

The Future of Desire: Lexical Futures and Modality in L2 English Future Expression

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1. Introduction

This paper investigates the use of the lexical future in the emergent expression of future in L2 English. Like the past, whose expression is reasonably well studied in second language acquisition, the future is displaced from the time of speaking. In Reichenbachian terms, the future can be represented as speech time preceding event time, or $S > E$, in contrast to past where event time precedes speech time or $E > S$ (Comrie, 1985; Reichenbach, 1947). Although both past and future reference depart from the here and now, in the results of a cross-linguistic survey, Dahl (1985) observes that “future time is less consistently marked than past time reference” (p. 109).

Temporality is only one concept that makes up the future. Cross-linguistic research on tense-aspect systems agrees that, unlike the purely temporal relationships of the past and the present, the future also encompasses modality. Future reference may thus include modal readings of possibility, probability, intention, and desire or volition (Bybee, 1985) of which intentionality is the most common (Bybee, 1985; Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994; Dahl, 1985; Fleischman, 1982). In fact, Dahl’s crosslinguistic survey shows that the most typical uses of future involve actions that are planned by the agent of the sentence (1985, p. 105), whereas cases of ‘pure prediction’ are less frequent.¹

While all future expression is in part modal, the lexical future, comprised of semantically future verbs such as *want to*, *hope to*, and *have to* (Bardovi-Harlig, 2004, in press; Moses, 2002), is often overtly modal. Many researchers discuss the modal readings of future; focus on the lexical future emphasizes the future reading of modals. The lexical future appears in the literature by a variety of names. Bybee et al (1994) refer to these expressions as “lexical-like or rich meanings” of future (p. 256). Wiberg (2002) calls such verbs “periphrastic” futures (p. 300). Lexical futures include examples such as (1) - (3) taken from studies of learner production in English, French, and Italian.

(1) L2 English: (present corpus, Khaled)

- a. I want to get M.B. then PhD because I want to be a successful than I am now (written)
- b. I hope to see especially my mother (oral)
- c. I'm planning to go to Florida (oral)

(2) L2 French (Moses, 2002, p. 133; written)

- a. le semestre prochain je veux prendre un cours de français
the semester next I want-pres-1s take-Infin a class of French
'next semester I want to take a French class'

¹ Although Dahl (1985) summarizes the semantics of the future as best described in terms of a prototype involving at least the three features *intention*, *prediction*, and *future time reference* (p. 108), he also cautions that “it would be wrong, however, to suggest that ‘intention’ is the essential semantic feature of FUT [future]...FUT can also be used for cases where intention is lacking.” (pp. 105-106), concluding that “‘Future time reference’ could therefore be regarded as a dominant feature of FUT” (p. 106).

- b. cette année je ne compte pas beaucoup faire
this year I neg count-pres-1s neg much-do-Infin
 ‘this year I don’t plan to do much’
- c. j’espère dormir bien ce soir
I hope-pres-1s sleep well this evening
 ‘I hope to sleep well this evening’

(3) L2 Italian: (Wiberg, 2002, p. 301; oral).

- a. [...] *insomma devo orientarmi* [periphrastic] *per iniziare il lavoro* [subordinate clause]
 so I have to get oriented [periphrastic] to start the work [subordinate clause]
- b. *non so se è ancora presto e se dovrei fare* [per] *forse un altro paio di esami*
 I don’t know if it’s too early and is perhaps I would have to do [per] another couple of exams
- c. *lavoro, devo andare alla # spiaggia alla+...*
 I work, I have to go to the beach, to the+....

Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) identify agent-oriented modalities related to the future: The main two modalities are desire and obligation; two lesser modalities are ability, and attempt. Although Bybee and her colleagues are primarily interested in the grammaticalization of modals as futures, their semantic analysis is relevant here, as they deal with the interpretation of lexical futures. According to Bybee et al (1994, p. 256), a common agent-oriented pathway to the grammaticalization of the future begins with desire. Desire is related to the future through a series of inferences: “If someone says *I want to go now*, in most contexts, it is reasonable to infer that s/he in fact intends to go soon and is communicating this. With a high frequency of usage, this inference can become part of the meaning of the modal. We hypothesize that the prediction function arises from the intention function.” This pathway is represented as DESIRE>WILLINGNESS>INTENTION>PREDICTION.

A second common agent-oriented pathway to future is that of obligation. Examples given from the cross-linguistic sample of Bybee et al include equivalents of *owe*, *have*, *get*, *obtain*, *catch*, and *need*. This is represented as OBLIGATION>INTENTION>FUTURE (p. 263). A third agent-oriented modality is identified as attempt, whose pathway is represented as ATTEMPT>INTENTION>FUTURE (p. 265). Another modality of the future identified by Bybee et al is ability (such as *be able to*). This path may be represented as ABILITY>ROOT POSSIBILITY>INTENTION>FUTURE (cf. Examples 66 and 67, p. 266). Binnick (1991, p. 250) observes that “all modal auxiliaries have future implication, so that we need not attribute any specific futurate quality to the so-called future auxiliary verbs to account for their future reading.”

Lexical futures are just one way of expressing the future. In English, the target language of this study, the future is additionally expressed by adverbials (*tomorrow*), grammaticalized verbal forms, *will* (*I will leave*), *going to* (*I am going to leave*), present + adverbial (*I leave tomorrow*), and present progressive (*I am leaving*).² Longitudinal studies of past temporal expression have demonstrated that there are three main stages of development in temporal reference, moving from the pragmatic (characterized by use of chronological order and dependence on interlocutors’ contributions, or scaffolding) to the lexical (characterized by the use of adverbs and locatives, for example), to the morphological stage (Dietrich, Klein, & Noyau, 1995; Bardovi-Harlig, 2000; Meisel, 1987; Moses, 2002). As Schumann (1987) pointed out, neither learners nor native speakers abandon the lexical means of temporal expression once tense morphology becomes stable. Nevertheless, learners do generally become less dependent on lexical means of temporal expression as tense-aspect morphology is used more reliably. The ratio of adverbs to finite verbs decreases (Bardovi-Harlig, 1992, 2000; Moses 2002) and the adverbs that remain carry a reduced functional load (Meisel, 1987; Bardovi-Harlig, 1992, 2000).

On the one hand, this cycle of lexical-before-morphological stages might be expected to extend to lexical futures because lexical futures encode the future semantically rather than morphologically. On

² Binnick (1991, p. 389) states, “In such languages as English, German, and Japanese, the present tense is actually a non-past and does not inherently refer to the present, as opposed to future, time. In these languages future constructions are marked and have additional, modal meanings associated with them.”

the other hand, lexical futures are different from the lexical devices included in interlanguage analyses to date, namely, adverbials, locatives, and nominals which co-occur with the verb, but not the verb itself. The lexical future is also complex syntactically. Whereas adverbs and nouns can be strung together rather loosely at the most basic level of development (Klein & Perdue, 1992), the lexical future implies a verbal complement.

There are two studies available on the acquisition of multiple future expressions in L2 (Schlyter, 1990; Moses, 2002). Schlyter's (1990) study of the acquisition of temporal morphology in French suggests that children use lexical futures before morphological futures, but that adults may use them at the same time. In her investigation of French temporal morphemes in German-French bilingual children, Schlyter reported that modal + infinitive use for modal and future reference appeared in Stage 3, whereas *va* + infinitive (the future *proche*, or *go*-future) did not appear until Stage 5. In contrast to what she found with the bilingual children, Schlyter reported that for adult L1 Swedish learners of French, the lexical future and *go*-future emerge at the same time. Inflected forms of the future come later, but there was no use of the inflected future during the observation period. The order of emergence is somewhat more difficult to interpret for the group scores of American adult learners of French (Moses, 2002). The learners of French were enrolled in first- through fourth-year university classes and were interviewed at the beginning, middle, and end of the academic year. Production by individuals tends to be rather low, although the number of lexical futures increases with each level, as do the tokens of synthetic (inflected) and *go*-futures.

It is the goal of this paper to investigate the use of the lexical future in L2 English and to understand its role in the emergent system of future expression more generally. To this end, the paper addresses the following questions:

- What is the rate of use of the lexical future relative to other future expressions?
- What expressions make up the interlanguage lexical future?
- What is the timing of emergence (and development) relative to other future expressions?
- How do learners construct the lexical future?

In the following section a brief description of future reference is provided for the L1s of the learners who participated in the study. The outline of method and analysis follows, then each of the research questions is addressed in turn.

1.1. L1 Backgrounds

The 16 learners in this longitudinal study represent four language backgrounds: Gulf Arabic as spoken in the UAE (4) and Bahrain (1), Korean (2), Japanese (6), and Spanish as spoken in Venezuela (2) and Puerto Rico (1). A summary of the features of future in the learners' L1s is found in Table 1. Spanish has both a synthetic future and a *go*-future (*ir a* + infinitive; Dahl, 1985, 2000; Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994). Japanese is described by Dahl (1985) as lacking a future, but having a predictive (PRED) defined as "a category which is primarily used for future time reference which does not have an intentional element" (p. 110).³ Modern Standard Arabic receives conflicting descriptions from Dahl (1985) and Kaye (1987). Dahl characterizes Modern Standard Arabic as having a future, whereas Kaye (1987) characterizes Modern Standard Arabic as apparently lacking a future, instead with imperfective and perfective able to refer to past, present, and future. Kaye observes, however, that "the colloquial Arabic dialects have felt the need for finer tense distinctions...and have developed overt tense markers such as *ha-* marking future in Egyptian Arabic and other colloquial dialects" (p. 682). In Gulf Arabic a morphological future is formed by a prefixed particle, *b-* (Holes, 1990). Holes describes the future particle, which may be a shortened form of the lexical verb *to want*, as having a "modal colouring" which conveys speaker intent (p. 188). Korean is described by Kim (1987) as having a modal *kes'* that "has the meaning indicating the speaker's volition or supposition and is used for both a definite future and a probable present or past" (p. 892). When the modal *kes'* occurs with first person, the sentence has only the volitional meaning and is used only in reference to the future.

³ Dahl describes this as a relatively rare category, occurring in only 3-5 of the 64 languages (in 11 areal-genetic groups) sampled. The clearest examples come from Azerbaijani, Japanese (*daroo*), and Swedish. (p. 111).

When the modal is used with second or third person, it has only suppositional meaning and is used for both a definite future and a probable present or past” (p. 892).

Table 1. Future expression in first languages of participants in longitudinal study

Language	Classification (Source)	Examples/Observations
Arabic (Modern Standard Arabic)	FUT (Dahl, 1985)	Morphological
Arabic (MSA)	None (Kaye, 1987)	
Egyptian Arabic + other colloquial dialects	Future (Kaye, 1987)	<i>ha-</i>
Gulf Arabic	Future (Holes, 1990)	Prefix <i>b-</i> on nonpast stem of verb (B stem; Holes, 1990); modal value conveying speaker intent; shortened form of nonpast stem of “ <i>to want</i> ”
Japanese	PRED (Dahl, 1985)	<i>Daroo</i> ; the future may mark probability (Binnick, 1991)
Korean	Modal (Kim, 1987)	<i>kes'</i> (1 st person volitional, future; 2 nd & 3 rd person, suppositional used for definite future and probable pres/past); the future may mark probability (Binnick, 1991)
Spanish	FUT, <FUT (<i>go</i> -future) (Dahl, 1985)	<i>Hablaré</i> ; <i>ir a+</i> infinitive

Note. FUT=future; PRED=predictive; <=not as good a fit with category (Dahl, 1985)

2. Method and Analysis

2.1. Participants

The 16 learners in this study were enrolled in the Intensive English Program at Indiana University. As noted in the previous section, they represented four language backgrounds (Arabic, Japanese, Korean, and Spanish). Participants were identified for the longitudinal study by virtue of their initial program placement. They were low-level learners, as measured by their placement in the first instructional level out of six levels in the Intensive English Program. The curriculum and textbooks in that level (O'Neill, Anger, & Davy, 1981, *AKL: Beginning*) are aimed at beginning students. Two learners, Hiromi and Zayed, joined the study in progress in Level 2 (at the beginning of month 2).

As is typical of many intensive English students, these learners had had instruction in their home countries prior to their arrival in Indiana to study English. Whereas initial program placement determined participation in the longitudinal study, reports of individual development show that learners progressed at different rates and showed different levels of attainment by the end of the observation period. Outside the classroom, learners enjoyed different degrees of interaction with native speakers of English, other learners of English in English, and native speakers of their first languages. They also had different reactions to their shared instructional experiences. (See Bardovi-Harlig, 2000, for a detailed report of learner background, course enrollment and promotion in the intensive English program, and teacher reports. Bardovi-Harlig 2004 reports on instruction on the future received by these same learners.)

2.2. Data Collection

The data were collected in the longitudinal study through journals, compositions, personal oral and written narratives, elicited narratives based on retellings of films, and oral interviews. Learners

participated for the length of their enrollment in the English program, ranging from 6 months to 18 months, with a mean of 9 months, or one academic year. The focus of the data collection was the expression of the past (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, 2000); and, as a result, the occurrences of future in this corpus were not planned or intentionally elicited. Nonetheless, learners used over 3,700 tokens of future expression, showing that this was communicatively important to them.

2.3. Analysis

The accumulated language sample for each learner was analyzed, following the concept-oriented approach to interlanguage analysis (von Stutterheim & Klein, 1987; Bardovi-Harlig, 1992, 1994, 2000). All future-time contexts were identified independently by two experienced coders (the researcher and her assistant) at 95% inter-rater reliability. The 1,576 written texts included 2,566 future contexts, and the 175 oral texts, 1,169 future contexts. The sample was divided into half month intervals. The first half of the second month is indicated as T2.0, the second half as T2.5.

Each predicate that was supplied in future-time contexts was coded for the marking of the verb, lexical markers, and its syntactic environment, analogous to the studies of the past conducted on the same corpus (Bardovi-Harlig, 1992, 1994, 2000). These categories were generated by the analysis of the interlanguage rather than by applying target-language categories. Verbal markers included morphology (*will*, *going to*, present, progressive, base forms), modals (other than *will*; especially, *can*, *can't*), and lexical futures. Lexical futures were then coded by lexical content.

3. Results

3.1. Rates of Use of Lexical Futures

In 1,576 written texts, learners produced 554 tokens of lexical futures and in 175 oral texts, they produced 179 tokens, accounting for 22% and 15% of future expression in the written and oral samples, respectively (Table 2). These rates of use of lexical futures are higher than those reported by Moses (2002) for American learners of French and lower than those reported by Wiberg (2002) for Swedish learners of Italian (Table 2).⁴ The learners of Italian were advanced, whereas the learners of French were enrolled in first through fourth year university classes and were interviewed at the beginning, middle, and end of the academic year. The learners of Italian used proportionately more lexical futures than native speakers. The data for the native speakers of French is not divided as finely as the learner data, but the native speakers of French show a rate of use of 10% for “other” future forms of which lexical futures are one type, while learners show 19% of this category overall. No native-speaker data was collected in the present study.

Table 2. Rates of use of lexical futures in proportion to tokens of future expression

Study	Target Language	Learners Overall	Learners: Written	Learners: Oral	NS
Present study	English	20%	22%	15%	No data
Moses (2002)	French	10%	11%	9%	See text
Wiberg (2002)	Italian	36%	No data	36%	22%

When viewed in the context of the larger system of future expression, the lexical future is a distant second to the dominant *will*. In the written corpus *will* is over 2.5 times more frequent than the lexical future, and over 4 times more frequent in the oral corpus. Of the grammaticalized expressions of

⁴ For the French data (Moses, 2001), I have averaged the production for lexical futures (the category identified as “other periphrastic futures”) across all four instructional years and 1st, 3rd, and 5th elicitation from Appendices G and H for written and interview data, respectively.

future, *going to* is the second most frequent marker of future in the written corpus, followed by the base and present combined (usually with an adverb), and present progressive occurring only rarely. In the oral corpus, base and present together have slightly more tokens than *going to/gonna*, but present progressive is equally rare in oral and written production. A distant second to the *will* future, the lexical future is twice as frequent as the *going to* future. The rates of use for all coded categories of future are reported in Table 3.

Table 3. Expressions of futurity: Group totals for oral and written samples (adapted from Bardovi-Harlig, 2004)

	<i>Will</i>	<i>Going to</i>	Base/Pres	Prog	Lexical Future	Other	Total
Written	1406	241	139	40	554	186	2566
(%)	(55)	(9)	(5)	(2)	(22)	(7)	(100)
Oral	735	79	98	13	179	65	1169
(%)	(63)	(7)	(8)	(1)	(15)	(6)	(100)

Note. The number of tokens of *will* includes 41 tokens (2%) and 32 tokens (3%) of contracted forms in written and oral, respectively; *going to* includes 33 tokens of contraction (*gonna*; 3% in oral only)

Table 4. Production of expressions of futurity by Individual Learners in Tokens (Oral and written samples combined)

Learner	L1	Pred	Will (%)	Going to (%)	Bare (%)	Prog (%)	Lexical Future (%)	Other (%)
Khaled	Ar	348	135 (39)	56 (16)	21 (6)	3 (1)	120 (34)	13 (4)
Saleh	Ar	321	266 (83)	3 (1)	6 (2)	0 (0)	34 (11)	12 (4)
Abdullah	Ar	260	141 (54)	6 (2)	58 (22)	1 (0)	14 (5)	40 (15)
Hamad	Ar	245	174 (71)	24 (10)	6 (2)	2 (1)	29 (12)	10 (4)
Zayed	Ar	191	158 (83)	9 (5)	3 (2)	1 (1)	8 (4)	12 (6)
Noriko	Jp	267	146 (55)	1 (0)	17 (6)	1 (0)	77 (30)	23 (9)
Hiroshi	Jp	227	93 (41)	35 (15)	8 (4)	4 (2)	78 (34)	9 (4)
Kazuhiro	Jp	192	84 (44)	8 (5)	16 (8)	1 (1)	69 (36)	14 (7)
Satoru	Jp	167	64 (38)	39 (23)	11 (7)	2 (1)	38 (23)	13 (8)
Toshihiro	Jp	157	60 (38)	23 (15)	7 (4)	10 (6)	37 (24)	20 (13)
Idechi	Jp	111	41 (37)	1 (1)	25 (23)	0 (0)	30 (27)	14 (13)
Ji-An	Ko	211	94 (45)	23 (11)	19 (9)	7 (3)	56 (27)	12 (6)
Sang Wook	Ko	124	87 (70)	4 (3)	5 (4)	0 (0)	26 (21)	2 (2)
Carlos	Sp	422	362 (86)	24 (6)	3 (1)	1 (0)	23 (5)	9 (2)
Guillermo	Sp	272	120 (44)	25 (9)	21 (8)	11 (4)	53 (19)	42 (15)
Eduardo	Sp	220	116 (53)	39 (18)	9 (4)	9 (4)	41 (19)	6 (3)
TOTAL		3735	2141 (57)	320 (9)	237 (6)	53 (1)	733 (20)	251 (7)

Note. *Pred*=Predicates; Ar=Arabic; Jp=Japanese; Ko=Korean; Sp=Spanish

As has been the case in the reports on the development of the past with these same learners (Bardovi-Harlig, 2000), the individual learners show somewhat different ratios of future expressions. Nevertheless, the lexical future seems to be more widely used by all learners than *going to*, its closest competitor. Whereas all but two learners (Zayed and Abdullah) use more than 20 tokens of the lexical future, only half of the learners use more than 20 tokens of *going to* (Bardovi-Harlig, in press). For all the learners the number of lexical futures is equal to (within one token) or greater than the use of *going to* (compare columns 6 and 13 in Table 4). Put another way, only three learners (Abdullah, Zayed, and Carlos) show a rate of use of lexical futures under 10% (compared to all forms of future expression), whereas nine learners show less than 10% usage of *going to* (Abdullah, Zayed, and Carlos, who also

show similarly low use of lexical futures, and Saleh, Noriko, Kazuhiro, Idechi, Sang Wook, and Guillermo).

3.2. Types of Lexical Futures

Not surprisingly, the inventory of verbs and their range of meanings used by learners falls within the inventory that Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) give for the future. The corpus shows robust use of desire, reasonably frequent use of obligation, and less use of attempt and ability. The dominant lexical future in the present corpus is the statement of desire, as expressed by *want to* (as in Examples 1a and 4). *Want to* accounts for 72% of all the lexical futures (Table 5). Obligation is realized predominantly as *have to* (in 102 tokens, or 14% of the lexical futures) and 4 tokens of *supposed to* (one-half of 1%) as in Examples (5) and (6), respectively. The modality of attempt has a very small representation in the interlanguage corpus with only 4 tokens of *try to* used only by one learner (Example 7). Another modality of the future identified by Bybee et al is ability (such as *be able to*). As a lexical item *be able to* was not used by the learners; occurrences of its semantic near equivalent, the modal *can* were coded as tokens of “other” grammatical markers of the future (see Table 3) and are not discussed further in this paper.⁵

- (4) I want to earn much foreign money inside my country (Ji-An, written, T3.0)
- (5) Tomorrow I have to take the test (Kazuhiro, written, T2.0)
- (6) It's spost to be finish at december (Saleh, written, T9.5)
- (7) After the Intensive English Program, if they don't accept me,
I *try to* go to Georgia (Hamad, oral, T4.5)
- (8) I hope to get a good orchestra for work (Guillermo, written T1.5)

Table 5. Distribution of lexical futures by learner (oral and written combined)

Learner	L1	Preds	Lexical Futures	% Total Future	Want to	(% LF)	Hope to	(% LF)	Have to	(% LF)	Like to	(% LF)	Other	(% LF)
Kazuhiro	Jp	192	69	(36)	42	(61)	2	(3)	21	(30)	0	(0)	4	(6)
Khaled	Ar	348	120	(34)	106	(88)	7	(6)	4	(3)	0	(0)	3	(3)
Hiromi	Jp	227	78	(34)	69	(88)	1	(1)	4	(5)	1	(1)	3	(4)
Noriko	Jp	267	77	(29)	64	(83)	0	(0)	8	(10)	1	(1)	4	(5)
Idechi	Jp	111	30	(27)	20	(67)	0	(0)	8	(27)	0	(0)	2	(7)
Ji-An	Ko	211	56	(27)	52	(93)	1	(2)	0	(0)	0	(0)	3	(5)
Toshihiro	Jp	157	37	(24)	21	(57)	0	(0)	12	(32)	0	(0)	4	(11)
Satoru	Jp	167	38	(23)	32	(84)	1	(3)	5	(13)	0	(0)	0	(0)
SangWook	Ko	124	26	(21)	17	(65)	0	(0)	9	(35)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Guillermo	Sp	272	53	(19)	18	(34)	23	(43)	8	(15)	0	(0)	4	(8)
Eduardo	Sp	220	41	(19)	24	(59)	4	(10)	7	(17)	0	(0)	6	(15)
Hamad	Ar	245	29	(12)	9	(31)	2	(7)	8	(28)	5	(17)	5	(17)
Saleh	Ar	321	34	(11)	25	(74)	1	(3)	3	(9)	1	(3)	4	(12)
Abdullah	Ar	260	14	(5)	14	(100)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Carlos	Sp	422	23	(5)	14	(61)	3	(13)	4	(17)	0	(0)	2	(9)
Zayed	Ar	191	8	(4)	5	(63)	0	(0)	1	(13)	0	(0)	2	(25)
Total		3735	733	(20)	533	(72)	45	(6)	102	(14)	8	(1)	45	(7)

Note. Pred=Predicates; Ar=Arabic; Jp=Japanese; Ko=Korean; Sp=Spanish

⁵ *Can* presents a bit of a difficulty for the analysis of lexical futures in English. On the one hand, it is like the lexical future semantically, and would seem to fall into the ability category (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 1994). On the other hand, it is unlike the other lexical futures syntactically, because it is a true modal (like *will*) and occurs with a bare verb. For this reason, English modals are coded as grammatical expressions of future. Note that this is not an issue in Romance languages.

The one lexical future in this corpus not listed in the inventory enumerated by Bybee at el is *hope to* (Example 8). *Hope to* occurs in 44 tokens (6% of the lexical futures), 22 of which are used by a single learner. The remaining 22 tokens are distributed among nine additional learners (17 of those tokens are used by L1 Spanish and Arabic speakers). The bottom row of Table 5 gives the group rate of use for each of the lexical futures discussed above. The table is arranged by the frequency of use of lexical futures by individual learners given as a percentage of all future expression in descending order.

With the exception of Khaled who uses more tokens of lexical futures than anyone and the second most percentage-wise (Table 5), it looks like there might be a subtle L1 influence on the use of lexical futures. That is, in terms of the proportion of lexical futures to future expressions, the L1 Japanese and Korean speakers tend to be in the higher half of the sample, and the Spanish and Arabic speakers tend to be in the lower half, again with the exception of Khaled. This is somewhat puzzling given that modal futures are described for both Arabic and Korean. Other factors such as development in other areas of the L2 grammar could play a role. The number of tokens, however, is spread out more evenly across L1s.

The gross rate of use of lexical futures does not appear to determine the distribution of specific types of lexical futures within the more general category. Individual learners use different lexical futures and different proportions of lexical futures and are not bound to a particular L1 pattern as shown in Table 5.

3.3. Order of Emergence Relative to Other Future Expressions

Will emerges early in this corpus with respect to other grammatical expressions of future in English. *Will* also emerges earlier with respect to the range of morphology with past reference in English than synthetic futures do in Romance languages as reported for L2 Italian (Barretta, 1990; Giacalone Ramat, 1992) and L2 French (Schlyter, 1990). In comparison to *will*, *going to* emerges late, but is more comparable in its timing and order of tense-aspect morphology to the Romance synthetic future (Bardovi-Harlig, 2004).

Given that *will* is not a morphological future (see Bardovi-Harlig, 2004, in press, for discussion), it is not surprising that the lexical future and *will* emerge similarly early in the corpus, for those learners who use the lexical future. However, emergence—the very earliest stage—does not sufficiently distinguish between *will* and the lexical future. The longitudinal view must be taken into account.

There seem to be multiple patterns in the interlanguage development of these learners. First, there are two learners who use *will* as essentially their only marker of future (Abdullah and Zayed), showing fewer than 20 tokens of lexical futures. Next, there are five learners who use both *will* and lexical futures (Noriko, Kazuhiro, Idechi, Sang Wook, and Saleh). The remaining nine learners use *going to* in addition to *will* and lexical futures. Seven of these learners show early use of *will* and lexical futures before the emergence of *going to* (Khaled, Guillermo, Eduardo, Ji-An, Toshihiro, Satoru, and Hamad). Some of these learners (Khaled, Hamad, Eduardo, Ji-An, and Toshihiro) also show an eventual reduction in lexical futures with the establishment of *going to*. Khaled's development is shown in Figure 1. One learner, Hiromi, uses all three futures at once, *will*, *going to*, and lexical futures between T3.0 and T6.0, then seems to abandon *going to* in the samples for two months (between T6.5 and T8.0). During that period her use is similar to that of the preceding group, because *will* and lexical futures dominate as *going to* restarts. (Hiromi joined the program and the study in level 2 at T2.5, and thus her earliest stages were not observed). Only Carlos shows a profile in which *going to* is preferred over lexical futures in the early period (16 tokens of *going to* compared to 5 tokens of lexical futures in the first 3.5 months; with almost equal distribution between T4.5 and T9.0). Of the sixteen learners, fourteen show patterns consistent with the prediction that lexical futures emerge prior to morphological futures.

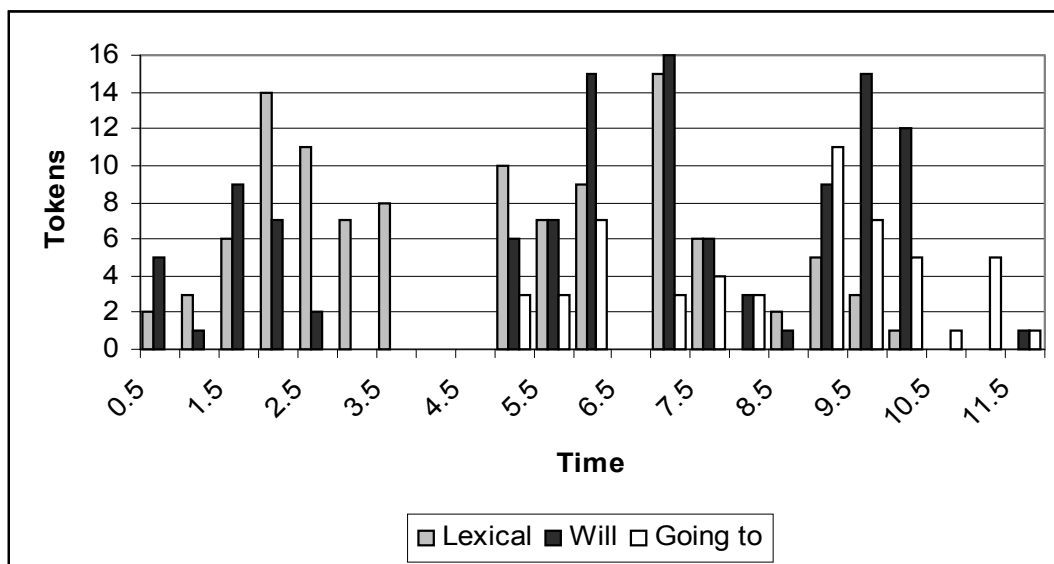


Figure 1. Use of lexical futures, *will*, and *going to* to express future over time by Khaled

3.4. The Construction of the Lexical Future

The construction of the lexical future is somewhat opaque to an observer of natural production: The lexical future emerges early and quickly, and for the most part, it appears well-formed. For these reasons, it is a challenge to determine how learners construct and analyze the lexical future. Lexical futures have been treated throughout this paper as periphrastic modals, the most common being *want to*, *have to*, and *hope to*. An example that suggests that learners might treat lexical futures as lexical units comes from Ji-An at T.5 when *want to* appears with no verb (9a) in contrast to (b) which appeared in the same text. In (11) written at T5.5, we again see the content expressed in (9a).

- (9) a. She want to Ø dr. music (Ji-An, written, T.5)
 b. I want to study music
- (10) She wants to study in Eastman School of Music (Ji-An, written, T2.5)
- (11) She plans to study doctor courses. (Ji-An, written, T5.5)

If lexical futures enter the interlanguage as periphrastic modals that are not analyzed by learners, this would in part account for their early use. In the absence of elicitation tasks to test how learners construct them, the production data offers occasional glimpses into their composition. One indication that they are analyzed (vs. formulas) is the presence of intervening elements. With the lexical future, these take three forms: subject-verb agreement with third person singular nonpast verbs, adverbs, and control structures.

Examples (10) and (11) show the lexical futures with subject-verb agreement. Person-number agreement often alternates for a period with no agreement. However, even its occasional presence shows the construction to be transparent to the learner. This stage resolves into one where agreement is constant. The examples in (12) show an abbreviated sequence from Khaled's written journal data.

- (12) a. he wants to taks al the country in Arabian (T1.5)
 b. he want to fait [fight] all the world (T1.5)
 c. He wants to fait [fight] (T2.0)
 d. anyone who wants to come to the US (T5.0)

Adverb placement also shows that the construction is analyzed by learners (Examples 13 and 14) as do the control structures (Examples 15-17).

- (13) I hope someday to be able to do that (Guillermo, T5.0, written)
 (14) If the dean says..[then] I have just to pay \$500 (Guillermo, T6.0, written)
 (15) They want their friends to advise them (Khaled, T7.0, written)
 (16) Please I want you to change these mallets (Guillermo, T8.0, written).
 (17) I want you to be better than me. (Khaled, T10.0, written)

In describing what his friends are planning for the upcoming winter vacation, Kazuhiro uses both an adverb and the control verb *want* in (18b).

- (18) a. Idechi wants to play ski in Colorado
 b. Noboru wants only to travel (Kazuhiro, T2.0, written)

Thus, it might be hypothesized that at the early stage, lexical futures begin as formulaic sequences (although very short ones) and are later reanalyzed as verbs plus infinitives.

In addition to the more general question of whether the lexical futures function as formulas or are analyzed by the learners, Khaled shows a pattern of formulaic use that no other learner shows with respect to lexical futures—the use of *I want (to) speak about* for an introduction in writing and to a lesser extent in his oral journals. This accounts for 60 tokens (or 50%) of his 120 lexical futures. The introduction takes two forms, the fully grammatical *I want to speak about* (41 tokens) and the alternate *I want speak about* (19 tokens). *Want to + V* is present from T1.5 onward, whereas *want Ø + V* appears in the corpus at T3.0. Khaled is the only learner who uses *want Ø + V* with any frequency. Others show isolated cases (Eduardo 2, Ji-an 1, Saleh 1, Noriko 4 tokens). Unlike Khaled's use, Noriko's use of *want Ø + V* appears first (at T1.0), followed by use of one token each of *have to* (at T2.0), *want Ø + V* (T3.0), *have to* (T3.5), then 3 tokens of *want to + V* (T4.0), another 2 tokens of *want Ø + V* at T5.0, then *want to + V* from T5.5 onward. Like Khaled's production, the *want Ø + V* and *want to + V* exist in the grammar at the same time. Figure 2 illustrates the construction of lexical futures in Khaled's interlanguage by half-month intervals.

Time/ LF	.5	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.5	5.0	5.5	6.0	6.5	7.0	7.5	8.0	8.5	9.0	9.5	10.0
Want Ø speak							4			1	6	0			3	3	1	1		
Want to speak		3	3	11	11	1	1			5						1	1	4		
Want Ø V						5	1			1	1	1								
Want to V			3	3	1	1	2			3		4			1	2			1	1
Hope to			1				1					2			1	2				
Have to												3			1					

Figure 2. The development of lexical futures as illustrated by Khaled's oral and written production in tokens

The analysis of the earliest uses of lexical futures suggests that they may be qualitatively different from later uses. Learners move from what may be unanalyzed (or formulaic) periphrastic modals *want to*, *have to*, *hope to* to true infinitival forms. This is suggested by the first uses by learners of French. Moses (2002) interpreted the earliest use of *je veux* "I want"+ infinitive in the oral sample as formulaic. Four future expressions were used by a single learner as early as the middle elicitation of

the first year, three of which were *je veux* + infinitive. At least one of the uses appeared to be more temporal (a future) than desire (a lexical future or modal) which led Moses to further argue that the uses were unanalyzed expressions of future, quite literally *je veux* + infinitive, rather than a productive 1st person form of *vouloir* “to want” + infinitive. In contrast to the early use by one learner, uses of the lexical future did not reach the high levels of use that the *go*-future or the synthetic future did until mid-year elicitation for the second year students in the written accounts and for the third year students at the mid-year elicitation in the oral interviews. The use of the lexical futures grew from 6% use by the first-year students to a high of 16% among third year students in writing, and from 4% for first-year students to a high of 18% among fourth year students in oral production.

4. Summary and Conclusion

This paper has addressed four issues related to the emergence and use of lexical futures as part of a larger system of future reference: the rate of use, range of expression, timing and order of emergence, and construction of the lexical futures. Lexical futures rank second to the use of *will* in the L2 English expression of future for this corpus. They appear to be dominated by *want to*, which accounts for more than 70% of all lexical futures. Obligation, represented by *have to*, accounts for another 14%. The future of desire relates to intention, as do the other lexical futures, whether more or less directly. Intentionality is one of the key modal readings of the future.

Most learners use lexical futures (only two showed very low uses). The lexical future emerges early, although for most learners it persists throughout the observation period. This is in keeping with target language norms, since as the typological research shows, lexical futures are a part of future expression cross-linguistically. Learners also seem to add to their lexical future inventories over time, consistent with general lexical acquisition. Lexical futures seem to play two roles in interlanguage development: to facilitate early future expression and to bring overt modality to the interlanguage system. Using lexical futures as unanalyzed wholes may be what allows learners early access to this form of future expression. We may also see the same pattern in longitudinal studies of Romance languages. Production data, such as that discussed here, reveal the range of future expression preferred by learners. In further work this could be supplemented by tasks (in a range of target languages) designed to determine the degree to which lexical futures are formulaic or productive.

Taking lexical futures into account in analyzing the development of future expression in interlanguage completes the picture that is only partially available from studying the grammatical means of expression alone. The lexical futures also clearly illustrate the role that modality plays in future expression.

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