generally distinguishes native from non-native varieties of English. English, as a Germanic language, has variable stress, which, however, usually involves stressing the first syllable of words in this language system (Meyer, 2009). According to Zsiga (2013), a syllable is a grouping of segments comprised of an onset, nucleus and coda. The most frequently encountered vowels in weak syllables are [ɪ], [ʊ] and [ə], including syllabic consonants. Stress prominence, which is produced with more muscular energy/force, is characterised by loudness, length, pitch and clearer articulation or quality (Roach, 1991, 2009). However, syllable-timed rhythm is comparatively weaker in *BrE* than in *AmE* (Kachru, 1986). For instance, *BrE* uses fewer stressed syllables than *AmE* and *AusE*. An English rhythm speech, as with all bodily movements, such as breathing, walking and heart-beat, is highly rhythmical; it tends to have a regular beat. However, what marks the beat differs from language to language. Pike distinguished two kinds of rhythm in languages: *syllable-timed rhythm* and *stressed-timed rhythm*. For the author, in syllable-timed rhythm, syllables tend to occur at regular intervals of time, consequently with all the syllables having the same length as in Spanish and French respectively. With English, on the other hand, *stressed-timed rhythm*, involves stressed syllables occurring at regular intervals. The implication is that syllables might vary in length since there might be a varying number of syllables between stresses. As a stress-timed language, English has the following *rhythm* with syllables varying in length, albeit with stressed syllables occurring regularly (Pike, 1945):

I 'want you to 'come with me to the 'doctor's to'morrow.

According to Abercrombie (1964), rhythm is organised into feet in English, with each foot beginning with the stressed syllable coupled with other unstressed syllables up to the next stress where a new foot begins. With the above English sentence having four stresses, hence four feet, any foot boundaries could be represented with slashes as in: *I / 'want you to / 'come with me to the / 'doctor's to / 'morrow*. The silent beat at the beginning of the foot could, therefore, be marked with a *caret* (´). For the purpose of this study, focus has been on syllable-timing since it has been found to be prominent in World Englishes, within which *LesE* supposedly falls. It could further be noted that *syllable-timing* lacks the schwa [ə], which is one of the most common vowels in native Standard English as noted above.

Similarly, West African English, unlike other African Englishes, has been heterogeneous, more especially because of largely having developed independently of any historical or input variety such as *BrE* and/or *AmE*. As such, West African English has drawn mainly on the endonormative features (Wolf, 2011; Ragnarsson, 2011). The phenomenon has also been affirmed by Mesthrie (2006), drawing on the Kachruvian thesis that English has been appropriated to develop its own norms in such cultural and educational contexts as India and/or Nigeria. While the phenomenon of syllable-timing has been reported in New Englishes and of course, in superstrate Englishes alike, its predominance has reportedly been associated with non-native speakers who tend to stress all syllables equally. Without necessarily overlooking the prevalence of syllable-timing in New Englishes, Roach (1991) observed all languages as bearing both syllable-timing and stress-timing. For Roach (1991), no English variety is completely stress-timed, nor syllable-timed.

However, stress has reportedly posed challenges for many non-native speakers as noted in World Englishes studies. Over decades, South and Southeast Asian English varieties have been noted for such distinctive phonological variations, in which all syllables are of equal duration, more especially final syllables lengthened with a pitch rather than stress. For example, the sound system of Indian, Parkistani, Lankan and Singapore-Malaysian English has largely been marked by systematically syllable-timed, rather than stress-timed features, thus contrasting with RP sound patterns (Kachru, 1986; Platt, 1984; Tay, 1979). In the same vein, African English has been found to bear a phonological typicality of syllable-timed rhythm, in which all syllables are equally stressed, more especially with a pitch rather than stress. The cases in point include East African

English, whereby the syllable-timed rhythm even has a tendency of favouring a consonant-vowel-consonant syllable structure and lacking in syllabic consonant pronunciation (Abdulaziz, 1991; Schmied, 1991).

Other stress patterns noted in World Englishes and traditional Englishes involve the vowel [a] in the words *elementary*, *fundamental*, *military* and *total* being pronounced with aspiration, a small puff of air. Studies have thus pointed to distinctive stress patterns, coupled with syllabic consonants in many words between British and American English. While *BrE* tends to slur or give a rapid sound to or completely miss the letter or phoneme *a*, that is the suffixes *-ary* [-ary], [-ery] and [-ory], *AmE* gives a slower and fuller stress, that is strong vowel sound, sometimes a secondary or weak stress in such words. The following words are the cases in point: *military*, *secondary*, *dictionary*, *elementary* and *momentary* ['mɒməntəri]; and *explanatory*, *territory* as ['terətri] ['terəto:ri] (Bailey, 1984; Dimitrova, 2010; Hosseinzadeh *et al.*, 2015; Kuehner & Reque, 1981). In each of the above words *military*, *secondary*, *dictionary*, *elementary* and *momentary*, the [a] vowel sound has slower and fuller stress, coupled with the general pronunciation of the adjectival suffix *-ary* realised as [ta:ri] in American English. However, the adjectival suffix *-ary* as in *elementary* and *momentary*, is generally de-aspirated, with the central vowel *schwa* [ə] substituting for the phoneme *a*, while the suffixes *-ary* and *-ery* in the final syllable of *dictionary* and *dysentery* are realised as [əri], or even eliding the vowel [e], simply yielding [tri]. Such articulation has been more noticeable in an informal and/or quick speech in *BrE* (Watt, 2016-2017). As such, these suffixes usually have a weak vowel in *BrE*, but a strong one in *AmE*. On this basis, *AmE* gives a slower and fuller stress, that is strong vowel sound, or sometimes secondary or weak stress (Bailey, 1984; Dimitrova, 2010; Hosseinzadeh *et al.*, 2015; Kuehner & Reque, 1981).

Interestingly, the pronunciation of the final syllables in each of the above-mentioned words in World Englishes has been found to be more or less consistent with American English. One of the possible reasons for such a realisation is that World Englishes, including African Englishes have been found to be bearing no central vowel *schwa* [ə] in their phonemic inventory. As such, African English basically has a reduced vowel-system, hardly using a *schwa* phoneme and having no syllabic consonants in the pronunciation system (Gramley & Pätzold, 1992; Lanham, 1984). The findings have thus shown World Englishes as bearing a rhythm including aspiration, that is a small

puff of air, different not only from British English, but also somewhat being in the direction of *AmE*, and, of course with some peculiarities (Kretzschmar Jr., 2010). On this basis, the above accentual differences suggest phonemic discrepancies between British and American English, and most probably between other native-English varieties.

While aspiration marks an extensive use of the central [a] in unstressed/weak syllables in African Englishes (Jenkins, 2003), it has arguably been observed in *AmE* as some syllables considered unstressed or weak in *BrE* as shown above. Whether the phenomenon is contact-induced or just transversal remains unanswered. According to Watt (2016-2017), the sound or orthographic *t* as an aspirated sound [t^h], occurs only at the beginning of the word as in *tempting* [ˈt^hemptɪŋ] and in the inner and stressed position of the word as in *potential* [pəˈt^henʃəl] respectively (Watt, 2016-2017). Furthermore, the sound [t] is de-aspirated when occurring in the syllable which does not carry the stress, as in the second *t* in *tempting* [ˈt^hemptɪŋ], or after [s] as in *stop* [stɑ:p], or at the ends of syllables, or once occurring word-finally as in *pet* [pet], or *patsy* [ˈpætsi] (Watt, 2016-2017). In the above words, the second *t* occurs in unstressed syllables, that is the syllables thus being made up of consonants, hence syllabic consonant sounds, and are not normally aspirated in RP (Roach, 1991, 2009). Studies have, therefore, found World Englishes including African Englishes as lacking syllabic consonant pronunciation as well as de-aspiration in [p] [t] and [k] sounds because of background languages. For example, both *fundamental* and *total* have the final syllable realised as long and stressed syllables, with some aspiration. The realisation contrasts with the RP in which the very words *fundamental* as [fʌndəˈmentl] and *total* as [təʊtl] have syllabic consonants and de-aspiration, signalled by a vertical line beneath the symbol [!], a centre of a consonant cluster not a vowel sound (Roach, 1991).

Studies have further found the phonemic changes from [ju:] to [u:]. This notion, also called the yod-dropping, involves the omission of the sound [j] before [u:] in certain words. According to Watt (2016-2017), the beginning of twentieth century saw several changes in the English vowels, including the *yod-dropping*, named after the Hebrew letter *yod*, which represents the sound [j]. The dropping of the phoneme [j], following an alveolar consonant as in *tune* as [nu:], [tu:n] and [du:] in *AmE* while the opposite is the case in *BrE* where the words, *tune*, *due* and *student* are realised with the phoneme [j], as in *tune* as [tju:n], *due* as [dju:] and *student* as [stju:dnt]. In other

words, the pronunciation of such words has the phoneme [j] that is [nju:] as in *new* in *BrE* (Hosseinzadeh *et al.*, 2015; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). In the above examples, it could be argued that these vowel sounds differ not only in terms of realisation or phonetic transcription between the two varieties of English, but they also have vowel length, with the *BrE* variants slightly longer than the *AmE* variants. Also noted is that the same phenomenon of *yod-dropping* was initially embraced by both *RP* and *AmE*, albeit with the latter extending its usages over time (Watt, 2016-2017). Most importantly, the phonetic use of letter *j* which is typical of *BrE*, has not only been found to be missing as a phonological variant of [j] in *AmE* pronunciation, but it could also be a feature of colonial lag. In addition, it is worth noting that the zero variant [j] has been found common in many World Englishes, probably due to *AmE* influence as reviewed in this study, and, of course in the supposedly emerging variety of *LesE*; see Chapter Four below.

Not only are World Englishes syllable-timed, for the most part, they also lack contrastive stress. For instance, first-syllable stress has been noted in each of the following words in Indian English: *defense* and *mistake* (Barber *et al.*, 2009). Furthermore, the concept of stress is variable and unpredictable even in British English. In New English varieties, contrastive stress is missing, for example, the word *record*, as a noun, is pronounced like *record* as a verb, usually in the direction of the noun sound pattern, keeping the first-syllable stress in both cases. In his study, Hickey found Southeast Asian Englishes, for instance, Singaporean English as lacking in contrastive stress in such words as *con'vert* - 'convert. Other example variations of stress patterns shift to the second-syllable and/or third-syllable in such words as *edu'cated* - educated; *criti'cism* - cri'ticism; *pre'ference* - pr'eference; *popu'lated*; *foot'ball* and *usuall'y*. Other studies have reported systematic patterns, with stress marked by strong forms of such functional words as *him* and *which* (Platt, 1984). Such variations have been due to many factors. For example, studies on Malaysian English have found Malay as influential on such shifted stress in the variety, while Singaporean English has been found to be influenced by Chinese. It could further be posited that these variations are part of a legacy of regional pronunciations, following the British establishment in the region since the early days of colonialism.

Many Bantu languages have been noted for possessing stress-accent independent from tone, while very few of them have lost their tone to conserve only stress (Downing, 2004). Besides, having

developed some local norms which are typical of substratal interference, transfer or influence, African English has been found to be sharing some of the features with other World Englishes. West African English, in particular, is one of the varieties with the most heterogeneous accent because of extreme ethnic and linguistic diversity (Mutonya, 2008). For example, West African English involves a reduced vowel system, a lack of central vowels, with relatively rare or absence of weak forms or [ə] *schwa*, with the word *today* sounded as [tude], thus displaying fewer vowels rather than [tə'dei] noted in RP (Todd, 1984). Likewise, East African English has the syllable-timed rhythm with a tendency of favouring consonant-vowel-consonant syllable structures, equally stressing both strong and weak syllables, with the stress largely marked with high pitch. As such, East African English has been found to have first-syllable stress in the lexical item *surprise* realised as [ˈsɒpraɪz], thus marking some phonological variations in Swalengleza, the East African or Bantu-influenced English, also known as Kiswahili-English in the region (Hancock & Angogo, 1984; Hickey, 2004; Kioko & Muthwui, 2001; Schmied, 2004). While considered to be a bookish variety with a pronunciation norm-free of local interference, East African English has the most homogeneous accent mainly due to the substratal influence of the main East African Bantu language, Kiswahili, the feature which contrasts with the view raised earlier (Görlach, 1992; Melchers & Shaw, 2003; Mutonya, 2008; Ragnarsson, 2011).

However, drawing on a cross-linguistic analysis, Roach (1982) noted syllable-timing and stress-timing as permeating both native and non-native Englishes across the world. In this view, while New Englishes have been observed for being syllable-based, the concept introduced by Laver (1994), for syllable-timing and stress-timing alike, this phenomenon cannot be confined to non-native Englishes. With such varieties as Filipino, Hawaiian, Indian, *BSAE* and *SAE* as reflecting syllable-timing, syllable-based rhythm, native Englishes have also displayed such phonological behaviour. As such, British English, because of its contact with local languages over years, has reportedly been rendered syllable-based (Pike, 1945). This view contrasts with the claim that only non-native Englishes are syllable-based; nevertheless, it has been argued that all English varieties, including British English, reflect both syllable-timing and stress-timing in different sociocultural contexts (Crystal, 2002; Roach, 1982). As the short lax vowel, the schwa [ə] has reportedly been missing in the phonemic inventory of many New Englishes, that is non-native Englishes, for example, West, East and Southern African Englishes; the feature has especially been reported to

be absent from different variations of *BSAE* (Makalela, 2007; Mesthrie, 2006; Pascue 1999). As noted earlier, *BSAE*, in particular, has been seen as an English variety associated with speakers of South African Bantu languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Sotho and Tshivenda), to mention a few, all of whom learn English, either informally or formally within educational contexts. The variety has been considered to be indexing various ethnic groups in the post-Apartheid South African context (Bekker, 2012).

This phenomenal aspect, as observed in World Englishes, further includes shifted stress patterns from the first syllable to the second syllable. A typical example is Nigerian English which displays the second-syllable stress pattern, with the words *maintenance* realised as [main`tainance] and *petrol* as [pe`trol]. The variety also bears regular stress in functional words, with the prepositions [to] and [of] being rendered strong forms irrespective of their positioning in sentences (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009). Similarly, *BSAE* involves the second-syllable stress patterns in such words as *circumstances* as [cir`cumstances] and *deficit* as [de`ficit]; as shown in these focal words, the acute sign marks the primary stress in the penultimate and final syllables respectively (Linnegar, 2009; Van de Poel, Carstens & Linnegar, 2012). This pattern contrasts with the first-syllable stress pattern typical of *BrE* and *AmE* respectively. While these systematic patterns could be considered unique to World Englishes, studies have further revealed the phenomena as being ubiquitous, thereby featuring even native-English varieties across the world as detailed below.

Many such patterns could be explained not only with reference to language transfer or substratal influence, but they could also be attributed to the input varieties, particularly either *AmE* or *BrE* influence, depending on the colonial history and/or globalisation of American English from the twentieth to the twenty-first century. Typical examples of shifted stress patterns involve the following words *adult*, *brochure*, *cafe* and *garage*, all being stressed in the first-syllable in *BrE*, and the second-syllable in *AmE*, respectively (Dimitrova, 2010; Meyer, 2009). Other distinctive features with contrastive stress between the two superstrates are the verbs *dictate*, *donate* and *rotate*, with the first-syllable stress in *AmE* and the second-syllable stress in *BrE*, which is the reverse of the above in this case (Dimitrova, 2010). In addition, Southeast Asian English has been associated with lack of contrastive stress as in the following words: 'educated as [edu`cated]; cri'ticism as [critic`ism] and pr'eference as [prefe`rence] (Platt, 1984; Schilling, 2014; Tay, 1979).

Most interestingly, stress has further been observed in functional words. One of the cases in point is Southeast Asian English, particularly Singaporean English, where such functional words as *him* realised as [hɪm], was found to be a strong form, rather than a weak form [ɪh] (Platt, 1984). It has often been posited that the phenomenon of word stressing, that is pronouncing words as strong forms, include content or key words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, as opposed to functional words such as primary auxiliary and modal verbs, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and certain determiners. However, according to Kingdom (1958), grammatical or functional words, for example, articles, pronouns, prepositions, auxiliary verbs and conjunctions, receive no stress in connected speech. Other scholars, for instance, Crystal (2003) and Sole (1991), have observed modals and demonstratives as receiving stress, one example of which is Singapore English, something which marks some unique features of the variety. The phenomenon of syllable-based rhythm has further been noted in the studies conducted in Singapore, Indian and Nigerian Englishes where the following functional words: *as*, *of*, *for*, *that* and *had*, were realised with the full vowel quality and the [ə] missing (Deterding, 2010). Moreover, Nigerian English has been associated with regular stress patterns in such prepositions as [to] and [of] irrespective of their positioning in sentences (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009; Deterding, 2010).

Similarly, Makalela's (2007) study on *BSE* reported placement of stress on grammatical words. The study has, therefore, revealed both the content and function words as receiving more or less equal stress, with the author, thus arguing that the phenomena would make phonological prominence difficult to detect in sentences. The phenomena could be explained differently with the very scholar attributing the findings to the tonal lengthening as noted in Bantu languages. Once again, the question is whether *LesE* could be found to feature such variations as noted in many World Englishes. Demuth's (1993, 1995a, 2004) study has found no stress in Sesotho, except for only penultimate syllable lengthening, which features many Bantu languages including Sesotho. According to the author, Sesotho, unlike English, lengthens the penultimate syllable of a phonological phrase. As such, the greeting addressed to one person is *Lumela!*, realised with a penultimate syllable lengthening as [dume:la], and the greeting to more than one person *Lumelang!* realised as [dumela:ŋ], also with the final syllable being nasalised. While the study was focused on Sesotho, the feature of penultimate syllable lengthening could raise more pertinent

questions whether the same phenomenon could apply to *LesE*. As noted above, while acknowledging the pervasiveness of syllable-based rhythm in outer-circle Englishes, Crystal (1995) has observed no absolutes, arguing that inner-circle Englishes, to some extent, display the phenomenon. In this view, articulating certain words for extra clarity, coupled with syllable-based rhythm has been noted in such domains as baby talk, sarcastic utterances, pop music, Tv ads and air traffic (airspeak), to mention just a few (Crystal, 1995). With the same phenomenon having been reported in Makalela's (2007) study on Northern Sotho and Demuth's (1992, 2004) reports on sporadic stress patterns in Southern Sotho, the question could be whether syllable-based rhythm is found in *LesE*.

2.2.1.3 Diphthongisation vs Monophthongisation

Diphthongs and monophthongs are amongst the phonological variants widely attested in World Englishes studies. Diphthongs are sounds which involve a glide or a movement from one pure vowel to another pure vowel, hence the process of diphthongisation. With such a process, some vowels, known as diphthongs, usually a combination of two vowels, are accented together in speech. English has eight diphthongs, which are divided into two main categories: closing diphthongs, with words *eight* as [eɪ]; *poor* [ʊə]; [aɪ] *right*; [aʊ] *how*; and *boy* [ɔɪ] and centering diphthongs *here* as [ɪə]; *scarce* as [ɛə]; and *go* as [ʊə]. According to Roach (2009:28), 'BBC pronunciation has a large number of diphthongs - sounds which consist of a movement or a glide from one vowel to another'. Also known as gliding vowels, diphthongs are, therefore, 'vowels which change in quality', exemplified as *beer*, *time* and *loud* (Crystal, 2006: 146, 311). Further noted is that the first pure vowel is often stronger than the second vowel on which the movement rests, thus making diphthongs stronger than monophthongs. One of the typical example diphthongs [eɪ] has a movement from the half-close region to the region of close or back of the mouth. Other variants, typically British English diphthongs which are largely monophthongised in American and Canadian English have a missing [ɪ] - element as shown below (Barber *et al.*, 2009).

All other vowels involving constant a movement from one level to the other are referred to as monophthongs. Such vowels with the same-level movement are also called pure vowels, thereby undergoing the process of monophthongisation. In other words, monophthongs reflect no change in quality during a syllable, as exemplified in *cart*, *cut* and *cot* in English (Crystal, 2006).

Furthermore, the *-a*, also called the lax variant, is a short, low, fronted and monophthongised vowel. The other variant, the tense variant is raised, fronted, lengthened or diphthongised (Kerswill & Watson, 2014).

While studies have reported eight diphthongs in English as noted above, this study has focused on *[ei]* as shown in Chapter Four of this study. As such, diphthongisation is ‘the term used to describe the process where a monophthong has become a diphthong or has been diphthongised’, this process has reportedly been a case of historical or dialect change (Crystal, 2006:146). However, it is beyond the scope of this study, which is largely exploratory of a possibly emerging variety of *LesE*, to examine language change, to be precise, a historical or dialect change. Interestingly, the diphthongal form *[ei]* has been noted in such verbs as *take* and *make*, both of which were monophthongised as *[ɛ]*, hence *take* as *[tɛk]* and *make* as *[mɛk]*, more especially amongst the western Fens in the UK (Britain, 2013). Other examples include *apricot* as *[‘eiprikɒt]* and *comrade* as *[kɒmreɪd]* in *BrE*, while the same words are realised as *[‘æprika:t]* and *[‘ka:mræd]* in *AmE* (Dimitrova, 2010). Further noticeable is a lack of *-i* element in the word *ate*, the simple past form of the verb *eat*. As such, the verb is monophthongised as *[et]* or *[eit]*, as reported in both American and Canadian English.

Monophthongisation has further been noted in Southeast Asian English as in Singapore, Malaysia and Hong-Kong Englishes. These Southeast Asian Englishes have, likewise, been noted for reducing diphthongs to monophthongs as in *take* as *[teʔ]*; *stay* as *[steʔ]*; *day* as *[de]*; *rate* as *[ret]*; and *hate* as *[het]*. As such, vowels are not only monophthongised, but they also tend to be shorter, with the missing *-i* element being common, more especially amongst the lower-class speakers of Singaporean English in the region (Platt & Weber, 1980; Platt *et al.*, 1984; Schilling, 2014). Other related variations are short vowels and monophthongs for diphthongs as in *[ɔ]*-*[əu]* and *[ɛ]* - *[ei]*. In the same vein, African English has been found to bear the phenomenon, with such words as *like* realised as *[lek]*; *time* as *[tɛm]* and *rice* as *[rɛz]*, reportedly found in West African English (Wolf, 2010). While West African English generally has three to four diphthongs as in *[ei]*, *[ai]*, *[au]* and *[ɔɪ]* (Todd, 1984), it predominantly bears monophthongs with *face* sounded as *[fɛz]* and *goat* as *[gɔt]*, where the first element influences the second one in the noted words. East African English is no exception on the same phenomenon (Deterding, 2010).

Taking the point further, Pascoe noted some sporadic variations of monophthongisation in Black South African English (Pascoe, 1999). Pascoe (1999) has, therefore, reported not only diphthongisation, but also monophthongisation in *BSAE*. For the author, diphthongisation involves the verbs *wait* for *wed*, where the front diphthong [ei] was found to be replacing the front vowel [e]. However, Pascoe (1999) reported the monophthongisation where the participants favoured the high, front vowel [i] substituted for [ei] as in *lean* for *lane*. According to the author, this long front sound was as logical for replacing the relatively front diphthong. While these are most likely idiosyncratic patterns, the 'choice' of the front diphthong [ei] is understandable as a replacement for the front vowel.

Looking back at *BrE*, there are some exceptions of monophthongisation involving certain sounds which are diphthongised in *AmE*. For example, the word *advertisement* is realised with the high open short vowel [ɪ] in the penultimate syllable as in [əd'vɜ:tɪsmənt] in *BrE*, but with the falling wide closing diphthong as in [aɪ][ædvər'taɪzmənt] in *AmE* (Dimitrova, 2010). Other monophthongal variants which are largely typical of *AmE* include the words *here* as [hɪr]; *scarce* as [skɜrs] and *poor* as either [pʊr] or [pʊər]. However, the inventory of these phonemes also contains no [ʊə]. For the conservative RP speakers, these diphthongs are pronounced with *here* as [hɪə]; *scarce* as [skɛəs]; and *poor* as [pʊə] respectively. In this view, these findings point to some varietal commonalities as well as distinctive features, albeit involving different phonemes amongst the inner-circle and outer-circle Englishes. However, the findings could also raise some questions about the origin of such variations as well as whether these phenomena abound across the English-speaking world including Lesotho as one of the outer-circle countries with lesser-known World Englishes research. With *BrE* predominantly being diphthongal, *AmE* and other World varieties largely being monophthongal, one would wonder whether and to what extent these phenomenal variations exist in *LesE*.

2.2.1.4 Neutralisation

Neutralisation is one of the phonological features which have reportedly attracted attention of World Englishes scholars the world over. The term neutralisation refers to a process in which any 'distinction between two phonemes is lost in a particular environment. For instance, the contrast

between aspirated (voiceless) and unaspirated (voiced) plosives as in *tip* vs *dip*' has been found to be critical in English (Crystal, 2006). Many World Englishes studies have revealed examples of neutralisation, especially with a focus on short and long vowels, thus generally finding no distinction between the sounds. In particular, Southeast Asian Englishes display no distinction between short and long vowels, for example, *[si]* or *[sɪ]* - *[si:]* (Platt *et al.*, 1984; Tay, 1979). As uniquely complex English varieties, also characterised by a levelling process, African Englishes bear some distinctive nativised and indigenised features, coupled with simplification and interference in terms of intonation patterns different from RP (Hancock & Angogo, 1984; Melchers & Shaw, 2003; Mesthrie, 2013; Mutonya, 2008; Ragnarsson, 2011; Schmied, 1991). In this view, World Englishes, especially African Englishes, have shown such words as *bird* sounded as *[bɜ:d]*. In this way, the words could be confused or homophonous with the full vowel *[e]* with *bed* realised as *[bed]*. In other words, any length contrast between the long vowel sound *[ɜ:]* in *bird* and the short vowel sound *[e]* in *bed* is lost, as speakers tend to neutralise the vowels (Lanham, 1984; Gramley & Pätzold, 1992).

African English, as well as most probably *LesE* (See Chapter Four), is no exception in this regard. The words *bed* and *bird* both have a short-vowel sound *[bed]*; similarly, *beat* and *bit* are accented as homophones. The same applies to *cot*, *court* and *caught*, and interestingly even *cut*, all of which are pronounced with a short vowel as in *[kɔt]* in West African, especially Nigerian English. Studies on Nigerian English have also revealed the sound *[æ]* as in *hat*, *rat* and *bad*, three of which with short vowel sound *[a]* realised as a long vowel sound in *heart* pronounced as *[ha:]*, thus merging the sounds as opposed to lengthening, which is observed in RP. However, the phenomenon of neutralisation patterns has been observed even within the inner-circle Englishes. A typical case in point is the native-English-speaking Fens in the Southeast of England, where the long vowel *[a:]* and short *[a]* in the first unstressed syllables in such words as *castle* and *last*, have noticeably been merged albeit having phonemic differences in Standard English (Gramley & Pätzold, 1992).

Added to these are phonemic differences involving the very broad vowel *[a:]*, in BATH words: *after*, *ask*, *chance*, *dance*, *France*, *laugh*, *past* and *vast* as well as those in which the very sounds are followed by fricatives as in *path* and *bath*. In each of the words, *BrE* uses the long vowel *[a:]*, while *AmE* uses the front open short vowel *[æ]* in the first syllable. Besides, this phenomenon not

only distinguishes South British English accent from American English accent in terms of using the [æ] vowel in the same environment, but it also differentiates South British English accent (RP) with the accent observed in the North of England (Barber *et al.*, 2009; Southerland & Katamba, 1997). Closely related to these are two phonemic distinctions involving the vowels [ɒ] and [ɑ:]. Examples are the sounds [dɒg] in the word *dog* and [fɑ:ðə] in the word *father*. In *BrE*, while *AmE* has only [ɑ] short vowel quality as in both *dog* as [dɑg] and *father* as [fɑðər] (Barber *et al.*, 2009). Here, the [ɑ] vowel, also called the lax vowel variant, is not only short, low and fronted, but it is also monophthongised.

As an equally intriguing candidate, *BSAE* has been noted for such systematic variations, most probably due to the influence of Bantu languages. *BSAE* has, thus, been reported to be appropriating and adapting English to the local Bantu cultures and languages in South Africa and elsewhere. With *BSAE* largely being shaped by the phonology of Bantu mother-tongue users, for example, *Sotho* and *Nguni* sound patterns, lack of distinction between short and long vowel sounds has been found with the following words pronounced alike: *tick - teak; head - haired; and pull - pool*. Furthermore, for Linnegar (2009), *BSAE* elongates the following conventionally short-vowel sounds. The first in each pair of the following words is short, the second, long as in *bit - beat; sit - seat; hill - heel* and *hut - heart; ship - sheep*, albeit having both words in pair merged or neutralised (Linnegar, 2009, 2013; Van de Poel, Carstens & Linnegar, 2012). Similarly, Bagwasi (2008) observed the same phenomenon of modified pronunciation involving the short- and long-vowel sounds as homophonous with [i:] and [i] for the following words: *bit* and *beat* being pronounced as [i] in English spoken in Botswana. Other confirmed instances of vowel neutralisation have pointed to the words *heat* pronounced [hit], instead of [hi:t], *heart* as [hət] rather than [ha:t], while both *hot* and *hoard* were elongated as [hɔ:d] respectively (Smieja & Mathangwane, 2010).

Mesthrie's (2014) study amongst the *BSAE* speakers, particularly the Zulu first-language speakers, documented neutralised short, long and half-long vowel sounds. Examples include the following words: *school* and *pull*, pronounced either with the short vowel [u] or half-long [u'], with some occasional instances of the long vowel [u:]. The same applies to such words as *fitting, live, knitting, did* and *fit*, all of which were realised with the short vowel [i], the half-long vowel [i'] and/or long [i:] respectively. In the same vein, *nobody* has been realised as [noba:di'], with both the

penultimate and final syllables stressed and elongated, as opposed to RP, which has the same syllables not only as weak and unstressed, but also as short (Mesthrie, 2014). Probably showing the trend of neutralisation of long and short vowel sounds in African Englishes, the study by Gough (2002) observed the back vowel sound [a:] in *bath* and *palm* as being merged to [a] in the words *walk* and *strut* in *BSAE* because of the ‘interference’ of Sotho and other Nguni languages. The author further confirmed the way in which lax vowels were indistinguishable, with the words *live* and *leave* as in *Expatriates leave the country* being found to be homophones. Equally important, Lynn’s (1994) preliminary survey has observed English second-language in Lesotho as generally showing typical traits of Sub-Saharan African English as in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Nigeria. Interestingly, the survey has reported the phenomenon of homophonous sound patterns only on *chip - cheap* and *Lynn – lean* amongst the Sotho-English bilinguals, though with the questions on the systematicity of neutralisation still unresolved regarding *LesE*.

2.2.1.5 Substituting Plosive Stops for Interdental Fricatives (Stopping)

Interdentals and alveolar plosives, particularly the phenomenon of stopping, have drawn attention of many sociolinguists and World Englishes researchers across the world. Studies have thus shown interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð] as being replaced by alveolar stops [t] and [d] in English pronunciation (Görlach, 1991; Kachru, 1986; Platt *et al.*, 1984). The phenomenon largely involves nonstandard English, including non-native Englishes (Parker & Riley, 1994:194). Interdental fricatives or spirants are sounds made when two organs come close together causing an air movement with an audible friction or frication between them. The English interdental fricatives symbolised here as the voiceless [θ] and voiced [ð] respectively, are produced with the tip of the tongue placed between the teeth, thus not causing complete closure of air passing out of the mouth (Crystal, 2006). On the other hand, stopping denotes substituting alveolar stops or non-continuants [t] and [d] for interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð] in English pronunciation. The alveolar stops as in [t] and [d] are each produced with the tip of the tongue placed on the ridge just behind the teeth, thus causing some air explosion, hence explosive stops.

Stopping is a natural linguistic trend noted in many world languages (Parker & Riley, 1994; Thomason, 2013). Apart from many varieties of English which have shown merging of interdental fricatives with alveolar stops, labiodental fricatives or sibilants, ‘Standard’ varieties of English are

typically described as having other phonemic features than the conventional interdental fricatives. For instance, Modern Standard English, as in the British Isles, North America, Australasia, the Caribbean, the Pacific and Africa, has typically been described as having such interdental or apico-dental fricatives *th*, phonetically symbolised by the voiced [*ð*] and the voiceless [*θ*], that is contrastive consonantal phonemes of many English varieties (Schneider *et al.* 2004) as shown below. In this case, literacy plays an important role in maintaining the notion of ‘Standard’ pronunciation since interdentals are written in English as *th*, and apart from certain names such as *Thomas* [*thaməs*] in *AmE*, *th* is consistently associated with interdental pronunciation. Many studies have revealed how individual researchers choose variables. One such a major study was Labov (1966) in New York City, where phonological variables: the [*th*] variable, the initial consonant in such words as *thin* and *three* and the [*dh*] variable, the initial consonant in words such as *there* and *the* were examined (Wardaugh, 2006). More or less the same dialectal differences have been noted in American English, particularly the variety spoken in the Upper Mid-West. Here, *stopping* has been observed in the following examples, *them* realised as [*dem*]; *there* as [*dere*] and *those* as [*dose*] (Wardaugh, 2006).

Interestingly, the same phenomenon of *stopping* has been noted in South Asian Englishes: Hindi-Urdu, Sinhalese and Kashmiri English. For instance, in India and Pakistan, English phonology has been characterised by a peculiar sound system which is termed series substitution. Typicalities of Indian English involve retroflex consonants as in [*ɖ*] and [*ɗ*] which replace alveolar series [*t*] and [*d*] (Kachru, 1986; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Schilling, 2014). Besides, the following sounds have been observed with [*f*] as [*ph*]; [*θ*] as [*th*]; and [*ð*] as either [*d*] or [*dh*] (Schilling, 2014). Stopping has also been observed, particularly in Singaporean, Malay, Hong-Kong and the Philippine Englishes. In Singapore, Malaysia, Hong-Kong and the Philippines, where American English was growing, and British English declining Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), *stopping* involves usages whereby Malaysian and Singapore English speakers substitute [*t,d*] or affricated forms of these stops for these interdentals [*θ*] and [*ð*] (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Schilling, 2014).

West African and East African, Southern African Englishes as well as in other parts of the inner-circle countries have manifested occurrences of stopping, though with some varied degrees. The same phenomena have been reported where interdentals [*θ*] and [*ð*] and vowel sound distinctions

became puzzling for Bantu language speakers in the following Anglophone areas of African: West and East African English (Abdulaziz, 1991; Manuel, 2017; Schmied (1985, 1991, 2004). In Nigeria, in particular, studies have revealed *stopping* amongst the Hausa speakers of Nigerian English (Bamgbose, 1983; Blevins, 2014; Egbe, 1979; Gramley & Pätzold, 1992; Jibril, 1982; Roach, 2009; Todd, 1984; Willmott, 1978). Gough (2002) further observed *stopping* of interdental, for example, *think*, *thin* and *this*, having the word-initial *th* being realised as alveolar stop sounds as in *[t]*, rather than *[θ]* and voiced *[ð]* as in the word-initial *the*, *that* and *those* realised as *[d]* respectively in *BSAE*. Related attestations have been made about both Caribbean English (CE) by Hickey (2004) and *BSAE* by Mesthrie (2014) respectively. Further noted is Makalela's (2007) study on interdental sounds, revealing that the combined letters *th* yield the voiceless alveolar affricate sound *[ts]* in isiZulu, one of the Bantu languages spoken in the Republic of South Africa. Avery and Ehrlich (2016) have identified similar consonant gaps including replacement of the interdentals as in *[θ]* by *[t]*, *[s]* or *[ʃ]*, and *[ð]* by *[d]* or *[v]*, the features leading many ESL students to recurrent errors of word cluster emphasis and replacement in many languages. The above findings on South and Southeast Asian, the Pacific, the Caribbean as well as African Englishes have thus pointed to the view that pronunciations may be transversal to other languages. In particular, according to Avery and Ehrlich (2016), pronunciations of Bantu languages are transversal to many other languages.

It could also be argued that the phenomenon of interdentals is not just associated with non-native speakers of English, but it is a universal aspect attested even in native English as in *AmE* and *BrE* alike (Britain, 2002). Indeed, these two sounds *[θ]* and *[ð]* are exceedingly rare in the world's languages, and are usually replaced by *[t]* and *[d]*, respectively. In particular, *[θ]* and *[ð]* are not present in all monolingual native English dialects, nor are they easily discriminated even by native speakers, in which case, they have, likewise, been found to be supplanted by *[t]* and *[d]* Munro and Derwing (2006) in native-speaking contexts. According to Clarke (1991), Vernacular English with the variable alveolar stops *[t]* and *[d]* or the affricates *[tθ]* and *[tð]* for the interdental fricatives *[θ]* and *[ð]*, bears such pronunciations with the words *tin* for *thin* and *den* for *then* (Levey, 2010). Similar reports of interdental supplanting by alveolar plosives come from Newfoundland by Boberg (2010), AAVE by Labov, cited in Gatbonton *et al.*, 2011), New York City by Best and Tyler (2007) as well as Belfast by Milroy, cited in Gatbonton *et al.* (2011). With reports of recurring substitution of fricative *[f]* for interdental *[θ]* in many British (Blevins, 2004;

Hanulikova & Weber, 2012), Australian and New Zealand varieties (Jekiel, 2012), the distinguishing features between the two English consonant sounds have been problematic for English monolingual children and infants (Vihman, 1996, in Blevins, 2004).

The absence of these two interdental fricatives in the phonemic charts of many languages indicates their markedness and acquisition, resulting from more exposure to English (Bernhardt & Stemberger, 2002; Jakobson, 1968). Besides, interdental fricatives have reportedly been amongst the last sounds to be acquired by North American English-speaking children (Bernhardt & Stemberger, 2002; Jakobson, 1968). For instance, $[\theta]$ is usually acquired around age 6 while $[\ð]$ has been acquired around age 7, because of being more marked than the former; before these respective ages $[\ð]$ has commonly been realised as $[d]$ and $[\theta]$ as either $[f]$ or $[s]$ in *AmE* (Smith, 2007). As Dubois and Horvath (2004: 411) remarked, ‘Interdental fricatives are highly marked sounds: they are rare in the languages of the world, and are learned late by children’. Studying $[\ð]$ production, Zhao (2010) found English monolinguals as being unable to produce $[\ð]$ as a fricative in 100% of $[\ð]$ target tokens. Therefore, $[\ð]$ was sometimes realised as ‘stop-like $[\ð]$, especially after a pause, vowel, liquid, or fricative. Stop-like $[\ð]$ is different from $[d]$, having a significantly higher burst spectrum peak and mean spectral frequency, as well as a significantly weaker and latter spectral burst shape.

Even more significantly, with the minimal contrastive function of $[\theta]$ and $[\ð]$ showing variable production amongst different speakers of many English dialects, research has also traced the origin of the two fricatives to $[t]$ and $[d]$ respectively. For instance, in 1382 the word *authentick*, for instance, was attested in English as a loan word from Old French *authentique*. The word was later discovered to have been borrowed from the ancient Greek *authentikos*. Over time until 1630, the spelling *authentique* emerged, resulting in *authentick* in 1682. Other related words which until the middle of the 14th century had Old French spelling *trone* was reportedly loaned from the Greek *thronos*, hence a modern-day English word *throne*. As a result, a new spelling with the fricative $[\theta]$ spread and was accepted; $[t]$ was eventually replaced by $[\theta]$ in spoken English (Arlotto, 1972). Similarly, the voiced fricative $[\ð]$, in Old English *father* and *mother* was once pronounced as *mōdor* and *foeder*, and the *medial* or intervocalic stop $[d]$ in both words later changed to the fricative $[\ð]$ (Arlotto, 1972; Mousa, 2014).

However, the high degree of similarity between monolingual English production of [d] and [ð] suggests that these sounds could be merged in L2 English phonologies under Flege's SLM. The neutralisation of dental stops with alveolar stops is straightforward, given many factors influencing the mergers (Blevins, 2006; Labov, 1994). Interestingly, cross-linguistic markedness as well as late acquisition, then, does not necessarily imply an automatic neutralisation of sound changes of any particular segment (Blevins, 2006). Other peculiar factors include the perceptual similarity of the phonetic variants of interdental fricatives with allophones of [t], [d], [f], and [v] in many English varieties.

Although English pronunciation problems seem to be transversal to every English language learner (Avery & Ehrlich, 2016), ESL learners from Bantu language backgrounds demonstrate some peculiarities (Manuel, 2017). For example, the voiced plosive [d] has been found to be ignored in some cases or otherwise, weakly articulated and/or softer than is common in English, thus being replaced by the voiceless plosive [t] amongst the elderly Sotho speakers (Doke & Mofokeng, 1957). Mochaba's (1992) study on Sesotho found [d], the voiced in English, not as such strongly articulated in Sotho. In addition, the study focussing on voiced fricatives in Sesotho has found the following voiceless sounds with [f] realised either as [f] or [ph]; however, the same study found no substitute sound for the voiced sound [V] in English (Rapeane, 1997). In the case of the plosives [t] and [d], the research participants have been found to be using the *d* in writing, though pronouncing the sound as *t* in speech. Typical examples noted include consistent realisation of the initial phoneme [d] in the word *dinner* as the initial [t], thereby sounding something like Sesotho loan word *tinare*, and with the word *radio*, having the medial [d] realised as [t], with the word reading as *ratio* in Sesotho, respectively. While examining a general pattern emerging in adoptives involving voiced stops whereby the foreign voiced sounds are replaced by voiceless equivalents in Sotho, Rapeane (1997) found the voiced alveolar plosive [d] being realised as the voiceless plosive stop [t], more especially amongst the older generation who had been to public schools in the country. According to Rapeane, Sotho lacks the voiced stop [d], which occurs only as an allophone of the alveolar lateral retroflex [l], followed by the high mid vowels [i] and [u] in such words as *Lumela* realised as [dumɛ:la], instead of a discrete phoneme [d] (Rapeane, 1997).

However, for Rapeane (1997), old people mainly use [t] while especially the younger people, with prior exposure to English native-speaking teachers from private schools in Lesotho, use [d]. For the author, rarely do government schools have English mother-tongue teachers from whom learners could acquire ‘correct’ pronunciations of English. Being concerned with alveolar plosives [t] vs [d] amongst the Basotho, that is young people, compared to old people, the studies, reviewed, have overlooked the comparative degree of voicing between English and Sotho voiced stops, let alone that of alveolar plosives and interdental fricatives. Interestingly, Mojaki’s (2020) study reported the phenomenon of *stopping* amongst the sampled students at the NUL. Looking at the complexity of the *stopping*, it would be instructive to borrow Roach’s view which has reportedly ruled out the existence of [θ] and [ð] fricatives, thus preferring to describe them as ‘weak dental plosives’ (2010, p. 56). However, noting such paucity, coupled with some contradictions on the phenomena of phonological features, it would be prudent to conduct a systematic study on *LesE* in the context of Lesotho, with the findings presented and discussed in Chapter Four.

2.2.2 Morphosyntax

Morphosyntax can be seen as involving syntactic structures, some of which have different interpretations in different contexts. Within the notion of morphosyntax is grammatical variation which involves two sub-types: morphology and syntax. In this view, morphosyntax involves morphological and syntactic domains of a linguistic structure. Morphology and syntax are clearly the domains of linguistic structure least susceptible to the influence of contact, and this statistical generalisation is not vitiated by a few exceptional cases. Scholars are, therefore, unanimous that sociolinguistic and language contact situations play a less significant role in syntactic change. Used in linguistics, the term morphosyntax denotes grammatical categories or properties, defined, amongst others, with reference to morphology, (that is the internal structure or forms of words) and syntax, which is the study of rules governing the combination of words to form sentences in a language (Crystal, 2006). In other words, morphosyntax encompasses grammatical variables including word-formation processes, sentence structures, tense and aspect marking. As part of, or as an aspect within morphosyntax, syntax refers to the structure of larger units like phrases and sentences, including rules for combining and relating words in sentences (Crystal, 2006). According to this view, markedness is often less clear in syntax than in phonology. In this view, syntactic features are the areas of linguistics whose meaning is more or less difficult to determine

and predict. However, Bylund and Oostendorp (2014) view grammar and lexicon as being learnt more easily than any other domains by second language speakers, though traces of mother tongue can still be noted.

While morphosyntactic variation was at times associated with different language systems, studies have proved that even within a particular language, in this case English, variation could be determined as presented in the next sections. Besides word-formation processes, sentence structures, tense and aspect marking, to mention just a few, morphosyntactic variation is concerned with many more linguistic features as shown in the following sections: In this study, these include extension of the progressive to statives; levelling process between the preterite and perfect aspect; modal system: core modals and quasi-modals; grammatical and notional agreement; relativisation strategies; copy pronouns; articles and prepositional idioms, all of which constitute the data as presented in Chapter Four.

2.2.2.1 Extension of the Progressive to Statives

The progressive aspect is used to express on-going actions or events in progress. According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 188), ‘the term aspect refers to a grammatical category which reflects the way in which the verb action is regarded or experienced with respect to time’. The progressive aspect could also be used to express actions extended over time, that is it refers to actions or events which are on-going at the time of speaking or writing (Biber *et al.*, 2002; Murphy, 1985). It is formed by the verb *be* + *-ing* form or the present participle. The progressive aspect, which has been studied within the framework of historical linguistics, can be traced to Old English and Modern English alike. Other forces on the progressive aspect include Latin translation texts by monks and internal forces such as the grammaticalisation thesis, marked by reanalysis of certain lexical items as in gerund nouns and adjectives. In this view gerund nouns, also called verbal nouns, are verbs, usually *ing-forms* which function as noun phrases in clauses; verbal adjectives that is modifiers, later adapted to the progressive aspect of the verbs (Smith, 2004, 2017).

As such, Modern English not only saw the shift of the progressive from the literary writing, but it also saw its expansion, frequency and functions in different contexts. These include aspectual and modal forms, reflected in various syntactic roles and locations of the feature as in the first-person,

second- and third-person subjects along with such devices as main and subordinate clauses, active and passive constructions as well as the past and non-past tenses. Added to these were dynamic/activity, stative, mental, stance and communication verbs (Smith, 2004). The progressive aspect also indicates habitual use, repetition/iterativity over a limited period, duration, durativity and incompleteness or temporariness. It occurs with frequency adverbs such as *always*, *continually* and *forever*. The progressive aspect has further been noted for expressing subjectivity, expressivity and emotivity (Wright, 1986). The progressive aspect is formed by the copula verb plus the *ing-form* or present participle as in *I am walking*. For instance, the progressive aspect, as in *She is saying* and *I am thinking that* often conveys a vivid image and a greater sense of involvement than the simple tense (Biber *et al.*, 2002). Once used with friendly letter-writing and intimate discourses, the progressive was associated with informality and colloquialism; the tendency of using the progressive in informal conversations or casual expressions in any communicative events has been increasing in recent years, most probably because of this historical background (Biber *et al.*, 2002; Smith, 2004).

The tendency of extending the progressive aspect to the stative verbs has, likewise, attracted the attention of sociolinguistic research in many parts of the world. In any case, the extension of the progressive to the statives, sometimes to non-stative verbs, has long been reported in World Englishes by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984). World Englishes, including the superstrate variety, for instance, *AmE* have been noted for expressing statements of fact or a habit, more especially in conversation, using the progressive aspect as in *Aunt Margaret was saying, its from my great-grandmother* (Biber *et al.*, 2002). Likewise, the progressive aspect with stative verbs has been found to express non-punctual or habitual verbs, as if suggesting dynamic or activity-oriented propositions in South Asian English. Examples include *I am knowing. I am seeing. We are having our house in Thana; Are you having cold? I am having a cold* (Platt, 1984; Platt & Ho, 1988; Platt *et al.*, 1984; Samida & Takahashi, n.d; Tongue, 1974; Tay, 1982).

Studies on Sub-Saharan African Englishes including *ZimE* and *BSAE* have revealed the progressive aspect being extended to the stative verbs. Examples include Englishes spoken in Cameroon, Nigeria, Kenya and Eswatini (Arua, 1998). *BSAE*, including *XE* also attested to the same phenomenon with such instances as *I am having a house in Bryanston.* Instead of *I have a*

house in Bryanston; I'm having a child you see... He is having...; The author is having evidence of the learner's errors; I am loving every minute of it (Buthelezi, 1995; de Klerk, 2006; *A Dictionary of South African English, 1991*; Linnegar, 2013; Marungudzi, 2016; Mesthrie, 2013; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Parkinson & Singh, 2007).

The progressive aspect is overgeneralised to stative verbs in *BSAE* and to their varieties, including such cognitive verbs as *believe*, which express states in Standard English. Such verbs are not likely to be realised in the progressive as they are identical from moment to moment, and do not express temporary states or limited duration (Parkinson & Singh, 2007). *I can say because I'm believing in them. I am thinking that.... She is saying; Even racism is still existing*; one of the extreme cases in *BSAE* is *Busy + Ving* as in *I am busy relaxing* (Lass, 2004; Linnegar, 2009; Mesthrie, 2004, 2006; Van de Poel, Carstens & Linnegar, 2012). Also viewed as a common feature of speech, Biber *et al.* (1999, 2002), the progressive has been considered a universal feature of African Englishes (Van Rooy & Kruger, 2016). For some researchers, the progressive aspect, which is commonly noted amongst language users/learners in African English, has been observed as just a fleeting feature likely to dissipate with increased proficiency in such an established variety as *BSAE* (Van Rooy, 2013).

However, certain progressives have been found to be extending to statives without necessarily violating Standard English conventions (Biber *et al.*, 1999). A number of explanations could be put forth for such variations. One explanation is that *have* is one of the verbs changing the 'Verbal Category' (Haboňová, 2014; Leech, 2004). For Leech (2004), typical examples where the 'verbal category' bears the progressive aspect include *think, suppose, cogitate, like* and *love*, to mention a few. Corroborating the notion, the *Collins COBUILD English Usage* (2004), Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Swan (1995) consider *have* as sometimes taking up the progressive aspect, with the verb *have* thus indicating someone as doing something. For example, *We were just having a philosophical discussion*. Other examples include the semi-modal usage *have to*, thereby implying the 'temporary continued obligation' (Swan, 1995: 233) as in *Why have you (got) to go home? She's having to write an essay at the moment; Deans, Head of Schools, Heads of Departments are having to think about the opportunities and problems*. Probably on this basis, however, *have* has been overgeneralised as in *He is living in Eldoret*, which East African English speakers use even in cases of temporary stay. The usage could also be linked to the view that progressive aspect bears

an element of ‘attention *catching*’, with users extending it to stative as a strategy of making the verb both prominent and vivid in discourse (Jenkins, 2014).

Finally, the Bantu language logic, which expresses the habitual aspect in different ways could be involved here. For example, some action could be expressed as done just once in a while or be considered to be on-going or being in progress at the time of speaking. Both of these have been noted, though without clear-cut distinctions in Bantu languages such as Sesotho and Sepedi respectively (Makalela, 2007). On the other hand, Van Rooy (2006) views the progressive form in *BSAE* as expressing a different meaning from that of Standard English. From the Standard English perspective, the progressive aspect expresses a temporary action in progress while from the *BSAE* viewpoint, it expresses the persistive aspect, that is an activity which started in the past, and is presently on-going, an aspect which is unique to Bantu languages. Similarly, Rapeane’s (1997) study on some Sotho structures, in my view, show the simple present and the progressive aspect as not necessarily distinguishable from the worldview of the Basotho, the feature which could be transferred into English-second language in the Kingdom (also see Demuth, 1992, 2007) The findings from the study bear the following examples: *Ba ya teng*, meaning *They are going there*. *Ha ke ye*, meaning *I am not going away*. Both of these sentences have been in the progressive aspect, albeit being possibly used to express the simple present tense such as *They go there* and *I do not go away* respectively (Rapeane, 1997).

While these morphosyntactic variants have been noted to be salient, the question would still be whether they are unique to World Englishes. Within the framework of New Englishes studies, Jim Davy (2000) has, however, considered as ‘false’, the view that any ‘deviations’ from modern Standard English are unique to non-native Englishes. Citing single comparatives *than* for ‘more than’ as in *He values his car than his wife*, and the progressive aspect with statives as in *I am having a cold*, Davy (2000) has attributed such usages to native English speakers, thereby tracing them to the *OED* with British sources, with respective dates *c.*1838–78, 1606–1978, 1533–1774, and 1697). On this basis, attributing variations only to World Englishes, including the Bantu languages is untenable, given the seemingly dynamic developments of the progressive aspect and other variants as noted above (Davy, 2000).

2.2.2.3 Levelling Process Between the Preterite and Perfect Aspect

Also noted is a distinction or lack of distinction between the present perfect and simple past tense or aspect. In the first place, the present perfect refers to the indefinite past, suggesting an action or an event which started sometime in the past and stretched up to the immediate past or the moment of speaking. In other words, the present perfect refers to recent events, without any specific time. According to Comrie (1976: 52), the perfective aspect is ‘the continuing relevance of a previous situation. The present perfect often expresses past events which somewhat incorporate ‘current relevance.’ Moreover, this form denotes a present state resulting from a past event. The present perfect is one of the core versatile grammatical areas with a completive meaning in English. Because of its indefinite past time reference, the present perfect aspect is normally not used with the temporal or time adverbials. Exceptions include such sequence adverbials as *already*, *just*, *yet*, *since* and *still* as well as *now*, as well as the experiential or frequency adverbial *ever* to mention just a few. Interestingly, this is one of the phenomena reflecting some distinctions between *BrE* and *AmE*, with the former hardly using the very adverbials with the simple past, while the latter very often does since it rarely uses the perfect aspect (Biber *et al.*, 2002). The perfect aspect is formed with the primary auxiliary verb *have* + v-en variant past participle of the verb as in *I have finished* or *done* the work; *my mother has just called*. The simple past tense, also called the preterite, denotes an action or an event which was complete either at the definite or indefinite time in the past. Here an emphasis is on the specific time at which an event happened; also noted is that the event started and ended sometime in the past. Examples could be *I finished*; *I did the work*; and *My Mother just called*. Such happenings have no relevance to the present, as they are particular to the past.

However, in World Englishes including some dialects in the UK and US, adverbials have been used as follows: *I am writing this essay since two hours ago*. *I have worked there in 1960*. In addition, *I’ve just seen your brother*; *I’ve already eaten*; *Now I know what it is! I’ve forgotten my husband* (*BrE*) have been found to be salient. However, American English adopts the past tense, such as *I just saw your brother*; *I already ate*; *Now I know what it is! I forgot my husband*. (*AmE*) (Zhang, 2008). The above findings consistently indicate an indiscriminate usage of the sequence adverbial *already* with both the present and past aspect, the feature which apparently highlights

the focus on the adverbial meaning rather than the verbal aspect and an indefinite time reference as noted in historical Englishes, especially *BrE* (Platt *et al.*, 1984).

Furthermore, the present perfect is used with the past adverbials as in *It has been established hundreds of years ago* (Gramley & Pätzold, 1992; Schmied, 1991). However, in some cases it is possible to add past time-referential adverbials as in *I have seen this film, it was just yesterday* (Comrie, 1976), the feature which shows the complexity of the phenomenon. According to Werner (2016), the alternating usage of the simple past and present perfect is a morphosyntactic domain, indicating the two as the competing aspects or tenses of English in recent years. For the author, these aspects have also attracted attention of researchers in modern linguistics. The present perfect has been noted across varieties of Englishes, the outer-circle varieties such as *HkE*, *IndE*, *NigE*, *SinE* as well as inner-circle Englishes, particularly *BrE*, *AmE*, *AusE*, *CanE*, *IrE* and *NzE*, more especially in speech (Werner, 2016). The levelling of the simple and present perfect marks diffusion from the input language. As such, the phenomenon features South and Southeast Asian Englishes as in *IndE*, *HkE*, *PhilE* and *SinE*, with the scholars attributing the phenomena to background languages (Kirkpartrick & Subban, 2016). However, reports on the levelling of the simple and present perfect have pointed to the vernaculars of English English, hence anlgoversal (Britain, 2010, also noted in Seoane and Suarez-Gomez, 2013).

Moreover, the present tense as well as the perfect aspect are used with the past adverbials as in, *I am writing this essay 'since two hours ago'. I have worked there 'in 1960'* (Verma, 1982). In Southeast Asian Englishes, as in Malaysian-Singapore and Hong Kong Englishes, a low degree of past tense marking for the verbs in local languages, Malay and Cantonese Chinese, has probably been one of the factors. As Platt *et al.* (1984) pointed out, a low degree of past tense marking for the verbs has been influenced by background languages such as Chinese and Malay. Some typical examples, coupled with the zero verbal *-s* marking of the third-person singular present tense include *My mum, she come from China many years ago. I start here last year*. Besides, the participle is also used for the simple past as in *We gone last night* (Platt *et al.*, 1984).

It is noticeable that the preterite and the perfect aspect bear various connotations in World Englishes. One of the instances is West African English, with *My father is away*, having the perfective meaning of *'My father have (sic) travelled'* (Jibril, 1982b; Görlach 1991). The

tense/aspect shows either complete or incomplete actions involved. The former denotes a low degree of past tense marking for the verbs. The simple past can therefore occur with the temporal while the perfect cannot in Standard English. In some instances, the simple present tense is used with *already* to express the present perfect aspect, for example, *I stay in X seventeen years already* - I have lived in X for seventeen years; *My father already pass away* - My father has passed away. In the above sentences, the zero verbal -s marking is also observed. According to McCormick (2004), morphosyntactic features of Cape Flats English (*CFE*) include the non-standard use of auxiliaries (e.g. *We did move here a week already*, meaning 'We had moved here a week previously'). Other noticeable tendencies of overgeneralising and lexicalising the preterite noted in the corpus on Xhosa English (henceforth *XE*) involved *she did looked; did asked; they did came last* (de Klerk, 2006). Such tendencies been confirmed as a marker of maximum salience in Swazi English (*SwazE*) (Arua, 1998).

The perfective has also been studied, but treated differently in the context of Lesotho. Of significance are the following examples: *Ke tedile tsa lefatshe* also read as *Ke tetsa tsa lefatshe*, both of which mean *I have given up earthly things*. Whatever the argument was put forward, it did not justify the fact that the Sesotho perfective suffix *-ile* was preferred over either *-me* or *-tse* initially. Because *the Lekhotla la Sesotho* writes prescribed texts in Lesotho, its argument prevails in classrooms today. This, therefore, means that the dialect which Doke and Mofokeng (1957) regarded as non-standard is now the standard variety, having been blessed by *the Lekhotla la Sesotho*. In any case, while the bone of contention amongst the Sesotho linguists has been on the perfective suffixes *-ile*, *-me* and *-tse*, the co-occurrence of the past referential adverbial with the perfective has been realised in more than one way. For example, the conjugational suffix *-itse* is added to indicate the perfective aspect. These are the Sotho ways of forming the future and perfect tenses, respectively. The two forms of the perfective suffixes have been found to be acceptable by Khaketla (1951) (Rapeane, 1997). What about in *LesE*? Whether this mother tongue Sesotho logic could be mapped onto English as a second language remains unanswered. Like any other variation studies so far, the levelling process of the perfect and the simple aspect has been reported with some variations in both native and non-native Englishes. While the findings have indicated the widespread and/or sporadic use of these variants in these particular World Englishes, they have still left the question whether *LesE* could feature the phenomena unanswered.

2.2.2.4 Modal System: Core vs Quasi-modals

The modal system which includes both core modals and quasi-modals has also attracted attention of World English scholars (Loureiro-Porto, 2016). The term ‘modality’ refers to a speaker’s or a writer’s attitude towards, or a point of view about, a state of the world. In particular, modals are used to say whether something is real or true, or whether it is the subject of speculation rather than definite knowledge. For example, *Charles is at home now* is a statement of what is believed to be true, and indicates a high degree of certainty on the part of the speaker; *Charles may be at home now*, on the other hand, is more speculative and an assessment of possibility rather than a statement of fact. *Charles should be at home now* can be either a statement of what is probably true or a statement of what is desirable or necessary. The other meaning involves getting things done or trying to control the course of events. Modals used in this way express degrees of obligation and whether or not something is necessary, desirable, permitted or forbidden. Such usage also refers to volition, people’s will to do or not to do things, and to their ability to do things: *You may go now*. (Speaker grants permission) *I must be careful what I say*. (Speaker expresses necessity/obligation). The most significant expression of modality is by means of modal verbs. Firstly, the core modal verbs are: *can, could, may, might, will, shall, would, should, must*; secondly quasi-modals include *have (got) to, need (to), be + going* and *want to*. Research has thus shown the core modals being displaced by the quasi-modals, with *must* being the most affected and out-competed by *have to* and *need to*. *Must* and *have to* denote a deontic meaning, with an equivalent meaning of *it is necessary to do something* (Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Murphy, 1985).

Falling within the closed-system category of words, the modals have both verbal and auxiliary meanings, and are used with any personal form, whether singular or plural markers. They are also used with bare infinitivals in English, that is the base forms of the verb as in *can go; could go; must go; should go; will go* and *shall go*, to mention a few. The forms of modal verbs significantly differ from the forms of other types of verbs. Modal verbs have only one form and do not inflect for person or number. Unlike other lexical verbs, core modals have no *to + infinitival* forms, either with particle *to* or without. Modal verbs have no *-ing* form and no *-ed* participle form, and, therefore, lack progressive and perfect forms, which could be seen in *I’d like to be able to speak Japanese*. Even the periphrastic forms such as the quasi-modals *have to* and *need to* occur with

the bare infinitival as in *have to go* and *need to go*, alike (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). Moreover, main advantages of the semi-modals *have to* and *need to* is their flexibility on a morphosyntactic level (Collins, 2005), which is different from both *must* and *(have) got to*. Thus, the semi-modals use the *-s* form, that is the agreement marker for the third-person singular, and can be used with non-tensed as well as with tensed forms, which, is not possible with *must* and *(have) got to* (Krug, 1998:179,187; Tagliamonte, 2006).

The core modal *must*, one of the historically oldest modal variants, is considered to be basically speaker-oriented and subjective, thus expressing feelings, thoughts, opinions and a desire of the utterance by the speaker. The core modal *must* have a self-imposed obligation deriving from the speaker's authority and power, usually used with the first person and second person pronouns in discourse, and has been found to be frequent in writing (Collins, 2009). *Must* generally refers to obligations which originate from the speaker, and is often used to express a sense of obligation or necessity, or a directive aimed at the speaker or the listener. *Must* expressing obligation is quite strong as in *You must get those done by tomorrow. I told her she must keep her door locked at all times; I must buy a camera.* (directive to oneself), (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). The distribution of *must* may echo the substratal influence as observed not only in *BSAE*, noted above, but also in *PhE* and *SgE*, both of which have reportedly been influenced by local languages, be they Taglish and Chinese respectively (Imperial, n. d.). Therefore, it could also be argued that the modal *must* resonates with and/or basically expresses the subjective meaning or an internally imposed force on the part of the speakers in a given discourse. The modal *must* have been found to be common in *BSAE*, as opposed to its reportedly sporadic usage or trending decline in other World Englishes. This modal variation could also be explained in terms of the face-threatening connotation, thus giving way to the quasi-modals *have to* and *need to*, both of which have recently been associated with face-saving functions, as discussed above.

The quasi-modal *Have to*, on the other hand, is considered to be objective, thus expressing an externally imposed and neutral obligation. *Have to* is also associated with a weaker obligation, that is less imposed authority and power on the part of the speaker. It is about facts and external situations (Imperial, n.d.). *Have (got) to* is generally more associated with external obligations, originating from outside of the speaker: *I must buy a camera.* (directive to oneself), (Carter &

McCarthy, 2006). Taking the point up further, Carter and McCarthy (2006) view *have to* as suggesting an external obligation as in *I have to go back to the hospital for a scan next week*. For Quirk *et al.* (1985: 145) argue that the meaning of *have to* is similar to *must*. It even replaces *must* in the past tense since this modal cannot create the deontic meaning (obligation, duty). The modal system including the core modal verbs, also called the modals (*can, must* and *will*), and the quasi-modal verbs, also called the quasi-modals (*Be able to, Have to* and *Be going to*) has attracted much academic comparative and synchronic studies in such major native English varieties as American, Australian and British Englishes (Collins, 2009a). Added to these is the use of other quasi-modals such as *have to* and *need to* most probably resonating with the trending or an increasingly entrenched usage of quasi-modals, particularly in speech or spoken discourses (Krug, 2000; Leech, 2003) as attested in World Englishes studies. The semi-modal *have to* is one of the quasi-modals with various connotations. The quasi-modal implies medium-degree obligations, that is suggesting that something is supposed to happen or someone is supposed to do something in a given context. *Have to* is also thus motivated by social and societal as well as democratic principles and changes (Collins, 2005). These include habitual obligations. It could, therefore, be noted that both *BrE* and *AmE* have been found to be leading in auxiliarisation of modals, replacing deontic modals: *must* and *should* with *have to* and *need to* in recent years, of course with some variations though.

Studies have been conducted on these particular modals in World Englishes (Murphy, 1985). *Must* and *should*, as obligation and necessity markers, have since the 17th century given way to the semi-modals *have to* and *have got to* also being used with more frequently than *need to* and *ought to* in different genres (Biber *et al.*, 1998). However, Indian English has noticeably been one of the Englishes which are famous for bookish and complex structures with embeddings, some of which are old-fashioned as remnants of the colonial lag. Indian English syntax, like that of other varieties of English in the South Asian region, has distinctive features. For instance, the core modal *must* has been used for various purposes in Indian English (Jenkins, 2003). However, *Have to*, with its weaker deontic and objective meaning, more especially in newspapers, has been observed to be more frequent than *must* in *PhLE* (Collins, 2009; Collins *et al.*, 2014), the frequency of which was also attested in objective news reportage by Meyer (2004). However, official and editorial [formal, my own addendum] texts have also been associated with the quasi-modal *have to*, thereby bearing

the subjective orientation, that is the will of the initiator, with an imposed authority (Westney, 1995).

The core modal *must* has not significantly declined over the 20th century in South African English (*SAE*), as has been in native varieties of English, where it has been used largely in high-degree obligative contexts; both quantitatively and qualitatively the feature has been used in many less face-threatening and/or polite contexts in South African context. As such, *SAE*, particularly *BSE*, lost the obligative force typically noted for the traditional usage of *must* Lass (2004) and Van Schalkwyk (1992), with such common overtones as necessity/obligative modal *must* in *SAE*. Here, the modal *must* bears a certain semantic tone of *should*, with less obligative/deontic sense than *must* as influenced by Afrikaans *moet* (Lass, 2004). Taking the point further, Bowerman (2004) provides other White Southern African English (*WSAfE*) features such as 'the strong obligative modal *must* [which] has much less social impact in *WSAfE* than in other varieties of English, and often substitutes for polite *should/shall*'. Thus, a visitor to South Africa from Britain, asking for directions, would be told to their amazement that *They 'must' take this road and then they 'must' turn left*. The modal often substitutes for polite *should/shall* as in *you must turn left at the robots* (Wasserman & Van Rooy, 2014). In any case, while the illocutionary force of *must* has reportedly been lost in *SAE* because of Afrikaans influence, at the same time, Carter and McCarthy's (2006) observation that the semantic function of the modal *must* is also that of expressing polite invitations in English could not be ruled out. The following conversation is illustrative:

- a: You must come down and have a meal with us sometime.
- b: *Yeah*. (polite invitation).

Language contact with Afrikaans could be posited as the main influence on the increased use of *must* in contexts that are not face-threatening. Another explanation could be that, with the two languages: English and Afrikaans, especially the Afrikaans input Dutch language, being Germanic, it is possible to infer the source of such functional equivalence of the modal *must* in expressing politeness. Whether this is the case in *LesE* could not categorically be concluded in this study though (See Chapter Four).

An equally significant deontic modal, hence quasi-modal is *have to*, which has been outcompeting the core modal *must* in recent years. Tagliamonte and D’Arcy’s (2007a) study in Toronto English reveals more recurrent use of *have to* than both *must* and *have got to*. Although the core modal *must* is considered to be more robust in *AmE* and *BrE*, it has given way to *have to* in the Americas. The study, therefore, highlighted the emerging *have to* as part of the modal system which inherited usages of the Loyalist speech varieties in Early Ontario English (Dollinger, 2006). Such ascendancy of quasi-modal *have to* not only marked contemporary Canadian English, but also a generally trending North American English in the deontic modal domain (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy 2007a: 72). The deontic modal *must*, with its subjective and strongest obligation, has largely been associated with written texts, (writing), with *have to* being preferred in different genres including speech, with its more objective and weaker illocutionary force (Enriques, 2012). According to Corrigan (2000) and (Diaconu (2011), *have to* has been found in both standard and non-standard English, and has been considered to be counter to colonial lag. As such, *have to*, together with other semi-modals *have (got) to* and *need to*, may be seen as marking historical processes of on-going changes and functioning as the paradigm case of grammatical changes, given that semi-modals have been on the rise since the nineteenth century (Krug, 2000).

Another closely related quasi-modal is *need (to)*, which is defined by Perkins as indicating a compulsion coming from within. For the author, *need to* may be caused by either external circumstances or natural conditions. As Loureiro-Porto (2009) observes, such uses of *need to* are a remainder of the modal *need* in combination with passive voice traced to as far back as the period from Old English (OE) to Middle English (ME), during which both syntactic and semantic modals developed. Denoting internal necessity, *need to* has been regarded as outcompeting such modals as *must*, *have to* and *have got to*, by neutralising overtly subjective obligations and expressing more polite and weaker overtones than *must* and *have to* respectively. The modal has also been found in informal contexts, in class lessons and business transactions as in *JamE*. It has thus been found to be lying somewhere between *must* and *have to* in *JamE*, *IndE* and *IRE*, with *have to* used in informal and formal contexts and parliamentary debates (Nokkonen, 2006; Smith, 2003, Taeymans, 2004). In particular, *have to* is one of the quasi-modals with various connotations. The quasi-modal *have to* implies medium-degree obligations, that is suggesting that something is supposed to happen or someone is supposed to do something in a given context. *Have to* has

reportedly been motivated by social and societal as well as democratic principles and changes (Collins, 2005). These include habitual obligations. It could, therefore, be noted that both *BrE* and *AmE* have been found to be leading in auxiliarisation of modals, replacing deontic modals: *must* and *should* with *have to* and *need to* in recent years, of course with some variations.

Also notable is that in present-day English, correlating *need to* with the passive could make its selection of the subject for modal meanings. Studies on *Phile* have found *need to* as reasonably including the cline of deontic obligation, which is, however, associated with the weakest encoder of authority, thus marking the decreasing deontic authority (Loureiro-Porto, 2009).

In the same vein, according to Biber *et al.* (1999), the historically-older semi-modals such as *have to* and *be going to* have increasingly been used more frequently in *AmE* than in *BrE*. Such usages have reportedly been contrasting with the more recently developed usages involving other semi-modals *had better* and *have got to*, which have been found to be more common in British English conversation, the latter as a substitute for *have to* in some contexts. For the authors, the quasi-modal *need to*, which like, *have to*, has been the related candidate, drawing on the notions of grammatisation and democratisation theses. In general, quasi-modals *have to*, *need to* and *be going to* (see below) have been associated with the colloquialisation, grammatisation and democratisation theses, coupled with the influence of American English, with some scholars associating their shift with the period from 1961-1991. In this view, the period from 1961-1991 is one of the periods marking the trending usages in World Englishes (Leech & Smith, 2006).

Other modals include *shall* and *will* and a semi-modal *be going to*, which express volition or prediction in English. As mentioned above, the modal system: the core modals and quasi-modals including *be able to*, *have to* and *be going to*, has been studied in such major native English varieties as American, Australian and British Englishes (Collins, 2009a). Related to volition is the future tense which can be defined as the situation that is subsequent to the present moment. The modals, which, for the most part, are used to express these modality meanings, are basically concerned with speculative actions or predictions which can be changed by other actions, interventions or by our conscious interventions (Comrie, 1985). One of the modals is *will* a distinct form, lacking any inflection. Instead, as one of the controversial aspects in linguistics, *will* is a

modal verb followed by a bare infinitival as in *will watch*, to express the ‘future tense’ (Haboňová, 2014). Another core modal is *shall*, used with the first-person pronouns *I* and *We*, also expresses volition and futurity. *Shall* is one of the rare core modals, which is, otherwise, mainly used in formal contexts such as legal records though much less frequently in contemporary English.

Studies indicate that *will* was mainly used with inanimate subjects with no volitional meaning, and was confined to the subordinate clauses in the Middle English period during the Early Modern English period (Gotti, 2006). Other studies reported that the modal *will* was mainly used in the past future contexts, particularly, as a modal past *would*, with non-human subjects in the late 14th century. On the other hand, *shall*, as a prototype modal, with the sense of obligation, permission, wish, will and mental capacity, can be traced to the Old English period. The modal was mainly used with high frequency in matrix clauses, that is main clauses, more especially with human subjects at the time (Gotti, 2006). Probably because of the colloquialisation thesis, *shall* has been found to be gradually giving way to *will*, which has become extremely common in contemporary English, particularly in conversational contexts. While *shall* is generally infrequent, it is twice as common in spoken texts as in written texts because of its semantic overtones as in *shall I/we* in making suggestions or seeking advice (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). Although *shall I/we...* is the normal form for making suggestions, in informal conversation, it sometimes alternates with *will I/we* as shown in the following dialogue involving A and B in organising food for a dinner party.

A: Will I bring out the salads?

B: No. But, erm, is this fish cooked?

The above conversation shows the core modal *will* as equally expressing volition or prediction, the usage which has been increasingly common, also outwitting *shall* in many spoken contexts, as in many other genres in recent years. Further, *will* not only expresses predictions, but it also denotes events always happening, habitual events, intentions, offers as well as decisions. Even more importantly, the core modal *will* can express disapproval of any persistent actions of oneself or others. Typical examples include *He will leave that door open every time he goes through*, *I will be banging my elbow on the shelf*. Further noted in the above examples is that the modal *will* receives stress though it is one of the functional words often realised with weak stress (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). The reference to *will* and *would* as replacing *shall* and *should* have also been

reported in *SAE* (Wasserman & Van Rooy, 2014). *Will* is almost ten times more frequent than *shall* in spoken and written texts taken together, while the contracted form *'ll* is almost three times more frequent than the full forms *will* and *shall* taken together.

However, one form which has increasingly taken up more or less the same meanings as the two modals is the semi-modal *be going to*. Like the core modals *shall* and *will*, the semi-modal *be going to* expresses volition or prediction in English. Under the grammaticalisation thesis, the emerging quasi-modals, including *be going to*, with a volitional hint have also been noted. As a motion verb, *be going to* became well established in the 17th century, during which it became strongly associated with literal intention and movement, with an implied meaning of animals' ability to move. Nevertheless, *be going to*, with future reference, began to gain ground in the twentieth century, and has been found to be very common in conversation (Biber *et al.*, 2002; Bybee *et al.*, 1994; Mair, 1997; Meyer, 2009). Compared with the core modals *shall* and *will*, *be going to* has surfaced as one of the most common semi-modals used in informal contexts.

Denoting the future temporal reference, *be going to* basically points to plans, decisions and arrangements expressed in spoken and informal contexts (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). While both *will* and *be going to* denote prediction, based on the current evidence at the time of speaking, *will* is considered to be formal, also suggesting absolute prediction or certainty, while *be going to* is informal. Specifically, the semi-modal *be going to* is used to express the planned, immediate/proximate or near future. (Biber *et al.*, 2002). For example, any cloudy, dark sky, could enable one to say: *It's going to rain any minute now*. On this basis, the predictive meaning could as well be made using the core modal *will*. The two modals share some of the semantic features, though the latter, *be going to*, cannot categorically make any predictions or announcements about the future which is hypothetical and remote from present reality: *If we win the lottery, we'll buy a big house in Italy*. ('If we win the lottery, we're going to buy a big house in Italy' suggests there is a reasonable chance or hope of winning) *If you're looking for good restaurants in Waltisham, you're going to be disappointed*. (*be going to* suggests that the listener may indeed be expecting to find good restaurants) (Carter & McCarthy, 2006).

Interestingly, like other quasi-modals, *have to* and *need to*, as discussed above, *be going to*, has reportedly been associated with the colloquialisation, grammaticalisation and democratisation theses, coupled with the influence of American English. The quasi-modal *be going to* has also been making some inroads into *will* and *shall* together, with its semantic function of future temporal reference. With some recession from the mainstream varieties, coupled with an increasing usage amongst the youth, *be going to* has noticeably progressed more quickly in North America than in Britain, thereby accelerating in the last 50-60 years. According to Leech and Smith (2006), the period from 1961-1991 has ushered in a series of blossoming usages identified with colloquialisation, grammaticalisation and democratisation theses, with American English having made significant inroads not only into World Englishes, but also into *BrE* during this period 1961-1991, with usages including *be going to*, amongst others. Besides, *be going to* has reportedly overtaken the core modals *will* and *shall* respectively (Carter & McCarthy, 2006).

In general, many studies carried out on the modal system focused on the semantics of both core modals *must* and *should* and semi-modals *have to* and *need to*. Interestingly, *must* which marks a high-degree obligation, *have to* marking a medium-degree obligation and *should* a lower-degree obligation, have been found in both native and non-native Englishes (Wasserman & Collins, 2009). With the inner-circle Englishes being increasingly auxiliarised, the semi-modal *have to* has been found to be more frequent than the core modal *must* in *AmE*, *BrE*, *AusE* and *NZE* than *SAfE*, and, of course, more than in other World Englishes. On the other hand, *must*, which has recently been confined to highly formal and specialised contexts, reportedly with its declining usage even in *BrE* and other bookish varieties such as *IndE* and *KenyE*, has also taken up new meanings in other regions. A typical example is *SAfE*, where, as noted above, *must* has been noted for a less illocutionary force amongst the *BSAE* speakers (Bowerman, 2004b).

Concerning the volition and prediction modals, the core modal *will* has since been found to be overtaking the core modal *shall*, sometimes standing for the modal *may*. The trending variant *will*, also occurring with the first-person pronouns *I* and *we* alike, has reportedly been influenced by *AmE* and conversational discourses in recent years (Biber *et al.*, 1999, 2002). Confirming this trending notion of auxiliarisation on modality system, such redundant insertions as *can be able*, (though not within the scope of this study), have also been documented for replacing the core modal *can* in *BSAE* (Mesthrie, 2006). Such emerging variatal features have since been trending

across the English-speaking world, with the native varieties, notably *AmE* leading the course (Loureiro-Porto, 2016).

2.2.2.5 Grammatical and Notional Agreement/Congruence

Recent studies conducted on morphosyntactic variations in different parts of the world reported many sociolinguistic variables including agreement or concord, the *subject-verb concord* (SVC), also related to what is called the *Northern subject rule* (Davydova, 2014). The term agreement is traditionally used in grammatical theory and description to denote a formal relationship between elements, in which a form of one word requires a corresponding form of another (Crystal, 2006). While the term agreement has been used more frequently in generative linguistics, the other term concord has widely been used in linguistic studies. Also known as congruence or concord, the concept of agreement is instrumental in Government-Binding and Case theories, and involves, amongst others, agreement marking of person, number and gender in finite verbs, that is the *subject-verb concord* (SVC) (Davydova, 2014).

As the grammatical category of English, agreement is associated with the notion of *the Northern subject rule*. This notion involves the *verbal -s* marking, that is, the *agreement marker*, which is attached to the verb stem, the base form of the verb, more especially in the present simple tense indicative. However, this rule has often bent some of the grammatical rules of the subject-verb concord, including the recurrence of what is called the *zero verbal -s* marking, the feature which has been found relatively frequent in English, within the framework of what is called the *Northern subject rule* (Davydova, 2014). As the grammatical category of English, *the Northern subject rule* has been associated with variable concord or agreement, where either the singular or plural would be used with the first person, the second and/or the third alike during the Old and Mid-English periods (Davydova, 2014; Henry, 2002).

As one of the areas which attracted close attention of research, the grammatical agreement as well as notional concord has been studied from the variationist sociolinguistic perspective. In particular, non-agreement has been found to be common even amongst Standard English speakers. Studies, have, therefore, shown the notion of *agreement vs non-agreement* as not just featuring the non-native English-speaking world, but they have also traced the phenomenon to as far back as the Old

and Middle-English periods (Henry, 2002). Typical examples of the phenomenon as in *He love; She like going up the city*, have been reported amongst the Fens in the east, while the reverse has been the case in such places as East Anglia in the UK (Britain, 1991, 2003, 2006, 2013). As the grammatical category of English, the *verbal -s* marking, that is, the *agreement* marker is attached to the verb stem, the base form of the verb. The omission of the verbal *-s* marking has been found relatively frequent in English. For example, full noun phrases which are especially composed of nouns were noted for a higher frequency of the zero verbal *-s* marking than those composed of personal pronouns. Therefore, personal pronouns are more likely to trigger agreement cross-linguistically, even though non-agreement is more common in spoken English than in written English (Poplak & Tagliamonte, 1989; Tagliamonte, 2012). Besides, based on the process known as *singular concord*, the subject-verb agreement is optional where the subject is a full noun phrase. The verb generally agrees with the pronominal subject and/or it becomes a default third person, without the agreement as in *The books goes on the shelf; The book go on the shelf; The kids is out late; and They are out late* (Henry, 1995, 2002; Montgomery, 1994, 1995; Poplak & Tagliamonte, 1989; Tagliamonte, 2012).

Similarly, morphosyntactic variations, including the zero verbal *-s* marking for the third-person singular present tense, have reportedly been pervasive in World Englishes including South and Southeast Asian Englishes as well as African Englishes. Studying the phenomena in different English-speaking regions, for example, Malaysian-Singapore and Hong Kong Englishes, Platt *et al.* (1984) found the zero verbal *-s* marking for the third-person singular present tense as follows: *My mum, she come from China many years ago; This radio sound good; and My mother she work hard very hard; He go*. These findings reflect not only a low degree of past tense marking for the verbs, but they also mark the vowel changing phenomenon due to the influence of background languages such as Chinese and Malay (Ansaldo, 2013; Guest, 2018; Platt *et al.*, 1984; Tay, 1979, 1982; Tongue, 1974). While such usages have reportedly been common in the region, the phenomena turned out to be even more noticeable amongst the socio-economically marginalised groups (Platt *et al.*, 1984; Tay, 1979).

Noted, however, is that this high degree of morphosyntactic variation in Southeast Asian Englishes, apparently due to background languages Platt *et al.* (1984) somewhat contrasts with the

notable influence of the colonial languages. Other studies conducted on Nigerian, Ghanaian educated English, East African, South African Indian English as well as Black South African English, have shown tendencies of the zero verbal -s marking for singular nouns and verbs (Buthelezi, 1995; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). Typical examples of non-agreement rule have been recorded with the following the zero verbal -s marking: *Does you go to school? He like to read;* and *if one smoke...* in South African English (Asante, 2010; Bowerman, 2004; Britain, 2010; Mesthrie, 2013). Taking up the point further on *BSAE*, Bowerman (2004) and de Klerk (2006) have observed instances of the overgeneralised verbal -s marking as in *...they gets taxis from people; they goes there to give him a money; they knows ways of playing* respectively. In particular, de Klerk's (2006) corpus-based study on *Xhosa English*, a sub-category of Black South African English, corroborated with and pointed to more common salient aspects such as the verb *be* or a *copula* with the present tense as in, *I'm agree/disagree with you; but...; I'm depend on one person.*

Chele's (2015) error analytic study amongst the university students in Lesotho found non-agreement between the plural local noun of the postmodifying clause introduced by the pronominal relativiser *which* and the verb as in *This is **one** of the factors **which** encourages people to impact the environment negatively.* The students were found misinterpreting the referent of *which*, thus substituting 'one' for 'factors'. In other words, the students have been found using the verbal -s marker *encourages*, suggesting the grammatical agreement with the lexical noun phrase *one*, instead of the phrase *factors* which is the plural local head noun of the postmodifying relative clause. The study conclusively noted the subjects as failing to identify a specific referent of the relativiser '*which*' in a clause, sometimes using it in a sentential relative clause, referring to the whole preceding clause thereby choosing the wrong grammatical concord. For example: *Natural resources are faced with the problem of pollution and exhaustion which in turn becomes dangerous to human lives.* While Chele's (2015) study has revealed some of the interesting features of English-second language in the context of Lesotho, it does not make any conclusive remarks on the variety status of *LesE* at different levels examined in this study. Whether *LesE* is a learner or a stabilised variety, it remains unanswered, more especially while the study, of course, was apparently conducted from the prescriptivist perspective, with the sample constituted by English non-majors selected from only one department at the university (Chele, 2015).

Other cases of *non-agreement* have been observed under what is known as the post-verbal subject/associate. Tagliamonte's (1998) study in York found non-agreement in existentials. Associated with long-distance agreement, existentials have been found, especially common in expletive structures as in *There's three books on the table*, an alternative of *There are three books on the table*, two of which are used interchangeably in some contexts. However, *there's*, which is a singular form used with plural nouns, has reportedly not been found in full forms, past tense and questions. As a low-level substitution, it is, therefore, considered unproductive (Henry, 2002). As such, from the syntactic theoretical perspective, agreement is obligatory for few users, yet optional in certain contexts. While *agreement* is viewed as an unnatural *virus* in Standard English grammar, it is considered a learned alternative (Sobin, 1997, in Henry, 2002).

Further reports have pointed to more frequent occurrences of zero verbal *s*- marking involving the finite verb, when separated from the noun phrase (NP) by any intervening structures such as adjectival clauses. The cases in point were noted in England, Scotland as well as Belfast in Northern Ireland. Related is the concept of *attraction*. The term *attraction*, as a competing source of plural number, has been noticeable mainly in collective nouns. Attraction thus occurs when a verb agrees with a plural noun in the modifier of a singular subject, as in *the time for fun and games are over* (Bock & Miller, 1991). This phenomenon has further been associated with comparative agreement after both singular and plural local nouns. Studies focusing only on collective heads with a collected construal as in *the gang near the motorcycles vs the gang near the motorcycle*, have found as salient more plural verbs after plural local nouns than the other way round (Humphreys & Bock, 2005).

Chele (2015) further found non-agreement between the head of the antecedental noun phrase and the finite verb as in *An example of living things are mountains*. 'Many' students sampled in the study chose the verb which agrees with the noun nearer, instead of identifying the antecedental noun phrase in the clause. The study, therefore, probably echoes Leech's (1994) classification of such an error into an error of attraction or proximity, also called attractor-agreement (De Vos, 2013). For Leech, having the verb agree with the noun or pronoun which closely precedes it, speakers would be motivated to see the plural local noun, usually the last noun, which is part of the postmodifying prepositional phrase as having to determine congruence,. However, such a

choice breaches the subject-verb agreement rule between the actual antecedent and the finite verb in the clause (Chele, 2015). Therefore, Chele's study has shown *attraction* to be more noticeable in collective nouns as shown in this study.

Equally significant is the notional concord involving collective nouns. According to Greenbaum (1996: 103) and the *Collins Cobuild English Grammar* (2011:59), collective nouns are a category of nouns denoting 'a group of people or things', thus being singular in form but plural in meaning. For Depraetere (2003:85), 'collective nouns are nouns with multiple reference, singular in form but at the same time able to be also combined with the plural'. The traditional description of English subject-verb agreement is that verbs agree in number with the subjects of their clauses. Less clear is whether verbs agree with the *notional* or *grammatical* number of the subject, or both. Notional number is the numerosity of the subject's referent in the speaker's mental model, and grammatical number is the conventional linguistic number of the subject (head) noun (Humphreys & Bock, 2005). As group nouns or nouns of magnitude, collective nouns are another category of grammar which poses challenges on agreement marking, not only for non-native, but also for native speakers of English across the world. As such, this grammatical category, likewise, constitutes another feature of agreement, involving the *notional subject* in English. With studies having focused on this aspect, usages have pointed to variations depending, more especially on the input variety of English across the world, though *AmE* usages seem to be at the forefront in recent years.

It is often argued that singular forms are used when a collective is thought of as a unit and plural forms when the speaker or writer has the individual members in mind (Poutsma, 1914; Quirk *et al.*, 1985). The ambiguity arises because groups can be regarded as units or as multitudes of individual members (Humphreys & Bock, 2005). The explanation is perhaps better sought further back in the history of the two varieties. In this tradition, there is a distinction between singular or grammatical concord, on the one hand, and plural or notional concord, on the other hand. The former involves agreement with the syntactic form of the subject and the latter, agreement with its meaning. With many scholars viewing the variable concord with collective nouns as a feature of English since the Old English period Liedtke (1910), *BrE* and *AmE* 'conventionally employ slightly different images to construe the situation for expressive purposes' (Levin, n.d.). British

English has often been found to be using the subject with either the singular or plural verb in different contexts. For example, the collective noun *team* takes the singular verb if considered to be a unit. Otherwise, the word takes the plural verb if the referent or antecedent denotes a composition of individuals. On the other hand, American English, largely uses the singular form, emphasising collectivity of the *team* as a unit or one, meaning the singular collective noun subjects in sentences (Biber *et al.*, 2002; Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Watt, 2016-2017). However, Langacker (1988) views this dialectal difference as representing a small difference in meaning.

In addition, more instances of collective nouns such as *staff*, *faculty*, *family*, *government*, *committee*, *council*, *board* and *the public*, to mention just a few, normally require the plural verb agreement and pronoun substitution, though with some increasing tendencies towards singular usages in modern-day *BrE*, albeit being treated as singular in *AmE*. One of the major exceptions about the *AmE* culture is that phrase *the United States* is almost universally used with a singular verb. Although the construction *the United States are* (the plural collective) was very common early in the history of the country, as the singular federal government exercised more authority and a singular national identity developed, it became standard to treat the country's name *the United States* as a singular noun (Watt, 2016-2017). In British English, most of the singular collective nouns can be used with both singular and plural concord, whereas American English prefers the singular concord pattern, though with occasional instances of the plural concord. For instance, British English largely uses the collective noun *staff* with plural verbs, while American English often uses the singular verbs (Levin, 2001). The word *government*, to which we turn below, is one of the most striking collective nouns.

In the example *This **Government** are dedicated to a sustainable, economic recovery based on stable, low inflation, Government* has been noted for taking a plural verb. In this view, the singular demonstrative determiner *This* does not necessarily indicate a singular notional concord; rather, it views the government as a group of individuals. The plural verbal concord is apparently the norm with the noun *government* in British 'officialese', and has been stable over the 30-year period (Hundt, 1998). *AmE* 'officialese', on the other hand, uses singular concord with collective nouns. On this basis, *BrE* differs from *AmE* by considering the noun *government* as comprising the Prime Minister and the ministers, denotes the Congress, the executive branch and the Federal judiciary in *AmE*. As such, the tendency is to use 'plural concord with the British government (Algeo, 1986).

However, the singular concord is sometimes used with *government* in official documents and with foreign governments in *BrE* as in *The Government of Denmark is applying the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in respect of Greenland* (Bauer, 1994).

In addition, a tendency towards singular concord with the collective noun *government* can be traced to the 1930s, thereby manifesting the development towards singular concord in *BrE* as having started before *AmE* began influencing *BrE* to any large extent. With such notable history, it is instructive to observe that the agreement system of collective nouns can vary. For example, collective nouns can be followed by a verb in the singular or in the plural, as well as by singular or plural pronouns whose antecedents are a collective. Further, collective nouns, as a unit, can take the singular pronoun *it* and the relativiser *which*, or the plural *they* as well as the relativiser *who*, if taken as composed of individuals as in the following examples: *The government has* voted and *it has* announced *its* decision. *The government have* voted and *they have* announced *their* decision (Levin, 1999; Quirk *et al.*, 1985). Other related general tendencies between the two varieties are as follows: *The committee was* appointed (*AmE*); *The committee were* appointed (*BrE*) (Watt, 2016-2017).

In addition, the influence of syntactic boundaries on concord with personal pronouns is stronger in *AmE* than in *BrE*. As such, plural pronouns referring to collective nouns are more common in *BrE* if the pronouns occur in the same clause as the antecedent. However, the two varieties are similar in cases of pronouns occurring in the following clause or sentence. The grammatical agreement and notional concord have further been studied on South and Southeast Asian Englishes. Of the Englishes in the regions, *PhilE* and *SingE* have been found to be using the singular verbs with collectives, thereby typifying *AmE* and *BrE* due to their respective colonial histories (Hundt, 2006). Hundt reported both the singular and plural concord for nouns in Singaporean English and only the singular concord in both *AmE* and *PhilE*. Hong Kong English, on the other hand, has been demonstrated as using both the singular and plural verbs (Wong, 2017).

Interestingly, South African English has also been shown to use the notional agreement. Such group-forming lexical items as *committee* and *family* were found with frequency counts of only 6.2% in the data (De Vos, 2013). The findings have thus highlighted these tendencies as cohering

with American English, and of course, with increasingly sporadic usages as observed in *BrE* as noted above (Levin, n. d.). However, for syntactic constructions like partitives and co-ordination, South African English has been found to be using a mereological strategy (De Vos, 2013). The findings seem to contrast with the notional number where some researchers have found speakers as resorting to mereological intuitions, more especially in handling ‘well known’ data for committee-type nouns (Lasersohn, 1995; Peters, 1999; Sauerland & Elbourne, 2002). While such group nouns rightly take either singular or plural concord, notional concord appears regionally conditioned, with the singular verbal concord more characteristic of North American speakers and plural often being associated with British English as mentioned earlier (Bock *et al.* 2006; Den Dikken, 2001; Peters, 1999; Sauerland & Elbourne, 2002).

The question of a possible change in the use of concord in present-day English has attracted interest over the last few years. Research further indicates this phenomenon as increasingly common even amongst professors whose daily communication has become flexible, tolerating and recognising English variation just as a norm in recent years (Biber *et al.*, 2002). The singular verbal concord with collective nouns in *BrE* has further been noted amongst the fashionable youth in the UK. With most of the recorded concord changes being very small in collective nouns, studies have pointed to a slight increase in singular verbal concord in *BrE* press texts, also with plural personal pronouns remaining as a viable alternative to singular personal pronouns in both *BrE* and *AmE* (Levin, n. d.). Further developing the notion, Mair (1998) classifies newspaper language as one of the ‘fast’ genres, quickly adopting new speech-like features. For the author, fiction, particularly learned writing and reporting, together with sports texts, is classified as a ‘slower’ or more conservative genre. Other typical genres, coupled with high personal involvement, tend to use the plural concord (Levin, 1998). However, an increasing use of singular verbal concord has been documented in editorials as in *The Times* during this century (Bauer, 1994).

Furthermore, non-agreement between various determiners such as demonstratives and quantifiers and their noun phrases has been reported. These include *these perfume; two bedroom; many bottle...* According to McCormick (2004), morphosyntactic features of *CFE* include various non-standard forms of agreement, where the proximal demonstrative *this* was used with the plural noun as in, *I’ve watched this children*. Further instances of non-agreement have been found in *BSAE*,

involving conflation of demonstrative determiners and noun phrases. De Klerk (2006) found the following variants common amongst both learners and teachers in *XE* as in *that goods; that things* and *this children*, the same phenomena which had earlier been reported by Van der Walt and Van Rooy (2002). Still on Xhoza English in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, de Klerk (2006) noted quantifiers or quantity determiners such as *some + few - some few; other... other; the most thing*, with *more or most*, used as an adjective preceded by a determiner amongst both teachers and learners. Interestingly, while grammatical agreement and notional concord: zero verbal -s marking and collectives, has been found to be common in the above-mentioned non-native Englishes, research has further offered salient manifestations of the phenomenon even in superstrate Englishes as in *BrE* and *AmE* (Henry, 2002; Platt *et al.*, 1984). However, the phenomena had, until the undertaking of this study, received less systematic attention so as to establish whether and the extent to which *LesE* bears such variations (see Chapter Four below).

2.2.2.6 Relativisation Strategies

Relativisation strategies, also called relative markers, form part of the grammatical structures, usually functioning as embedded parts of complex sentences. Relativisation is a process of forming a relative clause construction in English (Crystal, 2006). Relativisation strategies include adnominal, sentential, nominal, free or zero and contact relative clauses in English. Within relativisation strategies are adnominal relative clauses which are grammatical structures realised by relative markers as *wh*-forms - *who, whose, whom, which* and *that*-form - *that*, all of which explicitly introduce relative or adjectival clauses, depending on the animacy hierarchy or animacy of the antecedent, as espoused by Silverstein (1976). According to Silverstein (1976), the animacy hierarchy views the pronominal relativisers *who, whose* and *whom* as occurring in animate or human subject and/or object positions in clause, *which* in non-human subject and object positions, while the invariant *that* is multi-purpose and occurs in both human and non-human positions in sentences. These are usually embedded modifying structures of the main clauses in complex sentences. While both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are widely recognised as constraining the use of pronominal or case-marked relativisers (*wh*-forms) and the invariable *that*-form in traditional and linguistic grammars, only the adnominal relativisers *who(m), which* and *that*, and animacy hierarchy constraints are discussed in this study. It could be noted that Ball (1996) rules out the inclusion of restrictive and non-restrictive clauses in the same analysis because

of their categorical markedness; on this basis, these are amongst the grammatical structures apparently occurring with some variations in texts. In any case, the findings from the emerging postcolonial Englishes across the world commented on the adnominal relative clauses, including both defining and non-defining (Sánchez-Gómez, 2014). However, the scope of this study covers the salient patterns of the pronominal forms: *who* and *which*, and the invariant *that*, in relation to their animacy hierarchy constraints. As such, the animacy hierarchy establishes a correlation between grammatical relations and animacy of the argument whereby subjects tend to be pronominal, human, and definite. This tendency can be observed here in the correlation between human antecedents and subjects.

However, studies on non-native Englishes have reported an interchangeable use of the pronominal relative pronouns *who* and *which*. Typical usages have therefore observed such variations as *The picture who....* and *The person which....* (Guest, 2018). To all these, is added the zero relativiser, that is omitting the relative marker, altogether in the clause, usually in the object position in English (Quirk *et al.*, 1985). Scholars have also confirmed the general-purpose relativiser *that*, Biber *et al.* (2002) as used for either human or non-human subjects and objects in sentences, that is both human and non-human antecedents (Sánchez-Gómez, 2014). For example, the salient recurrence of the pronominal relativisers has been noted in the superstrates such as *AmE* and *BrE*, followed at some distance by such World Englishes as in *HKE* and *SinE* in the Southeast Asian region (Sánchez-Gómez, 2014).

Interestingly, some scholars view the general-purpose relativiser *that* as more appropriate for entities which have plus or minus human features as exemplified in *Many a political party* as in *Many a political party that brandish it....* However, South Asian English, particularly the so-called bookish *IndE*, has been noted for frequently using the case-marked relativisers *who* and *which*, with the invariant *that* less saliently occurring, the patterns which could resonate with Quirk's (1957) observation about spoken *BrE* of the educated British. With the *wh*-forms reportedly being frequent or stable in *IndE*, it is worth noting that the same *wh*-forms have been decreasing in *BrE* since 1990s, thus preferring the *AmE*-influenced *that* form (Biber *et al.*, 1999; Leech & Smith, 2006).

Other relativisation strategies have the following morphosyntactic variants: *She is the girl who(m) I praised*; *She is the girl that I praised*, and *She is the girl I praised* (Wardhaugh, 2006). Here are the traditional case-marked relativisers as in *wh*-forms *whom* and *who*, and the invariable relativiser *that*-form as well as the *zero* relativiser as realisations of the same linguistic variable. Interestingly, considering relativisation as endemic in English, studies have found the invariant *that* at the rate of 5% in the subject position amongst the Fens, and about 60% in the object position amongst the youth in London. Cheshire, Adger and Fox (2013) reported frequent use of the invariant *that* for human antecedents in speech of the youth in the multilingual boroughs of London (Imperial, n.d.). Elsewhere, Deterding (2010) observed the relativiser *who* as least used while other studies reported *who*, *which*, *that* and zero relativiser in both standard and non-standard spoken English. The studies, therefore, showed *that-forms* as mainly occurring in the subject position and the zero relativiser in the object position amongst the under 35-year-old and less educated youth in such areas as East Anglia, York, Suffolk and London (Briatin, 2006).

In any case, some sociolinguistic explanations have been given for relativisation as noted in modern-day English. Hinrichs *et al.*'s (2015), corpus-based variationist linguistics (CVL) study examined intercorrelations between variables, specifically, prescriptivist rules related any cultural developments with potential constraining effect on variation and change in writing. Such a variationist research design would thus constrain the choice of the relativiser in restrictive relative clauses with inanimate antecedents as follows: **a)** *This is the house that Jack built*. **b)** *This is the house which Jack built*. **c)** *This is the house \emptyset Jack built*. Drawing on the Brown family corpora and written/edited/published documents of British and American English from the 1961–1992 period, the examples noted an on-going shift of relativisers, especially from *which*, as in **(b)** to *that*, as in **(a)** above. Also noticeable is the zero relativiser, more especially in the object position as in *This is the house \emptyset Jack built* in (Szmrecsanyi, 2017). Prescribing the *that-rule* and proscribing the relativiser *which* in restrictive relative clauses, the American style guides have contributed to such relativisation changes. Despite deriving from the prescriptivist *that-rule*, the invariant *that* has reportedly featured more informal contexts than formal contexts, typified by the so-called bookish relativiser *which* (Tagliamonte *et al.*, 2005). Interestingly, as shown in this study, the *that-rule*, though coupled with sporadic usages of the *wh-forms*, seems to be emerging in *LesE*,

thus reflecting trending usages in many World Englishes, including the input varieties (see Chapter Four).

According to Hinrichs *et al.* (2015), both language-internal as in relative clause length and language external, as in genres, have motivated such a shift - *which-that*. Besides the *that-rule* the corpus highlighted an alternative use of relativisers *which* and *that*, proscription of stranded prepositions and the passive voice. Of course, for Hinrichs *et al.*, such changes have been attributed to either prescriptivism or colloquialisation or both, coupled with the American English influence (Biber, 2003; Szmrecsanyi, 2017). On this basis, the study concluded that writers who prefer *that* to *which*, would probably shun stranded prepositions and passives in their writing.

2.2.2.7 Copy Pronouns/Appositional Pronouns

Appositional pronouns as well as resumptive pronouns, which are considered to be marginal in traditional Englishes, have also been studied in New Englishes. In particular, these copy pronouns or pronominal appositions, have been observed in African English. Here, the pleonastic subject is simply repeated or doubled in sentences as in *That guy, he don't care[sic]*. (Wardhaugh, 2006). Pronominal apposition is one of the cases of left-dislocated structures; the noun phrase (NP), usually in the subject position, is copied by a core-ferential pronoun in the sentence, the feature which forms part of cognitive transparency. Also called 'double subjects' Bamiro (1995), copy pronouns have been found to be in influx, and a feature which is particularly characteristic of *XE*, while more or less similar reports have been noted in *SinE* and *NigE* Bamgbose (1998) and Williams (1987) respectively.

BSAE has reported such features, also under what is termed topic comments as in *My brother, he was studying at university then; Tswana, I learnt it in Pretoria; My mother she work hard very hard; These people, they are fine; Some of these people, they have told us; The politicians, they don't listen*. For *BSAE*, Mesthrie (2004b) provides cases of a high rate of topicalisation phenomena like left location, fronting and focus movement as in *Today's children, they are so lazy*. In these sentences, the topic, that is, the subject, and in some cases, the object as noted above, is usually repeated as a pronoun in the comment section (Mesthrie, 1988, 2010, 2012, 2014; Esteves & Hurst, n.d.; Mesthrie, 2014). It is further noted that the topic, that is, the subject, is usually repeated as a

pronoun in the comment section, the feature which is regarded as of a cross-linguistic influence, hence substratal influence.

The pronominal apposition has been observed in many topic-prominent languages of which Sesotho, as a language with a noun class prefix, is probably part (Demuth, 1992). The phenomenon of noun class prefix is contrary to that of the subject-prominent languages including English, which generally have syntactic devices used to connect subjects to predicates (subject-verb agreement), with subordinate clauses, complex verb phrases, passives and other constructions either existing or not as widely used in topic-prominent languages (Duff, 2008). Therefore, as observed in topic-prominent languages, including Sesotho, the pronominal apposition comprises the concord with noun class prefixes as in subjectival markers [o] as in *Motho o oa tsamaea*, which could be translated as *A person is walking*, thus *A person he/she is walking*. Here, orthographic *o* which could be used with either sex in Sotho, is the noun class prefix of Class 1 words in Sesotho; it could simply repeat or copy the noun *Motho*, thus being translated into English pronominal appositional version as shown above. On this premise, appositional pronouns in World Englishes seem to be a matter of cross-linguistic influence of the Bantu languages, in this case Sesotho.

Interestingly, *BASE* is one of the World Englishes about which some attestations have been made in this regard. For instance, de Klerk (2006) conducted a corpus-based study on *XE*, and found the majority of students and some teachers as approving of many instances of pronominal apposition in South Africa. Some of the recurrent features revealed by de Klerk (2006) include *People they steal, they use some securities like us like police...;* *ja some people they got maybe some plans;* *my father he was angry*. With some qualitative and quantitative differences, the study has revealed the existence of these topicalisation phenomena in these two groups of participants of *BSAE*, the feature which might, of course be consistent with other World Englishes probably because of substratal influence. However, the findings on this phenomenon could not be categorical, nor could they consider the phenomenon as unique to non-native Englishes, since it has also been widely reported as occurring to increase cognitive transparency in speech even in English native-speaking contexts. In this view, pronominal appositions serve as a pragmatic and communication management strategy resorted to in cases of pressures involved in spontaneous speech between interlocutors in different communitive events (Mesthrie, 2006).

As such, with other scholars describing pronominal appositions as left-dislocated structures, such structures have generally been noted in spoken English for increasing cognitive transparency by taking up a previously mentioned element in discourse after a complex construction. These phenomena have become even more noticeable in clauses or sentences involving complex noun phrases with partitive constructions. However, these elements are very frequently, but not exclusively, the subject (Gregory & Michaelis, 2001:1672) which is repeated in discourse. Therefore, by repeating, the subject, the speaker 'turns new elements in discourse into old or accessible ones ... within the subsequent interaction/discourse' (Tizón-Couto, 2012:287; Lambrecht, 1994:181, in Suárez-Gómez, 2014). On the whole, pronominal appositions or copy pronouns not only repeat, but they also agree with the antecedental noun phrase (Suárez-Gómez, 2014), which, according to Mesthrie (2006) are a pragmatic and communication management strategy in spoken discourse. Whether *LesE* bears such constructions remains to be seen in this study; see Chapter Four below.

2.2.2.8 Unsystematic Use of Articles

Articles are the closed-system words which form part of morphosyntactic variations in English, as reviewed in this study. As part of grammatical structures of English, articles also fall within the category of determinatives (Meyer, 2009). Articles are the words which occur before nouns or noun phrases to describe or determine the specificity or non-specificity of such nouns or noun phrases (Hunsberger, 2012). Examples include *a*, *an*, zero and null and *the* all of which play a key role in determining the amount or degree of definiteness of the noun (or NP). The first two *a* and *an* are termed indefinite articles as they refer to singular and non-specific entities in a given discourse or texts in English. The determinatives *the*, *this* or *that* can each be used for marking the notion of definiteness, that is specificity or particularisation in English (Meyer, 2009). Basically, one would use definite article *the* when the listener or reader can identify the thing referred to. As such, the definite article *the* can further refer to prominent and particular entities, whether singular or plural, already mentioned earlier and/or well known in a given discourse and/or situational contexts or locutions. Because what is meant or the entity referred to is already known or well known in a given discourse, the definite article could be used in such cases. In this case, the definite article refers to the old information in the given information structure within texts. Typical examples include *I got a letter this morning*, with the speaker talking to the person who does not

know the letter spoken of. In actual fact, the existence of a letter is news to the listener. The example *I got the letter this morning*, implies shared knowledge between the participants that the speaker has been expecting a particular letter. So, *the* signals something already known, the one intended.

Therefore, a general rule is to use *a* for the first mention of new information and *the* afterwards. Here, *new* means unknown to one's reader/listener. As such, one would tell a friend *I got a letter from the library this morning*, but later in the conversation one would say *The letter was about a book I'd asked for* (Lynch & Andersen, 2013). With the referent being understandable from context, the speaker could say *the library*, implying shared background with the hearer, who would assume the library referred to as their university library from the very immediate context, where both are students or employees. Similarly, *the Prime Minister* in the UK, mentioned especially in 2013, the listener would assume the identity of David Cameron, the then Head of government (Lynch & Andersen, 2013).

Other similar candidates for the use of definite article *the* are proper names, nouns which give names to people and/or things. For example, strong proper names are usually represented in single words as in *Mary*, *Jakarta* or *March*, and they occur with no determiner, especially definite article except for idiosyncratic cases. These nouns are also written with an initial capital, without varying in number. However, some proper names, composed of more than one word and/or those used as adjectives, are usually considered weak and redundantly need definite article *the* as a determiner. Typical examples include *The Straits Times* (name of an Asian newspaper), *the Princess Diana*; *The Hague*; the *Kai Tak Airport*; *The Lord of the Rings*; the *Mount Kilimanjaro*; *the Nile* and *the Shannon International Airport*. When proper names consist of more than one word, the words work together as a single unit (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). Other related nouns, with universal reference as in *the sun*; *the moon*; *the world*, conventionally occur with definite article *the* as what is meant is obvious. The referents are known as a unique or a universal reference, even if they have not been mentioned before. While proper nouns or names cannot be used with determiners: *a*, *an* and *the*, common nouns can (Crystal, 2006).

Studies have also reported the occurrence of articles as ranging from the top five to ten most commonly occurring words in English vocabulary. According to Hewson (1972), of all the articles in English, both the definite and indefinite articles fall within the ten most frequently occurring words in English (Harb, 2014). Despite being so common in English, articles have been found to be used unsystematically, involving some omissions, insertions and substitutions across World Englishes, including East African and Southern African Englishes (de Klerk, 2006; Ragnarsson, 2011). Corpus-based studies within the framework of World Englishes across the English speaking-world have revealed an unsystematic use of such functional items in different texts (Ragnarsson, 2011). Some of these unsystematic usages may be due to input varieties. The case in point is that of distinctive features noted in the following standard expressions: *all the afternoon; all the winter; all the week; this time of the year*, all of which have definite article *the* in British English. On the other hand, American English has the zero article as in: *The swimming pools are open all \emptyset summer. I'll be here all \emptyset afternoon. He has been gone all \emptyset week*. Furthermore, in some expressions, the reverse is the case between British English and American English. *BrE* tends to have the *zero article* with the generic conception or reference in cases of the normal purpose involving such institutional nouns as *church, school, college, university, court, prison and hospital* as in *I am going to church, school, court, hospital (BrE)*, while American English has, *I am going to the church, school, court, hospital*, with definite article *the* used. Such usages involve different grammatical rules, but the same semantic function (Alexander, 1993; Murphy, 1985; Swales & Feak, 2012).

In the same vein, corpus-based studies within the framework of World Englishes across the English speaking-world have revealed an unsystematic use of such functional items in different texts (Ragnarsson, 2011). For example, South and Southeast Asian, West African East African Englishes have demonstrated tendencies of zero article (Hancock & Angogo, 1984; Abdulaziz, 1991; Bokamba, 1991; Jibril, 1991; Master, 2002; Platt *et al.*, 1984; Schmied, 1991). The following usage has been reported on South and Southeast Asian Englishes *Our countries have singed \emptyset agreement about this* (Guest, 2018). Besides West, East African and Southern African Englishes have also be noted for using articles unsystematically (de Klerk, 2006; Ragnarsson, 2011). African English, *BSAE* and Caribbean English (*CarE*) have not been any exception on the zero article (Hackert, 2016; Hickey, 2004; Mesthrie, 2014). Other studies on *BSAE* have revealed

the following variants of the English article system: the usages show zero indefinite article *a* as in *ø health risk* and *ø death penalty*, coupled with the inappropriate use of indefinite article *a* as in *a courage*, *a idea*, *a opposition* and *a food*, *a bricklayers*; and *a rumours*, all of which have been found salient amongst both teachers and learners. On the other hand, some inappropriate insertions of definite article or referential *the*, for instance, *the abortion*; *the food dancer*; *I am the vegetarian*; *I am the South African*; and *I am the unemployed person*, have all been noted in XE in South Africa (de Klerk, 2006).

Other frequent variable usages of articles and/or zero article in various noun phrases are as follows: *I don(t) have ticket*; *You got to have proper system here*; *you are doing (a) receptionist job*; *You have pen or not?* *He went to office yesterday*; *My parents have (a) flat in Geylang*; *You see (the) green shop house over there*; also included are noun phrases which are postmodified by descriptive *-of genitives* and *relative clauses* (Jibril, 1991; McArthur, 1992; Schmied, 1991). Note the systematic patterns of zero article in the above constructions, though they are used to refer to public bodies or entities (all of which would warrant specificity) in these (exophoric) situational contexts (Alexander, 1993; Murphy, 1985; Swales & Feak, 2012). The findings of these particular studies probably corroborate the view that the English article system is one of the most ‘notoriously’ complex aspects for non-native speakers (Master, 1997, 2002).

Within the same category of determinatives are both articles and determinatives such as demonstrative, quantity and possessive determiners as mentioned earlier. While focusing on definiteness in Northern Sotho, Majapelo’ (2007) reported such features as demonstratives, possessives as well as locatives as indicating definiteness in Bantu languages including Northern Sotho. Drawing on Hawkins’s definiteness theory, the study further pointed to proper nouns and pronouns as having unique reference. According to Mojapelo (2007), Northern Sotho, like any other Bantu languages, lacks the article system; rather it evokes situational factors, thereby assuming or presupposing the referent of the NP from an extralinguistic environment. In other words, definiteness could be determined within the physical environment and general knowledge of the participants in the discourse. The logic of lack of the article system in Northern Sotho could be mapped onto English-second language, especially in outer-circle countries as noted by Majapelo (2007). Further noted is that the *zero article* could occur with some English nouns to

express generic conception or refer to the normal purpose of such proper nouns. Such usages could pose acquisitional challenges to English-second-language users. The usage of zero article and/or overt definite article by non-native Englishes may also be due to an overgeneralisation of either British or American English as in: *I am going to church/school vs I am going to the church/school*, as noted above. Most importantly, like any other phenomena examined in this study, zero article, may not necessarily be unique to non-native speakers of English. From the contact language perspective, tracing the development of the settler English of South Africa of the 1820s, Mesthrie and West (1995) have reported the following, also corroborated by Mesthrie (2006)...*in order to procure Ø living for my wife and family; most probably Ø great part of those potatoes are by this time unfit for use; and this was Ø matter of fact*. On this basis, it could, therefore, be oversimplified to attribute such variants as zero article solely to World Englishes especially non-native Englishes (also see Chapter Four for the findings of this study).

Closely related to Majapelo is Fandrych (2008). Drawing on the World Englishes paradigm, Fandrych (2008) analysed *unspecific deixis*, that is lecturer-students interactions at the National University Lesotho and the Lesotho Television-documented reports by stocktheft officers and farmers on both sides of the border between Lesotho and South Africa. Fandrych (2008) found non-anaphoric items in the excerpts within which such determiners *the* and determinatives *that* are exemplified as follows: ... *that office up there*... that is, a lecturer to a student talking about the Academic Office; *you know I just spoke to that man about that problem you know*, a lecturer-lecturer talk meeting in the corridor; and *I will do it the other side* - that is printing the document in the secretary's office in another building. Fandrych's (2008) study which is largely discourse-pragmatic, exposes elements of oral traditions in which many Southern African English second-language speakers communicate, based on the immediate context, thus not necessarily having to be specific to time, space and person. The study has not drawn attention to the systematic usage of determiners, *a*, *an* and *the* nor determinatives such as *this* and/or *that*, in particular, let alone the variety of English used in the Kingdom of Lesotho. Instead, the study has apparently reported the pragmatic determination of definiteness, with the situational context being instrumental in meaning negotiation between the participants in the discourses under study.

In view of the studies conducted on English used in Lesotho so far, one could observe mainly chance observations and personal intuitions on the part of the researchers concerned. Premised mainly on scant, coupled with anecdotal evidence, these studies are largely impressionistic, also employing less rigorous research designs for data collection and analysis. In other words, these studies have overlooked systematic linguistic features at the following linguistic levels: phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon, thus marking *LesE* as one of the lesser-researched outer-circle Englishes. On this basis, the sociolinguistic phenomena, particularly of *LesE* in the context of the Kingdom of Lesotho, and of course, within the broad sociolinguistic situation of Southern Sotho, have remained unexplored. As such, it remains to be established whether and the extent to which the article system features *LesE* as presented in Chapter Four below.

2.2.2.9 Prepositional Idioms

Prepositions, as a functional category of grammar, are used to relate words, especially content words in sentences. English has as many as over 100 prepositions, including complex and marginal prepositions (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). Also known as prepositional idioms, the prepositional usages within the general English word-class system, prepositions fall within the grammatical category of the closed-system words. Such a category bears no derivatives noted in such other words as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Prepositions are, therefore, often used with certain verbs, hence prepositional verbs, prepositional nouns, and, of course prepositional adjectives alike. Prepositions occur in different positions such as before nouns or noun phrases, at the beginning or at the end of sentences (Hunsberger, 2012), though this usage with prepositional stranding may be recent. This study has focused on some of the commonly occurring prepositions, especially central prepositions such as *with*, *in*, *on*, *of* and *for*, as shown in turn in the following sections. Premised on the notion of prepositional idioms, prepositions have distinctive idiomatic combinations in their occurrence with certain nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. In the case of prepositional verbs, the following distinguishing features have been observed: *cater to* - cater for; *speak with* - speak to; *talk with* - talk to; the preposition *on* with its spatial meaning is used to indicate location of something on the surface or a line; it can also be used with time as in *on Monday*, *on the weekend* vs. *at the weekend*, which is typically British. Also noted is ...*live on Third Street*, as well as such idiomatic meanings as *on sale* and *on a list*; more especially in *AmE*, while *BrE* has *in a list* and *in a sale*. Further idiomatic instances of *on* suggest some specificity, thus being synonymous with

the word *concerning* as in *the lecture was on art; I am working on my homework* as well as *on the radio* and *on TV* (Zhang & Jiang, 2008).

Whether used with nouns, verbs or adjectives, sometimes as grammaticalised forms for abstract and idiomatic meanings, prepositions are amongst the most frequent words, albeit reportedly posing challenges to many English non-native speakers (Van de Poel, Carsten & Linnegar, 2012). Research has revealed the preposition *in* as one of the most frequently occurring prepositional idioms in English. The preposition *in* has, as its basic meaning, the notion of an interior location, that something is contained in something like a container or a space. Its metaphorical extension also involves conceiving something as a container within which events are located. The basic meaning of *in* is the notion of an interior location, that something is contained in something like a container or a space. Of course, the preposition *in* could also denote the end point of time during or by the end of which an event could have been done. As one of the grammaticalised prepositions, *in* can also be used to express spatial functions as in *There was a bug in the room. The child was in the store searching for his mom; ...to live in Third Street*, the usage which has apparently caused some confusion amongst non-native speakers the world over. This is one of the prepositions used in different contexts showing time, place, manner and abstract situations (Master, 2002). Other usages of the grammaticalised *in* include temporal or time functions as in times of the day, *in the evening*, months of the year *in March*, seasons of the year as in *in winter* as well as years as in *in 1994* respectively. While the above variants of *in* and *of* are largely associated with British English (Zhang & Jiang, 2008), they have reportedly lacked differentiation, and been used to a significantly greater extent in non-native varieties of English than in traditional reference varieties. As such, the idiomatic use of the preposition *in* apparently has even been extended to such instances as *in radio* noted in *BSAE* (Ragnarsson, 2011; Schmied, 2004).

Other prepositional idioms bear the use of *for* as head of the prepositional phrase. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002), *for* is perhaps the most polysemous of the prepositions in English. The preposition *for* basically means *in favour of*, *on behalf of*, as well as indicating a destination as in *heading for the city*. However, variants such as *Go for school* and *the rooms for the house*, reportedly found in the studies conducted on Nigerian and Cameroonian English Wolf (2010),

probably mark an analogy or a semantic template of such usages as *heading for somewhere* and the *of-genitive* phrases respectively.

Worth noting is the phenomenon of prepositional idioms typified by one of the most frequently occurring prepositional verbs: *discuss about*, followed recently by *study about* as in *We have to study about x*. In particular, the preposition *about* as in ‘*discuss about*’ is considered redundant in standard British and American English, though it has been found to be standard in many outer-circle Englishes such as Nigerian, Malaysian, Zambian and Singaporean, as well as in some Expanding circle Englishes (Jenkins, 2014). Besides, these prepositional verbal variations have been used as intransitivised verbs, hence *discuss about*, instead of such an established usage with the transitive form of *discuss* as in *discuss something*, with the verb taking a direct object *something*. This usage is an analogy, usually traced to the established varieties as in *talk about* and *discussion about* (Buthelezi, 1995; Lass, 1995; Platt *et al.*, 1984).

Besides, there are prepositional verbs used with certain prepositions or without a preposition at all as well as newly-created prepositional verbs. Other equally notable prepositional idioms include such prepositional nouns and verbs as *stress on*; *emphasise on*; *comprise of*; *result into*; *deprive somebody from* and *congratulations for* and *interest on*, *approach to* for *approach something* and *comprise of* for *comprise something*, to mention just a few. Indian English, Mukherjee (2010), is one of the World Englishes noted for such usages thereby echoing the same phenomena as reported on *BSAE* (Buthelezi, 1995; Lass, 1995; Platt *et al.*, 1984).

Related to these are prepositional variants with newly-created prepositional idioms in New Englishes. These would go as far as having intrusive adverbial particles such as *up* and *out* often being inserted to form phrasal verbs as follows: *lock up* or *shut up the door* for *shut somebody/something up*, as in stopping someone talking or moving, an analogy from the established varieties as well as *raise up* and *cope up with*. Also noticeable is an intrusive adverbial particle *out* as in *voice out*, meaning expressing one’s opinions on something (Guest, 2018; Platt *et al.*, 1984). Southeast Asian and West African English has also witnessed such phrasal verbs, where the preposition *with* is preceded by the adverbial particles *up*, coupled with such other inserted particles or intrusive adverbial particles as *off*, *out* and *in*. The common variants are *cope*

up with, raise up; voice up; cropped up for *cropped*; *picked him up* for *picked*. Even more noticeable in West African English is *dropped off* for *dropped* as well as *get down* or *get out*, whose extended meanings include alighting or disembarking from a vehicle in Nigerian and Ghanaian Englishes. Interestingly, these expressions are not considered as errors, but as norms relatively by most of the highly trained Anglophone West Africans, with Southern African English, especially *BSAE* typically bearing *Cheer up* for *cheer*; *Please ask to him*, instead of *Please ask him* (Adegbija, 1989; Gramley, 2001; Linnegar, 2009; Sey, 1973). For the most part, the above example variants are not used in the more established varieties of English such as *BrE* and *AmE*. Any pedantic Standard English-native-speaking grammarian would replace each of the above prepositional variations with standard variants. It could further be argued that some of these local usages systematically preserve historical varieties, and have been found across the English-speaking world.

Research has also drawn attention to a variable distribution of certain directional adverbs in both *BrE* and *AmE*, and recently in other World Englishes. *BrE* has been found to bear such usages as *forwards, rightwards* and *towards*, all used with letter *s*, while *AmE* has no letter *s* as in *forward, rightward* and *toward*. Nevertheless *afterwards, towards, and backwards* are usual in the US, with the UK, likewise, commonly using *forward* in such standard phrases as *look forward to*. However, in both Britain and the US, a motion adverbial *upward* is reportedly common. Further noted is that the form with *s* may be used as an adverb, as a preposition as in *towards*, but rarely as an adjective (Watt, 2016-2017).

Similarly, *BSAE* has been noted for prepositional variations (Buthelezi, 1995; de Klerk, 2006; Platt *et al.*, 1984). Certain prepositional usage patterns have been in considerable influx in *BSAE*, the feature which has also been reported in reference varieties de Klerk (2006) as noted above. Equally notable is the aspect of creativity, involving what Kasanga (2004) dubbed *with combinations, conversion* and *verb-splitting*. However, for this study, *with combinations* are discussed. In the case of South African English, the *with* pattern has been overgeneralised to such prepositional phrases as in...*contract with* the university; ...*studied with* UNISA; ...*graduated with* UFS; and other ‘oddly’ formulaic forms as in... *full with* fruits and foods. The *with*, also called the adverbial/verbal particle, is traditionally associated with the verbs of motion *come, take* and *start*

as in *start with*, *come with/along*, and *take with*. The pattern with the particle *with* can be traced to Germanic languages, which diffused from the mainland Europe, and have been found common amongst the German-Americans, Dutch-Americans and other immigrant communities in the Upper Mid-West in the US (Salmons & Purnell, 2013). The adverbial particle *with* is further associated with Afrikaans in South African English, in which case, its origin from or association with the Dutch from the mainland Europe, could not be ruled out, see Dutch-Americans above (Kasanga, 2004, my addendum).

Closely related examples are both phrasal and prepositional verbs such as *come with* - bring and *move with* - go out with somebody; *go with this* - give to or take; *stay with a dress* - keep a dress; *remain with something* – keep, all of which have been reported in Asian and African Englishes (Ragnarsson, 2011; Schmied, 1991, 2006). In *BSAE* instances of ‘incorrect’ idiomatic variants such as these have been noted: *The bank rate increased with twenty percent*; instead of *The bank rate increased by twenty percent*; *He threw Mary with the ball* instead of *He threw the ball at Mary* (Linnegar, 2013). The usages could be overgeneralised notions of means or instrument being one of the basic meanings of the preposition *with* as noted above. Added to these is the feature of semantic extension such as *I threw him with a stone*; *bring/come with* equated with *bring/come with* (Buthelezi, 1995; de Klerk, 2006; Platt *et al.*, 1984). While one of the most basic meanings of the preposition *with* is the notion of accompaniment, including comitative adjuncts to express co-presence and various forms of involvement, the findings in the above studies seem to have overgeneralised such notions of accompaniment as well as means or instrument, the variants, which, at the same time, mark some cross-linguistic and/or substratum influence.

Looking at the above findings in light of the syntactic and variationist sociolinguistic theories, language is not based on intuition, but on real-life data. The theory, thus, tends to highlight the aspects of variability in language. Variability is, therefore, not just a matter of competing or separate individual grammars as espoused by the Chomskyan syntactic theory, but it is a marker of variable grammars within individuals over time (Kroch, 1994). In other words, even in non-contact situations, natural language developments occur, thus leading to independent linguistic changes (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). One would ask the question Where does *LesE* lie in relation to these dynamics of language as noted elsewhere?

2.2.3 Lexicon

According to (Crystal, 2006), the term lexicon is generally synonymous with vocabulary. In this view, lexicon has a special status in generative grammar, and encompasses ‘all the information about the structural properties’, be they, the semantic, syntactic and phonological aspects of any lexical item in a language (Crystal, 2006:278). Lexicon involves such items as orthography/spellings, heteronyms and (de)hyphenation as well as any other newly coined words or words with semantic extension, some of which derive from a combination of both the target language and the host or recipient language (Schneider, 2006). English spelling could be seen as a product of its history, both political and linguistic. With the influence of the Norman French, the Great Vowel Shift, printing press, loan words and etymological respellings, different lexical items have reportedly been found across the English-speaking world, including the inner-circle countries (Solati, 2013). Tracing the history of English spelling to the end of the 6th century, Scragg (1974) reported how the Roman and Irish missionaries converted the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, thus introducing the Roman alphabet in the British Isles. The Roman alphabet which was much like the Modern English alphabet loaned some of the sounds, for example, *j*, *k*, *v*, or *w* into Old English, as well as letters *q* and *z*, which were rare at the time (Szmrecsanyi, 2017). With such observations, the preference of *s* - spellings over *z* - spellings in *BrE* could not be ruled as a relic of or reversion to this Old English period. The influence of the Great Vowel Shift and other forces have gone beyond lexical aspects - spellings to other linguistic levels such as morphosyntax and phonology as shown in the previous sections.

Other orthographic variants can be traced to Noah Webster’s book entitled *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789), in which as the first author to separate British English from American English. Afterwards Webster’s major work, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828) introduced some spelling changes as in *-er* for *-re* (ex: theatre) or *-or* for *-our* (ex: honor) (Kuehner & Reque, 1981; Schneider, 2010; Watt, 2016-2018). Some of the alternative spellings noted typically as *AmE* variants can be traced to the Norman French, as in *-or* and *-our* for *behavior* and *behaviour* - behaviour; *controul*, later changing to *control*, which was formal at the time. Other alternative forms include simplified spellings such as *color* - colour; *behavior* - behaviour; *honor*, *honour*; *center* - centre; *theater*, *cheque* - check, with the first in each pair as an *AmE* variant.

Besides the above-stated distinctive lexical items between *BrE* and *AmE*, studies have revealed some of the most noticeably common variants at the lexical level between the two varieties. For example, *BrE* verb tenses include conflation of both strong and weak forms of the past participle *proved, fitted, quit/quitted, spilt, split and got*, on the one hand. *AmE*, on the other hand, has regular verbs *spilled* and *splitted* and irregular strong forms such as *fit, quit, got/gotten, proven* (Kuehner & Reque, 1981). Today with *AmE* fast spreading across the world, some of the most increasingly used words, the origin of which is apparently escaping our attention include such example variants as *Do you have...? Let's face it, know-how, inquiry, prorgam, fulfill* as well as *radio, committee, fan* and *star* (Schneider, 2010). With a similar interest in lexical variation, Ruetter *et al.* (2016) conducted a joint analysis of no less than 303 lexical alternation variables, noting such variants as *holiday vs trip, cost vs expense* in the Brown family of corpora of standard written-edited-published English and determining the extent of variation in relation to three lectal dimensions. In the order of their overall importance for explaining variation, these are discourse type/genre (informative versus imaginative), standard variety (British English versus American English), and real-time period (1960s vs 1990s) (Szmrecsanyi, 2017).

Also included are the following heteronyms, that is, different words with similar conceptual sense (Görlach, 1995). They include the following: *traffic-circle - roundabout; bus - coach; semester - term; movie - film/cinema; bag/hand bag - purse; high school - secondary school; bathroom/ladies room - toilet-lavatory/loo; truck - lorry; line - queue; elevator - lift; undershirt - vest and sweater - jumper*, to mention a few (Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Görlach, 1995; Gramley & Pätzold, 1992; Schilling, 2014). As Schneider (2010) further pointed out, *AmE* could, therefore, be noted to be enjoying covert prestige in many places with British orientation and/or influence including Nigeria, where many of the above lexical items have been reported. Added to these are such lexical variants as *radio* for *wireless*; the ubiquitous use of a discourse marker *okay* as well as derivational suffixes as in respect of *-ster: gangster, oldster; -ician: beautician, cosmetician; -ee: escapee, returnee; -ette: roomette; drum majorette; -ite: socialite, sub-urbanite; -ize*; also note *-z* spellings, *to winterize, to itemize* and *to fictionalize*, all of which signal a more productive propensity of *AmE*. All these variants have been popularised by the media, and advanced by technology and the

power of the United States in the world, thereby making inroads even into British English (Watt, 2016-2017).

Besides, Indian English vocabulary has been studied for lexicographical works, and is universally characterised by such items as *black money* for illegal gains, *change room* for a dressing room, and *four-twenty* for a cheat (Mehrotra, 1982). South and Southeast Asian Englishes, for instance, Lankan, Pakistani and Nepal Englishes, on the other hand, are further characterised by reduplication such as *I like hot-hot curries; ...broken-broken; hot hot coffee; long long hair; to go crying crying; small small pieces* and *who and who came to the party* (Kachru, 1984) all of which suggest emphasis or intensity of meanings in given communicative events. Similarly, Southeast Asian English displays semantic broadening, with the following words taking upon new meanings. Examples are *take*, meaning eat, like or drink; *take you home* -send you home; *open the light* -put on the light; *change room* -dressing room. or preposition *off* is used as a noun, meaning time off work or staying away from work, thus also taking up a plural form. Other forms include *shake a leg* - hurry or take it easy; *to sleep late* - go to bed late, also tired (Gramley, 2001; Platt *et al.*, 1984; Tongue, 1974; Tay, 1982).

Equally noteworthy are local lexical coinages of Malaysian English such as *kampong* - village, a new settlement and *pedang* - a field, reduplication with emphatic meanings as in *I like hot-hot curries; broken-broken*. Its lexicon further constitutes such items as *deep* - educated or formal; *The deep Hokkien, I don(t) speak; My amah - nurse she don(t) speak English*; the address form *missus* - a wife is considered more polite and is common in Singapore and Malaysian English; *your missus coming down?* It is a colloquial form for *wife*. Other intriguing usages include initials, very commonly used for place names and organisations as well as company names. These include *K.L.* - Kuala Lumpur, the Capital of Malaysia; *J. B.* - Johore Bahm, the Capital of the Malaysian State of Johore. Initials are also used for newspaper headlines. Likewise, these variations are mainly influenced by Malay and Chinese (Ansaldo, 2013; Platt *et al.*, 1984; Tay, 1982; Tongue, 1974).

Sub-Saharan Africa has not been any exception, with many lexical variants, some of which with new meanings. These include kinship terms such as *father, mother, brother, sister, uncle* and *aunt* which are used not only for close relations as in superstrate varieties, but they are also used for

distant relatives, community members and any other African nationalities at large. Other attestations with new meanings include *enter* - get in; *dress* - move over; *try the possible best/level best* - try their utmost in everything; *forget* - leave behind, and *hot drink* - not tea, nor coffee; rather, it refers to whisky or spirituous refreshments as in Nigerian English. Interestingly, in Indian English, *dry coffee*, means one without milk, to mention a few. This semantic variation involves a tendency of either semantic expansion or semantic narrowing. For example, words and phrases take up new meanings, thus extending original metropolitan language denotations; Related variants comprise such cognitive and perception words as *convince*, meaning to persuade; *compare* - exchange information or ideas; *clarify* - seek information from and convey information to others; the word *hearing* evokes a bodily sensation as in feeling a pain or understanding; and *I can hear an awful smell*, meaning I can smell something odorous. Motion verbs include *I am coming while not closer to, yet going away from the hearer*; and *escort*, that is to accompany. Here the word *escort* has been found as being extended to other entities than a special guard or an act of courtesy. Elsewhere, the phrase *branch somewhere*, denotes making a stop on a journey; with *go slow* as suggesting traffic jam or being on a disguised strike. Other notable variants of Nigerian English include what Bamgbose (1987) reported as creativity or semantic extension as in *Borrow me your pen*, instead of the traditional variant *Lend me your pen*; and lexico-grammatical features or compound phrases as in *been-to* - the noun suggesting that *She has been to Britain* (Adegbija, 1989; Bamgbose, 1987; Sey, 1973).

Other lexical items peculiar to African English comprise *impregnated* - made pregnant; *slowly by slowly* - take it easy (exhortation); *beat a photograph* - take a photograph; *live* - stay, even if it is temporary. Other related lexical items reported in East African English include: *ugali* -maize dish; in Tanzania; *posho* -papa in Uganda as well as *udugu* - comrade/brother and *askari* - guard in Tanzania (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Ragnarsson, 2011; Schmied, 1991, 2006). Southern African English is no exception, particularly South African English, which has borrowed heavily from Afrikaans as in *bush, veld, kraal, trek* and *robot*. Added to these are lexical items, especially *isiZulu* loans such as *ubuntu, imphizo* and *imphi, Amandla* - power in South Africa, and *pitso* - a traditional public gathering in Sotho all of which derive from Bantu languages (Lesotho) respectively (Lanham, 1984; Makalela, 2007). Also noticeable are lexical items, for example, *comrade, apartheid, spaza, sekoroko, mkhukhu, stokvel*, as well as neologisms or words with newly adapted

meanings (semantic broadening) as in *madam*, *girl* and *boy*, which are of Afrikaans and Zulu origins respectively (Buthelezi, 1995). Furthermore, the widely used form *can be able* has been witnessed in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to Mesthrie (1996), the usage originated from the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries authors such as Thomas More, Shakespeare, Congreve and Dryden (see Visser, 1969: 1738). The case in point was ‘. . . *nor al the good words in the world . . . can be able to profyte the man*’ (Sir Thomas More, 1534, cited in Mesthrie, 2010). Also categorised under *undeletions*, *can be able* has also been found amongst the words with new semantic value, or words having lost their semantic value (Mesthrie, 2006).

Even most importantly, one of the most common emotion or affective verbs *love* has been found to be used with inanimate objects as in *I love fish and chips* and *I love reading*, which could be about extreme liking of something referred to. Other related instances, though treated under the progressive aspect, Buthelezi (1995) attest to the trending usage of semantic broadening as in *I am loving every minute of it* (Buthelezi, 1995). In the same vein, the word *boring*, has received wider currency, more especially amongst the young generation. A typical example is *Did you find your missing money? No, I did not. It is so boring*, the variant which takes up such a semantic reference as disappointing and/or worrying, instead of its traditional meanings of *uninteresting* or *not entertaining* in the study on *BSAE* in South Africa (Kaburise & Klu, 2014). Amongst the Tswana English speakers, semantic extension and restriction has been observed, with such kinship terms as *malangwana*, mother’s younger sister, which is also used for *rakgadi*, father’s female sibling either older or younger sister. The English aunt and uncle are acculturated to refer to six distinct kinship terms, whether of a paternal or maternal family, as opposed to a narrower semantic scope in English as put in the *Oxford English Reference Dictionary* (1996). Tswana loans also involve traditional titles such as *kgosi* (chief), *kgotla* (a traditional administrative centre) and *bogadi* (bride price) also *lobola* in Bantu for what lacks in English (Bagwasi, 2008). Other lexical items include: *sadza* - maize pap; *mukoma* - brother in Zimbabwe; *dagga* - cannabis from *Khoi San*, one of the languages of the original inhabitants of Southern Africa (Schmied, 1991).

While the above-mentioned lexical features are suggestive of extended meanings, they are not considered as errors in many parts of the world including Africa. For example, in Anglophone West Africa, extended meanings are relatively regarded as a norm even by the most highly trained.

Bamgbose views any variety of English as either deviation or creativity depending on contexts of use (Leith, 2007). The word deviation, which Braj views with some misgivings, is one of the most controversial terms associated with mother tongue interference, innovation or development on the part of second and foreign language speakers. According to Hancock and Angogo (1984), such adapted usages are features of substratal influence, and tend to cause confusion to superstrate speakers. Since the extent of the modification and acculturation of English to the African context is still not yet quite clear, further research is recommended to refine the phenomenon.

In any case, vocabulary has been noted as one of the features which mark the greatest divergences between the inner-circle and outer-circle Englishes (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009). While outer-circle Englishes have had newly coined words appropriated to their local cultures, it could also be noted that *AmE* introduced and/or enriched *BrE* with many words with new meanings, many of which have been adopted by other varieties of English across the world. To the long list of examples already observed above, the following are added as amongst the most commonly used variants largely deriving from *AmE*. These include *hi*, *cool*, *movie*, *truck*, *station wagon* and *man* all of which have reportedly had wide audience amongst the youth or adolescents (Schneider, 2010). Further, are *railroad*, *railway*; *mad*, a metaphor for *angry*; *notify vs inform*; *belittle*, *cafeteria*, *caucus*, *cocktail* and *either*, to mention just a few (Abu Fares, 2019). While World Englishes share many features, they differ so extensively in terms of lexicon.

In academic circles, words have also taken up new meanings. These include *students*; *form vs grade*; *secondary vs high school*; *term vs semester*; and *lesson vs seminar*, all of which have *extended* meanings most probably due to *AmE* influence. The first in each pair is typical of *BrE*, and the latter *AmE*. For Strevens (1972), the word *student* is used for a learner at college or university, while *pupil* is used for a learner at primary and/or secondary levels. As Strevens (1972: 57) pointed out, ‘an American student finishes his high school by graduating from it. In Britain, teenagers who attend college or the sixth form are called *pupils*; the word *student* is reserved for an attendant of a university only’ (Watt, 2016-2017). However, elsewhere it is noted that once a certain word is used with an extended meaning, it takes up and reduces a space of the other, hence restricting the latter’s semantic field, while at the same time, broadening its own meaning. As observed, the word *students* is used with a broader sense, generally encompassing learners from

primary, secondary to tertiary education in *AmE*. However, the same word generally refers to learners at a higher-learning institution in *BrE* sense (Strevens, 1972). In addition, according to Watt (2016-2017), the term *school* is used in both the UK and the US. For the author, the term denotes a learning facility or a centre for children in Britain, on the one hand. On the other hand, the term encompasses places or institutions of higher education such as universities in the United States. On the other hand, the phrase *further studies*, associated with *IndE* is on the rise.

2.3 Conclusion

Common and distinctive aspects have been observed within and across the world varieties of English: both established Englishes and New Englishes in this chapter. This chapter has examined the variations within the framework of sociolinguistic and World Englishes theories. In particular, the foci of the chapter have been on inner-circle and outer-circle Englishes, for instance, the United Kingdom, the United States, South and Southeast Asia, West, East and Southern African Englishes. With many variations having been observed across English-native and non-native countries, these sociolinguistic phenomena have been noted at the following levels of grammar: phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon. Despite the view that variation is more noticeable in phonology and lexicon than in syntax or grammar in World Englishes, examining variations at the above-mentioned levels, this chapter has found the phenomena in both established Englishes: British and American English and World Englishes across the world.

At the phonological level, the chapter has found that cross-cutting recurrence of different phonological variations, reflecting both segmental and suprasegmental typology. The variants observed include consistent and systematic lack of reduced vowel *schwa* and/or its rare realisation, spelling pronunciations, syllable-timed rhythm, shifted stress, syllabic consonants, neutralisation of short and long vowel sounds, monophthongised and diphthongised vowels, as well as stopping of interdentalals, all of which have been revealed with variations in the World Englishes and native varieties reviewed in this study (Clements, 2000; Mesthrie, 2013). At the morphosyntactic level, World Englishes including South and Southeast Asian, West, East and Southern African Englishes and reference varieties have displayed trending variations of the progressive aspect, coupled with its extension to the statives; a levelling process of the preterite and perfective aspect, modal system: core and quasi modals, with the latter apparently setting the trend over the core or canonical

modals; relativisation, involving the American-influenced *that-rule* has also been found to be shaping contemporary English across the globe, of course, with the established varieties, especially *AmE* at the forefront; appositional pronouns, article system and prepositional idioms all of which falling within the functional category of English, have also been documented for emerging usages, some of which taking up regionalisms.

The lexical variations, considered to be amongst the most distinguishing features of English varieties, have been noted for consistent orthographic variations and semantic broadening in both traditional and World Englishes. Interestingly, as noted earlier, a number of factors have contributed to these phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical variations as reviewed. Historical reasons, more especially the influence of the Great Vowel Shift, French, Latin, printing, etymology as well as loan words into English since the 15th and 18th centuries have been crucial for the current English lexical phenomena (Crystal (1987; Umera-Okeke, 2008). Specifically, Elizabethan English with different dialects, other languages as in Spanish, West African slaves, French, German, Italian, Chinese and American Indians, American English reform movement, as well as local languages in the outer-circle countries, as noted above, have been seen as shaping English in both the inner-circle and outer-circle communities (Milward, 1996, in Abu Fares, 2019; Strevens, 1972). In addition, the notions of language variation, universal tendencies of language evolution, human propensity for polylectal, interstylistic and transpersonal grammars, orderly heterogeneity in language, as well as pragmatic competence, as espoused by Bloomfield (1933); Chomsky (1980); de Saussure (1962); Hymes (1972); Labov (1972); Sapir (1921; Schuchards (1885); and Weinrich *et al.* (1968), may have been at play in the sociolinguistic phenomenon, as reviewed in this study.

While this multiplicity of the English language complex reflects the evolution of sociolinguistics of Modern English in a vast composite of territorially labelled Englishes and English-based Creoles McArthur (1998), these phenomena, in this case, *LesE*, had until this study, not been systematically established in Lesotho. In the final analysis, it is worth noting the implications of these sociolinguistic situations for Lesotho and elsewhere. As noted earlier, such paucity has thus warranted a systematic study to find out whether these phenomena exist in Lesotho. I, therefore, argue that a systematic sociolinguistic study was, therefore, crucial for the context of Lesotho.

Such a study has investigated whether and the extent to which any variety exists which is worthy of the label *Lesotho English (LesE)* Lesotho. In order to do that the next chapter to which we turn below, presents the research design and methodology adopted for data collection for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the design and methodology of the study. The chapter is divided into seven main sections. Section 3.1 presents the general background of Lesotho, including the geopolitical and sociolinguistic situation of the Kingdom of Lesotho as the research site for this study. Section 3.2 presents the qualitative research design on which the study is premised. Section 3.3 presents the sampling within variationist sociolinguistics as well as sampling techniques for this study. Section 3.4 examines the instrumentation: data collection techniques such as sociolinguistic interviews, rapid and anonymous observations and content analysis. Section 3.5 offers a sketch of the ethical considerations for this study. In Section 3.6 data analysis, with a focus on corpus

linguistics is presented. Finally, Section 3.7 concludes by pulling together the main aspects thereby highlighting the triangulated design and methodology underpinning this study.

3.1 General Background of the Kingdom of Lesotho

The research context for this study comprises different domains of English language use in the country. These include institutions such as schools, higher learning institutions, the Lesotho Government and private sector, especially the media. Before describing the design, methodology, sampling and ethical issues of the study, I look at the geopolitical position and sociolinguistic situation of the Kingdom of Lesotho as the research context for this study.

3.1.1 The Geopolitical Position of the Kingdom of Lesotho

The Kingdom of Lesotho became a country in 1818, the then Basutoland, which is currently inhabited by the population ranging from 1, 800, 000 to 2.2 million (Blake & Haliburton, 1971). The Kingdom is an enclave, that is, completely land-locked within the Republic of South Africa, which is the only neighbour in Sub-Saharan Southern Africa, a feature which makes the two countries very important and strategic partners in many ways. Also noted is that the Kingdom of Lesotho is geographically constituted by four main regions: the Lowlands, Foothills, Highlands and the Senqu Valley, all of which are each characterised by slightly different climatic conditions, amid the extremely hot and cold weather conditions of respective summer and winter, due to the altitude position of the country (*The Bureau of Statistics*, 2010).

3.1.2 Sociolinguistic Situation of Lesotho

The sociolinguistic situation of Lesotho has not been any exception from other Sub-Saharan African countries. This characteristic sociolinguistic situation, involving both local languages and colonial languages, particularly English, has been reported by some scholars, for example, Lynn (1994). According to Bamgbose (2000) and Prah (1980), the practice of adopting and teaching colonial languages, especially English, French and/or Portuguese, over indigenous languages, has typified many education policies in the post-colonial African polities. As Miti (2009) has stated, several countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, for example, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, to mention a few, use at least one European language as the second official language and one indigenous African language as a national language.

However, compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Lesotho, the homeland for standard Southern Sesotho with the population ranging from 1,8 to 2.2 million people, is a 'monolingual' or homogeneous speech community. As one of the Southern Bantu languages, Southern Sesotho is spoken by the great majority, with more than 99 per cent of the Basotho in Lesotho, where it is a mother tongue and a national language (*Language Manual*, 1996; Lynn, 1994). Elsewhere in the region, more especially in the neighbouring South Africa, Sesotho is reportedly spoken by over six million people. Also known as Sotho or Northern Sotho in South Africa, Sesotho bears such Sotho languages or dialects as Setswana (or Tswana) and Sepedi (or Northern Sotho) spoken in some parts of the country including the Free State, Northern Cape, Qwaqwa, Gauteng and northern South Africa. Beyond South Africa, other related Sotho languages such as Setswana and Sepedi are spoken in Botswana and Silozi in western Zambia (Lynn, 1994). While these Sotho dialects bear common basic lexical and grammatical features, thus being 'mutually intelligible', they have a few segmental, tonal, morphological and syntactic differences. They are also considered separate languages with their own orthographic and lexicographic variations, with some bearing on English in the region (Demuth, 2007; *Language Manual*, 1996).

Within this historical and sociolinguistic context, English came as a post-colonial language which has been widely used as the second official language, and adapted to different domains in Lesotho. While English reportedly arrived relatively late and long after the arrival in Lesotho of the first three French missionaries in 1833, Lynn (1994) observed English as first used for interpretation and translation as well as spread of Christianity. As such, the author traces the arrival of English amongst the Basotho to the three missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society. Further notable is that amongst the people travelling with King Moshoeshoe 1 to Thaba-Bosiu in 1824 were those who had apparently acquired English from the English-speaking South Africans and missionaries who had come there. Some of the missionary activities included writing English-Sesotho books followed by publications in 1869, 1872, and later introducing the *English Reading Book* for use at schools in 1877 (Gill, 1993; Mohapeloa, 1984).

Lynn's (1994) observation is very much consistent with Crystal's study on the arrival of English in Southern Africa. In this view, it is possible that English used in Lesotho came with the British

Colonial authorities who had been based in the Cape Colony, following the British involvement in the Napoleonic Wars in the region in 1795. In 1820 about 5,000 British settlers arrived in the Cape with the result that English assumed many functions under the British Colonial authority (Blake & Haliburton, 1971). Following the ‘annexation’ of Lesotho into being the British Protectorate in 1871, the Cape Colony started giving the Parish Evangelical Mission Society an educational grant-in-aid for improving education in the country. Henceforth, the Mission and the colonial authorities co-operated in developing education and writing different textbooks for schooling in English (Mohapeloa, 1984; Crystal, 1997, 2005). Likewise, the Roman Catholic Missionaries, who arrived in Lesotho in 1862, had been staying in Kwazulu Natal, that is, one of the provinces of the Republic of South Africa, to have hosted some of the earliest British settlers. It could also be noted that the English-speaking immigrant groups to have arrived in Kwazulu Natal around 1840s were mostly of the aristocratic and Middle-Class families from Britain (Gill, 1994). While the British have apparently played a significant role in the sociolinguistic situation of the Kingdom, other nationalities such as the Irish, the Scottish, the Canadians and the United States of America, also contributed to the development, and of course, to the sociolinguistic milieu of the country. According to Ambrose (2007), these communities came into the sociolinguistic scene of Lesotho as far back as the nineteenth century and the second half of the twentieth century.

Even most importantly, with the advent of independence, English not only received a positive attitude from, but it also became institutionalised amongst the Basotho. The function of and attitude towards both Sesotho and English as official languages in the country could be reflected in relation to their use at schools, as in Section 3, Chapter 1 of the Constitution of Lesotho. Further to that is the prime example as articulated in the Constitution reading as follows:

[T]he National and Official Languages Act of Lesotho, No.21 of 1966 says: the national language of the Kingdom of Lesotho is Sesotho. The official languages of the Kingdom of Lesotho are Sesotho and English, and accordingly, no instrument or transaction shall be held to be invalid by reason only that it is expressed or conducted in one or other of these languages, anything in the preceding sub-section notwithstanding (*The Constitution of Lesotho*, 1993).

In light of the above section, English has been assigned different functions as the second official language in Lesotho. English is, therefore, used in such domains as government, commerce, education, judiciary, the media as well as international communication. As the second official language, English is spoken mainly by educated Sesotho-English bilinguals, though research has indicated that approximately 75 per cent of the population of Lesotho do not speak English except for few words (Lekhotho, 2013; Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2014; Kamwangamalu, 2013, cited in the UNICEF, 2016). These include the diplomats, the senior management of the banks, large supermarkets, senior personnel in the civil service, lecturers and administration at university (Lynn, 1994). Apparently, scanty research on English has been carried out in Lesotho as a homogeneous speech community when compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to Lynn (1994), the majority of the population are at least bilingual in Sesotho and English, to a certain extent, some of whom are even complete bilinguals in both languages, with a high degree of first language control over English. Lynn (1994) further observed that the English used by local English-second language speakers in Lesotho, generally shows typical traits of Sub-Saharan African English as in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

As a popular language amongst different classes of people, (though viewed by Fandrych (2008) as the elite and access language to professional success), English is widely adopted and incorporated into the language of the country. Many people, especially bilinguals, in both urban centres and lowlands, have English proficiency ranging from phrases to complete bilingualism. However, English-literate people speak a mixture of English, Sesotho and Afrikaans, some of whom speak Westernised English. Like in any other Anglophone countries, English is a language which is, amongst others, with economic opportunities; it is the language of power and status; the language of the elite, which ensures that the elite reproduces itself; further, English is considered to be significant for Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC) examinations and university entry and put oneself in line for one of the influential posts in the civil service, public services and industry and commerce; it is also the language which gives one access to world information', hence power (Lynn, 1994:42). While the language-in-education policy does not say anything about the variety of English used in the country (Lynn, 1994; Miti, 2009; Seotsanyane & Matheolane, 2010), many parents would like their children to be more proficient in English than in Sesotho, because of the supposed economic value of English world-wide. On this basis, English is used in many

public domains and taught as a subject from the first three grades of primary school education, and then as a medium of instruction from Grade 4 upwards, including both secondary and tertiary education, with target groups ranging from nine-year-olds to adolescents in Lesotho. English, therefore, takes over from Sesotho, the mother tongue and national language, which is taught as an examinable subject and as a medium of instruction during the first three grades of primary education as noted.

It could, therefore, be observed that, with this background to the introduction of English and its official functions, Lesotho could be categorised as one of the outer-circle countries, with an institutionalised English as in other post-colonial countries the world over. In light of this sociolinguistic situation, the current study set out with the following design and methodology, to determine whether and the extent to which English used in Lesotho could be worthy of a comparable variety status to that of other World Englishes.

3.2 The Qualitative Research Design and Methodology

As earlier noted, this chapter also presents the design and methodology of the study. Of significance is that the research design and methodology for this study has been premised on the principles of the qualitative approaches to research, thus involving both human subjects, as units of analysis in a given study. Crucial to such a design are epistemological and sociological principles which shift from the long-standing positivist tradition which stresses objective aspects of any phenomena under study, hence being exemplified by numeric data methods. Drawing on the concept of symbolic interactionism applicable to social research, the qualitative research design is principled on verbal or textual data collection and analysis methods, which are geared towards reflecting the perspectives, underlying meanings and identities of the participants in the contexts in which they operate. The qualitative research is further informed by ethnographic assumptions meant for viewing holistic, synthetic and interpretative nature of the phenomena in focus. In other words, the qualitative design is considered for being capable of not only examining verbal or textual data: words, phrases and sentences, to mention only three, but also for holistically interpreting phenomena in particular sociocultural contexts (Mouton, 1996, 2001). With its ethnographic, content analytic and interpretative dimensions, the qualitative design has been adopted for this study, also drawing on variationist sociolinguistics and World Englishes

paradigms (Labov, 1972a; Kachru, 1976; Milroy, 1980; Mouton, 2001; Wardhaugh, 2006; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Ndlovu, 2013; Kerswill & Watson, 2014).

With these epistemological premises, for the purpose of this study, textual corpus-based data were considered, thus gathering both oral and written data from various texts in selected domains of English second-language use in the Lesotho. Based on Leedy and Ormrod (2005) and Creswell (2009), the study adopted interviews, observations and documentary sources. In addition, for both spoken and written texts deriving from given 'English usage' domains, the data would be seen as representing various sections of the population (Coulmas, 1989a; Schmied, 1991) within the Basotho community in Lesotho. For Schmied (1991), such different approaches complement one another for thorough linguistic research. While the qualitative design usually has a small sample, with findings not necessarily being generalisable to other contexts, it is flexible, by being both deductive and inductive, that is being hypothesis-testing and/or hypothesis-generating respectively. In this view, unlike the Labovian variationist sociolinguistics, with quantitative designs and collecting data from the population ranging from 40 to 150 participants, this study used the qualitative design, coupled with ethnographic dimensions, that is gathering data from the researched in their actual contexts.

In addition, as part of its design, the study, employed different, data collection methods and data analytic frameworks as well as sampling techniques in relation to whether and the extent to which they would answer the research problem of this study. Therefore, this triangulated design and instrumentation enabled me to collect and analyse systematic patterns of qualitative data on multiple levels of grammar: phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon of Lesotho English. In this way, I would establish whether and the extent to which the findings address the thesis statement and achieve the objectives of the study as well as show the extent to which the study relates to the theoretical and empirical literature on which it is premised. As such, the study set out to investigate *Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho*. In order to investigate the research problem, that is answering the specific research questions and achieving specific objectives, the linguistic variable, the conceptual tool used in variationist sociolinguistics, has been closely considered at the above-mentioned levels of grammar for this study (Chambers, 2002; Labov,

1972; Tagliamonte, 2006; Wardaugh, 2006). The study, therefore, set out to ask the overarching question as in whether and to what extent *LesE* exists as a possibly emerging variety in Lesotho.

To focus the research problem, the study, therefore, aimed at asking and/or answering the following specific research questions:

- a) Is there any emerging variety worthy of the name *LesE* amongst the Basotho in Lesotho?
- b) If any, to what extent is such a variety critical to defining *LesE* at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon?
- c) How does *LesE* differ from Sub-Saharan Southern African Englishes, particularly Black South African English (*BSAE*) and/or other World Englishes?

With the above-mentioned research questions, the study also set out to achieve the following corresponding specific objectives to:

- a) Investigate any emerging variety worthy of the name *LesE* amongst the Basotho as a speech community in Lesotho;
- b) Determine the extent to which *LesE* can be characterised at the following levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon;
- c) Determine how far *LesE* differs from Sub-Saharan Southern African Englishes, particularly *BSAE* and/or other World Englishes.

3.3 Sampling within Variationist Sociolinguistics

Having examined the geopolitical position and sociolinguistic situation of the Kingdom of Lesotho, I now turn to the sampling procedures for the study, drawing on sampling frameworks within variationist sociolinguistics as the sub-field of sociolinguistics. Before situating the sampling procedures for this study within the variationist sociolinguistic domains, it is instructive to define the term sampling. The concept of sampling means choosing, from the entire population, particular cases to study in detail. By population is not necessarily meant a number of people. Rather, as a collective term, 'population refers to the total quantity of cases of the type which are the subjects of one's study'. Therefore, population comprises objects, people or even events as in schools, miners and revolutions (Walliman, 2011:185). Therefore, a sample can be selected from the population, often using certain sampling techniques. While there are different ways of sampling

in any scholarly research, sampling procedures are mainly of two-fold: random and non-random' sampling (Walliman, 2011). For this study, I employed the following sampling techniques: convenience and purposive sampling both of which are coherent with variationist sociolinguistics, as described in turn below.

3.3.1 Convenience Sampling

Premised on the qualitative design, convenience sample is designed for collecting data from the easily obtained cases. It is a time-saving sampling technique meant to collect data from the participants who are available and/or willing to participate in the research process in any given context. Such research contexts include work places, schools and other related research sites (Struwig & Stead, 2001). With a view to the accessibility of the participants with desired categories for my research, of course, without necessarily compromising the purpose of the study, I used convenience sampling so as to investigate the linguistic variables in focus in selected research sites of the Kingdom of Lesotho. Using the documentary data sources all of which being in the public domain, interviewing teachers and observing academics as well as audio-recording speeches, news broadcasts and talk shows over the Ultimate Radio and LTV, was convenient for this study in terms of their accessibility.

3.3.2 Purposive Sampling

In qualitative research, purposive sampling denotes that researcher intentionally selects or recruit participants who have experienced the central phenomenon or the key concept being explored in the study (Creswell & Plano, Clark, 2011). Also known as judgmental sampling, purposive sampling primarily considers, as units of analyses, the subjects from whom, in the researcher's opinion or judgment, will and/or are likely to provide the best and/or information meant to achieve the objectives of the study. This is a sampling of opinionated people. Judgmental sampling is consistent with sociolinguistic studies because of its methodological and pragmatic functions. One of the main reasons for employing purposive sampling is that the technique has been found to be more judicious and suitable for modern variationist sociolinguistics, as it tends to tap into the most casual forms of speech behaviour, that is language use in its sociocultural contexts. As a non-probability sampling technique, judgmental sampling has been employed for sociolinguistic studies, where it was proved viable for data collection, more especially from the participants with

predetermined and relevant social categories (Babbie, 2014; Chambers, 2002, 2003; Hoffman, 2014; Kumar, 2014; Schneider, 2007, 2011; Tagliamonte, 2006).

On this basis, few studies except Labov (1963, 2001), Labov *et al.* (2006) and Tagliamonte (2003), have been noted for using random sampling arbitrarily, involving the sample whose characteristics, for instance, background, are not that essential. Therefore, following classical sociolinguistic research, variationist sociolinguists and World Englishes scholars have been using judgmental sampling for interviewing and observing participants of different ages in different areas. In almost all the contexts, the purpose has been to access the existing knowledge of the population with unique characteristics or cases for special information, usually rare or specialised cases for in-depth analysis (Feagin, 2002; Neuman, 1997; Uys & Puttergill, 2003). As such, it was worth considering such a particular sampling technique, involving the units of analysis who were fairly known, easily identifiable, visible and representative of the sociolinguistic categories of the focal population for this study, in this case, English Second- language speakers with some degree of proficiency, deriving from formal learning. Against this background, I used stratified purposive sampling, thus having the sample comprised of human participants in both the public and private English-using domains for the purpose of collecting both oral and written data, and, of course, focusing on different-sized text types and/or genres so as to diversify the corpus-based data collected for the study as shown below.

3.3.3 The Research Context and Sample

Ideally, it would be vitally important to consider analysing the entire population for a comprehensive picture of any study including the sociolinguistics of Lesotho English, the phenomena under study, in this particular case. Yet, it is often impractical to have the entire population for analysis in any given study. While these domains may not necessarily represent the entire English second-language-speaking population in the Kingdom, it is crucial to note that the ‘right’ size of the population is much more important than the sampling size (Biber, 1993; de Klerk, 2006). According to Naoum (2013:57), the term sample denotes ‘a specimen or part of a whole population which is drawn to show what the rest is like’. For Walliman (2011:367), ‘a sample is the small part of a whole population selected to show what the whole is like’. In other words, ‘a sample is a selected number of cases in a population’ (Walliman, 2011:185). In this view,

the question of how ‘right’ the sample size may be is not so relevant for this study; instead, for the purpose of the qualitative study such as this one, the relevant sample is the one which is most likely to generate qualitatively better and/or richer data than any other opportunistic sampling, meant for merely yielding huge amounts of data (Baker, 2014; de Klerk, 2006). The sample for this study is, therefore, meant to constitute as broad a range of linguistic categories as possible. As such, it is prudent for scientific researchers to have a certain part of the entire population for data collection and analytic purposes.

However, determining the speakers of what is supposedly Lesotho English may be difficult given the increasingly diverse sociolinguistic situation of the Kingdom, as a speech community. While it may not be easy to categorically establish whether English used is a learner language or variety, or whether it is idiosyncratic usages or a stable variety, it is vital to note the domains in which it is used. Here, focus has specifically been on the participants with formal English learning experience of 12-years or so as a subject and/or a medium of instruction at the different educational institutions, including the selected research sites in the Kingdom. As such, while the age and gender were not crucial for this study, the sample has been constituted by people with different demographic and social categories, all of whom because of tertiary education, are proficient in English as a second language, and officially use the language at their workplaces, being the selected formal domains for this study. These English second-language speakers have primarily acquired and/or learned English within the formal education system, mainly as in the Kingdom of Lesotho, be it from a primary school to a tertiary level, some of whom with English experience from outside the country, and others with considerable international travelling experience. As de Klerk (2006) observed, English second-language learners, students, various subjects’ teachers, college and university academics and administrators, more especially with such formal education including English proficiency, are the gatekeepers to and main transmitters of norms (de Klerk, 2006, my addendum).

With the understanding that population not necessarily involves a number of people, but the total quantity of cases, objects, people or even events (schools, miners, revolutions) typifying the subject of one’s study, Walliman (2011), the data were collected from human participants, that is oral and written data alike. Although for Biber (1988), spontaneous dialogues have more internal

variation than most of the corpora, I assumed, and of course, drawing on earlier studies that the corpus from written texts would also be useful for variation analysis for this study. As such, I was able to recruit the following categories of research subjects for data collection and analyses:

The research sample for this study, therefore, covers the selected sites, involving both human and non-human participants and/or domains, all having been of interest for collecting corpus-based data for this study. The corpus-based data from such a diverse sample are composed of narrative interviews, the public official speeches, courtroom proceedings, staff and senate meetings, the Radio and LTV programmes as well documentary sources, and newspaper articles published during the period from 2017 to 2019 in the Kingdom of Lesotho.

In what follows are different target groups, constituting the sample. As mentioned above, the target sources for oral data were teachers from four high schools, based in the following districts: Leribe, Berea, Maseru and Mafeteng, four of the ten districts in the whole country. The teachers as well as their schools are each identified with the following pseudonyms for anonymity and confidentiality as observed as part of the ethical concerns. The first is the private school based in the Leribe district, here named Northern Region; the second, being the Catholic Mission school, based in Berea is identified as Northeastern Region; the third, the Lesotho Evangelical Mission school, in Mafeteng, referred to as Southern Region; and the Government school, in the Capital district, Maseru, as Central Region in Lesotho. All these target schools for this study are strategically spread out and/or separated regionally, three of which, are in my view, amongst the top most performing schools, and the other, just an average-performing school in the country. Also noteworthy is that these are all co-educational schools, with English used as the second official language and as a medium instruction per policy framework in Lesotho.

Other target sources for oral data included the participant academics and administrators at the NUL, the collective identity of whom is simply the NUL Senate or senators, targeted for data collection from the senate meetings. Likewise, the groups' identity has been withheld for anonymity. To the above professional group, I, then recruited one of the professional sections of the Basotho English-speech community, the *People's Choice FM*, the *Lesotho Television* and the *Ultimate Radio*, with the latter mainly operating as an English-medium Radio station, based at the Radio Lesotho station in the Capital Maseru in the Kingdom. All these media houses were targeted

for English programmes such as news broadcasts, and for the *Ultimate Radio*, focus was mainly on both news broadcasts and talk shows focusing on the Covid 19 protocols at the time of data collection. Since the target programmes were all in the public domain, there was no need for ethical considerations, more especially because all focal audio-recordings have been identified with the station, rather than individual presenters of the audio-recorded programmes. Lastly, other target participants for oral data were the public officials such the King, the former Prime Minister and the Chief Justice and two legal practitioners' debates in the courtroom proceedings, respectively.

Added the above-mentioned human subjects sample, part of the sample was constituted by documentary sources or written texts. In what follows are sampled documentary sources from which the corpus-based data were collected. These include weekly newspapers as in the *Lesotho Times*, *The Post* and the *Public Eye*; and magazines such as the *Finite*, the *Faith* and the *Work for Justice*, all of which are private media organisations in the country. Most importantly, the strategic plan documents: the Lesotho College of Education Strategic Plan 2005-2015, and the National University of Lesotho Strategic Plan 2015-2020, respectively, formed part of the sample, for corpus-based data collection. All the above-stated documentary sources are in the public domain as viewed by Bauer (2002); in which case they should not be kept anonymous. Both of the LCE and the NUL are two of the higher-learning public institutions, one a teacher-training college since 1975, and the other, the old established and the university, first established as the Pius College in 1945 in the Kingdom.

With this constituted sample for the study, in what follows is the numerically simplified sketch showing both human and non-human participants from whom/which the corpus-based data were collected:

Spoken Corpus

Interviews - 4 Teachers (NR, NER, CR & SR)

Meetings - 3 NUL Senate

Meetings - 1 School (Central Region, CR)

Official speeches – King – 2; Former Prime Minister – 1; Legal Practitioners: Chief Justice and Two Lawyers - 3

News Broadcasts – Lesotho Television (LTV) - 2 & People’s Choice FM (PCFM) - 2

Ultimate Radio Talk Shows & News Broadcasts – 28

Total = 45 Oral Corpus

Written Corpus

Newspaper & Magazine Articles - 36

Strategic Plan Documents - LCE - 3 & NUL - 3

Total = 42 Written Corpus

Grand Total Oral and Written Corpus = 88 Texts

Therefore, while the sample size may not be so relevant in qualitative research, the overall corpus for this study was constituted by different sized-texts and genres from both the public and private domains all amounting to the corpus of 88 oral and written texts to avoid any data-handling problems as observed in sociolinguistics (Mesthrie *et al.*, 2009). Therefore, the corpus-based data from both the spoken and written texts were collected, extracted and transcribed for analysis for this study. As noted earlier, the variants of the linguistic variables of Lesotho English at the following levels: phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical levels were examined so as to answer the research questions, achieve objectives, and test the thesis statement of this study. As Baker (2014:115) put, it is ‘easier to build written corpora because it is much easier to get hold of [...]’. For the author, it is more time-consuming to collect and transcribe spoken data, the process which is, further, faced with ethical concerns (Baker, 2014). As such, the next section examines data collection techniques adopted to answer the research questions and achieve the objectives of the study.

3.4 Data Collection Techniques

The methodology of the study is, therefore, premised on the principles of the qualitative design. As such, for the purpose of this study, textual data were considered, thus gathering the data from various spoken and written texts in the selected domains of use in the Kingdom of Lesotho. For the field work, various data collection procedures which typify sociolinguistic research were adopted (Johnstone, 2000). With this instrumentation, I must have been able to answer the research

questions and achieve the objectives of this study, that is investigating *Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho*. For the purpose of this study, more than one data collection technique was employed. These include interviews, observations (hence rapid and anonymous observations) and content analysis, focused on both spoken and written texts. As Naoum (2013:52) pointed out, 'Data collection does not necessarily depend on one method or technique'. In this view, the use of more than one method is necessitated by the nature of data or information to be collected and/or questions to be asked, whether qualitative, so as to achieve the aim of the study (Naoum, 2013). In this light, the above-mentioned data collection methods were adopted, and are presented in turn below.

3.4.1 Sociolinguistic Interviews

As noted earlier, sociolinguistic interviews are consistent with qualitative research and variationist sociolinguistics, and are amongst the most common methods used to elicit spontaneous vernacular usages of speakers under study (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). Following Labov, many post-Labovian scholars used sociolinguistic interviews to elicit a narrative discourse, thus yielding natural data, the world over (Bayley & Pease-Alvarez, 1997; Feagin, 2002; Milroy, 1980; Milroy & Gordon, 2003; (Mesthrie, 2009; Trudgill, 1974). Labov (1966) used the tool for analysing linguistic variables amongst different social classes of people in the selected monolingual speech communities. While the use of such equipment as a digital-recorder or a microphone, might lessen the naturalness of the interaction, the interview method works best for the frequently occurring variables such as phonological, morphological as well as syntactic variables.

Noticeable about such one-to-one interviews is the advantage of data permanency as it is possible to return to the recording over and over for clarification and research. Sociolinguistic interviews further enhance the principle of accountability allowing the researcher to have all the recorded occurrences of the variable identified and accounted for. Furthermore, one-to-one interviews tend to render the interaction informal, thus making it a natural social event. Using this instrument, sociolinguists often engage the participants in highly emotional experiences about any incidents surrounding them (Feagin, 2002; Labov, 1971b, 1972c; Macaulay, 2009). With the advent of the World English studies, the sociolinguistic research methodology has adopted new dimensions, thus generally involving extended conversational data collection, tape-recorded interviews with

easily comparable data under similar conditions. In the process, code-mixing is also common between English non-native-speaking participants, on the one hand, and between speakers and the researcher, on the other hand, thus accommodating to their shared background (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

Otherwise, it could be sociolinguistically artificial to expect only L2 use during data collection. The actual bilingual behaviour of mixing and switching is, therefore, encouraged (de Klerk, 2006; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). Whether using interviews or participant observations, sociolinguistic researchers should safeguard against *the observer's paradox*. The observer's paradox may undermine the goal of collecting natural linguistic data as the subjects may adapt their speech due to the presence of the fieldworker. By the observer's paradox is meant the language to be observed when speakers are not being observed, usually the vernacular in the natural social context (Labov, 1966). Any kind of sociolinguistic fieldwork involving tape-recorded interviews, participant observations and street corner quizzes should strive for overcoming this problem of the observer's paradox (Feagin (2002), being what this study tried by all possible means to ensure.

Therefore, as a way of mitigating the observer's paradox, having first established contact with the target groups telephonically, I visited and presented myself to and recruited the participants at the research sites, which are more or less familiar to them. These include selected schools and the university where I was also be able to collect as rich data as possible from both the teachers and academics respectively. In any case, I conducted narrative sociolinguistic interviews which roughly lasted for 30-45 minutes each, with the selected teachers, each of whom identified here with the region in which the school is situated as shown below. In the process, and, of course, with their permission, I audio-recorded, and made field notes of the interaction with a focus on the phonological (sound) and morphosyntactic (grammatical) as well as lexical patterns of the participants under study. On this basis, I therefore, rendered the interviews narrative, with a few questions, so as to elicit certain phonological, morphosyntactic as well as lexical variants, with the participants recounting their teaching experiences in the relaxed atmosphere.

In particular, the participants' teaching experiences included English-language teaching at the selected schools and elsewhere. During such one-on-one narrative interviews, I interacted with the

interviewee, also audio-recording narratives from which to later extract variants of the linguistic variables at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexis. Phonological variants include spelling pronunciations, stress-timing vs syllable-timing, syllabic consonants, monophthongisation vs diphthongisation, neutralisation and stopping of interdental. Focus has been on orthographic variants including alternative spellings, heteronyms and some words with semantic extension. Focal morphosyntactic variants involved the progressive aspect and statives and levelling process, modals, agreement, relativisation, appositional pronouns, articles and prepositional idioms. Premised on variationist sociolinguistics, with such interviews I was able to obtain as much comparable rich data as possible from narratives of the selected teachers. As noted, Feagin, such data would help the researcher to capture the subjects' understanding of the standard norms and vernacular features at phonological and morphological levels being the most frequently studied sociolinguistic aspects (Feagin, 2002).

3.4.2 Rapid and Anonymous Observations

The study further adopted rapid and anonymous observations, often geared towards observing participants' language use in given social settings. With this instrument, the target groups of the study were teachers, academics, radio presenters and public officials based at different institutions selected for this study. The use of observations for data collection has largely been consistent with the view that all claims about language should be based on the observation of actual language use (Labov, 1972; Macaulay, 2009; Mesthrie *et al.*, 2009). Premised on the Hymes' (1972) viewpoints on the value of real-live sociocultural contexts, observations may be influenced by the investigator's expectations. Many studies were conducted using the instrument with the researchers examining different variants of the phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical variables of English, more especially in native-speaking environments (Eckert, 1989; Feagin, 2002; Labov, 1972, 1966; Mesthrie, 2009; Richford, 1986).

Added to these are studies by Liao (2010), McCormick (2002) and Tagliamonte (2006), each of whom adopted observations in both shared and strange backgrounds with the participants, where they were able to mitigate the observer's paradox. While the tool served to address the problem of the observer's paradox, it enhanced cross-examination of the data collected, which would, in turn, ensure a high degree of validity and reliability of the data because of being collected and analysed

by more than one person. In this light, I employed observations to complement sociolinguistic narrative interviews, using audio-recording devices and making field notes for data collection. I, therefore, observed and audio-recorded one staff meeting, running for 90 minutes, at one of the selected schools (here identified as the Central Region, in Maseru). For gathering the data from the target academics, I listened to and audio-recorded three of the on-the-spot Senate *Zoom* meetings, each of which lasted roughly 90 minutes, at the NUL during the period from July to August 2020. Overall, I listened, audio-recorded and analysed three senate meetings at the National University of Lesotho.

Besides, my observations involved listening to the talk shows related to the protocols on Covid-19 pandemic and weather/news forecasts lasting from 25-30 minutes each hosted by the *Ultimate Radio*, based at the Radio Lesotho. In addition, four news broadcasts, two from the *LTV/Radio Lesotho* and the other two from the *People's Choice FM*, each of which lasting roughly for five to ten minutes, were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis. I listened to and audio-recorded the radio programmes all of which were largely broadcast in English-second language in the country. Then I listened to and audio-recorded the courtroom proceedings focusing on two legal practitioners and the Chief Justice in the High Court of Lesotho, respectively. Finally, I observed and audio-recorded official speeches, two by the King, and one by the former Prime Minister.

With observations, I collected as rich and near natural data as possible in more or less familiar research sites, with my presence being more or less on the same footing as the participants so as to mitigate the observer's paradox (McCormick, 2002). While anticipating and accommodating to code-switching behaviour, typical of sociolinguistic dynamics of English non-native-speaking environments, I adopted Mesthrie and Bhatt's (2008) view. With the *rapid and anonymous observations*, I was able to gather various phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical variants from the selected participants in the selected research sites. According to Feagin (2002), phonological and morphological variables, which could be noted in spoken and written texts, are amongst the most frequently studied sociolinguistic features. In this view, spontaneous dialogues have more internal variation than most of the corpora in formal settings (Biber, 1988). Based on sociolinguistics and World Englishes studies, the study examined such phonological variants as spelling pronunciations, stress- vs syllable-timing; syllabic consonants, monophthongisation vs diphthongisation, neutralisation and stopping of interdental fricatives. Besides, morphosyntactic

variants, for example, the progressive aspect and statives, levelling process, modals, agreement, relativisation, appositional pronouns, unsystematic use of articles and prepositional idioms were examined. Finally, lexicon as in orthographic variants including alternative spellings, dehyphenation, heteronyms and semantic broadening were analysed.

3.4.3 Documentary Sources: Written Data

Most importantly, Content Analysis (henceforth CA) is one of the most common methods used in linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, including World Englishes Studies. The concept of 'Content Analysis simply denotes a methodology applied to explore, describe and infer characteristics of messages' (du Plooy, 2009:213). The CL conventionally uses different units of analysis, secondary sources and domains, including the media, with a focus on such linguistic features as words, phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs (Bryman, 2012; du Plooy, 2009). The qualitative corpus-based data were collected from the selected newspaper and magazine articles in the *Lesotho Times*, *The Post* and the *Public Eye*; and the *Finite*, the *Faith* and the *Work for Justice*, as well as the LCE and NUL Strategic Plan documents. From the selected magazine and newspapers, front-page news and editorial articles, two from each edition published in the focal period were analysed; from the strategic plan documents of the two institutions, three sections: the Rector's and Vice Chancellor's forward, Historical Background and Context were. I also examined different variants of both lexical and morphosyntactic domains each of the selected documentary sources, each of which having a word range from five hundred and fifty (550) to two thousand (2,000) words. Focal morphosyntactic variants comprised the progressive aspect, levelling process of the preterite and perfective aspect, agreement, core and quasi-modals, relativisation, appositional pronouns, the article system and prepositional idioms, on the one hand. On the other hand, lexical variants included alternative spellings, heteronyms, hyphenation vs dehyphenation and semantic extension.

While the corpus-based data collected from the media may be suspect or unreliable in terms of lacking in demographic information of language users, for example, a birth place, age and sometimes gender Elliott (2000) and Sankoff (2004), the content analysis has an advantage of being one of the unobtrusive data collection methods (Bryman, 2012). In one recent study on media representation, especially the press in the context of Lesotho, Hala-hala and Kolobe (2014)

adopted the qualitative content analysis, as a tool for gathering and analysing corpus-based linguistic data, and of course, also drawing on the framework of media studies. With the CA employed to complement the tools discussed above, the study, I hope, has shed light on sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in terms of its methodological, conceptual and theoretical contribution to the frameworks of variationist sociolinguistics and World Englishes Studies.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues were observed throughout the study, guided by the code of ethics as recommended by the University of the Free State, in Bloenfontein, South Africa and the Ministry of Education and Training (MoET) in Lesotho. Following my request to the University of the Free State for permission to undertake the research involving human subjects, a due process of having my research design and fieldwork vetted by the authorities concerned, I was granted permission with the following *Ethical Clearance Number: UFS-HSD2019/1458*. In the same manner, ethical concerns considered and adhered to throughout the planning, data collection, data analysis and the write-up of the research report, involved aligning my work with the academic conventions and practices of the global academic community. To do so, I adopted the Harvard referencing style, thus acknowledging all the sources of information used both within and at the end of the study so as to avoid any plagiarism. Like any other academic institutions, the University of the Free State, and of course, the Department of Linguistics and Language Practice, the Faculty of Humanities, as well as the University of the Free State and the Republic of South Africa, stringently observe and advise registered students to strictly adhere to academic conventions such as in-text and end-text referencing, the standard practice which is deemed to give credibility to their academic research works.

The fieldwork for the study was also aligned with the code of ethics of the MoET relating to the research involving human subjects in the Lesotho. As such, for data collection from the target schools, I asked for permission (in writing), first from the MoET, and then from the schools concerned. Following the permission from the MoET, I contacted the teachers concerned for interviews, also requesting the school authorities, the principals for observing staff meetings, which I did with only one of the target schools, here named the Central Region, based in the Capital, Maseru. As Feagin (2002) stated, entering any community for research purposes involves

certain responsibilities for respecting the privacy and customs of the participants. On this basis, my own fieldwork entailed many possible ways of fitting into the research sites, with self-presentation being as adaptable as possible, and avoiding to appear a stranger to the participants at the target schools. Following self-presentation to and briefing of each of the teachers at the selected schools on the goals of the project and guaranteeing their voluntary participation in and withdrawal from the study, I recruited and assured them of their confidential and/or anonymous responses. To that effect, I assured the participants of using pseudonyms in dealing with the data from them and the schools where they are based. With their permission, I then devised ways of sitting alongside and chatting with the participant teachers in a fairly interactive manner, more especially during the face-to-face interviews for the oral data.

While this approach may have aroused some ethical concerns, it could be offset by anonymity of the subjects. I followed Labov's (1982) in-depth interviews and/or Mouton's (1996, 2001) participant observations, to mitigate any inhibiting effects of appearing superior to the participants. While some researchers dispute surreptitious recordings and observations, it is crucial to balance complete disclosure and surreptitious recordings, so as to avoid participants' discomfort and/or anger. Otherwise, notwithstanding any compromise of the research ethics, researchers could resort to mild deceptions by not emphasising the linguistic nature of their interest. As such, drawing on Cheshire's (1982) nine-month study on nonstandard grammar amongst the English adolescent boys and girls, I withheld some information (focal linguistic variables of the research) which would likely render the participants artificial. Consequently, I was able to collect rich qualitative linguistic data on phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical variants. In this way, I struck a balance between being upfront about the purpose of the study and just talking about the teaching of English in the country to the participants in this study.

For data collection from the LCE and NUL respectively, I also wrote to the Registrars of the institutions asking for permission, though I did not obtain any response from the LCE. Therefore, I decided to use only the Strategic Plan document which is available in the website of the college. For the data from the NUL Senate meetings, I used pseudonyms, identifying the NUL Senate participants collectively. With the public officials, for instance, the King, the Former Prime Minister, Chief Justice and the lawyers in the High Court proceedings, I sought no permission

since I surfed the internet for audio-recordings of the participants' speeches and presentations. Besides, the data from the news broadcasts and talk shows from the *Lesotho Television*, the *People's Choice FM* and the *Ultimate Radio* were audio-recorded. As such, the oral data collected from such public domains were audio-recorded, coupled with field notes from the research participants and informed consent not required.

In addition, the data collected from the media houses and institutions concerned, and for the written data collected from the documentary sources, for example, newspaper and magazine articles and the institutional strategic plan documents, there was no need for confidentiality as the texts from those outlets are in the public domain. For official speeches and news broadcasts, especially from the media as in the *Lesotho Television* and the *People's Choice FM*, as well as speeches by legal practitioners in the High Court of Lesotho, I surfed the internet and listened for the previous and current audio-recordings for my analyses. Furthermore, the data collected from the documentary sources: newspaper and magazine articles: the *Lesotho Times*, *The Post* and the *Public Eye*; and the *Finite*, the *Faith* and the *Work for Justice*, as well as the LCE and the NUL Strategic Plan documents were in the public domain. For such data sources, neither permission, nor confidentiality was necessary.

Finally, like any other research data, the data for the study have been ethically managed. Only with permission from the University of the Free State would the data and/or the findings be disclosed to any person, if necessary, during or on completion of the study. As such, my responsibility has been to manage, keep and store the data or findings of the study, and of course, copies of the thesis, in the supervisor's, my possession and with the Department of Linguistics and Language Practice at the University of the Free State.

3.6 Data Analysis

Following a data collection process, transcription and analysis of both the spoken and written data from various texts were carried out. To be precise the study mainly analysed the qualitative and mostly salient features of the data collected from the target corpus. For Creswell and Plano Clark (2011:415), 'qualitative data analysis involves coding the data dividing the text into small units (phrases, sentences or paragraphs), assigning a label to each unit, and then grouping the codes into

themes'. Further drawing on the more nuanced analytic tool for data analysis, I used corpus linguistics as an analytic framework or method, most recently employed for analysing actual language use and language variation across linguistic, sociolinguistic, applied linguistic disciplines, including World Englishes studies across the world. Tagliamonte (2012) adopted Corpus Linguistics (CL) for large-scale corpora, especially with concordance programs to analyse all possible occurrences of usages, with her study shedding more light on the sociolinguistic phenomena under study (Tagliamonte, 2012).

For data analysis for this study, corpus-based variationist linguistics (CVL) was arguably chosen for its relevance for examining qualitative data of linguistic nature, especially linguistic variants, that is 'alternate ways of saying the target linguistic variable. CVL researchers value the idea of the linguistic variants and the 'Principle of Accountability' (Labov, 1969: 738), for instance, identifying salient linguistic aspects, not necessarily focusing on text frequencies of a key search variable, but the systematically salient qualitative data for analysis. While corpus-linguistic approaches to sociolinguistics, including discourse analysis have not largely been variationist, many corpus-based studies are generally concerned with variation (Biber, 1988, 2010, Friginal & Hardy, 2014). As such, with an emphasis on the above-mentioned criteria, CL is used as an analytic tool for data analysis, thus focusing on the sociolinguistic data, both spoken and written texts – corpus transcribed from interviews, observations and documentary sources for this study. It could, therefore, be argued that this study adopted these theories and design, following World Englishes studies, including British National Corpus (BNC) and Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) Szmrecsanyi (2017) for the purpose of literature review, data collection and analysis of the sociolinguistic data in focus.

The term corpus linguistics (henceforth CL) simply denotes a body or a collection of large linguistic data, whether spoken or written (Baker, 2014). As Szmrecsanyi (2017) pointed out, corpus analytics is defined as a methodology which draws on collections of more or less naturalistic texts or speech for the sake of conducting some sort of linguistic analysis. A corpus is considered a collection of texts or parts of texts upon which some general linguistic analysis can be conducted (Meyer 2002: xi). Further, corpus linguistics is a systematic quantitative and qualitative research method or an analytical technique, with a propensity of analysing a large

corpus of linguistic data whether spoken and/or written. As an empirical investigation tool, corpus linguistics examines the actual patterns of use in natural texts in various contexts (Baker, 2014; O'Halloran, 2014). According to Thomas (2014), corpora are a very good way of investigating different language patterns on all the varying linguistic levels, and can provide researchers with many interesting results. In addition, as an analytic framework, CL uses corpora which allow for both quantitative and qualitative analysis (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Hunston, 2002, in Meyer, 2002), since the corpus analyst's role is to collect the data and report their computed results and explain them through a linguistic framework (Meyer, 2002). Moreover, CL is a new 'robust' model used to analyse large computer-captured chunks of language, involving both spoken and written data (Mongomery, 1997; Schneider, 2002; Xiao, 2009). Corpus-based results should, however, be filtered before any analysis, to avoid having irrelevant data to the scope of the research (Thomas, 2014). Despite having such challenges, corpus data could be drawn from different discourse patterns, including spoken and unedited, as well as written and edited texts, all of which may be analysed for any given study (Kairis, 2017).

Therefore, within the framework of sociolinguistics and World Englishes studies, corpus linguistics uses what is called concordance analysis. This particular instrument carefully examines how words occur in the context of sentences. Concordancing is, therefore, concerned with listing words, phrases or clauses from the context in which they occur in the discourse. Concordancing is useful for tracing items to the original location in the discourse; it is a painstaking and a judicious procedure for providing preliminary insights into the data. Concordancing, therefore, involves lines, technically labelled concordance lines, within which are certain key words around which analysis is centred. The term concordances denotes 'a particular word or cluster of words with a preceding and following co-text of a determinate number of words...' (Fairclough, 2015). Concordance lines involve key words and collocational associations within texts of various types and sizes, all of which constitute different corpora. As Sinclair (1991) puts, language use is mainly collocative and phraseological, and is thus better understood in chunks rather than individual words in a grammatical sentence. Every concordance line bears a word or a phrase in a corpus with few words on either side, that is words occurring immediately to the left or right of the search word. Researchers often go beyond concordance lines to paragraphs and/or the whole text so as to understand how and why search words are used in the corpus. Such an approach helps with

grammatical analysis at phrasal, clausal and syntactic levels within which search words occur. Regardless of the length of the chunks under study, c they could be easily read, processed and rendered coherent with concordances commonly used for analysing corpus-based data (Wray, 2002).

Studies across the globe, including two of the most widely cited corpora such as British National Corpus (BNC) and Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) used corpus linguistics as in Biber and Finegan (1997), Culpeper and Kytö (1991) and Kytö, (1991), Schneider (2002). De Klerk (2002, 2006) and Mesthrie (2014) used CL for analysing South African English, including Black South African English, within the framework of sociolinguistics and World Englishes studies. According to Mesthrie (2014), corpus data may be more data-possible and more usable than sociolinguistic interviews (Mesthrie, 2014). For Mesthrie, the best form of data depends on the aims and claims of the study, thereby considering the entire corpus and interviews as helping to collect very rich data on which to draw logical conclusions in the end (Mesthrie, 2014). The author further argues that more of the corpus-based data are non-vernacular, and non-colloquial since English second-language speakers, being the target, in such sociolinguistic studies, have primarily been exposed to formal English as a second-language for schooling.

However, like any other frameworks, CL has been criticised, especially by generative grammarians, for examining only samples of performance rather than projecting anything beyond the corpus to the language as a whole (Crystal, 2006). Other critics view CL as overlooking the context of use, attitudes of authors towards, their values and experience about the texts in focus. In any case, CL is a starting point of a linguistic description and/or as a means of verifying hypotheses about a language (Crystal, 2006). As noted above CL is a judicious procedure for providing preliminary insights into the data and tracing items to the original location in any given discourse. With this framework, once the corpus-based data have been compiled, concordance lines can be extracted from interviews, observations and/or documentary sources or still any other data sets. Furthermore, drawing on Sinclair's (1991) *idiom principle* on collocational and phraseological language use, concordance lines for different lexical and morphosyntactic variants of the linguistic variables were extracted manually and annotated accordingly. On this basis, I analysed the data manually, with a focus on the interview transcripts, transcripts from the audio-

recorded speeches, talk shows, news broadcasts and courtroom proceedings as well as field notes from observations of the meetings, for this particular study. The patterns were coded and categorised into such themes as in focal levels of grammar: phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon. Equally significant was data extraction from the texts: both the spoken and written corpus, under study. As mentioned above, exact data extraction was carried out manually from different texts, using concordance lines for the variants of the linguistic variable of interest in this study. Having closely examined, circumscribed and extracted the variants of the linguistic variable from the selected texts at these levels, I compiled such concordance lines for patterns within which are search words, phrases, clauses and sentences, that is variants of the linguistic variable at the following levels: phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon for this study. Therefore, any systematic categories, themes, trends and comparisons were highlighted on the *Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English* in this study. To flag the variants under study, I used phonetic transcriptions within square brackets [...], italics and/or bolds respectively (see Tagliamonte, 2006). Of course, without the use of modern technology such as *Praat*, a software for analysing sound patterns in language, which would most probably permit a more nuanced and deeper analysis of the acoustic structures of such sounds, Maingay (2014), the researcher's perception and impressions might have overlooked certain sound qualities and patterns in the corpus-based data collected and analysed for this study.

However, the focal phonological patterns were mainly perceived by the ear and brain, with the researcher having to determine the acoustic properties of the sounds under study. Therefore, examining the most salient phonological features by repeating and/or replaying audio-recorded sounds has allowed me to perceive and make meaningful impressions about the different phonological features including vowels and consonants, as shown in the next chapter. Although using this design and methodology may not lead to the generalisability of the findings of this study, some previous studies employing CL have reportedly had much greater generalisability and validity than would, otherwise, be feasible (Biber, Reppen & Freginal, 2010). Corpus linguistic concordances have often been used within quantitative methods for 'word frequency lists, coupled with a 'qualitative dimension and interpretation being an essential step in any corpus-based analysis' Biber *et al.* (1999:4). This study has thus adopted the qualitative features of the data as shown in the next chapter.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the design and methodology of the study. With this triangulated design and methodology, the chapter has shown whether and the extent to which the data on *Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho* have been examined at the levels of grammar: phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon, within the frameworks of Sociolinguistics and World Englishes studies. Specifically, the chapter has discussed not only the geopolitical and sociolinguistic context of the Kingdom of Lesotho, but it has also demonstrated how the qualitative research design within the variationist sociolinguistics has shed light on judiciousness of the sampling, data collection and analysis techniques as well as ethical issues for this study. The next chapter presents, analyses and discusses the corpus-based data collected through the instrumentation as has been motivated in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents, analyses and discusses the findings of the study on *Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho*. The data presented here are in response to the following research questions and objectives which this study set out to address: Is there any emerging variety worth the name *LesE* amongst the Basotho as a speech community? If any, to what extent is such a variety critical to defining *LesE* at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon? How far does *LesE* differ from Sub-Saharan Southern African Englishes, particularly *BSAE* and/or other World Englishes? As such, the chapter presents the qualitative patterns reflecting general tendencies of written corpus of the English-second language texts extracted from the front-page articles and editorials of the three mainstream newspapers such as *the Public Eye*, *the Lesotho Times* and *The Post*; and magazines such as *the Finite*, *the Faith* and *the Work for Justice* published in the period from 2017 to 2019 in the Kingdom of Lesotho. Other corpus has been extracted from the three selected sections of the two strategic plan documents by the National University of Lesotho and the Lesotho College of Education respectively. The other corpus-based oral data have been extracted from narrative interviews and observations conducted with four teachers, one from each of the four selected schools, the NUL Senate, the public officials, courtroom proceedings, the *PCFM*, the Lesotho Television news presenters and the Ultimate Radio talk show presenters, as stated in the previous chapter.

Therefore, from the variationist sociolinguistic and World Englishes perspectives, the study set out to identify and circumscribe the linguistic variables in the selected corpus. Within the corpus linguistic analytic framework, in what follows are the concordance lines for the variants of the phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical variables of *LesE* during the afore-stated period, for the media texts, while audio-recordings from interviews, observations and the LTV and the radio news and talk shows were conducted during the period from May to September 2020. The focal variants of the following categories were compared with other texts, explaining any recurrences in relation to the previous studies. That is the chapter establishes whether and the extent to which *LesE* is

comparable to other World English varieties, including *BSAE*. In the final analysis, implications of the findings are determined in terms of addressing the overall research questions and objectives of the study.

4.1 Phonology

The phonological features presented and analysed in this study have been drawn from the corpus-based oral data sets in the form of concordance lines from the target participants. In this view, as a basic working construct, for examining language variation, the linguistic variable has identifiable variants, meaning its alternative realisations with the same semantic function. As noted earlier, the term variants also considers the concept of weak complementarity, and thus stresses the variants not only in terms of semantic equivalence, but also in terms of their functional and discourse equivalence (Sankoff & Thibault, 1981; Tagliamonte, 2006; Wardhaugh, 2006).

As noted in Chapters One and Two, Crystal (2006) defines phonology as a branch of linguistics which studies the sound patterns of language. On this basis, the phonological variants covered in this study include the following: spelling pronunciations, syllable-timing, contrastive stress, syllabic consonants, diphthongisation and neutralisation and stopping of interdental. Besides the above-mentioned phonological features, morphosyntactic and lexical variants of the oral data are presented and analysed in the following sections of this chapter. While words are usually pronounced and interpreted in context, for the purpose of this study analysis will centre around single words, with some occasional connected speech patterns, as one of the most common devices for analysing sound patterns of language. Since the oral and written corpus-based data for this study involved different texts of different sizes, the focus has been on the most systematically salient phonological word variants, coupled with some sporadically salient sound patterns selected across the corpus for the study. With all these in mind, the approach to the sound segments and/or syllables under investigation, has followed one of the practical strategies of determining the pronunciation of segments in English as espoused by Roach (2009) and Sole (1991). These are presented in turn in the next sections.

4.1.1 Spelling Pronunciations

Spelling pronunciations have been found to be recurring in World Englishes, including African English. As stated earlier, spelling pronunciations involve ways in which words are pronounced

according to their spellings by language users (Platt *et al.*, 1984; Schmied, 1991). According to Deterding and Mohamad (2016), spelling pronunciation involves pronouncing a word in a way that reflects its spelling. The studies on spoken English amongst many English second-language speakers have found frequent phonological features including spelling pronunciations in many parts of the world. On this basis, this study investigated phonological aspects amongst target sections of the Basotho. Of particular interest are the following participants from whom spelling pronunciations have been found as shown below. These include the presenters and talk show participants the *Ultimate Radio*, the *PCFM*, and the *LTV*, as well as *CR*, *NR*, *NER*, *SR*, *CJ*, *PM*, *MK* and *NUL Senate*.

One of the most common phonemes recurring in the data from the above-mentioned participants' speech is phoneme or letter *a*. This phoneme or vowel is associated with different vowel sounds in English. For many English-second language or foreign-language speakers, this vowel is realised as it is spelt out in the words in which it occurs. In many instances, more especially in many non-native Englishes, the phoneme *e* is realised as a full vowel, typically *[a]*. For instance, the phoneme *a* can be realised with the *[a]* vowel quality. This is an almost fully back vowel *[a]*, which is produced with the lips spread apart (Roach, 2009). The oral data sets from the above-mentioned participants show systematic and salient patterns of the fully back vowel *[a]* in the first syllable of each of the following dy-syllabic words. This systematic pattern involves spelling pronunciations of each of the following di-syllabic words, that is words mainly composed of only two syllables: *address*, *adopt*, *again*, *agenda*, *allow*, *around*, *assert*, *assess*, *assume* and *attend*. On this basis, each of the above words has the *[a]* vowel quality in the first syllable, that is occurring word-initially, and, of course, along with the other vowels occurring in the medial position, and/or the second syllable of the words in focus. In other words, the oral data reveal the absence of the central vowel *schwa* *[ə]* in the first syllable of the noted words, thus having the syllables pronounced with the full back *[a]* vowel quality. The phoneme or letter *a* has been found to be pronounced as it is spelt, instead of being realised as the mid central unrounded vowel *[ə]*, also known as the *schwa* in Received Pronunciation (RP) (Roach, 2009). However, as one of the main findings from all the oral data sets for this study, it could be noted that, occurrence of the phoneme *a* in the above words has consistently been perceived with spelling pronunciations. Sesotho has only one variant of *[a]*, the low, central vowel pronounced with lips in a neutral position, in such words as *bana* (children)

and *masaka* (kraals) respectively (Demuth, 2007; *Language Manual* 11, 1996). On this basis, it could be instructive to note this Sesotho sound pattern as having a substratal influence on the above-mentioned sound patterns noted in the oral data for *LesE*.

Similarly, the very orthographic *a* in the final syllable of each of the following words: *disciplinary* realised as [disiplinary]; *extraordinary* as [ekstraodinary], with the initial vowel [e] also sounded instead of [ɪ] and *necessary* as [nesesari] has been realised with the [a] vowel quality, instead of the *schwa* [ə] in the oral data extracted from the Radio presenters and talk shows, NUL Senate, public officials and teachers. Therefore, this particular realisation of the phoneme *a*, by the full back [a] vowel quality could be heard as largely following the spelling of the words in focus. In this particular case, the spelling pronunciation is the reverse of *BrE* and *AmE*, where the central vowel [ə] realises the very syllables which are marked by the adjectival suffix -*ary* in traditional Englishes. For instance, in *BrE* and *AmE*, the letter *a* can be realised with the *schwa* [ə] as in *disciplinary* as [disə'plɪnəri]; *extraordinary* as [ɪk'strɔːdɪnəri]; *necessary* as [neseseri], and *primary* as [praɪməri]. Moreover, in *BrE* and *AmE*, such a phoneme *a* is not only realised as the central and neutral vowel, but it also makes the final syllable weak and unstressed in each of the above-mentioned words, though with some regional variations between the varieties. The spelling pronunciation of the phoneme *a* in the above words is probably coherent with phonology of the Bantu languages, including Sotho-Tswana, and of course, that of Nguni phonology which, according to Pascoe (1999), lacks central vowels and vowel reduction. On this basis, the *schwa* [ə], which does not occur in *BSAE*, Pascoe (1999), the same phenomenon may not be ruled out in the case of *LesE*, given the systematic pattern of such spelling pronunciations noted in the oral data for this study.

Similarly, the oral data, for example, (*NUL Senate, CJ, the LTV presenters and Ultimate Radio talk shows*) further reveal spelling pronunciations of each of the following words. The words as shown below are each spelt out with the phoneme or letter *e* in the first and final syllables as an inflectional suffix -*ed*: *excited* as [eksaited]; *exhibited* as [ekshibited]; *expected* as [ekspekted]; and -*extended* as [ekstended]. As such, each of these words has the full [e] vowel quality both in the first syllable and in the final syllable, thereby marking the absence of or replacing the high mid open vowel [ɪ] in the noted syllables respectively. On this basis, these orthographically based

phonemic realisations, that is with the full [e] vowel quality, are labelled spelling pronunciations for they are sounded as spelt out in the words in focus. However, pronounced with the full [e] vowel quality in the noted syllables, these sound patterns are inconsistent with the conventional sound patterns for the very words in *BrE* and *AmE*. In RP, the full [e] vowel quality is perceived as the high lax unstressed vowel [ɪ] in the first syllable and the final syllable of each of the very words just noted above. Such conventional sound patterns on which many English non-native varieties model themselves are as follows: *excited* as [ɪk'saɪtɪd]; *exhibited* as [ɪg'zɪbɪtɪd]; *expected* as [ɪk'spektɪd], and *extended* as ɪk'stɛntɪd (*the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 2013). One of the most salient words, which has been found to be realised with such a spelling pronunciation across the oral data is *students*, systematically articulated as [stʊdnts], instead of the conventional realisation as in *students* as [stju:dnts] more especially in *BrE*. In *BrE*, more especially RP, the semi-vowel sound [j], symbolised as [ju], occurs after the non-continuants [t], as in *tune*, [d], as in *dew*, and [n] as in *new*. However, the data show the semi-vowel [ju], after the non-continuant [t] in the first syllable of the word *students*, as being systematically simplified to [u], thereby dropping or eliding [j] - *yod-dropping*. As such, the word *students* becomes articulated as [stʊdnts], instead of the conventional realisation as in [stju:dnts], as noted in most careful *RP* accents (Chambers, 2002; Glain, 2012; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, see Chapter Two).

Further noted is that while the word is realised with such a systematic spelling pronunciation across the oral data (Participant teachers, NUL Senate and MK) for this study, it tends to cohere with *AmE* pronunciation (Hossenzadeh *et al.*, 2015), though with a shorter vowel sound in the first syllable and full vowel sound in the second syllable respectively. According to the authors, the phoneme [j], featuring the long vowel sound [ju:] as in the first syllable of the word [stju:dnts], is dropped in *AmE* (Hossenzadeh *et al.*, 2015). As mentioned in Chapter Two, the phenomenon of the phoneme [j], hence *yod-dropping* was initially accepted in both *BrE* and *AmE*, though the latter extended its usages over time (Watt, 2016-2017).

Furthermore, the spoken corpus shows the words *again* and *foreign* as amongst the most recurrent words extracted from data sets (teachers, the NUL senators, public officials, the LTV and PCFM presenters), under study. Therefore, the words have each been noted for spelling pronunciations, especially in the second syllable respectively. Examples of this spelling pronunciation involves the use of [eɪ] rather than [e] in the second syllable of the word *again*, thus being articulated as

[agein]. While the word *again* has an alternative diphthongal pronunciation [ə'gein], the tendency in this study has been that of spelling pronunciations, with almost none using the variant with the vowel sound [e], in the second syllable, thus contrasting with the variant preferred in RP. On the other hand, the word *foreign* is pronounced as [forein] instead of ['fɔrən]. As such, the spelling pronunciations of the second syllable in each of the words contrast with the conventional pronunciation which is traditionally illustrated as follows: *again* as [ə'gen] and *foreign* as ['fɔrən]. The finding supports the studies on World Englishes, including both native and non-native Englishes. Interestingly, Wells (2008) attested to the spelling pronunciations amongst the English native-speaking Britons. Wells thus found 20 per cent of the British as currently having [eɪ] in *again*, and *ate*, the preterite or past form of the verb *eat* respectively. The author further reported 45 per cent of the British people as having [eɪ], about 65 per cent of whom being younger speakers, thereby indicating such variations as becoming the norm. While the above pronunciation variants have been observed in native English varieties, it could be argued that general tendencies of spelling pronunciations abound in World Englishes, with *LesE* probably emerging with or sharing such typical features.

On the other hand, Brown (1991) sees spelling pronunciation as probably featuring 'non-native' speech. For the author, non-natives acquire English later in their second language learning resulting in spelling pronunciation. Supporting the same view, Melchers and Shaw (2003) have seen many African languages, in particular, as having limited phonemic inventory. According to the authors, African English predominantly bears smaller vowel set than inner-circle Englishes, with the African English speakers, thus displaying spelling pronunciations and non-reduced vowels. Taking up the point further, with a focus on Black South African English, Mesthrie (2005) cautions that spelling pronunciations inevitably occur, involving especially unfamiliar proper nouns. As such, African Englishes largely have a five-vowel system, and speakers thus tend to pronounce many English second-language words according to their spellings (Mesthrie, 2005; Platt *et al.*, 1984; Schmied, 1991). Interestingly, unlike many Bantu languages, Sesotho has been found to have five vowels (Demuth, 2007). With such vowel inventory for Sesotho, the data sets have noted *LesE* for spelling pronunciations involving different grammatical categories, both content words as in nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs and functional words as in prepositions, pronouns, auxiliaries, conjunctions and articles from the oral data for this study.

As noted in Chapter Two, some instances of spelling pronunciations, involving words: *often*, *forehead*, *heir* and *debt*, have been reported in both reference Englishes and World Englishes across the world (Algeo, 2010; 2006; Brown, 1991; Melchers & Shaw, 2003; Mesthrie, 2005; Schmied, 2004; Wells, 2008). It could further be argued that following Webster's view and development on the American English, one of the distinctive features of simplifying *AmE* was spelling pronunciation (Hossenzadeh *et al.*, 2015). In principle, spelling pronunciations have reportedly been making a *come-back*, apparently preserving some original sound patterns in traditional Englishes, some of which were loaned into English from other languages (Deterding & Mohamad, 2016).

4.1.2 Syllable-timing vs Stress-timing

Many languages including World Englishes have reportedly been found to be either syllable-timing or stress-timing, both of which are prosodic features realised by rhythm and stress. As observed in Chapter Two, syllable-timing involves pronunciation of all syllables each of which having more or less equal length and/or duration in certain words by language speakers or users (Roach, 1991, 2009; Zsiga, 2013). Stress-timing, on the other hand, involves variability of syllable duration and alternation of stress or rhythm noted in syllables and words. Such a systematic and regular alternation of stress of syllables and/or words is usually salient in stress-timed languages such as English and Russian (Auer, 1991). Syllable-timing and stress-timing have been found to be abounding in many World Englishes. While the phenomena have, to some degree, been reported in traditional Englishes *BrE* and *AmE* respectively (Auer, 1991), it has also been of interest to investigate *LesE* for the same phenomena in this study. Therefore, the oral corpus-based data collected for this study show systematic patterns of syllable-timing in the following sections.

As such, the neutral vowel *schwa* [ə] is absent in many World Englishes including African Englishes, usually because of cross-linguistic influence (Jenkins, 2003). While the following words have been noted for spelling pronunciations as shown in the data noted above (4.1.1), they have further been observed for a syllable-based rhythm. On this basis, in each of the following words, there is consistent absence of the *schwa* [ə] in the first syllable: *about*, *address*, *adopt*, *advice*, *again*, *agenda*, *agree*, *allow*, *among*, *appeal*, *around*, *arrival*, *assert*, *assess*, *assume* and

aware respectively. Instead, the letter *a* even in the first syllable in the above words is realised and replaced by the full back vowel [a]. This realisation is the reverse of the common patterns of weak syllables in such words as in RP. As noted earlier, as one of the most common vowels in English-native language, the *schwa* [ə] is realised as unstressed in the noted syllable in each of the above words. However, in this study, the first syllable in each of the very words above is not only of equal duration to the second syllable, but it is also stressed, hence marking *LesE* somewhat syllable-based, more or less like other World Englishes, including African Englishes (Ragnarsson, 2011; Roach, 1991). For Roach (1991), no English variety, whether native or non-native, is completely stress-timed, nor syllable-timed.

Interestingly, this full and back vowel realisation of [a] has consistently featured, amongst others, some of the most frequently occurring words in the oral data sets for this study. These include *about*, *across*, *address*, *adopt*, *advise*, *again*, *agree*, *allow*, *among* and *attend* in the spoken corpus. Similarly, in RP, the orthographic *a* in the first syllable in each of the above words is realised by the *schwa* [ə] since the syllable is weak or unstressed. As such, the words could be phonetically transcribed with the *schwa* [ə] as follows: *about* as [əˈbaʊt]; *across* as [əˈkrɒs]; *address* as [əˈdres], *adopt* as [əˈdɒpt], *advise* as [əˈdvaɪz]; *again* as [əˈgeɪn]; *agree* as [əˈɡriː]; *allow* as [əˈlaʊ], *among* as [əˈmʌŋ] and *attend* as [əˈtend]. The acute mark before the second syllable in each of the above words indicates a stressed or a strong syllable; the symbol is conventionally known as a primary stress marker, often superscripted or raised just before the stress-demanding syllable or the syllable with primary stress as in each of the above di-syllabic words in phonetic and phonological language (Roach, 2009). Worth mentioning is that Bantu language speakers have been observed as not pronouncing *schwa* [ə], but substituting the [a] vowel quality for it (Machoria, 2013; Makalela, 2007; Mesthrie, 2005; Njeru, 2013, Pascoe, 1999). This particular vowel realisation has been found to be recurrent in the oral data for this study, the finding which most probably corroborates the previous studies on African Englishes including *BSAE* regarding the phenomenon (Lanham, 1963; Makalela, 2007; Mesthrie, 2005; Pascoe, 1999). Another possible explanation is that Sesotho does not have stress; instead, it bears penultimate lengthening which occurs in the second-to-last syllable in many polysyllabic words in Sesotho (Demuth, 2007; *Language Manual* 11, 1996). Having been reported as sporadic in polysyllabic words in Sesotho (Chapter Two), penultimate lengthening is salient in the oral data on *LesE* most probably because

of cross-linguistic influence. Such recurrence has been found in many of the words, with both and/or all syllables stressed regardless of their weak articulation in native English as shown above.

In addition, as shown from the spoken data (CR, NR, NSR, SR, CJ, PM, MK, NUL, *Ultimate Radio*), one of the most frequently occurring vowels is what is called ‘short o’, which often appears in a stressed syllable with one letter or the orthographic *o*. This close-mid back rounded vowel [o], that is the sound or *phoneme o* is pronounced in many different ways in English. Usually, occurring in such words as *dog* as [dɒg] or *model* as [mɒd!] as in *hot* as [hɒt], or *possible* as [pɒsəbl], the ‘short o’ is pronounced as an open back rounded short sound [ɒ] in British English (Watt, 2016-2017). However, the oral data sets for this study show the following words being pronounced with the same vowel sound as follows: *collective* as [kɒlektiv]; *committee* as [kɒmiti]; *compulsory* [kɒmpulsəri]; *concern* as [kɒnsən]; *consider* as [kɒnsida]; *contain* as kɒntein]; *continue* as [kɒntinju]; *correct* as [kɒrekt], *corrupt* as [kɒrapt]; *today* as [tədei] and *towards* as [təwɔ:dz]. Interestingly, the phoneme *o* in the first syllable of each of the above words is not only realised by the close front and full vowel [ɒ], but it is also fronted and pronounced with rounded lips. In this way, with this full vowel realisation, the central vowel, for instance, the *schwa* [ə] is completely lost as it is replaced by the close front vowel [ɒ] as shown above.

Besides, the first syllable of each of the above words is more or less of equal duration to other subsequent syllables, all of which receive stress. In other words, this missing *schwa* [ə] in the first syllable of each of the above words, thus contrasts with the pronunciation as in *BrE* and *AmE*, where each of the words has the first syllable weak and unstressed, because of bearing the *schwa* [ə] vowel quality. From this traditional Englishes perspective, the first syllable in each of the very words is pronounced *concern* as [kən'sɜ:n]; *collective* as [kə'lektiv]; *committee* as [kə'miti]; *compulsory* [kəm'pʌlsəri]; *consider* as [kən'sida]; *contain* as [kən'tein]; *continue* as [kən'tɪnju:]; *correct* as [kə'rekt], *corrupt* as [kə'rapt]; *today* as [tə'dei] and *towards* as [tə'wɔ:dz]. The finding could thus make *LesE* resonate with other African Englishes as in Nigerian English in terms of a syllable-based rhythm (Deterding, 2010). Likewise, in South Africa, *BSAE* has reportedly been associated with a misplaced syllabic emphasis which results from other stress patterns (Jenkins, 2003; Linnegar, 2009).

Similarly, in the oral data, the schwa [ə] is absent in the first syllable of each of the following words, though it occurs in traditional varieties *BrE* and *AmE*, of course, to varying degrees. Therefore, the data show the words *perceive* as [pɛsiˈv]; *performance* as [pɛfɔməns]; *permit* as [pɛmit]; *purport* as [pɛpɔt], *persuade* as [pɛsveit] and *pursuit* as [pɛsɔt], all with the first syllable having the full vowel quality and being stressed. The orthographic *e* in the first syllable of the words *perceive*, *performance*, *persuade* and *permit*, and the orthographic *u* in the first syllable of *purport* and *pursuit* have consistently been replaced or realised by the full, but short vowel [ɛ] respectively, instead of the schwa [ə]. This vowel realisation in the above words contrasts with the conventional phonemic realisation which could be as follows: *perceive*, as [pəˈsi:v]; *performance* as [pəˈfɔ:məns]; *permit* as [pəˈmɪt]; *purport* as [pəˈpɔ:t], *persuade* as [pəˈsveit] and *pursuit* as [pəˈsju:t]. It is, therefore, evident that the conventional realisation bears the schwa [ə] in the first syllable of each of the above words, yet the reverse in the case of the probably emerging *LesE*.

In the same vein, the oral data for this study show the orthographic *u* in the first syllable in each of the following words as realised by either the full and back vowel [ɑ] or the short vowel [ʌ], also known as the wedge. These are *suggest* as [sʌdʒɛst]; *succeed* as [sʌksɪt]; *suffice* as [sʌfais]; *support* [sʌpɔt]; *supposed* as [sʌpɔsd], *surprise* as [sʌpraɪs] and *survive* as [sʌvaɪv]. Nevertheless, the oral data show the missing schwa [ə] in the first syllable of each of the above words. Instead, the letter *u* is replaced, by either the full back vowel [ɑ] or the short vowel [ʌ], which occurs in such words as *but* [bʌt], *run* [rʌn] and *won* [wʌn] respectively. The wedge [ʌ] is a low and open-mid back unrounded vowel, which is pronounced with the tongue raised at the centre of the mouth. As a central vowel, the wedge [ʌ] is not only a full vowel, but it is also used only for stressed syllables in Standard British English (Umera-Okeke, 2008). As such, pronouncing the words from the oral data with either the wedge [ʌ] or with the full and back vowel [ɑ] tends to render the syllables strong and stressed, thereby making *LesE* syllable-timed, rather than being stress-timed as in the traditional varieties of English. Instead, this orthographic *u* in the first syllable in each of the above words could be realised by the schwa [ə] as in RP. The realisation of the orthographic *u* is coherent with Umera-Okeke's (2008) view that the letter *u* is realised as [ə] in the first syllable in each of the following related words *succeed*, *succumb* and *suspect* in RP.

Alternatively, this orthographic *u* in the oral data for this study could be perceived as the [a] vowel quality in the very following words: *suggest* as [sədʒest]; *succeed* as [saksit]; *suffice* as [safais]; *sufficient* as [safiʃent]; *support* as [sapnt]; *supposed* as [sapnʊsd], *surprise* as [saprais] and *survive* as [savaiv]. On this basis, the schwa [ə] is missing in the first syllable of each of the words, something which echoes Roach's (1991, 2009) view that most English non-native speakers have an 'all-strong form' pronunciation, thereby using strong forms (vowels) in cases of weak (forms) vowels. In such cases, the schwa has been noted as hardly featuring English non-native languages, including *LesE* in this particular case, because of the syllable-based rhythm, which abounds. However, with Melchers and Shaw (2003) observing word stress as often following certain rules of the first language and figurative expressions, it could further be noted that the central vowel is common and realises many phonemes in English (RP), (Pascoe, 1999; Umera-Okeke, 2008; Watt, 2016-2017). Therefore, the orthographic *u* in the first syllable in each of the above words could be phonetically represented with the schwa [ə] as follows: *suggest* as [sə'dʒest]; *succeed* as [sək'si:d]; *suffice* as [sə'fais]; *sufficient* as [sə'fiʃənt]; *support* as [sə'pɔ:t]; *supposed* as [sə'pouz]; *surprise* as [sə'prais] and *survive* as [sə'vaiv].

Further systematically noticeable in the oral data is the absence of the central vowel *schwa* [ə] in the final syllable in each of the words carrying the suffixes such as [-ary], [-ery] and [-ory]. On this basis, the central vowel *schwa* [ə] in the final syllable is not only missing, but it is also largely replaced by the full and back vowel [a] in each of the words as follows: *disciplinary*, *extraordinary*, *necessary* and *primary*. Here, the participants have been found to be giving stress to the final syllable (through the full and back vowel [a] in each of the above words, with all the syllables fully pronounced with equal duration and the *schwa* [ə] missing, something which disregards any weak syllables as observed amongst the English-native speakers. The pronunciation has thus been found to be incoherent with the traditional English sound patterns where the very words have the final syllable realised as follows: *disciplinary* as [disə'plinəri]; *extraordinary* as [ɪk'strɔ:ˌdɪnəri]; *necessary* as ['neseseri]; *primary* as ['praɪməri] and *summary* as ['sʌməri]. As noted in the above examples, these sound patterns would traditionally be realised with the weak [əri] in *BrE* and [eri] in *AmE* respectively (Bailey, 1984; Kuehner & Reque, 1981; Watt, 2016-2017).

Interestingly, with the word *supplementary*, there is no slurring, which has been observed in *BrE*. For example, in the oral data, the final syllable of the words *supplementary* and *secretary* are pronounced as [təri] with aspiration [tʰ], thereby typifying *AmE* accent (CR, NR, NER, SR, CJ, PM, MK, NUL Senate, Ultimate Radio). One of the most systemically salient aspects factored into the variety supposedly named *LesE* is the absence of and consistent substitution of the fully back vowel [ɑ] for the schwa [ə] as noted in the oral data sets in this study. In other words, the vowel [ɑ] in each of the above words could be heard as displaying syllable-timing or a syllable-based rhythm (CR, SR, CJ). The finding confirms reports noted in Chapter Two on some of the distinguishing features between *BrE* and *AmE* regarding words with adjectival suffixes such as [-ary], [-ery] and [-ory]. As noted, the syllables carrying such suffixes are pronounced with slurring, or with the reduced vowel [ə], and/or even elided in *BrE*, but fully realised in *CanE* and *AmE* respectively) (Bailey, 1984; Kuehner & Reque, 1981; Watt, 2016-2017). In the final syllable of the words *supplementary* and *secretary*, *LesE* shows no slurring, reduction nor elision of the vowel [ɑ], but it shows aspiration, more specially in the direction of *AmE*, and of course, other World Englishes, including *BSAE* (Machoria, 2013; Makalela, 2007; Mesthrie, 2005; Njeru, 2013, Pascoe, 1999).

Moreover, lexical stress has also been noted for some grammatical words in the oral data from (the LTV and Ultimate Radio presenters, NUL Senate and public officials). The words marked for such stress, include primary and modal auxiliary verbs, some lexical verbs, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and certain determiners. As observed in Chapter Two, according to Kingdom (1958), functional words, for example, articles, pronouns, prepositions, auxiliaries and conjunctions, are usually not stressed in connected speech, while information-bearing or content words such as nouns, adjectives, verb and adverbs are stressed. However, the oral data for this study showed both content and grammatical words, recurrently receiving stress in different positions of the clauses or sentences. The cases in point are the following central modals: *can* as [kæən] instead of [kən]; *will* as [wil]; primary verbs, *has* as [hæz] not [həz] and *have* as [hæv] rather than [həv]; the copula *is* as [ɪz] rather than [z] or [s]; pronouns *we* as [wi:] rather than [wi]. Similarly, pronouns have strong realisations, with *you* as [ju:] rather than [jə]; *they* as [ðei] rather than [ðə]; *them* as [em] rather than [əm]; possessive determiners *my*, *your* and *her*, each have strong production, and an indefinite determiner *some* as in *some people* as [səm] *people* rather than [səm] *people*; the

conjunction *and* as [ænd] rather than [ənd] or [ən] as well as *but* and *or*. For prepositions, three of the most commonly occurring forms *to*, *for* and *of* have systematically been stressed irrespective of their syntactic positions in clauses. Extracts were from the oral corpus as in (*the Ultimate Radio* presenters, MK and the CJ). While the dynamics of spoken discourse might be crucial or not to be ruled out here Palmer (1997), the above-mentioned words have consistently been perceived as strong forms, thus being stressed as shown in the data. Such consistent stress of grammatical words alongside content words, unless otherwise for emphasis or effect, is atypical of Standard English. While the findings cohere with other World Englishes studies, they shift from Kingdom's view that more prominent words with the most important meaning should carry stress in connected speech (Kingdom, 1958; Sole, 1991).

Therefore, inappropriate stressing or overstressing weak syllables and/or functional words has reportedly been found to be making communication with native English speakers difficult and unintelligible. Noted in the excerpts from (*CJ, Legal practitioners, the Ultimate Radio*), this consistent and salient observation probably corroborates Crystal (2003) on modals, with demonstratives being reportedly found to be receiving stress and unique to Singapore English (Crystal, 2003; Sole, 1991). One of the most salient modals occurring with or receiving systematic stress is *will* realised as [wɪl], despite its use to express simple futurity and predictions in the oral data. This recurrent stress pattern contrasts with Carter and McCarthy's (2006) view that *will* should be stressed, or becomes a strong form, once used to express disapproval of any persistent actions or behaviour on the part of the speaker or others. Similarly, both possessive determiners as in *my*, *your* and *her*, and an indefinite quantity determiner *some* as in [səm] *people* rather than [səm] *people*, have been found to be systematically salient, though different from one participant to the other in this study. Whether such recurrent phonological patterns mark idiosyncratic or stabilised variations or innovations in the subjects concerned, it could not be determined, albeit being so intriguing in this study.

With such noted salient stress patterns of both content and functional words, it may be prudent to suggest that *LesE* confirms some of the phonological features in World Englishes, for example, Singapore, Indian, Nigerian Englishes, as well as *BSAE* (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009; Deterding, 2010; Makalela's (2007)). However, this study, unlike Makalela's (2007), has reported the

phenomenon amongst different target professional groups such as academics, teachers, lawyers, the media practitioners as well as public officials for this study in the context of the Lesotho. While the stability of the variations noted amongst these participants could not be categorically determined, the study has found systematically salient patterns of this phenomenon in the *LesE* corpus under study. Perhaps, such external generic factors, (genres or texts types), for instance, legalese and Covid-19 medical guidelines have been instrumental with their emphatic overtones, coupled with unwarranted stress patterns noted in the study.

Equally noticeable in the oral data is the feature of stress, related to syntactic categories of words. Since stress has been noted for indicating the grammatical functions of words, it has been of interest to ponder such a variable with the selected sample for the study. However, of significant reference are the extracts from the NUL Senate and the Ultimate Radio talk shows, showing the following verbs as receiving the first-syllable stress: *contact* as [*ˈkɒntakt*]; *process* as [*ˈprɒses*] and *record* as [*ˈrekɔːd*]. As such, the stress has been found to be shifting from the second syllable to the first syllable in each of the words, thereby showing the cline towards that of the nouns, albeit having the syntactic role of the verb in this particular discourse (the oral data). It could further be noted that the words *contact*, *process* and *record* are amongst the words whose word-formation processes is mainly through conversion, which, according to Schröder and Mühleisen (2010), are termed zero-derived verbs. Interestingly, the oral data study show the same phenomenon of the first-syllable stress for the above-mentioned words regardless of their syntactic categories, in this case as verbs. Further noted is that this shifted stress reflects some spelling pronunciations (discussed earlier), with the syllables being realised with the full vowel quality, especially by the short back rounded vowel [*ɒ*], as in *contact* as [*ˈkɒntakt*] and *process* as [*ˈprɒses*], and the mid open vowel [*e*] in the first syllable of *record* as [*ˈrekɔːd*] respectively.

The finding resonates with the phenomenon of shifted stress patterns from the first syllable to the second syllable as noted in Nigerian English, the feature which reportedly contrasted with the first-syllable stress pattern in RP (Chapter Two) (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009; Gramley & Pätzold, 1992; Todd, 1984). In this view, of the dy-syllabic word classes, nouns always place stress on the first syllable, while verbs and adjectives place stress on the second syllable (Sole, 1991). However, such features of shifted stress depending on the category of the word, have been found to be posing

challenges for many English second- and/or foreign-language speakers. For such speakers, apparently including the participants for this study, almost every syllable appears to be heavy-or stress-demanding, or sometimes stressing both syllables even in di-syllabic words as noted above.

While these stress-shifted pronunciations may indicate varietal features of *LesE*, and of course, other World Englishes, they are not only atypical of *BrE* and *AmE*. Rather, the words are conventionally pronounced with the second-syllable stress with *contact* as [kən'tækt]; *process* as [prə'ses] and *record* as [ri'kɔ:d]. In other words, stress placement in such zero-derived verbs serves to indicate their syntactic categories, while still retaining the spellings in RP. Also noted in the oral data are examples of shifted stress, which mainly involves words of the noun category. With these words, the placement of stress has been shifted from the second syllable to the first-syllable as in *effect* as [ɪfekt]; *reform* as [ri:fɔ:m]; *request* as [rikwɛst] and *research* as [ri:sɜ:tʃ] respectively. It could be noted that the cline, particularly for the word *research*, pronounced as [ri:sɜ:tʃ] is probably towards *AmE*, with the first and final syllables being both stressed and long, some feature which has also been attested in some *BrE* dialects (*Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 2013). In general, the oral data sets, noted above, show shifted stress in *LesE* regardless of the syntactic category of words, the very variants which contrast with the 'natural' rhythm characteristic of RP.

Most importantly, the word *students*, being one of the most salient words in the oral corpus, has been found to be pronounced, not only with spelling pronunciations, but with all the syllables sounded. For instance, the word has been pronounced with a clear-cut articulation of all letters, particularly the plosive stops [t], in the first syllable and [d] in the final syllable, thereby completely replacing the syllabic consonants (to be examined below) normally observed in RP. This particular variant could be perceived as systematically recurring in the oral data extracted from (CR, NR, NER, SR, CJ, PM, MK, NUL Senate and Ultimate Radio). The findings, therefore, could be seen as confirming the previous reports on the absence of the *schwa* [ə] and a high degree of a syllable-based rhythm due to cross-linguistic influence on World Englishes, including Sub-Saharan African Englishes as noted above. On this basis, *LesE*, of course with varying degrees, probably falls within and/or is comparable to these regional variations, the status and stability of which could be determined with more corpus-base with possible further studies.

4.1.3 Syllabic Consonant Sounds

One of the most salient aspects factored into the variety supposedly labelled *LesE* is the absence of the syllabic consonants as consistently noted in the oral data sets in focus. A syllabic consonant is a syllable which bears only a consonant cluster or a combination of consonants, replacing a vowel which is often a nucleus of a typical English syllable. Syllabic consonants are syllables not only composed of consonants, but they are also unstressed syllables, featuring many unstressed syllables in traditional Standard English (Roach, 2009). They include such sounds as syllabic laterals and syllabic nasals respectively. Some of the most common English words with syllabic consonants in the final syllable include *certain* for [*'sɜ:tn*] and *written* for [*ritn*]. While these words have been noted in the oral data for this study, they have been observed for spelling pronunciations, a pronunciation according to its spelling, and aspiration, a small puff of air (see Chapter Two). However, such instances of syllabic consonants have not been noted in the data. Instead, the data have shown the word *certain* being heard as [*sɜ'tein*], with the first syllable being half-long, stressed, and the final syllable both stressed, aspirated and diphthongised as in [*ei*]; the final syllable thus typifies spelling pronunciations lacking in a syllabic nasal. As such, as shown in the oral data, the phoneme *t* as in *written* [*ritn*] and *certain* [*'sɜ:tn*] contrasts with the conventional RP pronunciation where the medial or inner *t* in the final syllable is de-aspirated, unstressed and nasalised as a syllabic consonant (Roach, 2009).

As stated in Chapter Two, the orthographic *t*, with the aspirated sound [*t^h*], occurs only word-initially and word-medially in the stressed position of certain words (Watt, 2016-2017). However, consistent aspiration, coupled with the absence of the syllabic nasals, has been observed in some of the salient words in the oral data for this study. These include *beaten* as [*bit^hen*]; *important* as [*impot^hent*] and *written* as [*rit^hen*]. Other notable words which traditionally have syllabic nasals have been realised with *happen* as [*hapen*] and *students* as [*students*], thus displaying not only syllable-timing, but also lacking in syllabic consonants in the penultimate syllable as reflected in the oral data. The allophonic variants in the above words, though with some varying degrees, show full vowel quality, with the words *beaten*, *important* and *written* also consistently having the intervocalic and plosive stop [*t*] aspirated and the other words *happen* and *students* having all the syllables fully realised across the oral data as in (*CR*, *SR*, *NR*, *LTV*, *PCFM*, *Ultimate*, *CJ*, *PM*, *MK*,

NUL Senate). Such consistent variation noted in this study contrasts with the conventional syllabic consonant sounds which are realised with *beaten* as [bitn]; *happen* as [hæpən], *important* as [impɔ:tnt], *student* as [stju:dnt] and *written* as [ritn]. Further noted in the oral data is the yod-dropping of the phoneme [j], in the first syllable of the word *students*, thus displaying not only a spelling pronunciation, and of course a shorter vowel sound, but also displaying an *AmE* accent, in which the [j] has been found missing, that is yod-dropping. As Hosseinzadeh *et al.* (2015) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) demonstrated (Chapter Two), a number of words including *new* as [nju:], *tune* as [tju:n] and *due* as [dju:] and *student* as [stju:dnt] bear the [j] sound in *BrE*, though reportedly revealing yod-dropping as in [nu:], [tu:n] and [du:] and [stu:dnt] in *AmE*.

Similarly, the words which end or are spelt with an adjectival suffix *-al* added to the alveolar plosive sound [t] lack syllabic consonant sounds as noted in the oral data for this study. These include *continental* as [kɒntinent^hal], *departmental* as [di:pɑ:ment^hal] and *environmental* [envairəment^hal]; other words ending with the same form *-al* as in *hospital* as [hɒspɪt^hal]; *total* as [tɒt^hal] and *vital* as [vaɪt^hal] have the same full vowel and aspirated realisation. In each of these words, as observed in the oral data, the full and back vowel [ɑ] is not only fully pronounced, but it is also aspirated in the final syllable. The [ɑ] vowel quality sound, therefore, replaces the syllabic consonants or reduced vowels in the final syllable, thus contrasting with syllabic laterals as featuring traditional Standard Englishes, which bear either a syllabic lateral [l̩] or a reduced vowel [ə] in such an environment (Roach, 2009). These could be as follows: *Continental* as [kɒntɪnetl̩]; *departmental* as [di:pɑ:mentl̩]; *environmental* as [envairəmentl̩]; *hospital* as [hɒspɪtl̩] and *total* as [tɒt̩l̩]. For instance, the medial *t* in the above words from the oral data for this study, has been aspirated despite being in the word-final position in the words. Interestingly, this variant, though with sporadic use by the participants, has been found to be one of the most salient sound patterns noted in the oral data across the board. Besides, the final *t* occurs in unstressed syllables, that is the syllables which are made up of only consonants; such syllabic consonants are not normally aspirated in RP (Roach, 1991, 2009). This noticeable realisation of the orthographic *t*, therefore, contrasts with the conventional accent in RP (Watt, 2016-2017).

Further looking at the oral data for the study, one could flag as salient, certain words with more or less similar affixation as in the adjectival suffix *-al* added to the final nasal sounds such as *m* and

n. These include *additional* as [ədɪfnəl]; *constitutional* as [kɒnstɪtʃu ʃnəl]; *final* as faɪnəl; *international* as [ɪntənəʃnəl]; *national* as [nəʃnəl]; *optional* as [ɒpʃnəl]; *transformational* as [trənsfɔmeɪʃnəl]; and *non-formal* as [nɒnfɔməl]. Interestingly, in traditional English, each of the above words has been reported to have a combination of syllabic consonant sounds marked here as [n̩] (see the word *optional* as [ɒpʃn̩]), instead of the full and back vowel [a], occurring in the final syllable of the above words in the oral data. In other words, *LesE* speakers observed in this study have been found to be pronouncing the adjectival suffix *-al* not only with the full and back [a] vowel quality, and of course, without any syllabic consonants, but also consistently pronouncing them with spelling pronunciations as noted earlier.

Other recurrent words noted in the oral data (*CR, NR, NSR, SR, CJ, PM, MK, NUL, Ultimate Radio*) include *elementary, explanatory, secretary* and *supplementary*. All these words have been found to have the final syllable pronounced with [təri]. In other words, the vowel [a] in each of the above words could be heard as displaying fuller and slower vowel realisation, aspiration as well as syllable-timing or a syllable-based rhythm. The data, therefore, have shown *LesE* as having no syllabic consonants; instead, the orthographic *-tary* in the final syllable in each of the above words is realised with cline towards spelling pronunciations and aspiration. With the suffix being fully realised as [təri], *LesE* is generally coherent with *CanE* and *AmE* respectively, not the syllabic consonants [tri] as in *BrE*. Moreover, the finding corroborates research noted in Chapter Two on some of the distinguishing features between *AmE* and *BrE* (Kuehner & Reque, 1981; Watt, 2016-2017).

In general, it could be argued that like other World Englishes, including African Englishes, *LesE* seems to share some of the region-specific pronunciations including the simplified vowel system, spelling pronunciations and aspiration with no syllabic consonant sounds. While Roach (1991) has ruled out absolute stress-based and/or syllable-based rhythm in any English variety, this study has offered clear patterns of syllable-based rhythm in the excerpts extracted on *LesE*. As such, the participants have, albeit with some variations, been consistently pronouncing words with full vowel quality sounds and aspiration to the exclusion of the vowel [ə] and syllabic consonants. Whether the findings of this study which are comparable to *BSAE* and other World Englishes,

point to *LesE* as an emerging learner, stabilised or innovative variety remains to be further researched.

4.1.4 Diphthongisation

As earlier observed, diphthongisation denotes a glide or a movement from one pure vowel to another pure vowel (Roach, 2009). Further, the first pure vowel is often stronger than the second vowel on which the movement rests in which case diphthongs have stronger vowel sounds than monophthongs. On the other hand, monophthongs are mainly pure vowels with the same-level movement, hence the process of monophthongisation. A typical example of a diphthong is *[ei]*, which is from the half-close region to the region of close or back of the mouth. Out of the eight English diphthongs, *[ei]* has been of interest for this study.

The oral data as in (CR, SR, NR, NUL Senate, CJ) for this study include diphthongisation of such words with their conventional accent as *adequate* as *[ædəkʷət]*; *candidate* as *[kændidət]*; *definite* as *[defineit]*; *innovative* as *[inəvətiv]*; *ultimate* as *[ʌltimət]*; *unfortunate* as *[ʌnfɔ:tʃənət]* and *senate* as *[senət]*, all of which have the final syllable realised with the weak syllable stress, symbolised by the *schwa* in RP *[ə]*. Another closely related example is the word *unfortunately*, phonetically transcribed as *[ʌnfɔ:tʃənətli]*, with both the antepenultimate syllable and penultimate syllable lengthened and stressed, the latter also being diphthongised as *[ei]*. However, the very syllables in each of the above-mentioned words in the oral data for this study is diphthongised and articulated as *[ei]*. As such, the central vowel *[ə]* cannot be heard in any of the sounds from the speakers in focus. Such a trending occurrence of the diphthong *[ei]* is probably an analogy of such words as *terminate* and *eliminate*, where the pure vowel sound *[a]* in the final syllable is pronounced or diphthongised as *[ei]* in Standard British English. Added to these is the word *temperature* in the oral data, in which the penultimate syllable is diphthongised as *[tempəreitʃə]*, rather than *[tempɾətʃə]*, typical of RP. However, from the native English perspective, the central vowel *schwa* *[ə]*, could be considered as unnatural and foreign-sounding (Roach, 2009), in cases where it occurs in weak or unstressed syllables as has consistently been noted in the data for this study (Meyer, 2009; *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 2015). The following section presents the diphthongal sounds of the above-mentioned words as noted in the oral data for this study.

As observed above, the oral data (the media, teachers, CR, SR, NR, NUL Senate, the public officials and CJ) show the very words with some diphthongal variations. These are systematically pronounced with *adequate* as [adikweit]; *candidate* as [kandideit], *definite* as [defineit]; *innovative* as [inɒveitiv], *moderate* as [modəreit], *senate* as ['sineit], *ultimate* as [altimeit] and *unfortunate* as [anfɒtuneit respectively]. In particular, both the verbal and adjectival forms of the word *moderate* could systematically be perceived as having the same diphthongal pronunciation. A typical example is the realisation of the adjectival form as in *moderate temperatures* as noted in the extract particularly from (the *Ultimate Radio presenters*). In traditional English, the word *moderate* as a verb is conventionally pronounced as [modereit]; in other words, it is diphthongised. However, as an adjective, *moderate* is realised as [mɒdərət] with the central vowel, the *schwa* [ə] occurring in the penultimate and ultimate syllables alike, rather than with a diphthong [ei]. This pronunciation pattern involving the diphthongal [ei] has been found to be recurring in the penultimate and final syllables in each of the above-mentioned words in the oral data. In this way, the *schwa* [ə] is not only missing in the noted syllables, but it is also replaced by the diphthong [ei], thereby making the vowels full, stressed and lengthened in the syllables of each of the above-mentioned words for this study. Interestingly, diphthongisation has been attested in *BSAE* (Chapter Two), with the front diphthong [ei] substituting for the pure vowel [e] Lanham (1964), the phenomenon which has also reportedly been considered to be probably idiosyncratic (Pascoe, 1999). However, the point of departure for my study is that the diphthongal patterns noted in the oral data on *LesE* involve the front diphthong [ei] as replacing the central vowel *schwa* [ə] instead of the front vowel [e] as observed in Pascoe (1999). In any case, the diphthongisation of these vowels, whether the *schwa* [ə] as noted in this study, and/or the front vowel [e] as noted in *BSAE*, contrasts with especially Standard *BrE* and *AmE* phonemic inventories and phonetic transcriptions (Roach, 2009).

Added to these are the words spelt with the phonemes or orthographic *ai* in the second syllable such as *again*, *certain* and the orthographic *ei* as in *foreign*. The orthography of the first two *again* and *certain* is similar, that is *ai* in the second syllable, on the one hand. On the other hand, the orthography of the word *foreign* as in *e* is different. However, the pronunciation of the three words has been realised with the diphthong [ei], and has been found as one of the most salient variants in the oral data across the board as in *again* as [agein]; *certain* as [sɜ'tein], and *foreign* as [forein]. With such diphthongal patterns, with the phonetic symbol [ei], the final syllable of each of the

above words, is thus, rendered half-long, stressed and diphthongised, as well as sounded with a spelling pronunciation. The diphthongisation of these vowel sounds thus contrasts with the conventional accent for the same words as follows: *again* as [ə'gen], *certain* as ['sɜ:tn] and *foreign* as ['fɔrən]. It could, therefore, be noted that the second syllable of the word *again* is pronounced with the full vowel [e], the word *certain* with the syllabic consonants or syllabic nasals [tn] while *foreign* is realised as [ən] with the central vowel *schwa* [ə] respectively. In the case of the words *certain* and *foreign*, the final syllable is unstressed, viewed from the traditional RP. Overall, all these spelling pronunciations, coupled with diphthongisation with varying degrees, have been noted in the oral data from (CR, SR, NR, CJ, PC, LTV, *Ultimate Radio* presenters, NUL Senate, MK and PM).

While studies have reported that the second element in the diphthongs [ei] and [au] in many African Englishes cannot be heard, as they are monophthongised in similar words Schmied (2006), this is not the case in the oral data collected for this study. As such, the above-mentioned words, noted for *LesE*, have the [i] vowel quality as one of the salient and thus audible features, though varying from speaker to another. The finding, though with different words, differs from studies conducted on the phenomenon of monophthongisation over diphthongisation, involving such words as [tek] for [teik]; *make* as [mek] for [meik]; and *hate* as [het] for [heit] in Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia Englishes (Platt *et al.*, 1984). Also interesting has been the same phenomenon as reported in *AmE* over *BrE*, for example, *ate* usually monophthongised as [et] in *AmE* and diphthongised as [eit] in *BrE*. Both *AmE* and *BrE* are the input varieties for many outer-circle Englishes the world over. With *LesE* as most probably having drawn on the British colonial history, one would ask whether the noticeable diphthongisation resonates with *BrE*, and/or, with some language-contact experience with the *AmE* since the 1970s. Questions could also arise whether the phenomenon marks an emerging variety, or it will dissipate with time; perhaps, further research would be crucial in the same context. While it is noted that diphthongisation is one of the transversal phenomena, it seems to be different from variety to another, each of which involving certain phonemes in a given sociolinguistic context. In any case, diphthongisation of certain words could lead us to an equally intriguing notion of neutralisation of vowels to which we turn below.

4.1.5 Neutralisation

Neutralisation denotes phonological features in which there is no observable distinction between long and short vowel sounds, more especially in non-native pronunciation. Examples of neutralised sounds are the sounds which show no distinction between short and vowel sounds. In other words, the data show the inability to assign a feature of length consistently to the long vowels which could be symbolised as in [i:] [ɜ:], [o:], [a:] and [u:] and thus to distinguish these vowels from short vowels. For example, each of the following words could be heard as having a half-long vowel sound in the second syllable as in *advance* as [advə'ns], *agree* as [agri'], *applaud* as [aplə'd], *certain* as [sɜ'tein] and *nurse* as [nɜ's]. The first syllable of the word *certain* being realised as [sɜ'tein], shows the vowel [ɜ'] as half-long instead of the long [ɜ:] as in RP accent. While the orthographic *u* in the first syllable of the word *nurse* is articulated with the vowel [u] in West African English, the [a] vowel quality in East African English, it has been found to be realised with the half-long mid central vowel [ɜ'] in *LesE*, thus being coherent with Southern African English. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the sound is perceived as half-long or even as shorter as [nes], which has been reported in other Southern African Englishes. The finding could thus support the view that the long (mid-centralised vowel [ɜ:], in the word *nurse*, is one of the vowels reportedly missing in Bantu languages (Pascoe, 1999). Further, the other monosyllabic word *back* is articulated in the oral data as [bɜ:k], being pronounced with a long vowel sound [a:]. The finding is inconsistent with the phonemic inventory of English, which mainly involves a wide array of vowels including either short or long vowels depending on their phonetic environments.

Similarly, the word *teaching* is pronounced with a short vowel sound as [titʃɪŋ] in the first syllable. Others simplified words, realised here with long-vowel sounds in the first and final syllables in the data include: *difficult* as [di:fika:lt]; *everybody* as [evri:bv:di:]; *hectic* as [he:kti:k] and *media* as [mi:dia:] (CR, SR, NR, CJ, MK, LTV). Further to these are the following words, each of which has final syllable lengthening: *expected* and *extended*, where the first and final syllables are both lengthened and stressed using the vowel [e] rather than a short [ɪ] in the final syllable. The findings, as noted in other World Englishes, point to the fact that *LesE* also shows some variation in which speakers seem to overlook a distinction between short and long vowel sounds as reported in other in Southern African Englishes studies.

The inability to assign a feature of length consistently to the long vowels as in [i:], [ɜ:], [o:], [a:] and [u:], and thus to distinguish these vowels from short vowels has long been researched in *BSE*, Lanham (1963, 1996 and Young (1978), and recently confirmed by Makalela (2007) in amongst the Sotho and Sepedi speakers in South Africa. Mesthrie (2014) studied and found the same phenomenon of neutralised vowels amongst the Zulu- and Xhosa-English second-language speakers in South Africa. As one of the points of departure from other World English varieties, *LesE* vowel patterns probably lie somewhere between short and long vowels, with the more salient patterns of half-long vowel sounds for the majority of the words noted across the data sets. Factored into this variation have been salient features of tone or pitch as well as diphthongal patterns of *LesE*. Such variations have probably stemmed from the fact that Sesotho, like other Bantu languages, Demuth (2007), has influenced such salient phonological variations in the oral data for this study.

4.1.6 Substituting Alveolar Plosives for Interdental Fricatives (Stopping)

In the case of maintaining the notion of ‘Standard’ pronunciation, usually through acquisition and learning, interdentals, as observed in Chapter Two, are written in English as [th], the very orthographic feature, which is consistently associated with interdental fricative pronunciation. Nevertheless, it could be noted that in such varieties as *AmE*, certain proper names as in *Thomas* are realised as [t^haməs] with aspiration marked by [h] in the first syllable (Blevins, 2006). Stopping has been observed in Southeast Asian and African Englishes (Abdulaziz, 1991; (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009; Gramley & Pätzold, 1992; Görlach, 1991; Kachru, 1986; Mesthrie, 2014; Platt *et al.* 1984; Schmied, 1985, 1991, 2004; Todd, 1984).

Interestingly, this study has found recurrent and sporadic realisations of the alveolar stops in place of interdental fricatives. For example, unlike in other English varieties elsewhere, the following interdental sounds realised with *they* as [dei]; *the* as [de], *them* as [dem], *there* as [dere]; *that* as [dat] and *those* as [dose], the oral data as in (*NUL Senate* and *teachers*) in this particular study, have revealed the stopping of interdentals. In the data, interdentals have thus been perceived with *they* as [tei]; *the* as [te], *them* as [tem], *there* as [tere]; *that* as [tat] and *those* as [tos], and of course, with the initial plosive stop [t], not necessarily being aspirated. Whether the patterns could be idiosyncratic or marking an emerging variety, the finding echoes Mochaba’s (1992) and

Rapeane's (1997) studies on the pronunciation of the plosive stops [d] and [t] by Sesotho first-language speakers, where, the voiced word-initial [d] has been found to be replaced with the voiceless [t]. Even more importantly, Rapeane's (1997) study on a general pattern of adoptives, involving the voiced plosive stop [d] as being replaced by the voiceless stop [t], especially by the public-school leavers, raises questions whether the voiced alveolar plosive [d] could simply substitute for the voiced interdental fricative [ð]. On this basis, the alveolar stop [d], occurring word-initially, as in *the, they, them, there, that* and *those*, could strikingly be perceived as of the voiceless [t] quality in the oral data for this study as opposed to reports on World Englishes, including native varieties. However, Mojaki (2020) reportedly noted the phenomenon of stopping with the plosive stop [d] substituting for [ð], the finding which runs counter to the above observations. With Southern Sesotho of Lesotho hardly having the voiced [d] in its orthographic system, except for rare allophonic cases of the orthographic [l], followed by the high mid vowels [i] and [u] respectively, it would be interesting to note the phenomenon of stopping just as manifested in other Englishes the world over.

Also noticeable is that the voiced interdental fricative [ð] has been found to be less differentiated, more marked and difficult to produce than the voiceless interdental fricative [θ] in many world languages, even amongst the English monolingual speakers (Cornwell & Rafat, 2017; Jakobson, 1968). The loss of or replacement of interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð] by [t] and [d] has thus been reported on *BrE, AmE* and *AusE* (Blevins, 2006, Schneider *et al.*, 2004). In any case, stopping in World Englishes and reference Englishes, has been associated, amongst others, with reversion to the old English dental patterns and Greco-French dental borrowings, the phenomenon which cannot be ruled out in this study. The caveat of this study is that the view that alveolar plosive stops [t] and [d] barely substitute for or replace the interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð] (stopping) is probably simplified. As noted above, with the two different orthographic systems, Northern Sotho of South Africa, having the phoneme or letter [d] and Southern Sotho of Lesotho, having the letter [l], with its occasional allophonic variant [d] in restricted phonological environments, Demuth (2007), it could be questionable to apply the same analogy to *LesE*. Perhaps, such phonological complexity could resonate with Roach's (2009) ruling out of any existence of [θ] and [ð] fricatives, thus preferring the phrase 'weak dental plosives'. Likewise, further research on stopping in *LesE* is vital.

4.2 Morphosyntax

As noted earlier, morphosyntactic variation is concerned with word-formation processes and sentence structures. Morphosyntax, hence syntactic structures, may be interpreted differently in different contexts. For some researchers, morphosyntactic variation has often been concerned with marking differences between languages (Davydova, 2014; Tagliamonte, 2006). For Bylund and Oostendorp (2014), grammar and lexicon can be learnt more easily than other domains by second language speakers, though traces of mother tongue can still be noted. In this study, morphosyntactic variation has been noted for such aspects as the progressive aspect, labelling of the perfective and preterite, modal system, agreement, relativisation, pronominal appositions, articles and prepositional idioms. The above-mentioned morphosyntactic features have been found from the corpus-based data sets for this study, and are presented and discussed, in turn, in the following sections.

4.2.1 Tense/Aspect

4.2.1.1 The Extension of the Progressive to Statives

The extension of the progressive to some dynamic verbs in untoward contexts as well as to the statives has been noted in different data sets for this study. As the name suggests the progressive aspect simply denotes an action or event which is of temporary duration, but going on at the moment of speaking or writing. On the other hand, are the stative verbs, the verbs which normally take only the simple tense, except for certain idiomatic conceptions in English (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). As such, the data for this study show salient instances of the progressive aspect being extended to the statives. This can be noted, amongst others, by the use of such verbs as *say* and *have*, and of course, other verbs with varying degrees. The excerpts extracted from the data as in (SR teacher, the NUL Senate meetings and the Ultimate Radio presenters) showed the recurring salient patterns of the progressive forms as follows:

- a) If we **are having** a new teacher...[*SR teacher*]
- b) I have noticed that students **are having** very good marks [*NUL senate*]
- c) We **are having** the phone contacts for parents [*Ultimate*]
- d) When we **are having** departmental meetings [*SR teacher*]

- e) *We are saying* if we apply the seven-year rule [NUL senate]
- f) The PVC **is saying**...[NUL senate]
- g) I **am saying** that is the part that I enjoy...[SR teacher]
- h) What **are** you **saying** about deferred cases? [NUL senate]
- i) The way they **were saying** these alphabets...[Ultimate]
- j) How the weather is **looking** like [Ultimate].
- k) That is how the weather **is looking** like...[Ultimate]

In a number of instances shown above, the progressive has been used with the first-person pronoun subject as in *I* and *We* (**a**, **c**, **d** and **e**). One of the most common communicative verbs *say + ing form - saying* (progressive), which according to Biber *et al.* (2002), is used in conversation and fiction has been found to be salient, more especially in spoken corpus or spoken data sets in focus. Similarly, the possessive aspect as in *have + ing form -having* has been found to be salient in the oral data across the board. A number of explanations could be put forth on such variations noted in the data for this study. One explanation is that *have* is one of the verbs which change the ‘Verbal Category’ (Haboňová, 2014; Leech, 2004). Leech (2004) observes that in special cases the verb can be extended to a different ‘verbal category’ which allows for the use of progressive form. The notion has been corroborated by Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Swan (1995), who specifically consider the verb *have* as sometimes taking up the progressive aspect. Of particular significance is that the verb *have* has been recurring in the oral data, and of course, in the written data for this study. The verb *have*, as stated in Chapter Two, could be used in the progressive aspect to express actions and experiences, on the analogy realised here as ‘*I am having a good time*’, meaning *I am enjoying myself*; as reported by Makalela (2007), Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Swan (1995). It is, therefore, possible that the extension of the progressive aspect to the stative verb *have* as in (**a**, **b**, **c** and **d**) above has indiscriminately drawn on such a verbal categorisation as noted.

Another possible explanation is that this finding resonates with the view that the progressive aspect is typically a feature of conversational and colloquial discourses, associated with *AmE* as espoused by the colloquialisation thesis, a tendency of different genres such as written prose, essays, letters and fiction to assimilate to spoken registers and/or informal expressions, that is shifting from the then literary style to informal or the conversational style in the twentieth century (Biber, 2003;

Biber *et al.*, 2002). Such variations probably echo Smith's (2004) observation on the expansion and frequency of the progressive with the first-person pronouns since the Modern English period. Of course, the progressive usages have also been reported in World Englishes, including African Englishes. The cases in point are Indian English, Nigerian English as well as *BSAE*, with such examples as *He is going to his office every morning*, and *I am having a cold*, including such extreme variants as *I am busy relaxing*; *I am busy sleeping* (Lass, 2004; Linnegar, 2009, 2011). Taking the point further, Biber *et al.* (1999), observed the progressive aspect as one of the common features of native Englishes, for instance, *BrE* and *AmE* with the latter apparently leading in such variations. As observed above, both oral and written data, with more instances noted in the spoken corpus, particularly amongst the teachers, the Radio talk show presenters and the NUL senate, have revealed systematic patterns of the progressive aspect (*b*, *e*, *f*, *h*, *i* and *j*) in the texts in focus.

Finally, the Bantu language logic of expressing the habitual aspect in different ways could be involved here. For example, some action could be expressed as done just once in a while or be considered to be on-going or being in progress at the time of speaking. Both of these have been noted to be not clear-cut in Bantu languages such as Sesotho and Sepedi respectively (Makalela, 2007). However, the other logical explanation could be premised on the view that the progressive aspect has been considered a universal feature of African Englishes (Van Rooy & Kruger, 2016). Similarly, Rapeane's (1997) study bears some Sotho structures, which, in my view, do not clearly distinguish between the simple present and the progressive aspect, the feature which could be transferred into English-second language in the Kingdom. The examples of the progressive are in English version as follows: *Ba ya teng. They are going there. Ha ke ye. I am not going*. Both of these Sotho sentences are in the progressive aspect, albeit being possibly used to express the simple present tense such as *They go there* and *I do not go away* respectively (Rapeane, 1997). The tendency of using the progressive aspect could further be explained within the framework of *attention catching*, which, according to Jenkins (2014), strategically makes the verb prominent and vivid in any discourse. The phenomenon of language contact, coupled with the trending progressive usage and its extension to the stative verbs in conversational discourse and other discourses may have been significant in *LesE* (Biber *et al.*, 2002). Further, the tendencies of vernacular universal principles and their bearing on the variability of language, hence English, cannot categorically be ruled out for *LesE* in this study (Chambers, 2003).

4.2.1.2 Levelling the Preterite and the Perfect Aspect

One of the features noted in the data is the levelling process of the preterite and the perfect aspect. By the preterite is simply meant an action or an event which is considered to be complete sometime in the past. Such actions could be reported either as definite, that is finished at a particular time, or indefinite, that is without any specific time, in given contexts. It is mainly concerned with the simple past tense/aspect in English. On the other hand, the present perfect largely refers to actions or events which started sometime in the past and continued up to the immediate past and/or the moment of speaking or writing; it is also about events in the past with present consequencens. The present perfect is formed from the primary auxiliary *have* plus *the past participle* in English (Chapter Two). The past perfect refers to the past in the past, that is any action or event which happened earlier than any other action in the past. It is formed with the auxiliary verb *had* plus *the past participle*. The perfect aspect (especially the present perfect), is usually not necessarily concerned with the precise duration or specific temporal reference of the actions referred to. As such, it rarely occurs with the past time adverbials. The past-time reference adverbials are generally the feature of the preterite in English (Biber,*et al.*, 2002; Kortmann, 2010). However, the data for this study show the levelling or neutralisation of the preterite and the perfect aspect below:

- a) This is despite of [*sic*] the fact **in 1993** the country **had managed** to reclaim constitutional democracy....[*WFJ*]
- b) The doctors **had travelled** to CT in February, and **returned** to Johannesburg **a week Ago** [*PCfm*]
- c) We already have regulations which **have gone** through APC **in May 2020** [*NUL Senate*].

In the above sentences extracted from the data from [*PCFM*] and [*NUL*] respectively, the past temporal adverbials, in this particular case, (*in 1993; in May 2020; in February* and *a week ago*), have been used with the perfect aspect, thus levelling the preterite and the past/present perfect aspect in *LesE*. The finding could be an analogous template of the following as reported in Rapeane (1997):

Ke ba introjuitse maobane, translated into I introduced them yesterday.

In the above conjugational suffix *-itse* in the word *introjusitse* is suffixed to indicate the *perfective* (Rapeane, 1997), while it is also possible to have the same Sesotho version translated into the following perfective aspect with time adverbial *yesterday*: *I have introduced it yesterday*. These are apparently the Sotho ways of forming the *perfective aspect* and the *preterite* tense respectively, and they are likely to bear on these particular variants of the preterite vs the perfect aspect noted for *LesE* in this study. This finding, therefore, contrasts with the traditional Standard English English where such forms of the past-tense temporal adverbials as in *yesterday* basically occur with the preterite, the feature which is typical of *BrE*. Without any quantitative evidence, this phenomenon has been sporadic as noted in the above excerpts from the oral and written data in this study. This levelling process of the preterite and the past/present perfect aspect has also been attested in *BSAE* (Kortmann, 2010; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). With the Southern Sotho of the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Northern Sotho of the Republic of South Africa greatly sharing some linguistic features despite having slightly different orthographic systems, they could have their Bantu logic mapped onto English-second language used.

4.2.2 Modal System: Core vs Quasi-modals

The modal system, which includes both core modals and quasi-modals, has also been noted in the data sets under study. Of particular note are the deontic modals used to express necessity or obligation, on the one hand, and those used to express volition and prediction, on the other hand. For this study, the following modals *should* and *must*, *will* and *shall* and quasi-modals *have to*, *need to* and *be going to*, are discussed in turn. Both of the main necessity/obligation modals - *should* and *must*, have been sporadically observed, while the quasi-modals *have to* and *need to*, have been used with systematic salience, and thus seem to be increasingly trending in *LesE* as the data show below.

4.2.2.1 Should, Must, Have to and Need to

Most probably, in accord with the trending usage, the two central modals *should* and *must*, with the latter being the most affected, apparently have given way to such emerging semi-modals as *have to*, *have (got) to* and *need to* respectively (Loureiro-Porto, 2016). However, the data below show the variants related only to the core and semi-modals *should*, *must*, *have to* and *need to* respectively, excluding *have got to* which has seen its candidature mainly in colloquial

conversations. As such, some typically salient features of the core modal *should* have been noted mainly from the data as follows:

- a) We **should** not jeer at him.... [CR teacher]
- b) The time table committee **should** convene as soon as next week...[CR teacher]
- c) We **should** also include your email address....[CR teacher]
- d) We **should** have a control on that....[CR teacher]
- e) They **should** be at Maseru Avani...[CR teacher]
- f) They **should** love the subject...[SR teacher]
- g) They **should** love it; they **should** love the subject...[SR teacher]
- h) This **should** go a long way in helping us (shed) the (non-common) perception...[PM]

Most salient in the above data sets is the deontic modal *should*, thereby marking a weak or medium-degree obligation. Considered to be much more frequent than *ought to*, *should* is used to refer to both what is desirable and what is likely (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). Apparently, in some text types, the core modal *should* is more salient than any other core modals and quasi-modals. For instance, the oral data show *should* as having been more frequent, than *must*, especially amongst the teachers (*SR* and *CR*), with its sporadic use amongst the public officials (*MK*, *PM* and *CJ*) respectively. However, of the traditional Englishes, *BrE* has been found to be leading, followed by *AmE*, *AusE*, *NZE* and other outer-circle Englishes in using the modal *should*. While the semantic tone of *should* denotes advice and/or weak obligation Huddleston and Pullum (2002), its connotation may not be categorical given a possible substrate influence in the context of *LesE*. With few example variants drawn from the data as shown above, we may not conclusively consider these as either idiosyncratic or idiolectal variations of *LesE*. However, it is worth noting that, whether it marks a trending disappearance or is just sporadic in this possibly emerging variety, the core modal *should* seems to be featuring *LesE*. Further to these is the use of the deontic core modal *must* in the data sets as shown below:

- a) The University **must** establish and promote quality assurance measures, and emphasise accountability...[NUL]
- b) Concerted effort **must** be made to promote and encourage communication...[NUL]

- c) Yes, I **must** agree with you that there are technicalities...[SR teacher]
- d) All nations **must** respect it because it is a basic requirement for peace and human Development...[MK]
- e)...the basis on which the United Nations action **must** be built...[MK]
- f) We **must** ensure that the commitments we make are implemented...[MK]
- g) We **must** pledge new agency on the political (emancipation) of Western Sahara.. [PM]
- h)... Agenda 2063 **must** succeed in achieving its objectives...[PM]
- i) Conclusions **must** be derived from public discourse, wisdom and ideas of ordinary citizens...[WFJ]
- j) We **must** be sure that we are confronting someone...[Faith]
- k) ...Prayer **must** be the starting point...[Faith]

Associated with with the deontic meaning or high degree obligation as noted in Chapter Two, the core modal *must* has been noted in both oral and spoken data above. The extracts, more especially from the strategic plan documents, official speeches, editorial and courtroom proceedings (*the NUL plan, PM, MK, SR, WFJ, Faith and Legal practitioners*), depict the recurrent use of *must* with different subjects as in the first-person singular and plural *I* and *we*, the third person as well as with the passive constructions. Such a recurrent usage could be construed as marking officialese, subtle directives typical of official, editorial, religious (moral) and legal discourses, amongst others. Further, these particular genres or registers could be argued to be amongst the most up-tight and formal discourses albeit being somewhat mitigated by the use of the inclusive *we*, the third-person and passive styles as shown in the examples (a-k) above. The recurrence of the deontic modal *must* in the above official and technical registers, some of which with morally instructional overtones, could, therefore, be cohering with the view that *must* is preferred in specialised contexts (Jankowski, 2004). The finding could suggest motivation of subjective obligations, social decorum, societal expectations or norms, principles and morality (Myhill, 1995) as reported in Chapter Two. Although the root meaning of *must* has reportedly been declining elsewhere Leech and Smith (2006), it is one of the increasingly used core modals in *BSAE*, where it associated with the modal *should*, meaning *moet*, an Afrikaans loan into *BSAE* (Buthelezi, 1995; Lass, 2004). For Bowerman (2004), the deontic *must* has a less illocutionary force in *SAfE* because of its polite connotation. This usage contrasts with usages from *BrE, AmE, AusE* and *NZE*, where, as observed above, *must* has reportedly been displaced by *have to* and *need to*.

In the case of Sesotho, one would often hear people say *Motho o tlameha ho sebetsa ka thata*, simply interpreted as *One must work hard*. It is possible that the obligative *must*, here translated into *tlameha*, which implies compulsion, necessity or obligation on the part of the addressee, has influenced the variant *must* noted as shown in the corpus-based data. As such, the core modal *must* may be due to the substratal influence of Sesotho as the national, first and dominant language in the country. The distribution of *must* may echo the substratal influence as observed not only in *BASE*, noted above, but also in *PhE* and *SgE*, both of which have reportedly been influenced by local languages, be they Taglish and Chinese respectively (Imperial, *n. d.*). Therefore, it could also be argued that the modal *must*, used here with the first-person pronoun *we* and the *passive constructions* as in (*a*, *e* and *i*), could be resonating with the view that it basically expresses the subjective meaning or an internally imposed force on the part of the speakers in a given discourse. While the modal *must* has been used sporadically across the data, for this study, as opposed to its predominant usage in *BASE/SABE*, it is possible that, its sporadic usage in *LesE* resonates with the trending decline as reported in other World Englishes, including *BrE* and *AmE*. This modal variation could also be explained in terms of its implication as a face-threatening device. On *tist* basis, it is possible that its sporadic occurrence marks options for more objective and democratic quasi-modals *have to* and *need to*, both of which have recently been associated with face-saving functions (Bowerman, 2004), as discussed in Chapter Two above.

Added to these is the observation about two of the apparently trending quasi-modals *have to* and *need to*. As noted earlier, *have to* and *need to* most probably resonate with the increasingly entrenched usages as attested in World Englishes. Therefore, having noted the various quasi-modal connotations and their trending usages in traditional Englishes as well as in World Englishes, it has been instructive to note the extent of the phenomena in *LesE*. In what follows, the quasi-modals *have to* and *need to* are illustrated in turn as extracted from the data:

- a) It is a guiding tool for the path that **has to** be traversed to pre-eminence...[*NUL plan*]
- b) The University also **has to** diversify its income streams...[*NUL plan*]
- c) I also **had to** broaden my vision...[*Finite*]
- d) Teachers **have to** demonstrate...[*CR teacher*]

- e) We **have to** be careful, extra careful...[CR teacher]
- f) So we **have to** double that or maintain standard [SR teacher]
- g) We certainly **have to** know what it is that we **have to** do [NUL Senate]
- h)...his political expediency undermines democracy and **needs to** be eliminated...[PE]
- i) We **need to** reform our constitution...[PE]
- j) To action this plan, we also **need to** create a common vision among our partners...[LT]
- k) Everybody comes to this school because of English, in that you **need to** maintain that reputation... [NR teacher]
- l) Language, unlike other subjects, **needs to** be practised...[NR teacher]
- m) When I come back I still **need to** keep my English the way it was...[NR teacher]
- n) Teachers **need to** teach these kids, teach them... [NR teacher]

In the above excerpts, the semi-modal *have to*, together with the corresponding past form *had to*, has been noted for its salient recurrence across the corpus though with some varied degrees. However, instances of other core and semi-modals have been noted as in the core modal *should* and semi-modal *need to*, with the latter (*need to*) apparently competing with *have to* in the focal data. For Krug (2000), *need to* features as a semi-modal motivated by its increasing frequency in *BrE* and *AmE* (Leech *et al.*, 2009). This may suggest that *LesE*, (though without any quantitative evidence in this study) has not yet been ‘fully’ auxiliarised, the feature which has to date been associated with historical varieties as in *BrE* and *AmE*, compared to *BSAE*. In the final analysis, the recurrence of the quasi-modal *have to* could be explained with reference to its being reportedly one of the common and salient features of English grammar, both standard and non-standard English, in the last 150 years (Corrigan, 2000; Diaconu, 2011).

The salient use of the semi-modal *need to* though apparently subjective as in (**h**, **l**, **k** and **n**), appears as a speaker’s recommendation for the audience’s own sake and needs. As Smith (2003) observed, *need to* here could be seen as objective with less force or authority, thus neutralising an overt subjective or any imposed obligation by the speaker. *Need to* is further considered to be more polite and weaker than *must* and *have to* thus resonating with a recommendation, and hiding any implied instruction (Nokkonen, 2006; Smith, 2003, Taeymans, 2004). Another possibility of *need to* is that of expressing subjective motivation, coupled with the first-person subject *we* which, on

the one hand, suggests the speaker's self-identification with the audience, but on the other hand, hides a directive as in (*i* and *j*) in the oral data above.

Equally noticeable in the oral data for this study is the use of the semi-modal *need to* in passive constructions, more especially in formal contexts of speech. Typical examples as in (*h* and *l*) in the data above are evident. As an exponent of internal necessity, *need to* could also be viewed as competing with other modals such as *must*, *have to* and *have got to* as noted in Chapter Two. In general, the trending usage and functional alternation of quasi-modals in English varieties all over the world are motivated by an interaction between language internal factors and pragmatic context of discourse (Diaconu, 2011; Nelson, 2006; Quirk *et al.*, 1985). Further notable is that, the quasi-modals *have to* and *need to* have reportedly been more frequent in speech than in writing, with *AmE* as a leader in this trending usage (Wasserman, 2014). The dynamics of such a modal system suggest an on-going development in New Englishes (Nokkonen, 2006). Therefore, reporting the above-mentioned modal variations, we could not rule out *LesE* as an emerging variety comparable to other World Englishes, the feature which would, of course, warrant further research in future.

4.2.2.2 *Shall, Will and Be Going to*

Other central modals include *shall* and *will*, with the former gradually disappearing from usage and/or being displaced by the latter and the semi-modal *be going to*, respectively. As earlier observed (see Chapter Two), *shall* denotes a predictive sense, albeit being used in more formal, academic and legalistic discourses. On the other hand, the *will* has been considered to be more neutral than *shall*, and tends to replace both *shall* and *may* in many discourses (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). Interestingly, *LesE* bears some features of this particular modal system. The data for this study thus show the volitional modal *will* with the first-person and third-person noun and pronoun subjects in expressing futurity and prediction. As such, the following extracts from the data illustrate the systematic use of this core modal - *will*:

- a) As a mother, I **will** teach my son....[*Finite*]
- b) Reforms **will** take place in an environment...[*LTV*]
- c) The ministry **will** consider the social milieu under which students are studying and **will** sit for *career*...[*LTV*]
- d) The pass mark **will** be done to ensure... [PE]

- e) English was to be one of the subjects that students **will** pass... [CR teacher]
- f) It **will** be something that it **won't** go very easily... [CR teacher]
- g) And then a tutor **will** give a highlight if any... [NUL Senate]
- h) My Lieutenant, here, Dr X **will** explain what obtained... [NUL Senate]
- i) That **will** not mitigate that Dean... [NUL Senate]
- j) But I promise we **will** definitely look into that... [NUL Senate]
- k) At the end, one party **will** have to prevail, leaving the unsuccessful one with the option of an appeal... [CJ]
- l) It is the one which **will** still advance certain political interests and maintain them... [CJ]
- m) The honourable Minister of Finance **will** surely agree with me in my assertion... [CJ]
- o) During this session hopefully, we **shall** be adopting the implementation plan of Agenda 2063 for the next ten years... [PM]
- p)...during the course of this week, we **will** be able to discuss ways and means... [MK]
- q)... We **will** continue to face threats from existing nuclear weapons, terrorism and the use of other destructive weapons... [MK]
- r) Respect for human dignity was and **will** always be at the heart of Basotho diplomacy... [MK].

In the above extracts, the modal *will* has been used not only systematically, but it has also been used with robust frequency, occurring with different human and non-human subjects in the corpus. For example, the public speeches, that is official discourses, participant teachers' narratives, the *Ultimate Radio* presenters, the NUL Senate, *CJ*, *PM* and *MK*, have been noted for the salient use of the modal *will*. Only few instances, most probably idiosyncratic or sporadic variants of the core modal *shall* as in (o) have been noted as shown above. By the same token, the corpus from the media: *the Ultimate Radio*, *the PCFM* and *the LTV* show systematic patterns of the modal *will*, expressing categorical prediction and occurring with different noun phrase subjects in the sentences as noted above. This finding probably suggests the trending usage of the modal *will*, with its neutral connotation, standing for both *shall* and *may* in contemporary English. With its reportedly literary and archaic usage typical of formal contexts and expressing commands Carter and McCarthy (2006), *shall* has also been found, though being sporadic in the data for this study. The finding probably confirms the view that the modal *will* has gradually been overtaking *shall* and becoming extremely common in contemporary English, more especially in conversational contexts. This trend highlights an increasing universalised usage of *will* in American English, and

is probably coherent with the colloquialisation thesis and Americanisation, with *shall* as a probably disappearing modal in American English (Biber *et al.*, 2002; Bouer, 1994; Coates & Leech, 1980).

Closely related to the above core modals *will* and *shall* as found in the data is the quasi-modal *be going to*. As noted earlier, *be going to* denotes prediction, albeit sounding more informal and tentative than the former (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). Interestingly, the corpus-based data for this study show sporadic use of the semi-modal *be going to* as follows:

- a) How we **are going to** achieve that when we missed so much....[PE]
- b) Students **are going to** experience anxiety.... [PE]
- c) The reforms **are going to** take place in a highly polarized situation....[WFJ]
- d) We **are going to** rely on you teachers....[CR teacher]
- e) We agree as teachers that we **are going to** force these students to speak English [NER teacher]
- f) It **is going to** be problematic [NER teacher]
- g)...We promise that, we **are going to** look into it [NUL Senate]

Looking at the above sentences, the quasi-modal *be going to*, with its future temporal reference, has been used sporadically with different subjects. For example, it has been used the first-person singular and plural, as well as the third-person singular and plural forms in the data. It is, therefore, possible that the usage is that of the substratum influence as follows: *Ke ea tsamaea hosasa* or *ke tsamaea hosasa*, literally meaning *I am leaving tomorrow* could have more or less the same semantic function as *ke tla tsamaea hosasa*, meaning *I will leave tomorrow*. All of the above-mentioned expressions here, with the future temporal reference function, could suggest an already decided action or arrangement on the part of the speaker in Sesotho. The finding, thus, possibly coheres with the increasingly trending usage across different genres and registers, including fiction, conversation and academic discourse in recent years as reported in World Englishes. On this basis, *be going to* has also been making some inroads into other volitional central modals, particularly *will* and *shall* (Biber *et al.*, 2002; Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Tagliamonte, 2006). Finally, oral traditions, as an interactive means of communication characteristic of the Basotho, may have been at play in *LesE* as the second language amongst the users under investigation for this study.

4.2.3 Agreement/Congruence

As the grammatical category of English, agreement/congruence is associated with the notion of *the Northern subject rule*. This notion involves *verbal -s* marking, that is, the *agreement marker*, which is attached to the verb stem, the base form of the verb, more especially in the present simple tense or aspect indicative. However, this rule is often bent in the form of what is called *zero verbal -s* marking, the feature which has been found relatively frequent in English (Davydova, 2014). The data sets for this study, likewise, reflect certain features of non-congruence between the subject and the verb as in:

- a) Above challenges **covers** three classes of challenges that are confronting LCE...[LCE]
- b) This challenges **circles** around poor communication systems, remunerations and working terms and conditions...[LCE]
- c) Political and security instability that **have** bedevilled the country...[WFJ]
- d) Structure that **add** very little value...[WFJ]
- e) What you want to find out **is** lessons that you have learned during this Covid-19 period [Ultimate]

In the above sentences, instances of non-agreement between the subject and the verb are noted. For example, in (**a** and **b**), the word *challenges*, with an orthographic *s* or an inflectional marker *s* shows the plural form of the word, and should take the unmarked plural verbs *cover* and *circle* respectively for the subject-verb concord or grammatical agreement in English. However, the data show the marked forms *covers* and *circles*, thus violating the rules of the grammatical concord as in the subject-number agreement in English. As such, the verbal *-s* marking is by default in the given examples above. Similarly, the verbs *have* and *add* (**c** and **d**) above indicate zero verbal *-s* marking, thus realising incongruence between the subject and verb in the sentences. In other words, the grammatical concord is flawed in the sentences above. An equally interesting variant of incongruence is the notional concord as in (**e**) which shows the copula verb *is*, occurring in the cleft sentence introduced with the *wh*-word *what*, has probably caused some confusion to the speaker, or it is part of a varietal usage. While *zero verbal -s* marking, particularly the notional concord, has widely been reported in World Englishes, including *BSAE*, it has been sporadic thus largely signalling some idiosyncratic and/or editorial challenges facing the users in this study.

The notional concord, particularly with collective nouns, has had striking systematic occurrences in the data. As earlier noted, collective nouns simply refers to a set or group of people, animals or things semantically taken as composed of similar entities (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). According to Biber *et al.* (2002), a collective or group noun refers to the state in which collective nouns are considered as a single unit or as composed of individuals. Collective nouns often warrant the notional concord, thereby occurring with either the singular or plural verb depending on the mental meaning of the speaker or writer in discourse. If reference is made to the collective as a single unit, the singular verb is used. On the other hand, the plural verb is used if reference is made to the individuals who/which make up the collective, depending on the context of use. In fact, institutional names, usually proper names, are collectives functioning either as a single unit or as individuals in specific contexts (Biber *et al.*, 2002). The data have revealed the following collective institutional nouns *Council, Lesotho College of Education, the College, Senate* and *NUL* treated mainly as single entities in the subject position and elsewhere in the data. In other words, each of these has been conceptualised as a singular collective, thus being used with the singular verb as follows:

- a) The new government **argues itneeds its** own people to drive...policies [*Post*]
- b) *Lesotho College enjoys* dominance in teacher training and education in Lesotho... [*LCE*].
- c) The College **has** staff with an array of qualifications obtained from Lesotho... [*LCE*].
- d) The College also **recognizes** inputs from different government Ministries... [*LCE*]
- e) *NUL is* facing a number of key challenges arising from both its internal and external environments... [*NUL*].
- f) We did not spot this that the house **sees to** be such a huge difference... [*NUL Senate*]
- g) This explains why even the faculty **itselfwas** worried about it... [*NUL Senate*]
- h) I congratulate university managementfor**its efforts**.... [*MK*]
- i) The committee **is** made up of... [*Ultimate Talk Show*]
- j) The Administration **gives** them the support... [*NER teacher*]
- k) Since the College acquired autonomy, **it has** turned out to be a key ingredient... [*LCE*]
- l) The University **has** taken small but positive steps towards addressing the unemployment of **its** graduates... [*NUL*]

In the above excerpts, the collectives or group nouns are noted for consistently occurring with the singular verb in both oral and written data for this study. The majority of the collective variants as in (**a, b, c, d, e, f, i, j, k, l**) are even in the subject position, and are each viewed as the single unit, thus agreeing with the singular verb in each instance. Besides, examples (**a, g, h, k**), have the

collective nouns occur with the singular emphatic pronoun *itself* (**g**), the singular possessive determiner/adjective *its* (**a**, **h** and **l**) and singular impersonal pronoun *it* (**a**, **k**) respectively. Interestingly, it is worth noting that this is one of the most salient findings (both in oral and written data sets) for this study, the feature which probably highlights some of the most glaring varietal aspects of *LesE*, looking closely at both the written and spoken corpus for this study. The phenomenon could be viewed as largely resonating with *AmE*, where collective nouns are often taken as a single unit, generally taking a singular verb, but normally requiring the plural verb agreement and pronoun substitution in *BrE* as noted in Chapter Two. This is notwithstanding that the sociolinguistic and language contact situation of Lesotho, the former British protectorate, has largely emanated from the historical variety of *BrE*. However, recent evidence shows the coming into being of the singular concord, more especially in news reportage and editorials in *BrE*, the phenomenon which started before *AmE* influence (Levin, 1998). In any case, such instances of inclination towards *AmE* apparently shift from British English, noted for using either the singular verb with the collective (whether organisations, institutions or countries) as a unit, or the plural verb with collective as composed of individuals in given contexts (Biber *et al.*, 2002; Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002).

Furthermore, for Huddleston and Pullum (2002), if singular or plural collectives are used with such singular determiners as *its*, they should take a singular verb in the clause or sentence. With the use of *its* and *itself* as in (**g** and **h**), singular form, the findings cohere with Quirk *et al.*'s, (1985) and Levin's (1999) assertion that collective nouns can take the singular pronoun *it* and the relative pronoun *which*, hence the singular construal, or the plural *they* and the relativiser *who*, that is plural construal in contexts (see Chapter Two). Also revealing is that the finding is probably comparable to *BSAE* where South Africans have been found to use singular notional agreement with group nouns, thus making South African English cohere with American English (De Vos, 2013).

Yet another possible explanation is that of mother tongue or substratum influence. In other words, mapping the logic of Sesotho as a Bantu language onto English cannot be ignored here in this study. In Sesotho, such group nouns as *committee*, literally translated as *komiti*; *Council* as *cansele*; *Senate* as *senate*; *school* as *sekolo*; and *university* as *junufesiti*, to mention just a few, are each generally and logically considered as a single unit. Therefore, the subjectival marker [*e*] as

in *Komitie ea lula kajeno*, literally translated as *The committee has a meeting today*; *Senate se entse qeto ea ho tsoelapele ka lihlopha bekeng e tlang*, meaning *The Senate has decided on resuming classes next week*. From the Sesotho language logic or perspective, such usages are cast, with the subject taken as a single unit, thus occurring with the singular subjectival markers or noun class prefixes [*e*] and [*se*] respectively. It is, therefore, possible to overgeneralise or transfer such usages into English-second language, hence nativising or acculturising English amongst the English-bilingual Basotho as noted in the data, the view espoused by (Kachru, 1986a). Even more importantly, the singular notional concord *has*, in recent years, increasingly and sporadically been observed in *BrE* (Levin, 2001). As such, *LesE*, albeit with some peculiar variations, is probably consistent with the emerging and trending variations observed in World Englishes, including the superstrate varieties.

4.2.4 Relativisation Strategies: Pronominal Relativisers and Invariant Relativiser

Relativisation strategies, as mentioned in Chapter Two, are the grammatical structures functioning as modifiers of antecedental noun phrases in clauses or sentences (S  arez-G  rmez, 2014). Realised, amongst others, by relativisers such as *who*, *whose*, *whom*, *which* and *that*, these adnominal relative clauses are premised on the animacy hierarchy or animacy of the antecedent (Silverstein, 1976). While Ball (1996) rules out the inclusion of restrictive and non-restrictive clauses in the same analysis because of their categorical markedness, and most probably due to the influence of the prescriptivist precept known as the *that-rule*, of the American English, these are amongst the grammatical structures apparently occurring with some variations as reported in World Englishes.

For the purpose of analysis in this study, restrictive and non-restrictive clauses have not been of interest in this study, following the findings from the emerging postcolonial Englishes across the world (S  arez-G  rmez, 2014). Instead, the study has focused on the syntactic functions and systematically salient patterns of relativisers across the spoken and written corpus. As such, the data show the use of both pronominal relativisers *who* used in the human subject and object positions, and *which* in the non-human subject and object positions respectively, based on the principle of animacy of the antecedent (Tagliamonte, 2006). The following extracts from the data show systematic use of both these particular pronominal (case-marked) and invariant relativiser in the adnominal relative clauses:

- a) Concerted effort must be made to promote and encourage communication, **which** develops shared vision and cultivates the spirit of team work among employees...[LCE]
- b) Implementation of these measures will contribute to reducing the fear of change, **which** can paralyse any organization... [LCE]
- c)...all those **who** may join the College...[LCE]
- d) ...a one day meeting with task teams **which** agreed on amongst other things a list of stakeholders **who** would constitute key informants...[LCE]
- e) The quality of teacher preparation activity **which** has continuous programmes...[LCE]
- f) The other thing **that** I did **which** I think was very interesting very important is that I used to call the markers, the people **who** were marking the COSC...[CR teacher]
- g) Because you are writing for someone **who** needs to take thing as something very very interesting... [CR teacher]
- h) Like any candidate **who** has done very well would say...[CR teacher]
- i) We have seen colleagues here **who** have majored in English...[SR]
- j) Some people **who** were teaching that class share... [SR]
- k) There are technicalities in the subject **which** we also don't know... [SR]
- l) People **who** are suspected to have Corona Virus have their samples taken to SA for Testing (subject...) [PCfm]
- m) One of the residents **who** appealed for anonymity said (subject)...[PCfm]
- n) It is the one **which** will still advance certain political interests and maintain them... [CJ]
- o) It is irresistible to also attribute these serious limitations **which** these distracters exhibit in their propaganda campaign (object)...[CJ]
- p) We are probably one of a few institutions along with other ministries **that** operate on a shoe-string budget...**which** has unfortunately not been approved... [CJ]
- q) On behalf of TRC, we feel indebted to all contributors **who** always submit their articles... [WFJ]

As noted earlier, the data show the systematic use of the pronominal forms *which* and *who* in both human subject and object positions and in non-human subject and object positions, based on the principle of animacy of the antecedent (Tagliamonte, 2006). For instance, the pronominal relativiser *which*, (subject and object positions), is more salient than *that* probably because of formality of the discourses under study. This usage suggests some degree of formality and semi-formality of the data drawn from the legal practitioners, teachers, the official policy document of the LCE as well as the TRC editorial, all of which constitute the above data sets. While the data,

as shown below, reveal the recurrent use of the invariant relativiser *that* across the board, the above excerpts reveal the predominant use of the pronominal forms *which* (**a, b, d, e, f, n, p**) and *who* (**a, d, f, g, h, i, j, l, m, q**), in the subject positions, the phenomenon which might also suggest an idiosyncratic variation amongst these particular users. The salient usage of the pronominal relativisers above apparently contrasts with the trending usage noted in *AmE* and *BrE*, followed at some distance the World Englishes as in Hong Kong and Singapore English (Suárez-Gómez, 2014).

Furthermore, of the other World Englishes to which the variations of this study could be compared is Indian English, which has reportedly been regarded as mainly formal, thus observing traditional normative linguistics in terms of salient use of the pronominal relativisers, compared to other World Englishes (Quirk *et al.*, 1985). Looking at the above data excerpts for this study, one could also note the case-marked relativisers *which* as in (**a, b, d, e, f, n, p**), with the *LCE* texts leading, and *who* as in (**a, d, f, g, h, i, j, l, m**), recurring in the subject positions of the clauses evidenced from (*PCFM, CR, SR, and LCE*), followed by sporadic use by the (*Ultimate Radio talk shows* and *CJ*). These findings thus resonate with the notion of animacy hierarchy (Silverstein, 1976), while at the same time reflecting the idiosyncratic tendencies of these particular registers and/or showing *LesE* as keeping somewhat abreast with other World Englishes. In particular, *IndE*, ‘being notoriously’ known as being *Latinate* and *bookish*, could be one of the comparable World Englishes (Kachru, 1987; Mesthrie, 2014). The cline in the above finding is predominantly towards the salient use of the case-marked relativisers *who* and *which* over the invariant relativiser *that* in the texts in focus.

Moreover, while the data show the interchangeable use of the pronominal and invariant relativisers in both human and non-human subjects and objects, the invariant relativiser *that* seems to be more salient across the texts in focus. This phenomenon probably marks one of the reportedly increasing usages noted in various genres and text types including news reportage or press, one of the agile registers or styles, in modern-day English, most probably with the influence of *AmE* news reportage (Bouer, 1994, 2002; Singley, 1997). Typical examples include the following from both the oral and written data sets:

- a) ...an ‘all management’ three day consultation meeting **that** conducted environmental scanning for the College... [LCE]
- b) It makes reference to the strategic process **that** was followed to develop this document... [LCE]
- c) ...a model **that** was adopted to guide the new direction of LCE... [LCE]
- d) ...roles **that** should be played by respective stakeholders and key implementation schedule... [LCE]
- e) ...challenges **that** the College need to address through this plan ...[LCE]
- f) Angola to deliberate on the findings of a 40-member SADC technical assessment team **that** was in Lesotho...[LT]
- g) We are probably one of a few institutions along with other ministries **that** operate on a shoe-string budget... **which** has unfortunately not been approved ... [CJ]
- h) What you want to find out is lessons **that** you have learned during this Covid-19 period ... [Ultimate]
- i) Thank you so much for those **that** have taken part in our chat this morning ...[Ultimte]
- j) Those **that** have been able to look at your comments... [Ultimte]
- k) And those **that** haven’t been able to, I will ensure that... [Ultimte]
- l) In all those ten schools **that** have been selected, we have already identified (Subject)...[Ultimate talk show]
- m) English was to be one of the subjects **that** students will pass... [CR teacher]
- n) Due to my contribution together with the teachers **that** I work with... [CR teacher]
- o) This is all about you, you and those **that** are close to you, **that** are involved...[CR teacher]
- p) English was to be one of the subjects **that** students will pass... [CR teacher]
- q) They don’t have that innovation **that** can make performance to be very good... [CR teacher]
- r) We have witnessed numerous events and developments **that** have had a direct impact on the security, peace, progress and future well being of mankind ...[MK]
- s) This is the subject **that** concerns all of us and demands a global partnership...[MK]
- t) **In** this school majority of the students **that** do well in English are members of the club ...[NR teacher]
- u) Even here in the district, there are schools **that** are doing well... [NR teacher]

The above excerpts from (the teachers, public officials - *PM, MK*, the Ultimate Radio presenters, *LT, LCE* and *WJ*) show a systematic pattern of the invariant relativiser *that*, which has been found to be salient in both oral and written corpus. Even more significant are examples (*f, h, i, j, m, o, s*

and *t*), all of which use the invariant relativiser in the human subject positions, something which is incoherent with the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein, 1976). Nevertheless, the recurrence of the relative particle *that* as the multi-purpose relativiser in these subject positions echoes Biber *et al.*'s (2002) and Suárez-Górmez's (2014) studies respectively (Chapter Two). The usages have been noted as strategically being associated with such entities as in (*a, f, g, l, u*), all of which could be interpreted as having plus or minus human qualities in the data sets in focus. While the notion of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is beyond the scope of this study, an apparently indiscriminate recurrence of the general-purpose relativiser *that*, in both subject and object positions, is probably premised on colloquialisation and the prescriptivism *that-rule*, the American-influenced precept, later adopted by some British grammarians as attested in World Englishes (Szmrecsanyi, 2017; see Chapter Two). The rule has influenced the increasing use of the invariant *that*, especially in restrictive relative clauses in different contexts (Butcher *et al.*, 2006). In any case, the authors further argue that the pronominal relativisers can also be used for defining clauses, more clearly with another relativiser, especially with the invariant relativiser *that* in the same sentence (also see Leech & Smith, 2006). Finally, prescriptivism and colloquialisation, both of which are attributed to American English, as attested in World Englishes may have been manifested and crept into the notable variations in *LesE*.

Other usages factored into *LesE* variation involve the missing or decreasing pied-piping. Pied-piping is constituted by the preposition-relativiser constructions, that is a combination of the preposition, followed by an adnominal relative clause, which is usually introduced by a *wh-form* or pronominal relativiser (Leech & Smith, 2006). In such constructions, the prepositional phrase marks an adverbial element of the relative clause (Biber *et al.*, 2002). While pied-piping is not central to the analysis for this study, the feature comes into focus with reference to the declining usage of pronominal forms, yielding to *that-form*. Therefore, pied-piping, one of the formal grammatical constructions, has been reported decreasing in traditional Englishes as well as in some World Englishes. However, a few instances of pied-piping have been found in the data set from, also accompanied by recurrent zero relativiser as well as prepositional stranding have been noted as shown below:

- a) We will be able to discuss ways and means **through which** world leaders could join hands...[MK]
- b) ...a joint global government system that ensures justice and fairness **in which** international law is enforced...[MK]
- c) This is the basis **on which** the UN's respect for universal values and principles for human rights must be built... [MK]
- d) They have a violent past **which** they have not cut ties **with** 25 years on (see Leech & Smith, 2006 on pied-piping)... [PE]
- e) We pass despite **circumstances** we are studying **under**...[PE]
- f) My mother's sister **whom** I was residing **with** in Lesotho...[Finite]
- g) The best leaders in the world **of which** I don't even have to pay **for**... [Finite]
- h) Theoretical propositions have been raised in the article, **of which** highlight challenges of political environment...[WFJ]
- i) This is the company **that** I decided to partner **with**, **which** has been built from the principle that...[Finite]

The above data sets show few cases of pied-piping as in (*a*, *b* and *c*) [MK], something which possibly marks Latinity or formality of this official political discourse, albeit reportedly being in decline in modern-day English. The other observation is zero relativiser, (the missing constituent in the clause); as such, the relativiser is often suppressed. Other constructions involve the missing pied-piping as well as prepositional stranding, being amongst the most recent phenomena typical of the media texts as in (*d*, *e*, *f*, *g* and *i*) above. Such structures have reportedly been observed in American English, and/or can be attributed to the colloquialisation thesis and densification (Biber, 2003; Bouer, 1994; Hinrichs, Szmrecsanyi & Bohmann, 2015). By densification is meant the observed fact of steady increase in information density in written texts, specifically journalistic genres during the twentieth century (Biber, 2003). Such tendencies would be offset by information suppression, thus economising on the use of words (Bouer, 1994; Hinrichs, Szmrecsanyi & Bohmann, 2015). Probably for retaining or due to acquisitional challenges, the intrusive pied-piping comes into play as in (*g* and *h*). Most importantly, while the pronominal relativisers are conventionally used for pied-piping, and, of course, prepositional stranding, the data show the invariant relativiser *that* as a default item in (*i*) above, thus overgeneralising the variant. The finding, therefore, possibly supports the view that the invariant relativiser seems to be outcompeting the pronominal relativisers, more especially with such systematic occurrences of the relativisation strategies in the data sets in this study. Not only has the invariable relativiser featured both modern-day *BrE* and *AmE*, but it has also reportedly surfaced in other outer-circle

Englishes including *BSAE*, of course, with the likely influence of the prescriptivist rules and colloquialisation thesis (Bouer, 1994; Suárez-Górmez, 2014).

Similarly, prepositional stranding, an alternative or another competitor of the prominal forms, has also been noted in the data. Prepositional stranding is the process whereby the preposition occurs at the end of the clause, where it is not complemented by the noun phrase as its object, hence a hanging or an orphaned preposition. As such, the following extracts illustrate both increasing prepositional stranding and decreasing pied-piping. Here, the preposition is shifted away from its normal position, just before the noun phrase which it controls as its object, thus occurring or hanging towards, or a stranded preposition at the end of the clause. The following variants illustrate:

- a) They have a violent past **which** they have not cut ties **with** 25 years on... [*PE*]
- b) My mother's sister **whom** I was residing **with** in Lesotho... [*Finite*]
- c) Once we can give students qualification **which** they will not benefit **from**... [*NUL Senate*]
- d) The best leaders in the world of which I don't even have to pay **for**... [*Finite*]

In the above extracts, pronominal relativisers are shown in a systematic pattern of prepositional stranding. The phenomenon apparently signals one of the trending usages not only in modern-day spoken English, with sporadic use in written English, but also in some emerging varieties of English. It is interesting to note whether and/or not to rule out or flag the fact that *LesE* is following the trending tendencies of prepositional stranding, the phenomenon, which, though reportedly found in World Englishes, probably marks or typifies remnants or the coming back of the variant of the Old English/Middle English period.

4.2.4 Appositional Pronouns

As one of the grammatical aspects considered to be increasing cognitive transparency, the concept of appositional pronouns, also called pronominal apposition, has been found to be common in spoken discourse, especially in World Englishes (Suárez-Gómez, 2014). English is one of the subject-prominent languages, and marginally bears features of appositional pronouns. In the same vein, the data for this study have been noted for the following salient patterns of appositional pronouns:

- a) These kids, **they** do pass....[SR teacher]
- b) But for others, **they** don't really want to learn the language...[SR teacher]
- c) Bo 'M'e le bo Ntate (trans. Mothers and Fathers), **they** don't like marking composition....[SR teacher]
- d) *Bo Ntate (Fathers)* from other departments, **they** help us to mark....[SR teacher]
- e) Generally, the students, **they** don't want to work hard in the country.... [SR teacher]
- f) So the performance of English at that school, **it** wasn't that good [CR teacher]
- g) It will be something that **it** won't go very easily [CR teacher]
- h) I think people when **they** are at work for a long time **they** end up not having that improvement...[CR teacher]
- i) People when **they** are working at the place **they** don't gather some new strategies anymore.....[CR teacher]
- j) I used to say all of them **they** should come...[CR teacher]
- k) So for me, **I** believe in hard working [CR teacher]
- l) Those ones, hei, **they** were many in class [CR teacher]
- m) Some of them after the agreement, **they** don't do what we have agreed upon... [NER teacher].

Noted in the above excerpts are systematic patterns of appositional pronouns, most of which have been extracted from the oral data, transcribed from the interviews conducted with the target teachers. While appositional pronouns have been shunned or marginal in Standard English, they have reportedly been featuring spoken discourse as a way of increasing cognitive transparency. Appositional pronouns are considered to be a morpho-pragmatic and discourse function, often arising from spontaneous conversational pressures for the purpose of communication or conversation management. The phenomenon has also been found to be the processing effect, deriving from complex structures in which the antecedental NP (subject) is separated from the *shadow pronoun* by some intervening or intrusive material or phrases (Marungudzi, 2016; Mesthrie, 1997).

Looking at the above extracts, one could note salient appositional pronouns, particularly the shadow pronoun *they* as in (**a, b, c, d, e, g, h, i, j, m**) factored into the oral data on *LesE*. As such, the systematic use of the pronoun *they* variant, which is considered redundant or the double subject in reference varieties, could be explained in terms of the principle of cognitive transparency by taking up and repeating the antecedental NP, in other words, turning new elements into old or

accessible ones, after some intervening complex constructions in discourse. The finding is probably consistent with the view that appositional pronouns are exclusively characteristic of morpho-pragmatic and discourse functions, often arising from spontaneous conversational pressures for the purpose of conversation management (Gregory & Michaelis, 2001; Lambrecht, 1994; Tizón-Couto, 2012).

Interestingly, Sesotho, as one of the topic-comment languages, has probably had an input in the above variants. For example, in the sentence *Thabiso o rata nama*, literally translated as *Thabiso he likes meat*, both the subject *Thabiso* and the subjectival marker or a noun class prefix *o* are involved. English is the subject-prominent language, and denotes concord by having the proper name *Thabiso* agree with the verb *likes*, which is the *-s verbal marker* or an *agreement marker*, the subject-concord marker, marking the grammatical agreement. As such, the subject is singular and conventionally occurs with the singular verb for the third-person subject in the sentence. However, Sesotho bears the noun class prefix. For example, *Sesotho Class 1* nouns, could even have the subjectival marker stand alone as in the singular third-person concord *O rata nama*, meaning *He loves meat*. Such Bantu-language-specific variations have been attested in Nguni and Sotho-Tswana language families, where the concord is normally determined by the noun class prefix, instead of the subject-verb concord or agreement as in English (Demuth, 1992, 2007; Makalela, 2007; Rapeane, 1997). The same phenomenon has been noted in *BSAE* (Makalela, 2007).

Therefore, this particular logic of Sesotho is likely to have influenced these pronominal appositions. Furthermore, the concord system has probably been mapped onto *LesE*, yielding the above-mentioned sentences even amongst the supposedly proficient English second-language speakers observed in this study. Even more importantly, these variants have been noted only in the oral data sets for this study. Finally, these usages most probably confirm the view that pronominal appositions are largely characteristic of speech as documented by Gregory and Michaelis (2001); Lambrecht (1994) and Tizón-Couto (2012).

4.2.5 Unsystematic Use of Articles

As part of functional words, articles fall within the category of words or determinatives, whose frequent occurrence ranges from the top five to ten most common words in the English vocabulary (Master, 2002). As stated earlier, articles, for instance, *a*, *an*, *the*, *zero* and *null* variants, are the words which describe or determine the specificity or non-specificity of nouns or noun phrases which follow them (Hunsberger, 2012). Despite being amongst the most common words in English, articles have reportedly been used unsystematically across World Englishes (Ragnarsson, 2011). Like other studies, this study has noted morphosyntactic variations involving the unsystematic use of articles. Of particular significance are the consistent omissions, insertions and substitutions of the articles: *a*, *an*, *the* and *the zero* variants, in different excerpts of the oral and written data as shown in this chapter. It could be noted that the zero article, with the symbol \emptyset is systematically salient in the data. Even more salient are occurrences of the zero article, marking the immediate situational contexts in both oral and written corpus-based data, though with varying degrees depending on the target registers or texts. The following examples illustrate:

- a) \emptyset *Lesotho College of Education (LCE)* is the main supplier of teachers for the school system in Lesotho...[LCE].
- b) \emptyset *Lesotho College* enjoys dominance in teacher training and education in Lesotho... [LCE]
- c) \emptyset *Council* commits itself to supporting the University Administration...[LCE]
- d) \emptyset *NUL* is facing a number of key challenges arising from both its internal and external environments...[NUL]
- e) When \emptyset *NUL* recently launched a distance mode of learning...[MK]
- f) I am grateful to \emptyset *Vodacom* and \emptyset *Enonet Lesotho* for partnering with the university...[MK]
- g) \emptyset *Dean* is here Ntate, I don't want anybody to take my position [NUL Senate]
- h) And it means the head now has to explain very seriously before \emptyset *Senate* [NUL Senate]
- i) So, \emptyset *senate* will make a decision...[NUL Senate]
- j) It is also high time that \emptyset *government* and Basotho farmers need to strengthen their pull...[PE]
- k) That perhaps explains why \emptyset *SADC* adopted an increasingly aggressive tone...[Post]
- l) From there she went to \emptyset *University of Cape Town*...[Finite]
- m) Service delivery issues in local councils, of which \emptyset *TRC* wants to highlights....
- n) \emptyset *LTV news*, from Maseru Lesotho...[LTV]
- o) \emptyset *Health minister* meet [sic] with hospital workers...[LTV]
- p) \emptyset *Public Health Nurse* under the Maseru Health Management team (DHNT)... [LTV]

- q) *Ø Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy* Ahmed yesterday declared the state of emergency in the country... [PCFM]
- r) I am joined in *Ø Studio* by... [Ultimate]
- s) *Ø Chairperson*, this generous gesture allocated to us to address the august assembly bears testimony...[PM]

The above examples from the oral and written data show consistent omissions of the situational definite article *the* or the zero article *the* in the discourses in focus. The majority of the above entities, for example, institutional names and public figures and/or personalities, with unique public functions should be considered as given or known to the addresser and the audience. The entities referred to, therefore, presuppose shared knowledge in these particular physical locations, thus echoing the literature by Alexander (1993); Biber, Conrad and Leech (2002); Halliday and Hasan (1976; Meyer (2009); Murphy (1985) and Swales and Feak (2012). However, salient in the data is zero article *the*, contrasting with the normative linguistic guidelines of many style and usage manuals with a view to referential deixis, definiteness or uniqueness in the English article system. Typical examples of the findings from the data as in (a –s) highlight such discrepancies, despite reference to such particular or unique situational contexts. Interestingly, this particular finding of the study is corroborated by Master (2002), who observed the article system as one of the notoriously complex grammatical aspects of English which pose challenges for English second- and foreign-language speakers.

Furthermore, according to Biber *et al.* (2002) and Butcher *et al.* (2006), the collective proper nouns, in particular, are used to name official bodies or organisations with unique public functions. While the authors include the following words as marked with definite article *the* as in *the House, the parliament, the government, the Senate*, as well as public offices as in *the Prime Minister*, it is also interesting to note that the very words have systematically been occurring with zero article in the data sets. Therefore, coherent with Biber *et al.*'s (2002) and Butcher *et al.*'s (2006) precept above, such collective proper names for organisational or official bodies have identifiable unique existence, thus presupposing already known reference in the situational or exophoric contexts. As generally prominent and statusful, these bodies or entities in the immediate physical, national location (situation) as in community or country, should occur with definite article *the* to particularise, specify or identify them. However, looking at the extracts (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k,

l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s), in the data sets under study, one finds each of these unique collectives cast with zero article, while definite article *the* is crucial for their conceptual meaning.

It is, however, possible that this unsystematic use of the definite article, more especially zero article, in the above data sets, has been influenced by historical or input varieties such as *BrE* and *AmE* respectively. For instance, *BrE* uses no article for such generic concepts as *hospital, school* and *university*, while *AmE* does (Murphy, 1985). Interestingly, such variants can farther be traced to Scottish English, in which the definite article is used in some contexts in which Standard British English uses the zero article (Douglas, 2006, in Watt, 2016-2017). With the advent of Americanisation, the economic and political power of the US, English has been revolutionised through the US media, for example, TV, movies and globalisation, thus resulting in the influence of *AmE* on *BrE* and other World Englishes across the world. This exposure to the US culture, which has been reported elsewhere, is likely to have crept into *LesE* in the Kingdom of Lesotho. Of course, a cross-linguistic influence by Sesotho could have had its logic mapped onto *LesE* considering the variants noted in this study.

The data have also been found to show such usages noted for zero definite article *the*, more especially descriptive *of*-genitives, defining relative clauses, ranking adjectives as well as superlatives as in the following:

- a)... *Ø stalwards* of Africa's liberation such as Dr Robert Mugabe...[PM]
- b) As *Ø Minister* of Small Business Development...[PE]
- c) *Ø Chairman* of council, Ladies and gentlemen...[MK]
- d) *Ø Postgraduate* Co-ordinator of *Ø Humanities*...[NUL Senate]
- e) *Ø graduands* of 2020, as you leave university and join the world of work... [MK]
- f) *ØArea* of study *which* has developed its own fundamental tenets...[LCE]
- g) Your Excellency Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, *Ø* Chairperson of the African Union Commission... [PM].
- h)...our arrival in South Africa, *ØLesotho's closest neighbour* and *a country* with which Lesotho enjoys inextricable ties...[PM]
- i) *Ønext presentation* please [NUL Senate]

Looking at the above extracts, one could see the systematic zero article in syntactic positions where definite article *the* would be expected. In traditional English, the noun phrases, which are post-

modified by descriptive *of*-genitives and defining relative clauses as in (*a, b, c, d, e, f*) should be marked or determined by definite article *the*. Equally interesting is that in (*h*) above, indefinite article *a* as in ...*a country with which Lesotho enjoys*... is inserted, instead of definite article *the*, which could specifically identify the noun phrase. Further noted in the data is zero article with both the superlative and ranking adjectives as in (*h* and *i*). The findings thus show consistent use of the zero article, the feature which contrasts with the view on definiteness in discourse (Master, 2002; *the University of Adelaide*, 2014). The complexity of the article system has also been reported in West African English, with speakers having been found facing some challenges in using *the* to enhance specificity in discourse (Jibril, 1991; Master, 2002; Schmied, 1991). On this basis, despite their formal learning of English as a second language for continuous 12 years and way beyond, the participants in this study could have experienced more or less the same challenges, thus demonstrating such supposedly stabilised and/or noticeable variations of *LesE*. As mentioned above, Sesotho, like other Bantu languages, has no articles in its phonemic inventory. The feature of Bantu languages, as being non-articled, has been attested by Mojapelo (2007), who observed that Northern Sotho, in particular, establishes definiteness and specificity by drawing on the anaphoric and situational contexts, that is pragmatic determination of definiteness.

This supposedly trending usage of zero article has also been found in the following media texts as in (*a, b, c*) as shown below:

- a) *Ø Police Commissioner* Holomo Molibeli... [PE]
- b) The revelation by *Ø Police Commissioner* Holomo Molibeli... [PE]
- c) *Ø Ministry of Public Works and Transport Principal Secretary* Mothabathe Hlalele....[PE]
- d) As *Ø Minister* of Small Business Development...[PE]
- e) Join *Ø Finite Magazine Lifestyle Club* and enjoy its varied benefits...[Finite]

The above variants of the article system, with the omission of definite article *the*, probably mark shifting stylistic preferences to what has been described as serving to narrow the gap between spoken and written language. It is also possible that recurrence of the above-mentioned non-articled or zero-article titles evokes the style of pseudo-titles of news reportage of *the Times* newspapers and magazines, which originated from the United States. Such a style of news reportage has since spread from the US to other World Englishes as in the Caribbean, New Zealand

and later to the UK and *BSAE* (Hackert, 2016; Hickey, 2004; Mesthrie, 2014; Meyer, 2002). Besides, both the US and UK journalistic discourse has increasingly been found to be colloquial, the feature which thus makes this writing style one of the ‘agile’ genres (Hundt & Mair 1999). While it could be found in news captions and headlines, usually for space-saving, using the zero article, more especially with the titles and/or names of such periodicals as journals, magazines and news papers, contrasts with prescriptions by style manuals (Alexander, 1993; Murphy, 1985; Swales & Feak, 2012).

Other instances of the zero article include omitting indefinite articles *a* and *an*, both of which refer to non-specific countable entities in English. Indefinite article *a* is used with nouns starting with consonant sounds, while *an* occurs with initial vowel sounds, both in the first mention in texts or discourse. The phenomenon of the zero indefinite articles has surfaced as one of the most recurring features in both spoken and written corpus, though with varying degrees depending on the texts in this study. The following extracts show instances of the zero (indefinite) articles, namely *a* or *an*:

- a) **Ø Logical conclusion** we draw from **Ø discussion** is that there is no enough justification for having **Ø large army**...[WFJ]
- b) TRC takes **Ø opportunity** by urging **Ø government** to consider...[WFJ]
- c) The strategy will assist **Ø security reforms process** to realign mandates.... [WFJ]
- d) **Ø concerted effort** must be made to promote and encourage communication.... [LCE]
- e) In August, We give them **Ø series** of tests to prepare them for final examinations [SR teacher]
- f) Mrs. Matumelo Mokuku has raised **Ø concern** about members of the public [PCfm]
- g) **Ø Area** of study **which** has developed its own fundamental tenets...
- h) Our hardships and challenges as **Ø testing ground** for our strengths and weaknesses...[Finite]
- i) **Ø Lesotho’s closest neighbour** and **a** country with which Lesotho enjoys inextricable ties...[PM]
- j) **Ø source** of income... [CR teacher]
- k) We give them **Ø series of tests** to prepare them for final examinations...[SR teacher]
- l) ...On **Ø daily basis**; with **Ø emphasis** on; **Ø negotiation** environment... [LTV]

The above extracts from both the oral and written data sets reveal the systematic zero article, especially indefinite articles *a* and *an* across the board. The findings probably confirm reports by

other studies on the phenomenon (Hackert, 2016; Hickey, 2004; Mesthrie, 2014), including the notion of non-articled Bantu languages as well as challenges facing English-second and foreign-language users on article usage (Master, 2002; Mojapelo, 2007).

Other instances observed in the data sets include the systematic use of indefinite article *a* substituting for definite article *the* as shown below:

- a) The country is running *a sporadic process* which lacks clarity and design. [WFJ]
- b) The transition was supposed to provide *a break* from the past that was marked by authority...[W FJ]
- c) The programme which is *a SADC* initiative...[Ultimate]
- d) *A LUCT* graduate...[Ultimate]
- e) The untimely passing of *a member* of this class...[MK]

The data in the excerpts above show systematic substitutions of the indefinite article *a* for the definite article, in what could be specific descriptive, unique and identifiable situational contexts. As noted above, the NP postmodified by the defining relative clause as in (a) should usually be marked by definite article *the* for specificity and limitedness. Likewise, the NP postmodified by the prepositional phrases as in (b and e) could be marked by *the* as a way of singling out the words *break* and *member* in the discourses. Besides, names of both specific organisations such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Limkokwing University of Creative Technology (LUCT) as in (c and d) are not only unique establishments, performing unique public functions, but they are also prominent and identifiable in the immediate location or situation in these registers. As such, definite article *the* is a grammatically and pragmatically prescribed lexical item used to particularise such entities, the notion offered by Biber *et al.* (2002) and Butcher *et al.* (2006) (see Chapter Two).

Besides, the following sub-category of determinatives, the proximal demonstrative *this*, is used as singular, and thus occurs with or precedes singular noun phrases. The plural proximal/proximate demonstrative is *these*, grammatically occurring with plural noun phrases in Standard English. The data show conflation of the demonstrative determinatives: *this* and *these* as shown in the following examples:

- a) *This new departments* contain *staff* from both the former pre-service divisions (Primary and Secondary) ...[LCE]
- b) *This challenges circles* around poor communication systems, remunerations and working terms and conditions...[LCE]
- c) *All this challenges* are coupled with cross cutting issues...[LCE]
- d) *This are two months* acknowledging many extraordinary women from all walks of life... [Finite]

In the above excerpts, conflation of the proximate/proximal demonstratives *this* and *these* has been noted. For example, the determinatives *this* and *these* as in (a, b, c, d) are singular yet used here to mark or premodify plural noun phrases: departments and challenges, instead of the plural form *these*. As such, the usage indicates non-agreement or incongruence between the determiner and nouns referred to in the texts. However, the same morphosyntactic phenomenon, here, with the demonstrative *this*, used with both the singular and plural nouns as in *This people*, has also been attested in South and Southeast Asian Englishes (Guest, 2018). It is speculative whether the same conflation would occur if the remote/distal demonstratives *that/those* were used in the data. It is further speculative whether the usage is an oversight or a stabilised usage, especially when it occurs in the text which could have, otherwise, been edited before print. In any case, this conflation of the proximate demonstratives *this* and *these* is probably consistent with the attribute of phonological similarity between the demonstratives *this* and *these* as noted in *BSAE* (de Klerk, 2006; Der Walt & van Rooy, 2002). The phenomenon could further be explained in terms of the notion of angloversals, that is universal tendencies observed across languages including English as a global language.

In addition, quantity determiners such as *a few*, meaning *some*, and *few* meaning *not many*, have been found to be sporadic in the data for this study. These quantifying determinatives are traditionally used with countable nouns in clauses or sentences. However, the data show conflation of *a few*, *few* and *some*, resulting in the following usages:

- a) In *some few* cases.... [WFJ]
- b) After *some few* months, Mrs X said to me you should not go away from here [NR teacher]

In (*a* and *b*) above, *some few* is probably an analogy of *a few* or *some* in which reference is made to a certain number of items in discourse. The usage has been reported in *BSAE* (Buthelezi, 1995; de Klerk, 2006) and elsewhere in other African Englishes. While this usage is sporadic in *LesE*, the question would be whether this reflects a learner or a stabilised variety in this particular context.

In general, this unsystematic use of the articles, including omissions, substitutions and insertions of the article in the oral and written data, could also be explained within the worldview of the Basotho, particularly Sesotho as the national language. As noted above, Sesotho lacks articles *a*, *an* and/or *the*, but bears referential deixis, that is pointing to something, mainly drawing on exophoric situational contexts or extralinguistic contexts, realised by demonstrative and possessive determinatives (Mojapelo, 2007). Demonstrative determinatives include *this* translated as *-ena* or *-ona* as in *'Muso ona*, to mean *this government*, viewed from a proximal distance. On the other hand, the possessive determinatives involve *'Muso oa ka* (*my government* (the first-person singular); or *'Muso oa rona* (*our government*) - [my own translations]. As such, the *Sothoised* demonstrative and possessive determinatives, hence substituting for the article *the*, could enhance both locatability and unique identifiability of the referent within the immediate and broader situational environment in the *Sothoised* discourse of the Basotho speech community. Of course, other devices include *'Muso*, which simply means government of the day as a way of identifying the referent between the addresser and addressee, presupposing shared knowledge (my invented expressions). As noted in Chapter Two, Mojapelo's (2007) observation on Bantu languages including Northern Sotho as having no article system and the notion of physical and extralinguistic factors for evoking definiteness is crucial here. As such, it would be instructive to view such conceptual aspects as being factored into *LesE* variation, because of mother tongue transfer or logic from Southern Sotho, a variety of Northern Sotho just noted above. While further research on this phenomenon, would, likewise, be desirable, I agree that a cross-linguistic influence of Southern Sotho of Lesotho, has probably been at play in this study on *LesE*, as observed within the framework of sociolinguistic and World Englishes studies.

4.2.6 Prepositional Idioms

As noted in Chapter Two, prepositions are a functional category of grammar, and are used to relate words, especially content words, for example, nouns, verbs or adjectives, in the clauses or

sentences (Hunsberger, 2012). Further functioning as one of the most frequently occurring words in English, prepositions have been observed in both the oral and written data for this study. This study has focused on the English prepositions: *with*, *in*, *on*, *of* and *for* as shown in excerpts. Of particular mention is the prepositional idiom, and also the adverbial particle *with*. As observed in Chapter Two, one of the most basic meanings of the preposition *with* is the notion of accompaniment, including comitative adjuncts to express co-presence and various forms of involvement. The preposition *with* also denotes notions of location, agreement, manner as well as means or instrument (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). In the data, the preposition *with* has been found to be in various complement positions involving verbs, nouns and adjectives illustrated as follows:

- a) She did Marketing Management diploma ***with*** the Institute of Marketing Management (IMM) ...[Finite]
- b) She enrolled ***with*** University of Free State...[Finite].
- c) According to the Prime Minister, Mosito's employment relationship ***with*** the NUL might compromise his independence...[WFJ]
- d) In my view, your continued employment ***with*** the National University of Lesotho....[WFJ]
- e) Health ministers meet ***with*** hospital workers.... [LTV]
- f) The young people we were talking ***with***.... [Ultimate]

The above extracts from both the oral and written data, show salient variants of the preposition *with*, prominently evoking the notion of accompaniment. However, a closer reading of the preposition in the excerpts reveals an overgeneralisation of *with*, hence evoking a conception of co-presence instead of spatial meaning, which could warrant such prepositions as *at* or *in* depending on the complementation and/or English variety. For example, the variants as in (a, b, c and d). In traditional Englishes, either *at* (BrE) or *in* (AmE) could be used to signal spatial meanings of the institutional names involved above. The findings could be coherent with studies conducted on Black South African English, where the *with* pattern has been overgeneralised to such prepositional phrases as in...*contract with* the university;...*studied with* UNISA; ...*graduated with* UFS. Further noted in BSAE have been such oddly formulaic forms as ...*full with* fruits and foods (Kasanga, 2004).

While Kasanga (2004) views the *with* combination as traditionally associated with the verbs of motion as in *start with*, *come with/along* and *take with*, the above-mentioned pattern as in (**a**, **b**, **c** and **d**) could be interpreted as suggesting co-presence in this study. The adverbial particle *with* has further been found creeping into South African English because of Afrikaans influence (Kasanga, 2004; Salmons & Purnell, 2013). As noted in Chapter Two, the usage can also be traced to the German-Americans and Dutch-Americans in the Upper Mid-West, in the US (Salmons & Purnell, 2013). Likewise, being in the proximity of the South African English, whether a White or a Black South African English variety, *LesE* would arguably be comparable to and/or have traces of Afrikaans influence and, of course, that of *BSAE*, as reported by Kasanga (2004). The data also show the preposition *with* as complementing such verbs as *meet* and *talking* as in (**e** and **f**) above, the feature which is in the cline of *AmE*, instead of *BrE*. *BrE*, On the other hand, usually bears the transitive verb *meet*... except for cases of disapproval, as in *...met with resistance; have a meeting with*, and *talking to instead of talking with*, which also typifies *AmE* respectively. In the final analysis, it is interesting to note the apparently trending usage of the adverbial particle *with*, with *LesE* probably manifesting World Englishes tendencies.

Other prepositional idioms include the preposition *in*, which as noted in Chapter Two, is used to indicate time, place, manner and abstract situations (Master, 2002). Studies exposed *in* and *of* as amongst the commonly used and overused prepositions, especially in English non-native-speaking contexts (Master, 2002). As the data show below, the use of *in* with place names and its grammaticalised functions have been found as follows:

- a) You know what, **in** this school we have so many kids...[*NR teacher*]
- b) **In** this school majority of the students that do well in English are members of the club ...[*NR teacher*]
- c) Teachers are trained there **in** the tertiary schools [*NER teacher*]
- d) **In** all those ten schools that have been selected, we have already identified... [*Ultimate talk show*]
- e) She moved from places and changed schools while **in** primary level....[*Finite*]
- f) A privilege and honour to have met and known them and have had strong impact **in** each other's lives...[*Finite*]
- g) She was looking **in** the wrong programme [*NUL Senate*].
- h) **In** one hand, politicians suggest that...prime minister must advise Head of State [*WFJ*]
- i) **In** another hand, some suggest that prime minister will advise Haead of State [*WFJ*]

Systematically salient in the above excerpts is the preposition *in*. With its basic meaning of an interior location, the preposition *in* conceives of something as a container within which events are located (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Interestingly, the following five examples: (**a**, **b**, **c**, **d** and **e**), from the data for this study, show the use of *in* substituting for *at* to mark spatial location. However, in Standard British English, the prescribed preposition for such spatial meanings is *at*, whether used generically or specifically as in *at school*, *at college* or *at university*; or *at Masowe High School* or *at the National University of Lesotho* (my own examples). With some studies reporting the use of the preposition *in* with such place names, thus typifying *AmE* Trudgill and Hannah (1982), it could be speculated whether these variants are indicative of the increasing *AmE* influence on World Englishes including *LesE* as further noted in this particular study.

Also intriguing is the grammaticalised *in* in complement positions, occurring with the noun *impact* and the verb *looking*, as in (**f** and **g**) could prove varietal, thus differing from the traditional *BrE* and/or *AmE* usages. Whether the usage of ***in*** as in (**f** and **g**) suggests a point of departure of *LesE* from the two input varieties and other World Englishes, including *BSAE*, it could be substantiated with further research. The variant *in* has further been used probably with a grammaticalised function as in (**h** and **i**) above, the conception, a likely factor of substratum influence, especially Southern Sotho. Finally, whether typical of the reference varieties or peculiar to *LesE*, both *in* and *of* have reportedly been too excessively used prepositions in East African English (Schmied, 2004, 2006).

Equally striking in the data is the preposition *for*. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002), the preposition *for* is perhaps one of the most polysemous of the prepositions, which invokes subtly distinct meanings and few grammaticalised functions. For the authors, *for* basically means *in favour of*, *as a favour for something* and *on behalf of*, to mention just a few semantic features. As one of the most frequently occurring functional words, *for* has been found to be sporadically featuring, more especially the oral data as shown below:

- a) The work environment was not conducive ***for*** me either...[*Finite*].
- b) We do have 'M'e (Mother) X to explain all these ***for*** us...[*Ultimate Talk Show*]
- c) Remember our facebook pages are open ***for*** you... [Ultimate Talk Show]
- d) I congratulate university management ***for*** its efforts...[MK]

- e) The road to recovery: strengthening the countability structures in Lesotho National Reforms Agenda which advocates *for* public interest Litigation...[WFJ]...

In the above extracts, the preposition *for* has systematically been used instead of *to* as in (a, b and c) in the oral data sets. Additionally, the preposition *for* substitutes for *on* (d), as in [MK]. While this usage has been found salient in one of the data sets, and probably being idiosyncratic of the participant in focus, its polysemous reference has a likely influence on the trending usage in World Englishes; further, looking around though based on anecdotal evidence, one would note indiscriminate use of *for*, more especially as a strategy of marking prepositional idioms, functioning as adverbials of recipient within the framework of sociolinguistic and World Englishes studies. The usage could also be drawing on the semantic template such as my *thanksgiving for...* and my *gratitude for....*, two of which are amongst the most salient expressive speech forms in discourse-pragmatics.

Also striking is the use of *for*, meaning *as a result of* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Here, *for* evokes the semantic template on which the usages in the data could have drawn. The other usage as in (e) could be an analogy of the collocation of such phrases as *advocacy for a certain course* and/or *an advocate for peace*, respectively. As such, the findings could be seen as resonating with the view that the grammaticalised preposition *for* is one of the prepositions with polysemous and subtle functioning as reported in the literature, the semanticity of which could have posed challenges to *LesE* users noted in this study.

Other prepositions have been noted as follows: *emphasising* on constitutional reforms have been influenced...[WFJ]. Further is the usage *This is despite of the fact in 1993 the country had managed to reclaim constitutional democracy...*[WFJ]. In any case, the variants *emphasising on* and *despite of* above, are probably analogous to and/or a semantic or collocational template of the prepositional idioms as in *emphasis on* and the complex preposition *in spite of*, respectively, suggesting some creativity and/or semantic extension on the part of the users. Even more fascinating is the usage *It advocates specifically on constitutional reforms...*[WFJ]. The variant, likewise, overgeneralises grammaticalised functions of this particular preposition in the data. It is also possible that *on* here, is construed as suggesting *concerning* being one of its meanings as in *a lecture on a certain topic* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, my addendum). As such, whether used

with nouns, verbs or adjectives for place names, time, and, of course, manner, as well as for idiomatic conception, prepositions are generally used to indicate relations in sentences, the usages which are largely prescribed in normative linguistics (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Distinctive prepositional idioms observed in the data apparently mark trending variational features of *LesE*, as reported on other outer-circle Englishes, including *BSAE* (Buthelezi, 1995; de Klerk, 2006; Platt *et al.*, 1984).

4.3 Lexicon

Studies have further noted distinctive features of usage at the lexical level in World Englishes studies, with some orthographic variants (spellings) being torn between *BrE* and *AmE*. Studies have further reported fast spreading lexical and spelling variations across the world, especially with *AmE* enjoying covert prestige even in the places where *BrE* is a target norm (Schneider, 2006). Lexicon involves such items as orthography/spellings, heteronyms and (de)hyphenation and semantic extension, some of which derive from a combination of the target and host languages involved. According to Strevens (1972), lexical items have often been found in a list form in many textbooks and other sources. Therefore, this section presents several lexical and orthographic variants including alternative spellings, heteronyms, (de)hyphenation as well as words with semantic extension, as extracted from the data for the study. Some of these reflect certain words typical of either or both input varieties or historical Englishes, be they *BrE* and *AmE* (Blanpain, 2008; Butcher *et al.*, 2006). In any case, the data below show the variants, some of which are in a list form, and others presented in a running text, as follows.

4.3.1 Orthographic Variants: Spellings

Different orthographic variants, for example, spellings, have been noted in both spoken and written corpus for this study. Of particular significance is the systematic use of *-z* spellings, particularly in written corpus as shown below:

- a)...all individuals and **organizations** that contributed to the successful formulation of this Strategic Plan...[LCE]
- b) The College also **recognizes** inputs from different government Ministries, especially
- c) Ministry of Education and Training for the fruitful input and feedback during **finalization** of this Strategic Plan...[LCE]

- d) By 1990, the academic staff was *organized* in three divisions: the Primary, Secondary and In-service Divisions...[LCE]
- e) Lesotho needs to *depoliticize* its civil service...[Post]
- f) The Politics of Public Service Reforms: the Quest for *depolitisised* public service in Lesotho... [WFJ]
- g) At this juncture our review as an *organisation* of good governance and human rights...[WFJ]
- h) The *politicisation* of the Lesotho security sector... [WFJ]

Looking at the above excerpts from the written corpus-based data, one could note systematic use of *-z* spellings, albeit being coupled with sporadic use of *-s* spellings elsewhere as in (**f**, **g** and **h**) in the data. The recurrent orthographic variants of *-z* spelling, though occurring sporadic *-s* spellings in the data are amongst the systematically salient findings of this study. This variation probably echoes Schneider's (2010) attestations that some of the *AmE* orthographic variants have apparently stabilised across the world to such an extent that their American origin has become cumbersome to easily trace.

Other noticeable occurrences include words with doubled consonants, either being removed or inserted, thus aligning with either *BrE* or *AmE*. Examples include *-m*, *-l* and *-ll* spellings for *programs*, *labeled* and *fulfilled* respectively. Furthermore, heteronyms such as *administration* as in Mosisili *administration*....; *among*, and sporadic use of *amongst*; *upon* vs *on*; *toward* vs *towards*, have consistently been found in the written data of the study. The first in each pair of the above prepositions has been found to be more salient, probably with the second just waning because of the *AmE* influence as noted above. Interestingly, the prepositions *amongst* and *upon*, also considered to be more formal, archaic and preferred as *BrE* variants, Carter and McCarthy (2006), have been used sporadically in the data. As such, within these morphosyntactic variations, the above-mentioned alternative lexical variants (hence prepositional variants) between *BrE* and *AmE*, have been noted across the data. As the case in point, the prepositional variant *upon* has been found as follows: *Some of them after the agreement, they don't do what we have agreed upon* [NER]. The question of the house style and/or editorial flaws, regarding the noted inconsistent *-z* and *-s* spellings could not be ruled out in this study. Whether these *-z* or *-s* spellings are typical of idiosyncratic, learner or stabilised variations of *LesE*, further research on the phenomenon could also be crucial.

4.3.2 (De)hyphenation

Dehyphenated lexical items have been found in the written data for this study. As earlier observed hyphenation rules are fairly flexible with two forms often existing – single word and/or hyphenated word compounds (Blanpain, 2008). In any case, below are the following dehyphenated lexical items extracted from the written data:

- a) ...a **one day** meeting with task teams...[LT]
- b) ...mapping was followed by an '**all management' three day** consultation meeting...
- c) ...**broad based** programmes and or **cost cutting** and containment initiatives...[LCE]
- d) ...those seeking **long term** solution approach, those seeking **short term** approach....
- e) ...all these important initiatives need to be **coordinated** and implemented ...[LCE]
- f) Dr Thabane faces a **no confidence** vote...[LT]
- g) In the event of a successful **no confidence** vote...[LT]
- h) No confidence motion [Post]
- i) ..an integral part of business for **long term** survival ad sustainable growth [Faith]

The above examples, each of which functioning here as attributive compound adjectives, have been found as dehyphenated, despite their attributive adjectival function in the running texts. These include *one day*, *broad based*, *cost cutting*, *long term* and *short term* as well as the passive or participle verb *coordinated* as in (a-i), particularly in the written data. Interestingly, all these variants are thus typical of American English spellings. Traditionally, *AmE* tends to dehyphenate or omit a hyphen in words; the variety simply grafts words into fused compounds or as two separate entities, thus forming a compound of two or more separate words, while hyphenation of compounds has reportedly been preferred in *BrE* (Butcher *et al.*, 2006; Meyer, 2009; Quirk *et al.*, 1985; *UJ Manual*, 2015). As Blanpain (2008) observed, hyphenation rules fairly flexibly comprise two forms, though with the recent trending usage typical of compounds composed of single-words and/or independent or separate words, following American English orthography (Blanpain, 2008). Besides, dehyphenation has been exemplified by such words as *percent*, written as one word, thus typifying *AmE*, as opposed to its variant *per cent*, two words, which are typical of *BrE*.

Furthermore, the data have shown the words with the following variable spellings: *or* and *-our* forms, exemplified by *behavior* and/or *behaviour* respectively. While other World Englishes, including *BSAE*, might have had some influence on these variants, studies have reported that until the 18th and the late 19th centuries, spellings of many words had been variable for many reasons. Different spellings at the time were of the Latinate, French, American, statusful, regional as well as literary origin, including the above forms (Bailey, 1996; Görlach, 1999). With *LesE* noted for bearing such lexical variants, the borrowing process from the reference languages and registers could arguably be continuing or be preserved as found in the data sets.

Interestingly, *LesE* as noted in the findings of this study, has not revealed any locally newly coined lexical items, that is what Xing, Ho, Hamzah and Cambria (2017) call culture-bound terms, as has been attested in World Englishes. One of the possible explanations for this is that the data were collected mainly from predominantly formal spoken and written corpus where there was probably limited spontaneity typical of discourse-pragmatics, coupled with ‘*the observer’s paradox*’. Furthermore, *LesE*, probably as an emerging variety, could have more of its varietal features confirmed with further research so as to determine whether it is a learner variety or a stabilised variety (See suggestions for further research, Chapter Five 5.4).

4.3.3 Semantic Shift/Broadening

Some of the most salient lexical items found in the oral and written data for this study include the words *students*, *school*, *pass on* and *secret ballot*. Most interestingly, the study has found the participants use the word *students* with generally the same semantic reference, and extend its meaning to encompass learners and/or pupils at all levels of education that is, primary, secondary and/or high schools as well as higher-learning institutions in Lesotho. This semantic variant of the word *students* has, thus, been found to be systematically recurring across both the oral and written data as in [*NR*, *NER*, *SR*, *CR*, *NUL Senate and Radio presenters*]. Typical examples include the following:

- a) In this school majority of the *students* that do well in English are members of the club
...[*NR teacher*]
- b) English was to be one of the subjects that *students* will pass [*CR teacher*]

- c) We agree as teachers that we are going to force these *students* to speak English [NER teacher]
- d) For the *students* who really like the subject, they do very well... [SR teacher]
- e) Relief for Form E *Students* [referring to high school learners] (Front-page headline)... [PE]
- f) The ministry was aware of the impact the teachers' strike has had on the *students*... [PE]

The above extracts from both the oral and written data are noted for a systematic usage of the word *students* in the domains under investigation for this study. The variant is apparently a feature of semantic extension in progress or something of more or less stabilised variety, given its exclusive recurrence amongst the participants as noted in the data sets. The word has been found to be systemically used with reference to a primary, post-primary level as well as a tertiary educational level. However, the usage contrasts with Strevens' (1972) and Watt's (2016-2017) views that *student* refers to a learner at college or university, and *pupil* is used for a learner at primary and/or secondary school. In this case, the word *pupil* is apparently being semantically reduced, and replaced by that of the word *student*, as shown in the data sets. This usage is apparently on the rise, and, of course further research would be recommended on the phenomenon.

Equally interesting is the sporadic use of the word *school* in the data. Similarly, all the participant teachers, in particular, have been noted for using the word *school*, with the same semantic reference as that of university, tertiary education. As observed earlier, Watt (2016-2017) further states that, while the term *school* is used in both countries, it denotes a learning facility or a centre for children in Britain, on the one hand. On the other hand, the term encompasses places or institutions of higher education such as universities in the United States. With the education system of the Kingdom of Lesotho having been influenced by both the UK, and recently, by the US culture, especially through the mass media and globalisation, it is possible that the interchangeable usages of the words *students* and *school*, in particular, have stabilised, or are likely to stabilise in the foreseeable future in *LesE* lexicon. As evidenced in Schneider (2006), the reportedly phenomenal spread of *AmE* lexis across the world is something apparently making more and more inroads into *BrE* and other World Englishes, while also opening up to more nuances of meanings as English is being nativised worldwide. Otherwise, the salient usage of the words may be consistent with the apparently trending tendencies in World Englishes, the phenomenon which warrants further

investigation. In any case, until such time that *LesE* and probably other lesser researched varieties have become nativised with endonormative variations, the apparently growing influence of *AmE* will remain phenomenal.

Furthermore, the data show the particle verb *pass on* [*NUL Senate*] and the gerundive form *passing* [*MK*] occurring sporadically in the data. The usages are probably an equivalent of the traditional idioms or euphemisms *pass away* and/or *passing away*, meaning *to die* and/or *dying* respectively. On this basis, these lexical items seem to have a semantic extension in the context of *LesE*. Another observation is the phrase *secret ballot*, yet another candidate, with the word *secret* redundantly functioning as an attributive adjective describing the noun *ballot*, within which is the inherent meaning of secrecy of the *electoral* process. The finding attests to one of the salient and cross-cutting variations, also reported based on some anecdotal evidence elsewhere and in African Englishes (Schmied, 1991). While there should be some qualification about this sporadic phenomenon because of the text types on which the data for this study were drawn, significant is the systematicity with which the lexis has been occurring in the data.

Other intriguing variations of semantic extension include the occasional usages observed in both the oral and written data. The following typical examples of the emotive stative verb *love* illustrate: One of the participant teachers, in the narrative interview, has been noted for referring to the students as in *They should love the subject; they should love it...[SR]*. While elsewhere the variant *like* as in *For the students who really like the subject, they do very well...[SR]*, has been noted, the variant *love*, with its inanimate object as in the words *subject* and *it*, in the above sentences, is significant in this study. In addition, other excerpts from the written data show salient occurrences of the same variant *love* as in *I loved how I felt with each visit to her office;.. but I would love to be involved in public service... [Finite of August 2019]*. Interestingly, the variant *love*, here as a noun has been extracted from another edition as follows: *Fantiši adds that her passion for her kind of work is drawn from her love for serving people [Finite of April, 2018]*. While these extracts derive from the magazine feature reports, most probably with the original texts having gone through several editorial stages, the findings highlight one of the increasingly trendy usages. In particular, the participants could be viewed as metaphorising certain phenomena, and using such words as *love* with inanimate objects, thus evoking some semantic extension. The

media texts are amongst the genres which often mix official and informal discourses, hence personalising, informalising and/or colloquialising their products (media texts), a strategy known as a public idiom in the media circles (Fairclough, 1995). The findings also echo Kaburese and Klu's (2014) study where the word *love* was also used with inanimate objects (see Chapter Two). Furthermore, semantic broadening, especially the variant *love* with non-human objects, has been occasional in this study. However, I could not rule out its emerging and trending usage in different genres or registers, including the media texts and interviews, as shown in this study.

Added to these has been the salient usage of the emotive adjective *amazing* as in *I would like to pass my heartfelt gratitude to our **amazing** Lifestyle Contributor, Mokheseng Buti...[Finite, April 2018]; Likeleli had quite an **amazing** and memorable childhood [Finite, August 2019]*. In both instances the word *amazing* seems to be taking upon a new semantic reference, thus suggesting commendable and/or praiseworthy behaviour, or a course of action on the part of the addressee. On this basis, the semantic nuances of the word shift from its traditional or conventional meaning of *extremely surprising* (*Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 2013). Who knows? Adopting narrative interviews with the target teachers, coupled with the media texts, as data collection sources, for this study, might have offered such comparable semantic broadening variants on *LesE*. The media texts belong to one of the categories of an agile style; similarly, narrative interviews are viable platform for emotive language from which such typicalities of semantic extension could arise. Likewise, this phenomenon would, in my opinion, warrant further research, probably with more diverse corpus-based data from more text types on *LesE* in the Kingdom.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented, analysed and interpreted the data for this study. The chapter has, therefore, made general observations of the phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features of *LesE* from both the oral and written data sets for this study. In particular, the chapter has revealed systematic patterns of such phonological aspects as spelling pronunciations, syllable-timing, contrastive stress, syllabic consonants, diphthongisation, neutralisation and stopping. Further, the morphosyntactic variants noted include tense and aspect, deontic and volitional modal system, agreement, relativisation, pronominal appositions, the article system and prepositional idioms. At

the lexical level, the chapter has examined the orthographic variants, including heteronyms, dehyphenation as well as semantic broadening most of which have been drawn from the written data. This chapter has, therefore, found systematically salient patterns of spelling pronunciations, most importantly including yod-dropping, syllable-timed rhythm and lack of syllabic consonants, but aspirated sound patterns in such environments in the oral data sets in focus. Added to these are sporadic patterns of contrastive stress, diphthongal, neutralised as well as alveolar plosive substitutes for interdental (stopping) across the focal corpus-based data.

Furthermore, the chapter has found, as most salient, such morphosyntactic variants as invariant relativiser - *that*-form, coupled with sporadic pronominal relativisers - *wh*-forms, quasi-modal *have to*, *need to* and their sporadic core modal counterparts *must* and *should*, as well as the volitional *will* and *be going to* over the core modal *shall*. Other noticeable morphosyntactic variants include the extension of the progressive aspect to statives, with some levelling processes of the preterite and the perfect aspect respectively. Even more significantly salient has been the article system, especially zero article, together with indiscriminate insertions and substitutions, reportedly found with consistent realisation in both the oral and written data. Most importantly, exophoric *the*, traditionally used to refer to immediate situational and/or physical locations as well as unique entities in extralinguistic contexts, has been found to be systematic in the data sets. Besides, the study has observed sporadic use of the appositional pronouns, as well as prepositional idioms, particularly *in*, *for* and *with*, being amongst the most commonly used and abused central prepositions in World Englishes. At the lexical level, the data have shown systematic patterns of orthographic variants, with some leaning towards *AmE*.

While the factors of language contact have reportedly been significant in language variation as is probably the case in this study, it is also worth noting the role of universal principles, including the generalised theory of utterance selection (Croft, 2000). In this view, language variation has been noted as part of systematic mechanisms of evolution and vernacular universals, both of which considered to be purely internal to language (Croft, 2000; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). This natural course of linguistic change has reportedly been attested by historical linguists, arguing that there were no other extreme linguistic borrowings than normal courses in history even during the 250 years of the Norman Conquest in the Middle English period.

Further explanation for a possibly emerging *LesE* could be drawn on the notion of variability in human language, the feature which can be traced to such classical observations about Sanskrit and Latin as espoused by the Sanskrit grammarian, Panini and the Roman Polymath, Varro (Chambers, 2003). To these is added the Labovian language variation theory, which views language as naturally heterogeneous. According to this view, language varies everywhere; variability of language is everywhere (Tagliamonte, 2006). The chapter has further found *LesE* as manifesting both exonormative and endonormative trajectories symbolic of reversion to the Old English variants from which modern-day English has borrowed many phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical variants (Davy, 2000; Mesthrie, 1995, 2006; Ragnarsson, 2011). The notable features are largely comparable to World Englishes, particularly *BSAE* and the two reference varieties. The afore-stated phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical variants could further be explained with a view to internal factors - sentence length and syntactic functions and external factors - genres or text types. As such, drawing on the sociolinguistic and World Englishes literature, *LesE* could be argued to be systematically bearing some nativised features comparable to World Englishes and superstrate varieties, the stability of which could be determined with further research. As such, the findings of this study would most probably throw light on *LesE* as a potentially emerging variety, with its innovative and creative propensity, thereby cohering with the Kachruvian plurocentric paradigm and nativisation on English World Wide. Whether as a potentially learner or a stabilised variety, *LesE* could be viewed as a linguistic complex of substratal, superstratal and universal tendencies, deciphered within the framework of sociolinguistic and World Englishes studies. In the next chapter, the conclusions of the study are presented.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Introduction

Chapter Five presents the main findings and implications of the study. The chapter also presents contributions as well as limitations of the study. Besides, suggestions for further research and overall conclusions of the study are considered in this chapter. Before delving into the summative aspects of the chapter, it is prudent to remind readers of the thesis statement, purpose, research

questions and objectives of this particular study, including the extent to which the study has achieved the purpose. It is crucial to reiterate that the purpose of this study was to investigate the Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho. As such, premised on the principles of the qualitative research design and methodology, this study set out to answer the following specific research questions: Is there any emerging variety worthy of the name Lesotho English amongst the Basotho in Lesotho? If any, to what extent is such a variety critical in defining *LesE* at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon? and What similarities and differences between *LesE* and Sub-Saharan Southern African Englishes, particularly *BSAE* and/or other World Englishes? In order to answer the above-mentioned research questions, the study has, therefore, achieved its specific objectives as shown with the following findings on which conclusions are also drawn and recommendations made.

5.1 Summary of the Main Findings

This section presents the main findings of the study, with a focus on general observations at the following levels: phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features of *LesE* from both the oral and written data sets for this study. In particular, having examined such phonological features of *LesE*, the study has found some systematic salient variants across a wide spectrum of the units of analysis for the study, as in participants from the *Ultimate Radio*, *the PCFM* and *LTV*, as well as *CR*, *NR*, *NER*, *SR*, *CJ*, *Legal practitioners*, *PM*, *MK* and *NUL Senate*, respectively.

Of significance, the oral data sets for the study have revealed salient features of spelling pronunciations, the phenomena which have also been reported in both established and World Englishes, East African Englishes as well as *BSAE* (Melchers & Shaw, 2003; Mesthrie, 2005). While the above-mentioned pronunciation variants have been observed, of course with some qualitative differences, in both native and non-native English varieties, it could be argued that there are general tendencies of spelling pronunciations in World Englishes, with *LesE* probably emerging with such typical variations. Such tendencies could further be explained with reference to trending usages in traditional Englishes, marking a reversion to some of the original sound patterns of source languages such as Latin, Greek, French, and, of course, Old English, from which modern-day English derived much of its lexicon, including various sound patterns (Algeo, 2010; Brown, 1991; Deterding & Mohamad, 2016; Mesthrie, 2005; Wells, 2008). It could further be

argued that following Webster's view on the American English, one of the distinctive features of simplifying *AmE* was spelling pronunciation (Hossenzadeh *et al.*, 2015). Even most interesting about these findings is the spelling pronunciation of the word *students*, which has been one of the most systematically salient words in the oral data sets. In almost every occurrence of use by the participants as observed in the oral data, the word *students* has been realised, not only with full vowel sound patterns, hence without any syllabic consonants; rather, it has also been realised with the shorter vowel sound [u], thus dropping or eliding the semi-vowel sound [ju], also called yod-dropping, and displaying an *AmE* accent, symbolised as [u], after the non-continuant [t] in the first syllable of the word *students* (Chambers, 2002; Glain 2012; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Further noted is that, while yod-dropping could be seen as coherent with *AmE* in this study, we cannot rule out the possibility of its phenomenal trend, a change in progress as reported on other related words in some northern parts as well as East Anglia in the UK (Chambers, 2002; Glain, 2012).

Also noticeable in the oral data sets is systematic syllable-timing which has been found in the spoken corpora. Closely related to this feature has been a recurrence of stress patterns signalled, amongst others, by an equal duration of all syllables in the words in focus. Further to this has been the absence of the central vowel *schwa* [ə], hence *LesE* differing from RP. Also worth mentioning are consistent features of aspiration of syllabic consonants or lateral sounds, the feature which is coherent with many World Englishes, as well as with *AmE* syllabic sound patterns to some degree. The oral data have revealed shifted stress marking of the syntactic category of words. To these are features of indiscriminate or lack of contrastive stress involving certain lexical items which would otherwise warrant such an accentual behaviour in RP. While these salient variations might be characteristic of *LesE*, probably with some qualitative differences from speaker to another, they echo general tendencies and/or trending usages featuring World Englishes across the globe, with *AmE* apparently leading in certain sound patterns as noted above. However, as a point of departure, Sesotho bears no clear-cut stress patterns, except for penultimate lengthening, especially of the syllable before the last one in polysyllabic words in Sesotho (Demuth, 2007; *Language Manual* 11, 1996). Interestingly, while this penultimate lengthening sporadically occurs in polysyllabic words in Sesotho, it might have a bearing on *LesE*, with overtones of a substratal variety resonating with Kachru's (1982, 1992) nativisation of English in the outer-circle contexts. Such recurrence

has been found in many di-syllabic and polysyllabic words, with both and/or all syllables stressed regardless of their ‘naturally’ weak patterns in traditional Englishes as shown above.

As in any other World Englishes, *LesE* has been found to bear some diphthongal sounds as reflected in the oral data from the media, teachers, academics and the public officials. Elsewhere Southeast Asian as well as East African Englishes, studies have witnessed the phenomenon of monophthongisation over diphthongisation. However, in the case of *LesE*, diphthongisation has been found to be more qualitatively salient than monophthongisation, though differing from speaker to speaker. However, noted as one of the transversal phenomena, diphthongisation, as well as monophthongisation, seems to be different from variety to another, and still from region to region, each of which involving certain phonemes in a given context. As such, it is possible that having more or less similar phonemes for analysis being examined across regions, would shed lighter than would currently be visible. With *LesE* as having drawn on *BrE* as the historical variety, and of course, with some language-contact experience with *AmE* since the 1970s, one would ask whether the noticeable diphthongisation resonates with *BrE*, or whether it is just a matter of simplification or creativity, more especially when it differs from other regional Englishes as reviewed in the literature for this study.

Equally intriguing is that *LesE*, as shown by the oral data, reveals systematic features of lack of short and long vowel contrasts or distinctions. Probably because of the feature of penultimate lengthening, sporadically occurring in polysyllabic words in Sesotho, *LesE* might have had this mapped onto or crept into the sound patterns noted. However, probably as the point of departure from other World English varieties, *LesE* vowel patterns, in my view, lie somewhere between short and long vowels, with more salient patterns of half-long vowel sounds for the majority of the words noted across the data. Factored into this variation, as in the spoken corpus for this study, have been salient features of tone or pitch, coupled with diphthongal patterns of *LesE*. Such variations could probably be attributed to the phonemic inventory of the seven-vowel system of Sesotho, slightly different from other Bantu languages.

Moreover, sporadic patterns of stopping, that is substitution of alveolar plosives for interdental, have been noted in the oral data (*NUL Senate, teachers* as well as *the media*). The phenomenon of

the alveolar stops [t] and [d] replacing interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð] has been reported elsewhere in World Englishes, including African Englishes (Görlach, 1991; Kachru, 1986; Platt *et al.*, 1984). The oral data have shown recurrent use of what could be an alveolar plosive sound [d] noted. However, studies conducted by Mochaba (1992) and Rapeane (1997) have found production differences between the voiced word-initial [d] and voiceless [t], plosive stops by Sesotho first-language speakers. That the voiceless [t] tends to replace the voiced [d] in *Sesotho*, has also been observed by Demuth (2007) and *Language Manual* (1996) in their studies on Southern Sotho where Sesotho was found as having no phoneme [d]; instead, the phoneme [d] has an allophonic variant [l], most especially in environments where it is followed by high-mid vowels [i] and [u] respectively in Sesotho. Besides, the voiced interdental fricative [ð] has been found to be more marked and difficult to produce than the voiceless interdental fricative [θ] even amongst the English monolingual speakers (Cornwell & Rafat, 2017). While the findings for this study could echo the view on the differential production of the two interdentals as noted elsewhere, the point of departure is that *LesE* not only bears systematic stopping involving the absence of [ð], but it also highlights some unique variations of the voiceless plosive [t] quality sound as an allophone of the voiced [d] due to a lack of the phoneme *d* in Southern Sesotho; the findings further cast light on salient variation as in the voiceless [t] as replacing the voiced interdental [ð], rather than the interdental [θ] in the word-initial positions as observed in World Englishes including RP (Cornwell & Rafat, 2017; Demuth, 2007; *Language Manual*, 1996).

In addition, the morphosyntactic variants observed include the progressive aspect and levelling process, the modal system, agreement, relativisation, pronominal appositions, the article system and prepositional idioms. Without being necessarily categorical, however, with some qualitative evidence, the data for this study have pointed to systematic morphosyntactic variants drawn from both the oral and written texts under study. As noted earlier, morphosyntactic variation is concerned with word-formation processes and sentence structures. As observed in this study, these variants include the progressive aspect and levelling process, agreement, modal system, relativisation, articles and prepositional verbs. Of particular significance is that, the study has found the trending progressive aspect, coupled with its extension to the statives in both oral and written data. Even more striking is the stative verb *have*, which has been occurring systematically with relatively notable salience in the oral data than in the written data for this study. This recurring

usage probably draws on the analogy or semantic template where the non-possessive *have* could change the verbal category' (Haboňová, 2014; Leech, 2004), thereby expressing certain actions or events in the progressive aspect *having* as stated in Chapters Two and Four. Similarly, the communicative verb *say* has been noted for recurrent usage in the progressive aspect *saying* in the oral data, with more salient systematic patterns, particularly amongst the teachers, academics and the media. While the verb, according to Biber *et al.* (2002), could be used in the progressive aspect to indicate high involvement and vivid sense on the part of the speaker, with Jenkins (2014) associating the progressive with 'attention caching', hence prominence, the progressive extension could be argued for being coherent with the trending conversational overtones and American influence in this study. Of course, the influence of the Basotho cultural and oral logic as well as that of other Bantu languages could not be ruled out in this regard, more especially because both the simple and progressive aspect is simplified, rendering any distinction blurred between the two (Makalela, 2007; Rapeane, 1997). While the phenomenon of language contact may be significant, the trending progressive usage and its extension to the stative verbs may be mainly attributed to conversational discourses (Biber *et al.*, 2002). The notion of vernacular universal principles and/or tendencies abounding in all world languages Chambers (2003) cannot categorically be ruled out as bearing on the variability of *LesE* in this study.

Other morphosyntactic variations noted in this study involve both grammatical and notional concord. One of the most salient findings (both in the oral and written data) noted for this study is that collective nouns consistently occur with the singular verb concord. With the majority of the collective noun variants in the subject position, they are each viewed as the single unit, coupled, amongst others, with the singular non-human pronoun *it*, the singular emphatic pronoun *itself* and the singular possessive determiner/adjective *its* respectively. Interestingly, with Lesotho having largely been orientated to the historical variety of *BrE*, because of the colonial history, of course with some sociolinguistic and language contact with the US since the 1970s Ambrose (2007), this usage probably marks trending inclination towards *AmE*, the feature which has been reported elsewhere in World Englishes (Biber *et al.*, 2002; Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Furthermore, for Huddleston and Pullum (2002), if singular or plural collectives are used with such singular determiners as *its*, they should take a singular verb in the sentence. As stated above, such a usage is common in *AmE* and/or in informal contexts. This usage is notably

one of the most salient findings for this study, the feature which probably highlights some of the most glaring varietal aspects of *LesE*. The phenomenon could be viewed as largely resonating with *AmE*, where collective nouns in the subject position are often taken as a single unit as noted above. In the same vein, from the Bantu language logic, for the most part, collectives, used either in the subject or object position, are cast as a single unit, thus occurring with the singular subjectival markers [*e*] and [*se*] respectively, (see Chapter Four). On this basis, any overgeneralisation of such semantic concord into English-second language is possible, thus marking nativised, acculturated or endonormative variations of English (Kachru, 1986a; Schneider, 2003, 2007), in the sociolinguistic situation of Lesotho.

In addition, included in the morphosyntactic variations is the modal system, composed of both core and quasi-modals: *must*, *should*, *shall* and *will* and *have to*, *need* and *be going to* respectively. Most probably, in accord with the trending usage, the two central deontic modals, *should* and *must* with the latter being the most affected by the quasi-modals, have been witnessed though with varied occurrences in this study. The study has found sporadic usages of *should* across the corpus, while *must* has mainly been confined to legal, official and instructional discourses, thus showing its traditional Latinate or bookish tendencies and resonating with such outer-circle Englishes as in *IndE* and *KenE* and traditional *BrE* respectively. As, such used mainly such formal discourses as shown in the oral data, *must* could not be perceived as having the same illocutionary force of politeness exemplified by *should* in the literature as observed on *BSAE* (Bowerman, 2004b; Buthelezi, 1995; Lass, 2004). In this way, the deontic modal *must* could be argued as taking up a more traditional overtone of its root function than that noted in *BSAE*, thus marking the point of departure of *LesE* from the neighbouring nativised variety and other World Englishes.

Further striking is that the quasi-modals *have to* and *need to* have had salient occurrences, though with a varied degree or qualitative differences in the data. With the recurrent usages of the semi-modals *have to*, together with the corresponding past form *had to*, and *need to*, also with the latter (*need to*) apparently competing with *have to* in the oral data for the study, *LesE* could not categorically be considered to be as auxiliarised as *BrE* and *AmE*. Rather, *LesE* could be perceived as having or beginning to have some tendencies of an emerging variety, bearing some of the superstratal varietal usages typical of the superstrate varieties noted above. The finding is,

therefore, probably consistent with the view that the core or canonical modals *should* and *must* have increasingly been displaced by such emerging semi-modals as *have (got) to* and *need to* respectively (Loureiro-Porto, 2016). Such a shift has been viewed as marking historical processes of on-going changes, thus being coupled with the rise of the functioning paradigm case of grammatical changes since the nineteenth century (Krug, 2000).

Equally interesting are the central modals *shall* and *will*, with the former gradually getting out of usage and/or being displaced by the latter and the semi-modal *be going to* coming into play, respectively. Of the three modals, the modal *will* has been used not only systematically, but it has also been used with robust salience, occurring with different human and non-human subjects across the spoken and written corpora. The public speeches, interviews, the media presenters, the NUL Senators and legal practitioners have been noted for the salient use of the modal *will*, as opposed to sporadic use of *shall* and *be going to*. The findings have, thus, shown systematic patterns of the central modal *will*, expressing categorical prediction and volition, occurring with different noun phrase subjects in the corpus under study. This finding probably suggests the trending usage of *will* in contemporary English, the core modal, which, for some scholars, for instance, Carter and McCarthy (2006), is neutral, and can stand for both *shall* and *may*. However, the modal *will* has been found to be gradually overtaking *shall*, thus becoming extremely common in contemporary English, more especially in conversational contexts. Noted for recurrently using the core modal *will* in various text types under study, *LesE* is probably resonant with the trending usage of *will*. In this way, *LesE* could be coherent with the colloquialisation thesis and Americanisation Biber *et al.* (2002) and Bouer (1994), and with Coates & Leech's (1980) notion of the universalisation of the modal *will* in *AmE*.

Morphosyntax in this study has further been characterised by relativisation strategies, with invariant relativiser seemingly leading in both spoken and written texts under study. However, there is an interplay between the pronominal relativisers *which* and *who* and the invariable *that*, the multi-purpose form, in some of the texts in focus, more especially official, legal, the media and teachers' discourses, thus suggesting some degree of formality or Latinity as observed in some World Englishes, including 'bookish' Indian English (Sánchez-Górmez, 2014). On the other hand, the findings have shown more salient use of the invariant relativiser *that*, in the corpus. Not only

has the invariable relativiser featured both modern-day *BrE* and *AmE*, but it has also reportedly surfaced in other outer-circle Englishes including *BSAE*, of course with the likely influence of the colloquialisation thesis (Bouer, 1994; Suárez-Gómez, 2014). The invariable relativiser *that* seems to have been outcompeting pronominal relativisers *which* and *who*, in many registers, the phenomenon which has reportedly been more noticeable in American English and coherent with the *That-rule*. *That-rule*, of course, has first been prescribed, and/or has been attributed to the colloquialisation thesis and densification, as well as to journalistic discourse (Bouer, 1994; Szmrecsanyi & Bohmann, 2015). Coupled with such striking features as the intrusive pied-piping and prepositional stranding, the use of invariable relativiser would arguably be one of the trending morphosyntactic variations associated with *LesE* as has been the case with modern-day *AmE* and *BrE*, with the former leading even other emerging Englishes.

Moreover, the study has noted systematic variants of appositional pronouns. Considered to be one of the grammatical aspects, increasing cognitive transparency, appositional pronouns have been found to be common in spoken discourse, especially in World Englishes (Suárez-Gómez, 2014). With particularly the oral data showing recurrence of such structures, Sesotho, as one of the topic-comment languages, has probably had substratal varietal effects on *LesE*. Even more importantly, appositional pronouns have been considered to be a morpho-pragmatic and discourse function, often arising from spontaneous conversational pressures for managing conversation. Further, the phenomenon has the processing effect, and derives from complex structures with some intervening or intrusive material or phrases separating the antecedental NP (subject) from the *shadow pronoun* (Marungudzi, 2016; Mesthrie, 1997). Such structures have significantly featured the oral data, as in participant teachers, talk show presenters and academics observed in for study. While this phenomenon has been considered marginal in established Englishes, its salient patterns in *LesE* could largely be attributed to the noun-class prefix - and subject-concord marking phenomenon noted in topic-comment languages, as opposed to the subject-prominent language such as English.

Morphosyntax then involves grammatical or functional words such as articles, preposition and conjunctions in English. Articles, being amongst the lexical items posing challenges for both native and non-native speakers of English, have been used unsystematically in this data for study. While the unsystematic use of articles involves omissions, substitution and insertions within clauses or

sentences, the most salient observation has been the zero article, particularly the omission of definite article *the* across the corpora. The variant has been even more noticeable in cases of immediate, unique situational contexts. This exophoric *the*, which is used in extralinguistic environments and/or general knowledge of the participants Mojapelo (2007) on Northern Sotho, serves to single out or identify supposedly familiar or shared referents or entities in immediate physical locations of specific communities from the traditional English perspective (Master, 2002). However, for the most part, especially with reference to entities or bodies with unique public function in the data, the zero definite article has been recurrent. The salient use of the zero article in *LesE* Mojapelo (2007) could be attributed to the Northern Sotho logic, hence comparable to Southern Sotho, where definiteness could be determined, amongst others, by demonstrative and possessive determinatives, as well as proper names. According to this view, Northern Sotho, as one of the non-articled-languages, generally uses the above-mentioned determinatives to enhance both locatability and unique identifiability of the referent within the immediate and broader situational environment in the *Sothoised* discourse. Despite being amongst the top ten most frequently occurring words in English, the article system has been deemed to be notoriously complex and complicated even to native speakers. Besides being one of the challenging usages, the phenomenon of the article system could largely have been a matter of the substratum influence, that is language transfer from Sesotho into *LesE*.

Other functional words, here central prepositions *in*, *with*, *for*, *of* and *on*, have been used both in their surface and grammaticalised meanings. The study has found *in* used with place names, substituting for the preposition *at*, the variant which is inclined towards *AmE* (Trudgill & Hannah, 1982). On this basis, it could be speculated whether these variants are indicative of the increasing *AmE* influence on World Englishes including *LesE*. Further noted is the preposition *for* in place of *on*, being one of the most salient features occurring in the data sets as in [*MK, the Media*]. The usage of *for* could be drawing on the semantic template such as *my thanksgiving for...* and *my gratitude for....*, two of which are amongst the most frequently occurring expressive forms in discourse-pragmatics. However, these particular functional words have thus been found to be posing challenges, otherwise reflecting some distinctive variations to English non-native speakers (Van de Poel, Carsten & Linnegar, 2012). Distinctive prepositional idioms observed in the data

apparently mark trending variational features of *LesE*, as also reported on other outer-circle Englishes, including *BSAE* (Buthelezi, 1995; de Klerk, 2006; Platt *et al.*, 1984).

At the lexical level, the study has found a number of lexical and orthographic variants including alternative spellings, heteronyms and (de)hyphenation and words with semantic extension. -z spellings have been used systematically, and alternated with sporadic use of -s spellings elsewhere in the written data across the board. This variation probably echoes one of Schneider's attestations that some of the *AmE* orthographic variants or spellings have apparently stabilised across the world to such an extent that, it has become cumbersome to easily trace their American origin. Other noticeable spelling variants include words with doubled consonants removing and double consonants insertion as in -m, -l and -ll spellings: *programs* and *labeled*; and *fulfilled* respectively as well as heteronyms such as *administration* and dehyphenated words as in *cooperaiton*, *coordinator*. The words *students* and *school*, which in *AmE*, denote a learner at any level and any educational institutions respectively, as opposed to specified or narrowed denotations in *BrE*, have been salient and used with *AmE* overtones in the data for this study. Besides, the words *love*, *secret ballot* and *amazing* have been observed in this study, with *love* used with inanimate objects, and *secret ballot* used with such redundancy, thus confirming reports on *BSAE* and elsewhere. These systematic patterns of lexical items as noted in the study could probably echo the trending usages of World Englishes to which even *BrE* has apparently begun to succumb.

Most interestingly, *LesE* has not reportedly been found, (at least in this study), to bear any newly coined lexical items, with new semantic reference, as reviewed in other World Englishes, including African Englishes, including *BSAE*, close to Lesotho. Of course, having collected the spoken and written data mainly from formal and semi-formal texts, with the cross-sectional design, the study probably had limited spontaneous interaction, coupled with 'the observer's paradox'. Most probably as an emerging variety, *LesE* could have its varietal features, (whether as a learner or a stabilised variety), confirmed with further research, with a focus on oral data, I would suggest. (See suggestions for further research below).

In the final analysis, it could be argued that while *LesE* cannot not categorically be worthy of the name World English, it, in this case, has been revealed as a possible variety used by the

professional groups sampled for this study. The variety has been analysable at phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical levels, thus typifying some features of the established Englishes and World Englishes. Finally, *LesE* has manifested features, some of which are most probably unique to the sociolinguistic context of Lesotho, and the phenomena could further be invalidated with further research.

5.2 Contributions of the Study

Considering the above-stated main findings of this study, *LesE* could be explained with a view to internal and external factors or principles. External factors include both substratal and superstratal influence on *LesE* as a possible World English variety. As such, drawing on the literature on varietal features of traditional *BrE* and *AmE* and World Englishes, particularly African Englishes including *BSAE*, to which *LesE* is comparable as noted in the chapter, it could be argued that *LesE* systematically bears some cross-varietal tendencies of an emerging variety, seen in light of both World Englishes and superstrate varieties. In addition, *LesE* has been noted for some unique nativised features, the stability of which could be determined with further research (Davy, 2000; Mesthrie, 1995, 2006; Ragnarsson, 2011). In this way, it could further be argued that this study on *LesE*, like other studies on the same phenomena, has the potential of contributing not only to the existing conceptual, theoretical and empirical body of knowledge on sociolinguistic and World Englishes studies, but also to policy-making decisions and practice on the sociolinguistic grounds. In particular, language practitioners, be they teachers, copy-editors, academics, the media fraternity, students, and of course, any other language interest groups, whether in Lesotho or elsewhere, could benefit from the findings of this study in different ways.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

Like any other study, this study has had some limitations, despite the ideal purpose of gathering rich and in-depth data for analysis on the phenomena of *LesE*. One of the drawbacks is that the sample could have included grammaticality tasks and focus groups of high school students and staff meetings of the selected schools. Also planned was to examine research projects of the students from both the LCE and NUL. Besides two strategic plan documents by the National University of Lesotho and the Lesotho College of Education, the plan was to observe live senate meetings of the same institutions. However, due to the Covid 19 pandemic and related logistical

constraints, some of the initial plans became impossible, the feature which might have impacted on the results of this study. In any case, the study has considerably achieved its main objectives. These, as noted above, include the possibly emerging variety of *LesE*, the English variety which is not only comparable to other World Englishes and consonant with language variation theories reviewed, but the variety which has also shed light on conceptual understanding of sociolinguistics of English, policy implications and practice regarding English as used in the Kingdom of Lesotho.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Considering some of the constraints for this study, it would be prudent to suggest some of the possible future research directions, most probably building on and/or taking over from this particular study. Of course, to my knowledge this project could have been one of the baseline or exploratory studies, focusing on Lesotho English on a considerably larger scale. While this study has examined *LesE* at the various levels phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon, analysing different genres/text types and registers, it has cast light on the phenomena of *LesE*. The study has thus highlighted a possibly emerging variety, thus opening some avenues for future researchers to further explore these variations, probably using mixed-methods designs in other sociolinguistic domains. Further research could explore not only sociolinguistic variables, but it could also investigate extralinguistic variables such as age, gender, social classes and geographical regions of the sociolinguistic situation of Lesotho, to mention just a few. Finally, and most interestingly, without necessarily being exhaustive, further research could be in the direction of shedding light on *LesE* at the level of discourse-pragmatics in this particular sociolinguistic situation.

5.5 Conclusion

This study would conclude with the claim that *LesE* bears features which are unique, making it a potentially emerging variety, while it is, at the same time, comparable to other World Englishes as observed within the framework of sociolinguistic and World Englishes studies. *LesE* has further been noted for being consonant with language variation theories, as espoused particularly by the Kachruvian pluricentric paradigm and nativisation of English World Wide. It could also be argued that this variety status is likely to have some implications for practice and policy, with potentially increasing understanding of the English variety used in Kingdom of Lesotho and elsewhere.

General tendencies noted on *LesE* could be explained with reference particularly to language variation and World Englishes and general cognitive tendencies towards simplification and early input language influence, thus noting not only substrate, but also superstrate influence on sociolinguistics of *LesE*. Like other World Englishes: outer-circle and inner-circle, *LesE* has been noted for the phonological and morphosyntactic innovations and creativity, and to a lesser extent, lexical phenomena of innovations and creativity, which according to Deshors *et al.* (2016), are typical of ESL because of being acquired in relatively natural contexts in the post-colonial countries, where ESL is enhancing and being enhanced by ENL (Kachru, 2006). While such innovative usages may be considered as changing intended meanings from the native-speaker perspective Jibril (1991), background languages have been found to be shaping World Englishes, particularly Asian and African Englishes (Platt *et al.*, 1984). In conclusion, the same phenomena of innovations in *LesE* would not be ruled out in this study, albeit having to be further evidenced with future research.

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APENDICES

Appendix 1 Sample Research Questions for Narrative Interviews with Target Teachers

- a) How long have you been working as a teacher in the Kingdom of Lesotho?
- b) Where did you first work as a teacher of English language?
- c) What is your opinion about the teaching of English language in Lesotho?
- d) Would you observe any challenges facing the English language teaching in Lesotho?
- e) If so, would you suggest any solutions?
- f) Any other comments?

Appendix 2 Letter of the Research Ethical Clearance for Fieldwork

GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

30-Oct-2019

Dear Mr Hala Hala, Mokhoele MA

Application Approved

Research Project Title:

Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho

Ethical Clearance number:

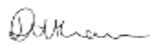
UFS-HSD2019/1458

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. Furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Prof Derek Litthauer

Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee



Digitally signed
by Derek
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The Dean
Faculty of Humanities
The National University of Lesotho
P. O. Roma 180
Roma

19 May 2020
Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Application for Conducting an Observation at the NUL Senate Meetings

I cordially wish to request permission to conduct an observation of the Senate meetings under the Topic: “*Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho*”. I am currently studying for a doctoral degree in Linguistics under the supervision of Professor Kobus Marais and Co-supervisor Professor Susanne Mühleissen at the University of the Free State. As part of the programme, I should be doing research, and I have selected, with your permission, the National University of Lesotho Senate as one of my research sites for the study.

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience, thus thanking you in advance for your consideration of my request.

Yours faithfully

Mokhoele Aaron Hala-hala
(PhD Student: 2002037501)

UFS.

Cell: +266 5840 3924/6383 2503

13 November 2019

The Chief Education Officer
The Ministry of Education and Training
P. O. Box 47
Maseru 100

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Application for permission to conduct a study at selected high schools in Lesotho

I hereby request permission to conduct research about variation in English as a second language in the Kingdom of Lesotho. I am currently studying for a doctoral degree in Linguistics at the University of the Free State (UFS) in South Africa. The title of the study is “Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho”.

This study has been registered at the UFS and has received ethical clearance through the official UFS structures. The ethical clearance number is UFS-HSD2019/1458. The research entails that I observe selected classes and interview selected learners and teachers to gather data. The data that I am interested in is merely the way they speak English.

I have selected the following schools for data collection:

- Lesotho High School (Maseru)
- Holy Names High School (Berea)
- Leribe English Medium High School (Leribe)
- Tšakholo High School (Mafeteng)

The study is supervised by Prof Kobus Marais from the UFS (Phone: +27 51 401 2798; e-mail: jmarais@ufs.ac.za) and co-supervised by Prof Susanne Mühleisen from the University of Bayreuth in Germany (e-mail: susanne.muehleisen@uni-bayreuth.de).

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience, thus thanking you in advance for your consideration of my request.

Yours faithfully



Mokhoele Aaron Hala-hala

(PhD Student: 2002037501)



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UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIBESITHI YA FRIFISTATA



13 November 2019

The Deputy Rector: Academic Affairs
The Lesotho College of Education
P. O. Box 1393
Maseru 100

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Application for permission to conduct a study at Lesotho College of Education

I hereby request permission to conduct research about variation at your institution in English as a second language in the Kingdom of Lesotho. I am currently studying for a doctoral degree in Linguistics at the University of the Free State (UFS) in South Africa. The title of the study is "Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho".

This study has been registered at the UFS and has received ethical clearance through the official UFS structures. The ethical clearance number is UFS-HSD2019/1458. The research entails that I observe senate meetings. The data that I am interested in is merely the possible variants in language use. If you grant me the privilege of observing senate meetings, I would request to be introduced just as an observer in order for senators not to feel intimidated or otherwise influenced by my presence. The content of the meeting will be treated confidentially and the data will be used in such a way that it does not identify persons or topics of discussion.

The study is supervised by Prof Kobus Marais from the UFS (Phone: +27 51 401 2798; e-mail: jmarais@ufs.ac.za) and co-supervised by Prof Susanne Mühleisen from the University of Bayreuth in Germany (e-mail: susanne.muehleisen@uni-bayreuth.de).

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UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIBESITHI YA FREISTATA



13 November 2019

The Registrar
National University of Lesotho
P. O. Roma 180
Roma

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Application for permission to conduct a study at the National University of Lesotho

I hereby request permission to conduct research about variation at your institution in English as a second language in the Kingdom of Lesotho. I am currently studying for a doctoral degree in Linguistics at the University of the Free State (UFS) in South Africa. The title of the study is "Sociolinguistics of Lesotho English in the Kingdom of Lesotho".

This study has been registered at the UFS and has received ethical clearance through the official UFS structures. The ethical clearance number is UFS-HSD2019/1458. The research entails that I observe senate meetings. The data that I am interested in is merely the possible variants in language use. If you grant me the privilege of observing senate meetings, I would request to be introduced just as an observer in order for senators not to feel intimidated or otherwise influenced by my presence. The content of the meeting will be treated confidentially and the data will be used in such a way that it does not identify persons or topics of discussion.

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