VARIATION ACCORDING TO CONTEXT IN A SECOND LANGUAGE: A STUDY INTO THE EFFECTS OF FORMALITY ON THE ENGLISH USED BY GHANAIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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DECLARATION

This thesis and the research on which it is based are my own work.
ABSTRACT

The present study focuses on interpersonal relationships as one of the most important sources of contextual variation in the English of Ghanaian University students. The assumption being made is that a well-established variety is one that shows linguistic variation in the wide range of contexts in which it is used (Kachru 1983). When a non-native variety attains this status it is no longer appropriate to look at it as an interlanguage or a deviant form of native English (NE). Previous studies have suggested, however, that the salient features of Ghanaian English (GE) include deviations from native norms, general over-formality and unusual lexical items and expressions. Thus the null hypothesis is that GE lacks contextual variation.

Chapter 1 is a discussion of the historical and social background to the use of English in Ghana and claims that English is now used in a wide range of contexts including both institutionalised and non-institutionalised domains. This is followed by a review of the related studies (Ch. 2) and a discussion of the sociolinguistic approach adopted in the investigation of formality (Ch. 3).

A preliminary study (Ch. 4) conducted to test the null hypothesis and to establish the most important questions for the main study found variation in lexico-grammatical and discourse patterns between the two texts analysed.

Following this, both spoken and written data characterised by varying social distance (coded 1-5) were collected during fieldwork (Ch. 5) in Ghana from January to March 1990. This was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively (Chs. 6-9) for variation in respect of selected lexico-grammatical and discourse features and the results discussed in relation to the features of the contexts in which the texts were produced.

It was found that (a) there was a cline of variation in the use and frequency of these linguistic features among text-types produced in contexts characterised by different levels of social distance, (b) three levels of formality (high, mid and low) could be reliably established on this cline, (c) the characteristics of high formality (HF) were to be found in institutionalised discourses and those of low formality (LF) in casual situations, (d) the features of HF were similar to those of standard NE while LF showed greater Ghanaian Language (GL) influences.

These findings are summarised in Ch. 10 and their implications for (a) the status of GE and similar varieties, (b) the description, codification and recognition in education of non-native English models, (c) the national language issue, (d) language spread and
change (e) cross-cultural communication, and (f) the role of corpus development in descriptions of NNEs are discussed. The study ends by making recommendations for further research based on a larger corpus collected from a wider range of sources.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The list of persons and institutions to whom I am grateful for various kinds of assistance is rather long but this is natural in a study which has taken a little more than three years to complete.

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It is now left for me to mention that none of these people is in any way responsible for the inadequacies of this research. Mea culpa, mea maxima culpa.

DEDICATION

To Apanyin, who 'slept and did not wake up'.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

Language varieties
AE American English
BE British English
GE Ghanaian English
GL(s) Ghanaian language(s)
NE Native English
NNE(s) Non-Native variety(s) of English
NVE(s) Native variety(s) of English

Text-types
Written
WPL Personal letters
WIL Impersonal letters
WMM Meeting minutes
WSR Resolutions
WNA Noticeboard articles
WAE Academic essays
WSJ Student journal articles
Spoken
STD Tutorial deliveries
SGT Religious testimonies
SFF Face-to-face speeches
SPS Public speeches
SIN Interviews
SCC Casual conversations
SFQ Face-to-face question and answer session
SGQ Question-and-answer session by members of religious group
SMT Meeting discussions
SAD academic discussions.

Linguistic features
LD Lexical Density
RG(s) Rankshifted group(s)
RC(s) Rankshifted claus(es)
DSD(s) Discourse structuring device(s)
INTRODUCTION

Ever since it attained the status of an international language, the nature and functions of the English language outside its ancestral home have interested scholars. In a sense the present research is a reflection of the continued interest in the subject. Though much has already been achieved in this area of English linguistics, our knowledge of many aspects of the changes that have occurred in the English language in many parts of the world, and the functions it serves is, at best, rudimentary. The present study, focusing on Ghana as it does, is an attempt to contribute something to what we already know of how English is used by speech communities that have other languages genetically unrelated to English as their predominant means of communication.

0.1 SCOPE AND FOCUS

The main concern of the present study is the contextual variation in the English spoken and written by Ghanaian university students. "Contextual variation" will be used here to describe variation in the code according to
changes in topic, medium, role, and formality. Such variation can be distinguished from other forms of variation such as interlanguage and dialectal variation. The research focuses on variation according to levels of formality in the English of students of the University of Cape Coast. The approach adopted was to collect linguistic data produced by these students in situations exemplifying different levels of formality; to analyse the data so obtained for lexico-grammatical and discourse patterning; and to relate the results of the analysis to the characteristics of the situations in which the texts were produced.

0.2 BASIC ASSUMPTION

The main assumption underlying the present research is that only native varieties and non-native varieties which have attained an advanced stage of nativisation exhibit variation in lexico-grammatical and discourse features in response to changes in the characteristics of the wide range of contexts in which they are used (Kachru 1983).

It is argued in this study that when a variety of NNE attains this status, it is no longer appropriate to look at it primarily from the viewpoint of deviations from the norms of native varieties of English (NVEs).
This does not mean that users of this variety do not make mistakes in their speech and writing but that variation in the code according to context is the most important feature and should form the basis of an adequate description of the variety in question.

The question of whether GE is a well-established variety is an empirical one which must be addressed from many angles including the role and functions of English in Ghana as well as the various forms it takes. The present study therefore is an attempt to meet this need.

0.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research seeks to answer the following questions:

(a) Do Ghanaian speakers of English vary the code to reflect different levels of formality?

(b) If so, which features of the code show the greatest variation, and which features show the least variation?

(c) Are there any major differences between GE and native varieties of English (NVEs) in the way formality is signalled? If so, what is the nature of these differences?
(d) Are there significant differences between written and spoken GE? If so what is the nature of these differences?

Answers to these questions will be based on the results of both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data.
0.4 PLAN

The study is organised in four parts. Part I, which is made up of the first three chapters, sets the scene. Chapter 1 discusses the historical and present role of the English language in Ghana vis a vis the local Ghanaian languages (GL). It makes the claim that over a period of 300 years the domains in which English is used have expanded from purely intergroup uses to interactional functions (Richards 1978). These two functions span both institutionalised and non-institutionalised domains.

Chapter 2 is the review of related studies. It critically examines published research on both GE and NNEs in general from the viewpoint of second language acquisition (SLA) and second language use (SLU) approaches. It concludes that, although variability studies in the SLA framework address some of the concerns of the present research, a framework based on sociolinguistic models of language use is the best suited to the purposes of this study.

The next chapter is devoted to the definition of formality. This is needed because of the inexplicit manner in which the subject of formality is treated in the literature (Pride 1971). The definition adopted places interpersonal relationships at the centre of
communication with other factors notably the subject matter, medium and role of discourse also influencing the meaningful choices made from the total repertoire of the participants.

Part II presents the results of the preliminary study (ch. 4) which is based on the analysis of two texts, one written and the other spoken. The rationale behind this was to establish the most relevant questions, and specific hypotheses for the main study.

This is followed by a description of the fieldwork (ch. 5). The characteristics of the community (i.e. the Ghanaian universities with special reference to University of Cape Coast) are discussed as necessary background to the investigation into the use of English by Ghanaian university students. It then goes on to present the method of collecting, classifying and transcribing the data, as well as some of the problems encountered during the fieldwork, and how they were solved.

Part III, which constitutes the main component of the study, is made up of four chapters. In the first two of these (chs 6 and 7) the results of the analysis of written data are presented and in the final two (chs. 8 and 9) the results of the analysis of the spoken texts are discussed. The presentation in both cases begins with lexical and grammatical features up to the rank of group and proceeds to discourse features.
The mode of analysis is (a) qualitative and involves detailed discussion of features of the data and attempts to show how these are related to the context and to NVEs, and (b) quantitative in the sense that it presents the frequencies of the language features in the data and, using statistical means, tests for levels of significance in their distribution. Statistical information are summarised with the aid of tables and histograms with the details presented in Appendix D.

The final part briefly states the conclusions of the main study and discusses a wide range of implications derived from them, including the status of NNEs in general and GE in particular, the codification and recognition of NNEs in education and areas of further research.
PART I

SETTING THE SCENE
CHAPTER ONE

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN GHANA

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The investigation of the use of English in Ghana must be preceded by a general description of the language situation in the country, and this should not be limited to the present, because a good deal of what goes on now can be more clearly understood when historical factors are taken into consideration. This chapter, therefore, begins with a brief sketch of the language situation before independence in 1957 and then goes on to discuss the situation in the present period in greater detail.

1.1 BEFORE 1957

The history of Ghana¹ before the advent of Europeans is not known beyond what is enshrined in folklore and oral tradition, since there were no written records. However,

¹ For convenience the name Ghana will be used to refer to the modern state as well as the area known in colonial times as the Gold Coast.
Chapter 1

it is generally accepted that all the present peoples of Ghana had settled in that geographical region before the earliest European contact (Ward 1958). Without demographic records it is difficult to know the number of speakers of each indigenous language, and its geographical extent for the period. According to Mazrui (1975) all of Africa in that period of its history was characterised by "tribal polyglotta". Ghana was no exception.

Judging from what obtains now, it is a reasonable guess that most, if not all, of the languages must have been "communalist" rather than "ecumenical". A communalist language is defined by Mazrui (1975: 70) as one that is race- or tribe-bound, and, therefore, helps to identify the communities that use it as a mother tongue, e.g. Chinese (in spite of the large number of speakers), Luganda in East Africa and Efutu in Ghana. Languages such as English, Arabic, Hausa and Swahili, which fall outside this definition, are ecumenical languages (ibid.).

The linguistic situation changed drastically with the arrival of the Europeans on the coast of Ghana.²

² Before the colonial era the region was made up of related tribal states but it did not constitute one nation in the sense that the name Ghana now implies.
1.1.1 Introduction of European languages

The first Europeans to visit the coast of modern Ghana were the Portuguese. Soon after their arrival they built a castle at Elmina and established a school there for the training of the children born to the mixed relationships between some of the Portuguese and the local women, as well as children of, mostly, prominent Africans. As a result of the contact a Pidgin Portuguese, sometimes referred to as Negro-Portuguese, developed as a lingua franca over a wide geographical region (Mazrui 1975, Spencer 1971). But with the arrival of the British, the English language supplanted Portuguese as a language of wider communication, a position held by the latter language for over two hundred years (Mazrui ibid.).

The rise of Negro-Portuguese and later English in Ghana and West Africa as a whole was largely due to the linguistic diversity of that region. There were many small, communalist languages none of which could function as a lingua franca over a wide geographical area. In addition to this, Boadi (1971) explains that colonial powers as a rule were unwilling to learn the languages of the peoples whom they governed. There is, however, evidence that the linguistic study of the indigenous languages was vigorously pursued in the colonial period.
1.1.2 The Study of the indigenous languages

Sackey (1976) traces the history of the study of Ghanaian languages up to the 19th century, recording that initial interest in the local languages led to the collection of vocabulary items of mainly the Akan language by European voyagers such as de la Fosse, Towerson and Koelle. Subsequently, interest in propagating the Gospel and promoting western-style education led to a more serious attempt to study the indigenous languages, culminating in translations of the Bible into Akan, Ewe and Ga as well as the production of grammars and dictionaries for these languages. Belonging to this period is Christaller's *A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi* (1875), which is still considered worthy of the attention of any serious student of Ghanaian languages.

The study of the indigenous languages continued to receive support throughout the colonial era. The colonial schools emphasised the acquisition of literacy in the indigenous languages. In fact, the often reported experiences of Ghanaians who were punished and sometimes humiliated at school for speaking their mother tongues belong to the post-independence era. Thus, even though English was from this early period the official language,
there was no danger of any of the local languages becoming extinct (Boadi 1971).

However, as has been often pointed out (see, for example, Sackey 1976 and Bendor-Samuel 1980) the presence of English may have retarded the development of the register range of the vernacular languages. This claim, however, needs to be validated by thorough investigation.

1.1.3 The learning of English

In spite of the fact that there was some agitation against British colonial rule, the learning of English does not appear to have been resisted. According to Wardhaugh (1987), in the British colonies parents actually wanted to have their children educated in English. The Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1927 cited the opportunity to learn English as a major incentive for parents to send their children to school (Wardhaugh ibid.). Wardhaugh again writes that "the missions tended to favour vernacular education but did teach English, often as an inducement to parents to send their children to school."

The mission schools taught English through the Bible and English classical literature, such as the works of Shakespeare, Milton and Tennyson. The effect of this is that the English spoken by the older generation tends to
exhibit considerable biblical and literary influences. Magura (1984) and Mazrui (1975) have both written about similar phenomena in other African countries where initially the exposure to the English language seemed to have been through literature and the Bible.

Another contact with English in the colonial period was through interaction with administrative personnel. A good number of the staff in colonial offices had English public school education and therefore spoke the public school slang of the day. Howatt (personal communication) sees the presence in many varieties of English around the world of words and expressions like jolly, jolly good, old chap, ration, provisions, station and buzz off as most likely the result of such interaction.

There have been, and continue to be, many influences, both external and internal, on English in Ghana. These influences constitute the sources of intertextuality for Ghanaian English. Intertextuality, defined here as borrowing from previous texts in creating a new one (Lemke 1982, 1983) is one of the most important ways in which different varieties of a given language can be distinguished, since two varieties cannot share an identical set of influences.3

3 Intertextual features in Ghanaian English, and how they are exploited in different discourse contexts are discussed in sections 7.4 and 9.4.
1.1.4 English and the Development of Nationism

Mazrui (1975: 50) is of the view that

The English language, by the very fact of being more neutral than French, was less of a hindrance to the emergence of national consciousness in British Africa. (My emphasis).

The emotional neutrality of English will be a difficult point to prove; however, what is commonly accepted is that the learning of English helped to "detribalise" educated Africans, and therefore, planted the seed of national consciousness in them.

As far as the political campaign for self-government was concerned, English was the dominant language of the platform. Nkrumah, Busia, Danquah and all the other leaders addressed their rallies in English, though there was often translation into the local languages for the benefit of uneducated members of the audience, and also these languages served for political organisation at the grass-root level.

Even so the importance of the English language in the pre-independence politics of Ghana is beyond question. As many an African leader has had to admit, it was "a common medium for exchange between ourselves" (Nkrumah 1961: 103).
1.1.5 Summary

The main points of the above discussion may be summarised as follows:

(a) Ghana before the arrival of the Europeans was characterised by polyglottism. Therefore, the addition of another language, albeit European, to the linguistic repertoire would not have caused serious problems for a speech community which was already multilingual. This was likely to have made it easy for Portuguese and later English to develop as languages of wider communication in the region.

(b) The study of the indigenous languages began slowly but gathered momentum as a result of the effort of the missionaries who were interested in translating the Bible into local languages and developing materials for the teaching of African children.

(c) The use of English made possible communication among people from different ethnic backgrounds and thus helped to develop the spirit of nationism in the early political leaders.

The rest of this chapter looks at the nature and use of English in the post-independence era.
1.2 THE LANGUAGE SITUATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE

English continues to be used side by side with the local languages, which show no sign of becoming extinct (Boadi 1971). In these subsections we discuss the domains of use of both vernaculars and English. This discussion culminates in a model of language choice and situation in Ghana.

1.2.1 The Ghanaian Languages (GL)

The exact number of Ghanaian languages is not known but the figure is usually put between forty-four and sixty. Of these the Akan group, made up of various varieties of Twi and Fanti, is the biggest with about half of the population\(^4\) of the country speaking it as a mother tongue (Forson 1979). The next most important language in terms of the number of native speakers is Ewe. The Ewe language extends across the Ghana's eastern border into Togo and Benin but in Ghana it is spoken by only ten percent of the population. Other languages are Efutu and Nzema in the south and Frafra and Dagari in the north.

\(^4\) The population is estimated to be over 13 million (David M. Kennedy Centre for International studies, 1989).
None of the indigenous languages apart from Akan and Ewe is spoken by more than one per cent of the population of the country as mother tongue; but taken together they form a substantial group. The map of Ghana below shows the approximate location of the major languages in Ghana.
FIGURE 1-1: LANGUAGE MAP OF GHANA

Adapted from Map of Ghanaian Languages by Language Centre, Legon and Ghana Institute of Linguistics, 1960
Drawn in Dept. of Geography, Legon
In addition to languages indigenous to Ghana are those languages spoken by emigrants from other parts of West Africa, notably, Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa (Chinbuah 1977).

1.2.1.1 Bilingualism in Ghana

The ability to use more than one language is a common phenomenon in Ghana. In the sociolinguistic survey of Madina it was discovered that on average each respondent spoke 3.5 languages "very well ... (including his or her mother tongue)" (Ansre 1970: 6). For our purpose two types of bilingualism can be identified:

(a) involving English and one or more Ghanaian languages,

(b) involving only Ghanaian languages.

English-GL bilingualism is commonly found among educated Ghanaians, but occasionally a person who has no formal education can acquire fluency in spoken English\(^5\) as a result of staying with expatriates or serving in some position in which English is frequently used. In

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\(^5\) This is to be distinguished from pidgin or broken English.
such cases the use of English does not extend to the written medium.

Bilingualism involving two or more Ghanaian languages can be observed most easily in urban centres, and in other areas where the Ghanaian language taught in school is different from the local language. (See Apronti and Denteh 1969). These cases of bilingualism represent two different approaches to the acquisition of the second or additional language:

(a) in a natural setting through interaction with native and other speakers,

(b) in a classroom setting through formal teaching.

Usually the first approach leads to the development of conversational skills without reading and writing skills. This is how Ga has been acquired by many secondary school students as additional language. The second approach leads to the acquisition of both writing and reading skills but little conversational skills.

English-GL bilingualism is achieved through a combination of both approaches. On the one hand the speaker is formally taught at school but he is also surrounded by English in the larger society. Some of the sources of English are native, e.g. radio and television programmes originating from Britain, America, etc. But the majority are Ghanaian. These competing models pull

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6 Ga is mentioned here because it is the most popular additional language, followed by Akan.
Chapter 1

Ghanaian English in two directions, i.e. towards both native and non-native norms.7

A sociolinguistic comparison between the two forms of GL bilingualism and English-GL bilingualism will be worth undertaking, but outside the scope of the present study.

1.2.1.2 The National Language issue

Every multilingual nation one time or another has to face the problem of national language (Fasold 1984). In 1966 a motion to ostensibly make Akan the medium of instruction in Ghanaian schools was defeated in parliament. As Chinebuah (1977) points out, all the contributors to the debate perceived it as a move to make Akan the national language. Therefore, the arguments on both sides of the house were prejudiced. The proponents argued among other things that:

(a) The use of Akan in social interaction and in music was widespread, involving both native and non-native users.

(b) Akan was easy to teach.

7 See Owusu-Ansah (1991) which discusses the competing models for GE, and suggests 'bilingual English' as a descriptive term for the kind of English used in places like Ghana and Nigeria.
(c) The adoption of Akan would foster national unity, and make "possible the full expression of our Ghanaian and African personality and facilitate mobility".4

The second and third points were particularly weak, since from the point of view of speakers of other languages, any other Ghanaian language must be equally teachable and capable of reflecting the African personality. Boadi (1971) touches the root of the matter when he notes that:

It has always been recognised that it would be disastrous to impose one local language on the entire nation.

The Deputy Minister of Education, Susan Alhassan, summed up the views of the government in the following words:

The question of national language bristles with difficulties and must therefore be handled with considerable tact and judgement.  

Even though Akan is spoken by almost one-half of the population as their mother tongue and most people as a second language (See Ansre 19709 and Forson 1979), the opposers pointed out that choosing it as a national language would incur the violent reaction of non-Akan speakers. In support of this, they drew attention to the

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8 Quoted in Chinebuah (1977).
9 In this sociolinguistic survey of language use in Madina, a sub-urban settlement outside Accra, it was found that 88 percent of the residents spoke Akan either as first or second language.
unhappy situation in India and Sri Lanka where recent attempts to select an indigenous national language had led to violent protests (Chinebuah 1977). Furthermore, the government revealed its intention to help develop all the major languages in order to give each of them equal opportunity of being chosen as the national language. However, as Amonoo (1969: 80) put it:

There is always some reluctance to adopt the language of another tribe, which has been raised to the status of a national language at the expense of one's own. I doubt whether solutions satisfactory to everyone can be found.

But, in fact, in Madina when the question: "What do you think will be the main language spoken in the future in Ghana" was asked, 55% of the respondents opted for Akan ahead of English (31%). Although this result must take into account the fact that Madina is a multilingual community and that most of the respondents already spoke Akan and were well-disposed towards it, the expected antagonism to its adoption as national language was not reflected in the figures.

Finally, Chinebuah himself concludes cautiously thus:

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10 The researchers avoided the mention of 'national language' in the question itself for whatever reason, so there must be an element of doubt as to whether all the respondents understood the intended meaning of the question, which, according to the researchers, was aimed at eliciting views on the issue of national language. (See Ansre 1970: 11-12).
Towards a peaceful ultimate solution of the issue our African universities have a very important role to play by making available, through objective research information about the language situation, on which practical decision can be based. (Chinebuah, ibid.: 76).

It is thus clear that English continues to be used as the official national language in Ghana to avoid splitting up the country along ethnic lines in an attempt to find a local substitute.

1.2.1.3 Ghanaian Languages in Education

As noted by many commentators, the position of the local languages is weakest in education (see, for example, Ansre 1969, Ellis 1969, Boadi 1976). Though a few of them have been adopted as mediums of instruction at the initial stages of primary education, Bendor-Samuel (1980) notes that they are officially "permitted for the first three years of primary education" only. But this policy is not always strictly followed. In inner city and rural areas, especially the vernacular languages are still used as the medium of instruction beyond the third year. However, in preparatory schools and other high-prestige schools, the local languages are not used very much even at the kindergarten and nursery levels. Beyond the primary school level the local languages are used still less frequently. An interesting departure from this
practice is the use of Akan and Ewe for some lectures at the Department of Ghanaian Languages, University of Cape Coast.

As subjects Akan, Ewe and Ga are taught, and examined, to the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (G.C.E. O-Level). However, the number of candidates who offer these subjects are insignificant in comparison to other subjects. This pattern is repeated in higher education, with very few students offering Ghanaian languages as their major subjects compared to English, French and Spanish. In fact, the attitude towards the study of Ghanaian languages to any level after primary education is far from positive. Ellis (1969) noted in this connection the absence of a Ghanaian languages department at University of Ghana. Also, a survey of the results of the examination results in Ghanaian languages at O'level revealed a downward trend in both the number of candidates offering Ghanaian languages and the results obtained (Chinebuah 1971). In the experience of the present researcher the situation remains unchanged at present. (See also Ansre 1969).

The reason for this appears to be the lack of employment opportunities, but this claim needs to be supported by evidence from an attitudinal study, which is clearly outside the purview of the present investigation.
1.2.1.4 Literacy in the Vernaculars

Goody (1971) makes the point that literacy throughout history has been the privilege of a minority. Nowhere is this statement more true than in developing countries like Ghana. Few people can read and write at all, but fewer still can do so in their own mother-tongues. In the past there were attempts to redress this imbalance, with some success, through adult literacy programmes. Newspapers in the major local languages such as Akan, Ga, Nzema and Ewe were started. Also literary writing in mother-tongues received a new spate of life (Boadi 1971).

However, literacy in the Ghanaian languages is still insignificant compared to English. As an illustration of this point, the results of surveys by Ure et al. (reported in Ure 1979) show that little reading and writing take place in the local languages, the most commonly cited activity carried out in Ghanaian languages being making practical arrangements. Most people wrote letters to even members of their families in English.

Outlining the problems facing the work of the Bureau of Ghanaian Languages, Otoo (1969) writes:
Very few indeed of those who have the ability to produce good works do write\textsuperscript{11} .... It is a well-known fact that very few literate people of Ghana ever have the urge to look for something to read in their own mother-tongue.

This statement would appear to support the view that the presence of English may have affected the development of the register range of Ghanaian languages.

1.2.1.5 Ghanaian Languages in Everyday Life

The strength of the local languages lies in their use in everyday life. In the markets, in the streets, in the offices and in homes one commonly hears the local languages. This is borne out by the findings of the language diary project conducted by Ure et al. At more formal levels Ghanaian naming, marriages and funerals are conducted in the vernaculars.

Thus, the relationship between the Ghanaian languages and English is not one of strict diglossia whereby English is used only in formal situations and the local languages only in informal situations. The position is much more complex than that, as is represented by the model below. For the moment it is

\textsuperscript{11} Much of writing in Ghanaian languages remains unpublished because of the economic constraints on the publishing industry in Ghana.
sufficient to bear in mind the following restrictions on the use of Ghanaian languages:

(a) In informal situations such as conversations between equals code-mixing between Akan and English is frequent. A fuller discussion of this phenomenon can be found below (but also see Forson 1968, 1979).

(b) Where participants share no common Ghanaian language, they are forced to use English, if they are educated.

(c) In some settings, for example offices, people in junior positions are likely to initiate a discussion with a superior in English. The superior can, and indeed does often, answer back in a Ghanaian language. The discourse may then switch into that language.

(d) It is also the case that staff meetings and disciplinary measures are usually in English.

It can be concluded, therefore, that though the indigenous languages are very strong, show no sign of extinction, and together play an active role in communication among Ghanaians, they are necessarily complemented by English as a language of wider communication.
1.2.2 The English Language after Independence

In the view of the present writer the importance of English in Ghana tends to be underestimated by Ghanaian scholars. For instance Sey (1973: 9) claims that

Even among educated people there are only a limited number of situations in which English is regularly used .... Outside the classroom, certain sections of Government offices, the law courts, the press and letter writing there are only a few situations in which the need to use English is compulsive.

Apronti (1974: 54) also writes:

Whether we like it or not, English in Ghana is the language of the ruling class. It is estimated that only about thirty percent of the inhabitants of Ghana speak English.

The view expressed in the above extracts needs to be qualified. In the first place, Sey's list of situations in which the use of English is "compulsive", coupled with the restrictions on the use of Ghanaian languages together indicate a wide range of situations in which English is used. In terms of statistics English may be the language of only a third of the population; however, the fact that only about ten of the fifty or so languages are spoken by more than one per cent of the population as L1 says something about the importance of the English
language in Ghana. In fact, apart from Akan no other Ghanaian language has more speakers than English. ¹²

Secondly, the situation is likely to have changed over the years. The effect of the Accelerated Education Development Plan and the introduction of fee-free education is that more and more people are now going to school and so are being exposed to the English language. The actual number of people who now use one form of English or another is, however, not known. In the absence of reliable figures a more accurate measure of the place of English in Ghana is the range of domains in which it functions, for this reveals the extent to which it pervades the Ghanaian society.

1.2.2.1 English in Education

There is little doubt that English is used more in education than in any other domain; indeed, it is so closely associated with education that it is generally considered to be the language of educated people (Apronti 1974, Sey 1973). This subsection is an attempt to show the extent to which this statement is true in the Ghanaian context.

¹² See Ansre (1970) for figures on Madina which confirm this point.
The English language is introduced as a medium of instruction early in the Ghanaian education system. Officially, this is supposed to take place after the first three years, during which the dominant Ghanaian language of the area is used. However, the exact point at which English is introduced differs from place to place (Boadi 1971, Boahene-Agbo 1975). What is certain is that there is a tendency to prefer its early introduction.

The reasons for this are varied. First, English is held to make possible the expression of "modern scientific, technological and economic ideas" (Chinebuah 1977). Second, it has prestige both internationally and intranationally. Without English one's job prospects, for instance, are limited. Third, a good pass in English is a requirement for admission to secondary school, sixth form and university. Its importance in politics and administration is underlined by the fact that the 1969 Ghana Constitution required members of parliament to have an adequate working knowledge of English (Boahene-Agbo 1985). Therefore, the preference for English is deeply entrenched in the socio-economic and political system. Although there may be a variety of reasons why individual parents may encourage their children to do well in English, upward mobility is certainly an important factor.
Apart from being the medium of instruction at all levels of education, English is also a compulsory subject taught every day to G.C.E. O-Level. In this respect it receives more attention than any other, except Mathematics, and certainly greater emphasis than any other language, including French and the Ghanaian languages. There is also additional exposure to English in the English literature class and during the reading hour.

Clearly, there appears to be an imbalance in the education system whereby the learning of English is encouraged at the expense of other languages and subjects. This has not passed without criticism (see, for example, Boahene-Agbo 1985; Apronti 1974a). However, as Boadi (1971) notes, there is a growing concern over the standard of English; many parents and teachers are of the view that the use of English has deteriorated, especially after the mass exodus of qualified Ghanaian teachers to the neighbouring countries. This concern reflects the importance of English in Ghana not only in education but also for enhancing one's opportunities, and social life in general.
1.2.2.2 Literacy in English

Although current literacy figures are hard to come by it is certain that more people can read and write now than ever before as a result of the Accelerated Development Programme and the fee-free education policy introduced under Nkrumah's government. However, reading and writing are virtually restricted to the English language. Not only is there very little to read in the indigenous languages, but most educated people can neither read nor write even if they have the will to do so. All the national newspapers are in English not to mention the fact that English has more radio and television time than all the Ghanaian languages put together (Jones-Quartey 1976).

Again, most of the literary writings of authors such as Awoonor, Anyidoho and Armah are in English. In this connection Otoo's (1969) comment that writings in Ghanaian languages are mostly read as school or examination texts should be noted. Furthermore, it has to be emphasised that the literacy programmes referred to above were aimed at adults who had not had the opportunity of formal education rather than people in the mainstream; therefore their impact was rather restricted.
1.2.2.3 English as Official Language

More than thirty years after Ghana's independence, the English language continues to perform regulatory functions, thus continuing a tradition that was established under British colonial rule. Indeed, English can be said to be in a diglossic relationship with the local languages (Ansre 1971; Boahene-Agbo 1985; Ellis and Ure 1982). Its use at the higher levels of commerce and industry, in parliament and for other formal discussions and presentations is commonly accepted. The following critical comment by Apronti (1974a) is worth noting:

Even a cursory glance at the areas of national life to which only English opens the way is enough to lay bare the oppressiveness of the language barrier: membership of parliament, of the professions, of the civil service and many others are open exclusively to those who speak English.

Laws passed by Parliament and affecting the population at large remain untranslated into local languages for months, if not years.... Budget statements and other policy declarations likewise take an intolerably long time to sink down into indigenous information channels of the country: when they do, this is more a matter of chance than one of policy. (Apronti 1974a)

This statement makes it clear that English plays a dominant role in the administration of the country. However, it will be desirable to find ways of ensuring that the use of English in formulating policy at the national level does not prevent whole sections of the
population from participating fully in national life just because they do not use English.

1.2.2.4 English in Everyday Life

A good deal has been written about the domains in which English is either preferred to the local languages or used because there is no option (e.g. Forson 1968; 1979, Ure 1979; 1982). Its role in bringing together people from different linguistic backgrounds cannot be over-emphasised. This is due to the presence in Ghana of many languages, the majority of which are spoken by less than one per cent of the total population.

However, in recent years marriages across tribal boundaries have resulted in English becoming the "mother-tongue" of a minority of Ghanaians. The phenomenon has been noted in other parts of Africa as well. Mazrui (1975) describes it as the creation of the Afro-Saxons. A related development is the one by which some parents have deliberately suppressed the acquisition of their L1 by their children with the result that the children either speak only English or English and very little of any of the Ghanaian languages. In such situations English is used as the home language and for almost all social interaction.
English is also used for almost all forms of written interaction including informal discourse (personal letters, passing notes, tailors' and dressmakers' measurements, graffiti, etc.) as well as more formal discourse, as already noted above.

Spoken English is mostly encountered in formal situations such as public speeches and in classroom teaching but it is now spreading to less formal occasions. As far as pronunciation is concerned the model seems to be a Ghanaian or West African version of Received Pronunciation (RP). The more educated speakers come very close to this model but as one goes down the educational ladder the influence of the sound patterns of Ghanaian languages is noticeably stronger (Criper 1971). The spoken variety is thus very important in any description of Ghanaian English. Criper's (1971) types of Ghanaian English are established mainly on the basis of the features of the language as it is spoken rather than written. Furthermore, the spoken styles defined in terms of features of register and discourse are

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13 The present writer played back recorded speeches by both Ghanaians and Nigerians to find out whether informants would recognise the differences. Both African and British informants were used. The Ghanaians and Nigerians among them could distinguish the Ghanaian speakers from the Nigerians and the others were able to point out that there were differences between the two varieties, thus confirming the existence of Ghanaian English at least at the level of sound.
undoubtedly Ghanaian. This claim is one of the basic premises on which the present research is based.

1.3 CONTACT VARIETIES

The term "contact varieties" in this thesis refers to two phenomena both arising from languages in contact: (a) code-mixing (b) pidgin. Both phenomena can be observed in Ghana, and therefore, form part of the overall communicative repertoire of the Ghanaian society.

Code-mixing involves the introduction of elements, mostly lexical, of language B (also embedded language) into a discourse in language A (also matrix). Thus Akan-English bilinguals often introduce English items into Akan discourse. There are two basic problems of defining code-mixing. The first is drawing a distinction between it and the use of loan words (cf. Ure 1974). Loan words mainly have to do with reference while code-mixing with situation.

The second problem is identifying which is the matrix and which the embedded language. The solution hinges on the relative contribution of the two languages involved. Typically, the matrix contributes more to the text than the embedded language. Theoretically, one can think of an indeterminate situation whereby the two
languages are equally balanced, but this is rare in reality. Discourse and textual characteristics also help to determine the matrix in that the overall pattern of cohesion and coherence will be that of the matrix.

Code-mixing among Akan speakers of English with English as the embedded language has been studied by Forson (1969; 1979), who reports that it is a rule-governed phenomenon. Not much has been written about code-mixing between other Ghanaian languages and English or indeed among Ghanaian languages; but there is no doubt that such mixtures exist. There are instances of code-mixing in the language of Ga and Ewe friends. All evidence points to the fact that Ghanaians from all ethnic backgrounds use some code-mixing in casual situations.14

Pidgin also finds a place in the linguistic framework of Ghana. Sey (1973) claims that pidgin English did not have the opportunity to develop in Ghana. He argues further that in Ghana pidgin English speakers were emigrants from other West African countries who came to work as labourers on cocoa farms. This claim leads one to ask among other things

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14 The data for the present study include code-mixing with English as the matrix and Ghanaian Akan as the embedded language.
Chapter 1

(a) What was spoken by uneducated Ghanaians who had to communicate with English people or other Ghanaians with whom they did not share a common Ghanaian language?

(b) How did Ghanaians communicate with their guest workers with whom they did not share a common African language?

These questions are still relevant.

At the moment pidgin English is widely used in the armed forces, the police and schools and colleges throughout the country. In the latter institutions pidgin is denigrated and held responsible for the alleged falling standards in English. However, an analysis of student pidgin shows that it is both dynamic and systematic (Essel 1987). Even though it is no longer a trade language, it probably owes its origin to the coming together of people of different linguistic background for the purpose of trade. Its use signals informality and solidarity.

1.4 A MODEL OF LANGUAGE CHOICE AND SITUATION IN GHANA

From the foregoing discussion, the model of language choice will be made up of (a) all the indigenous Ghanaian

\[15\] The pidgin spoken in schools and colleges can be shown to be somewhat different from the varieties used by armed forces personnel and casual labourers, but the differences do not hamper mutual intelligibility.
languages, (b) English, (c) the contact varieties, and (d) information about the communication situations in which the different varieties are used. The model is represented by Figure 1-2 below.

**FIGURE 1-2: LANGUAGE RESOURCE OF THE GHANAIAN SPEAKER OF ENGLISH**

According to this diagram the Ghanaian speaker's total repertoire spans English and the Ghanaian languages, with three choices available to him: (a) Ghanaian languages (b) English and (c) contact varieties (i.e. code-mixing, and pidgin). The variety he chooses depends on the subject matter, and the nature of the context in which the communication is taking place.
1.5 CONCLUSION

The main concern of this chapter has been to describe the multilingual situation in Ghana and to place the use of English in its proper context. The language situation is such that no local language can as yet be adopted as the national language. This means that 34 years after independence English continues to be the major language of administration, commerce and education. It is also now being used increasingly in the less institutionalised domains among Ghanaians who do not have a common local language.

This does not mean that the local languages are not important. Their place in everyday life and in cultural activities is unassailable. However, there is growing concern in some sections of the Ghanaian community that not enough is being done to realise the full potential of Ghanaian languages for the expression of Ghanaian culture and thought, because of undue attention to English.

The present study hopes to show that as a result of long use in a wide range of contexts, English in Ghana can be shown to have acquired Ghanaian features which make it possible for it to express Ghanaian meanings in the absence of a local national language. However, it also retains its links with native varieties especially
in institutionalised domains where its use is governed by norms similar to those of native standard usage.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to place the present study in the context of work done by other researchers with a view to showing how the present study is both similar and different to previous ones. It begins with a review of studies into non-native Englishes (NNEs) in general and Ghanaian English (GE) in particular. It then goes on to discuss the theoretical framework within which the present study has been conducted.

2.1 TWO APPROACHES TO DESCRIBING NNES

Two main approaches characterise research into the use of English by non-native speakers, namely (a) second language acquisition (SLA) approach and (b) second language use (SLU) approach. These are elaborated in the following sections.
2.1.1 Second Language Acquisition Studies

Studies based on SLA models seek to identify the processes and the stages of language learning with a view to making their findings available to classroom teaching (Ellis 1986). The dominant theory underlying SLA research is transformational-generative grammar, which is here used as a cover term for the views on language originally put forward by Chomsky (1957, 1965) and expanded by others.

The corner-stone of this approach to the study of NNEs is the competence-performance dichotomy. Competence refers to the mental representation of the language system of the ideal native speaker-hearer and performance is the actual use of this idealised knowledge which is characterised by imperfections (Gregg 1990). The learner's language is seen as a continuously evolving system going through increasing nativisation (Richards 1978). This unstable system is referred to as interlanguage. Selinker, who is credited with the introduction of this term, says that since learner's utterances differ from those that would have been produced by a native speaker of the target language, had he attempted to express the same meaning as the learner, are not identical, we would be justified in hypothesizing
the existence of a separate system -- this system we will call 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1971). 

It is generally believed that interlanguage is evidence of the competence of the learner (Ellis 1986, Gregg 1990).

Ellis (1986) identifies the following as the 'key issues' in SLA research: (a) the relationship between the first language (L1) and the second language (L2), (b) the acquisition of the subsystems of the grammar (e.g. negatives, interrogatives, etc.), (c) the development of competence and communication or pragmatic knowledge.

This list reflects the two competing hypotheses underlying SLA research, namely (a) the uniform competence hypothesis and (b) the variable competence hypothesis.

Those working within the uniform competence model do not accept that variability resulting from contextual factors is a legitimate concern of SLA research. Gregg (1990) says of the work of the so-called variationists that it betrays "certain important and theoretical confusions". Later in the same article, whose main aim is to attack the variable competence model, he writes:

In short, I do not think the variable competence model has presented us with any compelling reason to consider task variation as an SLA comet. On the other hand, this is not to say that I think variation is either a UFO or an airplane; it is a

1 Quoted in Corder (1978: 73).
real phenomenon on the one hand, and its a natural phenomenon on the other. Variation is rather like the aurora borealis: a fascinating and puzzling phenomenon (it certainly seems to have a truly seductive appeal for a large number of SLA scholars), but one that is not the duty of an acquisition theorist to explain. (Gregg 1990: 379).

Thus, even though variability is an unavoidable feature of language, it is considered by SLA theorists to be one of the stumbling blocks to theory building (Corder 1978: 87) and on the whole not worthy of attention.

Examples of studies on Ghanaian English based on SLA models are Brown and Scragg (1948), French (1949), Sey (1973), Sackeyfio (1974) and Tingley (1981). Although the first two of these antedate Syntactic Structures (Chomsky 1957), which attracted attention to the TG model, they are listed, here because they share in common with other SLA studies the view that NNEs should be treated as imperfect approximations to NVEs.

French's and Sey's studies are now looked at in detail because they are the best known works and also because they are representative of the tradition to which they belong.

2.1.1.1 Common Errors in English (1949) by French

French's work is a short study made up of nine chapters. In a brief introduction (ch. 1) the author establishes:
(a) the importance of English in the affairs of the world in this century, and

(b) the foreign pupil's "strenuous and undefeatable desire" to learn the English language, because he recognises its "solid values" (p. 3). He, however, notes that "he still makes errors" (ibid.).

In Chapter 2 the author then presents a list of the common errors collected from all over the world including the Gold Coast (i.e. Ghana). In explaining the causes of errors, the author focuses attention on "cross associations and interference of their local vernaculars" (p. 5). Chapter 3 is devoted to the classification of errors on the basis of their causes, providing a timely warning that "errors defy classification, for one kind merges into another" (p. 13). The rest of the work, chs. 4-9, deals with how to improve the English of foreigners through more grammar teaching, using pattern drills and substitution tables.

In the first place French as well as the authors working in this framework take for granted the question of model. He assumes that the appropriate model to teach is standard British (or American) English. Hence any form that deviates from his assumed norm is an error. Questions about the appropriate models for different categories of non-native speakers of English have been raised from time to time (e.g. Richards 1978, Kachru
1982b, Banjo 1971, Magura, 1984) and modern thinking on the subject is that it is not useful to generalise for all speakers of NNEs. This point will be taken up again in the present study.

Secondly, as is typical of SLA work until recently, French's work is concerned with those aspects of language which are susceptible to rule-making. Since these fall into convenient patterns they can be taught with the aid of substitution tables and pattern drills. All else is ignored or given the least possible attention.

The kinds of issues addressed by French are no doubt important but it has to be said that there is more to language than morphological endings, with which he appears to be occupied. A little more attention to style and discourse problems would have achieved a balance.

Finally, the author adopts a global view to errors. He claims (p. 5):

The reader can form his own judgement by applying his own experience whatever the region in which he is interested, these collected from Japan, China, Burma, India, the Gold Coast... The selection was haphazard.

Indeed, such a global view is more common than is suggested by such titles as *Common Errors in Gold Coast English* (Brown and Scragg 1948) and *English Syntax Problems in Filipino* (Estacio 1964). In tune with his global view he provides hardly any information on the
historical and current factors which define the context in which the English language is used outside the mother-tongue areas.

The approach to NNEs represented by French's work is now considered old-fashioned, and even though studies based on it have made available much useful information about these varieties, more SLA researchers are focusing attention on larger issues of style and discourse, e.g. Larsen-Freeman (1982), Gass et al. (1989) and Preston (1989)

2.1.1.2 Review of Sey's Ghanaian English (1973)

Sey's work is the best known on Ghanaian English, being the one that is most frequently cited by writers interested in the subject. Therefore, it is worth discussing in some detail.

2.1.1.2.1 Identification of a Ghanaian Variety of English

Contrary to the title of his work, Sey does not believe in the existence of a Ghanaian variety of English, a position consistent with his view of EGE as mainly an interlanguage or error-riddled version of standard
British English. This view is approved by Spencer in the
Foreword thus:

On the large issues he is not silent, but wisely
tentative, modestly refuting only those who have
wished to rush too hastily to judgement...and
doubting the overhasty elevation of deviation
through error into the dignity of Ghanaianisms.
(p. x).

The author is more than doubtful on the question of
Ghanaian English. He is critical of scholars like Grieve
who attempt to identify GE as a separate variety from
NVEs. To him, Grieve is "preoccupied with the idea of a
Ghanaian variety of standard English" (p. 8). He also
accuses Grieve of exaggerating the importance of Ghanaian
English (p. 9), and also writes that

As Grieve must have noticed but made nothing of,
nothing disgusts an educated Ghanaian more than to
be told that the English he uses is anything but
standard. The linguist may be able to isolate
features of Ghanaian English and describe them. But
once these are made known to him, the educated
Ghanaian would strive to avoid them altogether. The
surest way to kill Ghanaian English, if it really
exists, is to discover it and make it known.

It is clear from this passage that (a) the author
confuses the existence of a phenomenon and its discovery.
It will be argued in this study that GE has existence
independent of recognition or acceptance by educated
Ghanaians. (b) Sey appears to identify features of
Ghanaian English with grammatical and other lapses that
can be avoided once brought to the notice of the speaker; that is, for him Ghanaian English equals errors. He ignores the fact that if a variety is stigmatised even its own speakers try not to be identified with it. It is, therefore, natural that some GE speakers would claim that they do not speak that variety or that they speak British English.2

But, as the present research hopes to show, the most salient features of GE are not errors or words and expressions which have the status of collectors' items, but rather forms which are both found in NVEs as well as those which result from the influence of GL on English (Kirk-Greene 1971). These are stable features which are not randomly distributed but rather varied systematically according to context, and which cannot be avoided if attention is drawn to them. Therefore, Sey's fear that Ghanaian English may be aborted before birth, if talked about, is an artefact of his conceptualisation of that variety.

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2 When informants were asked whether they spoke British English, American English or a Ghanaian variety of standard English, the majority chose the latter response. If the question had been framed to omit the words variety of standard, the results might have gone the other way, because of the stigma attached to the name GE.
2.1.1.2.2 Scope of Seys's Work

Sey's work is an 'exploratory survey' and, therefore, touches on a wide range of issues: the history of English in Ghana (ch. 1), deviations in grammar (ch. 2), Ghanaian English expressions (chs 3 and 4) semantic deviation (Chs 6 and 7) and style (ch. 8). Also, in the Preface he expresses hope that his work might generate lively and better informed discussion on a wide range of topics, including the causes of deviation in Educated Ghanaian English (EGE), the question of the existence of a Ghanaian variety of English, and efficient methods of teaching English. The work has interesting things to say about some, though not all, of these issues.

The author claims that his work is based on 3500 EGE texts drawn from a wide range of written and spoken sources. A large proportion of the examples quoted to support his statements are from the written rather than the spoken data. There also appears to be a preference for published texts, e.g. newspapers, novels, scholarly works, etc. Examples from personal letters are either not directly used or clearly identified as such. This is equally true of the data actually cited in the body of the work and those included in the Appendix.

One, therefore, cannot easily determine the exact status of many of his examples: whether they serve as
literary devices for characterisation in a novel, whether they are used for the purpose of clarifying concepts to non-Ghanaians, and indeed how often they occur in actual usage. None of these points germane to the validity of research of this nature can be ascertained from Sey's presentation.

In short, Sey provides very little information on the contexts in which his examples are used, and indeed the conditions in which the collection of his data was carried out.

2.1.1.2.3 Classification of EGE

Four types called "stages" are identified as follows:

Stage 1 corresponds to the senior forms of elementary education;

Stage 2 corresponds to the secondary school;

Stage Three corresponds to university level; and

Stage Four is the rare stage of ambilingualism, which is rare in the Ghanaian context (p. 16). These stages lie on a cline of bilingualism.

There are noticeable similarities between this classification and other models which were developed earlier or at about the same time as Sey's study. One of these will be referred to as Criper's model, although it
was developed jointly by members of the Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana (Criper and Forson 1968, Criper 1971, 1990).

In this model three types of GE are identified together with a fourth, called 'sub', which is regarded as separate from the GE system. The basis for distinguishing these types are level of education and similarity NVEs, with GE conforming to the system of NVEs in the higher types. In this connection the model recognises the tendency for higher-type speakers to adopt lower types in informal situations and thus attempts to account for contextual variation.

Sey's classification on the other hand is based mainly on types of errors found in the speech of speakers from different educational background rather than on actual proficiency. His statements about proficiency tend to be highly vague, e.g.

By the end of this stage (Stage 1) the speaker feels he can and in fact does write his own letters. He also buys and reads the local English newspapers;

or speaking of Stage 2:

The standard of English is good, quite high, in fact, among the better pupils.

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3 Many of the Ghanaianisms presented by Sey at the end of his work belong to this fourth level in Criper's classification.
In contrast to this vagueness the errors are much more fully described, especially for Stage One.

2.1.1.2.4 Style

Style is one of the most neglected aspects of EGE by Sey. This is surprising, since he identifies style as one of the most distinguishing features of EGE:

The features which more obviously mark off the English of educated Ghanaians are the following: (a) the tendency to use learned and archaic forms; (b) the flamboyance of prose style which at times sounds flat or jerky because command of English vocabulary and structures does not equal aspiration to the grand style; (c) frequent cases of hyper-correction.

The above-quoted passage sets up expectations that are left unfulfilled. In less than six full pages, the author discusses 'stylistic tendencies' in EGE. (Ch. 8), focusing on 'verbosity' and 'preciosit' as the major characteristics. Though 'style' is broadly defined to include register (cf. p. 123), the word 'register' is only briefly mentioned twice in the entire work (cf pp. 15, 16). As for related issues like cohesion, communicative competence, and discourse, they are not even mentioned in the subject index.

Nor does the treatment of style go beyond lexis to tackle grammatical aspects such as preference for certain
sentence types in given situations. One, thus, notices an interesting similarity between Sey's work and that of French, namely, the tendency to avoid aspects of language not reducible to convenient patterns.

The inadequate treatment of style may be due to the fact that the survey approach adopted does not allow for an in-depth treatment of topics. However, compared with grammatical and semantic deviations, which are not even mentioned when Sey identifies the key features of EGE, style receives short shrift. The present work, therefore, should be seen as an attempt to redress this imbalance.

2.1.1.3 Summary

The main features of studies based on SLA approaches are that:

(a) they look at the English used in Ghana in terms of deviation from native norms which they label errors or deviance,

(b) they are concerned with morphological and syntactic problems,

(c) they ignore contextual variation with discourse receiving cursory attention, if addressed at all.
These features render such studies highly unsuitable as models for the present research.

2.1.2 Studies based on Language Use

In contrast to the error-oriented approach described above, studies based on models of use emphasise the functions of English in speech communities that have local languages genetically different from English. These varieties of English are often referred to as non-native Englishes. Kachru (1986: 5) describes them as "those transplanted varieties of English that are acquired primarily as second languages".

Two categories of such varieties are often identified, namely (a) nativised or indigenised varieties and (b) performance varieties. The basis of this distinction includes (a) the length of time English has been used by a community, (b) the extent to which it is used, (c) whether there has been any codification of the variety and (d) whether English is used as a literary language by the community (Kachru 1982b; 1986, Platt et al. 1984). Nativised varieties meet most of these criteria. Examples of such varieties are Indian English, Singaporean English, and Nigerian English.
If a variety does not meet these conditions Kachru (1983) refers to them as 'performance varieties'. These have the status of a foreign language, which is defined by Richards (1978) as varieties used for maintaining relations with an outside group. Examples of performance varieties are Iranian English, Japanese English, and Italian English.

One of the most important features of studies into nativisation is the sociolinguistic approach they tend to adopt. The context of situation of the new Englishes is taken into account in discussing issues which interest researchers working in this tradition, as can be gathered from a summary of some of the major issues below.

2.1.2.1 Intelligibility of NNEs

The question of intelligibility has always been a major issue since the English language was exported to places outside the British Isles. On the one hand native speakers are concerned that the different varieties of English will so diverge that they may become mutually unintelligible, like the various languages derived from

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4 The term 'nativisation' has a slightly different meaning from its use in SLA where it refers to acquisition of native like norms. Here it means, in addition, that the variety has become part of the language ecology of the new community.
Latin (Prator 1950, Platt et al. 1984, Quirk 1989). On the other hand, it is alleged that within some new Englishes intelligibility is impossible among speakers of the same variety (Quirk 1989).

Contrary to the above-mentioned views, several studies have shown that as means of communication the nativised varieties are intelligible both nationally and internationally (Bansal 1969, Chisimba 1983, Nelson 1982; 1984, Kachru 1986). Bansal (1969), for example, concludes from a statistical study that Indian English has between fifty to ninety-five per cent intelligibility.

Nelson (1982; 1984), rejecting the approach to intelligibility which restricts the investigation to phonetic features, argues that intelligibility may be achieved with the aid of contextual cues, gestures, and even higher motivation on the part of the participants to communicate. He concludes that in broad terms NNEs are intelligible in the contexts in which they are used.

Kachru (1986) regards intelligibility as a cline parallel to the cline of bilingualism. Some people by virtue of greater exposure to the language either through education, the circles they move in or the work they do are more intelligible than others. He argues convincingly that this is not a feature of only non-native varieties. Quoting Daniel Jones and Ida Ward, he
shows that native varieties too are intelligible or not depending on such factors as the level of education of the speaker, his social background, and whether or not his interlocutor is familiar with his accent.

Furthermore, he is of the view that the issue of intelligibility should be discussed in the context of the use English is put to both by the speech community and the individual. In many cases English serves for only intranational communication, and therefore does not need to attain international intelligibility. The only time when international intelligibility is necessary is when one has to interact with native speakers or other non-native speakers outside one's speech community.

2.1.2.2 Models of NNEs

The issue of intelligibility often interacts with what teaching models are to be adopted in non-native speech communities. Previously the question did not arise, because it was taken for granted that the language of the educated native speaker was the model to be taught to all learners of English irrespective of the situation in which they are going to use the language. Received Pronunciation (RP) was usually the preferred model in those countries that had been under British colonial
administration, and General American in the former colonies of America. The use of native models is still defended by some native speakers and educational authorities who themselves are non-native speakers. Quirk (1989), for example, remarks that

The mass of ordinary native English speakers have never lost their respect for standard English, and it needs to be understood abroad too that standard English is alive and well, its existence and its value alike clearly recognised. (My emphasis)

This statement is surprising as the Kingman Report (1988) stresses the need to teach standard English in British schools, which can be taken as an indication that perhaps the respect accorded it is not universal. There have been numerous studies which have addressed this issue, e.g. Bamgbose (1971), Birnie (1971) Kachru (1982b; 1986), Wong (1982), and Platt et al. (1984). They all argue in favour of using local models in communities where the English language has been nativised.

Platt et al. (1984) refer to the dilemma faced by teachers who themselves are non-native speakers when it comes to the choice of models. The teacher is told by educational authorities that there are no non-native standard varieties that can be taught, yet he or she uses such a variety. Both Kachru (1986) and Platt et al. (1984) report that the preference of non-native speakers is to be taught (native) standard English. Quirk (1989)
argues from this that is what they want to be taught, so they must be taught it.

However, it can be argued that even where a native variety is the model, in reality the non-native English teacher presents his or her version of it, so in effect it is non-native norms masquerading as native models (Owusu-Ansah 1991). The answer to the problem is therefore to cultivate local educated norms to be taught in place of exonormative models.

Several problems arise from this decision, not least of all (a) identification of the norm, (b) codification and (c) acceptability. In many places the norm setters are held to be the most highly educated speakers, usually university graduates (Platt et al. 1984). But as Boadi (Quoted in Platt at al., ibid.) points out, this excludes many speakers whose speech one would like to call 'educated'. Bamgbose's (1971) suggestion is to take the variety that is both internationally and nationally acceptable as the norm to be developed into a teaching model.

Even if a norm is identified, the problem of codification is stupendous. The economies of most countries where English is used as a second language cannot support the sort of research upon which codification should be based. This is one of the reasons
why many speech communities still aim at teaching native models which have already been documented.

The issue of acceptability also looms large. Eventually what is decided on has to be accepted by the international community; but before then, it has to be accepted by non-native speakers themselves. Kachru (1986) suggests that non-native models are gradually gaining respectability, but it will be some time before they are universally accepted.
2.1.2.3 Styles and discourse features of NNEs

There have been several studies in this tradition dealing with variation in both literary and non-literary texts (e.g. Y. Kachru 1985, Magura 1982; 1984, Dissanayake and and Nichter 1987). These studies have sought to prove that NNEs are dynamic, creative, and moulded carefully in response to the situations in which they are used. In support of this claim, the works and statements of literary artists such as Achebe, Awoonor and Rao have been closely scrutinised, and quoted as evidence of deliberate and purposeful deviation to achieve effects otherwise impossible to achieve (Mazrui 1975, Parthasarathy 1987, Thumboo 1985). The feeling now is that the English language is actually being enriched in being used by writers and speakers of different cultures (Spencer 1971).

2.1.2.4 Summary

The study of NNEs has brought to the fore issues that were glossed over before; however, it has been expressed that interest in the propagation of these varieties may be getting out of hand. Quirk (1989) hinted at this when he labelled the movement "liberation linguistics", thus
linking it with liberation theology. The term "liberation" clearly calls attention to the political dimension of recent statements about NNEs.

Further, some of the statements made by researchers in this framework are considered inadequately substantiated by empirical evidence. For example, in his review of Kachru's *The Alchemy of English* (1985) Fishman notes the scanty empirical evidence on which statements about the spread of English are based. In connection with this the present writer has noted the absence of a corpus of NNEs on the same scale as the London-Lund and the LOB corpora (Owusu-Ansah 1991).

There is no doubt that a good deal of empirical research needs to be carried out to validate the claims of scholars who investigated NNEs from the point of view of use rather than deviation. However, this approach seems to offer the best model for the present research.

2.2 FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The present research adopts a sociolinguistic approach. It is eclectic in that the concepts on which it is based and the methods used can be traced to a number of sources. The main ones are discussed below. An eclectic framework is necessarily 'pick-and-choose' in character.
Hence it is only those aspects which directly affect the present study which will be discussed here.

2.2.1 Ethnography of Communication

The particular approach to linguistic study favoured by American ethnographic linguists is what Hymes has called 'ethnography of speaking' (Hymes 1962). Historically the ethnographic tradition in American linguistics grew out of anthropology, and many of its practitioners, e.g. Boas, Sapir and Whorf had training in this field.

Much of the impetus to ethnographic research in the 1960's and 1970's, when it established itself as a major linguistic force, came from adopting a critical stance to other linguistic traditions, notably American generativism (Hymes 1983). In particular, the notion of communicative competence was put forward as an alternative to Chomsky's concept of linguistic competence (Hymes 1971). Communicative competence refers to the "rules of use without which the rules of grammar are useless" (Hymes 1971).

The ethnographic approach in linguistics is characterised by its emphasis on the following:
(a) the central position of historical and socio-cultural context in the study of language of a speech community;

(b) the acceptance of, and interest in, linguistic variation;

(c) communicative competence or the competence underlying the ability of members of speech community to make use of language (and other means of communication) in the varieties of situations that occur in their society;

(d) natural data in linguistic analysis, rather than constructed, idealised examples;

(e) the study of spoken language, especially interactive language, but also written language (Basso 1974);

(f) the actual variation in code to express different kinds of meaning including social meaning.

The starting point of ethnographic investigation is the speech community, and the above-mentioned concerns determine the kinds of questions it poses and the methods by which they are answered.

The types of data used in ethnographic studies are many. One list includes information about historical background, material artefacts, social organisation, legal structure, artistic values, common beliefs about language use, and the linguistic code (Saville-Troike
1983). Not all of these are actually used in every study (Saville-Troike ibid), but ethnographic investigation does not rule out any of them as irrelevant to the study of language.

Consequently, the amount of data used in ethnographic studies tends to be large. Grimshaw (1974) defends the use of large quantities of data in this kind of research when he writes:

> It is simply that a smaller corpus will serve for linguistic analysis than for adequate ethnographies of speaking.

To be able to collect all these data, ethnographers use a battery of fieldwork methods, including introspection, participant-observation, observation, interviewing, ethnosemantics, ethnomethodology and interaction analysis. (Saville-Troike 1983). These techniques, when applied, generate natural data or the closest representation to what actually takes place when people use language.

The ethnographic approach has been used in studying a wide range of situations, including so-called "exotic" cultures and languages (e.g. Scollon and Scollon 1979), as well as "normal situations", e.g. Black American speech styles (Labov 1972, Shuy et al. 1968, Wolfram 1968, Wheatley 1981), White middle class speech (Tannen 1984), and the second language classroom (van Lier 1988).
From the point of view of the present study, both the ethnographers' interest in naturally occurring language and the methods of eliciting data are relevant. The fieldwork reported in Chapter 5 is heavily influenced by the methods and principles of ethnography.

2.2.2 Institutional Linguistics

The present study can also be placed within the framework of institutional linguistics. This branch of linguistics deals with language-contact situations but it differs from the sociology of language in focusing on specific cases rather than general principles (Hill 1958, Ellis 1965). Halliday et al. (1964) stake out the boundaries of institutional linguistics as follows:

... we are concerned with the branch of linguistics which deals, to put it in the most general terms, with the relation between a language and the people who use it. This includes the study of language communities singly and in contact, of varieties of language and of attitudes to language. The various special subjects involved here are grouped together under the name of "institutional linguistics."

Even though the term institutional linguistics is not very often used in recent literature, the ideas it embodies still permeate the work of many linguists, notably those from the systemic-functional school. According to Halliday et al. (1964) the following may be
said to be the general principles underlying research based on this approach:

(a) The starting point for investigating language phenomena is the language community. From this, questions relating to the attitudes of the members of the community to their language and the way they use it, including the varieties available to the speakers, can be posed.

(b) The study of language should take into account the social context in which it occurs. This is the view underlying the expression "context of situation", first coined by Malinowski (1924) to describe aspects of cultural activity, and borrowed with modification by Firth (Firth 1957).

(c) Language is a resource for making meaning. In this regard language is seen as one of the semiological systems through which information as well as goods-and-services are exchanged (Halliday 1974). It is thus a social phenomenon in that it happens between participants in a community rather than inside someone's head.5

(d) Choice is the organising principle in language. What this means is that language is made up of choices in a network of systems with each choice serving as the entry point for subsequent choices. To illustrate, in conveying a message one has to make a choice between

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5 This view contradicts the rationalist one propounded by Chomsky which sees language as a mental representation of the ideal speaker-hearer (Chomsky 1965).
writing and speech, each of which has its own peculiar characteristics.

(e) The investigation of language should be approached functionally. This means that since language is basically a communicative tool it should be the interest of the linguist to describe the functions served by the forms and what situational factors influence the choice of particular forms.

The relation between form and function has been described in terms of three types of meaning or macrofunctions, namely

1. Ideational meaning which has to do with a person's knowledge of the world and is made up of the experiential and logical components.

2. Interpersonal meaning which has to do with the relationship between participants in a discourse situation.

3. Textual meaning which refers to the organisation of text as message.

These three meanings are the basis for the investigation of the contextual variation in code referred to as registers. Registers describe the variation according to medium (written or spoken), subject matter and formality.6

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6 Ellis and Ure (1982) identify a fourth dimension 'role' which is part of 'field' of Halliday et al. (1964). The present study treats role and field as separate dimensions, e.g. in Chapter 4 one of the differences
It is clear from the foregoing that institutional linguistics shares a good deal in common with the ethnography of communication. Indeed Halliday (1973) considers his work to be ethnographical in approach.

Apart from these two approaches the present study also borrows from the ideas and methods of Labov (1966, 1972) and the social psychologists such as Giles and Brown. Labov's work provides support for the use of quantification in sociolinguistic research and the social psychologists have approached the study of situation from the angle of the individual as he is affected by both social psychologists and psychological factors working on communication. In spite of differences in emphasis these too have something to offer the present study.

2.2.3 Summary and Conclusion

Institutional linguistics, as originally described by Hill (1958) and later developed by systemic-functional linguists, is concerned with language communities, the language or languages used by their members and the factors affecting the choice of varieties in different

between Text 1 and Text 2 is that the former was produced to be formally assessed while the latter was not. This difference, separate from field, is one of role.
contexts. Its main concerns are those investigated in the present research.

The present study is also influenced by the approach to language adopted by the ethnographic approach of Hymes and others which emphasises the role of large quantities of both linguistic and non-linguistic data in the description of language varieties.

The choice of framework was based on the awareness that language use, rather than acquisition, approaches offered the best models for describing what happens in GE and similar NNEs.
3.0 INTRODUCTION

The present study is concerned with the effects of formality on the use of English by university students in Ghana. Formality as a phenomenon should be of interest to researchers studying NNEs because:

(a) it is known to affect the form of language and so is one dimension on which to study the efficiency of a variety as a communicative tool, the assumption being that an efficient use of language includes varying the code according to the situation, and

(b) different cultures, and by implication speech communities, are governed by different norms of social behaviour including the use of language. It is therefore an area where major differences between Ghanaian English and other varieties, especially NVEs, can be expected.

As a topic formality has attracted the attention of many scholars including Joos (1961), Labov (e.g.1966), Hymes (1971), Pride (1971), Brown and Fraser (1979), and Newman (1988), to mention a few. However, the term is
often used without explicit definition, and yet it is clear from the various uses of it that it refers to a wide range of phenomena. The aim of the present chapter, therefore, is

(a) to discuss the phenomena to which the term formality will be applied in the present study,
(b) to discuss some studies into formality and related phenomena including some which do use the term, and
(c) to propose a framework for analysing the linguistic realisation of formality in the data provided by Ghanaian university students.

3.1 DEFINING FORMALITY

3.1.1 Formality in Register Theory

A maximum of four situational dimensions are used in describing varieties according to use, namely (a) medium (b) kind of subject matter (c) social function of language event and (d) social and personal relations (Ellis and Ure 1969, 1982). In this theory formality is one of the terms in the system of language patterning

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1 Halliday et al. (1964) classify registers along only three dimensions: medium, field and tenor, which refers to social and personal relations above.
corresponding to the situational dimension of social and personal relationship, as shown on Table 3-1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational dimension</th>
<th>Language patterning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject matter</td>
<td>field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social function</td>
<td>role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social and personal</td>
<td>formality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According this table 'formality' refers primarily to linguistic rather than social phenomena, but it is directly related to an aspect of the situation: the relationship between addressor and addressee. Register theory recognises three macro-functions, also referred to as meanings. These are ideational, textual and interpersonal (Halliday and Hasan 1975, Halliday 1985a).  

Formality corresponds to the interpersonal dimension of communication which is seen as a cline made up of three levels: 'formal', 'neutral' and 'informal' (Ellis and Ure 1969). Formal refers to situations in which the addressee is higher in status than the addressee, informal refers

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2 Based on Ellis and Ure (1982).
3 These correspond to Halliday's three dimensions as follows:

ideational = field

| textual = medium

| tenor = formality.
to the reverse situation and neutral refers to situations when no particular addressee is envisaged, e.g. in academic writing (Ellis and Ure 1969). However, they point out that neutral formality and formality proper may share linguistic features in English. This is a recognition, absent in other discussions, that there is no one-to-one correspondence between linguistic behaviour and social reality.

The present study makes use of the register theory broadly outlined above in that the main analyses focus on the linguistic patterning which can be observed in Ghanaian English texts collected in situations characterised by both symmetrical and non-symmetrical relations (Eisenstadt 1971).

The following sections will discuss politeness and social distance, because they are often mentioned in connection with participant relationships. The discussion will show how these two are related to the phenomenon of formality as described in register theory.

3.1.2 Politeness

In its everyday use 'politeness' means respect towards other people, especially elders, people in authority and women. Polite behaviour differs from one culture to
another (Gleason 1955, Crystal 1971, 1980). In Ghana it may include avoiding eye contact when speaking to a superior, approaching a superior, especially a traditional chief, without footwear, and giving up one's seat to elderly persons and mothers. In speech it includes staying off taboo topics such as sex and related issues, children and people of lower status speaking little, avoiding the use of proverbs and wise sayings and using the equivalent of 'please' or 'excuse me' to their superiors as often as possible.

The everyday meaning of the term 'politeness' is somewhat different from its technical use. (See Brown and Levinson 1987 and Arnt et al. 1985). Brown and Levinson, whose work is the most comprehensive study of the concept of politeness, see politeness as the maintenance of face, a notion defined as public self-image which every person claims and wants others to recognise. They distinguish between speech acts which threaten other people's face and those which do not.

Politeness consists in avoiding face-threatening acts

4 This was confirmed in an interview the present writer had with Andoh-Kumi, a lecturer in Ghanaian language linguistics, during the fieldwork. This interview was not transcribed because of the policy to use only data provided by students.

5 The Akan expressions are me pa wo kye, sebe and tafrakye, which is also used in Ga.

6 Speakers of Akwapim, a dialect of Akan, are often cited in jokes as making rather more use of these politeness markers than others, including prefixing them to insults, e.g. me pa wo kye se wo ye aboa, translated roughly as 'Please you are a fool.'
(FTAs), such as avoiding topics which the other person does not have a competence in or expressing a request in a way that does not leave the addressee the option of not fulfilling it.

Politeness and formality are related in the sense that formal situations call for polite behaviour. However the relationship is not a straightforward one. Although we are often polite to people we do not know and to those enjoying a higher status, it is possible to be impolite in both formal and informal situations. Indeed one way of offending another person is to be over polite when a relationship calls for the relaxation in the rules of behaviour.

3.1.3 Distance

As a term for describing participant relationships distance subsumes a number of phenomena such as seniority, familiarity (or Cloran's (1987) social intimacy) and proximity\(^7\). Donohue et al. (1983) identify three kinds of distance, namely psychological ('them and us' relations) role (power) and social (formality). Other writers use 'social distance' to describe all kinds of

\(^7\) Proximity is not discussed further here because it was not investigated in the present study; however its role in signalling intimacy or lack of it is well known.
relationship between addressee and addressee in an encounter (Brown and Gilman 1960, Ervin-Tripp 1969, Brown and Levinson 1987). This use covers all three types discussed by Donohue et al. and it will be the sense in which 'social distance' will be used in this study. Poynton (1990) links social distance to formality when she writes:

The notion of social distance does seem to be central to the question of formality ... (p. 37).

For our purpose two kinds of social distance are recognised, namely (a) vertical (b) horizontal. Vertical social distance is hierarchical and recognises three types of relationships between people: 'superior-to', 'equal-to' and 'inferior-to' relationships. As these expressions imply vertical social distance has to do with seniority which may be looked at from the point of view of who has the right to exercise power over whom.

In the social sciences, power is treated either from a a zero-sum point of view (i.e. power is held by an elite group to the exclusion of others) or, a consensus point of view (i.e. power is diffused through society and, therefore, is not the monopoly of any one group or person) Abercrombie et al. 1988). The zero-sum notion of power can be related to politeness in Ghanaian societies as described above in the sense that people of lower status (juniors) are required to be polite to those of
higher status (seniors) without the converse being necessarily true.

Horizontal social distance is non-hierarchical. It has to do with how well participants know one another and is often expressed in terms such as 'get close to', 'keep at arms length', and 'approachable' (Poynton 1990). The everyday term for this is familiarity. Familiarity affects the other kind of distance. For example, an employer and employee who are closely known to one another may still be separated by unequal power, but the exercise of the former's power over the subordinate will be constrained by familiarity. Sometimes this can lead to problems as testified by the saying 'familiarity breeds contempt', a reference to the tendency on the part of subordinates to drop polite conventions in interacting with superiors, even when such conventions are needed in particular situations.

Both hierarchical and non-hierarchical social distance affect formality and also the linguistic form used in encounters characterised by them. The nature of the linguistic adjustment differs from culture to culture. For example, in Burundi peasants have been reported to adopt a stammering speech style as a sign of deference when speaking to superiors; in Japanese, honorifics are used to signal differences in status, but in European languages V-forms of pronouns, instead of T-
forms, may be used for a similar purpose (Brown and Gilman 1960). These examples underline the fact that the description of formality in one language situation cannot be expected to fit exactly the facts of another situation.

3.1.4 Use of 'Formality' in the Present Study

In this study the unqualified term 'formality' or 'social formality' will be used to describe the social distance between participants in an act of communication, and 'linguistic formality' will be used for the language patterning associated with different levels of formality. Thus, the distinction between situation and language is maintained, while recognising that each affects the other. Furthermore, it makes allowance for the fact that social and linguistic phenomena are not in a one-to-one relationship, and therefore it is not necessarily the case that all levels of social formality are distinguishable by the linguistic form (O'Donnell and Todd 1980, Ellis and Ure 1982).  

8 V-forms, e.g. *vous* in French, are used for superiors, and strangers, while T-forms, e.g. *tu*, are used for equals, subordinates, and close relations (Brown and Gilman 1960).

9 O'Donnell and Todd reject the concept of register but many of their views on style are part of register theory, including the lack of direct correspondence between language patterning and situational factors.
Having established how the term 'formality' will be used in the study, it is now appropriate to discuss other applications of the term in order to show how they differ from the present use of it.

3.2 OTHER APPLICATIONS OF THE TERM 'FORMALITY'

3.2.1 Formality and the Wider Social Setting

A situation may be said to be formal or informal on the basis of the characteristics of setting, participant relationships, purpose of the interaction and the nature of the speech event (Brown and Fraser 1979). A formal situation is one in which rules of behaviour are highly restrictive. These may be rules of dressing, eating, dancing and so on.

Formality is often associated with the distinction between casual and non-casual situations (Voegelin 1960), with informal situations being casual and formal situations non-casual. The link is taken further by those who argue that formal situations are ritualised while informal situations are not (Bernstein 1966, 1975; Harold 1972). The evidence from even informal observation of social situation suggests that this link is an oversimplification of social reality. In fact,
rituals occur in both casual and non-casual situations. For example, exchange of greetings is usually ritualised, but this does not make it formal. Therefore, types of ritual rather than the presence or absence of rituals may be the crucial factor in distinguishing formality from informality.

3.2.2. Formality and Code Choice

Different social situations call for different varieties of language referred to as 'codes'. In a monolingual community the repertoire of codes is within one language (Ervin-Tripp 1969, Saville-Troike 1983). These may be social or areal dialects. For example, local varieties of English may be used as the 'home language' in conversation among members of a family. But the same speakers will resort to a less geographically-marked code in performing more formal tasks such as classroom teaching.

Such code specialisation may result in a diglossia. In the original formulation of this concept, two varieties of the same language, e.g. Arabic, are restricted to social situations of different formality levels (Ferguson 1959). Classical Arabic is the appropriate code in the lecture situation but spoken
Arabic is used in the discussion after the lecturer's delivery.

In bilingual communities such as Ghana the different codes can be found in two languages. The Ghanaian languages are usually used in informal situations and English in formal ones. In Paraguay, Spanish and Guarani perform similar functions (Pride 1971). This situation can be described as diglossia in the sense of Fishman (1967).

However, there is a notable difference. The existence side by side of two languages often leads to 'mixed languages' (Forson 1969, 1979; Ure 1974). This involves the use of more than one code in the same discourse. Ure and Ellis (1982) have looked at the Ghanaian situation in terms of 'brows': High, Middle and Low. High corresponds to English, middle to mixed English and Ghanaian languages and low to pure Ghanaian languages.

This is true in most cases. However, there are many situations in which GL is used in what may be regarded as formal situations, e.g. in both traditional and modern courts, not to mention Ghanaian cultural celebrations. The repertoire of the Ghanaian speaker of English has been described in Figure 1-2 above.

This model treats the repertoire of the Ghanaian English speaker as a cline of choices extending from GL
to English such that both languages can be used in formal as well as informal situations. Pure code-mixing, which is different from the use of loan words and expressions,\textsuperscript{10} occurs in informal situations only. The diagram also implies that the English used in informal situations shows more GL influence than that used in formal situations (Owusu-Ansah 1991).\textsuperscript{11}

3.2.3 Formality and Attention to Language

According to this view language use in formal situations is characterised by greater precision of articulation, or writing, which is the result of paying close attention to the expression of the content. Labov's work on New York English (Labov 1966, 1972) lends support to this idea. He found that the 'r-forms' of word like third, which were prestigious in New York, were used in reading lists and minimum pairs but not in normal conversation, which by its nature is not self-conscious.

Several other studies are based on similar ideas about formality but have used different terminology. One such approach is based on the concept of 'plannedness'\textsuperscript{10}  See Forson (1979) for a distinction between the two phenomenon.\textsuperscript{11} It is also implied by the model that the GL of informal situations is more influenced by English than that of formal situations.
(Ochs 1979). In situations of high formality more time is spent in planning what to say and write than in informal situations. Thus, two types of language use are distinguished using the criterion of plannedness, namely 'planned' and 'unplanned' speech. The former is more elaborate in syntax and more correct according to the rules prescribed by grammar books. The latter is full of mispronunciation, hesitation, and deviations from grammar rules. In addition the syntax is held to be relatively simple.

It is clear that the two concepts of 'planning' and 'attention' can be related to the distinction of casual versus non-casual situations mentioned above. It can also be related to written versus spoken distinction. Written communication usually involves more planning than spoken. Writing is therefore used in serious situations where records are necessary for future reference. It is therefore the medium most suited to formal communication.\(^\text{12}\) Spoken communication is usually less formal and used in situations where no records are necessary.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{12}\) In fact, writing and formality are in a give-and-take relationship in that formal situations often use the written medium and the use of writing helps to create formality, as exemplified by the discussion between two colleagues that becomes formalised by one of them writing a follow-up to the other.

\(^{13}\) Some situations make use of both spoken and written communication, e.g. meetings and court sessions. Typically the 'imperfections' of the spoken communications are edited out in the written records.
In recent studies attention has focused on a similar distinction between product and process (Cook 1989). Planning often involves presenting phenomena as 'things' through what Halliday (1985a) refers to as grammatical metaphor. Thus, communication events which allow for planning tend to be product-oriented with a high percentage of nominals. On the other hand lack of planning time leads to a process-oriented communication, which has a high frequency of verbal elements. Formal discourse is often product-oriented and informal discourse process-oriented.

However, these relationships are not direct. Some spoken communication is formal while some written communication is informal. Again, some writing allows for little on-the-spot planning, e.g. writing examinations, while some spoken events can be planned. However, in such cases it can be argued that planning takes place before the actual communication act.

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14 Sometimes a distinction is made between real and apparent time. Speech takes place in real time and therefore allows little room for planning, while most writing takes place in apparent time when planning is possible.
3.2.4 Formality as a Scale

It is commonly accepted that formality is a cline but every scholar dissects this cline differently. Ellis and Ure (1969), to which we have referred above, identify three levels similar to those proposed by Hymes (1971), although it cannot be assumed that the two scales are identical, since Hymes calls his levels 'formal', 'colloquial' and 'vulgar'. In contrast, Newmark (1988: 14) suggests an eight-point scale made up of 'officialese', 'official', 'formal', 'neutral', 'informal', 'colloquial', 'slang' and 'taboo'.

Apart from the terms 'colloquial' and 'formal' it is difficult to see how the Newmark's scale relates to the two previously mentioned. Does Newmark's informal correspond to Ellis and Ure's informal and Hymes's colloquial? 'Taboo' appears to match 'vulgar' in the former scale but since it is part of a system of eight terms its domain may be different. Neither 'taboo' or 'vulgar' will be used in this study because of their negative connotations. Furthermore, treating officialese and official as separate levels is doubtful and serves to extend Newmark's scale unnecessarily.

Perhaps the earliest and best-known scale of formality proposed by a linguist is Joos's (1961) 'five clocks'. On the basis of both situational factors and
code differences he distinguishes frozen, formal, consultative, casual and intimate styles. For example, he says of the casual style that it "is for friends, acquaintances, insiders" (p. 19), and of the formal style that it tends to avoid allusions to the speaker by not using _I, me, mine_ (p. 25).

Although Joos's description of the five styles provides a wealth of information, it has serious drawbacks as a model for research. The approach lacks a rigorous definition of the different clocks. One problem resulting from this is that, while one can easily think of situations in which the two extremes occur, it is not so easy to find corresponding situations for the intermediate categories (see Pride 1971).

Another drawback is that it is based solely on one variety of American English without any indication as to how it might be applied to other varieties of English. Therefore it is of limited usefulness to the present research, which is about English in a non-mother tongue community.

The five-point scale adopted in 3.3 for collecting language data is based on situational contrasts in the Ghanaian context, and it is more sharply defined than Joos's five clocks.
3.2.5 Formality and Linguistic Complexity

Several studies discuss formality in relation to linguistic complexity, where complexity refers to syntactic complexity (e.g. Pride 1971, Beiner 1988). Formal language is considered to be complex and informal language simple. Pride challenges this assertion on the grounds that both formal and informal discourse are complex but in different ways. He consequently distinguishes two types of complexity:

(a) complexity arising from redundancy

(b) complexity arising from ellipsis

He argues that formal discourse is characterised by redundancy and informal discourse by ellipsis. He further points out that the complexity of formal language is often used to conceal meaning and exclude some persons from sharing in it. On the other hand the complexity of informal discourse is an indication of shared meaning.

Two points arise from Pride's discussion of complexity as it relates to formality. First, he restricts himself to syntactic complexity. But the concept can be extended to cover other levels, e.g. lexis. Formal words often create distance or obscure

15 Lexical complexity has not been investigated much in mainstream linguistics apart from dictionaries which label words as formal, technical, colloquial etc. But such labels give information about situations in which words are appropriate rather than about their use in maintaining or suppressing interpersonal relationships.
meaning by rendering the text abstract (Poynton 1990). Informal words, in contrast, are said to make meaning accessible, and to foster integration (Tannen 1984).

Second, although the complexities of formal and informal discourse are structurally different, they are often used for the same purpose: both to exclude others and to integrate with one's group (Gumperz 1972). A case in point is the use of slang, which is at the informal end of the scale, to create distance between insiders and outsiders (Pythian 1975). Users of formal language also share a norm from which non-users are excluded. Thus, what separates formal and informal language is neither sheer complexity nor the desire to exclude others from sharing in the meaning, but the nature of the complexity.

3.2.6 Formality and Prestige Forms

The opportunity to monitor one's speech often leads to so-called prestige forms being chosen. The prestige norm is usually the variety used by an elite group with political and economic power. It is these forms which are usually described in grammar books, taught in the schools, and used by the mass media. The low prestige forms, chosen in informal situations, are mostly the vernacular of 'powerless' sections of the community.
Labov (1966) revealed that both his middle class and working class informants used more of the prestige forms in formal situations and more of the stigmatised forms in informal situations. Women also tended to have more of the prestige forms than men. These findings were confirmed by Trudgill (1974) in his study of Norwich English, which was based on the Labovian model.

These findings highlight the issue of language use and the classes which has been addressed by Bernstein under the rubric of elaborated and restricted codes (Bernstein 1966, Harold 1972). The language of the middle class is said to be elaborated, while that of the lower classes is restricted. By this Bernstein means not only syntactic elaboration, or lack of it, but also that the elaborated code is relatively independent of context, while the restricted code is over-dependent on context. The former is the code used in formal situations and the latter is the one used in informal situations.

However, the relationship between different codes and formality is complex. While the code used in formal situations is closer to the ideal presented in grammar books, the one used in informal situations can also function in some formal situations. This is the case in contact situations, such as in Ghana, where Type III
speakers are likely to use GL in court because of restricted command of the higher registers in English\textsuperscript{16}.

3.3 A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSING FORMALITY

The framework adopted in this study is participant-oriented. The rationale for this is that it is participants as members of a speech community who create as well as recognise formality. Other situational factors like location, purpose and topic of discussion play a significant but limited role in creating conditions of formality. For example, in a classroom a teacher assumes the role of superior to the pupil, because both of them recognise it as a situation which highlights the institutionalised power of the teacher and the pupil's lack of it.

Figure 3-1 is a visual representation of the framework on which the description of formality in the present study is based. Both vertical and horizontal distance have five levels labelled from A to E

\textsuperscript{16} The situation is not altogether different from what obtains in monolingual situations where individual speakers do not have access to all the registers in the language, the notion of ideal native speaker-hearer notwithstanding.
where A is high and E is low, as in Figure 3-1 above. The level of formality can be worked out by finding the intersection of the horizontal and vertical scales designated by two letters separated by a comma, e.g. A,A indicates highest level of formality and E,E lowest level of formality, or informality. Language data from these two extremes were what was examined in the preliminary study reported in Chapter 4.

The most important advantage of this model is that it is flexible enough to incorporate the changes in distance along one or both of the dimensions. For example, in the case of the servant who is shown deference by his superior because of long service, the narrowing of horizontal distance will affect the personal relation between them, though this may be restored in public.
3.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has briefly reviewed notions of formality and related issues like familiarity, seniority, and power, stressing the differences between the Ghanaian situation and others. It was felt that out of the many uses of the term 'formality' the one which takes interpersonal relationships as the starting point was the most relevant to the present study. In particular, this participant-centered approach allows for the observable linguistic variation to be related to contextual variation without circularity in argument. Chapter 10 will be devoted to establishing this link.
PART II
PRELIMINARY STUDY AND FIELDWORK
CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRELIMINARY STUDY

4.0 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The preliminary study has the status of a pilot. Its aim was to look closely at a small sample of data collected in situations similar to the ones to be investigated in the main study. The purpose of the pilot study was to establish whether the present writer's intuition that formality was the most important factor affecting variation in Ghanaian English (GE) was worth a full investigation.

It was also to establish the most relevant research questions and hypotheses for the main study, and to identify the particular linguistic features which are most sensitive to variation in the level of formality.

The preliminary study also had as one of its objectives to bring to light the methodological problems of data collection and analysis likely to be encountered in this research. The aim was to apply the preferred analytic framework, systemic-functional grammar, to a small sample of data to find out how well it could
describe variation within GE. This was important, because most of the descriptions\textsuperscript{1} based on systemic-functional approach take as their data native varieties of English (NVEs).

A preliminary study was needed for the additional reason that there are no written descriptions of GE in its own right even though structurally and functionally, it is a different variety from British English which is still considered as the outside norm. Descriptions of NVEs are relevant as background to the discussion of what happens in GE but provide no direct evidence of what is affecting variation in GE.

4.1 PROCEDURE

4.1.1 Data Collection and Sampling

Two types of discourse were looked at in great detail:

(1) a chapter from an extended essay about justice in King Lear (hereafter the Lear Text or Text 1) and

(2) a discussion among three friends centring on a wood varnish (hereafter the Wood Varnish Text or Text 2).

\textsuperscript{1} The notable exception is work on lexical density. See, for example, Ure 1981 which compares the lexical densities of both English and Akan texts.
Chapter 4

The two texts represented the extreme ends of the scale of formality proposed in Chapter 3.

4.1.1.1 The Extended Essay or Text 1

The extended essay, commonly referred to as Project or Long Essay in Cape Coast University, is a report of a piece of research carried out by major students\(^2\) under the guidance of a supervisor who is usually a member of the academic staff. The work is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It is, therefore, an important piece of writing for the student. The level of supervision depends on the individual supervisor and the relationship that develops between him and the student. Although editorial assistance is generally given by supervisors, the final output is considered to be the production of the student, and its success or failure is officially his responsibility.

The essay under discussion is representative of long essays written in Faculties of Arts in the three universities of Ghana. It was written in 1981 by a 24

\(^2\) Major students at Cape Coast University are selected on the basis of the results of the second year examinations. The qualified candidates should have achieved an average of B in all their papers. Some qualified candidates do opt to do 'combined', i.e. carry on with two subjects in the third and final years.
year old final year student, Evelyn A, a native speaker of Akan, who had her secondary school education at a Type A school.3

The portion of the essay analysed in the preliminary study was 2048 words long.

4.1.1.2 The Wood Varnish Discussion or Text 2

This discussion took place sometime in the 1989 academic year at Oguaa Hall, University of Cape Coast, Ghana. It was recorded by a student of the university who was acting as a field assistant.

There were three male participants in all:

A: the field assistant a 24 year old Arts student who spoke Akan as his mother tongue.

B: A 26 year old science student at the University of Cape Coast who had discovered a formula for making varnish during his Project. His mother tongue was Ewe, but he was also fluent in Akan.

3 Secondary schools in Ghana are classified into Types A and B. The former, which are well established and located in the urban centres, are held to be superior to the latter, which are to be found in the rural areas. The students in Type A schools usually come from middle class backgrounds, while those in Type B schools are from less privileged homes. Therefore type of school can be taken as a rough guide to the social-economic background of informants.
C: A 24 year old Akan speaking science student at the same university. He contributed least of all to the discussion, because he appeared to be cooking a meal during the talk. Nevertheless his turns were interesting because they both exhibited many features of contact varieties and appeared to invite the use of contact features from the other participants.

The three participants had the following characteristics in common:

(a) They lived in the same hall of residence,
(b) they all attended Type A schools and
(c) they were all male.

The main differences were that A was in his third year and younger than B who was in his final year. However, seniority due to age and length of stay at the university did not appear to have affected the discourse.\(^4\)

The discussion lasted about forty minutes. Even though there were several sections of the recording that were unintelligible and thus untranscribable, the resulting transcription was 2537 words long and took fifteen hours to complete. The system of transcription which evolved during the transcription will now be explained below.

\(^4\) Thavenius (1983) observes that five years is the minimum age difference that affects the interaction in the situations she describes.
4.1.2 Transcription of Data

The normal English spelling system was used almost throughout together with symbols indicating pausing, overlapping speech, unintelligible segments and other paralinguistic features such as laughter and noise level. The symbols are as follows:

( ) to enclose elements of contact varieties.
[ ] to enclose overlapping segments.
--- to indicate an incomplete turn.
? to indicate uncertainty about a word or longer segment of speech.
<U.S.> to indicate unintelligible segment of speech.

4.1.3 Comparison of Text 1 and Text 2

Texts 1 and 2 differ in the following respects.

(a) As regards medium Text 1 is a planned written discourse but Text 2 is a casual conversation.

(b) As regards subject matter Text 1 is about a Shakespearean tragedy while Text 2 is about a wood product.
(c) As regards social function Text 1 is part of a long essay which was going to be formally assessed, but Text 2 is only a conversation among friends.

(d) as regards personal relations Text 1 is characterised by inequality, i.e. student-lecturer/examiner relationship. In Text 2 on the other hand, the interactants are equal.

These differences are expected to affect the language used, but the exact contribution of each of them is difficult to assess, for although formality has been defined as a function of participant relationship, the mode, subject matter and purpose of the discourse also contribute to it.

4.1.4 Analytical Framework

The analytic framework adopted in this is systemic-functional grammar as presented in the writings of Halliday and other systemicists (e.g. Halliday and Hasan 1976, 1985; Halliday 1970, 1985a) supplemented by reference to Quirk et al. (1985). The analysis is a description of the realisations of the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions in Texts 1 and 2.
4.2 ANALYSIS OF TEXT 1 AND TEXT 2

The aim of this exercise was to make an exhaustive examination of the corpus in order to find out the predominant lexico-grammatical and discourse patterns in the two texts. The null hypothesis (H₀) was that there was no variation in GE. To test this, the following general features were focused upon:

1. **Lexical**

   Specific concerns under this heading were (a) the use of non-English words and expressions, (b) Non-English use of words and expressions that are otherwise English in origin, (c) lexical density and (d) length of lexical items.

2. **Grammatical**

   Under this were the use of (a) personal, reflexive and possessive pronouns (b) modal auxiliaries (c) mood (d) passive constructions (e) and grammatical complexity measured in terms of length of clause complexes, dependency and rankshifting.

3. **Thematic organisation**

   The most frequent forms occurring in thematic position and (b) their specific functions in the discourse.

   These features were selected because they have been shown to be sensitive to contextual variation in previous
4.2.1 Vocabulary Features

4.2.1.1 Use of Non-English Forms

These occurred exclusively in Text 2. Two categories were distinguished: (a) those taken from Ghanaian languages (GLs) and (b) those originating from Ghanaian Pidgin English (GPE). The two forms of borrowing have in common the fact that their use results in the creation of a contact variety in the sense defined in 1.3.

The table below sets out the non-English forms, their sources and meanings in the varieties from which they have been taken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mom</td>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>'however', general adversative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebei</td>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>interjection: 'What'!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwe</td>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>look; when used with a long vowel it has an exclamatory function.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beh</td>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>general introductory particle for utterances of all kinds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diee</td>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>a particle for highlighting what precedes it, meaning roughly 'as for this'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehe</td>
<td>GL</td>
<td>exclamation meaning recognition of a fact or acceptance of something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koraa</td>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>'not at all'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There were also more extensive instances of code-mixing which were mainly from Akan and GPE (Ghanaian Pidgin English) as the illustrations below show:

(1) Wo gyafo, eboko high o. And then you'll go and teach. Wo wie a wo se we should go and teach. It's crazy, isn't it?
(2) Wo nnyim de odeda beebi.
(3) Madamfo, wo wo onion piece bi wo ho?
(4) I-left small.
(5) I-good o.

Example (1) is a complete turn by participant A. It is significant in the way it combines cohesively elements from two unrelated languages within a single turn and sometimes within the same clause complex. A similar effect is achieved with (3) though on a reduced scale. Example (2) is different from (1) and (3) in that even though it is surrounded by English cotext it is a complete clause in Akan. Like the others it contributes to the creation of a contact variety but at a different level of analysis, the level of turn.

Examples (4) and (5) illustrate the use of pidgin material in a discourse of educated English. In the present corpus there are several instances of pidgin material ranging from (6) which is recognisably English, if non-standard to (7) which is clearly not English; e.g.
(6) So Dominic you finish with your visit?

(7) N-not quite; i-lef small.

Statistics of the non-English items in the corpus have not been provided because of the difficulty of ascertaining the exact proportion of the discourse taken up by the contact variety. The English and the non-English words in the text form an organic whole. Therefore, separating them distorts the phenomenon under investigation. A more important reason is that the significance of features of contact varieties in educated English discourse does not lie in the quantity but rather in the fact that they are present at all.

4.2.1.2 Non-English Use of Words and Expressions

There were many words and expressions in Text 2 which were not used in their regular English sense. The list includes different classes of words: lexical, grammatical, and one proper noun - Charley. These will be listed, exemplified and presented along with the native English forms for the purpose of highlighting the deviation from British English.
Charley, pronounced [tsâlé]:

Used in the corpus as a general address term rather like mate and pal in some varieties of native English; e.g.

(8) A: It can break down the material.
    B: But, Charley, it doesn't matter; it's one of those things.

In native English Charlie (different spelling and pronunciation but no doubt the source of the Ghanaian version) is a familiar form of 'Charles'.

Okay

The Oxford Dictionary of Current English has the following entry on the word okay

ok /əuˈkeɪ/ (also okay) colloq.

1. a&adv all right, satisfactory; (as int.) I agree
2n. approval, sanction, mark 'ok'. [orig. US app initials of all (or orl) korrect joc. form of all correct.]

In Text 2 it was frequently used to denote agreement or that something was all right as in the second instance in (9):

(9) A: ... I'm impressed [pause] but let's see how it does, Well, give it a day or two.
    B: Yeah, okay.
    A: Because sometimes these things look fine and
afterwards the wood absorbs it.

B: Okay.

In addition to this sense, okay was used as a discourse element or to help structure the discourse, e.g.

(11) A: That thing in the test tube looks like a urine sample [laughter].
B: [Laughter] the other time it stained my trousers.
A: Oh dear! Were you able to remove it?
B: Okay (1), it's a black trousers.
A: Oh, okay (2).

(12) B: ... Right now there is a guy, okay (3), you know we have clay [mispronounced]?
A: What's that?
B: White clay [now correctly pronounced].

Example (11) has two instances of okay, numbered (1) (2). (2) is closer to the dictionary meaning of "all right" quoted above; indeed, that turn can be rephrased as

Oh, that's all right

without loss to the meaning.

(1) is different in function. The context surrounding it suggests that in a previous turn the speaker has set up expectations which lead A to think that the event referred to is a very serious one. By using okay, the speaker corrects the wrong impression by first restructuring the information.
(3) is both similar to and different from okay (2). It too is a discourse structuring device; but in addition to that it also serves to restructure the grammar. After it the clause-complex takes a different turn both in terms of its thematic organisation and content of the message.

In all, okay occurred fifteen times in Text 2 but not in Text 1, an indication that its distribution is affected by the characteristics of the situation/text is in which produced including the participant relationship.

4.2.1.3 Lexical Density

Lexical density is the ratio of lexical items to grammatical words in a text. As Halliday (1985b) points out it has to do with the amount of information presented in the text. Two ways of measuring this have been used. Halliday (1985b) counts the number of lexical items per clause and then works out the mean density of clauses in a text. Ure's (1971) approach was adopted because this looks at the text as a whole, so what is being measured is slightly different.

In this study the term lexical item refers to content words and words belonging to the four major word classes (i.e. noun, verb, adjective, and adverb). Names of persons and places were also counted. In contrast,
the verb to be, was excluded, because phonologically and
grammatically it behaves like a non-content or structural
item.\footnote{Both as a copula and auxiliary it is seldom stressed,
and also it is among the first ten words in frequency
lists/cannot be expected to have interesting
colloca\textsuperscript{t}ions; the other most frequent words are
grammatical.} 5

Text 1 had a total number of 956 lexical items. Its
lexical density (LD) therefore is 46.7\%. This means that
nearly half of the words in the text were lexical items
and therefore carried informational load, making the text
very dense.

In comparison Text 2 had a total number of 873
lexical items, giving a lexical density of 34.4\%. Only a
third of the words in this text were therefore lexical.
Hence the text is less dense than the previous text.
This finding is consistent with the results obtained by
Ure in the study referred to above, which is that on the
whole written texts have a lexical density of \(40\%\) or
higher, whereas spoken texts have less than \(40\%\).

4.2.1.4 Long and Short Words

'Long words' were defined as words of more than two
syllables. Since in any text there are likely to be more
short words (i.e. words of one or two syllables long),
the long words were counted for each text and the figure obtained was expressed as a percentage of the total number of words in the texts.

Text 1 had 186 long words compared with 96 for Text 2. These figures represent 9.1% and 3.8% of the two texts respectively. Thus there were nearly three times as many long words in Text 1 as in Text 2. In addition there were instances in which no long word was found over hundred words in Text 2, but this was not the case in Text 1.

4.2.2 Pronouns

4.2.2.1 General Description

In the preliminary study the focus was on personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns, because they more than any other pronouns reflect the interpersonal dimension of discourse. The table below, adapted from Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 100), is a summary of English personal, reflexive and personal pronouns.

The choices of pronouns made in the two texts were interesting to study from the point of view of the total number per text and the different types used. Text 1 had a total of 179 personal, possessive and reflexive
pronouns, giving 8.74 percent of the total number of words. The personal pronouns that occurred in this text are presented below with the aid of a table, which has the advantage of highlighting the areas of the pronoun system that were not used in the present text.

TABLE 4-2: PERSONAL, REFLEXIVE AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN TEXT 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>PRONOUNS</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sg</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>she</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>herself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>them</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Surprisingly, there was only one occurrence of *it* that was truly a personal pronoun:

(13) Edmund writes a letter and ends it with Edgar's forged signature (where it clearly refers back to letter).

The majority of cases were impersonal in that they did not refer to any noun groups or nouns in particular; e.g.

(14) It is only Edgar, like Cordelia, who lives up to what is expected of him as a child.

(15) It is natural that a father should love best the child who loves him most.
The indefinite pronoun one was also used once in the entire text.

Text 2 differed from the previous text from the point of view of both the number and variety of pronouns used. In all 473 personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns were

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4-3: THE PERSONAL, REFLEXIVE AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN TEXT 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

used. This gives 17.2 percent of the total number of words in the text. In comparative terms there were twice as many pronouns in the Wood Varnish Text as in the Lear Text.

There was also a greater diversity of pronouns in the latter text as shown by the table above, even though the pronouns she, her, and herself did not occur in the discourse.

The first person pronouns I, me, my and the second person you, and your featured strongly in this text. All
instances of first person pronouns referred to the speaker. As expected most of the second person pronouns referred to the addressee, but there were a few instances when you had a more general reference; e.g.

(16) B: I want a brush. That's why I came to Opare's room.
    A: A brush. What kind of brush?
    B: The one you use in painting.

(17) B: ... Because this one + the product is, if you produce, if you react an alcohol with acid, you get this one and water; and the water can when you boil it, the water will just go away.

(18) A: Oh, they are the ones who select projects for you, sort of.
    B: No, you select them.

4.2.2.2 Cohesion in Text 1 and Text 2

Cohesion is the semantic relationship between a pronoun and its referent (Halliday and Hasan 1976, Hendricks 1976). Such a relationship may extend across sentence boundaries as in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) use of the term, but it may also exist within a sentence (ibid: 21) as in the examples below.

The third person singular pronouns he, she, him, her in both texts were cohesive, with the majority of them being anaphoric in reference. The distance between the first and subsequent mention of the full NP in some cases spanned several clauses in both texts.
(19) Goneril sees herself as the sole mistress over her father and wants to get rid and deprive him of all his apparent authority and she therefore uses the presence of Lear's knights in her house as a pretext for her evil designs. She complains bitterly to Lear that his followers have infested her grac'ful palace with their ill-manners. (Text 1).

(20) B: ... there is a man who wants to produce er // paint.
A: Paint. //
B: You see, that particular clay and that particular clay you can use it to produce --- so my pop has told him about me.
A: (U.S.)
B: If I finish, after school, I can still work with him.
A: Who is this guy, do you know him?
B: No, I haven't met him before.
A: He is not (U.S.) so he is right?
B: No, no, he is a businessman
A: Ah, I see. He will steal your ideas. (Text 2).

The pronouns they, them, etc. were frequently used in both texts. In Text 1 they were always cohesive but in Text 2 there were cases in which they appear to be exophoric, e.g.

(21) B: And you see he had five different projects and he selected this; he said this one was ---
A: Oh, they are the ones who select projects for you, sort of.
B: No, you select them.
A: No, they have topics ---
B: Yes
A: under which you have to choose one.
B: So they will put the topics down and you'll choose one...

They in the above example refers to authority and are similar to the type noted by Halliday and Hasan (1976) in
NVEs. Example (22) illustrates another type of non-cohesive they.

(22) B: Because if I'm able to publish it in one of the foreign journals, at least it will be there. Do you get what I'm saying?
A: Of course.
B: So you can't, even if you steal it, they will know that, unless you use a different formula altogether.

(23) C: For this one, one bottle be thousand cedis.
B: They said two thousand, one beer bottle.

(24) B: But the ones that they've been saying (?) have you ever smelled it before on the wood?

They in these examples differ from the previous ones. It can be argued that in (22) it refers to either foreign journals in B's turn or to the editors of the journals. In that case, it is only in an indirect sense that they be said to refer to authority. In (23) and (24) they refers to people in general. The third person plural pronoun in Ghanaian languages is often used to refer to the general public or a group of people whose identity it is deemed best to withhold. (Lyons 1968: 379)\(^6\). Lyons describes they used with this sense as a 'dummy subject' and clearly associates it with the passive voice.

\(^6\) It is used frequently in reporting rumour as in:

Wo se oyar
(Lit.: They say he is ill).
4.2.2.3 Cohesive IT

As mentioned earlier, Text 1 had only one instance of cohesive *it*, all the rest being exophoric in reference. Text 2 in contrast had many uses of anaphoric *it*, e.g.

(25) A: ...That thing in the test tube looks like a urine sample. [A and B both laugh]
B: The other time it (1) stained my trousers.
A: Oh dear! Were you able to remove it (2)?
B: ... Okay, it's (3) a black trousers.
A: Oh, okay.
B: You will still be [?] able to see.
A: So it (4) just left marks there.
B: Not marks, but I know that there is some chemical in it (5) --- that's what is worrying me, but ---
A: It (6) can break down the material.
B: But Charley, it (7) doesn't matter; it's (8) one of those things.

For easy reference all the instances of *it* in the passage have been italicised and numbered. *It* (1), clearly refers anaphorically to *that thing in the test tube*; but as the instances multiply it becomes potentially confusing to match all of them with their noun groups. In a good number of cases the referent is implied rather than directly stated. The table below attempts to match the instances of *it* with its referent in the extract together with some comments relating to the nature of the tie between the pronoun and its antecedent.
TABLE 4-4: THE PRONOUN IT AND SOME OF ITS REFERENTS IN TEXT 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>It</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It (1)</td>
<td>That thing in the test tube</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It (2)</td>
<td>stain</td>
<td>implied reference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It (3)</td>
<td>trousers</td>
<td>cataphoric reference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It (4)</td>
<td>that thing in the test tube</td>
<td>non-contiguous reference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It (5)</td>
<td>trousers</td>
<td>anaphoric, non-contiguous reference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It (6)</td>
<td>chemical</td>
<td>also possibly that thing in the test tube.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It (7)</td>
<td>the fact that the material can be broken down</td>
<td>implied reference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT (8)</td>
<td>such an accident</td>
<td>implied reference.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The identity chain between it and the noun group or idea it refers to is broken at several points. This should normally render comprehension difficult, but there was no evidence in the text to indicate that such was the case. There was only one instance in which the speaker felt that the use of it could be ambiguous and so attempted to reintroduce the antecedent, which proved unnecessary because the addressee filled in the missing word:

(26) B: So if I want a local substitute, then it should be that it should not contain this particular compound and it shouldn't have anything that will mask it, the er...
A: Property.
B: Yes, of the other ones ....
From the analysis so far it may be assumed that Text 2 exhibits more cohesion involving pronoun reference than Text 2.

4.2.3 Mood

The mood system is one of the main resources in the English language for signalling interpersonal relations in a discourse situation. The basic question that comes to mind when discussing mood is: Who can command, question and answer and inform who, and how and when?

In the following section a brief description of the English mood system will be provided as an introduction to the discussion of how interpersonal relations were realised through the mood choices in the two texts.

The mood system in English can be described formally in terms of the relationship between the subject and predicate elements of the clause. The subject or $S$ may precede or follow the predicate or $P$. The $S$-element may also be contained in the $P$-element. The various possible arrangements, which all occur in the first part of the clause, are symbolised as follows:
The arrangements of S and P elements are exploited in various ways, together with other resources of the language such as lexis and intonation, to convey different meanings in English. Figure 4-1 below summarises the different types of mood and their typical functions in English.

4.2.3.1 Mood in Text 1

The total number of mood choices, corresponding to the total number of free and bound clauses, in the Lear Text was 126. All of these were of the type S/P, i.e. all the clauses were of the declarative-statement type.

The predominance of the S/P type in an academic text is consistent with its function to give information rather than to request information or to cause the addressee to
FIGURE 4-1: THE MOOD SYSTEM IN ENGLISH

- **indicative**
  - declarative (with tag)
  - declarative (without tag)
  - polar (exclusive)
  - non-polar (inclusive)
- **interrogative**
- **imperative**
  - jussive (without tag)
  - jussive (with tag)
  - non-jussive

perform some action. However, even in academic writing it is not unknown for the other mood types to occur such as interrogative as a discourse-structuring device.

4.2.3.2 Mood in Text 2

Text 2 had a wider range of choices from the mood system of English. The total number of choices, corresponding

---

7 Adapted from Halliday (1967).
to the total number of free and bound clauses, were 180. All three major types were well represented, e.g.  

(27) God is wonderful o. (S/P)  
(28) Were you able to remove it? (P/S)  
(29) Do you get what I'm saying? (P[S])  
(30) Give it a day or two. (P)  

There were also moodless utterances, the result of the absence of the P-element in a construction, e.g.  

(31) B: Kwame Ato?  
A: Yeah, Kwame Ato. His friend.  

Constructions without P-elements are referred to as minor constructions.  

In some other cases the P-element is present but the function of the noun group is indeterminate as to whether it is an S- or C-element. This is often labelled Z; for example,  

Z  
(32) A: Let's watch it dry.  

where it is both complement of watch and subject of dry.  

An examination of the distribution of mood types between the two main participants show that each of them made use of all the types to command, request information and answer questions. This indicates that there was no social or conversational dominance in this discourse.
However, A asked more questions and B provided more answers, which reflects A's position as the (informed) layperson and B's as the 'expert'. Several of B's questions served the function of keeping the communication channel open; e.g.

(33) B: Do you get what I'm saying?

Others were echo questions in that they repeated all or some part of the previous turn, e.g.

(34) A: He'll steal your ideas.
    B: My ideas?

Finally, some of B's questions monitored the shared knowledge between him and A; e.g.

(35) B: ... It's the reaction between er ethanol and acetate to produce that. You see?

From the foregoing it is obvious that there were significant differences between the two texts with respect to the type and distribution of the mood choices made in them, and these signal the different levels of interpersonal relationship operating in the two discourse situations.
4.2.4 Modality

4.2.4.1 Modal Auxiliary Verbs

There are many descriptions of modality in English, which differ in their treatment of the subject. Using the TG model, Roberts (1968), Akmajian and Heny (1975) and Jackendoff (1972) all provide lists of the modal auxiliaries together with information about their syntactic properties. Jackendoff in addition discusses the semantics of the modals. But in general information about the functions of modal auxiliaries in transformational grammar is rather thin.

It is to more traditional descriptions of English grammar that we have to appeal for such information. Jespersen (1965), Allen (1955), Joos (1964) and Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) discuss the use of modal auxiliaries in English to express certainty, permission, probability volition and so on.

Halliday (1970), Lyons (1976), Hermerén (1978) and Huddleston (1984) have in common the fact that they include in the discussion other word classes apart from auxiliaries. For these authors modality primarily has to do with the expression of the attitude of the speaker to what he is saying, and to the addressee; therefore, any
word that has an attitudinal colouring also has a modal function (Hermerén 1978).

Even though the present writer accepts the idea that the meaning of modality can be expressed by non-auxiliary items, the analysis of modality in the preliminary study was restricted to the modal auxiliaries in Texts 1 and 2, with the exception of maybe. The reason is that somehow these are regarded by all grammarians to be central to the discussion of modality, whereas the other words are not so regarded by every one. Also, they belong to a closed set and, therefore, easier to investigate than the other lexical items, which belong to an open set.

In all, only 14 instances of modal auxiliaries were found in the Text 1. This gives 0.7 per cent of the total number of running words compared with 62 or 2.4 percent of the total number of words in Text 2. The total number of different auxiliaries used is seven. These are listed below with comments on their distribution pattern in the corpus.
TABLE 4-5: PATTERNS OF MODAL AUXILIARY USAGE IN TEXT 1 AND TEXT 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Comment on distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>occurred only in Text 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can</td>
<td>the most frequent auxiliary in Text 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will</td>
<td>including 'll in Text 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must</td>
<td>occurred only in Text 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should</td>
<td>highly frequent in both texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could</td>
<td>occurred only in Text 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Might</td>
<td>occurs only once in Text 2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traditionally, there are thirteen modal auxiliaries in English, namely:

can, may, might, shall, will ('ll) must, ought to, need, dare, could, would ('d), should, used to.

Some authors, e.g. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), prefer to list only eight of them and then to call the others past tense forms. Because the so-called past forms often have different interpersonal functions and because not all auxiliaries have both present and past forms, each item was, in this study, regarded as a modal auxiliary in its own right. The consequence of this decision was that it emerged that a far reduced system of modal auxiliaries was used in my corpus.

It can be argued that:

(a) not all the meanings expressed by the English modal auxiliary system are expressed in Ghanaian English,
(b) the reduced system is stretched to cover all the possibilities, in which case it is a more efficient use of linguistic resources and

(c) both (a) and (b) are at work in this variety of English.

Finally, it may just be that the data for the pilot study was too limited to reveal anything about the use of modals in Ghanaian English. These issues need to be investigated using a larger body of data.

4.2.4.2 Use of Maybe

It occurred so frequently in the spoken text that it was felt that not to discuss its modal functions in the text was to ignore a very important device for expressing interpersonal meaning in that text.

Though not listed among the modal auxiliaries (see Palmer 1975, Quirk 1985, etc.) maybe is defined in a way that indicates that it has modal functions: "Maybe makes what you say less definite" (Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary, p. 898). Its use in the present corpus clearly reflected the attitude of the speaker to what he was saying, as demonstrated by the examples to be discussed presently.
Text 2 had twelve occurrences in all which expressed lack of certainty by both A and B., e.g.

(36)i. A: Ei, Dominic, this is nice, it's just that maybe you should give it a second coat.  
   ii. A: Maybe if you give it a second coat.

Maybe was used in this context by A to avoid giving the impression of direct criticism of B's work. In this function maybe is supported by the initial concession that B's work is "nice" and the expression just that, both of which indicates A's reluctance to make a direct criticism of B.

In B's speech maybe had at least three possible functions:

(a) To tone down (self-) criticism:

(37) A: So at the moment there's no element of H2O in this thing, eh?  
   B: Well, maybe, maybe if I haven't boiled it well.

(b) To reduce the factual content of the entire utterance or a segment of it.

(38) B: Yeah, or maybe if I leave it in the sun. I have to add something to it maybe some dye or ...Then I'll try some other recipes and then maybe ethanol.

(c) To introduce a hypothetical example:
(39) B: Somebody maybe produce, somebody worked on palm kernel.

4.2.5 Passives

Passives in English have been very much discussed both in their own right as grammatical constructions and as a device for minimising the interpersonal dimension of a discourse (e.g. Biber 1988, Leech and Svartvik 1975, Quirk and Greenbaum 1973, etc.)

Even though the scope of the passive construction extends over the entire clause, the verb group can be considered as the focal point of the passive voice in a clause. In addition, nominalisation may involve a passive element; e.g.

Cordelia's banishment (by Lear)

where Cordelia is the one who suffers the banishment (i.e. the patient). The above-cited construction is different from

Lear's banishment (of Cordelia)

which does not involve the passive.
In this study both verbal and non-verbal passives were counted in the two texts. The instances of passives were further classified into (a) those with agents and (b) those without agents (i.e. agentless passives). The results are discussed below.

The two texts differed in their use of passives.
Forty-nine passives were found in Text 1 alone e.g.

(40) King Lear may be discussed as a play about child-parent relationship.
(41) Love cannot be measured.
(42) ... and that love that "makes breath poor" and "speech unable" is dangerous flattery disguised as love.
(43) This is an obligation and not one to be determined by the love that the child has for the father.

Nine of the passive constructions were agentive. This represented 18.4 per cent of all the cases identified. The agentless type accounted for 40 cases or 81.6 percent. Thus, there was a strong preference for the latter type.

Only 14 passives were found in Text 2, e.g.

(44) The ant is dazed by the smell.
(45) ... I have to use refined palm oil.
(46) This has been sandpapered.
(47) Okay, that lethal acetate, it's produced from an alcohol and acetate.
Once again, the preference was for passives without agents. Two (14.2%) had agents and the rest were agentless. However, in Text 1 the level of agentive forms was appreciably higher than in Text 2. This makes Text 1 more impersonal than Text 2.

4.2.6 Grammatical Complexity

Three aspects of grammar were taken as indices of complexity, on the basis of previous work done on grammatical complexity (e.g. Givón 1975, Rutherford 1988, Halliday 1985b). These are: (a) length of clause complex (b) depth of dependency or degree of subordination and (c) rank shifting or down-ranking a clause or group to serve the functions normally associated with the rank below it.

The clause complex is defined as a unit of grammar made up of one clause or a group of clauses which are coordinated or subordinated or, in the words of Halliday (1985b: 66), "carries the same information load". In writing it is easy to identify the sentence as a grammatical unit. In speech, however, there is often no clear demarcation of sentence boundaries. The notion of
clause-complex was therefore needed to describe what happens in both speech and writing.\(^8\)

Dependency describes the relationship among clauses in a clause-complex. A bound clause may be directly dependent on a free clause or on another bound clause. To symbolise this, letters of the Greek alphabet are used for relations of dependency in sentence structure.

There are two main types of rankshifting:

(a) rankshifted clause which functions as part of a clause or group instead of clause complex, symbolised by 

(b) rankshifted group which functions as an element of the group instead of a clause, symbolised by [...].

4.2.6.1 Grammatical Complexity in Text 1

4.2.6.1.1 Free and Bound Clauses

There were 180 free and bound clause-complexes and 2048 total number of running words. This gives an average of 11.4 words to a clause. Most of the clause-complexes had only one clause, but there were some with some complexes

\(^8\) A similar notion, referred to as the T-unit, has been developed for measuring the grammatical maturation of second and foreign language learners (Gaies 1980, Dvorak 1987). This was not used because it is based on theories of language learning rather than use.
with more than one clause. The most complex clause-complex had four clauses. In the examples below clause and clause-complex boundaries are marked by // and /// respectively.

(48) ///He rather capitalises on Gloucester's weakness for his own selfish ends.///

(49) ///Edmund is like the two "pernicious daughters" in the Lear family.///

(50) ///The above statements show// that what prevails in Lear's home is the very opposite of what an Elizabethan would expect.///

(51) ///As soon as he calls his daughters to express their love,// he is inviting them to be insincere;/// for the degree of their love will determine the worth of their prize.///

(52) ///While Lear was at Gloucester's Palace,/// Goneril arrives// and// it is here that the two unnatural hags turn Lear out of the house.///

Only one clause complex made up of four clauses occurred in the entire text:

(53) ///According to Seneca, the "giver should always forget// that he is [sic] given// and// the receiver should, on the other hand, never forget// that he has received.///

4.2.6.1.2 Depth of Dependency

Surprisingly, there were only a few cases of dependency in Text 1, none of which goes beyond beta (b), where beta
refers to the second depth of dependency in the system
alpha (α), beta (β), gamma (γ) and delta (δ), e.g.

\[\alpha \quad \beta\]

(54) ///Again, Lear should have realised// that his
daughters too had their own lives to live.///

\[\beta\]

(55) ///When Gloucester learns of this apparent
conspiracy
of Edgar,// he does not bother to ascertain the
truth but leaves Edmund to execute his evil
designs.///

\[\alpha\]

(56) ///But then in Lear’s case, apart from giving away
his kingdom, he was also entitled to the respect and
obedience of his daughters// simply because he was
their father.///

In fact, the complex made up of four clauses cited
earlier comprises alpha and beta clauses with the
structure ab &ab:

\[\alpha\]

/// According to Seneca, the "giver" should always
\[\beta \quad \alpha\]

\[\beta\]

\[\beta\]

\[\beta\]

forget// that he is given // and\ the "receiver"
should never forget// that he has received.///

It is therefore quite simple.

4.2. 6.1.3 Rankshifting

The total number of rankshifted elements in Text 1 was
278. 170 of them were rankshifted groups and 108 were
rankshifted clauses. The two types of rankshifting thus accounted for 61.2% and 38.8% of rankshifting respectively. Below are illustrations of both types of rankshifting.

Rankshifted groups:

(57) The discord [in their home] is also reflected in that [of the Gloucester family].

(58) Again, Lear's banishment [of Cordelia] breaks the natural bond [of love [between father and child]].

(59) Goneril sees herself as [the sole mistress [over her father]] and wants to get rid and deprive him of all his apparent authority and therefore uses the presence [of Lear's knights [in her house]] as a pretext [for her evil designs].

As (58) and (59) show, rankshifted groups often cluster together in a single structure, leading to great complexity.

Rankshifted clauses:

(60) As soon as he calls his daughters to express their love he is inviting them to be insincere. This is an obligation and not one [[to be determined by the love [[that the child has for the father]]]].

(61) This is because inspite (sic) of all the parental love [[shown them]] and the kingdom divided between them, they had nothing but ingratitude for Lear.

(62) This provokes Lear to one of his bitterest and pathetic statements [[revealing his belated discovery of the true nature of his daughters]].
The greater use of rankshifted groups led to more complexity at the rank of group than the clause in Text 1. Text 2 made different choices, as will become clear presently.

4.2.6.2 Grammatical Complexity in Text 2

Text 2 differs from Text 1 in deploying a greater variety of clause structure. In addition to 'complete clauses', i.e. major clauses with subject and predicate elements and optional complement and adjunct elements, there were also 'incomplete clauses'. These are discussed below from the point of view of their sources of incompleteness.

4.2.6.2.1 Incomplete Structures

(a) Elliptical responses

This type of incompleteness was due to omitting elements of structure recoverable from a previous utterance, e.g.

(63) A: He'll steal your ideas.
B: My ideas?
A: Yeah.
B: Because if I'm able to publish it in one of the
foreign journals, at least, it will be there. Do you get what I'm saying?
A: Of course.

The previous turn before an elliptical utterance may or may not be a question. And the response also may or may not be an answer to a question. Therefore, it is useful to think of them in discourse terms as 'initiating' and 'response' moves rather than as questions and answers.

(b) Temporary Loss of Floor

Some utterances were cut short when the speaker was interrupted by the interlocutor before he had finished his turn. The turn was then resumed in one of two ways: (a) there was a fresh start or (b) it was continued from where the break occurred; e.g.

(64) B: ...Okay, with these foreign journals ---
A: Yeah.
B: You'll only write you produce this from linseed---

(65) B: Yes, so after mine I'll suggest to the person who will be working on this particular thing so that he can produce ---
A: Nail varnish
B: Yes, those kinds of things, so the person has to find his own formula because you can't get any.

(66) A: Oh, so you're doing a polish for wood, not for--
B: Furniture.
A: Furniture polish. All the time you were talking about it, I thought you meant a wax polish for the floor, honestly.
(67) A: I don't know why I always thought ---
   B: Maybe I have to use refined, you know ---
   A: Probably. I don't know why I always thought you
      were making floor polishing. That's why I
      said---
   B: I can make that with this. I can easily make
      that.

Temporary loss of the floor frequently occurred when
the current speaker paused to plan the rest of his speech
or search for the appropriate word or expression. The
interrupted turns, thus, cannot be perceived as having
ended as evidenced by the intonational pattern and the
structure of the utterance.

(c) Overlapping Speech

The structure of the overlapping segment was similar
to that of an incomplete turn, except that in the former
the speaker did not yield the floor but went on to
produce a complete turn. In addition the same word or
words were normally spoken by both speakers, signifying
that communication had taken place rather than broken
down; e.g.

(68) A: ... And then you could produce polish solely
   <for him.
   B: For him>.
(69) B: ... They say the one they've been < using is
      quite dark.
   A: Using is quite dark > so it stains the wood.
(d) Joint Move

In a joint move one participant began and the other completed it with a word or a larger element of structure; e.g.

(70) A: I thought you were supposed to use [pause/hesitant] what do you call it?
B: Palm kernel oil?

(71) B: So if I want a local substitute then it should contain this particular compound and it shouldn't have anything that will mask it, er ---
A: Property.
B: Yes, of the other ones.

Because of the numerous cases of incomplete structures in Text 2, a direct comparison of the length of clause-complexes with Text 1 was not undertaken. However, Text 2 tended to have shorter complexes, though a few of them had more than eleven words, the average for the Lear Text; e.g.

(72) B: So you can't; even if you steal it, they will know that, unless you use a different formula altogether. (19 words).

(73) B: Somebody did that, and the person who did that said he produced varnishes, paints you know, so from there you also ++ there is some continuation. (25 words).
4.2.6.2.2 Free and Bound Clauses in Text 2

The clause complexes in Text 2 varied in complexity from those of one clause to four clauses per complex, e.g.

(74) ///The ant is dazed by the smell:/// 
(75) ///It's beginning to smell now:/// 
(76) ///The kind of varnish you see nowadays, you paint on something,/// that's it:/// 
(77) ///All the time you were talking about it,/// I thought // you meant a wax polish for the floor, honestly:/// 
(78) ///Yes, so that if I am able to get akpeteshie// and I get palm kernel,/// the resin, I can get from it:/// 
(79) ///Because this one, the product is <if you produce, if you react an alcohol with an acid>// you get this one and water,// and the water can <when you boil it>// the water will just go away:/// 

It is thus clear that using the number of clauses that make up a clause complex as the criterion, the Wood Varnish Text emerges as a very complex discourse over stretches of it.
4.2.6.2.3 Depth of Dependency in Text 2

While many of the clause-complexes were formed by coordinating two or more free clauses, there were nevertheless numerous instances of dependency, e.g.

\(\alpha \quad \beta\)

(80) ///But I'm sorry/// I can't help you.///

\(\alpha \quad \beta\)

(81) ///So if I finish, after school,// I can still work with him.///

\(\alpha \quad \beta \quad \alpha \quad \beta\)

(82) ///So you can't;/// even if you steal it,// they will know that,// unless you have used a different formula altogether.

\(\gamma \quad \delta \quad \alpha \quad \beta \quad \alpha\)

(83) ///There was this lecturer// who wanted to know// what I was doing,// so that he wanted the formula,// so I told him //that oh I'm just mixing it. If it works,// then I'll write out everything. /// He said// I'm not serious.///

\(\beta\)

(84) ///Yes,,// so that if I am able to get akpeteshie//

\(\alpha\)

and I get palm kernel,// the resin, I can get from it,// so I only have to get some lethal acetate.///

\(\alpha \quad \beta\)

(85) ///You see//that particular clay, and that particular clay you can use it to produce ---// so my pop has told him about me.///
There were also a few gamma and delta dependencies, and even though this was not a regular feature of the text, the fact remains that in the spoken variety quite complex dependencies can be achieved.

4.2.6.2.4 Rankshifting in Text 2

The rankshifted elements in this text have a distribution pattern inverse to that of Text 1. Of 132 rankshifted elements that occurred in the present text, 90 of them or 68.2% were rankshifted clauses and 42 or 31.8% were rankshifted groups. In addition, even though Text 2 is longer in terms of the total number of running words, in fact, it has fewer cases of rankshifting.

Below are illustrations of both types of rankshifting from the text.

(86) All the time you were talking about it, I thought you meant a wax polish [for the floor], honestly.

(87) Try it on your finger nail. One could use it [as nail polish].

(88) That thing [in the test tube] looks like a urine sample.

(89) But, Charley, it doesn't matter; it's one [of those things].

(90) Can't you get [[what do you call it]]?

(91) But the ones [[that they've been saying]], have you ever smelled it before on the wood?

(92) But this is all [[you've done]] or you've got a lot.
Chapter 4

(93) All the time [[you were talking about it] ] I thought you meant a wax polish [for [the floor] ].

Compared with Text 1, the complexity in Text 2 occurred at the rank of the clause rather than group. This has implications for how linguistic resources are organised to present our experiences. Text 1, which is a written text, largely presents experiences as products or things, while Text 2, which is a spoken discourse, presents them as processes.

4.2.7 Thematic Organisation

There are various applications of the term 'theme' in discourse analysis (see Brown and Yule 1983), but in this study it refers to the first grammatical unit of the clause (Sinclair 1972, Quirk and Greenbaum 1972, Halliday 1985a, Fries 1990), and the thematic organisation is how the message of discourse is structured through thematic choices.⁹

The decision to include theme in the preliminary study was based on the conclusion reached by several studies that thematic organisation and distribution can

⁹ Theme is therefore not an element of information structure, though it interacts with it in the sense that it is that part of the clause that realises the given information. In Halliday's words it is the point of departure for the clause as message (Halliday 1985a).
help to distinguish different kinds of texts (Eiler 1986, Brandt 1986, Fries 1983). Eiler, for instance, states that

An analysis of thematic choices and distribution - one aspect of the textual component as realised in the features of a specific text can reveal heuristic structures defining a genre (Eiler 1986: 49).

The aim of the inquiry was to find out how the thematic choices made by both texts could be used as an indication of the situations in which they were produced.

4.2.7.1 Types of Theme and Metafunctions

Halliday (1985a) identifies several kinds of theme (e.g. marked, unmarked, multiple, and minor) which he then classifies according to the particular metafunction they perform, i.e. ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. This classification was applied to Text 1 and Text 2 and it was found that there were differences in the realisation of the metafunctions in thematic position.
4.2.7.2 Thematic Realisation in Text 1

As expected, the themes in Text 1 were mostly ideational and textual in function. This is the result of the suppression of the interpersonal dimension in written academic discourse. The following examples illustrate this point.

(94) King Lear may be read as a play about parent-child relationship.

(95) This relationship is expressed both in the main plot as well as the sub plot.

(96) She goes on to explain that her love must be apportioned between her father and husband.

(97) It is natural that a father should love best the child who loves him most.

Adjuncts frequently occurred in thematic position in the text with textual function. They constitute the most frequent marked themes, e.g.

(98) But the reader knows better and is not deceived for earlier on Goneril had said (----).

(99) The daughters in the play forget that they have received and so Lear in a way reminds them of their duty.10

(100) First, Lear visits Goneril as part of the bargain in the trial scene.

(101) Again, there is the question of gratitude.

10 The arrangement of themes in this example (ideational ^ textual) appears to deviate from the sequence noted by Halliday as unmarked in BE, which is Textual ^ interpersonal ^ ideational.
There were a few instances of interpersonal themes such as:

(102) Perhaps, he, on the other hand, found them "ruthless usurpers and rivals".

(103) No wonder, they proved to be heartless in the course of the play.

But these were on the whole not important for making meaning in Text 1.

4.2.7.3 Thematic Realisations in Text 2

Dialogue has a wider range of elements occurring in initial position, not all of which can be coded thematically (Eiler 1986: 55). This makes the analysis of theme somewhat different from written texts and therefore casts doubt on the validity of any direct comparison between the two kinds of texts.

It was found nevertheless that Text 2 had more interpersonal themes in addition to both ideational and textual ones, e.g.

(104) Maybe, maybe if you give it a second coat.

(105) Maybe I have to use refined, you know?

(106) Well, give it a day or two.
But, Charley, it doesn't matter, it's one of those things.

Ei, Dominic, more grease to your elbows!

Even when there was a multiple theme as in (106) the second element was likely to be interpersonal rather than ideational in function. This differs from what was found in Text 1 in which ideational themes were more frequent.

4.3 CONCLUSION

It has emerged from the Preliminary study that there is substantial evidence of linguistic variation in different discourse situations. The most important differences observed in the contexts were:

(a) Text 1, which belonged to the institutionalised domain of academic writing, was characterised by little interpersonal involvement, while Text 2, which was a casual conversation, was characterised by close interpersonal relationships.

(b) Text 1 was planned while text 2 was not.

(c) Text 1 was spoken while Text 2 was written.

It was found that Text 1 had higher frequencies in the following features: lexis, passives, textual themes, and rankshifted groups. Text 2 on the other hand had higher frequencies of pronouns, modal auxiliary verbs,
rankshifted clauses, interpersonal themes, and more contact variety features.

However, the results obtained have to be stated with a good deal of caution for many reasons. First, the variation observed was not due to differences in interpersonal relationships alone. It was also affected by other factors like subject matter, purpose and the medium. It is, however, difficult to assess the exact contribution of each of them.

Secondly, not all the categories investigated are equally discriminating. Some show greater variation than others. This is clearly demonstrated when one looks at the various statistical figures for the two texts side by side (Appendix D). Eventually only a small number of the features studied here will be included in the larger study. The deciding factor will be the contribution a particular feature made to the distinction between the two texts studied so far.

Thirdly, the two texts studied represent two extremes of the problem under investigation. It is not expected that intermediate texts will show the same degree of linguistic variation.

The need to use more sensitive recording equipment and to take down copious notes during the fieldwork became evident. If this had been done the transcription might have taken less time to complete.
Finally, it was discovered that certain features of Ghanaian English could not be adequately described using the description of British English. For instance, Halliday's finding that the ideational theme regularly comes last in British English did not apply to Ghanaian English.
5.0 INTRODUCTION

The fieldwork reported here took place over a period of two months, from the end of January to the end of March, 1990. It was originally intended that it should take one academic term (i.e. three to four months). This was, however, not possible owing to the fact that the universities in Ghana did not reopen till January, and went down for the Easter vacation in March. Because of the short time within which to conduct the fieldwork, a lot of preparatory work had to be carried out before the actual exercise. Also, some written data and responses to questionnaires had to be sent for later. The extent to which the shortage of time affected how the fieldwork was conducted is difficult to assess, but the fact that the researcher is a member of the community under investigation meant that a good deal of trial-and-error was eliminated.

The rest of the chapter first provides a brief description of the setting for the fieldwork, and then
goes on to discuss the design for the collection of data, and its implementation.

5.1 A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY

The rationale for this description is, first, to capture the context within which English is used. Second, it is to supplement the language data to be analysed later. Finally, it is to place social formality within the context of the academic and non-academic activities in which the students as members of the university community are engaged. Thus, all the activities presently to be described are potential sources of data, because they are carried out in the English language.

5.1.1 The Physical and Social Setting

The University of Cape Coast was constituted into a university in 1971 by an Act of Parliament which states that it shall perform all the normal functions of a university;

provided that initially the University shall give emphasis to the preparation of teachers (graduate and others) for the secondary schools, teacher training colleges, polytechnics and technical
institutes in Ghana (The University of Cape coast Act 1971)\textsuperscript{1}.

Controversy still surrounds the interpretation of the above-quoted proviso. At the time of the fieldwork, students of the university were refusing to sign a bond to stay in teaching for five years. The relevant section of the bond says:

In the case of a student of Cape Coast or a teacher on study leave, to enter or reenter as the case may be the Ghana Education Service in the role for which his course of instruction has rendered him competent and continue in the service for a period of five years unless otherwise consented to by the Director General of the Ghana Education Service.

Only students of Cape Coast University were being bonded to teach. This was seen as an act of discrimination against students and graduates of this university and was being debated during the period of the fieldwork. It was, therefore, exploited as a focus of many of the interviews.

Notwithstanding its special duty to train teachers, the University of Cape Coast is similar to the two older universities, University of Ghana, Legon and University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. The majority of students are selected through the same examination process as the students in the other universities. And

\textsuperscript{1} Quoted in the University of Cape Coast Calendar 1985-1987, (p. 3).
the entry requirements to first-degree programmes are similar: six passes at the General certificate of Education, Ordinary Level (GCE O'level) including English Language and Mathematics; and at least two GCE Advanced Level passes "at grades not lower than D".

In reality candidates with the barest minimum qualifications often fail to be selected because of the keen competition for the few available places. Furthermore, there are postgraduate and professional courses whose entry requirements differ from those listed above. But the majority of students are admitted to Cape Coast University on the basis of these requirements.

Although there is equal opportunity for students from different school backgrounds, the possibility of more students from Type A schools gaining admission than students from Type B schools cannot be ruled out.

The student population come from all over the country and from all linguistic backgrounds. As such, the university is a multilingual community with English as the major means of interaction between people who do not share a common Ghanaian language. English is used in both academic and non-academic domains. Since the university is residential, members of the community contract relationships other than those with a basis in academic pursuit. Nowhere is this more evident than in the halls of residence.
5.1.2 Student Organisation within the Halls

There are four halls of residence at Cape Coast University: Oguaa, Adehye, Atlantic and Casely-Hayford halls. Oguaa and Atlantic are mixed halls, while Adehye and Casely-Hayford are all-female and all-male halls respectively. There is a good deal of social interaction both within halls and among residents of different halls.

Each hall has a Hall Council chaired by the Hall Warden who is a member of the academic staff appointed by the Vice-Chancellor of the University. The Hall Council overlooks the administration of the hall, but the day-to-day running of the hall is in the hands of the Junior Common Room Council (JCRCs), whose executive body is elected annually from among the student members of the hall. The elections are preceded by a political campaign, including the "face-to-face", during which candidates for the various offices address the members of the hall, outlining their plans for the improvement of conditions in the hall and answering a wide range of questions relating to their manifestos as well as their personal life.

Hall residents participate in the administration of the hall in two main ways. The first is through airing their views on issues affecting life in the hall at
meetings. These meetings may or may not be attended by the Hall Warden. Such meetings are chaired by the Hall President and the Hall Secretary writes the minutes. It is thus characterised by some level of formality.

Another way of making one's views known is through writing articles for the hall journal or, where the subject-matter demands immediate attention, the notice boards. Notice-board articles range from short announcements of lost property through advertisements of products for sale to lengthy social criticism.

5.1.3 Student Organisation outside the Halls of Residence

The organisation within the halls is paralleled by two super-hall organisations, the Student Representative Council (SRC) and Ghana Union of University Students (NUGS). Since the latter is a national, rather than a University of Cape Coast body, the discussion will largely focus on the SRC and some of its activities.

The SRC, which is made up of the executive officers of all the halls, is a powerful organisation with representation on the University Council. As in the case of JCRC's, the executive body of the SRC is elected annually after well-organised political activity, including a face-to-face.
The SRC leadership tends to be radical both in ideology and methods. Their activities involve constant interchange of ideas among the SRC's of the three universities, and between the executive and the student body on each university campus. The "forum" is the most important platform from which the SRC executive address the entire student body. This is an open-air meeting during which the President or a person nominated by him mounts a table placed in the middle of the crowd to deliver his non-scripted but often well-rehearsed address. The speaker's effort either draws cheers or jeers depending on how well it goes down with the attenders. A good command of the English language and an oratorical style are major asserts to forum speakers, and are noisily appreciated.

5.1.4 Religion

The University of Cape Coast is a non-denominational institution, but religion is taken seriously by both the university and individuals. All the major Christian and non-Christian sects are represented. In addition there are prayer groups which meet regularly for fellowship often involving prayer sessions, singing, dancing, speaking in tongues and 'witnessing'. During witnessing
a member of the group talks about how through divine help
he or she has been able to cope with problems which may
be financial, social or spiritual.

5.1.5 The Academic Domain

Academic work in the university is organised around
lectures. Students are required to attend all lectures
on the courses for which they are registered. These are
supplemented by tutorials, during which students are
allowed to present issues arising from previous lectures,
and also to read tutorial papers, which are usually
followed by discussions, and comments from the tutor, who
may be a lecturer or a teaching assistant.

In 1987, the university changed to the semester
system. Along with other aspects of life at the
university, examinations have been affected by this
change. Instead of one major examination at the end of
the academic year, students now write mid-semester and
end-of-semester examinations in addition to being assessed
in other ways throughout the year. One effect of this
change is that the study-group discussions which used to
take place once a year before the end-of-year
examinations, are in operation almost throughout the
year.
In pursuit of its objective of training teachers, the University requires all students to take courses in Education, leading to the Diploma in Education. As part of the Education programme, students do teaching practice in the third and final years. This usually involves teaching in second-cycle institutions under observation by supervisors from both the Faculty of Education, and the subject-area being taught by the student.

5.1.6 The Position of Students in the Community

In going about their day-to-day activities in the university, students interact with different classes of people, from the porter in the halls to the most senior professor. To understand the level of formality of the language used in these interactions, it is necessary to establish a framework for discussing the social status of students in the community.

The socio-economic status of Ghanaian university students has not been the subject of focused attention. Therefore, the framework is based on what has been written about social organisation in general, Ghanaian societies, the socio-economic status of students in other parts of the world, and supplemented by the
researcher's own insights into the social structure of Ghanaian universities.

In Ghana and Africa in general, educated people are highly respected in the society. This respect is extended to students at all levels of education. Brokensha (1966) writing about the Larteh of Ghana note that scholars are in a special class, and quotes the frequently-used phrase 'the educated and others' in support of the claim. This statement has to be qualified in discussing the position of students within the university where there are more senior scholars as well as others.

Two factors appear to stand out in determining the status of students in the university set up, namely, age and level of education. These two factors define the following kinds of status:

(a) One is socially higher than another person if one is older than the other person.

(b) One is socially higher than the other person if one is more educated.

Within this general framework the status of students relative to other members of the university community can be summarised as follows:
Chapter 5: Fieldwork

i. Student < Senior members
ii. Student > clerical staff
iii. Student >/=< Senior staff, student.
iv. Student > Porter

where the symbol [<] means (socially) lower, [>] higher and [=] equal.

In reality, some cases are more easily determined than others; for example, most lecturers are older and have higher educational qualifications than their students. But there are a few cases in which a student is older than his lecturer. Also the position of students in relation to (non-academic) senior staff and other students is indeterminate. These are some of the areas where errors of social judgement are likely to occur. The nature of the interaction in such cases will depend on the type of relationship between participants, the degree of discrepancy in age and educational background, whether one is asking a favour from the other or passing a message from another person, and even personality. Even though the proposed framework does not resolve these cases, it does provide a reference point for discussing them.
5.1.7 Language of Interaction

Not all interactions are carried out in English. The Ghanaian languages are used in informal situations where participants share a Ghanaian language and on certain formal occasions connected with Ghanaian culture. Nevertheless, the university community offers a unique opportunity of observing the form of English and its functions in Ghanaian society, because (a) it brings together a large number of English speakers who have already attained a high level of proficiency and (b) it offers more opportunities than elsewhere for using English.

Having described the organisational and interactional aspects of the community, the chapter now focuses on the planning and execution of data collection.

5.2 DESIGN OF DATA COLLECTION

The approach adopted was to identify situations which contrast with one another in respect of the level of formality, which has been defined as the interpersonal relations between participants. Two domains of language use in the university were identified. These are
institutionalised and non-institutionalised. Institutionalised domains are concerned with situations which are officially part of university work and administration. They are mostly academic but others such as hall week speech and meeting discussions also fall into this category. Non-institutionalised domains have to do with all those which are not part of the official activity of the university but which are nevertheless necessary if it is to function as a human community.

Figure 5-1 presents the two domains and the type of language activity associated with them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE 5-1: DOMAINS OF DATA COLLECTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DOMAIN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>institutionalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-institutionalised</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A preliminary scale of formality was constructed to guide the data collection. This is presented here as Figure 5-2. The scale was based on the model proposed in 3.3. This model had two scales representing both horizontal and vertical social distance. These have now been conflated for the sake of simplicity but it should
be borne in mind each level represents the intersection of vectors on both the horizontal and vertical axes.

FIGURE 5-2: FIVE-POINT SCALE OF FORMALITY USED AS A GUIDE TO DATA COLLECTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORMAL</th>
<th>WRITTEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: Spoken</td>
<td>A: Written</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public speech</td>
<td>Written speeches: hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduation and</td>
<td>graduation ceremony, resolution, academic essay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hall week</td>
<td>minutes of student-staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delivery</td>
<td>meeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: Tutorial</td>
<td>B: letter to university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discussion,</td>
<td>official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>student-staff</td>
<td>C: Noticeboard articles,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meeting,</td>
<td>letter to lecturer friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: study-group</td>
<td>D: letter to student friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discussion,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conversation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with lecturer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: Peer-group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discussion,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>student meeting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: Friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chatting about</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal matters</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data to be collected included both written and spoken material. This was needed to make it possible

(a) to study how formality was realised in both modes, and

(b) to find out how GE differed from NVE since it was assumed that speech would show the widest variation from native norms.

Natural data were found to be more suited to the purpose of this study. This is because the aim was to describe the language used by the informants as they go about their normal business of studying and living in the university community. Thus, the approach was to record speech and collect writing materials which were produced
to meet real communication needs rather than in response to elicitation. The one exception was the interview, which can be justified on the grounds that it provides background information about the informants in addition to linguistic data, albeit unnatural.

5.3 IMPLEMENTATION

In this section the preparation leading up to the data collection is discussed with emphasis on obtaining the right equipment and enlisting the help of research assistants.

Careful preparation prior to the actual fieldwork cannot be over-emphasized. Many vexing issues can be confronted during this period and solutions found to them before they can affect the outcome of the research. The preparation made in this case had to do with both planning the methodology to be used as well as checking that the right kind of material is used.

5.3.1 Recording Equipment and Materials

In order to improve upon the quality of recording used in the preliminary study, a pressure zone microphone was purchased and tried. The result was a vast improvement.
Uher tape recorders with both AC and battery facilities were to be used for the recording. Since these were already available at the Department of English, University of Cape Coast, a letter requesting permission to use them was sent to the Head of Department. The response was favourable.

Further, thirty C90 normal bias Maxell cassettes were bought for recording the spoken data. Maxell was found to give good result without being too expensive. The cassettes were then labelled with white stickers bought for the purpose, but nothing was written on the labels at this stage.

Finally, files, note pads, pens and pencils were bought for the use of the researcher and the research assistants.

5.3.2 The Research Team

Because of the shortage of time, the help of field assistants was sought. The research team was therefore made up of the researcher and three teaching assistants at the Department of English. These had been students of the researcher's in the past and had a good
background in linguistics, which is essential for the success of the fieldwork especially within the present time constraints.

The decision to use teaching assistants\(^2\) rather than students for the work was based on the following considerations:

(1) Students could not possibly cope with the demands of their studies and the fieldwork simultaneously.

(2) Being new graduates themselves, the teaching assistants still maintained a good contact with the student body.

(3) Occasionally the student who had recorded the conversation for the preliminary study could be asked to help in the exercise without engaging his services on a full-time basis.

The teaching assistants approached agreed to assist with the data collection and initial transcription for a small remuneration. Once a research team has been assembled the next stage is to give them a basic understanding of the research methods and the principles underlying research. This was done during the orientation.

\(^2\) Teaching assistants are appointed from the best candidates in the final examinations. They teach at tutorial level and occasionally give lectures. However, they continue to live in the halls of residence and, therefore, are very close to the students.
5.4 ORIENTATION

Francis (1983) observes that it is important for the research assistants to be given an orientation to minimise differences in the quality of the data collection due to individual idiosyncrasies on the field.

A four-day orientation was, therefore, organised for this purpose. All the sessions lasted for three hours except the second day which lasted only two hours. There was a thirty minute refreshment break each day.

Below is a summary of the programme followed.

5.4.1 Pre-recording Stage: First Contact

Whether a recording would take place or not depended on how the researcher first approached the potential informant. The first contact should be used by the researcher for assessing the suitability of the informant and for arranging the time and venue of the recording, if one was granted. For the informant it provided the opportunity to find out what was required of him and to decide whether he wanted to participate in the research or not.
It was decided the informant should be allowed to choose the time and place in order not to put him to greater inconvenience than was necessary, since he was not going to receive any payment for his service\(^3\).

5.4.2 Ethical Considerations

The importance of obtaining the informant's consent before the recording was explained. In cases where this would not be possible, consent had to be sought immediately after the recording. A special problem arose with events involving a large number of participants; for example, a meeting. It was decided that the chair-person should be informed about the desire to record the proceedings and allowed to obtain the permission of the members present before the recording took place.

To ensure informants' anonymity a system of identifying informants without using their real names as in work done on Black English and the social stratification of English in the United States of America (Labov 1966, Shuy et al. 1968, Wolfram 1969) was adopted. It consisted of writing the first name and the first letter of the surname only, e.g. Julie B.

\(^3\) It is unusual for informants to accept payment for taking part in a research of this nature and an offer of money may even be offensive.
However, informants could be identified by their nicknames if they so wished.

It was agreed that some of the informants would like to know the purpose of the recording. They were to be told that it was to be used in a study on the language use in Ghana without going into details. This precaution was taken in order that the informant's use of language might not be affected by a knowledge of the specific interests of the research.

Finally, the informant's right to withdraw from the interview or to refuse to answer any question for whatever reason had to be explained to him, and respected.

5.4.3 Management of Recording Equipment and Materials

The team went through the correct steps to operate the tape recorder. It was emphasised that the tape recorder should be tested for the right recording level for each session since venues differ in their acoustic properties. Ideally, a short trial recording should be made and played back to the satisfaction of the interviewer. The counter should then be set at '000' for the actual recording to start, with the reading on the counter noted at the end of each recording session.
In all cases the cassette should be clearly identified by writing on the white label the particulars relating to the participants, and circumstances of the recording; e.g.

Ghafes Meeting, Sat, 10-3-90, in the Chapel.

5.4.4 Making the Recording

5.4.4.1 Reducing the Anxiety Level

It was important to put informants at ease, so that as much as possible they could behave as they would when unobserved. Therefore, methods of minimising the impact of the observer's paradox (Dittmar 1976, Labov 1966, 1970) were discussed. These included installing the microphone in such a way that it did not aggravate the feeling of anxiety some informants experience at being recorded.

Another approach was to explain at the beginning of the recording that the object of the study was not to test the informant's knowledge of the grammar of English, or the content of what was being said. The idea was to discourage him from having pre-conceptions about the nature of the research as this would lead to over-
performance by the sympathetic informant or extreme caution in others.

It was also suggested that each recording session should start with questions about educational, language and family background (i.e. questions already covered by the informant data sheet), and gently ease the informant into the topical issues. The rationale was as much to put the informant at ease as to check the recording level which has a tendency to fluctuate in a place like Cape Coast. The assistant was then to use his discretion as to when to start the recorder, either at the beginning or at some point into the interview.

5.4.4.2 Taking Field-notes

Aspects of the language event to be noted included (a) gestures (b) proximity of participants (c) loudness of talk, and (d) activity accompanying the talk.

5.4.5 The Second Day: the Interview

Only one major issue was discussed: the interview.

The interview poses additional problems to those of other methods of collecting spoken data, e.g. public
speech. It was felt that all the research assistants needed to be aware of the special demands of the interview, because they would have to conduct some of the interviews either with or without the researcher being present. The main points of the discussion are summarised below.

5.4.5.1 The Interview Schedule

Even though an interview schedule is a useful tool in data collection, it was not used during the present fieldwork. The reason was that a schedule tends to impose an a priori structure on the interview. This has the effect of raising the level of formality of the interview above what is normal for any particular discourse situation (Labov 1966).

In order to make the interviews as natural as possible the unstructured interview format was adopted. This did not mean that there was no plan, rather a loose plan of major topics was agreed upon to be implemented. The discussion therefore focused on techniques of eliciting a substantial amount of talk from the informant. It was planned that the interview should begin with general questions about language through to the topical issues on which the informants were likely to
express a lot of emotion. Furthermore, following Shuy et al. (1968) yes-no questions were to be used sparingly, since they easily led to communication cul-de-sacs. Instead, non-polar questions were to be preferred. For example, on the issue of bond signing, interviewees were to be asked questions such as:

- What are your reasons for not signing the bond?
- How does signing the bond affect your future?
- How do you feel about the fact that according to the bond you can't get married or have a baby for five years after leaving university?
- What is wrong with teaching as a profession?
- Why did you come to Cape Coast University if you didn't want to go into teaching?

These questions were not meant to follow any particular order, but rather the interviewer was to allow the interview to develop naturally with minimum intervention.

The need for the interviewer to avoid being carried away by the discussion and making lengthy contributions was raised, though it was admitted that this would not be easy to achieve.
5.4.5.2 Venue

As much as possible the interviews were to be held in the informants' room or any other place preferred by him. It had been established by previous studies that informants were more cooperative in their home territory than when interviewed in offices and other places associated with institutionalised authority (Francis 1983, Labov 1966).

5.4.5.3 Duration

It was planned that each interview session should take between thirty and forty-five minutes, with about five minutes given to the preliminary matters and twenty minutes to the topical issues. However, where necessary it could be allowed to run over forty-five minutes, though it should not exceed one hour.

Since there was not going to be an interview schedule, various aspects of the interview technique were rehearsed several times for the rest of the period, with the assistants suggesting many useful modifications.
5.4.6 Third Day: Transcription

The next session focused on various aspects of transcription. Even though it was recognised that not all the data could be transcribed on the field, it was still important to make some form of transcription of as much of the spoken data as possible.

There were several advantages in adopting this procedure. First, the transcription period could be used to monitor the field assistants' interview styles. Second, the burden of transcribing the remaining data when the fieldwork was over would be greatly reduced. Third, a transcription made immediately after the recording would be easier and faster, because the interviewer could recreate the scene which would still be fresh in his mind. Finally, from the point of view of the assistants, it was an opportunity to acquire a skill and put it into practice.

Another advantage unforeseen during the orientation was that in the course of transcribing the data, the domains in which more data needed to be collected were identified.

The system adopted was similar to the one used to transcribe the data for the preliminary study. The regular English spelling system was used, supplemented by information relating to such features as the level of
loudness, pausing and other hesitation phenomena, overlapping speech and unintelligible segments. Three modifications were introduced, namely:

(a) + to represent pause, with two or more of these representing long pauses.
(b) (O.S.) to represent overlapping segments with the segments underlined.
(c) --- to symbolise incomplete turns.

It was not intended that the preliminary transcription should be complete; merely detailed enough to aid fuller transcription after the fieldwork.

5.4.7 Fourth day: Trial

The fourth day offered the opportunity to put what had been discussed during three days of orientation into practice. A conversation between the researcher and a fourth-year student was recorded. Sections of this were transcribed by all the members of the group with a high level of consistency. The recording also made it possible to recapitulate on the elicitation techniques.

However, the trial recording highlighted one major problem, the incompatibility of the pressure zone microphone with the tape recorder. After trying many options, the only practical solution was to use the
matching microphone for the Uher tape recorder, which was extremely sensitive but more conspicuous than the pressure zone microphone. Fortunately, it did not affect the informant's speech significantly because she was the extrovert type.

On balance, the orientation was successful in that it achieved its main objective, that is, to provide the field assistants with a basic understanding of the nature, aims, objectives and methods of the research within a limited period of time.

5.5 SELECTION OF INFORMANTS

It was initially envisaged that only first year students of the University of Cape Coast who were L1 speakers of Akan would be used as informants. It was further thought that only informants who had not lived in native-English communities would be asked to provide data for the research. Instead the selection of informants was expanded to include other categories of university students. The rationale for the change is outlined below.

A major assumption underlying the original decision to use only Akan L1 speakers was that Ghanaian languages were similar in structure, and therefore, would exert
similar influences on the English spoken by Ghanaian speakers. Thus, speakers of Akan were going to be used to represent Ghanaians.

It was argued that if this assumption was true then there was in fact no need to restrict the study to any one ethnic group, because using informants from different Ghanaian language background should not affect the results of the study significantly.

More importantly, English in Ghana is used, especially in informal situations, as a language of socialisation among people who do not have a common Ghanaian language as their L1. In the same way English is used by all students irrespective of whether they are in first year or not and also whether they have travelled abroad or not. Hence, the argument to restrict the data to first year students and only those who had lived in Ghana all their lives was no longer tenable.

Furthermore, some personal letters written by students from the other universities were obtained from recipients who were students of Cape Coast University. This was considered to be an advantage rather than a disadvantage, since it would make it possible to make generalisations about the English used by university students of Ghana.

Finally, it was inevitable that some data should be collected from both academic and non-academic members of
staff of the university. It was expected that some of the student informants would be talking to members of staff in the situations to be recorded. Such situations would be characterised by greater social distance than when students were talking to fellow students. Thus, the very phenomenon under study, levels of formality, made it imperative that student-staff discourses should be recorded. However, the analysis will concentrate on the data produced by student informants.

5.6 INITIAL CLASSIFICATION OF DATA COLLECTED

A catalogue of all the data collected during the fieldwork period is presented in Appendix A. The numbering refers roughly to the order in which they were gathered. In dividing the data into two lists, spoken and written, the unintended impression may be given that all the spoken data were collected first, followed by the written data. Nevertheless, the division is maintained as a first step towards systematising a process that often appeared to be random.

There appears to be more written data than spoken data. In fact, some of the spoken texts are very long in terms of total number of words compared with some of the written data, which are only a few words long.
The titles used in the catalogue reflect the information on the original labels, though in a number of cases more explanatory material has been included where this has been found to be necessary.

A tentative classification of the data was undertaken during the fieldwork period. The criteria used are given below.

(a) Status of participants (e.g. lecturer, student, porter)
(b) Gender of participants giving three possibilities - all male, all female, and mixed.
(c) Type of relationship between participants (friend, familial, institutionalised, etc.)
(d) Type of school attended by participants giving three possibilities (A, B, mixed)
(e) Participants' exposure to metropolitan varieties (+, -, +/-)
(f) According to domain of use (academic, non-academic)
(g) Free-ranging - controlled
(h) public - non-public
(i) spoken - written.

Most of these terms retain their everyday meaning. Criteria (a-f) are about participants and, therefore, closely related to formality as defined in this study: the social distance between participants in a discourse
situation. However, the other criteria do influence the level of formality.

The category of public-ness refers to the number of participants involved in the discourse situation. It covers small-group settings of a maximum of three or four people through large-group settings of any number. It is also concerned with whether the communication is intended to be heard or read by others apart from the real participants. This in turn is conditioned by whether it is whispered, said in public, put up on the notice board, left on a door, put in a sealed envelope, etc. Like many of the criteria, it is a continuum rather than an either-or category. (See Giles and Powesland 1975: 134 for a slightly different category private-public dimension).

5.7 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING THE DATA COLLECTION

In spite of all the precautions taken at the planning stage, some problems still persisted during the fieldwork. Two of them have been mentioned above, namely, the incompatibility of the pressure zone microphone and the observer's paradox. These problems were relatively easy to solve. However, there were other problems that were more complex than those referred to
earlier. This section presents the problems together with attempts at solving then.

5.7.1 Sampling

In most cases, not all, it was not possible to adopt the random sampling method. The speech of the SRC president or religious testimonies could not be sampled, because there is only one president of the SRC at any given time and because there is no way of predicting the witnesses at a 'born-again' service or indeed speakers at a meeting. There were many events that fell within this category.

The solution in most cases was to ensure that there was a good representation by collecting data from as many different categories of informants as possible. Attention was paid particularly to distribution of participants according to sex, socio-economic background, length of stay at the university, and type of subject taken at the university. In the case of the SRC President he was interviewed extensively, and other forms of data relating to his political position were collected in natural settings.
5.7.2 Power Failure

The power supply in Cape Coast as in many parts of Ghana fluctuates during the day. As much as possible batteries were made ready so that in case of power failure a recording could proceed with minimum loss. However, there were instances where loss of parts of the recording was unavoidable. In most cases the gaps amounted to no more than a few utterances, and do not affect understanding. Somewhat more serious were abrupt endings due to such power failure. Both of these have been noted in the transcripts, but it is not expected that they will affect the results of the analysis in any significant way.

5.7.3 Keeping Track of Participants

The practice of labelling the cassettes alleviated this problem to a large extent, but it was unavoidable in situations involving many participants, e.g. meetings, tutorials, and prayer sessions. In one instance, the problem arose as a result of the person making the recording forgetting to follow the labelling procedure. He was not one of the regular assistants, and was used for this particular recording, because it was made when
none of the regular research team could be present. He did not record any other session.

5.7.4 Limitations of the Data Collected

A major challenge was posed by the collection of SRC materials. SRC activities by their very nature are highly political. In the past some SRC leaders have suffered incarceration or worse for expressing anti-establishment views, so there is always a strong fear of infiltration by elements working against student interests. Therefore, collecting SRC material is an exercise that can cause a good deal of suspicion.

The challenge was met by collecting past letters and resolutions passed in the term of office of previous executives who were no longer students at the university. This was felt to be the best compromise for both researcher and informant.

5.8 REPRESENTING THE INFORMANTS' VIEW

One of the cardinal features of ethnographic studies is that they try to study social reality from the point of view of the informant (Saville-Troike 1983, Scollon and
Scollon 1979). Applied to the present study, the need was felt to incorporate the students' perception of formality in addition to what the analysis of the data would demonstrate. Therefore, a questionnaire entitled 'Ghanaian University Students' Views on Levels of Formality in Some Situations Requiring the Use of the English Language' was designed soon after the fieldwork to be administered later. The questionnaire is presented here as Appendix C. An analysis of the responses which were received later will be summarised in Chapter 10.

5.9 END-OF-FIELDWORK EVALUATION

At the end of the data collection exercise a final meeting of the research team was convened to evaluate the fieldwork. The aim was to give the research assistants the opportunity to make a general assessment of the fieldwork with emphasis on the problems they had encountered. The following were highlighted:

(1) A few of the informants were cautious to some extent. For this reason, some of them asked for more time to think about whether they wanted to participate in the research or not. This was found to be due to both their concern for anonymity and lack of confidence in being recorded. A small minority of such informants
resorted to their L1 when they were emotionally tensed during the interview.

(2) Personal letters were found to be initially difficult to collect for obvious reasons, but later a sizeable sample was obtained.

(3) Some important situations could not be recorded because of the initial technical problem of the incompatibility of the pressure zone microphone and the tape-recorder. One such situation was the teaching practice. One member of the team was delegated to make teaching-practice recordings later in the year, but this was not done because of further closure of the university.

(4) In some of the group discussions that were recorded some speakers talked more than others, either because they were naturally talkative or the others felt inhibited by the presence of a researcher with a microphone. The group, however, agreed that that was beyond the interviewer's control, since some people are extrovert by nature, while others are introvert. Nevertheless, the point was noted, because it may throw light on the status of individuals within their small circles, which in turn may help to explain aspects of linguistic behaviour.
In the end it was agreed that the fieldwork had been successful in terms of its organisation, and the quantity of data collected within the available time.

5.10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the aims, objectives and methods of the fieldwork have been discussed. Underlying this discussion is a concern to describe the context in which English is used in universities in Ghana. It was thus necessary to include information relating to the social and political organisation of Ghanaian universities, and in particular the social status of students within the university community.

The chapter has also given a brief description of the data collected and the initial attempt made to index these by a set of criteria.

Finally, the problems encountered during the fieldwork have been discussed together with their solutions. Where the problems were the inevitable consequence of studying linguistic behaviour, these have been noted with the aim of later ascertaining how they might have affected the data to be analysed.
PART III
ANALYSIS
CHAPTER SIX

LINGUISTIC VARIATION WITHIN THE WRITTEN MODE (I)

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The spoken and written data for the main study were analysed separately. The decision to separate the two modes of discourse was based first of all on the differences in form and function between writing and speech. Also some aspects of the variation under investigation are traceable to differences in mode. It is, however, held that non-native speakers of English "write as they speak and speak as they write"¹. Therefore, looking at them individually at this stage will make it possible to find out the nature of the contribution made by each mode to the observed variation.

Another reason for separating the two sets of data was that putting them together was unwieldy. Analysing each one individually can lead to duplication but as long as this is recognised and steps are taken to minimise this, the advantages should counter-balance this disadvantage.

¹ These are the words of one of the informants, but they reflects the attitude of many established scholars such as Sey.
In this chapter and next one the results of the analysis of the written data will be reported. Chapters 8 and 9 will present the results of the analysis of the spoken data.

6.1 Methodology

6.1.1 Sampling

In all seventy-nine written texts made of nearly 35,000 words were analysed. These were classified into text-types on the basis of the following macro-features:

(a) the situation in which the text was produced,

(b) the purpose of the text and

(c) the format in which it is presented.

Seven types were arrived at. These are listed below together with the abbreviations by which they are referred to throughout this study.

1. Personal letters (WPL)

2. Impersonal letters (WIL)

3. Minutes of meetings (WMM)

4. Student resolutions (WSR)

5. Noticeboard articles (WNA)
6. Academic essays (WAE)

7. Articles from a student journal (WSJ).

The text-types do not have equal sample sizes. There are 22 items of WPL compared with only five for WMM. This is because the corpus is made up of natural data produced to meet real communicative needs and some language events happen to occur with greater frequency than others. Furthermore, the organising principle behind the data collection exercise was to assemble samples of texts produced in different situations illustrating different levels of social formality, rather than equal representation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-types</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Total no. of words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>34416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Specific information on each individual text is presented in Appendix A.
6.1.2 Selection of Linguistic Features

On the basis of the results of the preliminary study the following features were chosen for further investigation:

I. The phrase and below
   - Lexical density
   - Verbs
   - Nouns
   - Pronouns (personal, reflexive and possessive)
   - Modal auxiliary verbs

II. The clause and above
   - Passives
   - Grammatical complexity (rankshifting and conjunction)
   - Discourse level features (structuring devices and intertextual elements).

After the preliminary study it became increasingly necessary to focus attention on more general categories than was possible for the preliminary study. For example, instead of examining passive verbs in isolation, the main study was broadened to look at verbs in general. This made it possible to ask two kinds of questions about the features being studied:

(a) What is the proportion of feature X in a given text-type compared with another text-type?
(b) What proportion of the potential for feature X is actually used in one text-type compared with another? The basis for comparison among text-types is different depending on which one of these questions is being asked. The answer too is different.

As a further illustration, the occurrences of personal pronouns in two or more text-types may be compared in terms of the proportion they represent in the entire text. Even though this is useful information, it ignores the fact that not every word in the text is a potential pronoun. Another approach is to compare the distribution of pronouns with that of noun phrases and nominal elements which had the potential of becoming pronouns but didn't.

Such an approach to the study of linguistic features recognises the fact that language use involves meaningful choices. The fact that in a given text-type a greater percentage of the pronoun potential is actually used compared with another text-type is because the authors have chosen to do so in order to signal a difference in the discourse situation.
Chapter 6: Written mode I

6.1.3 Statistical Analyses

These were used as supplement to the linguistic analysis. The main descriptive tools were frequency tables, mean, standard deviation and histogram. The observed variation were subjected to tests of significance using the chi-square test and one-way Analysis of variance (Anova). Both of these were used because the former made it possible to compare the proportions of different features to one another and the latter to compare the rates per 100 words of the feature in different text-types. The objective of carrying out these tests was to be able to confirm or reject the hypotheses of the study. Only the final results are quoted here with the details of each test presented in Appendix D.

6.1.4 Hypothesis

The null hypothesis \( H_0 \) of this study is that Ghanaian English (GE) does not show significant linguistic variation in response to changes in context. By variation was meant both quantitative and qualitative.

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differences. In addition, there were more specific hypotheses which will be stated for each feature investigated.

6.2 LEXICAL ANALYSIS

The aim of the analysis of lexical items was to find out whether or not their pattern of distribution differed from one text-type to another, and if so, whether this difference was statistically significant. The hypothesis underlying this investigation is that text-types produced in situations characterised by close interpersonal relationships will have a lower distribution of lexical items than those produced in situations with distant interpersonal relationships.

6.2.1 Problem of Classification

In order to confirm or reject this hypothesis a working definition of the term lexical item was needed so that a principled approach to identifying them could be established. In this connection a recurrent problem was how to classify the verb be. One illustration of this problem will suffice at this point.
The verb *be* is often not counted among lexical words because (a) in frequency and (b) its lack of stress it is similar to a grammatical word.\(^4\) However, *get* as a passive operator, which has similar syntax to the passive-*be*, was counted, by being less frequent than lexical *be* and therefore having more interesting collocations.

The solution adopted in this study is to treat the category of lexicalness as a cline. At one extreme can be located words that are clearly lexical, at the other are those that are clearly non-lexical and in between are to be found all those words illustrating various degrees of lexicalness.

For the purpose of identifying lexical words in running texts, three criteria were adopted, namely,

(a) whether a word belongs to an open-ended set,

(b) whether the word has content or grammatical meaning,

(c) whether a word belonged to one of the major word classes (noun, verb, adjective and adverb) or one of the minor word classes (preposition, demonstrative, connector, etc.). In most cases, there was consensus among the three criteria, but in a few cases the three led to different classifications. For instance, the word *thing* in the following extract can be classified as a

\(^4\) In frequency counts *be*, together with its various forms, is among the first ten most frequent words together with grammatical items like *and* and *to*. (see for example Sinclair 1991, Appendix I: 143).
lexical or non-lexical depending on which criterion is used.

(1) ... I wonder how you guys manage but one thing I know is that my (Our) God is faithful and we can do all things through Christ who strengthens us. <WPL.3>.

In both instances it appears to be no more than a proform which lacks content meaning in itself; and therefore should be classified as a non-lexical word according to the second criterion. But the fact that it belongs to an open-ended set along with words like fact, point, truth, item, idea, etc. is a compelling reason for classifying it as a lexical item.

Thus using all three criteria appeared to yield the best result. Where there was conflict, additional information about the linguistic context was used to determine the classification of a particular word. This is demonstrated in (2).

(2) a. Well I think I have to end here. <WPL.4>.

b. I hope that by next semester I would have adjusted pretty well. <WPL.16>.

The first instance of well was treated as a discourse structuring device without any lexical function, while the second one was counted as lexical.
6.2.2 Procedure

First, all the lexical words in each text in the corpus were counted. In spite of adopting three criteria to identify lexical items, some problems still persisted in that the classification of a number of items was still debatable. These were phrasal verbs and compound words.

Unlike Crystal and Davy (1969) phrasal verbs were not counted as single items. This approach was adopted because phrasal verbs were considered to be just one of the numerous instances in language where one meaning is expressed by multiple form. For example,

A stitch in time saves nine
or 'All's Well that Ends Well'
will not be considered as a lexical item in any analysis, even though it expresses one central idea. It therefore seemed unsatisfactory to treat stave off in the following extract as one lexical item:

(3) Daniel Webster's support of his old rival, Henry Clay, during the debate over the compromise of 1850 represented the last effort of the elder statesman who had staved off an open break between North and South since 1820. <WAE.64>.

Secondly, the uneven distribution of phrasal verbs points to the fact that they are sensitive to style shifts. Therefore not counting the grammatical particle
obscribes the difference between text-types which show high or low preference for phrasal verbs.

All categories of compound words were problematic. Compounds are word complexes lying between the word and phrase in the rank scale and realised in three ways. These are:

1. The compound can be written as separate items, e.g. school bus.
2. The compound is hyphenated, e.g. text-book.
3. The compound is written as one word, e.g. headteacher.

Items at the third stage have achieved the greatest degree of internal stability, one of the criteria for defining the word as a unit of grammar. They are therefore the most word-like of compounds. Hyphenated items are less stable and separated items even less so. In relation to other grammatical units compounds lie between the phrase and word as in Figure 6-1 following.

**FIGURE 6-1: THE RELATION OF LEXICAL COMPOUNDS TO THE GRAMMAR**

```
Phrase

Compounds written as separate words

Hyphenated compounds

Compounds written without space

Word
```
Chapter 6: Written mode I

Items at Stages 2 and 3 were counted as one item but not those at stage one. Occasionally, it was clear from the context that the space between items was a spelling mistake, e.g. sub chief. Such instances were treated as single words. <WPL 13>.

6.2.3 Lexical Density

The lexical density is the ratio of lexical items to the total number of words multiplied by 100. The total number of lexical items in the entire written corpus was 15,393, the total number of all the words was 34,416 and, therefore, the lexical density (LD) for the entire corpus was 44.7 percent, which is consistent with what Ure (1971) found to be the norm for written texts in British English. Table 6-2 summarises the lexical densities for the seven text-types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>Lexical words</th>
<th>Lexical density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>3291</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>2419</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>3337</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>2548</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is clear from the table that the null hypothesis that the text-types cannot be distinguished from one another using LD cannot be maintained. In fact, there was a wide range of lexical distribution among the different text-types. On the basis of the above results the text types can be grouped into three as follows:

Group A: low LD, made up of only WPL
Group B: mid, made up of WNA, WIL, WSJ, and WAE.
Group C: high LD, made up of WMM and WSR.

The results of both the chi-square test and the Anova were highly significant: \( \chi^2 = 350.7 \) df = 6, \( p < 0.0001 \); F (6,72) = 13.1, \( p < 0.0001 \). These results confirm that the differences among the text-types were not due to chance. But the more distant the interpersonal relations, the higher the lexical densities in the text-types studied.

6.2.4 Verbs and Nouns

Following the investigation of the general distribution of lexical items attention was focused on verbs and nouns. Gerunds and participial forms which had modifying functions in the context in which they occurred
were excluded from the count of verbs, e.g. *said* and *staying* in (4) and (5) were not counted.

(4) The *said* group is made up of Christians from various Bible believing churches and is committed to the ministry of evangelization. <WIL.23>.

(5) I hope to comply to all responsibilities attached to staying in Hall during the holidays. <WIL27>

In the case of the nouns, only heads of constructions and possessive cases were counted; nouns acting as modifiers were not taken into consideration. For instance, *infection* and *operation* were counted in (6) but not *eye*.

(6) It was detected that I had an eye infection which could only be removed through operation. <WIL 28>

6.2.4.1 Distribution of Main Verbs

In all 6079 main verbs were found in a corpus of 34416 words. This represents 17.7 percent of the written texts. The table below presents the distribution according to text-type.
TABLE 6-3: DISTRIBUTION OF VERBS IN WRITTEN TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Per 100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6079</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WPL as a text-type had the highest percentage of verbs and WAE had the least. To determine the significance of this variation the proportion of verbs to all other word forms was compared for all seven text-types using the chi-square test. The result was significant ($\chi^2 = 215.6$ df = 6, $p < 0.0001$). The results of the one-way Anova also showed that the observed difference was greater than chance: $F (6,72) = 5.86$, $p < 0.001$.

6.2.4.2 Distribution of Nouns

In all 7294 nouns were counted representing 21.2 percent of the entire corpus. Therefore, in overall terms there were more nouns than verbs in the written texts. The breakdown of the figure according to text-type is given on Table 6-4 below.
### Table 6-4: DISTRIBUTION OF NOUNS IN WRITTEN TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-types</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Per 100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>1289</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WAE had the highest proportion of nouns of 25.9 percent and WPL had the least with 14.6 percent. The results of both the chi-square test and Anova were highly significant: $\chi^2 = 382.9$, df = 6, $p < 0.001$; $F (2, 72) = 19.1$, $p < 0.001$.

### 6.2.4.3 Nominal and Verbal Style

Wells (1960: 214) used the term 'nominal style' as "the tendency to use nouns in preference to verbs" and 'verbal style' as the opposite of this. He also noted the high frequency of the former, even though it was often regarded as inferior to the latter. This view is echoed in Halliday (1985b: 72-73), but he is of the view that the 'nominal style' has evolved as a resource notably in science and technology, since a nominalised process can
be presented as agent, initiator, goal, circumstance in relation to another process.

In order to do this, an index of nominality (or verbality) was computed adapting Wells's procedure. Noun-word quotients (NWQ) and verb-word quotients (VWQ) were computed. The value for NWQ was then subtracted from the value of VWQ. A negative figure meant that there were more verbs than nouns per text-type. The results arrived at are presented on Table 6-5 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>NWQ</th>
<th>VWQ</th>
<th>Dif.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>1289</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>-7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table only WPL had a verbal style in the sense defined by Wells; the rest had a nominal style. This confirms his view that the nominal style is the most frequently used mode in writing. WPL is also the only text-type that is unambiguously personal and informal.

Furthermore, the six text-types showed different levels of nominality. The academic essay (WAE) had both highest NWQ and the lowest VWQ. It was therefore the most nominalised of all the text-types. This appears to confirm Halliday's view that this style has evolved to
serve the purposes of scientific and technological writing to which the academic essay belongs.

6.2.4.4. Summary

The results of the lexical analysis did not confirm the null hypothesis that GE does not show contextual variation. On the basis of lexical density the text-types could be classified into three levels of high, mid and low.

Similar results were obtained in the analysis of verbs and nouns. Again, three classes were identified. These were identical to those established on the basis of lexical densities. But only two 'styles' could be isolated according to whether a text-type was predominantly nominal or verbal. Only WPL was verbal; the rest were nominal thus confirming the widespread use of the latter.

6.3 MODAL AUXILIARY VERBS

In addition to the null hypothesis, two hypotheses are tested here regarding the study of modal auxiliary verbs in Ghanaian English written texts. These are:
(a) Ghanaian English (GE) does not make significant use of modal auxiliary verbs and that modality is expressed through lexical resources. This hypothesis is based on the knowledge that Ghanaian languages, as a rule do not have modal auxiliary verbs. (See Kropp Dakubu 1988).

(b) Text-types which emphasise the interpersonal dimension of communication will make more use of modal auxiliaries than others. This hypothesis is based on the results of the preliminary study, according to which Text 1 had fewer modals than Text 2

6.4.1 Distribution of Modal Auxiliary Verbs

The modal related auxiliary verbs found in the 79 texts were the following:

must, would (including 'd), used to, can, may, will (including 'll and won't), could, should, might, ought to, shall, need to.

Information on their distribution through the text-types is presented on the table below.
6-6: DISTRIBUTION OF MODAL AUXILIARY VERBS IN WRITTEN TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-types</th>
<th>Modals</th>
<th>Per 100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>571</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both chi-square test and one-way Anova were carried out on the data. The first compared the proportion of modals to main verbs in the seven text-types. The result was significant ($\chi^2 = 18.3$ df = 6, $p < 0.001$). The second test compared the rate of distribution through the written texts. Again the result was highly significant ($F (2,76) = 3.8$, $p < 0.01$). Thus the hypothesis that GE did not show any contextual variation could not be maintained on the basis of the distribution of modal auxiliary verbs.

Moreover, modal auxiliaries were put to a wide range of uses, covering both epistemic and root meanings, as will become clear from the illustrations which follow. The suggestion is that the writers were confident and consistent users of modal auxiliary verbs, even though in some cases they used modal forms differently from native English speakers.
6.3.2 Uses of Modals in Written Texts

6.3.2.1 Contracted Forms

In the written mode only two modal auxiliary verbs, *will* and *would*, have contracted forms: *'ll* and *'d* respectively. There were also negative constructions made up of a fusion of the modals and the negative particle *not* e.g. *can't*, *shouldn't* and *mustn't*. Both positive and negative contracted forms are now exemplified from the corpus.

(7) So Philo when you want to come back, I'll be there still me. - No hurts, no reservations. Just plain me. *<WPL 2>*

(8) I have many things that I'd like to talk to you about *<WPL 5>.*

(9) He was a little busy helping A. out of trouble. I'm sure he'll write and give you details..... UCC will never learn. The gates of the Varsity are being repaired and painted for congregation which I still don't believe will come off. *<WPL 22>*

(10) Charlie, I can't even remember the last time we met, this is not fair, but then if you won't make any attempt at tracing me, I'll try.... How I envy you eh, I wish I had finished school and happily married. I can't wait to start making babies ha ha! *<WPL 4>.*

(11) George might have explained why I couldn't make it, I'm sure .... Please tell Uncle Leo that George got his letter and has sent someone to buy roller skates so he shouldn't worry. *<WPL 6>*

(12) You wouldn't believe it Lawrence but so much has happened since you left. *<WPL 13>*
These contracted forms were not distributed randomly through the data. The vast majority of them occurred in WPL which can, therefore, be classified separately from the other text-types. In a number of cases full forms exist side by side with contracted ones as in (9), which also illustrates the tendency to avoid the use of contracted forms with proper nouns such as UCC. In contrast to this, the only examples of negative fusion outside WPL have noun phrases as subjects, e.g.

(13) President Polk and the expansionists convinced that slavery couldn't expand to New Mexico and California <WAE 64>.

(14) "Never mind darling," said her mother, "Won't a chocolate make you feel better?" <WSJ 75>.

(15) Why can't the University contact World Vision International ... <WNA 79>.

Finally, may, might, and shall were not fused with the negative particle even in personal letters.

6.3.2.2 Will and Shall

In many varieties of English shall is disappearing as the modal of future obligation for the first person singular and plural, its function being absorbed by will. In WPL, where it was expected that the phenomenon could most easily be observed, 39 cases of first person will were
counted compared with only three instances of *shall*. The pattern was identical for the other text-types, though, because the counts were negligible, they have not been reported here. It would appear, therefore, that in Ghanaian English too *will* is taking over some of the functions of *shall*.

Another interesting observation relates to the use of *shall* with third person pronouns and nominals, e.g.

(16) Casely Hayford Hall of University of Cape Coast
    *shall* host the annual UNICASSAR GAMES. <WIL 33>

(17) This has been a big problem for the department but now that students want it, it *shall* be considered
    <WMM 42>

(18) In the event of SSNIT failing to adequately, urgently, and exhaustively and satisfactorily address herself to the legitimate issues herein raised and executes hers (sic) side of the contract, students *shall* treat the contract as discharged among other ways of advising themselves. <WSR 46>

(19) The Lord Jesus Christ gives a solemn warning, but as in the days of Noah so *shall* the coming of MAN be. <WSJ 76>.

The last example can be explained away in terms of conformity to the religious register and (16) and (17) should be regarded as characteristic deviations from the norm, but (18) does not lend itself to any simple explanation. One possible explanation is that it conforms to pseudo-legal register of the resolution. But it may also be that the subject of *shall* is felt to be we, which is used interchangeably with *students* in almost
all the resolutions, especially in the appositive construction at the beginning: We the students ....

Finally, shall may have been used for both reasons. Whatever the reason, it illustrates a different use from the general pattern observed in the texts analysed.

6.3.2.3 Conflation of Will and Would

Even though more easily observed in speech, there was evidence of blurring of will and would in the written texts. This took the form of interchanging the two modals in set expressions like I would like to, but the phenomenon was more widespread than that, e.g.

(20) I will like to come over and work for about three months to acquire certain basic things in life ... It is true my husband can buy these things but Sherry I think I'd like to buy my own things .... <WPL 5>.

(21) Be good and don't do what I won't do. <WPL 9>

(22) I'm damn sure that school will not reopen now. Even though there would be rumours of an early reopening.<WPL 10>.

(23) I should therefore be grateful if you would excuse me from taking the forth-coming end-of-year examination.<WIL 29>.

(24) I will be grateful if the application is given your kindest consideration. <WIL 30, by the same author as <WIL 29>.
These examples show that, first of all, the two forms exist side by side even in the same text (20) and also that the process of conflation is not restricted to individual authors or any text-type, though it is suspected that non-institutionalised text-types show a greater propensity than institutionalised ones.

So far other pairs like can and could have not been observed to exhibit this tendency. A more systematic search is needed to ascertain the extent of this process of conflation in the English of Ghanaian University students.

Although the modals were widely distributed in the corpus, on first sight they did not appear to constitute a significant part of written communication. This led to the further investigation of modals in directives, which is briefly reported below.

6.3.3 The Use of Modals in Directives

Directives are speech acts by which one participant attempts to get another to 'do something' (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Searle 1976, Ervin-Tripp 1976, 1977). Holmes (1983) has arranged different types of directives on a scale of intensity as follows.
Directives were looked at, because previous studies (e.g. Holmes 1983) have shown that they are realised by different grammatical forms depending on the context, with modal auxiliary verbs featuring strongly in polite directives. WPL, WIL, WMM, WSR and WNA were focused on, because the addressee relationship in these text-types is salient and therefore likely to generate a good number of directives on which the investigation of the use of modals could be carried out.

6.3.3.1 Modal Auxiliaries in Written Directives

In all 245 directives of various types were identified, distributed through the five text-types studied as follows:

---

FIGURE 6-2: KINDS OF DIRECTIVES

command, order
request
advise, recommend
invite
suggest
hint
increasing force

A table or diagram is shown above the text, listing various kinds of directives with increasing force.

---

5 Adapted from Holmes, (1983: 91).
TABLE: 6-7: TYPES OF DIRECTIVES IN THE WRITTEN TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-Type</th>
<th>Modal</th>
<th>Non-modal</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
<td><strong>172</strong></td>
<td><strong>245</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only approximately one-third (29.8%) of the instances had modals. Furthermore, in all five text-types, non-modal directives exceeded modal ones, with the widest difference recorded in WPL, which has both the highest number of directives and the lowest number of modal directives. Indeed the density of modal directives in WPL is so low (9.2%) in comparison with the other text-types that one is led to conclude that it constitutes a different category of writing altogether.\(^6\)

The paucity of modal auxiliary verbs in directives is further evidenced by their distribution according to their orientation to the writer or the reader, e.g. in

(25) I would be very grateful if this application is given your kindest consideration. <WIL 27>

---

\(^6\) It will be argued in Chapter 10 on the basis of additional evidence that personal letters (WPL) cannot be treated as a typical written genre and that, at best, it is speaking on paper. (Cf White 1980 where personal letters are referred to as 'conversations on paper'.).
The orientation of the modal verb would is the writer himself but the *if*-clause, which refers obliquely to the addressee, lacks a modal verb. Many of the modal verbs found were speaker-oriented rather than addressee-oriented and since a directive is aimed at producing some effect in the speaker, it is worth noting that the 'toning-down effect' achieved through their use did not, in a majority of cases, occur in the immediate vicinity of the word or phrase naming the addressee.

6.3.3.2 Other Modality Signals in Directives

In all seven text-types there was an extensive use of modality markers other than modal verbs, e.g. *God willing* and *maybe* in

(26) After all I remember telling you that I'll be marrying *God willing* at the age of 30. <WPL 7>.

(27) Maybe I'm also to blame as well. <WPL 15>.

Not surprisingly, many of these non-auxiliary modals occurred in directives. In a few instances both types of modality were used leading to 'double modality'. The following examples illustrate their general use in directives.
Chapter 6: Written mode I

(1) 'Please'

It was used most frequently in WPL, e.g.

(28) Please write back very fast 'cos I'm itching to hear from friends. <WPL 9>

(29) In case you have plans of sending some things down to Auntie and the kids this X'mas please try and send me gloves, one or two hats preferably one white and the other red or cream. <WPL 5>.

(30) In case she doesn't see them and may therefore need any help, please give her any help from the bottom of your heart for my sake ... <WPL 14>.

But its use was neither restricted to personal letters nor to imperatives as the examples below show. Both of them have double modality.

(31) Please let us hear from you as soon as practicable if this our invitation could be honoured. <WIL 32>.

(32) Would the finder please return it to 363, Oguaa Hall. <WNA 55>.

Please never occurred in the final position.

(2) 'Kind' and Related Expressions

These were mostly used in WPL and WNA where they functioned as politeness markers while retaining the original meaning of 'generous', e.g.

(33) I'm broke now so I'll enclose a letter to a friend in the States. Kindly post it for me. <WPL 9>. 
(34) Yeah Juan I almost forgot Dora says I should remind you about getting (someone) coming down to Kumasi to bring the card she left in your room. But the best solution she say (sic) might be to get someone going to Legon, so kindly write Steve A. J. ... to be sent to him if possible. Kindly do so she says: Handle with care, 'Odo is special'. <WPL 18>.

(35) IF YOU WERE THE ONE WHO MISTAKENLY WENT FOR MY NATIVE SANDALS (AHEMBA) AND LEFT YOURS WITH THE GIRL IN THE KIOSK NEXT TO THE POND ON MATRICULATION DAY, WOULD YOU BE KIND ENOUGH TO RETURN IT FOR YOURS AND GET A VERY HANDSOME REWARD BACK? <WNA 53>. 7

(36) Could the one who come across a white Slide with Two roses on it be kind enough to send it to Oguaa Hall room 273 (F. top)? <WNA 54>.

(3) Directive Verbs
These were verbs typically used to get someone else to do something. A short list arranged in alphabetical order follows:

advise, appeal, ask,
exhort, charged,
implore, invite, mandate,
plead, request, suggest.

Directive verbs can be arranged on a scale according to the degree of force with ask as the neutral form, suggest, implore, plead, etc. as less strong and exhort, advise, order, command, etc. as stronger variants.

7 The capital letters in the original notice have been kept in this example.
In the corpus most of these verbs were to be found in WMM where they were associated with both participants in authority and subordinates, e.g.

(37) Students asked that the door be opened early so as to enable students get settled especially for 7.30 lectures. <WMM 42>.

(38) The Hall Warden however appealed to the house that despite this irregularity, they should allow the open championship to take place .... <WMM 43>

(39) Furthermore we plead that the reading list for every semester would be made available before every vacation to enable us to get copies before the course begins. In this respect we kindly request that Edufa an African drama may be stencilled for us to by. <WMM 40>.

The use of kindly in (39) is slightly different from the ones noted above which follow NVE usage. Here it is oriented to the beneficiary of the favour rather than the doer as in the previous cases.

(4) 'Hope'

The verb hope was frequently used in WPL to indicate lack of certainty about the truth condition of propositions in general. In this regard it is necessarily tied up with future events, e.g.

(40) I hope you are taking serious my protest. <WPL 10>

(41) I hope your room was quite kept ... <WPL 18>.
However, it was also used both to tone down directives and to predict future events, which by their very nature are uncertain, e.g.

(42) ... and I hope to hear from you soon. <WPL 22>.

Throughout WPL this expression was used as a polite directive for the recipient to write back.

(5) 'Have to'

Have to was not counted along with the modal auxiliary verbs in this study though it clearly has modal functions. The reason was that it behaves somewhat differently from the others, e.g. it can combine with other modals, notably will, would, may, and might. Its occurrence in the texts includes the following:

(43) I had to stay on for sometime to finish up my project work ... and one has to wait on them. <WPL 9>.

(44) Maybe you will have to pacify her somehow. <WPL 21>.

(45) I just had to tell her that I needed her service no more and that she should keep her distance ... <WPL 22>.

Have-to occurred mostly in personal letters where they were used to express necessity.®

® In the data analysed it was difficult to draw any semantic distinction between have-to, should, and must. Palmer (1979) observed that must involves speaker involvement, while have-to is concerned with external
6.3.4 Summary

The investigation of modal auxiliary verbs in directives was embarked upon to further provide evidence of their restricted use in the corpus of written texts. The original hypothesis was confirmed. But more than this it has highlighted the other markers of modality such as please, kindly, and hope. There is no claim for the definitiveness of the results of this investigation as they could have been influenced by limitations of the data. However, there is some evidence of a general trend which needs to be further researched.

6.4 PRONOUNS IN THE WRITTEN TEXTS

The study focused on personal, reflexive and possessive pronouns in the written texts. The null hypothesis ($H_0$) was that text-types do not differ in terms of the number and type of pronouns used. The specific hypothesis based on the findings of the preliminary study was that text-types in which interpersonal meaning was important made obligation, but this was not applicable to the present corpus.
more use of pronouns than those which avoided interpersonal involvement.

A general description of the distribution and use of pronouns in the written texts will be given. This will be followed by an exploration of the cohesive and deictic uses of the pronouns in an attempt to (a) bring out the differences among the text-types and (b) highlight the range of uses to which they were put.

6.4.1 General Description and Distribution

Table 6.8 below presents a general description of the three types of pronoun in the written data. It shows that, on the whole, the picture was similar to the British English system as described by Quirk et al. (1985).

**TABLE 6-8: THE PRONOUN SYSTEM IN THE WRITTEN TEXTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>PRONOUNS</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I me</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>my (mine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>myself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>we us</td>
<td>ourselves</td>
<td>our ours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you</td>
<td>yourself</td>
<td>yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(yourselves)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(your yours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>he she him</td>
<td>him- her-</td>
<td>his her hers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it her</td>
<td>itself</td>
<td>its</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>they, them</td>
<td>themselves</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But there were some noticeable gaps. The pronouns in brackets were not found in the data. The rest were used roughly with the same functions as they have in British English with the exception of some instances of you, e.g.

(46) It is true my husband can buy these things but Sherry I think I would like to buy my own things for the man to know that you are also progressive which make (sic) him give you the respect due to you.

While it is possible that the gaps may be the result of inadequate data, there is evidence to the contrary. There appears to be an attempt to restore the balance in the system through the use of 'pronominal phrases'. A 'pronominal phrase' is a sequence of a pronoun and another word which acts as a single semantic unit, e.g. my own and you all meaning 'mine' and 'you (pl)' respectively. In such phrases the pronoun is the head of the construction with the other element serving as its qualifier thus:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{my own} \\
\text{h q}
\end{array}
\]

The reason for this analysis is that in native English varieties (NVEs) the meaning of the phrase is expressed by only the pronoun. The following is suggested
tentatively as supplement to the information provided by Table 6-8:

(i) my own = mine
    your own = yours
    our own = ours
    their own = theirs

(ii) you, we (all, people, guys, etc) = all of you, all of us.

The following illustrations reflect the fact that these pronominal phrases were not randomly distributed through the data but that they were more in evidence in personal letters where the BE system was found to be most fragile.

(47) I wonder how you guys manage but one thing I know is that my (our) God is faithful and we can do all things through Christ who strengthens us. <WPL 3>.

(48) Shiee -- you girls like 'apo' too much so soon you won't even rest and you've started going to the library .... Is that how the semester system is going to make you gals so 'apo conscious' <WPL 10>

(49) The job is a bit difficult in the sense that the school has no syllabus and, therefore I have to develop my own for teaching them <WPL 11>

(50) It must be noted that every student wants to write examinations that is why we all applied but we shall not write the examinations till the eight (8) student leaders have been readmitted unconditionally. <WIL 39>
(51) Students were also advised to buy their own books if the money is available ... <WMM 42>

(52) I AM ONCE AGAIN APPEALING TO THE ONE WHO TOOK MY ELECTRIC PRESSING IRON (JACKPOT BRAND) FROM THE ASSEMBLY HALL TO RETURN IT TO ME AT 52 CASFORD IN HIS / HER OWN INTEREST BEFORE I MOVE TO MY HOMETOWN - ANTOA. <WNA 52>

These pronominal phrases are interesting not because they do not occur in NVEs but because GE appears to make greater use of them because of the influence of GL systems. In (50), for instance, the pronominal phrase may be a device for indicating contrast, since GE on the whole lacks contrastive stress. But it may also be translation from L1.

Pronominal phrases involving you and we were often employed to avoid the ambiguity of the unqualified pronouns. The pronoun you can have a singular or plural reference when it is not qualified, and we can refer to you and I (exclusive reference) or you and I and others (inclusive reference). There was no ambiguity in the use of you guys which is clearly plural and we all which is inclusive in reference.

In addition to the facts of usage, the distribution patterns also showed that there were differences among the text-types. The table below describes the frequency of pronouns in the seven text-types.
TABLE 6-9: DISTRIBUTION OF PRONOUNS IN WRITTEN TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-types</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Per 100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>1491</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of pronouns found in the data was 2859 which is 8.3 percent of the corpus. The variation was normal (SD = 5.8). Nevertheless, the differences among the text-types was considerable. The result of the one-way Anova carried out on the data was highly significant: \( F (2,76) = 38.2, \ p < 0.0001 \). The chi-square test to compare the proportion of pronouns to nouns in the text-types also produced significant results \( (\chi^2 = 1440.1 \ df = 6, \ p < 0.001) \)

It was also found that the seven text-types can be resolved into three patterns thus:

A. High frequency: WPL:

B. Mid frequency: WIL, WNA, WSJ

C. Low frequency: WMM, WSR, WAE.

Furthermore, there was an inverse relationship between pronouns and nouns such that as the percentage of one increased the other decreased. This is supported by a high negative correlation of \(-0.894, \ p < 0.05\). and the graph below.
Thus, the general pattern is that more pronouns and less nouns were used in text-types with closer interpersonal relations than those characterised by distant interpersonal relations.
Chapter 6: Written mode I

6.4.2 Pronoun Reference

6.4.2.1 Textual Reference or Cohesion

Textual reference describes the semantic relationship that holds between a pronoun and a noun phrase such that the meaning of the pronoun can be constructed from that of the NP. In NVEs only third person pronouns are cohesive in this sense (Halliday and Hasan 1976). These examples are from the data:

(53) Anyway Jesus is still Lord and even when all friends leave, I'll not despair or sink because he (sic) is still there. They may choose to disappear from my life or be friends at a distance ... <WPL 2>

(54) By the way do me a favour I want you to be my eyes in Cape Coast. I mean take good care of Regina for me. Scare or beat if you can all potential guys away from her. Mind you I'll hold you responsible for the adverse effects on her <WPL 10>.

(55) We are very grateful to the District for this bold step it took in coming to our aid despite its own financial constraints. <WIL 36>

(56) We write to inform you of our decision to boycott examinations till the dismissed student leaders are readmitted unconditionally. We have now been fully informed about the conditions attached to their readmission and we consider them as being very unacceptable hence the boycott of examinations. <WIL 39>

All the instances cited so far are straightforward anaphoric references, i.e. the meaning of the pronoun can be found by going back to an earlier NP in the text. But
not every instance of pronoun reference found in the
corpus was clear-cut, e.g.

(57) It must be noted that every student wants to write
examination that is why we all applied but we shall
not write the examinations till the eight student
leaders have been readmitted unconditionally. <WIL
39>

In this case, it can be argued that both instances
of we are cohesive with every student. The argument
hinges on whether every student is understood as
referring to (a) all students in the world or (b) only
students of this particular university. Adopting the
former meaning leads to the conclusion that there is no
cohesive tie between the NP and the pronoun we, which is
consistent with the facts of British standard English as
presented in Halliday and Hasan (1976).

In support of adopting the latter meaning is the
fact in student resolutions there were several instances
in which we and students were necessarily tied up in
meaning, e.g. the formulaic opening gambit of almost all
the resolutions in the corpus was: We the students of ...
where we referred cataphorically to students and where
later in the discourse first person plural pronouns and
the students tended to be used interchangeably, e.g.

(57) Students will unswerveringly and unflinchingly
resist any attempt by the university authority to
act contrary to the items outlined in our
resolution <WSR 49>
where native standard usage might expect their in cohesion with students instead of our.

On the whole, anaphoric references predominate in all the text-types. But the academic essay stands out as having many instances in which the distance between the first and subsequent mention of the full NP in many instances spans several orthographic sentences, e.g.

(58) //In the administrative field, \texttt{NP[Peter]NP} copied and adopted much from the West./// Having realised that he was always going to be on the war front he sought to institute some formidable central administration to take care of the state of affairs when he was away.///He created the Senate as the overall ruling body in his absence./// The colleges system was copied wholly from Sweden for he had seen that even in the absence of Charles XII from his country the state still remained calm and he therefore saw the wisdom in establishing these into Russia.///
///The military reforms were not left out./// Apart from sending Russians out to train in Western Europe he also invited many into Russia to transform the army./// He copied their military uniforms and arms especially the bayonet./// Foreigners like Gordon and Lefort led many of his aggressive wars of expansion.///
///One would however be making a lopsided argument to state that \texttt{NP[Peter the Great]NP} adopted all in all European ideas in his westernisation policy.///

Since this study is not a systematic study of cohesive chains, it is likely that there may be even longer links within WAE which have not been identified, but it is doubtful that any other text-type has chains of comparable length.
6.4.2.2 Deictic Reference

The first and second person pronouns were the most important deictic reference items in the texts analysed. Apart from WSR where we has already been demonstrated to be ambiguous, in all other text-types they clearly refer to addressee-addressor relationship. To know who I, you and we, etc. refer to the identity of the participants has to be checked in the context of situation in which each text was composed.

There was a fundamental difference among text-types in their preference for singular and plural forms, the statement of which should take into account (a) the number of participants (b) the content, (c) role and (d) conventions of that type of discourse. The dominant form(s) in each text-type is/are as follows:

WPL: singular (I, you, etc), e.g.

(60) Mr Owusu-Ansah tells me that Kwesi is in school. I wish I could see him. Has he grown any taller? How are the others? I hope they are doing fine. <WPL 12>

WIL: both singular and plural forms depending on the number of participants and content, e.g.
(61) I write to inform you about the state of my health which has since the beginning of the present semester has made it practically impossible for me to carry out any meaningful work. <WIL 28>

(62) We do not think that the running of such programmes and other similar ones concurrently are part of our established norms in this University. <WIL 26>

WMM: limited use of first person plural forms; no singular forms; e.g.

(63) Furthermore, we plead that the reading list for every semester would be made available before every vacation to enable us to get copies before the course begins. <WMM 40>

In WMM the tendency was to refer indirectly to participants, especially those in authority, through third person forms, and their names or titles, e.g.

(64) Actually, the class realised (sic) that if Mr. G. does not change his attitude towards the students, it will discourage many students from doing a major in English .... However we would plead with him to consider the student situation. <WMM 40>

All four versions of this complaint, the representative's original notes quoted above, the spoken version9, the secretary's draft and the final minutes, avoided the use of you even though the referent was there in person.

9 See 7.4 for a discussion of the original spoken version of this criticism.
WSR: First person plural forms for the addressor and third person for the addressee, e.g.

(65) *We* the students of the University of Cape Coast, upon receipt of the notification as to the mode of payment of monies to students of this institution from the Social Security and National Insurance Trust ... having met at our various JCR's, to consciously apply ourselves to a critical examination of both the over and cover meaning therein implicit ... that *she* is merely acting as a paying agent in a contract between the Government and students .... In the event of SSNIT failing to ... address herself to the legitimate issues herein raised and executes her (part) of the contract, students shall treat the contract as discharged among other ways of advising themselves. <WSR 46>

WNA: Addressor - first person sg.; addressee - second and third person pronouns, e.g.

(66) *I AM ONCE AGAIN APPEALING TO THE ONE WHO TOOK MY ELECTRIC PRESSING IRON ... TO RETURN IT TO ME AT 52 CASFORD OR TO THE PORTER AT CASFORD IN HIS/HER OWN INTEREST BEFORE I MOVE TO MY HOME TOWN - ANTOA <WNA 52>.*

(67) *IF YOU WERE THE ONE WHO MISTAKENLY WENT FOR MY NATIVE SANDALS ... WOULD YOU BE KIND ENOUGH TO RETURN IT FOR YOURS AND GET A HANDSOME REWARD.* (WNA 53)

(68) *I also wish you a Happy New Year and a happy stay.* <WNA 57>.

WAE: no reference to addressor and addressee; *we* for addressor, e.g.
(69) To start with, we see Peter the Great in his youth being influenced by personalities from the Western European nations ... \(<\text{WAE}>\)

The use of we in WAE is often ambiguous. Sometimes it is a conventional variant of I. At other times it is a genuine plural reference.

WSJ: Because of the varied nature of this text-type, ranging from editorial comment through gossip to short story, almost all the forms discussed previously could be observed here. The following illustrates the wide range of deictic reference.

(70) Gentlemen should know that if this attitude should persist, the spirit of Casford which binds us all will soon be broken ... We of the magazine beseech all gentlemen to put their hands on deck to steer the ship to safety, for we are heading (towards) doom. \(<\text{WSJ 69}>\)

(71) This year's hall week, "the Hall Week of the Decade" as I choose to call it comes off on 16th–25th February, 1990 ... Gentlemen of Casford, I will therefore call upon you all not to rest on your oars but to strive harder to help the hall. \(<\text{WSJ 71}>\)

(72) Listen to me. I will tell you the truth about a man's life. \(<\text{WSJ 72}>\)

6.4.2.3 Impersonal Uses of Pronouns

The pronouns it, one, and they were sometimes used without referring, directly or indirectly, to any part of
the text and you to any participant. These so-called impersonal uses of pronouns are exemplified below.

It:

(73) It is an indisputable fact that language is the most effective medium of communication. <WNA 58>

(74) It obviously followed that Congress could not pass a law forbidding a citizen from taking his slaves into the new territories. <WAE 64>

(75) Just take it cool <WPL 2>

(76) I thought it wise staying on campus rather than going home. <WIL 27>

There were 326 instances of it of which 190 (58.3%) referred one way or another to a part of a text. The remaining 136 (41.7%) did not refer to any specific NP or element of the text. While all the text-types had impersonal uses of it, two patterns of distribution were found:

(a) represented by WPL, WNA, WAE and WSJ: Personal uses exceeded impersonal ones.

(b) represented by WIL, WMM, WSR: impersonal uses exceeded personal ones.

All except WAE showed the expected patterns. It is not apparent why WAE alone showed this deviation.

You, they and one
The pronouns you and they as generic reference items were restricted to personal letters, where only a small number could be found. Both of them kept their regular British English meaning, i.e. you as reference to people in general and they for authority, e.g.

(77) Actually, I am lacking vocabs no rather raps, there is noting I mean Rien or as the Spanish man will say Nadda - only assignments they keep piling them on us but there is one thing if you organise yourself all won't be too bad with God on our side. <WPL 3>

(78) Before you reach the gates of the University of Cape Coast there are no street lights not even at the gates. <WNA 57>.

The pronoun one also retained its usual meaning in the texts, i.e. reference to people in general. But unlike you and they, its use was more widespread, e.g.

(79) .. we've had a chain of visitors since I came and one has to wait on them morning, afternoon, evening. <WPL 9>

(80) With this background in mind one would realise that events in Russian society especially during the second half of the eighteenth century clearly resulted in the deterioration of the living conditions of Russian serfs. <WAE 61>

(81) When one is going to the University of Ghana one can see street lights before reaching the school's main gate and you know that you are approaching an important place. <WNA 57>

Example (81) shows one may be repeated or followed by another reference item, in this instance you but also he. Thus there are three possibilities, namely
(a) one followed by one
(b) one followed by he
(c) one followed by you.
All three forms exist side by side as an indication of a system in flux.

6.4.3 Summary

The results of the analysis of personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns indicate that their use varied significantly among the seven text-types, on the basis of which they can be grouped into high, mid and low frequency varieties.

It was also found that although the pronoun system largely followed the NVE pattern, nevertheless there were occurrences of pronominal phrases which required the latter to be modified.

Finally, the actual use of pronouns in discourse did not always follow the NVE norms. A case in point is the semantic tie between we and students noted in WSR or the use of one followed by he and you in WPL.
6.5 CONCLUSION

The analysis of linguistic features up to the rank of phrase was to test the hypothesis that non-native speakers of English in Ghana do not vary the levels of these features in different contexts. In all seven text-types, made up of 79 texts characterised by different degrees of interpersonal relationships were analysed. Both the detailed description of texts and the statistical tests showed that the null hypothesis cannot be maintained. Even in the case of modal auxiliary verbs, studies in NVEs report similar levels. (See Coates 1983, Haegeman 1983). Therefore, the view that GE has fewer occurrences had to be rejected.

The results of the analysis also showed that there was a distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised discourses. The former type made up of student essays, impersonal letters, minutes of meetings and resolutions tended to behave like standard NVEs. The latter made up of personal letters, notice-board articles and student journal articles showed greater deviation from native norms. The area in which this was most noticeable was pronoun reference involving the first and second person pronouns, and the use of pronominal phrases.
Furthermore, some text-types reflected the effects of interpersonal relationship more than others. Those produced by students in small group settings had higher frequencies of personal pronouns, modal auxiliary verbs, and verbs. The lexical density and distribution of nouns were low. The converse was true of text-types in which interpersonal relationships were non-existent or suppressed.
CHAPTER SEVEN

VARIATION WITHIN THE WRITTEN MODE (II)

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports the results of the analysis of
(a) passives,
(b) grammatical complexity,
(c) discourse structuring devices (DSDs), and
(d) intertextual features
in the seven written text-types.

As in Chapter 6 the investigation was based on the
null hypothesis \((H_0)\) that Ghanaian English (GE) does not
show contextual variation. In addition, there were
specific hypotheses derived from the preliminary study
relating to each of the features studied.

The results showed two types of variation:
(a) differences among the individual texts and
(b) differences across text-types.

On the whole, the latter differences, which were the main
focus of the analysis, were more important than the
former.
7.1 PASSIVES

The study of passives sought to answer the following questions:

(1) How much were passives used in the written texts, and what was their distribution across text-type?
(2) What were the discourse functions of the passives used?
(3) Did text-types use passives differently?

It was hypothesised that
(a) GE would make great use of passives on the basis of the tendency of NNEs towards over-formality and
(b) there would be no significant differences among the various text-types with respect to the distribution and use of passives.

To test these hypotheses both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data were undertaken. These are described in the following sections.

7.1.1 Distribution of Passives

On the whole, passives occurred less frequently than was expected. The total number of all passive items,
including pure, semi-passives and pseudo-passives (Quirk et al. 1985), was 838. This constitutes only 2.4 percent of the total number of words in the corpus of written texts (34416). Table 7-1 presents the distribution pattern of passive items both within and across text-types.

**TABLE 7-1: DISTRIBUTION OF PASSIVES IN WRITTEN TEXTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>Passives/100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>78/0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>126/3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>186/3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>106/4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>28/1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>197/2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>118/2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WPL had the lowest occurrence of passives compared with the total number of words. The highest concentration occurred in WSR. The text-types fall into three classes according to the distribution of passives in relation to the total number of words per text-type thus:

A: Low - WPL, and WNA.

B: Mid - WAE and WSJ.

C: High - WIL, WMM and WSR.

A one-way Analysis of variance (Anova) was carried out to compare the rates of passive in the written text.
The results were highly significant: $F(6,72) = 7.6, \ p < 0.001$. The results also confirmed the three groups above.

There was an inverse relation between the total number of passives in a text-type and the percentage of passives with operators other than be (i.e. get, seem, etc.). The text-types in Group A had the least number of passives but the most non-be passives. This was particularly true of WPL which had 16 (20.5%) non-be forms out of an overall total of 78 passives; e.g.

(1) As for this I'll keep my long mouth shut ... Don't get confused what I mean is that you got a cunning way of making people do what you want. <WPL.10>.

(2) Where (sic) you shocked I got married so quickly? You are not the only one who got shocked about my engagement. <WPL.7>.

(3) Infact (sic) I really studied that paper but when I got there I was so anxious that I got confused. <WPL.7>.

In place of be the most frequently used operator was get. Others were keep, feel and seem.

7.1.2 Functions of the Passive

Three main functions of passives were identified in the written texts, namely:

(a) to avoid mentioning the actor,
(b) to achieve the right information focus,
(c) to express negative propositions.
These are further explored in the following sections.

7.1.2.1 Avoiding Mentioning the Actor: Agentless Passives

The majority (92.6%) of passives in the written texts lacked by-phrases, and therefore parallel what obtains in NVEs.¹ The reason for leaving out the actor are also similar, which according to the CCEG are that

(a) the agent is not known,
(b) it is not important who the agent is,
(c) it is obvious who or what the agent is,
(d) it has already been mentioned,
(e) people in general are the agents,
(f) it necessary to conceal the agents identity.²

(CCEG, 405).

The agentless passives in the data are now exemplified below.

(4) One statement you made really surprised me very much that I've taken you for granted. Jesus I was shocked - I wonder if I ever know how to take people

¹ The estimate for British English is 90 percent (Quirk et al. 1985).
² When the speaker is the agent the passive may be used to distance himself from his action.
for granted much more you. [by what you said] <WPL 2>.

(5) I must try and get the visa before July '91 because after school I wouldn't be given the visa. [by the High Commission] <WPL 5>.

(6) On the Clement W. affair it was explained that he failed a total of three papers [by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts]. <WMM 42>.

(7) The hall Warden explained how a transfer from one hall to another could be effected [by any one who wishe to do so, i.e. it refers to people in general]. <WMM 43>.

(8) FUE students reported that they have not been referred to any commentaries to aid their understanding of their English literature lectures [can be deduced from context, undesirable to directly mention name of lecturer in the presence of all] <WSR 42>.

(9) Responses that carried similar intent were grouped and the percentage of students who held those views calculated. The responses were then discussed and the various views held on the subject by students were brought out [by the researcher]. <WAE 68>.

(10) Having been to hospital on three occasions but without any appreciable improvement, I was forced to see an eye specialist in the Cape Coast town [by the lack of improvement] <WIL 29>

(11) We have been tempted to use the word perennial [?] ... <WSR 45>.

These examples illustrate a variety of reasons for dropping the actor. In (4) through (7) it is obvious who or what the agent is as can be inferred from the putative agents in brackets. In (8) there is the additional consideration of not criticising a lecturer directly, especially at a meeting where both students and members of staff were present. (9) demonstrates the writer's
desire to focus attention on the research procedure as well as to relegate himself to the background. This is confirmed by the fact that the only agent in the extract refers to his subjects rather than himself. Finally, (10) and (11) are ambiguous because it is not at all clear who the agents are. This provides a strong reason for using the agentless passive.

Thus, the choice to use the agentless passive is based on the writer's judgement of the desirability or otherwise to mention the actor. This may be influenced by gaps in his knowledge of the identity of the actor, self-effacement, and the fact that the agent is recoverable from the immediate or general context.

7.1.2.2 Focus on the Actor: Agentive Passives

Agentive passives constituted less than 10% of the total number of passives found in the written text. This distribution is similar to what has been reported for NVEs (Quirk et al. 1985). Below are some examples of this type of passive from the corpus.

(12) After all these exhaustive deliberations Mr Jimmy O-A. moved that the meeting comes to a close, he was supported by Mr. Luke N. <WMM 44>.

(13) The house was made aware that the accounts of the Former Treasurer was audited by a Mr Krampah. <WMM 44>.
Chapter 7: Written mode II

(14) Shocked at the most bizarre and unilateral introduction by SSNIT of the doubtful Scholarship Secretariat into the contract .... <WSR 46>.

The most important function of agentive passives in the corpus was to focus attention on the actor. In (12) the choice of the active voice would have led to the wrong focus and affected coherence, since Mr Luke N. would have been treated as the given information, even though the name appears in the text for the first time. It is therefore appropriate that he, which is in anaphoric reference to Mr Jimmy O-A, should be the given information.

In both (13) and (14) the importance of achieving the right focus is underscored by the allocation of responsibility signalled by the judgemental word doubtful in the latter case. The former occurs as a response to an earlier question as to whether the accounts had been audited. In the context of a meeting a yes-no answer would not have been adequate. The result is that the name of the auditor is considered to be more 'newsworthy' (Halliday 1985) than any other piece of information.

Even though agentive passives were so few in the corpus, there were noticeable differences among the text-types in respect of their distribution and type of agents (i.e. human/non-human, specific/general, etc.), e.g.

(15) Resolution adopted by members of Block F Middle <WSR 45> [+human, non-specific].
This concern is heightened by the fact that [-human, specific].

Lies being circulated by SSNIT. [-human, institution, specific]

The meeting was opened by the Chairman. [+human, specific]

... The accounts of the former Treasurer were audited by a Mr Krampah of F4 Casford. [+human, specific]

WAE had the highest concentration (17.8%) of agentless passives in relation to the total number of passives in that text-type. The others had between 0 and 7%.

In WAE the balance was over-whelmingly in favour of non-human agents, including abstract noun phrases such as the idea of westernisation, place names like Western Europe and concrete noun phrases like Palaeozoic sediments. The human agents were sometimes specific as in historical figures like Abraham Lincoln and Catherine the Great, names of supervisors of dissertations, and collective names such as Ghanaians and man.

In WSR there were roughly an equal number of human complements as there were non-human ones. However, all the latter were lacking in specificity, either because they did not refer to participants by name or referred to them in collective terms such as members of the hall, or
students of Cape Coast University. No personal names were used.

In WMM there were more human complements than non-human ones and many of them referred to specific persons using personal names. However, there were a few instances in which the titles of participants (e.g. Treasurer, Chairman, etc.) were used. An interesting variation on this practice was the use of the expression offices of the Hall Porter instead of the title 'Hall Porter' in (20)

(20) The Welfare Chairman assured the house that such a measure has been taken up by the offices of the head Porter. <WMM 44>

The text-types, therefore, exhibit three patterns of distribution of agents as follows:

(a) balance between human and non-human agents, represented by WSR,

(b) greater number of human agents than non-human agents represented by WMM, and

(c) greater number of non-human agents than human agents, represented by WAE.

Text-types with closer interpersonal relationships tended to have more agentive passives with human specific actors than those with distant social relations.
7.1.2.3 Expressing Negative Propositions

It was found that a good number of all the passive words in the present corpus were used to express negative propositions or meaning. The expression 'negative proposition' refers to (a) a word that is inherently negative in meaning in the passive voice, e.g. get shocked, get broken, etc. and (b) words of positive meaning negated through the use of not or negative affixes (in-, im-, un-, non-, etc.). The following are examples drawn from all text-types.

**WPL:**
be worried <5>, be stolen <7> be dismissed <13>
broken <22>.

**WIL:**

**WMM:**
Unfavourable <41>, be broken, be shocked <42>, delay caused <44>, be disrupted <43>.

**WSR:**
Questionable [Scholarship Secretariat] <46>, be overlooked or ignored <47>, protracted [electrical problem] <45>, be compelled <48>

**WNA:**
Gripped by culture of silence <79>, be cautioned, caught <51>.

**WAE:**
Be crushed <61>, be executed <60>, be hurt <62>, be prohibited <4>, be fed up <64>.
WSJ:
Be warned <78>, be disappointed <75>, be compromised <71>.

Related to passives whose central meaning is negative are those passive words which are otherwise neutral in polarity, but have been negated through prefixing negative elements in-, un-, etc. or through being used with the negative particle not, e.g. be not allowed <43>, be not suggested <41>, be not presented <37>.

Though it is premature to make any definitive statement about the use of passives to express negative propositions in Ghanaian English, there appears to be a tendency for passive forms to express negative meanings, which needs to be further investigated. A tentative explanation for this may be that Ghanaians try to distance themselves from expressing negative meanings, something which has often been observed by expatriates living in Ghana.

7.1.2.4 Passives as Predicators versus Modifiers:

a Grammatical Distinction

The predicate element in a clause is the verb phrase that carries the tense. This can be either active or passive. In all the text-types, the majority of passive forms
performed the function of predicator in their respective clauses. Thus, the different text-types cannot be distinguished using this criterion. However, the use of passives acting as modifiers clearly distinguished among the text-types as can be gathered from the table below.

TABLE 7-2: DISTRIBUTION OF PASSIVE FORMS USED AS MODIFIERS IN WRITTEN TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-types</th>
<th>Passive modifiers</th>
<th>As % of total no. of passives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As pre-modifiers the predominant passive forms, or participles, as they are more commonly called, function as adjectives, a class with which they are often classified. The CCEG has a class of '-ed' adjectives described as follows:

Many of them have the same form as the past participle of a verb. Others are formed by adding '-ed' to a noun. Others are not closely related to any other words.

The view taken in this study is that pre-modifying passives are verbs functioning as adjectives. They differ from other '-ed' adjectives in conveying passivity to the constructions in which they occur. Other
adjectives do not have this property and, therefore, should be sub-classified separately.

There was another group of modifiers whose members were adjectival or adverbial in form but nevertheless retained their passive flavour. These end in the suffix -able or its various derivations, e.g. deplorable, unjustifiable.

Both types of passive pre-modifiers are now illustrated from WSR and WAE, where they occurred with the greatest frequency.

(i) '-ed' forms: e.g.
protracted electrical problem <45>, sworn statements <46>, dismissed leaders <50>, preferred voice <62>, disputed region <64>, prolonged leaching <67>, increased output <65>.

Of particular interest is the anaphoric use of said as a pre-modifier as in the following extracts:

(21) d/ The administration should withdraw all letters in circulation asking students to sign bond forms,
e/ The administration should not attempt to debar students from writing their end of year examinations on the grounds that they have not signed the said form <WSR 49>.

The word said had a similar meaning to above-mentioned or aforementioned, which also occurred frequently in the written texts. Thus, the relation
between said as a passive adjective and as a passive predicator is different from that between other pairs of words, e.g.

(22) depleted coffers <WSR 33>
(23) The coffers have been depleted. <constructed example>.

(ii) 'able' forms: e.g.
Considerable contribution <66>, unjustifiably bond <48>, inexcusable delays <46>.3
The second phase (cf. discourse structure as a source of intertextuality) of WSR 49 has a clause with three instances of these passive adverbs:

7.1.3 Summary

The results of the analysis of passives in the written texts suggest once again that the hypothesis that GE is not adjusted to different situations cannot be maintained. In fact text types had different levels of passives, which were found to be statistically significant. It was possible to group the text-types into

3 The second phase of resolutions are replete with such passive forms, e.g.
Do hereby resolve and be it resolved irrevocably, immutably and unequivocally that... <WSR 49>.
low, mid and high frequency types on the basis of frequency distribution, and supplemented by more sophisticated statistical tests. It was also found that the levels of passives in the GE texts were similar to those reported for NVEs. Therefore, GE did not show over-formality when looked at from the point of view of occurrences of passives.

Finally, the passive forms performed different functions such as expressing negative propositions, information focusing and maintaining discourse coherence. It thus became clear that avoidance of mentioning the actor, which is the most discussed function of passives was, in many cases, not the only motivation for the choice of the passive voice.

7.2 GRAMMATICAL COMPLEXITY

The investigation of grammatical complexity focused on two main aspects, namely (a) rankshifting and (b) conjunction. The text-types were compared in terms of the frequency and types of both linguistic features, and significant differences were observed among them. The following section presents the main findings of this investigation.
7.2.1 Rankshifting

There were two main types of rankshifting in the texts analysed, each with several sub-types. These are rankshifted groups and rankshifted clauses. Rankshifting as a linguistic process is most easily defined by relating it to the relationship between various grammatical ranks as presented in the diagram below.

Figure 7-1 shows a word as made up of one or more morphemes, a group of one or more words and so on. A rankshifted group is one that functions in the structure of the group. It is therefore a group or phrase that has been down-graded (or down-ranked) to serve the function normally associated with words in the grammar, e.g,

(22) I will give you [my husband]'s telephone (number) so that if in case you want to leave a message for me. <WFL 5>.
In (22) the rankshifted group is demarcated by [...]. Throughout this study square brackets will be used to enclose rankshifted groups.

A rankshifted clause functions in the structure of the clause or group, i.e. it is a down-graded clause serving the function normally associated with the group or word. The notation for the rankshifted clause is double square brackets thus: [[...]].

(23) Among such personalities [[who influence Peter's life during his youth]] were Gordon and Lefort, who were to become his aides during the wars of aggression and expansion. <WAE 60>.

In this study certain prepositional groups and subordinate clauses which look like rankshifted elements were not taken into consideration, because they did not meet the basic criterion of being down-graded. Thus, the italicised words in (23) and (24) below were not counted as instances of rankshifting.

(24) The issue of Departmental seminars came up at this point. <WMM 44>

7.2.1.1 Rankshifted Groups (RGs) in the Written Texts

Rankshifted prepositional and nominal groups are discussed in the following subsections.
(a) Involving prepositional groups

The vast majority of RGs were down-graded prepositional groups, functioning as qualifiers in nominal groups, e.g.

(25) The passage [of the Kansas-Nebraska Act] in 1854 ... <WAE 64>.

(26) Our popular magazine and mouthpiece [of this hall] is back after a long absence. <WSJ 69>.

(27) Apart from those [to [other students [in the University]]] the Hall Warden must be informed of all letters leaving your office for the administration (UCC) and outside bodies. <WIL 31>.

(28) Furthermore we plead that the reading list [for every semester] would be made available. <WMM 40>

(29) The President subsequently proceeded to the first item [on the agenda] which was the reading out [of [the plans [for [the academic year]]]]. <WMM 44>

(b) Involving nominal groups

The rankshifted noun groups found in the corpus were all possessive nominal groups, e.g.

(30) I will give you [my husband]'s telephone number so that in case you want to leave a message. <WPL 5>

Examples (27) and (29) illustrate rankshift within rankshift, which was common in the corpus.
7.2.1.2 Rankshifted Clauses in the Written Texts

There was a wide variety of rankshifted clauses (RCs) classified according to their structural characteristics. These are illustrated below.

(a) Relative clauses

Traditional grammar identifies two kinds of relative clause: the defining and the non-defining. Only the defining relative clause functions in the structure of the group. The non-defining relative clause is not rankshifted; and will be discussed together with other subordinate clauses in sentence structure later in this chapter.

Down-graded relative clauses functioned as modifiers to preceding nominal group, e.g.

(31) Any time [[you feel you can continue being a friend]] I'll be there as I have always been. <WPL 2>.

(32) This musical wing [[which celebrates the aforementioned occasion]] has made marked landmarks on both the University community and the secondary schools in Cape Coast. <WIL 23>.

(33) Those UCC graduates [[who were refused jobs in the public service]], be immediately reconsidered ... <WSR 47>.

These examples illustrate the two main varieties of rankshifted relative clauses found in the data, which
are: (a) introduced by an a relative pronoun as in (32) and (33) and (b) without a relative pronoun as in (31).

(b) Nominal clauses, e.g.

(34) I do hope it will help you with choosing [[what you are buying for me]]. <WPL 12>

(35) [[What I have against you]] is that I wrote informing you about my marriage and you never wrote to congratulate me. <WPL 7>.

(c) Non-finite clauses, e.g.

(36) The best thing [[for us to do]] is [[for you to send the letter of invitation around May]] so that I will get the visa around June. <WPL 5>.

(37) The saddest thing [[to note about this sad state of affairs]] is that this conflict heightens with each passing day and nobody appears to be concerned with its insidious effects. <WSJ 71>.

(d) Participial clauses.

Both present and past participial clauses occurred with all three functions of subject, modifier and complement, e.g.

(38) The colleges system was copied wholly from Sweden for he had seen that even in the absence of Charles XII from his country, the state still remained calm and he therefore saw the wisdom in [[establishing these into Russia]]. <WAE 60>.

(39) [[Fishing on the Afram Lake and some of its tributaries]] is one of the major economic activities of most people [[living along its banks]]. <WAE 65>

(40) Unreservedly convinced that the programme forms an integral part of the IMF structural adjustment package which is based on a foreign model.
7.2.1.3 Distribution of Rankshifting across Text-type: a Summary

Contrary to the initial hypothesis about the lack of differentiation among text-type, the results of the analysis of rankshifting showed that in fact they differed in the following two ways:

(a) WPL, WSJ and WNA tended to have more RCs than RGs

(b) WIL, WMM, WSR and WAE appeared to have more RCs than RGs.

These confirm the findings of the preliminary study that impersonal institutionalised discourse, characterised by distant social relations, made more use of RGs than RCs, while personal non-institutionalised discourses with close interpersonal relations showed the opposite tendency.

7.2.2 Conjunctions

In this study, the term 'conjunction' refers to both coordination and subordination. The investigation of coordination focused on the linkage of clauses and elements of the clause through the use of and, or and
These were counted in all the individual texts and classified into two main groups, clausal (Coord. I) and non-clausal (Coord II), according to whether they linked clauses or elements below the clause.

Similarly, all the subordinating conjunctions in the data were counted except those occurring in rankshifted clauses. In addition, the relationship between independent and dependent clauses was explored under the following headings:

(a) sequence (i.e. does the subordinate clause precede, follow or is it included in the main clause?)

(b) depth of dependency (i.e. does the subordinate clause depend directly on the main clause or on one or more subordinate clauses?)

(c) Semantic functions, namely conditioning, additioning and reporting.

Table 7-3 gives the frequency counts in the written data for both types of conjunction.

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4 The study focused on conjunctions because it was easier to quantify these than other devices for achieving coordination, e.g. listing.
On the whole there were more coordinating conjunctions (55.3%) than subordinate conjunctions (44.7%), but since subordinators introducing rankshifted clauses were not counted, the difference between the two types of conjunction was surprisingly small. Also since subordination involves only clausal linkage it can be more validly compared with Coord. II, which accounts for only 32% of the total number of conjunctions. These findings call for caution in interpreting the data.

The details of the use of each type of conjunction are now discussed in the following sections.

7.2.2.1. Coordinate Conjunctions

in Written Texts

The highest percentage of coordinating conjunctions was found in WIL (63.5) followed by WAE (59.0). The lowest percentage occurred in WSJ (40.1). The following main patterns could be identified:

TABLE 7-3: DISTRIBUTION OF CONJUNCTIONS IN WRITTEN TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WPL</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIL</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMM</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSR</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAE</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Group A: clausal exceeds sub-clausal coordination. The text-types in this group are WPL, WMM, WNA and WSJ.

Group B: sub-clausal coordination exceeds clausal coordination. The text-types to be found in this group were WIL, WSR and WAE.

It is thus clear that type of coordination rather than sheer frequency was the most important factor distinguishing one text-type from another. All the text-types in Group A have a relatively closer interpersonal relationship compared with those in Group B.\(^5\)

The results of both the chi-square test and one-way Anova carried out on the data confirmed that the differences were significant: \(\chi^2 = 81.6\) df = 6, \(p < 0.05\); \(F (6,72) = 4.9, p < 0.001\).

7.2.2.2 Two Types of Coordination: Odd and Normal Couples

The term 'normal couples' is used to describe instances of coordination involving grammatical structures of equal and similar ranks, i.e. constructions of the type word \& word, phrase \& phrase and clause \& clause, where the symbol '\&' stands for any coordinating conjunction (Owusu-Ansah 1991). Such coordinations are called normal

\(^5\) WMM which represents the meeting situation is no exception since the original discourse was highly interactive and therefore the record of it must necessarily reflect its interpersonal nature.
because they conform to the descriptions presented in grammars. (cf. Quirk et al. 1985, Huddleston 1984, CCEG 1990). The majority of coordinations found in the written texts were of this type, e.g.

(41) I jog everyday, have aerobics every other day I am trying about dieting but I must admit I haven’t been too faithful. <WPL 4>.

(42) In case you have plans of sending some things down to Auntie and the kids this X’mas please try and send me gloves one or two hats preferably one white and the other red or cream. <WPL 5>

(43) George and I are hale and hearty and getting on with each other. <WPL 6>

(44) Greetings in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have redemption and eternal life. <WIL 23>

(45) The proposals here were (a) to make sure that food sold in the hall are under hygienic conditions (b) stop hawkers from disturbing members and imposing a fine on them if they fail comply with orders, (c) organising the Unicassar and Hall dinners. All these received no comments and therefore were endorsed by the JCR. <WMM 44>.

(46) We the students of Cape Coast having met at our various Junior Common Rooms and having soberly and exhaustively deliberated upon the government’s desire to unjustifiably and unreasonably bond graduates of this University to a five year service with the Ghana Education Service ... <WSR 49>.

Three points should be noted about the above-quoted examples: (a) coordination at all grammatical ranks was found in the texts, (b) there was a noticeable tendency towards parallel constructions as illustrated by (46), and (c) the authors had no difficulty with the construction of normal couples. This last point is
crucial to the discussion of 'odd couples', the second type of coordination found in the data.

'Odd couples' are instances of coordination across ranks which appear to flout NVE norms regarding equal and similar ranks (Owusu-Ansah 1991), e.g.

(47) I am not about to plead for forgiveness or anything. <WPL 2>.

(48) I hope you are being a good daddy - or the secondary school naughtiness is still inside? <WPL 9>

(49) Did you stay on Campus for the Easter or almost all the pals went home. <WPL 17>

(50) School is so boring now but a good atmosphere for us to study. <WPL 17>

(51) God is great, loving and cares! <WPL 21>

(52) I am now at school and writing. <WPL 21>

(53) It may interest you to know that as complement to other Christian literature received from other benevolent and well wishers, the Sign of the Times played an invaluable role in recent Evangelical campaign we organised ... <WIL 38>

(54) Smile or not says little ... <WMM 41>

(55) If you were the one who mistakenly went for my native sandals (Ahemba) and left yours with the girl in the Kiosk near to the pond on the matriculation day, would you be kind enough to return it for yours and get a very handsome reward? <WNA 53>.

(56) The hall has acquired a colour television and this has greatly increased students' awareness of current world issues and also a source of entertainment.

These examples vary in the degree to which they are odd. Hence some will be considered less acceptable than others. (47), for example, would be acceptable to
British speakers and such instances do occur in some contexts, but (52) clearly violates the rules of coordination to a greater extent.

In a number of cases (e.g. (48-53)) the odd coupling involves the linkage of clauses of different mood types, notably declarative and interrogative. From the point of view of discourse, the interrogative clauses appear to function like a tag question, i.e. as a device for involving the addressee or leaving him the opportunity to disagree with the addressor's statement. It is thus most frequent in personal discourses where it is related to the modality system in Ghanaian English.

The examples quoted above from other text-types were possibly errors or explainable in terms of the context of situation surrounding the specific text in which they occurred. The impersonal letter and minutes of meeting in which (53) and (54) occurred were exceptional in one respect or another.

7.2.2.3 The Semantics of **And**, **But** and **Or**

These coordinators generally kept their central meanings of similarity, contrast and alternative in the texts analysed, but they were also used to express different relations between coordinated elements.
Chapter 7: Written mode II

The use of 'And'

Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) identify seven semantic implications of coordination by and. Five of these imply similarity or continuity between the coordinated elements in the sense that there is no element of surprise or contrast in their being linked. The other two are discontinuous or contrastive. In this study the first type of meaning relation will be referred to as the central meaning, while the second will be known as the adversative meaning.

Occasionally and was used with an adversative meaning. Such uses were not restricted to any text-type in particular, e.g.

(57) We've been such good friends for so long and sometimes it's helpful if we face these issues. <WPL 15>

(58) Dodou was written to and he never replied to the letter and when asked by the Hall Warden whether he would not reply to this letter, he said the letter did not need a reply. <WMM 43>.

(59) When school reopened I did not inform her as I had been doing previously and left for campus. <WSJ 72>

In this use and has a meaning roughly equivalent to but with which it could have been replaced.
The use of 'or'

Quirk and Greenbaum also discuss the use of or and note four semantic relations implied by its use. These, however, can be whittled down to two, namely exclusiveness and inclusiveness. Both of these were found in the texts, e.g.

**Inclusive:**

(60) Anyway Jesus is still Lord and even when all friends leave, I'll not despair or sink because he is still there. <WPL 2>

(61) Letters inviting groups or personalities into the campus must pass through the Hall Warden and Registrar.<WIL 37>

(62) These aims or promises so to say appealed greatly to the serfs who joined camp with Pugachev. <WAE 61>

(63) Action and/or reaction to this resolution be effected by the close of business on Thursday 31st August 1989 ... <WSR 49>

**Exclusive:**

(64) I hope you are being a good daddy or the secondary school naughtiness is still inside? <WPL 9>

(65) Does she sow (sic) at Osu or at her new place? <WPL 4>

(66) This time try and send me a postcard or letter not necessarily a long letter for me to know that you've received my letter. <WPL 7>

It appears, from informal inspection of the data, that the use of or is more frequent in WPL than any other text-type. Not surprisingly therefore, it also had the greatest number of both inclusive and exclusive uses of
Chapter 7: Written mode II

262

this conjunction. Finally, all the cases of odd couples with or linking declarative and interrogative clauses were of the exclusive type.

The use of 'But'

The central meaning of but is contrast, though it is clear from the foregoing that there are other ways of expressing this relationship. Generally speaking the instances of but in the texts kept this meaning, e.g.

(67) We planned having our wedding around Dec. but I'm still not certain. <WPL 5>

(68) I'm in a real fix but the funny thing is that I keep thinking about you. <WPL 10>

(69) I do miss you very often but well ... "who am I to keep missing someone's husband so much?" <WPL 21>

(70) To conclude one can say that the peasant inspired revolt called the Pugachev revolt has as its basic aim the improvement of the conditions of the Russian serfs but this like other revolts did not achieve much. <WAE 61>

(71) Whilst the situation of marine erosion at Keta has been glaringly destructive because of prevailing relief, that of Axim is gradual and imperceptible but equally devastating in the long run. <WAE 66>

As indicated by many of these examples, the contrast was often implied rather than directly stated. For example, (68) may be paraphrased as:

I'm in a difficult situation but I'm not behaving as though this were the case,
or (69) as:

I miss you very often but I know it is not seemly for a single woman to express such sentiments about a married man.

Indeed the contrast may become so indirect to the point of indeterminacy as in

(72) You wouldn't believe it, Lawrence but much has happened since you left. <WPL 13>

Finally, (71) exemplifies the use of but to link sub-clausal elements, in this case two adjectives: imperceptible and devastating. This use was rare in the present corpus.

7.2.3 Subordinating Conjunctions

Surprisingly, the highest percentages of subordination were to be found in WSJ (60.0) and WNA (57.2) rather than in WAE (41) and WIL (36.5). These figures show that there was no simple relationship between text-type and subordination and that the patterns of complexity are the result of the interaction among the three types of linkage, rather than the predominance of any one group. WAE, WSR and WIL appear to be characterised by complexity at the level of the nominal group, which is consistent
with the tendency for such discourse to convert experience into things via grammatical metaphor (Halliday 1985a).

The result of the chi-square test was significant ($\chi^2 = 35$ df = 6, $p < .05$) showing that the proportion of subordinating to coordinating conjunction was greater than chance. However, the Anova comparing the rate of subordinators per hundred words in the texts was not significant ($F(6, 72) = 2.15, p = .058$).

7.2.3.1 The Grammar of Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses may be identified by the presence of a subordinating conjunction or the absence of a finite verb (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973). In addition, the subordinate clauses, also referred to as dependent or bound clauses, cannot occur alone; they must be attached to a main clause. Three positions are possible, namely before, after and within the main clause, but different subordinate clauses may be restricted in their position in structure depending on their internal structure, the meaning they express and the information structure.

The following examples illustrate the different types of subordinate clauses in the data and prove that the writers were competent in their use of complex
sentences. The conjunctions are italicised for the purpose of highlighting them.

(73) Say hello to Rebecca if you bump into her. <WPL 10>

(74) Mr President, these dates clash with our Unicassar games which had already been scheduled to take place from 8th-11th of February. <WIL 26>

(75) It was then detected that I had an eye infection which could only be removed through operation. <WIL 28>

(77) Before I hit the nail right on the head let me congratulate the University authorities and the SRC for their effort to acquire two brand new buses for this institution. <WNA 57>

(78) Subri river seems to exhibit this normal feature because at Abend which is twenty-one kilometres from Afram the river measures nine-and-half metres wide even though at that point its major tributary, Agusu, has its confluence at nearly one-and-half metres downstream. <WAE 65>

Other conjunctions beside those in the above-quoted examples were although, so that, who, when, after, now that, as, since, as soon as, etc.

There were also many instances of subordination using non-finite verbs. Three categories of these may be established according to whether the verbal element is (a) to + infinitive, (b) present participle or (c) past participle. Examples (79-83) illustrate the three kinds in the data.

(79) Firmly convinced// that the National Service has not been productively utilised and that its proper utilisation can cater for all expenditures made on the graduates behalf by the government ... <WSR 48>
(80) To start with// we see Peter the Great in his youth being influenced by personalities from the Western European nations ... <WAE 60>

(81) Taking the lead⁶// he learned a number of trades and techniques that were to be established back at home <WAE 60>

(82) Aware of the fact⁷// that Senate would insist that examinations go on// as planned// in order to see the academic year through ... <WSR 50>

(83) Submitting fourth year reports,// the class representative raised the issue affecting Mr Clement W. saying that other faculties have invented a way to absorb those who had problems with their Part 1 examinations. <WMM 43>

Four points can be made about these examples: (a) some of them had subjects which were recoverable from the immediate context⁸, e.g. (83) (b) the subject of others are implied rather than explicit, e.g (79), (c) the first subordinate clause of (80) is different from the others in having a purely discourse organising function⁹, and finally, (83) demonstrates the fact that in many instances both a non-finite verb and conjunction, in this case in order to, were used together to signal subordination.

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⁶ To take the lead is a GE expression meaning 'to go before.'
⁷ Aware of has the status of a clause even though it does not have a verb in it.
⁸ Context here includes the next clause.
⁹ This will be discussed in 7.3
7.2.3.2 Position of Subordinate clauses in Structure

All three positions were common in the data. But the preferred arrangement was main clause (MC) + subordinated clause (SC), followed by subordinate clause + main clause. The least favoured was subordinate clause within main clause. All three positions are illustrated below.

Main clause + subordinate clause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MC</th>
<th>SC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(84)</td>
<td>This binds you whether you like it or not to keep an eagle eye on her for (me). &lt;WPL 10&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MC</th>
<th>SC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(85)</td>
<td>The issue of Departmental seminars came up at this point and it was announced that though this has come to some halt it will be done on regular basis. &lt;WMM 42&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MC</th>
<th>SC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(86)</td>
<td>Why is it that after filling your chamber and hall belly you refused to dance when you were called upon to do so. &lt;WSJ 78&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subordinate clause + main clause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SC</th>
<th>MC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(87)</td>
<td>Reacting to the above problems the head of Department said he was also shocked when he first saw the state of Room B.15. &lt;WMM 42&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SC</th>
<th>MC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(88)</td>
<td>Right from the onset, to get a first hand information about the ideas and mannerisms of the West, Peter with an entourage of about 250, embarked upon the 'Great Embassy' between 1697 and 1698 ... &lt;WAE 60&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Subordinate clause within main clause:
The main clause is interrupted by the subordinate clause, which acts as an aside, and resumed later. The most extensive use of this was found in WSR where the interruption typically occurred immediately after the subject of the main clause and was sustained over a series of subordinations of more than a hundred words long in some cases. Often the subordinate clauses were themselves interrupted by further subordination rendering the structure extremely complex. For example, the interruption at the beginning of WSR 46 is resumed after 23 (non-rankshifted) subordinate clauses made up of 289 words. For the sake of convenience only less elaborate examples can be reproduced here.

(89) Anyway Jesus is still Lord and <<even when all friends leave>>, I'll not despair or sink because he is still there.  <WPL 2>

(90) Charlie, I can't even remember the last time we met, this is not fair, but then <<if you won't make the attempt at tracing>> me I'll try.  <WPL 4>

(91) I reported to the University hospital for a check up and <<if possible>> for a referral to an eye specialist.  <WIL 28>

(92) He further noted that <<if books are to be photocopied>> the preference will be given to short plays.  <WMM 42>

(93) Mr Dodou, <<as the case stands>> has no hall ...

<WMM 43>.

10 See Appendix A for the complete text of WSR 46.
7.2.3.3 The Discourse Functions of Subordinate Clauses

The three functions\(^\text{11}\) of additioning, conditioning and reporting, established on the basis of how the meaning of the main clause is extended, were all found in the data.

Additioning clauses (B+) extend the meaning of the main clause by providing additional information about it, e.g.

(94) I guess first of all I must explain why I couldn't \(^\text{B+}\)
come over to your place on the 23rd which was Friday evening. \(^\text{<WPL 15>}\)

(95) The amount \(^\text{<<which is about 6000 cedis>>}\) is with the secretary. \(^\text{WIL 37>}\)

(96) Pugachev promised the serfs land and bread and \(^\text{B+}\)
freedom from the rule of Catherine who was clearly a usurper. \(^\text{<WAE 61>}.\)

Additioning clauses correspond to the non-defining relative clause of traditional grammar.

Conditioning clauses (Bcond) extend the meaning of the main clause by stating the circumstance surrounding it. This function in English is usually associated with adverbial, infinitive and participle clauses. Examples of conditioning clauses from the written texts are:

\(^{11}\) More recent formulations of systemic theory work with two categories, namely extension and projection (e.g. Mathiessen 1989, Halliday 1985a) but the older version described in Muir (1972) was adopted in this study because it was found to be adequate for the present data.
(97) I am damn sure that school will not reopen now,

**Bcon**
even though there would be rumours of an early reopening.  **<WPL 10>**

(98) Please let us hear from you as soon as practicable

**Bcond**
if this our invitation could be honoured.  **<WIL 32>**

**Bcond**

(99) _In order to motivate the sportsmen in the_ Hall Pepsi-Cola T-shirts which we realised could not be kept for use as jersey were given to the footballers who played at (the) time the presentation of those T-shirts were made.  **<WIL 37>**

(100) The type and circumstances of the environment in

**Bcond**
any area determines to a large extent without necessarily conditioning, the direction to which this struggle must be waged.  **<WAE 67>**

Reported clauses (Brep) can be identified by the presence of verbs of reporting in the main clause, which, in the corpus, always preceded the subordinate clause, e.g. _say, explain, declare, think, imagine, and observe_. Reported clauses project the main clause through reporting the exact form or a paraphrase of the subjects statements or thoughts e.g.

**Brep**

(101) I was officially told that I had contracted

**Brep**
*Aids* and that the medical ward was to be my prison and that of five other men I met there.  **<WSJ 72>**

**Brep**

(102) Consequently on May 13 1846 Congress declared that

"a state of war exists."  **<WAE 64>**
Chapter 7: Written mode II

(104) Strongly suspecting that the university administration would use the completion of bond forms as a necessary precondition for the writing of end of year examinations ... <WSR 49>

(105) He advised that students should come for a chit from the department when they are about to buy books because it is one of the ways to ensure that books are not sold to others. <WMM 42>

Reported clauses in native English cover the traditional categories of nominal clauses representing indirect speech. But there were also instances of reporting clauses which deviated from the native English pattern in one way or another, e.g.

(106) The Hall Warden apologised that he could not stay long with the house as he was at the same time attending a meeting with the Committee of Hall Wardens on the same issue. <WMM 43>

(107) This is compatible with Zimmerman's notion that they are appraisals which result from interaction between cultural and natural factors. <WAE 67>.

The major differences between (106-107) and those cited earlier are:

(a) the presence of a reporting NP in the preceding main clause as in (106)

(b) the use of that as both a preposition and a conjunction as in (107).

But the two types are similar with respect to the structure of the reported clause which often has a comma
in writing between that and the subject corresponding to a pause in the speech of many Ghanaians.

7.2.4 Summary

There was substantial evidence that the seven text-types varied significantly when looked at from the point of view of grammatical complexity. Taking coordination as the index, not only was there significant variation in the distribution of conjunctions but also the types of coordination varied across text-type.

There appeared to have been a preference for clausal coordination in text-types which were characterised by closer interpersonal relationship and little pre-writing planning, while those marked by distant social relations mostly used subclausal coordinations. Many of the former text types, like personal letters, belonged to casual domains, while the latter fell within institutionalised domains.

Also, subordination seemed to complement nonclausal coordination in the sense that in those text-types with a low concentration of the former, the latter appeared to multiply.

Furthermore, coordinating conjunctions did not always perform the functions associated with them in
British English. Particularly in WPL, there were instances of linkage between grammatical items of unequal ranks.

Finally, complexity was not the result of any one particular feature but rather the interaction effect produced by all the indices looked at, namely rankshifting, coordination and subordination.

7.3 DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

7.3.1 Introduction: Search for a Framework

Traditional descriptions of the structure of written discourse usually take as their data the essay or composition with the result that the best known framework is based on the assumption that a piece of writing has one main topic which is announced in the introduction, developed in the body and rounded off in the conclusion. This structural organisation is less applicable to other forms of writing such as personal letters.

A framework for describing the organisation of written texts in general, it is argued here, should be flexible enough to accommodate the highly structured essay on one hand and the relatively free-ranging nature of personal letters on the other. The following model
was therefore constructed on the basis of the data for the present study, though it can be applied to other data as well.

**FIGURE 7-2: MODEL OF DISCOURSE AS A LOOSELY ORGANISED ENTITY**

- Introducing a new topic
- Continuing a topic
- Concluding a topic

The above model differs from the traditional one in one main respect: it is not tied up with the phase\(^ {12} \) of the discourse. For example, introducing a new point is not a move restricted to the beginning of the discourse, but can be realised at any point, including the end, as in the case of postscripts in personal letters. Furthermore, the beginning of the discourse may in fact take up an old topic from a previous writing as in impersonal letters which begin "further to the discussion ...". It follows, therefore, that any one of the three main components (introducing, continuing and concluding a topic) can be realised at any point in the discourse. See Gregory and Carroll (1978) for the use of the term 'phase' to describe a unit of organisation of discourse above the paragraph.
concluding) can serve as the starting point of the present discourse.

The rest of this section describes (a) the various devices that were used in the data to structure the ongoing discourse, (b) examines the functions of these devices and (c) compares the different ways in which they were used by the various text-types.

7.3.2 Formal Classification of Discourse Structuring Devices

Three main grammatical categories of discourse structuring devices (DSDs) (Tyler et al. 1988) were found in the data, namely

(a) noun phrases
(b) prepositional phrases and adjuncts
(c) clauses

7.3.2.1 Noun Phrases as DSDs

Two main types were identified, namely involving numerals, e.g. the first reason, and involving the use of personal and non-personal names, especially Charley. The first type, used especially in WAE, highlights the
textual function of the discourse while the second stresses the interpersonal dimension, e.g.

(108) I called on you last week-end only to realise that you have travelled to Kumasi. How was your journey. Eddie, I have the pleasure to invite you to our hall dinner which comes off on Sunday at 7 pm prompt. <WPL 1>

(109) Charlie, I can't even remember the last time we met, this is not fair ... <WPL 4>

(110) Auntie Barbara, I didn't intend this letter to be a long one. I just wanted to say hello. WPL 6>

(111) You wouldn't believe it Lawrence but so much has happened since you left. Professor X was dismissed or retired by the University Council for being rude to the chairman of the Council ... <WPL 13>

(112) Another feature that marks out the spoken variety is the use of coordination ... <WAE 62>

In letters to older participants 'honorific' items such as auntie, sister or brother followed usually by the addressee's first name were used. When the recipient was younger or of the same age as the writer, only the first name was used. There were, however, some instances where, in spite of the fact that the addressee was older, only the first name was used as in (111). In all such cases, the age difference was offset by the level of intimacy between the participants.

The only other text-type which made use of this sort of NP as DSD was WSJ. However, in the latter, the tendency was to avoid personal names as demonstrated below.
(113) Gentlemen should know that if this attitude should persist, the spirit of 'Casford' which binds us all will soon be broken and Casford will lose its status as being the hall with the strongest bond of unity ... <WSJ 69>

(114) Gentlemen of Casford, I will therefore call upon you all not to rest on your oars but to strive harder to help the hall. <WSJ 70>

(115) Dear reader, if I decide to open all the files in this category now, I shall not attend lectures. <WSJ 77>.

(116) That final year major student of the Queen's language who thinks he can continually afford to teach first and second year female students at the expense of failing his papers is hereby warned to desist from this shameful habit else have the Vampire squeeze is shoaa water out of him. Kwasea boy, you were not brought here to teach others in order to fail your final papers. <WSJ 78>.

There were other differences as well. First, as shown by (113), there was the option of the embedded the vocative in WSJ, which never occurred in WPL. Second, WSJ examples were often indirect and verbose, for instance (116). Finally, there was a tendency to be abusive, e.g., Kwasea boy\(^1\), and in all such cases GL was used either on its own or in combination with English.

\(^1\) Kwasea boy meaning 'silly' or 'foolish boy' -- the two are conflated in GE -- is used in Ghanaian universities for students whose behaviour falls short of the university ideals.
7.3.2.2 Adjuncts and Prepositional Phrases as DSDs

These two have been put together because they had similar distribution pattern and function. Most of them occurred in WMM and WAE, hence the illustrations have been taken from these two text-types.

(117) Furthermore we plead that the reading list for every semester would be made available before every vacation to enable us to get copies before the course begins. <WMM 40>

(118) Also the department should remind the library about the penalty of keeping a book when the date has expired. <WMM 40>

(119) Still on his address, the head of Department informed the house that the Council is a forum that the University is interested in... <WMM 42>

(120) As to monthly clean up in the hall the house noted that labourers are paid to do this job and so the house can undertake this venture when they deem it fit. <WMM 44>

(121) Consequently, on May 13 1856, congress declared that a "State of war exists". <WAE 64>

(122) With this background in mind one would realise that events in Russian society especially during the second half of the eighteenth century clearly resulted in the deterioration of the living conditions of Russian serfs... <WAE 61>.

(123) In the administrative field, Peter copied and adopted much from the West. <WAE 60>.

These DSDs emphasise the textual functions of discourse either by strongly marking the theme as in (120) or by indicating the connection between the current point and what has gone before as in (121).
7.3.2.3 Clauses as DSDs

A wide range of phenomena are covered by this title, ranging from one-word structures to full independent clauses. Only a few examples can be cited of each type.

(124) You talked about being too sensitive. Well that's true but that also depends on my moods then. I felt that I was being accused of things every time and that was a way of being defensive. <WPL 8>

(125) Yeah lest I forget have you per chance met one Agric lecturer doing his PH.D in Scotland by name Asmah? I bet you know him. If you see him say hi to him - if only he remembers me. <WPL 9>

(126) Like I said, I'm in Accra for most of the time, mainly because of my work. <WPL 15>

(127) Reacting to these complaints, Mr G. the head of Department expressed surprise at the books not being on the shelves at the bookshop. <WMM 42>

(128) To start with, we see Peter the Great in his youth being influenced by personalities from the Western European nation ... <WAE 60>

(129) It is quite significant therefore to inquire into the development potential of canoe fishing not only in terms of the contribution to employment creation and income distribution. <WAE 66>.

Continuatives like well, yeah, okay were restricted to WPL, while the other text-types used main clauses. The exception to this pattern was the occurrence of dependent clauses beginning with like as in like I said or like I told you. These were used as DSDs only in WPL.
In most cases, the DSDs occurred at the beginning of paragraphs, which was an indication of their role in the discourse.

7.3.3 Functional Classification of DSDs

The focus in this section is the kinds of meaning relationship between different parts of discourse expressed by DSDs. The main functions identified were introducing new topics, developing the old topic through additional information, contrast, emphasis, and concluding the topic. These functions transcend the formal boundaries in the sense that each one may be realised by more than one kind of structure.

7.3.3.1 Introducing a New Topic

To be distinguished from the introduction of an essay, this function can be realised at any point in discourse, though instances often occurred at the beginning. In addition to this different text-types used different DSDs to achieve this function as

(130) Lawrence, tell me how does it feel to be reunited with your family after a whole year's absence. <WPL 7>.
Well, to be honest I also appreciate your friendship and I am grateful for that. <WPL 19>.

Another frequently-used device in the corpus, especially in WMM and WAE, was enumeration. This always identified the new point as part of a list, e.g.

(132) The third complaint is focused on examination times. <WMM 42>.

(133) Right from the onset, to get a first hand information about the ideas and mannerisms of the West Peter with an entourage of about 250 embarked upon the "Great Embassy" between 1697 and 1698 ...

A variant of this consisted of providing specific information which made it clear that what followed was different from the preceding topic, e.g.

(134) a) In the social reform also he instituted a new social ladder ...
   b) In the administrative field Peter copied and adopted much from the West.
   c) The military reforms were not left out.

In (134) the main topic was 'the reforms introduced by Peter the Great into Russian society'. Different subtopics were signalled simply by specifying the kind of reform, namely social, administrative and military. These could have been presented in a list using the formula first, second, third, etc.
Interrogative clauses were frequently used for the purpose of signalling a change in topic especially in WPL, e.g.

(135) How are you getting on with your relationship with the Lord. The last time we met you impressed me with your seriousness. Psalm 1 says ... <WPL 16>

Sometimes instead of a question there was a request to answer a question or to provide information, which was followed by an interrogative structure, e.g.

(135) Tell me something where do you intend spending your voluntary holidays I mean aluta holidays. <WPL 10>.

(136) Now can you tell me something? How on earth did you get to know me ...? <WPL 19>.

The use of questions implies the involvement of the addressee and thus occurs in situations where interpersonal aspects of communication are valued.

Another frequent device was the direct statement which served as a metadiscoursal comment. This was used in all text-types including WPL, e.g.

(137) Enough about marriage talk. Now tell me, how is the doctorate course going on? <WPL 7>

(138) It is with this background that one should consider the Pugschev rebellion, its successes and failures. <WAE 61>.

For signalling the beginning of a new topic text-types produced in institutionalised settings relied on such conventional strategies as headings, which were often in
capital letters and underlined, as well as leaving space for the start of a paragraph.

7.3.3.2 Continuing a Previous Topic

The word 'previous' refers to both topics in an earlier part of the present or in another text. Such topics were reiterated as the starting point of the present discussion, e.g.

(139) Like I said I shall complete school in July 89. <WPL 7>

A previous topic may be continued through explanation, emphasis, contrast as demonstrated by the following illustrations.

(140) Uncle Larry, I don't think I deserve thanks from you. I see or say all I did as my duty. In fact when you were leaving I really had a heavy heart because I thought my job at OLA prevented me from making you feel the way I planned to make you feel. <WPL 22>

(141) We in all truthfulness do not bear Mr. G. any grudge and really appreciate his teaching. However, we would plead with him to consider the student situation. <WMM 40>

(142) Indeed, we are very sorry for the inconvenience caused you <WIL 35>

(143) Consequently, on May 13 1846, Congress declared that a "State of war exists". <WAE 64>. 
In texts with narrative sections, temporal adverbs such as once, then, and another time were frequently used to trace the story line rather than for purposes of contrast or emphasis.

7.3.3.3 Concluding a Topic

The end of a topic was signalled in a number of ways including direct statement, and conventional closing remarks. Below are illustrations from different text-types.

(144) I should therefore be most grateful if you would excuse me from taking the forth-coming end-of-year examination.  <WIL 29>

(145) To conclude one can say that the peasant inspired revolt called the Pugachev revolt has as its basic aim the improvement of the conditions of the Russian serfs but this like other revolts did not achieve much.  <WAE 61>

(146) I hope to end here. Please do write. God bless you.  <WPL 12>

(147) We count on your cooperation.  <WIL 12>

In WSJ there was a tendency to use ready made expressions such as proverbs, quotations, and expletives, e.g.

(148) As for me I will mention no names but if the cap fits you can wear it.  <WSJ 77>

(149) The Vampire has the mind to suck your "cowardic" blood 158 times as warning against future gentlemen who embarrass our "wives". Your balls!  <WSJ 78>
The Lord is not slack concerning His promise, as some count slackness; but is long suffering towards us, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. But the day of the Lord will come as a "thief in the night". <WSJ 76>.

In WNA on the other hand the formulaic expression most frequently employed was thank you.

Contrary to the information given in essay-writing manuals, the end of a paragraph frequently lacked any indication of topic round-off. It would therefore appear that the conclusion of a topic did not necessarily coincide with the end of a paragraph. Finally, the end of a topic was not always overtly signalled.

7.3.3.4 Summary

The study of DSDs examined the ways in which the various stages of the discourse were marked in the text analysed. Hence the focus was on the devices and the functions they perform in the seven text types.

From the outset the view that a piece of writing has a clearly identifiable introduction, body and conclusion had to be modified to take into account differences between relatively loose discourse-types such as the personal letter and highly structured forms of writing such as the academic essay.
The study discovered that a wide variety of devices were used ranging from conventionalised ones to be found in essay-writing manuals and less well-known ones. Generally speaking WPL and WSJ, which were characterised by close interpersonal relations, made more use of the latter. The other text-types preferred the former type. Thus, even though the investigation of DSDs was not statistically-based\(^{14}\), there was still some evidence of significant variation among text-types in the way topics were introduced, developed and concluded.

### 7.4 INTERTEXTUALITY IN WRITTEN TEXTS

Intertextual features or speech forms which unite speakers of a particular community and separate them from other speakers have always been known, but it is only recently that they have been systematically studied (Lemke (1982; 1983, De Baugrande 1980)\(^{15}\). This is surprising since it is intertextual features that would distinguish most clearly different varieties of English.

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\(^{14}\) Cf Maa (1986) for a statistically based description of transitional devices, which are covered by DSDs.

\(^{15}\) The term 'intertextuality' was first used by Kristeva (1969) to describe features of literary texts, but the phenomena itself has been recognised and described without necessarily using the term (see for example the writings of M. Bakhtin).
Chapter 7: Written mode II

The study of intertextuality in the written data was based on the hypothesis that GE would show the greatest deviation from other varieties of English in respect of intertextual patterns. Also, institutionalised situations would make use of features accessible to both native and non-native speakers, while non-institutionalised domains would show a greater GL influence.

7.4.1 Defining intertextuality

The concept of intertextuality was defined in Chapter 1 (1.1.3) as an example of the general creativity of language involving citing another text or text-type in creating another one. This sort of 'borrowing' is affected by the participants' experiences in life and by their socio-cultural background. Like other aspects of communication, it is a shared phenomenon, because its effectiveness depends on the extent to which the participants are familiar with the source of borrowing.

Intertextuality can be looked at from the point of view of the type of the item borrowed. These range from individual words, expressions, grammatical patterns, collocations through discourse structure.16

16 In written texts borrowing at the phonological level is not important though not unknown.
Intertextuality can also be studied from the point of view of the manner of borrowing. Two main categories were identified: (a) direct and (b) indirect. Direct borrowing includes quoting sections of texts such as the Bible, Shakespeare's plays, etc. or a whole text such as a short story, a proverb, and a wise saying. Indirect borrowing has to do with paraphrasing and various other ways of citing another text such as parody, and allusion.

Since the informants used in this study were all bilinguals, consideration must also be given to the language source of the borrowing, i.e. English or Ghanaian languages (GLs). Again, intertextual features can be the result of direct borrowing as in cases of code-mixing, or indirect as in translations.

The rest of the section discusses examples of the main intertextual patterns found in the data.

7.4.2 Intertextual Features from GL

It was observed that text-types differed in the extent to which they borrowed from GLs or English. The text-types that relied most on the resources of GLs were WPL, WNA and WSJ, e.g.
In the first place you made a mistake by thinking that I was bored with Larry b'cos as for Larry I wasn't angry with anything he said. <WPL 2>

When one looks at things I mean all the things we've got to learn with our naked eyes they seem impossible and unattainable but I tell you with God all are possible not some things oh but all are possible. <WPL 3>

I hear you've grown as fat as Maame Glamour. What is your weight now? <WPL 4>

Like I told you in my last letter I'm engaged to Dr. L ...I wrote informing you of my marriage and you never wrote to congratulate me. Why were you shocked I got married so quickly? You are not the only (one) who got shocked about my engagement. <WPL 7>

1. How are the kids especially my husband
2. I have made up my mind to make my husband happy by getting a good class at the end of the day. <WPL 13>.

You must have settled down by now and had a few experiences of University life (November Rush etc.) <WPL 16>

I think there's some stuff to boss about DL's kickbacks. <WPL 22>.

Though classified as originating from GLs, the above examples are in fact English words and expressions, but they have been used in ways that only Ghanaians understand and, therefore, serve to mark the texts as Ghanaian, e.g.

bored meaning 'angry', 'annoyed'
naked eyes meaning without spiritual help

engagement meaning Ghanaian traditional marriage as opposed to church or registry wedding
**Boss** meaning 'to talk about' in this context but also 'chat up' in others.

There were also more direct forms of borrowing in the form of code-mixing, e.g.

(158) Moreover I'd be defending my project a week tomorrow which is the 24th of April so I'm as hot as 'Kaya tea'. <WPL 19>

(159) I AM ONCE AGAIN APPEALING TO THE ONE WHO TOOK MY ELECTRIC PRESSING IRON (JACKPOT BRAND) FROM THE ASSEMBLY HALL TO RETURN IT TO ME AT CASFORD IN HIS/OR HER OWN INTEREST BEFORE I MOVE TO MY HOME TOWN - ANTOA. <WNA 52>.

As usual in Ghanaian Universities, comments were written by other students on the notice which carried (159). All the comments showed that the reference to Antoa was understood. 'Antoa' is the name of a powerful deity in Ashanti noted for swift and severe punishment of offenders. Apart from the first comment which prohibits the practice of consulting local deities at the university, all the comments (reproduced as (160)) call the writer's bluff and offer more options, an indication that the threat was being treated with contempt:

(160) 1. Here inobi so oo!!
2. Go to Larteh, Otrokpeh
3. You can go to Krachi Denteh
4. You can see me I will take you to Okomfo Damua
5. Nana Kloweki
Another noticeboard article (WNA 79) was constructed entirely on intertextual references. The main source of intertextuality in this text is a highlife song by the African Brothers Band which was immensely popular in Ghana during the 1960's for the way it highlighted the lack of basic freedoms in the country under Kwame Nkrumah. The fable told by the original song, which dramatises repression and brutality by focusing on what happens during a parliament of animals, is here superimposed by more recent references to 'culture of silence', which is now a common expression in Ghana, references to science (constants, Adowa = Opuro = Osebo = K) as well as other words and expressions from everyday life, some of which are humorous ('thirded' by analogy with 'seconded') and sayings some of which are the subject of lorry texts (Obarima Nsu, and Woaa ye dwe ... o).

All these intertextual features make this text rather difficult to understand by non-Ghanaians, but meaningful to the audience for whom it was intended.

17 See Appendix A for the complete text.
18 See Field's work on lorry texts in Ghana.
7.4.3 Intertextual Features from English

There were only a few instances in which English acted as a direct source of intertextuality, e.g.

(161) May the year 1990 continue to bring us tidings of great joy <WNA 57>

(162) "Prevention is better than to cure." Let's all join hands to prevent disaster than to cure it. <WNA 57>

7.4.4 Discourse Structure as a Source of Intertextual Borrowing: WSR

Although observable in all text-types, the borrowing of structure was most noticeable in resolutions. In all cases the text started with a heading identifying it as a resolution, named the people who had adopted or passed it and the particular problem it addressed. It may or may not include a date. An example of heading of resolution is the following:


The main body of the resolution can be divided into two phases, which correspond to the background or preamble and the resolution proper. Phase one gives the background or the point of departure. This phase usually begins with a main clause which is interrupted
immediately after the subject by a series of subordinate clauses, forming paragraphs.

As a preparation of the ground leading to the resolution, the first phase is always polemic and sometimes abusive in language, being full of critical comments on the actions or views of the addressee. It presents the adoptors of the communication as rational people who are now angry; for instance:

(164) Hit out of consciousness by the obvious, cheap, nauseating and blatant lies being circulated by SSNIT in the press to the effect that she has credited the accounts of students of this institution with 40,000 cedis, whereas the true picture is the converse ... <WSR 45>. (Present writer's emphasis).

(165) We the students of UCC having duly, objectively and exhaustively deliberated on all important issues with regard to the above policy wish to note that ... <WSR 46>

From a discourse point of view, Phase I is a justification for the resolution. It is addressed to the public as a whole, and provide information needed for the understanding of the action taken by the adoptors of the resolution. It is the given information or the pre-resolution.

Phase II is the resolution proper and always has the word resolve in it:

(166) Do hereby resolve and be it resolved irrevocably, immutably and unequivocably resolved that: <WSR 49>.
The use of both active and passive voices together and the adverbs of manner in the performative act is very common.

The dependent clauses here tend to be less complex and shorter and they do not have paragraph status. Root modality expressing both weak and strong obligation is a common feature of this phase, e.g.

(167) The two year National service be productively utilised to cater for the needed personnel in the G.E.S. <WSR 48> (i.e. the subjunctive form as a modal expression).

(168) The administration should consult government and without fear or intimidation point out to government the implications of its actions. <WSR 49>

(168) We would make the university UNGOVERNABLE if Senate insists that examinations should go on as planned ... Students should not in future take kindly to the Administration ignoring the SRC as the sole mouthpiece of students on campus and accepting various sprinter (sic) groups that have emerged. <WSR 50>

In addition, the negative particles no and not were used frequently in this phase compared with the former.

The form of the resolution described above with its phasal organisation, etc. is strictly followed. Every resolution borrows from previous ones of which there are numerous examples in the files. Hence apart from the structure, phrases and words keep recurring, because they are stock elements ready for use.
7.4.5 Intertextuality in WAE

The academic essay offers good opportunities for intertextual borrowing by way of expressions and form of presentation. Even though originality is encouraged, especially at higher levels, the tradition of reading more established scholars' writing naturally influences the content and form of students' essays. Concern with the effects of other people's writing on students' production often relates to avoiding plagiarism, and following conventional ways of acknowledging sources.

The study of intertextual influences here was not concerned with such issues, but rather with describing what the student borrows, with or without acknowledging, in composing his essay.

Apart from content, both linguistic and discourse elements from previous texts and the genre of academic essays were borrowed. Under the rubric Language single words or groups of words were quoted. When these are enclosed in quotation marks they are easy to identify, otherwise a lot of experience is required to detect attempts by students to pass off extensive material as their own. Therefore the examples below are mostly of easily identifiable borrowings.
(169) The drive to expand beyond their immediate borders was partially inspired by what most Americans believed to be their "manifest Destiny". This was a belief that it was America's destiny to overspread and to possess the whole continent which providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of freedom and federated self government entrusted to us." <WAE 64>

(170) Polk dispatched a letter to Congress stating that "war exists ... by the art of Mexico herself because she had invaded American territory and shed American blood upon the American soil". <WAE 64>

(171) A less legalistic solution came from the national minded west. This theory was the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" which was a long-established precedent in America that communities were the best judges of their own interest, Congress had not interfered with the original states when they drew up their constitution, why then should Congress interfere in domestic questions of a territory before it obtained statehood. Let the new territories be set up with the question of slavery left unsettled, and then permit the people to decide for themselves. <WAE 64>

(172) This is compatible with Zimmerman's notion of resources that, they are cultural appraisals which result from interaction between cultural and natural factors. <WAE 67>

These extracts represent various kinds of intertextual borrowing. The most obvious type is the direct quotation represented by (169-171). In (172) it is doubtful that the actual words of the argument were being quoted. The evidence of the function of that as both conjunction and a kind of preposition suggests that the borrowing is influenced by everyday logical presentation, which in turn is influenced by GL. However, most of the intertextual features come from the specific
subject areas and should not hamper understanding of the quoted passages by non-Ghanaians.

7.4.6. Intertextuality in Writing by the Same Author

7.4.6.1 Procedure

In this subsection the focus is the borrowing by a writer from a previous text produced by himself. Intertextuality in this sense is an aspect of that author's style. Six groups of letters, both personal and impersonal, written by the same students were examined for signs of intertextual borrowing among them. Personal Letters were selected because, they offer the best opportunity to investigate what takes place within a small network of friends engaged in what may be referred to as 'conversations on paper' (White 1980). The impersonal letters were also added both for the sake of comparison and also because they too rely to a large extent on previous letters, especially, where the subject matter is similar.

Ideally, several letters by the same writer and replies to these should be used for a study of this nature, but the difficulty of obtaining this kind of data
necissitated the use of letters to the same recipients but without the replies. Though this was a shortcoming it was still possible to tune in to the on-going 'dialogue' between the two participants and thus to make a reasonable assessment of the features of intertextual value.

The groups of letters used in this study are now briefly described.

Group A made up of three letters, WPL 2, 9 and 19 all written by Chochoe A., of which the last two were to the same recipient. Altogether they came to 1119 words.

Group B made up of WPL 5, 6, 7 and 13. WPL 7 and WPL 13 were to a very close friend while WPL 5 and 6 were to elder members of the author's extended family living abroad. The total number of words of all four letters put together is 1464.

Group C was made up of three letters, WPL 8, 15 and 16, with a total number of words of 1258. All three letters were written by a male student at University of Science and Technology to a female friend at University of Cape Coast. Both writer and recipient were members of the Christian Fellowship.

Group D is made up of two impersonal letters, WIL 24 and 25 totalling only 121 words. They were both written by a resident of Casely Hayford Hall, University of Cape Coast to the Hall Warden.
Group E is made up four letters, WIL 27, 28, 29 and 30. WPL 27 and 30 were addressed to the Hall Warden of Casely Hayford Hall, WPL 28 to the Dean of Faculty of Science and WPL 29 to the Deputy registrar of the University. The total number of words for all four of them is 615.

Group F is made up of letters written by the secretary of the Seventh Day Adventist Fellowship, University of Cape Coast Branch. No two letters were addressed to the same recipient, though some of them evidenced a long-standing relationship between the addressor, or rather his group, and the recipient. The total number of words for this group is 699.

The aim of the study was to find out the frequency and types of intertextual phenomena in the letters. In line with the belief that NNEs are not sensitive to situational variation, the null hypothesis was that there was no substantial difference between the various groups of letters in respect of the frequency and type of intertextuality, and furthermore that different types of letters could not be distinguished on the basis of the frequency and type of intertextual phenomenon present.
7.4.6.2 Results

The personal letters often made reference to previous correspondence or conversation between the participants and thus made it possible to study this feature, e.g.

(173) Thanks so much for your letter. Honestly it was a real surprise. I really didn't believe you when you promised to write. I thought it was one of those "raps" that men give when they are "high". <WPL 19>

(174) Well how do you do? Still fighting the Sagrenti War? Just take it cool. Well I'm not about to plead for forgiveness or anything but to state some facts and then tell you where I personally feel I'm justified and where I went wrong. <WPL 2>

(175) I guess first of all I must explain why I couldn't come to your place on the 23rd which was Friday evening. <WPL 15>

(176) Do I take it that your work is so demanding that you can't get a little time to reply my letter? I think I can guess what occupied you so much resulting in your silence. Julie is the course (sic). Well I think I do understand you perfectly well because you have a whole year's arrears to clear. What a job in hand. May I know how you were able to cope. (WPL 7)

(177) You must have settled down by now and had a few experiences of university life (November Rush etc.) which I'll be glad to hear about. <WPL 16>

(178) How are you getting on with your relationship with the Lord? The last time we met you really impressed me with your seriousness. I hope you are following through with it. Psalm 1 says blessed is the man who walks not the way of the ungodly or sinner but his delight is in the law of the Lord. Make that your delight and He'll surely bless you - like the tree planted in its season. <WPL 16>

19 How do you do is not a formal expression in GE.
Over here our days are numbered, the final time table is not so we are preparing feverishly towards the D-Day.  <WPL 13>

... I will like to come and work to acquire certain basic things in life. For instance now I don't have any saucepans but I can be pardoned because I'm still in school. It is true my husband can buy these things but Sherry I think I'd like to buy my own things for the man to see that you are also progressive which make him give you the respect due to you.  <WPL 5>

How are you getting on with your work and how is Edem doing. Hope you are all well and hearty.  <WPL 5>

Now can you tell me something? How on earth did you get to know me? Why did you not pick any of the ladies who were at Augustines to help with you work but rather you chose me? Was it just a random sampling or you planned it?  <WPL 19>.

It can thus be concluded from the evidence of the above quoted examples that intertextual phenomena in WPL and especially those selected for study were both widespread and varied in type. In contrast WIL did not have the same richness of intertextual material as can be ascertained from the examples provided below. No doubt the absence of continuity in the relationship partly accounts for this. However, even in cases where a group of letters by the same author was addressed to the same recipient, there was no inclination to evoke a common background. The types of intertextual borrowing here were, therefore, restricted to substantial quotation of material from previous letters and 'born-again' Christian language in correspondence with persons and organisations that were clearly of similar religious temperament.
The examples (183-184) illustrate both quotation and born-again language.

(183) (a) Since the third of May, 1989, I have been having trouble with my right eye. I reported to the University hospital for a check up and, if possible for a referral to an eye specialist. <WIL 28>

(b) Since May 3rd, 1989, I have had trouble with my right eye. I reported at the University Hospital for a check-up and, if possible for a referral to an eye specialist. <WIL 29>

(184) (a) ...and may the Lord continue to be with us even as we labour in His vineyard. <WIL 31>

(b) Glory be to the Almighty for our unmerited, sacred and peculiar call to (be) co-workers in the Vineyard.

(c) May the Lord richly bless your efforts even as you offer towards his worthy course. <WIL 34>

(d) Thanks be to the Most High for His continued guidance and may He input on us Worthy servants even as we labour towards His worthy course. <WIL 35>.

7.4.7 Summary

The investigation of intertextual phenomena in the corpus showed that text-types made use of different kinds of intertextual material. In academic essays, impersonal letters and resolutions quotations from previous texts as well as the discourse or rhetorical pattern were the most important intertextual features. Personal letters (WPL) and noticeboard articles (WNA) on the other hand made use
of in-group language, made up of university slang, English expressions with Ghanaian meanings, and Ghanaian language and cultural features.

There was substantial use of religious material in both personal and impersonal letters with the Bible providing the source for most of the quotations. This tendency reflects the upsurge of charismatic Christian worship among university students and in the country as a whole. Surprisingly, there were no quotations from Shakespeare or great literary authors. Non-biblical citations were mostly drawn from the Ghanaian situation in the form of proverbs or common sayings.

Finally, intertextuality was most widespread and varied where there was an ongoing relationship, for example, as in the long-standing relationship between two friends. Thus, intertextuality mostly served interpersonal functions.

7.5 CONCLUSION

Chapter 7 reported the investigation into passives, grammatical complexity, discourse structuring devices and intertextuality in the written data.

The results of the investigations on the whole showed that both in terms of frequency and type
significant variations were recorded in the seven text-types analysed.

Beside showing variation across text-type, there was also deviation from British English usage, especially at the level of discourse. In particular WPL, WNA and WSJ showed heavy Ghanaian influences. The rest (WIL, WMM, WSR and WAE) were more close to an international norm as exemplified by British English.

Finally, it was apparent that WPL stood out from the other text-types in many respects: it showed different patterns of distribution for almost all the features investigated. The tentative explanation was that it was more like a spoken than a written text in some respects. To validate this claim its features will have to be compared with those of spoken data. This will be discussed further in Chapter 10.
8.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

As much as possible the analysis of the written data reported in the last two chapters was duplicated for the spoken data. Thus, this chapter, which is the first of two dealing with the spoken data, will discuss the main findings of the investigation of features at the rank of word and phrase, namely:

(a) general lexical patterning
(b) nouns and verbs
(c) pronouns
(d) modal auxiliary verbs.

Chapter 9, like Chapter 7, will focus on
(a) passives
(b) conjunction
(c) discourse structuring devices (DSDs)
(d) Intertextuality.
The same null-hypothesis was tested in analysing the spoken data, namely, Ghanaian English (GE) does not distinguish between different social situations.

The rationale for duplicating the analysis was to make possible comparison between the two sets of data. But because of the differences between speech and writing, slightly different leads have been followed in response to the dominant linguistic patterning in the spoken data. Two reasons account for this: (a) the fact that the spoken and written language serve different functions in the Ghanaian community and, therefore, use different forms1 (b) the use of the computer programme Tact2 in the analysis of the spoken data which meant that certain lines of enquiry which were not feasible in the analysis of the written data could now be pursued.

8.1 METHODOLOGY

8.1.1 Transcription

All the tape recorded materials were transcribed with the aid of three field assistants using the English spelling

1 See 6.0 for a fuller discussion of the differences between spoken and written language.
2 Tact is a computer programme for text analysis developed as a shareware at Toronto University.
system with a few notable additions, which are explained below:

**Transcription conventions**

- **+** pause, long pauses were represented with two or more symbols
- **--** interrupted speech
- **//, [** overlapping speech
- **()** encloses doubtful sections of the transcript
- **(...)** lost or omitted segments
- **< >** material to be ignored during the computer analysis, speaker identity, paralinguistic information, etc.
- **<O.S.>** overlapping which could not be transcribed.

8.1.2 Sampling

The mode of data collection was reported in Chapter 5 and therefore will not be reported here, except to stress that most of them were authentic. The only exception was the interviews which were elicited, but even for these a controlled interview style was avoided.5 Permission to

---

3 The duration of pauses was not measured because it had no relevance for the analysis to be carried out.
4 Overlapping speech was represented in three different ways for convenience and to capture the differences in the functions of kinds of overlapping.
5 See 5.5.5 for a discussion of the problems of the interview and how these were solved.
use the material for research purposes was sought either before or after the recording. In all cases it was given.

In all 56 texts made up of 49,033 words were analysed. These were classified into seven groups as follows:

**TABLE 8-1: CLASSIFICATION OF SPEECH EVENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>TEXTS</th>
<th>TYPES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>In the political domain</td>
<td>i. speeches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of words: 7770</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Friendly conversation</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of words: 4585</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Public speeches</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of words: 4353</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Meeting discussion</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of words: 2679</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>In the religious domain</td>
<td>i. testimonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. prayers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. question-answers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of words: 6009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of words: 16938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>In the academic domain</td>
<td>i. tutorial deliveries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. study-group discuss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of words: 6699</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the above that the groups are not of the same size. Group F (interviews) is the largest, because being the least natural of them all, it was felt that informants should be given time to get used to being
recorded. Furthermore, it was used to gather background information about the informants. Finally, in all cases the interview situation generated such a lively discussion that it was allowed to run longer than originally planned.

Groups A, E and G were subclassified as follows:

Group A: i. face-to-face speeches (SFF) ii. face-to-face question and answer session (SFQ).

Group E: i. Testimonies (SGT) ii. question and answer session (SGQ) iii. prayer session (SGP).

Group G: i. Tutorial delivery (STD) ii. academic discussion (SAD).

The others, which are referred to by the following abbreviations, were not subclassified:

Casual conversation (SCC)

Interviews (SIN)

Meeting discussions (SMT)

Public speeches (SPS).

Two hundred samples of approximately one hundred words each representing fifty percent of the corpus were taken by a random process. This was done to facilitate

\[ x = y - 10 \]

where \( x \) refers to the number of lines to ignore and \( y \) number of lines in the pooled texts.
the counting of very frequent features such as the pronouns and lexical items, and also to achieve comparability in the statistical analysis. These were grouped into ten text-types as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>No. of samples</th>
<th>Total no. of words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2088</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 --------- 200 20467

8.2 LEXICAL ANALYSIS

The random samples were analysed for the general distribution of lexical items measured in terms of lexical density and the frequency of nouns and verbs was described in terms of the nominality or verbality of the texts. The aim was to find out whether there was any significant difference in the occurrence of lexical words which can be correlated with text-type.
8.2.1 Lexical Density

The lexical density (LD) for all the samples of spoken texts was 38.5%. The lowest density, recorded in SGT, was 24% and the highest, found in SPS, was 58.5%. The distribution was near-normal as shown by the histogram below.

FIGURE 8-1: DISTRIBUTION OF LEXIS IN SPOKEN TEXTS

\[ N = 200, \text{Mp} = \text{midpoint} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mp</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The degree of variation was not wide (SD = 6.9).

However there were significant differences among the ten text-types as shown by Table 8-3.
TABLE 8-3: MEAN LEXICAL DENSITIES IN SPOKEN TEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEAN LD</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compared with the written data most of the spoken texts had lexical density under 40%. There was also more variation in the spoken mode. The widest variation were found in SPS and SFF. On the basis of the above data the text-types were grouped into three levels thus:

A or high: STD, SFF and SPS.
B or mid: SCC, SFQ, SGQ, SMT, SAD.
C or low: SGT, SIN.

Statistical tests were carried out to find out whether or not observed differences were significant and also whether or not the three groups were valid. The results of the one-way Anova \( (F (9,190) = 26.04, p < 0.0001) \) were highly significant. The pair-wise comparison also confirmed the above three levels.
8.2.2 Verbs and Nouns

The study of verbs and nouns took into account all content verbs, excluding be since this was not counted as a lexical item.7

It was hypothesized that text-types with similar lexical density could have different levels of noun and verb choices. If so, text-types which belong to the same level on the criterion of lexical density could be distinguished in terms of whether they were verbal or nominal in style. Table 8-4 is a summary of the distribution of verbs and nouns in the spoken texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-types</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs accounted for less than 35 % of the total number of lexical words compared with 44.3 % by nouns. Eight text-types had levels of nouns exceeding verbs with the differences ranging from 1.5 % in SFQ to 34.2 % in STD. But the text-type figures conceal a more complex

7 See Chapter six for the arguments in favour of treating be as a non-lexical item.
picture when looked at from the point of view of individual texts. These are summarised in Table 8-4 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>verbs &gt; nouns</th>
<th>nouns &gt; verbs</th>
<th>verbs = nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

STD and SPS were similar in that in all the texts the nouns exceeded the verbs. The other extreme where verbs exceeded nouns in all texts did not occur. SGQ was neutral: in one text there were as many verbs as there were nouns, nine texts had more verbs than nouns and another nine had more nouns than verbs. But according to 8-4 the nouns exceeded the verbs in this text-type on the whole.

These statements have implications for the use of nominal and verbal style in the spoken discourse.
8.2.3 Dominance of the Nominal Style

The evidence from the above tables suggests that, as in the written corpus, the nominal style was found to be more common. Only two text-types had a predominantly verbal style, namely SGT and SCC; the rest were nominal. However unlike the written texts, there was more overlap whereby a text-type that is predominantly nominal has individual texts which were verbal and vice versa. The reason for this may be that the spoken varieties are less stable than the written varieties. This point will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 10.

8.2.4 Summary

The results of the lexical analysis suggest that there were significant differences among text-types in their distribution of lexical items as measured in terms of lexical density and also verbality and nominality. The text-types can be classified into two or three groups on the basis of lexical patterning. The differences among texts and the three groups were confirmed by Analysis of variance and pair-wise comparisons.
A surprising finding was that the spoken texts behaved in a similar way to the written texts in being predominantly nominal in style.

However, the hypothesis that there was no difference among the text-types could not be maintained but the differences between spoken and written texts did not prove to be significant in respect of the use of the verbal or nominal style.

8.3 MODAL AND RELATED AUXILIARY VERBS IN SPEECH

8.3.1 General Distribution

The modal auxiliary verbs found in the corpus of spoken texts were:

can, could, may might, need to, ought to shall, will, would.

Both the positive and the negative contracted forms occur along side the full forms. Table 8-6 presents the distribution of modal auxiliary verbs in the unsampled corpus.
TABLE 8-6: DISTRIBUTION OF MODAL AUXILIARY VERBS IN SPEECH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>Modals</th>
<th>Per 100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFC</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSI</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SFF and SPS had the highest and lowest distribution of modals respectively. On the basis of the information presented on Table 8-6 the text-types can be grouped into three as follows:

A: high (3+) - SFF
B: mid (2.0 - 2.9) - SFQ, SFC, SGT, SGQ, SGP, SSI, SAD.
C: Low (0 - 1.9) - SPS, SMP, STD.

As to be expected the majority of text-types fell within the intermediate group.

Both chi-square test and one-way Anova were carried out to ascertain the level of significance of the
observed variation. The results were highly significant: $\chi^2 = 62.4$, df = 10, $p < 0.001$; F (9,199) = 2.91, $p < 0.01$). The Anova result confirmed the three-way grouping above.

8.3.2 Uses of Modal Auxiliaries Verbs in Speech

The following subsection discusses with exemplification the use of contracted forms, the choice between will and shall, the conflation of will and would and the use of modals in spoken directives. The discussion will highlight the differences among the spoken text-types, between the spoken and written data, and between NVEs and GE. The objective is to demonstrate the wide range of use of modal auxiliaries, some of which deviate from native speaker norms both qualitatively and quantitatively.

8.3.2.1 Contracted Forms

Of the 497 modals found in the sampled texts 110 or 22.2% were contracted forms distributed through the text-types as follows:

---

8 These statistics are based on the 200 sampled texts excluding SGP.
Chapter 8: Spoken mode I

8-7: DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRACTED MODAL AUXILIARY VERBS IN SPEECH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>Total no. of modals</th>
<th>Contracted forms</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Casual conversation (SCC) had the highest occurrence of contracted forms and academic discussion (SAD) had the lowest percentage. These two text-types represented extremes as can be seen from the figures above.

The examples which follow are taken from the unsampled texts.

(1) Fellow hallers, Ladies and Gentlemen, I'd like also + like + to remind you that your vote is your power and tomorrow when you go to the polls do not forget to mark R. as your treasurer. <SSF 1>

(2) When we fall on these top officials they'll help us so that the hall will get enough funds to do whatever the hall wants <SFF 5>.

(3) ... I think he is trying to say that because I don't have account + er + accounting background I can't manage it, but then I'm not going to manage the post alone. There's going to be a committee and this committee there's people who have accounting

---

These figures are less reliable than those for the written data because of difficulty of transcribing spoken data. Sometimes the GE pronunciation of 'll differed from that of native speakers in having a vowel preceding the l-sound, but this was accepted as a reduction whenever the w-sound was dropped.
backgrounds and I think they can help in order to manage all these things. <SFQ 13>.

(4) D: Sorry what did you say I can't hear you the music--
E: Stop shouting.
R: I said they were jealous because I didn't invite them. <SCC 27>.

(5) We can see that the programme has not started not at the right time + that is to say that we are a bit late and I'll therefore apologize for the lateness. That is the speakers were here before even the the + the audience so I'll apologize on behalf of the JCR and the entire students. From here I'd say that + this pro- function is a grand one and it's a distinctive feature of Casely-Hayford hall week celebrations. <SFS 28>

(6) If you take everybody'll quarrel on this floor. <SMT 34>

(7) I won't promise that when I'm voted into power I'll use my good offices to make sure that all the broken toilets and showers will be refixed. <SFF 6>

(8) But the computer room made us aware that we shouldn't have been doing that. <SMT 33>

As in NVEs, GE lacks contracted forms of may + not (*mayn't) and might + not (*mightn't). Example (2) illustrates an important aspect of the use of contracted forms: the fact that they are avoided after full NPs like the hall. All the instances of contraction followed pronouns as was the case in the written data. In addition, even after pronouns non-contracted forms were sometimes selected where one would expect contracted forms, e.g.

(9) But I promise that during my tenure of office that is if I'm voted into power I will make sure that all funds that are collected from hallers and all funds
that are received from outside will be well accounted for. <SFQ 20>.

Finally, as can be seen in some of the examples there were other reduced forms such as I'm and don't but these were not counted, because they were not modal in function.

8.3.2.2 Will and Shall

These two modals were studied to find out the extent to which they were used in the data and to ascertain whether, as in writing, shall is disappearing.

There were 200 instances of will in the sampled texts. This accounts for 40.2% of all modal auxiliary verbs. In contrast, there were only eight occurrences of shall constituting 1.6% of modal auxiliary verbs in the sampled texts. In all cases will was chosen as the modal for expressing future obligation, e.g.

(10) Well, as time demands all I want to assure you is that if you vote me in power I'll assure you I'll give the best of my services. <SFF 3>.

(11) But I believe that when I'm voted into power I will have more time and more chance to delve into issues and proposals which were on hand when I was on the committee and deal appropriately with them through the right quarters, and I'm assuring hallers that whatever I get to know I'll communicate it to you through the noticeboards, so Hallers, I assure you that when you vote for me I will definitely let you know whatever happened to all those proposals. <SFQ 19>. 
(12) Me I won't sleep with you. I will sleep on the floor. <SIN 49>.

In addition, will was preferred to shall after we. There were 16 instances of we + will and only eight instances of we + shall, e.g.

We + will:

(13) Honestly, we + we meet in our schools we'll probably be in positions where you are called upon to make a speech... <SMP 33>.

(14) Martha Nelson, please get the price known to us so that we will know how much we will contribute. <SMP 34>.

(15) Meanwhile we will + want to use this occasion to take one or two testimonies er praises while we wait for the senior members... <SGT 35>.

We + shall:

(16) ... What I want to say is that we shall wait patiently to see how they are going to privatise the hall so that we can fight and then defeat these people. <SFQ 22>.

(17) C: ... So what are we going to find?
   A: //The present value.
   B: We are going to find --/
   C: Oh we will get it.
   B: Let's just try.
   A: So you think we should keep it.
   C: We shall get it let's + beh you know the formula so let's leave it like that <SAD 56>.

In Speech, unlike writing, only we was used with shall. But even here the same speaker alternated between
shall and will as demonstrated by (17). It is thus clear that will was one of the most frequent modal auxiliary verbs in speech and that it seems to be displacing shall, which is disappearing as the modal of future obligation for the first person.

8.3.2.3 Will and Would

There were 50 instances of would in the sampled texts but as shown on the table below these were not distributed in the text-types in a random manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-types</th>
<th>Occurrences of would</th>
<th>As % of modals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that the frequency of would in a text does not depend on the overall use of modal auxiliary verbs. Would occurred in public speech (SPS) more than in any other text-text, even though from the point of view of modals in general it had one of the
lowest frequencies. Conversely, casual conversation (SCC) in fact had the lowest distribution of would despite the fact that it had a very high frequency of general modals. The reason for this may partly lie in the meanings expressed by would.

Four main functions were associated with would in the present data, namely:

(a) expressing future obligation in the past, i.e. as the past tense form of will.
(b) as a politeness marker in requests
(c) subjunctive function in set expressions
(d) hypothetical situations.

These are now exemplified below.

(18) If Mr Mr Kingsley O. is around would he please come forward? <SFF 3>

(19) Since time is not on my side I would like you all to vote for a very efficient, dynamic and knowledgeable secretary. <SFF 4>

(20) And it put some of us in some awkward situation because we would have done better if we had seen the feedback. <SMP 33>

(21) How can you pond ladies? What for? Me. if I were a man I would even run away. <SCC 26>

As in the case of writing, there was evidence of conflation of will and would as demonstrated in (22) and (23).

(22) X: They've been worrying you, what about?  
R: Like they want you as a girlfriend.  
X: Yeah.
R: Somebody says he is coming to visit you, he will come and sit down, he won't even talk. He will just <laughter> he will sit down, he will look through your album about ten times +
X: I'm getting an insight into the whatever + the October rush and all, what the rush is all about.
R: Yes. He'll be very boring.
X: Yes.
R: Eh and he wouldn't go.
X: And you couldn't tell him to go?
R: No, you + you will tell him you want to sleep, you will take a book to read, he wouldn't go. Tomorrow he will come back. <SIN 47>.
(23) From here I would say that + this pro- function is a grand one. Its + and its a distinctive feature of the Casely-Hayford Hall Week celebrations. I'd therefore welcome all of you to this august function... <SPS 28>.

8.3.2.4 Modals and Directives in Speech

Directives in casual conversation (SFF), meetings (SMT), (STD) academic discussions (SAD) and face-to-face speeches (SFF) were analysed for (a) the presence of modal auxiliary verbs and (b) alternative ways of expressing modality.

A wide range of directive types were found both employing modal auxiliary verbs and other forms of modals. There was a tendency to use politeness markers such as would and please in interaction involving students and lecturers and in public situations such as the face-to-face. But directives in casual conversation usually lacked such politeness markers. The examples
below illustrate the types of directives found in the data.

(24) If Mr + Mr Kingsley O. is around, would he please come forward. You have three minutes within which to present your manifesto. Please come up and take the mike. <SFF 3>.

(25) E: If you like set it tonight but I wanted to give you a new style with the hair coming forward.
M: Should I set it forward?
E: Yeah, tell them to set it forward. The side and the side come forward, this middle bit going back.
M: Okay so this side coming down forward.
E: Yeah, forward.
M: This side going back (...) okay tell them to set it like that and they shouldn't put any grease, not one drop. <SCC 27>.

(26) So far we have not treated any thing on prose and drama so the class suggests that if it will be possible the department finds another period for literature. <SMP 33>.

(27) In addition to the dirty nature of the classroom the room is terribly hot and any time we have lectures + as at now those of us who are sitting here we are a little more comfortable than those of you sitting on the stage because the place is very hot. About a week ago I had the chance of giving a tutorial there and by the time I finished my shirt was + drenched <laughter> so + we would like to have some fans, if it will not be too much, fixed in this room. <SMP 33>.

(28) D: But you said you were going to buy kenkey from downstairs?
R: I went + I went. When I went down the kenkey wasn't there.
D: you do us a favour.
R: Are you joking?
D: Come on I can't do without... <SCC 27>

(29) So in order not er to keep those who are not aware in suspense for too long, we will humbly and respectfully ask that the senior members here would stand on their feet and introduce themselves to us. <SGQ 43>. 
(30) often we come back before we are giving the list of reading books ... So we I want to appeal that before we go home the textbooks list are given us so that when you go home you can find the textbooks to buy before you come back to school. <SMP 33>.

An interesting feature of requests directed at superiors is that they tend to be surrounded by talk which is apparently not related to the issue at stake, e.g. (27). The request to have fans installed is preceded by a description of the heat in the room and followed by a mitigating conditional clause if it will not be too much. This format, also observed in questions, has the dual function of making the request appear to be reasonable and allowing the addressee the chance of rejection10.

It was found that the size of the audience influenced the choice of directive-type. In the face-to-face situation the general pattern was that the chairman used politeness markers when inviting speakers. But when he spoke to them directly he used a less polite directive, e.g. Use the mike rather than Could you use the mike? or Come and take the mike please. <SFF 3>.

10 Such requests therefore are face-saving acts on two counts in the sense that the addressee who is of a higher status can refuse the request because "it will be too much" and the speaker still can be considered a reasonable person.
8.3.2.5 Summary

The following are the most important findings of the study of modal auxiliary verbs in speech:

(a) There was a wide range of use covering the two areas of epistemic and root modality.

(b) The initial hypothesis that their distribution and uses can be linked with variation in context was confirmed. There were more of them in casual situations than in institutionalised ones. However, the latter situations had more cases of modal auxiliary being used as politeness markers.

(c) There were other non-auxiliary politeness markers which were commonly used either in conjunction or in place of the modal auxiliary types.

(d) As in writing, will seems to be taking over the functions of shall, and would and will are used interchangeably sometimes.

8.4 PRONOUNS IN SPEECH

Both quantitative and qualitative investigations were carried out to find out (a) whether there was any significant differences among the various text-types and (b) whether the spoken texts could be distinguished from
the written texts in terms of pronoun distribution. It was found that the differences among the text-types were quite substantial but those between speech and writing were minor.

8.4.1 General Description

The pronoun system in the spoken texts was almost identical to that of the written texts, which in turn was similar to the British English (BE) system (See 6.5.1). The gaps noted in the latter appeared to be filled in the data. The forms mine, yours, yourselves and theirs which were absent in the written texts occurred in speech,

(31)  D: Okay I know a guy called <interrupted> Listen! I know a guy called Davy, Davy and I thought his full name was David so he said no his name was Davy.
    E: Actually it's just like mine my real + name is Eddie.
    R: A:h?
    E: When I came to this school they put Edmund on my forms. <SCC 27>

But the frequency of these was so low in a corpus of nearly 50,000 words that the argument of inadequate data is no longer thought to be strong.\textsuperscript{11} Further investigation revealed that, as in the written texts, the forms mine, theirs and yourselves occurred only once each.

\textsuperscript{11} The forms mine, theirs and yourselves occurred only once each.
pronominal phrases involving own, you + nominal were frequently used in place of the missing pronouns, e.g.

(32) E: You want yours [hair] done?  
D: I will never use perming cream + I like my own kinky hair.  <SCC 27>

(33) E: I thought she was expecting again (...) How many has she?  
R: Two.  
E: Oh only two that's alright (O.S.).  
R: Ei she's finished.  
D: Oh no!  
E: I hope you won't do that too.  
R: Why?  
E: You do two and then say that you have finished.  
D: You people, how many do you want to have?  
<SCC 27>.

(34) You people let's hurry up and go eh.  <SMP 34>

(35) ... We all know that some people are supposed to + do some project work and okay in last year social science you have to choose your own topic unlike the + those in the Science faculty.  <SGT 41>.

8.4.2 Distribution of Pronouns in Speech

Table 8-9 and Figure 8-2 both show the distribution of pronouns in speech.
Chapter 8: Spoken mode I

TABLE 8-9: DISTRIBUTION OF PRONOUNS IN SPEECH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Per 100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFC</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGP</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>2302</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 8-2: HISTOGRAM OF PRONOUN DISTRIBUTION IN SPEECH

As can be seen from the shape of the histogram the distribution was quite normal. The standard deviation is 3.8 which shows that there were no unexpected variations. The casual conversation had the highest percentage of pronouns and the lowest was in tutorial delivery followed by public speech. This confirms the finding in the written data that text-types characterised by close
interpersonal relationship had most pronouns and those marked by the absence of interpersonal relationship had the lowest frequency of pronouns.

The result of one-way Anova based on the sampled data was highly significant: $F (9,199) = 23.0 \ p < 0.001$. It also showed that the text-types are distributed in three as follows:

A: high - casual conversation and testimony
B: mid - face-to-face, interviews, question- and-answer sessions, minutes of meetings and academic discussions.
C: Low - tutorial delivery and public speech.

8.4.3 Uses of Pronouns

8.4.3.1 Reference

Both deictic (referring to the context) and cohesive (referring to the text) uses were found in the data. Table 8-10 summarises the distribution of pronouns with these functions.
Chapter 8: Spoken mode I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>Deictic (%)</th>
<th>Cohesive (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFC</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGP</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronouns used for deictic reference were I, you and we. I was the most frequent deictic pronoun in SFQ (42.8%) SFC (30.1%) SPS (21.4%), SGT (52.9%) and SIN (37.9%). We was the most frequent deictic pronoun reference in SMP (41.0%) STD (42.0%) SGQ (30.6%) SGT (41.0%) STD (42.0%) SAD (28.4%). You was the most frequent in only SFF (31.8%).

The predominance of I indicates that the discourse is mainly about the addressor's personal experiences as in, for example, testimonies (SGT). But we, together with the other forms of the first person plural pronouns, has much more complex semantics and, therefore, its prevalence means different things in different contexts\(^\text{12}\). It may be used inclusively to refer to both the addressor and the addressee, e.g.

\(^{12}\) The pronoun you too is far more complex than is allowed for in grammatical descriptions. In addition to referring to addressee or addressees present in the discourse situation, it may also include absent...
(36) ..In the final year we all know that some people are supposed to + do some project work ... <SGT 47>.

But it may also be used exclusively, in which case it refers to the addressee and a third party who is not present, e.g.

(37) At this time all our meals have been taken away, we don't get any food, we don't get any books and er we are being given a loan which we are going to pay back with interest. <SIN 45>.

However, in the present corpus there were instances in which it was not immediately apparent that we was being used with either of the above senses, e.g.

(38) In this exercise we shall be guided by (...) of writing unbiased stories about missionary activities in the south region in such a way that we would be fair both to the missionaries and the host recipient communities of West Africa. <STD 52>.

This type of we was mostly found in the institutionalised domain of academic discourse. Its use is similar to the 'author's we' referred to in the analysis of pronouns in the written data. Compared with deictics there was a limited occurrence of cohesive reference with three texts having none at all. The highest level of cohesive reference was 55.5% found in STD and the lowest was 7.9 in SFQ.

daddressees. But this use was not observed in the present data.
The third person pronouns are essentially the ones used for cohesive reference. But there were some odd cases in which second person pronouns appear to have cohesive functions, e.g.

(39) If Mr Osei is around would you please come forward...? <SFF 4>.

Even though you in (39) was treated as a deictic reference it refers back to the NP Mr Osei M, which is not the norm in native speech (Halliday and Hasan 1976). This shows how endophoric and exophoric deixis may be conflated.¹³

Finally, there were also semi-personal and impersonal uses of pronouns. These differ from cohesive uses in not referring to any NP in the text, or the context. The most important pronouns in this category are one, you, they and it, e.g.

(40) The old order in Atlantic Hall is changing giving place to the new and I deem it a great honour if I'm given the chance to serve in the new order .. <SFF 5>

(41) Well as I am say they are here. People are beginning to look round and for some people they find it difficult to believe that they are here. <SGQ 43>.

(42) Judging from our modern times one may conclude that Rosats was very wicked ... <STD 53>.

¹³ See 6.5.3.1 for a similar use of we in WSR.
(43) R: With names you can say any thing.
D: You are crazy.
R: It's true with names you can say any thing-o
D: Are you sure?
E/R: Yeah.
D: (O.S.)
R: Like Thomas it's supposed top be pronounced
[tomas] but a lot of people say [thomas] and it's
your name so if you want to be called [thomas]
then that's it. <SCC 27>.

(44) E: Actually it's just like mine, my real name is
Eddie.
R: A:h?
E: Yeah. When I came to this school they put Edmund
on my forms.
R: Mmm
E: It's only Eddie.
<SCC 27>.

Significantly, the passive use of they to refer to
people in general or authority and the generic you were
to be found in casual conversation (SFC) interviews
(SIN) testimonies (SGT) question and answer situations
(SFQ) and discussions (SAD). The pronoun one on the
other hand was restricted to public speeches (SPS)
tutorial deliveries and (STD). However, the frequencies
were such that no statistical test were carried out on
them to ascertain the level of significance of
variation.

On the whole, speech had more exophoric deictic uses
of pronouns than writing, as shown by a higher percentage
in almost all the text-types. This is related to the
fact that in speech meaning is more context-related than
in writing. However, there were still some variation in
this mode. Spontaneous discourse (conversation,
testimony, prayers, question and answer sessions) had
more deictic reference than planned discourse (e.g. STD and SPS).

8.4.3.2 Resumptive Pronouns in Speech

The term resumptive pronouns is used by Trudgill and Hannah (1982) in discussing NNEs to refer to instances in which a pronoun is used redundantly, e.g.

(45) M: I want to wash my hair and set it. E: Hmm M: I'm tired + my hair naa it's right-- E: Go and wash it, right

(46) S: Yesterday + yesterday some students + came on excursion and gos- and they got lost at Atlantic. X: <O.S.> A: Oh (you) can't just get lost if you are in Atlantic. V: But you, you are saying this. Have you forgotten? S: I had to show them the way. A: Oh when I was green. <SCC 26>

(47) Me, I called his other friends the man is in o let's go and do it for him <SCC 26>

(48) S: We have one man in Atlantic. One the day of matriculation (...)
   A: Wait, wait let me tell you something, "In fact I can't just allow myself to be ponded14 by undergraduates" <laughing> just because he is here for his PGCE. S: Oh you see the PGCE people diee if they are ponded I + like it. <SCC 26>

---

14 Ponding involves throwing a student into one of the ornamental ponds in the university as a sign of disapproval of his behaviour. It is rare for female students or members of staff to be ponded.
(49) X: ....A., what's your preference?  
A: Okay, I've realised that most of the boys what they do is that + okay when + when they want you as their girl-friend they won't tell you straight ahead. 
X: Yeah. 
A: And they will be free with you; they will be very free + I mean but the way they do things--<SIN 47>.

A formal distinction can be drawn between cases in which the resumptive pronoun echoes an earlier pronoun as in (46) and (47) or a lexical noun group as (48) and (49).15 In all cases they help to highlight the theme of the clause, e.g.

Oh you see the PGCE people diee if they are pondeed I + Like it.

where the theme they receives emphasis through echoing PGCE people.

Resumptive pronouns tended to occur in the context of code-mixing, which is characteristic of discourse belonging to non-institutionalised domains of use such as casual conversations and discussions between peers. This suggests that the constructions were influenced by Ghanaian language (GL) forms.

15 Resumptive pronouns involving relative constructions, e.g. the book which I gave it to you were not found in the present corpus. They are characteristic of the speech of less proficient speakers. (See Sey 1973 and Trudgill and Hannah 1982).
8.4.4 Summary

The results of the investigation of pronouns in speech confirmed those of writing, i.e. there was significant variation among the text-types both in respect of frequency and use of pronouns. In terms of frequency the text-types can be grouped into three: high, mid and low. The high group were text-types produced in casual situations which did not require pre-planning. Such texts belonged to non-institutionalised domains, and were also characterised by close interpersonal relationships. Examples are casual conversation, testimonies and interviews.

The low group on the other hand was made up of texts produced in highly institutionalised domains which tended to avoid interpersonal involvement. They were also characterised by pre-planning. Notable examples were public speeches and tutorial deliveries both of which were read from scripts.

It was also found that, as in writing, GE speech used more pronominal phrases to supplement the ordinary pronouns of NVEs. As suggested in Chapter 6 such phrases as you people, we all, my own were used to avoid
ambiguity as well as to help express contrast, which is carried by stress and intonation in NVEs.

There were important differences between speech and writing. First, there was greater use of deictic reference in the former than the latter. This was taken as confirmation that speech was more influenced by the immediate context of the discourse in a way that writing was not. Second, resumptive pronouns occurred in speech, especially casual conversations, and interviews, but not in writing. Two issues are highlighted by this:

(a) the greater influence of GL on speech than writing as such use of pronouns usually occurred within code-mixing;  (b) The function of resumptive pronouns as a means of highlighting the theme of the clause.

Thus, the results of the analysis of pronouns confirmed that GE varied according to context.

8.5 CONCLUSION
This chapter has looked at variation in the use of linguistic features below the rank of the clause. The descriptions based on 53 texts of about 49,000 words and the statistical analysis based on 200 sampled texts of about 20,000 words both suggest that there is substantial variation in the speech of the informants.
This variation can be thought of as a cline on which can be plotted three overlapping areas: high, mid and low.

It was found that text-types produced in situations characterised by close interpersonal relationships generally had high frequencies of verbs, modal auxiliaries and pronouns. They, however, had low distribution of lexical items in general and nouns in particular. In contrast text-types characterised by reduced interpersonal involvement had high frequency of lexical items and nouns as well as low frequency of modal auxiliary verbs and pronouns.

Finally, it was also found that the influence of GL was more evident in non-institutionalised domains than others. This was especially true of pronoun usage and expression of modality.
CHAPTER NINE

VARIATION WITHIN THE SPOKEN MODE (II)

9.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports the findings of the investigation into the use of (a) passives (b) conjunctions (c) discourse structuring devices (DSDs) and (d) intertextual features in the spoken texts. The null hypothesis is that Ghanaian English (GE) does not show any contextual variation in the use of these features. The assumption is that if GE is a well-established and efficient system it would be sensitive to changes in the situation which will be reflected in the frequency and type of linguistic and discourse features used.

9.1 PASSIVES IN THE SPOKEN TEXTS

The use of passives in GE was studied from the point of view of frequency, form and functions. It was hypothesized that as an NNE (Non-native variety of English) GE would make excessive use of passive forms.
However, the various spoken text-types would not differ in their use of passives.

9.1.1 General Distribution of Passive in Speech

The total number of passive forms in the sampled texts, including both central and semi-passives\(^1\), was 275. This was distributed across text-types as shown on Table 9-1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-types</th>
<th>No. of passives</th>
<th>Per 100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passives form only 1.3 percent of the total number of words in the sampled texts. This is lower compared with 2.3 percent for the written texts.\(^2\) According to Table 9-1 the highest and lowest levels of passive forms

---

1 Quirk et al classify constructions which do have not transforms with a by-phrase as semi-passives, e.g. interested in I am interested in the matter.  
2 The figures for the written corpus were not based on sampled texts. This may introduce a slight bias in the comparison.
were to be found in STD (tutorial delivery) and SGQ (question and answer session) respectively. The standard deviation for the 200 hundred texts was 1.4 showing that there were no wide variations, but the histogram below shows that the distribution was skewed to the left as a result of both the low frequencies and the fact that some text-types had fewer than others.

**Figure 9-1: Histogram showing the distribution of passives in speech**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Midpoint</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<td>6.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the hypothesis that GE made excessive use of passives is not supported by the evidence of distribution within the 200 texts.

Despite the low frequencies there was considerable variation from one text-type to another. The result of the one-way Anova carried out to compare them was highly significant ($F (9,190) = 5.39, p < 0.001$), showing that
the variation was not due to chance. The text-types could be classified into three groups as follows:

A: high - STD, SPS
B: Mid - SGT, SCC, SIN, SFF, SFQ, SMT
C: Low - SGQ, SAD.

Therefore, the second hypothesis that GE does not show any variation in the use of passives cannot also be maintained.

The different kinds of passives found in the corpus are now illustrated below: 3

(1) When you vote you vote me into power I + I promise that all monies will be receipted and recorded and also all disbursement will be made at the actual (requirements) of the hall. <SSF 1>

(2) But I'd like to remind hallers that they are not the only people contesting for election to the offices of the JCR, candidates should be put questions by [der] hallers. <SFQ 8>

(3) M: Are you going to bob it?
E: Yeah, kind of layered bob. <SCC 1>

(4) All in all every document that comes to hand must be meticulously studied if we are not to be misled by misinformation. <STD 1>

(5) One feels in such a situation + that liberation would not be favourable, yet that was the policy taken by the predecessor of Rosats. <STD 53>

The majority of passive forms were agentless. Another kind of passives found was the passive adjective, e.g. layered and favourable in (3) and (5). There were 21 instances of agentive passives accounting for only 7.6

3 These examples are taken from the unsampled texts.
percent of the total number of passives. They were mostly to be found in STD.

By comparison passives with get and words other than be as operators were even fewer; there were only three of them:

(6) When you get married you stop. <SGT 42>
(7) Now we are beginning to get worried <SMT 33>
(8) but at least you'll look presentable. <SCC 25>

9.1.2 Functions of the Passive in Speech

The main functions of passives in spoken corpus were:

(a) to avoid mentioning the actor

(b) as a resource for making the goal thematic and the actor either new or suppressing mention of him. (i.e. thematization and rhematization).

9.1.2.1 Avoiding the Mention of the Actor

In 7.1 two main reasons were given for avoiding the mention of the actor, namely (a) it is not necessary or desirable to do so (b) the actor is not known. These are

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4 This is lower than the figure for the written data and for BE. The BE figure, based on both written and spoken data, is 10%. (Quirk et al. 1985).
the reasons underlying the uses of passives in the following examples.

(9) Thanks er + before I move on to the candidates for the secretary I'm informed the SRC candidates are around. <SFF 3>

(10) R: It's true that with names you can say anything oo D: Are you sure? E/R: Yeah D: (O.S.) R: Like Thomas it's supposed to be [tomas] but a lot of people say [thomas] and it's your name so if you want to be called [thomas] then that's it. <SCC 3>

(11) With the first years, one of our main problems is with the English literature class. The students feel that we have not been referred to any commentaries to help us understand the books ++ so apart from what the lecturer gives us in class, there is nothing more to supplement it ++ <SMT 33>.

In (9) and (10) the avoidance of the actor is motivated by the fact that the actor is not relevant and it is therefore not necessary to know his/her identity. Also in (10) it is recoverable from the context. In (11) recoverability from the wider context is again one of the motives but there is also the fact that it is discreet not to refer directly to lecturers by name at a student-staff meeting.5

This observation should be understood against the general background that passives tended to occur in texts with reduced interpersonal involvement. Together with a

5 See 7.1 for a similar analysis of the written report of this complaint.
low frequency of personal pronouns, (agentless) passives were used to suppress the interpersonal elements of discourse.

9.1.2.2 Passives and Information Structure

One effect of the use of passives noted in 7.1 is to put the actor in the rhyme and make it part of the central message of the clause with the potential of becoming the unmarked new element. In the following illustration the actors have been italicised along with the rest of the rhyme.

T1 R1
(12) Rosas was hailed by his partisans as the defender of Argentina. He was considered by some as sustaining the republic's honour with firmness. Yet some have condemned Rosas's action as unwise. <STD 53>

The theme or the point of departure is Rosas, so the message, which is contained in the rest of the clause, is about him. An essential part of the message is that the only people who liked him thought well of his career and therefore their assessment of his achievements lacked objectivity. Making the actor the subject of the clause would have changed the nature of the message. Again in the second clause it is clear from the information structure that approval of his regime was not
universal. It therefore anticipates the contrast in the third clause.

When the option of the dropping the actor is chosen the process or event expressed by the predicate becomes the rheme, e.g.

(13). \[ T1 \] the hawkers who sell at cheap rates …
\[ R1 \] they will be removed so that \[ T2 \] R2 we'll be forced to
buy at the commercial cafeteria and \[ T3 \]
\[ R3 \] will be privatized. <SIN 45>.

In all three passive clauses, the information structure has placed the predicator at the end of the clauses and so made it the focus of the message. Here the actor is not important. This information structure is prevalent in scientific discourse which emphasises the procedures rather than the persons who carry them out. There were no spoken scientific texts in the corpus.\(^6\)

Even though there were few agentive passives nearly one-third of them occurred in STD alone. This confirms the observation that by-passives occur most frequently in

\(^6\) The use of agentless passives to place the information focus on the predicator in scientific texts is basically a written register. In spoken descriptions an active voice or an imperative construction is preferred together with the appropriate intonation pattern.
the academic domain. It follows therefore that the two kinds of passives are not in free variation but rather the choice of one or the other is motivated by stylistic needs, and meaning.

9.1.3 Summary

The investigation of passives was carried out on the following assumptions (a) that GE made excessive use of passives, because of its tendency towards over-formality (b) that the different text-types did not vary in their frequency and types of passives used. The study was carried out on both sampled and unsampled texts.

The results showed that the level of passives were generally lower in the corpus of spoken texts than was expected. Also, texts produced in contexts which emphasized interpersonal relationships had fewer passives than those which suppressed them. The variation was found to be significant using a one way analysis of variance as the analytical tool. The text-types can be grouped into two or three on the basis of pair-wise comparisons carried out.

Finally, agentive and agentless passives could fairly reliably be used to distinguish texts belonging to different domains such as academic versus non-academic.
9.2 GRAMMATICAL COMPLEXITY

As in the case of the written data, two main indications of complexity were focused upon:

(a) Rankshifting
(b) Conjunction.

The questions posed were:

(a) how much complexity was there in spoken GE?
(b) Do different text-types prefer one form of complexity to another?
(c) What is the difference between spoken and written GE?

The approach to rankshifting was qualitative, while the investigation of conjunction combined both qualitative and quantitative methods.

9.2.1 Rankshifting

In line with the definition of rankshifting given in Chapter 8, only kinds of downgraded groups and clauses were considered in the analysis.
9.2.1.1 Rankshifted Groups

The two kinds of RGs found were (a) prepositional groups acting as modifiers to nominal heads and (b) possessive noun groups functioning as qualifiers to following nominal groups. Both types are illustrated as follows:

(14) When you vote me into power I + I promise that all monies will be receipted and recorded and also all disbursement will be made at the actual (requirements) [of the hall]. <SFF 1>.

(15) The struggle [for liberation] is not one that is isolated in South Africa but is usually engendered by situations of conflict. <SPS 31>

(16) ... It is precisely because the facts [of the past] do not make history but that it takes [the historian]'s art to reconstruct the past to get history that the issue [of methodology] becomes crucial in the study of the history [of Christianity [in West Africa]]. <STD 52>

(17) It is also evident that there has been a reduction [in income [from the traditional export commodities [like cocoa and the like]]]. <SPS 30>.

There were relatively few RGs in the spoken corpus compared with written, and the majority of them were to be found in the STD and SPS. Most of them were single RGs, only a small minority having rankshift within rankshift, e.g.

(18) They produce seventy percent [of [the world's gold output [outside the USSR]]]. <SPS 32>. 
9.2.1.2 Rankshifted Clauses

There were far more rankshifted clauses (RCs) than rankshifted groups in the spoken data. The situation was, therefore, different from what obtained in the written data where RCs were the predominant type in WPL and WNA and RGs in the rest. The various types of RCs found in the corpus are exemplified below:

(19) When we get these funds we shall try as much as possible that we provide any news [[that the hall needs]]. <SFF 5>

(20) Well, in order to answer this question I'll (refer) to a theory in sociology [[known as participant observation]]. I always enter the JCRC to participate in [[whatever happens]] in order to know the problems and how to solve them. <SFQ 9>.

(21) [[What I have seen]] is that there is no prior training. Any time [[that we are about to partake in sporting activity]], we don't prepare. <SFQ 20>.

(22) Erm, Mr Chairman, my question goes to those [[contesting for the presidential candidacy]]. <SFQ 22>

(23) But I believe as a leader all that I will do is to motivate any people aside from their books to go out to the fields and enjoy themselves in va-various recreational programmes. <SFQ 24>

(24) Ehu de hairs [[done in London]] always looks different from hairs [[done in the States]]. <SCC 25>

(25) R: I am too fat I am too fat and short [[to be a model]].
E: oh don't make it sound so bad. <SCC 27>

(26) It is my wish that subsequent lectures would attract more people [[that we see here]]. <SPS 30>
(27) Now if we actually have to rely on the Computer Room we are afraid that some of us are going to get some raw deals + so we would like this to be resolved so as much as possible students have the chance of getting to know [[what they do in their departments]]. <SMT 33>.

(28) As at now those of us [[who are sitting here]] we are a little more comfortable [[than those of you sitting on the stage]] because that place is very hot. <SMT 33>.

(29) B: ... and you view it, maybe vertically, you see + you see different layers which are distinct and this is what + what these different layers is what is described as the profile of the soil.
A: So a a when you have a two-dimensional cut, the different layers which are normally distinguished by the colour the physical properties as well as the chemical properties these make up the soil profile. <SAD 55>

In all these examples the bracketed elements are downgraded clauses functioning in the structure of another clause or group. The various types illustrated in the examples are

(i) defining relative clause (19, 28, 29) which serves to specify uniquely the referent of the group and motivates the use of the definite article.

(ii) involving the pseudo-cleft construction as in (21). Here the RC is functioning as the subject and theme of the clause.

(iii) nominal clause e.g (20, 27) which differ from the previous type in functioning as object of the clause and do not involve any clefting.
(iv) characterised by participial verbs: in (24) the past participle done is used, but in (28) it is the present participle, sitting, that is used.

(v) infinitive clause (23, 25). The difference between them is that the RC in (23) is a complement to is, where in (25) it is a modifier to fat.

(vi) involving adverbial clause of comparison (26, 28) which modify the preceding elements.

In the spoken data clusters of RCs were infrequent, with two-tier clusters being the most complex type found. It was also found that the casual conversations and other interactive text-types had less rankshifting than the public speeches and the academic deliveries.

Thus, the situation in the spoken corpus differed from that of the written data where rankshifting was more widespread, and more complex cases were found.

9.2.2 Conjunction

Both coordination and subordination were studied with the emphasis on the distribution of the conjunctions. The coordinating conjunctions whose distribution was investigated were the so-called central conjunctions and, or, but. The study of subordinating conjunctions
excluded cases of rankshifted items and focused on the following items:

after, before, although, since, so...that, that, who, which, when

The aim was to find out whether the pattern identified in the written corpus was duplicated in the spoken and also whether text-types differed in their frequency and type of conjoining processes.

9.2.2.1 Distribution of Coordinating Conjunctions

Table 9-2 presents the distribution of the coordinators and, or and but according to text types. Figure 9-2 describes the shape of this distribution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>AND</th>
<th>BUT</th>
<th>OR</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Per 100 words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQQ</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean for the corpus of sampled texts is 3.3 and the standard deviation is 1.8, which indicates together
with the shape of the histogram that the distribution was quite normal. The last column representing the rate per 100 words, shows that there was some variation among the text-types. SGT which is mainly unprepared narration had the highest concentration of coordinators, followed by SIN which is also spontaneous and has a large number of long turns which permit the interviewee to develop topics. SMT had by far the lowest occurrence of coordinators. In the all-student meeting the turns tended to be short and this could have depressed the overall figure.

FIGURE 9-2: HISTOGRAM SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF AND, BUT, OR IN SPEECH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Midpoint</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Differences were also observed in the relative distribution of the coordinators themselves. **And** was the most frequent, representing about 75 percent of the total figure. In SGT **and** accounts for 87 percent of the coordinators. The percentages of **but** and **or** are above the mean for the samples (24.8) in SIN (32.6), SCC (43.7)
SGQ (30.7) and SAD (46.2). These represent situations in which (a) there was likely to be the highest incidence of disagreement and other face-threatening acts, (b) there was the greatest amount of interaction among participants as reflected in the brevity of turns and frequency of exchanges.

A one-way Anova was carried out to compare the mean distributions of coordinating conjunctions. The results \( (F (9,190) = 3.36, p < 0.001) \) were highly significant. They also showed that the text-types can be grouped into three thus:

- Group A high - SGT;
- Group B Mid - SIN, SGQ; STD, SFF, SPS, SCC, SFQ;
- Group D Low - SMT, and SAD

9.2.2.2 Types of Coordination: Normal Couples

The majority of coordinations found in the corpus were of the normal type in that they linked grammatically\(^7\) similar elements (Owusu-Ansah 1991), e.g.

(29) ... I think he is trying to say that because I don't have any account er accounting background I can't manage the post alone. There is going to be a committee and in this committee there's people who

\(^7\) They are also notionally similar.
have accounting background and I think they can help me in order to manage all these things. <SFQ 13>.

(30) If Oguaa Hall decides + decides to take all the food in the dining hall || and Casford, Atlantic || and Adehye decide that they do not understand we would say + we of Oguaa would say that look after yourselves || and then we will give Casford that marshy space between the Vice-Chancellor's lodge | and Casford. <SPS 32>

(31) I don't know if you will also do that. Don't be so much + you see + don't be so much worried about academic work; it is in vain that you rise up early || and go to bed late for the Lord giveth to His beloved enough sleep. <SGT 40>.

These examples illustrate both clausal and non-clausal coordination. In (29) all the coordination is between main clauses, while in (30) subordinate clauses, and noun phrases are linked. Example (31) also has a clausal coordination but this time the second clause is elliptical: the subject which is you is omitted.

...you rise up early and (you) go to bed late.

The text types varied in their distribution of clausal and non-clausal coordination as can be gathered from Table 9-3.
In STD and SFF non clausal-coordinators exceeded clausal coordinators; in the other eight text-types the reverse is true with the highest differences occurring in casual conversations and testimonies. Both of these were spontaneous and presented phenomena as processes rather than products. The result of a chi-square test showed that the distribution was highly significant ($\chi^2 = 86.3$, df = 9, $p < 0.05$).

The above-quoted examples show that most of the coordinators maintained the meanings usual in NE, and also that the speakers were capable of constructing grammatically correct coordinations since we shall see in the next section that another type of coordination is possible in GE.
9.2.2.3 Types of Coordination: Odd Couples

Another type of coordination observed in the data linked grammatical elements of different classes leading to 'odd couples' that do not occur in NVE (Owusu-Ansah 1991), e.g.

(32) I'd therefore welcome all of you to this august function and that you relax in your seats and listen to whatever stuff ... (SPS 28)

(33) L: No, no, no we + Blenwill or something like that <SCC 25>

(34) I am outspoken and people felt that I was impetuous, I was inclined towards violence and something like that eh and which is not the case <SPS 32>

(35) Is your question answered or, Brother Sam? <SGQ 10>.

(36) Okay, here what comes to mind is maybe the straightness of that layer; whether that layer is either straight maybe wavy or whatever. <SAD 52>.

There were more odd couples in speech than in writing and they were more widespread. The crucial distinction seems to be between spontaneous and planned discourse. They were mostly found in the interviews, testimonies, question and answer sessions, discussions and conversations.  

8 The examples cited above from public speech come from non-scripted speech or digressions. It is likely that planned discourse has little room for uncertainty which is an aspect of interpersonal meaning, and thus to be suppressed in situations where one is expected both to have control over one's facts, and to avoid personal involvement.
Many of the odd couples expressed uncertainty using the interrogative form or through the use of words and expressions like something like that and whatever. They are therefore part of the modality system in GE, especially casual conversation.

9.2.2.4 Subordinating Conjunctions

The study of subordination in the spoken data focused on the frequency and functions of subordinating conjunctions. For this purpose subordinators occurring in rankshifted or down-graded clauses were not considered as these had already been dealt with under rankshifting (9.2.2.3). The questions to which answers were sought were:

(a) Do the different speech types show variation in the occurrence of subordination?

(b) Does GE speech differ from writing where subordination was found not to show significant variation?

(c) What were the discourse functions of the subordinate clauses observed in the data?

The null hypothesis ($H_0$) was that GE speech did not show variation according to context in its use of subordination. This was confirmed by the results of the
analysis of writing, but the results of the preliminary study indicated that the academic essay made greater use of subordination than casual conversation. Thus, the results of the present investigation could be used as additional evidence of confirmation or rejection of the null hypothesis.

The distribution of subordinating conjunctions in the sampled texts was found to vary from one text-type to another as shown by the following figures representing mean rates per 100 in each text-type.

**TABLE 9-4: DISTRIBUTION OF SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS IN SPEECH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text-type</th>
<th>Mean rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGT</td>
<td>3.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFF</td>
<td>4.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFQ</td>
<td>4.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGQ</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>2.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>3.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean rate for all the 200 sampled texts was 3.2 and the standard deviation 1.9 which indicates little deviation from the norm. The shape of the distribution represented by the histogram below is close to normal distribution.
According to Table 9-3 SFF had the highest occurrence of subordinating conjunctions and SCC had the lowest frequency. Even though a one-way Anova showed that the variation was significant ($F (9,199) = 6.4$, $p < 0.001$) the results were not what were expected. Both STD and SPS, which were expected to have high frequencies of subordination, in fact did not. This, therefore, confirmed the analysis of the written data, which found that formality did not appear to influence the choice of subordination.

It was also found that the three functions of additioning, conditioning and reported\(^9\) characterised the use of subordination in speech. These are now exemplified from the unsampled texts.

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\(^9\) The ways in which these types of subordinate clause extend the meaning of the independent clause have been discussed in Chapter 7.
Additioning

(37) The situation of B.Com diee it's too wild. We have only one full-time lecturer who is also the Acting Head of department. <SCC 26>.

(38) It was he who hatched the idea of Mfantsiman University which never materialised but continue to exist as an excellent secondary school in Ghana of which I am a product. <SPS 30>.

(39) I'm outspoken and people felt that I was impetuous, I was inclined towards + eh + violence and things like that eh and which is not the case. <SIN 45>.

Conditioning

(40) When you vote me into power I promise that all monies will be receipted and recorded and also all disbursement will be made at the actual (requirements) of the Hall. <SFF 1>.

(41) During the vacation I came in contact with charitable organisations and personalities and after putting the problems of Mother Atlantic, they promised helping to raise the image. <SFF 2>.

(42) E: ... Lisa, I'm sorry about this but I'll have to cut a part of it.
L: What about my hair?
E: Yes, quite a bit. Sorry but at least you'll look presentable.
L: Sure. <E laughs> But why don't you cut a little bit less?
E: I can't.
L: You can't er because it's going to be level with this. <SCC 25>.
Reported

Brep

(43) I don't know whether it is because of them that the Lord has been worrying me so much <laughter from group>. You know, I get up and study for about an hour before I would do my quiet time or maybe later koraa but these days the Lord wants me to pray before I study. <SGT 40>.

Brep

(44) ... and I realised that in the Econs department we have only two lecturers there and the rest comes from Legon and I couldn't -- in fact I didn't know one was supposed to supervise all our work.... One time I went to the head of department and told him (Brep)

that Oh + what about he supervising my work. He told me that he he's got so: many work (sic) to do and he can't just do that. <SGT 41>.

As these examples show there were many cases where different subordination types occurred in the same utterance. There were also some instances of subordination that differed in structure from NVE forms. These mostly involved reported clauses, e.g.

(45) You see on that day even though I was jumping up and down I wasn't myself <laughter from audience> because the moment I + I got here and the whole thing started +something just came into my heart| (Brep)

that remember Paul says that every man's work is going to be tested ++ and Edward be informed that this part of the work that you have done that will be tested ... <SGT 39>.

Brep

(46) Mr Chairman, may I ask the question that is there any body who could disagree with me that it's essential for reforms to take place in our educational set up? <SPS 30>.
Unlike the situation in writing, these pseudo-reported clauses occurred in both casual and non-casual situations.

Finally, all the text-types had instances of subordinating clauses which depended on other subordinate clauses rather than directly on independent clauses. However, the degree of subordination was generally lower than was observed for some sections of the written data, especially WSR, and WAE.

9.2.3 Summary

The investigation of grammatical complexity focused on rankshifting and the process of conjunction (i.e. coordination and subordination). It was found that the text-types could be reliably classified into three groups using the frequency and type of coordinators, but subordination was not as reliable. This largely confirmed the findings of the analysis of the written data.
9.3 DISCOURSE STRUCTURING DEVICES (DSDS)

Compared with writing, speech exhibits a wider range of structural organisation. At one extreme is the scripted tutorial delivery or public speech with the highly structured form similar to that of the academic essay. At the other extreme is the apparent chaos of casual talk. But even the latter possesses a structure of its own which is different from that of institutionalised discourse.

The study of DSDs in speech takes as starting point the flexible framework proposed in Chapter 7 and focuses attention on the devices used to introduce, continue and end a topic. The DSDs realise ideational, interpersonal and textual functions.

9.3.1 Introducing New Topics

All three functional types occurred in the corpus. However, as demonstrated in the discussion below, the manner in which they were distributed in the data can be related to the context in which different types of texts were produced.

10 SFF differed from other public speeches in the fact that they were not scripted. Therefore they are not considered under this heading.
9.3.1.1 Ideational DSDs

DSDs with ideational function (i.e. concerned with the content of communication) were common in the corpus, e.g.

(47) The political situation in Argentina before Rosats was not bright. After independence in 1816 it had six years to crystalise. There were various groups with various views on what type of government was good for Argentina <STD 53>

(48) The religious element in the study of history of Christianity in West Africa cannot overlook the hand of God in the activities of men and events. Here caution demands that as in the study of (oral + oral) we equip ourselves with the ability to remain empathetically neutral to enable us see from both sides otherwise an element of bias may cloud our judgement. <STD 52>

(49) The class recognises that one hour period for literature is quite inadequate because so far even though we've not missed any lecture, we've not treated much in literature. So far we've not treated any thing on prose and drama. <SMT 33>.

(59) W: Praise the Lord!
G: Alleluia!
W: I would like to give a testimony on tithes. When I got my forty thousand I decided to pay the right tithes ... <SGT 35>.

Ideational DSDs were especially important in institutionalised discourse such as tutorial delivery and meeting. The technique involves stating the new point in what may be regarded as a 'thesis statement' and developing it in a succession of sentences or clause-
complexes. The effect is similar to that produced by the conventional paragraph beginning in expository writing.

9.3.1.2 Interpersonal DSDs

The name of this category implies drawing in the addressee or audience at points in the discourse where a new topic is to be introduced. Two main types were identified (a) vocatives and (b) non-vocatives. The vocatives included conventional public speech forms such as:

(60) Mr Chairman, questions that might cut across the minds of the audience as they sit could be what is education? Education for what? <SPS 30>

to casual conversation forms like:

(61) E: ...When I went to what do you call it teaching practice oh my God I regretted giving them an assignment er the English was bad for a start and secondly too I had to mark oh I could have died. In fact I never finished marking. I left their books in the staff common room without telling them.
M: Eddie you know something let me go and do my hair and come.
E: So you'll go and do what wash your hair?
M: Okay I should wash it.
E: Yeah wash it well, have it blow dried straight and tong it. <SCC 25>
Typically the vocatives in public speeches use the titles rather than the personal names of the addressee. In both illustrations the mention of names coincides with the switch in topic. In the former the topic of marking scripts is replaced by that of washing hair. In the latter the conversation which had temporarily stopped picks up again with the introduction of a new topic about the right family size. Later on when the topic changes to homes it too is signalled by a vocative.

The second type highlights the 'mutual interaction of speaker and addressee' (Goodwin 1981: ix) without using names or titles, e.g.

(63) V: Was it the drowning? Was it the drowning?  
A: You have reminded me of something (laughs)  
X: Where something means?  
V: That episode diee  
X: Episode of who?  
V: I have // got some huge -- + (laughing)  
A: Baptismal card episode.// Baptismal card episode.  
V: I have got some huge amount to declare.  
<SCC 26>

(64) B: Okay and who and who again? The assistant and another person.  
D: I suggest Diane.  
C: Sister Bea Sister Bea  
X: Let's get a mature student because some of us diee we don't--  
A/B: Martha Nelson!
B: Assisted by Sister Bea.
E: Who is Sister Bea?
B: Sister Beatrice.
D: My room mate is Sister Bea.
X: Oh shut up! <SMT 34>

The italicised statement and question highlight the interactive nature of the discourse. They both lead to a shift in the topic. In (63) the main topic is still ponding of students but a fresh story is introduced. In (64) the discussion briefly focuses on Sister Bea rather than on choosing a candidate to represent the floor, which was being discussed.

9.3.1.3 Textual DSDs

Those found in the corpus include listing devices, marked themes, transitional statements and fillers, e.g.

(65) In 1962, the police were given a maximum period of twelve days to incarcerate any Black that they felt was exhibiting suspicious conduct .... At this stage mixed marriages were forbidden. There was an immorality act for Blacks where immorality could be interpreted in terms of the white authorities. <SPT 32>.

(66) We now turn to writing history. <STD 52>

(67) With the first years, one of our problems is with English literature class. <SMT 33>

(68) (the) second approach known as regressive method is much used in Africa ... <STD 52>.
(69) Thank you Mr Questioner. Okay the ques-+ the statement that the pen is + is mightier than the sword is really true. Okay for instance I can go to Adehye and gossip about somebody -- <SFQ 11>

(70) X: Has it [pidgin English] spoiled your English, Adelaide?
A: Well, okay, well //it hasn't
X: It hasn't//
A: Because I don't + I don't speak it unless I'm in those people's company.
R: Okay, like, for instance there was sometime bi there was an article in the newspaper commenting on people the way people write their essays, most of the boys use pidgin English in writing... <SIN 50>

There appears to be a fundamental distinction between institutionalised discourse types and casual social interaction. The use of fillers in (69) and (70) was typical of the latter. Transitional statements (67), temporal adverbs (65), and enumeration (68) were mostly found in the former.

9.3.2 Continuing a Topic

Topics were developed through exemplification, elaboration or contrast. The most important DSDs were textual and interpersonal.
9.3.2.1 Textual Development of Topics

Textual DSDs signalled topic continuation through coordination and subordination, e.g.

(71) We can see that that the programme has started not at the right time + that is to say that we are a bit late and I'll therefore apologise for the lateness. That is the speakers were here before even the + the audience, so I'll apologise on behalf of the JCR and the entire students. <SPS 28>

(72) C: It looks as if somewhere last year when the SRC was to hand over to the present executives + now when they had the face-to-face I think the attendance was very poor and that was really the time first and second year students were going to take their exams.
X: Mm
C: I for instance, I was supposed to take an exam the following day but I managed to go to the auditorium to listen to whatever was going to take place. <SIN 48>.

(73) T: Now in the light of this eh the government of the day erm introduced or has attempted to introduce the scheme whereby students in tertiary institutions are to undergo a bond er to serve the Ghana government for a period of five years after completion of their courses. Er + the argument which has been adduced in support of this assertion is that the bond is something that was signed in the past, in the sixties and so on and so forth.
X: I + I remember signing a bond.
T: And that it was merely neglected by the university authorities and that we are merely being asked to carry out our civic responsibility, patriotic responsibilities. However, the situation or circumstances under which the bond is being signed have changed. <SIN 45>

(74) When these sailors got shipwrecked they were offered hospitality by the original or the indigenous population made up of Xhosa ... Tswanas, the Zulus,
the Bantus, etc. As a result of this hospitality offered them the visitors felt that they had found heaven. <SPS 35>.

The DSDs have been italicised in the extracts above. Even though they occur at the beginning of clauses their function is to link what has gone before with what follows. In (72) for instance shows that what follows is an exemplification of the main point. It is, therefore, notionally subordinate to the original point. But however in (73) signals a contrast but the ideas contrasted are notionally equivalent and therefore joined by coordination.11

9.3.2.2 Interpersonal Development of Topics

This exploits the interactiveness of discourse in carrying forward the topic. Therefore, it was commonly used in conversation and discussion, e.g.

(75) A: ...so we see that to each of these different people soil means different things to them. Now if you consider the soil profile + we learn that okay the very top er for a forest the very top is composed of what?
C: Question.
A: Yeah.
C: What do we mean by soil profile? Okay + first of all what do we mean by profile and then what's the definition of soil profile?

11 This use of however is different from its other use in, for example, However hard she tried, Ottey failed to catch up with Krabbe, where it is a subordinator.
A: Do you have any idea about that?
C: No, if somebody can help.
B: Okay when we say soil profile then--
C: You can explain it, I don't really mean the definition but you can explain what you think soil profile is.
A: Yeah.
B: You see, and you view it, maybe vertically you see + you'll see different layers which are distinct and this what + these different layers is what is described as the profile of the soil.
A: So aa when you have a two-dimensional cut, the different layers which are normally distinguished by the colour, physical properties + as well as the chemical properties these make up the soil profile. So let's then continue. <SAD 55>

In this extract of academic discussion the underlined sections represent a joint effort by the interactants to carry the topic on soil profile forward. Through the questions, directives and the statements the three of them negotiate an explanation of 'soil profile'.

9.3.3 Concluding a Topic

This does not necessarily occur at the end of a discourse. Any move to round off a topic is a concluding move.

In casual conversations and discussions there were only a few instances in which the concluding move is overtly realised. Mostly, the topic is terminated by switching to another one. Thus, the topic had the following history:
In public speeches and tutorial discussions and meetings (especially with lecturers) the concluding move was realised in most cases, e.g.

(76) So if you know that okay okay this soil in particular maybe is quite deep and can support a plant with a very deep root system, then okay if the nutrient status is also okay + then you can recommend such a plant to such and such a soil. If it is a rocky area, then you know definitely you can't grow a crop there, so I hope you understand. <SAD 55>

(77) Mr Prah, your chair. Now let me conclude by again quoting Horatio Nelson who said thank God I have done my duty. Thank you very much. <SPS 29>.

(78) The desks and especially the chairs I don't know whether it's only the English people who have chairs and things like that, but I think the university can give us better furniture. That's number one ... At times someone gives a speech. This is how you do it. This is what we want to say. <SMT 33>
As can be seen in the above examples the concluding move can be signalled by a number of features such as (a) words and expressions denoting conclusion, (b) conventional expressions (thank you, I'm done, etc.) and (c) pause separating the old from the new topic as in (77) which makes the optimum use of resources for executing the concluding move.  

9.3.4 Summary

The study of DSDs focused on the linguistic resources used to introduce, develop and conclude topics. These were classified according to which metafunction (i.e. ideational, interpersonal and textual) is highlighted. The analysis was qualitative, because it was felt that meaning processes rather than sheer quantities were crucial for characterising text-types. It was found that, whereas all the text-types had instances of the three types of DSDs, nevertheless institutionalised discourse-types made less use of interpersonal DSDs. In public speeches where interpersonal DSDs in the form of vocatives occurred they were limited to conventional address forms and titles.

12 Pauses are effective as concluding signals in public speeches where there is no competition for the floor. In the casual conversation pauses often lead to another speaker 'chipping in'.
(e.g. Mr Chairman, etc.). In casual speech first names were very important for drawing the attention of the addressees as well as signalling a change in topic.

Another difference found was in the area of textual DSDs. In institutionalised situations such as meetings, tutorial delivery, enumeration and transitional statements showing the relationship between the new point and the previous one were widespread. In addition there was a tendency towards well-structured moves which looked like written paragraphs.

Non-institutionalised discourse was characterised by pause fillers like well, yeah, okay, and interrogatives which helped the speaker to plan what he was going to say as well as structure his statement.

Finally, in a large number of instances there were no other signals of change or development except the content itself. This, labelled 'ideational', was common in all the text-types but were most frequent in institutionalised situations.

Thus the hypothesis that there was no distinction among text-types cannot be maintained on the evidence from the use of DSDs.
9.4 INTERTEXTUAL PATTERNS IN SPEECH

The study of intertextuality in the spoken texts was based on the assumption stated earlier that every discourse relies on intertextual borrowing for effective communication.13 The aim was to find out whether (a) the intertextuality found in speech differed from that found in writing, (b) different types of spoken text differed in their intertextual patterning. The null hypothesis was that there were no significant differences between speech and writing and between one spoken text and another with respect to intertextual borrowing.

Intertextuality was looked at from the point of view of (a) the source of borrowing (i.e. English or GL, literature or casual talk, etc.), (b) type of borrowing (i.e. lexical grammatical, stylistic, etc). The following sections present the major findings of the study with illustrations from the unsampled corpus.

9.4.1 Intertextuality in Small-group Settings

The term 'small-group setting' is used to refer to a situation with up to four participants. The typical small group setting is a conversation among friends who

13 See 7.4
know one another very well, share a common background such as similar upbringing, schooling, interests and mutual friends. The dominant intertextual borrowings in such settings are drawn from GL sources.

9.4.1.1 Code-mixing

The reason for using English in small-group settings is that there was no one Ghanaian language spoken by all the participants. In one of the conversations the motivating factor was that one of the participants did not speak Akan fluently. In spite of this, the conversations normally had vernacular elements mostly from Akan, e.g.

(78) M: I want to wash my hair and set it.
   E: Hmm
   M: I'm tired. My hair naa it's right--
   E: Go and wash it, right?
   M: Uhn
   E: And then do you have a blow drier?
   M: Uhn Uhn.
   E: But you can just--
   M: No, no I have + I have but it's + do you know what happened? Daniel maybe I'll give it to you when we are going home -- when we were coming + when I was coming and I packed the things no I think it must have + something must have --
   L: <laughs>
   M: Something must have sat on it, because--
   L: You know what when I had my braids no--
   M: Because it all cracked.
   E: But you have got quite a bit of nerve.
   L: Beh I said I'm going.
   E: Oh okay + erm this front place is short.
   E: Eh:hen.
   E: Oh Okay.
Chapter 9: Spoken mode II

L: So this part no + okay + it was about + okay se I had this--
M: Are you going to bob it?
E: Yeah, kind of layered bob.
M: Okay.
L: Beh you remember this part I had a problem?
E: Yeah I remember.  <SCC 25>

(79) E: I was wondering what you were doing? Epe de mutwa wo tsir hwi gu a? <L laughs>. Oh boy I haven't done the layering hair-cut.
L: Ehua ++ ono ma nnye da.
E: Ennbeye da.
L: No
E: Eh well, you hardly have a cut anyway. (.....) A:ih inyim de one good thing is that States er they have some lovely perming products enso they hardly come to this part of the world, they don't get to London po. <SCC 25>.

(80) S: One thing with our B.Com is that we haven't got lecturers.
A: But you will make it.
S: Make diee we will make it mom but if we had full-time lecturers like other departments have a..
A: They normally er have their lecturers during the week end <SCC 26>

The first two extracts were taken from the same conversation. There were four participants but only three do the talking. 14 Two of them E and L were distantly related, spoke Akan as first language, while M spoke Ewe. The GL words have been italicised.

In the first extract only M and L use GL items in their speech. 15 These are grammatical and discourse structuring devices; no purely lexical items occur. In

14 Daniel who was on visit from another university was known to only M and he was silent during most of the conversation.
15 Naa is the spoken form of the Akan definite article no fused with the particle a which signals the end of a subordinate clause.
the second extract E also indulges in code-mixing. At this stage M has left and the conversation becomes more heavily mixed. Later on Akan becomes more dominant with English serving as the supplier of the 'mix items'.

The third one comes from a different conversation but the situation is similar: there were four participants in this one too. A was an Akan speaker and the rest spoke Ewe. Again, the dominant GL elements are grammatical and discourse features rather than lexical items.\(^{16}\)

Thus two types of mixing can be identified in casual conversation (a) grammatical and discourse features which may occasionally occur in more public settings such as meetings and tutorial discussions, (b) lexical items, which are restricted to private, small-setting interaction.\(^{17}\)

9.4.1.2 GL Speech Style

Sometimes referred to as 'Ghanaian English'\(^{18}\), the words are English but the syntax and the rhythm are both heavily influenced by GL, e.g.

\(^{16}\) Kao Kudi is the exception. It comes from Hausa meaning 'hand over your money'.

\(^{17}\) When lexical items occur as mixed in public settings they usually function as quotes.

\(^{18}\) 'Fanti brofo', etc.
(81) M: Eddie, you know something let me go and do my hair and come.
E: So you'll go and do what wash your hair? (....)
   If you like set it tonight but I wanted to give you a new style with the hair coming forward.
M: So I should set it forward?
E: Yeah, tell them to set it forward, this side and side come forward, this middle bit going back.
M: So this side coming down forward.
E: Yeah, forward.
M: This side going back?
E: This side going back yah but then at the back you just go about four (...) at the top, you know, going back, the rest forward, everything forward. Okay, tell them to set it like that and they shouldn't put any grease, not a drop <Laughing>. You know how this thing when they start putting grease in your hair there is no stopping.
M: You see how they comb your hair in the salon? <SCC 25>

A salient feature of this extract is the use of the declarative structure with falling tone or tune 1 (Halliday 1970), indicated by [\], to pose questions. In spite of the forms E answers in all cases suggesting that he recognises them as questions rather than as statements. Such questions differ from what occurs in tutorials and other public settings, which use the interrogative mood.

The use of pseudo-rhetorical questions with what is also very common in Ghanaian speech. However this occurs in more public settings as well.19

Finally, this thing is frequently used as a pause filler in GE. In this extract it performs the additional

19 Owusu-Ansah (1990) discusses its use in the lecture setting.
function of initiating the change in construction from a process-oriented clause to a temporal one. **Okay** is also frequently used in a similar way:

(82) E: Oh okay + erm this front place is short. 
    L: E:hen.  
    E: Oh okay.  
    L: So this part no okay it was about okay se I had this ... <SCC 25>.

9.4.1.3 In-group Slang

This term is used for both new coinages and uses of existing words and expression which are not understood by persons outside the group using it. These range from words and phrases used by only a small circle of friends through utterances understood by Ghanaian university students in general.

The more restricted the item the more difficult it is to investigate it. The following examples are taken from an interview.

(83) X: Can you give me a few examples [of terms]?
    A: (laughs) Okay er we we have terms like erm we call a visitor erm okay we call a visitor 'chickey' when he + I mean when we have visitors or something + okay maybe you are not around and then someone will come + I mean there will be a person (...) So when you come we say for example right now the chickey + you had a chickey or something. Ehen Okay--
    X: Then who + what kind of visitor would you call a chickey?
    A: That is a girl <both A and R laugh>.
X: And erm imagine that + imagine for the sake of argument that your father's girlfriend + I mean just for the sake of argument that your father's girlfriend would you say that chickey was here?
A: When telling my brother or father?
X: Yeah.
A: My father?
X: Yes your father first.
A: No I don't say that (...)
X: And what if it's a boyfriend? How + what do you call a boyfriend?
A: Boyfriend, we call it Kuntey.
X: What?
A: Kuntey.
X: Puntey. I see ++ well I can understand chickey from chick or something.
A/R: Ee:
X: What--
A: Okay they say Kunta means boy. I mean--
X: What language is that?
A: I don't know <all laugh>. <SIN 47>

This extract is useful for bringing out the context in which in-group slang occurs. The word kuntey or puntey represents the extreme case of usage restricted to sibling. Chickey is more widespread. Other items either used by university of Cape Coast students or by university students throughout Ghana were pond (v), face-to-face, Casford, Casfordians, and power night. Such items can be found on some public occasions but not in institutionalised domains.

9.4.2 Intertextual Borrowings in Public Settings

The term 'public setting' in this study refers to situations of more than four participants. The text-
types which fall in this category are public speeches (SPS) and staff-student meeting (SMT).\textsuperscript{20} Intertextual borrowings came from both English and GL, especially the oratorical traditions of the two languages. These two influences have existed side by side for hundreds of years and so they are now impossible to separate. These are, therefore, presented as the recurrent features of public speeches in Ghanaian universities. English is usually the language of such speeches and through it some of the western public speech styles discussed below have been passed down.

9.4.3.1 Self-effacement

This is when the speaker draws attention to the significance of the occasion and the audience, and highlight his unworthiness as a speaker for the occasion, e.g.

(84) Mr Chairman, Honourable Guest Speakers, Hall Councillors, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Casfordians, I regard it as a rare opportunity that I should give this year's presidential address. Rarely have I such courage to face so formidable an audience and of never so formidable an occasion as the tenth Casely-Hayford memorial lecture. <SPS 30>.

\textsuperscript{20} By this definition academic discussion, testimony, face-to-face and question and answer sessions are public speeches but they are discussed under separate headings here.
9.4.3.2 Quotation

This involves the use of quoted material from literature, classical history and the Bible, e.g.

(85) ... Horatio Nelson, a famous British admiral at his last naval battle said and I quote: England expects every man to do his duty. Unquote. So I am here to perform a duty ... Now let me conclude by again quoting Horatio Nelson who said thank God I have done my duty. <SPS 29>

(86) Karl Marx whom some of you may be familiar with has postulated that economic determinism is the basis for human existence. In a sense that is the struggle to control economic resources + there is always conflict. South Africa is a typical example of this and portrays this principle accurately. <SPS 32>

The functional analysis of such passages is complex. They may serve as decorative pieces while simultaneously evoking a common intellectual background as well as emphasising the speaker's distance from his audience. The expression whom some of you may be familiar with is particularly ambivalent.

9.4.2.3 Rhetorical Devices

There was also the tendency to adopt a rhetorical approach which highlights the process of development of
the argument through the use of topic markers, transitional statements and anaphoric phrases, e.g.

(87) Mr Chairman, may I ask the question that: Is there any body who could disagree with me that it is essential for reforms to take place in our educational set up? No should be the answer. <SPS 30>.

(88) It has been important because it has represented a struggle of a people committed to what they are sure is justice, dynamic enough to initiate steps to bring about their own salvation, and committed enough to carry things through to that conclusion .... I will go back to 1650 when some Dutch merchants on their way to Indonesia were shipwrecked. As a result of this shipwreck they had to find refuge somewhere. That somewhere happened to be unfortunate South Africa with a magnanimous indigenous population, a climate clement to the visitors and economic environment able to maintain a very high standard of living for all. When these sailors got shipwrecked they were offered hospitality by the original or the indigenous population which made up of Xhosa spelled with an 'X' of course, the Tswanas, the Zulus, the Bantus, etc. As a result of this hospitality to them the visitors felt that they had found heaven. <SPS 32>

The first extract achieves its effect through the use of the question and answer technique, which is common in GL public speeches. In (88) the salient feature of the style is repetition. This can be observed particularly well at the level of thematic progression (see Fries 1982, 1990) which has the pattern represented by Figure 9-5.
Repetition also leads to parallelism, another important feature of both (88) and GE public speech in general.

9.4.3.4 Indirectness

This is admired in some situations, e.g. at traditional courts where the linguist rewords the chief's pronouncements in the 'appropriate style'. This kind of public speaking is an important influence on GE public speech style.

(89) Mr chairman, questions that might cut across the minds of the audience as they sit could be what is education? Education for what? ... Any attempt to probe deep into any of these questions could be likened to the Akan proverb of a small boy meeting the drummers who were coming to perform in his father's house half-way in the street. <SPS 30>.

(90) ... I'll call on David A-0 the Hall Secretary to introduce the person in whose hands we have the steering wheel for this august function. <SPS 28>
If we assume that this auditorium is a ship then you will agree with me that we need a captain who will ride out the storm steering the ship which we are travelling on to its logical conclusion. We have here such a man. Ladies and Gentlemen, I'm talking of no other person than Mr Isaac Prah, the Hall Warden of Casely-Hayford Hall. <SPS 29>.

The typical sources of indirectness include proverbs and extended metaphors.

9.4.4 Intertextuality in the Academic Setting

The academic discourse is highly institutionalised and, therefore, likely to exhibit non-GL influences. The text-types which fell within this classification are tutorial delivery and academic discussion. The recurrent intertextual patterns are describable in terms of (a) the particular academic discipline (b) the language of the source of intertextual features actually borrowed, in this case English (c) the GL background of the participants. The types of intertextual borrowings observed in this text-type covered both linguistic and discourse features.

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21 It is not clear how the three criteria are related. Most likely (a) is the most salient feature followed by (b) and then (c).
9.4.4.1 Discourse Structure

The two text-types looked at have different structures. STD is based largely on the structure of the written academic essay which is essentially expository and argumentative. The different phases (introduction, development and conclusion) are clearly marked as in the following examples:

(92) ... Our study will be confined (sic) with two main themes, namely historical research and writing history. In this exercise we shall be guided by <U.S.> of writing unbiased stories about missionary activities in the south region in such a way that we will be fair both to the missionaries and the host of recipient communities of West Africa. <STD 52>.

(93) We now turn to writing history. According to J.T. historical writing is characterised by a wide range of literary thoughts + the three basic ones being description, narrative and analysis. The historian must have a good training in all three techniques to be able to present a clear, coherent and up-to-date account of events he is reconstructing. <STD 52>

(94) People such as Momento have described Rosas as crude and wicked. An American resident in Buenos Aires also repeated on this terror + that er it was in the market place that Rosas hanged the bodies of his many victims. <STD 53>

All three excerpts demonstrate the well-structured nature of spoken academic discourse. (92), which comes from the beginning of a paper, establishes the focus of the discourse. The transitional clause Now we turn to writing history links what has gone before with what

22 The STD texts were scripted.
follows but it also places the discourse as speech albeit highly structured. (94), like the others, is an attempt to develop ideas in the traditional thesis statement/elaboration approach.

In contrast to this is the apparent loose structure of the discussion. It is heavily influenced by everyday conversation and also by classroom discourse. Thus, large sections can be analysed within the framework established for classroom talk by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975); this consists of initiation, response and feedback moves, e.g.

(95) A: How about the geologist too?
   B: okay, the geologist is much concerned with the depth + the depth of the soil, so to him it is maybe er how deep one can go far into the + earth. In other words, maybe the soil is + is that huge centimetre, that portion on the surface.
   A: Yeah, you are right. So he is only interested in just the few centimetres of the surface layer of the earth. <SAD 55>.

In this discussion about the technical definition of the word 'soil', A is the leader and performs the role of the teacher. B and C (not in this extract) act the role of pupils and clearly show him deference. Outside this context they are much more equal and this surfaces in the discussion in the form of less tight control than a teacher has of a lesson.

23 It is nevertheless possible that some respect for his superior knowledge still persists outside this situation.
In (96), the influence of casual conversation is more obvious. The discussion differs from an ordinary conversation in having a clearly identifiable topic - how to work out compound interest - but the numerous interruptions and the speech rhythm all belong to the domain of casual talk.

(96) A: Ee:
   B: We should // find the present value
   C://find the compound interest.
   D: Okay read the question, read the question.
   C: Which one?
   B: Read the question.
   A: Vivian wants to know--
   C: (...) We tackle this--
   A: Okay
   C: Find the compound interest + of this + of this account.
   A: Ehe: yes.
   C: So we find the // future sum--
   A: // the future sum so when we subtract the initial sum of the principal from that we'll get the compound interest.
   D: Just like that?
   <SAD 56>

In this fragment there are four female participants.\textsuperscript{24} None of them appears to be in control with the result that the discussion involves more negotiation of meaning and more interpersonal elements such as direct commands to one another and less ideational meaning compared with the previous example.

\textsuperscript{24} In the previous situation A and B are male and C is female. Arguably the difference in sex could have influenced the nature of the discussion. For example C, who was the only female, appeared to be less confident than A and B.
Also, on the average turns were shorter with frequent interruptions and overlapping.

In the history discussion the presence of a lecturer (L) imposes a control on the discussion as can be seen in the following extract:

(97) S: yes, I think the lady has given us a lot of information on the political and economic activities of Rosas but what I don't agree with here is his comparison with + comparing the situation in Argentina before the time of Rosas to that + of Brazil + because Brazil had a stable + Brazil had a stable government because—
L: Now let's start from where I started that does the essay answer the question, does it adequately deal with the question before we can come to the details.
S1: I agree with (you) + the presenter because she made a very good assessment of Rosas .
L: On what do you agree with her? The question is did she answer the question?
S2: Yes.
L: Mary why do you say so?
S2: This is because the question is all about assessment and the reader succeeded in taking a look at the good and the bad sides of his rule, the kind of political situation + that he met and the way he tackled them <U.S.>
L: Hold on, let's hear others.
<SAD 54>

Compared with the previous situation the turns are longer and fewer interruptions occur here. In fact the only interruption was made by the lecturer who is also the one who poses questions. He exercises greater control than A in the discussion on soil. He even stops S2 from dominating the discussion. However he avoids a
typical classroom style (initiation-response-feedback format).

What is clear in the forgoing discussion is that structurally the academic discourse makes intertextual borrowings from a wide range of situations depending on (a) the purpose (paper to be assessed or discussion on a definite topic) and (b) the participants: the presence of a 'powerful' participant such as a teacher or a teacher figure influences the discourse in the direction of institutionalised discourse.

9.4.4.2 Grammatical Structure

Academic discourse with conventional essay-like structure also has easily identifiable sentence structures. This can be seen from (92-94), which are taken from scripted speech. But in discussions in the presence of a lecturer the sentence structure is fairly conventional. Occasionally elliptical utterances like yes occur but this is very different from the all-student discussion of compound interest in which a high percentage of the utterances cannot be given traditional sentence analysis. In addition, the structure of some of the utterances was influenced by the GL background of the participants, e.g.
(98) A: Now we've come to the colour boundaries and under it we say that the colour boundaries may be what? C: They may be sharp, clear or diffuse. <SAD 55>

The use of the what-construction is similar to one of the forms discussed in Owusu-Ansah (1990) as typical of GE lecturing style.

9.4.4.3 Lexical Intertextuality

This is the most easily demonstrated. Here the dominant intertextual resource is other texts (e.g. textbooks, learned articles, etc.) in the general domain to which the subject matter of the discourse belongs. The discussion of soil offers the most dramatic examples. Words and expressions such as

- soil profile, decomposed layer, chemical properties, micro-organisms, three-dimensional cut, alluvial, horizon, absorb nutrients, mineral composition

are but a few of the examples often encountered in standard textbooks on the subject.

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25 In many cases the response is given by the speaker himself and, therefore, the construction is no more than a device for achieving focus. See Owusu-Ansah (1990) for detailed discussion.
9.4.4 Intertextuality in a Religious Setting: the Testimony

The testimony is a central event in the charismatic fellowship during which a speaker, referred to as 'witness', talks about his or her experiences in life and how through God's help he or she has been able to overcome both material and spiritual problems. A person can be "moved by the spirit" to give a testimony, but there is often a place in the programme of a prayer-service for it. For the born-again Christian the testimony is both a communicative event and a deep spiritual experience. From the point of view of the present study it has a high potential for intertextual borrowing drawn from three main sources:

(a) The Bible and other religious texts, especially religious sayings in GL.26

(b) Ghanaian style for discussing problems of life and giving advice, characterised by euphemisms and wise sayings. This style is particularly appropriate because one of the functions of the testimony is to help fellow Christians to come to terms with the problems of existence through shared experience of God's love.

26 Many of these sayings appear on taxis, other forms of transport and shops, e.g. Aboa onnyi dua Nyame na oprna no ho (literally: God drives away the flies from the animal that has no tail).
(c) The style of everyday narrative and conversation characterised by code-mixing and GL syntax and speech rhythm. A religious testimony is an opportunity for a person to narrate his experiences resulting from interaction with society, to share the problems, spiritual or otherwise, which result from this interaction and to give thanks for God's help in overcoming the problems.

The major intertextual features are now presented below.

9.4.4.1 Structure of the Testimony

The testimony as a form has a cyclical structure whose components are the salutation, problem, resolution (through divine intervention), generalisation and salutation as shown in the diagram below.

FIGURE 9-6: THE STRUCTURE OF THE RELIGIOUS TESTIMONY IN GE

This represents the expected rhetorical pattern of
the testimony in that the participants, both witness and audience, from their knowledge of previous testimonies as "born-again" Christians, know that testimonies follow this pattern. Thus, even though it was not mandatory in the sense that one was required to adopt it, any other form would be regarded as a deviation. This does not mean that there was no variation. Indeed, some variation is possible as will become clear presently.

Salutation
The salutations serve two purposes, namely to delimit the beginning and end of one testimony and to signal solidarity between the witness and audience. Typical salutations were:

A: Praise the Lord!
B: Alleluia!

A: Amen!
B: Amen!
[A: Witness; B: audience]

The Problem and Solution
The problem and solution phases of the testimony varied in content according to individual witness's experience. They are however characterised by the narrative mode with elements of GE. The invitation of the leader for someone to "tell us" appears to suggest that the
testimony is essentially a narrative, even though it has didactic and other functions.

Generalisation
The point of a testimony is, in the words of several of the witnesses, to serve as "encouragement" to others. The generalisation, therefore, allows the witness to bring out the relevance of his or her particular experience to the audience. The means by which this is achieved is the citing of texts from the Bible, Ghanaian religious sayings and proverbs. This phase of the testimony is characterised by the formal style.

But there were minor variations of this general pattern. For example, two of the witnesses introduced quotations at an earlier stage as well as during the generalisation stage. Another witness introduced solidarity elements in the middle of his testimony in addition to the usual places. But on the whole these do not constitute significant deviations from the norm.

9.4.4.2 Everyday Narrative and Conversational Style

This style was characteristic of the problem and solution phases, and the dominant discourse mode at these phases was the narrative with elements of dialogue. The
recurrent features of this style are code-mixing and GL speech rhythm, e.g.

(99) He said, _eh Felicia, Brebrebe Nyankopon aye ama wo i, nntumm nnhye no enyim nyam?_ <SGT 42>

(100) He said, _oh so you are a student, you see? I said well when school reopens I hope to be a an undergrad. oh so where do you live?_ SGT 42

(101) How I will eat and how I will clothe myself, between me and God. <SGT 42>

(102) When I went home I said _oh I was going to greet him"._ <SGT 42>

(103) He told me that _okay I should go he will think about it and when I came back I was still praying about it that I want him to supervise my work, because with him I know he will have time for me._ <SGT 41>

The items italicised are regularly used in GL informal narratives to introduce quoted or paraphrased sections.

Example (101) is a translation from Akan. The verb is omitted with the preposition between functioning as the link between the two nominal groups _How I will eat, etc._ and _my God._

9.4.5.3 The Formal Style

Euphemisms, wise sayings and quotations from the Bible were common in the generalisation phase of the testimony, e.g.
(104) And there's a guy who stays by me and he says "Awo, abaa da wonkyen na e:ma bodom afa wo nam?" I mean you know what it means that you're a girl and you can move around --- <SGT 42>.

(105) The Bible says that "Thy loving kindness is better than life". <SGT 35>.

(106) The Bible says it in (erm) Isaiah 58 verse 17 that "I am the Lord who teaches you what is best for you". <SGT 41>.

(107) I said that "God this is the time I must trust You". <SGT 42>.

(108) I begin to question God that "If some people are around and they are having it easy, why is that I should follow You and suffer like that?" <SGT 42>.

The use of that instead of oh or eh to introduce the reported clause is significant. In this context the former elements would be considered inappropriate. Another important feature is the use of sayings and quotations from the Bible. This echoes Achebe's statement that 'proverbs are the palm oil with which words are eaten.' This is particularly true of formal discourse. (See also Obiechina 1975).

In addition to the above-listed features there were words and expressions such as brethren, amid, the spirit is moving which help to place the testimony within the genre of born-again talk.
9.4.6 Summary

The intertextual patterns identified in the corpus provide some of the most powerful arguments for distinguishing various text-types. The dominant resources borrowed from are both Ghanaian and English. They include lexico-grammatical, discourse and stylistic features.

In small-group settings the intertextual features tend to come from GL or are based on the local experience. They are characterised by code-mixing and GL syntax and speech rhythm. In public settings on the other hand the features tend to come from more general sources such as textbooks, the Bible, literature. The GL elements in such situations are derived from the discourse of formal situations rather than from casual, everyday conversation and narratives.

The main effect of these intertextual features is to express solidarity between participants and exclude outsiders.

9.5 CONCLUSION

The present chapter looked at features above the rank of the group in the speech of the informants. The null
hypothesis was that in the four main areas investigated, passives, grammatical complexity and intertextuality, there was no significant variation according to context. The study, which used both qualitative and quantitative methods, was based on a corpus of almost 50,000 words.

It was found that there was a cline of contextual variation such that text-types produced in casual situations, friendly conversation, testimonies and interviews, occupied one end of the scale. These had less passives, rankshifted groups and subclausal coordination. They also had more clausal subordination, and rankshifted clauses. This suggests that their complexity was noticeable at the level of the clause rather than the group or below.

Furthermore, they tended to emphasise the interpersonal metafunction as can be seen in the prevalence of in-group slang, vocatives and interrogatives.

On the other hand, texts belonging to institutionalised domains, e.g. tutorial deliveries and public speeches, showed a converse tendency: more subclausal coordination, rankshifted groups and passives.
These also emphasised the textual metafunction and to a large extent were characterised by features of the written discourse such as overt markings of phases of discourse.

In conclusion the null hypothesis could not be maintained.
PART IV

CONCLUSIONS
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

10.0 INTRODUCTION

This final chapter (a) brings together the major findings of the analysis of the spoken and written texts (b) relates the linguistic variation with the situational factors and identifies the levels of formality in the English of the informants (c) presents the results of the analysis of informants' views on the subject collected with the aid of a questionnaire and then (d) discusses some implications of the research.

10.1 VARIATION IN GE

The initial hypothesis of the research was that GE did not show linguistic variation according to changes in the context. The preliminary study reported in Chapter 4 highlighted some of the lexico-grammatical and discourse differences between planned academic writing (Text 1) and casual conversation (Text 2). The most notable of these were:
(a) higher lexical density for Text 1
(b) higher frequency of passive forms for Text 1
(c) higher frequency of modal auxiliary verbs in Text 2
(d) greater grammatical complexity at the level of clause in Text 2 in the form of greater use of rankshifted clauses and corresponding complexity at the level of the group in Text 1 in the form of greater use of rankshifted groups,
(e) more frequent use of pronouns and other markers of interpersonal dimension of the discourse by Text 2,
(f) the presence of code-mixing and pidgin elements in Text 2 and the absence of these in Text 1 and the predominance of native-speaker forms in Text 1.

These differences pointed to the feasibility of undertaking a full-scale investigation of contextual variation in GE. It also confirmed our suspicion that the observable variation was due to a combination of contextual factors, namely features of interpersonal relationships between the participants, the medium and the role of the discourse.

Following the preliminary study more data were collected in a wider range of situations during fieldwork in Ghana and these were subjected to both qualitative and quantitative analyses with results which, on the whole,
confirms our earlier findings. The results are now summarised below.

10.1.1 Variation in Lexis

The following areas of lexical variation were identified in both writing and speech:

(a) use of non-English words and expression in discourses involving participants in close interpersonal relationships, namely, personal letters, casual conversation, student discussions, interviews, testimonies and student meeting. The characteristics of these text-types are that they fell within non-institutionalised domains, were spontaneous and lacked planning. What is being argued is that because of the casual nature of these forms of communication, which is due to the absence of social distance, the participants chose the variety of English most heavily influenced by GL.

The general distribution of lexical items also varied according to context. Generally, written texts had higher lexical densities than spoken texts, thus confirming the theoretical distinction between the two modes. However, within both modes three levels of
lexical distribution were described as high, mid and low as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken</th>
<th>Written</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High STD, SFF, SPS</td>
<td>WMM, WSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid SCC, SFQ, SMT, SAD, SGQ</td>
<td>WIL, WSJ, WAE, WWA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low SGT, SIN</td>
<td>WPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected the high texts were those which suppressed the interpersonal function of communication and were also relatively spontaneous. But the picture was compounded by the interaction effects of mode, and formality, which for all practical purposed could not be separated.

Finally, the lexical analysis revealed a general tendency towards the nominal style in both spoken and written GE. As expected, the few text-types which were predominantly verbal in style were also more spontaneous and characterised by closer interpersonal relationships than those which were predominantly nominal in style. Another important factor here was whether the discourse was process- or product-oriented. The former type was verbal and stayed close to the unfolding experience, while the latter, which was nominal, had reified experience through grammatical metaphor. (Halliday 1985a).
10.1.2 Modal Auxiliaries in GE

Modal auxiliary verbs are not the only means of expressing modality in English, and this was reflected in the GE texts. Some of the other words and expressions found were unique to GE and others occur in NVEs as well. It was found that directives addressed to equals usually did not have politeness modals, but those addressed to superiors usually were qualified by the use of please in addition to other modality markers.

The initial view that there were fewer modals in the speech of GE speakers than native speakers did not appear to be justified in the face of evidence from the London-Lund and the LOB corpora (cf Coates 1983). However, the statement needs to take into account the differences in the size and composition of the GE and NE corpora.

Within GE itself the differences in the distribution of modal auxiliary verbs were statistically significant in both writing and speech. Three levels in each mode could be identified as follows:
In both cases the stratification was not as clearly defined as, for example, what was observed for lexis. The low group were instances of discourse characterised by social distance and/or preparedness. These also belonged to the institutionalised domains. It is, however, difficult to make a similar generalisation about the high group. SFF was characterised by participant equality but SGQ was more complex. It involved students asking questions of members of the academic staff, but the atmosphere was relaxed. The mid group as expected was the biggest. All the texts were spontaneous but less symmetrical in participant status than the low group.

Finally, it was concluded that the distribution of both modal auxiliary verbs and other modal types in directives was a rough indication of the power dynamics at work in a situation. Students used words like plead, beg, and polite modals like would in meeting situations, but used power modals such as should and must in resolutions where they felt in control.
10.1.3 Pronouns in GE

Pronouns provided some of the strongest arguments in support of variation within GE. The stratification of the three levels was more sharply demarcated in both modes.

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<th>Spoken</th>
<th>Written</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>SCC, SGT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>SFF, SIN, SMT, SFQ, SGQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SAD</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>STD, SPS</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The pattern in both writing and speech is that more pronouns were used in text-types produced in situations in which interpersonal relationships were valued than in those in which they were suppressed. Thus, all the high group also showed high levels of interpersonal involvement not only in the way pronouns were used but also in the their use of modal auxiliary verbs.

It was found that generally speech had higher levels of pronouns than writing. This finding highlights the effect of mode as a contextual variable. Spoken GE at all levels tended to highlight the interpersonal function
of communication whereas written GE suppressed it. However, the point remains that within each mode there is an observable stratification of the distribution of pronouns which reflects differences in the level of formality.

There were also noticeable deviations from NVEs. In both speech and writing pronominal phrases complemented the NVE system. Phrases like my own, we all and you people were used in contexts where one would expect ordinary pronouns. The argument is not that they do not ever occur in NVEs, rather that GE makes greater use of them including cases where they would be considered inappropriate in NVEs. The reason for their frequent use may be the stress pattern of GE as well as a need to avoid ambiguity inherent in the use of you which has both plural and singular referents in NVEs.

10.1.4 Passives in GE

The basic assumption that GE made greater use of passives because of the tendency toward over-formality was not confirmed. The distribution of passive forms, including marginal passives, did not suggest that GE had more than NVEs. The rate per 100 words in both speech and writing range from 0-10. This is similar to the levels found in
NVE studies based on the London-Lund corpus. However the differences in the composition of the corpus for the present study compared with the NVE ones on which Coates’ study was based make a direct comparison unhelpful.

The null hypothesis was also not confirmed, because passives were not randomly distributed. Rather significant contextual variation was observed. The text-types analysed in the two modes fell into the following three levels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken</th>
<th>Written</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>STD, SPS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>SGT, SCC, SIN, SFF, SFQ, SMT,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>SGQ, SAD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally texts belonging to institutionalised domains had the highest frequency of passives, whereas low frequency was to be found in texts associated with non-institutionalised domains.

It was also found that passives occurred with all recognised functions namely (a) to avoid mentioning the actor, (b) to achieve the right information focus and (c) to suppress interpersonal involvement.
10.1.5 Grammatical Complexity

Two aspects of this were studied: (a) conjunction (b) rankshifting. The investigation of conjunction examined the use of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions to express experience, while rankshifting looked at the complexity resulting from downgrading groups and clauses to serve lower functions associated with the rank below them.

Two kinds of coordination were found: (a) normal coordination between clauses and elements of the clause. These largely conformed to the grammatical rules of standard NVEs. (b) 'odd couples' which were the result of linking unequal grammatical elements. The latter were restricted to non-institutionalised domains, while normal couples were to be found in the entire corpus. It can be argued from this that odd couples are more important as markers of contextual variation than normal couples.

The study also found that coordination at ranks below the clause occurred more frequently in non-interactive situations than in interactive ones. Both written and spoken text-types were classified into three levels of distribution as follows:
Chapter 10: Conclusions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken</th>
<th>Written</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>SGT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>SIN, SGQ, SFQ, SFF, SPS, SCC, STD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>SMT, SAD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was no evidence that various text-types could be distinguished in respect of subordination in writing, but in speech three levels could be established thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>SGT, SFF, SIN, SFQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>SGQ, SMT, SAD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>STD, SPS, SCC</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of rankshifting found that in both the spoken and written texts two groups could be distinguished on the basis of the preference for rankshifted groups or rankshifted clauses. Discourse types belonging to institutionalised domains, the academic essay, resolution, tutorial delivery and public speech, preferred RGS, while those produced in non-institutionalised situations (i.e. casual conversation, personal letters, interviews) mostly used RCs.

The distinction between the two types of text can also be looked at from the point of view of interpersonal involvement and planning. The text-types in the former group were characterised by both low interpersonal
involvement and some amount of planning. In contrast those in the latter group showed close interpersonal relationships and they were relatively spontaneous. It was thus argued that an important feature of formal discourse was grammatical complexity at the level of the group, while informal discourse is marked by complexity at the rank of clause. This contradicts the belief that formal discourse is complex and informal discourse is simple (see, for example, Pride 1971)

10.1.6 Discourse Structuring Devices

A wide range of DSDs were found in both the written and spoken data which functioned as communicative signals of the introduction, development and termination of topics. These could be grouped into three depending on whether they realise ideational, interpersonal and textual functions.

It was found that in text-types coded low on the formality scale, interpersonal DSDs were very important especially for introducing new topics. But topics had a tendency to change rapidly without overt termination. Thus the concept of discourse as a tightly structured process with clearly identifiable introduction, middle
and ending could not be applied to all sections of the data.

On the other hand, text-types coded high on the formality scale conformed more to this ideal discourse structure. Ideational and textual DSDs were exploited to give clear signal of change from one topic to another and the development of the on-going topic. Furthermore, even in speech the structure was similar to conventional paragraphs with their thesis statement near the beginning and a concluding move at the end. Such speeches were either scripted or delivered from notes, which indicates that they were planned.

10.1.7 Intertextuality

Intertextuality, defined as exploiting the shared knowledge of previous texts or text-types in creating new ones, was studied from the point of view of the features borrowed and the lending source. The kinds of features borrowed included general words and expressions, proverbs and wise sayings, grammatical structures, rhetorical patterns, and speech styles. And the sources were both English and GL reflecting the bilingual resources of the informants.
Where there was evidence of a long-standing relationship between participants the features were mainly from Ghanaian sources including past and present socio-cultural experiences. The use of in-group language and GL speech rhythm were two of the most noticeable characteristics. However, these were absent from situations which were marked by lack of interpersonal relationships between the participants. They were replaced by features which accessible in meaning to a wider audience, e.g. textbooks and famous quotations from history.

Thus, different text-types could be distinguished on the basis of the extent to which they relied on local language and non-language experience for intertextual materials. The lower the level of formality the more items from Ghanaian origin were used. Such items render the discourse inaccessible to outsiders and thus help to distinguish it from native-English discourse (see Obiechina 1975).

10.2 INFORMANTS' VIEW OF FORMALITY

A key aspect of ethnographic research is studying the phenomenon in question from the point of view of the informants (Saville-Troike 1983, Scollon and Scollon
1979). The present study tried to achieve this by eliciting informants' view on formality with the aid of a questionnaire which was administered on behalf of the researcher by one of the teaching assistants who took part in the data collection exercise.

The questionnaire asked respondents to rank in terms of formality some situations in which the English language was regularly used. The ranking was to be done on a scale of 1-5. The wording stressed that the enquiry was concerned with what normally happens rather than particular cases. This was felt to be important, because individual texts may deviate from the norm and therefore focusing on them may distort the picture of formality as a general concept.

Twelve situations representing a wide range of interpersonal relationships were selected. These comprised seven speech and five written situations. Ten of the situations were actually covered in the fieldwork. The two that were not represented in the corpus were letter to the editor of a national newspaper and discussion with a lecturer on one's academic work.

Sixty responses were received all from students of University of Cape Coast representing all age brackets, all four faculties, and both sexes. These were analysed to find out
(a) whether the informants had any awareness of the cline of formality and, if so,

(b) whether the general pattern of ranking agreed with both the initial scale established to guide the data collection, and the results of the analysis of the language data.

The analysis of the questionnaire responses was completed before the analysis of the language data was begun. Thus, it was not possible to predict from looking at the latter what the outcome of the analysis of the questionnaire responses would be.

The results, later confirmed by the analysis of writing and speech, showed that the informants recognised a scale of formality with the twelve items ranked consistently on this scale.

Three levels were identified which are now referred to as high formality (HF) ranked between 3.5 and 5, mid formality (MF) ranked between 2.5 and 3 and low formality (LF) ranked between 1 and 2. The HF group was made up of resolutions, public speeches and academic essays\(^1\). As expected, these situations belonged to institutionalised domains and were characterised by hierarchical or non-existent interpersonal relationships. The LF situations were personal letters and conversations between friends.

\(^1\) Within this group long essays were ranked slightly higher than class essays thus establishing that respondents were conscious of more delicate differences.
Chapter 10: Conclusions

The characteristics of these were close interpersonal relationships, spontaneity of expression and casualness. The MF group was made up of the rest of the situations. This group is difficult to describe in exact terms, except that it had characteristics of both extremes.

Secondly, the analysis showed that the informants' view of formality agreed with the results of the language analysis and the initial intuitions of the present researcher about the formality coding. This is significant because the term 'formality' was not defined in the questionnaire and, therefore, given the differences in the interpretation as demonstrated in Chapter 3, the extent of agreement was higher than expected. But whatever particular notion of formality informed each respondent's ranking, it did have some validity.

This highlights the issue of defining formality. The position of the present writer is that several contextual factors affect our perception of formality but the most important of all of them is interpersonal relationships.

The findings of both the analysis of data and the informants' views have some important implications which will be discussed presently.
10.3 RELATION BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND FORMALITY

Two important assumptions underlying the analysis of language data are that:

(a) there is a connection between the choice and the various types of linguistic items and social reality.

(b) the formality coding used in the present study is valid according to the language-external criterion of social distance.

If both assumptions are correct then high correlations are expected between the formality coding assigned various text-types and the frequency of linguistic features investigated.

A statistical analysis was carried out to ascertain the strength of relationship between the distribution of the linguistic features studied and formality levels. The results confirmed both assumptions.

There was a significant relationship between frequencies of the following items and formality:
(a) verbs ($R_1 = -0.633 \ p < 0.001; \ R_2 = -0.663, \ p < 0.001$)$^2$

(b) modal auxiliary verbs ($R_1 = -0.214 \ p < 0.002; \ R_2 = -0.179, \ p < 0.115$$^3$)

(c) pronouns ($R_1 = -0.620, \ p < 0.001; \ R_2 = -0.719, \ p < 0.001$).

This means that, for these three features' as the level of formality rose their frequency fell, as predicted.

There were positive correlations between the following features and level of formality:

(a) nouns ($R_1 = 0.433 \ p < 0.001; \ R_2 = 0.680, \ p < 0.001$)

(b) passives ($R_1 = 0.387 \ p < 0.001; \ R_2 = 0.615, \ p < 0.001$)

(c) lexis ($R_1 = 0.645, \ p < 0.001; \ R_2 = 0.633, \ p < 0.001$).

This means that, as predicted, the frequency of these items rose with the level of formality.

These results further showed that some of these features were more reliable indicators of the level of

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$^2$ In each case $R_1$ refers to the correlation of spoken data and formality and $R_2$ to written data.

$^3$ Not significant.
formality than others. Pronouns and lexical density, especially in written texts were the most sensitive signals of formality, whereas modal auxiliary verbs were the least reliable in both speech and writing. This may be due to the fact that (a) modality was frequently expressed using other resources which were not counted in the statistical analysis and (b) modal auxiliaries have a complex semantics and may be used to signal both formality and lack of it.

Finally, an examination of the details of the results provided in Appendix D reveals that in nearly all cases, the figures for the spoken data were higher than those for the written. Among other things, it reflects the differences between the two modes as well as the differences in the way the two sets of data were analysed.

10.4 IMPLICATIONS

The present study have a wide range of implications but the following are considered to be the most important ones:

(a) the status of NNEs

(b) the description, codification and recognition in education of NNEs
(c) the national language issue
(d) language spread and change
(e) cross-cultural communication
(f) conduct of further research.

10.4.1 The Status of NNEs

As stated elsewhere in this work, the status of GE and similar varieties of English is at the centre of the present research. The question to be posed is: Are they interlanguage varieties or not?

The language-use approach adopted in this study suggests that the present writer is of the view that GE and other varieties such as Nigerian English and Indian English are not interlanguages. It was argued that a long exposure to the English language has made it a permanent feature of the language ecology of such communities, where it fulfils intergroup and intragroup communicative functions (Richards 1978, Kachru 1983).

This claim was supported by empirical evidence of the form and function in context of English exemplified by the Ghanaian university students' output. It was noted that the students were competent users of the language, even though some aspects of the data showed deviations from NVE norms. A wide range of contextual
variation or registers in both institutionalised and non-institutionalise domains were identified.

Thus, the criteria put forward by Kachru as defining nativised varieties are met by GE. These are: long tradition of use, including literary use, wide register range, and emotional attachment. The suggestion is that GE can be regarded as a well-established variety. In an earlier paper the present writer suggested that the term bilingual variety should be applied to such NNEs (Owusu-Ansah 1991). This is in recognition of their position as one of the languages used by the speakers without creating the confusion implied by the use of the term 'second language'. The latter implies an order of acquisition but in Ghana and elsewhere many people acquire a second local language in addition to the LI before they encounter English. Others acquire English side by side with their LI. The term 'bilingual English' covers all these modes of acquisition and use of English.

10.4.2 Recognition of NNEs

One of the most important issues concerning NNEs is their acceptability by the outside world, notably native speaker communities, and the establishment in the communities where they are used as additional languages.
Part of the problem is the lack of adequate description of these varieties. Thus, grammatical descriptions based on NVEs are still used to determine 'correct' usage in NNES even when such norms are not followed by actual usage (Bamgbose 1971)4.

An adequate description and codification are prerequisite to acceptance. This is the path followed by all standard norms (Haugen 1966). In this regard the present study is a modest contribution to the enormous task of describing GE.

However, recognition can be accorded these NNES before full descriptions have been made. This point was illustrated by Ure et al. for GE in the form of the Bridge Course, materials from which are now to be published under the title Ghanaian Anthology. The aim of this course is to exploit the bilingual resources of speakers of English in situations where they need to use English.

The application of the findings of the present research envisaged here is to include describing GE in university language courses. This should lead to the placing of positive value on such forms, which is a necessary first step to general acceptance (Burling 1973). Ultimately when the process of standardisation is

4 See his anecdote on the expression 'putting back the clock'.
advanced questions of non-native models for the teaching purpose can be addressed.

10.4.3 The National Language Issue

The situation with regard to the question of national language has not changed much from when Chinebuah (1977) was writing. English is still the official language, and there is no serious consideration of replacing it with a local national language, because of the conflict that such a move may bring about and the logistics involved.

A question that arises is: What kind of English should be used as Ghana's official language? The answer to this question lies partly in the attitude of the users. An official language in any community certainly can be claimed by its members to be their own, even if it is not indigenous. Such claims have been noted in other parts of the world with similar language needs (Achebe 1965, Bailey and Robinson 1973). These claims are partly based on the awareness that the form of English in these communities have undergone changes to carry the experiences of the new community (Achebe 1965).

Thus, the national languages of ex-colonies of Britain and America are not identical to the language as it is spoken and written in the metropolitan communities.
It is rather varieties bearing the stamp of the particular communities that have adopted them. Bamgbose (1971) in discussing the issue of standardisation of Nigerian English points out that the type with the best chance of succeeding as standard is the one that is both internationally intelligible and still retains Nigerian characteristics, rather than the native-like variety spoken by a few elite.

Therefore, even though English will remain the official language in Ghana for many years to come, it is bound to be influenced by the local languages and experiences in order to be able to fulfil its function as a 'Ghanaian language'. This is the sense in which terms like 'Ghanaian English' and 'Nigerian English' should be understood.

10.4.4 Language Spread and Change

Language change is an inevitable process, which may be observed by comparing the speech of different generations in the same community or speakers from different communities. Implicit in the present research is the view that the English language has undergone some changes both as a result of being shaped by the local languages
and experiences of the Ghanaian people and as a natural process of change over time.

The first kind of change can be studied by comparing Ghanaian speech with native English speech at all levels of analysis. There is no doubt that there are notable differences in spite of claims by some speakers that they speak NVEs. The second type can be seen in the emergence of new contextual styles, especially at the informal end of the scale. This has been possible as a result of the expansion in the domains in which English is used. Whereas in the past it was confined to formal occasions, now it is used in less formal situations as well and naturally informal styles, influenced by local languages, are beginning to emerge. Although these may be less stable than the formal registers, they are nevertheless describable as the present study has shown. However, more research is needed in this area.

10.4.5 Cross-Cultural Communication

A major concern of those who object to the growth of the new Englishes is the possibility of the different varieties diverging to the point of loss of intelligibility. Quirk (1989) has an anecdote on the
loss of intelligibility of Indian English even among Indian speakers.

The indications of the present study are that this is highly unlikely. The reason is that the changes brought about by the spread of English have largely affected only non-institutionalised uses, with the institutionalised varieties retaining most of the NVE features. Indeed the situation is not different from NVE communities where the local varieties which are used in informal contexts, have low intelligibility outside the particular communities. Future research should be concerned about describing such styles and making them accessible to speakers of other varieties of English.

10.4.6 Further Research

Several areas needing further research have already been noted above including a description of the less formal varieties. The aim now is to briefly describe one approach to conducting such research - through corpus development.

The advantages of descriptions based on corpora have been demonstrated recently by publications of Quirk et al. (1985) and the Collins Cobuild team for British English and the numerous publications derived from the
Brown Corpus of American English. One of these is the fact that the illustrations are real examples and not manufactured by linguists (Coates 1983). Real examples also have the advantage of highlighting the indeterminacy of natural speech, which is lost by using manufactured examples which tend to be clear-cut cases (Coates 1983).

Sinclair (1991) also cites as a major advantage of using a corpus the fact that it allows for the analysis of long texts. These are needed especially for the study of discourse features but they are equally useful in the analysis of sub-discourse elements.

However, for all the advantages corpus creation is a difficult and expensive exercise. These problems can only be solved by a team of researchers pooling resources together as was the case of all the corpora for NVEs. The analysis of the corpus, once it has been established, should also be a cooperative venture. Some of the areas of investigation that will benefit from this are the relationship between GE and other varieties of English such as Black American English, GE discourse forms, and the speech of other GE speakers outside the university. It is hoped that the present data base will form the starting point of a much larger corpus collected from a wider range of sources including newspaper articles, television broadcasts, fiction and so on. This way a more complete picture of the variety can be formed.
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Addendum


